

Early Chinese Zen Reexamined

A Supplement to *Zen Buddhism: A History*

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IT WAS ONLY DECADES after the discovery of the manuscripts at Tunhuang 敦煌 early in this century that their contents began to find their way, piece by piece, into historical studies of early Chinese Buddhism. In particular, they contain important information about the uncertainties surrounding the textual sources from the Sung period; about documented events surrounding the conflict between the Northern and Southern schools of Zen; about the origins of the *Platform Sūtra*; and finally, about the development of the Northern school, from its roots in the East Mountain school to its demise during the tenth century. At the time I was working on my *Zen Buddhism: A History*, I was unable to take this information fully into consideration. In the meantime, Western scholars have produced a wealth of material, based on the work of Yanagida Seizan, which now permits me to append a condensed overview.¹

The Early Period

Concerning the legends and biographies of Bodhidharma, there are no new sources that expand or enrich our previous knowledge in any

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¹ I am further indebted to Professor Yanagida for his friendly advice and extensive bibliographical assistance. In addition, I found the work of John R. McRae and Bernard Faure of particular help in composing this supplement.

essential form. The only transmitted document from the sixth century—the age of Bodhidharma—makes mention of a pious itinerant monk of that name who admired the splendor of a temple in the capital city of Lo-yang, but the question of whether this monk is identical with the first Chinese Zen patriarch remains moot.² The biography of Bodhidharma by Tao-hsūan 道宣 (d. 667) that appears in the three-volume historical work, *Further Biographies of Famous Monks* 續高僧傳, contains the earliest extant references to the arrival of Bodhidharma and his work in China. Tao-hsūan refers to Bodhidharma's distinctive form of meditation as “Mahāyāna wall-gazing” 壁觀 (Chn., *pi-kuan*; Jpn., *hekikan*) without explaining what the term means. An enigmatic allusion to *pi-kuan* also appears in a short biography of Bodhidharma by his disciple T'an-lin 曇林 (506–574), to whom we owe the most important part of the early written transmission of the patriarch.

As scholars have made clear, we possess no genuine writings of Bodhidharma himself. Still, three of the six treatises that had long been attributed to him were discovered among the Tun-huang manuscripts, namely *Verses on the Heart Sūtra* 心經頌 (Chn., *Hsin-ching sung*; Jpn., *Shingyōju*), *Two Ways of Entrance* 二種入 (Chn., *Erh-chung-ju*; Jpn., *Nishu'nyū*), and *The Gate of Repose* 安心法門 (Chn., *An-hsin fa-men*; Jpn., *Anjin hōmon*). These latter two texts appear originally to have been part of a single text (YANAGIDA 1985, pp. 307 and 293, 601–602; 1969, pp. 100, 105).

The treatise on the two ways of entrance belongs to the oldest strata of the early period. It deals with the two entrances of principle 理 (Chn., *li*; Jpn., *ri*) and practice 行 (Chn., *hsing*; Jpn., *gyō*) and the four practices 四行 (Chn., *ssu-hsing*; Jpn., *shigyō*), as evidenced in its fuller title, *Treatise on the Two Ways of Entrance and the Four Practices* 二入四行論 (Chn., *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*; Jpn., *Ni'nyūshigyōron*). It was edited by T'an-lin and is rich in information about the early Zen movement at the turn of the seventh century.

² See YANAGIDA 1985, p. 278. The text was first discovered by D. T. Suzuki in 1936 in the National Library of Peking (no. 99) and named by him *The Long Scroll of the Treatise on the Two Entrances*. Two years later he discovered the same text in the Stein Collection in the British Museum of London (no. 2715). The Tun-huang text is older than the reproduction in Tao-hsūan's historical work (T. 2060, vol. 50, p. 551c), according to YANAGIDA (pp. 279, 300). This text has been translated into modern Japanese by YANAGIDA and published with ample commentary under the title *The Record of Daruma* (1969). John McRAE (1986, pp. 102–106) gives an English translation of the treatise and the accompanying letters. He alludes to the English translation and commentary of John Alexander JØRGENSEN 1979. Bernard FAURE has done a French translation in his *Le Traité de Bodhidharma* (1986).

The expression *pi-kuan* has been interpreted variously in the history of Zen.³ Serious Zen disciples rejected the popular sense of gazing at an actual material wall. Zen masters of later centuries saw it as an expression of the awakened spiritual state, hard as stone. Tan-lin's interpretation in the treatise on the four entrances merits preferential attention: "Entering into principle (*li*) is the same as the calming of the mind, and the calming of the mind is *pi-kuan*."⁴ This interpretation combines two statements. First, it speaks of entrance into principle, where principle is one of the two entrances to enlightenment, the other being praxis. Principle, or *li*, represents a central idea of Chinese philosophy—the essence or ground of reality—taken over into Buddhism. Tao-sheng, a monk who labored in the early phase of Kumārajīva's translation work at the suitable transposition of Indian Mahāyāna concepts into Chinese, links *li* to the Buddhist expression for ultimate reality (see KIM 1990, p. 33). The enlightened arrives at the essential realm where the mind is free. The two entrances through principle and practice are bound inextricably with one another.

Through the four practices of Bodhidharma Zen, enlightened wall-gazing enters into everyday life. It presupposes the general Buddhist form of *satipatthāna* 四念處 (Skt., *smṛtyupasthāna*; Jpn., *shinenjo*) meditation that had come over from India. Seng-ch'ou 僧稠 and other early Chinese meditation masters adopted ancient Indian exercises that Bodhidharma raised to the level of Mahāyāna in the four practices. Tan-lin's book on Bodhidharma, easy to understand and definitive for Buddhist readers, explains the practices in the context of Buddhist doctrine.⁵ In the first exercise, the one who practices overcomes the karmically determined feelings of hatred and other passions carried over from previous existences. In the second, one submits to one's circumstances 緣 (Skt., *pratyaya*; Jpn., *en*). In the third one asks for nothing since all things are empty 空 (Skt., *śūnya*; Jpn., *kū*). And in the fourth, one finds oneself in harmony with the Dharma. In this way the four practices are made understandable so

³ See YANAGIDA 1985, pp. 302–303; 1969, pp. 140, 142. See also MCRAE 1986, pp. 112–15; and FAURE 1986, pp. 28–32.

⁴ The **Vajrasamādhi Sūtra* 金剛三昧經 (T. 273; Chn., *Chin-kang san-mei ching*; Jpn., *Kongōsanmaikyō*), an apocryphal sūtra composed later than the Bodhidharma treatise, reads *chiao-kuan* 覺觀 (Jpn., *kakkan*) instead of *pi-kuan*. See YANAGIDA 1985, p. 303. The expression *chiao-kuan* appears also in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, T. 475, vol. 14, p. 540a8.

⁵ See YANAGIDA 1969, pp. 147–55. Yanagida points to the difference from early Buddhist doctrine and stresses its novelty. See also his 1985, pp. 305ff.

that the Buddhist can easily dedicate himself to them and follow them from the initial stages to the heights of enlightenment. Whereas the entrance into principle takes place all of a sudden, the entrance into practical exercise proceeds one step at a time; but this latter also belongs to the realm of enlightenment because of the essential ties that bind the two entrances together.

The calming of the mind, the second element in the definition of wall-gazing, recalls the story of the enlightenment of Hui-k'o 慧可. According to the transmission, Hui-k'o called upon Bodhidharma, who was seated in meditation, and asked him how he might calm his mind. Bodhidharma turned to him and said, "Bring me your mind and I will set it free." Hui-k'o replied that, try as he might, he could not find it. At this Bodhidharma spoke again, "Your mind is freed." As YANAGIDA notes, this exchange, the oldest of its kind in Zen history to come down to us, has a contemporary ring to it.⁶

Hui-k'o had asked Bodhidharma for a method to free the mind, not for an ontological principle.... Bodhidharma sets the mind of Hui-k'o free. How? By what means? He does not attempt a momentary soothing but brings the mind of his interlocutor firmly into view in an original and fundamental sense. Though freed, there is no mind that has been freed; though sought, there is no mind to be found. The mind is beyond grasp.... (1981, pp. 107-108)

This first kōan prefigures the essence and formation of the Zen school. For Yanagida, it is important that Bodhidharma's answer be understood correctly and fully. The patriarch knows of no way to the liberation of the mind but can only claim, "The mind is freed." The mind is freed here and now; it is the original, pure mind, the true self and Buddha-nature (YANAGIDA 1981, pp. 108-109).

Thus presented, Bodhidharma's method of meditation is the translation into praxis of the Mahāyāna doctrine of the wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) sūtras, the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, and the treatise of Seng-chao (384-414).⁷ This line of tradition leads to the classical Chinese Zen of the schools of Ma-tsu 馬祖 and Shih-t'ou 石頭.

The facts in the manuscripts discovered at Tun-huang cannot always be fixed precisely, but we do know that the Bodhidharma treatise on

⁶ See YANAGIDA 1969, pp. 9-14. The treatise of Bodhidharma is the oldest source of the dialogue genre; see 1981, p. 107.

⁷ See my *Zen Buddhism: A History*, vol. 1, pp. 70-74, and the introduction to YANAGIDA 1969, pp. 13-14.

Two Ways of Entrance was known to Tao-hsüan at the time he composed his biography of Bodhidharma. His concluding comment, “His [Bodhidharma’s] words are inscribed in books and spread through the world,” does not contradict the Zen’s basic disavowal of any authoritative text, but harmonizes with the conception, still current today, that the writings are records of oral instructions. In this sense T’an-lin explains the entrance through principle as “grasping what is essential on the basis of the teaching.”⁸ The teaching, as Yanagida clarifies, refers to the teachings of the sūtras. All the sūtras are like fingers pointing to the moon. If the words that Bodhidharma the master speaks to his restless disciple are like the words of the Buddha, then Bodhidharma himself is like the finger. The enlightened one must forget both the sūtras and the finger (YANAGIDA 1981, p. 143).

In addition to the work on the two entrances, there are two unsigned, unaddressed letters that serve as Bodhidharma texts. The authorship of the letters is uncertain. Yanagida argues on plausible though not compelling grounds for the authorship of T’an-lin, to whom the first appendix of the Bodhidharma treatise is also ascribed.⁹ This appendix lays out the principal motivations of Mahāyāna, beginning with emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and ending with perfect virtue (*pāramitā*). The Dharma master referred to in the appendix as Tripitaka is Bodhidharma (see YANAGIDA 1985, pp. 271, 325; FAURE 1986, p. 79). The text is presented as the message of Bodhidharma, to whom the same honor is accorded as to Buddha.

The second appendix of the Bodhidharma treatise offers early signs of the typically Zen literary genre of the question-answer dialogue 問答 (*mondō*) out of which the kōan developed. Numerous unknown Zen disciples, whose names have long remained unverifiable, show up as dialogue partners. Apparently they include also disciples of the second and third generation after Bodhidharma, who would have practiced Zen in China in the first half of the seventh century. Outstanding among them is Yüan, a figure who appears in no less than

⁸ The text is given in YANAGIDA 1969, p. 31. His Japanese reading of the phrase is *oshie ni yorite shū o satoru* (p. 33).

⁹ See YANAGIDA 1985, p. 308, 310–11. D. T. Suzuki divides the Tun-huang text of the Bodhidharma treatise into three parts of one hundred and one numbered sections. Part 1 (1–11) contains the treatise of the two entrances and four practices as well as two letters; part 2 (12–67) contains the first appendix (Jpn., *zatsuron*); and part 3 (68–101) the second appendix. YANAGIDA’s translated and edited text appears in *Daruma no goroku* (1969). In addition, there are still more recently discovered texts of small compass (appendix 2 in Yanagida’s text), which Bernard FAURE has likewise translated as “mêlanges” (1986, pp. 36–37).

thirteen dialogues speaking a new and powerful language; fully three hundred years before Ma-tsu and Lin-chi, Yüan “denies the system of Buddhist doctrine itself” (YANAGIDA 1985, pp. 323–30). He also anticipates Shen-hui’s 神會 critique of the Northern school. According to the view of this disciple, the style of Bodhidharma that his contemporaries attacked corresponds to the true doctrine of the Buddha.

The brief third appendix, a manuscript of later date, introduces exchanges between dialogue partners, some of whom are known to have been disciples of the fourth and fifth patriarchs (YANAGIDA 1985, pp. 271, 325; FAURE 1986, pp. 53–63).

It is possible, therefore, to recognize two lines of tradition in the early Zen movement after Bodhidharma. One line leads from the ambiguous term *pi-kuan* to the dialogue exchanges (*mondō*) found in collections of sayings 語錄 (*goroku*), the forerunners of the *kōan* so characteristic of the Southern school. The other line, which hinges on the strict ties of early Zen to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, proceeds from the communication of Tao-hsüan in the biography of Hui-k’o, according to which Bodhidharma handed over the four volumes of this sūtra to Hui-k’o saying, “I have observed in this land of China there is only this sūtra. If you depend upon this sūtra, you will be able to save the world.”¹⁰ In his historical work, Tao-hsüan assigns a great importance to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* for the meditation movement in the China of his day and age. To be sure, the eight *Lankā* masters listed in his biography of Fa-ch’ung 法沖 (587–665?) form a distinct line from the circle of Bodhidharma’s disciples. Even though the *Treatise on the Two Entrances and the Four Practices* “does not touch particularly on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*,” YANAGIDA notes that “the relationship of Hui-k’o to the doctrine of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* is certain,” citing passages in the second and third appendices to support this view (1985, pp. 285–86).

The tendency in the Bodhidharma transmission to favor the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* leads directly to the Northern school. The two oldest chronicles of Chinese Zen history, the *Leng-ch’ieh shih-tzu chi* 楞伽師資記 (Jpn. *Ryōgashijiki*) edited by Ching-chüeh 淨覺 (683–ca. 750) and the *Ch’üan fa-pao chi* 傳法寶紀 (Jpn. *Den hōbōki*) compiled by Tu-fei 杜朏 —both of which arose in the Northern school independently

¹⁰ T. 2060, vol. 50, p. 552b. An English translation appears in MIURA and SASAKI 1966, p. 373. FAURE speaks of various currents in his introduction to the Bodhidharma treatise (1986, pp. 48–49). David CHAPPELL refers to “two strands of Bodhidharma influence” in his essay “The Teachings of the Fourth Ch’an Patriarch,” in LAI and LANCASTER 1983, p. 92.

of one another during the early years of the reign of the emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄奘 (713–755)—demonstrate a close relationship to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.¹¹ The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* takes its name from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and gives Guṇabhadra (394–468), the translator of the sūtra into Chinese, as the teacher of Bodhidharma at the head of Chinese Zen's line of transmission. The two chronicles take differing positions towards the Bodhidharma treatise. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* rejects it as unauthentic,¹² while the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* provides it with additions and takes it up in the text.

The consciousness of a unique line of transmission of Bodhidharma Zen, which is not yet demonstrable in the Bodhidharma treatise, grew during the seventh century and must have taken shape on the East Mountain prior to the death of the Fourth Patriarch Tao-hsin 道信 (580–651).¹³ The earliest indication appears in the epitaph for Fa-ju 法如 (638–689), one of the outstanding disciples of the Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (601–674). The author of the epitaph is not known, but the list comprises six names: after Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o follow Seng-ts'an 僧璨, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, and Fa-ju. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* takes this list over and adds as a seventh name that of Shen-hsiu 神秀 (605?–706). In an epitaph for Shen-hsiu, his name is made to take the place of Fa-ju's. The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* omits Fa-ju and ends after Shen-hsiu with the name of his disciple P'u-chi (651–739). These indications from the Northern school argue for the succession of the Third Patriarch Seng-ts'an (d. 606), which has been thrown into doubt because of lacunae in the historical work of Tao-hsüan. Still, the matter cannot be settled with certainty.

The information contained in the Tun-huang manuscripts permits a more accurate representation of the earliest period of Bodhidharma Zen. The Bodhidharma treatise gives us brief glimpses of the important beginnings of different accents in Zen up until the middle of the seventh century, accents that came into their own during the eighth

¹¹ The composition of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (T. 2837) is dated 716 (Yanagida and Hu Shih) and 720 (Yin-shun); see CHAPPELL 1983, p. 94. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* (T. 2838) is dated 713 by Yampolsky (LAI and LANCASTER 1983, p. 6). YANAGIDA 1985 refers to the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* as "the oldest historical chronicle of the Zen school" (p. 8) and the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* as "the first historical book of the Zen school" (p. 284). Later he notes that it is not clear which of the works is older than the other (p. 319).

¹² The Bodhidharma treatise is said to be "replete with errors" and to contain "presumably partial, provisional teachings." See the translation of the work by McRAE 1986, pp. 255–69; citations, pp. 257, 259.

¹³ On the following see also the section on early Ch'an lineage in CHAPPELL 1983, pp. 93–97; see also McRAE 1986, pp. 79–85.

century and led to explosions that are well enough known. The decades of activity of the Zen patriarchs of East Mountain were part of the incubation period during which distinct and contradictory positions took clear shape.

The Patriarchs of East Mountain

The characteristic traits of the new period of Zen history that begins with the residence of the patriarchs on East Mountain, namely the establishment of a life style with monastic rule, are well known. The study of the Tun-huang texts permits us to bring this story into sharper relief, making visible the relation between the legendary beginnings of Chinese Zen and the mutually competing later forms. Although the meaning of the mythical figure of the founder Bodhidharma for the basic thematic outlines of the Zen way can to some extent be unlocked for historical understanding through the Bodhidharma treatise, a sustained study of the text awaits future research.

TAO-HSIN (580–651), THE FOURTH PATRIARCH

The Zen chronicles refer to two writings of the Fourth Patriarch Tao-hsin: a no-longer extant text on the Bodhisattva precepts and a text known as *Fundamental Expedient Teachings for Reposing the Mind That Attains Enlightenment* 入道安心要方便法門 (Chn., *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men*; Jpn., *Nyūdō anjin yō hōben hōmon*), which has been taken up into the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*.¹⁴ The tendencies of the Bodhidharma treatise reappear in this important treatise, as we see already from the title. The glyph meaning “entrance” or “entry” (Chn., *erh ju*; Jpn., *ni nyū*) that is used in the title *Two Ways of Entrance* also shows up in the subtitle of the Tao-hsin text. In both cases it refers to entry into the way of Zen. Tao-hsin speaks in his text often of “entering,” as at the conclusion of a central passage on the five Dharma gates: “...enter into the gate of meditation”; or again later in the explanation of the practice of meditation: “achieve entrance into the uncreated, correct truth” or “entrance into the correct principle (*li*) of the Unborn.”¹⁵ As Tao-hsin remarks in other passages, principle must agree with

¹⁴ T. 2837, vol. 85, pp. 1286c–1289b. See English translation in CHAPPELL 1983, pp. 107–29. The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* was edited and translated into modern Japanese by YANAGIDA in *Shoki no zenshi I, Zen no goroku 2* (1971); he attributes the text to Tao-hsin. For Yanagida, the text is based on what “Tao-hsin himself had said” (p. 190), but this does not exclude transmission and transcription in his circle of disciples. The date is uncertain.

¹⁵ See translation by CHAPPELL 1983, pp. 114, 118.

practice (*hsing*; Jpn., *gyō*), an assertion that, as David CHAPPELL observes, “echoes the thought of Bodhidharma” (1983, p. 112).

The expression *shou-i pu-i* 守一不移 (Jpn. *shuichi fui*), which appears at the height of the passage on the five Dharma gates, was originally Taoist and found its way into Buddhism from Chinese meditation masters. The English rendering “Maintaining the One without Wavering” brings the Taoist origins into clear relief.¹⁶ “The One” of Lao-tzu, a key term in Chinese intellectual history, recalls for Mahāyāna Buddhists their fundamental notion of reality as based in the wisdom sūtras. Tao-hsin cites these sūtras and many other Mahāyāna texts. As a young man he had taken up the worldview of emptiness (*śūnyatā*).¹⁷ He spent more than ten years (613–624) in the temple monastery of Ta-lin on Mount Lu, which had been founded by Chih-k'ai 智鑿 (533–610), an adherent of the San-lun 三論 (Jpn. *Sanron*) school and disciple of the T'ien-t'ai (Jpn. Tendai) Patriarch Chih-i 智顛 (538–597). It is not certain whether Tao-hsin had met Chih-k'ai personally, but the monastery was doubtless imbued with the Mādhyamika spirit. In his treatise Tao-hsin speaks again and again of the “pure and empty mind” that the practitioner must preserve and foster.

Tao-hsin's proximity to T'ien-t'ai goes as far back as his student years in the monastery of Ta-lin. In T'ien-t'ai, theoretical doctrine, which takes on an important place in the axioms of the wisdom sūtras, is bound essentially to the practice of meditation, which takes precedence. The combination of doctrine and praxis was Tao-hsin's ideal. The way that he pointed to was based on doctrinal principles, but the goal can be reached only through intensive exercise. One of the pillars is the “*Samādhi* of One Practice” 一行三昧 (Chn., *i-hsing san-mei*; Jpn. *ichigyō sanmai*) which, in his words, “means that the mind

¹⁶ McRAE 1986, pp. 138–44, 322. CHAPPELL translates the phrase as “unified mindfulness without deviation” (1983, pp. 99–100). That Tao-hsin criticized Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu (McRAE 1986, p. 120; CHAPPELL 1983, p. 100) does not contradict the strong influence of Taoism on Chinese Zen. YANAGIDA treats the historical background of the expression in a lengthy note (1985, pp. 234–35).

¹⁷ Biographical information on Tao-hsin can be found in the historical work of Tao-hsüan (T. 2060, vol. 50, p. 605b; English translation in McRAE 1986, pp. 31–32) and in the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* (edited with commentary in YANAGIDA 1971, pp. 327–435; English translation, McRAE 1986, pp. 255–69; biography of Tao-hsin, pp. 261–62). McRae compares the two biographies, showing where they concur and diverge from one another. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* omits the period in Ta-lin temple, but both biographies report his entry into the monastery at seven years of age and his time in a monastery on Mount Chi-chou. From the Ta-lin monastery he moved to East Mountain in 624.

aware of the Buddha is the Buddha.” Elsewhere we are told that “Fixing your awareness on ultimate reality is called *i-hsing san-mei*” (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 107). The *samādhi* of one practice—also known as the “*samādhi* of oneness” (Yampolsky) or the “calmness in which one realizes that all dharmas are the same” (Wing-tsit Chan; CHAPPELL 1983, p. 121), is one of the four *samādhis* that Chih-i treats in his foundational *Mo-ho chih-kuan* 摩訶止觀 (Jpn. *Makashikan*; T. 1911) as the stages leading up to perfect enlightenment.¹⁸ Tao-hsin was also familiar with the term *chih-kuan* 止觀 (Jpn. *shikan*), central to T’ien-t’ai meditation, though he may have owed this to the well-known “Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna” 大乘起信論 (Skt., **Mahāyāna-śrāddhotpāda-śāstra*; Chn., *Ta-cheng ch’i-hsin lun*; Jpn., *Daijōkishinron*).¹⁹ Be that as it may, the close relationship of Tao-hsin to T’ien-t’ai comes forth clearly in his treatise.

The strong influence of T’ien-t’ai relies in turn on the wide-ranging acceptance of nearly all important elements of Mahāyāna, which at the time of the founder Chih-i had not only gained access into the whole breadth of the Indian transmission in China but also had been enriched significantly by the interpretations of Chinese thought. T’ien-t’ai meditation recognized sudden realization and gradual ascent to enlightenment. Tao-hsin likewise included both ways. In his treatise we find the earliest written proof of the suddenness of the enlightenment experience. Chappell translates a remarkable passage, expressly attributed to Tao-hsin:

Neither by [trying to] meditate on the Buddha, nor by [trying to] grab hold of the mind, nor by seeing the mind, nor by analyzing the mind, nor by reflections, nor by discernment, nor by dispersing confusion, but by thorough identification with the natural rhythms of things. Don’t force anything to do. Don’t force anything to stay. Finally abiding in the one sole purity, the mind spontaneously becomes lucid and pure. (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 110)

The two important expressions in the passage are read in the original as *chih-ren-yün* 直任運 and *tzu* 自 (Jpn. *ji*, also read in Japanese *mizukara* or *onozukara*). Yanagida explains the expression *ren-yün* by paraphrasing it to mean “giving oneself over to the course of heaven

¹⁸ See FAURE 1984, p. 76. He deals with Ch’an and T’ien-t’ai on pp. 75–79.

¹⁹ On the *Treatise on the Awakening of Faith* (T. 1666) and Ch’an, see FAURE 1984, pp. 59ff.

and earth.” He alludes to Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, in whom this same combination of glyphs appears.²⁰ The following term *tzu* (literally, “of itself”) is also to be read Taoistically. Chappell renders it “spontaneously.” A bit later the text mentions that for one who has been enlightened the Dharma eye opens spontaneously (CHAPPELL 1983, pp. 110, 113). Tao-hsin closes his comments on the fifth Dharma gate with the assertion that practitioners “enter into the gate of meditation *without delay*” (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 114). YANAGIDA translates this latter phrase as “quickly,” which accords with the meaning of the Chinese glyph (1971, p. 229). It is worth noting that the passages that treat the suddenness of enlightenment go together with explanations of the doctrine of *sūnyatā*. Obviously there is some connection between this doctrine and the idea of sudden enlightenment.

In comparison with the rich and close relation of Tao-hsin to the founder of T'ien-t'ai and his writings, textual evidence of his adherence to the Bodhidharma tradition is rather weak. Earlier we remarked the use of the same glyph for entrance (*ju*, *nyū*) in the titles of the Bodhidharma treatise and Tao-hsin's *Fundamental Expedient Teachings for Reposing the Mind That Attains Enlightenment*. The second compound in Tao-hsin's title, *an-hsin* (Jpn. *anjin*), also occupies a prominent place in the Bodhidharma treatise. In his text Tao-hsin praises the inexhaustible fullness of the mind that has reached satisfaction (*an-hsin*; see CHAPPELL 1983, p. 109). When he recognizes T'an-lin's identification of the mysterious *pi-kuan*, the highest Mahāyāna meditation, with *an-hsin*, further ties in the relationship come to light. Less reliable is the connection that the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi*, which carries no weight in the Bodhidharma treatise, draws to the founder of Chinese Zen when it suggests a line of tradition from Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o through Seng-ts'an to Tao-hsin and points in its biographical sketch of the latter to Seng-ts'an as one of his teachers.²¹ The history of Zen remains somewhat tangled here.

The same may be said regarding the significance of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in the early period of Chinese Zen. It is mentioned only once in the part of the chronicle attributed to Tao-hsin—in the opening lines where it is referred to as “foundational for the First Principle.” If the arguments for the gradual ascent to enlightenment in Tao-hsin's text cover a wide range, this is attributed to the influence

²⁰ See YANAGIDA's commentary in 1971, p. 210.

²¹ See the English translation of the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* in McRAE 1986, pp. 255–69; on the genealogy, p. 257; and on Seng-ts'an, the teacher of Tao-hsin, p. 262.

of T'ien-t'ai. Most notable is the passage that contains the famous comparison of gradual ascent with shooting a bow. CHAPPELL translates it as follows:

Like a man who is studying archery, first he shoots with great license, but then he hits the bull's eye with a small leeway [of error]. First he hits something big, next he hits something small, then he hits a hair, and then he divides a hair into 100 parts and hits a hundredth of a hair. Next, the last arrow hits the end of the previous arrow. A succession of arrows do not allow the arrows to drop [to the ground]. It is like a man who practices the Way. Moment after moment he dwells in his mind. Thought after thought continuously without even a short interval in awareness he practices correct awareness without interruption and correct awareness in the present. (1983, pp. 116–17)

The glyph 次 that Chappell renders as *next* and *then* appears seven times in the passage. The comparison of practice with shooting a bow has its own history in Eastern Asia. Yanagida cites striking passages from the *prajñāpāramitā* literature and alludes to T'ien-t'ai writings.²² The metaphor accommodates the kind of step-by-step progress in practice that Tao-hsin recommends for the calming of the mind:

If you achieve a calm mind and do not have the mind which clings to objectified phenomena, then your mind gradually becomes tranquil and stable and step by step eliminates the various passions. Therefore, you finally do not create new [illusions] and it can be said that you are free. (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 118)

The Chinese compound 隨分 that Chappell translates once as *gradually* and then as *step by step* (Chn., *sui-fen*; Jpn., *zuibun*) would be transposed in modern Japanese to *shidai ni*. Shen-hui, the chief opponent from the Southern school, criticizes the so-called calming of the mind 住心 (Chn., *chu-hsin*; Jpn., *jūshin*) that occurs at the beginning of this passage, seeing in it an expression of the doctrine of gradual enlightenment that was attributed to the Northern school.²³

²² The metaphor appears already in Dieh-tzu. A lengthy quotation from the *Wen-shu shuo ching* (T. 232) demonstrates progressive ascetic practice. The comparison with arrows shot one after the other into the air appears in T'ien-t'ai texts. See YANAGIDA's commentary in 1971, pp. 246–47.

²³ See YANAGIDA 1971, p. 254. The *Daijōkishinron* likewise teaches gradual enlightenment, as Yanagida's quotations show.

Practice over an extended period is a commendable “expedient” 方便 (Skt., *upāya*; Chn., *fang-pien*; Jpn., *hōben*). Expedients are important to Tao-hsin since, as the text states, “the cultivation of the way involves expedient aids.”²⁴ In Tao-hsin’s view, the expedients are useful means that can lead to enlightenment. The Southern school of Hui-neng takes the radical position that the expedients useful to practice are a function of enlightenment.

The recitation of the name of the Buddha 念佛 (Chn., *nien-fo*; Jpn., *nenbutsu*) is also an expedient, and one which found its way into Zen through Tao-hsin. The Fourth Patriarch lived on East Mountain close to Lu-shan, famous in Buddhist history for the Amithāba (Jpn., *Amida*) cult that was flourishing at the time. It was through him that the practice of the nenbutsu became widespread (FAURE 1984, pp. 79ff.)

Tao-hsin cites the sūtras of Amida Buddhism and refers to the “pure land” in which believers of this Buddha aspire to be reborn. But he does not associate the nenbutsu with the veneration of Amida. Clarifying the nature of the practice, he cites the *Daibongyō* 大品經: “No object of thought’ means to be thinking of Buddha.”²⁵ According to this definition, the nenbutsu would be a kind of objectless meditation. In Tao-hsin’s text, the nenbutsu leads to the Mahāyāna doctrine of the identity of mind and Buddha. The text answers the question of the significance of meditation without an object 無所念 (Chn., *wu-suo-nien*; Jpn., *mushonen*):

It means the mind which is “thinking on Buddha” is called thinking on no object. Apart from mind, there is no Buddha at all. Apart from Buddha, there is no mind at all. Thinking on Buddha is identical to the thinking mind. To seek the mind means to seek for the Buddha.²⁶

It seems that Tao-hsin had become acquainted with the nenbutsu during his stay in the temple monastery of Ta-lin and had taken it up

²⁴ English translation CHAPPELL 1983, p. 119. YANAGIDA observes in a note that bodily *zazen* is a skillful means (*hōben*) for spiritual *zazen* (1971, p. 259). Like the *samādhi* of the one practice, it is found in the realm of non-differentiation and inconceivability (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 107). According to the *Ch’uan fa-pao chi* Bodhidharma instructed his disciple Hui-k’o secretly with the aid of skillful means that cannot be spoken with words (English translation in MCRAE 1986, p. 259).

²⁵ The *Pañcavimsati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (T. 220), quoted in the *Ta chih tu lun* (T. 1509), cited in YANAGIDA 1971, p. 196.

²⁶ CHAPPELL 1983, p. 108. See also p. 114: “You should know that the Buddha is identical to your mind.”

in his practice of meditation.²⁷ For him it touched on the fundamental principles of the wisdom sūtras. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* mentions the practice of the nenbutsu by his disciples Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu.

Tao-hsin's Zen rests on the core teaching of Mahāyāna, the Mādhyamika doctrine of the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of all things (*dharma*), which enlightenment recognizes when it grasps the essence of reality. The Fourth Patriarch was not content with transmitting this doctrine to his disciples, but gave perplexing, concrete instructions as to how the goal can be reached. His text represents the oldest version of a manual of Zen meditation of the sort later composed by the Chinese master Tsung-tse during the Sung period and by Dōgen in Japan during the Kamakura period (see BIELEFELDT 1988). Tao-hsin's guide offers, as the Japanese Buddhist historian Sekiguchi asserts, "the first example of a Ch'an description of meditation technique" (SEKIGUCHI 1969, p. 346).

In Tao-hsin's text we find two practical guides to meditation. In the first section he recommends looking at body and mind, the five *skandha* or elements of existence, the four elements, the six sense organs, the three poisons, and all dharmas in order to grasp that all is empty, without coming to be or passing away, identical and without duality (CHAPPELL 1983, pp. 112, 117). Still more concrete is a second guide whose wording can be rendered:

When you first begin practicing, sitting meditation 坐禪 (Chn., *tso-ch'an*; Jpn., *zazen*) and viewing the mind 看心 (Chn., *k'an-hsin*; Jpn., *kanshin*), go off by yourself and sit in one place. First make your body erect and sit correctly. Make your clothes roomy and loosen your belt. Relax your body and loosen your limbs. Massage yourself seven or eight times. Expel completely the air in your belly. Through the natural flow you will obtain your true nature, clear and empty, quiet and pure. The body and mind being harmonized, the spirit is able to be peaceful. Then obscure and mysterious, the inner breath is clear and cool. Slowly, slowly you collect your mind and your spiritual path becomes clear and keen. (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 119)

One who practices in this way realizes that the nature of mind is one with the Buddha-nature and identical with the original mind. Even when he is giving practical guidance, there is more involved

²⁷ In the monastery of Ta-lin he met Shan-fu (d. 660) who had studied Amidist meditation with Hui-chao (546–622), a disciple of Chih-i. See FAURE 1984, p. 75.

here for Tao-hsin than mere technique. Making his own the same love of negation found in *prajñāpāramitā* literature, he stresses: "The basis of our method is no-method" (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 120).

Tao-hsin enjoins zealous practice

without interval both day and night, whether walking, staying,
sitting or lying down, always practice this contemplation! (p.
118)

Work hard! Work hard! (p. 119)

The true Buddhist disciple "constantly dwells in meditation."²⁸ Such admonitions are repeated again and again. The disciples are told to dedicate themselves with all their energies to practice. The text paints the mood of intense discipline carried on in the monastery of many a Zen master. In this respect one may compare the Japanese master Dōgen with the old masters of East Mountain.

HUNG-JEN (601-651), THE FIFTH PATRIARCH

As the chronicles attest, Tao-hsin gathered about himself a considerable band of listeners, but only the names of a few disciples remain in the recorded tradition.²⁹ After his death the robe fell on the shoulders of his chief disciple Hung-jen, who had lived with him from the first days on Mt Shuan-feng (624). What had begun as an insignificant place of practice and later developed into a monastic community, was destined in time to become one of the most outstanding centers of Chinese Buddhism. It is hardly possible to separate the special role of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen from this course of events. Of the two, Hung-jen was the stronger personality and there is more historical material and persuasive evidence concerning him.³⁰ He stepped completely into the footsteps of his master and brought the work to full bloom. The rich fruits were visible in the following generation of "Ten Great Disciples."

The main substance of biographical reports on Hung-jen are found in the two chronicles *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* and *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu*

²⁸ Translation in CHAPPELL 1983, p. 113. A similar admonition to zeal in practice is put in the mouth of Tao-hsin in the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi*. For the text, see YANAGIDA 1971, p. 380. The third sentence must read "sit in meditation for three or five years ..." This, according to Yanagida, is "the oldest proof for the practice of meditation in the seated position."

²⁹ Fa-hsien 法顯 (577-633), who came from T'ien-t'ai, Shan-fu 著伏 (d. 660), a student of Mādhyamika, and perhaps also Hsüan-shuang 玄爽 (d. 652), are mentioned as disciples of Tao-hsin.

³⁰ McRAE 1986, pp. 40-41, gives a list of reasons for preferring the importance of Hung-jen.

chi. Legendary elements embellish the story of his childhood years with his mother, whom he served with filial piety. At the age of seven or twelve he set out for the path of homelessness. Tao-hsin was appointed his instructor, and it seems that Hung-jen was with his teacher already from the time of the latter's stay in Chi-chou and the monastery of Ta-lin. As patriarch he settled with his community on the eastern peak of the mountain. The sources name his school and that of Tao-hsin as the "schools" or "doctrines" of East Mountain.

The bonds between the two patriarchs Tao-hsin and Hung-jen are apparent in analyzing the works that have come to be ascribed to them. Only one copy remains of Tao-hsin's text, which is included in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, and that copy cannot be dated precisely. The writings of Hung-jen, transcribed by his disciples, are also undated and have come down in a later handwriting.

On the basis of these materials, McRae has gone to great pains to produce a new edition. His assessment of the handwriting, and the publication and title of the work yields the following picture: Hung-jeng's text was published in Korea in 1570 under the title *The Treatise on the Supreme Vehicle* 最上乘論 (Chn., *Tsui-shang sheng lun*; Jpn., *Saijō-jōron*), was reprinted several times (for the first time in Japan in 1716), and was taken up in an anthology. The text first discovered in Tun-huang was published in Peking in 1931, where D. T. Suzuki came upon it, later to publish a facsimile edition in Japan (1935). The text appeared in Peking under the title *Treatise on the One Vehicle of Manifesting One's Own Mind* 一乘顯自心論 (Chn., *I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun*; Jpn., *Ichijō kenjishinron*). Another Tun-huang text ended up in the library of Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. Suzuki discovered three more Tun-huang manuscripts in England (S-2669, S-3558, S-4064) and published the manuscripts known to him (without consulting the Ryūkoku manuscript) in 1951 in *Zen shisōshi kenkyū II*. (This edition also appears in volume 2 of SUZUKI's *Zenshū* [Collected Works, 1968, pp. 303-309]. The remaining manuscripts were discovered by Yanagida. The text was taken into the Taishō edition (no. 2011, vol. 48). The title is generally given as *Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind* 修心要論 (Chn., *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*; Jpn., *Shushin yōron*).³¹

On the basis of handwriting data and other indications, McRae

³¹ See McRAE 1986, p. 284, and on the text, p. 35. See also pp. 309-12; the edited text appears at the end of the book (pp. 1-16, Chinese numbering), and its translation on pp. 121-32. For an English translation see PACHOW 1980; an earlier version of this translation appeared in the *University of Ceylon Review* 21/1 (1963):47-62.

came to the view that Hung-jen's text is the older. He places its composition around the end of the seventh century, and reckons the text of Tao-hsin to stem from the early years of the following century. The dating of the two manuscripts is unclear. The numerous manuscripts of Hung-jen's text attest to the wide circulation and popularity it enjoyed in China at the time. For several centuries the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* stood as the standard work on East Mountain teaching. McRae's view is thus solidly based. It is clear that similarities between the two writings appear not only in the basic traits of their contents but also in the manner of expression and use of words.³²

The literal meaning of the central term of the treatise, *shou-hsin* 守心 or "guarding the mind," calls to mind the ancient Buddhist meditation practice of attentiveness. In Hung-jen it is to be understood in the Mahāyāna context as the central doctrine of the identity of mind and Buddha. The true mind is identical with self-nature, Dharma-nature, Buddha-nature. Just as the "Dharma sun" appears bright and pure to the original mind, "it does not generate false thoughts and extinguishes the illusion of personal possession."³³ It is all a matter of letting the sun appear completely. This happens through "maintaining awareness of the mind."³⁴

The relationship of the key word *shou-hsin* to Tao-hsin's *shou-i* 守一 is obvious. The question of independence is answered differently, depending on when one dates the composition of the texts. The incomparable value of mindfulness appears in a passage of the treatise of Hung-jen, in which three essential traits or fruits of this endeavor are presented:

Maintaining awareness of the mind is the fundamental basis of *nirvāṇa*, the essential gateway for entering the path, the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon. (McRAE 1986, p. 124)

The passages that follow make it clear that present attentiveness is the core of the Way.

The metaphors of sun and mirror, which belong together and express the same thing, play an important role in Hung-jen's treatise.

³² See the admittedly tentative interpretation of McRAE 1986, pp. 119, 120.

³³ See McRAE 1986, p. 123. In the corresponding notes McRae notes that this formula appears nine times in the text (n. 60, 315).

³⁴ This is how McRAE translates the core term. "According to a more liberal interpretation," he adds, it means "to maintain constant, indiscriminating awareness of the absolute mind or Buddha nature within oneself" (1986, p. 136).

Both metaphors assert that the originally pure mind, like the unhindered, shining sun and the unsullied mirror become covered over and sullied in the existence of sentient beings in this world of becoming (*samsāra*) with its ignorance, appetites, and delusions. After a few brief introductory remarks, Hung-jen's treatise opens with a passage containing the metaphor of sun and clouds, which is related to a quotation from a Buddhist text of undetermined origin in which the Buddha nature in sentient beings is likened to the sun, "essentially bright, perfect, and complete."³⁵ Hung-jen relates the comparison to the mind, which he sees as identical to the Buddha nature:

The sun's light is not destroyed, but merely deflected by the clouds and mists. The pure mind possessed by all sentient beings is also like this, in simply being covered by the layered clouds of discriminative thinking, false thoughts, and ascriptive views. If one can just distinctly maintain [awareness of] the mind and not produce false thought then the Dharma sun of *nirvāṇa* will be naturally manifest. Therefore, it is known that one's own mind is inherently pure. (MCRÆ 1986, p. 122)

The final line emphasizes the core of the metaphor. Like the sun, the mind is "inherently pure."

In another passage of the treatise the metaphor of sun and clouds is related to that of the mirror. Since the mind is clouded by delusions like the sun by clouds, one needs practice which consists in "maintaining awareness of the mind. By just distinctly maintaining awareness of the True Mind, the doubts of false thoughts will go away and the sun of wisdom will appear." This occurrence, as the passage thereafter makes plain, can be understood "according to the metaphor of polishing a mirror. When the dust is gone, the Nature naturally becomes manifest" (MCRÆ 1986, p. 125).

The metaphor of the mirror, classical in Chinese literature since the time of Lao-tzu, resounds also in Tao-hsin's text. The practitioner, after long and intensive meditation, comes to the insight, as it is said, that "one's own body is like the moon [reflected] in the water, or like an image in a mirror" (CHAPPELL 1983, p. 118; YANAGIDA 1971, pp. 249, 252). Both images have enjoyed resilience through the centuries in Zen literature. The enlightenment verses attributed to Shen-hsiu

³⁵ Translation by MCRÆ 1986, p. 121. On this quotation, see pp. 313–14. This is the oldest example of the metaphor in Zen literature.

and Hui-neng in the *Platform Sūtra* illustrate the differing evaluations and interpretations of the metaphor of the mirror that were a point of contention between the Northern and Southern schools during the eighth century.

In Hung-jen's treatise the metaphors do not concern ascetic practice but rather attention to the originally pure mind. This also holds for the richly informative passages in the sections on Guṇabhadra and Hui-k'o in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, in which the fateful term "polishing the mirror" appears: "It is like the polishing of a bronze mirror: When the dust is completely gone from the surface of the mirror, the mirror is naturally bright and pure."³⁶ MCRÆ adds the explanation: "The brightness of the mirror and the existence of dust on its surface are of two fundamentally different layers of reality. The mirror is not really affected by the dust" (1986, p. 135). Hung-jen's treatise can be seen, like the early *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* chronicle, as representative of the standpoint of the Northern school.

Like Tao-hsin, Hung-jen enjoins his disciples to zealous practice and gives concrete instructions for Zen meditation. He commends to the beginner a method drawn from one of the Amida sūtras:

Sit properly with the body erect, closing the eyes and mouth. Look straight ahead with the mind, visualizing a sun at an appropriate distance away. Maintain the image continuously without stopping. Regulate your breath so that it does not sound alternately coarse and fine, as this can make one sick (MCRÆ 1986, p. 127).

The method of visual concentration, a favorite in Amida Buddhism, did not secure a lasting place in Zen Buddhism.

Hung-jen warns against going astray, against "sensory perceptions" and "restricted breathing," against illusions, and above all against anything that "leads to the activation of discriminative thinking, which constitutes a defiled state of mind" (MCRÆ 1986, pp. 128, 130). A method of meditation that gently and naturally calms the mind safeguards against these pitfalls:

View your own consciousness tranquilly and attentively, so that you can see how it is always moving, like flowing water or

³⁶ For the text on Guṇabhadra, see YANAGIDA 1971, p. 112. Translation by MCRÆ 1986, p. 134. For the text in the section on Hui-k'o, see YANAGIDA 1971, pp. 146-47. Yanagida adds a note in the section on Guṇabhadra that the use of the metaphor relies on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in which mention is made of the sudden appearance of self-nature (p. 116).

a glittering mirage. After you have perceived this consciousness, simply continue to view it gently and naturally, without [the consciousness assuming any fixed position] inside or outside of yourself. Do this tranquilly and attentively, until its fluctuations dissolve into peaceful stability. This flowing consciousness will disappear like a gust of wind. (MCRÆ 1986, p. 130)

This guidance shows the high degree of refinement of the psychological understanding of Zen meditation in the early period. Still, despite his lenient character, Hung-jen demands of his disciples the engagement of all their strength. Time and again he reiterates, "Make effort! Make effort!"³⁷ The conviction of the mind's original purity and the demand for greater effort in practice may appear contradictory. The experience of this basic tension is the starting point of the spiritual way of the great Japanese master Dōgen, who was tormented by the question, "Why painful practice if all sentient beings possess the Buddha nature?" There is no theoretical answer to this question. The answer is simply: practice. Hung-jen's treatise manifests this insight.

Aside from the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, the most valuable source for the Zen teaching of Hung-jen, there is a rather long entry on the Fifth Patriarch in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, whose editor Ching-chüeh was a disciple of Hsün-tse, a member of the most intimate circle of Hung-jen's disciples, and who is an important witness for the Zen of East Mountain. Ching-chüeh's report relies on the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* 楞伽人法誌, a treatise of his teacher that is no longer extant but which he cites. No mention is made of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*. The justification may perhaps lie in the first lines of the entry which answer the question of why Hung-jen had preferred solitariness in the mountains to life in the cities. He replies that in the heights of the mountains and the depths of the valleys the mind comes equally of itself to calm. Just as trees blossom and bring forth fruit, so has Hung-jen through the practice of *zazen* opened up the flowers of enlightenment:

The great master Hung-jen practiced *zazen* quietly and purely. He did not compose any writings but taught deep principles with words and transmitted these to people in silence. Those who still claim that Hung-jen had taught his method of *zazen* in a book are in error.³⁸

³⁷ The phrase appears no less than nine times in the brief treatise.

³⁸ YANAGIDA 1971, pp. 268–69. The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* often stresses the ineffability of the experience. Yanagida writes: "It is worth noting that even though Hsün-tse considered

Ching-chüeh's entry is interesting on several counts. He emphasizes the meaning of his teacher Hsün-tse, whom the patriarch had entrusted with the construction of a mausoleum before his death and whom he had charged, together with Shen-hsiu, with the task of diffusing the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (YANAGIDA 1971, p. 273). The account of the expiration of Hung-jen is also the classical source concerning the ten disciples, who are named expressly.³⁹ After his death he was honored with a portrait and the verses of well-known artists.

In the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* there follows one final section of great interest. Throughout his life the great master used a particular form of question to teach, which D. T. Suzuki called "pointing at things and asking meanings" 指事問義 (Chn., *chih-shih wen-i*; Jpn., *shiji mongi*). Two examples may be adduced:

There is a single little house filled with crap and weeds and dirt—What is it?

If you sweep out all the crap and weeds and dirt and clean it all up so there is not a single thing left inside, then what is it?
(MCRAE 1986, p. 92)

The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* also ascribes such questions to Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Shen-hsiu. Guṇabhadra's questions follow a quotation from the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. YANAGIDA reminds us in his explanatory remarks on the passage in this sūtra that contains the 108 questions of the bodhisattva Mahātmatī (1971, p. 125). D. T. Suzuki saw in the *shiji mongi* the first beginnings of the kōan. In this regard, Yanagida notes that the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* only presents the questions of masters without the replies of the disciples, while in the bodhisattva treatise the disciples put questions that are answered by the master (YANAGIDA 1985, p. 352; 1971, p. 125). Both examples of kōan-like questions are worthy of note, although kōan in the proper sense of the term only appear in the latter half of the eighth century.

The Zen doctrine of East Mountain contains a wealth of theoretical insights and practical instructions that press towards further development. Absent are the signs of an acute tension like that in the confrontation between the Southern and Northern schools based on the

Hung-jen's writings on the Zen Way to be apocryphal, his disciple Ching-chüeh does not even mention the text of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* but cites from the book" (p. 272). The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, like the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi*, mentions the physical work of Hung-jen that is also brought forth in later chronicles.

³⁹ YANAGIDA 1971, p. 273. This is the only mention of Hui-neng in a writing of the Northern school.

dichotomy between “sudden” and “gradual” enlightenment, which would become virulent in the next century. But the seeds of the coming conflict are already recognizable.

ABBREVIATION

T: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō, 1922–1933.

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