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From prominence to obscurity : a study of the Darumashū : Japan's first Zen school

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Voor mijn moeder, en in herinnering aan mijn vader.

Cover picture: Zen master Koun Ejō.
From *Kōka keifuden, Sōtōshū zensho, Shiden* 2.
Cover design: Pepijn Sauer.

FROM PROMINENCE TO OBSCURITY

A study of the Darumashū: Japan's first Zen school

Vincent Breugem

FROM PROMINENCE TO OBSCURITY

A study of the Darumashū: Japan's first Zen school
Including annotated translations of *Jōtōshōgakuron*,
Kenshōjōbutsugi and *Hōmon taikō*

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 30 mei 2012
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Vincent Michaël Nicolaas Breugem
geboren te Mijdrecht
in 1970

PROMOTIECOMMISSIE

Promotor:	Prof. dr. W.Boot
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	Dr. L.D.M. Dolce (SOAS, University of London)
	Dr. H. van der Veere

Since I had nowhere permanent to stay, I had no interest whatever in keeping treasures, and since I was empty-handed, I had no fear of being robbed on the way. I walked at full ease, scorning the pleasure of riding in a palanquin, and filled my stomach with coarse food, shunning the luxury of meat. I bent my steps in whatever direction I wished, having no itinerary to follow. My only mundane concerns were whether I would be able to find a suitable place to sleep at night and whether the straw sandals were the right size for my feet.

— BASHŌ, *OI NO KOBUMI*
(RECORDS OF A TRAVEL-WORN SATCHEL

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Plate 1

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ABBREVIATIONS & CONVENTIONS

ca.	*circa*
Ch.	Chinese
DZZ	*Dōgen Zenji zenshū*
fl.	flourished
ed.	editor
eds.	editors
Eihei kōroku	DZZ 2, pp. 7-200
Guelberg	Online database of *kōshiki* texts, compiled by Niels Guelberg.
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*
J.	Japanese
JZ	*Jōdoshū zensho*
KBSZ	*Kanazawa Bunko shiryō zensho* (Butten 1, Zensekihen).
Morohashi	*Daikanwa jiten*, by Morohashi Tetsuji.
Mochizuki	*Bukkyō daijiten*, by Mochizuki Shinkō.
Skt.	Sanskrit
STN	*Shōwa teihon Nichiren Shōnin ibun.*
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
trans.	translator(s)
X.	*Xuzangjing* (reprint of *Dainihon zokuzōkyō*)
ZGDJ	*Zengaku daijiten*
Zutangji	Yanagida Seizan (ed.). *Sodōshū* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1990).

Chinese and Japanese terms appear in italics. The Chinese is romanized according to the Pinyin system. The Japanese follows the Hepburn system. Translations from the Japanese and Chinese are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

> QUESTION: When talking about the Zen school some people erroneously call it the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū). [Followers of that school] themselves say: "No practice, no cultivation. Originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi. So, there is no need to keep the precepts and no need to practice. We can just lie down and sleep. Why toil at practicing Buddha invocation, worship relics, or restrain one's intake of food?" What do you think about this teaching?
> ANSWER: These [Darumashū followers] are the kind that does not refrain from evil. They are like those who in the sacred scriptures are said [to have a wrong] view of emptiness. You should not talk with these people or sit in their company. You should evade them by a hundred yojanas. [1]

The above passage is taken from a work written in 1198 by the Japanese Buddhist monk Myōan Eisai 明庵榮西 (1141-1215) who is credited with having introduced the Zen school of Buddhism to Japan. In this passage, Eisai denounces the allegedly evil behaviour and false teachings of a rival Zen group, known as the Darumashū 達磨宗. The Darumashū – named after Bodhidharma (Bodaidaruma 菩提達磨), the legendary Indian Zen patriach – was established by a Tendai monk called Dainichibō Nōnin 大日房能忍 (fl. 1189), who propagated Zen at the Sambōji 三寶寺 temple in Settsu province. The Darumashū once represented a prominent force in the Buddhist discourse of medieval Japan, but repressed, it eventually faded into obscurity. This dissertation is an attempt to shed light on the history of this pioneering Zen movement, and gain insight into its teachings and practices.

Beginnings

Dainichibō Nōnin, the founder of the Darumashū, lived during a tumultuous period in Japanese history, a time marked by the Genpei war (1180-1185), which precipitated the dissolution of the old Heian period (794-1185) system of imperial rulership and the establishment of the Kamakura *bakufu*, Japan's first military government. Nōnin's lifetime also saw the Yowa crisis (1181-1182), a prolonged period of extreme drought and famine that especially impacted central and western Japan. Records of the time paint a nightmarish picture of eerily arid rice paddies, desperate people fleeing to the provinces, towns plagued by robbery and arson, streets littered with abandoned children, and masses of rotting corpses choking the roads.[2]

The Buddhist world was likewise in commotion. Monks and other religious figures started to move away from the Buddhist mainstream, represented by the Tendai temples of Mount Hiei, the Shingon complex of Mount Kōya, and the Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji temples in Nara. On the fringes, alternative communities emerged that tended to favor specific, accesible practices over scholastic

[1] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543,7c26-8a01).
[2] See William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), pp. 29-33.

study and debate. Some of these groups would eventually crystallize into the distinct schools of Buddhism that we now know as the Pure Land, True Pure Land, Nichiren and Zen schools.

The establishment of the Zen school in Japan is usually attributed to the activities of a few glorified monks. These monks left the powerful Tendai centre of Mount Hiei (Enryakuji), made the perilous journey to Song China – where the Chan (Zen) school dominated the Buddhist landscape – and sailed back to Japan to establish themselves as officially certified successors of Chinese Chan masters. The Tendai monk Eisai (1141-1215) returned from China in 1191 and is venerated as the founder of the Rinzai school of Zen 臨済宗. In 1227 Dōgen (1200-1250), also originally a Tendai monk, returned from his sojourn in China and introduced the Sōtō (Ch. Caodong) school of Zen 曹洞宗. This narrative suggests that in the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333), Zen was simply transplanted from China to Japan by a few dedicated transmitters. This representation accords with the self-definition of the Chan/Zen tradition, which traces itself back to a Chinese and Indian past in terms of an unbroken lineage of succesive patriarchs. It also reflects the strong tendency in traditional Japanese Buddhist historiography to treat the history of Buddhism as a teleological scheme, acted out by neatly categorized Indian, Chinese and Japanese cultural heroes. The traditional picture, of course, hides a more complex and fluid reality. Dainichibō Nōnin, in this regard, provides an interesting case: prior to Eisai he instigated a Zen movement in Japan without having travelled to China. Nōnin's Zen studies originated in Japan and drew on the presence of Zen in Japan prior to the Kamakura period, when the continental Chan of the Southern Song dynasty began to be extensively imported. Nōnin did not go to China. In 1189 he did however dispatch two envoys to the continent. The envoys had an audience with Chan master Fozhao Deguang 佛照徳光 (1121-1203), who presented Nōnin with various accoutrements of the Chan patriarchy. From that moment Nōnin was capable to back up his activities with formal Chinese credentials.

The rise of Nōnin and Eisai as Zen teachers, seceding from Mount Hiei, triggered strong reactions in the Tendai camp. Tendai monks persuaded the Imperial Court to outlaw their activities. Deflecting Tendai aggression, Eisai, as seen in the above-cited passage, identified Nōnin's group as bogus Zennists and violators of the Buddhist way. In his influential *Genkō Shakusho*, the Buddhist historian Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278-1347) similarly disparaged Nōnin for ignoring the Buddhist precepts and for teaching Zen without genuine qualifications. This heterodox image has stuck with the Darumashū ever since.

After Nōnin's death the Darumashū continued under Nōnin's successor Kakuan 覺晏, who set up a Darumashū community at Tōnomine in Yamato province. Kakuan's successor Ekan 懷鑑 (d. 1251) led a Darumashū group at Hajakuji in Echizen province. Ekan and other Darumashū monks eventually joined Dōgen's nascent Sōtō community. For a long time this has been considered the end of the Darumashū. Manuscript finds in the 1970ies, however, revealed that the Darumashū persisted locally at Sambōji. As a subcurrent in the Sōtō school it also shaped the development of the Sōtō tradition.

Previous research

Previous research on the Darumashū has been carried out by a number of scholars. Early work was done by Tsuji Zennosuke, Murakami Sōdō, Washio Junkei and Ōkubo Dōshū. Works of these scholars incorporate sections on the Darumashū mostly to provide a background to the activies of Zen master Dōgen and the formative history of the Sōtō school. [3]

A contribution to our understanding of the Darumashū was made by art historian Tokunaga Hiromichi in 1971 with the publication of a two part article that included research on a portrait of Bodhidharma, which had surfaced from a private collection.[4] The portrait was identified as one of the objects presented in 1189 (via envoys) by Chan master Fozhao to Nōnin.

New information on the Darumashū became available in 1974 with the discovery of two medieval documents at Shōbōji in Kyoto. One document records details about the transmission in the Darumashū of relics and a monastic robe.[5] The second document contains data about Jizō-in 地藏院, a subtemple of Nōnin's Sambōji.[6] In the same year, three primary Darumashū texts were discovered in the manuscript collection of the Kanazawa Bunko library (Shōmyōji); these texts are entitled *Jōtōshōgakuron* 成等正覚論, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* 見性成佛儀 and *Hōmon taikō* 法門大綱. A modern, unannotated edition of these texts was published by the Kanazawa Bunko library, together with brief remarks on each text by Kawamura Kōdō.[7]

These new finds triggered a renewed interest in the Darumashū and several contributions to the study of the topic were subsequently made, notably by Ishii Shūdō, Ishikawa Rikizan, Nakao Ryōshin, Takahashi Shūei and Yanagida Seizan. Bernard Faure's 1987 article "Darumashū, Dōgen, and Sōtō Zen" remains the sole treatment of the subject in English. These scattered publications (journal articles and book chapters) have done much to enhance our knowledge of the Darumashū and its role in medieval Buddhist discourse in Japan. Until the present study, however, little attempt has been made to study the Kanazawa bunko materials and so arrive at a more unified examination of the Darumashū.

Working with fragments and laying a foundation

The paucity and fragmented nature of available sources that pertain to the Darumashū make any examination of the Darumashū intrinsically problematic. The Darumashū researcher is forced to act, as it were, as an archeologist who extracts potsherds from the earth. Ideally the potsherds can be fashioned back into the original pots. In our case the fragments, so to speak, come from disparate pots, made of different materials, found at various sites, in different stratigraphical layers. The researcher, then, has to make interpretative leaps, adding some plaster here and there, or bring in comparable pots, so as to gauge the form suggested by the fragments. Sometimes the researcher must be content to merely present an isolated shard.

---

[3] For instance: Murakami Sōdō, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenji* (Osaka: Ōsaka sanzenkai, 1928). Washio Junkei, *Nihon Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Fujisanbō, 1938). Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966).

[4] Tokunaga Hiromichi, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō: Settan Tokkō san Darumazō wo chūshin ni (1)," *Kokka* 929 (1971): pp. 7-17 and (2), *Kokka* 930 (1971): pp. 5-22.

[5] *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku* 大慧禅師袈裟六祖舎利目録. A modern edition of this document is found in Nakao Ryōshin, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kiyō* 18 (1986): pp. 142-150. A synoptic treatment of the *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku* in English is found in Bernard Faure, "The Darumashū, Dōgen, and Sōtō Zen," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42/1 (1987): pp. 25-55.

[6] *Nakajima Sambōji Jizō-in deshi Matsukaku Maru baitoku sōden shosho chigyōbun dembata mokuroku no koto* 摂州中嶋三宝寺地藏院弟子松鶴丸買得相傳所々知行分田畠目録事, in Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," pp. 142-150.

[7] *Kanazawa bunko shiryō zensho,* Butten 1, Zensekihen. Shinagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko (ed.) (Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko, 1974), pp. 200-207 (*Jōtōshōgakuron*); pp. 174-198 (*Kenshōjōbutsugi*); pp. 211-219 (*Hōmon taiko*).

While engaged in this reconstruction work I have made grateful use of previous (Japanese) research. Besides collecting, weighing and combining the various source materials, my own contribution lies in particular in introducing into this labour a considerable body of potsherds that have thusfar remained largely untouched. This allowed me to add to, or sometimes chip at, previous reconstructions. In addition, the materials allowed me to indicate the contours of new forms.

These additional "potsherds" are of course the aforementioned Darumashū treatises in the Kanazawa Bunko collection. Ishii Shūdō's detailed treatment and Japanese *yomikudashi* rendition of *Jōtōshōgakuron* has for long remained the only in-depth study of this material.[8] The other two treatises – *Kenshōjōbutsugi* and *Hōmon taikō* – have received only very limited and cursory treatment. The fact that these treatises have remained seriously understudied, has left a vacuum in our knowledge of the Darumashū. This dissertation is an attempt to improve this situation.

One aim of the present study is to simply introduce *Jōtōshōgakuron*, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* and *Hōmon taikō* to the academic community. To this end the dissertation includes complete translations with detailed annotations of these works in English, the first to appear anywhere. The translations are based on typescript renditions of the original documents that have been published in the *Kanazawa bunko shiryō zensho* series. In case of *Jōtōshōgakuron* and *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, I also made use of microfilm copies of the original documents, provided to me by the gracious staff of the Kanazawa Bunko library. Ayano Dotsu kindly arranged for me to inspect the original document of *Hōmon taiko*, which had not yet been microfilmed. The translations are placed at the end of the dissertation, allowing the reader (if so inclined) to ingest each treatise without interspersions.

These demanding texts of course need interpretation and contextualization. A more concise treatment of these treatises, combined with interpretative comments and contextualizations, is given in the dissertation proper. Data emerging from these three texts are, moreover, engaged *ex ante* throughout the body of the dissertation. Where possible I have crossreferenced, using section numbers and headings that I imposed on the primary texts. The translations and analyses of these three treatises patently constitute a substantial portion of the dissertation. I believe this perhaps skewed situation is warranted by the void left open in previous scholarship. If we wish to come to an assessment of the Darumashū that overcomes the onesided picture painted by its historical critics, an appreciation of these texts is vital.

The main questions that this dissertation seeks to answer are the following: What did adherents of the Darumashū actually teach and practice? How were their activities received? How did their presence influence the historical formation and doctrinal course of other Buddhist groups? And how does this tie in with the near excision of the Darumashū from the historical record? These questions carry various satellite questions, such as for instance: Who was Nōnin? How did Nōnin come to see himself as a Zen adept? Where did the ideas and practices of the Darumashū come from? Is there any substance to the oft-repeated assertion that the Darumashū rejected religious practices and moral precepts? Can criticisms of the Darumashū in the works of contemporaries be related to the primary Darumashū texts in the Kanazawa Bunko collection? These questions are dealt with in reference to (and are admittedly determined/constrained by) the available sources outlined above.

[8] Ishii Shūdō, *Dōgen Zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1997), pp.626-714.

Chapter overview

The disjointed nature of the sources posed a challenge to, and also necessitated a creative approach to, the arrangement of the dissertation. I have of course attempted to present a coherent sequence of chapters, headings and subheadings so as to frame the various data and provide useful points of departure. But I have often had to crisscross, as it were, in that I introduced or referred to a particular subject even though that subject is only treated properly at a much later point in the dissertation. Also, I every so often ended up with (to my mind) interesting but isolated data. The resulting disconnects in the narrative are (arguably) unavoidable, but I tried to place signs and flags on the roadside to somewhat smoothen the bumpy ride. The thesis is thus divided into four parts, loosely given the titles: Histories, Texts, Disparagements and Translations.

Chapter One starts from two simple observations, namely that the Tendai monk Nōnin identified himself as a Zen monk in the tradition of Bodhidharma, and that he did so in Japan, years before he established a formal connection with the Chinese Chan master Fozhao Deguang, whom he never actually encountered. The chapter examines the discourse on "Zen" and "Bodhidharma" that was available to Nōnin for coming to this self-definition.

Chapter Two focuses on Dainichibō Nōnin. It juxtaposes two biographical accounts of Nōnin found in the Buddhist historiographies *Genkō shakusho* (1322) and *Honchō kōsōden* (1702). In addition, the chapter brings together data from a variety of sources and attempts to wrench from these some insight into Nōnin's elusive personality, activities, and concomitant issues, such as his poor image, the temporary proscription of the Darumashū, the matter of Nōnin's indirect dharma transmission, and Nōnin's contacts with Pure Land groups and teachers of esoteric ritual. The chapter also identifies distortions in these sources and connects these to the particular agendas of the individual authors.

Chapter Three focuses on the no longer existing Sambōji in Settsu Province, the main Darumashū temple and place of Nōnin's residence. The chapter considers the various cultic objects that Nōnin is said to have received from Chan master Fozhao Deguang. Among these are a portrait of Fozhao (not extant) and a portrait of Bodhidharma (extant), both inscribed with verses by Fozhao. These verses, I argue, can be read as comments by Fozhao on the indirect transmission of the Chan lineage to Nōnin. The chapter further examines the cult of relics at Sambōji, as recorded in *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku*. It discusses the (invented) provenance of these relics and proposes, among other things, that in the early twelfth century an important role was played in Sambōji's relic cult by Amida *hijiri*.

Chapter Four considers the spread of the Darumashū after Nōnin, outside of Sambōji. It traces the Darumashū adherents at Tōnomine, Hajakuji and in the early Sōtō community. It does so mostly (and unavoidably) through the medium of Sōtō literature and, if available, through sources external to the Sōtō tradition. In addition to filtering out quantative data from Sōtō lore, this chapter will consider sectarian distortions in the source materials and look to what extent these may tell us something about the position of the (former) Darumashū monks within the early Sōtō community.

Chapter Five, Six & Seven may be considered as a single attempt to map out doctrinal (and historical) features of the Darumashū as they emerge from a number of texts connected to the movement. It considers several Chinese texts that Nōnin is thought to have published in Japan, and it provides a study of the three doctrinal treatises that emerged from within the Japanese Darumashū itself.

Chapter Eight examines criticisms of the Darumashū and its teachings as contained in writings of Eisai and Dōgen. It also considers similar criticisms in Shingon texts, notably by the Shingon monk Raiyu.

PART ONE: HISTORIES

CHAPTER ONE
ZEN PRIOR TO THE KAMAKURA PERIOD

The received historical narrative holds that Zen in Japan started in the early Kamakura period (1185-1333) with the introduction of Song dynasty Chan by Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-1253), respectively founding the Rinzai and Sōtō Zen schools. In their wake, other pilgrims such as Enni Ben'en (1202-1280), too, studied at Chinese Chan institutions. Chinese teachers, in addition, settled in Japan. Under the patronage of the new ruling warrior class, which embraced the freshly imported tradition, the Zen school grew and solidified. Prior to the Kamakura period there had been some incidental attempts to propagate Zen by Japanese pioneers and émigré Chinese monks, but these were haphazard and fruitless undertakings. Admittedly, Saichō had introduced Zen in the early ninth century, but merely as a segment of a syncretic Tendai system. Pure Zen took root in Japan only when the time was ripe, in the Kamakura period, after monks had successfully imported Chan from the Song.

According to Funaoka Makoto this narrative assesses the formation of the Zen school in Japan from the perspective of its later sectarian development and thus reveals a flawed understanding of history that is based on hindsight.[9] Influenced by sectarian emphasis on lineages (*hōkei*) as the defining criterion for authenticity, Funaoka argues, scholars of Japanese Buddhism have dubiously situated the beginnings of the Zen school in the Kamakura period and disregarded Zen traditions that were present in Japan prior to that time. The textbook model, in Funaoka's view, has its origins in the early fourteenth century *Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釈書, the influential Buddhist historiography written by the Rinzai Zen priest Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278-1347), who in describing the establishment of the Zen school in Japan foregrounded the role of Eisai.

In a critical assessment of Funaoka's views, Carl Bielefeldt pointed out that Shiren's *Genkō Shakusho* does in fact discuss activities of monks who introduced Zen prior to Eisai, such as Dōshō,[10] Daoxuan, Kakua and others. What's more, by making use of the myth that Bodhidharma had been reborn in Japan and convened with the Buddhist patron Prince Shōtoku (573-621), Kokan Shiren actually presented Bodhidharma's Zen tradition as the very fountainhead of

[9] Funaoka Makoto, *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), pp. 1-7.

[10] Dōshō 道昭 (629-700) travelled to China in 653 as a member of an official emissary to the Tang. According to the earliest account of his life, included in the *Shoku nihongi* (797), Dōshō studied Yogacāra and meditation directly under the celebrated Xuanzang 玄奘. After his return to Japan in 661 Dōshō established a meditation hall (*zen-in* 禅院) at Gangōji 元興寺. Dōshō's meditation practice in this hall attracted many students. The building was also used to store scriptures and relics brought over by Dōshō. Dōshō is moreover reported to have travelled all over Japan, constructing bridges, ferries and roadside wells. In accordance with his last instructions Dōshō was cremated, a novelty in Japan. When the capital moved to Heijōkyō (Nara), Dōshō's students managed to re-establish the meditation hall in the new capital. See B. Snellen (trans.), "Chronicles of Japan, continued, from 697-791 A.D.," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 11 (1934), pp. 181-182. *Genkō Shakusho* (1322) adds the detail that Dōshō, as instructed by Xuanzang, practiced Chan meditation under Huiman 慧満 (n.d), a monk known to have been a disciple of Sengna 僧那 in the circle of Huike. Sueki Fumihiko calls attention to a catalogue that lists the texts that were preserved at Dōshō's re-established meditation hall. Dōshō's collection included a set of Yogācāra meditation texts attributed to Dharmatrāta 達摩多羅, an elusive figure who in Chan circles would become conflated with Bodhidharma. Sueki speculates that Dōshō and his students practiced a Yogācāra type of meditation. Sueki also notes the establishment in this period of several meditation halls (e.g. at Okamotoji 岡本寺 and Oharidadera 小治田寺). See Sueki Fumihiko, "Nara jidai no Zen," *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 12/15 (1988): pp. 531-559.

Japanese Buddhism.[11] Bielefeldt's corrective provides a nuanced picture of Kokan Shiren's ambitious agenda, which aimed at establishing an "ecumenical hegemony" under Rinzai Zen authority.[12]

Still, it remains true that *Genkō Shakusho* strongly emphasizes Eisai's role in the transmission of Zen. The earlier Zen pilgrim Kakua (b. 1143), who entered China in 1171 and studied for nearly five years under Chan master Fohai Huiyuan 佛海 (1103-1176), is estimated to be "ahead of his time" (*jikishōsō* 時機尚早).[13] Eisai's contemporary Nōnin is slighted as a fraud. Shiren's view on history is clearly a teleological one, in which Eisai represents a vital node. One aspect of Funaoka's complaint is that (starting with Kokan Shiren) the study of the Zen school is mostly approached in terms of lineage. The Zen adepts presented in *Genkō Shakusho* are considered Zen adepts because they belonged to a specific lineage. Pulling away from this sectarian constraint, Funaoka calls attention to the wide semantic range of the terms *zen* 禪 and *zenji* 禪師 in the Nara and Heian periods, encompassing a variety of practices and practitioners. In so doing Funaoka opens up a broad context for examining the formative history of the Zen school in Japan.

In various publications Funaoka proposed that there is a continuity between the full-fledged "Zen school" (*zenshū* 禪宗) of medieval times and the "zen communities" (*zenshu* 禪衆) and "Zen-like traditions" (*zenteki dentō* 禪的伝統) in pre-Kamakura period times.[14] By abandoning the strict focus on Bodhidharma lineages, and by setting out broad parameters, Funaoka traces the origins of the Zen school in Japan back to the emergence of practitioners of mountain asceticism in the Nara period (*sanrin bukkyō* 山林仏教). These thaumaturgic figures were referred to as "healing Zen masters" (*kanbyō zenji* 看病禪師). In the course of the eight century this type of practitioner came to be appointed by the state for the protection of the health of the emperor. These appointments crystallized in a system of imperial *zenji*, called the *naikubu jūzenji* 内供奉十禪師 (Ten Zen masters of the inner rites), who performed esoteric rituals within the imperial palace (*naidōjō* 内道場). This system served as the model for the appointment of Zen masters to temples on Mount Hiei, an institution referred to as *ji-in jūzenji* 寺院十禪師 (Ten Zen masters of temples and hermitages). With the proliferation of *zenji* the quantification ten became nominal. On Mount Hiei there developed various "zen communities" (*zenshū* 禪衆) whose associates specialized in a range of practices, such as seated meditation (zazen 坐禪), invocation of Buddha Amida (*nenbutsu* 念佛), Pure Land deathbed ceremonies and chanting of the *Lotus sūtra*. The

[11] Carl Bielefeldt, "Kokan Shiren and the Sectarian Uses of History," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, edited by Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 295-317.

[12] Ibid., p. 317.

[13] *Genkō Shakusho* (DNBZ 62, p. 207). *Genkō Shakusho* reports that after Kakua returned to Japan in 1175 he sent Chan master Fohai various gifts; by return he then received a lineage certificate from Fohai, who had by then passed away. When Kakua was summoned to court to expound Zen before Emperor Takakura, he reportedly played a flute. The emperor did not understand and nothing more was heard of Kakua. Biographical entries on Kakua are included in the Chinese Chan records *Jiatai pudenglu* 嘉泰普燈録 (X. 1559, 412c19-413a19) and *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (X. 1565, 433c22-434a19). These entries contain the Chinese verses through which Kakua and his teacher Fohai communicated. A biography of Kakua is also included in *Honchō kōsōden* (DNBZ 63, pp. 272-73). The Tendai record *Keiranshūyōshū* also has an entry on Kakua (T. 2410, 691c23-692a3).

[14] The following is based on Funaoka Makoto, "Shoki zenshū juyō to Hieizan," in *Zenshū no shomondai*, edited by Imaeda Aishin (Tokyo: Yūzankaku 1979), pp. 57-84; "Kamakura shoki ni okeru zenshū seiritsu no shiteki igi" *Shūgaku kenkyū* 24 (1982): pp. 175-181; "Nara jidai no zen oyobi zensō," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 25 (1983): pp. 94-99; "Nihon zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū no ichi," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 26 (1984): pp. 103-108; "Hieizan ni okeru zenji to zenshū: Nihon Zenshū seiritsu zenshi no ichi koma," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 27 (1985): pp. 124-129.

mountain became the setting for Zen huts (*zenshitsu* 禪室) and Zen hermitages (*zen'in* 禪院), where monks secluded themselves for individual retreats. In the late Heian period, on Mount Hiei and other places, such as the Shingon complex Mount Kōya, this growing focus on particular practices spawned a particular type of practitioner – often of low social status – that surfaces in contemporary sources under a variety of designations, such as: "holy man" (*shōnin* 聖人), "meditation practitioner" (*zenryo* 禪侶), "meditation monk" (*zensō* 禪僧), "nenbutsu worthy" (*nenbutsu shōnin* 念佛上人) and "meditation follower" (*zentō* 禪徒). This development set the stage for the establishment and growth of the independent Zen/Bodhidharma school in the late Heian and Kamakura periods.

Funaoka's view counters the traditional idea that the Zen school was transplanted from the Southern Song to Japan simply after a handful of Japanese pilgrims obtained lineage transmissions from the continent. Of course, pilgrims such as Eisai, Dōgen and Enni brought Zen to Japan; the upsurge of the Zen school in their homeland, however, would probably not have been as strong as it was if its followers had not already been prepared and sensitivized.

Funaoka's plea to include in the study of the Zen school in Japan developments that predate the Kamakura period is valuable in helping us think outside the traditional narrative, which focuses on the importation of "pure Zen" from China and ignores local conditions. A point in case is Dainichi Nōnin. Nōnin became a Zen adept as a Tendai monk, without having any direct exposure to Southern Song Chan. Until 1189, when Nōnin's envoys returned from China with contemporary information – and a lineage – from the continent, Nōnin's knowledge and successful propagation of Bodhidharma Zen was solely grounded in his studies in Japan. Nōnin, then, might be seen as part of the wider movement of practitioners, *nenbutsu* specialists, esoteric ritualists and "holy men" made visible in Funaoka's analysis. But, in order to understand how Nōnin came to identify himself specifically as a follower of Bodhidharma Zen, we must delineate the presence of Bodhidharma and the Zen tradition associated with him in Heian period discourse. Thus we turn to the Zen lineages of Saichō, to Zen texts imported into Japan, and to traditions of meditation, precepts and divination that were associated with Bodhidharma.

SAICHŌ'S BODHIDHARMA LINEAGES

Having crossed the sea to China (804), the monk Saichō embarked on a pilgrimage that would lead him to Mount Tiantai to study at the feet of various Chinese teachers. After his return to Japan (805), Saichō established Enryakuji, the monastic centre on Mount Hiei, which served as the headquarters of the budding Tendai school. Here, and at other Tendai centers, Saichō and subsequent Tendai leaders developed a multifaceted form of Buddhism, comprising of Esotericism (*mikkyō* 密教), Zen, Precepts (*kai* 戒) and the Perfect Teaching of the *Lotus sūtra* (*engyō* 圓教).[15] The Zen component in Tendai Buddhism is traced to two Bodhidharma lineages that Saichō claimed to have inherited, as described in his *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu*:[16] the

[15] See Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000) (reprint) and Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* (University of Hawaii Press, 1997).
[16] DDZS 1, pp. 199-248.

Northern Chan lineage from Gyōhyō 行表 (722-797)[17] and the Oxhead Chan lineage from Xiuran 脩然 (n.d.).[18] Gyōhyō's Northern Chan lineage was introduced in Japan in the Nara period by the Chinese émigré monk Daoxuan 道璿 (702-760), an expert on the Buddhist precepts and close student of the Northern Chan master Puji 普寂 (651-739). Daoxuan came to Japan in 736 on invitation of the Nara court to introduce orthodox ordination procedures. Installed at Daianji on the fringes of Nara, Daoxuan lectured on the Vinaya, Tiantai doctrine, and the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經. On the precincts of Daianji, Daoxuan also established a meditation hall (*zen'in* 禪院). Under Daoxuan's guidance, Saichō informs us, Gyōhyō "studied the teaching of the buddha-nature" and "received Bodhidharma's mind-dharma."[19] Saichō obtained a second Chan transmission during his pilgrimage in China, from a monk named Xiuran 脩然. This Xiuran remains a somewhat obscure figure whom Saichō identifies as a representative of the Oxhead school of Chan.[20]

What did Saichō's two Zen transmissions consist of? The *Kechimyakufu* provides few detail. The chapter that describes these transmissions is entitled *Daruma daishi fuhō sōjō shiji kechimyakufu* 達磨大師付法相承師師血脈譜 (Record of the Blood Lineage of the Dharma Transmitted by Great Master Bodhidharma and passed on from Master to Master), subheaded *Daruma Zen kechimyakufu* 達磨禪血脈譜 (Record of the Blood Lineage of Bodhidharma's Zen). The chapter lists the names of the successive Buddhas and patriarchs of the lineage and includes biographical entries on Buddha Śākyamuni, Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Shenxiu, Puji, Daoxuan, Gyōhyō, and lastly Saichō. Saichō's entry reads:

> The ordination certificate of Saichō says: "Ordination master Gyōhyō of Daianji on the left side of the capital, holding the rank of Lamp Transmitting Dharma Master" (from the certificate). [Gyōhyō's] forebear, Venerable Daoxuan, brought dharma teachings of Bodhidharma with him from the Great Tang, which have been passed on to me, and are placed in the repository of Mount Hiei. In the final years of Enryaku I headed for the great Tang in search of advancement and again received teachings transmitted by Bodhidharma. In the twentieth year of Zhenyuan (804), month ten, day thirteen, the monk Xiuran of the Chan Forest Monastery on Mount Tiantai entrusted me with a lineage chart of the dharma transmitted in India and China, and also with the dharma teaching of Mount Oxhead

[17] The Northern/Southern division in the Chan school basically originated with the activities of the early Tang monk Shenhui 神會 (684-758), who championed his teacher Huineng (638-713) as the "Sixth Patriarch" of the Chan lineage, the one and true successor to the fifth patriarch Hongren (600-674). Shenhui claimed to follow Huineng's "Southern school of sudden awakening" and disparaged notions of gradual awakening that he ascribed to Hongren's widely esteemed student Shenxiu 神秀 (606-706) and the latter's student Puji 普寂 (Fujaku 651-739). Shenhui's version of events eventually became the Chan orthodoxy; the lineage associated with Shenxiu came to be known as the Northern school. At the time of Daoxuan's activities in Japan the Northern/Southern controversy was just gaining momentum: Puji's "Northern school" was still the dominant Chan movement in China. On the Northern Chan school see John Mcrae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Stanford University Press, 1997).

[18] The Oxhead school of Chan emerged in the latter half of the eight century. It defined itself separately from the Northern and Southern schools and sought to overcome the polemical divide between the supposed gradualism of the first and the subitism of the latter. See John McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch'an to the Golden Age," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, edited by Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 169-252.

[19] DDZS 1, p. 214.

[20] Xiuran may also have been a student of the Hongzhou Chan master Mazu Daoyi (709-788). See *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 2076, 245c09).

> transmitted by Bodhidharma. In awe I accepted these [documents] and brought them with me [to Japan] to be placed in the repository of Mount Hiei.[21]

The *Kechimyakufu* indicates that both of Saichō's Zen transmissions involved the transfer of textual materials. The "repository of Mount Hiei" (Hieizanzō 比叡山藏) may be taken literally as referring to a monastic library.[22] Possibly the reference is to the "scripture repository" (*kyōzō* 經藏) that Saichō is reported to have established on Mount Hiei prior to his voyage to China.[23] Saichō notes that one part of this Zen textual material derived from Daoxuan and was passed on to him via Gyōhyō; though unverified, such as transfer of texts is quite plausible. In addition, Saichō obtained Zen texts directly from China; a fact amply evidenced by Saichō's inventories of imported texts (T. 2159; T. 2160).

ZEN (CHAN) TEXTS IN HEIAN PERIOD JAPAN

Despite the (rhetorical) Zen dismissal of words and texts, the presence of Zen textual materials on Mount Hiei, and elsewhere in Japan, is of course an important factor in assessing the history of the Zen school in Japan. By the end of the Heian period Mount Hiei kept masses of texts imported from China by Saichō and other monks who had successfully returned from studying overseas. Many of these texts are lost or known by title only, or known from citations in external works, but it is clear that a considerable number of these imported materials were Zen texts.[24] The quick overview that follows should suffice to highlight a significant Zen textual reservoir existent in Japan at the end of the Heian period, and also point out the diverse nature of this reservoir, both in terms of lineage derivation (Northern, Southern, Oxhead) and genre (verses, epitaphs, biographies, doctrinal tracts, genealogies). From this overview it will be clear that, in textual terms, Bodhidharma and his "Zen" were present in Japan long before the establishment of the separate Zen schools in the Kamakura period.

Saichō's inventories of imported texts

Saichō's two inventories of imported texts list several titles of known and unknown texts related to the Zen school. The unknown *Xiguofufaji* 西國付法記 (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma in India)[25] and *Damoxitu* 達磨系図 (Bodhidharma Lineage Chart) would have related to the succession of Chan patriarchs in India and China. Saichō also lists *Jueguanlun* 絶觀論 (Treatise on Destroying Contemplation), a text traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma. A text listed as *Kanxinlun* 看心論 (Treatise on Gazing at the Mind) probably corresponds to *Guanxinlun*

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[21] 最澄度縁云。師主左京大安寺傳燈法師位行表（已上度縁文）。其祖。璀和上。自大唐持來寫傳。達磨法門。傳授在比叡山藏。又去延暦末年。向大唐國請益。更受達磨付法。大唐貞元二十年十月十三日。大唐國台州唐興縣天台山禪林寺僧翛然。傳授天竺大唐二國付法血脈。并達磨付法牛頭山法門等。頂戴持來安叡山藏。(DDZS 1, p. 214).

[22] Ibuki Atsushi, "Saichō ga tsutaete shoki zenshū bunken ni tsuite," *Zenbunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 23 (1997), p. 132.

[23] The establishment of a sūtra repository on Mount Hiei in 793 by Saichō is reported in the Tendai chronicle *Eigaku yōki* 叡岳要記 (Essential Records of Mount Hiei). See Groner, *Saichō*, p. 30.

[24] As a loose working definition I take "Zen texts" to refer to texts related to Bodhidharma and the movement that traces itself back to him. On the problems of the category "Zen text" see Michel Mohr's article in the *Journal of Digital Information*, vol. 3, issue 2, article no. 121. http://journals.tdl.org/jodi/article/view/82/81 (accessed June 20, 2009).

[25] Ibuki Atsushi identifies this *Xiguofufaji* with the *Xiguo fozu daidai xiangcheng chuanfaji* 西國佛祖代代相承傳法記 (Record of the Dharma Transmissions of the Successive Buddhas and Patriarchs from India), a text known only through various quotations in Saichō's *Kechimyakufu*. Ibuki Atsushi. "Saichō ga tsutaete shoki zenshū bunken ni tsuite," pp. 127-201.

觀心論 (Treatise on Contemplating the Mind), a text ascribed to Bodhidharma but now known to have been authored by the Northern Chan master Shenxiu. Most likely Bodhidharma was also the focus of an unknown text listed as *Xiyu dashilun* 西域大師論 (Treatise about the Great Master from the Western Region).[26]

In addition, Saichō lists several works that originate from the Oxhead school of Chan, with whom Saichō's teacher Xiuran was affiliated. For instance: *Daotige* 刀梯歌 (Verse of the Knife Ladder), an unknown text written by the Oxhead monk Chonghui 崇慧 (n.d. mid-Tang); *Wushengyi* 無生義 (On Nonarising) and *Fahuajing mingxiang* 法華経名相 (Names and Characteristics of the Lotus), both unknown treatises, composed by the Oxhead monk Foku Weize 佛窟惟則 (751-835). Saichō also imported a record of the life of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng, entitled *Caoxi Dashi zhuan* 曹溪大師傳 (Biography of the Great Master of Caoxi), which is still preserved at Mount Hiei. The titles *Fu Dashi huanshi shierdao* 傳大士還詩十二道 (Twelve Verses by Mahāsattva Fu) and *Shuanglin Dashiji* 雙林大士集 (Anthology of the Mahāsattva of the Twin Forrest), indicate writings by Fu Xi 傳翕, alias Mahāsattva Fu (Fu Dashi 傳大士), a contemporary of Bodhidharma who came to be assimilated into the Chan tradition.[27] Saichō's *Kechimyakufu*, moreover, cites from several (unknown) Chan sources that do not appear on the inventories, e.g. *Fufa jianzhi* 付法簡子 (Synopsis of the Transmission of the Dharma) and several epithaps of Chan patriarchs.[28]

References in Saichō's own works to these imported Chan materials appear almost exclusively in the *Kechimyakufu*. The references mainly convey genealogical and biographical information on the Bodhidharma lineage.

Ennin's inventories of imported texts

Inventories of imported works compiled by the Tendai monk Ennin (794-864) (T. 2165, T. 2166, T. 2167), who studied in China between 838 and 845, indicate that on his travels he collected numerous Chan texts. One Japanese source from the Edo period claims that Ennin actually received a Chan transmission, but this is not very reliable.[29] Ennin's personal travel diary does not mention any such transmission, though it does report encounters with Chan monks, some of whom Ennin considered to be extremely unruly. [30]

Ennin's inventories include a treatise attributed to Bodhidharma, entitled *Weixinguan* 唯心觀 (Mind-only Contemplation). Ennin also lists collections of verses by Mahāsattva Fu, and Chan master Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (665-713). There is an otherwise unknown text called *Dasheng lengqie zhengzong jue* 大乘楞伽正宗決 (On the True School of the Mahāyāna Lanka),

[26] The title *Xiyu dashilun* also appears on the *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目録 (T. 2183, 1164c02). The *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* is an inventory compiled in 1094 by the Kōfukuji monk Eichō 永超.

[27] See Matsuzaki Kiyohiro, "Fu daishi zō no ittenkai," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 14 (1983): pp. 219-228.

[28] See Ibuki Atsushi, "Saichō ga tsutaete shoki zenshū bunken ni tsuite," pp. 161-182.

[29] In the *Empōdentōroku* 延宝伝灯録 (Empō Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), a collection of biographies of Zen masters compiled by Mangan Shiban (completed in 1678), it is said that Ennin received a Chan transmission in China from a Chinese governor and Chan adept named Zu Qingzhong. Later, on the brink of returning to Japan, Ennin is said to have had a dream in which Tiantai and Chan ancestors, together with prince Shōtoku, jointly appeared to assure him of a safe journey home. See Ogisu Jundō, "Nihon shoki zenshū to Shunjō rishi," in *Kamakura bukkyō seiritsu no kenkyū: Shunjō Risshi*, edited by Ishida Mitsuyuki (Kyoto: Hōzōkan , 1972), p. 171.

[30] Edwin Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (Ronald Press Co., 1955), p. 210.

which is thought to be a Northern Chan treatise. In addition we find *Nanyang heshang wenda zazhenyi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義 (Assorted Dialogues with Venerable Nanyang) and other Southern Chan texts, such as *Damo heshang wugengzhuan* 達磨和尚五更轉 (Bodhidharma's Five Watches of the Night),[31] *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Chronicle of the Baolin Monastery) [32] and the *Platform sūtra*.

Enchin's inventories of imported texts

The influx of Chan materials continued with the Tendai monk Enchin (814-891). Enchin studied in China in 853-858 and went on to become the fifth abbot of Enryakuji. Enchin's inventories of imported texts (T. 2169, T. 2170, T. 2171, T. 2172, T. 2173) show numerous biographies, verse collections, epitaphs, doctrinal treatises and genealogical works connected to the Chan school. Reflecting the sectarian developments on the mainland, many of the titles listed by Enchin refer to texts from the Southern school, e.g. *Heze heshang chanyao* 荷澤和尚禪要 (Venerable Heze's Chan Essentials), *Neng dashi jingang borejing jue* 能大師金剛般若經訣 (Great Master Neng's Commentary on the Diamond sūtra), *Baizhangshan heshang yajue* 南宗祖師謚號 (Posthumous Names of the Patriarchs of the Southern school), *Baizhangshan heshang yaojue* 百丈山和尚要決 (Essentials from the Venerable of Mount Baizhang), the *Platform sūtra*, and more. We also find texts connected to the Oxhead school, such as *Niutoushan Rongdashi weimojing ji* 牛頭山融大師維摩經記 (Notes on the Vimalakīrti sūtra by Great Master Rong of Mount Oxhead), *Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (Oral Teachings from Venerable Zhong of Nanyang), and four titles attributed to Foku Weize (751-830), a monk of the Oxhead school who was active on Mount Tiantai. Enchin also brought Foku's portrait. Further we find collections of verses by Yongjia Xuanjue, Mahāsattva Fu, and Baozhi 寶誌 (418-514). Like Mahāsattva Fu, Baozhi was a contemporary of Bodhidharma who came to be incorporated into the Chan tradition.[33] Enchin's also brought the *Wuxinglun* 悟性論 (Treatise on Awakening to the Nature), attributed to Bodhidharma.

TRACES OF IMPORTED ZEN (CHAN) TEXTS

Enchin

Some texts by Enchin indicate that he incorporated Zen (Chan) materials into his studies. For instance, in his *Shoke kyōsō dōi ryakushū* (Similarities and Differences between the Teachings of the various Houses) Enchin, discussing the socalled "eight schools" (*hasshū*) of Buddhism, brings up the "Zenmonshū" 禪門宗 (a variant name for Zenshū 禪宗):

[31] According to Ikeda Rosan, *Damo heshang wugeng zhuan* 達磨和尚五更轉 is the *Nanyang heshang nanzong dingzifei wugeng zhuan* 南陽和上南宗定是非五更轉, which is a verse rendition of another text, entitled *Bodidamo nanzong dingzifei lun* 菩提達磨南宗定是非論. The work records Shenhui's attacks on the Northern school. See Ikeda Rosan, "Chishō Daishi ga kenmon shita Zenshū," in *Chishō Daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), p. 335-36.

[32] *Baolin zhuan* (Chronicle of the Baolin Monastery) is a ten volume Chan genealogical work compiled in 801 by the Tang monk Zhiju 智炬.

[33] For Baozhi see Alan Berkowitz, "Account of the Buddhist Thaumaturge Baozhi," in *Buddhism in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 578-85.

> QUESTION: It has been passed down to us that followers of the Buddha, though many, fall within three categories, namely: meditation masters (*zenji*), precept masters (*risshi*) and dharma masters (*hōshi*). Which of the current *shū* comprises of meditation masters?
> ANSWER: Zenmonshū, Tendaishū and Shingonshū comprise the meditation masters. Risshū comprises the precept masters. All the other *shū* comprise the dharma masters. […]
> QUESTION: What is the approach of that Zenmonshū?
> ANSWER: It is not based on doctrinal tenets. It just has the *Diamond sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* for support, "this mind is buddha" as its essential point (*shū* 宗), nonattachment as its practice, and the emptiness of all dharmas as its principle. From the Buddha's lifetime onward it has transmitted a robe and a bowl from master to disciple without deviation. Details are provided in biographical records.
> QUESTION: Who introduced this *shū* [to Japan]?
> ANSWER: The exalted ancestors of Mount [Hiei], the great masters who went to China in search of the dharma, intimately received this way (*dō* 道) before returning to Japan. Only the Chinese Venerable Yikong from the Calm Country Meditation monastery was a personal adept of this *shū* 自宗人. His close student Chan master Yuanxu personally received it.[34]

Enchin's characterization of the Zenmonshū is clearly informed by Chan texts that he imported.[35] Noticeable in the passage translated above is the multivalence of the term *shū* (Ch. *zong*). In Chinese Buddhism, Jinhua Jia summarizes, the term *zong* connotes at least three meanings: (1) a specific doctrine or an interpretation of it, (2) the theme or theory of a text, or an exegetical tradition of it, (3) a group or tradition that traces its origin back to a founder and shares common doctrines or practices among its lineal successors.[36] These basic meanings remained intact in Japan, though with the establishment in the Enryaku period of a system of a fixed number of eight imperially sanctioned "schools" (*hasshū* 八宗) (Hossō, Sanron, Kusha, Jōjitsu, Kegon, Ritsu, Shingon and Tendai), each allotted a number of annual ordinands, the term acquired more rigid, institutional and sectarian connotations.[37] Enchin mentions that in Japanese history only the Chinese Chan monk Yikong had been "a personal member of this *shū*" (*jishūnin* 自宗人). Here *shū* would refer to lineage/school. Yikong (n.d.), a student of Yanguan Qian 鹽官齊安 (d. 824) in Mazu's Hongzhou lineage, is known to have resided in Japan for several years in the early Jōwa period (834-848). According to *Genkō Shakusho*, Yikong came to Japan to teach Zen on the invitation of the Empress dowager Tachibana no Kachiko (786-850). Yikong initially lived at Tōji and later moved to the Danrinji, founded for him by the empress dowager. Apparently unsucceful

[34] 問。相傳云佛弟子徒黨雖多不出三類。謂禪師律師法師是也。今諸宗中以何宗爲禪師耶。　答。自以禪門宗天台宗眞言宗等悉爲禪師也。自以律宗爲律師也。自餘諸宗皆爲法師也。云云　然此三類師見神昉法師十輪經疏者也。云云　問。彼禪門宗爲是何家。答。未見立教相旨。唯以金剛般若經維摩經而爲所依。以即心是佛而爲宗。以心無所著而爲業。以諸法空而爲義。始自佛世衣鉢授受師資相承更無異途。具出傳記者也。云云　問。此宗誰將來之。答。山上先入唐求法大師等親承此道而歸朝也。唯有安國禪院大唐義空和上自其宗人也。彼入室弟子源謂禪師面受得之也 。Cited in Ikeda, "Chishō Daishi," p. 332-333.

[35] A number of the texts imported by Ennin concern the polemics of the Southern Chan school. In these materials the transmission of a robe and a bowl, as mentioned by Enchin, are foregrounded as proofs of the Southern Chan school's legitimacy. The importance of the *Diamond sūtra* in the Chan tradition, mentioned by Enchin, is also a feature of Southern Chan. The *Platform sūtra*, for instance, famously tells how a passage from the *Diamond sūtra* sparked the awakening the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. Huineng is also credited with a commentary on the *Diamond sūtra*, which (like the *Platform sūtra*) is listed on Enchin's inventories. Enchin's inventories also list a commentary on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* by the Oxhead Chan patriarch Farong, which may have led Enchin to mention the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* as a foundational text of the Chan school.

[36] Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism* (State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 1.

[37] Kazuhiko Yoshida, "Revisioning Religion in Ancient Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 30/1-2 (2003), pp. 18-19

in establishing a base for the Zen school, Yikong eventually returned to China.[38] Perhaps not to upset the *hasshū* structure, Enchin distinguished Yikong – "a personal member" of the Zenmonshū – from "the exalted ancestors of Mount Hiei," who who transmitted "the way" (*dō* 道) of the Zenmonshū. Besides the general characterizations given earlier, Ennin does not further specify what this "way" entailed.

Another text by Enchin, entitled *Hokkeronki* 法華論記, suggests that Enchin may have considered the "way of Zen" to involve a particular approach to reading Buddhist texts. In *Hokkeronki*, Enchin praises a Chan style interpretation of the *Lotus sūtra*. Enchin cites a dialogue between the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng and a monk named Fata 法達, who had been reciting the *Lotus sūtra* for seven years but failed to attain awakening. The illiterate Huineng has the monk recite the sūtra and then proceeds to clarify its meaning. Huineng's clarifications strongly focus on the mind that is reading the sūtra: "If you practice with the mind, you turn the *Lotus*. If you do not practice [with the mind], you are being turned by the *Lotus*" 心行轉法華不行被法華轉. Enchin concludes that Huineng's interpretation of the *Lotus sūtra* "fundamentally concurs with the thought of the Buddha and in no way deviates from it" 聖意元同聖意元同本無異轍; Enchin thus suggests that the exegetical methods of the Tendai (Tiantai) and Zen (Chan) traditions in are in complete agreement.[39]

As Ikeda Rosan observed, Huineng's reading of the *Lotus sūtra* appears close to what is called "analysis through mind-contemplation" (*kanjinshaku*; Ch. *guanxinshi* 觀心釋).[40] *Kanjinshaku* originally referred to the highest of four modes of scriptural analysis that were distinguished by Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597), the *de facto* founder of the Chinese Tiantai school. This particular type of exegesis maintains that the words and phrases of a Buddhist text (in Zhiyi's case the *Lotus sūtra*) contain hidden meanings that can be decoded by viewing one's own mind. Thus analyzed, the external events described in the text would be accurately understood as revealing one's inner, awakened state of mind.[41] Though the term itself is not used, a similar type of exegesis is observable in Chan texts, especially in those deriving from the Northern and Oxhead schools.[42] *Kanjinshaku* was to become extremely influential in the medieval Tendai discourse on original awakening (*hongaku hōmon* 本覺法門). Creative re-interpretations of texts on the basis of mind-contemplation served to support Tendai *hongaku* theories that held that awakening was the innate quality of all living beings, present even prior to religious practice. The term "mind contemplation" (*kanjin* 觀心) was, in addition, often used as a synonym for this very state of original awakening (*hongaku* 本覺).[43] According to Tamura Yoshirō, this Tendai emphasis on "mind contemplation" was influenced by the Zen teachings of Dainichibō Nōnin and Enni Ben'en, whom he both considered to have propagated the newly imported Southern Song dynasty Chan.[44] Enni did study in Song China for many years, but Nōnin did not and was, in spite

[38] *Genkō Shakusho* (DNBZ 62, p. 206-207).
[39] *Hokkeronki* (DNBZ 25, pp. 237-238). Ikeda, "Chishō Daishi," p. 335-36. Enchin's *Hokkeronki* is a commentrary on the *Miaofa lianhua jing youbotishe* 妙法蓮華經憂波提舍 (T. 1519). The latter is a short commentary on the *Lotus sūtra*, attributed to Vasubandhu. Huineng's interview with the monk who recites the *Lotus sūtra* also appears in the *Platform sūtra*. See Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Colombia University Press, 1967), pp. 176-177.
[40] Ikeda, "Chishō Daishi," p. 337.
[41] See Jacqueline Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), pp. 153-189.
[42] See McRae, *The Northern School*, pp. 198-207.
[43] See Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 153-189.
[44] Tamura Yoshirō, "Nihon Tendai hongaku shisō no keisei kahō, IBK 10/2 (1962): pp. 661-672.

of his formal Chinese lineage, very much indebted to the Tendai/Bodhidharma traditions of Mount Hiei. This certainly does not count out Zen influence on the development of Tendai *hongaku* discourse. It does suggest that this influence need not be limited to the influx of Southern Song Chan in the early Kamakura period. The Chan/Zen notion that the essence of the Buddha's written teachings was none other than ones own awakened mind was already well-established in the Chan materials that were kept in "the repositories on Mount Hiei."

Annen

Along with Saichō, Ennin, Enchin and Ryōgen (912-985), the monk Annen (b. 841) is considered one of most important figures in Tendai history. He is especially known for systematizing Tendai esotericism, as well as for fostering a permissive attitude towards the precepts.[45] Annen also had a strong awareness and high assessment of the Zen tradition that Saichō had transmitted to Mount Hiei. For instance, in his *Kyōjijōron* 教時諍論 (On Disputes Concerning Teachings and Periods)[46] Annen asserts that Japan uniquely accommodates nine orthodox Buddhist traditions: the variously labelled "eight schools" (*hasshū* 八宗) and, in addition, the "Zen Gate" (Zenmon 禪門) or "Buddha mind school" (Busshinshū 佛心宗) that was transmitted by Saichō.[47] Expanding on the Chan/Zen tradition, Annen repeatedly refers to the early Chan record *Baolin zhuan*, which had previously been imported by Ennin. [48]

Kyōjijōron also shows that Annen was concerned with fitting Zen (and Shingon)[49] into the classic Tendai system of doctrinal classification. The Tendai system of classification basically ranks the various Buddhist teachings into four main categories (Tripiṭaka, Shared, Distinct and Perfect Teachings), culminating in the "Perfect Teaching" (*engyō* 圓教) of the Tendai school. In *Kyōjijōron* Annen presents a classification that identifies Zen and Shingon as two complementary aspects – emptiness 空門 and existence 有門 – of Tendai's Perfect Teaching.[50] Annen's high

[45] See Paul Groner, "Annen, Tankei, Henjō and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai school: The Background of the Futsō jōbosatsukai kōshaku," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14/2-3 (1987): pp. 129-159.

[46] *Kyōjijōron* is thought to consist of two volumes, corresponding to T. 2395A and T. 2395B. Since the text is incomplete and the writing shows deficiencies there is the possibility that Annen left the work unfinished. See Yamaguchi Kojun, "Nihonzenshū ni okeru Annen Kyōjijōron no ichi," *Tendaigakuhō* 38 (1996): pp. 125-31.

[47] T. 2395A, 355a23-b02.

[48] Annen provides a complete listing of the names of the patriarchs of the Buddha mind school, starting with Buddha Śākyamuni, leading up to Puji, Daoxuan, Gyōhyō and Saichō (i.e. the "Northern" Chan lineage). He explains that these patriarchs "Just transmit the essence of Zen, without relying on doctrinal texts. They transmitted the dharma by conveying a single verse." 唯傳禪要。不依教文。轉授一偈。以爲付法。(T. 2395B, 363c11-24). Annen repeatedly mentions the transmission of a "Buddha mind verse" as a specific element in the the dissemination of the dharma (T.2395A, 361c22-362a04). Transmission verses of the Chan patriarchs first appear in the *Baolin zhuan*, which Annen evidently studied. Annen in fact cites from this text directly. For instance:

> *Baolin zhuan* says: "Buddhasatta from India, the pupil of Buddhabhadra, distinguished six schools in that country. He travelled widely and instructed multitudes of beings. The first [of the six schools] was called the school of form, the second was called the school of no-form, the third was called the school of samadhi and wisdom, the fourth was called the school of precepts and practice, the fifth was called the school of nonattachment and the sixth was called the school of tranquil purity. Bodhidharma converted them all and caused them to awaken to the buddha mind." 寶林傳云。南天竺國佛馱跋他羅弟子佛大勝多自於彼國而分六宗。各處行化匠百千衆。第一宗名有相宗。第二宗名無相宗。第三宗名定惠宗。第四宗名戒行宗。第五宗名得宗。第六宗名寂靜宗。達磨皆化令悟佛心。云云 (T.2395A, 355a27-b02).

[49] Annen uses the term "Shingon" mainly to designate the Tendai esoteric traditions transmitted on Mount Hiei. In his *Shingonshū kyōjigi* 眞言宗教時義 (On the Teachings and Periods of the Shingon lineage) (T. 2396) Annen famously reworked the Tendai system of classification, placing Shingon at the highest position. According to this text, Shingon embodied the phenomenal aspect (*ji* 事) of the Perfect Teaching (*engyō* 圓教).

[50] Annen writes (T. 2395B, 368c26-69a03):

assessment of Zen was informed by the idea that the patriarchs of the Zen lineage transcended the descriptive texts of the canon and transmitted the very buddha mind. Zen, so to speak, instantiated the Buddhist truths that the texts and exegetical traditions merely pointed to.

Kyōjijōron contains an additional doctrinal ranking that classifies Zen. This ranking markedly differs from the one mentioned above. In this ranking, which classifies nine doctrines, Tendai occupies a mere third position, below Zen and Shingon. Annen's esteem for the text-transcending character of the Zen tradition led him to place the "Buddha mind school" (Zen) at a superior second place above Tendai:

> I will now [rank the nine schools from] from profound to shallow on the basis of their doctrinal principles. First: the Shingon school. Mahāvairocana eternally abides without change, expounding the one perfect principle everywhere at all times. It is the secret of all Buddhas. Therefore it ranks first. Next: the Buddha mind school. Throughout his life the Worthy Śākya set up many fish traps and rabbit snares (i.e. verbal teachings): as a final point he transmitted the mind, without being hindered by doctrinal texts. It is the mind state of all Buddhas. Therefore it ranks second.
> Next: the Lotus school. In the teachings left behind [by the Buddha] the dyads expedient/true, partial/complete and doctrine/contemplation, together illumine the single truth. It is the secret repository of all Buddhas. Therefore it ranks third (...) [51]

The differences in these two rankings suggest that Annen's thoughts on the subject were experimental. The ambivalence, in any event, allowed later Buddhist writers to cite the *Kyōjijōron* for differing purposes.

A point in case is Hochibō Shōshin (1136-1220 or 1131-1215), a Tendai monk from Mount Hiei and a contemporary of Eisai and Nōnin.[52] In his *Tendai Shingon nishū doishō* 天台真言二宗同異章 (1188) Shōshin cites Annen in support of an integrated form of Buddhism, subsumed under the Perfect Teaching of Tendai. Expanding on Annen's classification, Shōshin associates Zen and Shingon with the four types of Tendai meditation (*shishū sanmai* 四種三昧):

> From the standpoint of principle truth, the two perfect [teachings] of Tendai and Shingon are inseparable. Therefore the *Kyōjijō* [by Annen] says: "The existence-gate of the Perfect Teaching comprises the Shingonshū. The emptiness-gate of the Perfect Teaching comprises the Darumashū." I add: "Darumashū" corresponds to the oneness-samādhi of constant-sitting in the the four Tendai samādhis. "Shingonshū" corresponds to the fourth, the samādhi of neither-walking-nor-sitting, which comprises all activities. [53]

The Four Teachings of Tendai open up into sixteen gates, comprising all traditions. The existence-gate of the Tripiṭaka Teaching comprises the *Abhidharmakośa*. The emptiness-gate of the Tripiṭaka Teaching comprises the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* […] The emptiness-gate of the Perfect Teaching comprises the transmission of the Zen gate. The existence-gate of the Perfect Teaching comprises the Shingon teaching. In each gate the true principles of the various schools are fused. 天台四教。開十六門。一切諸宗皆攝。三藏有門攝俱舍。三藏空門成實論。(...) 圓教空門攝禪門傳。圓教有門攝眞言教。宗宗義理。門門各會。

[51] 次依教理淺深。初眞言宗大日如來常住不變。一切時處説一圓理諸佛祕密。最爲第一。次佛心宗一代釋尊多施筌蹄。最後傳心。不滯教文。諸佛心處故爲第二。次法華宗一代教迹權實偏圓教觀雙共明一實。諸佛祕藏故爲第三。(T. 2395A, 362a26-b02).

[52] Shōshin's critical concerns focused on the subversive tendencies of original awakening thought and esotericism within the Tendai school, which, he felt, undermined the primacy of the *Lotus sūtra*. See Sasaki Shundō, "Shōshin no zenshū hihan ni tsuite," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 33 (1991): pp. 257-263.

[53] 若論理實。天台眞言二圓不別。故教時諍云。圓教有門攝眞言宗。圓教空門攝達磨宗云云 私云。達磨宗者是天台四種三昧中常坐一行三昧也。眞言宗者是第四非行非坐三昧攝諸經行法。(T. 2372, 420b09-13).

Interestingly, Shōshin uses the term "Darumashū" 達磨宗, where Annen's *Kyōjijōron* has "Busshinshū" 佛心宗. Shōshin's use of the name "Darumashū" suggests that contemporary discussions on Mount Hiei about "Zen" unfolded against the backdrop of the activities of Nōnin's group, which was known by that name. At the time that Shōshin wrote this tract, in 1188, Eisai was still in China and it was Nōnin who markedly propagated Zen in Japan. Reiterating that "Darumashū" represented but a component of Tendai may have been a reaction to the growing popularity of Nōnin's group that was seceding from Mount Hiei control. [54]

Another Tendai monk who invoked Annen's writings on the Bodhidharma/Zen tradition was Eisai. Unlike Shōshin, Eisai advocated the idea that Zen, under his leadership, should be established as an independent school. To this end, Eisai repeatedly referred to the ninefold doctrinal classification found Annen's *Kyōjijōron*, which acknowledged Zen as a distinct *shū*.[55] Interestingly, whereas Annen in the corresponding passage of *Kyōjijōron* reads "Busshinshū" and Shōshin reads "Darumashū," Eisai changes Annen's words into "Zenshū." Eisai no doubt made this emendation to avoid being confused with Nōnin's Darumashū group.

To sum up, some of Annen's writings were informed by his studies of the Zen textual reservoir on Mount Hiei. Annen's descritptions and classifications of the Zen tradition informed authors in the Kamakura period who endeavored to delineate the status of the Zenshū, which was manifesting as a distinct movement. The multivalence of the term *shū* made it possible to argue that the Zen-*shū* (a.k.a. Busshin-*shū*, Daruma-*shū*) was but a constituent of the long established Tendai school. On the other hand, it could also be argued that Zen represented an autonomous institution.

***Zongjinglu* (Record of the Source Mirror)**

An important text that must be mentioned here is the *Zongjinglu* (*Sugyōroku* 宗鏡錄) (Record of the Source Mirror). The *Zongjinglu* is a massive Chan compendium composed by Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975). The text was imported into Japan in the late eleventh century[56] and would be widely used in Zen circles of the late Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods. The central principle of the *Zongjinglu* is the eponymous *zong* (J. *shū* 宗), a polyvalent term which in Yanshou's conception chiefly refers to an ontological substratum, the ultimate source that underlies and pervades all things. Depending on the way it is apprehended by living beings, this source – the "one mind" (Ch. *yixin* 一心) – manifests in different guises and so gives rise to a

[54] Further down in *Tendai Shingon nishū doishō* Shōshin again mentions the Darumashū:

> The responsiveness of sentient beings [to Buddha's teachings] is manifest or obscured according to the times. In ancient times [people] had sharp faculties and just performed contemplative practices. In latter-day times [people] have dull faculties and undertake minor practices. Noble beings give all their strength to be able to enlighten [even] one person. This is why in the latter age Shingon teachings flourish. It is like opening the Iron Stūpa in India and transmitting the Vajra in the Eastern Land. We all reside in the final chapter [of the predicted development of the dharma] and this is why Shingon teachings suit the present time. In the latter age, moreover, the capacities [of people] differ. Thus, in China nowadays many people are devoted to the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū). People in Japan at present have a practice that is different. 衆生感應隨時顯晦。上代根利唯用觀行。末代根鈍委明細行。衆聖與力能化一人。故眞言教末代方興。如開鐵塔於南天。傳金剛於東土。皆在偈末。故眞言教宜今世也。又末世中亦機不同。如唐朝今時多好達磨宗。於日域今人亦有行不同。 (T.2372, 421a19-25).

According to Shōshin, the limited spiritual capabilities of those living in Buddhism's predicted latter age of decline predispose people to esotericism. In China, Shōshin adds, these conditions predispose many people to follow the Bodhidharma school. Shōshin's subsequent remark is phrased somewhat unclear, but seems to indicate that he perceived a difference between the practices of the Bodhidharma school in China and in contemporary Japan; but no details are given.

[55] Eisai, *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 5c26; 6a05).

[56] The *Zongjinglu* is listed in the *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* (T. 2183, 1164c18).

great diversity of phenomena and concepts. On this premise the many different Buddhist teachings and even the erroneous ways of non-buddhists are all construed as refractions and partial expressions of this ultimate source. [57]

This unifying notion of *zong* underpinned one of Yanshou's main messages, namely that Chan is in harmony with the canonical scriptures and exegetical traditions, an idea succinctly expressed in a phrase coined by Yanshou's intellectual forebear Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841): "The teachings are Buddha's words. Chan is Buddha's mind."[58] Jeffrey Broughton recently argued that the *Zongjinglu* served as a conduit for the type of Chan advocated by Zongmi. In a revision of the conventional view, which regards Zongmi foremost as a Huayan exegete with only a marginal influence on the development of Chan, Broughton shows that Zongmi was very much a Chan adept and that his works strongly shaped the Chan tradition throughout Asia, especially via the dissemination of Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*.[59] Apart from advancing a certain inclusivistic outlook, the one hundred fascicles of the *Zongjinglu* effectively provided its readers and users with a vast reservoir of anecdotes, doctrinal vignettes, dialogues, verses and sayings from an array of Chan figures.

In Japan monks such as Eisai, Nōnin and Enni Ben'en all heavily drew on the *Zongjinglu*. [60] As will be examined later, Nōnin was known as an expert on the *Zongjinglu*. Primary texts associated with Nōnin and the Darumashū also extensively borrow from Yanshou's tome.

***Enseiron* (Treatise on World Weariness)**

Noteworthy in our discussion of pre-Kamakura period Zen is a document in the manuscript collection of the Shinpukuji, which has recently been examined by Ochiai Toshinori, entitled *Enseiron* 厭世論 (Treatise on World Weariness).[61] This doctrinal text, dated 1073, was written by a Japanese monk named Dharma Master Seishi 斉志法師 (n.d.). In the concluding section of the text the author declares: "One who cultivates practices must depend on the repository of Daruma (*Daruma-zō* 達磨蔵)." According to Ochiai the "repository of Daruma" refers three early Chan texts attributed to Bodhidharma: *Wuxinglun* 悟性論 (J. *Goshōron*), *Xuemailun* 血脈論 (J. *Kechimyakuron*) and *Poxianlun* 破相論 (J. *Hassōron*, also known as *Guanxinlun* 觀心論; J. *Kanshinron*). Ochiai concludes that these treatises influenced Seishi's treatise. The content of the *Enseiron* suggests that in the eleventh century (Tendai) milieu of Dharma Master Seishi, the study of Bodhidharma texts was integral to the broader discourse on Buddhist practice, notably the Tendai practice of calming and contemplation (*shikan* 止觀).

[57] See Albert Welter, "The Problem with Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism: Yongming Yanshou's Notion of *Zong* in the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror)," *Studies in Religion* 31/1 (2002): pp. 3-18.
[58] *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 418b06).
[59] Jeffrey Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (Colombia University Press, 2009), pp. 39-67.
[60] Enni Ben'en brought back an edition of the *Zongjinglu* from his sojourn in China. In 1245 he lectured on it to Emperor Go-Saga. The continued importance the *Zongjinglu* in the Five Mountains (*Gozan* 五山) establishment of the Muromachi period is indicated by the printing of a *gozan* woodblock edition of text in 1371, by the Rinzai monk Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388). Imaeda Aishin, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1970), p. 73. Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, p. 57-58.
[61] Ochiai Toshinori, "Heian jidai no Zenseki: Shinpukujizō Enkyū gonensha Einseiron," IBK 55/2 (2007): pp. 742-750.

Zen 禪, the Sino-Japanese rendering of the Sanskrit dhyāna, refers to methods of meditation or a state attained by those methods. In this sense the term may pertain to the various stages of meditative absorption that the Buddha, seated under the Bodhi tree, passed through on his way to nirvāṇa. According to the classical formulation of the Buddhist eightfold path, dhyāna is one of the eight prerequisites for attaining buddhahood. In Mahāyāna soteriology dhyāna is subsumed under the six pāramitās, the six excellent virtues of a bodhisattva.

Buddhists devised a wide range of meditative methods: gazing at coloured discs, counting breaths, contemplation of decaying corpses, recitation of Buddha's name, repeating mantras, visualizing deities, and so forth. The practice most associated with the Chan/Zen school is seated meditation (*zazen* 坐禪). What kind of seated meditation was exactly practiced by Bodhidharma and other ascetics of the scattered (proto-) Chan communities in China, remains elusive. One of the earliest Chan texts, *Erru sixinglun* 二入四行論 (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices) attributed to Bodhidharma, speaks of "fixedly abiding in wall-contemplation" (Ch. *ningzhu biguan* 凝住壁觀). [62] The text does not provide any practical advice or other details about this practice. [63]

Bodhidharma's contemporary Tiantai Zhiyi (538-597) formulated meditation in terms of a conjoined practice of calming the mind and contemplating the true state of reality (Ch. *zhiguan* 止觀). Zhiyi's early work, *Xiao zhiguan* (Concise Calming and Contemplation 小止觀), refers to this practice as seated meditation (*zazen* 坐禪). *Xiao zhiguan* is a practical manual and provides detailed instructions on how to sit, breath, deal with agitation and so forth. The text explains that seated meditation is the superior method for attaining a state of calmness. Calmness, however, is not an end in itself but a precondition to contemplation. Both aspects, according to Zhiyi, are essential to the realization of wisdom and must therefore be cultivated in tandem. In his later work *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Great Calming and Contemplation) Zhiyi presents an integrative vision of Buddhist practice in terms of four samādhi practices (*shishu sanmai*; Ch. *sizhong sanmei* 四種三昧). The content of these practices is diverse, ranging from seated meditation, Buddha invocation (Ch. *nianfo* 念佛), reciting the *Lotus sūtra*, intoning dhāraṇī, circumambulating a statue of Amitābha, prostrations, purifications, repentance, contemplation of the marks of the Buddha's body, and so forth.[64] In this system seated meditation is especially associated with the rigorous "samādhi of constant-sitting" (Ch. *changzuo sanmei*; *jōza sanmai* 常坐三昧), a practice that requires the practitioner to meditate in cross-legged position for ninety days on end, combining silent meditation with recitations of the Buddha's name. Zhiyi explicitly equates "constant-sitting" with what is called "oneness samādhi" (Ch. *yixing sanmei*; *ichigyō sanmai* 一行三昧). As will be shown later, the concept of "oneness samādhi" played an important role in the Darumashū.

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[62] *Erru sixinglun* (X. 1217, 1a22).

[63] In Chan discourse, "wall-contemplation" became the focus of various interpretations. See John Mcrae, *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation and Genealogy in Chinese Chan* (University of California Press, 2003), pp. 29-31.

[64] The four kinds of samādhi are constant-sitting 常坐三昧, constant-walking 常行三昧, walking and sitting 半行半坐三昧 and neither walking nor sitting 非行非坐三昧. See Daniel Stevenson, "The Four kinds of samādhi in early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism," in *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, edited by Peter N. Gregory (University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 45-97.

Oneness samādhi

The term oneness samādhi derives from the *Wenshushili suoshuo mohebore boluomi jing* 文殊師利所說摩訶般若波羅蜜 (Prajna-pāramitā sūtra spoken by Mañjuśrī, T. 232), in which it is described as a state of awareness achieved by contemplating the "the single characteristic of the *dharmadhātu*" (Ch. *fajie yixiang*; *hokkai issō* 法界一相). According to the sūtra:

> Good sons and good daughters who wish to enter oneness samādhi should dwell in a deserted and carefree place, discard all jumbled thought and, without grasping at appearances, fix the mind on a single Buddha and intently recite his name. If one faces into the direction of a Buddha correctly, with one's body erect, and if one is able to concentrate on a single Buddha continuously, thought moment after thought moment, then, in these thought moments, one will be able to see all the Buddhas of past, present and future. [65]

The nature of this samādhi state and the method to achieve it were central issues discussed in Tiantai, Chan and Pure Land communities of Tang China.[66] In early Chan oneness samādhi is especially associated with the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin (580-651). According to the early Chan text *Lengqie shiziji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Lankavatāra) Daoxin taught students of modest abilities to invoke a Buddha (Ch. *nianfo*) in line with the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra spoken by Mañjuśrī*. For Daoxin *nianfo* – literally "being mindful of Buddha" – held the deeper meaning of "being mindful of one's mind." Advanced practitioners were to dispense with the cruder forms of *nianfo* and enter oneness samādhi directly by "gazing at the mind" (Ch. *kanxin* 看心) or "maintaining oneness" (Ch. *shouyi* 守一). Ultimately these formal meditation practices were are all considered expedient means. True samādhi unfolded "spontaneously" (Ch. *renyun* 任運) in everyday activities such as "raising and lowering one's foot" (Ch. *juzu xiazu* 舉足下足).[67]

Saichō and oneness samādhi

The above outlined Chan and Tiantai concepts of seated meditation and oneness samādhi were fundamental to Saichō's understanding of meditation. In his *Kechimyakufu*, Saichō patently associates the Bodhidharma tradition with oneness samādhi. In the biographical entry on the second Chan patriarch Huike, Saichō writes:

> Great master Bodhidharma said: "Three persons have obtained my dharma. One obtained my marrow, one obtained my bones and one obtained my skin. The one that obtained my marrow is Huike. The one that obtained my bones is Daoyu. The one that obtained my skin is the nun Zongchi." Bodhidharma then addressed Huike and said: "My dharma is the very

[65] 善男子善女人欲入一行三昧應處空閑捨諸亂意不取相貌繫心一佛專稱名字。隨佛方所端身正向能於一佛念念相續即是念中能見過去未來現在諸佛。何以故念一佛功德無量無邊亦與無量諸佛功德無二不思議佛法等無分別皆乘一如成最正覺悉具無量功德無量辯才。(T. 232, 731b01-05). For another translation see David Chappell, "From Dispute to Dual Cultivation: Pure Land responses to Ch'an Critics," in *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 165-66.

[66] See Bernard Faure, "The Concept of One-practice Samādhi in Early Ch'an," Ibid., pp. 99-128.

[67] The section in the *Lengqie Shiziji* that presents the teachings of Daoxin (T. 2837. 1268c19-89b10) is thought to be the actual text of Daoxin's *Rudao anxinyao fangbian famen* 入道安心要方便法門 (The Dharma Gate to the Essential Expedients for Calming the Mind and Attaining Awakening). See David Chappell, "The Teachings of the Fourth Patriarch Tao-hsin (580-651)," in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, edited by Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press 1983), p. 89-121.

> deep prajñā-pāramitā dharma of all Buddhas. It is the dharma that all Buddhas uphold. It is the seal of all phenomena, the Tathāgata's dhyāna, the oneness samādhi." [68]

Further down in the *Kechimyakufu*, in an entry on the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin and his successor Hongren, Saichō writes:

> The śramana Hongren from China studied with great master [Dao]xin. Later, great master Xin retreated to Twin Peaks Mountain and instructed all kinds of people to invoke Buddha according to the *Prajñā[-pāramitā sūtra spoken by]Mañjuśrī* and so enter oneness samādhi. Among the great congregation was the monk Hongren. Hongren closely attended to great master Xin. For thirty years he did not leave his side, either day or night. Hongren asked the great master: "What is oneness samādhi?" [Daoxin] answered: "Its cause is to not differentiate between the Buddha's dharma-body and the nature of ordinary beings." At that moment great master Xin the sixth (sic) [patriarch] saw that Hongren had directly entered oneness samādhi and had fully realized the deep dharmadhātu. He then transmitted secret words to him. [69]

In Saichō's view, oneness samādhi was evidently at the core of the Bodhidharma tradition. Although there is no hard evidence, it is I think acceptable to follow the view of Sekiguchi Shindai, who proposed that Saichō correlated the meditative method transmitted by Bodhidharma (= oneness samādhi) with Zhiyi's samādhi of constant-sitting (=oneness samādhi).[70] This equation was in fact explicitly made by the Tendai monk Hochibō Shōshin, who, as noted earlier, associated the Bodhidharma tradition on Mount Hiei with Zhiyi's "oneness samādhi of constant-sitting." The practice of seated meditation in the context of the samādhi practices, then, may be considered to be one aspect of how the Bodhidharma tradition was perceived to be integrated into Tendai praxis.

BODHIDHARMA IN JAPANESE TALE LITERATURE

In the present context we should also take note of the occurrence of Bodhidharma in the *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of Long Ago), the famous Japanese collection of Buddhist and secular stories (*setsuwa* 説話). The *Konjaku monogatarishū* is thought to have been compiled around 1120 and gathers over a thousand stories in thirty-one fascicles. The stories are arranged in three sections, covering the history of Buddhism in India, China and Japan. Two tales in this collection feature Bodhidharma.

The first of these tales is included in the India section of the work and presents Bodhidharma as a wandering monk, travelling the Indian continent to study the ways of Buddhist monks. The tale describes three remarkable meetings: first Bodhidharma meets two old monks who avoid all

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[68] 達磨大師。語諸人言。有三人得我法。一人得我髓。一人得我骨。一人得我肉。得我髓者是慧可。得我骨者道育。得我肉者尼總持。又達磨語慧可曰。我此法是諸佛甚深般若波羅蜜法。亦是諸佛總持法。亦是一切法之印。亦是如來禪。亦爲一行三昧。遂授此法。付囑與慧可。(DDZS 1, p. 207).

[69] 唐朝沙門釋洪忍。承信大師。後信大師。歸至雙峰山。依文殊般若念佛。接引群品。引入一行三昧。於大衆中。遂有僧洪忍。親事信大師。三十餘載。不離左右。更無晝夜。洪忍問大師。何者是一行三昧。謂諸佛法身與衆生性不異故。時第六信大師。知洪忍直入一行三昧。了達甚深法界。便傳密語。Ibid.

[70] Sekiguchi Shindai, "Dengyō Daishi sōjō no Darumashū," in *Dengyo Daishi kenkyū*, Bekkan, Tendai Gakkai, edited by Kōjun Fukui (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1980), pp. 249-265.

monastic discipline and just play *go*. The old monks are shunned by the monastic community, but Bodhidharma finds out that they are in fact deeply awakened sages. Next, Bodhidharma encounters a sagely forest hermit who, in the middle of the night, alarms a whole village because the thief of sleep stole his meditative concentration. Lastly Bodhidharma comes across a crazily acting monk whose antics turn out to be a compassionate teaching device.[71] The second tale about Bodhidharma in the *Konjaku monogatarishū* is included in the China section of the work and focuses on Bodhidharma's Chinese adventures. It presents the Bodhidharma myth as it had developed in the Chan school over the previous centuries and recounts the familiar elements, such as Bodhidharma's meeting with Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, Bodhidharma's empty grave, and his return to India.[72]

The *Konjaku monogatarishū* is written in a mixture of Chinese and Japanese (*wakan konkō bun* 和漢混淆文), reflecting simultaneously the Chinese style of the sources and a strong movement toward vernacular Japanese.[73] The often humorous and miraculous tales were meant to edify and entertain. Taken up by preachers and storytellers the tales reached broad audiences and cut across social strata. It is therefore quite conceivable that in the mid-twelfth century, stories about Bodhidharma widely circulated in Japan. Such tales may have influenced Nōnin and would, in turn, also have contributed to a positive reception of Nōnin's Bodhidharma school (fl. 1189).

BODHIDHARMA AND PRECEPTS

In the Tendai school there developed a notion of a special precept lineage connected to Bodhidharma. In his *Denjutsu isshinkai mon* 傳述一心戒文 (Writings on the Transmission of the One Mind Precept) the Tendai monk Kōjō (779-858) claimed that Bodhidharma had transmitted mysterious one mind precepts (*isshinkai* 一心戒) to Tiantai Huisi (515-577) which, via Tiantai Zhiyi, were transmitted to Saichō, when Saichō was venerating an image of Zhiyi on Mount Tiantai.[74] Kōjō conceived the one mind precepts as an abstract quality: the precepts were the very purity of the mind, known as buddha-nature and the esoteric A-syllable. In this conception the actual prohibitive precepts become, as it were, a coarse reflection of a pure essence, and so recede in importance.

[71] The tale appears to be a rewrite of three separate stories (each with different protagonists) included in a Song dynasty compilation entitled *Xinxing zuifu yinyuanji* 心性罪福因緣集, attributed to Yongming Yanshou. The source stories were reworked into a single narrative with Bodhidharma as the lead character. See Konno Tōru, "Shinshō hibuku innenshū to setsuwa bungaku: kokinshū 4 no dai 9-10 wa no gensho nado," *Bungaku* 55/1 (1987), pp. 62-78. In the *Konjaku monogatarishū* the name Bodhidharma is written with the unusual characters 陀楼摩 (Daruma) instead of the standard 達磨 or 達摩. It is not clear if the compiler of the *Konjaku monogatarishū* had the first Chan patriarch Bodhidharma in mind when constructing the story. That this connection was made by others is clear from *setsuwa* compilations such as the *Ujishūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (13th c.) and the *Hōbutsushū* 寶物集 (ca. 1179), which contain near identical stories but refer to Bodhidharma with the usual characters. See Takuji Fujida, *Nihon ni nokoru Daruma densetsu* (Kyoto: Zenbunka Kenkyūsho, 2007), p. 38.

[72] On the evolution of the Bodhidharma myth see Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25/3 (1986): pp. 187-198.

[73] Haruo Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology: Beginnings to 1600* (Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 530.

[74] *Denjutsu isshinkai mon* (T. 2379). The following draws on William Bodiford, "Bodhidharma's Precepts in Japan," in *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, edited by William Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 185-209; Groner, *Saichō*, pp. 292-298; Faure, *Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 121-125.

Kōjō was a close student of Saichō. It was he who managed to establish Mount Hiei's controversial Mahāyāna ordination platform (*daijō kaidan* 大乗戒壇) that Saichō had envisioned as the locus for the creation of "bodhisattva monks" (*bosatsusō* 菩薩僧) in Japan. This class of monks would be inducted into the Buddhist saṃgha by receiving "bodhisattva precepts" (*bosatsukai* 菩薩戒) based on the (apocryphal) *Fanwang jing* (Brahmā Net sūtra), instead of the precepts of the *Dharmaguptaka vinaya* (*Shibunritsu* 四分律). In support of these innovations Kōjō – citing Saichō – singled out Bodhidharma as an historical precedent of a "bodhisattva monk."[75]

To further authenticate these new forms and visions Kōjō took recourse to a myth about Bodhidharma in Japan. In the guise of a vagabond, we are told, Bodhidharma met and exchanged poems with Shōtoku Taishi (574-622), the sagely prince who would establish Buddhism as a state religion. Prince Shōtoku, in turn, is identified as a reincarnation of Tiantai Huisi, the ancestor of the Tendai lineage. After his death Bodhidharma, according to this story, was buried in Kataoka 片岡, but when his coffin was reopened it was found empty, except for the robe that Prince Shōtoku had given him against the cold.[76] Kōjō in this way coupled the ancestors of the Tendai and Zen lineages, placed them on Japanese soil, and made them act in a grand religio-historical drama that foreshadowed Mount Hiei's historically unprecedented Mahāyāna precept ordinations. Kōjō's work thus exemplifies an attempt to combine the various traditions that Saichō had brought to Mount Hiei.

The notion of a Bodhidharma precept lineage did not became normative in the Tendai school, though it may have been implicitly accepted and conflated with the Tendai tradition of "perfect and sudden precepts" (*endonkai* 圓頓戒).[77] The underlying idea that the precepts were suffused with the very state of Buddha's awakening, did become a central feature of Tendai thought and practice, worked out mainly on the basis of esotericism. This development contributed to the widespread practice of precept ordination rituals (for both monks and laity) during which the precepts were bestowed as a ritual confirmation of the recipient's intrinsic buddhahood, regardless whether the recipient would actually live by the prescribed rules of conduct.

As Bodiford notes, pre-modern Japanese Zen leaders, both in the Sōtō and Rinzai schools, subscribed to the idea that their Bodhidharma lineage preserved the true precepts.[78] The bestowal of one mind precepts (*isshinkai*) or Zen precepts (*zenkai*) in Zen ordination rituals was typically considered to manifest the Buddha's awakening in the receiver. Zen institutions in Japan, then, formally adhered to lineages derived from the Southern Song, but in practice incorporated precept traditions that were developed in the Tendai school in Japan.

[75] *Denjutsu isshinkai mon* (T. 2379, 642b26-b27). Groner, *Saichō*, pp. 146-147.
[76] This story developed from a separate Shōtoku legend, the contours of which first appear in the *Nihonshoki* (720). See Nishimura Sey, "The Prince and the Pauper: Dynamics of a Shōtoku Legend," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40/3 (1985): pp. 299-310.
[77] Faure, *Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 121-125.
[78] Bodiford, "Bodhidharma's Precepts in Japan," pp. 195-207.

BODHIDHARMA AND DIVINATION

A document preserved at the Kōzanji in Kyoto reveals that in the late Heian period there existed a Daoist and Amidist flavoured divination practice associated with Bodhidharma. The document, entitled *Daruma Oshō himitsuge* 達磨和尚秘密偈 (The Secret Verse of Venerable Bodhidharma), is dated 1140 and describes a method for predicting one's own death by using a verse attributed to Bodhidharma.[79] The popularity of this verse in Japan is suggested in Eisai's *Kōzengokokuron*. Eisai (1141-1215) brings up the verse and firmly denounces it as a dangerous apocryphon:

> In the fourth month [of 1168] I traversed the sea and arrived in Mingzhou of the Great Song. First I met the guest prefect of the Guanghui monastery, a Chan master, and asked him: "Patriarchs of my country transmitted Chan and brought it to Japan, but the school is now defunct. I came here because I intend to revive it. Please, teach me the central point of the dharma. What is the transmission verse of great master Bodhidharma, the patriarch of this Chan school?"
> The guest prefect answered: "The transmission verse of great master Bodhidharma says: ..."
> I also asked him: "In my country we have *Great Master Bodhidharma's Verse for Knowing the Time of One's Death*. Is this genuine or fake?
> The guest prefect answered: "The method presented in [this verse] consists of words written in delusion by the dimwitted offspring of a demon. As for the way of life and death according to our school: life and death, coming and going, are fundamentally equal; there is no principle of arising and extinction. To say that one knows the time of one's death is to betray the way of our Patriarch. This is immensely harmful! [80]

Eisai inquiries suggest that in Japan in his days, Bodhidharma's divination verse had considerable currency. As Faure notes, Eisai might have been reacting against the popularity of this verse in Darumashū circles.[81] The verse in question consists of four lines:

> As soon as you notice there is no dripping in the Jade Pond,
> proceed to catch the numinous lights at the bottom of the waves.
> As for impermanence: you must listen to the drums in your skull.
> Count them, and you will know how many days remain before you die.[82]

The Kōzanji document explains that to calculate one's remaining days one must cover one's ears and tap the skull with the fingertips. Counting each tap as one calendar day, the designated day of death is reached with the tap that fails to trigger a drumming sound in the skull. This procedure must be practiced on a designated time and be preceded by one hundred repetitions of the formula *namu Amida butsu*, in addition to a reading of the entire *Amitābha sūtra*. The "drops in the Jade pond" refer to checking one's saliva for bubbles, while the "numinous light at the bottom of the waves" involves pressing one's eyeballs to check for the presence of light effects – both were

[79] This document was presented and studied by Sueki Fumihiko in, "Kōzanji shozō mokuroku zenseki shohin ni tsuite," *Kōzanji tenseki bunsho sōgō chōsadan: kenkyū kokuhō ronshū* 1 (1994): pp. 39-41.
[80] 四月渡海到大宋明州。初 見廣慧寺知客禪師問曰。我國祖師傳禪歸朝。其宗今遺缺。予懷興廢故到此。願開示法旨。其禪宗祖師達磨大師傳法偈如何。知客答曰。達磨大師傳法偈曰 云云 又問曰。我日本國有達磨大師知死期偈。眞僞如何。知客答曰。所喻之法。乃小根魔子妄撰其語也。夫死生之道。在吾宗本以去來生死平等。初無生滅之理。若謂知其死期。是欺吾祖之道。非小害乎。(T. 2543, 10a16-25).
[81] Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton University Press, 1994), pp.186-7.
[82] 纔覚玉池無滴瀝 次於波底取神光 無常須聴髏頭鼓 得数方知幾日亡. Sueki, "Kōzanji shozō mokuroku zenseki shohin ni tsuite," p. 39. The English translation draws on Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, pp.186-7.

considered signs of health. The document traces back the transmission of the verse to a Chinese layman called Fanshang, who is said to have resided in Japan and to have been been "firmly dedicated to the Darumashū." Fanshang transmitted it to a monk named Yōen. Subsequently it was passed down in a lineage of monks, among whom a certain Genban from Mount Hiei.[83] An entry in the *Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集 (Collection of Leaves gathered in Stormy Streams) shows that the verse was indeed transmitted in Tendai circles.[84] According to this entry, Saichō received the secret verse from his teacher Gyōhyō. The entry also dwells on elements of the method that are reminiscent of Daoism. For instance, it explains that a visual perception of yellow dusk in the evening is a portent of death since the colour yellow prefigures the "Yellow springs" – the realm of the dead. [85]

Whatever the nature and origin of this practice may be, in the late Heian period there evidently existed in Japan a divination method associated with Bodhidharma. The method, which incorporated Daoist and Amidist elements, was transmitted on Mount Hiei and, probably, practiced in Darumashū circles.

Concluding remarks

The early activities of Dainichi Nōnin problematize traditional narratives that see the introduction of the Zen school to Japan as resulting from the importation of Southern Song dynasty Chan by Japanese monks who travelled to China. Nōnin – a Tendai monk, active in the second half of the twelfth century – identified himself as a follower of Zen without having been exposed to the new Chan from the Song. Nōnin's procurement of a Chan lineage – in 1189, via envoys – was so to speak *ex post facto*: his initial identification with the Zen tradition was grounded in local conditions. The above examination has made visible a significant reservoir of texts and practices that allowed Nōnin to make this identification. The mere presence of this reservoir does not fully account for Nōnin's turn. Nōnin activities must be seen as part of a broader and highly diverse current of "Zen practitioners," who during the twelfth century started to move to the peripheries of the mainstream institutions.

[83] Sueki, "Kōzanji shozō mokuroku zenseki shohin ni tsuite," pp. 39-41.
[84] *Chishiki no hō no koto* 知死期法事 (On the Method of Knowing the Time of One's Death) (T. 2410, 779c14).
[85] Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO
DAINICHIBŌ NŌNIN: FRAGMENTS OF BIOGRAPHY

NŌNIN IN *GENKŌ SHAKUSHO* AND *HONCHŌ KŌSŌDEN*

The term biography is perhaps an overstatement for the two textual notices we have on Dainichibō Nōnin, the founder of the Japanese Darumashū. The earliest description of Nōnin's career is embedded in a biography of Eisai in the Buddhist history *Genkō Shakusho* (Record of Buddhism from the Genkō era) (1322) by Kokan Shiren (1278-1346):

> In the *tsuchinoto-tori* year (1189) there was someone called Nōnin. Having heard about the flourishing of the [Zen] school in the country of Song, he put his students on a ship to enquire with Chan master Fozhao Guang from Yuwang. Fozhao took pity on the foreign believers and was moved to console them. He presented them with a dharma robe and a painting of Bodhidharma, inscribed with a verse of praise. Nōnin boasted about Guang's courtesy gifts and deceivingly propagated the Zen school. He lacked transmission from a master and [observed] no restrictive precepts. In the capital they despised him. When Eisai started to propagate the Mind school nobles and commoners rejected him because they confused him with Nōnin.
>
> A person called Ryōben, from Chikuzen Hakozaki, was jealous of Eisai's Zen activities and persuaded the clergy of Mount Hiei to petition the court to expel him. In year six (1195), on account of an imperial decree, the Fujiwara Great Minister summoned Eisai to his office and had him questioned by Administrator Nakasuke. Left Aide to the Imperial Secretary Muneyori participated.[86] Eisai denounced [Nōnin's] bogus group 僞黨 and championed the True Vehicle. While the hatted officials listened in awe, he thoroughly clarified the matter. Eisai said: "My Zen teaching did not begin just now. Long ago great master Dengyō of Mount Hiei composed the *Naishō buppō kechimyakufu*: this beginning is none other then my Zen teaching of Bodhidharma who came from the West. As for this Ryōben, he is a muddle-headed fool who persuaded Tendai followers to falsely accuse me. If the Zen school were wrong then Dengyō was wrong. If Dengyō were wrong then Tendai teachings would not have been established. Without the establishment of Tendai teachings how can it be that Tendai followers are rejecting me? The followers darken the intention of the founder. Is this not a grave matter?" Eisai and Nōnin debated on doctrinal topics many times. Nōnin closed his mouth and retreated. Thereupon the ways of Eisai prospered in the capital.[87]

The next substantial piece of writing we have on Nōnin is a biographical entry in the Edo period *Honchō kōsōden* (Biographies of Eminent Monks of Our Country) (1702) by the Buddhist

[86] In 1195 the Great Minister (Sōkoku 相國) was Fujiwara no Kanefusa 藤原兼房 (1153-1217). Meant here is probably Kanefusa's older brother, the powerful Fujiwara no Kanezane (Kūjō Kanezane 九条兼実), who at the time held the rank of Regent (Kanpaku 関白). From Kanezane's diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 it is known that Muneyori 宗頼 and Nakasuke 仲資 were both stewards (Keishi 家司) in Kanezane's service. See Taga Munehaya, *Eisai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), pp. 109-10.

[87] DNBZ 62, p. 156.

historian and Zen monk Mangen Shiban (1626-1710). In Shiban's view Nōnin's life merited a distinct biographical entry. Shiban's interest in Nōnin may have been informed by the retrospective currents in the Zen schools of the time. Like many Zen monks in the early Edo period Shiban was of the opinion that the Zen tradition had gravely detoriated; this sentiment gave rise to a reformist movement that sought to restore the tradition by reexamining its medieval origins. Compared to Shiren's fleeting description, Shiban's account is extensive and detailed; it mentions Nōnin's students, their connection to Dōgen, and other particulars, including a report of Nōnin's death, to which we will return later. First the biography:

> Biography of śramana Nōnin from Sambōji in Settsu. Monk Nōnin was called Dainichi. He was an uncle of the Heike officer Kagekiyo. From a young age he attended lectures and studied sūtras and commentaries. By nature he enjoyed meditation. He polished his spirit, made effort, and suddenly attained the state of awakening. In Suita, in the province of Settsu, he established Sambōji and fervently propagated the dharma of Zen. Many white and black robed followers from the Kinki region were attracted to his style. But he was also slandered, because he lacked transmission from a teacher. In the summer of Bunji *tsuchinoto-tori* (1189) Nōnin dispatched two of his students – Renchū and Shōben, bearing letters and gifts – to China to have audience with Chan master Zhuoan Deguang from Mount Ayuwang and demonstrate his awakening. Zhuoan fully confirmed [Nōnin's awakening] and transmitted a dharma robe, a Buddhist name and a portrait of Bodhidharma inscribed with a verse of praise. Renchū and Shōben had an artist paint a portrait of Zhuoan and asked [Zhuoan] to write a verse on it. Zhuoan wrote: "This rustic monk has no face. He knocks over heaven's barrier and inverts the earth's axis. Master Nin cast off the body and discerns intimately. Deviants and demons scurry into hiding." After the two students had returned to Japan, Nōnin's fame increased and spread to Kyoto and beyond. His foremost student Kakuan received Nōnin's written certification. [Kakuan] resided at Tōnomine in Yamato and widely propagated the essentials of Zen. Koun Ejō from Eiheiji followed Kakuan for a long time. On his deathbed Kakuan urged Ejō to depend on Zen master Dōgen. He also gave him [a treatise entitled] *Shinyō teishi* that he had written himself, [88] as well as precious objects that he had received from master Nōnin. When Dōgen saw this *Teishi* he greatly admired it and in praise said that master Kakuan had been a clear-eyed man. Thenceforth he always used [the honorific] "Venerable" when speaking about Nōnin. Shōkō from Chinzei visited Nōnin's assembly and questioned him on essential passages from the *Sugyōroku*.[89] One evening Kagekiyo visited. [Nōnin], delighted in this fortuitous meeting, sent out a student to buy sake from the liquor store. Kagekiyo, suspecting that he was being reported to the authorities, took his sword and cut [Nōnin] to death. Further data may be found in various writings that occasionally make reference to Nōnin.

[88] *Shinyō teishi* 心要提示 (Exposition on the Essentials of Mind) is known only by title. It probably was a comment on the Chan treatise *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (*Denshin hōyō*). An edition of the *Chuanxin fayao* was published in Japan by Nōnin. See Chapter Five.

[89] "Essential passages from the *Sugyōroku*" (*Sugyōroku yōmon* 宗鏡録要文) possibly refers to a synoptic recension of the hundred volume *Sugyōroku* (Ch. *Zongjinglu*). The *Shokyōzō mokuroku* 小経蔵目録, a catalogue compiled by the monk Ken'a 釼阿 (1261-1338), lists a three-volume work with the exact same title, *Sugyōroku yōmon*. The Kanazawa Bunko collection preserves what may be the same work under the title *Sugyōroku yōsho* 宗鏡録要処. See Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1985), p. 54, note 4. In *Shōkō Shōninden* (Biography of Venerable Shōkō) (1287) Nōnin is said to discuss "the three books of the *Sugyōroku* – discourse on the teaching, dialogues, citing scriptural evidence," which likewise suggests a tripartite version of the *Sugyōroku*. The biographical entry on Shōkō in *Honchō kōsōden* simply reads: "Nōnin brilliantly lectured on the *Sugyōroku.*" DNBZ 63, p. 215.

> Appraisal: On the whole this episode has the merit of having been a helpful first step. Chen Sheng of the Qin dynasty was a child of a poor family and a man of low caste. Once he made a stand at Yuyang, the lords of the six states rose up to attack the Qin. The Han house was eminently founded and stability was finally brought to the realm. These events had their basis in Sheng's initial action. Would this be why Sima Qian, when editing the *Historical Records*, placed Chen Sheng's genealogy next to the biography of Confucius? In the time of Emperor Saga (r. 809-823), after Yikong 義空 (786-842), the Zen teaching did not flourish for almost four hundred years. Then Nōnin revived it and it thrived again. Matters that went beyond this common man 庸人 stacked up ten stories high. After Nōnin had paved the way, many teachers roamed through the east and roved through the south, jointly making [the Zen school] prosper. Without [Nōnin's] merits this helpful first step would never have been made. Yet, in *Genkō Shakusho*, Master Saihoku [i.e. Kokan Shiren], under the pretext of speaking about Eisai, slandered [Nōnin]. We can probably attribute this to [Shiren's] partiality. It may be considered a public statement that when in Ōei *tsuchinoe-inu* (1418) Koten [Shū]in of the Tenryūji composed his *Busso shūhazu* 佛祖宗派図 (Lineage Chart of Buddhas and Patriarchs),[90] he placed Nōnin in the lineage of Chan master Foxing (*sic*). Having gathered the remaining data and their traces I composed this monk's biography and entrust it to the criticism of future scholars.[91]

The above translated biographical notices are the most comprehensive historical records we have on Nōnin. *Genkō Shakusho* and *Honchō kōsōden* roughly agree on the following: in 1189 a monk named Nōnin dispatched two of his students – Renchū 練中 (n.d.) and Shōben 勝辨 (n.d.) – to China with the aim of procuring documents of certification. These documents would counter criticisms on Nōnin's masterless status and legitimize his propagation of Zen. The two envoys had an audience with Chan master Fozhao Deguang, abbot of the Ayuwang monastery in Mingzhou. Deguang granted the envoys their request and bestowed various items on them, such as a monastic robe and an inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma. Equipped with these items the envoys returned to Japan. Empowered by this Chinese affirmation, Nōnin continued to spread his Zen teachings.

In their assesment of Nōnin, the two exposés reveal striking differences. Shiban's *Honchō kōsōden* appraises Nōnin as a famous reviver of a dormant Zen tradition. Nōnin's propagation of Zen is said to have flourished in Kyoto and beyond. Though Nōnin's understanding is judged limited, he is commended for having paved the way for subsequent Zen teachers. The indirect method of Nōnin's dharma transmission is not criticized. In contrast, Shiren's *Genkō Shakusho* depicts Nōnin as an infamous braggart. Nōnin, we are told, was despised in the capital, and misleadingly preached Zen on the authority of sheer courtesy gifts.

Kokan Shiren's partiality

How to account for the contrast in these sources? First, Mangen Shiban wrote from a distance of several centuries. The hostility that followed Nōnin's eruption on the Buddhist scene had faded. In Kokan Shiren's time the reverberations of Nōnin's activities were still sensed. Shiren's account

[90] Koten Shūin 古篆周印 (n.d.) was a Rinzai monk who studied under Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388). He resided at Tenryūji and later moved to Kenninji. ZGDJ, p. 480. The *Busso shūhazu* lineage chart is extant. It places "Dainichi from Japan" (Nihon Dainichi 日本大日) among the direct dharma heirs of Fozhao Deguang. See Takahasi Shūei, "Dainichibō Nōnin to Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō 2," *Kanazawa Bunkō kenkyū* 22/7-23/1 (1977), p. 31.

[91] DNBZ 63, pp. 273-274.

of Nōnin's disfavorable reception is no doubt based on fact, but it tells only half the story. The untold other half would inform us on Nōnin's popularity and his successful propagation of Zen.

Shiren's one-sided portrayal is tainted by a particular ideological agenda. In writing *Genkō* Shakusho, Shiren – a Zen monk and abbot of Tōfukuji in Kyoto – sought to create an authoritative national history of Buddhism in Japan that incorporated the Zen school as an orthodox tradition, a project intended to consolidate the powerful but still contested position of the Zen school amid the religious institutions of the day.[92] Shiren's political intentions can already be gleaned from the work's title, which mimics that of official Chinese histories. The same politics are at work in his attempts to have his tome officially sanctioned, by submitting it to Emperor Go-daigo, and later to northern Emperor Kōgon, with the request to include it in the Buddhist canon. Though, at the time, this was not granted, *Genkō Shakusho* did gain currency as a normative historical record.

Shiren patterned his work after Chinese secular and Buddhist historiographical writings. The bulk of the work is taken up by a section of biographies of Buddhist monks; the biographies are distributed over subsections according to the achievements of the protagonists. Nōnin briefly surfaces in the lengthy biography of Eisai. Eisai's biography is rubricated under the prestigious section of "Wisdom Transmitters" (*Denchi* 傳智), which comprises biographies of monks who are credited with transmitting orthodox Buddhist traditions from China to Japan. Nōnin, in this configuration, merely functions as a heterodox prop opposite Eisai. As China was the touchstone of orthodoxy, Shiren selected Eisai as the chief transmitter of Zen to Japan, for Eisai, unlike Nōnin, had personally entered the continent to receive proper dharma transmission directly from a Chinese master.

Shiren's preference for Eisai may have further been guided by additional lineage considerations. Shiren belonged to the so-called Rinzai Shōichi lineage, named after the Rinzai monk and founding abbot of Tōfukuji Enni Ben'en (Shōichi Kokushi, 1202-1280). Enni studied in China for several years (1235-41) and received dharma transmission from Chan master Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). Prior to this, Enni had practiced Zen and Esotericism under several of Eisai's students in Japan and had received an esoteric ritual tradition that had been transmitted by Eisai.[93] As a lineage descendant of Enni, and abbot of Tōfukuji, Shiren was obviously inclined to privilege Eisai.

The proscription of the Darumashū

Kokan Shiren mentions hostilities towards Eisai's activities in Kyoto and tries to explain these away by suggesting that Eisai was being conflated with the disreputable Nōnin. Shiren also mentions the schemings of the monk Ryōben who persuaded the Tendai clergy to petition the court for a ban on the budding Zen school (Darumashū). This petition is historical and led to a temporary proscription, issued by the court in 1194. The imperial edict is mentioned in the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (Pearl Leaves), the diary of the courtier Kūjo Kanezane (1149-1207):

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[92] See Bielefeldt, "Kokan Shiren," pp. 295-317.

[93] Before entering China, Enni studied at Jūfukuji in Kamakura under Eichō (d. 1147), one of Eisai's dharma heirs to whom Eisai had transmitted both his Zen and esoteric lineages. A document in Enni's own hand records that Enni inherited an esoteric ritual text from a monk named A'nin 阿忍, who in turn had received it from Eisai. See *Shōitsu kokushi mitsuju A'ninryū ki* 聖一国師密授阿忍流記, quoted in Yanagida Seizan, "Eisai to Kōzengokokuron no kadai," in *Chusei zenke no shisō*, Nihon shisō taikei 16 (Iwanami shoten, 1976), pp. 452-53. A colophon to an esoteric Tendai text entitled *Hachigo fuzoku sanmairyū* 八五付属三昧流 similarly records this esoteric transmission and traces it back to Eisai's *Taimitsu* teacher Kikō Ajari 基好阿闍梨. See Taga, *Eisai*, pp. 280-82.

> As a result of a petition from the clergy of Enryakuji, the promulgation of the Zen school by the monks Eisai and Nōnin has been put to a stop. [94]

The text of the edict partly survived in the thirteenth century chronicle *Hyakurenshō* 百錬抄 (Document of a Hundred Polishings):

> Kenkyū five, month seven, day five, *kinoe-ne*. Monks of the Tendai school have reported to the Emperor that Venerable Eisai who entered China, and Venerable Nōnin who abides in the capital, are said to have established the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū): they [requested] that it should be proscribed. The Emperor has proclaimed that it must be proscribed. [95]

It is often assumed that Eisai's propagation of Zen was prohibited because he became mixed up with Nōnin. By the time the edict was issued, however, Nōnin had been propagating Zen for at least five years, if not longer, apparently without provoking any restrictive legal measures. That the ban on the "Bodhidharma school" was strongly connected to Eisai's activities is hard to deny.

NŌNIN IN *GIKAI FUHŌJŌ*

In line with *Genkō Shakusho*, Eisai is generally regarded as the founder of Zen in Japan. Nōnin's activities are seen as faltering attempts at best.[96] An alternative view on the introduction of Zen in Japan is voiced in a document given the title *Gikai fuhōjō* 義介附法状, written in 1306 by Tettsū Gikai (1219-1309). Gikai was both a Zen monk in Dōgen's Sōtō line of succession as well as an heir to Nōnin's (Rinzai) Darumashū lineage. This dual commitment obviously prejudiced Gikai, and his view on Nōnin can therefore not be taken at face value. *Gikai fuhōjō* is a short record written to confirm the transmission of the Sōtō and Darumashū lineages from Gikai to his pupil Keizan Jōkin (1268-1325). It briefly touches on the transmission of the Darumashū in Japan:

> In the year Chunxi sixteen of the Great Song, the year Bunji five in Japan (1189), Chan master Fozhao, the Venerable Deguang of King Aśoka monastery, citing the precedent of the continuous dharma-lifespan of the Buddha in this world, transmitted [the dharma] from afar via two envoys – Chū and Ben – and from a distance conferred a Rinzai House certificate of succession, a patriarchal lineage chart, and relics of the Six Patriarchs and Samantabhadra to Venerable Nōnin of Sambōji in Sesshū, posthumously decreed Zen Master Jinpō, making him the fifty-first generation patriarch after the Worthy Śākyamuni. These were sealed documents that verified the mind of trust. [Nōnin], therefore, immediately requested official judgement. Master [Nōnin] was ordered to come to the imperial palace and disclose [the documents]. Though he was a Lecturer of the Eight Schools, [Nōnin] was

[94] 延暦寺衆徒ノ訴ニ依リテ、僧榮西能忍等ノ禪宗ヲ弘ムルコトヲ停ム。 (DNS 4, 4, p. 610).

[95] 七月五日甲子、入唐上人榮西、在京能忍等、令建立達磨宗之由風聞　可被停止之旨。天台宗僧徒奏聞云々。可従停止之趣被宣下云々。(DNS 4, 4, p. 610. Kanbun markers omitted). The petition is also alluded to in the fourteenth century *Taiheiki* (Tale of Heike), Nihon kotenbungaku taikei 35, pp. 418-20. Also see the fourteenth century Tendai record *Sanmon soshin* 山門訴申 (Petitions of the Mountain): "Since olden times the Mountain Gate persistently lodged formal complaints against this promotion of Zen doctrine. In the reign of cloistered Emperor Go-Toba, in the Kenkyū period, Eisai and Nōnin propagated this school in the capital. Their disturbing activities extended from the northern ridges to the southern areas." *Sanmon soshin*, cited in Takahashi, *Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō* (2), p. 30.

[96] See for example Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History – Japan* (MacMillan Publishing Company, 1993), p. 14.

> promoted by imperial proclamation to First Patriarch of the True School of Bodhidharma. From that time on the Bodhidharma school was revered in the country of Japan. This dharma was conferred on Venerable Kakuan of Higashiyama. Kakuan transmitted it to Master Kakuzen of Hajakuji in Esshū. Kakuzen transmitted it to me, Gikai. These documents, together with the relics of the Six Patriarchs and Samantabhadra (one grain), I likewise pass on to Elder Jōkin, who must regard them as subsidiary verification to the Sōtō certificate of succession. I also entrust Venerable Nōnin's letter, Chan Master Fozhao's reply, as well as Renchū and Shōben's *Record of a Sojourn in China*.
> Gikai, founder of Daijōji in Kasshū, fourth year of Kagen (1306), *hinoe- uma,* mid-winter (month eleven), day three.[97]

Nonin's visit to court

According to *Gikai fuhōjō*, Nōnin was summoned to court to disclose the documents he received from Fozhao Deguang. Apparently the audience went well, for by imperial proclamation Nōnin was acknowledged as Japan's "First Patriarch of the True school of Bodhidharma" (*Daruma shōshū shoso* 達磨正宗初祖). Official recognition by the court of Nōnin as Japan's first Darumashū patriarch appears at odds with the 1194 imperial proscription in which Nōnin is actually charged with establishing the Darumashū. It would, however, not have been unusual for the court to summon a religious figure like Nōnin. In the late Heian period the long interrupted official diplomatic relations with China were resumed and Japanese interest in Song culture was mounting. In 1175, the court summoned the monk Kakua who, as mentioned earlier, had studied in Song China and returned to Japan as a Chan lineage initiate. Nōnin, a charismatic monk in possession of Chinese paintings and documents, may similarly have been instructed to present himself to court. Nōnin's court audience is in fact alluded to in another source, *Shōkō Shōninden* 聖光上人傳, a biography of Nōnin's contemporary Shōkō 聖光 (1162-1238), composed in 1287 (some twenty years prior to *Gikai fuhōjō*):

> Long ago there was Zen master Dainichi [Nōnin]. He loved to inquire and debate. He subtly accorded with the intention of the patriarch. Then, in the summer of the year Bunji five (1189), he dispatched envoys to the country of Song to request the dharma from Fozhao (abbot of King Aśoka Monastery). Fozhao certified him and conferred a patriarchal name. Thereupon Zen master [Dainichi] reported to the Emperor (*insō* 院奏) and propagated the Darumashū. [98]

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[97] 大宋淳熙十六年日本文治五年、育王佛照禪師德光 拙庵 和尚引佛在世之生主法壽例、遙付中辨二使、以臨済家嗣書、祖師相傳血脈、六祖普賢舍利等, 遠授攝州三宝寺能忍和尚、勅諡深法禪師、為釋尊五十一世祖。此印信心印文、依有速請官裁、師命即在皇居開之、雖八宗講者進以為達磨正宗初祖、蒙宣下、自爾日本國裏初仰達磨宗。 其法授東山覚晏上人、晏附越州波着寺覚禪和尚、禪附義介。 此書并六祖普賢舍利 一粒同寄紹瑾長老、以可為当家曹洞 嗣書之助證。 能忍和尚信牒、佛照禪師返牒、練中勝辨在唐記委在之。 嘉元四年丙午十一月仲冬三日加州大乘寺開闢義介授之。(*Sōtōshū komonjo* 1, p. 526). Cited in Washio Junkei**,** *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Fujisanbō, 1938), p. 130; Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993) (reprint), p. 484. Murata Tadashi, "Kōfuku, Daijōji ni okeru Sōtōshū denpō monjo," *Nihon rekishi* 308 (1974): pp. 18-19.

[98] 昔有大日禪師者。好索理論。妙契祖意。遂令文治五年夏遣使於宋國。請法於佛照。(育王山長老也)。佛照印可賜祖號。於是禪師經院奏。弘達磨宗。(*Zoku gunshoruijū* 9, p. 32.) The term *insō* 院奏 refers to reporting to the Emperor, especially the imperial headship (*chiten no kimi* 治天の君). In 1189 the reigning Emperor was the nine year old Go-Toba 後鳥羽天皇 (1180-1239) (r. 1183-1198), a grandson of Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192). Nōnin's audience would have been with Go-Shirakawa, who had abdicated in 1158 and as a retired Emperor exerted political power until his death in 1192.

If we can rely on this record there may indeed have been a court audience and some kind of official recognition for Nōnin and his group, but details remain unclear.

Zen master Deep Dharma

Gikai fuhōjō mentions that Nōnin was awarded a posthumous title: Jinpō Zenji 深法禅師 (Zen master Deep Dharma). Such a court-awarded title would indicate an officially recognized status. In China, the earliest documented cases of the bestowal by the court of the title Chanshi (Zenji) are that of Shenxiu (d.706) who posthumously received the name Datong Chanshi 大通禅師 (Chan Master Great Penetration) and Zonggao (1089-1163) who in his lifetime received the name Dahui Chanshi 大慧禅師 (Chan Master Great Wisdom). The first documented bestowal of this type of Zenji title in Japan by the court is that of the Chinese émigré monk Lanqi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (Rankei Dōryū 1213-1278), who posthumously received the name Daikaku Zenji 大覺禅師 (Zen Master Great Awakening) in 1278, long after Nōnin.[99] Nōnin's receiving of the Zenji title cannot be confirmed from materials exterior to the tradition.

Lecturer of the eight schools

Prior to becoming Japan's first Darumashū patriarch, Nōnin, according to *Gikai fuhōjō*, was a "Lecturer of the eight schools" (Hasshū kōsha 八宗講者). This title is not known to indicate an official rank. Though its exact meaning is unclear, the title obviously points to a recognized expertise in Buddhist teachings and scriptures that were acknowledged in the Buddhist establishment of the time. According to Yanagida Seizan the appellation "Hasshū kōsha" may reflect a moderate, scholarly aspect of Nōnin's teaching activities which got obscured by the biased charges of the Tendai establishment.[100] This aspect markedly contrasts with the radical image that is generally associated with Nōnin. Martin Colcutt, for instance, describes Nōnin as "an uncompromising opponent of any form of accommodation between Zen and Japanese scholasticism", typical of Nōnin's "aggressive purism." [101] This characterization implies a sharp divide between the "old Buddhism" of the Nara and Heian periods and the so-called "New Kamakura Buddhism," and supposes that the latter consisted of radical, purist reform movements (Zen, Jōdo, Nichiren) seceding from a decadent Buddhist establishment. In a critical reassessment of this long-established paradigm scholars have increasingly recognized continuities and interaction between "old" and "new." [102] Perceptions of Nōnin being a "Lecturer of the Eight Schools" point to this more fluid reality and further underscore the limits of positing a strict dichotomy between "old" and "new" Buddhism.

[99] Frédéric Girard, "Les zenji dans le Japon ancien," *Revue d'Etudes Japonaises du CEEJA*, Publications Orientalistes de France, Centre Européen d'Etudes Japonaises d'Alsace, Département d'Etudes Japonaises de l'Université Marc Bloch (November 2005), p. 10.
[100] Yanagida Seizan, "Kūbyō no mondai, in *Kū* (2), Bukkyō shisō 7, edited by Nakamura Hajime, et al. (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1982), pp. 757-798.
[101] Martin Colcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Harvard University Press), p. 39.
[102] For instance, Richard K. Payne (ed.), *Re-visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1998.

Dharma transmission from afar

Gikai's letter to Keizan plainly states that Nōnin and Fozhao never met in the flesh: the dharma was "transmitted from afar" (*yōfu* 遙附).[103] Scholars have typified the case of Nōnin's indirect dharma transmission as unprecedented, inauthentic and bizarre. Chan literature, however, does report on cases of indirect transmission. The literature reveals the acceptance of "transmission by proxy" (*daifu* 代附), that is, the conferral of the dharma from a deceased master to a living student by way of a representative of the late master – a paradigmatic case being that of Chan master Yiqing (1032-1083) of the Caodong (Sōtō) lineage.[104]

The term *yōfu* (transmission from afar), which Gikai uses in his account, can be found in Chan related materials. The preface to the stele inscription for Chan master Shenxiu reads:

> The Tathāgatas transmit the essential way with the mind and vigorously uphold their virtues. Throughout myriads of kalpas they have long passed down the seal of the dharma (Ch. *yaofu fayin*; *yōfu hōin* 遙付法印). In one moment they suddenly confer the dharmakāya.[105]

Here the term *yōfu* simply denotes the chronological extension of the Chan lineage by way of the successive transmissions from one Buddha to the next. Another use of this term is found in the account of the transmission between the Chan masters Wuxiang 無相 (a.k.a Venerable Kim 金和上) (684-762) and Wuzhu 無住 (714-774) in the early Chan record *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma Jewel throughout the Ages). *Lidai fabaoji* relates how Venerable Kim briefly meets Wuzhu at a precept ceremony at the Jingzhong monastery in Chengdu, where Kim presided as abbot. Following Kim's instructions Wuzhu leaves the monastery and enters the mountains. The two monks never meet again but continue to maintain a mysterious long-distance bond. Nearing the end of his life Kim dispatches a messenger to the mountains to give Wuzhu a kāṣāya as a token of legitimate dharma transmission. After various complications the kāṣāya is delivered to Wuzhu: thus "the transmission was settled from a afar" (Ch. *yaofu zhuqi* 遙付囑訖).[106] Here the term *yaofu/yōfu* clearly refers to dharma transmission over a spatial distance by way of a messenger.

Gikai's letter to Keizan may, perhaps, reveal a hitherto unobserved detail about the indirect transmission from Chan master Fozhao to Dainichi Nōnin. Gikai writes that Fozhao transmitted the dharma to Nōnin "from afar" and in doing so cited a precedent concerning "the continuous dharma-lifespan of the Buddha in this world." My tentative translation of this somewhat cryptic line follows an emended reading by Menzan Zuihō: *Butsuzaise no shōshō hōju no rei wo hiite* 引佛在世之生主法壽例.[107] Menzan was apparently doubtful about the compound *shōjū* 生主 in the original manuscript and replaced it with *shōshō* 生生. What, indeed, to make of *shōjū* 生主? Could it not refer to "Daishōjū" 大生主, that is, Mahāprajāpatī 摩訶波闍婆提, the aunt and

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[103] In another letter to Keizan, Gikai similarly writes that Nōnin inherited the dharma from afar (*yōshi* 遙嗣), without having met Fozhao in person (*fukenmen* 不見面). This letter, dated Kagen 4/8/28, is given the title *Gikan fuhōjō* 義鑒附法状 as Gikai signed it with his Darumashū name Gikan 義鑒. See *Gikan fuhōjō*, *Sōtōshū komonjo* 2, pp. 408-409. Cited in Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, p. 129. Ōkubo, *Dōgen Zenjiden*, p. 476-77. Murata, "Kōfuku, Daijōji," pp. 20-21.

[104] See William Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen: Manzan Dōhaku's Reform Movement," *Monumenta Nipponica* 46/4 (1991), pp. 427-28.

[105] 如來有意傳要道力持至德。萬劫而遙付法印。一念而頓授佛身。(*Quan tang wen*, vol. 231.)

[106] *Lidai fabaoji* (T. 2075, 185a07). A study and a translation of the *Lidai fabaoji* are found in Wendi L. Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission* (Columbia University Press, 2007).

[107] *Kenzeiki*, p. 146.

adoptive mother of the Buddha and first Buddhist nun? If so, the life of Mahāprajāpatī (a.k.a Prajāpatī) must contain a feature that would relate to indirect transmission. One thing that comes to mind is Prajāpatī's induction into the saṃgha. The Buddha initially refused her request to become a member of the saṃgha on account of her being female. It was only when the Buddha's student Ānanda – *acting as an intermediary* – beseeched the Buddha that her request for ordination was granted. A more tantalizing connection between Prajāpatī and "indirect transmission" is found in Buddhist lore relating to the transmission of the Buddha's kāṣāya. According to a story recorded by Xuanzang (602-664), cited by Wendi Adamek in her study of the Chan text *Lidai fabaoji*, the Buddha, about to enter nirvāṇa, transmitted a gold-embroidered kāṣāya to his disciple Mahākāśyapa and then predicts that Mahākāśyapa will at the time of his own nirvāṇa be encased inside Mount Kukkuṭapāda to await the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya; when the future Buddha comes, the mountain will open and Mahākāśyapa will transmit the golden robe to Maitreya. Variant robe narratives have the Buddha's aunt Prajāpatī offer a gold-embroidered kāṣāya to the Buddha; the Buddha refuses this gift but Prajāpatī finds a monk in Buddha's assembly to accept it: this monk turns out to be Maitreya. The kāṣāya, in this case, is transmitted from Buddha Śākyamuni to Buddha Maitreya *through the mediation of Prajāpatī*.[108] According to Adamek this narrative influenced the pattern of indirect transmission that surfaces in the *Lidai fabaoji*:

> …a pattern favored in the *Lidai fabaoji*, whereby an intermediary passes the robe as a symbol of authority between *two links in a chain that are not in direct contact*. This pattern is repeated twice in the *Lidai fabaoji*: the transmission of the robe from Huineng to Zhishen via empress Wu prefigures the transmission of robe and Dharma from Wuxiang to Wuzhu via a servant of Wuxiang's.[109]

If Gikai's letter indeed refers to Prajāpatī, it was perhaps this episode that Fozhao invoked as a precedent for the indirect transmission to Nōnin. The fact that a precedent is offered at all may suggest that the proceedings were considered exceptional and thus in need of scriptural support.

More details concerning the transmission from Fozhao to Nōnin are likely to have been contained in two documents that are mentioned by Gikai: a letter by Nōnin to Fozhao (*Nōnin Oshō shinjō* 能忍和尚信牒) and Fozhao's reply to it (*Busshō Zenji henjō* 佛照禅師返牒). In addition Gikai mentions an account written by Nōnin's students Renchū and Shōben about their sojourn in China (*Zaitōki* 在唐記). Unfortunately none of these documents seem to have survived.

NŌNIN IN *SHŌKŌ SHŌNINDEN* (BIOGRAPHY OF VENERABLE SHŌKŌ)

Nōnin's biography in *Honchō kōsōden* notes that he discoursed with Shōkō 聖光 (1162-1238). Shōkō, a native of Chikuzen Province in Chinzei 鎮西 (Kyūshū), is revered as the second patriarch of the Pure Land school in Japan and the founder of the dominant Chinzei branch.[110] Shōkō (also known as Ben'a 辨阿 and Benchō 辨長) was ordained as a Tendai monk in 1175. In 1183 he ascended Mount Hiei, where he studied with Kan'ei 観叡 (n.d.) and Shōshin 証真. In

[108] Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission*, p. 186-187
[109] Ibid., p. 186. (italics mine).
[110] *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten*, p. 907.

1190 he returned to the region of his birth, but after a few years again went up to Kyoto; in 1197 he became a close student of the Pure Land teacher Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212).

For its description of the meeting between Shōkō and Nōnin, *Honchō kōsōden* relied on the earlier mentioned *Shōkō Shōninden* (Biography of Venerable Shōkō) (1287), written by the Pure Land monk Dōkō 道光 (1243-1330).[111] The *Shōkō shōninden* describes the encounter as follows:

> Venerable [Shōkō] visited [Dainichibō's] Zen hermitage. He interrogated him about the gate of the dharma and the buddhahood of non-eliminated delusions (doctrinal meanings); about the three books of the *Sugyōroku* (discourse on the teachings, dialogues, citing scriptural evidence); about the three truths of the Tendai school (empty, provisional, middle); and about the five lineages of the Darumashū (Isanshū, Rinzaishū, Hōgenshū, Umonshū, Sōtōshū). Zen master [Dainichibō] kept his lips locked and tongue tied. He did not answer, and then in praise said: "You are Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, appearing here to instruct me!" The Zen master's followers – Shinren Tokugō and Ācārya of the Third Rank – were all red-faced with embarrassment and did not help out. Aged forty-three, in the first year of Genkyū (1204), *kinoe-ne*, in the beginning of month eight, [Shōkō] left Higashiyama's dens of learning and went to the old villages of Chinzei; he propagated the True school and recommended reciting the name [of Buddha Amida]. More than two thousand people, both laity and priests, took refuge [in his teachings]. Man and woman flocked to him in numbers beyond count![112]

Shōkō shōninden is a hagiographical work intended to exalt Shōkō as a Pure Land patriarch. The work depreciates Nōnin, yet it is clear that its author considered Nōnin important enough to include him in the narrative as a device in enhancing Shōkō's prestige. Shōkō himself must also have been aware of Nōnin's renown, and he probably consulted Nōnin for that very reason. The passage thus implies Nōnin's prominence and a perceived (though allegedly disappointing) expertise in matters relating to Tendai, Zen and the *Sugyōroku*.

The passage moreover identifies two of Nōnin's followers: Shinren Tokugō 心蓮得業 and Ācārya of the Third Rank (*San' i ajari* 三位阿闍梨).[113] *Tokugō* 得業 is a title that was given to priests who passed doctrinal examinations at one of the three prestigious Buddhist ceremonies that were annually held in Nara, known as the *Nankyō san'e* 南京三會 (Three Ceremonies of the Southern Capital).[114] The term *san-i* 三位 (third rank) indicates an official court rank. If reliable, this would indicate that Nōnin's Darumashū community counted members of significant clerical/social status.

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[111] Dōkō, also known as Ryōe 了慧, was a scholar monk of Mount Hiei. He became a pupil of Shōkō's student Ryōchū (1199-1287). Dōkō is especially known for compiling and editing the *Kurodani Shōnin gotōroku* 黒谷聖人語燈録 (1275), the earliest collection of talks and writings by Hōnen.

[112] 上人到彼禪室。難問法門。不斷惑之成佛。(宗門意。) 宗鏡錄之三章。(標章問答引證。) 天台宗之三諦。(空假中。) 達磨宗之五宗(爲仰宗。臨済宗。法眼宗。雲門宗。曹洞宗。)等[是]也。禪師閉口結舌。不答而讃曰。汝是文殊師利菩薩。爲訓我而來歟云云。禪師門資(心蓮得業。三位阿闍梨。) 皆赧然而不輔。行年四十三。元久元年甲子八月上旬。辭東山學窓。赴鎮西之奮里。弘於眞宗。勸於稱名。道俗歸者二千餘人、男女去者其數幾耶。(*Zoku gunshoruijū* 9, p. 32).

[113] An augmented edition of *Shōkō Shōninden* from 1818, included in *Jōdoshū zensho* (JZ 17, pp. 378-397), adds "a person from Nara" (*Nara no hito* 奈良人) and "a person from the Northern Capital" (*Hokkyō no hito* 北京人). JZ 17, p. 387.

[114] The *Nankyō san'e* are the *Yuima-e* 唯摩會 (Ceremony for the Vimalakīrti sūtra), *Hokke-e* 法華會 (Ceremony for the Lotus sūtra) held at Kōfukuji and the *Saishō-e* 最勝會 (Ceremony for the Golden Light sūtra) held at Yakushiji. See Marinus Willem de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times* (Leiden: Brill 1935), p. 445.

Interesting are the lines on Nōnin's silence in response to Shōkō's interrogation. The expression "lips locked and tongue tied" (*heikō ketsuzetsu* 閉口結舌) implies that Nōnin was silenced by the superior arguments of his opponent and thus defeated in debate. A similar incident is reported in *Genkō Shakusho* with regard to Nōnin's debate with Eisai, which is likewise said to have ended with Nōnin keeping his mouth closed. It seems that Nōnin was not much of a debater. Or is there more to his silence? If we accept that Nōnin's silence is to be taken literal, then another interpretation is possible. In the earliest Chan texts we already find warnings against verbal anwers to questions about the dharma. Bodhidharma, for instance, is said to have declared: "Dharma is speechless and an answer is having speech. Dharma is without interpretation and an answer is interpretation."[115] In classical Chan, silence (alongside grimacing, finger pointing, shouting, kicking, clubbing and so forth) represents a performative act of an accomplished master's awakened state, "not reliant on words and letters." In this sense Nōnin's speechless response to dharmic inquiry might mimic a traditional model. Such a reading of the event also proposes itself by taking into account Nōnin's subsequent mention of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, which reads as an allusion to the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*.[116] In a seminal passage of this sūtra Mañjuśrī asks the layman/bodhisattva Vimalakīrti to express the nondual truth. Vimalakīrti responds with silence and thereby surpasses the wordy answers given earlier by a host of Bodhisattvas, including Mañjuśrī himself.[117] The Chan/Zen tradition accords great significance to this episode. In this light, reports of Nōnin's silence in debate and his subsequent mentioning of Mañjuśrī may point to Nōnin's use – or fabled use – of Zen style Vimalakīrtian silence.

After describing Shōkō's awkward meeting with Nōnin, *Shōkō Shōninden* relates how Shōkō left Higashiyama to preach in Chinzei in the first year of Genkyū (1204). From the narrative it is hard to tell whether these two events immediately followed one another. If they did, Nōnin resided in Higashiyama as late as 1204, almost a decennium after his reputed murder. We will return to Nōnin's death shortly.

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[115] Jeffrey Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology* (University of California Press, 1999), p. 19.

[116] The thematic similarity between Nōnin's silence and Vimalakīrti was noted by Ishii Shūdō, "Shōbō-ji monjo yori mitari nihondarumashū no seikaku toku ni Kōzengokokuron no Nihondarumashū hihan to kanren shite," *Bukkyōgaku* 35 (1993): pp. 1-20.

[117] The relevant passage in the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* reads:

> When the various bodhisattvas had finished one by one giving their explanations, they asked Mañjuśrī, "How then does the bodhisattva enter the gate of nondualism?" Mañjuśrī replied, "To my way of thinking, all dharmas are without words, without explanations, without purport, without cognition, removed from all questions and answers. In this way one may enter the gate of nondualism." Then Mañjuśrī said to Vimalakīrti, "Each of us has given an explanation. Now, sir, it is your turn to speak. How does the bodhisattva enter the gate of nondualism?" At that time Vimalakīrti remained silent and did not speak a word. Mañjuśrī sighed and said, "Excellent, excellent! Not a word, not a syllable – this truly is to enter the gate of nondualism!" (*The Vimalakīrti Sutra*, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 110-111. Slightly changed).

NŌNIN IN *TETSU SENCHAKUSHŌ*

Nōnin also emerges in a related Pure Land work entitled *Tetsu senchakushō* 徹選擇鈔 (1260), written by Shōkō's disciple Ryōchū 良忠 (1199-1287).[118] Ryōchū's text reads:

> Late master [Shōkō] said:
> One time Venerable [Hōnen] asked me: "Would there be a qualitative difference in merit between a foolish and a wise person reciting the name [of Buddha Amida]?" I thought to myself: "Original Vow *nenbutsu* is recitation with faith, so what difference can there be between that of a foolish and a wise person?" But slanderously I answered: "How could the *nenbutsu* of a fool ever compare to your *nenbutsu*, Venerable?" Exasperated, [Hōnen] said: "You do not yet know the intent of the Original Vow. A distinction is made between those who have established faith and those who are without faith, but you must not be concerned with this. For *nenbutsu* of the Original Vow no contemplative methods are needed. This being so, the *nenbutsu* of [the simple man] Awa no Suke and the *nenbutsu* of Genkū [i.e. Hōnen] are simply the same thing."
> A story says:
> When I [Shōkō] visited the dwelling of Dainichibō, this man declared: "*Nenbutsu* is the charming practice of just doing *namu Amida butsu*, rythmically reciting the name and dancing to a beat." Lots of people think it is like this. The meaning of the Original Vow is not so. By simply reciting *namu Amida butsu* we are in accord with the Original Vow and will be born in the Pure Land. I wrote this down in a simple way so as to make you understand the meaning.[119]

Nōnin is cited here as commenting on a form of *nenbutsu* practice that involved dancing and rhythmical chanting. The description recalls the so-called "dancing *nenbutsu*" (*odorinenbutsu* 踊念佛) that had been popularized long before by the itinerant *hijiri* Kūya 空也 (903-927). Kūya invoked Buddha Amida while dancing to the beat of a small, hand held gong. In the late thirteenth century this style of *nenbutsu* was revitalizated by Ippen 一遍 (1234-1289) and widely practiced by the itinerant preachers of Ippen's Ji school (Jishū 時宗). The practice was also popular among wandering Zen monks of the Hottō faction 法燈派 (known as *kandō hijiri* 萱堂聖, "grass hut sages") and adopted by eccentric lay practitioners such as Jinen 自然居士 (n.d.) and Tōgan 東岸居士 (n.d.), who were associated with the Zen monk Enni Ben'en.[120] In the above cited passage from *Tetsu senchakushō* the story about Nōnin is raised as a rhetorical device to contrast Shōkō's orthodox *nenbutsu* with a type of heteromorphic dancing *nenbutsu* that was re-emerging in Ryōchū's own time. Nōnin calls this practice "*okashi*," a multivalent word that connotes something odd, interesting, amusing, or beautiful – "something that brought a smile to

[118] *Tetsu senchakushō* is a synopsis of Shōkō's *Tetsu senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 徹選擇本願念佛集 (T. 2609), which in turn is a commentary on Hōnen's *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 選擇本願念佛集 (T. 2608).
[119] 先師云有時上人問予云智者稱名愚者稱名功德可有勝劣乎。予心中謂爲本願念佛但信稱名也。智者愚者有何分別乎。然存譏嫌答申愚者念佛何齊上人御念佛乎。云云　上人彈云汝未知本願之趣故。設信不信而有差別不顧本願念佛者不用顴法等然アノ阿波介念佛源空念佛只同事也。云云　物語云大日房處マカリタリシニ彼人被申念佛但南無阿彌陀佛勸ナルソヲカシキ事也。稱名拍子也舞折拍子也。云云　人人皆如此思也本願意サハナシ。只唱南無阿彌陀佛相應本願可生淨土也。此意爲令知見易如此書也。云云。 (JZ 7, pp. 113-14) (Japanese Kanbun markers omitted).
[120] Harada Masatoshi, *Nihon chūsei Zenshū to shakai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), pp. 170-173.

the face."[121] The reference is perhaps too obscure to extrapolate anything reliable about Nōnin's position vis-à-vis *nenbutsu* practice, but, as we will see later, *nenbutsu* did in fact play a significant role in Darumashū communities.

The story about Nōnin in *Tetsu senchakushō* appears after a gloss on a passage in Shōkō's *Tetsu senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 徹選擇本願念佛集. The gloss describes a Buddhist practitioner who prematurely died after a life of uncompleted practices; the moment that this practitioner reincarnated he got instantly severed from all the spiritual merits that he had obtained from having observed the precepts in his previous existence: "He ignored the cultivation of wisdom and concentration, lost his determination, became deeply involved in worldly pleasures and hugely entangled in the three harmful acts. He entered straight into hell from which it is difficult to escape, even in immeasurable eons!"[122] Though this gloss does not directly refer to Nōnin, it shows the negative context in which Nōnin's story figured.

Whatever the facticity of the above two references to Nōnin, it is clear that in Pure Land circles, too, Nōnin was an object of criticism.

NŌNIN'S SOLITARY AWAKENING

Why did Nōnin not go to China to pursue his interests in Zen, like his contemporaries Eisai and Kakua? Traveling to China was a hazardous undertaking and required funds, imperial permission (though this could be circumvented) and, no doubt, mental and physical stamina. Nōnin might have been deficient in one or more of these conditions. Or, perhaps, Nōnin initially did not perceive the need to go abroad because the Zen tradition was right there at his doorstep on Mount Hiei. Nōnin, in any case, eventually dispatched two of his pupils to the mainland. His decision to do so may have arisen from a desire to have his personal, spiritual insights confirmed by a genuine authority. The wish to obtain documents from a renowned Chinese institution so as to legitimise the propagation of Zen in Japan must, of course, also be counted as a probable motive. Reflecting on why Nōnin did not cross the sea himself, Nakao Ryōshin writes that Nōnin might at the time already have been in the winter of his life; he may also have been pre-occupied with teaching and managing the burgeoning community at Sambōji. Reports that Nōnin did in fact journey to China go back as early as 1218.[123] Such reports were no doubt constructed within Darumashū communities to counter criticisms on Nōnin's credentials and the legitimacy of the Darumashū.

Most likely then, Nōnin remained in Japan. Nōnin's formative studies in Japan are described in *Honchō kōsōden* in very general terms: "From a young age he attended lectures and studied the sūtras and commentaries. By nature he enjoyed meditation. He polished his spirit, made effort, and suddenly attained the state of awakening." This does not divulge very much. Also, due to the source's late provenance, we cannot read too much into it. Still, we can assume that Nōnin somehow came to a point that he regarded himself truly awakened. As a Yokawa-based Tendai

[121] "The Vocabulary of Japanese Aesthetics," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: From Earliest Times Through the Sixteenth Century*, edited by William Theodore de Bary, et. al. (Colombia University Press, 2001), p. 199.
[122] JZ 7, p. 113
[123] *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku.* Entry for the year Kenpō 6 (1218). See Chapter Three. Nōnin's visit to China is also mentioned in writings of the Edo period. For example, *Shiojiri* 塩尻 (Buttocks of Salt) by Amano Nobukage 天野信景 (1660-1733), in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 15, p. 101-102.

monk he must have done so in the context of the doctrinal and practice traditions available on Mount Hiei.[124] From a purely doctrinal point of view it might be argued that Nōnin acted in line with the early Chan teachings that were preserved on Mount Hiei. A verse by Baozhi, for instance, says: "Why look outward in search of a treasure? Your body-field itself possesses a bright pearl."[125] The *Xuemailun*, attributed to Bodhidharma, admits to the rare possibility of awakening without a teacher, and even considers it superior: "If through a coming together of conditions one grasps the Buddha's intention it is not necessary to study with a good teacher. Being a natural way of knowing, this is superior to study." [126] Radical currents in the Tendai discourse of "original awakening" (*hongaku*), moreover, asserted that a plain and simple exposure to the Buddhadharma – through a good friend or a Buddhist text – instantly occasion the attainment of full buddhahood.[127]

NŌNIN AND ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

The multifaceted Tendai system at Nōnin's disposal included esotericism (*mikkyō* 密教), commonly referred to as Taimitsu 台密 (in contradistinction to the Tōmitsu tradition 東密 associated with Kūkai and the Shingon school). Nōnin doubtless absorbed esoteric ideas and practices, which by then had thoroughly permeated Buddhist culture. Nōnin's residential name "Dainichibō" 大日房, containing the name Dainichi (Skt. Mahāvairocana), the central Buddha of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, is in itself suggestive of an esoteric background.[128]

Nōnin's association with esotericism is attested in *Ryōinketsu* 了因決, a thirteenth century anthology of secret Tendai teachings (*kuden* 口傳), compiled by the monk Ryōe 良惠. In this text, Nōnin – referred to as Dainichibō – briefly surfaces in a passage that discusses the socalled "five kinds of samādhi" (*gojū sanmaya* 五種三昧耶). The five kinds of samādhi represent five stages of esoteric initiation: (1) The aspiring esoteric practitioner is allowed to view and venerate a maṇḍala from a distance. (2) The practitioner is allowed inside the esoteric altar enclosure and is taught the names of the various esoteric deities, and is allowed to throw a flower on a maṇḍala to establish a personal connection with a particular deity (*kechien* 結縁). (3) The teacher constructs a maṇḍala and teaches the practitioner mantras, mudras and ritual practices. (4) The practitioner learns to construct a maṇḍala himself, and is further instructed in esoteric teachings and rituals. (5) Finally there is the "secret samādhi" (*himitsu sanmaya* 秘密三昧耶), a spiritual union of master and student for which no ritual implements are required. The passage that briefly features Nōnin reads as follows:

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[124] Nōnin's student Kakuan and the latter's students Ekan, Ejō and other Darumashū adepts came from Mount Hiei's Yokawa precincts. It is inferred that Nōnin, too, came from this particular Tendai area. Imaeda Aishin identified the name "Dainichibō" as typical for Tendai lineages. I would further point to *Shōkō Shōninden*, which mentions that Nōnin lectured on the "threefold truth of the *Tendai school*." A note in *Tetsu senchaku honmatsu kudensho* 徹選擇本末口傳抄 (1428) by the Pure Land monk Shōsō 聖聡 (1366-1440) identifies Nōnin as a resident of Mount Kōya, the centre of Shingon esotericism (JZ, 7, p.130).

[125] From the verse "Buddha and ordinary beings are nondual" (Ch. *Fo yu zhongsheng buer* 佛與眾生不二) attributed to Baozhi. *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 450c19-24).

[126] *Xuemailun* (T. 2009, p. 373c26-c27).

[127] See Jacqueline Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 190-236.

[128] Dainichi 大日 is the Sino-Japanese rendering of the Sanskrit Mahāvairocana, the central Buddha of Esoteric Buddhism. The suffix *bō* 房 (chamber) defines the name as that of a Buddhist monk and originally referred to the monk's dwelling place. Dainichibō might thus indicate that Nōnin resided in a temple named Dainichiji or Dainichi-in, but this is highly conjectural.

> Master Kō said: "The second samādhi is a consecration for establishing a connection." Someone said: "Consecration at Enryakuji corresponds to the third samādhi. Consecration at Tōji corresponds to the second samādhi." Master Kō said: "The five samādhis are broad. The three consecrations are narrow. Remember that "fifth samādhi" is the same as "mind consecration." Godai-in [Annen] maintained that they are different, but this is not accurate. The first and second of the five samādhis [usually] do not involve a consecration. This alternative second samādhi amounts to a consecration for establishing a connection. "Secret consecration" is the same as "fifth samādhi". Dainichibō said: "Kōin said that the fifth samādhi is an explanation by the Buddha. People do not know this." Master Kō said: "That is something else. The fifth samādhi I always talk about and the mind consecration are one and the same. [It means that] master and disciple jointly attain mystical integration. People should study this."[129]

Though lacking in contextual detail, the above passage indicates that Dainichibō Nōnin moved in Esoteric Buddhist circles. Under a certain Master Kō 江師, Nōnin participated in a discussion about esoteric samādhi practices and consecration rituals (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; *kanjō* 灌頂). Prior to this, Nōnin had apparently heard of the "fifth samādhi" from the Kōin 公胤 (d. 1216), a renowned esoteric ritualist who presided over the Tendai monastic complex Miidera 三井寺 (Onjōji 園城寺).[130] The "fifth samādhi" or "mind consecration" (*shin kanjō* 心灌頂) discussed in the above translated passage, is considered the most profound of three forms of consecration that are distinguished in Esoteric Buddhism. The *shin kanjō* (also called *ishin kanjō* 以心灌頂) is a highly condensed type of consecration in that it omits or abbreviates many of the otherwise prescribed ritual forms and customary stipulations. Basically, the esoteric yoga instructor (*yūga ajari*) and his student (*gyōja* 行者) visualize their own bodies as maṇḍalas and enter a state of samādhi (i.e. the fifth samādhi). At that time a spiritual merger between the master and the student is believed to take place – a merger that allows the student to spontaneously attain the essence of each and every esoteric teaching.[131] Though the brief passage in *Ryōinketsu* provides no details about the nature of Nōnin's interest in this mind consecration, it is easy to imagine how the concept of esoteric *ishin kanjō* would invite comparisons to the concept of the wordless "mind to mind transmission" (*ishin denshin*) of the Zen tradition. In esoteric circles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is known, such comparisons were indeed considered.[132]

That Nōnin himself was an accomplished esoteric practitioner is suggested by a document recently discovered at Shinpukuji in Nagoya. This document (dated approximately 1260) refers to

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[129] 江師云。第二ノ三昧耶ハ結縁灌頂也 云云 或人云。延暦寺灌頂ハ第三ノ三摩耶ナリ。東寺ノ灌頂ハ第二ノ三昧也 云云 江師云。五種ノ三摩耶ハ廣。三種ノ灌頂ハ狹。第五ノ三昧耶與トハ心灌頂同シ物ト覺ルヲ。五大院別也ト宣へ給。不得意 五種ノ三昧耶ニハ第一第二ハ不ル及灌頂ニモ物也。此ノ不同ナル第二ノ三昧耶ハ結縁灌頂也。祕密灌頂與トハ第五ノ三昧耶同物也。 大日房云。公胤ハ第五ノ三昧耶ハ佛ノ所説也。人不知之ヲ 云云 江師云。夫ハ別ノ物也。常ニ所ノ云フ第五ノ三昧耶并ニ祕密灌頂ハ一物也。師資共ニ得タラム瑜伽ヲ人可習之ヲ。云云。(T. 2414, 167b14-c03).

[130] Kōin of Onjōji maintained close ties with the Kamakura *bakufu* and was repeatedly summoned to Kamakura to conduct esoteric rituals. Kōin wrote a treatise against Hōnen's propagation of *nenbutsu*, but later in life altered his views and turned to the practice of reciting Amida's name. Kōin is also said to have counselled the young Dōgen. Reportedly it was Kōin who advised Dōgen to study Zen. According to *Honchō kōsōden*, "When Dōgen asked Kōin about the dharmakāya and the self-nature, Kōin answered: "This question is difficult to answer. Our house does not properly transmit this. The Buddha mind school can shed light on this matter. If you want to investigate this further, you must go to that school and ask"." See Tachi Takashi, "Miidera no Kōin ni tsuite" (1), *Bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 37 (2006): pp. 335-364 and "Miidera no Kōin ni tsuite" (2), *Zenkenyūsho nenpō* 18 (2007): pp. 227-251.

[131] *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 22.

[132] See Chapter Nine (Shingon criticisms).

Nōnin with the esoteric title "Kongō Ajari" 金剛阿闍梨 (Vajra Master).[133] Nōnin's temple Sambōji, moreover, is known to have preserved esoteric texts (See Chapter Five).

FUNDRAISING FOR KAIKEI'S AMIDA

Another aspect of Nōnin's career can be deduced from the appearance of his name on a document recently extracted from inside a statue of Buddha Amida (Amitābha). From the late Heian period onwards there developed in Japan the practice of depositing objects inside Buddha statues. Among the items frequently inserted were relics, crystals, texts, coins, images, tufts of hair, as well as socalled *kechien kyōmyō* 結縁交名, i.e. lists of names of persons (*kechiensha* 結縁者) who through donations, devotions or other efforts contributed to the making of a Buddhist statue and so created a meritorious bond (*kechien* 結縁) with that Buddha and with the temple enshrining the statue. In Kyoto, in 1194, numerous documents and objects were deposited inside a new effigy of Amida, carved by the renowned sculptor Kaikei 快慶. The statue was placed in the Kenkō-in temple 遣迎院, founded in 1199 by Shōkū 證空 (1177-1247), a student of Hōnen, under the aegis of the powerful Kūjō family. As is known from comparable cases, Kenkei's Amida was established in the context of commemorating and pacifying the spirits of the many dead resulting from the natural disasters and military battles of the period. The statue incorporated tufts of hair, written vows and a *kechien kyōmyō* document that lists approximately twelve thousand names, written inside printed Buddhas (*inbutsu* 印佛). [134]

In his study of this *kechien kyōmyō* document Aoki Atsushi distinguishes various configurations in the donor groups (*kesshū* 結衆) that supported the project of establishing Kaikei's Amida statue, revealing clusters of Taira, Minamoto and Fujiwara affiliates. Aoki also draws attention to the important role of fundraising monks (*kanjinsō* 勧進僧) that are mentioned in the document. Highlighting Chōgen 重源, Eisai, Myōhen 明遍 (1142-1224), Kenshin 顕真, Tangaku 湛斅 and Insai 印西, Aoki demonstrates that the project drew on extensive *kanjin* networks which centred on Mount Kōya, Tōdaiji, Mount Hiei and several Tendai temples in Ohara and Nishiyama. [135]

For our purposes it worthy of note that Nōnin's name is also included in this deposited *kechien kyōmyō* list.[136] Though details remain unclear, this document reveals that in the late twelfth century, Nonin was actively involved in organized fundraising activities.

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[133] Nagoya Daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka, *Pure-kanfuarensu Shinpukuji Ōsu Bunko seikyō tenkan – Chūsei shūkyō tekusuto no sekai* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku, 2008), p. 21.
[134] Aoki Atsushi, "Kaikei saku Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō kechien kōmyō: zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō ni miru chūsei shinkōsha no kesshū to sono kōzu," *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 38/ 2 (1995): pp. 47-98.
[135] Ibid.
[136] A photo reproduction of the documents is found in Aoki Atsushi, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō* (Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentaa, 1999).

NŌNIN'S ANCESTRY AND DEATH

The account of Nōnin's death at the hands of Taira no Kagekiyo 平景清, as recorded in *Honchō kōsōden,* suggests that Nōnin died not later than 1196, the supposed year of Kagekiyo's death, which is said to have been caused by self-imposed starvation.[137] Placing Nōnin's death in 1196 hinges on two related notions: one, that Nōnin was actually killed by Kagekiyo, and two, that Kagekiyo died in 1196. Both notions are problematic in that they are based on pseudo-historical sources and relatively late accounts.

Kagekiyo is said to have been a Fujiwara adopted into the Taira clan, who fought for the Taira against the Minamoto in a number of battles during the Genpei war (1180-1185). His exploits gave rise to a widespread folklore and are recited in warrior tales and theatrical plays. He is mostly described as a crude soldier with a death-defying attitude. A wellknown episode from the *Heike monogatari* tells how Kagekiyo clashed with the Minamoto warrior Jūrō during the battle at Yashima and victoriously snatched the neck-plate from his helmet. Kagekiyo is often referred to as Akushichibyōe Kagekiyo 悪七兵衛景清. The prefix *aku* 悪 (evil) is usually associated with vengeful spirits of those who suffered a violent death, but in the case of Kagekiyo it is said he appropriated the epithet while alive. According to some sources he did so after having murdered his uncle Nōnin.[138]

A recurring theme in the legends surrounding Kagekiyo is his failed assassination of the military ruler Minamoto no Yoritomo during the 1195 Great Buddha Ceremony (*Daibutsu kuyō* 大佛供養) at Nara's Tōdaiji. The attempt is featured in several theatrical plays. In the *kōwakamai* play *Kagekiyo*, for instance, Yoritomo's assassination is averted and Kagekiyo is captured. About to be executed, Kagekiyo is saved through the intercession of the bodhisattva Kannon. Yoritomo eventually pardons Kagekiyo but banishes him to distant Hyūga, whereupon the humiliated warrior shamefully gouges out his own eyes.[139] The Noh play *Kagekiyo* by Zeami (1373-1455) follows Kagekiyo's daughter Hitomaru in her travels to Hyūga in search of her exiled father. Eventually she finds him living in a thatched hut, eking out a living as a lonely, eyeless beggar.[140]

Partly through the medium of blind itinerant singers (*biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師), tales about Kagekiyo dispersed throughout Japan and interacted with local traditions, producing a variety of narratives. [141] The story of Kagekiyo and the killing of Nōnin surfaces in various Edo period guidebooks to famous places. According to these guidebooks Kagekiyo, hiding from the victorious Minamoto clan, finds shelter at the residence of his uncle Nōnin – the Sambōji in Settsu. Nōnin kindly provides his nephew with a safe refuge, but the suspicious Kagekiyo mistakenly believes that he is being betrayed by his uncle and angrily beheads him. Shedding

[137] According to the *Heike monogatari*, Kagekiyo died in Kenkyū 7/3/7 (DNS 4, 4, p. 914). Interestingly the *Hōryūji bettō shidai* 法隆寺別当次第 (DNS 4, 14, pp. 909-10) mentions a monk named Nōnin 能忍 officiating as a lecturer (*kōshi* 講師) at the *Shōman-e* 勝鬘會 (Ceremony for the *Śrīmālādevī sūtra*), at the the Hōryūji in Nara in 1218 (Kempō 6). The reference is problematic; it cannot be determined if this is indeed Dainichi Nōnin. Theoretically Nōnin might still have been active in 1218, but not later than 1218/5/15, at which date Nōnin is referred as "late master" (*senshi* 先師). See Chapter Three (*Relic Inventory*, entry 2)

[138] *Setsuyō gundan* 摂陽群談, in *Dainihon chishi taikei* 9, p. 25.

[139] See Harada Masatoshi, *Nihon chūsei Zenshū to shakai*, p. 61.

[140] The Japanese text of Zeami's Kagekiyo and several translations in English are available online via the database of the University of Virginia.
http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/noh/kageindex.html.

[141] Many stories about Kagekiyo involve gods and buddhas that cure eye diseases. See *Nihon minzokugaku jiten*, pp. 398-400. *Shinwa densetsu jiten*, pp. 129-130.

tears of remorse Kagekiyo then runs off and halts at a nearby pond to wash his bloodstained sword. The pond is accordingly known as the "pond of blood" (*chi no ike* 血の池) or "pond of tears" (*namida no ike* 涙の池).[142] The same incident is recorded in several miscellanea (*zuihitsu* 随筆). *Shiojiri* 塩尻 (Buttocks of Salt) by Amano Nobukage 天野信景 (1660-1733), for instance, has the following:

> A monk called Dainichi went to Song China, studied under Chan master Fozhao Deguang, and then returned to Japan. He was an uncle of Akushichibyōe Kagekiyo. After the Taira clan was destroyed [Kagekiyo] visited Dainichi's hermitage. Kagekiyo looked tired, so Dainichi told his attendant to buy sake. The attendant ran off through the gate. Kagekiyo, suspecting he was being reported to the Minamoto clan, drew his sword and cut Dainichi to death. [Note:] What is the source text for this incident? I must further investigate it. [143]

Amano and the authors of the various guidebooks invariably remark on the story's unclear origins and note that they simply recorded hearsay. The motif of the temple attendant who is dispatched to buy sake and Kagekiyo's misguided fear of being betrayed is similar to the description in Nōnin's biography in *Honchō kōsōden*; when writing this biography, Mangan Shiban probably consulted the abovementioned guidebooks or similar sources.[144] The biographical sketch of Nōnin in the much earlier *Genkō Shakusho* (1322) does not mention Kagekiyo at all. The deadly incident, then, appears to be a later accretion to Nōnin's life story. The family kinship between Nōnin and Kagekiyo in itself is a different question which, because of the murky historicity of the person known by the name Taira no Kagekiyo, and the lack of supporting sources, is hard to answer. In view of the above, Nōnin's death at the hands of Kagekiyo might be best understood in terms of Kagekiyo legends (*Kagekiyo densetsu* 景清伝説). If, however, Nōnin was indeed associated with the defeated Taira clan, it might help explain why Nōnin was apparently unsuccessful in establishing strong ties with the Kamakura *bakufu* and so create a more enduring presence in Japanese Buddhist history.

The theme of a Zen patriarch's violent death, in addition, has significant antecedents in Zen literature. As Yanagida Seizan observed, Nōnin's death fittingly echoes traditions concerning the cruel end of several patriarchs included in the Zen lineage.[145] Bodhidharma "died" from repeated poisonings. Nāgārjuna was made to behead himself with a blade of grass. A classic case is that of the patriarch Siṃha, who bled white milk when beheaded by the King of Kashmir. Violent death in these cases serves to convey notions of spiritual fulfilment: the victim recognizes the grim circumstances as a manifestation of residual karma and seeing the ultimate emptiness of phenomena he fearlessly accepts death. In this sense the story of Nōnin's beheading echoes a Buddhist theme that involves spiritual attainment and affiliation with the Zen lineage.

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[142] *Ashiwakebune* 蘆分船 (The Reed-parting Boat) (1675). *Setsuyō gundan* (compiled 1698-1701). Quoted in Harada, *Nihon chūsei no zenshū to shakai*, pp. 60-61.

[143] 大日という僧入宋して、佛照徳光禅師に参じて帰朝せり。是悪七兵衛景清が伯父なり。景清平家滅て後、大日が菴に来る。大日侍者を呼で、景清つかれたる色あり、酒を買れと。侍者即ち走て門を出ツ、景清我を源家に訴へて押んとするかといぶかり、太刀を抜て大日を切殺しという。〔割註〕此事出書何にありや、猶尋ねべし。(*Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 15, p. 101-102.) Similar accounts are found in *Shōsaihitsuki* 蕉斉筆記 (1794) by Hiraga Hakusan 平賀白山 and *Baison saihitsu* 梅村載筆 by Hayashi Razan (1583-1657). See *Dōgen no shisō no ayumi,* vol.1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993), pp. 103-104.

[144] Harada, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, p. 59-60.

[145] Yanagida Seizan, *Daruma* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988), p. 78.

NŌNIN MENTIONED BY NICHIREN

Disparaging comments about Nōnin are found in the writings of Nichiren (1222-1282). In these comments Nōnin and his student Kakuan are presented as conceited monks that came to prominence in the Kennin era (1201-1203). In the *Ankokuron gokan yurai* 安論御勘由來 (The Reason for Submitting the *Ankokuron*) (1268), Nichiren (in a characteristically tempestuous tone) remarks:

> During the reign of Retired Emperor Gotoba, in the Kennin period, there were two arrogant men, Hōnen and Dainichi. Possessed by evil demons they misled people of high and low station throughout the country. After a while all became practitioners of *nenbutsu* or turned to the Zen school. [146]

Nichiren's *Kyōkijikokushō* 教機時國抄 (Treatise on Teaching, Capacity, Time and Country) (1272) reads:

> During the fifty or more years since the Kennin era, the priests Dainichi and Butchi [Kakuan] have spread the teachings of the Zen school, casting aside all the various sūtras and postulating a doctrine that is transmitted outside the scriptures, while Hōnen and Ryūkan have established the Pure Land school, contradictiong the teachings of the true Mahāyāna and setting up schools based on the provisional teachings. They are in effect casting aside gems and gathering stones instead, abandoning the solid earth and endeavoring to climb up into the air. Men such as this know nothing about the order in which the various doctrines should be propagated. The Buddha warned of such men when he said: "Better to encounter a mad elephant than an evil friend."[147]

Nichiren's *Kaimokusho* (Treatise on Opening the Eyes) (1272) reads:

> In the Kennin years Hōnen and Dainichi appeared. They propagated the Nenbutsu and Zen schools. Hōnen said: "In the *mappō* period not even one out of a thousand persons can obtain [buddhahood] on the basis of the *Lotus sūtra*." Dainichi said: "[The mind] is separately transmitted, outside of the scriptural teachings." These two teachings have pervaded the country. Tendai and Shingon scholars grovel for the patrons of Nenbutsu and Zen, like dogs that wag their tails for their masters, and mice that are afraid of cats. [148]

In a letter known as *Sado gosho* 佐渡御書 (Letter from Sado) (1272) Nichiren writes:

> They call their schools the Nenbutsu and the Zen sects. Hōnen applies the four characters "discard, close, ignore, and abandon" to the *Lotus sūtra*, and calls for its rejection, and advocates the exclusive calling of the name of the Buddha Amida, a Buddha who appears in the provisional sutras. The followers of Dainichi speak of a separate teaching outside the

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[146] 然後鳥羽院御宇建仁年中法然大日二人有増上慢者。惡鬼入其身誑惑國中上下擧代成念佛者、毎人趣禪宗。STN 1, p. 423.

[147] *Kyōkijikokushō*, in *Letters of Nichiren*, translated by Burton Watson and others, edited by Philip Yampolsky (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 26. (Modified)

[148] 建仁年中ニ法然大日ノ二人出來シテ。念佛宗禪宗ヲ興行ス。法然云。法華經ハ末法ニ入テハ。未有一人得者。千中無一等 云云　大日云。教外別傳等 云云 此兩義國土ニ充滿セリ。天台眞言ノ學者等。念佛禪ノ檀那ヲヘツライヲソルル事。犬ノ主ニヲヲフリ。ネスミノ猫ヲヲソルルカコトシ。 (T. 2989, 232b03-b10).

> scriptures and deride the Lotus sūtra, saying that it is no more than a finger pointing at the moon, a pointless conglomeration of words. These priests must both be followers of the six non-buddhist teachers, who only now have entered the stream of Buddhism.[149]

Nichiren criticizes what he sees as an erroneous rejection of Buddhist scriptures, the *Lotus sūtra* in particular, and presents Nōnin and Kakuan as its main agents in Japan. Nōnin is paired off with Hōnen, the founder of the Pure Land school, and portrayed as an arrogant monk who spreads false teachings. In begrudging the widely felt influence that Nōnin and his pupil Kakuan exercised as religious figures, Nichiren in effect assigns the Darumashū a key position in the rise and spread of Zen in Japan. The passage thus indicates the perceived prominence of Nōnin and his successor Kakuan and shows the impact of these monks on the religious world of the Kamakura period.

DAINICHIBŌ IN THE THEATRE

A monk named Dainichibō appears as a stage character in various theatre productions of the Edo period. Several of these productions specifically identify this character as the uncle of Taira no Kagekiyo.

One of the earliest kabuki dramas featuring Dainichibō is *Kazari ebi yoroi Soga* 飾鰕鎧曽我, first performed in 1748 at the Nakamura theater in Edo. It presents Kagekiyo in the guise of an armed monk who plans to kill Minamoto no Yoritomo during the Great Buddha Ceremony in Nara. Kagekiyo is found out by his uncle, the monk Dainichibō. Dainichibō runs off to expose his nephew but Kagekiyo chases his uncle, cuts him to death and snatches in his robes. Wearing a hat, hiding his sword and dressed in Dainichibō's clothing, Kagekiyo manages to escape. [150] The drama *Chanoyu Kagekiyo* 茶湯景清 has a similar scene in which Kagekiyo slays his uncle Dainichibō, slips into his robes and makes his way out. Another kabuki piece that features both Kagekiyo and Dainichibō is *Tsukisenu haru hagoromo Soga* 常磐春羽衣曾我, first performed in 1777 at Edo's the Ichimura theatre. In a bloody scene, known for its first documented use of *chiwata* 血綿 (threads of dyed cotton that simulate blood), Dainichibō is killed by Kagekiyo's lover, the courtesan Akoya. The subject matter of these dramas clearly builds on the pre-existing notion of Taira no Kagekiyo beheading his uncle, the monk Dainichibō. To a degree, then, the Dainichibō character can be said to be a fictionalized representation of the historical Nōnin.

In several plays of the Edo period the Dainichibō character was sometimes conflated with another monkish stage character: Hokaibō 法界房. Hokaibō first briefly appears as a mountain ascetic (*yamabushi* 山伏) in Chikamatsu's (1653-1725) *Futago Sumidagawa* 雙生隅田川 (1720).[151] In later Kabuki plays Hokaibō became a pronounced character, invariably figuring as a debauched monk. This later Hokaibō character is thought to have incorporated traits that were

[149] 法然が一類大日が一類、念佛宗禪宗と號して、法華經に捨閉閣抛の四字を副へて制止を加て權經の彌陀稱名計を取立、教外別傳と號して法華經を月をさす指、只文字をかぞふるなんど笑ふ者は、六師が末流の佛教の中に出來せるなるべし。うれへなるかなや。STN 1, p. 615. The translation is taken from *Letters of Nichiren*, edited by Philip Yampolsky (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 57.

[150] The play was also known as *Daibutsu kuyo* 大佛供養 and *Yobimodoshi Kagekiyo* 呼戻景清. See Ibara Toshirō, *Kabuki nenpyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), p.4.

[151] *Futago Sumidagawa* 雙生隅田川, in Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 92, edited by Matsuzaki Hitoshi, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), pp. 3-78. "Twins at the Sumida River," in *Chikamatsu: Five Late Plays*, edited and translated by Andrew Gerstle (Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 36-117.

ascribed to the True Pure Land monk Eigen 穎玄 (1751-1829), a historical figure who is said to have been active in the redlight quarters of Kyoto and Edo, soliciting alms and promulgating the dharma among prostitutes.[152] In 1784 the *kyōgen* piece *Sumidagawa gonichi omokage* 隅田川続俤 presented Hokaibō as a depraved and murderous monk soliciting alms for a temple bell whilst indulging in food and prostitutes. Hokaibō's unrequited love for the shopgirl Okumi induces him to steal a scroll belonging to her aspiring lover Yosuke, who in reality is the warrior Matsuwaka of the Yoshida clan. In the ensuing intrigues Hokaibō tries to rape the shopgirl and kills Matsuwaka's fiancée. Hokaibō is eventually slain, but shortly returns as Okumi's ghost double.[153] This *kyōgen* piece is in part based on the earlier drama *Iromoyo aoyagi Soga* 色模様青柳曽我, first performed in 1775, which deals with a similar plot but designates the depraved monk as "Dainichibō." Similarly *Edo meisho midori Soga* 江戸名所緑曾我 (1779), *Shunshoku Edo ye Soga* 春色江戸輪曾我 (1791) and *Shinobugusa tamuke no hosshin* 垣衣草手向発心 (1808) all feature perverted, alms soliciting Dainichibō figures that are eventually murdered.

The stage character Dainichibō is frequently depicted on eighteenth and nineteenth century woodblock prints (*nishiki-e* 錦絵). Portraits of actors (*yakusha-e* 役者絵) were cheaply printed in large amounts to promote stage productions that were being performed and also served to popularize the starring actors. Dainichibō seems to have been a favorite subject of the artist Katsugawa Shunshō (1726-1792), who designed several prints of Kabuki actors in the role of the devious monk.[154] In the pictorial tradition Dainichibō is invariably portrayed as an unkempt figure in tattered or messily tied up robes; sometimes he wears a dilapidated hat or holds a torn umbrella that frames his head in a ragged nimbus, symbolizing perhaps his crooked religiosity. Unlike conventional Buddhist monks he is not shaved but sports a unruly hair.[155] Obviously these prints do not depict the historical Dainichibō Nōnin but are pictorial representations of particular actors in the guise of the Dainichibō character; the antecedents of this character hearken back to Nōnin and also absorbed elements from the Hokaibō tales.

In summary, the stage character Dainichibō represents the archetypical debauched Buddhist priest. In woodblock depictions of actors in the role of Dainichibō, Japanese painters and printmakers translated the character's depravity into graphic imagery. In this way Edo period cultural expressions built on, added to, and reinforced the deviant image of the actual Dainichibō Nōnin.

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[152] Eigen 穎玄 (1751-1829), also known as Ryōkai 了海, resided at the Jōbonji temple 上品寺 in present-day Shiga prefecture. Biographical accounts of his life are highly embellished and may partly derive from theatrical imagination, making it hard to separate fact from fiction. It is, however, evident that his activities caused quite a stir. Eigen reportedly travelled the country between 1768 and 1776 to solicit donations for the renovation of his temple. At first he was active in Kyoto's pleasure district Toriimoto. Later he appeared in the Yoshiwara quarters in Edo, where he preached the dharma to two famous courtesans. Impressed, the courtesans gave him a bronze temple bell, which he then transported back to Jōbon-ji on a cart. *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten*, p. 55-56.

[153] *Sumidagawa gonichi no omokage* 隅田川続俤 (Latter Day Memories of the Sumida River), also known as *Hokaibō* 法界坊, was written by Nagawa Shimesuke 奈河七五三助 (1754-1814) and first performed in Osaka in 1784. A translation in English is included in Unno Mitsuko (et al.), *You mean to say you still don't know who we are?: Seven Kabuki Plays* (Ashiya: Personally Oriented, 1976).

[154] See for instance *Actors Ichikawa Danjūrō V as Kagekiyo and Ōtani Hiroemon III as Dainichibō*, by Katsukawa Shunshō, reproduced in Timothy Clark & Osamu Ueda (eds.), *The Actor's Image*: *Print makers of the Katsukawa School* (Princeton University Press, 1994), catalogue number 364. This print, and several other featuring "Dainichibō", are also viewable online in the digitalized collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: http://www.mfa.org/collections/libraries-and-archives (keyword: dainichibo).

[155] An exception to this are prints which show Dainichibō as the ghost double of the shopgirl Okumi, disguised as a fernseller, such as *Actor Nakamura Nakazō I as the ghost of Dainichibō*, by Katsukawa Shunshō, preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Ibid., (accession number: 21.4175).

NŌNIN IN *DAITOKUJI YAWA* (EVENING TALKS AT DAITOKUJI)

Mention must be made here of a reference to Nōnin recently presented by Takahashi Shūei.[156] Nōnin briefly appears in *Daitokuji yawa* (Evening Talks at Daitokuji), a collection of Zen talks that is thought to have been compiled in the sixteenth century by the Rinzai monk Kogaku Sōkō 古岳宗亘 (1465-1548). The collection includes the following:

> Venerable Dainichi received the Zen dharma from Guang Fozhao, a student of Dahui. Later he went to a temple and brought along fish and meat. Finding this objectionable the Estate Constable put a stop to it. Facing the empty sky [the Constable] exclaimed: "Venerable Dainichi is extremely clear-eyed, but he brings fish and meat into the temple. It is crooked behaviour that must be stopped!" Later when [Dainichi] was being allowed to enter the temple as of old, he again brought fish and meat into the temple.[157]

Without additional context we can only speculate on the intended meaning of what must have been an instructional anecdote. As Takahashi notes, the caption of this entry – "On the proscription of bringing fragrant sake into the monastery" – seems to reflect the wellknown story about Nōnin sending out his attendant from Sambōji to buy sake for his refugee nephew and soon to be killer Kagekiyo.[158] A sympathetic reading of the anecdote would appreciate Nōnin's infraction of the rule as a humorous example of radical Zen freedom, unbound by literal conceptions of the Buddhist precepts. The reference, in any event, reveals an ambivalent view on Nōnin. On the one hand he is an "extremely clear-eyed" (*daimyōgen* 大明眼) Zen master in the Dahui lineage, admired by the local authorities. On the other hand he flouts the Buddhist prohibition on bringing meat and fish into the monastery, causing censure from the same local authority. The lingering image is that of a transgressive and maverick monk.

Concluding remarks

Nōnin remains an elusive figure. The above examined mishmash of references does, at the least, show that he was a highly noticed figure. Evidently his presence in the Buddhist world could not be ignored. The negative evaluation that characterizes several of the reports cannot be taken at face value and is better understood as the outcome of rivalry among various Buddhist groups in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries that were trying to establish their own orthodoxy, or saw their already established position threatened by an increasingly popular upcomer. Nōnin's prominence is perhaps best gauged from the writings of Nichiren, who persistently coupled Nōnin to Hōnen. Nichiren's evaluation is evidently negative, but it suggests that in Nichiren's time the perceived role of Nōnin in the formative history of the Zen school was seminal.

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[156] Takahashi Shūei, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," *Komazawa Daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 67 (2009): pp. 267-283.

[157] 大日上人伝禅法、於大恵弟子光仏照。後寺へ推出テ、魚肉ヲ入タ。地頭、依嫌之停止。虚空叫云、大日上人ハ、大明眼テ、魚肉ヲ寺ニ入テ、停止サスル曲事チヤ。如旧入寺サセヨト、其後復魚肉ヲ寺ニ入タ也。Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE
SAMBŌJI AND ITS TREASURES

The Sambōji temple, where Nōnin propagated his Zen teachings, no longer exists. The temple was located in the old province Settsu no Kuni 摂津國 in a place called Suita 吹田 (also written 水田), on the Nakajima embankment 中嶋, hemmed in between the Migunigawa 三国川 (the present Kanzakigawa 神崎川) and Yodogawa 淀川 rivers. Harada Masatoshi writes that in the late Heian period Nōnin's temple was sometimes referred to as Kasugai Sambōji 草苅三宝寺, as it was situated in a region called Kasugai *sanjo* 草苅散所.[159] The term *sanjo* 散所 (literally: "dispersed place") referred to particular areas on the fringes of land holdings and temple complexes. These liminal places (river borders, mountain slopes, temple entrances) were the designated quarters of a mixture of people that were likewise referred to as *sanjo*. The term *sanjo*, in the latter sense, moves in the same semantic field as the terms *hinin* 非人 (nonpersons), *kawaramono* 河原者 (riverbank people) and *eta* 穢多 (much defiled ones), indicating people of the lowest social status, outcastes. *Sanjo* residents were incorporated into the economy of the estates and temples and engaged in a great variety of mostly non-agricultural trades and odd jobs (cleaners, palanquin bearers, couriers, fisherman, hunters, craftsmen, butchers, entertainers, magicians and so forth). Their perceived association with defilement (*kegare* 穢) – a pre-buddhist concept reinforced by Buddhist notions of detrimental karma – made them generally looked down upon. Harada writes that many residents of the Kasugai *sanjo* area were occupied in the trade of water transportation. Kasugai, in addition, comprised numerous cow pastures (*chichiushimaki* 乳牛牧) which were managed by *kugonin* 供御人 (imperial suppliers) in the service of the Bureau of Court Physicians (Tenyakuryō 典薬寮) to supply the imperial household with milk and butter.[160] The concentration of cattle in the Kasugai area, I imagine, also necessitated the presence of outcaste workers to skin and dispose of carcasses. Located to the northeast of Sambōji was the renowned red light district of Eguchi 江口, celebrated in art and literature as the site where the poet priest Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190) encountered the beautiful prostitute Eguchi no Kimi 江口の君(who turned out to be a manifestation of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra).[161] The Sambōji temple, then, was situated in a bustling area amid a great deal of commercial and leisure traffic – an area inhabited mostly by an outcast populace. Sambōji's location suggests that Nōnin's teachings were directed in particular at these lower segments of society.

As a physical entity, furnished with cultic objects, Sambōji was an important aspect of Nōnin's teaching activities. In recent times, various objects and documents that were preserved at Sambōji have surfaced from private and temple collections. It is to these that we now turn.

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[159] Harada Masatoshi, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, p. 64-66.
[160] Ibid.
[161] See for instance Zeami's *Eguchi*, in *Japanese Nō Dramas*, translated by Royall Tyler (Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 68-81. *The Tale of Saigyo*, translated by Meredith McKinney (University of Michigan, 1998).

The portrait of Bodhidharma

In 1971 the portrait of Bodhidharma that Fozhao Deguang presented to Nōnin's envoys in 1189 emerged from a private art collection (Yabumoto Sōgorō collection). In addition three replicas of the painting, all dating from the Edo period, have been identified. Of these replicas one is preserved at the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts in Tokyo; another is held at the Tenryūji in Kyoto; the third replica recently surfaced from the collection of a Kyoto based antique dealer.[162] The Yabumoto original and the Nezu replica have been studied in detail by the art historian Tokunaga Hiromichi.[163] In 2010 the original painting, given the title *Shui Darumazō* 朱衣達磨像 (Bodhidharma in a Red Robe), was exhibited at the Kyoto National Museum in 2010, as part of the exhibition *Kōsō to kesa* (Plate 1).[164]

Depiction

The Yabumoto painting depicts a large Bodhidharma figure, slightly turned to his right side in a three-quarter view. The figure is depicted from the waist up in a bust format known as *hanshin-ga* 半身画.[165] Bodhidharma is wrapped in a loosely flowing red robe, marked out by black, curving contours. The garment envelopes the patriarch's head and flows around his darkened and almost disproportionately massive torso, covering his shoulders, arms and his hands, which (unseen) appear to rest in front his belly. Uncovered is the patriarch's hairy chest. Bodhidharma sports a bearded face and wears large earrings (fully visible in his left ear and partly visible in his right ear).[166] Bodhidharma's eyebrows are slightly lifted up and frame wide opened but seemingly strabismic eyes. The unhinged gaze, perhaps, reflects the story of Bodhidharma having cut off his own eyelids to prevent drowsiness while meditating. Bodhidharma's mouth, a trifle opened, houses a partly toothless interior. On the whole, the Bodhidharma figure appears rough, colossal and bulky and yet, as I see it, it has certain litheness to it. According to art historian Shimizu Yoshiaki, the painting is stylistically an offshoot from the "monumental portrait tradition" that was current in north China from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, "a descriptive tradition which at the time was already very old."[167]

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[162] See Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," pp. 279-280.

[163] Tokunaga Hiromichi, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō: Settan Tokkō san Darumazō wo chūshin ni (1)," *Kokka* 929 (1971): pp. 7-17 and (2), *Kokka* 930 (1971), pp. 5-22.

[164] A photo reproduction in color of the original painting is included in the exhibit catalogue *Kōsō to kesa: koromo wo tsutae kokoro wo tsunagu – Transmitting Robes, Linking Mind: The world of the Buddhist kāṣāya*. (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2010), p. 82. The articles by Tokunaga Hiromichi include black and white reproductions of the Yabumoto and Nezu paintings. A noticeable difference between the original and the replica is the placement of the inscription. On the original painting the inscription is placed extremely close to the top of Bodhidharma's head. On the replica a considerable empty space separates the portrayed figure from the inscription. A black and white reproduction of the Bodhidharma painting is included in Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Zen art?," in *Zen in China, Japan, East-Asian Art: Papers of the International Symposium on Zen*, edited by H. Brinker, R. P. Kramers and C. Ouwehand (Bern: Peter Lang, 1982). Shimizu's caption indicates that this reproduction shows an Edo period replica, though it appears to be the Yabumoto original.

[165] Portraits of Bodhidharma typically depict the patriarch sitting in meditative posture, en face or in profile, showing either the entire seated figure, the bust, or merely the face and a part of the robed shoulder. Besides this formal pose, Bodhidharma paintings often depict a specific episode in the patriarch's biography, e.g. Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed (*royōtoe* 芦葉渡江), the interview with Emperor Wu (*ryōbu mondō* 梁武問答), wall-facing meditation (*menpeki zazen* 面壁坐禅), or Bodhidharma's return to India wearing only one shoe (*sekirisaiki* 隻履西帰). Related to this are depictions of Huike presenting Bodhidharma with his cut-off arm (*eka danpi* 慧可断臂).

[166] Tokunaga notes that the earrings show traces of goldpaint. Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (1)," p. 8.

[167] Shimizu, "Zen Art?," p. 76.

Inscription

Written above the patriarch's image, starting from the viewer's left, is Fozhao Deguang's laudatory verse, followed by a colophon in a slightly smaller script. The colophon reads as follows:

> Dharma master Nin from the country of Japan dispatched from afar the acolytes Renchū and Shōben. They came [to King Aśoka Monastery] and requested a portrait of patriarch master Bodhidharma. Dharma descendant Deguang, residing at King Aśoka Monastery in Mingzhou in the great country of Song, made prostrations and respectfully inscribed it. Written in the sixteenth year of Chunxi (1189), *tsuchinoto-tori*, month six, day three.[168]

The colophon substantiates the audience of Nōnin's envoys Renchū and Shōben with Fozhao Deguang at the King Aśoka Monastery and provides the date Chunxi 16/6/3 as the *terminus ad quem* for their visit to China.

Fozhao's laudatory verse reads:

(1) 直指人心見性成佛[169]	Point straight to the mind, see the nature, and become a buddha
(2) 太華擘開 滄溟傾[170] 竭	The great flower bursts open, the dark green waters are depleted
(3) 雖然 接得神光	Even so, you received Subtle Luminosity
(4) 爭奈當門齒 闕	But what is this? Your front teeth are missing!

Starting from the assumption that Fozhao's verse represents an act of communication – and that we can extrapolate something of the meaning of that communication – we will go through the verse line by line:

First line. The poem opens with the phrase that by the Song dynasty had become one of the Chan school's defining slogans, attributed to Bodhidharma himself. It highlights the concept of attaining buddhahood through directly perceiving one's nature (*kenshō jōbutsu*).

Second line. This line metaphorically describes Bodhidharma's *kenshō jōbutsu*. The great blooming flower hints at the Buddhist image of the lotus flower, rooted in dirt but opening up to the light. It also recalls Bodhidharma's prediction about the blossoming of the Chan school.[171] Simultaneously, "Great flower" (Ch. *taihua* 太華) refers to Mount Taihua, one of China's sacred mountains. The image of a cracking mountain may be taken to indicate the earth-shattering nature of the awakening experience. The image of a depleted sea ("dark green waters") likewise compares awakening to a cataclysmic event; it also evokes Buddhist concepts such as emptiness (*kū*), open space (*kokū*) and formlessness (*musō*).

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[168] 日本國忍法師遠遣小師錬中勝辨、來求達磨祖師遺像、大宋國住明州阿育王山法孫德光稽首敬讃、己酉淳熙十六年六月初三日書。(Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō 1," p. 8).

[169] The verse consists of twenty-eight characters evenly distributed over four lines of seven characters. The syntactical units, however, do not correspond to this symmetric format (i.e. enjambment). The poem is reproduced here in an adapted format, breaking down the poem in its syntactic units.

[170] The Yabumoto painting here has the character 傾 (*kei*; *katamuku*; "to tilt"); the Nezu replica has the character 頓 (*ton*: "suddenly"). Ibid., pp.7-10.

[171] Bodhidharma's prediction appears in the *Platform sūtra*: "Originally I came to China to transmit the teaching and save deluded beings. One flower opens five petals and the fruit naturally ripens." Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, p. 176.

Third line. "Subtle Luminosity" (Ch. *shenguang*; *jinkō* 神光) refers to Bodhidharma's chief disciple and successor Huike, whose birth name is said to have been Guang 光, later changed to Shenguang 神光.[172] The verse line thus indicates that Bodhidharma received Huike as his disciple. At the same time the words can be read as a description of Bodhidharma's *kenshō jōbutsu*: upon becoming empty and seeing the buddha-nature, Bodhidharma recovered the "subtle luminosity" of his own mind.

Fourth line. With humorous indignation Fozhao concludes the verse with a playful comment on Bodhidharma's disheveled appearance – "But what is this? Your front teeth are missing!"[173] The motif of Bodhidharma's missing teeth has its origins in Daoist myths in which the loss and regeneration of teeth symbolize the Daoist sage's spiritual death and subsequent attainment of immortality. In the Bodhidharma myth this Daoist theme of immortality is discernible in the patriarch's death by poison and subsequent rise from the grave; according to some narratives the poison first made Bodhidharma's teeth fall out.[174] Bodhidharma's toothlessness may also point to Chan notions of ineffability (*rigon* 離言) and wordless transmission (*mokuden* 默傳).

Chan/Zen adepts would read inscribed verses of this kind through the lens of a shared discourse. Thus refracted this particular verse would tell them of Bodhidharma's spiritual attainments and his meeting with Huike. According to tradition Huike one day visited the cave where Bodhidharma silently meditated; when he requested to be accepted as a pupil Bodhidharma ignored him; undeterred Huike waited outside, the snow piling up to his knees; after several days Huike cut off his own arm in supplication and hence was accepted as a disciple. Tokunaga Hiromichi speculates that the painted depiction captures Bodhidharma at the moment the patriarch first notices his future successor waiting in front of the cave.[175] Bodhidharma's facial expression indeed seems to convey a sense of surprise, as if his solitary meditation has just been interrupted. The main point to note, I would say, is the following: by alluding to the paradigmatic episode of Bodhidharma and Huike, Fozhao Deguang introduces the theme of Chan lineage succession, and in so doing purposely situates the painting's transfer to Nōnin in that specific context.

[172] According to the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 220b24-c07), Huike's mother got pregnant after a strange light (Ch. *yiguang* 異光) illumined the house. The baby boy therefore got the name "Luminosity" (Ch. Guang). Later, after he had become a monk, Guang had a vision of a supernatural being (Ch. *shenren* 神人) who instructed him to study with Bodhidharma. Guang thereupon took on the name Shenguang 神光. Bodhidharma gave Shenguang the name Huike.

[173] The compound *tōmonshi* 當門歯, meaning "front teeth" (*maeha* 前歯, *Zengo jiten*, p. 336) frequently appears in Chan/Zen literature in reference to Bodhidharma. Tokunaga offers a rather convoluted reading of this closing line, in which the front teeth completely disappear. Instead of reading 爭奈 (Ch. *zhengnai*) as a compound, Tokunaga takes *zheng* 爭 as a verb (*arasou*), while *chi* 齒 (tooth) somehow becomes *ji* 繼 (succeed). His translation reads: *tōmon ni gokeisha ga kakeru to iu arasou no wa nan to iu koto da?* 當門に後繼者が缺けると云うあらそうのは何と云うことだ (What about those disputes regarding a lack of successors in our school?). See Tokunaga "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (2), p. 8.

[174] The Daoist motif of sagely teeth is reflected, too, in several portraits of Bodhidharma from the Song dynasty that, alternatively, depict the patriarch with excessively big and protruding front teeth. See Fujita Takuji, *Nihon ni nokoru Daruma densetsu*, pp. 77-88. Fujita bases himself on Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967).

[175] Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (2), p.11.

The portrait of Chan master Fozhao Deguang

The biographical sketch of Nōnin in *Genkō Shakusho* mentions that Nōnin's envoys also obtained a painted portrait of Fozhao Deguang. This painting has been last sighted in 1916 before going missing.[176] I am, therefore, unable to reflect on its outward appearance. The painting probably adhered to the standardized form that such portraits –referred to as *chinsō* 頂相 (Ch. *dingxiang*) – had taken on by the time of its composition (1189), depicting the Chan master in monastic robes, seated in meditation posture on a high chair, holding a flywhisk, a staff or another implement in the right hand. Above the image the depicted master himself usually inscribed a poem and a colophon, specifying the date and circumstances of the painting's creation.[177]

The term *chinsō* originally referred to the cranial protuberance (Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*) on the Buddha's head, one of the thirty two major marks ascribed to the Buddha's body. The reason that this term came to refer to Buddhist portraits is related to the idea that the protuberance was the Buddha's most exalted characteristic (*sō* 相) and yet a "non-characteristic" (*musō* 無相), since it cannot be seen (*muken chinsō* 無見頂相). *Chinsō* portraits were considered to similarly embody this type of prajñāpāramitā logic: the true Buddha – the Chan master – is not seen through visible forms; he is seen accurately in the realization that these forms are in fact empty, non-forms; when discerned as non-forms, the forms do actually show true Buddha/Chan master. As Foulk and Sharf noted, the verses inscribed on *chinsō* portraits typically raise the same paradoxical logic of presence and absence, form and emptiness.[178]

Inscription

The verse and the colophon inscribed on Fozhao's *chinsō* have, fortunately, been recorded. The colophon dates to the same day as that on the above examined Bodhidharma painting; it likewise verifies the audience of Nōnin's envoys at King Aśoka monastery.

> Dharma master Nin from the country of Japan dispatched from afar the acolytes Renchū and Shōben. Having arrived at [King Aśoka] monastery they asked about the way and requested a verse on my painted apparition. Inscribed by Zhuan Deguang, residing at King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou, in the great country of Song, in the sixteenth year of Chunxi, month six, day three.[179]

The verse on Fozhao's portrait reads:

(1)	這村僧無面目	This rustic monk has no face
(2)	撥轉天關掀飜地軸	He knocks over heaven's barrier and inverts the earth's axis
(3)	忍師脱體見得親	Master Nin cast off the body and discerns intimately
(4)	外道天魔俱竄伏	Deviants and demons scurry into hiding

[176] Washio Junkei reported having unexpectedly sighted the painting at an art exhibit in 1916. Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, p. 136. Tsuji Zennosuke reports having sighted, in 1930, a scroll that framed only Fozhao Deguang's inscription. Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bukkyōshi*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1944-1955), p. 61. Fozhao's inscribed verse is cited in Nōnin's biography in the *Honchō Kōsōden*, DNBZ 63, pp. 273-274

[177] Examples of *chinsō* are conveniently found in Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1996).

[178] T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," in Bernard Faure (ed.), *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (New York: Routledge 2003), pp. 123-128.

[179] 日本國忍法師遠遣小師錬中勝辨至山問道繪予幻質求讃、大宋國淳熙十六年六月初三住明州阿育王山拙菴德光題。 (Takahashi, *Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō* 2, p. 23.)

Again we will go through the poem line by line:

First line. Fozhao Deguang, on first glance, is referring to himself in a manner of self-praise (*jisan* 自讚), typical of the genre of portrait inscriptions. The line plays on the paradoxical *prajñāpāramitā* logic of form and nonform: the awakened Chan master's face is clearly depicted on the painting, but in true, formless reality he has no face (*mumenmoku* 無面目). And yet he is clearly staring at the viewer.

Second line. Knocking over heaven's barrier and inverting the earth's axis seem to indicate the magnitude (because empty and unbounded) of the awakened state, as well as the disruptive power (socially, psychologically) that is commanded by one who has realized that state.

Third line. The third line explicitly mentions Nōnin. The subject of the preceding lines is thereby (deliberately) made ambivalent. The awakening that Fozhao ascribed to himself comes to be extended to Nōnin. Nōnin becomes the rustic monk's double. At the same time Fozhao seems to be playfully alluding to the fact that Nōnin is absent from the scene: Nōnin is literally without a face. Nōnin's awakening, though, is clearly affirmed: "Master Nin cast off the body (*dattai* 脱體; Ch. *tuoti*) and discerns intimately." The term *dattai*/*tuoti* denotes something like "the bare state of liberation." [180] In the literal sense of having "cast off the body" the term might also be read as a witty comment by Fozhao on Nōnin's bodily absence from the scene. And yet, both having no face, Fozhao and Nōnin are united in emptiness, with no distance between them.

Fourth line. The concluding line of the poem alludes to the power and authenticity of Nōnin's attainment. Nonin's awakening enables him to conquer demons (*tenma* 天魔) and refute those with incorrect views (*gedō* 外道). Nōnin's ascribed status in this way can be said to parallel that of Buddha Śākyamuni: seated under the bodhi tree Śākyamuni dispelled the demon Devamāra (Tenma 天魔) and later refuted the flawed views of the socalled "six heretical teachers" (*gedō rokushi* 外道六師).

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[180] *Zengo jiten* glosses the term *dattai* as follows: 過不足なくそのままそっくり。悟道のありのままの丸出し。(entirely, just as it is, without extras or deficiencies; the bareness of awakening just as it is) (*Zengo jiten*, p. 827). The term *kentoku* 見得 translates the Sanskrit *dṛṣṭi-prāpta*, which in early Mahāyāna texts denotes the attainment of correct insight through the path of meditation, leading the practitioner to the level of Arhat. See Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1993), p. 213. In Chan texts the term *kentoku* is used in a less specific way, denoting direct, personal understanding of the dharma. The character *shin* 親 (close, intimate) likewise denotes direct, personal experience. I take the combination *kentokushin* 見得親 to be equivalent to the more common phrase *kentoku shinsetsu* 見得親切. This combination appears, for instance, repeatedly in the *Wumenguang* 無門關 (*Mumonkan*), the famous kōan collection compiled by Chan master Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183-1260). For instance, *Wumenguang*, case 37 (T. 2005, 297c05-08):

> A monk asked Zhaozhou: "What is the purport of Bodhidharma's coming from the west? Zhaozhou answered: "The cypress tree in the courtyard." Wumen's comment: "If you get the point of Zhaozhou's answer and intimately understand (*kentoku shinsetsu*), then there is no Śākya before you no Maitreya after you." 趙州因僧問。如何是祖師西來意。州云。庭前柏樹子。無門曰。若向趙州答處。見得親切。前無釋迦。後無彌勒。For another translation see Katsuki Sekida (trans), *Two Zen Classics: Mumonkan and Hekiganroku* (New York : Weatherhill, 1977), p. 110.

So, with the verse inscribed on his own portrait Fozhao Deguang celebrated his own spiritual attainment. At the same time, while perhaps mildly mocking Nōnin's failure to come to China in the flesh, Fozhao eulogized Nōnin's awakening. The verse thus narratively unites Nōnin with Fozhao, and in this way depicts their Chan lineage connection.

Functions of the paintings

Both portraits were commissioned by Nōnin's envoys; abbot Fozhao was asked to inscribe verses on them. The commissioning of paintings and inscriptions was common practice at the time. As Foulk and Sharf demonstrated, *chinsō* portraits of living Chan masters were commissioned in large numbers by their recipients and widely distributed as devotional gifts.[181] The ubiquity of *chinsō*, they argue, problematizes the routine assumption that Chan masters bequeathed their portraits to disciples as proofs of a legitimate dharma transmission. With reference to this argument Yen Yamei recently examined several Song and Yuan dynasty *chinsō* inscriptions and concluded that *chinsō*, in these cases, served as proofs of transmission, though not in and of themselves: the inscribed portraits considered by Yen were mostly transmitted in conjunction with robes (Skt. *kāṣāya*).[182] Similarly, Bernard Faure concluded that in the history of the Chan school, *chinsō*, robes, certificates and other objects jointly delimited the "ritual and semantic field" of dharma transmission. Faure also points out that through a process of rarefaction, written certificates eventually emerged as the most important proofs of legitimacy.[183] In Deguang's lifetime this rarefaction was well under way, though evidence suggests that paintings, too, were still powerful instruments in making lineage claims.[184] Deguang (indirectly) transferred his *chinsō* portrait to Nōnin in conjunction with a kāṣāya, a lineage document, an inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma and several printed Chan texts. In addition he is also reported to have presented Nōnin with a "patriarchal name" 祖號.[185] The poems inscribed on the paintings extol Nōnin's awakening and hint at a master-disciple relationship. As part of an *interrelated set of objects*, then, the transfer of the paintings, we conclude, clearly functioned in the framework of Chan lineage transmission.

At this point it is perhaps fitting to digress a bit to consider the more mercantile aspects of Chan lineage transmission as part of Sino-Japanese relations at the time.[186] From the outset the crossings of Buddhist pilgrims to and from the mainland were embedded in diplomatic and economic traffic. In the late twelfth century, the Taira clan (with whom Nōnin may have been associated) was very active in restoring Japan's maritime trade with China. Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181) reconstructed a seaport in Ōwada 大輪田 (present day Kōbe) to accommodate trade with China via the Inland Sea and established close relations with the governor of the Chinese port town Mingzhou.[187]According to the *Heike monogatari*, Kiyomori's son Taira no Shigemori 平重盛 (1138-1179) dispatched an envoy to China in the Angen era (1175-1177) to

[181] Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," pp. 117-123.
[182] Yen Yamei, "Gensō jidai no chinsō ni suru ni san no mondai," *Kyoto bigaku bijutsushigaku* 3 (2004): pp. 95-129.
[183] Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 175.
[184] In his essay *Shishō* (T. 2528, 67c21-72a03) the Japanese monk Dōgen, who visited China in the early thirteenth century, complains about dubious lineage claims made by Chinese monks on the basis of their possession of portraits and calligraphies.
[185] The bestowal of a "patriarchal name" is mentioned in *Shōkō Shōninden* (*Zoku gunshoruijū* 9, p. 32).
[186] This aspect of Nōnin's transmission was pointed out by Takahashi Shūei, in *Ejō Zenji kenkyū* (Daihonzan Eiheiji Sozan Sanshōkai, 1981), pp. 219-220.
[187] See Charlotte Von Verscheur, *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), pp. 45-50.

present two thousand units of gold to the Chinese Emperor and one thousand units of gold to the King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou, with the request that the Emperor bestow rice paddies on the monastery and that its monks pray for Shigemori's fate in the afterlife. The Emperor granted the monastery two hundred and fifty acres of rice paddies. The abbot of King Aśoka monastery, Chan master Fozhao Deguang, gratefully accepted the gold.[188] The story in the *Heike monogatari* is no doubt romanticized but certainly points to actual religio-economic contacts between the Taira clan and the King Aśoka monastery. These contacts prefigured Nōnin's dispatching in 1189 of gift-bearing envoys to this very monastery and, to a degree, may explain the warm welcome extended to them by its abbot, Fozhao Deguang.

Returning to the paintings: we have no knowledge about the formal uses in the Sambōji community of Fozhao's portrait. With regard to the portrait of Bodhidharma some details can be gathered from *Jōtōshōgakuron*, a text connected to Nōnin and his followers, which will be fully discussed in Chapter Five. *Jōtōshōgakuron* indicates that the portrait of Bodhidharma served as the focus of a formalized lecture whose audience was instructed to venerate and make offerings to Bodhidharma.[189] Possibly Fozhao's portrait was used in a similar ritual setting.

The painting of Bodhidharma and Fozhao Deguang's *chinsō* represent very early examples of Chan portraiture imported into Japan.[190] The possession and display of these exotic paintings, bearing samples of brushed poetry from an eminent Song abbot, enhanced Nōnin's prestige. The objects produced associations with continental culture and so bestowed legitimacy on Nōnin's activities. The Sambōji, where the paintings were kept, must easily have attracted the attention of religionists, art collectors and sinophiles alike.

Traces of Bodhidharma's portrait

In 1636 the cloistered Emperor Gomizuno-o 後水尾 invited Gudō Tōshoku 愚堂東寔 (1577-1661), the thirty-fourth abbot of the Rinzai Zen monastic complex Myōshin-ji 妙心寺, to present a dharma lecture at court. At this occasion Gudō exhibited Nōnin's Bodhidharma portrait. Some observations about this lecture and about the provenance of the displayed painting have been preserved in the writings of a Rinzai monk named Zuinan Bokuchō 瑞南卜兆 (n.d), a close student of Gudō. Bokuchō's record amounts to the following: Bokuchō identifies the portrait as that obtained by Dainichi Nōnin from Chan master Fozhao Deguang. Initially the portrait was kept at Nōnin's temple Sambōji in Suita. Later a Zen monk named Tenshitsu 天室 (n.d), who resided at the Sambōji in the Tenshō (1573-1592) and Bunroku (1592-1596) eras, took the painting with him when he moved to the Sekkeiji 雪蹊寺 in Tosa (Shikoku).[191] Subsequently it

[188] See Helen Craig McCullough (trans.), *The Tale of Heike* (Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 119.

[189] The distinction between Bodhidharma and his painted image would, in effect, have been nil. On the metonymic relation between symbol and symbolized in Buddhist art see Bernard Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," *Critical Inquiry* 24/3 (1998): pp. 768-813.

[190] A portrait of Bodhidharma from the first half of the thirteenth century, inscribed with a verse by Lanxi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (preserved at the Kōgakuji 向嶽寺 in Yamashina prefecture) is often cited as the first formal Bodhidharma portrait in Japan. Portraits of Song dynasty Chan masters imported into Japan in the Kamakura period include the portrait of Wuqun Shifan (1178-1249) 無準師範 brought from China in 1238 by Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (1202-1280). The *Butsunichian kōmotsu mokuroku* 佛日庵公物目録 (1363), an inventory of the Engakuji subtemple Butsunichian in Kamakura, catalogues thirty-nine portraits of Song dynasty abbots. *Nihonbukkyōshi jiten*, p. 726.

[191] Tenshitsu was a scholarly Rinzai monk who lived at the Sekkeiji in Tosa. He is known to have studied Confucianism under Minamimura Baiken 南村梅軒 (d. 1579?). ZGDJ, p. 892.

was procured by the Rinzai monk Nanka Genkō 南化玄興 (1538-1604)[192] on the behest of the governor of Tosa, Yamanouchi Tadayoshi 山内忠義 (1592-1665).[193] Tadayoshi had invited Genkō to become the founding abbot of the Daitsū-in 大通院, the memorial temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) of the Yamanouchi clan on the precincts of the Myōshinji. Thus the Bodhidharma portrait came to be installed at Myōshinji's Daitsū-in.[194]

Records of Gudō's dharma lecture and a chart of the seating arrangements are preserved in the archives of Kazanji 花山寺.[195] These records show that the lecture was an elaborately staged event that took place in the emperor's private residence hall (*seiryōden* 清涼殿). Gudō was seated on a high chair behind a small, brocade-covered table on which a censer was placed. On his right, a Buddha altar was set up, decked with candles, incense and flowers. Suspended above the altar was the portrait of Bodhidharma. Gudō's lecture was followed by a dialogue session (*mondō*) between Gudō and several designated interlocutors, including Gudō's attendant Bokuchō. The event was observed by empress Meishō 明正 (1624-1696), cloistered Emperor Gomizuno-o, the Prime Minister, courtiers, court ladies and attendants, as well as by a host of monks from Myōshinji and other monasteries of the Five Mountains establishment (*gozan* 五山), including Tōfukuji, Shokokuji and Daitokuji. The Cloistered Emperor is reported to have praised the portrait with the words: "In its doctrine, Hanazono's Myōshinji is of unparalleled eminence. This rare, extraordinary treasure is just like that." [196]

The inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma, or a replica, also landed in the hands of Kōgetsu Sōgan 江月宗玩 (1574–1643), a Zen monk affiliated with the Daitokuji. Like his father, Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及(d. 1591), Kōgetsu was one of the foremost tea masters of his time. He was also an avid art collector and a recognized connoisseur. In his journal *Bokuseki no utsushi* 墨跡之寫 (Copies of Ink Traces) Kōgetsu commented on the many paintings, calligraphies and tea utensils that were brought to his critical gaze for appraisal and authentication.[197] Entries in this journal show that Kōgetsu inspected the Bodhidharma portrait in the years 1611 and 1636. Kōgetsu appears to have been mainly interested in Deguang's calligraphy. He transcribed and emended Deguang's inscriptions, provided supplementary notes and deemed the brushwork authentic (*shoshitsu* 正筆).[198]

The exhibition at the palace, Kōgetsu's inspections, and the manufacturing of replicas indicate that in the early Edo period Nōnin's Bodhidharma portrait had become an object of renewed interest. This interest, I imagine, partly stemmed from a retrospectivity that typified the

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[192] Nanka Genkō studied at Sōfukuji 崇福寺 and Erinji 慧林寺 under the Rinzai monk Kaisen Joki 快川紹喜 (d. 1582) and received his dharma sanction. He founded several temples and was repeatedly invited by Emperor Go-yōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617) to officiate rituals in the imperial palace. In 1604 he retreated to the Myōshinji subtemple Rinka-in 隣華院 in Kyoto and passed away there in the fifth month of the same year, aged sixty seven. Emperor Go-yōzei granted Genkō the posthumous title National Master Tei'e Enmyō 定慧円明国師. ZGDJ, p. 281.

[193] Tadayoshi was the adopted son of Yamanouchi Kazutoyo 山内一豊 (1545- 1605). Kazutoyo sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and in return received governance over the Tosa domain (present-day Kōchi prefecture). See Marius B. Jansen, "Tosa in the Seventeenth Century: The Establishment of Yamauchi Rule," in John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen (eds.), *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan* (Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 116-119

[194] The summary of Bokuchō's record is based on Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, pp. 134-136.

[195] Kawakami Kozan, *Zōho Myōshinji shi* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1984), pp. 424-27.

[196] Ibid., p. 427.

[197] See Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 160-194.

[198] See Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (1)," p. 10, note 1 and 2; and p. 12. Tokunaga concludes that the painting inspected by Kōgetsu was actually a replica.

Zen world at the time. Many Zen priests perceived a decline in the tradition and sought to remedy the woeful state of contemporary Zen by revisiting the tradition's medieval origins. As a collector and Zen monk, Kōgetsu Sōgan – whose *Bokuseki no utsushi* was also known as *Kakko no hon* (Books for awakening the past) – was likewise greatly occupied with tracing and recreating the Zen tradition's "calligraphic past."[199] The production of replicas of the Bodhidharma portrait in the Edo period, Takahashi notes, is moreover likely to have been stimulated by the growing popularity of ritualized tea drinking (*sadō* 茶道).[200] Tea practices elicited an increasing demand for mounted ink paintings and calligraphies, which were considered elegant additions to the tea room.

RELICS AT SAMBŌJI

A significant factor in the appeal of the Darumashū was its collection of relics. In modern Buddhist studies relics and relic veneration have become an increasingly researched topic. The initial academic neglect of Buddhist relics, many scholars observed, had its roots in a "protestant" outlook on images and materiality, which predisposed early scholars of Buddhism to focus chiefly on texts, doctrines and beliefs. The cult of relics was downgraded as a fringe development or an impure concession to popular demand. Over the past two decades or so, scholars have been reassessing this view, and it is now generally recognized that relic veneration was not a vulgar accretion to the Buddhist tradition but actually stood at its basis. Relics furthered Buddhism's geographic spread and persistently informed Buddhist theory and praxis. Far from being a byproduct of "low-culture," relic veneration and faith in the power of relics cut across social strata and was common to both monastic and lay Buddhists. [201]

Relics, politics and faith

The Buddhist term for relics, *śarīra* (Ch. *sheli*, *shari* 舍利), initially referred to the crematory remains of the Buddha. Far from merely "representing" the absent Buddha, *śarīra* were considered to "embody" the Buddha; the objects constituted the Buddha's actual "living presence." Accordingly immense powers were attributed to them. [202] Traditional accounts describe that the crematory remains of Buddha Śākyamuni were distributed among the rulers of eight local kingdoms. The Indian King Aśoka (third century b.c.e) reassembled the scattered relics, deposited them in eighty-four thousand stūpas and dispersed them over the Indian continent (Jambudvīpa). Some of these stūpas would be "discovered" in China, causing the establishment of cultic centres, such as the King Aśoka monastery (Ayuwangshan 阿育王山) in

[199] Levine, *Daitokuji*, p. 164.
[200] Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," p. 270.
[201] See for instance: Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997). Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravada Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). Robert Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," *Representations* 66 (1999): pp. 75-99. Brian Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Harvard University Press, 2000). John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton University Press, 2004). David Germano and Kevin Trainor (eds.), *Embodying the Dharma* (State University of New York Press, 2004).
[202] On relics, presence and representation see Jacob. N. Kinnard, "The Field of the Buddha's Presence," in *Embodying the Dharma*, Germano and Trainor (eds.), pp. 117-144; also Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics." On relics as living entities (with legal rights) see Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 99-147 and 148-164.

Mingzhou.[203] In addition to being considered remains of Buddha Śākyamuni, relics also came to be extracted from the pyres of eminent Buddhist monks and nuns, often in great quantities. In addition relics were also believed to suddenly materialize or multiply on the spot as a response to devotion. These developments facilitated the mass production and distribution of relics.

Essential to the veneration of the relatively nondescript relic grains were reliquaries (*sharitō* 舎利塔). Though technically vessels for preserving relics, or markers indicating the presence of relics, reliquaries (through metonymic conflation) effectively became objects of veneration in itself, even without a relic deposit. In the early phases of relic worship in Japan relic grains were mostly deposited inside nested boxes and buried under the central foundation stone of an architectural stūpa edifice (*tō* 塔). These stūpas were mostly multi-tiered wooden structures, with hipped roofs and an ornate finial. With the increase of relics entering Japan in the Nara period, other forms of enshrinement and veneration emerged. Relics came to be enshrined in small, miniaturized stūpas (*shotō* 小塔), which were placed in a chamber inside the larger stūpa edifice, or kept inside a temple hall. In the Kamakura period temple complexes often came to include a *shariden* 舎利殿, a hall solely dedicated to a relic. This shift from secretion to exposition reflected a changing role of relics and reliquaries as objects of viewing, veneration, transmission and distribution.[204]

In Nōnin's time the veneration of Buddhist relics was a widespread practice with a longstanding tradition. The earliest reference to relics in Japan is found in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan, compiled in 720).[205] From the Nara period onwards great quantities of relics entered Japan. An oft-cited case is the three thousand relics brought to Japan in 753 by the Chinese monk Jianzhen 鑒真 (688-763) (Ganjin); these relics became the focus of recurring relic assemblies 舎利會 (*shari-e*) at the Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in Nara. In the Heian period monks such as Kūkai 空海 (774-835), Ennin 円仁, Engyō 円行 (799-853) and Eun 慧運 (798-869) imported numerous Buddha relics, which provided a basis for the development of Shingon and Tendai relic practices.

Since early times, Buddha relics were strongly associated with kingship. In Japan, too, the cult of relics became intimately tied in with the power of the sovereign. Drawing on symbolic correspondences between Buddha relics, Buddhist wish-fulfilling jewels (*nyoi-hōjū* 如意寶珠; Skt. cintamāṇi) and Japan's imperial treasures, the Heian court and the major temple and shrine complexes established a relic-based ritual economy through which imperial authority and the power of the Buddha were mutually affirmed.[206] Throughout the medieval period, contending centres of political power (the military Kamakura government, the Hōjō Regents, abdicated Emperors, the military Ashikaga government) consistently employed the political potential of

[203] The monastic center on Mount Ayuwang was established at the site where in the third century the monk Huida 慧達 is said to have discovered a small reliquary with Buddha relics, which he identified as one of Aśoka's eighty-four thousand stūpas. See Zürcher, Erik. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (reprint), p. 279.

[204] See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari no Shōgon* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1983), pp. 279-300.

[205] The *Nihon shoki* describes how in 584 a relic mysteriously appeared during a Buddhist banquet and was given to Soga no Umako (d. 626), the chief supporter of the then still foreign Buddhist religion. The relic was enshrined in a stūpa but was destroyed some time thereafter by the anti-Buddhist Mononobe clan. The *Nihon shoki* also records gifts of relics to the Japanese court from the Korean Kingdoms of Paekche and Silla. See William. E. Deal, "Buddhism and the State in Early Japan," in *Buddhism in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 216-227.

[206] See Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, pp. 261-279.

relics.[207] Relics and stūpas associated with the King Aśoka monastery in China were particularly alluring in this respect because of the connection with Aśoka, the mighty Buddhist sovereign. For instance, in 1197 Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), the founder of the Kamakura *bakufu*, ordered the distribution of eighty-four thousand miniature stūpa reliquaries, in emulation of King Aśoka. Yoritomo's son Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192-1219), Japan's third military ruler, is known to have ordered the construction of a ship to sail to Mingzhou and obtain a relic from the King Aśoka monastery.[208]

Underlying the political dimension of relics, it must not be forgotten, is the actual faith in relics as sacred and effective objects. Believed to somehow partake of the exalted Buddha, relics offered people protection against harm and hope of salvation. The boons associated with relic veneration were many, varying from abundant crop and physical beauty to perfected wisdom and rebirth in the Pure Land. Such promises naturally attracted people from all walks of life.

Eisai, Nōnin and relics

Nōnin's contemporary Eisai was deeply concerned with relics and well aware of their spiritual and political efficacy. His interest in relics and wishfullfilling jewels (Skt. cintamāṇi) can be traced to his early training in Tendai esotericism. One of Eisai's esoteric instructors, Kikō Ajari 基好阿闍梨 , belonged to the An'ō lineage 穴太流, a branch of Tendai esotericism that seems to have been particularly occupied with relics. One of the esoteric rituals that Eisai practiced in his youth was the *gumonji-hō* 求聞持法, whose central object of veneration – the bodhisattva Kokūzō 虚空蔵菩薩 (Skt. Ākāśagarbha) – was symbolically equivalent to the wishfullfilling jewel. The ritual proceedings of the *gumonji-hō* involve visualization of a triple cintamāṇi and, according to some traditions, the employment of actual relic grains.[209]

The near conflation of jewels and relics, which especially developed in Japanese esotericism, is apparent in the practice of manufacturing wish-fulfilling jewels. The production of these objects, according to one tradition, required amounts of gold dust, aromatic woods and relic grains, which through intricate ritual were forged into a solid object.[210] According to *Keiranshūyōshū*, the desire to make such a jewel formed the main motive for Eisai's journey to China:

> QUESTION: How does one make a wish-fulfilling jewel?
> ANSWER: It is said that created wish-fulfilling jewels are made when circumambulating the center of Mount Jinshan, [under] the seven luminaries, nine planets, twelve mansions and twenty eight constellations [for the duration of] the thirty-six horary animals. In Japan this is

[207] See Faure, "Buddhist relics and Japanese regalia," in Germano and Trainor (eds.), *Embodying the Dharma*, p. 93-116.
[208] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 5/4/17 (DNS 4, 14, p. 341). Stuck in the sand the ship was eventually unable to sail.
[209] The *gumonji* practioner secluded himself for fifty or one hundred days in an especially constructed hall with a window unto the morning star. Seated in front of a painted icon of the bodhisattva Kokūzō (Skt. *Ākāśagarbha*) he was to recite the bodhisattva's mantra a million times to attain tantric union (*yūga*) and the magical power (Skt. *siddhi*) of unlimited memory. In anthropomorphic form Kōkūzō is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, wearing a crown and holding a cintamāni; in mantric form he corresponds to the siddhaṃ syllable *hrīh* or *trāh*; in expressive form (*samaya*) he appears as a triple cintamāni. Some traditions prescribe the use of actual relic grains during the ritual. The section on *gumonji-hō* in the Tendai compendium *Keiranshūyoshū* mentions that Buddha relics should be added to white poppy seeds that are used during the ritual to ward off evil demons (T. 2410, 546a27-b05). Another entry in the same section in *Keiranshūyoshū* provides a chronological overview of *gumonji* practitioners in Japan, starting with Kūkai and continuing with Saichō, Kakuban, Ryōgen, Kōgyō 行曉 and Eisai. Saichō's practice of the ritual is said to have culminated in the manifestation of several Buddha relics (T. 2410, 572b22-572c06).
[210] A description of the procedures is found in the *Goyuigo* 御遺告 (Last Instructions) attributed to Kūkai (T. 2431, 413a06-c25).

> not available. So, to find this, Yōjō Sōjō [Eisai] of Kenninji went to China.[211] […] Yōjō Sōjō was a brilliant workman of the An'ō lineage. He went to China to find the things required for manufacturing a [wish-fulfilling] jewel.[212]

Eisai's motives for going to China were doubtless more comprehensive, but the obtainment of relics might very well have been on his mind. During his first stay in China Eisai visited the King Aśoka monastery to venerate its relic. In his writings he lists the relic as one of the twenty marvels of China and reportedly witnessed it emitting rays of bright light.[213] On his second visit to China (between 1187 and 1191) Eisai received a kāṣāya and several other Zen tradita from Chan master Xu'an Huaichang (n.d). Eisai also obtained relics. Combined with his knowledge of esoteric practices, the relics in Eisai's possesion were instrumental in cementing relationships with the military governent in Kamakura.

In 1200, Eisai was appointed the founding abbot of Jūfukuji 寿福寺, the temple established in Kamakura by the powerful Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225) as a locus for the commemoration of her husband, Minamoto no Yoritomo (d. 1199), the first military ruler. The chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 records that in 1212 Masako's son Minamoto no Sanetomo – Japan's third military ruler – visited Jūfukuji with a gift of three relic grains that had been transmitted by Eisai.[214] In 1214 Eisai officiated the first annual relic assembly (*shari-e*) performed at Daijiji 大慈寺.[215] In 1217 Eisai conducted the first annual relic assembly held at Yōfukuji 永福寺, witnessed by Sanetomo and Hōjō Masako.[216] Jūfukuji, Daijiji and Yōfukuji were lavish temples established in Kamakura by the military government that served to confirm Kamakura as the centre of political power. The performance of relic ceremonies at these temples buttressed this ideology and provided Eisai with a platform to gain support from powerful patrons.

The limited sources on hand do not reveal similar strategies with regard to Nōnin. The relics that were reportedly transmitted by Nōnin were not Buddha relics (*busshari* 佛舎利) but relics of the relatively obscure six Chan patriarchs (*rokuso* 六祖), a detail that may have hindered political appropriations. The relics, in any event, were a major factor in the popularity of the Darumashū and played an essential role in the Sambōji community. Data on the cult of relics at Sambōji have become available in recent times through the discovery of the actual relics and related documents, to which we will now turn.

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[211] 尋云。所作寶珠作樣如何　答。或云。所作寶珠ト者中央ニ安金山七曜九執十二宮二十八宿三十六禽等圍繞〆建立スル也。此中ニ日本ニ無キ物有之。仍建仁寺ノ葉上僧正此物ヲ爲尋入唐スト 云云。(T. 2410, 545b26-29).

[212] 葉上僧正ハ穴太流ノ明匠也。爲寶珠建立相應物ヲ尋カ故ニ。被テ入唐其祕曲口傳 云云(T. 2410, 579a22a24).

(T. 2410, 579a23-24).

[213] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 1a29-1b01. T. 2543, 15c16-27).

[214] *Azuma kagami*, Kenryaku 2/6/20. Cited in Nōdomi, "Kamakura jidai no shari shinkō," p. 32. Minamoto no Sanetomo was Japan's third military ruler (reign 1203-1219) but wielded only limited political power. A puppet figure in the power struggles between his grandfather Hōjō Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138-1215) and his mother Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225), he took to religion and the art of poetry. He was assasinated in 1219. See H. Paul Varley, "The Hōjō Family and Succession to Power," in Jeffrey. P. Mass, *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, 1995 (reprint), pp. 143- 67.

[215] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 2/10/15. Ibid.

[216] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 5/9/30. Ibid.

The Shōbōji materials

At Shōbōji 正法寺, a temple in Kyoto, Japanese scholars discovered various materials that derived from the Sambōji in Settsu. The discovery, in 1974, included relics, a kāṣāya and two manuscripts. The manuscripts bear the following titles:

> 1) *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku* 大慧禅師袈裟六祖舎利目録 (Inventory of Relics of the Six Patriarchs and the Kāṣāya of Chan Master Dahui). (Hereafter: *Relic Inventory*).[217]
>
> 2) *Sesshū Nakajima Sambōji Jizō-in deshi Matsukaku Maru baitoku sōden shosho chigyōbun dembata mokuroku no koto* 摂州中嶋三宝寺地蔵院弟子松鶴丸買得相傳所々知行分田畠目録事 (Register of the Acquirement and Bequest of Lands and Rice Fields. By Matsukaku Maru, student of the Jizō-in Sambōji in Nakajima, Sesshū). Hereafter: *Sambōji Jizō-in Register*. [218]

The *Relic Inventory* of Sambōji shows that there were two kinds of relics venerated at Sambōji, namely *Fugen Kōmyō shari* 普賢光明舎利 (Relics of Samantabhadra's radiant light) which were believed derive from the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fugen 普賢), and *Rokuso shari* 六祖舎利 (relics of the six patriarchs) which were considered to originate with each of the first six patriarchs of the Chan lineage: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren and Huineng. The *Relic Inventory* claims that these relics were imported from China. In order to assess this claim will make a quick detour into Chan literature. After that, we will examine both the *Relic Inventory* and the *Sambōji Jizō-in Register*.

Relics of Samantabhadra and the six Chan patriarchs

A tradition of relics of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra is known to have existed in China at Mount Emei (Emeishan 峨眉山), the sacred mountain that was considered the bodhisattva's dwelling place.[219] One grain of Samantabhadra relics is known to have been brought from China

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[217] In addition to this scroll manuscript, the Shōbōji collection contains a handwritten copy of the *Relic Inventory* in book format, entitled *Daie Zenji kesa narabi ni rokuso shari no shoki* (Record of the kāṣāya of Chan Master Dahui and the Relics of the Six Patriarchs). Professor Nakao Ryōshin kindly provided me with a photocopy of these documents. A typescript rendition of the *Relic Inventory* is found in Nakao Ryōshin, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō" and in Takahashi Shūei, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso Fugen shari," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 26 (1984): pp. 116-121. A synoptic treatment is found in Faure, "Darumashū," pp. 37-38.

[218] In 1975, the relics, reliquaries and fragments of the *Relic Inventory* were displayed at the Nara National Museum. A typescript rendition of the *Jizō-in Register* is found in Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō." The exhibition at the Nara National Museum included the following Sambōji/Darumashū related objects: a) One gilt bronze and crystal reliquary (6.9 cm) in the shape of a flaming wish-fulfilling jewel (*kaentō* 火焔塔) on a lotus-leaf shaped pedestal. b) One crystal reliquary (5.8 cm) in the shape of a five-wheel stūpa (*suishō gorintō* 水晶五輪塔). c) One crystal reliquary in the shape of a wish-fulfilling jewel (5.1 cm) framed in a black lacquer casing, set on a pedestal. d) Six gilt bronze dishes (4.1 cm) holding relics of the six patriarchs, placed in a black lacquer box. e) Two gilt bronze cups (6.5 cm and 4.0 cm) and a small spoon. See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari no bijutsu: kaikan hachijūsshūnen kinen shunki tokubetsuten* (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1975). Also Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari to hōjū: Shaka wo shitau* kokoro (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2001) (catalogue number 134). In 2010 these objects were displayed at the exhibition *Kōsō to kesa* in the Kyoto National Museum. The Kyoto exhibition also included Dahui's kāṣāya. Photographs of the relics and reliquaries, Dahui's kāṣāya, the Sambōji documents, and the portrait of Bodhidharma inscribed by Deguang, are found in the exhibition catalogue *Kōsō to kesa* (Kyoto National Museum, 2010), pp. 78-83.

[219] See Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power* (Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 165.

by the Japanese monk Shunjō 俊芿 (1166-1227) in 1211.[220] The Fugen Kōmyō relics at Sambōji may likewise have been imported from China. The relics of the six patriarchs (*rokuso shari*), on the other hand, almost certainly were not.

The idea that there existed relics of the first patriarch Bodhidharma, in the sense of bone fragments or magically manifested particles, has to my knowledge no Chinese or other precedents. Relics associated with Bodhidharma were non-corporal "contact relics," such as the single shoe that he left behind when disappearing from his coffin.[221] Another relic of this type was of course the legendary kāṣāya that Bodhidharma conferred on his succesor Huike. Interestingly, a tradition of contac-relics of Bodhidharma also developed in Japan. Hōryūji, the temple in Ikuraga (Nara) established by Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) in the seventh century, claimed to possess two items associated with Bodhidharma, namely the patriarch's kāṣāya and his wooden begging bowl. This particular tradition arose in the early Kamakura period on the basis of Japanese elaborations on the Bodhidharma myth, which claimed that Bodhidharma had reincarnated in Japan to meet with Prince Shōtoku.[222]

The second Chan patriarch Huike is not reported to have left behind relics. Biographies in the *Xu gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks, compiled between 645-667) and *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 (1004) mention that Huike calmly died while sitting in meditation, but nothing is said about any kind of veneration of his remains.[223] *Chuanfa zhengzongji* 傳法正宗記 reports that Huike was executed and his body buried.[224] There is no record of a funerary stūpa or relics.

Relic grains of the third patriarch Sengcan are mentioned in several sources. *Chuanfa zhengzongji* mentions that at the time of Emperor Tianbao (742-756) a governor named Li Chang obtained Sengcan's relics. *Jingde chuandenglu* reports on Sengcan's impressive death (the master died standing upright amid the assembly of monks) and also mentions governor Li Chang. The governor is said to have located Sengcan's grave with the help of Shenhui (684-758). When the two men opened the patriarch's tomb three hundred colorful relics were found. The governor took one hundred relics for himself, one hundred were deposited in an especially build stūpa, and one hundred were given to Shenhui.[225]

The fourth patriarch Daoxin, the fifth patriarch Hongren and the sixth patriarch Huineng are known to have been mummified, thereby becoming highly revered "whole body relics" (Ch. *quanshen sheli* 全身舍利). The mummification of Daoxin is reported in *Xu gaosengzhuan*, which mentions that Daoxin's students opened up his funerary stūpa and saw the master "sitting upright as of old."[226] According to the *Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Dynasty Biographies of

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[220] See Charlotte von Verschuer, "Le moine Shunjo (1167-1227): sa jeunesse et son voyage en Chine," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* 88 (2001): pp. 161-189.

[221] According to the Chan record *Chuanfa zhengzongji* 傳法正宗記 (1061), the shoe was initially preserved at the Shaolin monastery. Subsequently it was stolen and kept in a monk's cell on Mount Wutai; thereafter it got lost (T. 2078, 743c01-03). The early Chan community at Caoxi also claimed to possess the shoe. See Bernard Faure, "Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (University of California Press, 1992), pp. 150-189.

[222] See Fujita, *Nihon ni nokoru Daruma densetsu*, pp. 221-227.

[223] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060, 552c22-23). *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 2076, 221c12-13).

[224] *Chuanfa zhengzongji* (T. 2078, 745a29).

[225] *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 221c14- 222b01). A similar account is found in *Baolin zhuan*, which mentions that Sengcan died at Wangong Monastery 皖公山. In 1982 a tile with an epitaph of Hongren was unearthed in Hangzhou, confirming that Hongren died at Wangong Monastery in 592. The existence of this tile suggests there also existed a funerary stūpa that possibly contained relics. See Jan Fontein, "The Epitaphs of two Chan patriarchs," *Artibus Asiae* 53/1-2 (1993): pp. 98-110.

[226] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060, 606b20-28). See McRae, *The Northern School*, pp. 31-32.

Eminent Monks), the body of fifth patriarch Hongren was preserved in a stūpa called Fayu 法雨 (Dharma Rain); upon opening this stūpa devotees saw Hongren's "flesh body shed tears like pearls of blood." The mummy became the centre of annual festivities attended by large crowds flocking from the neighbouring regions.[227] Famously, a mummy said to be the sixth patriarch Huineng is still venerated at the Nanhua Monastery in present day Guangdong province.[228] Another tradition claims that Huineng's skull was taken and transferred to Korea, where it is still kept.[229]

So, with the exception of Sengcan, normative Chan sources do not indicate Chinese traditions of relic grains from the six Chan patriarchs. As we will see below, Sambōji's *Relic Inventory*, in contrast, claims that the relic grains of the six patriarchs were "important treasures of the Zen school, passed on from master to student." This particular tradition, then, seems to have been an "invention" by the Japanese Darumashū.[230]

SAMBŌJI'S *RELIC INVENTORY*

Though interesting in itself, the authenticity of relics as objects genuinely connected to their originary saints is of course of minor importance. What matters is that relics were accepted as such in the communities that venerated them.[231] As Patrick Geary pointed out in reference to relics of Christian saints in Carolingian Europe, relics proper were mostly insignificant materials (bone, cloth, teeth), the valorization of which solely depended on experiential contexts. Such contexts were created by precious reliquaries, venerative rituals, oral stories and *translatio*, i.e. written accounts that detailed the provenance of the relics and other marvelous facts.[232]

The *Relic Inventory*, a scroll document that contains sixteen separate entries composed between the early thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicates that such contextualizing stories and practices circulated in the Sambōji community. The document, for instance, repeatedly mentions that Nōnin personally received the relics when visiting China and at one time in a dream

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[227] *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2061, 754b24).

[228] On Huineng's mummy as a corporal relic and fertility god see John. Jorgenson, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden, Brill, 2005), pp. 190-251. For whole body relics in Chinese Buddhism see Justin Ritzinger & Marcus Bingenheimer, "Whole-body Relics in Chinese Buddhism," *The International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 7 (2006): pp. 37-94; Robert Sharf, "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China," *History of Religions* 32/1 (1992): pp. 1-31; and Faure, "Relics and Flesh Bodies."

[229] See Jorgenson, *Inventing Hui-neng*, pp. 322-44.

[230] In Christianity the term "invention" (Latin: *inventio*) is used to refer to the discovery of relics, chiefly as a result of dreams or other kinds of revelation. An early case is the invention of relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protagius (d. 397) by Ambrosius of Milan in 386 A.D. See Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 219-223. It is of course conceivable that the Darumashū partook of a local Chinese cult or a Japanese (Tendai) tradition, but such phenomena have thusfar not come to light.

[231] From a standpoint of journalistic accuracy many relics, Buddhist and Christian, would be termed forgeries. Within the respective traditions, too, questions concerning the authenticity of certain relics were raised. For instance, criticizing the production of bogus relics in his day, the thirteenth century Tibetan Buddhist scholar Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) notes: "These days most of the relics are fabricated deceitfully, such as a hollowed out rock, the fruit of a sealwort, a fish eye, or remains fashioned by Nepalese." See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *Himalayan Hermitess: The Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Nun* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.124-125. In medieval Christendom a frequently noted criticism was that the amounts of bone relics of particular saints far exceeded realistic bodily configurations. The Benedictine monk Guibert of Nogent (ca 1055-1124), for instance, complained about rivaling churches claiming the possesion of the head of John the Baptist: "as if the saint could have been two-headed" […] Why am I going on about the head of John the Baptist, when each day I hear the same thing said about innumerable bodies of other saints?" See Thomas Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York & London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 399-428.

[232] See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1990) (Revised edition), p. 5-9.

received a relic from the future buddha Maitreya; miraculous emanations of new relic grains are reported; mention is made of the enshrinement of relics into reliquaries and the construction of a relic hall; the amount of relics and the composition of the collection is meticulously catalogued; some entries show small drawings of the shapes of the relics; precise listings show reductions in the number of relics due to distribution or loss, as well as increase in numbers through wondrous multiplication or due to gifts from visiting monks.

Unfortunately the *Relic Inventory* provides no details about the manner in which the relics were actually being venerated, except that it involved *haiken* 拝見, which can literally be rendered as "making prostrations and viewing." On this matter, Ishikawa Rikizan called attention to a document in the Shōmyōji collection (Kanazawa Bunko library) entitled *Shari raimon* 舎利禮文 (Text for Relic Veneration), transcribed by Shōmyōji's second abbot Myōninbō Ken'a 明忍房釵阿 (1261-1338).[233] The document contains a formula which runs: *Namu aikuō hachiman shisen Shaka nyorai shinjin shariya hōtōba* 南無阿育王八万四千釈迦如来身真舎利耶宝塔婆 (I take refuge in King Aśoka's eighty-four thousand jewel stūpas that hold the true relics of Śākyamuni Tathāgata's body). The document includes musical notations and specifies that the formula be recited while walking, making one prostration with each step (*ippō ichirei* 一歩一禮). Ishikawa's linking of this text to the Darumashū is speculative and seems to rest only on Nōnin's association with the King Aśoka monastery. Still, it is conceivable that this type of practice (prostrating, circumambulating, melodic *shōmyō* chanting) was part of Sambōji's cult of relics.

Contents

The following is an overview of the entries in the *Relic Inventory*, arranged in chronological order. The entries are supplemented with a variety of inferences, based on the ensuing data.

① **1201**

This first entry describes how a certain Ren-Amidabutsu Kanjin 蓮阿彌陀佛観真 witnessed the manifestation of a new relic grain upon venerating the relics of the six Chan patriarchs, on the advice of a fellow student named Teikan 定観.

> In the first year of Kennin (1201), month one, day three, at the hour of the monkey, I followed the advice of my fellow dharma practitioner Teikan and venerated the relics of the six patriarchs: suddenly there appeared one relic grain of the sixth patriarch. Together with the original relic, this makes two grains [of relics of the sixth patriarch]. It is round, white, glowy, smooth, and has small serrations. When this happened I brimmed with joy! Two relics of Bodhidharma and, counting the one that appeared at present, two relics of Huineng, plus the relics of the [remaining four of the] six patriarchs, make eight relic grains. At the time this was such a marvellous occurrence that I decided to document it.
> Ren-Amidabutsu Kanjin. First year of Kennin, month one, day three. [234]

The fragmentariness of the *Relic Inventory* makes it problematic to identify the the actual persons named in its various entries.[235] The typical name "Ren-Amidabutsu" does however point to a

[233] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajaku-ji no yukue", *Shūgaku Kenkyū* 28 (1986), p. 108

[234] 建仁元年壬戌正月三日申刻依同法定観之勧奉拝六祖御舎利之処第六祖舎利一粒始出来御与元合二粒　其貝圓白光潤少劣是機感時至歟甚以幸、達磨御舎利之二粒慧能御舎利今成二粒仍六祖合八粒舎利也。当時成不思議思乃所記之也。蓮阿彌陀佛観真 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145).

certain direction. The practice of appending the lofty name of Buddha Amida (*Amigō* 阿彌号) to one's own name emerged in the mid-Heian period among wandering *Amida hijiri* 阿彌陀聖 (or *nenbutsu hijiri* 念佛聖) who propagated chanting the formula *namu Amida butsu* in emulation of Kūya 空也 (903-972). Later the practice became a conspicuous feature among the followers of Hōnen's Pure Land teachings. In the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, a history of Japan completed in 1219, the Tendai prelate Jien 慈圓 (1155-1225) complained about the phenomenon of taking on Amida names, a custom that had gained popularity among the in his eyes dissolute followers of Hōnen:

> The exclusive *nenbutsu*, with its fish, meat and sexual indulgences, remains largely unchecked, and the monks of Mount Hiei have risen up saying that they are going to drive out the *nenbutsu* priest Kū-amidabutsu (1156-1228) who apparently has been put to flight. On the whole innumerable people have received names such as Kū-amidabutsu or Hō-amidabutsu in which a single character is added at the beginning of the name Amida Buddha.[236]

Implicit in the 1201 entry in the *Relic Inventory* by Ren-amidabutsu is a nexus between relics, Amida, and the Pure Land.[237] On Mount Hiei this combined interest in relics and Amida's Pure Land was apparent among the followers of Genshin 源信 (942-1017), the major exponent of Tendai Pure Land thought. Genshin composed the influential *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 (985) (Essentials for Rebirth in the Pure Land) and was a member of the *Nijūgo sanmai-e* 二十五三昧会 (Twenty-five samādhi assembly), a group of Tendai monks that practiced deathbed rituals for the purpose of attaining birth in Amida's Pure Land. The monks of this group interred the bones of their departed comrades into a communal stūpa. This innovative practice reflected the growing "sacralization of bones" in the Heian period, which in turn derived from the Buddhist cult of relics.[238] The *Shari kōshiki* 舍利講式 (Relic Liturgy), attributted to Genshin but probably composed later, directly connects veneration of Buddha relics to birth in Amida's Pure Land.[239]

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[235] Sources roughly contemporary with the 1201 entry in the *Relic Inventory* mention several monks bearing the name Ren-Amidabutsu or Kanjin. For instance, a roster of *nenbutsu* practitioners whom the Tendai establishment wanted exiled during the suppressions of the Pure Land movement in 1227, lists a Ren-amidabutsu residing at Chōrakuji. The roster is included in *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1213-1274). See *Nenbutsu mono yotō kyōmyō no koto* 念佛者餘黨交名事 (DNS 5, 4, p. 10). We also find a monk named Ren-amidabutsu among the close students of the Pure Land leader Shōkō. In 1228 this monk participated in the fourty-eight day *nenbutsu* retreat at the Ōjō-in 往生院 in Higo province 肥後國 during which Shōkō wrote his *Matsudai nenbutsu jushūin*. See *Matsudai nenbutsu jushūin* 末代念仏授手印 (T. 2613, 273b12-c07). Also *Hōsui bunryūki* 法水分流記 (DNS, 5, 11, pp. 719-20). A document entitled *Hihō kiroku* 秘法記録 (Record of Secret Methods) by the Shingon monk Jikken 実賢(1176-1249) records that a certain Ren-a Shōnin 蓮阿上人 (short for Ren-amidabutsu) received a manual for making a *cintamāni* from the monk Chōgen. *Hihō Kiroku* (DNS 5, 21, pp. 239-40). A property inventory of temples under the behest of Chōgen also lists a Ren-amidabutsu. See *Namu amidabutsu besshōji yōryō denbata no koto* 南無阿彌陀佛別所寺用料田畠事 (DNS 4, 6, p. 713). A monk named Kanjin 觀真 is known to have been a close student of the Pure Land monk Shōkū. See *Jōdo hōmon genru shō* 浄土法門源流章 (DNS 5, 16, p. 48).

[236] Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide (eds.), *Gukanshō*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 86 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), pp. 294-95. Translation taken from James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), p. 16 (slightly changed).

[237] The nexus between relics, Amida and the Pure Land had been well-established by the mid-Heian period and reflects changes in mortuary practices and an increased concern for post-mortum welfare. See Brian Ruppert, "Beyond Death and the Afterlife: Considering Relic Veneration in Medieval Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, edited by Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (University of Hawaii Press, 2009): pp. 102-137.

[238] See Hank Glassman, "Chinese Buddhist Death Ritual and the Transformation of Japanese Kinship," in *The Buddhist Dead*, edited by Bryan Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007): pp. 378-404. On the *Nijūgo sanmai-e* see Richard Bowring, "Preparing for the Pure Land in Late Tenth-Century Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25 (1998): pp. 221-257.

[239] Genshin's *Shari kōshiki* reads:

On Mount Kōya a similar trend emerged, especially among the semi-itinerant *nenbutsu* ascetics known as *Kōya hijiri* 高野聖. *Kōya hijiri* started to form communities on Mount Kōya in the late tenth century and practiced *nōkotsu* 納骨, the gathering and internment of bones from the ordinary dead.[240] The growing focus on Amida and the Pure Land among the *Kōya hijiri* and other Shingon adepts is reflected in the thought of Kakuban 覚鑁 (1095-1144), who emphasized the nonduality of Buddha Amida and Shingon's central Buddha Mahāvairocana. This development furthered the coalescence of Amida devotion and esoteric practices, including relic practices. *Shari kuyōshiki* 舎利供養式 (Rite for Making Offerings to Relics), a liturgical text composed by Kakuban, clearly connects the veneration of Buddha relics to birth in Buddha Amida's Land of Bliss (J. Gokuraku 極樂; Skt. Sukhāvatī).[241]

On the subject of Amidism and relic veneration we must also take note of transmission of relics within the Pure Land school of Hōnen (1133-1212) in the early Kamakura period, recently studied by Kira Jun.[242] Hōnen transmitted several Buddha relics (J *busshari*) and jewels (*hōjū*) to his close disciples Shōkū 證空 (1177-1247), Genchi 源智 (1183-1238) and Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263), indicating that the confluence of relic veneration and faith in Amida was an established feature in the early Pure Land school.

Although on the basis of the presently available materials it is impossible to propose a specific identification, our Ren-amidabutsu can safely be placed in the above sketched milieu of *hijiri* figures with Amidist/Esoteric leanings who were involved with veneration and transmission of relics.[243] Noteworthy in the present context is also the roster of benefactors (*kechien kyōmyō*)

> Earnestly relying on and making offerings to the loyalty of relics, we simultaneously abide in the skillful guidance of Śākyamuni and Amida. All members of the saṃgha dwell in the state of certain rebirth [in the Pure Land], a truth to be revered and exalted. Verse: "With these merits I wish that in my final moments I may see Amida Buddha's body of boundless merit. I wish that these merits extend universally and that we, together with all living beings, may attain the Buddha way." Hail! We prostrate in reverence to the bodily relics; may we, when approaching the end of our lives, have the right mindfulness for rebirth in the Land of Bliss and may [all beings in] the dharma realm benefit equally. 偏依供養舎利之忠節、兼住釋迦彌陀之善巧。大衆各住決定往生之意、可致禮拜讚嘆之誠。頌曰、依此諸功德願於命終時得見彌陀佛無邊功德身、願以此功德普及於一切我等與衆生皆共成佛道。南無歸命頂禮遺身舍利臨命終正念往生極樂法界平等利益。(Chinese taken from Guelberg, text nr. 39).

[240] See Gorai Shigeru, *Kōya Hijiri* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1975).

[241] Kakuban's *Shari Kuyōshiki* reads:

> Vajra students, what virtues have sprouted from the trees planted in former lives? In this life you have come upon this field of merit. Quietly think about this pattern and feel the tears dampen your sleeves. Giving up bodily life, throwing away precious belongings, we must strive to sincerely make offerings. Thus we prepared six kinds of fine offerings and set our minds on the three golden relics. By transfering the merit of this [ceremony] to Sukhāvatī, we will certainly accomplish our vows – made long ago – to be born there, and quickly fulfill Samantabhadra's active wish. In buddha-essence Śākyamuni and Amitābha are not different. In causal virtue bodhi and nirvāṇa are simply the same. Still, approached in a shallow way the Land [of Bliss] is an externally enjoyed, manifested Pure World, but if you rely on the profound mystery [of Shingon] it is the Buddha Land, the intrinsic nature of the Dharmakāya. (…) Repeat three times: "May we, through the power of consecration in the dharma realm of the Buddha, be born in Sukhāvatī and enter the A-syllable. We take refuge in the vajra-relics of the great wise and worthy [Śākya]muni, [guiding us to] birth in Sukhāvatī." 金剛弟子等、前身植何善苗、今世奉遇此福田。靜思此理、感涙潤袖。捨身命、投珍財、誠尤可競供養。是故、調六種之微供、志三金之舍利。以此功德、廻向極樂、必遂往生之素懷、速滿普賢之行願。能仁・彌陀、佛體無異。菩提・涅槃、果德惟同。抑此土者、若就淺略者、他受應化之淨刹、若依深秘者、自性法身之佛土也。(…) 我佛法界加持力　往生極樂入阿字 南無大覺牟尼尊金剛舍利往生極樂三遍。 (Chinese taken from Guelberg, text nr. 40).

[242] Kira Jun, "Gion-nyogo no busshari to Hōnen," *Seizangakuen kenkyū kiyō* (1) (2007): pp. 31-51 & (2), pp. 15-28. Kira builds on and revises previous research by Ohara Mayumi.

[243] This milieu is perhaps best personified in the likes of Chōgen (1121-1206), a leading *nenbutsu hijiri* who was heavily involved in relic promulgation and fundraising activities. Chōgen ordained as a Shingon monk at Daigōji 醍醐寺, practiced

from the Kenkō-in 遣迎院 temple in Kyoto. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this roster (dated 1194) records the names of persons that contributed to the establishment of a statue of Amida. Along with Eisai, Myōhen, Chōgen and other fundraising monks, this roster also lists Nōnin. In addition it also reveals the names Ren-amidabutsu and Teikan , as well as other names that will turn up below in the *Relic Inventory*.[244]

② **1218**

The next entry records the enshrinement of thirty-seven Fugen Kōmyō relics.

> Report on the enshrinement of relics at Sambōji. Thirty-seven grains of Fugen Kōmyō relics. Late Master [Nōnin] transmitted these from the Song to Japan. They are important treasures of the Zen school, passed on from master to student. They must not be scattered and lost. Written by apprentice Teikan in the sixth year of Kenpō, month 5, day 15. [245]

The author of this entry is Teikan, who is also mentioned in the previous entry as the fellow dharma practitioner of Ren-amidabutsu. Noteworthy in this 1218 entry is that the "late master" (*senshi* 先師) – i.e. Nōnin – is said to have personally obtained the relics in China. According to Ishii Shūdo accounts of Nōnin visiting China were constructed to justify the relic cult at Sambōji, which, he theorizes, emerged shortly after Nōnin's death. [246] On a broader note, it is likely that such accounts arose as a reaction to criticisms on Nōnin's lack of a direct dharma-transmission from Deguang. In Nōnin's lifetime the use of envoys to procure certification does not seem to have provoked significant criticism. Nōnin's major critic Eisai (d. 1215), for instance, does not bring it up. This particular criticism emerged later, probably from among Eisai's students, who were engaged in establishing their own orthodoxy.

The entry, to finish, expresses caution not to scatter or loose the relics, suggesting that this probably did happen. Clearly the relics were sought-after items.

③ **1230**

The next entry records the colors and shapes of five of the most valued relics.

> Fugen Kōmyō relics: three grains. White, triangular with an indentation on one side. Red, oval like a hen's egg. Yellow, spherical with shiny and smooth sides. Enshrined in a flame-smoke reliquary.[247] Bodhidharma: one grain. Disc-shaped and flesh coloured. This relic appeared in the lifetime of late master [Nōnin]. Huineng: one grain. Sphere-shaped, white and big. This relic appeared in the lifetime of Venerable [Ren-amidabutsu] Kanjin. After

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Amida *nenbutsu* on Mount Kōya, and is thought to have studied directly under the Pure Land teacher Hōnen. Chōgen styled himself Namu-amidabutsu, ingeniously making all who called him automatically recite the *nenbutsu* formula. In addition to being a succesful fundraiser (*kanjin hijiri* 勧進聖), Chōgen was a leading figure in the promulgation of relics. According to one account, Chōgen, after his return from China, visited Zenkōji to practice a million *nenbutsu* repetitions. In a dream Zenkōji's Amida appeared to him and gave him relics; following Amida's instructions, Chōgen immediately swallowed them. See Nakao Takashi, *Chūsei no kanjin hijiri to shari shinkō* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), p. 118.

[244] A photo reproduction of the *kechien kyōmyō* documents found inside the Amida statue of Kenkō-in is included in Aoki Atsushi, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō* (Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentaa, 1999). The relevant names appear on p. 34 (Shinren, Ren-amidabutsu), p. 88 (Teikan, Kanshō) and p. 163 (Ichiren).

[245] 三宝寺御舎利安置之状案。普賢光明舎利参拾柒粒。右先師従宋朝傳来為禅宗重寶師資相承不可散失矣。健保六年五月十五日弟子定観記之。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145)

[246] Ishii Shūdō, "Shōbōji monjo yori mita Nihondarumashu no seikaku," *Bukkyōgaku* 35 (1993): p. 18.

[247] This "flame and smoke reliquary" (*kaen no tō* 火煙の塔) possibly refers to one of the reliquaries found at Shōbōji, which is of the same type.

> Venerable Original Vow (Hongan Shōnin 本願上人) personally transmitted these [relics] from the Song to Japan, they have become the important treasures of the Zen school, transmitted from master to student. Because [Sambōji] is the school's main temple these five most important relics are collectively enshrined at Sambōji. It is so agreed. Recorded in the second year of Kanki, *hinoe-kanoe*, month two, day fifteen.[248]

The entry reiterates the importance of the relics. It mentions the putative transmission of the relics from China by Nōnin. It also indicates that the relics were considered "treasures of the Zen school," transmitted in Nōnin's lineage from master to student. Nōnin is referred to as Hongan Shōnin 本願上人, *hongan* (original vow) being a term used to designate the founder of a temple. The agreement to keep these particular relics at the Sambōji, the "main temple" (*honji* 本寺), suggests the existence of branch temples, to which other relic grains were being distributed.

④ **1230**

The next entry, recorded later in the same year, is a written agreement (*shōmon* 証文). It records the promise of a monk named Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei) to return a borrowed Fugen Kōmyō relic.

> In the thirty-eight year of my life I, Han'ei, received one grain of Fugen Kōmyō relics from the monk Ichiren. This relic was originally in the possession of the monk Shinren. The number [of Fugen Kōmyō relics] is thirty-seven. From these the monk Ichiren respectfully requested one grain – a red-colored relic. Temple superior Enshōbō sincerely requested that after my death it be restored to its original place, [Sambōji]. It must definitely be returned. This I pledge. If I should become forgetful in my final moments, the relic may be retrieved. It is so agreed. Kongōbusshi Han'ei. The second year of Kanki, month ten, day seven. Shōjunbō's Agreement.[249]

The drafting of this kind of agreement shows that the relics were highly safeguarded and coveted objects, whose dispersion was preferably controlled. The entry, in addition, reveals several names of monks who were in some capacity connected to Sambōji and its relic cult:

- (a) Enshōbō
- (b) Shinren
- (c) Ichiren
- (d) Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei).

Again, it is problematic to specifically identify these persons. But, by bringing in additional sources, I will make some conjectures:

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[248] 普賢光明舎利参粒。白色其白三角而一面有靨。赤色圓長如鳥卵。黄色其貌團圓而小各光潤鮮。奉納于火煙之塔内。達磨舎利一粒。其白圓平而肉色也。先師御時出来御舎利也。慧能舎利一粒。其白圓白而大也。観真上人御時出来御舎利也。右本願上人自宋朝傳来之後為禅宗重寶所師資相承也而為宗本寺故彼御舎利之随一合五粒奉安置三寶寺之状如件。寛喜二年庚寅二月十五日記之。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145.)

[249] 範永生年三十八之年自一蓮御房普賢光明御舎利一粒処分給畢。件御舎利元者心蓮御房御所持也数三十七粒也。其内一粒 但赤色御舎利也 一蓮御房御奉請也。彼院主聖房懇切範永之一期後者可奉本所返納之由令所望給仍必可奉渡之由令申約束候畢。若又最後雖有忘却可被尋取候之状如件。寛喜二年十月七日。金剛佛子範永 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 144). Visible on the manuscript on the left side of Han'ei's signature is a small esoteric A-syllable in siddhaṃ script, suggesting Esoteric Buddhist influence.

- (a) Enshōbo 圓聖房

  Enshōbō is referred to as "temple superior" (*injū* 院主). Most likely, then, he served as abbot of Sambōji and leader of the Sambōji community. Along with Kakuan he may have been one of Nōnin's dharma heirs. The name Enshō frequently turns up in *Heikōki* 平戸記, the diary of Taira no Tsunetaka 平経高 (1180-1255). The diary shows that in 1244 and 1245 a monk named Enshō Ajari 圓聖阿闍梨 officiated at *nenbutsu* sessions, repentance rituals (*zanbō* 懺法) and *kōshiki* style lectures that centred on Amida and Jizō. The diary specifies that Enshō held the priestly rank of *Hokkyō* 法橋.[250] *Hokkyō* is the third rank (*san'i* 三位) of three priestly ranks that were bestowed by the Bureau of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō 僧綱).[251] Conceivably, then, this Enshō Ajari is the student of Nōnin who in the biography of the Pure Land monk Shōkō is identified as "Ācārya of the Third Rank" (*San' i Ajari* 三位阿闍梨) (see Chapter Two). A Tendai lineage chart shows that Enshō Ajari was a Tendai monk who in 1229 received a dharma-transmission from Chōen 重圓 (1162-1249), the abbot of Onjōji 園城寺 (Miidera 三井寺), the Tendai centre at the foot of Mount Hiei.[252] Provided that this Enshō Ajari was indeed our temple superior of Sambōji, it would appear that Sambōji at that time was administratively tied to Onjōji. Noteworthy in this regard is that Nōnin himself is known to have moved in Onjōji circles, as is clear from his contact with the Onjōji monk Kōin (see Chapter Two) .

- (b) Shinren 心蓮

  The *Relic Inventory* indicates a transmission of one grain of the Fugen Kōmyō relics in the following order:

  Shinren → Ichiren → Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei).

  Shinren is probably "Shinren Tokugō" who is mentioned as one of Nōnin's students in the biography of the Pure Land monk Shōkō, together with the aforesaid "Ācārya of the Third Rank." A monk named Shinren is listed, too, among the many students of the Pure Land teacher Hōnen who signed the *Shichikajō seikai* 七箇条制誡 (Seven Article Admonition), Hōnen's 1204 petition to Enryakuji. The same Shinren is known to have been a leading *nenbutsu hijiri*, active at Kōjō-in 迎接院, a *nenbutsu* centre established in the Kenryaku era (1211-1212) on the precincts of the Bodaisanji 菩提山寺 in Yamato province. According to records of Bodaisanji, this Shinren transmitted a tooth relic of the Buddha.[253] As will be made clear below, the monk Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei) (d) was also active at the Bodaisanji. A monk named Shinren is also listed on the roster of benefactors (1194) who contributed to the establishment of the statue of Amida at the Kenkō-in in Kyoto. As mentioned earlier, Nōnin too was involved in this project.

  Possibly the abovementioned references to Shinren pertain to one and the same person: a *nenbutsu hijiri* who studied with Nōnin and Hōnen, participated in the establishment of the Amida statue at the Kenkō-in, and was involved in relic promulgation at Bodaisanji.

[250] DNS 5, 17, p. 427. DNS 5, 18, pp. 233-45. DNS 5, 19, pp. 235-46.
[251] The three ranks are Hokkyō Shōnin 法橋上人位, Hōgen Wajō 法眼和上位 and Hōin Daiwajō 法印 大和上位. These ranks were established in 846 on the instigation of the Shingon monk Shinga 真雅 (801-879). *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 441.
[252] *Onjōji Denpō Kechimyaku* 園城寺傳法血脈 (DNS 5, 30, p. 397).
[253] *Kōjō-in geshari engi* 迎接院牙舎利縁起, discussed in Kira Jun, "Gion-nyogo no busshari to Hōnen (2)," pp. 16-26.

- (c) Ichiren 一蓮
  The shared syllable "ren" 蓮 suggests a group affinity between Ichiren, Shinren and Ren-amidabutsu. Nakao Ryōshin suggested that Ichiren is the same person as Teikan, mentioned in entry ①. As a kind of custodian of the relics "Ichirenbō Teikan" would have been responsible for proper distribution of relic grains.[254] As mentioned above, the name Teikan also appears on the roster of contributors to the establishment of the Amida statue at Kenkō-in .

- (d) Shōjunbō 聖順房 (Kongōbusshi Han'ei 金剛佛子範永)
  Takahashi Shūei recently discussed a document that sheds new light on the monk Shōjunbō.[255] The document was retrieved from inside a statue of Buddha Amida and indicates that by 1260 Shōjunbō had transferred from Sambōji to one of the temples at the Bodaisanji 菩提山寺 complex. Here he sponsored the establishment of an Amida statue carved by the sculptor Kakuen 覚円.[256] The Bodaisanji (also known as Shōryakuji 正暦寺) in Yamato province was established in 992 by the Shingon monk Kenshun 兼俊 (b. 962). The temple burned down in 1180 during the siege of Nara and was rebuild in 1218 as a Hossō centre by the Kōfukuji monk Shin'en 信円 (1153-1224).[257] The temple complex accommodated two thriving *nenbutsu* centres, the Anyō-in 安養院 and the Kōjō-in 迎接院, both established in the Kenryaku era (1211-1212) by a student of Hōnen named Renkō 蓮光 (note the character "ren" 蓮). As mentioned above, this Kōjō-in *nenbutsu* centre was the place where the monk Shinren (b) was active.

Though some of the above made associations are tentative, the collective data point to interaction between Sambōji and Bodaisanji, involving the dispersal of relics by *nenbutsu hijiri*.

⑤ **1238**

The following entry, Takahashi Shūei suggested, is a transcript of a commemorative plaque (*munefuda* 棟札).[258] Such plaques were inscribed at the completion of a new building and recorded the building's name, the names of the carpenters, artisans or donors, and the date of the building's completion. The entry reads as follows:

> Underneath this *shariden* there are these words: "The ever-present and aware dharmakāya buddha is precisely the crafty mind of dependent cognition. Made by monk Kanshō in the year Katei four (1238), *inu-tsuchinoe*, month eight, day ten. Delusion and foolishness are like wooden planks: I have now assembled them and completed a site of awakening."[259]

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[254] Nakao, "Settsu sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145.
[255] Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," pp. 275-277.
[256] The statue is presently ensconced at the Sokushin-in 即心院 in Gifu prefecture. In outward appearance the sculpture is fashioned after the famous Śākyamuni statue of the Seiryōji 清涼寺. See Shimizu Masumi, "Gifu Sokushin-in no Seiryō-ji shiki Shaka Nyoraizō," *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 260 (2002): pp. 101-113.
[257] Shin'en was a son of Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164). Fujiwara no (Kūjō) Kanezane 藤原兼実(1149-1207) and the Tendai prelate Jien 慈円 were his half-brothers. In 1185 Shin'en served as reciter 呪願師 during the eye-opening ceremony of the recast Great Buddha statue at Tōdaiji. In 1203 he officiated at the ceremonies marking the completion of the Great Buddha Hall at Tōdaiji. See Ohara Mayumi, "Bodaisan Hongan Shin' en no yume," *Shisō* 58 (2001): pp. 243-255. Like Nōnin, Shin'en, incidentally, also contributed to the establishment of the Amida statue at Kenkō-in in Kyoto. See Aoki, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō*, p. 190.
[258] Takahashi, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso fugen shari," p. 118.
[259] 此舎利殿下在此字。自本常知法身佛 工巧縁慮心是也。嘉禎四年戊戌八月十日。僧観照造之。迷者愚者如材木。我今取束成道場。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146)

Seeing that this dedication was inscribed "underneath" the *shariden* (*shariden no shita* 舎利殿下) I suspect we are not dealing with a *munefuda* attached to a building, but with an inscription in the bottom of a *shariden* cabinet. Such cabinets were miniaturized versions of architectural relic halls; they were made of (laquered) wood and placed inside a temple hall.[260] Either way, the placement of a *shariden* at Sambōji attests to the prominent role of relic veneration in the Sambōji community.

Interestingly the inscription contains two "doctrinal" statements. The first statement – "The ever-present and aware dharmakāya buddha is precisely the crafty mind of dependent cognition" – asserts the identity of buddha and the discursive mind of the ordinary being. The second statement – "Delusion and foolishness are like wooden planks: I have now assembled them and completed a site of awakening" – takes the timbered structure of the *shariden* as a metaphor for the interconnectedness of delusion and awakening.[261] The statements, in other words, reflect the tenor of the nonduality teachings associated with Nōnin and the Darumashū: plain and ordinary beings are awakened buddhas. The inscription, further, mentions a monk named Kanshō 観照, who was evidently involved in the construction of the *shariden*. The name "Kanshō" also appears on the 1194 roster of benefactors who contributed to the establishment of the Amida statue at the Kenkō-in in Kyoto (See Chapter Two).[262]

⑥ **1405**

The next entry in the *Relic Inventory* (Ōei 12/11/27) appears after a gap of almost two centuries. Apparently the relic cult, or at least its documentation, had waned sometime after 1238 and revived again in the early fifteen century. The entry registers the number and distribution of relics of the Chan patriarchs, showing a significant multiplication of derivative "rice grains" (*kometsubu* 米粒) and "grains of unhulled rice" (*momi* 籾). The primary relics were believed to magically multiply as rice grains. The relics discovered at the Shōbōji include colorful crystalline objects as well as very small grains of what indeed appears to be rice.

⑦ **1407**

This entry records the appearance of a relic in response to the devotion of a "relic-faith monk" (*shari shinkōsō* 舎利信仰僧) who visited Sambōji to venerate relics:

> When in the fourteenth year of Ōei, *inoshishi-hinoto*, month eleven, day eleven, in the hour of the bird, a relic-faith monk (named Sōjo) [263] came to venerate, a blue coloured relic

[260] See Sawada Kadamu, *Busshari to kyō no shōgon* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989), pp 54-67.

[261] The statement is somewhat reminiscent of the Huayan analogy of the rafter and the building. In his *Huayan yicheng jiaoji fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (T. 1866, 507c04-509a03) the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643-712) elaborates on the relation of a rafter to a building to explain the identity of a part and the whole, especially with respect to the bodhisattva path: every stage of the bodhisattva path partakes of the totality of the path. See Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism: The Jewel Net of Indra* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 75-89.

[262] See Aoki, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō*, p. 88.

[263] In what looks like an added notation, the visiting "relic-faith monk" is identified as Sōjo 宗助. The only roughly contemporary monk named Sōjo that I have been able to trace is the Shingon monk Sōjo 宗助, who between 1362 and 1373 repeatedly participated in the annual Shingon ritual *Goshichinichi mishūhō* 後七日禦修法 (Latter seven day ritual). This prestigious seven day ritual concluded with the Emperor distributing Buddha relics of the Tōji to a select few monks. In 1371 (Ōan 4/1/15), for instance, Sōjo received one of the fifty relic grains that were distributed that year. Sōjō, however, died in 1405 (Ōei 12). *Tōdaiji monjo* 東寺文書 (DNS 6, 33, pp. 261-63).

> extricated itself from inside a Fugen Kōmyō relic. Though it is a relic of the final period it is a rare, wonderful and auspicious sign.[264]

⑧ **1444**

This entry registers the enshrinement of relics in a stūpa reliquary (*tō* 塔) during an "assembly of old monks" (*rōsōshoshū-e* 老僧諸衆會). It mentions that a monk named Jōjūbō Jitsugon 成就坊實言 mysteriously brought forth a gold coloured relic. The relic was subsequently enshrined in the same stūpa.

⑨ **1462**

This entry (Kanshō 3/1/26) presents small drawings of the shapes of several relics, and reports the loss of one relic of Bodhidharma. Interestingly, Nōnin is said to have received, in a dream, a relic from the bodhisattva Maitreya. Such a miraculous account of course greatly enhanced the object's mystique:

> In a dream the venerable Dainichi went up to the Tuṣita heaven and gratefully received a tangerine from the bodhisattva Maitreya. In reality it was a Buddha relic. It is therefore called "Tangerine Relic."[265]

⑩ **1467**

The next entry (Ōnin 1/7/5) simply catalogues the relics. It shows a typological distinction between the primary relics of the six Chan patriarchs – interestingly called "Buddha relics" (*busshari*) – and derivative "rice grains" (*kometsubu* 米粒). Again the relics have multiplied considerably, totaling to one hundred and ninety-four relics of the six patriarchs (of which seven are reported missing) and twelve Fugen Kōmyō relics.

⑪ **1467**

This entry merely identifies the six Chan patriarchs. It was composed in the first year of Ōnin (1467) and copied in the ninth year of Eiroku (1566) by a certain Sōshun 宗俊.

⑫⑬⑭ **Undated**

The next three entries are undated but probably recorded in the Ōnin era.[266] All three concern the kāṣāya of Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163) that was presented to Nōnin's envoys by Dahui's successor Fozhao Deguang.

> The kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui of Mount Jing permanently remains at Sambōji. When Sambōji's founder Dainich received the Zen dharma, Fozhao [gave him] a wonderful kāṣāya. Original Vow [Dainichi] brough it with him when he returned to Japan. It an important treasure of Sambōji.

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[264] 応永十四年丁亥十一月十一日酉剋御舎利信仰僧 号宗助 来拝見之時普賢光明御舎利之内青色御舎利一粒分散在之。雖為末代御舎利奇持不思議奇瑞也。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146.)

[265] 大日上人詣率天夢中自弥勒菩薩柑子一顆 感徳其實即佛舎利也。依之柑子御舎利与号 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146).

[266] In view of the calligraphy Takahashi Shūei connects the three entries to entry number 11 and accordingly places them in the Ōnin years. Takahashi, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso Fugen shari," p. 120.

> Measurements of the great kāṣāya. Width: eight *shaku*, two *sun*. Length on the left side: three *shaku*, eight *sun*. Length on the right side: three *shaku*, six *sun*. [267]

The transmission of a kāṣāya from master to disciple is of course a central symbol in the Chan/Zen discourse of lineage and legitimacy.[268] Eisai and Dōgen both received kāṣāyas from their teachers, and it is entirely plausible that Fozhao Deguang bestowed a kāṣāya on Nōnin (possibly even one that was once worn by Dahui). The transfer of a kāṣāya to Nōnin is alluded to in *Genkō Shakusho*, which mentions that Fozhao presented Nōnin's envoys with a "dharma robe" (*hōe* 法衣).[269] The *Relic Inventory* of course claims that Nōnin personally received the garment from Fozhao when in China. The fact that the kāṣāya – an object of great cultic and legitimizing value – is not mentioned earlier in the document, which may lead to the suspicion that the tradition was a later invention. Yet, the kāṣāya discovered in recent times at Shōbōji (together with the *Relic Inventory* and the relics) is in fact an authentic object of Song dynasty Chinese provenance; the garment has been dated to the twelfth century and classified as the oldest extant Zen style kāṣāya imported from China to Japan.[270]

⑮ **Undated**

This entry identifies the various shapes and colors of the relics of the six Chan patriarchs and features small drawings of the objects. A rough dating for the entry may be inferred from the term *biidoro* 美伊土呂, used to describe one particular relic. *Biidoro* means "glass." Though the word seems to be etymologically related to the Sanskrit *vaiḍūrya* (lapis lazuli), it entered the Japanese language through the Portugese *vidro*, after the Portuguese brought glass objects with them in the sixteenth century.[271] The entry therefore cannot predate this era. At this juncture, as will be clear from the next entry, the relics had been moved from the Sambōji to another location.

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[267] 径山大慧禅師御袈裟三宝寺常住也。/ 三寶開山大日受禅法於佛照妙喜袈裟本願帰朝傳来也。三寶時重寶也。/ 大袈裟寸　　ヨコ八尺二寸。　タツ三尺八寸左方。タツ三尺六寸　右方。Ibid.

[268] According to Chan tradition, Buddha Śākyamuni conferred a gold-embroidered kāṣāya on Mahākāśyapa as a certification of his awakening and his authority to pass on the dharma. This kāṣāya (or others, the accounts are imprecise and contradictory) was subsequently transmitted through the Chan lineage. The advocates of the self-styled Southern school claimed that Bodhidharma's kāṣāya had been handed down in a straight line up to Huineng, the one and only Sixth Patriarch. Aided by this powerful narrative the movement succesfully established itself as the orthodox tradition, in contradistinction to the socalled Northern school, represented by the followers of Shenxiu. With the hegemony of the Southern school the concept of a unique kāṣāya that was transmitted as the sole token of legitimacy had served its purpose, and the idea of one Chan patriarch per generation disappeared. In the proliferation of Chan/Zen lineages the conferral of a kāṣāya remained closely associated with the idea of authentic transmission. See *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, vol. 8, (Paris-Tokyo, 1983) entry *Den'e* 傳依, by Anna Seidel.

[269] DNBZ 62, p. 156.

[270] The kāṣāya was exhibited in 2010 in the Kyoto National Museum. The exhibit catalogue describes the object as silk, dark blue, so-called nine panel kāṣāya (*kujō kesa* 九条袈裟). See Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kōsō to kesa*, p. xviii.

[271] See C. Dunn, "Some Etymological Notes on Two Japanese Words kugutu and ruri," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36/2 (1973): pp. 287-292. Glass production in Japan is well attested in the Nara period at which time it was mostly used for making Buddhist altar supplies, particularly reliquaries. Glass workshops were located on temple grounds. Glass beads were especially in demand and produced by the tons. See Dorothy Blair, *A History of Glass in Japan* (New York, Kodansha & The Corning Museum, 1973). In view of this intimate relationship between glass production and Buddhist temples, it is conceivable that glass was actually used to manufacture relics.

⑯ **Undated**

This entry recounts the provenance of the relics that were kept at Sambōji and describes their removal from the temple due to the devastations of the Ōnin war:

> *Record of the Transmission of the Relics of the Six Patriarchs and the Kāṣāya of Dahui at Sambōji in Nakajima, Sesshū.* The Sambōji in Nakajima in Sesshū was founded by Venerable Dainichi, also called Original Vow (Hongan). In the fifth year of Bunji (1189), *tsuchinoto-tori*, during the reign of Emperor Gotoba, Dainichi dispatched disciple monks to the Song empire and inherited the dharma from Chan master Fozhao. This can be verified from chronicles. Thereafter Dainichi, too, went to the Song. Fozhao was impressed with Dainichi's faith and reverence and awarded him relics of Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, and Huineng, as well as a kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. After his return to Japan, [these objects] were passed on through successive generations as treasures of Sambōji. Alas! In the summer of the third year of Ōnin (1469), Shogun Yoshimasa (1435-1490) charged Nakajima's seventeen districts. Defenseless against the military force, Nakajima was defeated. At that time Sambōji was completely turned into a battleground. The congregation lamented the destruction of the treasures and transferred the relics of the six patriarchs, the kāṣāya and a number of other treasures to a wayfarer's thatched hut in Sakai town in Senshū 泉州堺郷. Later, this thatched hut was inherited by a nun. This nun was the aunt of layman Sōken of the Anshō pavilion, the founding patron and great benefactor of Shōken-in.[272]

The account reiterates that Nōnin received the relics personally from Fozhao Deguang in China, with the added clarification that he did so subsequent to the initial journey of his envoys. In 1469 Sambōji got caught up in the Ōnin war (1467-1477) and its residents relocated the relics, the kāṣāya and "other temple treasures" to a safer place. The objects are said to have been transferred to a hermitage of a nun in Sakai whose lay uncle patronized a temple called Shōken-in 聖賢院. The objects apparently ended up at this temple; the entry itself was probably also composed there. A topographical work of 1686, entitled *Yōshūfushi* 雍州府志 (Gazetteer of Yamashiro Province) by the Confucian physician Kurokawa Dōyū 黒川道祐 (d. 1691), has a similar account:

> Shōken-in, within the [Shōbōji] temple, preserves the kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. Long ago it was kept at the Sambōji in Settsu; it arrived there from China in the days of abbot Dainichi. After Sambōji's decline it was kept at a hermitage of an old nun in Sennan Sakai 泉南堺 and hence it was transferred to this temple. In the past this temple was called Kōtsūji 光通寺, located east of Mount Yahata. It was established as an annex of Tōfukuji's Shōgon-in 荘厳院.[273]

The slightly earlier *Genkō Shakusho benmō* 元亨釈書便蒙 (Primer on Genkō Shakusho) (1675) similarly mentions that the Shōbōji subtemple Shōken-in preserved Dahui's kāṣāya.[274] The trajectory of the various objects after their removal from Sambōji in the Ōnin war, as described in the *Relic Inventory* and these Edo period sources, is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that objects were lost and later again "reinvented." The kāṣāya discovered at the Shōbōji, though, is clearly a genuine object of Song Chinese provenance, stemming from Nōnin's time.

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[272] Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 147.
[273] *Yōshūfushi*, cited in Murakami, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenji*, p. 55.
[274] *Genkō Shakusho Benmō*, cited in Nakao, "Nōnin botsugo no Darumashū," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 27 (1985), p. 218.

THE SAMBŌJI TEMPLE COMPLEX

Some information about Sambōji and its properties, as existent just before the Ōnin war, can be gleaned from a property record of the nearby Sōtō temple Sōzenji 崇禅寺.[275] This document, dated 1461, documents Sōzenji's tenure over various lands and buildings and reveals that Sambōji was one of several temples that dotted the Nakajima area (i.e. Enmyōji 円明寺, Hannyaji 般若寺, Eizen-an 永禅庵, Donge-an 曇華庵, Unchō-an 雲頂庵 and Myōkō-an 妙光庵). The Sōzenji document indicates that Sambōji controlled a considerable extent of land and counted at least nine subtemples, called Myōkan-in 妙観院, Mida-in 弥陀院, Saikō-in 西光院, Senshū-in 千手院, Dainichi-in 大日院, Jizō-dō 地藏堂, Henjō-in 遍照院, Yakushi-dō 薬師堂 and Kichijō-in 吉祥院 (an additional source mentions a subtemple called Gochi-in 五智院).[276] The names of these subtemples signify a diversity of buddhas and bodhisattvas, reflecting a similarly diverse cultic perspective. Dainichi-in, for instance, would have enshrined a statue of Dainichi (Mahāvairocana), the cosmic buddha of esotericism. The Mida-in and Saikō-in were obviously dedicated to Buddha Amida and his Pure Land in the West.

Interestingly, several temples in the Yodogawa area at present preserve statues that are thought to have been transferred from Sambōji. Sennenji 専念寺, a Pure Land temple located in Higashi Yodogawa, houses a late Heian period statue of Amida, a mid-Heian period statue of the Eleven-headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一 面観音) and an early Kamakura period Dainichi Nyorai (Plate 2), which are thought to be the principal icons of now vanished Sambōji subtemples.[277] Another temple in Higashi Yodogawa, the Rinzai temple Zuikōji 瑞光寺, traces back its history to Sambōji. Zuikōji was reportedly established in 1643 as Shigetsuji 指月寺 to serve as the private hermitage of a Zen monk called Tennen 天然. In 1732, this Shigetsuji was refurbished by incorporating materials from a subtemple of Sambōji called Zuikō-in 瑞光院, located in the nearby village Sanbanmura 三番村. The refurbished temple was thereafter renamed Zuikōji.[278] Zuikōji housed statues of Kannon, Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi. Its precincts also featured a tombstone with the inscription "Grave of Temple Founder Nōnin" (*kaisan Nōnin no haka* 開山能忍之墓).[279] Along with related documents and most of the temple itself, these statues

[275] *Nakajima Sōzenji ryō tokorodokoro sanzai denpatara no koto* 中嶋崇禅寺領処々散在田畠等事, cited in Harada, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, pp. 64-67; and Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to Bijutsu* (Osaka Keizai Daigaku, 2002), p. 44. The Sōzenji is said to have been founded by Gyōgi 行基 (668-749) in the eighth century. In 1442 the temple was restored by Hosokawa Mochikata 細川持賢 to serve as a temple for the commemoration of the military ruler Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441), who was assassinated in the 1441 Kakitsu incident. From that time on Sōzenji was affiliated with the Sōtō school.

[276] *Sōi Yasutadashi shozō monjo* 藻井泰忠氏所蔵文書, cited in Harada, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, p. 66. According to *Osaka shiseki jiten*, Sambōji was a large temple complex founded by Nōnin in the year third year of Ninan (1168). It comprised seven basic monastic structures and at its heights boasted an additional forty-eight monastic residences, housing one thousand monks. *Ōsaka shiseki jiten* (Seibundo Shuppan, 1986), pp. 222-23. Unfortunately no sources are given for these data.

[277] Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to bijutsu*, pp. 36-37, p. 43 and p. 50. Sennenji was founded by the monk Unkei 雲溪 (Teiyō Shōnin 諦誉上人) in 1643 as a place for his retirement. Unkei had been the third generation abbot of a nearby monastery, likewise named Sennenji. The carving of the Amida statue is attributed to Genshin (942-1017).

[278] Ibid., p. 44.

[279] Murakami Sodō visited Zuikōji and reported on Nōnin's gravestone in 1928. Murakami wrote that Zuikōji housed statues of Shō-Kannon, Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi: "masterpieces sculpted from old hackberry wood, instantly inspiring great reverence." Murakami proposed that these statues were original statues of Sambōji. Murakami Sodō, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenji*, p. 50. In 1936 Washio Junkei also saw "Dainichibō Nōnin's desolate grave" at Zuikōji. Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, p. 142.

and the (apocryphal) gravesite were destroyed in the Osaka bombings of 1945.[280] Recently (1996 and 2002) Japanese archeologists located remnants of the Sambōji in what is now Osaka's Daidō 大桐 district. The excavations yielded rooftiles, ceramics and a small, stone *gorintō* stūpa. [281]

Sambōji Jizō-in

The *Sambōji Jizō-in Register* (1499), discovered at Shōbōji together with the *Relic Inventory*, shows that the Ōnin war did not bring about the end of Sambōji. The document lists numerous rice fields and grazing lands that were donated to one of Sambōji's subtemples, called Sambōji Jizō-in 三寶寺地藏院. The register was composed by a certain Matsukaku Maru 松鶴丸, one of the temple's lay students.

Sambōji Jizō-in was obviously dedicated to the bodhisattva Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), the hell-harrowing bodhisattva that may have been of special significance in the Darumashū.[282] The *Register*, in addition, indicates that the temple preserved relics. Though not specifically mentioned, these relics probably derived from the relic collection described in the *Relic Inventory*. The *Register* contains several lists that enumerate the many benefits of relic veneration and other practices, and so provides a glance at the temple's cultic life. The *Register* first lists "ten virtues of relics" (*shari jūtoku* 舍利十德), followed by thirteen virtues of "venerating buddha relics" (*bussshari haiken* 佛舍利拜見). Next it lists ten virtues of "audibly invoking the Buddha" (*kōshō nenbutsu* 高声念仏), followed by ten virtues of "scattering flowers" (*sange* 散花) and twenty virtues of "burning incense" (*shōkō* 焼香). Evidently, the Jizō-in community combined relic veneration with *nenbutsu* recitations and offerings of flowers and incense. The virtues, that is, the benefits received from these practices, are a mixture of spiritual advancement and mundane benefit. The veneration of relics, for instance, is associated with the sprouting of the five kinds of crop and the attainment of unparalleled awakening; *nenbutsu* repetitions are said to actualize samādhi and frighten off demons; flower offerings are said to bring about longevity and attract the protection of deities; the burning of incense is said to facilitate rebirth in a Pure Land of one's choice and is also said to enhances one's physiognomy. In brief, the Sambōji subtemple Jizō-in accomodated a community that included lay practitioners, who performed highly accessible practices that centred on relics, offerings, recitation of Buddha's name and faith in rebirth in the Pure Land.

Concluding remarks

Nōnin's temple in Settsu was located in a socalled "dispersed place" (*sanjo*), bordered by rivers and bustling with commercial and leisure traffic; an area inhabited by outcaste groups that may have been especially receptive to Nōnin's teachings. Sambōji preserved various objects that attracted adherents and legitimized Nōnin's status as a Zen patriarch. The temple held painted portraits of Bodhidharma and Chan master Deguang, brought back from China by Nōnin's envoys. Fozhao had inscribed these portraits with verses that celebrated Nōnin's awakening and alluded to

[280] Nishioka Shuji, "Settsu Nakajima Sambōji to sono shūhen," IBK 55 (2007), p. 1007.
[281] Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to bijutsu*, p. 19. Nishioka, "Settsu Nakajima Sambōji to sono shūhen," pp. 1007-1004.
[282] In the Darumashū text *Jōtōshōgakuron*, Dainichi Nōnin is cited expounding a story that features the bodhisattva Jizō. See Translations, Text I, section [C][2]

Nonin's induction into the Zen lineage. In the same vein Fozhao provided a kāṣāya, a patriarchal name and written documents. Fozhao's forthcoming attitude may have been a sincere response to Nōnin's now lost letters, carried by the envoys. Economic relations that existed between Japanese entrepreneurs and Fozhao's King Aśoka monastery in the port town of Mingzhou probably also helped to pave the way.

The portrait of Bodhidharma was put on view during ritualized lectures. The audience was told about the august Zen lineage and instructed to venerate Bodhidharma. The portrait of Fozhao Deguang may have been used in a similar fashion, but there is no evidence for this. Bodhidharma's portrait resurfaces in historical records of the Edo period. The painting was the centre of a ritual lecture in the imperial palace, officiated by the Rinzai priest Gudō Tōshoku (1577-1661) and inspected by the Rinzai monk Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574–1643). In this period the portrait was repeatedly copied, most likely for use in tea ceremonies.

Sambōji was a centre of relic veneration. Data on the relic cult are found in the temple's *Relic Inventory*. Early entries in this inventory (1201-1238) reveal that an important role in the relic cult at Sambōji in this early period was played by *hijiri* type monks with Amidist and Esoteric leanings. There are indications that some of these monks were associated with the Pure Land movement established by Hōnen. The remaining entries in the *Relic Inventory* describe events between 1405 and 1469. They show a great increase in the number of relics, and report on the veneration and dissemination of relics during special assemblies. A few entries mention the kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. It is claimed that this garment was transmitted to Nōnin in person when he visited China. The *Relic Inventory* ends with a retrospective account of the relocation of the relics and other treasures in 1469 due to the onslaught of the Ōnin war.

A document composed a few years before the outbreak of the Ōnin war shows that the Sambōji was a large temple complex, comprising several subtemples. Another document verifies the existence after the Ōnin war of a Sambōji subtemple called Jizō-in. This document was composed by a lay practitioner and indicates that the community of the Jizō-in engaged in relic veneration, *nenbutsu* recitation and faith in rebirth in the Pure Land.

CHAPTER FOUR
DARUMASHŪ ADHERENTS AT TŌNOMINE, HAJAKUJI AND IN THE EARLY SŌTŌ COMMUNITY

In spite of the fame he enjoyed in his own time (or perhaps because of his notoriety) we know little of Dainichibō Nōnin. Data on the students who studied with him are likewise scant. Textual references to Nōnin mention the monks Renchū and Shōben, whom Nōnin dispatched to China to procure Zen certification. We also know of Nōnin's dharma heir Butchibō Kakuan, who established a Darumashū community at the Tendai monastic complex Tōnomine. Kakuan passed on the Darumashū lineage to his chief disciple Kakuzen Ekan, who set up a Darumashū group at Hajakuji in Echizen. Preceded by Koun Ejō 孤雲懐奘 (1198-1280), also a student of Kakuan, Ekan and a group of his followers eventually joined the hatching Sōtō community of Dōgen in Fukakusa, on the fringes of Kyoto. These incoming Darumashū monks played an important role in the development of Dōgen's community, both in its early days in Fukakusa as well as afterward when Dōgen moved to Echizen province and established the Eiheiji monastery 永平寺. Likewise , some of these monks were key figures in the development of the Sōtō school after Dōgen's death. This chapter examines the careers of these (erstwhile) Darumashū adherents. It does so through the medium of Sōtō literature and, if available, through sources external to the Sōtō tradition. In addition to filtering out quantative data from Sōtō lore, this chapter will consider sectarian distortions in the source materials and look to what extent these may tell us something about the position of the (former) Darumashū monks within the early Sōtō community.

BUTCHIBŌ KAKUAN

Traditional Sōtō histories mention Butchibō Kakuan 佛地房覺晏 as the first Zen teacher of Koun Ejō, the successor of Dōgen.[283] Biographies of Ejō note that Kakuan was Nōnin's foremost student and dharma heir. Kakuan is repeatedly referred to as "Higashiyama Kakuan" 東山覺晏, indicating that he dwelled and taught in the Eastern Hills area of Kyoto (Higashiyama). Funaoka Makoto theorized that Kakuan made use of an existing network of Tendai hermitages in Higashiyama that had been established by Ryōgen (912-985) and at the time fell under the jurisdiction of Jien.[284] At one point, probably after Nonin's death, Kakuan and a group of his followers moved to Tōnomine 多武峰, the Tendai monastic complex located near Asuka in Yamato province (Nara).

[283] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, Shiden, vol. 1, p. 4). *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki* (Ibid, p. 14). *Nichiiki tōjō shosoden* (Ibid, p. 39). *Denkōroku* (T. 2585, 409a20-25).

[284] Jien was abbot of the *monzeki* cloister Shōren-in 青蓮院 in Kyoto. In spite of his hostility towards Hōnen's Pure Land movement, Jien provided the controversial Hōnen with shelter at Shōren-in. Similarly, Funaoka speculates, Jien may have arranged some kind of accommodation for Kakuan. In support Funaoka notes that Jien wielded administrative power over the Tendai complex Tōnomine, Kakuan's subsequent place of residence. Funaoka, *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu*, p. 157.

Tōnomine

According to traditional accounts, Tōnomine was founded by the monk Jō'e 定恵 (643-665) in the seventh century in commemoration of his father, Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614-669).[285] Initially the cult of Kamatari and the overseeing of the complex were managed by the Hossō clergy of Nara's Kōfukuji. By the ninth century Tōnomine had almost been deserted, but it recovered in the course of the following century when Tendai monks from Enryakuji started to restore buildings. Under the direction of the monk Jishō 実性 (fl. 950) a hall for the practice of the Lotus Samādhi (*hokke sanmai-dō*) and several other new edifices were erected. Around this time one of the temples on Tōnomine – Myōrakuji 妙楽寺 – became a branch temple of the Mudōji 無動寺 on Mount Hiei (Enryakuji), effectively bringing the whole of Tōnomine under Enryakuji control. Tōnomine thrived especially after the arrival in 963 of the Tendai monk Zōga 増賀 (917-1003) from Mount Hiei's Yokawa precinct.

Enryakuji's dominance over Tōnomine elicited strong protests from the Kōfukuji clergy, who saw these developments infringe on their religious, economical and political control of Yamato province.[286] In 1081 there occurred the first in a series of violent encounters that would characterise a protracted feud between Kōfukuji and Tōnomine. In 1208 armed forces of the Kimpusenji in Yoshino (instructed by Kōfukuji) attacked Tōnomine and burned it down. In 1227 and 1228 armed forces of Kōfukuji again raided Tōnomine and reduced it to ashes.[287] Caught up in these raids Kakuan's monks were left roofless, signaling the end of the Darumashū community on Tōnomine. The disbanding of the Darumashū on Tōnomine, then, occurred due to politico-economic rivalries between Enryakuji and Kōfukuji – the attacks were not specifically targeted at Kakuan's Zen community, as is sometimes suggested.[288] As to why Kakuan moved to Tōnomine several factors can be considered:

- The propagation of Zen by Nōnin and Kakuan, especially in the Higashiyama area, was being rivaled by Eisai, who had left Kyushu in 1194 to proselytize in Kyoto. The imperial proscription of Zen in the same year, petitioned by Enryakuji, cast a shadow over the Zen movement. In defense Eisai wrote *Kōzengokokuron* in which he denounced the Darumashū. Eisai's instatement as abbot of the newly founded Kenninji in Kyoto, monitored by Enryakuji, no doubt further eroded Kakuan's position. Located away from Kyoto and less embroiled in these hostilities, Tōnomine represented a viable alternative.

- Tōnomine accomodated in particular monks from Mount Hiei's Yokawa precincts. Kakuan's associations with Yokawa monks may have played a role in the relocation. As a Tendai monk Kakuan was familiar with the religious practices on Tōnomine, which facilitated the entry of the Darumashū group. Takeuchi Michio theorized that Kakuan had

[285] Traditional histories of Tōnomine are *Tōnomine ryakki* 多武峰略記, composed in 1197 (DNBZ, *Jishi sōsho*, vol. 2, p. 484-511) and *Tōnomine engi* 多武峰縁起, (DNBZ, Jishi sōsho, vol. 2, 4-5). On Tōnomine also see Allan Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution," *History of Religions* 23 (1984): pp. 240-265. Watanabe Shujun, "Tōnomine Engi no Tendai," *Eizangakuin kenkyū kiyō* 29 (2007): pp. 1-13. Takeuchi Michio, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1982), pp. 70-72.

[286] On this aspect see Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), pp. 88-98 and 144-46.

[287] *Hyakurenshō*, Antei 2/4/23, mentions that evil groups from Nara (*nanbu akutō* 南部悪党) burned down over sixty monastic buildings.

[288] Steven Heine writes: "The Daruma school, subject to ongoing persucution, including the destruction of its main temples by Tendai mercenaries in 1228, became a kind of underground cult (…). Steven Heine, *Did Dōgen Go to China* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 100-101.

already practiced at Tōnomine prior to joining Nōnin and re-entered the mountain sometime after the 1208 Kimpusenji raids .[289]

- Bernard Faure suggested that the celebrated eccentricity of Tōnomine's reviver Zōga may have captivated Zen followers. The Darumashū adepts, whose interest in relics is well-documented (see Chapter Three), may have been intrigued by Zōga's mummified body that was preserved and venerated on Tōnomine. [290]

- Kakuan may have been drawn to Tōnomine's cult of Vimalakīrti. Tōnomine's cultic nucleus Fujiwara no Kamatari was venerated as a manifestation of Vimalakīrti. The commemoration of Kamatari was observed in the Vimalakīrti ceremony (*Yuima-e* 維摩会), an annual lecture series on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (*Yuima-kyō* 維摩經). This prestigious ceremony was customarily held at Kōfukuji, the Hossō stronghold in Nara established by Kamatari's son Fuhito 不比等 (659-720). By order of Emperor Kammu (737-806) the Yuima-e had been designated a prerogative of Kōfukuji.[291] Yet *Tōnomine ryakki* 多武峰略記 (1197) indicates that Vimalakīrti ceremonies were also held at Tōnomine in the years 682, 785, 974 and 975, and scheduled to be performed annually at the Shōryō-in 聖霊院, the hall on Tōnomine that enshrined a statue of Kamatari.[292] In the Chan/Zen tradition the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* is widely regarded as a pivotal text. Darumashū materials, too, indicate that Vimalakīrti was held in high esteem, especially for his transliteral view of the precepts.[293]

- Recently Yokouchi Hiroto suggested that by the mid-Heian period a stratum of Bodhidharma Zen was already in place at Tōnomine via the activities of Japanese pilgrim monks who had studied in monasteries of the Northern Song.[294]

Kakuan and the Śūraṅgama sūtra

Sōtō records indicate that Kakuan instructed his students at Tōnomine in the thesis of "seeing the nature and becoming buddha" (*kenshōjōbutsu*) and lectured on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (*Shuryōgonkyō* 首楞厳経).[295] The (apocryphal) *Śūraṅgama sūtra* was highly appreciated in the Chan/Zen tradition.[296] The sūtra was known in Japan in the Heian period, though apparently not

[289] Takeuchi, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, p. 73.
[290] Faure, *Visions of Power*, p. 172. For Zōga's eccentricities see Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* (University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 341-345. *Tōnomine ryakki* (1197) shows that in Kakuan's time Zōga's exploits were still being praised on Tōnomine.
[291] See Marinus Willem de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 596-605.
[292] *Tōnomine ryakki*, p. 495.
[293] See Translations, Text II, section 4.c (bottom).
[294] Yokouchi draws attention to a passage in an *ōjōden* biography of the monk Kyōsen 経暹 (d. 1093), included in *Tanzan ryakki* 談山略記: "It is recorded that [Venerable Kyōsen] performed the *abhiṣeka* ritual for dharma transmission more than eighty times. He studied the doctrine of Bodhidharma (*Darumashū* 達磨宗) and constantly practiced A-syllable meditation. In addition he persistently applied himself to Vinaya, Hossō, Sanron, Kegon and Tendai." See Yokouchi Hiroto, "Yamato Tōnomine to Sō Bukkyō: Darumashū no Juyō wo megutte," in *Kodai Chūsei Nihon no uchinaru Zen*, edited by Nishiyama Mika (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2011), pp. 57-61.
[295] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, Shiden, vol. 1, p. 4). *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki* (Ibid., p. 14). *Nichiiki tōjō shosoden* (Ibid., p. 39). *Denkōroku* (T. 2585, 409a20-25).
[296] The *Śūraṅgama sūtra* was purportedly translated from the Sanskrit in 705 by an Indian monk named Polamidi 般剌蜜帝 but is now generally considered a sinitic apocryphon. On Chinese Buddhist apocrypha see Robert E. Buswell (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

extensively studied.[297] This changed in the early Kamakura period with the increase of Japanese monks traveling to China and copies of the text infiltrating Japan. The importance of this sūtra is attested by the publication in Japan of several editions of the text, the first appearing in 1239.[298] The text was being studied especially in Tendai circles, also by those who were to become leading figures in the emerging Kamakura schools. Eisai, for instance, was conversant with the sūtra and repeatedly quoted from it. Eisai's student Ryōshin 了心 (n.d.) lectured on the sūtra at Jūfukuji. The Rinzai monk Enni Ben'en is reported is to have made it his daily practice to recite the lengthy *Śūraṅgama* incantation (*Ryōgonkyōju* 楞厳経呪) that is contained in the sūtra.

Available sources do not directly link this sūtra with Nōnin. Kakuan and Kakuan's successor Ekan, on the other hand, are both known to have lectured on it. Documents recently presented by Takahashi Shūei moreover reveal that Kakuan not only lectured on the sūtra but also produced a pioneering Sino-Japanese edition of the text.[299] Sōtō biographies of Koun Ejō invariably produce a passage describing how Ejō experienced a spiritual insight that was prompted by Kakuan lecturing on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*. *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* 永平寺三祖行業記 (Record of Activities of the Three Patriarchs of Eiheiji)[300] describes the event as follows:

> [Ejō] studied under Venerable Kakuan of the Darumashū on Tōnomine and learned about the thesis of "seeing the nature and becoming a buddha." Having come upon the parable of the kalaviṇka jug in the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, he realized that emptiness does not come or go, and it became clear to him that consciousness does not arise or perish. At that moment Kakuan pronounced: "Once and for all you attained emancipation from the ignorance that has [accumulated] since beginningless kalpas." [301]

Similarly, *Denkōroku* reads:

> One time there was a discourse on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*. Having come upon the parable of the kalaviṇka jug, in which it is said that emptiness neither increases by adding emptiness nor decreases by taking out emptiness, [Ejō] had a deep realization. Venerable Butchi [Kakuan] said: "How can it be? The obstructive root of error that has been present since beginningless kalpas has entirely been eliminated! Once and for all you are liberated from suffering."[302]

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[297] Ishiyamadera 石山寺 preserves an early Heian period copy of a chapter of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*. The sūtra is also quoted in *Bodaishingishō* 菩提心義抄 by Annen (b. 841), who must have had access to it. See Takahashi Shūei, "Kamakura jidai no sōryō to Shūryōgonkyō," *Zenken kenkyūjo nenpō* 7 (1996): p. 98.

[298] This 1239 edition resulted from the fundraising activities of the monk Ryūen 隆圓 of Chōrakuji 長楽寺, who had vowed to publish the scripture. Other editions appeared in 1278, 1330 and 1339. In *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (ca. 1283- ca. 1352) records having listened to a lecture on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* by the monk Dōgen 道眼 in Kyoto. Dōgen (not to be confused with Dōgen 道元 the founder of the Sōtō school) traveled to China in 1309 and brought back a set of the Buddhist canon. Ibid., pp. 96-98.

[299] These documents contain memos of the Tendai scholar monk Shinkei 心慶 (active 1293-1336). Shinkei notes: "Butchibō [Kakuan] for the first time punctuated (*tensu* 点ス) the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*. [He was a] monk of Mount [Hiei]." *Tensu* here refers to adding lexical markers to a Chinese text to facilitate a Japanese reading. Ibid., pp. 100-102.

[300] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* (SSZ, Shiden 1, pp. 1-9) was compiled in the Ōei period (1394-1428) and contains biographies of Dōgen, Ejō and Gikai.

[301] 參多武峰達磨宗覺晏上人。聞見性成佛之旨。至首楞嚴之頻伽瓶喩。知無空之去來。明無職之生滅。晏卽座卽記曰。汝無始曠劫之無明。卽解脱了也。(*Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki*, p. 4).

[302] 有時首楞嚴經ノ談アリ。頻伽瓶喩ノトコロニイタリテ。空ヲイルルニ空増セズ。空ヲトルニ空減ゼズト云ニイタリテ。深ク契處アリ。佛地上人曰ク。イカンガ無始曠劫ヨリコノカタ。罪根惑障悉ク消シ。苦ミミナ解脱シオハルト。(T. 2585, p. 409a20-a27).

The parable of the kalaviṇka jug (*bingahei* 頻伽瓶) appears in chapter two of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, which analyzes the five skandhas, the five constituent aggregates of the human being (form, feeling, perception, volition and consciousness). [303] The parable illustrates the empty and unlocalizable nature of the fifth aggregate "consciousness":

> Ananda! It is like a person who picks up a kalaviṇka jug, blocks its two openings, and carries it – filled with emptiness – a thousand *li* far, and then offers it as a gift to another country. You should know that consciousness is just like this. Ananda, it is like empty space: it does not come from one place and enter another. So, Ananda, if emptiness were coming from a place, then the emptiness stored up in that jug would go to another place, while in the country of the jug's origin there would be less empty space. If, having entered that other place, the jug would be opened and turned upside down, then the emptiness would have to be seen pouring out. You should know therefore that consciousness is illusory. It is neither dependent on conditions nor spontaneous in nature.[304]

In his study of Ejō, the eminent Sōtō scholar Takeuchi Michiō reads Kakuan's pre-occupation with the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, and with this parable in particular, as proof of the heterodox nature of Kakuan's teaching. According to Takeuchi the parable of the *kalavinka* jug points to a form of eternalism that was being propagated in the Buddha's lifetime by the brahmacārin Śreṇika.[305] Takeuchi's is a Sōtō sectarian reading; it basically reproduces the criticisms on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* and on the Darumashū that were voiced by Dōgen. Dōgen dismissed the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* as a spurious text (*ikyō* 異経) and implicitly accused the Darumashū of adhering to the socalled Śreṇika heresy (*senni gedō* 先尼外道).[306] The Sōtō biographies of Ejō present Ejō's *Śūraṅgama sūtra*-inspired experience under Kakuan as an inferior prelude to Ejō's deeper awakening under Dōgen. In this way the Sōtō narratives juxtapose Dōgen's true Zen to the flawed Zen of the Darumashū. Takeuchi's evaluation of Kakuan's teaching perpetuates this ideological move. In the end, all that can be concluded fairly about Kakuan from the Sōtō records is simply that he taught *kenshōjōbutsu* and lectured on the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*. In doing so Kakuan participated in a broader current in the doctrinal landscape of his time.

Kakuan's last wish

The Darumashū community at Tōnomine scattered out by force of circumstance when the complex was destroyed by armed forces of the Kōfukuji. At this point in time Kakuan's recorded trail fades. *Honchō kōsōden* (1702) reports that a dying Kakuan instructed Ejō to seek out Dōgen

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[303] A kalaviṇka 迦陵頻伽 is a (mythical) bird, frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts. For instance, the *Amituojing* 阿彌陀經 (the shorter *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, translated by Kumārajīva) lists the kalaviṇka as one of the many-colored birds that live in Amitābha's Pure Land. The singing of these birds in the Pure Land is said to preach the dharma and to instill in the listener mindfulness of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (*Amituojing*, T. 366, 347a13-16). The kalaviṇka jug 頻伽絣 refers to a jug fashioned in the shape of a kalaviṇka bird. On kalaviṇkas see Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press,1963), pp.103-104.

[304] 阿難譬如有人取頻伽瓶。塞其兩孔滿中擎空千里遠行用餉他國。識陰當知亦復如是。阿難如是虛空。非彼方來非此方入。如是阿難若彼方來。則本瓶中既貯空去。於本瓶地應少虛空。若此方入開孔倒瓶應見空出是故當知識陰虛妄。本非因緣非自然性 (T. 945, p. 114c07-c13). I consulted existing translations in English of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, *viz.* Charles Luk, *The Śūraṅgama sūtra (Leng Yen ching): Chinese rendering by master Paramiti of Central North India at Chih Chih monastery, Canton, China, A.D.705, commentary (abridged) by Ch'an master Han Shan (1546-1623), translated by upāsaka Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk)* (London: Rider 1966); and Hsüan Hua, *The Śūraṅgama sūtra: A New Translation* (California: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 2009).

[305] Takeuchi, *Eihei nisō Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, p. 80-84.

[306] Dōgen's criticisms of the Darumashū will be taken up in Chapter Eight.

for further guidance, but where and when this would have occurred is not made clear.[307] The same notion is replicated in *Teihō Kenzeiki* (Annotated Record of Kenzei), an Edo period edition of a fifteenth century biography of Dōgen, revised and annotated by Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769). According to Menzan's annotations, Kakuan exhorted his students to join Dōgen. The main reason for this, Menzan claims, was that Kakuan recognized a defect in the Darumashū lineage: the transmission from Fozhao Deguang to Dainichi Nōnin had not been not a personal "face to face transmission" (*menju shihō* 面授嗣法) and was therefore "counterfeit" (*tadashikarazu*)."[308] It is quite conceivable that Kakuan advised his students to seek out Dōgen. Kakuan's specific concern as formulated by Menzan, however, has a clear ideological undercurrent. The issue of direct "face-to-face transmission" was central to the reform movement within the Sōtō school that was instigated by Manzan Dōhaku (1636-1715) and perpetuated by Menzan. Dōhaku rejected as unorthodox the then current practice of changing one's lineage when ascending to a new abbacy (*in'in ekishi*). He also condemned the practice of indirect transmission by means of an intermediary (*daifu*). Dōhaku insisted that orthodox dharma transmission, as Dōgen envisaged it, could occur only once in a lifetime and had to entail a real-life, face-to-face relationship with a teacher.[309] Menzan's account of Kakuan acknowledging the inauthenticity of Nōnin's indirect dharma transmission clearly serves to highlight this reformist view.

Kakuan's "Shinyō teishi"

According to *Honchō kōsōden*, Kakuan authored a treatise entitled *Shinyō teishi* 心要提示 (Exposition on the Essentials of Mind). Upon reading this treatise Dōgen is said to have greatly admired it, praising Kakuan as a "clear-eyed man."[310] This otherwise unknown treatise was probably a commentary on the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials of the Transmission of Mind), a Chan text that Nōnin is known to have obtained from China (see Chapter Five).

Kakuan's students

Kakuan resided at Tōnomine for more than twenty years and attracted many students.[311] Amongst these were Ejō, Ekan, Eshō 懷照 and the nun Egi 懷義比丘尼, who would eventually joined Dōgen's Sōtō community.[312] The shared character *e* 懷 in their names signifies Kakuan's "dharma family."

Little is known about the nun Egi, except that on her request Dōgen gave a formal lecture in memory of her departed mother. One Sōtō text mentions Egi being present in Dōgen's private quarters at Eiheiji monastery.[313] Egi attended to the ailing Dōgen in the latter days of the master's life and obviously was part of Dōgen's inner circle of students.[314]

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[307] *Honchō kōsōden* (DNBZ 63, pp. 273-4).
[308] Kawamura, *Kenzeiki*, pp. 145-46.
[309] On this issue and variant views of dharma transmission see William Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen: Manzan Dōhaku's Reform Movement," *Monumenta Nipponica* 46/4 (1991): pp. 423-451. On Menzan see David Riggs, "The Zen of Books and Practice: The Life of Menzan Zuihō and His Reformation of Sōtō Zen, in *Zen Masters*, edited by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 147-181.
[310] *Honchō kōsōden* (DNBZ, 63, pp. 273-74).
[311] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* (SSZ, Shiden, vol. 1, p. 4) alludes to fifty students (學徒半百). Keizan's *Denkōroku* (T. 2528, 409a26) alludes to more than thirty students (學人三十餘輩).
[312] These names are listed by Menzan in his annotations to the *Kenzeiki*. Kawamura, *Kenzeiki*, pp. 145-46.
[313] *Goyuigon kiroku* (SSZ, Shūgen 2, p. 257).
[314] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Bukkyō ni okeru nisō ni tsuite, toku ni shoki Sōtōshū kyōdan wo chūshin to shite (1)," *Komazawa Daigaku Zen kenkyūjo nenpō* 3 (1992), pp. 145-46.

Even less is known about Eshō 懐照. Possibly Eshō is the same person referred to as Eshō 懐昭 in Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* sermon *Ango* 安居 (Summer Retreat), written in 1245, which would mean that she was a member of Dōgen's community at Eiheiji.[315] Better documented are the activities of Kakuan's students Koun Ejō and Kakuzen Ekan.

KOUN EJŌ

Amongst those descending the charred mountain of Tōnomine was the future Sōtō prelate Koun Ejō (1198-1280). Traditional biographies report that Ejō took the tonsure under the Tendai monk Ennō Hōin 圓能法印 of the Ōjō-in temple at the Yokawa precincts on Mount Hiei. At twenty-one he ascended Mount Hiei's Mahāyāna platform to receive the bodhisattva precepts. Unfulfilled in his studies of Tendai meditation and Kusha, Jōjitsu, Sanron and Hossō doctrines, Ejō left the mountain and went on to study Pure Land teachings under Shōkū 證空 (1177-1247). Subsequently, he moved to Tōnomine to study under Kakuan of the Darumashū. Finally, Ejō joined Dōgen and eventually succeeded him in the Sōtō Zen lineage.[316]

What prompted Ejō to study Zen with Kakuan on Tōnomine? In addition to Kakuan's prominence as a teacher of Zen and successor of Nōnin, several factors can be considered: [317]

- Ejō was born a Fujiwara. His genealogy thus traced back to Fujiwara progenitor Kamatari, who was deified and worshiped at Tōnomine. The monastic complex therefore had a certain ancestral significance for Ejō.

- As mentioned above, Tōnomine was dominated by Tendai monks of Mount Hiei's Yokawa precinct, where Ejō had also resided.

- Ejō had a strong affinity with Pure Land practices. Ejō's first teacher Ennō was a representative of Tendai Pure Land currents. Ennō is also known to have officiated at ceremonies for the veneration of relics (*sharikō* 舎利講). Ejō's second teacher, the Pure Land monk Shōkū was a direct disciple of Hōnen. Shōkū is said to have practiced sixty-thousand *nenbutsu* recitations every day, along with readings of the three Pure Land sūtras. [318] He also practiced relic veneration.[319] Ejō's training under Ennō and Shōkū may have led him to the Zen style of the Darumashū, which was open to relic veneration and *nenbutsu* practice.[320] Ejō's teacher Shōkū would certainly have been aware of the Darumashū and may even have known Nōnin in person: Nōnin, it will be remembered, was involved in fundrasing for the effigy of Amida at the Kenkō-in, Shōkū's temple in Kyoto.

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[315] Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen Zenji den*, p. 275.
[316] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, Shiden, vol. 1, pp. 4-6). *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki* (Ibid., pp. 14-16). *Nichiiki tōjō shosoden* (Ibid., pp. 39-40).
[317] The following is an expansion of points raised by Takeuchi Michio. Takeuchi, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, pp. 74-75.
[318] Shōkū resided at the Yoshiminedera 善峰寺 near Kyoto and reportedly practiced sixty-thousand *nenbutsu* recitations every day, along with *tendoku* readings of the three Pure Land sūtras. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji to Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Sōtō kyōdan," in *Eiheiji-shi* (Fukui-ken Yoshida-gun Eiheiji-chō: Daihonzan Eiheiji 1982), p. 172.
[319] For Shōkū's involvement with relics see Kira Jun, "Gion-nyogo no busshari to Hōnen (1)," pp. 32-35
[320] Evidence for nenbutsu elements in Darumashū communities is presented in Chapters Six and Seven.

- Takeuchi Michio proposed that Ejō's decision to move to Tōnomine was influenced by Ejō's mother who, he theorizes, was a blood relative of Nōnin. This theory is very thin.

Leaving behind a ravaged Tōnomine, Ejō descended to Kyoto and called on Dōgen, who at the time resided at Kenninji.[321] Ejō did not immediately become Dōgen's student. This came about years later, in the winter of 1234, when he again looked up Dōgen, now residing at the Kannondori-in in Fukakusa. Most Sōtō biographies hold the idealized notion that during the first meeting at Kenninji, Ejō recognized Dōgen's excellence and resolved to become Dōgen's student. Dōgen, though sympathetic to the idea, is said to have instructed Ejō to wait until the time is ripe. One Edo period Sōtō text offers a variant view, stating that Ejō left Kenninji after Dōgen had disapproved of his views.[322] According to Ishikawa Rikizan this last scenario, which suggests a certain friction between the two monks, is not unlikely: at the time of the first meeting at Kenninji, Ejō (two years senior to Dōgen) had already gone through a varied course of Buddhist studies and was a seasoned adept of Kakuan's *kenshō* Zen. Dōgen's disapproval may have caused Ejō to initially abandon his future master.[323] In contrast, most Sōtō biographies present the first meeting at Kenninji as the occasion of Ejō's conversion to Dōgen. According to the early Sōtō record *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* the first meeting between the two monks turned into a "dharma discourse battle" (*rondan hossen* 論談法戰), ending with Ejō submitting to Dōgen.[324] A description of this "dharma battle" is found in the Sōtō record *Denkōroku* by Keizan Jōkin. According to *Denkōroku*, Dōgen and Ejō initially agreed; but then Dōgen overtook Ejō with his superior understanding:

> When they first talked for a few days Ejō's understanding was the same [as Dōgen's]. When they talked about the matter of seeing the nature, the numinous awareness, Ejō cheerfully agreed and, thinking that his own understanding was genuine, he became more and more respectful of Dōgen. But, after a few days, master Dōgen revealed extraordinary understanding. Ejō was startled, but when he was about to make objections [he realized that Dōgen] had a truth that was different and beyond him. Thus he made a new resolve and decided to submit to Dōgen.[325]

The Sōtō narratives, in effect, present Ejō's Darumashū views as preliminary, and juxtapose them to Dōgen's superior Sōtō views; Ejō intuits Dōgen's higher understanding and fully accepts Dōgen as his teacher. In reality, the doctrinal differences between the two monks, which in part were differences between Dōgen and the Darumashū, may have prompted Ejō's departure. Some of these differences come into focus in Dōgen's *Bendōwa* (Talk on Distinguishing the Way) completed in 1231, a few years after Dōgen encountered Ejō. This treatise, structured in a

[321] Following Takeuchi Michio scholars place this meeting in 1229. Takeuchi, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, p. 107.
[322] *Nihon tōjō rentōroku* (SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 232).
[323] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji to Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Sōtō kyōdan," p. 172.
[324] Ejō "made up his mind, placed his trust [in Dōgen] and submitted" 歸心信伏. *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 4).
[325] ハジメテ對談セシ時。兩三日ハタダ師ノ得處ニオナジシ。見性靈知ノ事ヲ談ズ。時ニ師歡喜シテ違背セズ。ワガ得所實ナリトオモフテ。イヨイヨ敬歎ヲクハフ。ヤヤ日數ヲフルニ。元和尚スコブル異解ヲアラハス。時ニ師オドロキテ。ホコサキヲアグルニ。師ノ外ニ義アリ。コトゴトクアヒ似ズ。ユヘニ更ニ發心シテ。伏承セントセシニ。

dialogical format, is thought to recreate Dōgen's discussions with Ejō at Kenninji.[326] Dōgen's criticism of the Darumashū, in *Bendōwa* and other texts, will be examined in Chapter Eight.

Ejō's whereabouts in the roughly five year period between the first and second meeting with Dōgen are unclear. One biography reports that Ejō "took his leave and traveled about in various directions."[327] Ejō, in any event, eventually joined Dōgen at Kōshōji 興正寺 (then called Gokurakuji 極樂寺) and went on to play a prominent role in both the Kōshōji and later Eiheiji communities. As a secretary he was essential to Dōgen's literary output. He succeeded Dōgen in the Sōtō lineage and became the second abbot of Eiheiji after Dōgen's death. Ejō seems to have been truly converted to Dōgen, unlike his co-disciple Ekan.

KAKUZEN EKAN

Available data on Kakuzen Ekan 覺禪懷鑑 are for the most part embedded in Sōtō records, particularly in biographies of Gikai and in *Goyuigon kiroku* (Record of Dōgen's Final Admonitions).[328] These records show that Ekan inherited Kakuan's Darumashū lineage, thus becoming a third generation successor to Nōnin. Following the Kōfukuji attacks on Tōnomine, Ekan left the devastated mountain.[329] Moving northward into Echizen province, the region of his birth, Ekan established a Darumashū community at the Tendai temple Hajakuji (Namitsuki-dera 波着寺). At Hajakuji, Ekan ordained a young boy with the name Gikan 義鑑, who would later become well-known as the Sōtō monk Gikai 義介. The ordination at Hajakuji took place in the autumn of 1231, two years after the Kōfukuji attacks on Tōnomine, indicating that the Darumashū community at Hajakuji was established fairly soon after the flight from Tōnomine.

Gikai's biographies indicate that Ekan dispatched his young student to Mount Hiei to receive the bodhisattva precepts.[330] Although writings from within the Darumashū itself (examined later) tend to downplay the value of precepts as moral guidelines, Ekan, evidently, valued the ritual induction into the precepts. Since receiving the precepts at an officially recognized precept platform was a requirement for obtaining the status of a fully ordained monk, this is not wholly surprising. Ekan, I would add, may also have appreciated the idea that the precept tradition of Mount Hiei derived from Bodhidharma.

Sōtō records also report that Ekan made use of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* and instructed his student Gikai in the principle of "seeing the nature" (*kenshō*). The same combination, it will be remembered, was taught by Kakuan at Tōnomine, suggesting a certain continuity between the

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[326] See Takeuchi, *Eihei nisō Koun Ejō Zenji den*, pp. 99-103. Shinkura Kazufumi, "Dōgen to Ejō no rondanhossen ni tsuite," IBK 31/2 (1983): pp 110-11.

[327] *Nihon tōjō rentōroku* (SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 232). Takeuchi Michio speculates that Ejō returned to Tōnomine to rejoin Kakuan. Takeuchi, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, p. 107.

[328] The earliest biographies of Gikai are found in *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, *Shiden* 1, p. 6-9) and *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki* (Ibid., p. 16-19). From the several Edo period Sōtō records I mention the representative *Nichiiki tōjō shosoden* (Ibid., pp. 41-42). *Goyuigon kiroku* is included in *Sōtōshū zensho* (SSZ, *Shūgen* 2, pp. 255-265). The following examination of Ekan benefitted from Nakao Ryōshin, "Ekan monka to Eiheiji," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 31 (1989): pp. 174-179, Nakao Ryōshin, "Shoki Eiheiji sōdan no mondaiten," *Zen kenkyūjo kiyo* 18 (1990): pp. 1-21; and Tsugunaga Yoshiteru, "Ekan," in *Dōgen Shisō no Ayumi* 1: *Kamakura jidai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993), pp. 299-309.

[329] Ejō and Ekan apparently went separate ways. Nakao Ryōshin suggested a possible friction between the two monks. Nakao Ryōshin, "Shoki Eiheiji sōdan no mondaiten," *Zen kenkyūjo kiyo*, 18 (1990): pp. 1-21.

[330] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgoki* (SSZ, Shiden, vol. 1, p. 6). *Genso Koun Tettsū sandaison gyōjōki* (Ibid., p.16). *Nichiiki tōjō shosoden* (Ibid., pp. 39-40).

training programmes in the Tōnomine and Hajakuji Darumashū communities. Interestingly, Ekan is also reported to have lectured on the three Pure Land sūtras.[331]

In the spring of 1241, about a decade after their arrival, Ekan and several of his students left Hajakuji and joined Dōgen's Zen community at Kōshōji. In addition to Ekan, this group included Gikan (Gikai), Gien 義演, Giin 義尹, Gijun 義準 Gisen 義荐 and Giun 義運. (note the shared character *gi* 義). [332] As to the motives for the relocation, Ekan was no doubt interested in Dōgen's first hand knowledge of continental Chan and its practices. He may also have been advised to join Dōgen by his Darumashū co-disciple Ejō. Bodiford, in notes that Kōshōji's institutional independence from the Tendai establishment may also have been a factor in Ekan's decision. [333]

Some details on Ekan's days at Kōshōji, and later at Eiheiji, are recorded in the above mentioned *Goyuigon kiroku* (Record of Dōgen's Final Admonitions). *Goyuigon kiroku* describes events in the early Sōtō school from the viewpoint of Gikai. The work can therefore not be uncritically accepted as recording historical fact. The record favors Gikai and his supporters who, after the deaths of Dōgen and Ejō, were involved in factional rivalries over Dōgen's spiritual legacy and control over Eiheiji. In this context, *Goyuigon kiroku* presents Gikai as a true representative of Dōgen and his vision.[334] The work is divided in two parts. The first part records conversations between Gikai and Dōgen in the privacy of Dōgen's room; in addition it brushes on events before and after Dōgen's death. The second part is concerned with the proceedings of Gikai's dharma transmission from Ejō.

Ekan repeatedly appears in the first part of *Goyuigon kiroku*. Dōgen is cited remembering Ekan as "a man with his will set profoundly on the Buddhadharma" (於佛法志深人); "his spirit was endowed with extraordinary determination" (神際有抜群之志気). Dōgen is further said to have entrusted Ekan with a manual for conferring the bodhisattva precepts (*denju bosatsukai* 伝授菩薩戒作法), thus investing Ekan with the authority and the ritual expertise to pass on the precepts in the Sōtō tradition. Later, after the Sōtō community relocated to Eiheiji, Dōgen is said to have repeatedly encouraged Ekan to perform the precept ritual, but out of "great trepidation" (*kyōkō* 恐惶) Ekan refrained from doing so. We are also told that Ekan once asked Dōgen for a Sōtō certificate of succession. In response, Dōgen indicates that Ekan is still an "idle fellow" (*kanjin* 閑人), a term that Dōgen here appears to use with irony, probably in reference the "naturalism" associated with the Darumashū (i.e. the notion that awakening is naturally present in everyday acts and hence no concerted effort are needed). Dōgen, nevertheless, assures Ekan that he will in due course receive a certificate. As instructed, Ekan patiently awaits more favorable circumstances, but the years pass by in vain, and Ekan dies in "bitterness" (*urami* 恨) without having received a Sōtō certificate. Reminded by Gikai of this tragedy, Dōgen expresses his regret

[331] Ibid.
[332] These names are listed by Menzan Zuihō in the annotated version of the *Kenzeiki*. Kawamura, *Kenzeiki*, pp. 145-46. Possibly the group was larger.
[333] Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 225.
[334] The version of *Goyuigon kiroku* included in SSZ was transcribed by Menzan Zuihō in 1752. According to the colophon Menzan transcribed it from a manuscript of Zen master Daichi (1290-1366) at Kōfukuji 広福寺 in Higō province (Kyūshū). A postscript notes that Daichi in turn transcribed it from a manuscript of Kangan Giin (1217-1300). Though the late provenance of the extant manuscript and the possible emandations by Menzan warrant caution, the text is extremely valuable as a historical document. See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Dōgen zenji metsugo no Eiheiji sōdan ni tsuite: Goyuigon kiroku no shiryōkachi," in *Ejō Zenji kenkyū*, edited by Chūkō Kumagai (Daihonzan Eiheiji Sozan Kishōkai, 1981), pp. 177-201.

about having "forgotten" (*bōkyaku* 忘却) to transmit the certificate: "It was never my intention that [Ekan] would pass away in vain." [335]

The transmission of precept manuals and succession certificates (*shisho*) are important elements in the Sōtō procedures for dharma transmission. *Goyuigon kiroku* clearly aims to convey the idea that Ekan was bound to accede to Dōgen's Sōtō lineage, but that this never happened due to unfortunate miscommunication. Nakao Ryōshin is no doubt right in reading this account of Ekan's unrealized dharma transmission as veiling a tense relationship between Dōgen and Ekan. [336] Tsugunaga Yoshiteru theorized that a disappointed Ekan eventually re-migrated to Hajakuji, but there is no strong evidence for this. [337]

These tensions notwithstanding, it is clear that Ekan occupied a prominent place in the Sōtō community. At Eiheiji, Ekan served in the key position of head monk (*shuso*). In this capacity Ekan requested Dōgen to deliver a formal lecture (*jōdō* 上堂) in memory of Kakuan, his Darumashū teacher. [338] In this lecture, delivered in 1246, Dōgen praises Ekan's devotion to his teacher, "wayfarer Kakuan" (Kakuan *dōnin* 覚晏道人). Dōgen strongly emphasizes the mysterious bond between a Zen master and a Zen student – a bond indissoluable even by death – and he suggests that Ekan's relationship with Kakuan is of that lofty order. In doing so Dōgen foregrounds Ekan's Darumashū affiliation. After Ekan's death, in 1251,[339] Dōgen also delivered a memorial lecture for Ekan. [340] This lecture was requested by Ekan's student Gijun. These memorials requests indicate that the Darumashū monks in Dōgen's community remained self-conscious about their distinct lineage. Seeing that Dōgen rarely delivered *jōdō* lectures on specific request, these memorials indicate a special and priviliged position of the Darumashū sub-group in the Sōtō community. [341] This special position may, at the same time, have hindered Ekan and Gikai in receiving the Sōtō transmission directly from Dōgen.

Hajakuji

Hajakuji, the temple where Ekan and his students dwelled for roughly a decade, was located in Echizen province near Ichijōtani valley 一乗谷, in the area separating the Asuwa river from the Usaka Ōtani valley 宇坂大谷.[342] Burned down in the sixteenth century, only ruins and a *torii* gate remain of the temple today.[343]

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[335] *Goyuigon kiroku* (SSZ, *Shūgen* 2, pp. 255-256). Throughout the entire passage *Goyuigon kiroku* actually talks about "seeing" (*haiken* 拝見) the Sōtō certificate. I take this to imply dharma transmission: as part of the procedures of dharma transmission, a Zen master would allow his chosen dharma successor to see his personal lineage certificate and make a copy of it, with the recipient's name added to the lineage.

[336] Nakao Ryōshin, "Ekan monka to Eiheiji," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 31 (1989): pp. 174-179.

[337] Tsugunaga, "Ekan," pp. 303-306.

[338] *Eihei kōroku*, vol. 3, nr. 85.

[339] According to *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki*, Ekan transmitted his Darumashū documents to Gikai in the spring of Kenchō 3 (1251). According to *Goyuigon kiroku* this transmission took place when Ekan was dying (*shūen no toki* 終焉之時); hence 1251 is believed to be the year of Ekan's death. A document entitled *Anrakusan Sanpukuji nendaiki* 安楽山産福禅寺年代記, preserved at Jōjūji in Ishikawa prefecture, places Ekan's death in Kenchō 2 (1250), month 8, day 13. See Tsugunaga Yoshiteru, "Ekan," p. 300.

[340] The lecture was held at Eiheiji in 1252. *Eihei kōroku*, vol. 7, nr. 507.

[341] Nakao, "Ekan monka to Eiheiji," p. 175. Nakao notes that from the more than five-hundred lectures by Dōgen contained in *Eihei kōroku*, only four were delivered on request, namely the memorials for Kakuan and Ekan, one memorial for the mother of the Darumashū nun Egi, and one lecture requested by a nun named Eshin (unrelated to the Darumashū).

[342] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 28 (1986), p. 109.

[343] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji to Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Sōtō kyōdan," p. 230. The ruins and the *torii* gate are located in the mountains of what is now Fuikui-shi, Jōganji-chō 福井市成願寺町.

Data on Hajakuji in the period of Darumashū occupancy, and in the medieval period in general, are scant. The founding of the temple and the carving of its central image of the Eleven-headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音) are traditionally attributed to the monk Taichō 泰澄 (682-767), an ascetic *zenji* who is revered as the founder of several temples in the region. Taichō is especially associated with the cult of the Eleven-headed Kannon and the development of mountain asceticism on Mount Hakusan 白山, which crystallized in the establishment of the Tendai monastic complexes of Heisenji 平泉寺 and Hōgenji 豊原寺.[344] In Ekan's time, Hajakuji was a Tendai temple. One medieval source indicates that the temple was known as a centre of Tendai esotericism.[345]

In view of the temple's proximity to Mount Hakusan and the Heisenji and Hōgenji complexes, it is likely that Hajakuji was part of the Tendai Hakusan temple network. According to Imaeda Aishin, the Hakusan temple network (including Hajakuji) was controlled by Onjōji 遠城寺 (Miidera 三井寺). The Onjōji affiliation of the Hakusan temple network plays an important role in Imaeda's theories regarding Dōgen and his move from Fukakusa to Echizen. Onjōji, the powerful Tendai complex at the foot of Mount Hiei (*jimon* 寺門), maintained a tense relationship with Enryakuji, located on the mountain proper (*sanmon* 山門). The *jimon* and *sanmon* factions repeatedly engaged in armed conflicts. According to Imaeda, Dōgen was attracted to Hakusan and set himself up in Echizen not only with the help of his patron, Hatano Yoshishige 波多野義重, but also through mediation of Onjōji and the former Hajakuji (Darumashū) monks in Dōgen's community.[346] As Steve Heine observed, one problem in this theory is that Onjōji control over the Hakusan temple network remains unconfirmed.[347] In addition I would say that the presumed link between Hajakuji and Onjōji is problematic in light of the fact that Ekan dispatched his pupil Gikai from Hajakuji to the precept platform of Enryakuji, in order to receive the precepts there. If Hajakuji was under Onjōji control its novice monks were more likely to have been sent to the precept platform of Tōji, as was the customary practice for Onjōji monks in that period.[348] Whatever the exact administrative affiliation of Hajakuji may have been, in view of its geographical location and its association with the monk Taichō, it is safe to say that Hajakuji was a Tendai temple embedded in Mount Hakusan religiosity. Leaving aside Imaeda's ideas concerning Dōgen's fascination with Mount Hakusan and Onjōji support for Dōgen's flight, it is indeed very likely that Dōgen's move to Echizen was influenced by Ekan and other Darumashū monks at Kōshōji, who, as natives of Echizen and long-time residents of Hajakuji, possessed valuable local expertise.

The Darumashū monks who practiced under Dōgen at Eiheiji renewed – or more likely, continued to have – contacts with Hajakuji. In *Goyuigon kiroku*, Dōgen is quoted as scolding

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[344] See Iwai Takaki, "Taichō to Hakuzan Echizen shugendō," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 294 (2007): pp. 64-91.

[345] Ishikawa cites a document that shows that in 1271 a monk at Hajakuji transcribed a chapter of the Tendai compendium *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 that pertained to esoteric consecration rituals (Skt. *abhiseka*) of Mount Hiei. In the Edo period, Hajakuji was re-established at another location as a Shingi-Shingon temple. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," pp. 109-110. Menzan Zuihō's (1683-1769) annotated *Kenzeiki* refers to the Hajakuji monks as belonging to the Shingon house 真言家 (Kawamura, *Kenzeiki*, pp. 145-146), which is probably a reflection of the temple's Shingon affiliation in the Edo period.

[346] Imaeda Aishin, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970), p. 40-44.

[347] Steven Heine, *Did Dōgen go to China*? (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 185.

[348] As a result of factional disputes with Enryakuji, Onjōji sought to circumvent the precept platform (*kaidan*) on Mount Hiei (Enryakuji) and arranged for their novices to receive the precepts at the Shingon temple Tōji. This practice started in the first half of the twelfth century and still occurred in 1346. See Matsuō Kenji, *Kamakura Shinbukkyō no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), pp. 151-52.

Gikai for frequently disappearing from Eiheiji to go off to "other places."[349] It is not hard to imagine that the nearby Hajakuji was one of Gikai's dens. *Kenzeiki* 健撕記, a fifteenth century biography of Dōgen by the Sōtō monk Kenzei 健撕 (1414-1474), produces a colophon that shows that in 1281, Dōgen's essay *Busshō* 佛性 (Buddha-nature) was copied at Hajakuji. Kenzei mentions that Hajakuji monks in this period frequently visited the Eiheiji monastery. [350] Evidently there was interaction between the Hajakuji and Eiheiji communities, which continued after Dōgen's demise.

TETTSŪ GIKAI

As related above, Gikai (1219-1309) was tonsured by Ekan at Hajakuji and received the bodhisattva precepts on Mount Hiei. In 1241, following his master, Gikai joined Dōgen at Kōshōji. [351] Here Gikai reportedly gained a spiritual insight while listening to Dōgen lecture. At Eiheiji, Gikai was appointed to the important monastic position of head cook (*tenzō*). A native of Echizen, Gikai knew how to negotiate the region's harsh conditions, which made him a highly appreciated member of Dōgen's community. Gikai did not become Dōgen's direct dharma heir but received dharma-transmission from Ejō in 1255. Prior to this (circa 1251) Gikai also received the transmission of the Darumashū lineage from Ekan. Between 1259 and 1262 Gikai resided in China, studying Chan ritual and monastic architecture. After his return to Japan, Gikai carried out construction work at Eiheiji and reorganized the monastery's ritual schedule. After Ejō's retirement in 1267, Gikai became Eiheiji's third abbot, but a few years later relinguished this post to Gien. Gikai retreated to a hermitage near Eiheiji, but frequently returned to the monastery to officiate at rituals. After Ejō passed away in 1280, factional disputes arose within the Eiheiji community between partisans of Gikai, Gien, and the Chinese born Jakuen (i.e. the socalled "third generation controversy"). In what probably amounted to an eviction, Gikai departed from Eiheiji around 1287.

Gikai subsequently entered Daijōji in Kaga province, which at the time was presided over by Chōkai Ajari 登海阿闍梨, a former resident of Hajakuji. Daijōji was established in 1261 to house a statue of Mahāvairocana, the central Buddha of esotericism, said to have been carved by Taichō, the founder of Hajakuji. Chōkai Ajari, a master of esoteric ritual, was invited from Hajakuji to become Daijōji's abbot. In 1293 Gikai, who knew Chōkai from his Hajakuji days, assumed Daijōji's abbacy and turned the temple into a Sōtō centre. In the winter of his life, Gikai passed on the abbacy to his student Keizan Jōkin, to whom he also transmittted the Sōtō lineage. In addition, Gikai entrusted Keizan with the documents and relics that had been transmitted in the Hajakuji Darumashū lineage. Gikai died in 1306.

The continued transmission of the Darumashū

Two brief texts written by Gikai provide some insight into the continued transmission of the Darumashū lineage. One of these texts, written in the winter of 1306 and dubbed *Gikai fuhōjō*,

[349] *Goyuigon kiroku* (SSZ, Shūgen 2, pp. 255-56).
[350] *Kenzeiki*, p. 102-103. Cited in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," p. 112.
[351] The following overview of Gikai's career draws on the Sōtō biographies of Gikai and secondary research, especially Ishikawa, "Ejō Zenji to Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Sōtō kyōdan, pp. 225-254 and Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, pp. 51-64.

has been examined in Chapter Two. It mentions Nōnin's envoys, the dharma transmission from Fozhao, Nōnin's visit to the Japanese imperial palace, and the bestowal of honorary titles. Gikai also identifies what he actually transmitted to Keizan: a relic of the six patriarchs and Fugen, letters by Nōnin and Fozhao, and a travel journal composed by Nōnin's envoys. In addition, and not unimportantly, Gikai mentions two lineage documents: *Rinzaike shisho* 臨済家嗣書 (Rinzai House Succession Certificate) and *Soshi sōden kechimyaku* (Bloodline Transmitted by the Patriarch Masters 祖師相傳血脈). Judging from the titles of these documents, the first certified the transmission of the dharma (*denpō* 傳法) and the second certified the transmission of the precepts (*denkai* 傳戒). Gikai instructed Keizan to consider these documents "subsidiary verification" (*jōshō* 助證) to the Sōtō certificate of succession (*shisho* 嗣書) that he had transmitted to Keizan earlier. Gikai, nearing the end of his life, apparently construed the Rinzai (Darumashū) lineage as ancillary to Dōgen's Sōtō lineage.

With regard to the transmission from Gikai to Keizan, William Bodiford remarks: "Keizan only received Gikai's old [Darumashū] documents, not a new succession document made out in his own name. It is incorrect, therefore, to assume that Keizan inherited Gikai's Darumashū lineage." [352] This last assertion is debatable. As examined in the previous chapter, records of Nōnin's temple Sambōji indicate that relics of the bodhisattva Fugen were used to designate successors in the Darumashū lineage. It was exactly such a Fugen relic that Gikai received and then passed down to Keizan. In Japan at that time there was, moreover, no codified consensus regarding the minutiae of Zen dharma transmission. For the Darumashū lineage holders, the uninterrupted handing down of Nōnin's "old document" may very well have constituted the very stuff of dharma transmission. It is incorrect, therefore, to assume that Keizan did not inherit Gikai's Darumashū lineage.

In a letter to Keizan, written slightly earlier in 1306 and dubbed *Gikan fuhōjō* (as Gikai signed it with his Darumashū name Gikan 義鑑), Gikai similarly mentions his dual Rinzai (Darumashū)/Sōtō affiliation:

> I [Gikai] have studied with two masters and have been entrusted with the certificates of two houses: the Rinzai House 臨済家 and the Tōzan House 洞山家 (i.e. Sōtō). As for the Rinzai [House], Chan master Fozhao, the foremost student of Dahui, cited the precedent of the continuous dharma-lifespan of the Buddha in this world and transmitted [the dharma] from afar to Venerable Nōnin from Japan, although they never met face to face. Kakuan succeeded Nōnin. My teacher Ekan succeeded Kakuan. I succeeded Ekan. I received master [Ekan's] commands. In addition, I inherited our [Sōtō] House. A propos, when in the summer of Kenchō five (1253) Ekan inquired with late master [Dōgen] about the transmission of a succession certificate (*shisho*), they spoke in detail about the certificate of our [Sōtō] House. At that time Venerable Ejō was also present and can attest to this. See the separate document for details. In the autumn of the same year, when [Dōgen] went to the capital for the last time, he appointed me as Eiheiji's substitute supervisor and made me solemn promises. See the separate document for details. After master [Dōgen] passed into perfect tranquility, I studied with Eiheiji's second abbot, Venerable [Ejō], and inherited a certificate of our [Sōtō] House. I preserved it for fifty-two years, from Kenchō *tsuchinoto-u*

[352] Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 241, note 90 (italics mine).

(1255) to Kangen *hinoe-uma* (1306). Last year you inherited it. You must guard it well and widely promulgate [the dharma] for those to come. [353]

The "separate document" that is repeatedly referred to by Gikai in this letter is the *Goyuigon* kiroku, or a proto-version of this record.[354] Ekan's talk with Dōgen in the summer of 1253 that is alluded to in *Gikan fuhōjō*, appears in the first entry of *Goyuigon kiroku* under a corresponding date. This entry records a conversation between Dōgen and Gikai, musing over the late Ekan and discussing Gikai's prospects of becoming Dōgen's dharma heir. I have already touched upon this entry in the foregoing section on Ekan. The following summary of the entry will therefore contain some overlapping information:

- Dōgen recalls that Ekan, on his deathbed, transmitted the Darumashū lineage to Gikai. Dōgen asks Gikai about the "sacred teachings" (texts) of the Hajakuji. Gikai answers that these texts are for general monastic use; he adds that Ekan transmitted the most important documents to him.

- Dōgen asks if these documents included a manual for the ritual conferral of the bodhisattva precepts. Gikai answers that the manual and the ritual expertise were formally transmitted to him by Ekan. Dōgen approves of this investiture, but then strongly reproaches Gikai for his customary outings away from Eiheiji during which Gikai would carelessly confer these precepts on "unfit vessels" and "idle fellows."

- Dōgen warns Gikai not to be so careless were he to confer the precepts on behalf of the Sōtō school. Dōgen holds up the case of Ekan, who received Dōgen's permission to perform the Sōtō precept ritual, but out of great awe refrained from doing so.

- Dōgen asks Gikai about the Rinzai (Darumashū) succession certificate (*shisho*) that was transmitted by Fozhao Deguang (to Nōnin → Kakuan→ Ekan). Gikai confirms he received the document from Ekan but adds that it is not called "succession certificate" (*shisho*) but "bloodline transmitted by the patriarch masters" (*soshi sōden kechimyaku*).

- Dōgen explains that succession certificates of the various Chan houses differ in format and he assures Gikai that his *soshi sōden kechimyaku* is a genuine succession certificate. Dōgen then expresses his joy about Gikai's good fortune of having inherited such a document, but cautions Gikai that this connection to the Rinzai (Darumashū) lineage is only a minor accomplishment: if Gikai wants to fully realize the Buddhadharma he must become a "superior vessel."

[353] 然予兩師見之、帯兩家書、所謂臨済家与洞山家也、臨済者大恵上足佛照（徳光）禪師、引佛在世之生主法壽例、雖不見面、遙嗣日本能忍上人、忍嗣覺晏、晏嗣吾師懐鑒、鑒嗣予、々稟師命（懐鑒）、重嗣當家 (曹洞)、其由者、建長五年夏、鑒公嗣書相傳事、先師御尋時、當家嗣書事委示之、其時二代（懐奘）和尚同座證知、別帋委、又同秋最後上洛之剋、仰付永平寺之留守、特蒙種々契約、具別帋、先師圓寂後、予參永平二代和尚、即嗣當家書、自建長乙卯（七年）至嘉元丙午(四年)五十二年保持之、先年既予嗣汝畢、宜善保護、弘通來際、抑二代相承、以師嗣書被付事、先蹤所引在口傳、相承作法受付属、先師門人中、独二代而元四年（午丙）八月廿八日、前住大乘寺義鑒示之。*Gikan fuhōjō* (Kagen 4/8/28), *Sōtōshū komonjo,* vol. 2, pp. 408-409. Cited in Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū,* p. 129. Ōkubo, *Dōgen Zenjiden,* p. 476-77. Murata, "Kōfuku, Daijōji," pp. 20-21.

[354] Ishikawa, "Goyuigon kiroku no shiryōkachi," pp.177-201.

- Gikai then reminisces over things that Ekan told him. Ekan had once asked Dōgen for a Sōtō certificate of succession. In response Dōgen implied that Ekan was still an "idle fellow" but he assured Ekan that – in due time – he would receive a Sōtō certificate. As instructed, Ekan patiently waited. But he never received a certificate. Embittered, a dying Ekan instructed Gikai that if he (Gikai) were to inherit a Sōtō certificate from Dōgen, he should dedicate the karmic merits of the event to Ekan.

- Dōgen tells Gikai he remembers this episode, and he expresses his regret about never having transmitted a Sōtō certificate to Ekan. Dōgen confesses he completely forgot about it: Ekan had asked for the certificate only once and thereafter never broached the subject again.

- Dōgen now assures Gikai that – when the time is ripe – Gikai will receive a Sōtō certificate. Dōgen instructs Gikai to wait patiently and in due course indeed dedicate the merits of the transmission to Ekan. At that time, Dōgen adds, Gikai will be able to see for himself how the formats of the Sōtō and the Rinzai (Darumashu) documents differ. [355]

Here and elsewhere in *Goyuigon kiroku*, Ekan and Gikai emerge as virtual dharma heirs of Dōgen. Misunderstandings, forgetfulness and death merely prevented what should have been: dharma transmission directly from Dōgen. Suchlike testimonies clearly show the pro-Gikai perspective of the text.

Dōgen, according to *Goyuigon kiroku*, approved of Gikai's commitment to the Rinzai (Darumashū) lineage and held out the prospect of transmitting the Sōtō lineage to Gikai as well. As William Bodiford elucidated, the idea of one person holding two lineages sharply contrasts with the lineage exclusivity that characterizes the modern version of Sōtō orthodoxy that was constructed in the Edo period. Prior to the Edo period multiple lineage affiliation was apparently not considered problematic. This, Bodiford explains, is clear from early Sōtō histories that positively appraise the fact that Dōgen himself was a dharma heir of both the Japanese Rinzai monk Myōzen 明全 (1184-1225) and the Chinese Caodong (Sōtō) master Rujing.[356] Dōgen's approval of Gikai's Rinzai (Darumashū) lineage is, I would add, also quite feasible in light of Dōgen's documented reverence for lineage certificates *an sich*: Dōgen regarded such certificates as esoteric, sacred objects.[357] So, in light of his own dual Rinzai/Sōtō lineage and his deep reverence for certificates, Dōgen's approval of Gikai's Rinzai (Darumashū) lineage is, in itself, credible. Still, the passage in *Goyuigon kiroku* that has Dōgen painstakingly explain that the "bloodline" (*kechimyaku*) document transmitted in the Darumashū is really an authentic "succession certificate" (*shisho*) sounds contrived. In *Gikai fuhōjō*, Gikai identifies two separate

[355] *Goyuigon kiroku* (SSZ, *Shūgen* 2, pp. 255-256)

[356] Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 426. Before going to China Dōgen studied Rinzai Zen at Kenninji under one of Eisai's students named Butsuju Myōzen 佛樹明全(1183-1225) and received dharma transmission from him. In 1223, Myōzen accompanied Dōgen to China. After three years of monastic practice, mainly at the Tiantong monastery under Wuji Liaopai 無際了派 (1149–1224), Myōzen fell ill and died. Relics collected from Myōzen's pyre were brought back to Japan by Dōgen. Dōgen also wrote a short eulogy for Myōzen, entitled *Shari sōdenki* 舎利相伝記 (Record of Transmitting Myōzen's Relics). An english translation of this text is found in Kazuaki Tanahashi (ed.), *Enlightenment Unfolds: The Essential Teachings of Zen Master Dōgen* (Boston & London: Shambhala, 2000), pp. 30-31.

[357] In his *Shisho* (Certificate of Succession), Dōgen describes his ecstatic emotion upon being allowed to see and venerate various certificates of succession, including a certificate from Fozhao Deguang, the formal master of Dainichibō Nōnin. (T. 2582, 70c13).

Rinzai (Darumashū) documents: a *shisho* and a *kechimyaku*. In *Goyuigon kiroku* we hear of only one document: a *kechimyaku* that is declared to be a *shisho*. Perhaps a document got lost. Perhaps there was no proper *shisho* document transmitted in Ekan's lineage. In any case, these conflicting data, and the apologetic convolutions in *Goyuigon kiroku*, tell us that there were unclarities and contentions in the early Sōtō community with regard to the nature and the validity of the Darumashū lineage documents. Gikai's somewhat peculiar idea that the Darumashū documents were to serve as a "subsidiary verification" to the Sōtō certificate no doubt arose to conciliate disagreements over the status of the continued Darumashū tradition within the Sōtō community.

KEIZAN JŌKIN

Gikai's student Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325) must be briefly discussed here. According to his own biographical account in *Tōkokki* (Record of Tōkoku) Keizan, born in Echizen province, entered Eiheiji as an eight year old boy and received the tonsure from Gikai. When Gikai withdrew to a nearby hermitage, Keizan was placed in the care of Ejō and at eighteen received full monk's ordination. The following year Keizan studied with Jakuen at Hōkyōji. At twenty-two he attained awakening upon hearing a sound (*monshō godō* 聞声悟道). At twenty-eight he was appointed supervisor of Jōmanji 城万寺 in Awa province. The following year he studied at Eiheiji under its abbot Gien, who sanctioned him to administer the bodhisattva precepts. At thirty-two Keizan rejoined his old master Gikai, who had settled at Daijōji in Kaga. Keizan received dharma transmission from Gikai, and at thirty-five succeeded him as the abbot of Daijōji. After fifteen years at Daijōji, Keizan moved to Tōkoku and entered Yōkōji.[358]

In addition, Keizan established several temples, notably the Sōjiji in Nōtō, which for a long time would overshadow Eiheiji as the Sōtō school's institutional centre. The flourishing of the Sōtō school owes much to the proselytizing activities of Keizan and his lineage successors. Keizan's wide-ranging conception of Zen, which included elements of Esotericism, Daoism and *kami* worship, enabled Keizan's Sōtō faction to assimilate local traditions and expand through existing pilgrimage sites and temple networks. According to Bernard Faure, Keizan's inclusivism was prefigured in the Zen style of the Darumashū. The eclipsed Darumashū in this way contributed to the growth of the Sōtō school, and so secured the survival of Dōgen's "pure" tradition. [359]

Peak of the Five Elders

As mentioned earlier, Keizan received from his master Gikai a Darumashū certificate and one relic grain. Along with other objects, Keizan ritually buried this relic and Gikai's certificate into a

[358] Keizan's autobiographical account appears in *Tōkokki* (SSZ, Shūgen 2, pp. 504-05). Also see Kawai Taikō, "Tōkokki ni motozuku Keizan ryaku nenpu," *Zen kenkyūjo kiyō* 34 (2006): pp. 197-211; and Faure, *Visions of Power*, p. 31. Edo period biographies of Keizan mention that prior to entering Daijōji, Keizan embarked on a pilgrimage and studied with the Rinzai masters Tanshō (1231-1291) and Egyō (1223-1297) in Kyoto and with Muhon Kakushin (1207-1298) in Kii province. These monks were known for their practice of Rinzai Zen and esoteric ritual. Keizan's own writings do not mention these travels. Still, Keizan's penchant for esotericism suggests he may have received some type of esoteric training, possibly from Kakushin or other representatives of the Zen/Esoteric Hottō faction. See Azuma Ryūshin, *Taiso Keizan Zenji* (Kokushi Kankōkai 1996), pp. 96-107.

[359] Faure, "Darumashū," pp. 45-52.

tumulus called *Gorōhō* 五老峰 (Peak of the Five Elders) on the precincts of Yōkōji.[360] Japanese scholars mostly interpret this burial as Keizan's formal disassociation from the Darumashū. Bernard Faure presents a more plausible reading. Keizan, Faure notes, not only buried Gikai's Darumashū certificate but also his own Sōtō certificate, a set of Mahāyāna texts, a bone fragment from Dōgen, a text by Dōgen's master Rujing and a sūtra copied in blood by Ejō. So, rather than being some kind of symbolic disassociation from the Darumashū, the internment of these objects must be seen as a glorification the Sōtō/Darumashū legacy that underlied Keizan's status as a Zen patriarch. [361]

A continued transmission of a Darumashū relic?

As will be remembered the relics that circulated in the Darumashū were of dual origin: relic grains of each of the six Chan patriarchs (*rokuso*), plus relic grains deriving from the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fugen). It seems that Gikai and Keizan were not aware of (or chose to conflate) this bipartition. In *Gikai fuhōjō*, Gikai oddly refers to the one relic grain that he inherited from Ekan as "*Rokuso Fugen shari*" 六祖普賢舎利. Since the reference is to a single relic grain this can only be feasibly rendered as "the Samantabhadra relic of the six patriarchs (or: sixth patriarch)." This reading is supported in *Tōkokki* in which Keizan similarly speaks of this one relic grain as "the Samantabhadra relic of the six patriarchs (or: sixth patriarch) transmitted in the lineage of Nanyue."

Though the writings of Keizan himself indicate that the relic was buried in the Peak of the Five Elders, one Edo period text suggests the existence of an alternative tradition. In this text, entitled *Rokuso Daikan Zenji reige ryakki* 六祖大鑑禅師霊牙略記 (Concise Record of the Sacred Tooth of Chan Master Dajian the Sixth Patriarch), dated 1717, a nameless monk records his visit to Kōfukuji in Higō province (Kyūshū) to examine the relic grain and the original *Gikai fuhōjō* manuscript. After having paraphrased Gikai's account of the relic's transmission from Nōnin to Kakuan, Ekan, Gikai and Keizan successively, the nameless monk writes that the relic was subsequently transmitted to Keizan's student Meihō Sōtetsu (1277-1350), and from Meihō to Gida Daichi (1299-1366), Kōfukuji's founder. The relic is identified as a "sacred tooth" (*reige* 霊牙) of Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch.[362]

KANGAN GIIN

We must also mention Kangan Giin 寒巌義尹 (1217-1300). Giin, said to have been the son of either Emperor Gotoba (1180-1393) or Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242), was a member of the early Sōtō community under Dōgen. He is known especially for his popularization of the Sōtō school in Higō province (Kyūshū) through proselytizing and public construction projects. He also traveled to China to obtain written recognition for the freshly compiled sayings of Zen master Dōgen.

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[360] See *Tōkokki* (SSZ, Shūgen 2, pp. 513-516). Azuma Ryūshin, *Taiso Keizan Zenji*, pp. 438-455.
[361] Faure, *Visions of Power*, p. 47.
[362] *Rokuso Daikan Zenji reige ryakki* appears as an appendix to *Gida Daichi Zenji itsuge anroku* 祇陀大智禅師逸偈録 (Casual Verses of Zen Master Gida Daichi), a collection of Daichi's poetry, compiled by Menzan Zuihō. DNS, 6, 27, pp. 613-14.

In his annotations to the *Kenzeiki*, Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769) lists Giin as a member of Ekan's Darumashū group.[363] Another clue to Giin's Darumashū background is the character "gi" in his name, signifying Ekan's students. In addition, there is a reference in a Sōtō source that places Giin's encounter with Dōgen in 1241, the very year that Ekan's Darumashū group joined Dōgen. Nakao Ryōshin questioned Giin's Darumashū affiliation, suggesting that Giin's royal pedigree and high social standing would have made it unlikely for him to choose the peripheral Darumashū over one of the mainstream *kenmitsu* schools.[364] Conversely, I would argue that Giin's Darumashū background underscores the dubiousness of Sōtō hagiographic claims to Giin's imperial ancestry.

We should also consider Giin's interest in relics, an aspect of Buddhist practice that was important in the Darumashū but regarded with ambivalence by Dōgen. One Edo period biography reports that Giin, when travelling in China, visited the King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou and performed eighty-three thousand prostrations in front of its reliquary.[365] Though specifics about Giin in the various Sōtō biographies are notoriously garbled,[366] Giin's concern with relics is certain. It is known, for instance, that the central icon of Buddha Śākyamuni at the Nyoraiji in Higo province, founded by Giin in 1269, was consecrated by depositing relics in its interior.[367] A document in Giin's own hand furthermore shows that he presented a nun named Senshin 沙弥尼専信 with a relic grain.[368] Giin's concern with relics does of course not necessarily derive from his Darumashū roots, still it gives pause for thought.

Noteworthy in this context is also the fact that Giin ordained Gida Daichi. Daichi went on to receive dharma transmission from Keizan's student Meihō Sōtetsu and later founded Kōfukuji in Higō province. As mentioned above, it was at Kōfukuji that the "sacred tooth of the sixth patriarch," together with Gikai's letters to Keizan about the Darumashū lineage were preserved. Daichi's custody of these Darumashū related writings and of the relic with its perceived Darumashū provenance, suggests a continued involvement in the early Sōtō school with the Darumashū tradition, extending well into the fourteenth century.

GEMMYŌ

The monk Gemmyō 玄明, a student of Ekan, is primarily known as the monk who was cast out of Eiheiji, as recorded in *Kenzeiki*. [369] Dōgen, according to this account, journeyed to Kamakura to have audience with the powerful regent Hōjō Tokiyori, who offered Dōgen several plots of land. Dōgen declined the offer but Gemmyō, one of the prominent monks in Dōgen's assembly, defied this decision:

> After Venerable Dōgen returned to Echizen, Saimyōji-dono (Hōjō Tokiyori) devoutly donated a two-thousand *koku* plot of land in Echizen, called Rokujō-no-hō, to Eiheiji. In the

[363] Murakami, *Kenzeiki*, p. 145.
[364] Nakao Ryōshin, "Shoki Eiheiji sōdan no mondaiten," *Zen kenkyūjo kiyō* 18 (1990): pp. 14-20.
[365] DNS, *Shiryō kōhon*, 5, 905, p. 142.
[366] Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen*, pp. 37-43.
[367] Ariki Yoshitaka, "Higō Kangan Giin no zōzō katsudō ni tsuite," *Bijutsushi* 46/2 (1997): pp. 156-173.
[368] Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen*, p. 40. *Shari sōden shidai* 舎利相伝次第 (1279), *Kamakura Ibun*, vol. 17, p. 50 (document nr. 12751).
[369] Ōkubo, *Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū*, p. 306-308.

> end, [Dōgen] did not accept it and turned down the offer. [However], an old monk named Gemmyō, the head monk of Eiheiji, obtained the certificate of donation. This foolish monk thought the donation of the Rokujō-no-hō to be very prestigious, and full of joy he went around to tell everyone about it. When Master [Dōgen] heard this he said: "Your jubilant mind is dirty inside," and immediately expelled Gemmyō from the monastery. He cut out Gemmyō's meditation mat in the monk's hall, dug out seven *shaku* of earth [from underneath the mat] and threw it all away. Never before had such a thing been seen or heard. It is said that this head monk Gemmyō is a living Arhat. One hundred and thirty years after Venerable founder [Dōgen] passed away, a wandering monk ran into [the Arhat] on Mount Hakone in Izu province. He said: "I am Gemmyō, head monk of Eiheiji" and then spoke in detail about events that took place in the Venerable founder's time. Having witnessed [this Arhat] leaning on his bamboo staff, the wandering monk, it is said, came to Eiheiji and reported this story.[370]

In Sōtō circles, Dōgen's refusal to accept the offered property and Gemmyō's punishment exemplify Dōgen's ascetic detachment from fame and wealth, and his uncompromising attitude towards unruly monks. Though the image of Gemmyō roaming Japan as an immortal arhat is of course fantastic, the historicity of this monk and his eviction from Eiheiji are supported by two passages in *Goyuigon kiroku*. One of these passages records a conversation between Ejō and Gikai, reminiscing over admonitions of their late teacher Dōgen:

> [Ejō told Gikai]: Among the instructions that late master [Dōgen] used to offered us, he certainly said: "Your root teacher [i.e. Ekan] looked upon you with human eyes and approved of you as his true heir. Ever since he joined my assembly and donned the one-piece robe I stopped hearing about dissolute behavior. Although his companions were many, he was truly a man of the Buddhadharma. His spirit was endowed with extraordinary determination. He was nothing like that Gemmyō and associates. In those days [Gemmyō] was punished [in accordance with] the monastic regulations. It was not so that [Gemmyō] himself had been indiscrete, but he suffered these measures because of certain things. The matter was dealt with in compliance with his master. [371]

Kenzeiki links the eviction to Gemmyō's wayward acceptance of a donation of land from Hōjō Tokiyori – a donation that Dōgen had earlier refused. Dōgen's encounter with Tokiyori in Kamakura, however, is historically suspect and probably a later a fabrication.[372] This renders the scenario of Gemmyō being banished for accepting Tokiyori's gift equally doubtful. *Goyuigon kiroku* does not bring up Tokiyori's donation as a cause for Gemmyō's expulsion, but vaguely

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[370] 道元和尚、越前ヱ御帰之後、西明寺殿為遂願心、越前国之内六条之保ト申ス二千石ノ在所ヲ、永平寺領ニ寄進被申、雖然終ニ不受給之、返進給、永平寺之玄明首座ト申老僧、此寄進状ノ使ヲセラル、六条保寄進ノ事ハ、愚僧カ高名也トテ、歓喜シ衆中ヲフレアルキ給ウ事ヲ、師聞タマイテ、悦喜スル心中キタナシトテ、ゝテ寺ヲ擯出シ給テ、玄明ノ坐禅セシ僧堂床縁ヲキリ、地ヲ七尺ホリ捨給ウ、前代未聞不見ノ事ナリ、此玄明首座ハ、生羅漢ト申シ伝、開山御入滅ノ後、百三十年已後〆、伊豆国箱根山ニ〆行脚ノ僧ニ逢テ、我ハ永平寺之玄明首座也トテ、開山和尚ノ御時代ノ事ヲ委物語〆、竹杖ニスカリテ立チ給タルヲ見テアリツルト、其行脚ノ僧、永平寺ヱ来テ物語〆アルト申伝ルル也。(*Kenzeiki*, pp. 63-64) (Kanbun markers omitted).

[371] 又先師尋常被擧化之上是非之中云。於汝本師有見人眼。然許汝而爲嫡嗣。又參我會著直綴以來于今無放逸之聞。又雖其兄弟多。實是佛法者也。其神際有拔羣之志氣。不似彼玄明等。當時依事罰院内例也。於彼身非不覺。或依事物伊羅式。依師方此沙汰 (*Goyuigon kiroku*, SSZ, Shūgen 2, p. 260-61).

[372] Dōgen's visit to Kamakura is, for instance, not recorded in the *bakufu* chronicle *Azuma kagami* though the chronicle does record Tokiyori's meetings with other Zen monks. For a summary of Yanagida Seizan's arguments for the fictive nature of Dōgen's visit to Kamakura see Brian Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, pp. 76-77.

alludes to "certain things" (*jibutsu* 事物) and "dissolute behavior" (*hōitsu* 放逸). In another passage in *Goyuigon kiroku*, Gikai and Ejō recollect this episode:

> Gikai said: My fellows in the dharma of former years used to say that the words "in the Buddhadharma, do not produce evil but cultivate virtue" mean that in the Buddhadharma evil is not produced and hence all acts are a cultivation of virtue, and that lifting the arms and moving the legs, all that we do, the arising of dharmas in general, everything is the Buddhadharma. Is this a right view?
> Venerable [Ejō] answered: Among our late master's students there was one group that conceived this false view. For this reason [Dōgen], in his lifetime, cut all ties with them. It is crystal clear that these students were banished because they conceived this false teaching. If you wish to cherish our late master's Buddhadharma, you must not talk to or sit together with these fellows. This was our late master's commandment for posterity. [373]

Though details remain unclear, the expulsion apparently revolved around Dōgen's insistence on moral precepts and monastic regulations on the one hand, and antinomian views embraced by a Darumashū splinter party in his assembly on the other. The episode also indicates internal friction within the Darumashū group at Eiheiji – friction between those accepting Dōgen's way and those insisting on their old ways. With the banishment of Gemmyō and his companions, followed or not by the dramatic act of cleansing the defiled meditation platform, Dōgen admonished the Eiheiji assembly, the Darumashū group in particular, to submit to monastic discipline and give up Darumashū views.

GIJUN

Biographical sketches of Gijun appear in several Sōtō records of the Edo period and are very concise. The *Nihon tōjō rentōroku* 日本洞上聯燈錄 (1727) by the Sōtō monk Reinan Shūjo 嶺南秀恕 (1645- 1752) has the following:

> Zen master Gijun of Eitokuji in Echizen. Like Gikai and Gien he received the tonsure and the precepts from Venerable Ekan. Thereupon he climbed Mount Hiei and thoroughly investigated the scriptures of the Tripiṭaka. Leaving behind [Mount Hiei] he went to the capital and studied with Zen master Dōgen at Kōshōji. In one glance [Dōgen] recognized his calibre. He attended to [Dōgen] and often transcribed [Dōgen's words]. When Dōgen moved to Eiheiji he had master [Gijun] stay behind [at Kōshōji] and entrusted him with the supervision over the temple's affairs. After Eiheiji was completed, [Dōgen] appointed him as secretary. One snowy night he visited Dōgen in the monastery's Mountain Grass Hut and presented him with a poem he had written. Echoing the tenor of this poem Dōgen replied:
>
> *One night you climbed up through the deep snow and asked about the way.*
> *I was moved when at the garden's edge, buried waist-deep in the snow,*
> *you were grappling with the old case of "[Huike] cutting off his arm."*

[373] 義介咨問云。義介先年同一類之法内所談云。於佛法中諸惡莫作諸善奉行故佛法中諸惡元來莫作。故一切行皆修善。所以擧手動足一切所作。凡諸法生起皆佛法也云々。此見正見乎。和尚答云。先師門徒中有起此邪見之一類故。在世之時義絕畢。被於門徒明白也。依立此邪義也。若欲慕先師佛法之輩不可共語同座。是則先師遺戒也。(*Goyuigon kiroku* SSZ, Shūgen 2, p. 258).

How many know about discarding the wisteria and the snake?

> After Dōgen passed away [Gijun] studied under Venerable Ejō and in private received the mind-seal. When Eitoku-in was established master [Gijun] was invited to become its first abbot. In his waning years he lived in seclusion at Kanki-in. He died in a place unknown.[374]

According to this account, Gijun ordained under Ekan, proceeded to Mount Hiei and moved on to Kōshōji to study under Dōgen. When Dōgen moved to Kōshōji, Gijun initially stayed behind. At Eiheiji, Gijun served as Dōgen's secretary and studied an "old case." After Dōgen's death, Gijun studied with Ejō and received dharma transmission from him. Later, Gijun moved out of Eiheiji and relocated to Eitoku-in, and subsequently moved to Kanki-in.

Several elements in the Edo period biographies of Gijun, such as the one translated above, can be traced to earlier Sōtō sources. *Kenzeiki* (1452) mentions Gijun's protracted stay at Kōshōji.[375] *Eihei kōroku* 永平廣録 (Eihei's Extensive Record), a collection of lectures and poems by Dōgen compiled by his students, alludes to Gijun's work as Dōgen's secretary.[376] *Eihei kōroku* also alludes to Gijun's personal study under Dōgen, and mentions the snowy exchange of verses:

> One snowy night I [Dōgen] was impressed by a verse of twenty-eight characters written by the scribe Jun. Since I was ailing, he took down the following verse for me:
>
> > *On a snow-laden night he climbed up to ask about the way,*
> > *his body covered and immersed to the waist: heart-rending!*
> > *Though cutting off one's head or slicing off one's arm is a wrong way,*
> > *one who casts away both the wisteria and the snake is a true master*. [377]

The Sōtō record *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki*, compiled in the Ōei period (1394-1428) mentions Gijun's dharma transmission from Ejō.[378] It also mentions Gijun's retirement to the Eitoku-in and Kanki-in temples. In addition, *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* also contains an interesting detail about Gijun that is *not* mentioned in the Edo period biographies:

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[374] 越前州永德院義準禪師。同義介義演。師事懷鑑和尚。薙髮納戒。尋上台嶽探賾三藏。棄去入洛。參元禪師於興聖。一見器之。服侍多載。屬元移永平。師留統院事。後造永平。命掌記室。一夜雪中詣元于山巔艸庵。作偈呈之。元依其韻示曰。訪道登高深雪夜。可憐庭際沒腰時。試看斷臂奮公案。跳脫藤蛇幾箇知。元滅後咨參孤雲和尚。密受心院。某氏創永德院。延師爲第一祖。暮年退居歡喜院。後不知所終矣。(SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 240).

[375] *Kenzeiki* (*Kenzeiki*, p. 52) mentions that Gijun sent a twig of a cinnamon tree from Kōshōji to Eiheiji. The twig arrived on 7/9/1244, just after the opening ceremonies for Eiheiji's new Lecture Hall (*hattō* 法堂). If this is reliable, Gijun stayed behind at Kōshōji for at least a year before moving on to Eiheiji. See Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993) (reprint), p. 242.

[376] *Eihei kōroku* includes a memorial to Ekan delivered by Dōgen in 1252 at the request of Gijun, who is referred to as "Jun Shojō" 準書状 (*scribe* Jun) (*Eihei kōroku*, vol. 7, nr. 507). *Eihei kōroku* has been translated into English by Taigen Daniel Leighton and Shohaku Okumura as *Dōgen's Extensive Record: A Translation of Eihei Kōroku* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004).

[377] 雪夜感準記室廿八字病中右筆。訪道登高深雪夜、覆身沒腰可憐時、刎頭斷臂雖邪法、跳脫藤蛇乃正師。(*Eihei kōroku*, vol. 10, nr. 98). The words "cutting off one's head" in the verse probably refer to the Indian patriarch Nāgārjuna, who is said to have cut off his own head with a blade of grass. The expression "rope (wisteria) and snake" (*tōja* 藤蛇) recalls the instructional Buddhist story of a person mistaking a rope for a snake due to deluded perception.

[378] *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* (SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 5) lists Gijun as a dharma heir of Ejō (*fuhō deshi* 付法弟子).

> Gijun resided at Eitoku-in and Kanki-in, but in his later years he slandered the teaching of our school. Therefore master Ejō, after his death, turned himself into a dragon deity and punished him. In the end [Gijun] died, plagued by demons. [379]

In his later years Gijun apparently "slandered" the Sōtō teachings, causing strong feelings of resentment in Sōtō quarters. To account for this resentment we must consider Gijun's post-Eiheiji career in more detail.

***Ginō den* (Biography of Ginō)**

Data on Gijun's post-Eiheiji activities are provided in a short biography of Gijun in a compendium of Shingon lineages written by the Shingon monk Enkai Yūbō 円海祐宝 (1656-1727) of the Daigoji. The biography – entitled *Ginō den* 義能伝 in short – refers to Gijun as Ginō 義能 , the name by which he is known in the Shingon tradition. According to this text:

> Great Priest Ginō was formerly called Gijun. His second name was Myōshin. He came from Echigo. Originally from the Zen school, he relied on Zen master Buppō [Dōgen] and received ordination. He always served [Dōgen] as attendant. He wandered about extensively to study and knocked on the gates of the Five Mountain monasteries in the imperial capital. Then he heard about Kongōzammai-in 金剛三昧院 on Mount Kōya, where a ferocious tiger had created a forest [monastery] for the combined practice of Tendai, Esotericism and Zen. He strapped on his gear, climbed the southern mountain, lifted the diamond door-bolt and paid homage to the historic site of Gyōyū (1163-1241) and Hottō (1207-1298). [380]

On Mount Kōya, *Ginō den* further relates, Gijun (Ginō) had a meeting with the Shingon master Raiken 頼賢 (1196-1273) of Anyō-in 安養院, a hermitage on the precincts of Kongōzammai-in. In a dialogue about "supreme Zen" (*saijōzen* 最上禅), Raiken tells Gijun that Zen, "the special transmission outside the teachings" (*kyōge betsuden* 教外別傳), is in fact delimited by the teachings. Intrigued by this insight, Gijun becomes Raiken's student. After having practiced esoteric ritual with Raiken for several years Gijun leaves Mount Kōya, sets up a temple in Echizen, and invites Raiken over to perform rituals for the benefit of the people. In Echizen, Raiken transmits the Shingon (Daigo 醍醐) lineage to Gijun and emphasizes that true Zen is embodied in the tantric wisdom tradition of Shingon (*kongōchōshū* 金剛頂宗). Taking this to heart Gijun applies himself solely to Shingon. Subsequently Gijun moves to Harima province and founds the Muryōjū-in 無量壱寿院.[381]

Though the late provenance of the *Ginō den* warrants some caution, the gist of the account is acceptable and can, to an extent, be verified from other sources: Gijun initially studies with Dōgen. He then leaves for Kyoto and practices Zen at several Zen monasteries. Next he climbs Mount Kōya and studies esoteric ritual with Shingon master Raiken, from whom he receives

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[379] 準者雖永德歡喜兩院住持。晚年輕蔑宗旨故。師沒後爲龍天所治罰。最後蒙魔擾死。(Ibid., p. 6).
[380] 大僧都義能、初称義準。字明信。越後州人。本禅宗、依仏法禅師而出家、常随侍者。長及遍参、扣皇都五山之関。継聞高野山金剛三昧院兼台密禅而獰虎作林、担錫登南山、敲金剛鍵礼行勇法灯之遺跡。 (*Banshū Kako-gun Muryōjū-in kaisan dentō Daisōzu Ginō den* 播州賀古郡無量寿院開山伝灯大僧都義能伝, in *Kongōchō mujōshōshū zoku dentō kōroku* 金剛頂無上正宗続伝灯広録 (short title: *Zoku dentō kōroku* 続伝灯広録) by Enkai Yūbō 円海祐宝 (1656-1727). Cited in Satō Shūkō, "Eitoku-in Gijun to Muryōju-in Ginō: Eiheiji Dōgen monka kara no ridatsu wo megutte," IBK 97/49 (2000): pp. 205-10.
[381] Ibid.

esoteric transmission (*denpō kanjō* 傳法灌頂).[382] Next Gijun establishes himself in Echizen.[383] (Probably at the temples Eitoku-in and Kanki-in, as mentioned in the *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki*).[384] Finally, Gijun enters Muryōjū-in in Harima province, a temple dedicated to Buddha Amida.

Kōngōzammai-in

Gijun's transfer to Mount Kōya's Kōngōzammai-in is not wholly surprising if we consider the history of this temple.[385] Kōngōzammai-in was wellknown as a centre for the combined practice of Tendai, Zen and Shingon. The temple was originally established on Mount Kōya as "Zenjō-in" 禅定院 by Hōjō Masako (1156-1225) as a memorial to her late husband Minamoto no Yoritomo, the fist Shogun. Masako invited Eisai to conduct the first commemorative rite and appointed Eisai as the temple's founding abbot. Masako had formally become a Buddhist nun after the death of Yoritomo in 1199, receiving the precepts from the Shingon monk Gyōyu 行勇 (1163-1241). Gyōyu served as a ritualist (*kusō* 供僧) at the Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura and maintained strong ties with Hōjō Masako and her son Minamoto no Sanetomo, the third Shogun. When Zen master Eisai came to Kamakura to preside over the Jūfukuji (also established by Hōjō Masako), Gyōyu became Eisai's student. Gyōyu inherited Eisai's Zen lineage and became Jūfukuji's second abbot. After the assassination of Sanetomo in 1219 Gyōyu left Kamakura and retreated to Mount Kōya. On Mount Kōya Hōjō Masako had Zenjōji renovated; in 1223 the temple complex was renamed Kōngōzammai-in and Gyōyu was instated as the first abbot.

Among the many students drawn to Gyōyu's combination of Shingon, Tendai and Zen was the Shingon monk Kakushin (Hottō Kokushi; 1207-1298). Having practiced Zen with Gyōyu for a while, Kakushin again turned to esotericism, studying with the Shingon monks Dōhan 道範 (1178-1252) and Rendō 蓮道 (n.d). Kakushin also studied with Ganshō 願性, a former retainer of Minamoto no Sanetomo who, upon his lord's death, had become a monk under Gyōyu. In 1239 Kakushin rejoined Gyōyu when the latter returned to Jūfukuji in Kamakura. After Gyōyu's death in 1241, Kakushin left Jūfukuji and traveled to Kyoto. In 1242 Kakushin joined Dōgen's Zen community at Kōshōji and from Dōgen received the bodhisattva precepts. After further training with other Zen teachers in Kyoto, Kakushin journeyed to China in 1249. In 1254 Kakushin returned to Japan as a confirmed dharma heir of the Chinese Chan master Wumen Huikai (1183-1260). Kakushin returned to Kōngōzammai-in in the same year and was

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[382] Gijun's transmission from Raiken is recorded in *Denpō kenjō shiji sōjo kechimyaku* 傳法灌頂資相承血脈. Raiken belonged to the Seigen branch of the Sambō-in lineage 三宝院流, named after Raiken's teacher Seigen 成賢(1162-1231), the twenty-first abbot of Daigoji. Raiken, also known as Ikyō Shōnin 意教上人, transmitted this lineage (hence called the Ikyō lineage) to several of his students, including Shōdō 証道 (a.k.a Jitsū 実融; 1247-1339), Jimyō 慈猛 (1212-1277), Gangyō 願行 (d. 1295) and Ginō (Gijun). These four monks are considered the founders of distinct sublineages. The lineage traced back to Ginō is known as the Ginō-ryū 義能流 or Ginō-hō 義能方. Raiken, incidentally, was also initiated in the Sambō-in branch of the "left-handed" Tachikawa-ryū. He transmitted this tradition to Jimyō. See Kōda Yuun, "Ikyō Shōnin denkō (2)," *Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 13 (1999): pp. 37-63.

[383] Raiken's activities in Echizen and his transmission of esoteric secrets to Ginō are alluded to in a document entitled *Ikyō Shōnin kudensho* 意教上人口傳書 (Record of Venerable Ikyō's Oral Transmissions), preserved in the Kanazawa Bunko collection under the title *Kudenshū* 口傳集.

[384] *Ginō den* does not provide a name for Gijun's temple in Echizen. But it mentions that the structure's guardian deity is Seiryū Gongen 清滝権現, a deity strongly associated with the Shingon Sambō-in lineage. Gijun's temple in Echizen, therefore, was in all likelyhood a Shingon temple. See Satō Shūkō, "Eitoku-in Gijun," p. 206.

[385] The following outline of the history of the Kōmyōzammai-in draws on Nakao Ryōshin, "Taikō Gyōyū ni tsuite," IBK 29/2 (1981): pp. 835-36. Nakao Ryōshin, "Komyozammai-in Ryūzen ni tsuite," IBK 36/2 (1988): pp. 614-19. Harada Kōdō, "Nihon Sōtōshū no rekishiteki seikaku (2): Dōgen zenji to Ryūzen, Kakushin to no kōshō wo megutte," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 5 (1972): pp. 1-16.

immediately selected as the temple's chief monk (第一座 *dai-ichiza*) by Kōngōzammai-in's second abbot Ryūzen 隆禪. Later, Kakushin relocated to Saihōji 西方寺 in Kii province and spent most of his days there in seclusion until his death in 1298.

The Kongōzammai-in on Mount Kōya and its Zen tradition must have been well-known in Sōtō circles. Gijun would certainly have met Kakushin at Kōshōji, when Kakushin practiced there and received the bodhisattva precepts from Dōgen.[386] Dōgen himself was well-acquainted with Kōngōzammai-in's second abbot Ryūzen.[387] Interaction between the early Sōtō community and Mount Kōya is also suggested in the biography of the Sōtō monk Dōsen 道荐禪師 (d. 1289). Dōsen was ordained as a Shingon monk on Mount Kōya. He practiced A-syllable meditation and studied secret *abhiṣeka* rituals. One day Dōsen had an encounter with Tettsū Gikai of Eiheiji, who was visiting Mount Kōya (!). Dōsen thereupon moved to Eiheiji and eventually received the Sōtō dharma from Eiheiji's abbot Ejō.[388]

Another intruiging link between the Darumashū monks in Dōgen's Sōtō community and Kōmyōzammai-in may be inferred from a reference in Sōtō records to a Daoist practice known as "embryonic respiration" (*taisoku*, Ch. *taixi* 胎息). According to writings by Dōgen's student Senne 詮慧 (n.d.), followers of the Darumashū practiced a meditation method called embryonic respiration, which they referred to as "a practice from the esoteric repository" (*hizō no ji* 祕藏事).[389] A manual for this practice attributed to Bodhidharma, entitled *Putidamo taixi jue* 菩提達磨胎息訣 (Bodhidharma's Secrets of Embryonic Respiration), is known to have circulated precisely in Kongōzammai-in.[390]

As will be clear from the above impressions of the history of the Kōmyōzammai-in and the activities of Eisai, Gyōyū, Kakushin, Dōgen, Gikai and Dōsen, Gijun's turn to Shingon came about in a web of direct and indirect lines between Sōtō, Rinzai and Shingon communities. The Sōtō resentment towards Gijun that is voiced in the *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki* was no doubt motivated by Gijun's candid transfer to the Shingon school. Gijun's promulgation of Shingon in Echizen province would not have gone unnoticed at Eiheiji, which was located in the same region. Some of Gijun's former Eiheiji comrades may have made similar moves, while others in the unstable Eiheiji community regarded such activities as a betrayal to Dōgen, who rejected the dual practice of Zen and Shingon.[391] Gijun's Shingon practices seem to have focused especially on fire offerings dedicated to Buddha Amida (*Amida goma* 阿彌陀護摩).[392] The foundation of Gijun's concern with esotericism and his interest in Buddha Amida seem to be prefigured in his early training under Ekan at Hajakuji: as mentioned earlier Hajakuji was known as a centre of esotericism, while Ekan's training program there included the study of the major Amitābha sūtras.

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[386] Dōgen can also be linked to Saihōji, the temple in Kii province where Kakushin eventually settled. Saihōji had been established by Hōjō Masako and Kakushin's old teacher Ganshō. Dōgen is known to have participated in the temple's opening ceremony in 1227. Harada, "Dōgen zenji to Ryūzen," pp. 1-16. Nakao, "Komyozammai-in Ryūzen ni tsuite," pp. 614-19.

[387] Dōgen and Ryūzen studied together in China at the Tiantong monastery. Dōgen often remembered the "Elder Ryū" in his writings. Harada, Ibid. Nakao, Ibid.

[388] *Nōshū Shūrinji Dōsen Zenji* 濃州衆林寺道荐禪師 (*Nihon tōjō rentōroku.* SSZ, Shiden 1, p. 240).

[389] *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakisho* 正法眼藏御聞書抄. Cited in Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō 2," p. 27.

[390] Ōya Tokujō. "Kamakura jidai no Kōyasan ni taisuru bunkashiteki kansatsu," *Mikkyō kenkyū* 30 (1928), p.73.

[391] *Bendōwa* (T. 2582, 20a-b).

[392] The Kanezawa Bunko library preserves a fragment of a manual for the esoteric fire offering to Amida, entitled *Amida goma ryaku shiki* 阿彌陀護摩略私記 (Short Personal Account of the Fire Offering to Amida), copied by Ginō in 1263. *Kanazawa Bunko komonjo* 12, Shikigohen 3 (Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko, 1952-1974), p. 173.

PART TWO: TEXTS

CHAPTER FIVE
DARUMASHŪ TEXTS (1)

In the Kanazawa Bunko collection three treatises were located that emerged from within the Darumashū. The present chapter examines one of these texts: *Jōtōshōgakuron*. But before examining this treatise, we will first consider a set of references regarding Buddhist texts that were preserved at Nōnin's Sambōji. Subsequently we will consider another set of references, which show that Nōnin was involved in the redaction and publication of several Chinese Chan texts. The "library" thus reconstructed, gives us an idea about the kind of materials from which the Darumashū adherents possibly gained their ideas.

The study of the primary Darumashū texts, in this chapter and the two subsequent chapters, can be regarded as an attempt to explore what was actually taught in Darumashū communities, and also how it was taught. But first we turn to the secondary materials.

MANUSCRIPTS KEPT AT SAMBŌJI

Daijikkyō (Great Collection of Sūtras)

In the previous chapter we touched upon the *Jizō-in Register*, a fifteenth century document holding information on the Jizō-in, a subtemple of Nōnin's Sambōji. The *Register* provides several lists of benefits that could be obtained from making offerings, venerating relics and reciting the *nenbutsu* formula. In addition, the *Register* meticulously catalogues the number of paper leafs (*kami* カミ) from the *Daijikkyō* 大集經 (Skt. *Mahāsaṁnipāta sūtra*; Ch. *Dajijing*).[393] Evidently, these paper leafs were preserved at the Sambōji temple. Nakao Ryōshin proposed that these leafs may have been fragments of an edition of the *Daijikkyō* that had been printed under the auspices of Nōnin.[394]

The *Daijikkyō* was appreciated in East-Asian Buddhism especially for its prophesies about the decline of the Buddha's dharma. The sūtra describes this decline as unfolding over five five-hundred year periods following Buddha Śākyamuni's death.[395] As I will demonstrate below (in the section on *Jōtōshōgakuron*), the concept of the predicted decline of the dharma and the fivefold periodization of the *Daijikkyō*, played a significant role in Nōnin's Darumashū.

Esoteric texts

Nōnin's Sambōji appears to have held various sought-after esoteric texts. The Tendai compendium *Keiranshūyōshū* (1348) contains the following entry:

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[393] The *Mahāsaṁnipāta sūtra* (Ch. Dajijing 大集經, T. 397) (Great Collection of Sūtras) is a collection of sūtras, translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385-433) and others, and compiled in 586 by the monk Sengjiu 僧就 (n.d.).

[394] Nakao Ryōshin, "Settsu sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 150.

[395] See Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophesy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), pp. 54-55.

> QUESTION: *Kyōjigi* and *Bodaishingi* written by Godai-in [Annen] were initially kept at the Tōji. They were not available on Mount Hiei. After [monks of] Mount [Hiei] reported this to the Emperor, [these texts] were circulated on the mountain. It is said that these [texts were initially kept at Tōji] because [Annen] passed away near Tōji's gates. What do you think of this?
>
> ANSWER: What proof is there for this? It is a very dubious story. In what period was it reported? There is a matter that comes close to what you are saying. When Dōkō met with an eminent Shingon master of Sambō-in, he was told the following: "These are the *Rengekan* and *Funorishō*, two secret texts from the oeuvre of Godai-in. Godai-in composed these secret texts at Sōdōji in Yamashina; he then wrapped them in seaweed and loaded them on an ox. Having crossed Sakamoto, the boy who herded the ox paused in Minesaka to eat some duck, and at that moment the ox ran off. A Dharma master from Tōji saw [the ox] and captured it. At present these secret texts are preserved in the Tōji lineage." I thought about this and wonder if it may be true. This *Rengekan* and *Funorisho* are top secret works of Tōji. They have not yet been disseminated or transcribed. A certain monk reported: "These secret texts are kept at Sambōji in Settsu no Kuni." This is the temple established by Dainichibō. I appointed Dōkō to go there and transcribe these texts.[396]

This story about the provenance of two (otherwise unknown) treatises by Annen, entitled *Rengekan* 蓮花観 (Lotus Contemplation) and *Funorisho* フノリ抄 (Seaweed Treatise),[397] is of course rather fantastic. The entry, nonetheless, indicates that the Sambōji was believed to possess rare esoteric texts.

Indications of an esoteric trend at Sambōji are likewise found in a manuscript of a text known as *Jūiseireishū* 拾遺性霊集, attributed to Shingon founder Kūkai.[398] In the colophon of this manuscript, dated 1313, a Shingon monk named Shōjunbō Ryūnin 静俊房降忍 explains that he proofread and punctuated the text while juxtaposing it to a copy preserved at the Sambōji in Suita.[399]

These references to esoteric works in Sambōji's possession, belonging to both the *Taimitsu* and *Tōmitsu* traditions, suggest that Sambōji developed into an Esoteric Buddhist centre. At the same time, the Sambōji community continued to strongly identify with the Chan tradition, as is clear from the persistent veneration of the relics of the six Chan patriarchs. Strict categorization in isolated "schools" evidently does not describe what actually happens on the ground.

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[396] 尋云。五大院御作ノ教時義菩提心義等ハ始ハ東寺ニ有之。山門ニハ無之。山門ヨリ經奏聞申給テ以後山門ニ弘通アリ。是則東寺ノ門ノ側ニノ入滅ノ故歟ト申合ヘリ。其義如何　答云。此事證據何事ソ。大方不審也　云云何レノ時代申給リケルソヤヲロ似カル事ノアル也。道光或ル三寶院碩眞言師ニ對面ノ事侍リ𠙵。其時物語云。五大院ノ御作ニ蓮花觀トフノリ抄ト云兩種ノ祕書有之。五大院山階ノ草堂寺ニシテ此等ノ祕書ヲ造テフノリノ中ニ裹ミ牛ニ負テ坂本ヘ被越ケル時。逢坂ニテ口付ノ童ノアヒルノ物ヲ食ケル時。件ノ牛離レ行ケルヲ東寺法師見之取之。今此等ノ祕書東寺門流現在セリ 云云已上物語也　云云私此事ヲ思ニ。此等事ヲ申歟ト覺タリ。此蓮花觀フノリ抄ト申事ハ東寺第一ノ祕曲也。未及散在抄也　云云或僧物語云。此祕書ハ攝津國三寶寺ト云所在之　云云大日房建立ノ寺也。道光行テ可シト書寫約束シ畢。(T. 2410, 692a17-b06).

[397] *Funori* 不苔 is a glue plant (Latin: *gloiopeltis tenax*), a fig-shaped variety of seaweed.

[398] *Jūiseireishū* 拾遺性霊集 is also known as *Henjō hakki seireishū* 遍照発揮性霊集 and *Kōya sappitsushū* 高野雑筆集. Interestingly, *Jūiseireishū* includes several letters written by the Chan monk Yikong (786-842), who came to Japan in 835. According to *Genkō Shakusho*, Yikong was invited to teach in Japan by the empress dowager Tachibana no Kachiko, whose interest in Zen had been aroused by a conversation with Kūkai. Initially Yikong lived at Tōji and later at Danrinji, established for him by the empress dowager. Eventually Yikong returned to China without having established a Chan lineage. See Otsuki Yoko, "Tōsō Gikū ni tsuite shosoteki kōsatsu," *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō* 1 (2008): pp. 129-140. Takagi Shingen, "Tōsō Gikū no raichō wo meguru shomondai," *Kōyasan Daigaku ronsō* 16 (1981): pp. 91-155.

[399] Manuscript of *Jūiseireishū*, preserved at the Hōjū-in on Mount Kōya. Quoted in Nakao Ryōshin, "Dainichibō Nōnin no Zen," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 26 (1984), p. 230.

CHINESE CHAN TEXTS PUBLISHED BY NŌNIN AND THE NUN MUGU

Printing in Japan goes back to the Nara period, when it was mainly undertaken to reproduce Buddha images, mantras and sūtra's for ritual and devotional purposes.[400] From the eleventh century onwards Buddhist doctrinal works and sūtras imported from Song China were beginning to be printed and disseminated in Japan for purposes of study and exegesis. These editions were mostly *kabusebori* reproductions, that is, books printed from Japanese woodblocks that were engraved with a page by page replica of an imported Chinese book. In Nōnin's time, at the end of the Heian period, there was a marked interest in printed books from the Song, especially since a massive fire in Kyoto in 1177 had destroyed most of the capital's book and manuscript collections. Powerful Japanese collectors sometimes exchanged prized manuscripts for printed tomes, while Chinese merchants in breach of Japanese law could evade punishment by "donating" printed Song books.[401] It is in this environment that Nōnin and a nun called Mugu issued various printed Chan texts. At the time these publications must have been an exceptional contribution to the world of letters. Apart from the cultural prestige attached to publishing a Chinese book, these particular works – comprising the *Chuanxin fayao, Guishan jingce, Platform sūtra* and possibly the socalled *Daruma sanron* – no doubt supported Nōnin's claim to represent mainland Chan orthodoxy. As commodities, they may have provided Nōnin with funds. As gifts they may have fostered relationships. These works, moreover, represent a window on Nōnin's doctrinal influences.

***Chuanxin fayao* (Essentials of the Transmission of Mind)**

Chuanxin fayao 傳心法要 (*Denshin hōyō*) is a collection of dialogues and lectures by Chan master Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850). The work, compiled in 857 by Huangbo's lay student Pei Xiu 裴休 (797-870), represents an early example of the Chan genre of discourse records (*goroku* 語録). Recent findings in the Shinpukuji collection include a Kamakura period manuscript of *Chuanxin fayao*, transcribed from a printed edition; the colophon of this edition (also transcribed by the copyist) makes clear that it was produced in Japan, under the auspices of Nōnin and a nun named Mugu 無求尼:

> In the year Bunji five (1189), when envoys dispatched to the Song returned to Japan, [it became apparent that] the newly imported *Shinyō* [i.e. *Denshin hōyō*], presented by Chan master Fozhao of the country of Song, contained the first section but lacked the closing section; although in the back the *Mind Transmission Verse* is included. The latter has 277 characters distributed over eighteen lines. It is a secret work! In order to widely disseminate the [entire work], the priviliged recipient Kongō Ajari Nōnin from Japan lifted the closing section of *Shinyō* from the [*Tenshō*]*kōtō*[*roku*] and then appended it to [the first section]. Future worthies must thoroughly penetrate it. Nun Mugu, donor of the pure gift of engraving materials. [402]

[400] Relying on Kornicki, *The Book in Japan, A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 112-125; 277-292.
[401] Ibid., p. 287.
[402] 文治五年遣宋使帰朝時宋國佛照禪師送遣新渡心要有先段無後段而奥有此傳心偈等。已上十八行二百七十七字是秘本歟。本國特賜金剛阿闍利能忍為弘廻之。彫料浄施財者無求尼 。Nagoya Daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka, *Pure-kanfuarensu Shinpukuji Ōsu Bunko seikyō tenkan: Chūsei shūkyō tekusuto no sekai* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku, 2008), p. 21.

The earliest printed edition in Japan of Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* is usually attributed to the Chinese émigré monk Daxiu Zhengnian (1235-1289) who came to Japan in 1269 and had the text published in 1283.[403] In light of the Shinpukuji manuscript, the first publication of this text in Japan must now be situated prior to this, in the immediate years following 1189, under the aegis of Dainichi Nōnin and the nun Mugu.

The colophon shows that in 1189 Chan master Fozhao presented Nōnin's envoys with an printed edition of *Chuanxin fayao*. With the support of the nun Mugu, who sponsored the carving of new woodblocks, Nōnin reproduced the text, but not before supplementing it with a missing "closing section." This closing section refers to *Wanlinglu* 苑陵録 (J. *Enryōroku*), a companion record to Huangbo's discourses that was commonly incorporated into Song editions of *Chuanxin fayao*, but apparently omitted in the edition that Nōnin received from Fozhao. Nōnin extracted the missing *Wanlinglu* from *Tiansheng guangdenglu* 天聖廣燈録 (*Tenshō kōtōroku*), a Chan record compiled in 1036. Evidently Nōnin had access to this record, most likely through Song editions of the Buddhist Canon. The nun Mugu, further, mentions the "Mind Transmission Verse" (*denshinge* 傳心偈), a verse composed and appended to *Chuanxin fayao* by its compiler Pei Xiu. Mugu notes that this verse is a "secret work" (*hibon* 秘本), suggesting that it circulated in the Darumashū as a separate text, disclosed only to a select few.

Study of the *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanlinglu* must have familiarized Nōnin with Huangbo's teachings. Nōnin obviously valued these texts. His understanding of Zen would certainly have been influenced by them. Huangbo's teachings, as represented in these texts, are characterized by a strong focus on "mind." The mind is buddha, the undifferentiated, unborn totality of things in which ordinary beings and insects alike are equally integrated. The sole matter that was transmitted by Bodhidharma is awakening to this "one mind". This cannot be achieved by treating the one mind as an object that must somehow be grasped by the Zen practitioner. In fact it is achieved by giving up all intentional effort, by "nonseeking," in the acceptance that we are already fundamentally buddha and that everything we do is the functioning of our innate buddha-nature. Awakening to this reality is not the result of a phased of practices, but occurs all of a sudden. It is manifested in the fearless person who is able to radically transcend dualist viewpoints that mistakenly carve up the world in awakened versus deluded, pure versus impure, buddhas versus ordinary beings, and so forth. Such a person does not attach to any fixed notions but lives naturally and spontaneously in accordance with circumstances.[404] Many of these features appear in the Darumashū treatises that will be examined later.

[403] Yanagida Seizan, *Zenke goroku* 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1976), p. 259.
[404] See Dale S. Wright, "The Huang-po Literature," in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Zen Texts*, edited by in Dale S. Wright and Steven Heine (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.107-35.

***Guishan jingce* (Guishan's Admonitions)**

Nōnin and the nun Mugu are also mentioned in a preface to an otherwise unknown Japanese edition of *Guishan jingce* 潙山警策 (*Isan keisaku*), a Tang period Chan treatise composed by Guishan Lingyou (771-853). [405] The preface to the Japanese edition reads:

> This book was a courtesy gift of National Teacher Fozhao, elder of the Guangli Chan monastery in Mingzhou in the country of Song, presented to envoys dispatched [from Japan] to China. Desiring to promulgate the way, Nōnin from the country of Japan had it engraved in woodblocks. The donor of the pure funds is the nun Mugu.[406]

According to this preface, Nōnin had a new edition of *Guishan jingce* reproduced from a Song edition that his envoys had obtained from Chan master Fozhao. The existence of printed editions of the *Guishan jingce*, either produced in Song China or reproduced in Japan, cannot be affirmed from the material record. This, and the fact that known Darumashū writings do not produce any references to the *Guishan jingce*, led Takahashi Shūei and others to question the reliability of the preface, and it is doubted whether the edition ever existed.[407]

At first glance it indeed seems somewhat puzzling that this text, which strongly advocates monastic discipline and observance of moral precepts, would be issued by Nōnin, who advocated spontaneity and was critical of literal conceptions of the precepts. Darumashū naturalism seems at odds with the strict admonitions of Guishan.[408] If Nōnin did publish this work, we must simply accept that Nōnin's "antinomian" stance did not prevent him from appreciating a text chiefly concerned with precepts and monastic discipline. It should also be noted that in addition to promoting codified, ethical behaviour as a basis for the cultivation of awakening, *Guishan jingce* also contains sections that highlight the more radical Chan ideal of immediate awakening through direct insight into emptiness. For instance:

> Know that all dharmas, internal and external, are without eternal essence. They arise ever changing, from the mind and are nothing more then empty names. The mind need not abide in them. If the feelings do not cling to objects, how then can objects obstruct you? Comply with the universal flow of dharma-nature; do not sever it, do not perpetuate it. Just be

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[405] The full title of this work is *Guishan Dayuan Chanshi jingce* 潙山大圓禪師警策 (*Isan Daien Zenji kyōsaku*). Several versions of this text are extant. One is included *Zimen Jinxun* 緇門警訓, a Ming collection of Chan texts (T. 48, 1042b-43c). For a discussion of the text see Mario Poceski, "Guishan Jingce (Guishan's Admonitions) and the Ethical Foundations of Chan Practice," in *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism*, edited by in Dale S. Wright and Steven Heine (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 15-42. Also, Thomas Kirchner, "The Admonitions of Zen Master Guishan Dayuan," *Hanazono Daigaku Kokusai Zengaku kenkyū ronsō* 1 (2006): pp 1-18.

[406] 此書者宋國明州廣利禪寺長老佛照國師付遣宋使所恩賜也。日本國能忍令彫板願弘道矣。施浄財者尼無求。 (Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō 2," p. 32). According to Tsuji Zennosuke's reading of these lines, the book was given to Nōnin by Chinese envoys that were dispatched to Japan by Fozhao. Tsūji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, Chūseihen 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949), p. 63. This reading would indicate an enduring interest of Fozhao in Nōnin and his propagation of Zen in Japan.

[407] Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," pp. 271-72.

[408] For instance:

> The Buddha set forth the precepts. The students through obedience to the rules and regulations purified conduct and deportment, like the eternal snow. By ceasing wicked behaviour they trained in discipline. These detailed regulations remedy many bad habits. Yet some renunciants have never studied the vinaya. How then can they understand the fully revealed truth of the Mahayana? How unfortunate: they pass their lives in vain! (Kirchner, "The admonitions of Zen master Guishan Dayuan," p. 8.)

> ordinary, hearing sounds and seeing sights, unhindered in function wherever you are. If you live this way you truly deserve to wear the dharma robe.[409]

Descriptions such as this actually come quite close to what is espoused in some of the primary Darumashū materials that will be examined further down. The issue whether Nōnin published an edition of *Guishan jingce* remains, nonetheless, unresolved.

Platform sūtra

The *Platform sūtra* is one of the most influential scriptures in Chan/Zen history. It is extant in various versions. Inventories of Buddhist texts imported from Tang China show that various manuscripts of the *Platform sūtra* were brought to Japan in the ninth century. Interestingly, the Sōtō monastery Daijōji in Kaga preserves a manuscript of the *Platform sūtra* said to be transcribed by none other then Dōgen, an attribution that is generally considered apocryphal.[410] A colophon on this Daijōji manuscript reads: "Benefactor Nun Mugu" (*seshu* Muguni 施主無求尼).[411] This Mugu is doubtless the nun who also funded the publication of the Chan texts that Nōnin received from Fozhao, as examined above. It is therefore likely that the Daijōji manuscript of the *Platform sūtra* was likewise transcribed from a printed edition that had been produced by Mugu and Nōnin.

Nōnin may already have known about the *Platform sūtra* from his early years on Mount Hiei, where the text circulated. In early Chan circles in China the possession of a copy of the *Platform sūtra* in itself constituted the very proof of an authentic dharma transmission. Such a certificatory function would have appealed to the self-awakened Nōnin or to his descendants who were dealing with issues of contested legitimacy.[412] With this Darumashū provenance in mind we can easily imagine that this now lost edition of the *Platform sūtra* was preserved by the Darumashū members who eventually joined Dōgen's community. Dōgen may even have borrowed it from them to copy. Dōgen, in any event, was highly aware of the *Platform sūtra*. He severely criticized the text and denounced it as a forgery that misrepresented the Sixth Patriarch's teachings. Dōgen's rejection of the text, voiced in the treatise *Shizen biku*, was motivated by the sūtra's emphasis on "seeing the nature" (*kenshō* 見性). Dogen's denunciation of this noted treatise should be seen in the context of his efforts to reeducate the Darumashū monks and nuns in his audience. As will be made clear later, some of the Darumashū transferees leaned towards a naturalistic view of awakening, holding that attainment of buddhahood lies in *kenshō*, the straightforward recognition of one's pure buddha-nature, rather than in the cultivation of concerted practices – a view that resonates with the *Platform sūtra*.

The surfacing of a copy of Nōnin/Nun Mugu's *Platform sūtra* in exactly the Sōtō community at Daijōji is unsurprising: the founding abbot of Daijōji, Tettsū Gikai, it will be remembered, upheld both Dōgen's Sōtō lineage and Nōnin's Darumashū lineage. The claim to the existence and possession of a manuscript of the *Platform sūtra* in Dōgen's handwriting would have sanctioned the use of this controversial "Darumashū text" under the Sōtō flag. In addition, the

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[409] Ibid., p.13.
[410] Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 100. Yampolsky refers to Ui Hakuju, who speculates that the *Daijoji* manuscript of the *Platform sūtra* was transcribed by Tettsū Gikai.
[411] Ōkubo Dōshū, "Dōgen shohon rokuso dankyō no kenkyū," *Bukkyō gakkai gakuhō* 8 (1938): pp. 64-65.
[412] The function of the *Platform sūtra* as a token of transmission is referred to in the text itself. See Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 182.

manuscript would have constituted a kind of heirloom, bolstering Gikai's claim to a privileged bond with Dōgen.

***Daruma sanron* (Three Bodhidharma Treatises)**

A thirteenth century Sōtō text written by students of Dōgen explicitly mentions that followers of the Darumashū relied on the *Poxianlun* 破相論 (J. *Hassōron*), *Wuxinglun* 悟性論 (J. *Goshōron*) and *Xuemailun* 血脈論 (J. *Kechimyakuron*). [413] These three early Chan treatises were attributed to Bodhidharma and collectively known as the "three Bodhidharma treatises" (*Daruma sanron* 達磨三論). The influence of these texts on the Darumashū is partly corroborated by a direct citation from *Wuxinglun* in the Darumashū treatise *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. [414]

Manuscript versions of the three Bodhidharma treatises preserved at the Shinpukuji and Kanazawa Bunko libraries show that Japanese monks began to copy the treatises right around the time that Nōnin flourished, in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. In light of Nōnin's publishing activities and the importance of the three Bodhidharma treatises in the Darumashū, Yanagida Seizan proposed that some of these manuscripts may have been transcribed from a printed edition that was issued by Nōnin.[415]

[413] *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakisho* by Dōgen's students Senne and Kyōgō. Cited in Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō 2, p. 22.
[414] See Translations, Text II, section II.A[6]
[415] Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi: Zenbunken no seiritsushiteki kenkyū," *Tōhōgakuhō* 57 (1985): pp. 256-259.

PRIMARY DARUMASHŪ TEXT I: *JŌTŌSHŌGAKURON* (TREATISE ON ATTAINING SUPREME AWAKENING)

Introduction

We have now come to the first of the three primary Darumashū treatises that will be examined in this thesis: *Jōtōshōgakuron*. The work (undated and unsigned) is preserved in a booklet manuscript (*nentei* 粘綴) of the Kamakura period.[416] The text is composed entirely in Chinese, with added lexical markers, to enable a Japanese reading. The text contains clear internal evidence which links it to the Darumashū. For instance, Dainichi Nōnin is mentioned by name ("Great Master Nichi") and words attributed to him are cited twice. Nōnin's words, like much in *Jōtoshōgakuron*, derive from the *Zongjinglu*, the very scripture that external sources, too, specifically connect to Nōnin.

Jōtōshōgakuron is a transcript of a ritualized lecture, referred to in the text itself as *kō-e* 講会 ("lecture meeting"). The text succinctly itemizes the various steps in the ritual proceedings, starting with the lecturer taking his seat and ending with a formula by which the merits of the meeting are transferred to all sentient beings. The bulk of the text is made up by the actual lecture. In his study of *Jōtōshōgaron*, Ishii Shūdō demonstrated that the text and its implied ritual amount to what is known as a *kōshiki* 講式, a type of Buddhist liturgical ceremony that became popular in the Kamakura period. *Kōshiki* are still performed in Japanese monasteries today and typically consist of an edifying lecture, embedded in offerings, prostrations and melodious hymns (*shōmyō* 声明). *Kōshiki* provided an accessible exposition of the dharma to a mixed lay and ordained audience; the performances aimed to instil reverence for a buddha, bodhisattva, *kami* or otherwise exalted figure or Buddhist theme, represented by a displayed painting or other type of object. In case of *Jōtōshōgakuron*, the lecture centred on a painted portrait of Bodhidharma. Among extant *kōshiki* texts of the Kamakura period, there is a comparable Bodhidharma *kōshiki* (*Daruma kōshiki* 達磨講式), written by the Myōe Kōben (1173-1232). Comparing the two texts, Ishii concluded that they are similar in structure but differ greatly in content. Ishii further suggests that *Jōtōshōgakuron* may record the performance of a socalled *Darumaki* 達磨忌, a memorial service for Bodhidharma.[417]

An annotated translation of *Jōtōshōgakuron* is included in the back of this book (Part Four: Translations, Text I). To elucidate its structure, I have imposed section numbers on the text, placed eccentrically in square brackets. To allow crossreferencing, these section numbers are also employed in the following examination of the text.

[416] KBSZ, Butten1, Zensekihen, p. 273.
[417] Memorial services for Bodhidharma are described in Chan monastic codes of the Song and Yuan dynasties. See Ichimura Shohei, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations* (Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2006), pp. 44-49.

I. OPENING PROCEEDINGS.

The lecture ritual begins with a series of prostrations and recitations [1~7]. These opening proceedings include obeisances to the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha), a melodious hymn in veneration of the Buddha (*nyoraibai* 如来唄), and an opening declaration (*keibyaku* 敬白). The *keibyaku* has the following:

> [6]…the beneficence of great master [Bodhidharma] is immense and his compassion inexhaustible. Who, even in a million immeasurable kalpas, could ever repay him? Now that we have fortunately come upon his portrait, we will make offerings in gratitude of his vast benevolence. Those in the lands of the ten directions, countless as dust motes, who attained buddhahood by seeing the nature, all have clarity in knowing and seeing – especially the fifty generations of successive patriarchs from the Dharma King of buddhas and patriarchs to the great master Fozhao.[418]

The *keibyaku* introduces the Chan lineage of Fozhao Deguang, Nōnin's formal but unseen master. It also mentions a portrait of Bodhidharma, displayed for all to see. As mentioned earlier, this portrait, with little question, is the very painting that Nōnin's envoys brought back from their audience with Fozhao in China. Following the *keibyaku* the speaker specifies three main topics of the forthcoming lecture:

> [A] The origin of this teaching.
> [B] The thesis "your own mind is buddha."
> [C] The thesis "whatever you seek will be attained."

Following these opening proceedings the lecture proper begins.

II. LECTURE

[A] THE ORIGIN OF THIS TEACHING

[A][1~5] The lecture starts with a short biography of Bodhidharma. It opens with a straightforward statement: "This school is based on the teachings transmitted by master Bodhidharma and is therefore called the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū)." Nōnin's group evidently referred to itself as the "Darumashū." The biography mentions various well-known elements of the Bodhidharma myth, such as Bodhidharma's royal pedigree, the transmission from the twenty-seventh Chan patriarch Prajñātāra; the audience with Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty; and the crossing of the Yangtze river on a reed. The patriarch's nine year stay on Mount Song is mentioned, but the common reference to his continuous practice of "wall gazing" meditation (*menpeki* 面壁) is omitted. Considerable attention is given to Bodhidharma's successor Huike. This particular accent was no doubt informed by the verse inscribed on the displayed Bodhidharma painting, which celebrated the meeting between Bodhidharma and Huike (see Chapter three). *Jōtōshōgakuron* explains that Huike joined Bodhidharma after a supernatural apparition told him that his future teacher was "a manifestation of the wish-fulfilling Avalokiteśvara." We are told of the repeated attempts on Bodhidharma's life by poisoning,

[418] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 201.

followed by his apparent death and reappearance in the Pamir Mountains, where a Chinese envoy returning from India witnessed him holding a single shoe in his hand. We hear about the discovery of Bodhidharma's empty grave containing the other shoe, and about the imperial honors bestowed on Bodhidharma, such as the honorific title Great Master of Perfect Awakening (Engaku Daishi 圓覺大師). *Jōtōshōgakuron*, in other words, highlights the more miraculous and spectacular aspects of Bodhidharma's career.

Ishii Shūdō demonstrated that the biography of Bodhidharma in *Jōtōshōgakuron* heavily relies on *Jingde chuandenglu* and *Chuanfa zhengzongji*.[419] But, there are also a few elements in *Jōtōshōgakuron*'s rendition of the Bodhidharma myth, that are not found in these records. These elements concern:

- Prajñātāra's words to Bodhidharma.
- Bodhidharma's replies to Emperor Wu.
- Bodhidharma as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara.
- Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed.
- Bodhidharma's poisoning.

Prajñātāra's words to Bodhidharma

According to tradition, the twenty-seventh Indian patriarch Prajñātāra entrusted the Chan lineage to Bodhidharma and exhorted his successor to spread the teaching in China. *Jōtōshōgakuron* describes this event as follows:

> [A][1] This school [upholds] the teachings transmitted by the great master Bodhidharma and is therefore called the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū). The great master was a kṣatriya of South Indian royalty. His name was prince Bodhidharma the third from Kōshi. When the bodhisattva Prajñātāra – the twenty-seventh patriarch in the transmission of this dharma – was preaching at the royal palace, the prince, who had been listening, said: "I do not covet the country's throne. I wish to benefit living beings by following the dharma." Prajñātāra ordained him, transmitted the dharma, and passed on the robe, saying: "Convert this country for a while, then go to China. The causal conditions for Mahāyāna are quietly ripening there. Wait for sixty-seven years, then go east. At first they will have no trust, but later they will all have trust and fully attain the buddha way. *For those with capacities for the exoteric and esoteric, the Tathāgata, in his lifetime, expounded the doctrines of the three vehicles, the one vehicle, and the fivefold maṇḍala. On the brink of entering parinirvāṇa, [the Tathāgata] faced his foremost pupil Mahākāśyapa and – taking pity on [those destined to live in] the latter five hundred years of conflict – expounded instant buddhahood, the mind seal of the dharma gate*." Great master [Bodhidharma] obeyed his teacher's last wishes and eventually left for China.[420]

The above is largely based on the Chan record *Chuanfa zhengzongji*. The italicised lines represent a distinctive accretion, which, as far as I know, does not appear in any other description of this celebrated event. The added lines obviously intend to convey that Chan/Zen – transmitted from the Buddha to Mahākāśyapa, from Prajñātāra to Bodhidharma, and eventually to Nōnin – is

[419] Ishii, *Dōgen zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū*, pp. 665-714.
[420] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 201.

distinct from other Buddhist traditions. This, of course, is one of the central claims of the Chan/Zen school. In *Jōtōshōgakuron* this particular accent should be seen against the backdrop of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, when the budding Zen movement had to carve out a niche for itself in the existing exo-esoteric Buddhist landscape of Japan. Noteworthy in this context is also the mentioning of the doctrines of "the fivefold maṇḍala" – obviously a reference to Esoteric Buddhism. Chinese Chan sources do not particularly specify Esoteric Buddhism as a rubric being transcended by the Chan school. The reference no doubt reflects the powerful contemporary presence of Tendai and Shingon esotericism in Japan.

Of special note, too, are the words "latter five hundred years of conflict" (*ato gohyakusai tōjō kengo* 後五百歳闘諍堅固). The concept of five hundred years of conflict derives from the *Daijikkyō* 大集經 (Ch. *Dajijing*; Skt. *Mahāsamnipata sūtra*). As mentioned earlier, printed sections of the *Daijikkyō* are known to have been preserved at Nōnin's temple Sambōji, suggesting that the scripture was highly regarded in Darumashū circles. The *Daijikkyō* was especially influential in the development of what is known in Japan as *mappō* thought (*mappō shisō* 末法思想), a range of theories based on the idea that the noble teachings of the Buddha were destined to decline over a number of distinct historical periods. Buddhist scriptures commonly distinguish three periods, *shōbō* 正法 (correct dharma), *zōbō* 像法 (semblance dharma) and *mappō* 末法 (final dharma); emphasis is typically placed on the final *mappō* period, a time characterized by natural calamities, socio-political chaos and a transgressive Buddhist clergy. The *Daijikkyō* periodizes this decline in five stages, each lasting five-hundred years. In the final period, the Buddha prophesizes "there will be conflicts and quarrels in my dharma, and the disappearance and destruction of the white dharma will be firmly established." [421] In Buddhist eschatological tabulations based on the *Dajikkyō*, the term "tōjō kengo" 闘諍堅固 was used to refer to this final period, itself part of a ten-thousand year *mappō* period.[422] In Japan, *mappō* had been discussed in Buddhist circles from early times on, but it became a very prominent theme in the Kamakura period. [423] The specific conditions of *mappō* were thought to demand appropriate measures, ranging from restoring strict observance of the Buddhist precepts to, conversely, the abandonment of the old observances in favor of a singular faith in savior buddhas and bodhisattvas. The mention of *tōjō kengo* in *Jōtōshōgakuron* indicates that the lecturer was familiar with the taxonomy deriving from the *Daijikyō* and familiar with the discourse on *mappō*. We will return to this issue shortly.

Bodhidharma's replies to Emperor Wu.

Another particularity in *Jōtōshōgakuron*'s Bodhidharma biography is found in its description of Bodhidharma's interview with Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty [A][2]. In the *Jingde chuandenglu* and *Chuanfa zhengzongji* Emperor Wu asks Bodhidharma what merits he (the Emperor) has earned for himself by having temples constructed, monks ordained and Buddhist

[421] 次五百年於我法中鬥諍言頌白法隱沒損減堅固。(T. 397, 363b05). See Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, p. 52-53.
[422] See Michele Marra, "The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan" (1), *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15/1 (1988), pp. 25-30.
[423] See Marra, Ibid., pp: 25-54 and Marra, "The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan" (2), *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15/4 (1988), pp. 287-305.

scriptures distributed in his realm. Bodhidharma's famous answer in these accounts is "no merits" (Ch. *wu gongde* 無功德).[424] *Jōtōshōgakuron* presents a variant rendition of the event:

> [A][2] Emperor Wu of the Liang invited [Bodhidharma] to court and presented him with offerings. When asking about the way, [the emperor] spoke at length about his many beneficial works. Great master [Bodhidharma] replied: "The way is in the mind, not in acts. No reliance on words and letters. No dependence on expedients. Point straight to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha." Being unresponsive to the favourable circumstances, the emperor was displeased. [Bodhidharma] then broke of a reed and used it as a raft to cross over the deep Yangtze river; he went to the Northern Wei and spent nine years in a cave on Mount Song.

Instead of saying "no merits," *Jōtōshōgakuron* has Bodhidharma answer the Emperor with five short statements. Three of these statements – "No reliance on words and letters," "point straight to your mind," "see the nature and become a buddha" – will be recognized as familiar Chan slogans that are commonly attributed to Bodhidharma and that by the Song dynasty had become central to the self-definition of the Chan school.[425] The other two statements – "the way exists in the mind, not in acts" and "no dependence on expedients" – are not commonly cited as Bodhidharma slogans. The author of *Jōtōshōgakuron* either drew on an unknown account of Bodhidharma's life or creatively adapted the established narrative.

The first statement – "the way exists in the mind, not in acts" – is found in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) compiled by Huijao 慧皎 (497-554). Huijao attributes these words to the Kashmiri monk Guṇavarman (367–431) (Ch. Qiunabamo 求那跋摩), uttered in response to a question by Emperor Wen of the Liu Song dynasty 劉宋文帝 (reign 424-453). In the relevant passage Emperor Wen expresses his worries to Guṇavarman about being unable to observe abstinence and uphold the precept against killing. Guṇavarman assures the Emperor that "the way is in the mind, not in acts" and that "the dharma comes from oneself, not from others." Guṇavarman goes on to explain that the Emperor, because of his function, is exempt from the moral rules that apply to the common people. His task is to govern the country and make it prosper, and in doing so he observes a higher kind of abstinence and non-killing: "Would you rather have curtailed your eating for half a day and spared the life of one bird when you could have accomplished such extensive relief?" [426] It is unclear how Guṇavarman's words came to be attributed to Bodhidharma. Perhaps Guṇavarman's audience with Emperor Wen was (mistakenly) conflated with Bodhidharma's audience with Emperor Wu. Perhaps Guṇavarman's fluid, antinomian reasoning vis-à-vis the Buddhist precepts appealed to the author of our text.

The second statement ascribed to Bodhidharma that is atypical in this context – "no dependence on expedients" – is found in a number of Buddhist texts. For instance, the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, a scripture known to have been of great importance to the Darumashū, produces the line in reference to the non-expedient character of the practice of concentrating on Buddha Amida (Ch. *nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧).[427] The line also appears in *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏) (Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra) by the Tantric and Chan adept Yixing. In

[424] For instance *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 219a23).
[425] See Albert Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile," in *The Kōan:Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, edited by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 75-109.
[426] *Gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2059, 341a01-a16).
[427] *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (T. 945, 128b01-02).

Yixing's text the line is embedded in a passage that asserts the emptiness of all phenomena and the identity of Buddha Mahāvairocana with one's own mind.[428] It is hard to tell on what source – if any – *Jōtōshōgakuron* relied on for this phrase. Suffice it to say that together with Guṇavarman's maxim and this phrase form a striking accretion the established Bodhidharma narrative. The accretion highlights two attitudes, or doctrinal positions, that may be paraphrased as follows: 1) the observance of formal practices and good works is minor – the important thing is to realize the awakened state of ones own mind. 2) The Zen tradition does not operate on the level of expedient practices, but embodies immediate access to the awakened state of mind.

Bodhidharma as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara

The idea that Bodhidharma was a manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanyin; Kannon 觀音) first appears in the Chan record *Baolin zhuan* (801) and is replicated in the *Zutangji* (952). Both works describe how after the unfruitful meeting with Bodhidharma, Emperor Wu is visited by the monk Baozhi who discloses Bodhidharma's the true identity: "He is the Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, transmitter of the seal of the buddha's mind."[429] In biographies of Bodhidharma in subsequent Chan records such as *Jingde chuandenglu* and *Chuanfa zhengzongji*, this episode is omitted. The incident, however, was certainly not erased from the Chan imagination, as is evident from *Biyanlu* 碧巖録 (1128) (Bleu Cliff Record), which opens with this very episode. It is also briefly alluded to in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*: "Baozhi knew that [Bodhidharma] was the noble being Avalokiteśvara, transmitter of the seal of the buddha's mind."[430] *Jōtōshōgakuron* specifies that Bodhidharma is a manifestation of the "boon bestowing" Avalokiteśvara (Yogan Kanzeon 與願觀世音), an extra detail that anticipates *Jōtōshōgakuron*'s third topic: [C] "Whatever you seek will be attained."

Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed

The tale of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed is not included in the *Jingde chuandenglu* or *Chuanfa zhengzongji*. Though most of the textual records that mention the event, such as the *Wujia zhengzong zan* 五家正宗贊 (Eulogies on the Orthodox Teachings of the Five Houses) and *Shizhi tongjian* 釋氏通鑑 (The Penetrating Mirror of the Śākya Lineage), date to the thirteenth century or later, the motif is thought to have been already established in the mid-eleventh century.[431] The incident is also referred to in a manual for seated meditation by lay Chan

[428] *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (T. 1796, 588a07-09):

> All living beings should become buddhas spontaneously, without depending on expedients. This is why the Buddha answered: "Lord of Mysteries, it is in one's own mind that one seeks bodhi and omniscience. Why? Because its original nature is pure." 一切眾生。亦應不假方便自然成佛。故佛答言祕密主自心尋求菩提及一切智。何以故。本性清淨故。

[429] [Baozhi] asked: "I heard an Indian monk came by. Where is he now?" Emperor Wu of Liang said: "Yesterday he ran off, and crossed over the Yangzi river to the Wei." Baozhi said: "Your majesty saw him but did not see, met him but did not meet." Emperor Wu of Liang asked: "Who is he?" Baozhi replied: "He is the Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, transmitter of the buddha mind seal." Filled with regret Emperor Wu said: "I saw him but did not see, met him but did not meet." [The emperor] then immediately set out to dispatch Zhao Guanwen to go and bring [Bodhidharma] back, but Baozhi said: "Even if you were to sent not only Zhao Guanwen but the entire country to get him, he will not come back. 問曰我聞西天僧至今在何所。梁武帝曰昨日送過江向魏。志公云陛下見之不見逢之不逢。梁武帝問曰此是何人。志公對曰此是傳佛心印觀音大士。武帝乃恨之曰見之不見逢之不逢。即發中使趙光文往彼取之。志公云非但趙光文一人闔國取亦不迴。(Yanagida Seizan (ed.), *Sodōshū* (Chūbun Shuppansha, 1984), p. 36).

[430] 寶誌識是傳佛心印觀音聖人。(T. 2016, 939b25).

[431] See Charles Lachmann, "Why Did the Patriarch Cross the River?," *Asia Major* (3rd Series) 6/3 (1993): pp. 237-267.

practitioner Ruru 如如居士(d. 1200).[432] This manual, or a derivative thereof, is cited in the Darumashū treatise *Hōmon taikō* (examined in Chapter Seven).

Bodhidharma's poisoning

In describing how Bodhidharma resisted repeated poisonings by jealous monks, *Jōtōshōgakuron* roughly follows the narrative of the *Jingde chuandenglu*. It also adds a new detail: Bodhidharma is said to have resisted the poison with "the power of seeing-the-nature-samādhi" (*kenshōsanmai riki* 見性三昧力):

> [A][4] Vinaya master Guangtong and Tripiṭaka master Bodhiruci were phoenixes among monks. They had heard that master [Bodhidharma] promulgated the way and was fanning up mysterious breezes that made the rain of dharma fall far and wide. Intolerant as they were, and unfit for the task themselves, they opposed [Bodhidharma] and decided to harm him. They repeatedly slipped him poisonous medicine, but with the power of seeing-the-nature-samadhi he neutralized it. After the sixth poisoning, [Bodhidharma] saw that the right conditions for teaching were exhausted, and so he withdrew.

The term *kenshō sanmai* has, to my knowledge, no exact precedents. It combines the key Zen term *kenshō* with the term *sanmai*. The latter, I suspect, in particular denotes *ichigyō sanmai* 一行三昧, the "oneness samādhi," which was an important aspect of Tendai praxis on Mount Hiei, associated especially with the Tendai Bodhidharma tradition (See Chapter One).

[A][6] Having outlined Bodhidharma's biography, *Jōtoshōgakuron* now turns to the matter of the transmission of Bodhidharma's teaching to Japan. It is stated that Bodhidharma's teaching was introduced in Japan in Bunji 5 (1189), month 8, day 15. This date is compatible with the activities of Nōnin's envoys Renchū and Shōben, who are known to have been active in China in the sixth month of the same year, before returning to Japan carrying Nōnin's Chinese credentials.

Regarding the transmission of the Darumashū to Japan, *Jōtoshōgakuron* further reports two rather cryptic details:

> • [A][7] The introduction of Bodhidharma's teaching in Japan was predicted in "King Kṛki's dream of purity at the fringes" (*Kinbi-ō hensei no yume* 禁寐王邊清夢).
>
> • [A][8] A text entitled *Hōmakki* (Ch. *Famoji* 法末記) (Record of the End of the Dharma) by Kō Dōshi 光童子(Ch. Guang tongzi) was accurate about this.

In his study of *Jōtoshōgakuron*, Ishii Shūdō glosses these two references as "obscure" (*fumei* 不明). [433] Some elucidation, however, is possible.

King Kṛki's dream of purity at the fringes

King Kṛki is a mythical King described in Buddhist literature as the patron of the ancient Buddha Kāśyapa and the establisher of this buddha's funerary stūpa.[434] A number of texts report on King

[432] Ishii, *Dōgen zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū*, p. 638.
[433] Ibid., p. 639.

Kṛki's prophetic dreams. According to the *Mishasaibuhexi wufenlü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (Skt. *Mahīśāsaka vinaya*), a major Vinaya text, known in Japan as the *Gobunritsu*, King Kṛki instructed his wife, a young girl named Mālinī 摩梨尼, to make daily offerings of soup to five hundred local Brahmans. Mālinī obediently performed these offerings, but after a meeting with Buddha Kāśyapa she quit and started to offer exquisite foods to Kāśyapa only. The jealous Brahmans then plot to have the girl killed and creatively misconstrue a series of eleven dreams that the King had one night, saying that these dreams predict the ruin of his reign, a catastrophe that can only be prevented by massive sacrifices of cows, elephants and of Queen Mālinī. The King, complying with the advice of the Brahmans, then orders the preparation of the sacrifices. Mālinī obeys the King and accepts her fate, but asks for six days of reprieve, during which she ingeniously causes the entire royal family to convert to Buddha Kāśyapa. The King then cancels the sacrifices and asks Buddha Kāśyapa to explain his dreams. Kāśyapa reveals that the King's dreams speak of the advent of Buddha Śākyamuni and predict the decline of the Buddha's teaching, accompanied by a detoriation of social norms. The cryptic phrase in *Jōtōshōgakuron* about "purity at the fringes" unmistakably refers to the King's final dream:

> Buddha [Kāśyapa] said: "These eleven dreams point to the future not to the present. In a dream you saw a small tree that sprouted flowers: in the future a Buddha will appear in the world, when people will become a hundred years old. His name will be Śākyamuni, Tathāgata, Arhat, Fully Awakened One; at that time people aged thirty will have white faces. In a dream you saw flowers turning into fruits: people aged twenty will beget children. In a dream you saw a calf pulling a plow while a mature cow remained watching: at that time it will be children that govern family affairs and parents that will be constrained. In a dream you saw three cauldrons in a row, boiling rice, with the rice spurting from the outer cauldrons, filling each other up without dropping rice into the central cauldron: at that time the rich will favor each other while the poor receive nothing. In a dream you saw a two-headed camel eating grass: at that time the King will have ministers who, having already consumed the King's resources, will seize the properties of the people. In a dream you saw a mare anomalously drinking milk from its colt: at that time mothers will mary off their daughters and anomalously join them in securing provisions. In a dream you saw a golden bowl traversing the skies: at that time rain will fall off-season and not fall widely. In a dream you saw a wild fox urinating in a golden bowl: at that time the only wealth of men will be their wifes, who will not have been chosen from their clan. In a dream you saw a monkey sitting on a golden bed: at that time the King of the land will govern unlawfully, with violence, oppression and impiety. In a dream you saw oxhead sandalwood being sold for the same price as rotten herbs: at that time the priestly offspring of Śākya, because of its lust for profit, will preach the dharma to white-robed [laity]. In a dream you saw water that was toxic in the middle but pure at its fringes: at that time the buddhadharma will already have perished in the middle country but in countries at the fringes it will, on the contrary, flourish. [435]

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[434] Buddha Kāśyapa is the sixth of the seven Buddhas of remote antiquity who according to the Chan tradition preceded Buddha Śākyamuni. On the establishment of Kāśyapa's stūpa see Andre Bareau, "La Construction et le culte des stūpas d'après les Vinayapiṭaka," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 50/2 (1962): pp. 229-74.

[435] 此十一夢乃為當來不為今也。夢見小樹生華者。於當來世有佛。出於百歲人中。名釋迦牟尼如來應供等正覺。爾時人年三十便已頭白。夢見華即成果者。爾時二十歲人便已生兒。夢見犢子耕大牛住視者。爾時人兒領家事父母不得自在。夢見三釜並煮飯兩邊釜飯各跳相入不墮中央釜者。爾時富者更相惠施而貧者不得。夢見駱駝兩頭食草者。爾時王有群臣既食王祿復取民物。夢見馬母反飲駒乳者。爾時母嫁女已反從求食。夢見金鉢於虛空中行者。爾時雨

Buddha Kāśyapa explains that the King's final dream predicts a time in the distant future when Buddhism will perish in "the middle country" but thrive "in countries at the fringes." As Andre Bareau explained, the story of King Kṛki's dreams in the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*, while posing as an ancient prediction, is in fact a comment on the socio-political disorder and the degeneration of the Buddhist community as perceived by the story's Indian author. The author criticizes Vedic animal sacrifice and frowns upon the worldly Buddhism of central India (Madhyadesa), claiming that proper Buddhism thrived only on the fringes of the continent.[436] *Jōtōshōgakuron* obviously cites the King's eleventh dream and construes "the fringes" as an allusion to Japan: as predicted long ago, Buddhism will flourish in Japan as a result of the introduction of Bodhidharma's teachings by Nōnin in 1189.

Though the reference to King Kṛki's dream is terse, it makes clear that the author of *Jōtōshōgakuron* acknowledged a particular religio-historical outlook – described by Mark Blum as the "*sangoku-mappō* construct" – that came to prominence among Japanese Buddhist thinkers especially in the Kamakura period.[437] According to this outlook the teachings of the Buddha were inevitably eastbound, marching as it were from India to China and onwards to Japan. Though Buddhism was considered to gradually decline during this eastward advance, Japan, in this perception, took on a special significance as the country where the dharma's predicted course was in some way fulfilled.

"Hōmakki" by Kō Dōshi.

Hōmakki (Ch. *Famoji*) remains unidentified. I suspect that Kō Dōshi 光童子 refers to Gekkō Dōshi 月光童子 (Ch. Yueguang Tongzi), "Prince Moonlight," the savior bodhisattva that figures in a number of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, such as the similarly entitled *Famiejin jing* 法滅盡經 (Sūtra on the Extinction of the Dharma). These texts typically describe the decline of the dharma, the accompanying natural disasters, the decadence of the Buddhist clergy, and announce a future renewal led by Prince Moonlight. In China these writings were invoked by Buddhist movements to criticize the Buddhist establishment and create popular appeal for ideas and practices that were considered appropriate to the present degenerate age of *mofa* (*mappō*).[438] Similar considerations may have played a role in the appreciation of the *Hōmakki* in the Darumashū. This unknown text, in any case, obviously contained material that was construed as predicting, and thereby justifying, the promulgation of the Darumashū in Japan.

The eschatological Prince Moonlight literature, the prophetic dreams of King Kṛki about "purity at the fringes," and Prajñātāra's remark on the future "five hundred year period of conflict" all share the idea of decline of the dharma and a future reinvigoration. Though details

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不時節亦不周普。夢見野狐尿金鉢中者。爾時人民唯富是婚不擇本姓。夢見獼猴坐金床上者。爾時國王用非法治政暴虐無道。夢見牛頭栴檀賣與腐草同價者。爾時釋種沙門貪利養故與白衣說法。夢見水中央濁四邊清者。爾時佛法中國先滅邊國反盛。(T.1421, 172c03-172c19). The story also appears in *Jinglu yixiang* 經律異相 (Different Aspects of Sūtras and Vinayas), a Buddhist compendium commisioned by Emperor Wu of the Liang, compiled by the monk Baochang (T. 2121, 186c20-187b02). The *Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經 (Skt. *Ekottara Āgama*, extant in Chinese) records a near identical set – not of eleven but of ten dreams – and attributes them to King Prasenajit (T. 125, 829b29-c11).

[436] Bareau, "La Construction et le culte des stūpas d'après les Vinayapiṭaka," pp. 265-67.

[437] See Mark L. Blum, "The Sangoku-Mappō Construct: Buddhism, Nationalism, and History in Medieval Japan," in *Discourse and Ideology in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, edited by Richard K. Payne and Taigen Dan Leighton (Routledge, 2006): pp. 31-51.

[438] See Erik Zürcher, "Prince Moonlight: Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism." *T'oung Pao*, 58/1-3 (1982): pp. 1-75. David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *American Historical Review* 104/ 5 (1999): pp. 1513-30.

remain unclear, it is evident that the author of *Jōtōshōgakuron* accepted and strategically invoked the notion of *mappō* and presented Bodhidharma's Zen, as introduced in 1189 by Nōnin, as the appropriate teaching for the contemporary degenerate times.

[A][9] Following the cryptic references to the predictions, *Jōtōshōgakuron* produces the famous awakening poem of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng: Bodhi originally has no tree/The bright mirror has no stand/Fundamentally there is not a single thing/Where is the dust to exist?

[A][10] The first section of the lecture then ends with a formula in praise of the Zen patriarchs: "We praise, venerate and commemorate the lineage of patriarchs who pass on the lamp of the dharma gate of self-nature." Each of the lecture's three sections similarly concludes with a fitting formula. As is known from other *kōshiki* texts, such formulas were communally intoned by the congregation.

[B] YOUR OWN MIND IS BUDDHA

In the second section of the lecture, the listeners are assured that their own mind is the very buddha mind. It opens by explaining that the names of all buddhas and bodhisattvas are in fact different names for the mind [B][1]: "All the names that the noble sages obtained are different names for the mind." The same is true for the Buddhist scriptures [B][2]: "All sūtras are different names for the mind." In fact, the whole natural universe is mind [B][3]: "Rivers, mountains, forests, swamps, earth, water, fire, wind: these are all designations for the mind."

[B] [4~6] The next few paragraphs in *Jōtōshōgakuron* show a number of scriptural quotations, with comments by the lecturer. The paragraphs seem rather curt and give the impression of being abbreviations of originally more extensive explanations. One noteworthy paragraph provides us with a glance on the Darumashū position vis-à-vis the Buddhist precepts. It maintains that the six pāramitās, i.e. the six perfected virtues of a bodhisattva (generosity, morality, endurance, zeal, absorption and wisdom), are in fact intrinsic qualities of the mind. The virtue of morality (*kai* 戒) is defined as the mind's intrinsic lack of wrongs. Wrongs are said to appear only when the mind is involved with thoughts. For one whose mind is in this restless state there are restrictive precepts. But for one who is not entangled in thoughts – for one who abides in the empty state of no-mind (*mushin* 無心) – such precepts are irrelevant:

> [B][6] "Mind is the dharma gate to generosity and the other pāramitās. The mind-nature's freedom of defilement is generosity; the mind-ground's lack of wrong is morality. Moral precepts are meant for subduing a mind in commotion. No-mind transcends moral precepts.[439]

This brief passage clearly downplays literal adherence to the Buddhist rules of conduct. Instead the focus is shifted to the intrinsic purity of the mind.

[B][7] Next, *Jōtōshōgakuron* produces the *Mind Transmission Verse* by Peixiu Xiangguo (797-860), the Tang dynasty government official and lay student of Chan master Huangbo Xiun. Peixiu

[439] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 203.

compiled Huangbo's lectures in the *Chuanxin fayao* and added this verse to it. As related in the beginning of in this chapter, Dainichi Nōnin obtained the *Chuanxin fayao* from his Chinese master Fozhao. Nōnin redacted the work and reissued it in Japan with the help of the nun Mugu. The colophon to this edition, written by this nun, indicates that Peixiu's transmission verse circulated in the Darumashū as a secret text. The inclusion of this verse in *Jōtōshōgakuron* affirms its significance in the Darumashū. The verse, to put it briefly, teaches that "mind is buddha" and "buddha is an ordinary being." It admonishes its readers to stop making efforts to *become* a buddha.

[B][8] Following Pei Xiu's verse *Jōtōshōgakuron* provides an important clue as to the actual manner in which the identity of buddha and ordinary being is to be realized by the aspiring Buddhist practitioner :

> The way is wholly the mind and the mind is wholly the way. Resolve to return to the one and do not esteem other studies. Empty light is self-manifest, the whole does not change form, sandalwood never looses its fragrance: pronouncements like this, it can be said, take practitioners by the hand and lead them straight to the sea of omniscience. Whoever trusts and accepts [such truths] will not arouse impurities and immediately attain supreme awakening.[440]

According to our text here, the key element in attaining supreme awakening (*shōgaku* 正覚) is "trust and acceptance" (*shinju* 信受). One has to believe and assent to the truth that one is already a perfect buddha. To allow *shinju* (and thereby supreme awakening) to take place, this truth, obviously, first has to be known, it has to be "pronounced" or "revealed" (*kaishi* 開示). This is precisely the objective of this particular section of *Jōtōshōgakuron*. The lecture's audience is told to have faith in the nonduality teaching that is being expounded, and accept it as true. The above cited passage derives from the *Zongjinglu* by Yongming Yanshou; for Yanshou this particular type of faith was a central concern.[441] In addition, I would point to similarities, in this regard, between *Jōtōshōgakuron* and Tendai *hongaku* discourse. For instance, *Shinnyokan* 眞如觀

[440] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 203-204.

[441] Ishii (*Dōgen zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū*, p. 648) draws attention to the following passage in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 862b28-c08):

> A verse in the *Lotus sūtra* says: "Those of small wisdom take pleasure in minor doctrines. They have no faith in their own ability to become a buddha. Therefore we [Buddhas] use expedients, make distinctions and preach various goals." Faith in [the truth that] mind is buddha, then, is rarely encountered. It is the main reason for the appearance of Buddhas in the world and the true intention of the patriarch [Bodhidharma] coming from the west. In the past, when virtuous ones of old heard the words "mind is buddha" only once, their capacity for doubt immediately disappeared. Those who wish to pass on the lamp to descendants, sit in a place of awakening. Those who wish to liberate their mind in quietude, dwell deeply in a forest. Those whose obstructions are thick and whose faith is thin just face outward and run around seeking. Like parrot-disciples they go along with opinions of others. Like a retinue of jellyfish they depend on others for vision. Give rise to just a tiny bit of distrust (*fushin*) and you will arouse a slanderous mind. I (Yongmin Yanshou) will now widely cite texts, make an extensive study, locate particulars and select the essentials. My hope is to enlighten future students, that they have resolve and not have doubts, that they instantly awaken to their own minds and attain to the Buddha's marvelous standard. 義演恒沙乃至無盡。故法華經偈云。少智樂小法。不自信作佛。是故以方便。分別說諸果。是以信心是佛。罕遇其機。乃諸佛出世之本懷。祖師西來之正意。自古先德。一聞。即心是佛之言。疑根頓盡。或欲燈傳後嗣。便坐道場。或樂灰息遊心。住深蘭若。其或障濃信薄。唯思向外馳求。隨他意似鸚鵡之徒。借彼眼如水母之屬。纔生不信。便起謗心。今則廣引遍搜探微撮要。所冀證成後學。決定無疑。頓悟自心。成佛妙軌。

(Contemplation of Suchness), a twelfth century Tendai *hongaku* text retrospectively attributed to Genshin (942-1017), similarly regards faith as the crucial factor in the immediate realization of one's buddhahood.[442] The idea that one's intrinsic awakening is made manifest the moment one is notified of it by a good teacher or an instructive text – with the proviso that one has sincere faith in it – resembles Tendai *hongaku* uses of the theory of "principle identity" (*risoku* 理即) and "verbal identity" (*myōjisoku* 声字即). We will return to this topic in more detail in the next chapter when examining the Darumashū treatise *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.

[B][9] The lecturer now produces a verse from the *Yuanjuejing* 圓覺經 (J. *Engakukyō*) (Sūtra of Perfect Awakening). The verse captures the main point of the section and clearly intends to have a great performative impact on the audience: "Now for the first time you know that sentient beings are originally perfect buddhas!" After this, the assembly again recites a fitting formula [B][10]: "We praise, venerate and commemorate ordinary beings, who are none other than buddha."

[C] WHATEVER YOU SEEK WILL BE ATTAINED

The third and final section of the lecture deals with supernatural powers (Skt. *siddhi*) and worldly benefits. It opens with the following statement:

> [C][1] The superior siddhi that you seek to obliterate sins, produce merits, avert calamities, bestow joy and obtain karmic rewards in this life and the next: this school 宗 alone has that power.[443]

This section of *Jōtōshōgakuron* produces two citations from Dainichibō Nōnin, referred to as "Great master Nichi" (Nichi Daishi 日大師). Though Nōnin may simply have been quoted by the lecturer (from memory or from writings no longer known), it is quite possible that Nōnin was actually present at the *kōshiki* event that is recorded in *Jōtōshōgakuron*. In this scenario we might imagine the main lecture being delivered by one of Nōnin's advanced students, perhaps Kakuan, while the aging master chimed in with two keynote speeches.

[C][2] *Nōnin's first speech: Mr. Wang in hell*

Nōnin recounts the story of a certain Mr. Wang who after a dissolute life lands in hell, but is released after reciting a verse (Skt. *gāthā*) that he learned from the bodhisattva Jizō:

> In the *Zuanlingji* it says that there was a man from the capital called Wang. His first name has been lost. He never observed the precepts and never cultivated goodness. When he died of an illness he was picked up by two figures and taken to hell. In front of the gate he saw a lone monk who said, "I am Jizō bodhisattva," and then instructed him to recite the following gāthā: "Whoever wants to comprehend all the buddhas of the triple world must contemplate the nature of the dharma realm: all is just a product of the mind." Having conferred these lines the bodhisattva said, "If you can recite this gāthā you will be able to destroy the sufferings of hell." After mastering the recitation, this man entered [hell] and faced King [Enma]. [King Enma] asked, "What virtues does this person have?" [Mr. Wang] replied, "I

[442] See Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, p. 190-199.
[443] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 204.

only retain one gāthā of four lines," and then in detail explained the foregoing episode. The King thereupon absolved and released him. Suffering beings that had been within earshot of [Mr. Wang's] voice as he recited this gāthā also obtained liberation. Three days later he was revived.

The meaning is clear: [Mr. Wang] realized that hell too was a product of the mind. Because he understood it was a product of the mind, hell spontaneously dissolved! Know therefore that if you view this mind, you will instantly be separated from suffering. [444]

According to Buddhist cosmologies hell is one of the various realms of rebirth. Textual and pictorial sources vividly portray hell as a site of horrific karmic retribution, presided over by King Enma 閻魔王 (Skt. Yama-rājā). King Enma judges the deceased and determines the appropriate torture. As seen in the above cited story, King Enma is prepared to revoke his judgement in response to intercession of savior bodhisattvas, or in exchange for indulgences in the form of copied or memorized Buddhist texts. [445]

The story of Mr. Wang in hell was first recorded in the *Huayanjing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記, a collection of miraculous tales concerning the transmission of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, composed by the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643-712). This text was subsequently reworked by two of Fazang's disciples under the title *Huayan zuanlingji* 華嚴纂靈記 (Record of Numinous Tales about the Avataṃsaka), truncated as *Zuanlingji* 纂靈記. The *Zuanlingji* – mentioned by Nōnin – is no longer extant but can largely be reconstructed from citations in external sources, one of these being the Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*. [446] Nōnin clearly relied on Yanshou's tome.

The story of Mr. Wang was wellknown in Japan. The Tendai monk Genshin (942-1017) included the story in his *Ojōyōshū* (985), the influential work on rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. The story is also known to have been depicted as part of an extensive series of hell paintings in the Enma Hall at Daigoji, established in 1223 by the Shingon monk Seigen 成賢 (1162-1252).[447] The story also appears in *Hongakusan shaku* 本覺讃釈, a Tendai *hongaku* text attributed to Genshin but composed in the second half of the twelfth century. Not unlike *Jōtōshōgakuron* this text presents the story to exemplify the benefit of seeing one's own, originally awakened mind.[448]

In his short comment on the hell story (which reproduces a gloss by the Huayan patriarch Chengguan, cited in the *Zongjinglu*), Nōnin explains that hell is merely a product of the mind. By "viewing the mind" one realizes that hell is unreal, and upon this realization the mirage of hell

[444] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 204.

[445] See Caroline Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution: A Primer on Japanese Hell Imagery and Imagination," *Monumenta Nipponica* 63/1 (2008): pp. 1-50.

[446] See Jinhua Chen, *Philosopher,Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643-712)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 23-24 and 299-305.

[447] Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution," p. 6.

[448] The *Hongakusan shaku* 本覚讃釈 (Commentary on the Hymn in Praise of Original Awakening), attributed to Genshin, is a commentary on the *Hongakusan* (Hymn in Praise of Original Awakening). The latter has been tentatively attributed to Annen (b. 841). Another commentary on the *Hongakusan*, entitled *Chū Hongakusan* (Annotation to the Hymn in Praise of Original Awakening) is traditionally attributed to Ryōgen (912-985). Both apocryphal commentaries are thought to have actually been composed between 1150 and 1200. See Tada Kōryū, et al. (eds.), *Tendai hongakuron*, Nihon Shisō Taikei 9 (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), p. 356 (*Hongaku sanshaku* text: pp. 564-68). The story of Mr. Wang appears in the concluding section of the *Hongakusan shaku*:

QUESTION: What are the benefits of seeing the originally awakened, mind-storage tathāgata of one's own mind?

ANSWER: It is said somewhere that if one contemplates this principle one will thoroughly understand all Buddha dharmas of past, present and future, and when hearing it spoken one will be liberated from the torments of the three [evil realms] of rebirth. In the *Kegonden* it is said: "In China, in the first year of Wenming, there was a man called Wang. He never observed the precepts or performed any good acts (…).

disappears. Implicit but understated in Nōnin's comment is that hell is unreal in the same way that our own world as well as the splendorous world of the buddhas are unreal: all is just a construct of the mind.

What is not made clear in Nōnin's speech is how "viewing the mind" is actually done. In Wang's story, the agent in the destruction of hell is – effectively – the voiced recitation of Jizō's verse. Jizō's verse belongs to a set of socalled "hell-breaking verses" (*hajigokuge* 破地獄偈), which were believed to hold the power to obliterate evil karma and so prevent rebirth in hell.[449]As several scholars have observed, the perceived efficacy of *hajigoku* verses did not so much derive from fathoming and implementing their doctrinal content, but rather from their usage as magical spells.[450] The doctrinal content of Jizō's verse and its magical usage as a spell bring together two seemingly contradictory views. The first exposes hell as a mind-made mirage. The second, somehow, still upholds hell as a concrete realm. The verse's content and Nōnin's explanation of it suggest that hell evaporates the moment it is recognized to be just an empty mentation. The story's plot and the verse's magical usage, on the other hand, imply that hell is merely being evaded. Spared the boiling cauldrons of hell, Mr. Wang is simply released back to the human realm: hell, in Wang's experience at least, remains a reality. As Caroline Hirasawa noted, such "visceral and transcendent" views of hell competed and coexisted in what was fundamentally an "ambiguous paradigm." [451] Nōnin no doubt intended the story of Mr. Wang to be appreciated on different levels. Bernard Faure is no doubt right in seeing this ambiguity as a way of addressing different audiences (popular and elite).[452] I would add that both views may easily coexist and compete within one community, and even "within the breast of a single individual." [453] As will be made clear later in this study, this ambiguity is also seen in the attitude in Darumashū circles towards hell's counterpart: the Pure Land.

[C][3] Next *Jōtōshōgakuron* provides an additional comment on Mr. Wang's hell story. [454] The efficacy of Jizō's hell-breaking verse (and/or the efficacy of "viewing the mind") is connected to the more commonplace goals of happiness and avoidance of misfortune. The comment brings the story in line with the earlier delineated theme of supernatural powers and worldly benefits:

> Noble and lowly beings seek a great many things, but all have the intention to separate from suffering. To separate from suffering and gain bliss instantly in no way depends on expedients. This means that the end of calamities and the advent of happiness are immediate. If the heavy sufferings of hell are removed instantly, how much more so the minor

[449] The verse spoken by Jizō is a fragment of a longer verse in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. This longer verse is often referred to as the "Mind-only Verse" (*yuishinge* 唯心偈), a title thought to have been first coined by the Kegon monk Myōe Kōben (1173–1232) in his *Kegon yuishin gishaku* 華厳唯心義釋. See Imre Hamar, "Interpretation of Yogācara Philosophy in Huayan Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37/2 (2010): p.189. Hamar refers to Hirakawa Akira, "Engi to shōki – Kegon no yuishinge wo megutte," *Nanto Bukkyō* 61 (1989), pp. 6-7.

[450] Faure, "Darumashū," p. 35. Jacqueline Stone, "By the Power of One's Last Nenbutsu: Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan," in *Approaching the Land of Bliss*, edited by Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka (University of Hawaii Press, 2004), p. 113, note 47.

[451] Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution," p. 2.

[452] Faure, "Darumashū," p. 35.

[453] Borrowing from Isaiah Berlin: "Values may easily clash within the breast of a single individual; and it does not follow that, if they do, some must be true and others false." Isaiah Berlin, *Crooked Timber of Humanity* (Knopf, 1991), p. 12.

[454] Faure ("Darumashū," p. 35) includes this comment as part of the quotation from Nōnin. In placing the cut earlier I follow Ishii.

> calamities? If the ultimate buddha fruit is realized instantly, how much more so the minor siddhis? [455]

The memorization and recitation of the hell-breaking verse was of course an extremely accessible practice, well within the capacities of non-specialists. The practice, in this sense, was well-suited also to the lower strata of society, such as the outcaste *sanjo* population that occupied Sambōji's locale. The importance attached to the verse is underlined by the fact that it is repeated at the end of the lecture.

Though the tale of Mr. Wang and the comments it receives in *Jōtōshōgakuron* do not place particular emphasis on the bodhisattva Jizō, Nōnin's speech no doubt reflects the growing popularity of this bodhisattva in the mid-Heian and Kamakura periods. In this regard it is worth repeating that the Sambōji complex (at least in 1461) included a Jizō Hall. The cult of Jizō coalesced with beliefs concerning the Pure Land, in particular the Pure Land of Buddha Amida: Jizō not only saved the dead from hell but was also believed to guide them to Amida's Land of Bliss.[456] This notion would certainly have circulated among Pure Land practitioners in the Darumashū. Nōnin's use of Mr. Wang's story can thus be seen to illustrate the multiplicity of Darumashū Zen.

[C][4] *Instant buddhahood without making effort*

Jōtōshōgakuron explains that buddhahood – the clear awareness that knows the empty nature of phenomena – is free of conceptualization. Yet, it can be revealed. The revealing agent – the "illuminative cause" – is "this *shū*" (*kono shū* 斯宗), that is, the Darumashū. With dramatic similes, cited chiefly from the *Zongjinglu*, it is made clear that simply by having encountered the Darumashū, buddhahood is attained instantly and without the slightest bit of effort:

> So, even those who have only just encountered this school 斯宗 must congratulate themselves. It is as if you were drowning in a vast ocean and chanced upon a fragrant ship, or as if you were falling through the skies and landed on a mysterious crane. The way, without having searched it, suddenly appeared. Your activities, without regulating them, will simply be perfect. It is like a bud that sprouts when the spring sun hits the soil. Without making a hair-width of effort you completely opened the treasury. Without expending a kṣaṇa of exertion you instantly obtained the dark gem. It is like one who is riddled with a lethal disease meeting the skilful Medicine King, one who is lost on a dangerous and difficult road meeting a discerning guide, one who has long dwelled in a dark house suddenly facing the radiance of a jewelled torch, or like one who has always been naked suddenly receiving wonderful garments of celestial cloth. Without having searched you naturally obtained it. With no effort you instantly accomplished it. It is the deep storehouse of myriads of good works and the dark wellspring of innumerable wisdoms. It is the *maṇi* among jewels, sandalwood among perfumes, the uḍumbara among flowers, sunshine among radiances, rice gruel among foods, sweet dew among drinks, reverted cinnabar among medicines and the Sage King among sovereigns.[457]

[455] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 204.
[456] See Marinus Willem de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang in China and Japan* (Berlin: Oesterheld & Co Verlag, 1914), pp. 121-133.
[457] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 204-205.

This passage makes a rather bold statement: even a fleeting encounter with this "shū" instantly actualizes buddhahood. As mentioned earlier, the term *shū* (Ch. *zong*) – the central principle in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* – captures a broad array of meanings. Its use here may likewise be interpreted as engaging a variety of significations. *Shū*, here, would refer to the teachings of Bodhidharma, which are being expounded by the Zen master and recorded in *Jōtōshōgakuron*; it also refers to the "one mind," the ultimate source of things; or "the truth implicit in the various Buddhist scriptures."[458] In its meanings of group and lineage, the term here would also refer to Nōnin's group of Zen practitioners, which identified itself with the lineage of Chan master Fozhao. In the above cited passage, these significations seem to be all rolled into one; "this shū" becomes a kind of magical presence that pervades the *kōshiki* ceremony as well as the *Jōtōshōgakuron* text. Having been made aware of their innate buddhahood, members of the audience and readers of the text now know that they are buddhas. But apparently this is not all: what is needed also is the technique of "guarding the mind."

[C] [5~7] *Guarding the mind*

Jōtōshōgakuron emphasizes that everything depends on the mind. In this context it now brings up the notion of "guarding the mind" (*shushin*; Ch. *shouxin* 守心):

> [C][7] When in one thought-moment the mind is calmed, ten thousand anxieties are simultaneously destroyed. When you understand the mind, everything stops. There is no other technique. It is like the patriarch master said: "Everything depends on the mind. True and false are in oneself. Not thinking a single thing: this is the original mind. A wise person will be able to understand this. There is no other technique." This is why our root teacher [Śākyamuni] said: "Only this one thing is true, an additonal second [thing] is not true." And so it is said: "If you want to know the main point of the dharma, then guarding the mind is foremost. No one ever became a buddha without guarding the true mind." [459]

The passage, again, draws on the *Zongjinglu*. The last two phrases about "guarding the mind" derive from the early Chan treatise *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), which is cited substantially in the *Zongjinglu*. In *Xiuxin yaolun*, the monk Hongren (the fourth Chan patriarch) recommends "guarding the mind" as a way of maintaining awareness of ones buddha-nature. For Hongren buddhahood is not something gradually obtained from outside through goal-oriented activities, but rather a state of being aware of the inner buddha-nature, which is indestructible, tranquil and pure, but obscured by the fluctuations of discriminative thought. In one of the practices described by Hongren, practitioners are to sit erect, regulate the breath and observe the fluctuations of thought. Once these have calmed down, the mind's original purity appears.[460]

Jōtōshōgakuron adheres to the basic premise implied in Hongren's *shouxin* practice: cease discriminative thinking and the mind's buddha-nature will shine forth. But it does not explicitly provide any concrete, formal exercise. What it does provide is an exuberant praise of the mind:

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[458] Albert Welter, *Yongmin Yanshou's Conception of Chan: A Special Transmission Within the Scriptures* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 55.
[459] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 205.
[460] On early Chan and the practices of Hongren's *shouxin* (guarding the mind) and Daoxin's *shou-i* (guarding the one) see John Mcrae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 136-144. Also, Robert Buswell, *The Formation of Chan Ideology in China and Korea: The Vajrasamādhi Sūtra, a Buddhist Apocryphon* (Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 137-157.

> [C][5] Of all powers the power of mind is first. Of all treasures the treasure of mind is first. Of all numina the numen of mind is first. Of all superpowers the superpower of mind is first. Of all transformations the transformation of mind is first. Of all virtues the virtue of mind is first. Of all samādhis the samādhi of mind is first. Of all joys the joy of mind is first. Of all purities the purity of mind is first. Of all learning the learning of mind is first. Of all trust the trust in mind is first. Of all obeisances the obeisance of mind is first. Of all deities the deity of mind is first. Of all worthies the worthy mind is first. Of all luminosities the luminosity of mind is first. Of all greatnesses the greatness of mind is first. Of all teachings the teaching of mind is first. Of all practices the practice of mind is first. Of all knowledge the knowledge of mind is first. Of all buddhas the buddha of mind is first.[461]

This passage, celebrating the supremacy of the mind, appears to be one of the few in *Jōtōshōgakuron* that does not somehow derive from the *Zongjinglu*. Thus it retains, perhaps, something of the lecturer's original voice. The exalted tone and the repetitiveness of the passage no doubt aimed to induce in the audience a likewise exalted state of mind, which again underscores the performative aspect of the text and the implied ritual.

[C][8] *Nōnin's second speech: "Just apprehend the one mind"*
Next, *Jōtōshōgakuron* produces a second contribution by Dainichi Nōnin. For convenience I divide the passage in two. First:

> [8.a] If you create names where there are no names, then because of names right and wrong arise! If you create principles where there are no principles, then because of principles quarrels arise! Magical creations are not real. Who is right, who is wrong? Falsities are not true. What is existent, what is nonexistent? In obtaining nothing is obtained. In losing nothing is lost. From this [we know that] buddhas do not obtain bodhi and ordinary beings do not lose bodhi: if we just apprehend the one mind, the myriad dharmas would all be tranquil.[462]

This part of Nōnin's speech is lifted from the *Zongjinglu* and derives from a letter by a certain Layman Hsiang 向居士 (n.d) addressed to the second Chan patriarch Huike. Nōnin explains that bodhi, the state of awakening, cannot be lost or obtained, since it is intrinsic in the mind. One's focus, then, has to be directly on the mind. But people, Nōnin explains, set up all kinds of dichotomizing views and concepts, and this causes all kinds of problems and mistakes, such as the misconception that bodhi is something external to oneself and has to be somehow obtained. In a series of vivid metaphors, drawn primarily from the *Zongjinglu*, Nōnin goes on to clarify that such a dichotomous approach is a soteriological dead-end, and he bewails that unfortunately many people still practice in that mistaken manner:

> [8.b] One who tries to attain the way while practicing outside the mind is like a mud ox bellowing as it soars the skies, a stone horse whinnying as it skims the waters; it is like kindling fire in search of water, squeezing horns to get milk, polishing a tile to make a mirror, climbing a tree to look for fish, crushing sand to find oil and talking about food so as to stuff oneself; it is like a silly dog resenting a lump of earth or a thirsty deer chasing after

[461] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 205.
[462] Ibid.

> flames; it is like drinking poison in search of life, and entering an abyss while clutching a rock. There is no doubt that such a person will die in the sea of Buddha's wisdom. Facing the castle of nirvāṇa he will find it particularly difficult to put his feet inside. Sickness! Sickness! People of the world, you forget the source and block the stream, you esteem the branches and make light of the tree. Madness! Madness! When foolish children dash off frightened by their own shadows, the shadows chase them evermore. If you like the radish and hate the leaves, the leaves will be extra luxuriant.[463]

Nōnin's speech ends the lecture proper. The gāthā of Mr. Wang is repeated, followed again by a formula: "We praise, venerate and commemorate the myriads of virtues of the self-nature. May calamities be prevented and happiness invited."

III. CLOSING PROCEEDINGS.

The document indicates that the lecture was followed by [1] questions and answers (問答 *mondō*). These *mondō* have, unfortunately, not been recorded. The *mondō* session was followed by [2] recitations for the *kami* (*jinbun* 神分), [3] *shogyō* (? 小行), [4] six types of offerings (*rokushu* 六種), and [5] a final recitation to transfer all the merits of the gathering to all beings (*ekō* 廻向).

Concluding remarks

Jōtōshōgakuron is a transcript of a ritualized lecture, comparable to what is called a *kōshiki*. Such rites actively engaged its audience in making prostrations, recitations and offering and so forth, and provide explanations of the dharma that were understandable to nonspecialists. The lecture recorded in *Jōtōshōgakuron* centred on a painting of Bodhidharma, probably the painting that Nōnin received from Fozhao. The overriding theme in the work is the absolute identity between the mind of the Buddha and the mind of ordinary beings. The audience of the lecture, and the readers of the text, are encouraged to drop all discriminative thinking and just "guard the mind" so as to abide in its buddha nature. No formal exercises are provided to attain this. The ritual (and the reading of *Jōtōshōgakuron*) become the tool to reveal and actualize buddhahood. No effort is needed, only "trust and acceptance" of the truth that is being expounded. The antinomian implications of this approach surface briefly in a remark about the precepts, in which it is maintained that for those free of discriminative thoughts, moral disciplines become irrelevant [B][6]. Still, it is clear that the community that produced *Jōtōshōgakuron* abided by some forms of practice. The whole lecture is embedded in veneration, recitation, offerings and prostrations. Practices seem to be the context for instilling the truth that buddhahood is not conditional on practices.

[463] Ibid., pp. 206-207

CHAPTER SIX
DARUMASHŪ TEXTS (2)

PRIMARY DARUMASHŪ TEXT II: KENSHŌJŌBUTSUGI (ON SEEING THE NATURE AND BECOMING A BUDDHA)

Introduction

The second primary Darumashū text that will be examined, *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, is preserved in booklet manuscript (*detchō* 粘葉) of the Kamakura period.[464] The front sheet of the document reads *Kenshōjōbutsuron* 見性成佛論. The opening page of the text reads *Kenshōjōbutsugi yo* 見性成佛義予 (Preface to *Kenshōjōbutsugi*).[465] Probably the treatise was known as both *Kenshōjōbutsuron* and *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. In accordance with an external reference to the treatise in the thirteenth century *Kinkōshū* 金綱集 (Golden Net Anthology), I refer to the text as *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.[466]

Nothing is known about *Kenshōjōbutsugi*'s authorship. Seeing that the theme of the treatise is *kenshōjōbutsu* (seeing the nature and becoming a buddha) and that it cites the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, it has been speculated that *Kenshōjōbutsugi* was authored by Nōnin's student Kakuan, for Kakuan is known to have instructed his students in the principle of *kenshōjobutsu*, using the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*.[467] The colophon of the manuscript merely provides a date, Einin 5/8/3 (1297), which I take to refer to the time of redaction or transcription.

The Darumashū provenance of *Kenshōjōbutsugi* is corroborated by writings of Dōgen and his commentators. Dōgen's writings were mainly addressed to his monastic community, which was dominated by (former) Darumashū adherents. Accordingly, Dōgen's texts contain implicit criticisms of ideas that were current among members of this Darumashū subgroup. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter Eight. For now it is apt to note that a major commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏, composed by Dōgen's students, explicitly identifies the Darumashū as the object of some of Dōgen's criticisms: in this context the commentary cites a phrase that is found verbatim in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.[468] This is the philological evidence in the matter of the text's connection to the Darumashū.[469] *Kenshōjobutsugi*, moreover, predominantly quotes from the *Zongjinglu*, Dainichi Nōnin's favourite text.

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[464] KBSZ 1, Zensekihen, p. 272.
[465] KBZS, Zensekihen, p. 174-175.
[466] *Kinkōshū* 金綱集 (Golden Net Anthology), *Nichirenshū shūgaku zenshō*, vol. 13/14, p. 307.
[467] Shinkura Kazufumi, "Dōgen no Darumashū hihan," IBK 32/2 (1984): pp. 682-683.
[468] See Chapter Eight, "Dōgen's criticism."
[469] Recently the Darumashū provenance of *Kenshōjōbutsugi* has been questioned by Furuse Tatami. In an article published in 2010, Furuse connects *Kenshōjōbutsugi* to Nōnin himself. See Furuse Tatami, "Kanazawa Bunko toshokanzō Kenshōjōbutsuron ni tsuite: shisōteki tokuchō oyobi jinbutsuzō," IBK 58/3 (2010): 1288-1292. In a subsequent article he, unconvincingly, problematizes the Darumashū provenance. See Furuse Tatami "Kanazawa Bunkozō Kenshōjōbutsuron to den Daruma daishi Kechimyakuron: kenshō no shisō ni chakumoku," IBK 59/2 (2011): pp. 736-739.

Citations from *Kenshōjōbutsugi* appear in at least two external sources. One of these is the earlier mentioned *Kinkōshū* 金剛集 (Diamond Collection), a collection of lectures by Nichiren 日蓮 (1222-1282), compiled by Nichiren's student Nikō 日向 (1253-1314).[470] As examined in Chapter Two, Nichiren was highly critical of the Zen school and frequently mentioned Nōnin and Kakuan as its chief representatives. The quotations in the *Kinkōshū* are duly attributed ("*Kenshōjōbutsugi iwaku*") and correspond largely, but not always precisely, to the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. One noticable difference is the use of Chinese logographs in *Kinkōshū* where the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript has *kana* syllables. It is conceivable then that the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript is an (imprecise?) vernacular rendition of an earlier, more sinitic version of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. Citations from *Kenshōjōbutsugi* also surface in *Kenmitsu mondōshō* by the Shingon monk Raiyū 頼瑜 (1226-1304).[471] These citations indicate that *Kenshōjōbutsugi* enjoyed a wide circulation that extended into Zen, Shingon and Nichiren communities.

Kenshōjōbutsugi follows a question and answer format. The text reads as a transcript of a dicussion between an anonymous speaker (from here on referred to as "Zen master") and unnamed interlocutor(s). With the exception of the Chinese introductory section, the treatise is written in Japanese, in a mixture of *kanji* and *katakana*. In the (Chinese) preface the author emphasizes that he teaches in Japanese and writes in the Japanese script, suggesting that he aimed to make the Zen teachings accessible to a wider audience. At times the text concludes elaborate expositions with succinct sayings, which may similarly indicate an attempt to increase accessibility by making doctrinal complexities intelligible to an audience not versed in Buddhist scholastics. In one passage the text expresses concern over the fact that ordinary people have lost touch with the truth that they are actually buddhas, and it is lamented that this truth has been confined to religious specialists. Still, the text gives the impression of being directed at an audience that is highly familiar with Buddhist idiom and doctrinal issues.

As is common in Buddhist treatises, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* freely cites from other Buddhist materials. The citations are mostly taken from sūtras and Chan records, notably the *Zongjinglu*. Quite a number of citations appear unattributed. The various citations usually follow the Chinese as found in the primary texts. In several cases the primary text is paraphrased in Japanese. Besides fullfledged quotes there are also passages that are made up from fragmented bits and bobs of other (unattributed) texts. In a few cases both the question & answer draw on the *Zongjinglu*, which leads to the suspicion that the debate recorded in the text is a literary creation of a fictive event, or a heavily edited version of an actual event, or a combination of the two.

Structurally, the work, I propose, should be divided as follows:

I. PREFACE	Preface written in Chinese (with added *kanbun* markers).

[470] *Kinkōshū* is a collection of lectures given by Nichiren at Mount Minobu in the concluding years of his life, compiled by one of his chief students Nikō 日向 (1253-1314). The work, which exists in various versions under different titles, was transmitted in the Minobu sub-lineage of the Nichiren school; it systematically examines a range of Buddhist schools and includes a chapter about the Zen school, entitled *Zen kenmon* (pp. 289-348). See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Nichiren no zenshū kan: Kinkōshū ni okeru zenshū hihan no konkyo to sono shiryō," IBK 42/1 (1983): pp. 151-157.

[471] See Chapter Eight.

II. DIALOGUES	II.A. Questions and Answers 1~10. Extensive explanations, representing the expedient, doctrinal aspect (*kyōmon* 教門) of the Buddha's dharma, corresponding to the hermeneutical category of "Buddha's words" (*butsugon* 佛言).
	II.B. Questions and Answers 11~44. Short questions and short (at times cryptic) answers, representing the Zen aspect (*zenmon* 禪門) of the Buddha's dharma, corresponding to the hermeneutical category of "Buddha's mind" (busshin 佛心).

Section A takes up the bulk of the treatise. It comprises ten relatively lengthy questions and answers. A significant place is occupied by explaining the relation between Zen and the doctrinal schools of Buddhism, particularly Tendai. To this end, the text employs various hermeneutical categories, such as *teaching/mind*; *inside the teachings/outside the teachings*; *buddha word/buddha mind*; *name/substance*. Section B starts with Q&A number eleven, which introduces a different mode of exposition. The questioner demands straightforward instruction that is in accord with the non-discursive "Zen aspect" 禪門 of the dharma. The result is a dialogue of thirty-four pithy questions and answers, giving the impression of a rapid altercation.

As in the previous examination of *Jōtōshōgakuron*, the following examination of *Kenshōjōbutsugi* provides section numbers in square brackets so as to allow crossreferencing with the translation of the text in the back of this book (Part Four: Translations, Text II).

KENSHŌJŌBUTSUGI

I. PREFACE

[I][a] *Kenshōjōbutsugi* opens with a concise biographical sketch of Bodhidharma, partly derived from the short biography of Bodhidharma by the Chinese monk Tanlin 曇琳 (sixth century).[472] The preface highlights the patriarch's first meeting with his future successor Huike. It is stressed that Huike attained awakening by realizing his inherent nature, rather than by studying words or by obtaining something from Bodhidharma. Huike, it is said, attained "clear and ever-present awareness" (*ryōryō jōchi* 了了常知).

The gist of the brief preface is that by seeing the nature (*kenshō*) one can personally accomplish the same awakening as the ancient buddhas and patriarchs. This, we are told, is not accomplished through the study of convoluted texts. Rather, it is to be realized in "seeing forms and hearing sounds" (*kenshiki monsho* 見色聞聲), through the faculties of "seeing, hearing,

[472] Tanlin's short biography of Bodhidharma is found in *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 458b07-b12).

sensation and knowing" (*kenmon kakuchi* 見聞覺知). This principle is illustrated by a string of examples from the lives of several Chan monks of the past, showing how their awakening experience was triggered by a sound, a sight, or a by just "a few words of gold." The examples include the cases of Lingyun Zhiqin 靈雲志勤 (n.d.), who realized awakening upon seeing a flower; Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869), who attained insight when glimpsing his reflection in a stream; Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788), who taught by glaring with his eyes; and Hanshan 寒山 (n.d.) who taught by wielding a skewered eggplant. It is hard to ascertain on which sources our author relied for these examples, but most are found in the Chan records *Jingde chuandenglu* and *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 (Outline of Linked Lamps).[473]

The preface expressly places the realization of buddhahood outside the confines of scholarly study. By the same token it elevates Zen above the scholasticism of the Buddhist establishment – an ideological move as old as the Chan/Zen school itself. In the closing paragraph of the preface, the Zen master urges his listeners to cleanse their hearts of "dry slander" and of "floods of reproach." This may be read as a mere exhortation to cease deluded thinking, were it not that the words "slander" and "reproach" are somewhat odd in that context. The remark is perhaps better understood as reflecting actual hostilities; hostilities emanating from conservative corners in the Buddhist world, more specifically the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei, that felt its power – predicated on ritual and textual expertise – being undermined by the Zen rhetoric of "a special tradition outside the scriptures."

II. DIALOGUES

II.A

[1] **Question & answer one**

A questioner asks how to escape from the cycle of life and death (Skt. *saṃsāra*) and reach the state of awakening (Skt. *bodhi*). In reply the Zen master discredits this very dichotomy. Central in the explanation is the metaphor of "flowers in the sky" (*kūge* 空花), which describes how distorted vision creates images of flowers where in fact there is nothing but empty space. Similarly, a confused mind perceives all kinds of saṃsāric phenomena in what is in fact nothing but the undifferentiated state of awakening (bodhi).

The *kūge* metaphor is central to the *Yuanjuejing* 圓覺經 (Sūtra of Perfect Awakening), a sinitic apocryphon with strong Huayan and Chan imprint. Further down in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, two other metaphors that derive from the *Yuanjuejing* are highlighted, indicating (indirect) influence of this 'sūtra' on our text. The 'sūtra' was the object of an extensive commentary by the scholar monk and Chan master Zongmi and is, in extension, repeatedly cited in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*.[474] Seeing the intimate relation between *Kenshōjōbutsugi* and the *Zongjinglu* we infer that the use of this metaphor in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* derives from the *Zongjinglu*. This is supported by the fact that, as a kind of coda to his explanation, our Zen master actually cites the *Zongjinglu*.

A characteristic of Zongmi's thought that was inherited by Yanshou, is a Yogācāra type affirmation of an ontological ground, a substratum that remains when phenomenal appearances

[473] *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 was compiled in 1183 by Huiweng Wuming (1089-1163), a monk in the lineage of Dahui Zonggao.
[474] For instance, *Zongjinglu* (T. 842, 914a10-a15).

have been deconstructed by emptiness.[475] This ontological tendency is often referred to by researchers as kataphatic, in contradistinction to apophatic.[476] An apophatic interpretation of the *kūge* metaphor would read the metaphor along the lines of classical Mādhyamika. Whalen Lai clarifies: "All forms (the flowers) are empty (without self-nature); they seemingly are because of emptiness (space), but this basic higher *paramārtha* emptiness-essence (Skt. *svabhāva*) is no more an entity that one can grasp: reality is a mirage-like flower in thin air, supported by emptiness, which itself is empty. Emptiness itself has to be emptied (Skt. *śūnyatā-śūnyatā*)." [477] A kataphatic, Huayan type reading tends to affirm the empty space (buddha-nature; mind-ground) as a luminous substance and consider the flowers as nonexistent entities that appear when this substance "accords with conditions" (*zuien* 隨緣). In this conception the phenomena, as phenomena, are unreal; but in their unreality they partake of the essence (just like foamy waves partake of the ocean). It is this type of nonduality that is alluded to throughout *Kenshōjōbutsu*, and in its reading of the sky flower metaphor:

> When empty space is hidden in imaginary flowers, it seems to no longer exist, but since, in actuality, it does not persish, it cannot now disappear. Bodhi is precisely like this. When for some time it is hidden in unreal saṃsāra, it seems to have perished, but since, in actuality, it remains, it cannot now be obtained. So, since there are no sky flowers separate from empty space, you should not search for empty space outside of sky flowers. In the same way, since there is no saṃsāra separate from bodhi, you should not look for bodhi outside of saṃsāra. From beginning to end, sky flowers have no substance. From beginning to end, empty space is truly not without substance.[478] You should understand saṃsāra and bodhi in the same way.

[2] **Question & answer two**

A questioner maintains that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are opposites: to achieve nirvāṇa one must separate from saṃsāra.[479] The Zen master rebukes the "stupidity" (*gu* 愚) of such a dualistic view: saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are nondual, like a voice and its echo. This nondual reality is the "one mind" 一心, a term that is found frequently in the text. For instance, elsewhere [4.d] the questioner is told to "awaken to the one mind." Further down in the text [7], it is declared that "the one mind alone is true reality" (*shinjitsu* 眞實). The one mind – the "empty space" of the sky-flower metaphor – is functionally equivalent to a range of other terms in the text, such as tathāgatagarbha, intrinsic pure mind (*jishō shōjōshin* 自性清浄心), buddha mind (*busshin* 佛心), true mind (*shinjin* 眞心), mind-ground (*shinchi* 心地), and so forth. Implicit in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* is the idea of the one mind as described in *Dasheng qixin lun* (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith)

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[475] See Peter. N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 206-223. Albert Welter, "The Problem of Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism: Yongming Yanshou's Notion of Zong in the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror)," *Studies in Religion* 37/1 (2002), p. 15, note 3.

[476] See Robert M. Gimello, "Apophatic and Kataphatic Discourse in Mahāyāna: A Chinese View," *Philosophy East and West* 26/2 (1976), pp. 117-136. Gadjin M. Nagao, "What Remains in *Śūnyatā*: A Yogācarā Interpretation of Emptiness," in *Mādhyamika and Yogācāra*, Gadjin M. Nagao and Leslie S. Kawamura (tr.) (State University of New York Press, 1991): pp. 51-60.

[477] Whalen W. Lai , "Illusionism in Late T'ang Buddhism: A Hypothesis on the Philosophical Roots of the Round Enlightenment Sūtra," *Philosophy East and West* 28/1 (1978), pp. 46-47. (Slightly modified).

[478] 實躰ナキニアラス實。(KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 177). The added *kana* indicate reading *jitsu ni tai naki ni arazu* 實ニ躰ナキニアラス。Ignoring the *kana* one could also read *jittai* (實躰) *naki ni arazu*, ("does not lack *true substance*"), which would point up the kataphatic overtones of the passage.

[479] The pair saṃsāra/nirvāṇa here is functionally equivalent to saṃsāra/bodhi in the previous question and answer.

and developed in Huayan thought: the one mind and its two aspects. Whereas the absolute aspect (suchness) of the one mind is always pure and tranquil, the relative aspect (arising and extinction) is involved in discriminative thinking and so produces the samsaric world of differentiated phenomena.[480] An important implication of this model is that saṃsāra (delusions/afflictions) is seen to be integrated in nirvāṇa (awakening/bodhi). Buddhahood, then, consists not in discarding the first and obtaining the latter, but in having a clear insight into their nonduality.[481] As *Kenshōjōbutsugi* has it: "Rather than wishing for bodhi, you should wish to understand that afflictions and bodhi are one mind. If you do, you will surely separate from afflictions and attain bodhi."

[3] **Question & answer three**

This question clearly comes from a different (more advanced) questioner. This person acknowledges nonduality but points out that there is an operational difference between being deluded and being awakened. An awakened person "sees the nature" (*kenshō*), stops differentiating, and thus realizes nonduality. A deluded person is fundamentally awakened, but mired in dualistic perceptions, he does not realize it. The questioner eventually inquires: "What kind of buddha lamps should we hoist to illumine the road to bodhi?" In other words, what should people be taught, so that they can awaken?

The Zen master replies that the key to awakening lies in ceasing the movements of consciousness. The explanation centers on two images that derive from the *Yuanjuejing*. The first is that of a shore that seems to move when seen from a sailing ship. The second is that of the moon that appears to fly when clouds pass by it. In both cases, motion causes a stationary object to be misperceived as moving. The true motionless state of the shore is at once seen when the ship halts; the true motionless state of the moon is at once seen when the clouds clear. Analogously, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* explains, the immutable state of awakening – referred to as bodhi and *hongaku* 本覺 – will be perceived when the ship of consciousness stops and the clouds of ignorance clear. "Consciousness" here translates *ishiki* 意識 (Skt. *mano-vijñāna*), the thinking part of the mind that differentiates and objectifies the data coming in through the five senses. The general idea is clear: once the fluctuations of thought cease, the original state of awakening appears.

[4] **Question & answer four**

A questioner praises the foregoing explanation, but also observes that it is descriptive and therefore insufficient, "like the antlers of a snail that cannot prod the vast skies." The questioner accepts the merits of such limited teachings, but stresses that the greatest benefit is achieved when a teaching appeals to person's fundamental capacity for awakening (*konki* 根機). The Zen master is asked to clarify, in this regard, the distinction between the "Buddha's words" 佛言 and the "Buddha's mind" 佛心, and explain the concept of "inside the teachings" (*kyōnai* 教内) and "outside the teachings" (*kyōge* 教外). In addition, the questioner wants to know how fast liberation is attained. These inquiries intimate the Chan/Zen school's famous claim of representing a special tradition that transmits the "mind of the Buddha" without relying on words

[480] See Yoshito S. Hakeda (trans.), *The Awakening of Faith* (Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 38-42.
[481] See Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 5-7.

and texts. In additon they point to the notion of sudden awakening, as opposed to a gradual cultivation. The inquiries set up the Zen master for an extensive elaboration on the position of the Zen school vis-à-vis canonic texts and the exegetical schools of Buddhism.

In reply the Zen master first discusses the notion of "Buddha's words" in relation to "Buddha's mind." He starts by asserting that bodhi cannot be conveyed in words: "Picking up a brush to write about it is like trying to mark off the ocean with an inked carpenter's string. Using words to talk about it is no different from chewing on empty space." Yet words are deemed highly important as "expedient means" 方便 and "preliminary inducements" 弄引. The sūtras are valued and praised as the Buddha' words; the diversity of these words is seen to reflect the Buddha's various teaching strategies. The Buddha's sūtras are thus considered "good medicine" 良藥 against delusion, but they can only be administered accurately by someone who is thoroughly familiar with the source from which they sprang: the Buddha's mind. It is the Zen school 禪宗 that transmits the Buddha's mind.

The transmission of the Buddha's mind – beyond words and beyond all traditional Buddhist disciplines – is highlighted in this section as the defining feature of the Zen school, setting it school apart from the eight established mainstream schools in Japan:

> Transmitted to Japan are the eight schools and the Zen school. Jōjitsu, Kusha and Ritsu are Hīnayāna schools. Hossō and Sanron are provisional Mahāyāna schools. Kegon, Tendai and Shingon are true Mahāyāna schools. The Zen school is outside of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, and not within the true and provisional schools. For this reason it is called "the school of separate transmission, outside the teachings, not reliant on words and letters" and "the dharma transmitted by way of the kāṣāya." It has been said that the great master who spread the dharma [Bodhidharma] sealed the buddha mind of the Eastern Land [i.e. China] with the buddha mind of the Western Skie s [i.e. India] and that Caoxi [Huineng]'s kinsmen of abstruse principle are among those who respond to the pivotal point. This is transmitting mind to mind and not transmitting words. [The Zen school], therefore, is a school that transmits [the dharma] outside of the threefold training of precepts, meditation and wisdom 戒定慧三學 and beyond the threefold discipline of teaching, practice and realization 教行證三重. [482]

The analytical device of distinguishing between the words and the mind of the Buddha to clarify the relationship between Zen and the doctrinal schools of Buddhism, as employed here, draws on the writings of Zongmi, no doubt via the conduit of Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*. *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, in fact, mentions "Chan master Zongmi" 宗蜜禪師 and paraphrases a line from his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (*Chan Preface*):

> The teachings are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's mind. [483]

[482] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 181.
[483] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 181. Zongmi's *Chan Preface* (T. 2015, 400b10-11) reads:. "All lineages regard Śākyamuni as their first patriarch. The scriptures are Buddha's words, Zen is Buddha's intention. The Buddha's mind and speech certainly cannot contradict each other. 初言師有本末者。謂諸宗始祖即是釋迦。經是佛語。禪是佛意。諸佛心口必不相違。 These lines are also quoted in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 418b5-6).

Kenshōjōbutsugi now proceeds to clarify Zongmi's maxim. This clarification forms one of the most extensive passages in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, suggesting the importance of this theme. First the lecturer clarifies the meaning and essence of the "teachings" [4.c], followed by a clarification of "mind" [4.d]

[4.c] TEACHINGS

Kenshōjōbutsugi straightforwardly associates the rubric "teachings" (*kyō*) with the eight schools established in Japan: Jōjitsu, Kusha, Ritsu, Hossō, Sanron, Kegon, Tendai and Shingon. The need to identify the Zen school in this manner suggests that its institutional status as a separate school was still a contested issue. The discussion of "teachings" is exclusively focused on the teachings of the powerful Tendai school, the early Zen movement's most forceful opponent. Seeing that Nōnin, Kakuan and other Darumashū monks hailed from Mount Hiei, the deep familiarity with Tendai doctrine that is displayed in this particular section of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, is not surprising. The conscious juxtaposition of Zen to Tendai indicates a strong Zen sectarian awareness, but also a significant intellectual interconnection with Tendai discourse.

To start with the conclusion of the elaborate argument: the Zen master concludes that the imposing doctrinal edifice of Tendai doctrine in the end teaches nothing more than the truth that ordinary beings are *a priori* buddhas. The supporting argumentation calls upon the Tendai hermeneutical classification of "Four Teachings" (*shikyō* 四教). According to this classification the Buddha established four different teachings: the Tripiṭaka Teaching (Hināyāna), Shared Teaching, Distinct Teaching and the Perfect Teaching, the latter being the all-inclusive teaching of the Buddha as comprised the *Lotus sūtra*, the central scripture of the Tendai school.[484] The point that *Kenshōjōbutsugi* makes is that both the rudimentary Tripiṭaka Teaching (Hināyāna) as well as the advanced Perfect Teaching of the Tendai school distinguish stages in the path to buddhahood. The Tripiṭaka Teaching asserts that the Buddha achieved awakening by gradually ridding himself of impurities during a long and arduous path of austerities. The Perfect Teaching of the Tendai school, we are informed, divides the path to buddhahood into six succesive stages, called the six identities (*rokusoku* 六即). The Tendai theory of six identities, originating with Tiantai Zhiyi, describes six stages through which ordinary beings ascend towards buddhahood:

> 1) Principle identity (*risoku* 理即). The fundamental identity of ordinary beings and Buddha, even prior to spiritual practice.
> 2) Verbal identity (*myōjisoku* 名字即). Through listening to a teacher or reading a sūtra one gains a discursive understanding of one's fundamental buddhahood. This stage marks the beginning of practice.
> 3) Identity of contemplative practice (*kangyōsoku* 観行即). A more intimate understanding arises through spiritual practices.
> 4) Identity of resemblance (*sōjisoku* 相似即). The practices lead to wisdom that resembles buddhahood.
> 5) Partial identity (*bunshōsoku* 分證即). Partial realization of buddhahood.
> 6) Ultimate identity (*kukyōsoku* 究竟即). Full realization of buddhahood. [485]

[484] On the Tiantai classification system see Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i (538-597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk* (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XII, Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1962), pp. 229-268

[485] Based on Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 197-198.

The Perfect Teaching considers the various stages to be linear but also "perfectly interfused" (*enyū* 圓融): the fundamental identity with Buddha is present in each stage. This perfect interfusion of the various stages is exactly the basis for the Zen master's conclusion. After a (deliberately) long-winded description of the six stages, we read the following:

> One level is comprised in all levels and all levels are comprised in one level. Indra's net encompasses everybody from high to low: at the first stage one is [already] an immediately awakened buddha! Though the doctrinal specifics of the One Tendai House are very impressive, they [simply] explain that having cultivated understanding and awakening, one returns to the first abode. The reason for this is that, in truth, the great matter is to solely obtain first-abode awakening. Thus it is said: "The aspiring mind and the ultimate are not two separate things. Thus it is impossible to say which of these two minds comes first." "Like bamboo bursting through the first node." How true this analogy! From the second abode upward, ignorance gradually expires; having developed samādhi, the perfect and subtle state of awakening spontaneously increases and mutable existence decreases. Therefore, even without planning anything at all, one spontaneously flows into the sea of Buddha's wisdom. Like this, the wisdom of actualized awakening is fused with original awakening. The nonduality of actualized and original [awakening] is the ultimate buddha-fruit.[486]

This passage does not reject religious practice *per se*, but it points out that buddhahood is not the gradually achieved result of practice. As it is already fully present at the first stage of principle identity, buddhahood can never be consequenced by practice. Rather, it exists originally (*hongaku* 本覺) and is actualized in practice (*shigaku* 始覺), in the way that a bamboo stalk unfolds once the first node has burst. The event – the required bursting of the first node – is, by implication, the stage of verbal identity (*myōjisoku*), when an ordinary being is informed by a teacher or a text of his or her principle identity (*risoku*) with the Buddha. For the Zen master this is where the "path" ends: "the great matter is solely to obtain first-abode awakening." The remainder is inconsequential: "even without planning anything at all, you will nonetheless spontaneously flow into the sea of Buddha's wisdom."

The descriptions and the reductionist interpretation in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* of Tendai theory reflect the language and concerns of Tendai *hongaku* discourse. One of the characteristics repeatedly found in medieval Tendai *hongaku* literature is the use of the six identities theory to downplay gradual models and extol original awakening. An example of this is *Sanjū shika no kotogaki* 三十四箇事書 (Notes on Thirty-four Articles) a compilation of *hongaku* teachings ascribed to Genshin (942-1017) and compiled by the Tendai monk Kōkaku (fl. 1150).[487] According to this text, the path of practice is an outcome of awakening, not its cause. The actualization of original awakening is, in this text, equated with the second stage of verbal identity (*myōjisoku*): the moment a "good friend" (*chishiki* 知識) reveals the truth about one's buddhahood, this truth is instantly attained.[488]

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[486] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 182-183.

[487] *Sanjū shika no kotogaki* is included in *Tendai Hongakuron*, pp. 357-368 (*genbun*) and 152-184 (*kakikudashi*). Analyses and translated excerpts of this and other Tendai *hongaku* texts are found in Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 190-236. The date and compilation of *Sanjū shika no kotogaki* are matters of scholarly dispute. Most researchers place the text in the late Heian period. See Stone *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 387-388 note 190.

[488] For example:

> One does not move from one stage to another. The time of encountering the teaching is precisely the time of realization. All practices and good deeds are expedient means subsequent to the fruit [of original awakening]. […] The matter of returning to and unifying with original awakening (*gendō hongaku* 還同

A similar use of the six identities surfaces in *Shinnyokan* 眞如觀 (Contemplation of Suchness), a twelfth century Tendai *hongaku* text that is likewise attributed to Genshin. *Shinnyokan* invokes the six identities to explain the nonduality of ordinary beings and Buddha (specifically Buddha Amithābha) in terms of "suchness" (*shinnyo* 眞如). It asserts that full awakening is realized at the stage of verbal identity, when one first encounters the teaching. The pivotal factor in this realization is "faith" or "trust" (*shin* 信): one has to believe that "oneself is precisely suchness."[489] Earlier, I suggested that *Shinnyokan* had certain characteristics in common with *Jōtōshōgakuron*. The latter claims that buddhahood is accomplished fully upon being informed of the truth that one is already a buddha, provided that this truth is accepted in faith (*shinju* 信受). As we will see below, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* makes exactly the same claim.

Kenshōjōbutsugi can be said to have emerged from the matrix of Tendai *hongaku* discourse. The Darumashū monks came from Mount Hiei, from the Yokawa precincts to be exact, a place known to be a locus of *hongaku* transmissions. They were not only familiar with *hongaku* discourse, but also actively contributed to its development. This at least is suggested in *Shinnyokan*, which makes explicit and positive reference to ideas about the mind-nature (*shinshō* 心性) as propagated in the Darumashū.[490] We will pick up on this reference later.

As kind of coda to this exposition on the category of "teachings," *Kenshōjōbutsugi* produces two verses attributed to Baozhi, the illustrious contemporary of Bodhidharma. The first verse mocks Dharma Masters (*hōshi* 法師), who are portrayed as sweet talking lecturers, interested only in the money of their students. The second verse ridicules Precept Masters (律師 *risshi*), who in their obsession with Buddhist rules of conduct are not only far removed from true insight, but also hinder the salvation of their pupils. Both verses read as harsh criticisms on the mainstream Buddhist institutions. The second verse may, incidentally, also tell us something about the attitude in the Darumashū toward observance of the precepts. The verse reads:

> Once there were two monks who violated the precepts.
> Afterward they went to inquire with Upāli.
> [Upāli] explained their offense according to the Vinaya.
> But the monks persisted all the more in trapping birds and catching fish.
> Then Vimalakīrti, the layman who lived in a ten feet square hut,
> arrived and scolded him. Upāli was silent, he had no answer back.
> Vimalakīrti's clarification of the dharma is unsurpassed.[491]

The episode in the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* to which Baozhi's verse alludes, critizises literal adherence to the precepts. Instead it recommends insight into the emptiness of transgressions and the

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本覺) must be thoroughly studied. From the stage of verbal identity onwards, returning to and unifying with original awakening is discussed in stadia. This is because original awakening is simply present in delusion and actualized awakening is simply present in [original] awakening. Knowing that original awakening and actualized awakening are one is called returning to and unifying with original awakening (Tada Kōryū, et al., *Tendai hongakuron*, p. 357.)

[489] Tada Kōryū, et al., *Tendai hongakuron*, pp. 120-149. A discussion and translated excerpts of the text are found in Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, pp. 190-236.

[490] Darumashū influence on Tendai *hongaku* thought has been suggested by Tamura Yoshiro. See Stone, *Original enlightenment*, p. 174.

[491] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 183.

original purity of the mind. A person with such insight is "a true upholder of the Vinaya." [492] As noted earlier, a similar sentiment is voiced in *Jōtōshōgakuron*. This attitude, which takes insight into the mind as the true way of keeping the precepts, is reminiscent of the notion of "formless precepts" (*musōkai* 無相戒), articulated for instance in the *Platform sūtra*.

[4.d] MIND

Kenshōjōbutsugi now turns to "mind," as in in the second part of Zongmi's maxim: "The teachings are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's mind."

We are informed that the Zen school avoids the kind of scholarly talk associated with the doctrinal schools: this kind of talk is no more than "playing with pebbles" 學語翫砂. The Zen school – now aptly called "Buddha mind school" (Busshinshū) – is concerned only with "instant awakening to the mind-nature." The way to achieve this is not through strategic practices that are based on the idea of cause and effect (*shūin eka* 修因得果), but through direct insight into the formless (*musō* 無相), nondual mind. A vivid description of this mind follows:

> This mind is a numinous light that shines on its own 靈光獨照, uninvolved with external objects. Towering and dignified, it transcends the highest regions of awakening. Marvelous and ultimate, it is beyond appearances such as ordinary and holy. Being of indestructible adamantine substance, even the eight-armed King Mārā cannot disturb it. Being a long-living and undying mind, even twice-killed demons cannot devour it. Shapeless and formless it gulps down Mahāvairocana, the unaging Mahāpuruṣas and all the Buddhas in one sip. It picks up and squashes ten thousand dharmas in a single moment.

The Zen master explains that when this formless mind "accords with conditions" (*zuien* 隨緣) all kinds of forms are differentiated (i.e. saṃsāra). These forms are but illusory apparitions, images in a mirror, grounded nonetheless on the formless mind – a situation likened in our text to the presence of turbulent waves on the vast ocean. There is, in other words, a nondual connection between the pure mind and the illusory forms appearing in it. Buddhahood is attained by seeing the forms for what they really are: non-forms. This kind of perception is referred to in the text as "formless perception" (*musō chigaku* 無相知覺), the perception of a buddha.

The argument is in part framed on allusions to a famous episode in the *Diamond sūtra*. In this episode the Buddha leads his student Subhūti to the insight that the true Buddha (reality as it truly is) is not seen in the Buddha's physical characteristics but in the emptiness of those characteristics. The Zen master warns his audience not to become infatuated with the beautiful characteristics of external Buddhas, but to see the genuine, formless, universal buddha-nature:

> Why would only someone with a body height of sixteen feet and a purple-golden hue be called Universal Wise Bhagavat, or only one with a radiant nimbus and a long broad tongue be called World Honored Tathāgata? [Buddha] said: "All possession of characteristics is unreal." So, treat the true buddha of self-nature as the Buddha! [Buddha also] explained: "Those who see me through forms are on the wrong track." So, perceive with formless

[492] Robert A. F. Thurman (tr.), *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti: A Mahāyāna Scripture* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991), pp. 30-31.

> perception! Why not truly awaken to the one mind and treat it as the Buddha [instead of] longing for an [external] Buddha and going after all kinds of colors?[493]

Kenshōjōbutsu here shows similarities with *Shinnyokan*, one of the Tendai *hongaku* texts mentioned earlier. *Shinnyokan* similarly downplays reverence for the physical attributes of the Buddha and instead encourages awareness of "suchness" (*shinnyo*), a designation for the true, empty state of reality, equated in that text with tathāgatagarbha, dharma-nature, buddha-nature and mind-nature. When elucidating the term mind-nature, *Shinnyokan* actually produces a reference to the Darumashū:

> In the Darumashū they say that dharmas have only nature and no form. Concerning this the Venerable Bodhidharma composed the *Hassōron*, [saying that] the nature is revealed when forms are seen through. This means that one who understands that dharmas are just nature and have no form, is called a buddha. Indeed, we imagine false forms inside the one true and formless principle, but like images seen in a dream they are not real. This happens because in the one buddha-nature there is distortive thinking. Confused by external forms we think "this is a horse, that is an ox and that is a human being" and in the mind we make countless distinctions and project them outward. The external forms are like dreams, they are not the true buddha. When you know that in truth they are one buddha-nature and remember that there are no forms, then you are a buddha. Thus the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* says: "All dharmas have no form. This is the true substance of the Buddha."[494]

This line of reasoning resonates with views expressed in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. The differentiated forms of the everyday world (things, buddhas, opinions, concepts, ants, crickets, etc) are nothing but misperceived formless buddha-nature, flowers in empty space, waves upon the ocean, all of the same empty one mind-substance. Nothing needs to be eradicated, one only has to wake up to this undifferentiated totality.

[5] **Question & answer five**

This question follows up on the distincion made earlier between Zen and the doctrinal teachings. The questioner argues that since the words of the scriptures are no less than the oral teachings of the Buddha, it is needless to posit, as the Zen school does, the separate categories of "Buddha's mind" (*busshin*) and "outside the teaching" (*kyōge*).

In response the Zen master first explains mere referentiality of spoken and written words. He does this by juxtaposing "name" (*myō* 名) and "substance" (*tai* 躰). The thrust is as follows: a word like *water* is a name that merely refers to a substance, namely: *wetness*. Because the name is not the substance itself one can say *water* all day without slaking one's thirst. This principle is applied to the categories "inside the teachings" and "outside the teachings." The words of the Buddha, recorded in the scriptures, are *names* that refer to a *substance*, namely: the Buddha's mind (*busshin*). The doctrinal schools of Buddhism – "inside the teachings" – are engrossed in names; its adherents study and recite the Buddha's words without having realized the Buddha's mind. The Zen school – "outside the teachings" – operates on the level of the Buddha's mind and is

[493] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 183.
[494] Tada, et al (eds.), *Tendai hongakuron*, p. 137

therefore not only superior in interpreting the words of the scriptures but also in their didactic employment. The non-reliance on texts that is formulated here is not a categorical rejection but rather a repositioning of the status of texts. This repositioning in effect opens up the door to active engagement with texts and words. As a text, *Kenshōjobutsugi* itself may serve as an example of this principle.

The use in *Kenshōjobutsugi* of the analytical tool of *name/substance* to elucidate the distinction between the signifying language of the scriptures and the signified truth itself, can be traced to Zongmi. In his *Chan Preface*, Zongmi advances a similar thesis, structured around the example of water and wetness.[495] Peter Gregory notes that for Zongmi this distinction "emphasizes the fundamental qualitative difference between abstract and experiential understanding."[496] Zongmi's *name/substance* argument is also cited in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*, on which *Kenshōjōbutsugi* no doubt relied.[497] In the *Zongjinglu*, the dyads *name/substance* and the structurally equivalent *mind/word* serve Yanshou's overall project to demonstrate that the principles of Zen are in harmony with the Buddhist textual traditions.[498] *Kenshōjōbutsugi* agrees with Yanshou in a general way: the sūtras contain the Buddha's words and are as such valuable expedients. In a way reminiscent of Yanshou, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* illustrates the congruence between the *mind* and the *words* of the Buddha by mentioning several Mahāyāna sūtras and by pointing out how in essence all these sūtras describe different aspects of the luminous buddha mind. But, even Yanshou admits that texts, though useful as guides, are ultimately void and illusory and therefore must be transcended.[499] *Kenshōjōbutsugi* appears more forceful on this point; it uses the *word/mind* and *name/substance* distinctions in a way similar to Yanshou, yet in the end the intent of our Zen master seems more divisive than unifying. Albert Welter recently described Yanshou's conception of Zen (Chan) as "a special tradition *within* the scriptures."[500] This is not how our Zen master sees it. Despite the unmistaken validation of the Buddha's words, as comprised in the Buddhist scriptures, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* is heavily weighted towards the Buddha's mind – the keystone that elevates Zen above the eight doctrinal schools.

"We do not observe the practice of meditation"

After an illegible part in the manuscript, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* again asserts the fundamental nonduality of buddhas and ordinary beings. The notion of a long and gradual path to buddhahood and the need to engage in meditative practice is now explicitly rejected:

> In reality there is no distinction between wise and stupid ones, and no such category as "one who learns." Fundamentally equal, you are an [infinitely] long ago realized buddha. [Buddhahood], then, does not come after incalculable kalpas, or advance over countless units of time. [The Zen school] is not a gate for gradual advancement toward excellence, and for this reason we do not concentrate on contemplative wisdom. We are different from the teachings, [which aim to] realize the principle through the excision of impurities, and for this reason we do not observe the practice of meditation.[501]

[495] *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* (T. 2015, 406c05-407a04). Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 145-147.
[496] Peter N. Gregory, "Tsung-Mi and the Single Word Awareness," *Philosophy East and West* 35/3 (1985): pp. 249-269.
[497] *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 616c02).
[498] See Albert Welter, *Yongmin Yanshou's Conception of Chan: A Special Transmission Within the Scriptures*, (Oxford University Press, 2011).
[499] Ibid., p. 56.
[500] Ibid.
[501] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 187.

The ingredients for attaining awakening are now put forward, namely: the presence of a teacher who explains the truth of inherent buddhahood and a listener with faith. As noted earlier this recipe has its correlates in Tendai *hongaku* discourse. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* reads:

> Awakening is attained upon encountering someone who thoroughly explains this essential point […] So, discard your haughty attitude and set your mind on joyous faith, then without casting away the ordinary mind you will manifest the buddha mind, and without parting from your flesh body you will take on the buddha body.[502]

Interestingly, the notion of faith is further discussed with reference to rebirth in the Pure Land and the practice of *nenbutsu*. Belief in rebirth in a distant Pure Land through reverence and invocation of the Buddha is negatively evaluated and contrasted with the notion of faith in the Zen school. Genuine birth in the Pure Land is defined as an inner event that links faith in the Buddha with personal realization of the inherent buddha-nature. The criticism of literal Pure Land belief and *nenbutsu* practice is resumed in the course of the subsequent dialogue.

[6] **Question & answer six**

"Karmic impediments are fundamentally void and calm"

This entry addresses causality and karmic recompense. A questioner supposes that evil deeds commited in one's life cause karmic afflictions, which in turn lead to rebirth in one of the six realms of transmigration. Seeing that this karmic chain of cause and effect has been going on from beginningless time, the question arises: how can it be eliminated?

In reply the Zen master deconstructs the very process of karma. Karma, the principle that *good* deeds invite future rewards and *evil* deeds create future retribution, is shown to rest on a delusion, namely the delusion of accepting *good* and *evil* as real entities. In truth, all entities are imaginary, insubstantial constructs of a mind that is caught up in discriminative thinking. This truth is illustrated in our text with the story of the Korean monk Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-686):

> Wŏnhyo and Uisang, two dharma masters from the Eastern Land (Silla), came to Tang China in search of a master. When the night fell they took lodging inside a desolate crypt. Thirsty, Dharma master Wŏnhyo was thinking of juice. Having spotted a cup of fresh water he picked it up and drank. It was very tasty! At the brightening of the skies he saw it had been fluid from a corpse. Overcome with nausea he vomited and [suddenly] attained great awakening. He said: "I heard the words of the Buddha: 'The three worlds are only mind, the myriad [dharmas] are only consciousness.' The tastiness and filthiness were in me, not actually in the water!"

Expressing the same truth, our Zen master declares: "The ten good acts are not good (…) the ten evil acts are not evil (…) If you weren't making distinctions, there wouldn't be good and evil. Good and evil are not intrinsically designated ["good" and "evil"]." This argument, of course, has immediate bearing on the concept of karma. Once discriminative thinking is abandoned and the nondual nature of reality is discerned, the karmic process – based as it is on differentiating

[502] Ibid.

between good and evil acts – is said to immediately loose its hold: "In one kṣaṇa it obliterates the karma that leads to the Avīci hell."

A corollary to this idea is that meditative practices are useless. They are useless because they aim at counteracting afflictions that do not really exist. One just has to stop discriminative thinking so one can be in harmony with the "true mind" or "mind-nature" and thus "be free and unobstructed" and "act without constraints." The idea is illustrated by a citation from a dialogue between the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin and the monk Niutou (Oxhead) Farong.

> [Daoxin] said: "All karmic impediments are fundamentally void and calm. All causes and effects are like phantasmal dreams. Be free and unobstructed, rely on the mind and act without constraints. Don't create all sorts of good and evil."
> Farong asked: "Seeing that you do not allow the practice of meditation, how is the mind to counteract sense objects when they arise?"
> [Daoxin] answered: "External objects are not [inherently] attractive or repulsive. Attractiveness and repulsiveness arise in the mind. When the mind stops obstinately assigning names, from where then would delusive emotions arise? When delusive emotions no longer arise, the true mind will be in its natural state of full awareness.[503]

"Birth in the Pure Land"

Further clarifying the point, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* again picks up on the notion of birth in the Pure Land. According to our text, true birth in the Pure Land has nothing to do with being born in an external Pure Land, where one enjoys sermons by Amida or Kannon. True birth in the Pure Land, rather, is the manifestation of one's original awakening 本覺. Birth in the Pure Land, the Zen master clarifies, means that one goes "beyond both the Noble and the Pure Land paths (*shōdō jōdo nimon* 聖道浄土二門)."

This last remark merits extra attention. The juxtaposition of the "Noble path" (*shōdōmon* 聖道門) and the "Pure Land path" (*jōdomon* 浄土門) and the use of the compound *shōdō jōdo nimon* are typical of the Pure Land teachings as propagated by Hōnen and his lineage descendants.[504] In his *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (*ca.* 1198), Hōnen traces this taxonomy to the dhyāna master Daochuo 道綽禪師 (562-645) and argues that conventional Buddhist practices (*shōdōmon*), such as meditation and observance of the precepts, must be rejected in favor of the Pure Land practice of faithfully reciting Amida's name (*jōdomon*).[505] In the disputes that arose among Hōnen's students and later Pure Land teachers, the soteriological status of conventional practices in relation to the practice of *nenbutsu* was a central issue. The advice in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* to go beyond both *shōdōmon* and *jōdōmon* practices appears to be formulated with knowledge of Hōnen's ideas and these related issues. As examined in the previous chapters, several intersections between the Darumashū, Amidism, and Hōnen's Pure Land movement can

[503] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 189-190.

[504] The compound s*hōdō jōdo nimon* 聖道浄土二門 appears to be distinctively Japanese. I have not been able to locate it in Chinese sources. It is frequently used in texts from the Kamakura period that are connected to Hōnen and the Pure Land school, e.g. *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 選擇本願念佛集 (T. 2608) by Hōnen, *Senchaku mitsuyō ketsu* 選擇密要決 (T. 2620) by Shōkū, *Tetsu senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 徹選擇本願念佛集 (T. 2609) by Shōkō, *Senchaku denkōketsu gishō* 選擇傳弘決疑鈔 (T. 2610) by Ryōchū and *Kurodani Shōnin gotōroku* 黒谷上人語燈録 (T. 2611) by Ryōe.

[505] See Senchakushū English Translation Project, *Hōnen's Senchakushū: Passages on the Selection of the Nembutsu in the Original Vow* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), pp. 1-56.

indeed be identified. [506] As Robert Sharf pointed out in the context of early Chan in China, criticisms of Pure Land *nenbutsu* practice do not necessarily entail a rejection of the practice *per se*. Such criticisms, on the contrary, often appear in texts associated with communities in which *nenbutsu* was an important practice. What is in fact being repudiated is a particular understanding of *nenbutsu* that posits the objective existence of buddhas and Pure Lands external to the practitioner.[507] The critical references in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* to *nenbutsu* and birth in the Pure Land may similarly be taken to indicate that *nenbutsu* was an accepted practice among members of the addressed audience – a contested practice in need of a serious corrective.

[7] **Question & answer seven**

Do not attach to emptiness

Still resisting the idea of nonduality, the questioner maintains that good and evil, cause and effect are different: "How can you say that through the power of *kenshō* one instantly apprehends them as one mind, without differentiation?"

In reply, Zen master repeats that it is a deluded mind that makes all these inapt distinctions. Then there follows an interesting stipulation:

> Those who simply [ ] and cultivate evil, saying: "We refute causality, good and evil are nondual," are people with a view of emptiness that leads to the evil realms. Not even the guidance of the Buddhas will protect them. They are thieves in the Buddhadharma. Therefore it is said that even though falling into a view of existence 有見 [is a mistake] as big as Mount Sumeru, one should also not be covered under a view of emptiness 空見 , not even to the extent of a poppy seed.[508]

Deconstruction of dharmas (such as good and evil) by way of emptiness can easily be construed as a theoretical foundation for transgressive behavior. Starkly put: when all things and values are equally nonsubstantial, anything goes. The Zen master, however, sternly reprimands those who take emptiness as a rationale for evildoing: such persons are "thieves in the Buddhadharma." The concerns expressed in this reprimand may very well bear on a social reality in the addressed audience. As was the case in Hōnen's Pure Land movement, some groups or individuals associated with the Darumashū may very well have displayed behavior that was seen as dissolute.[509] As will be clear from Chapter Eight, the criticism of the Darumashū voiced by Eisai exactly focuses on this issue and uses similar language to denounce it.

To check those who cultivate evil on the basis of emptiness, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* points out that emptiness (here delineated as "nonexistence") is a concept that in the end must be transcended:

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[506] For instance: Dainichi Nōnin discoursed with Hōnen's student Shōkō and was involved in raising funds for an Amida statue at the Kenkō-in, presided over by Hōnen's student Shōkū; the Darumashū temple Sambōji was frequented by *nenbutsu hijiri*; the Darumashū monk Ekan lectured on the three major Amitābha sūtras; the Darumashū/Sōtō/Shingon monk Gijun practiced Amida fire rituals.

[507] Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), p. 46.

[508] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp.191-192.

[509] On radical Amida groups see Fabio Rambelli, "Just behave as you like, "Prohibitions and impurities are not a problem": Radical Amida Cults and Popular Religiosity in Premodern Japan," in *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amithābhā*, edited by Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), pp. 169-201.

> The Buddha, in fact, expounded neither existence nor emptiness. When people grasped at existence he expounded emptiness, just to break their attachment to existence. He did not say: "Cling to emptiness!" When people were attached to emptiness, he proclaimed existence, just to grind their attachment to emptiness, but he did not say: "Cling to existence!" Why would he speak of existence and emptiness to benefit those who cling to neither? When the extremes "emptiness" and "existence" are both gone, the designation "middle way" also disappears. [To view reality in terms of] the threefold truth [as the Tendai school does] is a provisional stage. The one mind alone is true reality. [510]

The warning not to use emptiness as a way to negate values (and hence karma), and so justify evil behavior, seems to be pragmatic. It shows an awareness of the ethical perils of emptiness thought. And yet, by invoking the "one mind" as the ultimate reality – a kind of higher emptiness, the tathāgatagarbha (the empty space under the empty flowers) – the argument circles back to what comes close to a negation of the karmic process. In the end, it is reasserted that those who transcend textual study and awaken to the one mind understand that there is ultimately no good and evil, and hence no karmic causality: "there is no causality-dust on the one mind-ground, and there are no good or evil waves on the sea of true reality.

[8] Question & answer eight

"Just apprehend the one mind"

According to the questioner karma has been accumulating for kalpas, it sticks to a person like glue: how could it possibly be erased simply by awakening to the one mind?

The Zen master rehearses that a deep understanding of emptiness exposes the building blocks of karma as illusory creations arising from the one mind, which itself is always formless and calm. In addition, it is emphasized that this understanding is not attained gradually over eons, by way of practice – rather, it occurs suddenly "in the time it takes to stretch and bend back your arm." The Hongzhou Chan master Dazhu Huihai is cited in support: "Deluded people seek attainment and realization. Awakened people do not seek or attain anything. Deluded people anticipate longlasting kalpas. Awakened people suddenly see the original buddha."[511]

Much of the entry (including the question part!) is cited or paraphrased in Japanese from the *Zongjinglu*. For instance:

> Bodhisattva Yongshi committed a sexual transgression and still awakened to non-arising. Nun Hsing had no spiritual practice and still realized the fruit of the path. So, [if even they succeeded], how could one who trusts and understands the buddhadharma, and who clearly apprehends his own mind, fail to attain awakening? Someone who doubted this said: "Why should we not eliminate the afflictions?" I explained: "Just clearly see that murder, theft, sexual transgressions and conceit all issue from the one mind! The moment they arise they are calm: what need is there for further elimination? Just apprehend the one mind and the myriads of objects will naturally become like phantasms. Why? All dharmas arise from the mind. Since the mind is formless, what characteristics could dharmas possibly possess? [512]

[510] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 192.
[511] Ibid., p.193.
[512] Ibid., pp.193-194.

It is not difficult to imagine how a passage as this one, which on first glance trivializes murder, theft, rape and deceit, may have fueled indignation in contemporaries, especially in those who sought to restore strict observance of the Buddhist precepts, such as for instance Eisai. No doubt it was in part this kind of language that made the Darumashū a controversial movement.

[9] **Question & answer nine**

A questioner wonders why, given the alledged nondual state of reality, the master still distinguishes between ordinary beings and buddhas. The Zen master explains that these distinctions are indeed redundant, but that they seem real to those who have not yet awakened. The required, sudden insight into nonduality is compared to a surgical scalpel cutting through a cataract that distorts one's perception:

> The moment red and green are in the eyes, a thousand flowers distort the sky. The moment the golden scalpel cuts the eye-membrane, all is empty, tranquil and serene. The moment you are in a nonawakened state of mind, ordinary beings and sages, worthy and despicable, are differentiated. The moment you are in a fully awakened state of mind, the sad distinction between ordinary beings and buddhas is gone.[513]

The metaphor of the golden scalpel derives from the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*. Like a good doctor who removes his patient's cataracts with a scalpel, the Buddha (by preaching the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*) reveals the difficult to perceive buddha-nature. Whereas the patients in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* regain clear vision gradually, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* takes the position that awakening is attained suddenly and all-at-once: "The moment the golden scalpel cuts the eye-membrane, all is empty and tranquil."

[10] **Question & answer ten**

The questioner insists that good and evil (and the concomitant karmic process) are simply a fact: "A thoroughly evil icchantika [i.e. a sentient being incapable of attaining nirvāṇa] falls into into the Avīci hell, a thoroughly virtuous Tathāgata dwells in tranquil light."

In reply, the Zen master once more explains that this is deluded thinking. He then resorts to some highly wrought lament:

> Your [mistaken] view of a self is towering. Your deluded attachments reach deep. When, Oh when, will be the day that Mount Self suddenly crumbles to reveal the sky of the true self? When will Delusion Ocean dry up instantly to [reveal] the void of the golden lake? The sword of self-assertion is the enemy that injures your body. The rope of deluded attachment is the error that binds your chest. You must throw away the sword of the provisional self and polish the sword of the true self, cut the ropes of bondage and seize the cord of great samādhi.[514]

Descriptions such as this bring out the paradox of nonduality, something that is present throughout *Kenshōjōbutsugi* and rests on a very old distinction between relative truth (Skt. *saṃvṛti-satya*) and absolute truth (Skt. *paramārtha-satya*). From a deluded perspective there is

[513] Ibid., p. 194.
[514] Ibid.

delusion and awakening, while from an awakened perspective this bifurcation is nonexistent. The Zen master, accordingly, teaches his deluded students in dualistic terms – positing for instance a false self and a true self. But in the end he again disrupts his own description, by saying that such oppositions are in truth indifferentiable: "The true and false paths are not two (…) saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are one. How true these words are!"

II. B

Though the discussion continous as before, there is a change in form and didactic style. Rather then going through each dialogical entry separately, I will provide a concise overview, citing only from a few entries. This should be sufficient to illustrate the gist of this section and examine some of the details.

The sequence of thirty-four short questions and answers [11~44] create the impression of a vivid exchange between the Zen master and a single questioner. On part of the Zen master there is a shift from discursive, doctrinal explanation to rhetorical counterquestion and cryptic statement. This shift becomes visible in Q&A eleven and twelve, at which point the Zen master is asked to explain the essence of Zen without taking recourse to doctrinal theories:

> [11] QUESTION: It seems that [you are using] words in various ways here, but your replies do not go beyond the doctrinal side [of Buddhism]. Are we to consider this the dharma gate of the Zen school? Or have you been answering in accord with the doctrinal gate? ANSWER: In accordance with the questions asked I just momentarily borrowed from the doctrinal gate. It is not the true purport of the Zen gate.
>
> [12] QUESTION: Please explain the real meaning of this true teaching, so I will understand it. ANSWER: The moment stone tigers fight at the foot of a mountain and reed flowers sink to the bottom of a lake, I will tell you the essential point of this teaching. [515]

The Zen master clarifies that his earlier, wordy explanations were simply a response to a certain type of inquiry. He was, in other words, simply using doctrinal teachings as an expedient means appropriate to the level of the questioner. The metaphors of the "stone tigers" that fight at the foot of a mountain and the "reed flowers" that sink in a lake illustrate things that are impossible. The expressions here indicate the impossibility of verbally imparting the essential point of Zen. The questioner has to realize it for himself. This point has of course been repeatedly made earlier in the text (e.g. "talking about it is like chewing on empty space"). The uncomprehending and obstinate questioner nonetheless keeps on demanding answers. The Zen master refuses to reembark on discursive exposé. He either rhetorically reverses the questions or posits short and sometimes cryptic statements.

At times the Zen master's statements appear rather cryptic, but they are in fact not nonsensical. For instance, with the phrase "There is no hair on the back of a tortoise [34]," the master tries to make it clear to the questioner that he is pointlessly grappling with concepts that have no basis in

[515] Ibid., p. 195.

reality. Another one-line answer – "Sun and moon have no flaws" [35] – may be taken to refer to the buddha-nature, which like the sun and the moon is ever immaculate and luminous. When the questioner asks how to attain the awareness of a buddha, the master in reply does not expand on how this might be done. Instead he merely says: "The lantern boy comes looking for fire" [42], a Zen phrase that indicates the fallacy of searching for what one already possesses. When the questioner says he does not understand, the master replies: "The bowl faces up, the kāṣāya points down." The kāṣāya and bowl are of course the quintessential symbols of the Zen lineage. But they are also tangible objects that were used by Buddhist monks and nuns in their daily lives. The remark then may be interpreted as an affirmation of the "suchness" of the everyday world. The questioner's rice bowl faces up and his kāṣāya points down. Right there, the functioning of the buddha-nature is immediately and perfectly manifest. Form is emptiness, emptiness is form. Nothing needs to be added or taken away.

The questioner repeatedly says he does not understand. At a certain point he even qualifies the Zen master's statements as "incomprehensible" and "nonsense" (*itazura*). Within the parameters of the text, these remarks represent the questioner's spiritual obstructions, bringing to the fore the epistemic mismatch between the the struggling student and the awakened teacher. In this sense section II.B resembles the socalled "encounter dialogues" of classical Chan. John Mcrae explains:

> Chan encounter dialogue eschews the straightforward exchange of ideas; it is characterized by various types of logical disjunctions, inexplicable and iconoclastic pronouncements, gestures and physical demonstrations, and even assaultive behavior such as shouts and blows with hand, foot, or stick. The best way to understand such features is as a function of the fundamental mismatch of intention between the students and masters as depicted in these texts. The students are generally depicted as requesting assistance in ascending the path of Buddhist spiritual training toward enlightenment. The masters, for their part, are represented as refusing to accede to their students' naïve entreaties, instead deflecting their goal seeking perspective and attempting to propel them into the realization of their own inherent perfection. [516]

The effected "mismatch" in section II.B of *Kenshōjōbutsugi* can be said to reflect this Chan literary model. At the same time it may also be an echo of actual discords in the historical reception of the Darumashū. The use of codified Zen lore by Japanese Zen teachers in the late Heian and Kamakura periods both attracted people and antagonized people. A sign of this can be seen in the emergence of the socalled "Daruma-uta" in contemporary literary circles. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the term *Daruma uta* 達磨歌 (Bodhidharma verse) was adopted by a circle of poets around the nobleman Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), who were fascinated with Zen lore. These poets, according to Matsumura Yūji, were influenced by the activities of Nōnin's Darumashū. Critics rejected the circle's unconventional style and appropriated the word *Daruma uta* as a pejorative for obscurantic nonsense poetry.[517]

In closing, I would like to draw attention to Dialogue no. 39, which contains a strikingly succinct answer by the Zen master. It consist of one word, *reichi* 靈知 (numinous awareness), an important concept in Darumashū discourse:

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[516] McRae, *Seeing Through Zen*, p. 77.
[517] See Matsumura Yūji, "Teika: Daruma-uta wo megutte," in *Shinkokinshū to sono jidai*, Waka Bungaku Ronshū 8 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1991).

QUESTION: If one maintains that the mind-nature is neither foolish or wise, should it not follow that it is devoid of understanding, like hollow space, a tree, or a rock?
ANSWER: Numinous awareness 靈知.

QUESTION: If one maintains that it has awareness, should it not follow that it deliberates, measures and calculates?
ANSWER: It goes with the flow 任運.

The term "numinous awareness" (*reichi* 靈知) is of central importance in the Chan thought of Zongmi; in extension it is frequently found in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*. Zongmi uses the term "awareness" – along with "clear and ever-present awareness (*ryōryō jōchi* 了了常知), "empty tranquil awareness" (*kūjakuchi* 空寂知) and "spontaneous tranquil awareness (*nin'un jakuchi* 任運寂知) – as synonymous with the buddha-nature. As noted earlier, "awareness,"for Zongmi was "not a specific cognitive faculty but the underlying ground of consciousness that is always present in all sentient life." [518] This description resonates with the view on buddha-nature (mind-nature, etc) expressed in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. In fact, the above cited dialogue is based on a passage from Zongmi's *Chan Preface* (also cited in the *Zongjinglu*).[519]

The use of the term *reichi* in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* is notable, too, because it matches allusions to Darumashū teachings in external sources. The Sōtō/Darumashū monk Keizan writes that when Ejō and Dōgen first met they discussed *kenshō reichi* (seeing the nature, the numinous awareness), the implication being that *kenshō reichi* is what Ejō had been studying in the Darumashū, before meeting Dōgen.[520] *Reichi* is moreover integral to the criticism on the Darumashū implicit in writings of Dōgen. Dōgen connects the notion of numinous awareness to the socalled "Śreṇika heresy," the idea of an indestructible self. We will return to this issue in Chapter Eight .

Concluding remarks

Kenshōjōbutsugi consists of dialogues between a Zen master and his audience. The text heavily relies on Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* and on writings of Zongmi (mostly via the *Zongjinglu*). The work is much concerned with explaining the difference between Zen and the doctrinal schools of Buddhism, which are equated with the socalled eight schools of Buddhism in Japan. At the heart of the text is a juxtaposition between the Tendai and Zen schools. Tendai is said to operate on the level of the "Buddha's words," whereas Zen operates on the level of the "Buddha's mind." The teachings of Tendai are presented as an imposing system of practices and textual studies and yet in the end this system is said to teach only one simple lesson: ordinary beings are a priori buddhas. It is stressed that buddhahood is not achieved through practices, but accomplished instantly the moment it is revealed by a teacher – provided one has "joyous faith" in the truth that is being proclaimed. In its reduction of the soteriological path to its bare minimum, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* shows a deep affinity with certain strands of Tendai *hongaku* discourse.

Kenshōjōbutsugi contains critical remarks on *nenbutsu* practice. It rejects literal conceptions of the Pure Land, and points out that birth in the Pure Land is a spiritual state. The particular phrasing in this criticism suggests interaction with the Pure Land movement of Hōnen. The text's

[518] Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, p. 218
[519] *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 615a7-10).
[520] *Denkōroku* (T. 2585, 409b09).

obvious concern with correcting mistaken views of Pure Land *nenbutsu* no doubt points to the significance of this practice in the community that produced the text.

At a certain point in the treatise the style of discourse changes. The discursive method of explanation that characterized much of the foregoing section makes place for a kind of "encounter dialogue." This part of the text aims to depict the immediate, nondiscursive "Zen aspect" of the dharma. Thus the twofold structure of the text as a whole can be said to mirror the guiding principle of its argument, namely Zongmi's dictum: "The teachings are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's mind."

CHAPTER SEVEN
DARUMASHŪ TEXTS (3)

PRIMARY DARUMASHŪ TEXT III: *HŌMON TAIKŌ* (DHARMA GATE FUNDAMENTALS)

Hōmon taikō (literally, "Great Net of the Dharma Gate") is included in a multisection booklet (*retchō* 列帖), dated to the Kamakura period.[521] In addition to *Hōmon taikō* the booklet contains a text entitled *Hyakusai Zenji kōsetsu* 百丈禪師廣說 (Chan Master Baizhang's Extensive Clarifications). The latter, according to Kawamura Kōdō, is a synopsis of the biography of Chan master Baizhang as found in volume six of the *Jingde chuandenglu*. [522] The relation between these two texts is unclear and it is not known why, when and by whom they were put together. *Hōmon taikō* itself is a compilation of textual entries. Each of the entries is composed in Chinese with added Japanese lexical markers. As far as I can make out, the document shows three different handwritings.[523] Two places in the document show considerable blank spaces. In two other places black lines are drawn, suggesting a demarcation. The work seems to have been patched together and expanded over time as a sort of notebook of "fundamentals."

The fragmented nature of the work makes it somewhat difficult to approach, but based on the content and the graphic indications, I divided it into ten sections:

I . Lecture
(*blank space*)
II. Dialogue
(*blank space*)
III. Notes on Bodhidharma
(*inkline*)
IV. Citations and comments
V. Notes on Prajñātāra and Bodhidharma
(*inkline*)
VI. Note on the transmission of Zen to Mount Hiei.
VII. Manual for seated meditation.
VIII. Eliminating seated meditation illness. Layman Ruru.
IX. Three old cases (→ *second handwriting*)
(*blank space*)
X. Needle for seated meditation. Chan master Hongzhi (→ *third handwriting*)

[521] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 275
[522] Ibid.
[523] I would like to thank Ayano Dōtsu from the Kanazawa Bunko institute for enabling me to inspect the original manuscript.

In view of the contents of the individual entries and the graphic indications, I believe that the sequence of these sections roughly mirrors a chronological order. The lecture [I] and the subsequent dialogues [II] are the early body of the text to which subsequent entries were added. In in the various stages of the text's formation the document passed on from one person (and probably one community) to another.

As with the previously examined treatises, the following examination of *Hōmon taikō* incorporates section numbers that correspond with the translation in the back of this book (Part Four Translations, Text III).

HŌMON TAIKŌ

I. Lecture

The first entry in *Hōmon taikō* reads as a transcript of a lecture. The lecture is delivered by an anonymous authority belonging to the Zen Gate school (Zenmonshū 禪門宗). Something about the lecture's audience can be inferred from the concluding paragraph of the lecture, which has the words:

> Children of the Buddha, fortunately you have received a human body and encountered the noble teachings. As students of the bequeathed dharma you took on a name and dyed your robes. Though you may fear to commit the error of breaking the precepts, I urge you to study the intent of the teaching, seek out lots of wise friends and learn about its central issue.[524]

The reference to dyed robes 染衣 (as opposed to the white robes of lay practitioners) indicates an audience of ordained monks and nuns. Considering, in addition, the edifying tone of the paragraph and the mention of precepts, it is imaginable that the lecture was delivered on occasion of an ordination ceremony, during which new ordinants would typically receive a Buddhist name and a dyed robe (i.e. kāṣāya).

[1.a] The lecture starts with an appraisal of Buddha Śākyamuni's awakening and his expedient way of delivering the dharma. Here and elsewhere, the lecture clearly builds on and presupposes familiarity with Tendai hermeneutics. As mentioned earlier, Tendai thought posits that the Buddha strategically advanced a variety of teachings over the course of five distinct periods: Avataṃsaka, Deer Park, Vaipulya, Prajñā and Lotus/Nirvāṇa. From a Tendai perspective the Buddha's teaching finds its most complete and perfect expression in the fifth and final period, with the preaching of the *Lotus sūtra* (and the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, considered auxiliary to the *Lotus*).[525] *Hōmon taikō* posits an additional exposition of the dharma: the Buddha's "transmission of the mind" (*denshin* 傳心), which through the Zen lineage passed down to the twenty-eighth patriarch Bodhidharma. *Hōmon taikō*, clearly, superimposes the Zen (Chan) tradition on top of the Tendai

[524] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 213-214
[525] See Hurvitz, *Chih-i*, pp. 230-244.

(Tiantai) system. This strategy (which of course has Chinese roots) [526] signifies a strong Zen sectarian awareness. At the same time it points up the powerful Tendai establishment as the entity in relation to which the early Zen movement in Japan was defining itself, both doctrinally and institutionally.

[1.b] The lecture continues with an account of a famous episode in Chan historiography. Bodhidharma, we are informed, had three students: Huike, Daoyu and the nun Zongchi. These three received Bodhidharma's flesh, bones and marrow, a metaphor indicating the varying depths of their understanding. Bodhidharma's wisest student Huike stated: "Originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi" and got the marrow. Daoyu said: "Deluded there are afflictions; awakened there is bodhi" and got the bones. Nun Zongchi asserted: "By cutting off the afflictions, we attain bodhi" and got the flesh.

The earliest known reference to this story that includes these three names as well as the corresponding statements, is found in Zongmi's *Chan Chart* (*ca.* 833).[527] Zongmi is thought to have based his description on the Chan record *Lidaifabao ji* (ca. 774).[528] *Lidaifabao ji* gives the names of Bodhidharma's three students but it does not provide their statements, suggesting that Zongmi either made these up or extracted them from another source. The three-student narrative, in any case, would undergo drastic change. *Baolin zhuan* (801) mentions four students instead of three (Daofu, Nun Zhongchi, Daoyu and Huike), receiving Bodhidharma's *blood*, flesh, bones and marrow.[529] The seminal *Jingde chuandenglu* mentions the same four students, but has them receive Bodhidharma's *skin*, flesh, bones and marrow. In addition, *Jingde chuandenglu* also provides dialogues between Bodhidharma and his students, culminating in Huike silently bowing.[530] This four-student narrative was incorporated in subsequent Chan records and attained normative status. *Hōmon taikō*, then, presents us with an old account of the event that is unaffected by the normative Song version. The author possibly relied on Zongmi's *Chan Chart* or on other (unknown) Tang sources.[531] This section of *Hōmon taikō*, then, appears to have been composed before Song dynasty Chan records were readily available and consulted in Japan. By comparison, the writings of Dōgen (1200-1253) exclusively refer to the four-student version of the story.[532]

Hōmon taikō ranks the insights of Bodhidharma's students from "sharp to blunt." The least profound is that of Nun Zongchi who posits the existence of afflictions and defines the attainment of bodhi as the excision of these afflictions. The sharpest insight is that of Huike, who asserts that

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[526] See Foulk, T. Griffith, "Sung Controversies concerning the Separate Transmission of Ch'an," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, edited by Peter N. Gregory and Daniel Aaron Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 220-294.

[527] *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizicheng xitu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (J. *Chūka denshinchi zenmon shishi shūzu*) (X. 1225). Zongmi merely provides a diagram with the names and the respective statements of Bodhidharma's students. See Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 75-80.

[528] *Lidai fabaoji* (T. 2075, 181a05-08):

> The great master said: In the land of the Tang there are three persons who have gotten my Dharma; one has gotten my marrow one has gotten my bones and one has gotten my flesh. The one who got my marrow is Huike, the one who got my bones is Daoyu and the one who got my flesh is the nun Zongchi." (Translation: Wendi Adamek, *Mystique of Transmission*, p. 312)

[529] Foulk, "Sung Controversies concerning the Separate Transmission of Ch'an," pp. 231.

[530] *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 219b27-c05).

[531] A reference to Bodhidharma's three students (Nun Zongchi, Daoyu and Huike) receiving skin, bone and marrow appears in Saichō's *Kechimyakufu* (DDZS 1, pp. 207-208). Saichō quotes from an unknown text, entitled *Fufa jianzi* 付法簡子 (Synopsis of the Transmission of the Dharma). The quotation does not provide the statements of Bodhidharma's students.

[532] See for instance Dōgen's *Busshō* (Buddha-nature) (1241) (T. 2582, 91c07-101a20) and *Kattō* 葛藤 (Twining Vines) (1243) (T. 2582, 176a03-178a09).

there are actually no afflictions: everything is bodhi. Huike's statement exactly matches the catchphrase whereby Nōnin's contemporary Eisai, in *Kōzengokokuron*, characterized the teaching of the Darumashū.[533] Yanagida Seizan plausibly inferred that Eisai extracted the phrase from *Hōmon taikō*.[534] Eisai's text – composed in 1198 – may thus serve as the *terminus ad quem* for the lecture in *Hōmon taikō*. Eisai considered the Darumashū negation of afflictions as a heterodox fixation on emptiness, resulting in a mistaken rejection of religious practices and moral precepts (see Chapter Eight). *Hōmon taikō*, however, explicitly acknowledges each of the three answers given by Bodhidharma's students as authentic Mahāyāna approaches to awakening; it thus validates the blunter answers as expedient truths, and by the same token allows room for expedient practices. As will be clear from the end of the lecture (and from section II), practices are simultaneously encouraged and destabilized by taking recourse to the logic of emptiness and inherent buddha-nature.

[1.c ~ 1.f] The lecturer now proceeds to explain that the awakened mind of the Buddha is the "one mind" or "original mind," which is inherent in ordinary beings. The original mind, according our text, is the main point of Zen. It is also the main point of the scriptural teachings: the original mind corresponds to the timeless "original awakening" that is revealed in the *Lotus sūtra*; it corresponds to the "buddha-nature" of the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*; it is the same as the "A-syllable" of esotericism (Shingon) and the "dharmadhātu" of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. This take on the relation between Zen and the scriptural teachings is reminiscent of the two-tiered model (Buddha's word/Buddha's mind) that was advanced by Zongmi and via Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* adopted in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, as examined above.

Hōmon taikō explains that the one mind is not only inherent in the Buddhist sūtras: it is also expressed in Confucianism and Daoism. The "earlier physicians" (*kyūi* 舊醫) Confucius, Laozi and Zhuangzi paved the way for the disclosure of the dharma by the "new physician" (*shin'i* 新醫), the Buddha. *Hōmon taikō* here appears to accepts the socalled "unity of the three teachings" (*sankyō ichi* 三教之一) (i.e. Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism), a notion that is also strongly present in the writings of Zongmi and Yanshou. Albert Welter explains:

> [For Yanshou] the one mind constitutes the fundamental principle of all truth, however it is depicted in different renditions of Buddhist teaching. This principle is all-encompassing and transcends sectarian bounds. It is the source of both the oral, esoteric message transmitted from patriarch to patriarch through the Chan lineage, and the textual teaching attributed to Sākyamuni upon which the doctrinal schools of Buddhism are based. Through it, the doctrinal differences of Buddhist schools are all resolved. Even non-Buddhist teachings like Confucianism and Daoism may be incorporated within this framework, as partial representations of truth implicit in the principle of one mind.[535]

Again we must note that for all its universality this inclusivistic model is also divisive, as it subordinates all forms of Buddhism (and non-Buddhism) to the crowning Zen tradition. *Hōmon taikō* values the sūtras, the doctrinal schools and the esoteric tradition, but it is the superior Zen

[533] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543,7c26).
[534] Yanagida Seizan, "Kūbyō no mondai," p. 782.
[535] Welter, *The Problem with Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism*," p. 12. In the citation I have substituted "universal mind" (Welter's translation of *yixin* 一心) with "one mind."

lineage through which the original mind that "resides on the summit of the various teachings" is transmitted at its purest, beyond text and talk:

> [1.f] The Zen Gate school transmits mind to mind from buddha to buddha and patriarch to patriarch, and is not established on words and letters. Words and letters are completely separated from it. With accurate language we point to the mind, having attained the mind we forget words, relying on the mind we search buddha, having attained buddha we forget the mind. Mind is a name. Its substance is awareness. What things is mind aware of? It is aware of the sublime field 妙境. The sublime field is Buddha's true substance. It is without sameness or difference. Awareness is [also] buddha's function. Numerous virtues develop from it. Awareness emerges from intrinsically pure principle. This principle exists through the absence of characteristics 無相. Since absence of characteristics is fundamental emptiness, awareness is unobtainable 無所得. Because it is unobtainable, it constitutes unexcelled awakening. This is the heart and liver of exotericism and esotericism. There is no substance other then this one.[536]

The particular emphasis on "awareness" 知 that comes into view in this and other passages in *Hōmon taikō*, is typical of Zongmi and Yanshou.[537] The phrase "Mind is a name. Its substance is awareness" actually derives from Zongmi's *Chan Preface*. [538] As mentioned earlier, Zongmi's *Chan Preface* and Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* advance the analytical tool of *name*/*substance* to explain the relationship between the signifying language of Buddhist texts and the signified dharma itself; applying this analysis to the "mind transmission" 傳心 spoken of by Bodhidharma, Zongmi and Yanshou assert that "mind" is a name whose substance is "awareness."[539]

[1.g] *Hōmon taikō* explains that ordinary beings all posses this original, aware mind. It is deluded thought that keeps us from accessing it. What is required is a "good friend" who reveals it (*zenyū kaishi* 善友開示). This revelation will enable one to accomplish a pure form of perception, free of discriminative thought. Such "thoughtless perception" (*munen no chiken* 無念之知見) allows one to continually see the "sublime field" (*myōkyō* 妙境), the world as it truly is:

> All those who simply have not yet disclosed the original nature, and abide in a discriminative and grasping mind, are called ordinary worldlings, for whom it is difficult to leave saṃsāra. They may study various teachings, but it will all be in the same class as the kalpa-consuming practices of humans, devas and hināyānists. But if, thanks to the revelation of a good friend, they realize thoughtless perception, all conditions will suddenly be tranquil, and the dharma realm will be void and clear. Whatever the eyes and ears perceive, there will be nothing that is not the sublime field. In the midst of the four activities they will always see the Buddha's face. One who directly realizes and enters like this, constantly basks in tranquil radiance and continually renews sublime awakening.[540]

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[536] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 212-13
[537] See Gregory, "Tsung-Mi and the single word awareness," pp. 249-269. For Yanshou, see *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 448c24-c29).
[538] *Chan Preface* (T. 2015, 405b03-b05; T. 2015, 406c05-407a04). Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 137-138 and 145-147. Also compare Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 448c24-c29).
[539] Ibid.
[540] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 213.

Parts of this description, such as the element of "thoughtless perception" and the "good friend" who reveal it, are clearly informed by Zongmi's *Chan Preface*. An important point that Zongmi is making in the *Chan Preface* is that the starting point of all practices must be a sudden understanding of emptiness that clears the mind of reificatory thought. For practices to be soteriologically helpful, they must be performed on the basis of "nonthought" (*munen* 無念). When practice is approached like that, it is said to become "natural, practiceless practice" (*jinen mushū no shū* 自然無修之修). [541] This seems to be precisely the approach to practice that *Hōmon taikō* is aiming for.

[1.h] The Zen master turns to the practice of "oneness samādhi" (*ichigyō sanmai*), which he equates with "mindfulness of Buddha" (*nenbutsu*). *Ichigyō sanmai* /*nenbutsu* is praised as the most essential and rewarding practice:

> This is practicing deep prajñā, also called oneness samādhi. It is none other the pure dhyāna of the Tathāgata. It corresponds to the concentrated state of being mindful of Buddha 念佛定. Indeed, it is the marvelous cause of Pure Land awakening. It is the essential technique for long life and immortality. [Practice it and] you will quickly accomplish extensive benefits! In the mansions of hell, the buddhas of the ten directions, the worthy sages and the celestial deities only protect the person [who practices this samādhi]. Why? Because such one is a prince of the Buddha Land. Why seek outside this essential point? Comparably, a crown pretender aspires only to the throne and does not have other ambitions. Those who enter this dharma not only accomplish the way of the Buddha, but are also able to govern the country, control its clans, and regulate body and mind. Monk and lay, who would not take refuge in this? [542]

The above description, again, incorporates elements found in Zongmi's *Chan Preface*.[543] Oneness samādhi, it will be remembered, refers to the true, unified state of reality, as well as to the meditative methods that allow a practitioner to experience that state. This samādhi was of central concern to Tiantai, Pure Land and early Chan communities in Tang China and was mostly associated with seated meditation and *nenbutsu* practices, a constellation kept intact in the meditation praxis on Mount Hiei set up by Saichō (see Chapter One). *Hōmon taikō* similarly associates oneness samādhi with *nenbutsu* practice and therein echoes the constellation operative

[541] Compare Zongmi's *Chan Preface* (T.2015,403a3-a10):

> If you acquire a good friend who reveals [the truth], you will suddenly realize empty and tranquil awareness. Awareness is without thought and without form. Who is it that affirms characteristics of self and other? When you awaken to the emptiness of all characteristics, the mind will naturally be without thought. If a thought arises, be aware of it. Being aware of it, it will cease. The subtle gate of practice lies solely in this. You may thus fully cultivate myriads of practices, but just make non-thought the essential point. If you simply attain thoughtless perception, then love and hate will spontaneously fade away, compassion and wisdom will spontaneously gain in brightness, evil karma will spontaneously be removed, and meritorious practices will spontaneously be developed. If you deeply apprehend that all characteristics are non-characteristics, it will be natural, practiceless practice. 若得善友開示。頓悟空寂之知。知且無念無形。誰為我相人相。覺諸相空心自無念。念起即覺。覺之即無修行妙門唯在此也。故雖備修萬行。唯以無念為宗。但得無念知見。則愛惡自然淡泊。悲智自然增明。罪業自然斷除。功行自然增進。既了諸相非相。自然無修之修。

[542] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 213.

[543] *Chan Preface* (T. 2015, 399b17-22). Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, p. 103.

in the Tendai school. As will clear made clear from examining *Hōmon taikō* entry [IV.e], this *zen*/*nenbutsu* approach may also draw on traditions associated with Chan master Fazhao 法照禪師 (d. 772) that were introduced to Mount Hiei by Ennin.

[1.i] In closing, the lecturer encourages his students to wholeheartedly study and practice: "Uncover the explanations of the buddhas and patriarchs, and accord with the principle of mind. Always devote yourself to seated meditation, extinguish all thoughts, deeply contemplate impermanence and do not give in to laxity (…) be intensely mindful of the main object of veneration." Yet, in his closing words, the lecturer seems to mitigate this advice. These practices *an sich* are, apparently, not entirely sufficient:

> All this is a residue of bliss that follows from good deeds in previous lifetimes. Still, your illness is not yet eliminated. It is difficult to explain this quickly. But when I meet someone who is responsive, I will not be able to remain silent. May the noble [buddhas] empower you to achieve a pure mind!

As the above examination will have made clear, the influence of Zongmi on *Hōmon taikō* is evident. *Hōmon taikō*, however, takes a more radical stance than Zongmi. Though Zongmi acknowledges that a sudden realization, brought on by the instructions of a "good friend," may in very rare cases immediately result in full buddhahood, he advocates a model of sudden realization followed by gradual cultivation. According to this model, the sudden realization of one's own buddhahood is not fully actualized at first and needs to be perfected through practice, until all residual afflictions are removed and consummate buddhahood is finally attained.[544] According to *Hōmon taikō*, afflictions are nonexistent and "sublime awakening" (*myōgaku* 妙覚, i.e. the final stage of consummate buddhahood) is attained all at once at the first sudden realization. Such an all-encompassing realization is similarly stressed in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, it will be remembered, invokes the sixfold Tendai path toward buddhahood (*rokusoku*) and emphazises that buddhahood is already fully present at the first stage. Even so, practices – expedient means – are strongly encouraged.

II. **Dialogue**

This entry is similar in tone to the previous lecture. It consists of a short talk and four ensuing questions and answers. The talk tersely proclaims the emptiness of defilements and the immanence of buddha-nature. It explains that the buddha-nature is immutable and hence not influenced by performing ascetic practices. It is merely that deluded thought prevents us from being aware of it:

> [II.a] The suchness buddha-nature is fundamentally immutable. Ordinary beings and sages equally possess it. It is not conditional on austere practices. The nature and characteristics of

[544] On this issue see Peter N. Gregory, "Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation," in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, edited by Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp. 279-300

> defiled activities are empty and calm. Attain original nonarising! 本不生 Do not give rise to thought![545]

The teaching of attaining rebirth in the Pure Land by reciting the Buddha's name is singled out as an important expedient:

> All Noble ones agree on this teaching. Hence they expound the dharma and benefit living beings. In the end, [all] accord with this principle. Though they may provisionally use various expedients, they all consider the awakened state of mind the foundation. Birth [in the Pure Land] by being mindful of Buddha 念佛 is one such expedient teaching. The decisive activity for attaining birth in the Pure Land is to be intently mindful of the Buddha and to recite his name on the basis of the three right attitudes and a mind set upon awakening. Do not doubt this! [546]

Nenbutsu, to be sure, is introduced as a concrete method of reciting the name of Buddha (Amida) so as to ascertain birth in the Pure Land. It is also made clear that it is an expedient method, designed to disclose the purity of one's own mind. In the ensuing questions and answers the procedural aspect of the practice retreats and *nenbutsu* comes to refer to the very state of luminosity that is experienced by buddhas, an uninterrupted stream of pure consciousness: *nenbutsu* concentration (*nenbutsujō* 念佛定):

> [II.b] QUESTION: Do buddhas still do *nenbutsu*, or do they not?
> ANSWER: Tathāgathas of the ten directions – in past, present and future – are all gifted with four lands and all perfectly sustain three bodies. They illumine thought after thought, without interruption for even one kṣaṇa. How is this not very deep *nenbutsu* concentration? 念佛定 It is none other than the fount of oneness samādhi, [enabling them] to repose in the vastly deep dharma realm. It is an urgent task for oneself and for others. What compares to it? The four dependable beings and the sūtra transmitters therefore all observe it. [547]

It is this luminous state of mind that is to inform one's practice of the "superior expedient" (*shōhōben* 勝方便), a term with *nenbutsu* overtones:

> [II.e] QUESTION: After one has realized the originally unborn 本不生, what method should be taken up as superior expedient? 勝方便
> ANSWER: Just an unpolluted method: this is the vital point. Why? Buddhas guard their thoughts and are inwardly without defilements. This is why they possess the principle of the great way.[548]

Hōmon taikō advocates *nenbutsu* practice for birth in the Pure Land. On first glance this may sound like a form of syncretism that combines Bodhidharma Zen with Pure Land beliefs. However, as Robert Sharf convincingly demonstrated, the notion that Chan/Zen and Pure Land represent two strictly separate traditions mostly rests on sectarian developments in medieval Japan

[545] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 214.
[546] Ibid.
[547] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 215.
[548] Ibid.

and the influence of modern sectarian Japanese scholarship. Historically, Pure Land thought was very much part of Chan.[549] Rather than exhibiting syncretic tendencies, *Hōmon taikō* here reflects normative Chan thought. A likely source for *Hōmon taikō* would be Yongmin Yanshou. Yanshou advocated *nenbutsu* as an expedient practice, ultimately aimed at apprehending the empty, mind-constructed nature of reality. Yanshou's position is known as "Mind-only Pure Land" (Ch. *weixin jingtu* 唯心浄土), which sees Pure Lands and the Buddhas therein as manifestations of the luminous mind, and *nenbutsu* practice as a way to realize this mind.[550] The presence of Pure Land elements in Darumashū discourse (as evident in *Hōmon taikō*), then, does not need to be explained as influence of Hōnen's emerging Pure Land movement, though this of course would also have been a factor. The reservoir of texts and practices available on Mount Hiei provided the emerging Darumashū with ample precedent for Zen/Pure Land *nenbutsu* practice.

III. **Note on Bodhidharma**

This brief note concerns Bodhidharma's nine years of "wall gazing" meditation (*menpeki* 面壁). We are told that Bodhidharma faced the wall of his cave on Mount Song and "cut off all conditions" (*danshoen* 断諸縁). He did not chant sūtras or perform daily circumambulations, but for the sake of his students he sometimes taught a "method for regulating the body" (*chōshin* 調身). No further explanation of this method is given. Regulating the body, though, is a standard element in the practice of seated meditation. Manuals for seated meditation, such as the one included further down in *Hōmon taikō* [VII], use the term *chōshin* in prescribing the required physical posture.

IV. **Citations and comments**

This section gathers citations from the *Diamond sūtra*, the *Awakening of Faith*, and Bodhidharma's *Wuxinglun*, as well as words by Tiantai Zhiyi (probably from Zhiyi's meditation manual *Xiao zhiguan*) and a verse by the dhyāna master Fazhao 法照禪師. The gist of these citations and the brief comments appended to them is that buddahood lies in realizing the intrinsic luminosity of the mind. Discriminative thoughts that appear in the mind create the illusion of all kinds of phenomena, but the mind itself remains totally empty, tranquil, unpolluted and unlocalized.

[IV.a] The first citation raises a line from the *Diamond sūtra*: "[Bodhisattvas] must give rise to this mind without abiding anywhere." These words are of special significance in the Zen tradition since they are considered to have triggered the sudden awakening of the sixth patriarch Huineng, as described in the *Platform sūtra*.[551] The citation of the *Diamond sūtra* and part of the appended comment in *Hōmon taikō* are actually lifted entirely from *Jingangjing zhu* 金剛經註 (*Kongōkyō chū*) (Notes on the Diamond sūtra), a poetic commentary on the *Diamond sūtra* by the Chan monk Yefu Daochuan 冶父道川 (*fl.* mid-twelfth century). The Kanazawa Bunko

[549] Robert Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China," *T'oung Pao* 88/4-5 (2003): pp. 282-331.
[550] Ibid., pp. 313-314. Albert Welter, *Yongmin Yanshou's Conception of Chan*, pp. 27-33
[551] See Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 133.

collection (from which *Hōmon taikō* emerged) preserves an early Kamakura period manuscript of Daochuan's *Notes on the Diamond sūtra*. The citation of this text in *Hōmon taikō* raises the possibility of a connection between these two manuscripts. Further research is needed on this.

[IV.e] The last in this set of citations highlights a four-line verse by Fazhao 法照 (d.772). The Tang monk Fazhao is especially known for having developed the practice of reciting the name of Buddha Amitābha in five cadences (Ch. *wuhui nianfo* 五會念佛), a method said to have been transmitted to him directly by Buddha Amitābha. Fazhao established Zhulinsi 竹林寺 (Bamboo Grove temple) on Mount Wutai, which became a centre for this musicalized form of *nianfo* (*nenbutsu*) practice. Fazhao's conception of Amithābhā and the Pure Land is complex and draws on Tiantai, esoteric and Chan elements. In a *nianfo* manual written by Fazhao, entitled *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lue fashiyi zan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚 (Abbreviated Instructions and Hymns for Five Cadence Buddha Recitation for the Pure Land), Fazhao states: "*Nianfo* samādhi is the true, unexcelled and profoundly subtle gate of dhyāna (Chan)!" [552] He further explains that *nianfo* – literally "thinking of Buddha" – is in fact a state of "nonthinking" (Ch. *wunian* 無念), Buddha's gateway to nonduality (Ch. *fo buer men* 佛不二門).[553] Fazhao's *nianfo* manual was imported into Japan by Ennin, who visited Mount Wutai in 840 and probably witnessed the performance of this type of *nianfo* ritual. Through this conduit, Pure Land theory and practice on Mount Hiei is thought to have received considerable influence from Fazhao.[554]

There is no evidence that the Darumashū practiced the communal *nenbutsu* ceremonies as prescribed by Fazhao. But as the entry shows, Fazhao's verse was read in the context of *nenbutsu* practice, and it is not a stretch to assume that in the Darumashū community from which *Hōmon taikō* emerged, *nenbutsu* – "the great essential of liberation" – played an important role. The verse by Fazhao and the comment it receives in *Hōmon taikō* foreground *nenbutsu* as a method of being deeply aware of the "true characteristic" (*jissō* 實相): the emptiness of phenomenal reality.

V. **Notes on Prajñātāra and Bodhidharma**

This section of *Hōmon taikō* consists of what appear to be tentative research notes. It produces a short anecdote about Bodhidharma's teacher Prajñātāra and several Chan slogans attributed to Bodhidharma.

[V.a] The anecdote describes Prajñātāra's way of "reading" sūtras. In an assembly of sūtra readers Prajñātāra is spotted not reading sūtras. When asked about this, he explains: "Breathing out, this lousy wayfarer (i.e. Prajñātāra) does not ford through the myriads of conditions. Breathing in I don't reside in the world of skandhas. In this way I constantly turn a thousand million sūtra rolls." In smaller script a short memo is added: "from [Jingde] *chuandeng lu*? Must check this!" Though the story is actually not contained in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, the memo indicates that the *Jingde* record was available for reference.

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[552] *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lue fashiyi zan* (T. 1983, 474c26).
[553] Ibid. (T. 1983, 476b07-08).
[554] See Ōta Tatsu, "Tō chūki no Jōdokyō: toku ni Hōshō zenji," *Shigaku* 13/1 (1934): pp. 171-174. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, pp. 177-178.

[V.b] Next we find several Chan slogans, attributed to Bodhidharma:

> Separate practice outside the teachings 教外別行; a plain transmission of the mind seal 單傳心印; no reliance on words and letters 不立文字; not using expedients 不假方便; directly point to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha 直指人心見性成佛; without relying on steps 不立楷梯, and without creating knowledge and views 不生知見.[555]

This particular string of slogans appears almost verbatim in *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄 (1133), the recorded sayings of Chan master Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135), the teacher of Dahui Zonggao.[556] The slogans in Yuanwu's record match those given in *Hōmon taikō*, with exception of one phrase: "not using expedients." Earlier we noted that in *Jōtōshōgakuron*, too, the words "not using expedients" were interpolated into a string of standard Bodhidharma slogans. This shared irregularity establishes a connection between *Hōmon taikō* and *Jōtōshōgakuron*, affirming *Hōmon taikō*'s Darumashū provenance.

Lastly this entry in *Hōmon taikō* produces the lines: "Mind is buddha. No mind, no buddha." Again a tiny memo is appended: "Must look into this!" These phrases are associated with Chan master Mazu Daoyi.

VI. **Note on the transmission of Zen to Mount Hiei**

This similarly note-like entry concerns the Zen tradition on Mount Hiei. It mentions the two Zen lineages that were inherited by Saichō, that is, the lineage from Gyōhyō (720-797) of the Daianji, which is traced to Daoxuan (702-760), and the Oxhead lineage from Xiuran (n.d.). It is also noted that the Tendai monks Ennin and Enchin imported the *Platform sūtra* and genealogical charts of the Bodhidharma lineage. The entry suggests that the community that produced *Hōmon taikō* (at this junction in the text's formation) recognized a connection between themselves and the Zen tradition on Mount Hiei. This is typical of the early, formative period of the Zen school in Japan, in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, during which ways were explored to define the budding movement vis-a-vis the long-established and powerful Tendai school.

VII. **Manual for seated meditation**

The next entry is a concise manual for the practice of seated meditation. According to the colophon of the manual, it was recorded on the full moon day of the first summer month in the sixteenth year of Chunxi (1189). An appended note explains that the text was inscribed on a wall of the Guoqingsi 國清寺,[557] the principle monastery of the Tiantai school. In the first year of Qingyan (1195) the text was copied at Guoqingsi by a visiting Japanese monk named Jikinen 直念 (n.d). This otherwise unknown monk is said to have entered China in the fifth year of Kenkyū

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[555] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 217.

[556] *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* (T. 1997, 809c12-13).

[557] The Guoqingsi monastery was established by Zhiyi's student Guanding (561-632). See Linda Penkower, "In the Beginning…Guanding (561-632) and the Creation of Early Tiantai," *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies* 23/2 (2000): pp. 245-296.

(1194); after his arrival he first he studied at the Yanqing monastery 延慶寺 in Mingzhou, before continuing on to Mount Tiantai.

The text itself starts rather promptly (perhaps a preceding part was omitted). It instructs the practitioner to regulate body, breathing and mind, and then enter a deep state of dhyāna:

> [VII.a] Straighten the spinal column. Make it neither flaccid nor rigid. Make sure that the four limbs are neither loose nor tense. Next, open the mouth and exhale. Blow out as long as you see fit, utilizing the hundred blood vessels in the body. Open the mouth widely to completely expel all turbid air. Then close the mouth and take in clean air through the nose. Next, make the lips and teeth touch lightly, the tongue point up toward the palate; the eyes are to be slightly opened. Regulate your inhalations and exhalations, making them neither raspy nor smooth. Next, regulate the mind, making it neither float nor sink. Having regulated body, breathing and mind, you enter from the coarse into the fine. If, when calmly dwelling in dhyāna, you become unbalanced, you should repeat this method from the beginning. [558]

Emerging from meditation, the practitioner is to contemplate the wish that all sentient beings "enter deep dhyāna and illumine their sublime nature." So doing, the practitioner will experience a state that is free of all differentiation: "not one dharma can be grasped" (*muippō katoku* 無一法可得). A sustained cultivation of this method is said to naturally arouse the "radiance of wisdom" (*chie no kōmyō* 智慧光明). Realization is said to occur suddenly. In one moment the practitioner will realize that the radiance of wisdom is present in all phenomena, as stated in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: "There is just one indestructible mystery body, visible in all particles." Dhyāna of this order is called "uncontrived and sublime concentration" (*musaku myōjō* 無作妙定). This kind of dhyāna is placed in stark contrast with the inferior dhyāna types that are practiced by hīnayānists, who merely dwell in reified states of serenity and are therefore confined to the "shore of saṃsāra" (*shōji gantō* 生死岸頭). The text warns the practitioner of the "three obstacles and four demons" (*sanshō shima* 三障四魔) that may obstruct meditative practice. If such disturbing phenomena appear, the practitioner is to deconstruct them by means of contemplation ("Where do these objects reside? From where do they arise?"). When it is understood that all these phenomena and the mind that contemplates them are empty, the practitioner will reach "a place free of intentional effort" (*muchakuriki* 無着力); from this perspective it will be understood that all things are in fact perfectly tranquil. In conclusion the narrator recommends seated meditation: "I wish that in all you encounter you always remember life and death, and that in each effort you equally accomplish this path. I universally recommend seated meditation and implore you to illumine the mind-ground, realize nonarising, and equally attain all-inclusive wisdom." Such, in summary, is the content of the manual.

The reported provenance of the manual – the Tiantai monastery Guoqingsi – indicates we are dealing with a Tiantai meditation manual. Parts of the text are indeed highly indebted to writings on meditation by Tiantai Zhiyi, the *de facto* founder of the Tiantai school. For instance, the line "the three obstacles and four demons arise in conflict and confusion" (三障四魔汾然競起) appears verbatim in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*. The practical instructions in our manual, concerning

[558] KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 217-218.

the regulation of one's body, breathing and mind, are found almost verbatim in the chapter called *Tiaohuo* 調和 (Harmony) in the *Xiao zhiguan*, Zhiyi's primer on seated meditation. Zhiyi's primer – especially the *Tiaohuo* chapter – is known to have served as a template for many subsequent writings on meditation, both within the Tiantai tradition as well as beyond it, in Huayan, Pure Land and Chan circles.[559]

One element in our text that markedly contravenes Zhiyi's instructions concerns the recommended position of the eyes during meditation. Zhiyi's *Xiao zhiguan* directs the practitioner to "close the eyes just enough to cut off the light from outside."[560] Our text replaces this with the stipulation to keep the eyes "slightly open." Meditating with slightly opened eyes is the technique favored in popular meditation manuals of the Chan school that started to appear in the Song dynasty. The paradigmatic text in this genre is *Zuochanyi* 坐禪儀 (Manual for Seated Meditation), written circa 1100 by the Chan monk Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (n.d.). Not unlike our text, *Zuochanyi* follows Zhiyi's basic instructions and then deviates from them by insisting on slightly opened eyes. Zongze fiercely stresses this point, arguing that his teacher, Chan master Fayung Yuantong 法雲圓通 (1027-1090), also meditated with open eyes and denounced those who did not. [561] Another Chan meditation manual, composed by Layman Ruru 如如居士 (d.1212), a student of Chan master Kean Huiran 可庵慧然, likewise instructs Chan adepts to meditate with slightly opened eyes.[562] In this respect the Guoqingsi manual reflects the emerging popular Chan discourse of the time. Chan influence is also apparent in particular turns of phrase. For instance, when denigrating the serene dhyāna states of the hīnayānists, the Guoqingsi manual invokes a poetic saying by an anonymous worthy of the past: "Even if you are like a reflection of the moon in an autumn pond, or like the sound of a bell on a quiet evening, you are still just at the shore of saṃsāra." This simile is widely cited in Chan literature and attributed to Chan master Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835-908). [563] Further down, in the passage on contemplating the demonic phenomena, the Guoqingsi text reads: "Having carefully contemplated and investigated this, you will reach a place free of intentional effort." A near equivalent of this line is found in the recorded sayings of, again, Chan master Xuansha Shibei.[564] The Guoqingsi manual thus indicates the great extent to which, in the late twelfth century, Chan views on meditation were incorporated into Tiantai discourse; by the same token, the work illustrates the fluid boundary between the Chan and Tiantai schools.

The inclusion of this manual in *Hōmon taikō* indicates a concern (in the community that produced the text) with the practicalities of seated meditation. This concern is likewise clear from the subsequent entry.

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[559] See Carl Bielefeldt, "Chang-lu Tsung-tse's Tso-ch'an i and the 'Secret' of Zen Meditation," in Peter N. Gregory (ed.), *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 129-161.
[560] *Xiao zhiguan* (T. 1915, 465c27).
[561] See Bielefeldt, "Secret of Zen Meditation," pp. 129-161.
[562] *Zazengi*, in KBSZ, Zensekihen, pp. 157-161.
[563] *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* 玄沙師備禪師廣錄 (Extensive Record of Chan Master Xuansha Shibei) (X. 1445, 15a22).
[564] 子細觀尋。至無著力處。Ibid. (X. 1445, 22c04).

VIII. **Eliminating seated meditation illness. Layman Ruru**

This entry produces a verse about "seated meditation illnesses" (*zazenbyō* 坐禪病), composed by Layman Ruru 如如居士 (Nyonyo Kōji) (d.1212), also known as Yan Bing 顏丙, a Chinese lay Buddhist practitioner who studied under Chan master Kean Huiran 可庵慧然 (n.d), a dharma successor of Dahui Zonggao.[565]

> When in seated meditation the mind is numb, the sleep demon invades. When in seated meditation the mind is distracted, there are wild thoughts and calculations. When distraction is eliminated, numbness reappears. When numbness is eliminated, distraction again erupts. All [ ] conditions [ ] deficient, hence you depend on others and go round in the saṃsāric cyle. Throw out both, completely forget the ten quarters, and sit with utmost rigor. The whole body will be equal with empty space, and for a long time you will experience its miraculous efficacy.[566]

The illnesses here – numbness and distraction – refer to mental conditions that hinder the correct practice of seated meditation. Though not matching precisely, the lines cited in *Hōmon taikō* are very close to words found in Ruru's *Manual for Seated Meditation* (Ch. *Zuochanyi*; *Zazengi* 坐禪義), a text known to have circulated in Japan in the Kamakura period:

> There are two illnesses of seated meditation: one is numbness and two is distraction. When numb, the sleep demon invades. When distracted, there are wild thoughts and imaginings. When numbness appears, distraction is eliminated. When distraction is eliminated, numbness appears. [567]

The idea of two meditation illnesses is typical of the discourse on seated meditation that developed in the Dahui faction.[568] The type of seated meditation that layman Ruru presents in his manual closely follows the line set out by Dahui. Dahui is famed for having developed what came to be known as *kanhua* 看話 (*kanna*), an approach to meditation (and daily activity) that makes use of "old cases" (*kosoku* 古則) or "public cases" (*kōan* 公案) – stories involving the great Chan masters of the past. The *kanhua* method required the practitioner to vigorously investigate the crucial phrase (*watō* 話頭) of a particular case story, leading the practitioner to the experience of "seeing the nature" (*kenshō*). Dahui emphasized a palpable moment of actual awakening and criticized the more abstract focus on tranquility that characterized the in his view deviant quietism of "silent illumination" (*mokushō* 黙照), practiced by his contemporaries of the rivaling Caodong

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[565] See Allan Wagner, *Practice and Emptiness in the "Discourse Record of Ruru Jushi", Yan Bing (d. 1212), a Chan Buddhist Layman of the Southern Song.* PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2008.

[566] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 219

[567] 坐禅二病、一昏病二散病。昏則睡魔侵、散則胡思想。昏来散去、散去昏来。The Kanazawa Bunko (Shōmyōji) preserves a manuscript of Ruru's *Zuochanyi*, transcribed by the Japanese monk Enshin 圓信 (n.d.), a contemporary of Shōmyōji's abbot Myōninbō Ken'a 明忍房釵阿 (1261-1338). The text, edited by Ishii Shūdō, is included in KBSZ, *Zensekihen*, pp. 157-161. Elsewhere in Ruru's text, in a section entitled *Shortcut to Buddhahood* 選佛捷徑, Ruru again mentions the two illnesses: "Eliminate numbness and distraction. Point eight: It is essential to eliminate numbness and distraction, otherwise sleepiness and scattered thoughts will be uninterrupted. If you do not remove these two illnesses, your sitting will be wasted effort. When will you strike the definitive blow? 去昏散、八者先須去昏散、昏睡散思乍間斷、不除二病坐徒勞、幾時打得成一片。 (Translation: Wagner, *Practice and Emptiness*, p. 195) (Changed).

[568] Ruru's notion of two illnesses 二病 (dimness and distraction) can be traced to a similar distinction of two illnesses that is frequently found in the writings of Dahui Zonggao. Dahui distinguishes *hunchen* 昏沈 (torpor) and *diaoju* 掉挙 (excitation), as well as the the functionally equivalent set *wanghuai* 忘懷 (oblivious to feelings) and *zhuoyi* 著意 (grasping at thoughts). See Ishii Shūdō, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi (5) chakui to bōkai to iu katari wo megutte," IBK, 22/1 (1973): pp. 291-295.

(Sōtō 曹洞) lineage. Caodong teachers tended to approach meditation as a way of stilling the mind, so as to uncover the luminous buddha-nature.[569] In his *Manual for Seated Meditation*, layman Ruru, like Dahui, recommends investigating old cases as a cure for the two meditation illnesses.[570]

Obviously, the view on meditation and awakening expressed by Dahui and Ruru differs from the type of Tang style oneness samādhi that was advanced in earlier sections of *Hōmon taikō*. It differs, too, from the type of meditation in above examined Guoqingsi meditation manual [VII]. The Guoqingsi manual instructs practioners to "calmly dwell in dhyāna" and "illumine their sublime nature." In this sense the approach to meditation described in the Guoqingsi manual shares certain accents with "silent illumination." It is perhaps because for this reason that the selected words of layman Ruru in *Hōmon taikō* do not broach *kanhua* style investigation, for which the original text would probably have provided sufficient example. Instead the passage points out a way to experience the miraculous efficacy of being like empty space. I suspect Ruru's verse was added to *Hōmon taikō* in a relatively late phase of its formation, a time when the growing influx in Japan of Song Chan materials exposed the Darumashū monks to new Chan meditation literature. Where early on the Darumashū monks drew mainly on Zongmi/*Sugyōroku*/*Platform Sūtra*/*Daruma sanron* and Tendai discourse, they would later engage with the recorded sayings literature (*goroku*) and koan collections. This scenario would fit in well with the fact that the final two entries in *Hōmon taikō* (discussed below) – each in a different handwriting – consist of three old cases [IX] and a poem by Chan master Hongzhi (1091-1157) [X].

IX. **Three old cases**

This section tersely records three celebrated cases in the lives of Tang dynasty Chan masters. The first entry [IX.a] is headed "Illumining the mind through seeing a form" (*kenshiki myōshin* 見色明心). It provides the case of Chan master Lingyun, who attained awakening upon seeing a peach blossom. The second case [IX.b] is that of great master Xideng 襲燈大師 (d. 898) (i.e. Xiangyan Zhixian 香厳智閑), who awakened upon hearing a pebble hit bamboo. Xideng's case appears under the caption "Realizing the way through hearing a sound" (*monshō godō* 聞聲悟道). The reader will perhaps remember that this kind awakening – awakening through "seeing forms and hearing sounds" (*kenshiki monsho* 見色聞聲) – was highly praised in the Darumashū text *Kenshōjōbutsugi*; the preface to *Kenshōjōbutsugi* enumerates a whole string of similar cases. Next [IX.c], *Hōmon taikō* provides the story of a hermit on the slopes of Mount Xuefeng, who scoopes up water with a wooden ladle. When asked about the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the West the hermit answers: " The stream is deep, the ladle is long."

These three stories are found in a number of Song dynasty Chan records and also appear as separate cases in various koan collections. A comparison between the individually varying renditions of the stories in these sources reveals that the renditions in *Hōmon taikō* are strikingly close to – if not matching verbatim – with the corresponding cases in *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* 真字正

[569] See Morten Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), pp. 104-174.
[570] Ishii Shūdō, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi (5)," pp. 291-295.

法眼藏, the koan anthology compiled by Dōgen.[571] *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* was compiled by Dōgen on the basis of Chinese source materials around 1230, in the period that Dōgen was setting up Kōshōji near Kyoto as a place to train his (Darumashū) monks and nuns. The title of the work is borrowed from one of its underlying sources, *Zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏 (J. *Shōbōgenzō*), the voluminous koan collection by Dahui Zonggao. *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* lists over three hundred koans and is considered foundational to Dōgen's corpus of writings in Japanese, likewise entitled *Shōbōgenzō* (sometimes called *Kana Shōbogenzō* 仮名正法眼藏).[572] Dōgen, moreover, actively used koans when instructing his students.[573] I propose that the similarities between the old koan cases included in *Hōmon taikō* and in *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* indicate that section IX in *Hōmon taikō* was written by Darumashū monks with some kind of connection to Dōgen's community. The section could be a memo on particular koan cases that Dōgen held up to his students for investigation. Another possibility would be that the memo reflects acces of these Darumashū adherents to koan literature prior to their entry into Dōgen's community. The similarities between the memo and Dōgen's text would, in that case, point to a common source (e.g. Dahui's *Zhengfa yanzang*) and/or indicate some type of connection between the Darumashū monks and the compilation of Dōgen's koan collection. This idea agrees with a hypothesis put forth by Ishii Shūdō, who ties the Darumashū monk Ekan to a Kamakura period manuscript of Dōgen's *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* preserved in the Kanazawa Bunko library.[574]

A link between *Hōmon taikō* and the Darumashū group in Dōgen's community may also be inferred from the next and final section of *Hōmon taikō.*

X. **Needle for seated meditation**

This final section of *Hōmon taikō* provides the poem *Zhuochan zhen* 坐禪箴 (*Zazenshin*) (Needle for seated meditation) by Chan master Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1191-1157) of the Caodong (Sōtō) lineage.[575] Though dealing with seated meditation, the verse does not offer practical instructions on breathing or posture and the like – rather, it exalts the illumination and radiant awareness of the buddhas and patriarchs. The verse is recorded in *Hongzhi Chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣録 (Chan Master Hongzhi's Extensive Record), which is known to have been brought to

[571] The rendition of Lingyun's story in *Hōmon taikō*'s matches *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* case 55 (*chūkan*). Compare *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*, critical edition by Kawamura Kōdō in "Shinji Shōbōgenzō no kenkyū," *Komazawa daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 45 (1987), pp. 110-11. Both Dōgen and *Hōmon taikō* reproduce Lingyun's story as it is found in *Zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏 (J. *Shōbōgenzō*) (X. 1309, 574a05-a08) by Dahui Zonggao. Though truncated and with minor differences, *Hōmon taikō*'s rendition of the story about Xideng is strikingly close to Dōgen's *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* case 17 (*jōkan*). Compare Kawamura Kōdō, "Shinji Shōbōgenzō no kenkyū," pp. 59-60. Dōgen is thought to have modeled his version by blending elements from *Jingde chuandenglu* and *Liandeng huiyao*. See Ishii Shūdō, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi wa*: *Shinji Shōbōgenzō ni manabu* (Zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1988), p. 339. *Hōmon taikō*'s story about the water scooping hermit matches case 83 (*chūkan*) of Dōgen's *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*. This rendition likewise reproduces the story as it is found in Dahui's *Zhengfa yanzang* (X. 1309, 559b18-b23).

[572] See Steven Heine, *Dōgen and the Kōan Tradition: A Tale of Two Shōbōgenzō Texts* (State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 3-14 and pp.149-53.

[573] *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, a record of Dōgen's early teachings at Kōshōji, compiled by Ejō, is replete with references to koans. For example, in the second year of Katei (1236) Dōgen invited Ejō to give a formal lecture on the koan "Dongshan's three pounds of flax." *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 81 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), pp. 396-98. *Eihei kōroku* shows that Dōgen used koans when instructing lay students. See *Eihei kōroku*, vol. 8, nr. 5.

[574] Ishii Shūdō, "Busshō Tokkō to Nihondarumashū (2)," *Kanazawa Bunko kenkyū* 20/12 (1974), p. 18.

[575] The verse is placed at the end of *Hōmon taikō*, written in different hand and separated from the previous entry by a significant blank space.

Japan by Dōgen.[576] In one of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles, likewise entitled *Zazenshin* 坐禪箴, Dōgen praises Hongzhi's poem as the single accurate text among suchlike meditation texts. Citing the verse, Dōgen comments on each line and closes by presenting a personal rewrite of the text, arguably to mitigate Hongzhi's rarefied focus on calmness and luminosity.[577] In their commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*, known as *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakishō*, Dōgen's students Senne and Kyōgō report that Hongzhi's meditation verse was erroneously interpreted by followers of the Darumashū.[578] Senne and Kyōgō of course had first hand knowledge of these Darumashū followers, since they had been their co-disciples under Dōgen. The poem at the bottom of *Hōmon taikō*, then, I posit, may have been added to the manuscript by Darumashū adepts within Dōgen's Sōtō community: they first encountered the poem through Dōgen's teachings, then added it to their notebook of fundamentals, and were critisized for their flawed interpretation of it by some of their Sōtō colleagues.

Concluding remarks

Hōmon taikō is a disjointed, anonymous compilation of memo-like entries appended to a lecture. As such it is difficult to approach. In light of the contents of the various text segments and the physical properties of the document, I have proposed a tenfold arrangement. On the same grounds I proposed that the arrangement roughly reflects a progression in time, the first entry in the text being the earliest, original body of the compilation, and the last entry being the youngest appendage. The document thus embodies a trajectory that Darumashū adherents would have gone through – a trajectory that traces from a reliance on the pre-classical Chan materials and oneness/nenbutsu samādhi traditions available on Mount Hiei, to a tentative engagement with the discourse records and koan collections of the Song dynasty that were being imported into Japan.

One of the pearls in this compilation is a manual for seated meditation, said to have been copied in 1195 by a Japanese monk at the Guoqingsi. This unique and virtually unknown manual should be studied by scholars interested in the relationship between Song dynasty Chan and Tiantai. For us, it signals a concern in the Darumashū for the basics of seated meditation.

[576] The Senpukuji temple in Japan preserves a six volume printed edition of Hongzhi's record that is thought to be the edition that Dōgen received from China. See Ishii Shūdō, "Wanshi kōroku kō," *Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 30 (1972): pp. 107-140. For Hongzhi's record also see Morten Schlutter, "The Record of Hongzhi and the Recorded Sayings Literature of Song-dynasty Chan," in Heine and Wright (eds.), *The Zen Canon*, pp. 181-205.

[577] See Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (University of California Press, 1988), pp. 156-157.

[578] *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakisho*. Cited in Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō 2," p. 27.

PART THREE: DISPARAGEMENTS

CHAPTER EIGHT
DARUMASHŪ DETRACTORS

EISAI'S CRITICISMS

Fueled by the complaints of the monk Ryōben, Tendai monks of Mount Hiei petitioned the court for a ban on the increasingly popular Zen movement. Their appeal was successful and led to the 1194 imperial proscription of Zen propagation. The proscription, it will be remembered, explicitly mentions Eisai and Nōnin as founders of a distinct Zen school, referred to as Darumashū. In reaction to this ban, and to counter criticisms on his propagation of Zen, Eisai wrote his famous *Kōzengokokuron* (Treatise on the protection of the state through the propagation of Zen) (1198). *Kōzengokokuron* appropriates the term Darumashū to denote Nōnin's group which, according to Eisai, represented a distortion of the Zen tradition, not to be confused with the real thing. In doing so, Eisai aimed to disassociate himself from Nōnin with whom he was conflated. On the basis of various passages in *Kōzengokokuron* that directly or indirectly refer to the Darumashū, we will examine how Eisai tried to effect this disassociation.

The overarching theme in *Kōzengokokuron* is Eisai's appeal to restore observance of the precepts in what was widely believed to be a period of decline (*mappō*). To Eisai the monastic laxity and disregard for the precepts that he witnessed around him were bound up with an erroneous interpretation of the doctrine of emptiness, an error that he considered to be personified in Nōnin's Darumashū and the radical *hongaku* currents within the Tendai school. Passages in *Kōzengokokuron* that allude to this issue are found especially in the third chapter of the treatise, entitled *Sejinketsugimon* 世人決疑門 (Settling the Doubts of the Public). The Darumashū is directly mentioned in the question eleven:

> QUESTION: When talking about the Zen school some people erroneously call it the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū). [Followers of that school] themselves say: "No practice, no cultivation. Originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi. So, there is no need to keep the precepts and no need to practice. We can just lie down and sleep. Why toil at practicing Buddha invocation, worship relics or restrain one's intake of food?" What do you think about this teaching? [579]

The question cleverly narrows down the term "Darumashū" to designate a specific group – Nōnin's movement – and opposes it to the "Zenshū," the genuine Zen tradition represented by Eisai. In addition, the passage provides a nutshell characterization of Darumashū ideas. In paraphrase: originally there are no defilements, everything and everyone is equally buddha, formal practices and moral disciplines are therefore redundant: we should just behave naturally.

[579] 問曰。或人妄稱禪宗名曰達磨宗。而自云。無行無修本無煩惱元是菩提。是故不用事戒不用事行。但應用偃臥。何勞修念佛供舍利長齋節食耶云云是義如何。(T. 2543,7c26-8a01). A critical edition of *Kōzengokokuron* by Yanagida Seizan is included in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, Nihon shisō taikei 16 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), pp. 7-122. For convenience I refer to the Taisho edition.

The dictum ascribed to the Darumashū – "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi" – is the statement whereby Huike earned Bodhidharma's blessing and became the second Chan patriarch. This statement, it will be remembered, derives from an early version of the Bodhidharma myth; this version was prominently cited in *Hōmon taikō*, from which Eisai probably lifted it. Eisai's extensive answer to the above cited query starts as follows:

> These [Darumashū followers] are the kind that does not refrain from evil. They are like those who in the sacred scriptures are said [to have a wrong] view of emptiness. You should not talk with these people or sit in their company. You should evade them by a hundred *yojanas*. [580]

Eisai's answer captures his twofold critique of the Darumashū: Nōnin and his adherents engage in evil activities (i.e. violate the Buddhist precepts), and do so on the basis of a wrong understanding of emptiness (*kūken* 空見, Skt. *śūnyatā-dṛṣṭi*)

Wrong understanding of emptiness

The teaching of emptiness, as developed in the Mādhyamika tradition centring on Nāgārjuna, holds that all things (dharmas) are devoid of inherent existence (Skt. *svabhāva*). A classic example is the chariot, which upon analysis turns out to be an assemblage of parts (axles, wheels, spokes, etc). Something that is intrinsically a chariot is not found. The chariot in this sense is empty, an unreal object, fabricated by the imputing and conceptualizing workings of the mind. The same goes for the chariot's axles, wheels, spokes of the wheel, and so on. Real entities, things that have *svabhāva*, are not found. The teaching of emptiness aims to cure people of the tendency to fabricate such things – a tendency that causes suffering, since with regard to these things people develop desires, revulsion, confusion and so on (which are likewise empty). To understand emptiness involves the relinquishment of all views that lead one to acknowledge things as having *svabhāva*. To prevent emptiness itself from being so objectified, Mādhyamika posits the emptiness of emptiness (Skt. *śūnyāta śūnyāta*). This notion implies that emptiness is not to be categorically adhered to; it is an instrument that serves to reveal the true state of affairs (emptiness); once it is understood it should be relinquished, like a medicine ingested when ill and relinquished when cured. To have a wrong "view of emptiness" implies objectifiying emptiness as if it were an existent thing or, conversely, understanding emptiness as the complete

[580] 答曰。其人無惡不造之類也。如聖教中言空見者是也。不可與此人共語同座。應避百由旬矣。 Eisai carefully draws from canonical sources. Yanagida (*Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, p. 42) traces Eisai's words as follows: "The kind that does not refrain from evil" derives from the (apocryphal) *Fanwanjing* 梵網經 (T.24,1006b7-8): "A disciple of the Buddha who maliciously watches a precept-holding monk handle an incense burner while performing a bodhisattva practice, or argues and two-facedly slanders an upright man and does not refrain from evil: such a person commits a minor offence." The warning to evade such evil people "by a hundred yojanas" is traced to the *Dabaojijing* collection 大寶積經 (Skt. *Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*; *Daihōshakukyō*) (T. 310, 528a10-11): "In a place of frivolous talk and disputes, passions arise in abundance. The sage must by all means stay far from such a place and distance himself a hundred *yojanas*." The warning to "not talk with these people or sit in their company," according to Yanagida, echoes the *Lotus sūtra* (T. 262, 37a22-37b02):

> As for the associations proper for them, bodhisattvas and mahasattvas should not associate closely with rulers, princes, high ministers or heads of offices. They should not associate closely with non-Buddhists, Brahmans or Jains, or with those who compose works of secular literature or books extolling the heretics, nor should they be closely associated with lokayatas or anti-lokayatas. They should not be closely associated with hazardous amusement, boxing or wrestling, or with actors or others engaging in various kinds of illusionary entertainment, or with the cāṇḍālas, persons engaging in raising pigs, engaged in raising pigs, sheep, chickens or dogs, or those who engage in hunting or fishing or other evil activities. If such persons at times come to one, then one may preach the Dharma for them, but one should expect nothing from it. (Translation: Burton Watson, *The Lotus Sutra*, Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 197)

annihilation of things.[581] According to Nāgārjuna, having a wrong view of emptiness is extremely harmful: "The great noble ones explained that the method of emptiness is meant for relinquishing all views. Those with a view of emptiness, the Buddhas cannot reform."[582]

Channeled through Yogācāra and tathāgatagarbha thought, Mādhyamika teachings of emptiness would undergo significant modulations, especially in East Asian appropriations.[583] Throughout, Nāgārjuna's admonitions and comparable warnings against *śūnyatā-dṛṣṭi* were consistently invoked. Eisai, too, points up a wrong view of emptiness (*kūken*) as the gravest of errors:

> It is better to give rise to a view of an [existent] self that towers high as Mount Sumeru, than to give rise to arrogance based on a view of emptiness! Why? All views can be removed with emptiness, but those who give rise to a view of emptines are incurable.[584]

The wrong view of emptiness that Eisai ascribes to the Darumashū pertains to the aspect of annihalation, a misapplication of emptiness that leads to the uncontrolled rejection of Buddhist practices and moral discipline. Through a lengthy quote from Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*, Eisai illustrates this error and warns his audience of its ruinous effects. These effects, it is explained, do not only relate to the individual, but extend to the whole of society and, ultimately, to the very fate of Buddhism:

> In the *Zhiguan* of the Tendai school it says: [585] "North of Huai and the [Yellow] river there are people who practice [a wrong kind of] Mahāyāna emptiness. Ignoring the prohibition, they handle snakes.[586] I will explain this now. Their late master contemplated good dharmas. A long time passed but he did not penetrate them. Letting his mind wander off he turned to evil dharmas and contemplated these. He gained a little concentration and developed a pale understanding of emptiness. He did not know about karmic conditions and individual propensities. He did not come up to the intent of the Buddha. Relying solely on this method he enthusiastically taught others. Teaching others for a long time, some came upon a scrap of benefit, like termites that accidentally trace a glyph when gnawing through a piece of wood. Taking this as a confirmation, he considered [his method] a proven truth. Anything else he considered deluded talk. He laughed at people who observed the precepts and cultivated virtue, and considered them violators of the way. He zealously instructed people, causing evil everywhere. Eyeless and blind, he did not distinguish right from wrong; his spiritual faculties were dull, his afflictions heavy. Listening to his explanations and going along with his profligacy, everyone trusted him and followed him in rejecting rules and prohibitions. There is no wrong he did not commit. His transgressions piled up as high as mountainpeaks. In the end he had caused the whole populace to ignore the precepts as [one

[581] Drawing on NG Yu-kwan, *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism and Early Mādhyamika* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 12-38.
[582] *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Verses of the Middle Way), translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413) (*Zhonglun* 中論 , T. 1564, 18c16-c17).
[583] See Robert M. Gimello, "Apophatic and Kataphatic Discourse in Mahāyāna: A Chinese View," *Philosophy East and West* 26/2 (1976): pp. 117-136.
[584] [寶雲經云。] 寧起我見積如須彌。莫以空見起增上慢。所以者何。一切諸見以空得脫。若起空見則不可治。 (*Kōzengokokuron* , T. 2543, 8a03-05).
[585] *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 18c21-19a11).
[586] An allusion to a simile found in Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* about the danger of the teaching of emptiness: "By a misperception of emptiness a person of little intelligence is destroyed. Like a snake incorrectly seized. Or a spell incorrectly cast." (Jay L. Garfield, *The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way: Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 68).

> would ignore] a blade of grass. The sovereign and his ministers thereupon destroyed Buddhism. A poisonous vapour had deeply entered [society] and to this day it has not been removed. This is the ghost of the destruction of Buddhism. It is also the ghost of our present age. Why do [these people] stick to their own [flawed] ideas? What's the reason for this? Fools like this have no wisdom in their minds. They trust their original teacher, emulate his predecessors, and staunchly assert that this is the way. They follow their whims and take it easy, they indulge in pleasures and fail to rectify their delusions."
>
> This is about a mad man long ago, North of Huai and the [Yellow] river. He faintly heard about the excellence of the Zen teaching, but was ignorant of its practical methods. He just meditated randomly, discarded praxis in both its concrete and theoretical aspects, and so got enmeshed in false views. Such persons are called "masters with an evil attachment to emptiness." They are dead corpses in the Buddha's dharma.[587]

In Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*, the above translated passage refers to the persecution of Buddhism under Northern Zhou Emperor Wudi in the years 574-577. Lifted from the original (con)text and inserted into Eisai's text, the passage transforms into a thinly veiled attack on Nōnin and his followers. Sixth century northern China is transposed to late Heian period Japan, the deluded master in Zhiyi's text becomes Nōnin who, having descended into a wrong understanding of emptiness, rejects practices and precepts and thereby violates the intent of the Buddha. Propagating his false teaching, the deluded master commits every thinkable transgression and ends up infecting the whole of society with his evil. Eisai here circuitously depicts Nōnin and his following as a dissolute group and warns of their potential danger: the vices of this bogus Zen group will spread through the country, cause social deterioration, and potentially ignite a state led persecution of the Buddhist religion.

The link between Buddhism, state and society that is implied here is a central theme running through *Kōzengokokuron* and other works by Eisai. Not unlike Nichiren, Eisai envisioned a Buddhist state where the Law of the Buddha and the Law of the Sovereign are in harmony, a model exemplified for instance in a parable from the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, mentioned by Eisai in the *Sejinketsugimon* chapter. In this parable a virtuous King takes up arms against a group of evil monks within his realm, who threaten to attack a pure monk, devoted to the precepts.[588] In a Buddhist state, it is implied, forceful legal measures must be taken by the sovereign against monks who contravene the Buddhist code of discipline. The 1194 imperial ban on the Bodhidharma school can, in a way, be seen as such a legal measure. Eisai did not question the judiciary or religious legitimacy of the prohibition, but simply wanted it to bear on Nōnin's movement alone.

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[587] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2534, 8a09-26). My translations from *Kōzengokokuron* benefitted from the translation by Gishin Tokiwa, included in *Zen Texts*, edited by John McRae (California: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), pp 45-238.

[588] The story from the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (T. 374, 383c20-384a13) is situated in the immeasurably remote era of a Buddha named Bliss Amplification 歡喜增益. It tells of a pure monk named Awakened-Virtuous 覺德比丘 who is attacked by evil monks for propagating the precepts. Hearing of the attack the King of the realm, named Possessor of Virtue 有德王, takes up arms against the evildoers and subdues them, but in the act becomes fatally wounded. The monk praises the King for his protection of the dharma and assures him of future merit. The King rejoices and dies to be reborn in the paradise of Buddha Akṣobhya, where he becomes this Buddha's chief student and is eventually joined by his relatives, his soldiers and subjects.

Lazy fellows, dead corpses, and thieves in the Buddhadharma.

Criticism directed at the Darumashū can also be read in several of Eisai's remarks about Zen followers who, in his view, misapply the Zen school's dictum "no reliance on words and letters" (*furyū monji* 不立文字). Eisai himself, to be sure, affirms *furyū monji* as one of the key statements made made by Bodhidharma; a stament that pronounces the ineffable and unobtainable nature of the Buddhadharma – of which Zen is the direct manifestation:

> A person who says that Buddha's Zen resides in words, letters and language actually slanders the Buddha and slanders the saṃgha.[589]

The text-transcending muscle that Eisai is flexing here is in fact firmly embedded in a model of Zen praxis that appreciates and incorporates textual study. Eisai, in this context, comments on "lazy fellows" (*randa no tomogara* 嬾惰輩) who – under the pretext of "no reliance on words and letters" – ignore the Buddhist scriptures and so "ruin the Buddhadharma" 滅佛法:

> The *Guanfo sanmei jing* says: "Students in the future who want to see the Buddha must cultivate three methods. One, recite the profound scriptures that are the sūtras. Two, immaculately observe the precepts and behave without faults. Three, restrain one's thoughts and have a mind without distractions." This is why, this [Zen] school qua study covers the eight divisions of the canon and qua practice combines the six pāramitās. As for those who under the pretext that in the Zen school "this very mind is buddha" do not investigate the [textual] traces of the [Buddha's] teachings: how are they not different from someone who extinguishes a torch at night – when it is dawning but not yet light – and then falls into a ravine? [590]

In 1198 – the year *Kōzengokokuron* was completed – the only Zen group active in Japan, besides Eisai's, was Nōnin's Darumashū. Passages in the text that allude to other, "lazy" or "evil" Zen followers (such as that cited above) cannot but refer to Nōnin's group. The excuse of these "lazy fellows" for not studying Buddhist scriptures is said to be the idea – universally accepted in the Chan/Zen tradition – that "this mind is buddha" (*sokushin zebutsu* 即心是佛). To Eisai such a rejection of textual study on account of the fact that "this mind is buddha" was a dangerous mistake that obscured the concrete Buddhist path.

Further down in *Kōzengokokuron* the matter of "no reliance on words and letters" is raised again. It is made clear that the misuse of this dictum is bound up with an "evil attachment to emptiness" (*akushūkū* 惡取空), i.e. the wrong view of emptiness that Eisai ascribed to the Darumashū. Distancing himself from these "Zen masters of dim realization" (*anshō zenji* 暗證禪師) who commit this error, Eisai declares:

> Our Zen school abhors those masters whose realization is dim 暗證師 and hates those with evil attachment to emptiness 惡取空, just like the bottom of the great ocean repels corpses 大海底厭死屍. We rely only on the perfect stage and cultivate the perfect and sudden [teaching]. Externally, with the rules of discipline, we keep away from wrongs. Internally, with compassion, we benefit others. This is called the Zen school. This is called the

[589] 若人言佛禪有文字言語者。實是謗佛謗法謗僧。(*Kōzengokokuron*, T. 2543, 11b27-b28).
[590] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 6c11-c17).

> Buddhadharma. The fellows of blind Zen 盲禪 and evil attachment [to emptiness] do not have these principles. They are thieves in the Buddhadharma! 佛法中之賊.[591]

The severity of Eisai's accusations is mirrored in his harsh tone and derogatory idiom. Eisai "hates" (*nikumu* 惡) and "abhors" (*kirau* 嫌) followers of the Darumashū. He refers to them as "dead corpses" and "thieves." The expression "thieves in the Buddhadharma" derives from the *Fanwang jing* and refers to violators of the precepts, who are "no different from an animal or a piece of wood."[592] To say that someone is a corpse is rude, especially in Buddhist contexts wherein bodies and corpses are strongly associated with impurity and disgust.[593] The references to corpses, moreover, engage a particular Buddhist simile. A classic instance of this simile is found in the *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka:

> Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean will not brook association with a dead corpse; but whatsoever dead corpse there be in the sea that will it – and quickly – draw to the shore, and cast it out upon the dry land – just so, O Bhikkhus, if there be any individual evil in conduct, wicked in character, of impure and doubtful behaviour, not a Samana though he have taken the vows of one, not a religious student though he have taken the vows of one, foul within, full of cravings, a worthless creature; with him will the saṃgha brook no association, but quickly, on its meeting together, will it cast him out. And what though that man should himself be seated in the midst of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, verily, both is he afar off from the saṃgha, and the saṃgha from him.[594]

Dazhidulun, attributed to Nāgārjuna, similarly has: "The saṃgha is a great ocean. Moral discipline is the shoreline. One who violates the moral discipline is ultimately not counted as a member of the saṃgha. Like the great ocean, it does not cohabit with dead corpses!"[595] The simile illustrates expulsion from the saṃgha. Eisai, in other words, states that transgressive monks like Nōnin and his group do not belong in the Buddhist community and must be excommunicated.

This type of criticism pervades *Kōzengokokuron*. Elsewhere in the treatise, Eisai disparages a certain "band that breaks the precepts and prohibitions." Some of these criticisms are aimed at a broader trend that connects the Darumashū to radical *hongaku* elements in the Tendai school, the

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[591] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 7b27-c01).

[592] *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Bommōkyō) (T. 1484, 1009a13-a19):

> If a disciple of the Buddha sincerely leaves home and receives the Buddha's true precepts, but then raises thoughts of violating these precepts, then he is not allowed to receive any offerings from supporters, he may not walk on the King's land and not drink the King's water. Five thousand huge demons will always stand in front of him, shouting: "Big thief!" When he enters a house or a city dwelling these demons will constantly sweep away his footprints. Society curses such a person, calling him, "thief in the Buddhadharma." Sentient beings do not want to set their eyes on him. One who breaks the precepts is no different from an animal or a piece of wood. One who slanders the correct precepts commits a minor offence. 若佛子。信心出家受佛正戒。故起心毀犯聖戒者。不得受一切檀越供養。亦不得國王地上行。不得飲國王水。五千大鬼常遮其前。鬼言大賊。若入房舍城邑宅中。鬼復常掃其腳跡。一切世人罵言佛法中賊。一切衆生眼不欲見。犯戒之人畜生無異木頭無異。若毀正戒者。犯輕垢罪。

[593] See for instance Liz Wilson, *Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature* (University of Chicago Press, 1996). Rajyashree Pandey, "Desire and Disgust: Meditations on the Impure Body in Medieval Japanese Narratives," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60 (2005): pp. 196-234.

[594] T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg (trans.), *Vinaya Texts*, part III, *Kullavagga* IV-XII, Sacred Books of the East, vol. XX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), p. 303.

[595] *Dazhidulun* attributed to Nāgārjuna (T.25, 1509, 225a8-10). Elsewhere in *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 14b29-14c04) Eisai similarly states: "Having received the precepts one must always guard and sustain them. (…) Those who violate the moral discipline must absolutely be excommunicated. [The saṃgha] is like bottom of the ocean: it does not retain corpses."

socalled evil monks (*akusō* 悪僧), whose lax attitude toward the precepts rested on shared notions of emptiness, *hongaku* and nonduality. Eisai bluntly associates this trend with one of the socalled "six heretic teachers" in the Buddha's lifetime, namely Pūraṇa Kassapa 富蘭那迦葉 (Furanna Kashō)[596] – and emblematic evildoer, whom Buddhist sources grotesquely present as having taught that human actions like killing and torturing have no moral content and no karmic consequence.[597]

Eisai's criticism and the Darumashu teachings

To what extent do Eisai's criticisms reflect Darumashū views? Eisai starts by associating the Darumashū with the dictum: "Originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi" and subsequently asserts that on the basis of this dictum – and the view on emptiness it engages – the followers of the Darumashū abandon Buddhist practices and moral injunctions, and instead encourage spontaneous activity. As noted earlier, this dictum is indeed prominently cited in the Darumashū text *Hōmon taikō*.

In Chan/Zen discourse, the idea that insight into emptiness renders practices and precepts redundant is not extraordinary. A comparable position can be found especially in early Chan.[598] The Darumashū texts examined in the previous chapters, in part at least, and to varying degrees, similarly move away from practice and discipline. *Hōmon taikō*, for instance, notes that our "defiled activities are empty and calm" and the inner buddha-nature "is not conditional on austere practices." *Kenshōjōbutsugi* emphasizes that buddhahood is not caused by "excision of impurities" and proclaims: "we do not observe the practice of meditation." The need for observing the precepts is deconstructed in a similar way. *Jōtōshōgakuron*, for instance, opens with a poem that expresses the emptiness of both virtuous and transgressive acts. Later it is pointed out that an empty state of mind (no-mind) abrogates the need for moral precepts. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* denigrates masters of the Buddhist precepts and praises a transliteral attitude towards the precepts, as championed by Vimalakīrti. The ideal is to "be free and unobstructed" and "act without constraints." But at the same time a text like *Hōmon taikō* endorses the practice of *nenbutsu* recitation. The same text also includes a manual for seated meditation.

Eisai maintains that followers of the Darumashū – under the pretext Bodhidharma's slogan "no reliance on words and letters" (*furyū monji*) – reject textual study. Bodhidharma's slogan is indeed found in all three of the Darumashū texts examined previously. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* in particular has various passages that stress the inability of words to convey the buddhadharma. The preface to *Kenshōjōbutsugi* calls for awakening through hearing sounds and seeing forms: "why

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[596] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 14b06-08).

[597] A chilling description of the teaching ascribed to Pūraṇa Kassapa is found in the Pāli *Samaññaphala Sutta* (The Fruits of the Ascetic Life):

> If someone were to take a razor-edged discus and make of the creatures of this earth one single mass of flesh, one single heap of flesh, there would be nothing bad in that, nothing bad would come of it. Again, if someone were to go along the southern bank of the Ganges killing and getting others to kill, wounding and getting others to wound, torturing and getting others to torture, there would be nothing bad in that, nothing bad would come of it. Again, if someone were to go along the northern bank of the Ganges, making gifts and getting others to make gifts, performing sacrifices and getting others to perform sacrifices, there would be nothing good in that, nothing good would come of it. In giving, discipline, restraint and speaking the truth there is nothing good, nothing good comes from them. (Rupert Gethin, *Sayings of the Buddha*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 11.)

[598] Yanagida points to the *Daruma Sanron, Jueguanlun* (Treatise on Destroying Contemplation) and *Linji lu* 臨済録 (Record of Linji). Yanagida Seizan, "Kūbyō no mondai," p. 775. Ishii Shūdō points to the *Daruma Sanron*. Ishii Shūdō "Shōbōji monjo yori mitari Nihondarumashū no seikaku," pp. 12-13.

would someone who experienced [awakening like this] gaze at treatises or bother with taking notes?" But at the same time it is clear that texts are not categorically rejected. Citing Zongmi, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* holds that Zen is the Buddha's mind and the teachings (scriptures) the Buddha's words; the role of texts as expedient means and "preliminary inducements" is duly acknowledged. Zen adepts are in fact said to be exclusively apt in engaging with texts.

Eisai's (fictive) questioner specifies the practices rejected by the Darumashū: relic worship, *nenbutsu* and restraint in eating. The description, in this sense, does not square with the Darumashū materials examined in the foregoing chapters, some of which indicate a concern with seated meditation and *nenbutsu* practice, not to mention relic worship. It could be argued that such practices were incorporated into Darumashū communities at a later point in time, partly in response to accusations such as those made by Eisai. Ishii Shūdō in fact suggested this with regard to the relic cult at Sambōji.[599] But such explanations are not necessary. We should accept the capacity of individuals and communities to operate in seemingly contradictory ways. Darumashū teachers proclaimed the pointlessness of practice whilst endorsing practices as expedients. Such a double structure is, arguably, inherent the fundamental Mahāyāna notion of the twofold truth, which sets up conventional versus absolute while insisting on their nonduality.

As various scholars noted, Chan/Zen antinomianism does not automatically entail the actual the rejection of works. The stress on formlessnes, nonthought and so on, according to Wendi Adamek, "should be seen within the larger context of Chinese elaborations on apophatic Prajnāpāramitā discourse. Deconstruction of moral distinctions and the precepts serves as a particularly dramatic means to introduce the student to the disorienting paradoxes of nonduality."[600] Similarly, John Mcrae remarks, "the point of all the negation and denial then is not that there was no positive goal to be reached, but that the discrimination or conceptualization of goals, techniques, and moral standards was absolutely rejected (...) one should practice the bodhisattva path, but never perceive there to be any path or any person practicing it."[601] Darumashū antinomianism, likewise, operated in the context of Buddhist practices. The call for the abandonment of practices and standards would not make sense if it were not delimited in this way. In the approach to Buddhist practice that emerges from Darumashū texts such as the *Hōmon taikō* and *Kenshōjōbutsuron*, it is not praxis *per se* that is attacked, at least not always, but the goal-oriented, dualistic premise undergirding it. Practices – "superior expedients" – are actually encouraged, provided they be practiced as a kind of non-practices. Central to this is the notion of faith or trust: the practitioner must start by having trust in his own a priori buddhahood.

Eisai's characterization, though not wholly inaccurate, then, is one-sided and exaggerated. No doubt this was in part done for effect. Still, taking into account the commotion that the Darumashū provoked in the Buddhist world, it seems that the negative image of the movement rested not only on rhetorical grandstanding, but may also have been fed by (perceived) deviant behavior of its representatives. In this respect, the Darumashū may have been comparable to (and possibly have overlapped with) radical groups within Hōnen's Pure Land movement, studied by Rambelli.[602] Wandering Zen monks and travelling preachers of the thirteenth century, depicted in writings and illustrated scrolls of the time, such as *Tengu zōshi* 天狗草紙, may exemplify a

[599] Ishii, Ibid., p. 18.
[600] Adamek, *Mystique of Transmission*, p. 220.
[601] McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism," p. 217.
[602] Rambelli, "Just behave as you like," in *Approaching the Land of Bliss*, Payne and Tanaka (eds.): pp. 169-201.

similar trend.[603] Yanagida, in this context, draws a line between the Darumashū and the negative descriptions of Zen monks in the 1295 *Nomori no kagami* 野守鏡 (Mirror of the Watchman in the Fields). [604] The problem of "evil behaviour" also appears to have been acknowledged within the Darumashū itself. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* shows a clear awareness of the trappings of emptiness thought. It explains that emptiness, too, is a relative concept and (in wordings similar to that of Eisai) denounces those who take emptiness as a pretext for doing evil. Such disclaimers notwithstanding, Darumashū materials provide ample support for breaking the precepts. The disclaimer itself, in a sense, affirms the disclaimed transgression.

Altogether, Eisai's characterization of the Darumashū can be said to have been strongly motivated by power politics. Eisai strategically accentuated radical elements in the Zen of the Darumashū so as to deflect the contemporary hostility towards the Zen movement and reroute it in Nōnin's direction. By evoking an image of Nōnin and his followers as a band of subversive layabouts, Eisai presented a (semi) straw man to the Buddhist establishment, with whom he himself wished to remain on good footing.

***Mirai-ki* (Prediction)**

Criticism on Nōnin is found too in *Mirai-ki* (Prediction), an addendum to *Kōzengokokuron*. This short text is said to have been composed by Eisai in 1197, prior to *Kōzengokokuron*, but it is probably apocryphal.[605] In this text Eisai is presented as the presaged transmitter of Zen in Japan, while earlier Zen transmissions are disparaged. *Mirai-ki* relates how at the port of Hakata (Kyūshū) Eisai is met by a Chinese who tells him about his audience with Chan master Fohai 佛海禪師 (1103-1176) at Lingyin monastery. Fohai told his visitor that a superior man (*shōnin* 上人) from Japan will visit China in the future and return to his country to transmit the Zen school. Fohai also predicted his own death for the following year and prophesised that twenty years hence the Zen school will flourish overseas. The following year the visitor again stopped at Lingyin monastery to find out that Fohai indeed passed away on the predicted day and has since been succeeded by Chan master Fozhao 佛照禪師 (1121-1203). Eisai comments:

> Chan Master Fohai is one who perceived the truth of nonproduction. He had the ability to discern future events. I, Eisai, went yonder [to China] and returned to transmit [the Zen school]. Though I am unworthy, these [predicted] events pertain to me. If not me, who else? A skillful man did not cross the sea. A fool did, but what was his point? Perceptive people, be clear on this! Between the prediction of Chan master Fohai and my crossing of the ocean of the Penglai islands are exactly eighteen years. Isn't this marvellous prediction higly [accurate]? Pondering on the future, [I foresee that] the Zen school will not waste away. Fifty years after I depart from this world this school will rise to ascendency. This is what I myself, Eisai, predict.[606]

Mirai-ki sets up Eisai as the authentic transmitter of Song Chan to Japan. As Yanagida and others observed, it is of course no coincidence that the story of the prediction is framed around the Chan masters Fohai and Fozhao: these masters were the Chan lineage fathers of Eisai's forerunners

[603] See Harada Masatoshi, Tengu zōshi ni miru Kamakura jidai goki no buppō," *Bukkyōshigaku kenkyū* 37/1 (1994): pp. 40-79.
[604] Yanagida, *Kūbyō no mondai*, p. 767.
[605] Yanagida, *Chūsei zenke no shisō*, pp. 470-71.
[606] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 17b06-b13).

Kakua and Nōnin.[607] Kakua studied with Fohai in China between 1171 and 1175 and is obviously the "fool" (*gunin* 愚人) mentioned by Eisai. Nōnin is the "skillful man" (*kōjin* 好人) who failed to go to China but nevertheless received Fozhao's sanction.[608]

DŌGEN'S CRITICISMS

As discussed in Chapter Three, the Darumashū monk Ejō joined Dōgen's incipient Zen community at the Kōshōji near Kyoto in the winter of 1234, followed, in the spring of 1241, by the leading Darumashū monk Ekan and a group of his students. As various scholars pointed out, the course of Dōgen's teaching career was seriously influenced by this new constituent in Dōgen's community.[609] The Darumashū monks and nuns that entered Dōgen's community did so equipped with an awareness of their own lineage and with an established sense of what Zen practice and theory entailed; they also brought along their own texts and relics. As the expulsion of the Darumashū monk Gemmyō indicates, Dōgen's monastic style was not necessarily compatible with Darumashū standards.

Dōgen's literary output dramatically increased with the arriving of the Darumashū adherents in his community.[610] Dōgen's talks and formal lectures from this period were, in part, a response to the presence of the Darumashū monks and nuns in his audience. Dōgen's teachings can, in this sense, be seen as efforts to convince, educate and reform the Darumashū adepts. By the same token, Dōgen's texts can be read as a reflection of this dialogical tension. As Bernard Faure expresses it: "The teachings of the Darumashū form the pre-text, the hidden matrix, the elusive discourse on which Dōgen's own discourse is surreptitiously grafted."[611] Dōgen's textual production, then, might be seen as an immense stretch of variegated land that is capable of being foraged for sediments of Sōtō/Darumashū contact. Here we will skim over this land to pick up some of this sediment and, if possible, weigh it against the Darumashū "pre-texts." The focus is mainly on the *Shōbōgenzō*, the collection of Dōgen's vernacular writings, but reference will also be made to other sources.

Shōbōgenzō: Bendōwa (A Talk on Discerning the Way)[612]

One of the early textual expressions of the Dōgen/Darumashū junction is found in *Bendōwa* (A Talk on Discerning the Way), written in 1231. The work consists of two sections. In the concise opening section of the work Dōgen expands on the inseparability of the absolute self-enjoying state of awakening (*jijuyū sanmai* 自由三昧) and the concrete practice of seated meditation. The second, larger section of the work is taken up by a string of dialogues in which Dōgen clarifies his own position and refute the views of his questioner. According to Takeuchi Michio, *Bendōwa*

[607] Yanagida, *Chūsei zenke no shisō*, pp. 470-71.
[608] The term *kōjin* here must be ironic. Morohashi provides three meanings of the word: a person skillful in his work 仕事の上手な人, a great person 大人, and a person of perfect moral conduct 品行純正の人.
[609] For instance, Faure, "Darumashū."
[610] See Steven Heine, *Did Dōgen go to China?*, p. 2 (Table I).
[611] Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 144. Shinkura Kazufumi "Dōgen to Ejō no rondanhossen ni tsuite" IBK 31/2, 1983), p. 111. Faure, "Darumashū," pp. 39-45.
[612] Starting from 1684, editions of the *Shōbōgenzō* include *Bendōwa* as its opening essay. The text was originally written as a separate work, not included in the *Shōbōgenzō*. See Heine, *Did Dōgen go to China*, p. 123.

crystallized from Dōgen's debates with the then Darumashū monk Ejō at Kenninji.[613] Ejō and Dōgen, it will be remembered, first met in 1229 at Kenninji in Kyoto, where they engaged in a "dharma discourse battle." Though *Bendōwa* can probably not be wholly reduced to a being record of any particular debate, it is clear that Dōgen in this work responds to views prevalent in his surroundings, including Darumashū views. Takeuchi and others specifically point to dialogue number ten and sixteen.

Bendōwa dialogue ten

Dialogue ten opens with a questioner (arguably modeled on Ejō) who presents a certain view of Zen and asks Dōgen what he thinks of it. According to this view the one prerequisite for separation from saṃsāra is to know that "mind-nature is eternally abiding" (*shinshō no jōjū* 心性ノ常住). Paraphrased, the questioner asserts the following: the perishable body is subject to samsaric rebirths, the mind-nature is not. Simply by knowing this truth, one instantly separates from saṃsāra. Upon death, one's residual karma evaporates, one will flow into the "ocean of nature" (*shōkai* 性海), endowed with the virtues of the buddhas. Thus it is of no use to spend one's days vainly sitting in meditation: the point simply is to know that the mind-nature is permanent. [614]

In response Dōgen condemns this view as the Śreṇika heresy (*senni gedō* 先尼外道), a Buddhist appropriation of the accursed ideas of Śreṇika, a Brahmanic teacher contemporaneous with Buddha Śākyamuni. Dōgen explains that the Śreṇikan view conceives a dualism between impermanent forms (such as the human body) and a permanent mind-nature that inhabits these forms, called "numinous awareness" (*reichi* 靈知). In contrast to this false view, Dōgen explains that in true Buddhism body/mind, nature/form and saṃsāra /nirvāṇa are understood as nondual. As a final counsel Dōgen adds: "You are already a child of the Buddha, do not lend your ear to the babble coming from madmen who teach this heretical view."[615]

Leaving aside for now whether Dōgen's analysis is accurate, the idea of an eternally abiding "mind-nature" that is endowed with "numinous awareness" can certainly be connected to the Darumashū. We will return to this later.

Bendōwa dialogue sixteen

Dōgen's questioner in *Bendōwa* dialogue number ten expressed the idea that the key to awakening is not in practice, but simply in knowing the truth about the mind-nature. A parallel idea is taken up in *Bendōwa* dialogue number sixteen, which can likewise be seen as a criticism of the Darumashū:

> QUESTION: Some say that if, in the Buddhadharma, we apprehend the thesis "this mind is buddha", then although we do not chant the scriptures and physically practice the path of the Buddha, we are in no way deficient in the Buddhadharma. Just knowing that the Buddhadharma fundamentally exists in oneself, this is the fulfilment of attaining the way. There is no need to approach others and seek further. So why would I take the trouble to discern the way through seated meditation?

[613] Takeuchi, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, pp. 99-103.
[614] *Bendōwa* (T. 2582, 19a13-b08). For a translation of *Bendōwa* see Norman Waddell and Masao Abe (trans.), *The Heart of Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō* (State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 7-30.
[615] *Bendōwa* (T. 2582, 19b08-20a8).

The questioner presents the view that practices are expendable, provided we just understand that "this mind is buddha" (*sokushin zebutsu* 即心是佛): simply by knowing that one is inherently a buddha we completely fulfils the Buddhist path; further cultivation is not necessary. This idea is well-attested in Darumashū materials. *Jōtoshōgakuron*, for instance, devotes a whole section to the equivalent dictum "your own mind is buddha" (*jishin soku butsu*). The no-practice element may be discerned in the verse of minister Pei Xiu, included in *Jōtoshōgakuron*: "Mind is buddha. A buddha is an ordinary being. Do not search! Do not act! Making a buddha search a buddha is a double waste of effort." The expendability of practice on account of innate awakening is also implicit in the notion of "principle identity" (*risoku*) or "first abode awakening" (*shojū no satori*), described in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.

In his reply Dōgen rejects the questioner's assumption: buddhahood is not consummated by simply accepting the fact that ones own mind is buddha; buddhahood is contingent on practice:

> A: This is entirely baseless. If it is as you say, which conscious being would fail to know this thesis when told about it? You should know that the Buddhadharma is studied by relinquishing views that [discriminate between] self and other. If attainment of the way would amount to just knowing that oneself is the Buddhadharma, then the worthy Śākya long ago would not have taken the trouble to teach. I will substantiate this with a splendid case about virtuous men of the past…

The "splendid case" that Dōgen recounts to corroborate his point is the case known as "Xuanze's lantern boy." The story centres on the line "The lantern boy comes looking for fire," a Zen maxim that expresses the situation of a novice seeking for awakening outside, not realizing it is within. The case presents the monk Xuanze, who thinks he has attained awakening upon having once heard this maxim. Chan master Fayan, the abbot of the monastery where Xuanze resides, discredits Xuanze's insight. Deeply vexed, Xuanze leaves the monastery. Eventually he returns and asks Fayan: "What is the self of this student?" Fayan answers "The lantern boy comes looking for fire," whereupon Xuanze genuinely awakens. The point of the story, Dōgen explains, is that a mere understanding of "this mind is buddha" is inadequate. What is required is to "face a virtuous teacher, inquire after the procedures of practice and then intently discern the way through seated meditation." Dōgen thus strongly opposes the idea that mere acceptance of truth has a liberating effect: sustained practice and a face to face meeting with a teacher are indispensible. This last remark might be read as stab at Nōnin, who failed to meet his master. Interestingly, the line "the lantern boy comes looking for fire" prominently appears in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. The phrase turns up in the closing section of the text, in an encounter dialogue between the narrating Zen master and a student. According to *Kenshōjōbutsugi* it is not meditative practice that leads to awakening; rather, it is exactly through hearing and accepting such truths as "this mind is buddha" and "the lantern boy comes looking for fire" that a Zen student is to awaken.

***Shōbōgenzō: Sokushin zebutsu* (This Mind is Buddha)**

As seen in the *Bendōwa*, the thesis "this mind is buddha" (*sokushin zebutsu*) represented a point of tension between Darumashū subitism and Dōgen's insistence on sustained formal practice. Dōgen links this subitist reading of "this very mind is buddha" to a false idea of an eternal self: the Śreṇika heresy. This theme is taken up again in the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle *Sokushin zebutsu*,

composed in 1239.[616] In the beginning of this text Dōgen posits the problem: the dictum "this mind is buddha" has caused many Buddhists to fall into heretical ways:

> Hearing talk about "this mind," idiots think that "this mind" is the ordinary being's mind of discriminative consciousness prior to the resolve to attain awakening, and so they imagine themselves to be buddhas. This is because they have never encountered a genuine teacher.[617]

Dōgen here opposes the idea that ordinary beings, without any concrete religious practice, are wholly buddhas. Observing that the thesis "this mind is buddha" is mistakenly taken to abrogate the need for practice, Dōgen links this trend to the Śreṇika heresy. He first provides an extensive description of the Śreṇikan view:

> As for these heretical fellows, in India there was a nonbuddhist named Śreṇika. His perspective amounts to this:
>
> > The great way resides in our present body. Its presence can easily be known. It distinguishes suffering from happines, it naturally knows warm and cold and discerns pain and itch. It is not constrained by the myriad dharmas and not involved in conditions. Objects come and go, conditions arise and cease, but numinous awareness is always there, changeless. This numinous awareness pervades ordinary beings and sages without distinction. Within this numinous awareness unreal phenomena 妄法 – sky flowers 空華 – momentarily appear, but when a single thought moment is in accord with wisdom, when objects are destroyed and conditions obliterated, then numinous awareness – original nature – remains on its own, in perfect clarity, calm and enduring. (…) Self and other are equally endowed with it. Deluded and awakened beings are both penetrated by it. [Understand] that the myriad dharmas and all conditions are so. Numinous awareness does not commingle with the conditions. It is not the same as the objects. It abides eternally, as kalpas go by. The conditions that are actually present now can be said to be real, as they depend on the presence of numinous awareness. Because they dependently arise from the original nature (*honshō yori engi* 本性ヨリ縁起), they are real dharmas. And yet, because they appear and disappear, they do not eternally abide in the same manner of numinous awareness. [Numinous awareness] is not involved in bright and dark, because it is aware numinously. This is what we call numinous awareness. It is also called the true self 眞我, the basis of awakening 覺元, original nature 本性 and original substance 本體. One who awakens to this original nature is said to return to that which continually abides, and is called a Mahāsattva who returned to the real. [Such a person] will thereafter no longer go round in the samsaric cycle but experientially enter the unborn and unceasing nature-ocean. Apart from this there is no reality. To the extent that this nature is not actualized, the three time periods and the six worlds [of transmigration] arise in turmoil.
>
> This then is the view of the nonbuddhist Śreṇika.[618]

In the above cited passage, Dōgen, significantly, establishes a link between the Śreṇikan view of permanence and the term "numinous awareness" (*reichi*) – a link that as far as I know is peculiar to Dōgen. The concept of numinous awareness was central to the Darumashū, Dōgen's actual target. Dōgen's description does, on the surface, reflect Darumashū views and terminology. I am

[616] According to its colophon, *Sokushin zebutsu* was delivered as a formal lecture in 1239 and redacted by Ejō in 1245.
[617] *Sokushin zebutsu* (T. 2582, 28b09-b12).
[618] *Sokushin zebutsu* (T. 2582, 28b14-c19).

thinking for instance of the first dialogue in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, which is framed on the metaphor of flowers in the sky (*kūge*). *Kenshōjōbutsugi* explains that the illusory flowers (phenomenal objects) that appear in empty space are nonsubstantial, whereas the underlying empty space is the true substance. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* considers this substance – the mind-nature – to be "uninvolved with external objects" and yet ontologically connected to the objects: the objects appear when "the intrinsic nature accords with conditions" (*jishō zuien* 自性隨緣). Similarly, Dōgen has Śreṇika maintain that the objects "dependently arise from the original nature" (*honshō yori engi* 本性ヨリ緣起).

Dōgen's criticism of notions that imply the permanence of the mind-nature, buddha nature and so on, can be seen to increase from around the time that the Darumashū monks join his community at Kōshōji in 1241. For instance, in *Busshō* (Buddha-nature), delivered as a lecture in 1241/10/14, Dōgen again brings up the Śreṇika heresy, saying that many of his students misconstrue the buddha-nature as a permanent nature.[619]

Researchers on Dōgen and the *Shōbōgenzo* have frequently pointed out that far from being a harmonious whole, the texts that make up the *Shōbōgenzo* contain inconsistencies that reflect changes in Dōgen's thinking.[620] One of the notable shifts in Dōgen's attitude, as expressed in the text's various fascicles, is the move from a universal appreciation of the Chan tradition to a narrow glorification of the lineage and personality of Dōgen's own teacher Tiantong Rujing, a move that is paralleled by an increasing derision of the Linji (Rinzai) school of Chan. Noting that this shift emerged in the 1240ies (long after Dōgen's return from China) scholars looking to explain this new attitude have turned to events in Dōgen's immediate surroundings in this period. One view sees Dōgen's sectarian turn as a response to the political success of the emerging Rinzai establishment in Japan, symbolized by the construction – under Hōjō patronage – of the grand Tōfukuji monastery, close to Dōgen's temple. Dōgen's failure to gain similar support not only led him to leave, in 1243, the old capital for rural Echizen, but also triggered a discontented reasssment of the entire Rinzai tradition. Another (not incompatible) view considers the shift to be linked with the presence of the Darumashū monks in Dōgen's community, who formally adhered to the Dahui branch of the Rinzai school. According to this view, Dōgen's praise for Rujing and the criticism of the Rinzai tradition serve to reform the Darumashū monks and – especially after the move to Echizen in 1243 – inculcate a sense of concord in what was a fragile community.[621] This Rinzai/Darumashū criticism notably surfaces in the *Shōbōgenzō* fasicles *Gyōji, Jishō sanmai* and and *Shisho*.

[619] *Busshō* (T. 2582, 91c07-101a20)
[620] See Steven Heine, "Critical Buddhism (*Hihan Bukkyō*) and the Debate Concerning the 75-fascicle and 12-fascicle Shōbōgenzō Texts," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21/1 (1994): pp. 37-72.
[621] Imaeda Aishin, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 27-40. Carl Bielefeldt, "Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen," in *Dogen Studies*, edited by William R. LaFleur (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985): pp. 21-53.

***Shōbōgenzō*: *Gyōji* (Continuous Practice)**

As Imaeda Aishin and Carl Bielefeldt pointed out, Dōgen's criticism of the Rinzai school – besides implicating Linji (d. 866) (Rinzai 臨済) himself – exclusively targets Dahui and Fozhao, the two masters through whom the Darumashū, via Nōnin, identified itself as a Zen movement.[622] Fozhao Deguang is severely criticized in Dōgen's *Gyōji* (Continuous Practice), composed in 1242 at Kōshōji. Dōgen, purportedly citing his master Rujing, depicts Fozhao – abbot of Mount Jingshan monastery – as a cleric chasing after fame and profit, ignorant of the meaning of Buddhism. Fozhao tells his monks that Zen is to be learned by oneself, not from the words of a teacher; he is unconcerned with implementing monastic discipline, his monks run the monastery as a place to entertain lofty guests; Fozhao "never practiced Zen," his descendants are everywhere and "have no heart for the way" (*mudōshin* 無道心). Dōgen adds: "When Rujing spoke like this, many of Fozhao's descendants were in the audience, but they did not resent him for it."[623] This message would of course not be lost on the Darumashū monks in Dōgen's audience.

***Shōbōgenzō*: *Jishō sanmai* (Samādhi of Self-verification)**

Dahui Zonggao is attacked especially in *Jishō sanmai* (Samādhi of Self-verification), delivered in 1244 at Kippōji in Echizen. Taking up the concepts of self-verification (*jishō* 自證) and self-awakening (*jigo* 自悟), Dōgen compares Dahui to one of those "crude people" (*sojin* 麁人) who take these terms to mean that buddhahood is attained through "autonomous study" (*jigaku* 自學) and that a dharma-transmitting teacher is unnecessary. This idea, Dōgen tells us, amounts to "the Indian heresy of naturalism" (*saiten no tennen gedō* 西天ノ天然外道). To illustrate his point Dōgen provides a lengthy description of Dahui's career. Initially a student of sūtras and śāstras, Dahui turns to Zen and investigates old cases with a Linji teacher, without any success. He then practices under the Caodong (Sōtō) master Daowei 道微 and again fails to attain any insight. Having heard about certificates of succession (*shisho*), Dahui badgers Daowei for a certificate, but the master refuses:

> [Daowei said]: "If you want to inherit the dharma, you must not be in a hurry. You must study hard and work. The transmission of the buddhas and patriarchs is not conferred at random. I am not being stingy about transmission, it is just that you are not equipped with the eye. [Dahui] Zonggao replied: "I am originally equipped with the true eye that is verified of itself and awakened of itself" (*jishō jigo* 自證自悟). So how can you withhold the transmission?" Venerable Wei just laughed and let it be. [624]

Dōgen subsequently describes Dahui's apprenticeship under the Linji master Zhantang Wenzhun 湛堂文準 (1061-1115) and concludes that Dahui again failed to have true understanding. Dōgen then offers his harsh verdict on Dahui:

> Rash in his studies, Dahui impertinently asked for a certificate of succession. This is the height of lacking a heart for the way, an extreme failure to investigate the past. We must conclude that he is indiscrete, and incompetent in the way, a prime example of laxity in

[622] Ibid.
[623] *Gyōji* (T. 2582, 143a19-b03).
[624] *Jishō sanmai* (T. 2582, 253c28-254a04).

> study. Craving for fame and enamored by profit he tried to invade the private room of the buddhas and patriarchs. How pitiable he never knew their words! He does not realize that investigation of the past is self-verification. He never heard that fording through [the records] and hunting after [the accomplishments] of past generations is self-awakening. Such wrongs and self-deception are caused by lack of study. Because Zen master Dahui was like this there is not one, or even half a true nose-ring (i.e. competent one) among his students. Most of them are fakers. They do not understand the Buddhadharma. Misunderstanding and not misunderstanding the Buddhadharma is like this. So, water-cloud trainees of today better practice and study with utmost care. Do not be lax and arrogant![625]

Dōgen, in addition, rejects reports on Dahui's awakening under his formal master Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135). Though Keqin is a worthy "old buddha," Dahui is unenlightened: "his mouth is just a place for meaningless blah blah" (*kōhahachi* 口吧吧地). Dahui's incompetences, Dōgen finishes, extend to his descendants, none of whom understand the meaning of "self-verification and self-awakening." The truth is only known in the Sōtō lineage, through which certificates of succesion have been authentically transmitted (*shisho shōden* 嗣書正傳).[626]

Noteworthy in these criticisms is the juxtaposition that is constructed between the naturalistic self-verification of the fake Dahui monks and Dōgen's insistence on guided training and orthodox transmission of certificates. Dahui, according to Dōgen, thinks that self-awakening means that one's possession of the innate "true eye" – the buddha-nature – obviates the need to practice with a teacher. Dōgen, in contrast, explains that self-awakening occurs when practicing under a true teacher, like Rujing. Dōgen's rendition of Dahui's case, of course, evokes the spectre of Nōnin: through wrongly grasped "self-verification" Nōnin claims awakening; thinking that ordinary beings are naturally equipped with buddhahood he dismisses works and study; "impertinently" coveting a transmission certificate he solicits one from Fozhao, one of Dahui's dubious descendants. In contrast, Dōgen holds up his own training and certification in China, directly under "old buddha" Rujing.

***Shōbōgenzō*: *Shisho* (Certificate of Succession)**

The arguments in *Jishō sanmai*, as outlined above, appear to be tentatively prefigured in Dōgen's *Shisho* (Certificate of Succession). As a lecture, *Shisho* was delivered a few years earlier than *Jishō sanmai*, in 1241, when the Darumashū monks had just entered Kōshōji. In this lecture Dōgen introduces the concept of *mushidokugo* 無師獨悟 (independent awakening without a teacher). Dōgen firmly situates *mushidokugo* in the context of a face to face encounter between teacher and his successor. Authentic awakening, he explains, is inextricably linked to dharma transmission from master to student. Dōgen specifies two aspects of dharma transmission, which we may loosely dub transcendental and localized. Regarding the first, Dōgen equates transmission with the very of state of bodhi itself. When transmission takes place, teacher and student verify each other in a mutual recognition between a buddha and a buddha. In this event dualities dissolve and what remains is "independent awakening without a teacher" (*mushidokugo*) and "independent awakening without a self" (*mushi jigo* 無自獨悟).[627] On this level, the conventional chronology inherent in "transmission" and "succession" is subverted. In a way that defies spatial and

[625] *Jishō sanmai* (T. 2582, 254b11-b26).
[626] *Jishō sanmai* (T. 2582 255a0-b13).
[627] *Shisho* (T. 2582, 67c22-68a2). Dōgen's take on "awakening without a teacher" has its roots in Tendai discourse. See Nomoto Kakujō, "Keiranshūyōshū shōfuyuta kanjō no haikei – Zenshū hihan," IBK 39/1 (1990): pp. 257-262.

chronological conceptualization, transmission/bodhi is continually happening in the past, present and future, with all patriarchs from India and China in concert.[628] In addition Dōgen emphasizes the conventional, localized aspect of transmission: "There is also the principle to be penetrated in practice that Buddha Kāśyapa succeeds to the dharma of Buddha Śākyamuni." On this localized, linear level the transferral of objects from master to successor is considered to be imperative by Dōgen. Dōgen mentions various objects that were transmitted by the patriarchs, and he insist that in all cases certificates of succession were also passed on:

> Buddha's state of awakening is always passed on through dharma succession, at which time there invariably is a certificate of succession. Without a certificate of succession one is a naturalist heretic. [629]

Dōgen describes the formats of several certificates that he was overjoyed to have inspected in China, including one document composed by Fozhao Deguang: apparently Dōgen's negative evaluation of everything related to the Dahui lineage had not yet fully gestated. Dōgen, however, does find it opportune to point out the gross misuse of certificates and *chinsō* portraits that he witnessed in China. Dōgen explains how the contemporary Song monastic establishment is undermined by conniving monks – "a pack of dogs" – who join the assemblies of eminent Chan masters in order to procure *chinsō* paintings and written "dharma words." These monks keep such items as proofs of dharma succession and exploit them as affidavits to obtain abbacies. Dōgen condemns this state of affairs; he clarifies that in the Chan tradition *chinsō* and dharma words were customarily given to a great variety of people (men, women, lay, ordained, servants, traders). Yet sometimes:

> when some undeserving person, out of a rash desire for evidence of succession to the dharma, wants to get a certificate, [a master] will reluctantly take up the writing brush, though those who possess the truth hate to do so.[630]

Whether or not Dōgen's descriptions tally with a Chinese historical reality, the suggestion of a widespread, improper conferral and misuse of documents and *chinsō* in Song Chan circles (coupled to the discussion about "independent awakening without a teacher" and "naturalist heresy") were no doubt intended to evoke and disparage the case of Nōnin and discredit his lineage. This idea is strengthened by Dōgen's identification of the wrongdoers: "fellows calling themselves distant descendants of Linji."

***Shōbōgenzō*: *Kūge* (Flowers in the Sky)**

In the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle *Kūge* 空華, delivered as a lecture in 1243, Dōgen provides a dazzling exposition of the meaning of "flowers in the sky" (*kūge*), or as a recent translation renders it, "the flowering of the unbounded."[631] At one point Dōgen criticizes what he sees as a wrong

[628] *Shisho* (T. 2582, 68b15-b16).
[629] *Shisho* (T. 2528, 68b26-b28).
[630] The translation here is taken from Gudo Nishijima and Chodo Cross (trans.), *Master Dogen's Shobogenzo*, Book 1 (Booksurge, 2006) (reprint), p. 165.
[631] Hubert Nearman, *The Treasure House of the Eye of the True Teaching* (2007) . Accessible online: http://www.shastaabbey.org/teachings-publications_shobogenzo.html

understanding of this metaphor – an understanding that is being propagated by "simple fools" (*bongu* 凡愚):

> Having been informed of the Tathāgatha's expression "that which is seen by cataracted eyes are flowers in the sky," simple fools think that "cataracted eyes" are the distorted eyes of ordinary beings. They teach that diseased eyes, due to distortion, perceive empty flowers in pure empty space. Fixated on this principle they think that the three worlds and the six paths (i.e. hell, hungry ghosts, animals, asura, humans and divine beings), buddhas and non-buddhas, are all nonexistent but are falsely seen to exist. They make a living saying that if these deceptive eye cataracts are removed, these flowers will no longer be seen, and that this is why the sky is originally without flowers. How pitiful are such fellows, for not knowing the time – the beginning and end 始終 – of the sky flowers spoken of by the Tathāgatha. The true principle of cataracted eyes and sky flowers spoken of by the Tathāgatha is not seen by commoners and deviants.[632]

Dōgen's criticism appears to reflect an argument that is found in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* [II.A][1]. In *Kenshōjōbutsugi* it is explained that eye illness (deluded perception) causes one to see flowers in the empty sky. The flowers (samsaric phenomena) are imaginary constructs of a deluded mind. Underlying these deceptive phenomena there is the ever-present empty sky: "From beginning to end, sky flowers have no substance. From beginning to end, empty space is truly not without substance." Once the cataract is removed, the empty space is perceived without distortion: "The moment red and green are in the eyes, a thousand flowers distort the sky. The moment the golden scalpel cuts the eye-membrane, all is empty, tranquil and serene [II.A.9]."

In the commentary on the *Shōbōgenzo* known as *Gokikigaki* 御聞書 (circa 1263), the Sōtō monk Senne 詮慧 (n.d.), one of Dōgen's leading disciples, explicitly links Dōgen's fault-finding remarks in *Kūge* to the Darumashū: [633]

> In heterodox teachings among humans and devas, emptiness is discussed vainly. Nowadays they simply take the flowers to be emptiness. In the talks of the Darumashū there is a thing called "deluded view concerning homogeneity and resemblance" 同分相似妄見. The Buddha's appearance in the world, his preaching of the dharma, [and so forth], are time moments. [In the Darumashū] they say that such "time moments" are also a deluded view. We must not adopt these [ideas].[634]

Senne brings up "talks of the Darumashū" (*Darumashū no dan* 達磨宗ノ談) that would mention something called "deluded view concerning homogeneity and resemblance" (*dōbun sōi mōken* 同分相似妄見); in addition, these talks would refute the idea of "time moments" (*jikoku* 時刻) in the Buddha's career. The description is rather cryptic, but can be connected to *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.[635] The corresponding passage in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* occurs just after an illegible part in the

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[632] *Kūge* (T.2528, 170b01-b14).

[633] Senne's commentary survived as part of another commentary entitled *Shōbōgenzōshō* 正法眼藏抄, composed by Senne's student Kyōgō (n.d.), who also studied directly under Dōgen. The combined commentaries are referred to as *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakishō* 正法眼藏御聞書抄. Internal evidence indicates that Senne composed his original commentary around 1263. See William Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen*, pp. 45-50. According to Itō Shūken, the direct references to the Darumashū in *Shōbōgenzō gokikigakishō* appear in Senne's part of the commentary. Itō Shūken, "Shōbōgenzōshō in mirareru kindai no zensō hihan," IBK 29/1 (1980): pp. 195-198.

[634] Takahashi, *Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō* 2, p. 27-28

[635] The correspondence was noted by Shinkura Kazufumi, "Dōgen no Darumashū hihan," IBK 32/2 (1984): pp. 682-683.

Kanazawa Bunko manuscript. Though I have already cited this passage earlier I will, for the benefit of clarity, cite it again:

> …is a deluded view concerning homogeneity and resemblance (*dōbun sōji mōken* 同分相似妄見). In reality there is no distinction between wise and stupid ones, and no such category as "one who learns." Fundamentally equal, you are an [infinitely] long ago realized buddha. [Buddhahood], then, does not come after incalculable kalpas, or advance over countless units of time. [The Zen school] is not a gate for gradual advancement toward excellence, and for this reason we do not concentrate on contemplative wisdom. We are different from the teachings, [which aim to] realize the principle through the excision of impurities, and for this reason we do not observe the practice of meditation.[636]

This passage in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* covers two elements put forward in Senne's description: it contains the peculiar compound *dōbun sōi mōken*, and it refutes the idea that the path to buddhahood is a gradual process that advances over "units of time" (*jibun* 時分). The pertinent passage is a significant one: it is the one place in the three examined Darumashū texts that unequivocally dismisses meditative practice.

***Shōbōgenzō* : *Tsuki* (Moon)**

In the essay *Tsuki* (Moon) (written 1243/1/6) Dōgen at one point turns to the exegesis of a line from the *Yuanjuejing* 圓覺經 (Sūtra of Perfect Awakening): "When clouds drift, the moon flies. When a ship sails, the shore moves." Dōgen explains that the movements of the clouds, moon, ship and shore do not unfold in a temporal and spatial sequence but occur simultaneously: "the moving together of the cloud and the moon, in the same step, at the same time, in the same way, is beyond beginning and end and is beyond before and after (…) "the flying of a cloud is beyond east, west, north, and south, and the moving of the moon is ceaseless day and night, past and present."[637] Dōgen admonishes his audience not to "stupidly consider this with a limited view." He then singles out some who do:

> Fools 愚人 have opined that the unmoving moon only seems to move because the clouds drift, and that the motionless shore only seems to move because the ship sails. If it is as the fools say it is, how could it be what the Tathāgata says? The fundamental point of the Buddha's dharma is not the narrow thinking of humans and devas. [638]

Dōgen, in addition, maintains that the Buddha did not liken the moon, clouds, shore and ship to something else, and he accordingly dissuades his students from approaching this line from the *Yuanjuejing* as a metaphor.[639] These criticisms look as if they are specifically designed to counter views expressed in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* quite lengthily expands on exactly these two images from the *Yuanjuejing*:

> II.A [3] When a ship sails, the shore moves. When clouds drift, the moon flies. [In reality] there is not a motionless shore in addition to an apparently moving shore. Neither is there a

[636] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 187.
[637] Translation taken from Nishijima and Cross (trans.), *Master Dōgen's Shobogenzo*, Book 3, p. 5.
[638] *Tsuki* (T. 2582, 169a29-b06).
[639] Ibid. (T. 2582, 169b10-b13).

> stationary moon besides a seemingly flying moon. The motionless shore just appeared to be moving and the stationary moon just seemed to be flying. Now keep this example in mind. When the ship of consciousness sails, it seems the distant shore of bodhi moves. When the clouds of ignorance drift, it appears as if the bright moon of original awakening flies in opposite direction. [640]

Kenshōjōbutsugi does exactly what Dōgen attributes to his unnamed "fools": it explains that the apparent movements of the shore and the moon are merely an effect of the moving of the ship and the clouds; subsequently it takes the images as metaphors for original awakening and discriminative thought. From this we can work out that Dōgen must have been aware of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.

Eisai/Dōgen: concluding remarks

The samples from Dōgen's writings examined above confirm that Dōgen's own doctrinal positions and his sectarian identity were to a significant degree forged in contradistinction to the ideas and lineage awareness of the Darumashū group within his ranks. In light of the above, I propose that in this process the treatise *Kenshōjōbutsugi* played a significant role.

Dōgen, as we have seen, construed Darumashū ideas about the mind-nature and numinous awareness as a form of substantialism, personified in the heretic Śreṇika. Dōgen also referred to this substantialist trend as the "naturalist heresy" (*jinen gedo* 自然外道 or *tennen gedō* 天然外道). "Natural" in this context indicates the idea that buddhahood is seen to be spontaneously present and therefore unconnected to karmic cause and effect: the realm of causal practice. Eisai, on the other hand sees, Darumashū teachings to be predicated on the reverse position: a nihilistic view of emptiness, personified in the heretic Pūraṇa Kassapa. Arguably both positions can be read into Darumashū sources. For instance, *Jōtōshōgakuron* equates the mind of the ordinary being with the Buddha, and qualifies it as permanent, blissful, individual and pure (*jōrakugajō* 常楽我浄). *Jōrakugajō* is of course a standard description of the tathāgatagarbha, a Buddhist concept that has always been susceptible (rightly or not) to charges of substantialism. On the other hand, the Darumashū materials keep on pointing out that mind/bodhi/tathāgatagarbha is formless, unobtainable and empty, and that all objects that we deludedly perceive to exist are but insubstantial mirages. These two positions may also be conflated; tathāgatagarbha, in that case, is simply considered as another term for emptiness. The antinomian potential of both concepts is the same: everything we do is an expression of buddha-nature, or everything we do is an expression of emptiness. In both cases all distinctions (good/evil, buddha/ordinary being) are collapsed, and with this collapse the need for practices and precepts, which is predicated on such distinctions, falls away. This antinomian aspect is certainly part of Darumashū lore. But Dōgen and Eisai remain silent about the other side of the Darumashū, the side that accepts texts as medicinal "words of the Buddha" and acknowledges practices as expedients. The very fact that the Darumashū monks of Hajakuji came to Dōgen for instruction shows that the radical elements in Darumashū doctrine did not result in its adherents (at least not these adherents) giving up all effort and be content to just hang around raising their hands or feet as total expressions of their empty buddha-natures. Still, as the Gemmyō incident shows, there no doubt was a gap between

[640] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 178.

the rigorous disciplines insisted on by Dōgen and the customs in the Darumashū. In this setting Dōgen diagnosed and "corrected" his "deviant" students and in the process delineated his own distinct views.

SHINGON CRITICISMS

In writings of Shingon monks of the Kamakura period we find critical references to Zen that are informed by Darumashū discourse. An example of this is found in *Daibirushana jōbutskyōsohenmyō shō* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏遍明鈔 (Extensive Elucidation of the Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra) by the Shingon monk Dōhan 道範 (1178-1252). As the title indicates Dohan's text is an elucidation of *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra) by the Chinese Tantric monk and Northern Chan adept Yixing. In his commentary, Yixing criticized some of his Southern Chan contemporaries with the following words:

> Some declare: "The way of the bodhisattva is to simply view the formlessness and nonactivity of the mind-nature, and not to be occupied with all sorts of distracting activities." This idea is wrong.[641]

In his elucidation, Dōhan 道範 (1178-1252) explains that this passage refers to "a certain band of Zennists" (*ichirui shitsuzen* 一類執禪) who rely on their "original wisdom nature" (*honchishō* 本智性) and "do not practice or cultivate anything" (*musa mushū* 無作無修). Dōhan goes on to explain that this Zen group "one-sidedly depends on emptiness and rejects practices" (*henkū mugyō* 偏空無行). As Chiba Tadashi pointed out, it is likely that instead of glossing a Tang dynasty Chinese situation, Dōhan here is actually criticizing native Zen currents of his own time, in particular the adherents of the Darumashū. [642]

More elaborate allusions to Darumashū discourse are found in the writings of the Shingon monk Raiyu 賴瑜 (1226-1304). [643] The critical concern with Zen that is found in Raiyu's writings is a response to strands within the Shingon school that advocated an amalgamation of Shingon and Zen. The Zen element in this amalgamation traces to several directions, one of these being Darumashū discourse. Before turning to the references in Raiyu's writings that are relevant to this issue, it is perhaps useful to say one or two words about Shingon doctrine and its system of doctrinal evaluation.

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[641] Ibid. (T. 1796, 592b14-15).
[642] *Daibirushana jōbutskyōsohenmyō shō*, cited in Chiba Tadashi, "Chūsei Shingon mikkyō no zenshūkan," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 44 (2002): pp. 27-28.
[643] The following examination of Shingon texts by Raiyu is indebted to Makino Kazuo, "Enkeibon Heike monogatari to Darumashū: Raiyu shūhen no ni san," *Jissen kokubungaku* 58 (2000): pp. 39-54; Chiba Tadashi, "Chūsei Shingon mikkyō no zenshūkan: Dōgen Zen ni okeru mikkyō kenkyū no hitsuyōsei," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 44 (2002): pp. 25-30; Sueki Fumihiko, Raiyu no shōshūkan," in *Shingi Shingon kyōgaku no kenkyū: Raiyu Sōjō nanahyakunen goonki kinen ronshū*, edited by Sanpa Gōdō kinen ronshū henshū iinkai (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 2002), pp. 217-228.

Shingon doctrine

The Shingon perspective on doctrinal classification, which was presumed by monks such as Raiyu, was delineated by Kūkai. Kūkai distinguished between exoteric teachings (*kengyō* 顕教) and esoteric teachings (*mikkyō* 密教). Esoteric teachings, Kūkai claimed, were taught by the dharmakāya (dharma body) – the absolute Buddha – identified as Mahāvairocana Tathāgata (Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来). The teachings of Mahāvairocana find their chief textual expression in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Vajrasekhara sūtra* (*Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂経). In Kūkai's conception the absolute (dharmakāya Mahāvairocana) is not ineffable but expresses itself directly through texts, mantras (*shingon* 真言), maṇḍalas, sculptures, ritual implements and so forth. In fact, Mahāvairocana's continual samādhi reveals itself as the natural universe as such. Ritual practices, secretly transmitted in the Shingon lineage, enable initiated practitioners to partake of this samādhi and achieve mystical integration with Mahāvairocana, that is, achieve buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛). The exoteric Buddhist teachings, on the other hand, are said to have been taught by the nirmāṇakāya (response body) – the historical Buddha Śākyamuni – and are hence conditional on time, place and circumstance. Nonetheless, since Śākyamuni (nirmaṇakāya) is a historical manifestation of the timeless Mahāvairocana (dharmakāya), the exoteric teachings, too, are infused with absolute truth. Kūkai worked out the relationships between the exoteric and esoteric in several doctrinal tracts. In *Jūjūshinron* 十住心論 (Treatise on the ten stages of mind) and the synoptic *Hizō hōyaku* 秘蔵宝鑰 (Precious Key to the Secret Treasury) Kūkai identified ten levels of the human mind and correlated these to various Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings, effectively creating a soteriological map/doctrinal classification.[644] Plainly outlined, Kūkai's classification amounts to the following [645]:

Exoteric teachings	
1. Animal instincts	
2. Confucianism	
3. Brahmanism and Daoism	
4. Śrāvaka	Hīnayāna
5. Pratyeka	
6. Hossō (Yogācāra)	Mahāyāna
7. Sanron (Mādhyamika)	
8. Tendai	
9. Kegon	
Esoteric teachings	
10. Shingon	Vajrayāna

This brief outline should suffice to follow the various criticisms of Zen formulated by the Shingon monk Raiyu, examined below.

[644] For translations of Kūkai's major works and a study of his thought see Hakeda, Yoshito. S., *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).
[645] Based on *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 345.

***Shinzoku zakki mondōshō* (Miscellaneous Dialogues on the True and the Mundane)**

Raiyu's *Shinzoku zakki mondōshō* 真俗雑記問答鈔 (Miscellaneous Dialogues on the True and the Mundane) is an voluminous work with numerous entries on a variety of doctrinal subjects. Three of these entries include the term "Darumashū." Two of these are no more then terse notes and not much can be distilled from them.[646] The third is quite substantial and contains a dialogue about the error of discarding Buddhist practices. The entry is entitled "Shingon asserts original perfection yet adopts practice" 眞言雖談本具用修行事.

QUESTION: Raiyu's interlocutor points out that exotericism represents the approach to buddhahood from cause to effect. It adopts practices (causes) as a means leading to buddhahood (effect). Shingon reverts this direction. Shingon, as the embodiment of Mahāvairocana's absolute awakening, is "the ocean of effect," completely free of causal conditions. From the standpoint of Shingon, then, there is no need for the cultivation of causes, and yet practices (causes) are not expendable: the Shingon adept descends into the causally conditioned world to practice expedient means for the benefit of others. The interlocutor likens this twofold structure to the categories "inside teaching" (*kyōnai* 教内) and "outside the teachings" (*kyōge* 教外), as established in the Darumashū. But, in one branch of this Daruma school (*Daruma isshū* 達磨一宗), we are informed, practice is mistakenly rejected:

> In one school of Daruma they say: "Since ordinary beings and buddha are one substance there is absolutely no need to be concerned with textual theories. We are, therefore, outside the teachings. Other schools take the cultivation of practices as their main point and are, therefore, inside the teachings. For us, practice means that we practice by way of realizing the principle. We deny that the principle is realized by way of practice." That [one school of Daruma] is currently spreading this talk, not to mention Shingon. In this regard, it says in the *Monjugiki*: "When even momentarily a secular thought arises, one certainly falls into the Avīci hell." I do not understand. What does this mean?[647]

RAIYU'S ANWER. In reply, Raiyu asserts that scriptures and practices are the functioning of Mahāvairocana in the phenomenal world. They are intrinsic to Shingon soteriology and cannot be discarded:

> One must practice. For this reason the entire canon consists of profound manuals for abandoning delusion and realizing awakening. It is the essential path for breaking free of suffering and attaining bliss. If Shingon were not to admit practices, what would have been the point of Buddha's original intention of expounding the teachings? (…) Next we come to the issue of the Darumashū. To avoid the view that Buddha and ordinary beings are of a different substance, they say that since we are fundamentally Buddha there is no need to rely on the teachings or on realizing the principle by way of practice. Further [ ] no personal practice. Fearing that realizing the principle by way of practicing entails the view that ordinary beings and Buddha are of a different substance, they hold on to the notion of practicing by way of realizing [the principle]. We must by no means abandon practice. When discerning the logic of the teachings, we see that a Shingon practitioner receives a vajra name and hence transcends the two vehicles and the ten [bodhisattva] stages. Even so,

[646] *Shinzoku zakki mondōshō, Shingonshū zensho* 37, p. 78 (entry no. 63), p. 201 (entry no. 34).
[647] Ibid., p. 58.

prior to the levels of men and deities not a hair's width of defilement is eliminated. So, why not practice? [648]

***Kenmitsu mondōshō* (Dialogues about the Exoteric and Esoteric)**

Kenmitsu mondōshō 顕密問答鈔 consists of two volumes and is arranged in a question and answer format. In the first volume Raiyu critically evaluates the Buddhist teachings of the Hossō, Sanron, Tendai and Kegon schools in accordance with the hermeneutical framework provided by Kūkai. Raiyu is especially concerned with demonstrating that absolute reality (Mahāvairocana) is, in the final analysis, not formless (*musō* 無相) but possessive of form (*usō* 有相). In the second volume of *Kenmitsu mondōshō* the Zen school is evaluated. Here, too, Kūkai's classification is presumed. Raiyu, however, was faced with the problem that Kūkai's writings do not mention Bodhidharma and provide no classification of the Zen school.

Raiyu is noticably concerned with rejecting any insinuation that Zen is somehow on par with the splendor of Shingon. The specific efforts to refute perceived compatibilities between Shingon and Zen indicate that such syncretism circulated in Raiyu's community. Correlations between Raiyu's text and Darumashū material (presented below) indicate that Raiyu's view on Zen was, to a degree, informed by Darumashū discourse, notably *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. Now let have a closer look at *Kenmitsu mondōshō*. For the purposes at hand we will focus on the two opening dialogues of volume two, which explicitly juxtapose the Shingon and Zen traditions.

Kenmitsu mondōshō, volume 2: First dialogue.

QUESTION. The lengthy opening question of the second volume of *Kenmitsu mondōshō* is an inquiry into the various claims that are made in the Zen school. These claims are placed in the mouth of an unnamed Zen adherent with whom the questioner had a previous discussion. First a full translation of the question:

> With reverence I have been receiving your charitable instructions and deeply awakened to my innate virtue. You have employed the precious inner treasure without reserve. Peasants engrossed in dreams are in reality princes. However, recently the are Zen people (*zenmon no hito* 禪門人) who exalt Bodhidharma and put down the exoteric and esoteric schools. One of them told me the following:
>
> > The teachings set forth paths of counteraction and [aim] to realize the original principle through the elimination of phantasmal afflictions. In the *Sugyōroku*, accordingly, the established teachings of Shingon, Hokke, Kegon, Sanron and Hossō are listed in detail and all designated as teachings that counteract defilements. Because [they seek to counteract defilements that are in fact unreal] the wondrous visualizations of five forms and five elements [practiced in Shingon] are a dense fog of triple delusion, and the subtle observances of triple wisdom and the threefold contemplation [practiced in Tendai] are a five-layered mass of clouds (i.e. delusions). Thus we know that the various teachings all clarify the elimination of mind-characteristics through wisdom, but they do not reveal the fundamental Buddha of the mind-nature. Already awakened to the mind-substance we [Zen adepts] admit neither delusion nor awakening and attain liberation without eliminating or verifying anything. We separately transmit this form-transcending

[648] Ibid., pp. 58-59

> substance outside of the teachings. This is why our patriarch [Bodhidharma] said: "No reliance on words and letters, no dependence on expedients, directly point to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha. This is what is called the Zen gate." And Huangbo, the limit-destroying Zen master, said: "If you just apprehend this mind, then there will be no mind and no dharmas." And [Bodhidharma's] *Goshōron* 悟性論 says: "In this true seeing nothing is unseen and nothing is seen. [True] seeing fills the ten directions without the presence of seeing. Why? Because nothing is seen, because non-seeing is seen, and because seeing is not seeing. What is seen by an ordinary being is called deluded thought. When in tranquil extinction there is no seeing, then for the first time it is called true seeing. Mind and objects oppose each other. [True] seeing arises in the middle." And the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* says: "Wisdom-seeing that establishes wisdom is the basis of ignorance. Wisdom-seeing devoid of seeing is nirvāṇa." Thus it is known that the substance of suchness and the principle of seeing the nature are separately transmitted outside the teaching, and forever different from the various teachings.

The [Zen follower] also said:

> In the Buddhadharma there are, on the whole, two approaches. The first is the path of the teaching and the second is the path of realization. In the teaching of Tendai it is said that among [the followers of] the Tripiṭaka, Shared and Distinct Teachings, no one is capable of attaining the fruit [of buddhahood], and thus they will eventually become followers of the Perfect Teaching. In the Shingon school it is said that once the followers of the exoteric Perfect teaching have climbed the first stage they all arrive at Shingon. In the Zen school we say that [the followers of] the exoteric and esoteric repositories are like mice storing up chestnuts, and that esotericists, after a phase of causal practices, will [eventually] arrive at the Mind school [i.e. Zen]. It should be understood that the highest ranks of the various teachings do not surpass an initial stage. As for a second stage and above, there are teachings but none of them realize them. Thus the *Shinyō* says: "Pretending that yellow leaves are golden coins momentarily stops the crying of a little child." Those knowing [only] of these yellow leaves do not have fruition [of buddhahood]. In the time of the Buddha everyone had access to the true nature. However, from the congregation of eighty-thousand he entrusted only one person – Mahākāśyapa – with the mind-seal: this represents the boundary of the conventional teachings and its methods. A true person without obstructions can access [buddhahood] everywhere. But for the sake of people in the final age (*masse*), who have attachments to characteristics, [the Buddha] especially transmitted the robe and the dharma, unrestricted by expedients.

I investigated this and found that in *Daibonōshomonkyō* it says: "I possess the repository of the true dharma eye, the subtle mind of nirvāṇa. It is not established on words and letters. It is a separate transmission outside the teachings. I entrust it to you. In the future you must promulgate it and not let it be cut off." If this is so, scholiasts of the latter age will remain in fox-like bewilderment forever. Again, could you send out your light of wisdom to shine upon my lingering darkness? [649]

[649] *Kenmitsu mondōshō, Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 23, pp. 33-34.

Qua tone, style and doctrinal content the explanations of the cited Zen adept are reminiscent of Darumashū discourse. As Chiba Tadashi pointed out, a concrete link between this passage and the Darumashū is found in a quotation in this passage from the Darumashū treatise *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.[650] *Kenmitsu mondōshō* has the following line:

> 故宗鏡中具列真言華厳華厳三論法相所立教門皆名宗染汚對治之教 In the *Sugyōroku,* therefore, the established teachings of Shingon, Hokke, Kegon, Sanron and Hossō are listed in detail and all designated as teachings that counteract defilements.

The equivalent line in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* reads:

> 故ニ宗鏡ニハ三論法相華厳等ノ宗ヲハ染[汚]對治チノ教トイヘリ. In the *Sugyōroku,* therefore, the Sanron, Hossō and Kegon schools are called teachings that counteract defilements.

Chiba suggests that Raiyu altered the line to include "Shingon." This is possible, but not necessarily so. Comparing the two fragments it is plain that Raiyu's rendition is in Chinese logographs, whereas the corresponding line in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* is in Japanese. As noted in Chapter Three, several citations from *Kenshōjōbutsugi* that appear in Nichiren's *Kinkōshū* show the same discrepancy. The citations that appear in the *Kinkōshū*, moreover, include parts that do not appear in the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. This makes it very likely that there circulated a different, "more Chinese" and perhaps more accurate version of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, of which the Kanazawa Bunko version is a Japanese, vernacularized rendition. The quote in *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, then, might be based on this earlier version of *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.

In addition to the match between *Kenshōjōbutsugi* and *Kenmitsu mondōshō* located by Chiba, I offer a match between *Kenmitsu mondōshō* and the Darumashū treatise *Jōtōshōgakuron*. *Kenmitsu mondōshō* has Bodhidharma pronounce: "No reliance on words and letters, no dependence on expedients, directly point to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha." The atypical inclusion of the words "not depending on expedients" into this otherwise standard string of Bodhidharma slogans is precisely matched in *Jōtōshōgakuron* (section [A][2]). Another special feature that the above cited passage in *Kenmitsu mondōshō* has in common with *Jōtōshōgakuron* is the idea that the transmission of the "mind seal" from the Buddha to Mahākāśyapa was carried out to benefit people in the future age of decline (section [A][1]).

Chiba also points out that the unnamed Zen adept in *Kenmitsu mondōshō* holds up various scriptural sources to make his case: Yanshou's *Sugyōroku*, the *Śūraṅgama sūtra*, Bodhidharma's *Goshōron* and Huangbō's *Denshin hōyō*. As the previous chapters will have made clear these works can all be counted among the foundational texts of the Darumashū. In addition we note that Huangbō's *Denshin hōyō*, which was published in Japan by Nōnin, is referred to in the above cited passage as "*Shinyo*" 心要 (Mind Essentials), an abbreviation peculiar to the Darumashū.[651]

RAIYU'S ANSWER. In response to the opening question, Raiyu reviews a number of doctrinal classifications and textual passages, mainly from Tendai and Kegon works, so as to map out the

[650] Chiba Tadashi, "Chūsei Shingon Mikkyō no zenshūkan," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 44 (2001), p. 30.
[651] The colophon of the edition of *Denshin hōyō* that was published by Nōnin and Mugu refers to the work as "*Shinyō*" 心要. See Chapter Five. Kakuan's lost commentary on *Denshin hōyō* is entitled *Shinyō teishi* 心要提示. See Chapter Four.

features and doctrinal position of the Zen school. In the end he comes with his own arrangements, in which Zen is primarily associated with Mādhyamika thought and placed at stage seven in Kūkai's tenfold classification system, corresponding to the Sanron school.[652]

Raiyu, further, takes issue with several points that were raised by the anonymous Zen adept. The Zen adept claimed that Shingon is a provisional expedient, whereas Zen is the ultimate truth; Shingon followers are like crying children, soothed by pretending that yellow leaves (expedients) are golden coins (truth); in addition they are compared to mice that hoard chestnuts, suggesting they collect knowledge without consummating actual buddhahood. In the eyes of the Zen adept, Shingon represents a preliminary stage which, when fulfilled, leads the practitioner to Zen. Raiyu of course will have none of this: "Though my body has entered the esoteric house my mind does not idle in the gate of Zen." [653]

Another point that Raiyu attacks is the claim that Zen represents a unique transmission that is independent of Buddhist scriptures and exegetical traditions 教外別傳不立文字. According to Raiyu this claim entails the logically untenable position of the Indian ascetic Dīghanakha, who claimed to categorically reject everything but was unable to reject his own categorical claim.[654] Raiyu, in addition, sees a discrepancy between Zen's supposed non-reliance on texts and the experience of the sixth patriarch Huineng, who awakened upon hearing a passage from the *Diamond sūtra*: "How is it he abrogated scriptures ?" [655] What is at stake here, of course, is the status of language, texts and exegesis. From the esoteric Shingon perspective all sounds, words and letters are an extension of Mahāvairocana and *ipso facto* possessive of wonderful buddhic qualities. Zen, on the other hand, is predisposed to Mādhyamikan deconstruction, seeing words as deceptive designations, expedients that are to be transcended. Such a view is discernible, for instance, in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. Using the analytical devices of *mind/word* and *name/substance*, *Kenshōjōbutsugi* explains that words are expedients, and it thereby elevates the silent mind transmission of the Zen school over the text-based activities of the eight conventional schools, including Shingon.

Next, Raiyu refutes the Zen adept's claim that Shingon is a mere expedient teaching that aims to "counteract defilements" 染汚對治之教. As we have seen, this claim was culled from *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. Finally, Raiyu objects to the Zen adept's derogatory way of assessing Shingon. The references to crying childeren and hoarding mice are a "Grave offence!" 大罪 and an "Unjustifiable impertinence!"不可不愼. Echoing Eisai's Darumashū criticism, the "Zen people"

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[652] *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, p. 35. Raiyu uses the term *kakushinjō* 覺心乘, which corresponds to stage seven in Kūkai's system of the ten stages of mind, called *kakushin fushōshin* 覺心不生心 (the mind that awakens to the nonarising of the mind). This stage represents Mādhyamika, represented in Japan by the Sanronshū 三論宗 (Three Treatises school).

[653] *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, p.34

[654] The story of the wandering ascetic Dīghanakha can be found in *Changzhua fanzhi qingwenjing* 長爪梵志請問經 (T. 584) and in *Dazhidulun* 大智度論 (T. 1509). The nihilistic Dīghanakha categorically rejected all views. The Buddha pointed out to him that this was impossible since he obviously could not reject his own categorical thesis. Thereafter Dīghanakha converted to the Buddha's teaching and attained the first level of arhatship.

[655] *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, p. 36

> [In the Zen school] they assert "a separate transmission outside the teachings" and "non-reliance on words and letters." Do these statements accord with the teachings or not? If one admits that [these statements] are in accord with the teachings one cannot say "outside the teachings." [In the Zen school] they contrive a discourse that does not rely on words and letters: hence they are like that long nailed Brahmacarin [Dīghanakha] who relied on non-acceptance yet accepted the view [of non-acceptance]. This Zen school you talk about must stop saying it is "outside the teachings," not to mention that transmission of three robes and the raising of a flower. The six sense fields are all words and letters and therefore [words and letters] are nothing less than the substance of the teachings. What about the sixth patriarch who attained the dharma on the basis of the *Diamond Sutra*? How is it he abrogated scriptures?

under consideration here are called "Zen masters of dim realization." They are "drunkards scoffing at the sober" 痛狂哂不醉. [656]

Kenmitsu mondōshō , vol. 2: Second dialogue

QUESTION. The second dialogue presents a questioner who advocates harmony between Shingon and Zen. Two points of convergence are put forward. The first point is the "mind to mind transmission" (*isshin denshin* 以心傳心). The questioner claims that both Bodhidharma and Kūkai considered *isshin denshin* the most profound form of transmission. The second point is Huike's dictum "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi." The questioner praises this dictum as the gist of Zen and the highest principle of all schools.

In addition the questioner objects to Raiyu's contention that Zen is an inferior school that seeks to "counteract defilements." To illustrate his point he quotes a passage from Bodhidharma's *Kechimyakuron*. In this passage Bodhidharma equates the workings of "numinous awareness" (*reichi* 靈知) with lust and anger and with trivial things, such as shuffling one's feet. Such an equation, the questioner observes, does not warrant the label "counteract defilements." The questioner hence doubts whether Raiyu is correct to identify the "one mind" expounded by Bodhidharma with the "formless one mind" that is promoted in the exoteric Sanron school (Mādhyamika):

> In the Zen school, from the time that the seven Buddhas of the past, as it were, proffered their hands, the patriarchs have transmitted the mind, investigating the essential point and destroying words at the tips of their tongues. Thus the principle of mind to mind transmission justly resides at the zenith of the Secret Vehicle (Shingon) and the dictum "fundamentally there are no afflictions" wanders lonely on the summit of the various schools. This is why the great master [Kūkai] explained: "The innermost truth in the secret repository is not obtained from written words. It is only transmitted from mind to mind (*isshin denshin*)." [657] These words tally with Bodhidharma's mind to mind transmission (*isshin denshin*). Mind to mind transmission has always been considered the zenith of the True School (Shingon). This being so, why do you characterize [Zen] as a teaching that represses the passions and fails to manifest virtues? Bodhidharma's *Kechimyakuron* says: "Buddha is an Indian word. In this country it is called awakening. Being intrinsically awakened is called numinous awakening. Guiding beings in accord with their capacities, raising your eyebrows, blinking your eyes, moving your hands and shuffling your feet, all this is your numinous, radiant nature. The nature is the mind. The mind is buddha. Buddha is the path. And the path is Zen. This single graph *Zen* is not something gauged by ordinary people." And: "If a layman sees that his own mind, he is a buddha. If a monk fails to see his nature, he is a deviant. I just say *see your nature* and do not say anything about lust because…" Thus we know that lifting the legs and moving the hands is the fundamental

[656] Ibid., pp. 34-36. The last remark – drunkards scoffing at the sober – derives from Kūkai's *Hannya shingyō hiken* 般若心經祕鍵 (The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury) (T. 2203A, 11a13 : 痛狂笑不醉).

[657] These words are from a letter by Kūkai to Saichō. Saichō had received esoteric initiation (*abhiṣeka*) from Kūkai but did not undergo a prolonged training period under Kūkai, as Kūkai had apparently stipulated. Kūkai provided Saichō with many esoteric texts to copy. When Saichō wrote him a letter asking to borrow the *Rishushakukyō*, Kūkai refused and chided Saichō for his overtly textual approach to Esoteric Buddhism: "The innermost truth in the secret repository is not obtained from written words but only transmitted from mind to mind. Words are just dregs and gravel." 祕藏奧旨不貴得文只在以心傳心文是糟粕文是瓦礫。See Ryuichi Abe, "Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretations," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22 (1995), pp. 104-137.

> buddha of the one mind, and that lust and anger are simply awakened nature 覚性 [endowed with] numinous awareness 霊知. So, why do you name it "formless one mind" and consign it to the foremost principle of the three vehicles (i.e. Sanron)? [658]

In its motifs (seeing the nature, numinous awareness, awakened nature) and its reliance on Bodhidharma's *Kechimyakuron* (one of the socalled *Daruma sanron*), the above passage is suggestive of Darumashū discourse. The emphasis on the buddhic quality of everyday acts, like blinking an eye and so on, though not literally mentioned, is frequently implied in the previously examined primary Darumashū texts. We may also recall Gikai's (1219-1309) description in *Goyuigon kiroku*, of the loose attitude of his incorrigible Darumashū comrades: "Lifting the arms and moving the legs, all that we do, the arising of dharmas in general, everything is the Buddhadharma." [659]

RAIYU'S ANSWER. In his elaborate response to the question, Raiyu sets out to refute the idea that Zen is somehow equal to Shingon. He does so on genealogical and doctrinal grounds.

In terms of genealogy (lineage), Raiyu diminishes Zen by pointing out that the transmitter of Zen – Bodhidharma – was a *nirmāṇakāya* (*keshin* 化身), a temporarily manifested buddha body. Shingon, on the other hand, is continually preached by the cosmically immanent dharmakāya Buddha. Bodhidharma's successor Mahākāśyapa is put down as a "shallow little man" (*senkin no shōnin* 淺近之小人) and contrasted with the unfathomably profound Vajrasattva, the second patriarch in the Shingon lineage. Finally, Kūkai's *Fuhōden* is cited to show that the Zen lineage was cutt off by the death of the patriarch Siṃha, whereas the Shingon lineage remained uninterrupted.[660]

In terms of doctrine, Raiyu's critique mainly centres on the apophatic nature of the Zen teachings. Citing from a range of texts, including Chan texts, Raiyu demonstrates that the Zen school upholds notions such as emptiness, tranquility and unobtainability, and adheres to the tenets "this mind is buddha" and "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi." All this is classified as Sanron (Mādhyamika).[661]

Next Raiyu considers the mind to mind transmission (*isshin denshin*) of the Zen school, which his questioner equated with the mind to mind transmission of the Shingon school. Raiyu identifies Bodhidharma's mind transmission as an exoteric tradition, stemming from Buddha Śākyamuni. Subsequently he associates it with the highest Kegon principle of "one substance" (*ittai* 一體). In terms of Kūkai's tenfold classification, the Zen school, in this respect, is placed on top of Kegon, below Shingon. Raiyu thus posits that "the highest peak of the exoteric vehicle (Kegon/Zen) is the opening door to the esoteric vehicle (Shingon)." [662] According to Raiyu,

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[658] *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, p. 37. The Mahāyāna Buddhist concept of three vehicles (Skt. *trikāya*) distinguishes three pathways to three qualitatively different attainments of awakening: śrāvaka, pratyeka and bodhisattva. In Kūkai's esoteric system the bodhisattva vehicle corresponds to Hossō (Yogācāra) and Sanron (Mādhyamika). One of the earliest and most influential scriptures to define the three vehicles was the *Lotus sūtra*, in which the three vehicles figure as a foil to annunciate the superior "one vehicle." The *Avatamsaka sūtra* likewise expounds the vision of one vehicle. Whether this one vehicle meant the exaltation of the bodhisattva vehicle or the emergence of a separate (fourth) vehicle became a debated issue. See Fujita Kotatsu (trans. Leon Hurvitz), "One Vehicle or Three?", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 3/1-2 (1976), pp. 79-166.
[659] *Goyuigon kiroku* (SSZ, Shūgen 2, p. 258).
[660] *Kenmitsu mondōshō*, p. 37.
[661] Ibid., pp. 37-38. Raiyu uses the term *sanjō kyokuri* 三乘極理 (the uppermost principle of the three vehicles), which in Kūkai's esoteric system corresponds to the Sanron school (Mādhyamika).
[662] Ibid., p. 38.

Shingon reveals that the formless one mind of the Zen tradition is in fact grounded on the three form-possessing (*usō* 有相) mysteries of Mahāvairocana; mysteries that are neither formless nor inconceivable, but expressed in the esoteric syllable *hūm* and in the graphic language of the Shingon maṇḍalas. For Raiyu, Zen apophasis falls short in grasping the esoteric language of Shingon:

> [Bodhidharma] takes the principle of one mind as the fundament. He did not understand that this one mind is a product of the six elements and three mysteries [of Mahāvairocana] (…) I submit that [the Zen school] asserts a "special transmission outside the teachings" because it does not come up to the language of the four [maṇḍalas]. I proclaim words in accord with truth to that [Zen adherent] and therefore I say that the syllable *hūm* is that which supports [the one mind]. Just saying "to move the hands and shuffle the feet is numinously aware nature" amounts to the idea that conditioned characteristics are contained within the nature (*shōsō kishō* 攝相歸性), and this not [in accordance with] the three features of the dharmakāya Buddha reality. To say "being lustful and angry is the principle of seeing the nature" amounts to the idea that delusion and substance are intrinsically empty, and this is not [in accordance with] the intrinsic buddhas and virtues of the four maṇḍalas.

Raiyu wants to make sure it is understood that the mind transmission mentioned by Kūkai is definitely not the same as Bodhidharma's mind transmission. In Shingon, we are informed, the term "mind transmission" is used to indicate that secret truths are being transmitted only orally; it does not imply the abrogation of texts. Mind transmission, Raiyu further clarifies, can also refer to the domain of Mahāvairocana's "self-verification" (*jishō* 自證) wherein "preaching is without words and viewing is without seeing." The mind to mind transmission of the Zen school is said to be of a lesser order: "It is an observance of the response-buddha (*ōbutsu* 應佛 i.e. nirmāṇakāya) in response to people's spiritual capacities" (*ōki* 應機).[663] In support of this last claim Raiyu cites an unnamed treatise, attributed to Kūkai:

> Therefore a commentary by great master [Kūkai] says: "With the buddha-mind of the Western Skies he sealed the mind-buddha of the Eastern Land. Caoxi's kinsmen of abstruse principle are among those who respond to capacities. – I have not seen the original text . 故大師釋云 以西天佛心印東土之心、曹谿玄旨宗屬在應機者。未見正文。[664]

"Caoxi's kinsmen of abstruse principle" cannot be but a reference to the lineage of Caoxi Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch. So, interestingly, we seem to be dealing here with a text wherein Kūkai himself mentions the Zen tradition. Though the exact meaning of the line 屬在應機者 (*ōki no mono ni shoku zaisu*) is hard to pin down, it is clear that Raiyu interpreted this passage as a statement by Kūkai that positions the Zen school on the level of nirmāṇakāya (*ōbutsu* 應佛). The existence of a text by Kūkai with a direct reference to the sixth Chan patriarch would be highly notable. Raiyu's interlinear note, however, indicates that he did not see an original manuscript. The passage, I suggest, was taken from *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, which has the near identical line 弘法大師ハ以西天佛心印東土佛心曹谿玄旨宗屬在應機者トイヘリ。[665] In

[663] Ibid.
[664] Ibid., 39.
[665] KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 181. Translations, Text II, section [4.b].

Kenshōjōbutsugi the passage is meant to illustrate the concept of mind to mind transmission of the Zen school by giving two examples: Bodhidharma and Huineng. Though Bodhidharma is, oddly, referred to as *kōbō daishi* (great master who spread the dharma) it is clear that the passage has nothing to do with Kūkai, who was of course known as Kōbō Daishi.[666] Raiyu, in any event, put great effort in dispelling the idea that the Shingon and Zen principles of "mind transmission" were compatible. This idea evidently circulated in his environment.

Concluding remarks

Raiyu's concerns about Zen, examined above, did not come out of thin air. He responded to developments around him. It is clear that Zen was being discussed in Raiyu's environments and that a notable group among his addressees advocated a combination of Shingon and Zen. The harmony between Shingon and Zen that is discussed in *Kenmitsu mondōshō* through the medium of the anonymous Zen adept, is not a focal point in the previously examined Darumashū texts, but it is not entirely absent: *Hōmon taikō* explicitly identifies the formless original mind (*musō honshin* 無相本心) of the Zen tradition with "the secretely explained A-syllable" of Shingon.[667] This type of correlative thinking partook of a broader Zen/Esoteric current, represented by Eisai, Gyōyu, Kakushin and Enni Ben'en (1202-1280).

From several citations in *Kenmitsu mondōshō* we know that the Darumashū text *Kenshōjōbutsugi* circulated in Raiyu's surroundings. One of the probable loci for Zen/Shingon interaction was the Kōmyōzammai-in temple on Mount Kōya, which is known to have been a hub of Tendai, Shingon and Zen studies. As noted in Chapter Four, various lines connected the Kōmyōzammai-in to Dōgen's Sōtō/Darumashū community. For instance, the Shingon monk Kakushin (1207-1298) – a student of Kōmyōzammai-in's first abbot Gyōyū (1163-1241) – briefly resided at Kōshōji, where in 1242 he received bodhisattva precepts from its abbot Dōgen. The Darumashū/Sōtō monk Gijun is known to moved from Eiheiji to the Kongōzammai-in, becoming a Shingon monk under the *ācārya* Raiken 賴賢 (1196-1273). Conversely, the Shingon monk Dōsen 道荐 (d. 1289) is known to have moved from Mount Kōya to Eiheiji after having met the Darumashū/Sōtō monk Gikai on Mount Kōya. Sambōji in Settsu must have been another place of intersection. Nōnin's temple preserved esoteric texts, including the *Kōya sappitsushū*, a collection of writings by Kūkai. In this regard it also interesting to recall that Nōnin, himself an esoteric *ācārya*, is reported to have been involved in discussions concerning the socalled esoteric fifth samādhi, also known as *shin kanjō*, or *isshin denshin kanjō*, a type of esoteric mind to mind transmission.

[666] The title Kōbō Daishi was posthumously bestowed on Kūkai by Emperor Daigo in 921.
[667] Translation, Text III, section [I.e].

IN CONCLUSION

Who was Nōnin? And what was the nature of the pioneering Zen school that he established, known as the Darumashū? For a long time most of what was known to us about this group and about its various followers came from suspicious sources: its critics. Eisai accused the adherents of the Darumashū of rejecting Buddhist works and of engaging in evil behaviour. Dōgen called them idle and simple fools, entangled in misguided, heterodox ideas. Students of the Pure Land teacher Shōkō praised their own teacher for putting Darumashū founder Nōnin to shame in debate. Nichiren denounced Nōnin for infesting the country with the evils of Bodhidharma's Zen. In the 14th century, the Buddhist historian Kōkan Shiren described Nōnin as an untrustworthy, marginal figure and thereby consigned him to obscurity. There was now little need to know who Nonin was, and what the teachings of the Darumashū actually said. Intruiging questions, such as how Nōnin, the vilified founder of a marginalized tradition, came to view himself as a Zen adept without actually having traveled to China, could no longer be asked, let alone answered.

Despite a thorough examination of the historical sources, it cannot be denied that Nōnin remains an elusive figure. What became clear is that he was a highly noticed figure. The negative tone of most of the reports about him must be understood against the background of rivalries between competing Buddhist groups that were trying to establish their own orthodoxy, or whose established position in the Japanese Buddhist world was now under threat by charismatic newcomers with alternative narratives and competing interpretations. The assertion and preservation of orthodoxy played an important role in the eventual excision of the Darumashū from the historical record.

Orthodoxy, historian John Henderson explains in one of the few comparative studies on the subject, requires heterodoxy – or the notion of heterodoxy – to establish and preserve its self-definition as orthodox; the orthodox "positions and defines itself by reference to [the heretical], even arises and develops historically by constructing an inversion of the heretical other." [668] The negative evaluations of Nōnin and the Darumashū that are evident in the writings of Eisai (who competed with Nōnin for the mantle of Zen orthodoxy) and Dōgen (who needed to convince Darumashū monks in his community of his Zen orthodoxy) are obviously acts of constructing the "heretical other." Henderson's analyses offers promising prospects for further comparative research. One of the common patterns that Henderson identifies in the construction of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Neo-Confucian, Islam, Judaism and Early Christianity is the attribution of an alleged heretical idea to a "grand heresiarch" who serves as the personified source of the accursed heretical notion.[669] A similar strategy is employed by both Eisai and Dōgen. Both monks delineate their own orthodox positions by negatively portraying the adherents of the Darumashū as contemporary followers of archetypical "heretics" in the Buddhist tradition. Eisai conjures up Pūraṇa Kassapa, the model evildoer who taught that slicing up people to heaps of flesh incurs no karmic retribution. Dōgen associates the Darumashū with another heretical figure, the brahmacārin Śreṇika, who commited the error of affirming an eternal mind essence. In some

[668] John B. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns* (State University of New York Press, 1998), p. 2.
[669] Ibid. 134-151

aspects at least, the process of marginalization of the Darumashū, then, appears consistent with a general pattern in world intellectual history.

One of the main objectives of this thesis was to investigate how the picture that emerges from the writings of Darumashū critics fits in with what was actually taught and practiced in Darumashū communities. The key to unlock this question, or at least make a beginning with it, lies in an examination of the primary Darumashū texts that have surfaced in recent times but remained, with notable exception, largely unstudied. My translation and analyses of these works is a beginning. But we can already with certainty conclude that the material reveals a far richer and far more complex and hybrid constellation of practices and ideas than the partial writings of the critics have led us to believe. The antinomianism at the center of most of the charges against the Darumashū, is certainly present in these materials. *Jōtōshōgakuron*, for instance, downplays the value of moral precepts, saying that if one just stops discriminative thinking, all moral precepts become redundant. *Kenshōjōbutsugi* asserts the absolute identity of ordinary beings and buddhas, and on that basis declares: "we do not observe the practice of meditation." According to this text, meditative practice does not lead to buddhahood; the recipe buddhahood is a good teacher who reveals the truth of inherent buddhahood and a listener who has accepts this truth with joyous faith. *Hōmon taikō*, on the other hand, contains a detailed manual for the practice of seated meditation. The same text also contains strong endorsements of Pure Land *nenbutsu* practice: "The decisive activity for attaining birth in the Pure Land is to be intently mindful of the Buddha and to recite his name on the basis of the three right attitudes and a mind set upon awakening. Do not doubt this!"

This thesis represents a beginning of a more comprehensive understanding of the Darumashū, its history, notions and practices. The detailed analysis of the three seminal Darumashū texts presented here is, to quote a well-known historian, "not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning." Much work remains to be done. Other investigations that will place the Darumashū in broader and more theoretical contexts must follow. It needs no argument that any such investigation would benefit from the stepping stone provided here.

PART FOUR: TRANSLATIONS

TEXT I

TREATISE ON ATTAINING PERFECT AWAKENING

Report on Great Master Engaku & Record of the Monk's Hall at Eternal Quiet monastery

Written at someone's request

I. OPENING PROCEEDINGS

[1] Opening bows.

> Bodies are born from formlessness,
> like magically conjured shadow images.
> A mind of a conjured being, there has never been.
> Harmful and beneficial acts have no place to abide. [670]

[2] We praise, venerate and commemorate the noble assembly of great masters who respond when right conditions arise.[671]

[3] Next: Taking ones seat.

[4] Next: Three obeisances.[672]

[5] Next: Hymn to the Tathāgata.[673]

[6] Next: Declaration.

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[670] **Bodies are born from formlessness, like magically conjured shadow images. A mind of a conjured being, there has never been. Harmful and beneficial acts have no place to abide.** 身從無相中受生 由如幻術諸影像 幻人心識本自無 飛福皆空無所住。 This is the "dharma transmission verse" (*denbōge* 傳法偈) of Buddha Vipaśyin 毘婆尸佛. Vipaśyin is considered the earliest of the socalled seven Buddhas of antiquity (*kakkō shichibutsu* 過去七佛) and occupies the opening position in the transmission lineages of the Chan school. The idea of a verse being composed to mark the succession of the Chan patriarchs first appears in the Chan record *Baolin zhuan*. Transmission verses of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs and the six patriarchs of China are recorded in the *Platform sūtra*; they are also found in the *Zongjinglu* (Vipasyin's verse appears at T. 2016, 937c08-09, with minor differences).

[671] 機興即応大師等聖衆。 Tentative translation.

[672] **Three obeisances** (*sanrai* 三禮). Making bows and intoning a melodic chant (*shōmyō* 聲明) that expresses taking refuge in the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha).

[673] **Hymn to the Tathāgata** (*nyoraibai* 如来唄). A *shōmyō* chant in praise of the Buddha, based on verse lines in the *Shōman-kyō* 勝鬘経 (Skt. *Śrīmālādevī sūtra*, T. 217a24-27):

> The Tathāgata's wondrous body is unequaled in the world. It is incomparable and inconceivable. Therefore I now pay homage. The Tathāgata's form and wisdom are inextinguishable. All dharmas continually abide in it. Therefore I take refuge. 如來妙色身 世間無與等 無比不思議 是故今敬禮 如來色無盡 智慧亦復然 一切法常住 是故我歸依。

We respectfully declare:

> Permanent, blissful, individual and pure, my own mind is the Buddha.[674] The indestructible one vehicle, the original abode of all buddhas, is the Dharma. The site of great tranquil extinction, the true forest dwelling for authentic practice, the objective realm where the Tathāgata himself is present, is the Saṃgha."[675]

Further we say:

> Reflecting on this, [we see that] the beneficence of the great master [Bodhidharma] is immense and his compassion inexhaustible. Who, even in a million immeasurable kalpas, could ever repay him? Now that we have fortunately come upon his portrait, we will make offerings in gratitude of his vast benevolence. Those in the lands of the ten directions, countless as dust motes, who attained buddhahood by seeing the nature, all have clarity in knowing and seeing – especially the fifty generations of successive patriarchs from the Dharma King of buddhas and patriarchs to the great master Fozhao.[676]

[7] In brief, this lecture meeting has three purposes. The first is to explain the origins of this teaching. The second is to discuss "mind is buddha." And the third is to clarify "whatever you seek will be attained." These are three stadia called establishment, rectification and propagation, or the first merit, middle merit and latter merit of this Mind school 心宗.

II. LECTURE

[A] THE ORIGIN OF THIS TEACHING

[1] This school [upholds] the teachings transmitted by the great master Bodhidharma and is therefore called the Bodhidharma school (Darumashū). The great master was a kṣatriya of South Indian

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[674] **Permanent, blissful, individual and pure** (*jōrakugajō* 常楽我浄). Four qualities attributed to the absolute body of the Buddha (Skt. *dharmakāya*). Expanding on and arguably revising the concept of emptiness, various Mahāyāna scriptures in the tathāgatagarbha tradition (e.g. *Śrimālādevī sūtra*, *Nirvāṇa sūtra, Ratnagotravibhāga, Dazhidulun*) posited that the absolute (dharmakāya, tathāgatagarbha, suchness, nirvāṇa, buddha-nature) is both empty and not empty: empty of defilements but not empty of perfect properties. In this sense emptiness is seen as disclosing the true state of the absolute, which is permanent, blissful, individual and pure. In earlier Buddhist discourse, the same qualities had already been discussed but as "the four perverted views" (Skt. *viparyāsas*) – considered perverted since they contradict the truth of universal impermanence, suffering, absence of self, and impurity. Tathāgatagarbha texts appreciated the earlier (Hināyāna) position as an expedient and incomplete view, and presented permanence, bliss, individualness and purity as the ultimate revelation of the Buddha. See Brian Edward Brown, *The Buddha-nature: A Study of the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālayavijñāna*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1991, pp. 135-150. Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, pp. 217-223.

[675] Compare the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 416c04-c10):

> Without making a hair-width of effort you completely open the treasury. Without expending a kṣaṇa of exertion you instantly obtain the dark gem. It is called the one vehicle site of great tranquil extinction, the true forest dwelling for authentic practice. It is the objective realm where the Tathāgata himself is present, the dharma gate where all buddhas originally abide. 不運一毫之功。全開寶藏。匪用剎那之力。頓獲玄珠。名為一乘大寂滅場。真阿蘭若正修行處。此是如來自到境界。諸佛本住法門。

[676] Fozhao Deguang 佛照德光 (1221-1203) (Busshō Tokkō) alias Zhuoan Deguang 拙庵徳光 (Settan Tokkō) was a dharma heir of Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) and abbot of the Ayuwang monastery in Mingzhou. In 1189 Fozhao transmitted lineage documents to the Japanese monk Dainichi Nōnin, via two of Nōnin's students that had been dispatched to China. Nōnin thereby formally became a dharma heir in Fozhao's Dahui lineage of the Linji (Rinzai) school: "the fifty generations of successive patriarchs from the Dharma King of buddhas and patriarchs to the great master Fozhao."

royalty. His name was prince Bodhidharma the third from Kōshi. When the bodhisattva Prajñātāra – the twenty-seventh patriarch in the transmission of this dharma – was preaching at the royal palace, the prince, who had been listening, said: "I do not covet the country's throne. I wish to benefit living beings by following the dharma." Prajñātāra ordained him, transmitted the dharma, and passed on the robe, saying: "Convert this country for a while, then go to China. The causal conditions for Mahāyāna are quietly ripening there. Wait for sixty-seven years, then go east. At first they will have no trust, but later they will all have trust and fully attain the buddha way. For those with capacities for the exoteric and esoteric, the Tathāgata, in his lifetime, expounded the doctrines of the three vehicles, the one vehicle, and the fivefold maṇḍala. On the brink of entering parinirvāṇa, [the Tathāgata] faced his foremost pupil Mahākāśyapa and – taking pity on [those destined to live in] the latter five hundred years of conflict – expounded instant buddhahood, the mind seal of the dharma gate." Great master [Bodhidharma] obeyed his teacher's last wishes and eventually left for China.

[2] Emperor Wu of the Liang invited [Bodhidharma] to court and presented him with offerings. When asking about the way, [the emperor] spoke at length about his many beneficial works. Great master [Bodhidharma] replied: "The way is in the mind, not in acts. [677] No reliance on words and

[677] **The way is in the mind, not in acts.** 道在心不在事。*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, compiled by Huijao 慧皎 (497-554), attributes these words to the Kashmiri monk Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (367–431). Guṇavarman makes this statement in response to a question by Emperor Wen of the Liu Song dynasty 劉宋文帝 (reign 424-453). *Gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2059, 341a01-a16):

> [Emperor Wen] then said: "I, your student, want at observe abstinence and refrain from killing at all times, but burdened by affairs I fail to keep my intentions. Dharma master, you considered a thousand *li* not too far to come here to convert this land: what do you advise me?" Guṇavarman said: "The way is in the mind, not in acts. The dharma comes from oneself, not from others. The practice of a sovereign is different from that of ordinary people. An ordinary being is coarse, his position is low. His commands carry no weight. If he cannot restrain himself and practice austerities, of what use is he? To the sovereign the [land surrounded by the] the four seas is his house and the myriads of people are his children. When he utters an auspicious, word men and women all rejoice; when he issues a righteous decree, gods and men will be in harmony; when he punishes he does not take life; and when he imposes corvee he does not exhaust [the people's] strength. This will make the wind and rain to come at the right time, and the heat and cold to match the season. The hundred grains will sprout in abundance, and mullberry and hemp will grow luxuriantly. When observing abstinence like this, the abstinence is great. When refraining from killing like this, the virtues will be plenty. Would you rather have curtailed your eating for half a day and spared the life of one bird when instead you could have accomplished such extensive relief?" The emperor placed a hand on his desk and sighed: "The common people are deluded by principles from far away. The śramanas are stuck in teachings from nearby. Those deluded by the principles from far away say that ultimate truth is void. Those stuck in the teachings from nearby are infatuated with textual details. Words like those spoken by you, Dharma master, truly make me understand and have penetrating clarity. I can talk with you about about matters concerning celestials and men. 因又言曰。弟子常欲持齋不殺。迫以身殉物不獲從志。法師既不遠萬里來化此國。將何以教之。跋摩曰。夫道在心不在事。法由己非由人。且帝王與匹夫所修各異。匹夫身賤名劣。言令不威。若不剋己苦躬。將何為用。帝王以四海為家。萬民為子。出一嘉言則士女咸悅。布一善政則人神以和。刑不夭命役無勞力。則使風雨適時寒暖應節。百穀滋繁桑麻鬱茂。如此持齋齋亦大矣。如此不殺德亦眾矣。寧在闕半日之餐全一禽之命。然後方為弘濟耶。帝乃撫机歎曰。夫俗人迷於遠理。沙門滯於近教。迷遠理者謂至道虛說。滯近教者則拘戀篇章。至如法師所言。真謂開悟明達。可與言天人之際矣。

On Guṇavarman see Edouard Chavannes, "Guṇavarman," *T'oung Pao*, series II, vol. V (1904): pp. 193-206; Okimoto Katsumi, "Gunabama ni tsuite," *Indotetsugaku bukkyōgaku* (Hokkaido Journal of Indological and Buddhist studies) 13 (1998): pp. 180-208. My translation benefitted from the french translation by Chavannes and the English by Valentina Stache Rosen, in "Guṇavarman (367-431): A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the Chinese Tripitaka," *Bulletin of Tibetology* 1 (1973): pp. 5-54.

letters. No dependence on expedients. Point straight to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha." Being unresponsive to the favourable circumstances, the emperor was displeased. [Bodhidharma] then broke of a reed and used it as a raft to cross over the deep Yangtze river; he went to the Northern Wei and spent nine years in a cave on Mount Song.

[3] When great master Huike was born, there appeared a peculiar light that illumined the room inside and out.[678] His parents considered this an auspicious sign and named him Subtle Luminosity 神光. As a young child he was clever and determined, and stood out from the crowd. He deeply penetrated matters in and outside Buddhism, and went to the bottom of books. Looking for the fruit of actual awakening eight years had passed by when, immersed in tranquillity, he suddenly saw a divine visitor who said: "If you want actual awakening why linger here? The great way is not far-off. Quickly go to Small Grove. Great master Bodhidharma will be your teacher. He is a manifestation of the boon bestowing Avalokiteśvara." Having received this mysterious revelation he straightaway went to Small [Grove] on Mount Song to visit master [Bodhidharma]; buried knee-deep in the snow, he cut off his own arm and sincerely asked for the dharma. Recognizing [Huike's] great calibre, great master [Bodhidharma] transmitted the dharma and the robe.

[4] Vinaya master Guangtong and Tripiṭaka master Bodhiruci were phoenixes among monks. They had heard that master [Bodhidharma] promulgated the way and was fanning up mysterious breezes that made the rain of dharma fall far and wide. Intolerant as they were, and unfit for the task themselves, they opposed [Bodhidharma] and decided to harm him. They repeatedly slipped him poisonous medicine, but with the power of seeing-the-nature-samadhi 見性三昧 he neutralized it. After the sixth poisoning, [Bodhidharma] saw that the right conditions for teaching were exhausted, and so he withdrew. This was on the fifth day of the tenth month in the nineteenth year of [Tai]he, *hinoe-tatsu*, in the late Wei dynasty, [during the reign of] Emperor [Xiao] Ming.[679] On the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of the same year [Bodhidharma's corpse] was transferred to Mount Xionger 熊耳山 and a stūpa was raised at Dinglin monastery 定林寺.

[5] Three years later, Song Yun, an imperial envoy on his way back from India, encountered the master in the Pamir Mountains and witnessed him flutter by on his own, clutching a single sandal in his hand. To Yun he said: "You there! The Son of Heaven of China has passed away today!" Yun took out brush and paper and recorded this, adding the day and month. Astonished, [Yun] took his leave and pressed on eastwards. When he reported back to the court, Emperor [Xiao] Ming had just passed away and Emperor Xiao Zhuang had ascended the throne.[680] Yun

[678] Huike 慧可(487-593) (Eka) the second patriarch in the Chan lineage.

[679] *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (J. *Hōrinden*) (801) by the monk Zhiju 智炬 (n.d), similarly asserts that Bodhidharma died in year nineteen of the Taihe era 太和 of Emperor Ming 明帝. The same date is reproduced in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (1004). The problem is that there is no Emperor Ming in the Taihe era. The Taihe era (477-499) elapsed under Emperor Xiao Wen 孝文帝 (reign 471-499). There is a Wei dynasty Emperor called Ming, namely Xiao Ming 孝明帝, who is obviously meant here, but his reign lasted only twelve years (516-528), which renders the year Taihe nineteen impossible. The sexagenary qualifier *hinoe-tatsu* 丙辰 (fire-dragon) in *Jōtōshōgakuron* suggests the year 476, which elapsed during the reign of Emperor Xian Wen 獻文帝. In his *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (J. *Denpōshōshūki*) Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072), noted the incongruities in the *Baolin zhuan* dating and rejected them (T. 2078, 744b05-07).

meticulously reported the incident and learned that the [date of the Emperor's death] exactly matched the day and month he had recorded! Emperor [Xiao Zhuang] then ordered to excavate [Bodhidharma's] grave, only to find an empty coffin containing a single leather sandal. Everyone at court was struck with awe and realized that [Bodhidharma] was a sage. An imperial edict was issued, the remaining shoe was taken and venerated in the palace. Thereafter it was transferred to Small Grove monastery and kept there to be venerated forever. The Emperor himself composed the master's stele inscription and granted him the posthumous title Great Master of Perfect Awakening 圓覺大師. His stūpa is called Perception of Emptiness 空觀.

[6] Bodhidharma's teaching first emerged four-hundred and eighty-four years after Buddhism spread through China. His teaching crossed over to Japan six-hundred and eighteen years after Prince Shōtoku appeared in the world and revered the dharma, in the sixteenth year of Chunxi of the Great Song, *tsuchinoto-tori* 己酉, the fifteenth day of the eight month of the fifth Japanese dynastic year Bunji (1189).[681]

[7] This means that King Kṛki's dream about purity at the fringes was fulfilled.

[8] In Prince Light's *Hōmakki* there are no mistakes. [682]

[9] The awakening verse of the Sixth Patriarch reads:

> Bodhi originally has no tree
> The bright mirror has no stand
> Fundamentally there is not a single thing
> Where is the dust to exist?[683]

[10] We praise, venerate and commemorate the lineage of patriarchs who pass on the lamp of the dharma gate of self-nature.

[B] YOUR OWN MIND IS BUDDHA

[1] When mind-nature radiates widely and manifests in the skies, it is the worthy Mahāvairocana. When mind-nature is capable of tranquility and responds to human beings, it is Śākyamuni. When mind-nature is equanimous, it is Buddha Amitābha presiding in the West. When mind-nature is

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[680] Emperor Xiao Zhuang 孝莊帝 (r. 528-530)

[681] The date Bunji 5/8/15 (1189) points to the return of Nōnin's envoys Renshū and Shōben from China. Inscriptions on two paintings that were commisioned and imported from China by these envoys are dated Chunxi 3/6/16 (1189), approximately two months prior to this.

[682] *Hōmakki* (Record of the End of the Dharma) is unknown. I take Kō Dōshi 光童子 to refer to Gekkō Dōshi 月光童子 ("Prince Moonlight"), a savior bodhisattva known from Chinese apocryphal sūtras, such as the similarly entitled *Famiejin jing* 法滅盡經 (J. *Hōmetsujinkyō*, T. 396) (Sūtra on the Extinction of the Dharma).

[683] 菩提本無樹。明鏡亦非台。本来無一物。何処有塵埃。 This is the famous poem said to have been composed by Huineng in response to a poem by Shenxiu, as described in the *Platform sūtra*. The verse exists in various versions, some of which differ greatly. The version found in *Jōtōshōgakuron* is close to that found in Song dynasty editions of the *Platform sūtra*. See Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 94 and p. 132; Mcrae, *Seeing Through Zen*, pp. 60-62.

motionless, it is Akṣobhya in the East. When mind-nature is fortunate and meritorious, it is Ratnasambhāva in the South. When mind-nature performs myriads of practices, it is Samantabhadra. When mind-nature is the mother of awakening, it is Mañjuśrī. When mind-nature is unrestrained, it is Avalokiteśvara. When mind-nature bestows bliss, it is the Lord of Great Compassion. When mind-nature is greatly vigorous, it is Mahasthāmaprāpta. When the mind-ground stores myriads of dharmas, it is the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. Moreover, when it is uninvolved with one dharma, it is one buddha. When it is unattached to five dharmas, it is five buddhas. When the mind extends through the triple realm, it voids the triple realm of buddhas. When the mind pervades the ten directions, it voids the ten directions of buddhas. All the names that the noble sages obtained are different names for the mind.[684]

[2] The *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Avataṃsaka*, *Mahāsamnipata*, *Pañca-viṃśatisāhasrikā*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Vajracchedikā* and *Hṛdaya* sūtras: all sūtras are different names for the mind.[685]

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[684] Ishii (*Dōgen zen no seiritsushiteki kenkyū*, p. 644) draws attention to a comparable passage in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 548a05-a13):

> "Śākya" as in Śākyamuni [Buddha] means "capable of benevolence." *Muni* means "tranquility." "Capable of benevolence" means that the mind-nature has no limits and encompasses everything. "Tranquility" means that the mind-essence is fundamentally calm and not concerned with movement or serenity. This is why he is called Śākyamuni Buddha. One who realizes this is called a buddha. Maitreya means "Lord of compassion." It is the genuine compassion of the one mind. The [one] mind does not stick to its intrinsic nature but expands and contracts in accordance with circumstances: it manifests everywhere and teaches even those who are karmically unaffiliated. This is why he is called Lord of compassion. Amitābha means "immeasurable life," which is to say he has suchness-principle as his life-force. The suchness-nature of the one mind is inexhaustible. This is why he is called Amitābha. Akṣobhya stands for "immovable," which means that the wondrous nature of the one mind is fulfilled and without movement. Nothing can be added to the rank of wondrous awakening and nothing can be subtracted from the stage of ignorance. This is why he is called immovable. 所云釋迦牟尼者。釋迦此云能仁。牟尼此云寂默。能仁者。即心性無邊含容一切。寂默者。即心體本寂動靜不干。故號釋迦牟尼。覺此名佛。彌勒者。此云慈氏。即是一心眞實之慈。以心不守自性任物卷舒。應現無方成無緣化。故稱慈氏。阿彌陀者。此云無量壽。即如理爲命。以一心眞如性無盡故。乃曰無量壽。阿閦者。此云不動。即一心妙性湛然不動。妙覺位不能增。無明地不能減。故稱不動。

[685] Ishii (Ibid.) draws attention to a comparable passage in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 427b29-c12):

> The Buddha said: "In my forty-nine years I have not added a single syllable to the dharma expounded by the buddhas of the past, present and future. Know therefore that you can attain the ultimate path through the gate of the one mind. When those of superior capacity enter it directly, they will no longer rely on other gates. For those of average and inferior capacities who have not yet entered it, I have distinguished provisional paths." Based on this, buddhas and patriarchs point in same direction; the worthies and sages take refuge in the [same] profound [principle]. The names [of the various teachings] differ, but their essence is the same. Because of circumstances [teachings] diverge, but the nature merges them. The *Prajñā* scriptures only teach nonduality. The *Lotus sūtra* only expounds the one vehicle. The *Vimalakīrti sūtra* says that the place of awakening is right here. In the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* all reverts to the secret repository. Tiantai focuses on practicing the three contemplations. Jiangxi posits that essence is the whole of reality. Mazu teaches that mind is buddha. Heze directly points at aware perception. Teachings, furthermore, have two ways of explaining. The first is "expressed explanation" and the second is "secret explanation." Expressed explanations are sūtras like the *Lankavatāra* and *Gandavyūha* and treatises like the *Qixinglun* and *Weishi*. Secret explanations establish a sūtra's alternative name in accordance with the essential point of that sūtra. The essential point of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* is marvelousness, the essential point of the *Diamond sūtra* is nonabiding, the essential point of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* is the dharma realm, the essential point of the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* is the buddha-nature. Relying on these [essential points], a thousand roads are established. All of them are different aspects of the one mind. 佛言。三世諸佛所說之法。吾今四十九年不加一字。故知此一心門能成至道。若上根直入者。終不立餘門。爲中下未入者。則權分諸道。是以祖佛同指賢聖冥歸。雖名異而體同。乃緣分而性合。般若唯言無二。法華但說一乘。淨名無非道場。涅槃咸歸祕藏。天台專勤三觀。江西擧體全眞。馬祖即佛是心。荷澤直指知見。又教有二種說。一顯了說。二祕密說。顯了說者。如楞伽密嚴等經

[3] Rivers, mountains, forests, swamps, earth, water, fire, wind: these are all designations for the mind. This is why a sūtra reads: "The Buddha said: "Name me great earth, high mountain, human, nonhuman"."[686]

[4] [In the *Lotus sūtra*] Śākyamuni says: "Only I can rescue and protect."[687] "Only I" refers to the one mind. Since the virtuous conduct of the worthies is the virtuous conduct of one mind, we can all say: "Only I [can rescue and protect]." This is why the sūtra says: "Only I understand characteristics, and the buddhas of the ten directions do likewise." [688]

[5] [In the *Diamond*] *sūtra* [the Buddha] says: "All possesion of characteristics is unreal. If you see characteristics as non-characteristics, then you see the Tathāgata."[689] And: "When Subhūti did not see the Buddha, he saw the Buddha accurately!"[690]

[6] "Mind is the dharma gate to generosity 檀 (Skt. *dāna*) and the other pāramitās.[691] The mind-nature's freedom of defilement is generosity; the mind-ground's lack of wrong is morality 戒

起信唯識等論。祕密説者。各據經宗立其異號。如維摩經以不思議爲宗。金剛經以無住爲宗。華嚴經以法界爲宗。涅槃經以佛性爲宗。任立千途。皆是一心之別義。

[686] Sūtra not identified.

[687] **Only I can rescue and protect.** 唯我一人能爲救護。From the *Simile and Parable Chapter* of the *Lotus sūtra* (T. 262, 14c28):

> I am the only person who can rescue and protect others, but though I teach and instruct them, they do not believe or accept my teachings, because, tainted by desires, they are deeply immersed in greed and attachment. So, I employ an expedient means, describing to them the three vehicles, causing all living beings to understand the pains of the threefold world, and then I set forth and expound a way whereby they can escape from the world. (From: *The Lotus Sutra*, translated by Burton Watson, p. 70.)

[688] **Only I understand characteristics, and the buddhas of the ten directions do likewise.** 唯我知是相十方佛亦然。From the *Expedient Means Chapter* of the *Lotus sūtra* (T.262, 6a20):

> I also announce to you, Shariputra, that this profound subtle and wonderful Law without outflows, incomprehensible, I have now attained in full. Only I understand its characteristics, and the Buddhas of the ten directions do likewise. Shariputra, you should know that the words of the various Buddhas never differ. Toward the Law preached by the Buddha you must cultivate a great power of faith. (From: *The Lotus Sutra*, translated by Burton Watson, p. 26.)

[689] **All possesion of characteristics is unreal. If you see characteristics as non-characteristics, then you see the Tathāgata.** 凡所有相皆是虛妄。若見諸相非相即見如來。From the *Diamond sūtra* (T. 235, 749a21-25):

> "What do you think Subhūti? Can one see the Tathāgata through his bodily characteristics?" "No, World Honored One, one cannot see the Tathāgata through his bodily characteristics. Why not? The bodily characteristics explained by the Tathāgata are not bodily characteristics."The Buddha then told Subhūti: "All possesion of characteristics is unreal. If you see characteristics as non-characteristics, then you see the Tathāgata." 須菩提。於意云何。可以身相見如來不。不也世尊。不可以身相得見如來。何以故。如來所説身相即非身相。佛告須菩提。凡所有相皆是虛妄。若見諸相非相則見如來。

[690] This may be a reference to a story about Subhūti and the nun Utpalavarṇā 花色. The nun Utpalavarṇā went to see the Buddha preach. By using here magical powers she managed to bypass the gathered crowd and be the first to salute the Buddha. Subhūti thought about going out to greet the Buddha but decided to remain in his stone cell, meditating on emptiness. The Buddha then explains that because Subhūti accurately understood that all dharmas are empty, it was he and not Utpalavarṇā who truly saluted him. See *Dazhidulun* (T. 1509, 137a01-a21).

[691] **pāramitās** (*dō* 度). Also *rokudō* 六度 and *ropparamitsu* 六波羅蜜. The six perfected qualities of a bodhisattva: generosity, morality, endurance, zeal, absorption and wisdom.

(Skt. *śīla*).[692] Moral precepts 戒律 are meant for subduing a mind in commotion. No-mind transcends moral precepts."[693] "Mind is not polluted by a single dust mote: one dust mote is the dharma realm."[694] "Places where [the bodhisattva] relinquished his body are everywhere."[695] "[The bodhisattva] abandoned the two [extreme] views and cast away both his arms."[696]

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[692] **The mind-nature's freedom of defilement is generosity; the mind-ground's lack of wrong is morality.** 心性離塵檀。心地無非戒。Compare similar formulations in the *Platform sūtra* (T. 2008, 358c12):

> Mind-ground without wrongs is self-nature morality. Mind-ground without perplexities is self-nature wisdom. Mind-ground without disturbances is self-nature concentration. 心地無非自性戒。 心地無癡自性慧。心地無亂自性定。

[693] **Moral precepts are meant for subdueing a mind in commotion. No-mind transcends moral precepts.** 戒律為治生心。無心過戒律。 From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 530a27-b04, with minor differences). The words are attributed to Fu Dashi 傅大士 (497-569):

> The aim of the myriad practices is to completely accord with truth and reveal the origin. When you evade the truth and pursue derivations, you miss the essential point of the teaching. All sentient beings are fundamentally endowed with an intrinsic precept. A person of dull faculties will gradually express it through form. A superior vessel directly illumines it by following the nature. Like Mahāsattva Fu said: "Observance of the precepts is basically meant for restraining a mind in commotion. I presently have no-mind and so transcend the moral precepts." 夫萬行之由。皆為契真顯本。若違真逐末。不識教宗。凡一切眾生。皆本具自性之律。若鈍根者。則漸以相示。若上器者。直從性明。如傅大士云。持律本為制生心。我今無心過戒律。

[694] Not identified.

[695] **Places where [the bodhisattva] relinquished his body are everywhere.** 捨身命所廣。 I suspect the line alludes to the famous episode of the Nāga girl in the *Devadatta* chapter of the *Lotus sūtra* (T. 262, 35b21-26). A young girl, the daughter of a Dragon King, is said to have the potential to attain awakening in an instant. A bodhisattva called Jñānākara 智積 (Wisdom Accumulated) expresses doubts about this, arguing that even the Buddha himself first had to go to eons of practice.

> Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulated questioned Manjushri, saying, "This sutra is profound, subtle and wonderful, a treasure among sutras, a rarity in the world. Are there perhaps any living beings who, by earnestly and diligently practicing this sutra, have been able to attain Buddhahood quickly?" Manjushri replied, "There is the daughter of the dragon king Sagara, who was just turned eight. Her wisdom has keen roots and she is good at understanding the root activities and deeds of living beings. She has mastered the dharanis, has been able to accept and embrace all the storehouse of profound secrets preached by the Buddhas, has entered deep into meditation, thoroughly grasped the doctrines, and in the space of an instant conceived the desire for bodhi and reached the level of no regression. Her eloquence knows no hindrance, and she thinks of living beings with compassion as though they were her own children. She is fully endowed with blessings, and when it comes to conceiving in mind and expounding by mouth, she is subtle, wonderful, comprehensive and great. Kind, compassionate, benevolent, yielding, she is gentle and refined in will, capable of attaining bodhi." Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulated said, "When I observe Shakyamuni Thus Come One, I see that for immeasurable kalpas he carried out harsh and difficult practices, accumulated merit, piling up virtue, seeking the way to the bodhisattva without ever resting. *I observe that throughout the thousand-million fold world there is not a single spot tiny as a mustard seed where this bodhisattva failed to sacrifice body and life for the sake of living beings* [觀三千大千世界乃至無有如芥子許非是菩薩捨身命處為眾生]. Only after he had done that was he able to complete the bodhi way. I cannot believe that this girl in the space of the instant could actually achieve correct enlightenment." (*The Lotus Sutra*, translated by Burton Watson, p. 187, *italics mine*). (Hereafter the girl materializes on the scene and spectacularly attains supreme awakening, but not before first transforming into male form).

[696] **He abandoned the two [extreme] views and cast away both his arms.** 捨二見捨兩臂。 I suspect the line alludes to a passage in the *Medicine King Chapter* of the *Lotus sūtra*. In this chapter a bodhisattva called Sarvasattvapriyadarśana (Gladly Seen by All Living Beings) burns both his arms as an offering to the relics of a buddha called Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśri (Sun Moon Pure Bright). The bodhisattva's disciples worry about this but are reassured:

> At that time, in the midst of the assembly, the bodhisattva Gladly Seen by All Living Beings made this vow, saying "I have cast away both my arms. I am certain to attain the golden body of a Buddha. If this is true and not false, then may my two arms become as they were before!" When he had finished pronouncing this vow, his arms reappeared of themselves as they had been before. (*The Lotus Sutra*, translated by Burton Watson, p. 285).

[7] Minister Pei Xiu's *Mind Transmission Verse* says: [697]

> Mind cannot be transmitted. It is transmitted through accordance.
> Mind can not be seen. It is seen through nothing.
> Accordance is non-accordance. Nothing is not-nothing.
> [Don't dwell in Illusion City], lest you be confused by a jewelled forehead.
> Jewel is just a stubborn designation. [How could that city have form?]
> Mind is Buddha. Buddha is an ordinary being.
> [It is right here]. Do not search. Do not act.
> Making a buddha search a buddha is a double waste of effort.
> Whoever comprehends due to the arising of phenomena,
> will fall into the world of Māra.
> When ordinary and sagely are undivided, you are free from seeing and hearing.
> No-mind is like a mirror, it does not compete with the objects [it reflects].
> Non-thinking is like a cloud, there is not a thing it does not include.
> In teachings outside the three vehicles it is rarely encountered,
> even if you were to traverse a kalpa.
> But if you can be like this, you are a world-leaving hero.

The act of auto-mutilation is thereafter lavishly praised as the highest possible offering to a buddha. This episode is also alluded to in the discourse record of Chan master Huangbo, the *Chuanxin fayao*, which was published in Japan by Nōnin. Huangbo takes the act of severing the arms as a metaphor for the awakened state mind, free of dualistic thinking (T. 2012, 383a20-24):

> Question: As delusions can obstruct one's mind, how then are delusions to be removed?
> Master [Huangbo] replied: If you stir up delusions to remove delusions you establish delusions. Delusions fundamentally have no basis. They exist only because you discriminate. If you simply put a stop to your ideas about ordinary and sagely, then delusions naturally disappear: how, then, would you propose to remove them? Also, to be entirely without attachment to even a miniscule hair is called: "I have cast away both my arms. I am certain to attain buddhahood." 問妄能障自心。未審而今以何遣妄。師云。起妄遣妄亦成妄。妄本無根。秖因分別而有。爾但於凡聖兩處情盡。自然無妄更擬。若為遣他。都不得有纖毫依執。名為我捨兩臂必當得佛。

In his *Zongjinglu*, Yongming Yanshou makes a similar point. As in *Jōtōshōgakuron*, Yanshou associates the two arms with two erroneous views (i.e. annihilationism and eternalism) (T. 2016, 928a26-b01):

> The *Avataṃsaka sūtra* says: "Not one dharma arises, not one dharma perishes. To one capable of this kind of understanding, all buddhas continually appear." The bodhisattva Medicine King says: "I have cast away both my arms. I am certain to attain the golden body of a buddha." "Both my arms" refers to two [mistaken] concepts, annihalationism and eternalism. If we cast away views of arising and perishing, annihalation and eternity, then the buddha of the mind will appear to us and we will instantly attain the substance of a buddha. This is why [bodhisattva Medicine King] said: "I am certain to attain the golden body of a buddha." 華嚴經頌云。一切法不生。一切法不滅。若能如是解。諸佛常現前。又藥王菩薩云。我捨兩臂。必當得佛金色之身。兩臂。即是斷常二法。若捨生滅斷常之見。則心佛現前。頓成佛體。故云必當得佛金色之身。

[697] 裴休相国 Pei Xiu Xiangguo (Haikyū Shōkoku) (797-860) was a Tang government official and lay student of Chan master Huangbo Xiun (Ōbaku Kiun) (d.850?). Pei Xiu compiled and edited Huangbo's lectures in the *Chuanxin fayao* and appended this verse.

[8] A sūtra says: "Constantly rectify this mind. Do not esteem other studies." This mind is always straight and true. It is originally a dark void. The way is wholly the mind and the mind is wholly the way. Resolve to return to the one and do not esteem other studies. Empty light is self-manifest, the whole does not change form, sandalwood never looses its fragrance: pronouncements like this, it can be said, take practitioners by the hand and lead them straight to the sea of omniscience. Whoever trusts and accepts [such truths] will not arouse impurities and immediately attains supreme awakening.[698]

[9] A verse reads:

> Now for the first time you know:
> sentient beings are originally perfect buddhas,
> saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are like yesterday's dreams. [699]

[10] We praise, venerate and commemorate ordinary beings, who are none other than buddha.

[C] WHATEVER YOU SEEK WILL BE ATTAINED

[1] The superior siddhi that you seek to obliterate sins, produce merits, avert calamities, bestow joy and obtain karmic rewards in this life and the next: this school 宗 alone has that power.

[2] Great master Nichi said:

> In the *Zuanlingji* it says that there was a man from the capital called Wang. His first name has been lost. He never observed the precepts and never cultivated goodness. When he died of an illness he was picked up by two figures and taken to hell. In front of the gate he saw a lone monk who said, "I am Jizō bodhisattva," and then instructed him to recite the following gāthā: "Whoever wants to comprehend all the buddhas of the triple world must contemplate the nature of the dharma realm: all is just a product of the mind." Having conferred these lines the bodhisattva said, "If you can recite this gāthā you will be able to destroy the sufferings of hell." After mastering the recitation, this man entered [hell] and faced King [Enma]. [King Enma] asked, "What virtues does this person have?" [Mr. Wang] replied, "I only retain one gāthā of four lines," and then in detail explained the foregoing episode. The King thereupon absolved and released him. Suffering beings that had been within earshot of [Mr. Wang's] voice as he recited this gāthā also obtained liberation. Three days later he was revived.
>
> The meaning is clear: [Mr. Wang] realized that hell too was a product of the mind. Because he understood it was a product of the mind, hell spontaneously dissolved!

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[698] **Constantly rectify this mind. Do not esteem other studies.** 常正其心、不尚余学。From the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa sūtra* (Ch. *Achamopusajing* 阿差末菩薩經, T. 403, 590a15). The entite paragraph (from "a sūtra says" 經曰 to "supreme awakening" 正覺) is found almost verbatim in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 833a24-29).

[699] From the *Yuanjuejing* 圓覺經 (Sūtra of Perfect Awakening) (T. 842, 915a20-21). Also in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 791b03-04). My translation follows Charles Muller, *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (State University of New York Press, 1999), p.116. (Changed).

Know therefore that if you view this mind, you will instantly be separated from suffering. [700]

[3] Noble and lowly beings seek a great many things, but all have the intention to separate from suffering. To separate from suffering and gain bliss instantly in no way depends on expedients. This means that the end of calamities and the advent of happiness are immediate. If the heavy sufferings of hell are removed instantly, how much more so the minor calamities? If the ultimate buddha fruit is realized instantly, how much more so the minor siddhis? Hence [it is said]: "When divine elixir has turned nine times, one drop transforms lead into gold. One word of the ultimate principle turns an ordinary being into a sage."[701] Indeed, when one leaf falls, autumn fills the realm.[702] When one person hears the dharma, all are buddha.

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[700] The *Zuanlingji* 纂靈記 (Record of Numinous Tales) is an early eight century collection of miraculous tales concerning the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, compiled and edited by disciples of the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643-713) on the basis of Fazang's unfinished *Huayanjing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 (Biographies and Accounts related to the Avataṃsaka sūtra) (T. 2073). The *Zuanlingji* is no longer extant, but citations in external sources suggest it remained close to Fazang's original. The story of Mr. Wang appears at T. 2073, 167a18-27. The story is cited twice in *Huayan yanyichao* 華嚴演義鈔 (T. 1736, 116b18-28; 324b5-16), a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* by the Huayan patriarch Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839). Via Chengguan it found its way into Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 461b06-b15). The sources show slight variations, for instance in the content of the hell-breaking gāthā. According to *Huayanjing zhuanji*, Mr. Wang is instructed to recite: 若人欲求知。三世一切佛。應當如是觀。心造諸如來。("Whoever seeks to know all the buddhas of the triple world must contemplate like this: the mind produces all Tathāgatas"). After his resurrection, Wang speaks about his experiences to several monks who then verify that the gāthā derives from chapter twelve of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* (Chapter on the Preaching of Dharma at the Cloud Assembly of the Countless Bodhisattvas of Suyama Celestial Palace 華嚴經第十二卷夜摩天宮無量諸菩薩雲集說法品). This gāthā is indeed included in Buddhabadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. It is part of a long verse recited by a bodhisattva named Rulailin 如來林菩薩 (*Avatamsaka sūtra*, Chapter 16: Verses Expounded by the Bodhisattvas at Suyama Celestial Palace 夜摩天宮菩薩說偈品, T. 278, 466a5-6). The equivalent passage in Śikṣānanda's translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* is somewhat different. Here the bodhisattva is named Juelin 覺林菩薩 and the gāthā reads: 若人欲了知。三世一切佛。應觀法界性。一切唯心造。 ("Whoever wants to comprehend all the buddhas of the triple world must contemplate the nature of the dharma realm: all is just a product of the mind.") (*Avatamsaka sūtra*, Chapter 20: Verses of Praise in the Suyama Castle 夜摩宮中偈讚品, T. 279, 102a29-b01). In his comment on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, Chengguan, noticing the discrepancy, explains: "The gist [of both gāthās] is the same. The meaning is clear: Hell is entirely produced from the mind. When you realize that the mind produces the buddhas, then hell [too] will spontaneously dissolve!" 大意是同。 意明地獄皆由心造。了心造佛地獄自空耳。(T. 1736, 116c01-02). The rendition of Wang's story in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (presented as a citation from the *Zuanlingji*) renders the gāthā as it is found in Śikṣānanda's *Avatamsaka sūtra*. In his short gloss on the story Yanshou paraphrases Chengguan's *Huayan yanyichao*: "The meaning is clear: Hell is mind-produced. Once you realize that the mind produces the buddhas, then hell [too] will spontaneously dissolve! Know, therefore, that if you view this mind you are instantly separated from suffering" 意明地獄心造。 了心造佛地獄自空耳。故知若觀此心言下離苦。(T. 2016. 461b17). Yanshou's gloss is repeated (with minor differences) by Nōnin who, evidently, relied on the *Zongjinglu*. On the formation and development of the Mr. Wang story see Jinhua Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643-712)* (Brill, 2007), pp. 299-305. Also, Zhiru Ng, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 172-75.

[701] **When divine elixir has turned nine times, one drop transforms lead into gold. One word of the ultimate principle turns an ordinary being into a sage.** 神丹九轉點鐵成金。 至理一言轉凡成聖。 From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 419c22-c26):

> One cataract in the eye, and a thousand flowers distort the sky. One delusion in the mind, and innumerable phenomena arise and cease. When the cataract is removed, the flowers are extinguished. When the delusion is eliminated, one verifies the real. Recovered from the illness, the medicine is discarded. When ice melts, water appears. When divine cinnabar is turned nine times, one drop transforms lead into gold. One word of the ultimate principle turns an ordinary being into a sage. A deranged mind is restless, while in rest it is bodhi. The purity of the mirror is the mind's luminosity. It is fundamentally buddha. 一翳在目。千華亂空。一妄在心。恒沙生滅。一翳除華盡。妄滅證真。病差藥除。冰融水在。神丹九轉。點鐵成金。至理一言轉凡成聖。狂心不歇。歇即菩提。鏡淨心明。本來是佛。

[4] A sūtra says: "Emptiness of nature is buddha. It cannot be grasped with thought." [703] *Buddha* means awakening and awareness. It is not something produced by productive causes, rather it is something illuminated by illuminative causes.[704] So, even those who have only just encountered this school must congratulate themselves. It is as if you were drowning in a vast ocean and chanced upon a fragrant ship, or were falling through the skies and landed on a mysterious crane.[705] The way, without having searched it, suddenly appeared. Your activities, without regulating them, will simply be perfect. It is like a bud that sprouts when the spring sun hits the soil.[706] Without making a hair-width of effort you completely opened the treasury. Without expending a kṣaṇa of exertion you instantly obtained the dark gem. [707] It is like one who is riddled with a lethal disease meeting the skilful Medicine King, one who is lost on a dangerous and difficult road meeting a discerning guide, one who has long dwelled in a dark house suddenly facing the radiance of a jewelled torch, or like one who has always been naked suddenly receiving wonderful garments of celestial cloth. Without having searched you naturally obtained it. With no

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The reference to cinnabar and gold derives from Chinese alchemical practices. See Roy C. Spooner and C.H. Wang, "The Divine Nine Turn Tan Sha Method, a Chinese Alchemical Recipe, " *Isis* 38 (1948): pp. 235-242. Fabrizio Pregadio, *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China* (Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 118-19.

[702] **When one leaf falls, autumn fills the realm.** 一葉落天下秋。 This phrase is widely cited in Chan literature. For instance *Tiansheng guangdenglu* 天聖廣燈録 (T. 1553, 571b20-21):

> Question: "When the myriads of dharmas return to the one, to what place does the one return?" The master said: "When one leaf falls, autumn fills the realm." 問萬法歸一一歸何所。師云一葉落天下秋。

[703] **Emptiness of nature is buddha. It cannot be grasped with thought**. 性空即是佛、不可得思量. These lines appear in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 807a26). They derive from the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, Chapter fourteen, *Verses of Praise at the Peak of Mount Sumeru* 須彌頂上偈讚品 (T. 279, 81c13-c18):

> Not one dharma arises. Not one dharma perishes. To one capable of this kind of understanding, all buddhas continually appear. Dharma-nature is fundamentally empty and tranquil, without attachments, without views. Emptiness of nature is buddha. It cannot be grasped with thought. One who knows that the essence of all dharmas is like this – such a person will not act out of affliction or attachment. 一切法無生。一切法無滅。若能如是解。諸佛常現前。 法性本空寂。無取亦無見。性空即是佛。不可得思量。若知一切法。體性皆如是。斯人則不為。煩惱所染著。

[704] **It is not something produced by productive causes, rather it is something illuminated by illuminative causes.** 非生因所生唯了因所了。 The words derive from the *Xiu huayan aozhi wangjinhuan yuan guan* 修華嚴奥旨妄盡還源觀 by Fazang (T. 1867, 637b15-16). Cited also in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 417c10-11). The translation follows Robert Gimello, "Apophatic and Kataphatic Discourse in Mahāyāna: A Chinese View," *Philosophy East and West* 26/2 (1976), p. 126.

[705] **So, even those who have only just encountered this school must congratulate themselves. It is as if you were drowning in a vast ocean and chanced upon a fragrant ship, or were falling through the skies and landed on a mysterious crane.** 所以纔値斯宗者應湏自慶。其猶溺巨海而遇芳舟。墜長空而乘靈鶴。 From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 423b16-b18). The *Zongjinglu* attributes the lines to "someone long ago" 昔人. Where *Jōtōshōgakuron* reads 宗 *Zongjinglu* reads 教.

[706] **The way, without having searched it, suddenly appeared. Your activities, without regulating them, will simply be perfect. It is like a bud that sprouts when the spring sun hit the soil.** 道不求頓現。行弗修自円。如地遇陽春萌芽沸發。 From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 460b17-b18. With minor difference).

[707] **Without making a hair-width of effort you completely opened the treasury. Without expending a kṣaṇa of exertion you instantly obtained the dark gem.** 不運一毫之功全開寶藏。匪用刹那之力頓獲玄珠。 *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 416c08).

effort you instantly accomplished it.[708] It is the deep storehouse of myriads of good works and the dark wellspring of innumerable wisdoms.[709] It is the maṇi among jewels, sandalwood among perfumes, the uḍumbara among flowers, sunshine among radiances, rice gruel among foods, sweet dew among drinks, reverted cinnabar among medicines and the Sage King among sovereigns.[710]

[5] A sūtra says: "To practice according to the teachings is called repaying the kind acts of the Buddha." [711] If you cultivate the way on the basis of the one mind's four foundations of mindfulness, and do not forget the last wishes of his beloved father, you truly are a filial child. But if you just enter the one mind, not one kind act will be unrepaid. By way of analogy: when shooting at the big earth each and every arrow hits, when chopping up a medicine tree each and every splinter is a medicine. When the mind is straight, the myriad dharmas are all straight. When the mind is crooked, the myriad dharmas are at once crooked. [712] There is no need to guard all dharmas. If you can just guard well your own mind, you will be able to accomplish all good dharmas. [713]

[6] Of all powers the power of mind is first. Of all treasures the treasure of mind is first. Of all numina the numen of mind is first. Of all superpowers the superpower of mind is first. Of all transformations the transformation of mind is first. Of all virtues the virtue of mind is first. Of all samādhis the samādhi of mind is first. Of all joys the joy of mind is first. Of all purities the purity

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[708] **It is like one who is riddled with a lethal disease meeting the skilful Medicine King, one who is lost on a dangerous and difficult road meeting a discerning guide, one who has long dwelled in a dark house suddenly facing the radiance of a jewelled torch, or like one who has always been naked suddenly receiving wonderful garments of celestial cloth. Without having searched you naturally obtained it. With no effort you instantly accomplished it.** 懷膏肓之疾逢善見之藥王。迷險難途之偶明達之良道 (道 emended to 導) 。 久居闇室忽臨寶炬之光明。常處裸形頓受天衣之妙服。不求而自得無功頓成。From the *Zongjinglu* (T.2016, 416b01-04; with minor differences).

[709] **It is the deep storehouse of myriads of good works and the dark wellspring of innumerable wisdoms.** 萬善之淵府衆哲之玄源。*Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 416b10-11).

[710] **It is the maṇi among jewels, sandalwood among perfumes, the uḍumbara among flowers, sunshine among radiances, rice gruel among foods, sweet dew among drinks, reverted cinnabar among medicines and the Sage King among sovereigns.** 香中牛頭。寶中摩尼。花中優曇。照中日光。食中乳糜。飲中甘露。藥中還丹。食中乳糜。主中聖王。Compare the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 416a23-25).

[711] **To practice according to the teachings is called repaying the kind acts of the Buddha.** 依教修行名報佛恩。The quote is found in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 591b27-28), attributed to an unspecified sūtra.

[712] **If you cultivate the way on the basis of the one mind's four foundations of mindfulness, and do not forget the last wishes of your beloved father, you truly are a filial child. But if you just enter the one mind, not one kind act will be unrepaid. By way of analogy: when shooting at the big earth each and every arrow hits, when chopping up a medicine tree each and every splinter is a medicine. When the mind is straight, the myriad dharmas are all straight. When the mind is crooked, the myriad dharmas are at once crooked.** 若於一心四念處修道、不忘慈父遺囑、真孝順之子。但入一心無恩而不報。[譬如射大地箭箭中。折藥樹塵塵皆藥。] 心若正萬法皆正。心若邪萬法忽邪。Excepting the bracketed lines, this passage corresponds (with some differences) to *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 591c14-16). Where *Jōtōshōgakuron* has 入一心 ("enter the one mind") the *Zongjinglu* reads 入宗鏡 ("enter the source mirror").

[713] **There is no need to guard all dharmas. If you can just guard well your own mind, you will be able to accomplish all good dharmas.** 不須守護諸法。但能善護自心。則能成就一切善法。 Compare the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 591c26-28):

> The *Dharmasaṃgīti sūtra* says there is no need for bodhisattvas to guard all dharmas. World Honored One! If a bodhisattva can just guard well his own mind, then this bodhisattva, because he guards well his own mind, will be able to accomplish the wonderful dharmas of all buddhas. 法集經云。菩薩不須守護諸法。 世尊。若菩薩但能善護自心。是菩薩善護自心故。則能成就諸佛妙法.

of mind is first. Of all learning the learning of mind is first. Of all trust the trust in mind is first. Of all obeisances the obeisance of mind is first. Of all deities the deity of mind is first. Of all worthies the worthy mind is first. Of all luminosities the luminosity of mind is first. Of all greatnesses the greatness of mind is first. Of all teachings the teaching of mind is first. Of all practices the practice of mind is first. Of all knowledge the knowledge of mind is first. Of all buddhas the buddha of mind is first.

[7] The moment the mind differentiates, a thousand conflicts arise. The moment the mind is composed, the dharma realm is calm. When the mind is empty, the single way is serene and clear. When the mind has existence, myriads of objects move vertically and horizontally.[714] When in the one mind there is no arising, the myriad things are flawless. When you understand arising, there is no arising. When you know it is a delusion, there is no delusion. When in one thought-moment the mind is calmed, ten thousand anxieties are simultaneously destroyed. When you understand the mind, everything stops. There is no other technique. It is like the patriarch master said: "Everything depends on the mind. True and false are in oneself. Not thinking a single thing: this is the original mind. A wise person will be able to understand this. There is no other technique." [715] This is why our root teacher [Śākyamuni] said: "Only this one thing is true, an additonal second [thing] is not true." [716] And so it is said: "If you want to know the main point of the dharma, then guarding the mind is foremost. No one ever became a buddha without guarding the true mind."[717]

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[714] **The moment the mind differentiates, a thousand conflicts arise. The moment the mind is composed, the dharma realm is calm. When the mind is empty, the single way is serene and clear. When the mind has existence, myriads of objects move vertically and horizontally.** 心異則千差競起。 心平則法界坦然。心空則一道清淨。心有則萬境縱橫。 From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 835a24-27):

> The mind is capable of creating buddhas, ordinary beings, heavenly mansions and hells. When the mind differentiates, a thousand conflicts arise. When the mind is composed, the dharma realm is calm. When the mind is dull the three poisons bind. When the mind is sagely, the six supranormal powers flow freely. When the mind is empty, the single way is serene and clear. When the mind has existence, myriads of objects move vertically and horizontally. 心能作佛。 心作眾生。 心作天堂。 心作地獄。 心異則千差競起。 心平則法界坦然。 心凡則三毒縈纏。 心聖則六通自在。 心空則一道清淨。 心有則萬境縱橫。

[715] **When in the one mind there is no arising, the myriad things are flawless … There is no other technique.** Compare *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 835b13-23)

[716] **Only this one thing is true, an additonal second [thing] is not true.** 唯此一事實餘二則非真。 This widely cited phrase derives from the *Expedient Means Chapter* of the *Lotus sūtra* (T. 262, 8a17-21):

> In the Buddha lands of the ten directions there is only the dharma of the one vehicle. There is no second and third [vehicle], except when the Buddha preaches expediently and uses provisional terms to guide living beings and expound buddha wisdom. In the appearance of buddhas in the world only this one thing is true. An additional second [thing] is not true. 十方佛土中、唯有一乘法、 無二亦無三。 除佛方便說。 但以假名字、引導於眾生、 說佛智慧故、諸佛出於世。 唯此一事實、 餘二則非真。

[717] **If you want to know the main point of the dharma, then guarding the mind is foremost. No one ever became a buddha without guarding the true mind.** 欲知法要守心第一。 若一人不守真心得成佛者無有是處。 The lines derive from the *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), also known as the *Zuichangchenglun* 最上乘論 (Treatise on the Supreme Vehicle), attributed to Hongren, the fifth Chan patriarch:

> If you want to raise many questions, terms and opinions will multiply. If you want to know the main point of the dharma then guarding the mind is foremost. Guarding the mind is the basis of nirvāṇa and the essential gate for entering the way. It is the essence of the twelvefold scriptures and the patriarch of the buddhas of the past, present and future. 更欲廣起問答名議轉多。欲知法要守心第一。此守心者乃是

[8] Great master Nichi said:

[8.a] If you create names where there are no names, then because of names right and wrong arise! If you create principles where there are no principles, then because of principles quarrels arise! Magical apparitions are not real. Who is right, who is wrong? Falsities are not true. What is existent, what is nonexistent? In obtaining nothing is obtained. In losing nothing is lost. From this [we know that] buddhas do not obtain bodhi and ordinary beings do not lose bodhi. Just apprehend the one mind, and the myriad dharmas will all be tranquil.[718]

[8.b] One who tries to attain the way while practicing outside the mind is like a mud ox bellowing as it soars the skies, a stone horse whinnying as it skims the waters; it is like kindling fire in search of water, squeezing horns to get milk, polishing a tile to make a mirror, climbing a tree to look for fish, crushing sand to find oil and talking about food so as to stuff oneself; it is like a silly dog resenting a lump of earth or a thirsty deer chasing after flames; it is like drinking poison in search of life, and entering an abyss while clutching a rock. There is no doubt that such a person will die in the sea of Buddha's wisdom. Facing the castle of nirvāṇa he will find it particularly difficult to put his feet inside. [719] Sickness! Sickness! People of the world, you forget the source and block the stream, you esteem the branches and make light of the tree. Madness! Madness! When foolish children dash off frightened by their own shadows, the shadows chase them evermore.[720] If you like the radish and hate the leaves, the leaves will be extra luxuriant.

涅槃之根本入道之要門。 十二部經之宗三世諸佛之祖。(Chinese after Mcrae, *The Northern School*, pp. 二, 三)

If you wish to quickly become a buddha yourself, do not act and [just] guard the fundamental, true mind. The Buddhas of the three realms are immeasurable and boundless. Not one of them became a buddha without guarding the true mind. 若願自身早成佛者會是無爲守本眞心。 三世諸佛無量無邊。若有一人不守眞心得成佛者無有是處。(Ibid., p. 六)

A large section of the *Xiuxin yaolun* is incorporated in the *Zongjinglu*. The above two cited passages appear at T. 2016, 588b20-22.

[718] This part of Nōnin's speech derives from a letter by a certain Layman Hsiang 向居士 (n.d) to the second Chan patriarch Huike. The letter is cited in several sources, e.g. *Xu gaosengzhuan* (T. 2060, 552b03-07), *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 22b17-20) and *Nianfo sanmei baowang lun* 念佛三昧寶王論 (T. 1967, 142c16-18). Nōnin cites from Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* and incorporates Yanshou's comment on the letter (T. 2016, 603b23-26). A manuscript of Hsiang's letter was found at the Dunhuang caves in the early twentieth century and published in Japan as part of a corpus of Bodhidharma related Dunhuang materials. For a study and translation of this material see Jeffrey L. Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen*, University of California Press, 1999.

[719] Compare the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 608c16-18):

> One who advances on the path without having investigated the contemplation of the mind is like one who sinks into an abyss while clutching a rock, or travels at night without a lantern. There is no doubt that such a person will die in the sea of Buddha's wisdom. Facing the castle of nirvāṇa he will find it particularly difficult to put his feet inside. 如不效觀心進道者。如抱石沈淵。夜行去燭。則於佛智海。必死無疑。向涅槃城。故難措足。

With minor differences, most of the other metaphors in this passage are also found in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 417a02; 425b21; 447c18; 462a16; 605c24).

[9] The gāthā:

> Whoever wants to comprehend all the buddhas of the triple world must contemplate the nature of the dharma realm: all is just a product of the mind.

[10] We praise, venerate and commemorate the myriads of virtues of the self-nature. May calamities be prevented and happiness invited.

III. CLOSING PROCEEDINGS

[1] Next: End with questions and answers 問答.
[2] Next: Recitation for the *kami*.[721]
[3] Next: *Shōgyō*. [722]
[4] Next: Six kinds of offerings. [723]
[5] Next: Transference of merit: May these merits [widely extend to all. May we together with all sentient beings attain buddhahood].

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[720] The image of a child running from its own shadow is reminescent of a passage in the letter of Layman Hsiang, from which Nōnin cited earlier. *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 603b19-23):

> Layman Hsiang said: "Shadows arise from bodily forms. Echoes follow from voices. Fiddling with shadows and tiring their bodies [some people] are unaware that the bodily form is the shadow's origin. They raise their voices to stop the echoes, unaware that the voice is the echo's root. Seeking nirvāṇa by ridding the body of afflictions is like leaving the bodily form to search for its shadow. Seeking Buddha's way by parting from the ordinary being's mind is like silencing one's voice to search for its echo. Therefore we know that delusion and awakening are one path, that foolishness and wisdom are not different. 如向居士云。影由形起。響逐聲來。弄影勞形。不知形是影本揚聲止響。不識聲是響根。除煩惱身而求涅槃者。喻去形而覓影。離眾生心而求佛道者。喻默聲而尋響。故知迷悟一途. 愚智非別。

[721] **Recitation for the *kami*** (*jinbun* 神分). A standard element in *kōshiki* rituals. It usually consists of reciting the *Heart sūtra* (*Hannya haramita shingyō* 般若波羅蜜多心經).

[722] A toilet break? Buddhist dictionaries provide two meanings for *shōgyō* 小行: 1. Lesser (Hīnayāna) practices. 2. urination.

[723] **Six kinds of offerings** (*rokushu* 六種). A standard element in *kōshiki* rituals. The six offerings are purified water, powdered incense, flowers, burned incense, food and drinks, light.

* Note: *Jōtōshōgakuron* ends here. The booklet manuscript includes an additional text entitled *Mushū Eian Zen'in sōdōki* 撫州永安禅院僧堂記 (Ch. *Fuzhou Yongan Chanyuan sengtangji*) (Record of the Monk's Hall at Eternal Quiet Monastery). This text was composed by the government official Zhang Shang ying 張商英 (1043-1122), also known as Layman Wujin 無盡居士(1043-1122). Wujin studied with Chan master Doushuai Congyue 兜率従悦 (1044-1091) (Tosetsu Jūetsu). *Fuzhou Yongan Chanyuan sengtangji* is included in the Song dynasty Chan compendium *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (X. 1298, 736b11-c22) and the Ming dynasty Chan compendium *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 (T. 2023, 1053c19-1054b03). Except for some some minor variations, these versions correspond with the one appended to *Jōtōshōgakuron*.

The text is critical about the enjoyment of luxury in monasteries. It opens with a preface that exalts the simplicity of a practitioner of yore who "dug holes for shelter, weaved grass for clothing, scooped river water to drink and nourished himself on cooked pears" and "lived together with tigers and leopards and befriended apes and monkeys." In contrast, the lofty monks in Wujin's time are said to "enjoy the comfort of beds and quilts, the warmth of matted tents, the coolness of woven mats, the light of latticed windows, the cleanliness of fine cloth, good servings of food and drinks, and golden coins in abundance."

In addition, the text reports on the establishment of a new and monumental monks hall at the Yongan monastery. The narrative incorporates a lecture given in the monks hall by Wujin on the invitation of the monastery's recently installed abbot, Liao Chang, a student of Doushaui. I include a translation of this lecture:

> You monks, this hall has been swiftly completed. You lie down, sit and walk here, but you are just being offensive. If you are able to sleep here in the proper manner and be free from dreamy thoughts, then Baizhang is you and you are Baizhang. If not, and you sink into a murky slumber, a poisonous snake will nestle in your mind. In the dark, deprived of daylight, you will enter the netherworld. If you are able to sit here quietly with legs crossed and deeply enter Zen absorption, then Subhūti is you and you are Subhūti. If not, [you're like] a monkey in a cage looking at the chestnut trees outside. Confused with jumbled thoughts you will be far apart from those who die in meditation posture. If you are able to carry sūtras in here, grind and taste their noble meanings, enter the sudden from the gradual, and enter the perfect from the sudden, then the Tripitaka is you and you are the Tripitaka. If not, [you're like] a spring bird chirping in daytime, or an autumn fly buzzing at night. Carried off on the wind [the sounds they make] convey no meaning at all. If you are able in here to read the tales of the old masters, attain a thousand awakenings in a single glance, and reenter the red dust [of the world] to turn the great dharma-wheel, you are the patriarch [Bodhidharma] and the patriarch is you. If not, [you're like] a dog gnawing at a withered bone, or an owl picking at a festering rat. Plucking with their mouths, lips and teeth just increases their fiery hunger. By splitting things in two you create dirt and purity, by stringing things after one another you create cause and effect, by cutting a thing in half you create emotions, by evaluating things you create pain and pleasure. Drifting and bobbing you will go on until the end of time. This being so, constructing this hall has advantages and drawbacks. Living here has its pros and cons. You monks should be aware of this. You must cut the topknot of Vairocana, chop off the arms of Kannon, gouge out the eyes of Mañjuśrī , break the legs of Fugen, smash the chair of Vimalakīrti and burn the robe of Kasyapa. Be like this and the roof tiles will be gold and the walls will be silver. Act up to your duties! Why am I admonishing and exhorting you about a hall? My words are not hollow. [Abbot] Liao Chang studied with Doushaui for more than ten years and fully acquired his ultimate essence. It is what the virtuous ones of old called the jewelled sword of the Vajra King. (KBSZ, *Butten* 1, *Zensekihen*,pp. 206-207*)*

TEXT II
On seeing the nature and becoming a buddha

I. PREFACE

[a] Wake up! [724] Prince Bodhitāra was the third son of the Great King of the country of Kōshi in Southern India.[725] His subtle wisdom was piercing and clear. He understood everything he heard. His dark mind was void and calm. He penetrated mundane affairs and comprehended Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist teachings. In virtue he surpassed his contemporaries.[726] Having watched from afar the fruition of karmic conditions in China, he traversed mountains and seas. After a long time he reached the Southern Court, but then crossed [the Yangtze river] and settled in the Northern Wei. From dusk till dawn he sat facing a wall. Near the wall Shenguang paid hommage to him, day and night.[727] In spite of this, [Bodhidharma] kept the one rare and precious treasure hidden, and waited. When [Shenguang finally] realized his own nature from within he said: "Clear and ever-present awareness. Words and study do not reach it." [728] The lamp of the dharma illumines the nine heavens. The water of the mind pervades the four seas. Indeed, there is not one dust mote independent of consciousness. In the end the myriad dharmas are all mind.

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[724] **Wake up!** 聆. Morohashi (nr. 29044 聆) provides the following readings: *kiku* (to listen, to hear), *shitagau* (follow), *satoru* (realize), and *yowai* (weak). The added *kana* in the manuscript indicate two readings: *rei* レイ and *satoru* サトル.

[725] **Bodhitāra** 菩提多羅. KBSZ mistakenly transcribes 菩提ロタ羅. Various Chan records give the name Bodhitāra as the original name of Bodhidharma. For instance *Chuanfa zhengzongji* (T. 2078, 739b28), *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 216a26) and *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 939b16).

[726] Compare the succinct biography of Bodhidharma by Tanlin 曇琳 (sixth century), included for instance in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 458b07-b12):

> The Dharma master was a person from South India in the Western Region. He was the third son of a King in the country of the Brahmans. His subtle wisdom was penetrating and clear. He understood everything he heard. As his will was set on the Mahāyāna path, he gave up the white silk [of a layman] for the black silk [of a monk]. He carried on the noble lineage. His dark mind was void and calm. He penetrated the affairs of the world and comprehended Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist teachings. In virtue he surpassed his contemporaries. Deploring the decline of the right teaching in the borderlands, he crossed mountains and seas, and roamed about teaching in Han and Wei. 法師者西域南天竺國人。是婆羅門國王第三之子也。神慧疏朗。聞皆曉悟。志存摩訶衍道。故捨素隨緇。紹隆聖種冥心虛寂。通鑒世事 內外俱明。德超世表。悲悔邊隅正教陵替。遂能遠涉山海遊化漢魏。

[727] **Shenguang** (Jinkō 神光). Bodhidharma's student Huike (487-593), the second Chan patriarch.

[728] **Clear and ever-present awareness. Words and study do not reach it** (*ryōryō jōchi gonbō fukyū* 了了常知言詑不及). Compare Huike's words included in *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 219c27-220a02):

> Another record says that the master initially lived at Shaolin for nine years. When he expounded the dharma to the second patriarch, he instructed him saying: "Externally cease all involvements and internally stop panting; the mind will then be like a wall and one can thereby enter the way." Huike addressed the principle of mind-nature in various ways, but he was not one with the way. The master, disapproving of this error, refrained from explaining the thoughtless mind-essence. [Later] Huike said: "I ceased all involvements." The master said: "This probably amounts to extermination, does it not? Huike said: "It does not amount to extermination." How do you verify that it is not extermination? Huike said: "Because it is clear and ever-present awareness. Words cannot reach it." The master said: "This is the mind substance transmitted by all buddhas. Have no more doubts! 別記云。師初居少林寺九年。為二祖說法秖教曰外息諸緣內心無喘。心如牆壁可以入道。慧可種種說心性理。道未契。師秖遮其非不為說無念心體。慧可曰。我已息諸緣。師曰。莫不成斷滅去否。可曰。不成斷滅。師曰。何以驗之云不斷滅。可曰。了了常知故。言之不可及。師曰。此是諸佛所傳心體。更勿疑也。

[b] When Tianlong raised a finger, Jinhuayi leapt into heaven.[729] When Deshan raised his stick to deliver a blow, Yantou danced on the ground of awakening.[730] When Shigong plucked the string of his bow, Yizhong prostrated.[731] When Sanping struck the meditation platform, Hanyu thanked

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[729] **When Tianlong raised a finger, Jinhuayi leapt into heaven.** 天龍竪一指金華義飛天。Reference to the "one finger Chan" of the Tang dynasty Chan masters Jinhua Juzhi 金華俱胝 (n.d) and Hangzhou Tianlong 杭州天龍 (n.d.). According to the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 288a22-288b11) Juzhi attained awakening when Tianlong silently held up one finger. Thereafter Juzhi himself likewise instructed his students by holding up one finger. Nearing death Juzhi addressed his students, saying: "I obtained Tianlong's one finger Chan. I used it my whole life and still it is not exhausted." 吾得天龍一指頭禪。一生用不盡。

[730] **When Deshan raised his stick to deliver a blow, Yantou danced on the ground of awakening.** 德山擊一棒巖頭跳覺地。Chan master Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780-865) is known for striking his students with a wooden stick. *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 317c16-c20) reads:

> Having ascended to the hall master [Deshan] said: "Tonight I will not answer questions. Anyone who asks a question receives thirty blows of my stick. A monk stepped forward and bowed. The master hit him. The monk said: "I have not asked a question. Why did you hit me, venerable?" The master said: "Where are you from?" [The monk] said: "I am from Silla." The master said: "Even before you got on board the ship you deserved thirty blows of my stick." 師上堂曰。今夜不得問話。問話者三十拄杖。時有僧出方禮拜。師乃打之。僧曰。某甲話也未問。和尚因什麼打某甲。師曰。汝是什麼處人。曰新羅人。師曰。汝未跨船舷時便好與三十拄杖。

Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全豁 (828-887) (Gantō Zenkatsu) studied with Deshan and inherited his dharma. The only encounter I have been able to locate that involves Deshan using his stick in the presence of Yantou is one recorded in the tenth century *Zutangji* 祖堂集 (Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall), Yanagida (ed.), *Sodōshū*, p. 137:

> Venerable Yantou succeeded Deshan. He lived in Tangning in Ezhou. His posthumous name was Quanhuo, his family name was Ke. He was a native of the Nanan district of Quanzhou. He received the precepts under Venerable Yi at the Ximing temple in Changan, and later lectured on the *Nirvāna sūtra*. Thereafter he studied with Deshan. When he first met [Deshan] he wanted to unfold his mat and make a prostration, but Deshan raised his stick, and then threw it down the steps. Master [Yantou] went down the steps, put away his mat and went to see the monastic director. Deshan carefully observed him, and after a while he said: "That petty monk looks like a vagabond." In his private record [however] he held him dear. The next morning Yantou went up to the dharma hall for an interview. Deshan asked: "Grand priest, you newly arrived here yesterday, isn't that right? [Yantou] replied: "I'm not worthy." Deshan said: "Where did you learn to be so pompous?" Yantou said: "I will never deceive myself." Deshan laughed and said: "One day he will shit on the head of this old man." Yantou bowed and withdrew. Concealing his abilities, he stayed in one place for many years and thoroughly attained the dark essence. 巖頭和尚嗣德山。在鄂州唐寧住師諱全豁俗姓柯泉州南安縣人也。 受業靈泉寺義公下于長安西明寺具戒成業講涅槃経。後參德山。 初到參始擬展 具設礼。德山以杖挑之遠擲塔下。 師因便下塔收 具相看主事參堂。德山諦視久而自曰者阿師欲似一个行脚人。私記在懷。来晨師上法堂參。德山問闍梨是昨晚新到豈不是。對云不敢。德山云什摩 得虚頭来。師云 甲終不自誑。 德山呵云他向後老漢頭上屙著。師礼而退. 藏密機既盤泊數載盡領玄。

[731] **When Shigong plucked the string of his bow, Yizhong prostrated.** 石鞏扣弓絃者義忠作拜。 According to the *Jingde chuandenglu*, Shigong Huizang 石鞏慧藏 (Shakkyō Ezō) (n.d.) was a hunter, armed with bow and arrows. Shigong hated monks, but after a chance encounter with Chan master Mazu Daoyi (709-788) he cut his hair and became a monk under Mazu. When Shigong had become a teacher himself, he often used a bow and arrows to instruct his students, as is seen in the *Jingde chuandenglu* biography of Sanping Yizhong 三平義忠 (781-872) (T. 2076, 248b11-c26):

> Chan master Sanping Yizhong of Zhangzhou was a native of Fuzhou. His family name was Yang. He first studied with Shigong. Shigong always awaited students with a fully drawn bow and arrow. Master [Sanping] pointed at the dharma chair. Shigong said: "Look at this arrow!" Sanping bared his chest and said: "This is an arrow to kill a man. What about an arrow to enliven a man? Shigong snapped the string of his bow three times. Sanping prostrated. Shigong said: "Thirty years, one drawn bow and a pair of arrows: thankfully I now got myself half a sage." Then he broke his bow and arrows. 漳州三平義忠禪師福州人也。姓楊氏。初參石鞏。 石鞏常張弓架箭以待學徒。 師詣法席。鞏曰。看箭。師乃撥開胸云。此是殺人箭。活人箭又作麼生。鞏乃扣弓絃三下。師便作禮。鞏云。三十年一張弓兩隻箭。只謝得半箇聖人。遂拗折弓箭。

him.[732] When Baizhang said: "Isn't this fire?", Guishan promptly attained awakening.[733] When Wutai shouted: "I attained great awakening", Guizong pointed him out as a man of superior capacity.[734] How to apprehend the wondrous path of the buddhas and realize the mind of the

[732] **When Sanping struck the meditation platform, Hanyu thanked him** 三平敲禪牀者韓愈禮謝。KBSZ mistakenly transcribes 三手 for 三平. Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) was a Confucian scholar, poet and a fierce critic of Buddhism. He is especially known for his *Memorial on the Bone of Buddha*, a scathing letter written in 819 to Tang emperor Xianzong (786-824), in which he disparages Buddhism and derides the emperor's involvement in the veneration of a Buddha relic. The letter nearly resulted in his execution. Eventually he was exiled. During his exile, Han Yu acquainted Chan master Dadian Baotong (732-823). The line in *Kenshojōbutsugi* about Han Yu and Sanping (i.e. Sanping Yizhong; see previous note) refers to an incident recorded in the biography of Dadian Baotong, found in the *Zutangji*, Yanagida (ed.), *Sodōshū*, pp. 93-94:

> Thereafter government official [Han Yu] visited the monastery. After paying his respects he asked: "I, your student, am very busy with military and provincial matters. I beg of you, show me the distilled essence of the Buddhadharma." Master [Dadian] remained silent for a while. The government official was at a loss. Sanping [Yizhong], who served as attendant at the time, was standing behind them and struck the meditation platform. Master [Dadian] turned around and said: "What are you doing?" [Sanping] replied: "First stir it up with concentration, then pull it out with wisdom." The government official turned to Sanping and said: "Venerable [Dadian's] style is high and steep, I was at a loss. Instead, the attendant now provided a place to enter." He thanked Sanping and returned to the province. 自後侍郎特到山。復礼乃問弟子軍州事多。佛法中省要 。乞師 示。師良久。侍郎 措。登時三平造侍者在背後敲禪床。師乃迴視云作麼。對曰先以定動然後智拔。 侍郎向三平云和尚挌調高峻。弟子 措。今于侍者邊却有入 。礼謝三平。却歸州。

An English translation of Han Yu's *Memorial* is found in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. 1, edited by William Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (Columbia University Press, 2000) (Second Edition), pp. 583-85. For the relation between Han Yu and Dadian Baotong see Charles Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 84-99.

[733] **When Baizhang said: "Isn't this fire?", Guishan promptly attained awakening.** 百丈言此不是火潙山者言下了悟。Reference to an encounter between Chan master Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (Hyakujō Ekai) (720-814) and Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (Isan Reiyū) (771-853). *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 264b15-22) reads:

> Chan master Guishan Lingyou of Tanzhou was a native of Chanxi in Fuzhou. His family name was Zhao. At fifteen he left his family to become a monk. He received the tonsure from Precept master Fachang of the regional Jianshan temple. At the Longxin temple in Hangzhou he received the precepts and studied Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures, as well as the Vinaya. At twenty-three he traveled to Jiangxi to study with Chan master Baizhang Dazhi. Baizhang immediately allowed him to enter his room. Later he was appointed head of the resident practitioners. One day, when he was attending on Baizhang, Baizhang said: "Who is there?" Master [Guishan] said: "Lingyou." Baizhang said: "Thrust the poker in the stove to see if there is any fire." Lingyou poked and said: "No fire." Baizhang then got up himself and poked deep [into the stove] and retrieved a small ember. Holding it up he said: "Isn't this fire?". [Lingyou] suddelyattained awakening. He made obeisances and conveyed his insight. 潭州潙山靈祐禪師者福州長谿人也。姓趙氏。年十五辭親出家。依本郡建善寺法常律師剃髮。於杭州龍興寺受戒。究大小乘經律。二十三遊江西參百丈大智禪師。百丈一見許之入室。遂居參學之首。一日侍立百丈問誰。師曰。靈祐。百丈云。汝撥鑪中有火否。師撥云。無火。百丈躬起深撥得少火。舉以示之云。此不是火。師發悟禮謝陳其所解。

[734] **When Wutai shouted: "I attained great awakening", Guizong pointed him out as a man of superior capacity.** 五臺叫曰我大悟也歸宗者指上器人。Reference to an encounter between Chan master Guizong Zhichang 歸宗知常 (n.d.) (Kisu Chijō) and his student Zhitong of Mount Wutai 五臺山智通 (n.d.) (Godaisan Chitsū). Guizong was a student of Mazu (709-788). His biography is included in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 255c24-256b19). Zhitong is listed as one of Guizong's six dharma successors. Zhitong's biographical entry in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 281a12-a21) reads:

> Chan master Zhitong of Mount Wutai called himself "Great Meditation Buddha." At first he resided in the assembly of Guizong. One night, all of a sudden, he walked around the monastery hall and shouted: "I attained great awakening." The community was astonished. The following day Guizong rounded up the community for a formal lecture and asked: "Which of you monks achieved great awakening last night? The master exclaimed: "Zhitong." Guizong said: "What principle that you called great awakening have you seen? Try to express it to me." Zhitong replied: "Nuns are by nature female." Guizong was silent and found this extraordinary. Thereafter Zhitong took his leave. Guizong and his students send him off and

patriarchs? Would it be limited to a few words of gold, or rely on myriads of trivia? [735] Depend therefore on seeing forms and hearing sounds, and give expression to the nature of seeing and the nature of hearing. Those who realize that seeing and hearing are nondual will definitely return to the one ground of self-nature. It is for this reason that I picked up the subtle words of the patriarchs, gathered the true teachings of the Tathāgata, transmit them in the language of Japan and record them in the Japanese script.[736]

[c] Still, when Sengcan requested a rite of repentance, the second patriarch replied: "Bring me your transgressions," [737] and when Daoxin asked for liberation, the third patriarch said: "Who is constraining you?"[738], and when Sānavāsin asked a question, the worthy Upagupta gave him the

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gave him a hat. Zhitong accepted the hat, put it on his head and walked off without looking back. Later he lived at Fahua temple on Mount Wutai. His death poem reads: Lifting a hand he climbs the Southern Dipper. Turning his body he rests on the North Star. Raising his head he sees beyond heaven. Who is it? It's me, the boatman. 五臺山智通禪師(自稱大禪佛)初在歸宗會下時。忽一夜巡堂叫云。我已大悟也。眾駭之。明日歸宗上堂集眾問。昨夜大悟底僧出來。師出云。智通。歸宗云。汝見什麼道理言大悟。試說似吾看。師對云。師姑天然是女人作。歸宗默而異之。師便辭。歸宗門送與拈笠子。師接得笠子戴頭上便行。更不迴顧。後居臺山法華寺。臨終有偈曰。舉手攀南斗。迴身倚北辰。出頭天外見。 誰是我般人。

[735] **a few words of gold** (*sanyon kingon* 三四金言). The penetrating words of the buddha-patriarchs of the Zen school.
trivia (*gaben* 鵝鞭). Literally "goose speckles."

[736] **Japanese** (*washū no go* 倭洲之語). Literally, "the language of the island of dwarfs."
Japanese script (*baisō no ji* 抹桑之字). Literally, "script of the mullberry tree."

[737] **When Sengcan requested a rite of repentance, the second patriarch replied: "Bring me your transgressions.** 僧璨請懺法者二祖答將罪来。Reference to the first encounter between the second Chan patriarch Huike and Jianzhi Sengcan 鑑智僧璨 (d.606) (Kanchi Sōsan), the third Chan patriarch. Huike's biography in the *Jingde chuandenglu* reads (T. 2076, 220c13-c24) reads:

Great master [Huike] constantly clarified the mysterious way and searched widely for a dharma heir. In the second year of Tianping of the Northern Qi there was a layman of over fourty years old, who did not give his name. He came to pay hommage [to Huike] and asked the master: "This disciple's body is afflicted with tremors. I implore you, venerable, [help me] repent my transgressions." Master [Huike] said: "Bring me your transgressions and I will grant you repentance. The layman was silent for a while and then said: "I searched for my transgressions, but they cannot be found." Master [Huike] said: "I have relieved you of transgressions completely. You should rely on Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha." [The layman] said: "Looking at you, venerable, I understand Saṃgha, but I have not yet scrutinized what is meant by the terms Buddha and Dharma." Master [Huike] said: "Mind is Buddha. Mind is Dharma. Dharma and Buddha are nondual. The Saṃgha-jewel is just like this." [The layman] said: "Today for the first time I know that the nature of transgression is not inside, outside or in between. If one's mind is like this, Buddha and Dharma are nondual." Great master [Huike] recognized [the layman's] profound capacity and tonsured him, saying: "He is my treasure. Let's call him Saṃgha Gem (Sengcan)." 大師繼闡玄風博求法嗣。至北齊天平二年有一居士年踰四十不言名氏。聿來設禮而問師曰弟子身纏風恙。請和尚懺罪。師曰。將罪來與汝懺。居士良久云。覓罪不可得。師曰。我與汝懺罪竟。宜依佛法僧住。曰今見和尚已知是僧。未審何名佛法。師曰。是心是佛。是心是法。法佛無二。僧寶亦然。曰今日始知罪性不在內不在外不在中間。如其心然佛法無二也。大師深器之。即為剃髮。云是吾寶也。宜名僧璨。

[738] **When Daoxin asked for liberation, the third patriarch said: "Who is constraining you?"** 道信乞解脱三祖對誰縛伱。Reference to the first encounter between the third Chan patriarch Jianzhi Sengcan and Dayi Daoxin (Daii Dōshin) 大醫道信 (580-651), the fourth Chan patriarch. Sengcan's biography in the *Jingde chuandenglu* reads (T. 2076, 221c18-22):

In the year *renzhi*, the twelfth year of Sui Kaihuang (592), śramaṇa Daoxin, only fourteen years old, came to pay homage to master [Sengcan]. Daoxin said: "I ask for the venerable's compassion. Please grant me [access to] the dharma gate of liberation. Master [Sengcan] said: "Who is constraining you?" Daoxin said: "No one is constraining me." Master [Sengcan] said: "Why, then, are you looking for liberation?" Daoxin suddenly attained great awakening. He served [Sengcan] for nine years. Thereafter he received the precepts in Jizhou and continued to attend on [Sengcan]. Master [Sengcan] frequently tested him, using abstruse subtilities. When he knew his condition was ripe, he transmitted the robe and the dharma. 至隋

answer.[739] Why would someone who experienced [things like this] gaze at treatises or bother with taking notes? Lingyun saw a flower,[740] Huileng awakened [when rolling up] a latticed screen,[741] Liangjie glimpsed [his reflection] in the water[742] and Wukong opened a basket.[743] How could the

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開皇十二年壬子歲。有沙彌道信。年始十四。來禮師曰。願和尚慈悲乞與解脫法門。師曰。誰縛汝。曰無人縛。師曰。何更求解脫乎。信於言下大悟服勞九載。後於吉州受戒侍奉尤謹。師屢試以玄微。知其緣熟乃付衣法。

[739] **When Sānavāsin asked a question, the worthy Upagupta gave him the answer.** 商那和修之問鞠多尊者之答。Reference to a dialogue between Sānavāsin (J. Shōnawashū 商那和修) and Upagupta (J. Ubakikuta 優婆鞠多), who are considered the third and fourth Indian patriarchs of the Chan lineage. *Jingde chuandenglu* records the following dialogue (T. 2076, 207a08-a15):

> When [Sānavāsin] visited the country of Tali he met Upagupta, who became his attendant. He asked Upagupta: "How old are you?" [Upagupta] replied: " I am seventeen." Master [Sānavāsin] said: "Is your body seventeen or your nature seventeen?" [Upagupta] replied: "Your hair, master, is already white. Is your hair white or is your mind white?" Master [Sānavāsin]: "Only my hair is white, not my mind." Upagupta said: "My body is seventeen, my nature is not seventeen." Sānavāsin then knew that Upagupta was a vessel for the dharma. Three years later his head was shaved and he received the precepts. [Sānavāsin] declared: "Long ago the Tathāgata bestowed the treasury of the unsurpassed dharma eye to Kāśyapa. Transmitted in succession it reached me. I now transmit it to you. Do not allow [the transmission] to be cut off! 尋於吒利國得優波鞠多以為給侍。因問鞠多曰。汝年幾耶。答曰。我年十七。師曰。汝身十七性十七耶。答曰。師髮已白。為髮白耶。心白耶。師曰。我但髮白。非心白耳。鞠多曰。我身十七。非性十七也。和脩知是法器。後三載遂為落髮受具。乃告曰昔如來以無上法眼藏付囑迦葉。展轉相授而至於我。我今付汝勿令斷絕。

[740] **Lingyun saw a flower.** 靈雲[ ]華。 Reference to Lingyun Zhiqin 靈雲志勤 (J. Reiun Shigon) (n.d.), who is said to have attained awakening while studying with Chan master Guishan Lingyou 靈祐溈山 (771-853). Lingyun's biography in the *Jingde chuandenglu* reads (T. 2076, 285a23-28):

> Chan master Lingyun Zhiqin of Fuzhou was a native of Changxi in Benzhou. At first he stayed with Guishan [Lingyou] and realized awakening when [seeing] a peach tree in bloom. In verse he stated: For thirty years I was looking for a swordsman. How many times leaves fell and branches sprouted! But from one look at a peach blossom, right up to this moment: No doubts. Master Lingyou read the verse, interrogated him, and then sanctioned his awakening. Lingyou said: "One who awakened through a condition will never slide back and loose it. You must guard and sustain it well." 福州靈雲志勤禪師本州長溪人也。初在溈山因桃華悟道。有偈曰。三十來年尋劍客　幾逢落葉幾抽枝 自從一見桃華後　直至如今更不疑 祐師覽偈詰其所悟與之符契。祐曰。從緣悟達永無退失。善自護持。

[741] Changqing Huileng 長慶慧稜 (Chōkei Eryō) (854-933). See *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2067, 347b05-15).

[742] **Liangjie glimpsed [his reflection] in the water.** Reference to Chan master Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869) (J. Tōzan Ryōkai). According to his biography in the *Jingde chuandenglu*, Dongshan first studied with Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748-835). Subsequently he went to Guishan Lingyou 靈祐溈山 (771-853). Dongshan asked Guishan about the teaching of Chan master Huizong, who taught that nonsentient things, such as rooftiles, expound the dharma (*mushō seppō* 無情說法). Guishan confirmed that rooftiles expound the dharma and advised Dongshan, who failed to grasp this, to visit Chan master Yunyan Dansheng 雲巖曇成 (782-841). *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 321c04-c24):

> [Dongshan] went to Yunyan and asked: "Who can hear the nonsentient expounding the dharma?" Yunyan said: "The nonsentient can hear the nonsentient expounding the dharma." Master [Dongshan] said: "Can you hear it, venerable?" Yunyan said: "If I could hear it, you would not be able to hear me expounding the dharma." [Dongshan] said: "Why would Dongshan not be able to hear the venerable expounding the dharma?" Yunyan said: "You don't even hear me expound the dharma, how could you possibly hear the nonsentient expound the dharma?" Master [Dongshan] then composed a poem and presented it to Yunyan: *How marvelous! How marvelous! Nonsentients teaching the dharma is inconceivable. Listen with your ears and its sounds will not be manifest. Listen with the eyes and its sounds will be known right away.* He then said farewell to Yunyan. Yunyan said: "Where are you going?" Master [Dongshan] said: "Though I am leaving the venerable, I cannot yet predict where I will stop." [Yunyan] said: "Don't go to Hunan." Master [Dongshan] said: "I won't." Yunyan said: "Don't return to your hometown." Master [Dongshan] said: "I won't." Yunyan said: "Sooner or later you'll come back." Master [Dongshan] said: "When the venerable has a place to abide, I will come back." [Yunyan] said: "If you depart from this one

nature of perception 知覺之性 be realized apart from hearing and seeing? This is why Guishan carried a knife in his laugh,[744] Xuefeng held a sword in his hand,[745] Puhua rang a bell to startle the ears,[746] Hanshan hit someone with a skewered eggplant,[747] An of Song Peak glared with his

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> it will be difficult to meet again." Master [Dongshan] said: "It will be difficult not to meet." He then asked Yunyan: "If a hundred years from now (i.e. after your death), someone all of a sudden asks me to exhibit the *zhen* 真 (i.e. the master's painted portrait, or the truth) that I obtained from the master, how exactly should I reply? Yunyan said: "Just face it and say "this is it"." Master [Dongshan] was silent for a while. Yunyan said: "Now that you have inherited this thing you must carefully investigate it." Master [Dongshan] continued to have doubts. Later, as he crossed a stream, he glimpsed his reflection [in the water] and greatly awakened to [Yunyan's] previous point. He thereupon composed this verse: *Avoid seeking from another. I was very, very estranged from myself. Now I abide alone and meet him everywhere. He is exactly me now, yet I now am not him. To directly merge with suchness, you must understand in this way.* 既到雲巖問。無情說法什麼人得聞。雲巖曰。無情說法無情得聞。師曰。和尚聞否。雲巖曰。我若聞汝即不得聞吾說法也。曰若恁麼即良价不聞和尚說法也。雲巖曰。我說法汝尚不聞。何況無情說法也。師乃述偈呈雲巖曰。也大奇 也大奇 無情解說不思議若將耳聽聲不現　眼處聞聲方可知。遂辭雲巖。雲巖曰。什麼處去。師曰。雖離和尚未卜所止。曰莫湖南去。師曰無。曰莫歸鄉去。師曰無。曰早晚卻來。師曰。待和尚有住處即來。曰自此一去難得相見。師曰。難得不相見。又問雲巖。和尚百年後忽有人問還貌得師真不。如何祇對。雲巖曰。但向伊道即遮箇是。師良久。雲巖曰。承當遮箇事大須審細。師猶涉疑。後因過水睹影大悟前旨。因有一偈曰。切忌從他覓 迢迢與我疏 我今獨自往處處得逢渠 渠今正是我我今不是渠 應須恁麼會方得契如如。

[743] **Wukong opened a basket.** 悟空者開籠。 Wukong may refer to the Caodong Chan monk Zhenxie Qingliao 真歇清了 (1088-1151). I have not been been able to find a reference to Wukong opening a basket.

[744] **Guishan carried a knife in his laugh.** 潙山笑中持刀。Reference to Chan master Guishan Da'an 潙山大安 (793-883) (J. Isan Daian), also known as Changqing Da'an 長慶大安 (J. Chōkei Daian), not to be confused with Guishan Lingyou (771-853). Both Da'an and Lingyou were students of Baizhang Huaihai (720-814). Lingyou established a monastery on Mount Gui 潙山 (Guishan) in Tanzhou 潭州; after he died Da'an succeeded Lingyou as abbot. The remark about Da'an's laugh appears in *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 (1183) (J. *Rentō eyo*) (Essentials of Linked Lamp Records) (X. 1557, 069c07-069c18):

> During an informal lecture [Chan master Guishan Da'an] said: "Having a phrase or not having a phrase is like a wisteria creeping on a tree." Shushan heard about this and took off to find Guishan. When he encountered him, the master was plastering a mud-wall. [Shushan] asked: "To have a phrase or not have a phrase is like a wisteria creeping on a tree — aren't these your words, venerable? Master [Guishan] said: "Yes." Shushan said: "What happens when the tree all of a sudden falls down and the wisteria withers?" Master [Guishan] put down his mud tray and gave a big laugh - "Ha! ha!"- and then walked back to his quarters. Shushan followed him, saying: "I traveled four thousand *li* and sold all my clothes just to come here and be clarified on this matter. Why are you playing tricks on me, venerable?" Master [Guishan] called his attendant and said: "Give him back his money." Then he instructed [Shushan], saying: "Back there is a one-eyed dragon. He will disclose this point for you." Thereafter Shusan went to [Chan master] Mingzhao [Deqian] and told him about this dialogue. Mingzhao said: "We can say that Guishan is right from head to tail. He just did not meet one who knows the right melody." Shushan asked: "What happens when the tree falls down and the wisteria withers? Mingzhao said: "Now you are making Guishan laugh even more." As a result of this Shushan had an insight and said: "Guishan from the outset had a knife in his laugh." He then gazed out over the distance to Mount Gui and bowed. Joyful, he wrote a verse: *If with these words I fix the entire net of teachings, I betray the one-eyed dragon Mingzhao. Through what lay inside a laugh I suddenly distinguished the muddy road. Right there I knew that a thousand li enjoy the breeze equally.* 示眾云。有句無句。如藤倚樹。　疏山聞之。徑造潙山。值師泥壁次。便問。有句無句。如藤倚樹。豈不是和尚道。師云是。疏云。忽遇樹倒藤枯時如何。師放下泥盤。呵呵大笑。便歸方丈。　疏山隨後啟云。某甲四千里。賣卻布單。特為此因緣來。和尚何得相弄。師喚侍者云。將錢還伊去。遂囑云。向後有獨眼龍。為汝點破在。疏山後到明招。舉前話。招云。大潙可謂頭正尾正。只是不遇知音。疏山卻問。樹倒藤枯時如何。招云。更使潙山笑轉新。疏山因而有省。乃云。潙山元來笑裏有刀。遂遙望潙山作禮。妙喜頌云。若將此語定綱宗。辜負明招獨眼龍。笑裏忽分泥水路。方知千里共同風。

[745] Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (Seppō Gison) (822-908). Reference to a sword not identified.

[746] **Puhua rang a bell to startle the ears.** 普化者振鐸驚耳。 Puhua 普化 (Fuke) (n.d.), a contemporary of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867), is known for his thaumaturgic feats and eccentric behaviour. Puhua's use of a bell is cited in several sources. *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 280b11-b18) has the following:

eyes[748] and Daoyi of Jiangxi stamped with his feet.[749] How could the nature of the mind be realized separate from seeing, hearing, sensation and knowing?[750]

> Venerable Zhenzhou Puhua was a dharma heir of Chan master Panshan Baoji of Youzhou. His birthplace is not known. The master attended on Panshan and intimately received his profound wisdom. Feigning madness, he talked without restraint. He reached Mount Pang, and accorded with the ways of the world, and then roamed about teaching in the northern regions. When he was staying in a cemetery in some town, he would ring a bell and call out: "When brightness comes I hit, when darkness comes I hit." One day Linji had a monk arrest him in his tracks and say: "When there is no brigthness and no darkness, what then?" He replied: "Tomorrow there is a banquet at Dabei monastery. Among the spectators there is no high or low. For each of them I ring my bell once." From that time on he was called "the venerable who teaches universally" (Puhua Heshang). Sometimes he would raise his bell close to someone's ear and ring it. Other times he would slap them on the back. 前幽州盤山寶積禪師法嗣鎮州普化和尚者不知何許人也。師事盤山密受真訣。而佯狂出言無度。暨盤山順世乃於北地行化。或城市或塚間。振一鐸云。明頭來也打。暗頭來也打。一日臨濟令僧捉住云。不明不暗時如何。答云。來日大悲院裏有齋。凡見人無高下。皆振鐸一聲。時號普化和尚。或將鐸就人耳邊振之。或拊其背。

On Puhua see Yanagida Seizan, "Fuke no fūkyō," *Tōyō bunka ronshū – Fukui hakase shōju kinen* (1969): pp. 1083-1098. On Puhua and other "Chan tricksters" see Bernard Faure, *Rethoric of Immediacy*, pp. 115-125. Puhua is also revered as the founder of the Fukeshū 普化宗, the school of flute playing, itinerant Zen figures that emerged in Tokugawa period Japan. See James H. Sanford, "Shakuhachi Zen: The Fukeshū and Komusō," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32/4 (1977): pp. 411-440.

[747] **Hanshan hit someone with a skewered eggplant.** Hanshan 寒山 (Kanzan), legendary poet and eccentric, was active in the Tang dynasty. He reportedly lived in a cave on Mount Tiantai near the Quoqing monastery. Together with the Shide 拾得 (n.d.) and Fenggan 豐干 (n.d.), he regularly figures in Chan literature, displaying wisdom through unconventional behaviour. An anecdote about Hanshan using a skewered eggplant is found in *Liandeng huiyao* (X. 1557, 257c11-c13):

> Some monks were roasting eggplants. Hanshan went up to one monk with a skewered eggplant in his hand, and hit him on the back with it. The monk turned around. Showing him the eggplant Hanshan said: "What is this?" The monk said: "You're a madman!" Hanshan turned to a monk nearby and said: "Tell me, is this the monk who wasted my portion of salted vinegar? 寒山。因眾僧炙茄次。將串茄。向一僧背上。打一下。僧回首。山呈起茄串云。是甚麼。僧云。這風顛漢。山向傍僧云。你道。這僧。費卻我多少鹽醋。

On Hanshan see Wu, Chi-yu, "A study of Han-shan," *T'oung Pao* 45 (1957): pp. 392-45. Robert Borgen, "The Legend of Hanshan: a Neglected Source," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111/3 (1991): pp. 575-579. For Hanshan, Shide and other eccentrics in Chinese painting see, Paramita Paul, *Wandering Saints: Chan Eccentrics in the Art and Culture of Song and Yuan China*, PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2009.

[748] **An of Song Peak glared with his eyes.** 嵩嶽之安公以眼盼。 Reference to Chan master Huian 慧安 (582-709), also know as Laoan 老安 and Daoan 道安, one of the students of Hongren (601-674). In the late seventh century Huian established a Chan community at Huishan temple 會善寺 on Mount Song 嵩山. The remark on Huian's glare probably alludes to a meeting between Huian and the monk Tanran 坦然. *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 231c08-c10) has the following:

> In the first year of Linde (664) [Huian] travelled to Mount Zhongnan and stayed there on a cliff. Emperor Gaozong ordered him [to settle], but the master did not heed the imperial decree. He wandered on extensively, visiting famous places. Arriving at a cave on Mount Song he said: "This is my halting place. It is just right for meditation, like spokes that fit in a wheel." One day Tanran and Huairang came to consult him. They asked: "What is the meaning of the patriarch's (i.e. Bodhidharma) coming from the west?" Master Huian said: "Why don't you ask about your own mind? They said: "What is one's own mind?" Master [Huian] said: "You must perceive its intimate working." They said: "What is this intimate working?" Master [Huian] expressed it by closing and opening his eyes. Tanran immediately understood and allied himself [to Huian], never seeing anyone else again. Huairang also deeply connected [with Huian] but he did not stay, and moved on to Caoxi. 麟德元年遊終南山石壁因止焉。高宗嘗召師不奉詔。遍歷名跡至嵩少云。是吾終焉之地也。自爾禪者輻湊。有坦然懷讓二人來參。問曰。如何是祖師西來意。師曰。何不問自己意。曰如何是自己意。師曰。當觀密作用。曰如何是密作用。師以目開合示之。然言下知歸更不他適。讓機緣不逗辭往曹谿。

On Huian see Ibuki Atsushi, "Ean no denki ni tsuite," IBK 58/2 (2010): pp. 640-647. Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 100-105.

[749] **Daoyi of Jiangxi stamped with his feet.** 江西道一以足踏之。 Reference to Chan master Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788) (J. Baso Dōitsu). Mazu ("Patriarch Horse") is regarded the founder of the Hongzhou school of Chan.

[d] May the [ ] flower open up into myriad petals. Quickly, unite the buddha fruit with the mind-ground! Remove the dry slander from your hearts, throw out the floods of reproach from your stubborn minds! Ha Ha! Yiiih! [751]

II. DIALOGUES

II.A [1~10]

[1] QUESTION: How can we cross the sea of birth-and-death, and climb the mountain of bodhi? [752]

ANSWER: When people are born in the house of death, birth and death are not born, and there is no cessation of bodhi. When Buddhas and Tathāgatas return to the city of bodhi, bodhi itself does not return, and there is no cessation of birth and death. What birth and death exist that you sigh: "I must go beyond?" What bodhi is lacking that you despair: "I must obtain it?" Though birth and death never existed, you vainly imagine births and deaths. Though bodhi is never absent, you vainly try to verify and obtain it. [Imagining birth and death] is comparable to imagining the arising and extinction of flowers in the sky. [Trying to obtain bodhi is comparable to] trying to obtain and pick up empty space. The flowers in the sky seem to exist, but they have no substance. It is just because of eye illness that you mistakenly see the vast [empty] sky as flowers. Saṃsāra is just like this. In reality there are no samsaric phenomena, but because you are pointlessly perplexed you straight away and vainly imagine the awakened state of bodhi as samsaric

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Mazu is especially associated with a vigorous style of instruction, which included shouting, beating and kicking. The reference to Mazu's stamping with his feet possibly refers a story about Mazu kicking the monk Shuilao 水老, recorded in *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語録 (Mazu's Discourse Record) (X. 1321, 4c08-4c12):

> When venerable Shuilao of Hongzhou first met Mazu he asked: "What is the exact purpose of [Bodhidharma's] coming from the west?" Mazu said: "Bow!" The moment Shuilao bowed Mazu kicked him. Shuilao [attained] great awakening. He got up, clapped his hands and burst out in laughter, saying: "Marvelous! Marvelous! Hundred-thousands of samādhis and incalculable subtle teachings simply meet on the tip of a single hair." Knowing that he attained the source, [Shuilao] left. He bowed and withdrew. Later he told the assembly: "From the moment Mazu kicked me, I have been laughing without pause." 洪州水老和尚初參祖。問如何是西來的的意。祖云禮拜著。老纔禮拜。祖便與一蹋。老大悟。起來撫掌呵呵大笑云也大奇也大奇百千三昧無量妙義只向一毛頭上。便識得根源去。便禮拜而退。後告眾云自從一喫馬師蹋直至如今笑不休.

Traditional biographies note that the soles of Mazu's feet were imprinted with circular marks, alluding to one of the thirty-two major characteristics of the Buddha's physical body. Regarding Mazu's stamping feet, we must also note a prediction about Mazu that the sixth patriarch Huineng is said to have repeated to Mazu's teacher Huairang: "As Prajnatārā from India foretold, there will rise from under your feet a colt that will trample to death everybody under the sky." 西天般若多羅讖汝足下出一馬駒蹋殺天下人。(*Mazu yulu*, X. 1321, 2b02-2b04). For Mazu and the Hongzhou school see Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eight to Tenth Century China*, State University of New York Press, 2006.

[750] **Seeing, hearing, sensation and knowing** (*kenmongakuchi* 見聞覺知). A Buddhist technical term that describes the functions of consciousness. Seeing and hearing refer to visual and auditory consciousness. Sensation refers to olfactory, gustatory and tactile consciousness. Knowing refers to thinking consciousness.

[751] **Ha Ha! Yiiih!** (*kaka ii* 呵呵咦嘻). The added *kana* suggest reading this phrase as *kanashikikanaya itamishikikanaya* ("How sad! How painful!"). The compound *kaka* 呵呵 represents the sound of laughter. The character 咦 represents laughter or a reproaching yell. *Zengojiten*, p. 10.

[752] **birth-and-death** (*shōji* 生死). The Sino-japanese rendition of the Sanskrit *saṃsāra*, the cycle of rebirth through various realms, driven by ignorance and delusion. The term will hereafter be mostly translated as saṃsāra (or samsaric). Here I opted for "birth-and-death" to retain somewhat of the wordplay in the Japanese original.

phenomena. When empty space is hidden in imaginary flowers, it seems to no longer exist, but since, in actuality, it does not persish, it cannot now disappear. Bodhi is precisely like this. When for some time it is hidden in unreal saṃsāra, it seems to have perished, but since, in actuality, it remains, it cannot now be obtained. So, since there are no sky flowers separate from empty space, you should not search for empty space outside of sky flowers. In the same way, since there is no saṃsāra separate from bodhi, you should not look for bodhi outside of saṃsāra. From beginning to end, sky flowers have no substance. From beginning to end, empty space is truly not without substance.[753] You should understand saṃsāra and bodhi in the same way. The *Sugyōroku* says:

> The very five skandhas are bodhi. Separate from them there is no bodhi. You cannot with bodhi look for bodhi, or with bodhi attain bodhi. Mañjuśrī said: "I am not *looking* for bodhi. Why not? Because I *am* bodhi and bodhi is me." [754]

[2] QUESTION: Saṃsāra and nirvāṇa face us like ox-horns.[755] Usually, bodhi and afflictions are considered to be different. Why shouldn't we try to attain nirvāṇa by separating from saṃsāra, and obtain bodhi away from the afflictions?

ANSWER: Looking for nirvāṇa separate from saṃsāra and searching for bodhi outside afflictions, is like looking for shadows separate from objects, or like trying to hear echoes apart from voices. Rather than despising saṃsāra, you should despise the stupidity of having established a dualistic view of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. If you do, you will surely separate from saṃsāra and return to nirvāṇa. Rather than wishing for bodhi, you should wish to understand that afflictions and bodhi are one mind. If you do, you will surely separate from afflictions and attain bodhi.

[3] QUESTION: Deluded people are not only deluded about awakening, they are also deluded about the deluded state of their delusion. Awakened people not only woke up from delusion, they also awakened to the awakened principle of their awakening. Therefore, in the presence of delusion both right and wrong are wrong, and in the presence of awakening both right and wrong are right. My delusion is not another's, so another's awakening is not mine. By way of analogy: a person

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[753] 實躰ナキニアラス實。(KBSZ, Zensekihen, p. 177). The added *kana* indicate reading *jitsu ni tai naki ni arazu* 實ニ躰ナキニアラス。Ignoring the *kana* one could also read *jittai* (實躰) *naki ni arazu*, ("does not lack *true substance*"), which would point up the kataphatic overtones of the passage.

[754] From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 537c23-538a08):

> QUESTION: In which sutra is it said that one's own body and mind are bodhi? Bodhi cannot be obtained with the body and mind.
> ANSWER: Saying that the state of bodhi is the mind, refers to the intrinsically pure mind 自性清淨心, fulfilled and unmoving. (…) Bodhi is not an object of perception. It cannot be obtained through the [discriminative] mind. An awakened person understands that the skandha body is fundamentally empty, that the deluded mind is formless, that it is because of emptiness that the dharma-body continually manifests and that it is because of formlessness that the true mind is unimpaired. In the same way it will be clear that the five skandhas are bodhi and that separate from them there is no bodhi, that one cannot with bodhi look for bodhi and cannot with bodhi attain bodhi. Mañjuśrī said: "I am not looking for bodhi. Why? Because I am bodhi and bodhi is me." 問。菩提即自身心者。云何教中說。菩提者不可以身心得。答。夫言菩提之道即心者。乃是自性清淨心。湛然不動。(…) 菩提非是法塵。不可以心得。若就了人。即達陰身本空。妄心無相。以本空故。法身常現。以無相故。真心不虧。如此發明。五陰即菩提。離是無菩提。不可以菩提而求菩提。不可以菩提而得菩提。文殊云。我不求菩提。何以故。菩提即我。我即菩提故。

[755] **ox-horns** (*gokaku* 牛角). Real, concrete things (as opposed to horns on a rabbit and fur on a tortoise).

awakened from dreams and a person asleep have their beds aligned and their seats identically arranged. Though they are not spatially separated the dreamer sees sundry things, while the awake one sees none whatsoever. Likewise, a person who sees the nature 見性ノヒト, sees neither arising and extinction of saṃsāra, nor arising and extinction of nirvāṇa. Alas! Fellows who have not yet awakened delight in one and abhor the other. This being the case, what kind of dharma water should we pour to wash away the dust of affliction? What kind of buddha lamps should we hoist to illumine the road to bodhi?[756]

ANSWER: When a ship sails, the shore moves. When clouds drift, the moon flies.[757] [In reality] there is not a motionless shore in addition to an apparently moving shore. Neither is there a stationary moon besides a seemingly flying moon. The motionless shore just appeared to be moving and the stationary moon just seemed to be flying. Now keep this example in mind. When the ship of consciousness sails, it seems the distant shore of bodhi moves. When the clouds of ignorance drift, it appears as if the bright moon of original awakening flies in opposite direction. But there is no bodhi intrinsic to your body in addition to a bodhi extrinsic to your body. Bodhi that you deemed extrinsic, was in fact intrinsic bodhi. There is no original awakening inherent in your mind in addition to an original awakening outside of your mind. Original awakening that you deemed outside of your mind, is in fact the original awakening inherent in your mind. Of course, when the ship stops, you know [the shore] is not moving. When the clouds clear, you realize [the moon] is not flying. [Likewise,] when the ship of consciousness abruptly stops and the clouds of ignorance suddenly clear, the awakened shore of bodhi is [accurately seen as] motionless and immutable, and the full moon of original awakening [is accurately seen as] neither coming nor going. How sad the ordinary people who do not know and do not see this! How sorrowful the living beings who do not understand and do not realize this! They ceded the thesis "this mind is buddha" to saints, and severed the concept "this body is bodhi" from common people. "When the eyes do not sleep, dreams cease by themselves. When the mind does not differentiate, the myriad dharmas are one suchness." How true these words! Great master Zhenjue said:

> Full awakening to the dharmakāya is without a single thing.
> The source, your own nature, is the natural buddha.
> The five skandhas are floating clouds, emptily coming and going.
> The three poisons are water bubbles, vainly appearing and disappearing.[758]

[4] QUESTION: When I listen to an explanation like this I find it highly superb and deeply profound. And yet it is insufficient, like the antlers of a snail that cannot prod the vast skies. It falls short, like a well-rope that cannot reach the bottom of the fathomless ocean. However, it is not

[756] KBSZ has 菩提ミマユ emended to 菩提ノミチ, on the basis of a citation of this passage in *Kinkōshū*, *Nichirenshū shūgaku zenshō*, vol. 13/14, p. 307.

[757] フ子ハシレハキシウツリクモサハケハ月ハコフ. The metaphors derive from the *Yuanjuejing* 圓覺經 (Sūtra of Perfect Awakening) (T. 842, 915c05). Also cited in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 545b27).

[758] Great Master Zhenjue 真覺 refers to Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (665-713) (Yōka Genkaku). Yongjia is said to have been a student of Huineng. He is credited with authoring the *Zhengdaoge* 證道歌 (Verse on the realization of the way). According to Jinhua Jia, *Zhengdaoge* is a later product of the Hongzhou school of Chan; its unknown author is to be found among the immediate disciples of Mazu Daoyi. See Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 89-94. The poem is widely cited in Chan literature, e.g. *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2067, 460a16-18).

impossible [ ] from darkness to light or from shallow to deep. Further, when [offered] four [chestnuts] in the morning and three in the evening, monkeys are happy; but when [offered] three [chestnuts] in the morning and four in the evening, the same monkeys get angry.[759] Each method has some benefit, but when [a method] accords with a person's root capacity the present benefit will be immense.[760] So, please distinguish between the words of the Buddha 佛語 and the mind of the Buddha 佛心, and do explain the principle of inside the teachings 教内 and outside the teachings 教外, so we may know about fast and slow emancipation, and with regard to liberation understand right from wrong.

[4.a] ANSWER: Picking up a brush to write about it is like trying to mark off the ocean with an inked carpenter's string.[761] Using words to talk about it is no different from chewing on empty space. Even so, it is not impossible to point a finger at the moon or set a trap to catch a rabbit. But, if you look at the finger and forget the moon, or clutch onto the trap and fail to take out the rabbit: how is that not different from gazing up to the sky and counting stars, or playing with pebbles while staring out over the sea? This is why, when listening to my explanations, you should not cling to the words, but instantly apprehend and manifest the mind [of the Buddha]. [762]

Indeed, in the way that there is not simply one medicine for one illness, the Buddha's teachings vary because people's root capacities vary. This is why the worthy Śākya expounded nine billion sūtras for those of vast aspiration 意楽廣大 and set forth ten million scriptures for those with the aspiration to hold and retain 意楽惣持. To clarify the nine billion sūtras for those with the capacity of vast aspiration, Aśvaghosa composed a ninety volume collection of commentaries, and to elucidate the ten million scriptures for those with the root to hold and retain he set forth a ten volume collection of commentaries. Because [human beings] have roots that incline to self-power or to other-power, the teachings are divided in sūtras and commentaries. "The minds of men are as different as their faces. Just so, the Great Sage expounded the dharma in accordance with individual capacities." How true this saying![763]

The Indian masters of exegesis composed their own commentaries and divided their elucidations of the Buddha's sūtras into a variety of categories. The Chinese masters assessed phrases in different ways, and their interpretations of the sūtras and commentaries differ

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[759] **three [chestnuts] in the morning and four in the evening** (*chōsan boshi* 朝三暮四). Reference to a story attributed to Chuang Tzu:

> Once upon a time there was a monkey keeper who was feeding little chestnusts to his charges. "I'll give you three in the morning and four in the evening," he told them. All the monkeys were angry. "All right then," said the keeper, "I'll give you four in the morning and three in the evening." All the monkeys were happy with this arrangement. Without adversely affecting either the name or the reality of the amount that he fed them, the keeper acted in accordance with the feelings of the monkeys. He too recognized the mutual dependence of "this" and "that." Consequently the sage harmonizes the right and wrong of things and rests at the center of the celestial potter's wheel. This is called "dual procession." (Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu,* University of Hawaii Press, 1998, p.16-17)

[760] KBSZ has 現為真大 . Emended to 現益漠大, on the basis of *Kinkōshū*, *Nichirenshū shūgaku zenshō*, vol. 13/14, p. 308.

[761] スナハヲウタムニニタリ; *Kinkōshū* has 墨繩ヲ打ニ似リ(*suminawa wo utsu ni nitari*). Ibid. A *suminawa* is an inked cord used by carpenters and other craftsmen to mark off straight lines: a device utterly useless when applied to the sea.

[762] **explanation** とカム; *Kinkōshū* has 説. **staring** マホリテ; *Kinkōshū* has 瞻. **clutch** 二キテ; *Kinkōshū* has 把. Ibid.

[763] 隨直朱説法 emended to 隨機説法 , on the basis of *Kinkōshū*. Ibid.

accordingly. Their perspectives being unlike, their opinions differ like orchids from chrysanthemums. Their ideas being manifold, their principles are as far apart as clouds are from the mud. This is why the particular doctrinal approaches of each school widely differ and why their central ideas range from partial to perfect. You, worthy monk, are far away from emancipation and distant from both the slow and fast paths.[764] But once you visit the origin of the way, the sweet dew from the golden mouths of the Buddhas becomes good medicine for the minds of sentient beings. The teachings [of the Buddha], therefore, are a preliminary inducement to emancipation from saṃsāra, an expedient means for entering and realizing bodhi.[765]

[4.b] Transmitted to Japan are the eight schools and the Zen school. Jōjitsu, Kusha and Ritsu are Hīnayāna schools. Hossō and Sanron are provisional Mahāyāna schools. Kegon, Tendai and Shingon are true Mahāyāna schools. The Zen school is outside of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, and not within the true and provisional schools. For this reason it is called "the school of separate transmission, outside the teachings, not reliant on words and letters" and "the dharma transmitted by way of the kāṣāya." [766] It has been said that the great master who spread the dharma [Bodhidharma] sealed the buddha mind of the Eastern Land [China] with the buddha mind of the Western Skies [India],[767] and that Caoxi [Huineng]'s kinsmen of abstruse principle are among those who respond to the pivotal point. [768] This is transmitting mind to mind and not transmitting words. [The Zen school], therefore, is a school that transmits [the dharma] outside of the threefold training of precepts, meditation and wisdom 戒定慧三學, and beyond the threefold discipline of teaching, practice and realization 教行證三重. [769]

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[764] **worthy monk** renders 師 (*shi*).

[765] **preliminary inducement** (*shōin* 弄引) refers to the cultivation of formal practices as a preliminary step to the realization of awakening. See Paul Swanson's glossary of Tiantai terms.
http://www.ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp/~pswanson/mhck/mhck%20glossary.pdf

[766] **dharma transmitted by way of the kāṣāya** (*kusshun sōden no hō* 目+屈瞬相傳法). The term *kusshun* (Ch. *quxun* 屈洵) refers to the kāṣāya, said to have been passed on in the Chan lineage as token of genuine awakening. Yanagida Seizan traces the word to the arabic *kassam*, meaning cotton. See *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme*, entry for *Den'e*.

[767] **the great master who spread the dharma sealed the buddha mind of the Eastern Land with the buddha mind of the Western Skies** 弘法大師以西天佛心印東土佛心. The line obviously refers to Bodhidharma bringing Chan from India and transmitting it to Huike, from "mind to mind" and "by way of a kāṣāya." In Japan the moniker Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 ("great master who spread the dharma") typically refers to Kūkai, the founder of the Shingon school, who received this title as a posthumous tribute from Emperor Daigo in 921. In his *Kenmitsu mondōshō* 顯密問答鈔 the Shingon monk Raiyu 賴瑜 (1226-1304) cites this phrase almost verbatim, and attributes it to Kūkai. A near equivalent of the phrase appears is found in the recorded sayings of the Japanese Rinzai monk Kuchū Shūkyū 愚中周及 (1323-1409), *Daitsū zenji goroku* 大通禪師語録 (Discourse Record of Zen master Daitsū): "I have heard that master Kōbō Kangen said: "I will seal the buddha mind of the Eastern land with the buddha mind of the Western skies" 嘗聞弘法勸元師云當以西天佛心印東土佛心 (T.2563, 83b03-04).

[768] **Caoxi [Huineng]'s kinsmen of abstruse principle are found among those who respond to the pivotal point.** 曹谿玄旨宗屬在應機者。Tentative translation. The added Japanese markers indicate the reading: *Sōkei genshi no shū oba ōki no mono ni shoku zaisu*. Another way to read the line would be: *Sōkei genshi no sōzoku wa ōki no mono ni zaisu.* Sōkei (Ch. Caoxi 曹溪) refers to the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, also known as the great master of Caoxi (Sōkei daishi 曹溪大師). The term *sōzoku* 宗屬 denotes kinsmen, family, clan, lineage (Morohashi 3/7106-95). *Sōkei genshi no sōzoku* would thus indicate something like "the spiritually accomplished patriarchs in Huineng's lineage." "Those who respond to the pivotal point" renders *ōki no mono* 應機者.

[769] ツタマヘリ. Emended to ツタヘタル.

Zen master Zongmi declared: "The teachings are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's mind."[770] [To elucidate this dictum] I must first say a few words about the meaning of the teachings. [Thereafter I will speak about the mind.]

[4.c] [TEACHINGS:]

[In Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna teachings], afflictions that are to be eliminated are divided into four or five levels. The contemplative wisdom that enables this elimination is divided into two or three contemplations. But, with regard to the injunction to realize the principle by eliminating the defilements 断惑證理 and the strategem of destroying evil karma by creating virtues 滅罪生善, Mahāyāna surpasses Hīnayāna and is further subdivided into provisional and true schools: this is standard fare. I will therefore be brief and speak [only] about the meaning of [the doctrinal classification known as] the "Four Teachings" of the single perfect [Tendai] school.

In the the "Tripiṭaka Teaching" [i.e. the lowest of the "Four Teachings"] it is said that Buddha was a person who practiced austerities in the six cyclic realms for three incalculable kalpas, and then for another hundred eons cultivated the numerous stages towards arhatship. Then, after he had perfected the virtues of benefiting self and others, he sat down under the Bodhi tree, eliminated his attachments by means of thirty-four spiritual accomplishments, and so attained awakening.[771]

The "Perfect Teaching" [i.e. the highest of the "Four Teachings"] sets up six successive stages of identity and distinguishes six wheels that eliminate defilements.[772] As for these [six] stages of refinement[773]: [The first holds that] ordinary beings are identical [with Buddha] in principle

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[770] **Zen master Zongmi declared: "The teachings are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's mind.** 宗蜜禪師教コレ佛ヲムコトハナリ禪コレ佛ヲムココロナリトノタマヘリ。A Japanese paraphrase of a Chinese line in the *Chan Preface* 禪源諸詮集都序 by Guifeng Zongmi (780-841): "All lineages regard Śākyamuni as their first patriarch. The scriptures are Buddha's words. Zen is Buddha's thought." 初言謂諸宗始祖卽是釋迦。經是佛語。禪是佛意。 (T.2015, 400b10-11). This line is also quoted in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 418b5-6).

[771] **stages towards arhatship** (*shiya no gō* 四八ノ業). I interpreted *shiya no gō* (literally, "four and eight actions") as a shorthand for *shisōhappai* 四双八輩 (four pairs and eight stages) or *shikōhakka* 四向八果 (four approaches and eight results). Both these terms refer to four pairs of ascetic practices that are to gradually lead the practitioner to the four pre-buddha stages of stream-enterer (Skt. *srotāpanna*), once-returner (Skt. *sakradāgāmi*), non-returner (Skt. *anāgāmi*) and arhat.
thirty-four spiritual accomplishments (*sanjūyonshin* 三十四心). A Tendai term denoting thirty-four spiritual states that eradicate obstacles to buddhahood. They consist of the eight forbearances (*hachinin* 八忍), eight wisdoms (*hachichi* 八智), nine non-obstructions (*kumuge* 九無礙) and nine liberations (*kugedatsu* 九解脱). See Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 27c18-c23) and *Chanmen zhang* 禪門章 (Text on the Meditation Gate) (T. 907, 642c06-c13).

[772] **six succesive levels of identity** (*rokusoku shi'i* 六即次位) refers to the theory of six identities (*rokusoku* 六即), originating with Tiantai Zhiyi. The theory is a reworking of the fifty-two bodhisattva stages toward buddhahood. Zhiyi reformulated this path in terms of six succesive and interconnected stages: 1) identity in principle (*risoku* 理即), 2) verbal identity (*myōjisoku* 名字即), 3) identity of contemplative practice (*kangyōsoku* 觀行即), 4) identity of resemblance (*sōjisoku* 相似即), 5) identity of partial realization (*bunshōsoku* 分證即), 6) ultimate identity (*kukyōsoku* 究竟即). The term *soku* 即 (identity) here indicates that buddhahood is present in each stage. See Jacqueline Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, p. 197-198.
six wheels (*rokurin* 六輪). The six wheels refer to the iron, copper, silver, gold, lapis lazuli and jewel wheels of the six Buddhist "Wheel-turning kings" (Skt. *cakravartin*). In the apocryphal *Yingluojing* 瓔珞經 the six kings and their defilement crushing wheels are correlated to the fifty-two bodhisattva stages. In his *Mohe zhiguan*, Zhiyi correlates the six wheels to the six identities: "identity of resemblance" (*sōjisoku*) corresponds to the stage of the iron wheel, "identity of partial realization" (*bunshōsoku*) corresponds to the stages of the copper, silver, gold, lapis lazuli and jewel wheels. See Neal Donner, *The Great Calming and Contemplation of Chi-I, Chapter One: The Synopsis*, PhD thesis (University of British Colombia, 1976), pp. 226-227, note 442.

[773] **stages of refinement** (*hakuchi* 薄地). The stage of refinement (Skt. *tanu-bhūmi*) actually refers to one of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path (Skt. *daśa-bhūmi*). See Hirawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, p. 303-308. In the present context the term is used as a more general description of stages through which defilements diminish gradually.

(*risoku* 理即).[774] Through a good friend, or a roll of Buddhist scripture, ordinary people hear about the dharma.[775] As they study the texts they come to understand that all dharmas are the Buddhadharma, or as it is said: "Lush green bamboo stalks are wholly the dharma-body, the luxuriance of chrysanthemums is entirely prajña."[776] In this way they come to realize that the myriad dharmas are buddha and that all dharmas are mind. Indeed, stormy rivers and moonlit shores are nothing but the wondrous principle of suchness. Misty islands and cloudy forests are [not] separate from the nature of the tathāgatagarbha. The cloud-capped, jewelled net [of Indra] wholly issues forth wonderful sounds. The radiant light of a single pore capably preaches the dharma.[777] Sages and average people among the four life-forms on the four continents are not separate from the buddha-nature. Living beings and their environments, in the ten worlds, are endowed with ten suchnesses, and no different from [ ]. This being so, the six ordinary and four noble ways of rebirth are indivisible, and there is no [difference] between the nine provisional and the one true [realm].[778]

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[774] **identical [with Buddha] in principle** (*risoku* 理即). The first of the six identities.

[775] **good friends** [善]知識 ([*zen*]*chishiki*). Tiantai Zhiyi distinguishes three good friends: external protectors 外護, fellow practitioners 同行, and teachers 教授. See *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 42a21).

[776] **lush green bamboo stalks are wholly the dharma body, the luxuriance of chrysanthemums is entirely prajña.** 青々タル翠竹コトコトクコレ法身 鬱々タル黄花ミナコレ般若。 This line is a Japanese rendering of a saying that is frequently cited in reference to the buddhahood of nonsentient beings and inanimate objects. In the Tiantai school, the theory of buddhahood of insentients was advocated in particular by the monk Zhanran (711-782), who cites this saying his *Fahuajing dayi* 法華經大意 (Outline of the Lotus Sūtra, T. 609, 486c02-c03). In Japan, Saichō and later Tendai monks adressed this issue under the rubric "buddhahood of grasses and trees" (*sōmoku jōbutsu* 草木成佛). Annen (b. 841) in particular advocated this doctrine. In Annen's *Shingonshū kyōjigi* 眞言宗教時義, the saying about the lush green bamboo stalks receives the following comment: "This saying is truthful! Now, those who study esotericism rely on various rituals. Visions that are verified in the performance [of these rituals] accord with this very truth. 此語允當矣。今修眞言者寄諸事相。作内證觀即此義也 (T. 2369, 387a05-a7). For the use of the phrase (and variants) in early Chan see Robert Sharf, "On the buddhahood of insentient beings."
http://kr.buddhism.org/zen/koan/Robert_Sharf-e.htm (retrieved 22/07/2011).

[777] **The cloud-capped, jewelled net [of Indra] wholly issues forth wonderful sounds. The radiant light of a single pore ably preaches the dharma** 雲臺寶細コトコトクタヘナルヒヒキヲイタシ毛乳光明ヨクヨクノリヲトク. Japanese rendition of a phrase found in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 553b26-553c07):

> The *Mahāsamnipata sūtra* says: "Purity, quiescence, radiance and peacefulness, these four dharmas enter into each single domain, rule and written line. These four dharmas are nirvāṇa. [Nirvāṇa] is called pure because it is far removed from afflictions, it is called quiescent because it is utterly serene, it is called radiant because it is devoid of darkness and it is called peaceful because it cannot be expressed. This is why it is said that Śākyamuni Tathāgata was silent and had nothing to teach." Thus, speech and silence, movement and stillness, are all buddha works. A virtuous one of the past therefore said: "The cloud-capped jewel net [of Indra] wholly issues forth wonderful sounds and the radiant light of a single pore capably preaches the dharma. When in the fragrance filled world one eats fragrant rice, samādhi is manifest. When in the Buddha Land of Ultimate Bliss one hears the wind [blow through] the trees, true mindfulness is attained. Silk bamboo can transmit mind. By seeing with your own eyes, you remain on the path. In speech, silence and observation all is instantly expounded. Seeing, hearing, sensation and knowing (i.e. the functions of consciousness) are all entirely attentive to it. Grass is able to attain the dharma and merge with the mysterious. What need is there to rely on verbal explanations?" 大集經云。清淨。寂靜。光明。無諍。如是四法等入一界一法一句。如是四法即是涅槃。遠煩惱故名之爲清淨。畢竟淨故名曰寂靜。無暗冥故名曰光明。不可説故名爲無諍。以是故言。釋迦如來默無所説。是以語默動靜無非佛事。故先德云。雲臺寶網盡演妙音。毛孔光明皆能説法。香積世界。餐香飯而三昧顯。極樂佛國。聽風柯而正念成。絲竹可以傳心。目擊以之存道。既語默視瞬皆説。則見聞覺知盡聽。苟能得法契神。何必要因言説。

[778] **four life-forms** (*shishō* 四生). Life forms born from womb, egg, slime or appearing through transformation.

Listening to explanations like these – which state the nonduality of good and evil and the oneness of true and false – [ordinary people] aspire to understand and actualize the truth of these [explanations]. Trusting in the teaching and revering its principles, they will know it on the basis of words, as [Tiantai Zhiyi] explained: "One will have a piercing understanding through verbal means and realize that all dharmas are the Buddhadharma."[779] This is a realization based on written records of the [Buddha's] spoken teachings.[780] It is therefore comparable to when a termite is gnawing on a tree: though glyphs may accidentally appear, [the termite] does not know whether or not these are glyphs.[781] This is still the case here. One may be said to know that the myriad dharmas are the one mind, but one has not coalesced with the one mind. Therefore [the second stage] is called "verbal identity" (*myōjisoku* 名字即).

So how then is this hitherto distant buddha-nature suchness realized? Well, when passing through the stages of "contemplative practice" (*kangyō* 觀行) and "resemblance" (*sōji* 相似) one is absorbed in wisdom that is obtained through ten vehicles of contemplation.[782] In addition one

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four continents 四街[海] The four continents surrounding Mount Sumeru according to Buddhist cosmology.

living beings and their environment (*eshō* 依正). A contraction of *shōhō* 正報 (straight recompense) and *ehō* 依報 (dependent recompense): karma acquired by one's own acts and karma acquired through one's environment. Also, a person and the environment.

ten suchnesses (*jūnyo* [*ze*] 十如[是]). A Tendai concept describing the true aspects of dharmas, based on a passage from the *Expedient Means* chapter 方便品 of the *Lotus sūtra*. The ten suchnesses are form 相, nature 性, substance 體, force 力, motion 作, cause 因, condition 緣, effect 果, reward 報 and the ultimate equality of all 本末究竟等.

ten worlds (*jikkai* 十界). The ten worlds of transmigration, i.e. the worlds of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, divine beings, śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas and buddhas.

six ordinary and four noble ways of rebirth (*rokubon shishō* 六凡四聖). The six ordinary ways of rebirth (hell, hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, deities) plus the four ways of noble rebirth (śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, buddhas).

[779] Compare Zhiyi's description of the six identities in the *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 10b20-10b26):

> Verbal identity: though the principle [of buddhahood] is present, one may not be aware of this in daily life. Not yet informed of the threefold truth, one is entirely unaware of the buddhadharma, like a cow or a sheep whose eyes do not discern depth. If through a good friend or a roll of Buddhist scripture one hears of the single reality of bodhi, which I explained above, one will have a piercing understanding through verbal means, and thus realize that all dharmas are the Buddhadharma. This is [an attainment of] bodhi on the level of verbal identity. It is also called "verbal calming and contemplation." Prior to hearing about it one looks for it, running around from place to place; then one hears about it, and the outward-looking mind is quieted: this is called calming. Placing one's trust solely in the dharma-nature and in its proliferations: this is called contemplation. 名字即者。理雖即是日用不知。以未聞三諦全不識佛法。如牛羊眼不解方隅。或從知識或從經卷。聞上所說一實菩提。於名字中通達解了。知一切法皆是佛法。是為名字即菩提。亦是名字止觀。若未聞時處處馳求。既得聞已。攀覓心息名止。但信法性不信其諸名為觀。 (This passage is also found in the *Zongjinglu*, T. 2016, 632c21-24)

[780] **records of [the Buddha's] spoken teachings** (*nōsen gonkyō* 能詮言教). *Gonkyō* indicates the words spoken by the Buddha. *Nōsen*, literally "that which is able to explain," refers to the sūtras and commentaries.

[781] 故ニムニ (emended to ムシ) ノ木ハヘ (emended to タベ) ニタマタマ字ニテアラハレタリトハイヘトモソノ是字非字シラサルカコトシ. Compare Zhiyi's description of the six identities in the *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 10b26-b28):

> Identity in contemplative practice: if one merely hears the words and verbally expounds them, it will be like a termite that accidentally manages to create a glyph when gnawing on a tree. The termite does not know whether or not these are glyphs. Without thorough understanding, how could it be bodhi? 觀行即是者。若但聞名口說。如蟲食木偶得成字。是蟲不知是字非字。既不通達寧是菩提。(This passage is also cited in the *Zongjinglu*, T. 2016, 632c26-c28)

[782] **ten vehicles of contemplation** (*jūhōjōjōkan* 十法成乗観). Ten ways of contemplating the mind as described in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 52b02-b04):

[ ] myriad practices and perfections, recites scriptures and interprets the Buddha's teachings. Through external reading one [establishes] inner contemplation; gradually the moon of the Śūraṅgama samādhi illumines the sky of threefold-single-reality; the clouds of deep-rooted ignorance disperse in the wind of three-views-in-one-thought.[783] [ ] when the clouds of distinct delusions clear, and this world is illumined by the supramundane moon, one will understand that the triple path of rebirth is identical to the secretely stored wondrous principle of triple virtue; it will be evident that permanence, bliss, individuality and purity – the four inversions – are the four virtuous and perfect dharmas.[784]

One level is comprised in all levels and all levels are comprised in one level. Indra's net encompasses everybody from high to low: at the first stage one is [already] an immediately awakened buddha! Though the doctrinal specifics of the One Tendai House are very impressive, they [simply] explain that having cultivated understanding and awakening, one returns to the first abode. The reason for this is that, in truth, the great matter is to solely obtain first-abode awakening 初住ノサトリ.[785] Thus it is said: "The aspiring mind and the ultimate are not two separate things. Thus it is impossible to say which of these two minds comes first."[786] "Like bamboo bursting through the first node." How true this analogy![787] From the second abode

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> The contemplation of mind consists of ten gates: 1) contemplating objects as inconceivable, 2) arousing compassionate thoughts, 3) skillfully and serenely practicing calming and contemplation, 4) destroying fixed notions concerning dharmas, 5) recognizing pathways and obstructions, 6) cultivating the various aspects of the path, 7) opening up with the aid of antidotes, 8) knowing the successive stages, 9) being able to calmly endure, 10) not being captivated by dharmas. 觀心具十法門。一觀不可思議境。二起慈悲心。三巧安止觀。四破法遍。五識通塞。六修道品。七對治助開。八知次位。九能安忍。十無法愛也。

[783] **Śūraṅgama samādhi** (*shuryōgonjō* 首楞嚴定). "Concentration of heroic progress." A state of concentration described in the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi sūtra* (*Sūtra on the Concentration of Heroic Progress*) (Ch. *Shoulengyan sanmeijing* 首楞嚴三昧經, T. 642). See Etienne Lamotte (tr.): *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque: Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. XIII (Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1965), translated in English by Sara Boin-Webb, *Śūraṃgama samādhisūtra: The Concentration of Heroic Progress; An Early Mahāyāna Buddhist Scripture* (Curzon Press, 1998).

threefold-single-reality (*santai ichijitsu* 三諦一實). A Tendai term that describes singular reality as simultaneously being empty, existent and the middle.

three views in one thought (*isshin sankan* 一心三觀). A Tendai term denoting the instant cognition of reality as empty, existent and the middle.

[784] **distinct afflictions** (*betsuwaku* 別惑). A specific type of afflictions that are cut of by bodhisattvas on the level of the Distinct Teaching of the Tendai classification system.

triple path to rebirth (*bonnōgōkū no sandō* 煩悩業苦ノ三道). Rebirth described as a circular process of afflictions (*bonnō* 煩悩), karmic deeds (*gō* 業) and painful existence (*kū* 苦) in one of the realms of transmigration.

triple virtue (*santoku* 三徳). Three qualities of the Buddha mentioned in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*: absoluteness (J.*hosshintoku* 法身徳), wisdom (*hannyatoku* 般若徳) and liberation (*gedatsutoku* 解脱徳).

permanence, bliss, individuality and purity (*jōrakugajō* 常樂我淨). Four characteristics of nirvāṇa described in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*. Also known as the four virtues (*shitoku* 四徳) and four perfections (*shiharamitsu* 四波羅蜜).

[785] **the great matter** (*daiji* 大事). The most important thing the Buddha taught.

[786] **The aspiring mind and the ultimate are not two separate things. Likewise it is impossible to say which of these two minds comes first.** 發心畢竟二無別 如是二心前心難。From the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (T. 374, 590a17-21):

> Then the bodhisattva Kāśyapa faced the Buddha and praised him in verse: "The great physician-king who commiserates with the world is serene in both body and wisdom. Among dharmas of nonself there is a true self. Hence I reverence the unexcelled Worthy. The aspiring mind and the ultimate end are not two separate things. Thus it is impossible to say which of these two minds comes first. 爾時迦葉菩薩即於佛前以偈讚佛。憐愍世間大醫王、身及智慧俱寂靜無我法中有真我、是故敬禮無上尊、發心畢竟二不別、如是二心先心難、自未得度先度他、是故我禮初發心。

[787] **Like bamboo bursting through the first node.** 如竹破初節。 Reference to an analogy found in the *Shedasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, a commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna saṃgraha* by Asvabhāva (Ch. Wuxing 無性), translated into Chinese by

upward, ignorance gradually expires; having developed samādhi, the perfect and subtle state of awakening spontaneously increases and mutable existence decreases. Therefore, even without planning anything at all, one spontaneously flows into the sea of Buddha's wisdom. Like this, the wisdom of actualized awakening is fused with original awakening. The nonduality of actualized and original [awakening] is the ultimate buddha-fruit.

With the above in mind you should [ ] understand the tenets of the various teachings. The provisional and true [Mahāyāna] schools are different; accordingly their terminologies and truths are also different.[788] Still, in their doctrines of emancipation from saṃsāra they all teach that awakening is attained through the elimination of delusions; and in their guidelines for realizing nirvāṇa they all assert that we must avoid defilements and separate from impurities. For this reason the *Sugyōroku* says that the doctrines of Sanron, Hossō and Kegon are teachings that [aim to] "counteract defilements" 染汚對治.

The verse *True and Mundane are Nondual* by Baozhi of the Liang says: [789]

> Dharma masters are very fond of preaching dharma,
> but their minds are not free of afflictions.
> They teach, taking up words and phrases in their mouths,
> and all the while they prolong the samsaric cycles of their listeners.
> Though emitting sweet dew from their mouths,
> the inside of their minds is for the most part barren and dry.
> Personally they do not own a single coin,
> yet day and night they count another's treasures.
>
> Precept masters tie themselves up by keeping the precepts.
> Having tied up themselves, they skillfully tie up others.
> Outwardly they show dignified behavior and tranquil purity,
> but inside their minds it is like a flood of waves.

Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664). The analogy appears in a discussion of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path. According to Asaṅga the attainment of these stages requires determination 勝解, accurate practice 正行, penetration 通達 and perfection 成滿. The third factor is called penetration because "when the dharma realm has been penetrated at the first stage, all other stages are thoroughly penetrated." Asvabhāva comments: "When bamboo bursts through the first node, the remaining nodes can swiftly burst; likewise when having attained the accurate knowledge of the first stage, all other stages are quickly achieved." 如竹破初節、餘節速能破、得初地真智、諸地疾當成。 (T. 1598, 424c08-c018).

[788] **texts and truths** translates the Buddhist technical terms *nōsen* 能詮 (that which explains) and *shōsen* 所詮 (that which is explained).

[789] Verses attributed to the Liang monk Baozhi 寶誌 (ca. 418-514) appear in various sources, including the *Zongjinglu* and the *Jingde chuandenglu*. The *Jingde chuandenglu* contains three series of verses attributed Baozhi, entitled *Liang Baozhi heshang dashenzan shishou* 梁寶誌和尚大乘讚十首 (Ten Verses Glorifying the Mahāyāna by Venerable Baozhi of the Liang, T. 2076, 449a29-450a16), *Baozhi heshang shi'ershi song* 寶誌和尚十二時頌 (Venerable Baozhi's Eulogy on the Twelve Time Periods, T. 2076, 450a17-450c02) and *Zhigong heshang shisike song* 誌公和尚十四科頌 (Venerable Zhi's Fourteenfold Eulogy, T. 2076, 450c03-451c24).The *Fourteenfold Eulogy* comprises fourteen verses on nonduality, describing the indivisible nature of good and evil, bodhi and afflictions, keeping and breaking the precepts, and so forth. The two stanzas that are cited in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, about dharma masters and precepts masters respectively, correspond to parts of two verses in this series, namely *Zhensu buer* 真俗不二 (True and mundane are nondual, T. 2076, 451b18-25) and *Jiefu buer* 解縛不二 (Liberation and bondage are nondual, T. 2076 451b26-c05). On Baozhi see Berkowitz, "Account of the Buddhist Thaumaturge Baozhi," in *Buddhism in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Princeton University Press, 1995 pp. 578-85. According to Jinhua Jia Baozhi's verses were actually written by students of Mazu Daoyi and retrospectively attributed to Baozhi. See Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 94-95.

Once there were two monks who violated the precepts.
Afterward they went to inquire with Upāli.
[Upāli] explained their offense according to the Vinaya.
But the monks persisted all the more in trapping birds and catching fish.
Then Vimalakīrti, the layman who lived in a ten feet square hut,
arrived and scolded him. Upāli was silent, he had no answer back.
Vimalakīrti's clarification of the dharma is unsurpassed.[790]

[4.d] [MIND:]

Next, as adherents of the school of the Buddha's mind (Busshinshū) we make it our priority to immediately awaken to the nature of the mind and manifest [accurate] perception 知覺. We therefore dismiss the slander of mistaking the finger for the real, and we avoid the affront of scholarly talk, [which is no more than] toying with pebbles 學語翫砂.[791] The guideline of a deluded person is to cultivate a cause and reap the effect. The essential point of an awakened person is to understand that the mind is formless.[792]

This mind is a numinous light that shines on its own, uninvolved with external objects. Towering and dignified, it transcends the highest regions of awakening.[793] Marvelous and ultimate, it is beyond appearances such as ordinary and holy. Being of indestructible adamantine substance, even the eight-armed King Mārā cannot disturb it.[794] Being a long-living and undying

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[790] **Vimalakīrti's clarification of the dharma** (*jōmyō seppō* 淨名説法). The added Japanese markers suggest the reading *seppō wo jō nazuku* ("I call his clarification of the dharma pure"). Jōmyō 淨名 ("famed for purity"), however, is another name for Vimalakīrti.

[791] **mistaking the finger for the real.** 執指[ ]實。The comparable expression "mistaking the finger for the moon" 執指為月 is ubiquitous in Chinese Buddhist literature.

[792] **The guideline of a deluded person is to cultivate a cause and reap the effect. The essential point of an awakened person is to understand that the mind is formless.** 修因得果迷人教了心無相覺者宗。Compare the words of Chan master Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海 in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T.2076,442c08-c22):

> Someone asked: "Why don't precept masters have trust in Chan? Master [Huihai] answered: "The principle is dark and difficult to reveal, names and forms are easy to grasp. Those who do not see the nature therefore do not have trust [in Chan]. One who sees the nature is called buddha. Only those who know buddha are able to believe and enter. Buddha is not far from people but people are far from buddha. A buddha is made of mind. A deluded person turns to words to looks [for buddha], an awakened one turns to the mind and realizes [it is buddha]. A deluded person cultivates a cause and waits for the effect, an awakened person apprehends that the mind is formless. 人問。律師何故不信禪。師曰。理幽難顯名相易持。不見性者所以不信。若見性者號之為佛。識佛之人方能信入。佛不遠人而人遠佛。佛是心作。迷人向文字中求。悟人向心而覺。迷人修因待果。悟人了心無相。

This dialogue is also found in *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* 頓悟入道要門論 (Essentials for Entering the Way Through Sudden Awakening), a composite work consisting of a treatise attributed to Dazhu Huihai plus a biography and a record of Huihai's sayings (lifted from the *Jingde chuandenglu*) known as *Zhufang menren canwen yulu* 諸方門人參問語錄 (Record of Questions Asked by Students Visiting from All Quarters) (X. 1224, 27c23-28a02). See Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 60-62. For a translation of this text see John Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Instantaneous Awakening*, (Buddhist Publishing Group, 2006) (reprint).

[793] **highest regions of awakening** (*tōmyō iki* 等妙域). *Tomyō* is a contraction of *tōgaku* 等覺 (Skt. *samyaksambuddha*) and *myōgaku* 妙覺 (Skt. *uttara samyaksambuddha*), the final two of the fifty-two bodhisattva stages, wherein buddhahood is realized and fully consummated.

[794] **Being of indestructible adamantine substance, even the eight-armed King Mārā cannot disturb it.** 金剛堅固之體八臂魔王動セス。These words appear to echo the language of Esoteric Buddhism. Manuals for the practice of esoteric rituals

mind, even twice-killed demons cannot devour it. Shapeless and formless it gulps down Mahāvairocana, the unaging Mahāpuruṣas and all the Buddhas in one sip. It picks up and squashes ten thousand dharmas in a single moment.

Why would only someone with a body height of sixteen feet and a purple-golden hue be called Universal Wise Bhagavat, or only one with a radiant nimbus and a long broad tongue be called World Honored Tathāgata?[795] [Buddha] said: "All possession of characteristics is unreal."[796] So, treat the true buddha of self-nature as the Buddha! 自性真佛 [Buddha also] explained: "Those who see me through forms are on the wrong track."[797] So, perceive with formless perception! 無相知覺 Why not truly awaken to the one mind and treat it as the Buddha [instead of] longing for an [external] Buddha and going after all kinds of colors? Utpalavarṇā looked at the Buddha's physical body, but in the end she did not see the Buddha's face. Subhūti

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typically describe how the yogic practitioner, through recitation of mantras and application of mudras, may acquire an indestructible adamantine body (*kongō kengo no tai* 金剛堅固之體). The *Guanzizai pusa ruyi lun niansong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Invocation of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokitśvara Bodhisattva), translated by Amoghavajra (705-774), has the following :

> By forming this mudra and reciting this mantra you will arouse the aid and protection of all noble vajra beings. Karmic obstructions you may possess will all be completely expiated. Pain and sufferings will no longer have a hold on your body. You will acquire an indestructible adamantine body that no demon will be able to disrupt. 由結此印及誦真言故。即警覺一切金剛聖眾。加持擁護。所有罪障悉皆除滅。一切痛苦終不著身。當得金剛堅固之體。一切諸魔不能侵嬈。(T. 1085, 204b21-b24)

[795] These lines incorporate snippets of a talk by Mazu Daoyi, found in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016.943a03-011):

> [Mazu said:] "When the patriarch-master [Bodhidharma] came to this land he saw that its people had the capacity for Mahāyāna. He transmitted only the mind-seal, and pointed out everyone's deluded emotions. Those who get it don't have discussions about ordinary and sagely, stupid and wise. A lot of air is not as good as a minute truth. Resolute men, it is better to take a rest straightaway and immediately cease all involvements. Having cut off the flow of saṃsāra, you will be beyond norms. The numinous light shines on its own, uninvolved with external objects. Towering and dignified you walk alone in the triple realm. Why would it be necessary to have a body height of sixteen feet, a purple-golden hue, a radiant nimbus and a long broad tongue? [Buddha said:] "Those who see me through forms are on the wrong track." Even if the adornment of a retinue were to exist, it will come of itself when you do not seek it. Mountains, rivers and the great earth do not obstruct the light of insight. Hear it once, have a thousand awakenings and capture the great dhāraṇī. 祖師來此土。觀其眾生。有大乘根性。唯傳心印。印汝 (→指示) 諸人迷情。得之者。即不論凡之與聖。愚之與智。多虛不如少實。大丈夫兒。不如直下休歇去好。頓息萬緣。截生死流迴出常格。靈光獨照。物類不拘。巍巍堂堂。三界獨步。何必身長丈六紫磨金輝。項佩圓光。舌相長廣。若以色見我。是人行邪道。設有眷屬莊嚴。不求而自至。山河大地。不礙眼光。一聞千悟。獲大總持。

[796] **All possession of characteristics is unreal.** 凡所有相皆是虛妄。From the *Diamond sūtra*:

> "What do you think Subhūti? Can one see the Tathāgata through his bodily characteristics?" "No, World Honored One, one cannot see the Tathāgata through his bodily characteristics. Why not? The bodily characteristics explained by the Tathāgata are not bodily characteristics."The Buddha then told Subhūti: "All possession of characteristics is unreal. If you see characteristics as non-characteristics, then you see the Tathāgata." 須菩提。於意云何。可以身相見如來不。不也世尊。不可以身相得見如來。何以故。如來所說身相即非身相。佛告須菩提。凡所有相皆是虛妄。若見諸相非相則見如來。(T. 235, 749a21-25)

[797] **Those who see me through forms are on the wrong track.** A reference to the *Diamond sūtra* (T. 235, 752a15-18)

> Subhūti said to the Buddha: "World Honored One! As I understand the meaning of what the Buddha explained it is not right to view the Tathāgata through his thirty-two characteristics." Then, in a verse, the World Honored One explained: "Those who see me through forms or seek me through soundsare on the wrong track; they will be unable to see the Tathāgata." 須菩提白佛言。 世尊、如我解佛所說義、不應以三十二相觀如來。爾時世尊而說偈言、若以色見我、以音聲求我、是人行邪道、不能見如來。

did not look at the Buddha's physical body, and quickly saw the Buddha's mind.[798] Those viewing the moon in the water turned their backs to the moon in the sky. One who observes a mirror image lost sight of the real thing. Wild dogs gnaw at lumps of earth, a lion chases humans.[799] Fools study words, the sage awakens to the mind-nature.[800] How true these things are!

The buddhas above and the ants and crickets below do not exist outside a perception that is unconnected to the mind-nature.[801] Having made the mistake to doubt the awakened state of the self-nature, all of you recklessly perceive supernatural manifestations of buddhas and recklessly distinguish the forms of the nine worlds.[802] That said, these are all forms that arise when the self-nature accords with conditions, the mysterious and illusory activity of transformation. By way of analogy: the array of myriad phenomena 森羅万象 is not outside the great purity. The thousand turbulent waves are not separate from the oceanic expanse. So, don't look for Buddha outside the mind of ordinary beings! Don't look for awakening separate from phenomenal characteristics!

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[798] **Utpalavarṇā** 花色. A bhikṣuṇī ordained by the Buddha. The reference is to a story found, for instance, in *Dazhidulun*: When the Buddha descended from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven and returned to Jambudvīpa, the monk Subhūti (known for his perfect wisdom) was meditating on emptiness, secreted inside his stone cell. He considered going out to see the Buddha but then remembered how the Buddha taught that the supreme way to see the Buddha is to employ the eye of prajñā (i.e. to discern emptiness), and so perceive the Buddha's dharma body. Subhūti therefore decided to remain in his cave. The bhikṣuṇī Utpalavarṇā, on the other hand, was determined to see the Buddha's physical body. Using her magical powers she transformed herself into a Wheel-turning King and managed to bypass the crowded assembly to be the first to salute the Buddha. The Buddha then explained that not she but Subhūti was the first to salute him: Subhūti had accurately realized that all dharmas are empty. (T. 1509, 137a01-a21).

physical body translates *shikishin* 色身 and *shōjin* 生身. The terms refer to Buddha's manifested form-body (Skt. *rūpakaya*), in contradistinction to Buddha's absolute dharma body 法身 (Skt. *dharmakāya*).

Buddha's face (*butsumen* 佛面). The face of the Buddha. Also the very state of Buddha's awakening.

Subhūti (Kūshō 空生). Close student of the Buddha, known for his understanding of emptiness. In the *Diamond sūtra*, cited earlier in the paragraph, Subhūti is questioned by the Buddha about the Buddha's bodily forms, which turn out to be non-forms. The author of *Kenshōjōbutsu* here clearly delights in stylistic parallelism (e.g. 花色色身↔空生生身)

[799] **Wild dogs gnaw at lumps of earth, a lion chases humans.** Compare a dialogue between Chan master Dazhu Huihai and Vinaya master Faming 法明, found in Huihai's *Jingde chuandenglu* biography (T. 2076, 247b08-b13):

> [Question:] "The sūtras, precepts and the commentaries are the Buddha's words. Reading and reciting them I sincerely practice in accord with the teaching. Why don't I see the nature?" Master Huihai said: "Wild dogs prey on lumps of earth, a lion chews on humans." 經律論是佛語。讀誦依教奉行。何故不見性。師曰。如狂狗趁塊師子齩人。

[800] **Fools study words, the sage awakens to the mind-nature.** 愚人ハ文字ヲナラウ智者ハ心性ヲサトル。Source not identified.

[801] In other words, due to deluded perception phenomena are falsely perceived to exist, yet that deluded perception is integral to the buddha-nature. Compare *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (T. 2012B, 386b02-04):

> At a formal lecture [Chan master Huangbo Xiyun] said: " Mind is buddha. From the buddhas above to the wriggling things below, everything has buddha-nature and is of the same one mind substance. After arriving from India, Bodhidharma therefore transmitted nothing but the dharma of the one mind and directly pointed to the fact that all sentient beings are originally buddha. 上堂云。即心是佛。上至諸佛。下至蠢動含靈。皆有佛性。同一心體。所以達摩從西天來。唯傳一心法。直指一切眾生本來是佛。

[802] **nine worlds** (*kyūkai* 九界) The ten worlds of transmigration (i.e. the worlds of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, divine beings, śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas and buddhas) minus the world of the buddhas.

Venerable Huihai said: "Mind is buddha. It is useless to seek buddha by means of buddha. Mind is dharma. It is useless to seek dharma by means of dharma." [803] Venerable Baozhi said: "There is no difference between an ordinary being and a buddha. Great wisdom is not different from stupidity. Why face outward in search of a treasure? Your body-field itself possesses a bright pearl!" [804] He also said: "Since an ordinary being and a buddha are of one kind, an ordinary being is a World Honored One. Common people mistakenly create differences: in nonbeing they grasp at being and run away in confusion.[805]

[5] QUESTION: The terms "Buddha's words" and "Buddha's mind" imply a difference. The expressions "inside the teachings" and "outside the teachings" imply a discrepancy. And yet, the written texts 能詮 are in complete agreement with [Buddha's] oral teachings. Why infringe on the words spoken in the teachings? What divisions could there be?

ANSWER: A deluded person [806] may study the Buddha's sūtras, but since he does not understand the Buddha's thought he is like a parrot that learns human speech without knowing the human mind.[807] Words spoken in sleep and while awake appear the same, but as to wakefulness the

[803] **Mind is buddha. It useless to seek buddha by means of buddha. Mind is dharma. It is useless to seek dharma by means of dharma.** These lines appear among the recorded sayings of Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海和尚語 in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T.2076, 441a10-12):

> Then a monk named Fayuan asked: "What is Buddha, what is Dharma, what is Saṃgha? And what does it mean that the three jewels are one substance? Please instruct me." Master Huihai said: "Mind is buddha. It is of no use to seek buddha by means of buddha. Mind is dharma. It is of no use seek dharma by means of dharma. The indivisibility of buddha and dharma is the saṃgha. This is the meaning of "the three jewels are one substance"."

[804] From the verse *Fo yu zhongsheng buer* 佛與眾生不二 (Buddha and Ordinary Beings are Nondual), attributed to Baozhi, in *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 450c19-24).

[805] From the verse *Shili buer* 事理不二 (Phenomenon and Principle are Nondual), attributed to Baozhi, in *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 450c25-451a02).

[806] 覚人 emended to 迷人.

[807] Compare to the following dialogue from the recorded sayings of Chan master Dazhu Huihai, included in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 443c02-c11):

> A monk asked: "Why don't you allow the recitation of sūtras and call it 'making references'?" Master [Huihai] said: "It is like parrots merely learning human words without understanding human thought. The scriptures transmit Buddha's thought. People that recite without understanding what the Buddha thought are merely memorizing his words. This is why I don't allow it. [The monk] said: "There cannot be thought that exists separate from language and texts." The master said: "You are like those I just talked about – memorizing words." [The monk] said: "[If it is merely that humans and parrots] have the same language, why are you so determined to forbid [recitation]?" The master said: "Now listen carefully. The [*Vajrasamādhi*] *sūtra* has this clear line: "My explanations are meaningful words and not mere phrases. Explanations by ordinary beings are mere phraseology without meaning." To grasp the intention exceeds ephemeral speech. To awaken to the principle transcends the written word. The dharma surpasses language and texts, why look for it in a profusion of verses? Having aroused the mind of awakening you must grasp the meaning and forget the words, awaken to the principle and discard the teachings, just like one would forget the net once the fish is caught and forget the trap once the rabbit is ensnared. 僧問。何故不許誦經喚作客語。師曰。如鸚鵡只學人言不得人意。經傳佛意。不得佛意而但誦是學語人。所以不許。曰不可離文字言語別有意耶。師曰。汝如是說亦是學語。曰同是語言何偏不許。師曰。汝今諦聽經有明文。我所說者義語非文。眾生說者文語非義。得意者越於浮言。悟理者超於

dreaming and the awakened mind widely differ. There is no difference whatsoever between a fool and a sage reading a sūtra, but as to understanding or not understanding the Buddha's mind, their minds widely differ. You understand that the words [they read] are the same, but you fail to see that their minds differ, how can this be? You truly misunderstand the situation. If you say that words are buddha-nature, you do not recognize the principle that words do not kindle fire. If you say that verbal explanations are dharma-nature, a parrot would not be in the dark [about the words it mimics]. A mouse peeps *soku soku*, but it is in the dark about the identity (*soku*) of form and emptiness. A bird may chirp *kū kū*, but it does not understand internal emptiness (*naikū* 内空) and external emptiness (*gekū* 外空). [808] Sounds are not equal to the real principle. Verbal explanations do not mount up to the mind-nature.[809] Why conflate the word ["awakening"] with awakening itself, which is different from it? By way of analogy: "fire" and "water" are names. In terms of substance we regard heat the substance of fire and wetness the substance of water. Passing over name and substance, things can be called nameless, but since a name, after all, is not the substance, we can say *fire! fire!* all day without burning our mouths. For sure, we may constantly recite *water! water!* but our throats will never get wet. [ ].[810] With [this simile] you should be able to understand the categories "inside the teachings" and "outside the teachings"

The *Avataṃsaka* [*sūtra* teaches] that the dharma realm is only mind, the *Vaipulya* [*sūtras* teach] inconceivable liberation, the *Prajña* [*sūtras* teach] ultimate emptiness, the *Lotus* [*sūtra* teaches] the true characteristic of the one vehicle, and the *Nirvāṇa* [*sūtra* teaches] the eternal abiding of the buddha-nature.[811] The names in this sequence [ ] .[812] Well now, because the myriad [dharmas] are one mind and because outside the mind there are no dharmas, it is said: "the dharma realm is only mind." That the intrinsically pure mind –originally without afflictions and defilements – is unrestricted is called the "liberation" of mind. Because the mind-nature is ultimately free of characteristics, it is spoken of as "emptiness." Because the mind-nature is not an unreal dharma, it is spoken of as the "true characteristic." Because the mind-nature is fundamentally existent and awakened, [it is spoken of as] the "buddha-nature." [The buddha-nature] precedes and antecedes all dharmas, it has no arising in the past and no ceasing in the future; it is therefore described as "eternally abiding."

文字。法過語言文字。何向數句中求。是以發菩提者得意而忘言。悟理而遺教。亦猶得魚忘筌得兔忘蹄也。

[808] The sound *soku* here represents the peeping of a mouse and also stands for the character 即 , which is pronounced as *soku* and denotes the Buddhist concept of "nonduality." Similarly the sound here *kū* represents the chirping of a bird and also stands for the character 空 , which is pronounced *kū* and denotes the Buddhist concept of "emptiness."

[809] ヲヨハシ emended to ヲヨハズ.

[810] The manuscript has several illegible parts, indicated in the translation by bracketed space [ ].

[811] Avataṃsaka, Vaipulya, Prajña, Lotus and Nirvāṇa refer to major Mahāyāna sūtras. Also (with ommission of "Agama") the five periods of Buddha's ministry according to the Tendai system of doctrinal classification.

[812] More illegible parts. A translation would entail too much guesswork. A rendition would look something like this: self-nature knows Buddha [ ]. This being so, though a name [ ] is not separate from awakening it was, after all, not the substance. In fact, the one mind [ ] clouds [ ] treasure [ ] awakened and not in delusion."

[ ], but since the name was not the substance, not one person attained awakening.[813] From this it should be clear that inside the teachings they recite [ ] names [ ] without knowing the substance. Outside the teachings we immediately awaken to the substance and are thus immersed in its names. It is like knowing heat when physically touching fire. If you just say *fire!* without physically touching it, you do not really know it is hot. How come you didn't know this? So, inside the teaching they [explain] the dharma from the standpoint of the mind's characteristics. Outside the teaching we express the dharma [from the stanpoint of] the mind's substance. In this way the saying "there is not a single thing with attributes that does not vainly change," is no different from the eyes ranking whatever form and the ears comparing whatever sound.[814]

[*Illegible section in the manuscript*]

[…] is a deluded view concerning homogeneity and resemblance 同分相似妄見. In reality there is no distinction between wise and stupid ones, and no such category as "one who learns." [815] Fundamentally equal, you are an [infinitely] long ago realized buddha. [Buddhahood], then, does not come after incalculable kalpas, or advance over countless units of time. [The Zen school] is not a gate for gradual advancement toward excellence 次第轉勝門, and for this reason we do not concentrate on contemplative wisdom. We are different from the teachings, [which aim to] realize the principle through the excision of impurities 断惑證理, and for this reason we do not observe the practice of meditation.

Awakening is attained upon encountering someone who thoroughly explains this essential point. But if you do not believe the one who thoroughly explains it – even though he is there – awakening will not appear. It will be as if you hear musical sounds but not knowing what they are, fail to enjoy them. Without enjoyment, how will you appreciate the music and grasp the melody of the voice?[816] So, discard your haughty attitude and set your mind on joyous faith 信樂, then without casting away the ordinary mind you will manifest the buddha-mind, and without parting from the flesh-body you will take on the buddha-body. [817] It is like a wave becoming water when you scoop it up, or a pebble becoming a jewel when you grab it. Mahāsattva Fu said: "Those who enter this gate sit erect and become a buddha." [818] Indeed, it is like an utterly deep thing present in

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[813] More illegible parts. The gist of the passage probably is that merely listening to the phrases of the sūtras without direct experience of what is described in them does not lead to awakening.

[814] カクノコトクシナアリケルモノヲ [ ] シナクカハラスヒトツ [ ] [ ] イヘルハメシ井カイロヲヒトシ [ ] ルニニタリ, ミヽシ井カコエヲタクラヘル. The translation is tentative.

[815] **one who learns** (*shoke* [所]化). Literally, "that which is transformed," (a student) as opposed to *nōke* 能化 , "that which transforms", i.e. a teacher (a buddha, bodhisattva).

[816] **music** (*gaku no ne* 樂ノ子). The character 子 represents the syllable *ne*, which in this case stands for the character 音 (sound). **enjoyment** (*aigyō* 愛樂). **joyous faith** (*shingyō* 信樂), literally "faith-joy." The author is playing with the multiple meanings of the character 樂 (joy/music).

[817] 佛心 emended to 佛身.

[818] **Those who enter this gate sit erect and become a buddha.** 入此コノ(*sic*) 門端坐成佛。 From the *Xinwang ming* 心王銘 (Mind King Inscription). This short text, attributed to Fu Dashi 傳大士 (497-569) but probably composed in the late eight century, can be found in the *Jingde chuandenglu*: "If you want to become a buddha, do not defile a single thing. The nature of the mind is empty of hate and anger, yet its substance is real. Those who enter this dharma gate sit erect and become buddha" 欲求成佛莫染一物。 心性雖空貪瞋體實。 入此法門端坐成佛。 (T. 2076, 456c25-457a17).

an utterly shallow place. One who has attained this awakening of mind has truly experienced the state of being separate from saṃsāra and of having become a buddha. It is like drinking water and knowing it is hot or cold.

All teachings clearly state that we must realize and express the buddha-nature. Well, in the Law of the Buddha there cannot be flaws. It is said that one can become a buddha through faith and reverence, but true awakening is not attained [in that way]. Loathing the Defiled Land 穢土 and wishing for the Pure Land 浄土 is no more than having faith and being reverential. Will you ever know birth in the Pure Land as a result of having truly experienced it? When you devoutly invoke the Buddha, you do no more than saying and imagining that you will be born [in a Pure Land]. This is like revering and having faith in a man after hearing his name, without actually seeing that man's face. The Zen school is not like that. We, as it were, hear the man's name, immediately see that man's face and have faith. Hearing or not hearing the name makes no difference, but seeing or not seeing the face is vastly different.

[6] QUESTION: The karma of the four lifeforms in the six realms [of rebirth] has been piling up, moment after moment, from beginningless beginninglessness. The mind afflicted with the three poisons and four [ ] has been coming into existence, step after step, from the infinitely remote past.[819] How could it be possible to just separate from these evil karmic afflictions and in that way simply align the body with supreme awakening and manifest the buddha-mind in our own minds?

ANSWER: The mountain of self-affirmation is high, the sea of ignorance deep. For sure, awakened from a dream, an awakened person [ ]. Having realized the mind, a realized person [ ]. Upāli's firefly light multiplies offenses. Great Man Vimalakīrti removes offenses completely.[820] Great master Zhenjue said:

> Realization of the true characteristic is without persons and things.
> In a kṣaṇa it obliterates the karma that leads to the Avīci hell.
> If by saying this I trick people with deluded talk,
> let my tongue be ripped out for countless kalpas.[821]

[819] **six realms** (*rokushu* 六趣). Six realms of rebirth: the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, asura, humans and deities. **three poisons** (*sandoku* 三毒). Desire, anger and ignorance.

[820] **Upāli's firefly light multiplies offenses. Great man Vimalakīrti removes offenses completely.** 有二比丘犯婬殺。波離螢光イヨイヨツミヲ增、 維摩大士コトコトクツミヲノソキタマヒキ。 Compare the *Zhengdaoge* (T. 2014, 396c18-21):

> Once there were two monks who had committed murder and a sexual transgression. Upali's firefly light multiplied their offenses. Great Man Vimalakīrti instantly removed their doubts, like a brilliant sun melting frost and snow. The inconceivable power of liberation has subtle workings, countless as sands in the Ganges river. 有二比丘犯婬殺。波離螢光增罪結。維摩大士頓除疑。猶如赫日銷霜雪。不思議解脫力。妙用恒沙也無極。

[821] Great master Zhenjue 眞覺大師 (J. Shingaku daishi) refers to Yongjia Xuanjue. The lines are from the *Zhengdaoge*. (T. 2014, 395c12-14)

Indeed, the ten good acts are not good. Mistakenly you attach to them and consider them good. The ten evil acts are not evil.[822] For no reason you size them up and consider them evil. If you weren't making distinctions, there wouldn't be good or evil. Good and evil are not intrinsically designated ["good" and "evil"]. They merely spring from deluded thought, from oneself. Thus the *Sugyō*[*roku*] reads:

> Wŏnhyo and Uisang, two dharma masters from the Eastern Land (Silla), came to Tang China in search of a master. When the night fell they took lodging inside a desolate crypt. Thirsty, Dharma master Wŏnhyo was thinking of juice. Having spotted a cup of fresh water he picked it up and drank. It was very tasty! At the brightening of the skies he saw it had been fluid from a corpse. Overcome with nausea he vomited and [suddenly] attained great awakening. He said: "I heard the words of the Buddha: 'The three worlds are only mind, the myriad [dharmas] are only consciousness,' The tastiness and filthiness were in me, not actually in the water!" [823]

For this person, who is unknown here [in Japan], good and evil disappeared. They are merely thoughts of a mistaken mind. The moment [Wŏnhyo] was not thinking about good and evil, good and evil dharmas disappeared. There was only his mind devoid of good and evil, which, without assessing anything, spontaneously radiated. This is why the awakened state of the mind-nature is not good or evil. Not knowing that dharmas have no content and possess no good or evil, you have been doing good and evil deeds, and in return received good and evil recompense. You have merely been acting and receiving in a dream, without having been awake for even a single night.

The fourth patriarch [Daoxin] said: "All karmic impediments are fundamentally void and calm. All causes and effects are like phantasmal dreams. Be free and unobstructed, rely on the mind and act without constraints. Don't create all sorts of good and evil." Hereupon Farong asked: "You do not allow the practice of meditation, but how then is the mind to counteract sense objects when they arise?" Patriarch [Daoxin] answered: "External objects are not [inherently] attractive or repulsive. Attractiveness and repulsiveness arise in the mind. When the mind stops obstinately assigning names, from where then would delusive emotions arise? When delusive emotions no longer arise, the true mind will be in its natural state of full awareness." [824] This must be clearly discerned.

Transgressions and virtuous acts have no owner 罪福无主 and no nature of their own. The fact is that they merely arise from the thoughts of a deluded mind. Thus cliffs collapse and kill fish, wind rises and makes offerings of flowers, and yet not a cliff incurs [retribution for] transgression and not a wind hopes [to be rewarded] for its virtuous acts. [ ] if good and evil existed outside the mind, wouldn't cliffs incur [retribution for] their transgression and wind not hope [to be rewarded] for its virtuous acts? But this is not the case: since cliffs have no mind and

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[822] **ten good acts** (*jūzen* 十善). The ten good acts amount to avoiding the ten evil acts (*jūaku* 十惡): killing, stealing, fornication, lying, frivolous speech, abusive speech, slanderous speech, greed, holding false views.

[823] *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 477a23-28, with minor differences).

[824] This passage consists of snippets from an extended dialogue between Daoxin and Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594-657), found in the biography of Farong in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 227a20-b03). Farong is considered the founder of the Oxhead school of Chan.

wind has no thought, nothing is incurred or hoped for. What you should discern from this – namely that there is no good and evil outside the mind – is explained in [Bodhidharma's] *Goshōron*: "Wrongdoings arise from a doubting mind." [825] Once you have truly awakened to the mind-nature, manifested [accurate] perception, have no more doubts concerning phenomena, and thoroughly realized the mind, then the matter of good and evil is nothing but a quarrel over horns on the head of a rabbit, and the matter of causality will in no way be different from snatching a hair from the back of a tortoise.[826]

A person who attained awakening of mind has no desire for birth and death in the Pure Land, and therefore he does not perform practices that aim to cut off the accumulation of suffering 知苦斷集. Such a person has no desire for birth and death in the Defiled Land either, and therefore he also refrains from practicing the meditative and nonmeditative virtues of humans and devas. [827] Rather, having effaced karmic conditions in a single lifetime, he will not undergo subsequent rebirth anywhere; only original awakening, which he always possessed, manifests, and for that reason he is born in the genuine Pure Land, truly free from saṃsāra. [ ] not spending kalpas of practice, as taught in the Noble Path. It is also not like being born in the Pure Land in the afterlife and there gain unborn awakening as a result of enjoying dharma sermons by Kannon and Amida, as taught in the Pure [ ]. Doesn't this make clear that [birth in the Pure Land entails] going beyond both the Noble and the Pure Land paths? 聖道浄土二門

[7] QUESTION: Good and evil differ like east and west. Cause and effect diverge like Hu in the north and Yue in the south. How can you say that with the power of *kenshō* one instantly apprehends them as one mind, without differentiation?

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[825] 罪業ハウタカイノココロヨリヲコレリ. Compare *Wuxinglun* (J. *Gōshōron* 悟性論):

> A sutra says: "Dharmas have no nature. Act in line with truth and don't doubt. Doubt turns into wrongdoings. Why? Wrongdoings arise because of the disturbance of doubt. If you understand this the wrongdoings of your previous lifes will be obliterated. When deluded the six consciousnesses and five skandhas are all defiled samsaric dharmas. When awakened the six consciousnesses and five skandhas are all nirvanic non-samsaric dharmas. 經云。諸法無性。眞用莫疑。疑即成罪。何以故。罪因疑惑而生。若作此解者。前世罪業即爲消滅。迷時六識五陰皆是煩惱生死法。悟時六識五陰皆是涅槃無生死法。(T. 2009, 371c06-c09).

[826] Horns on a rabbit's head and hair on the back of a tortoise are stock metaphors for impossible, nonexistent things. The preceding passage (from "Transgressions and virtuous acts" to "back of a tortoise") is cited in *Kinkōshū*, *Nichirenshū shūgaku zenshō*, vol. 13/14, pp. 308-309.

[827] **meditative and nonmeditative virtues** (*jōsan no zen* 定散ノ善). The terms *jōzen* (Ch. *dingshan* 定善) and *sanzen* (Ch. *sanshan* 散善) are hermeneutical categories that derive from the Chinese commentarial tradition on the *Guan wuliangshoufo jing* 觀無量壽佛經 (T. 365) (Sūtra of Contemplating Buddha Amitāyus). The terms prominently figure in the works of Shandao 善導 (613-681), who applied them to the various practices (visualization, recitation, good deeds, etc) which according to the sūtra lead to birth in the Pure Land of Amitāyus (Amitābha). In the Pure Land schools of Kamakura period Japan, the status of practices other than reciting the *nenbutsu* formula became a contested issue. The Pure Land teacher Hōnen strongly focused on Amitābha's Original Vow that had long ago assured all beings of rebirth in the Pure Land; Hōnen interpreted Shandao's exegesis as validating an exclusive focus on the practice of reciting Buddha's name. Among Hōnen's successors, Shōkū, the founder of the Seizan lineage, similarly expounded sole reliance on the practice of *nenbutsu* recitation. Shōkō (Ben'a), the founder of the Chinzei lineage, on the other hand, accepted the efficacy of various practices. On Shandao and his commentary see Julian F. Pas, *Visions of Sukhāvatī: Shan Tao's Commentary on the Kuan Wu-Liang-Shou-Fo* (State University of New York Press, 1995).

ANSWER: Clear and muddy [waters] 清濁 seem different, but the wetness is the same.[828] East and west diverge, but the great sky is one. Clearness and muddiness arise from conditions. Gazing out into the distance and grinding your teeth, you separated east from west. Had there not been elephants and pearls, there would not have been clear and muddy [waters].[829] Had you not posited a self, there would not have been east and west. Had there not been sense objects, the deluded mind would not have arisen. Had you not given rise to a deluded mind, there would not have been good and evil. Had there not been good or evil, you would not have created virtues. Had you not created virtues, you would not have obtained karmic rewards. Not knowing the true state of things, you miss the point.

Those who simply [ ] and cultivate evil, saying: "We refute causality, good and evil are nondual," are people with a view of emptiness that leads to the evil realms.[830] Not even the guidance of the Buddhas will protect them.[831] They are thieves in the Buddhadharma.[832] Therefore it is said that even though falling into a view of existence 有見 [is a mistake as big as] Mount Sumeru, one should not be covered under a view of emptiness 空見 either, not even to the

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[828] A similar metaphor is found in *Fahuaxuanyi shiqian* 法華玄義釋籤 (T. 1717, 919a12-13) and *Shibuermen* 十不二門 (T. 1927, 703c13) by the Tiantai monk Zhanran 湛然 (711-782). In these works Zhanran discusses "ten gates of nonduality" (*jūfunimon* 十不二門) and uses a metaphor of clear and muddied water to elucidate the nonduality of purity and pollution (*zenjō funi* 染淨不二). Zhanran's descriptions of the ten gates are cited and commented upon in several Tang and Song dynasty sources, including Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 495b20-b26):

> Five: the gate of the nonduality of pollution and purity. If consciousness has no beginning then ignorance is dharma-nature. Thus we should know that our present ignorance is dharma-nature. Dharma-nature is integrated in ignorance, which produces the various phenomena. This is called pollution. Ignorance is integrated in dharma-nature, which responds to conditions. This is termed purity. Whether water is clear or muddy, the wetness and the waves are the same. Though clearness and muddiness depend on conditions, muddiness is fundamentally existent. Though muddiness is fundamentally existent, its entire substance is clear because the two wave presences pervade [each other] and the whole substance is the function. 五染淨不二門者。若識無始即法性為無明。故可了。今無明為法性。法性之與無明。遍造諸法。名之為染。無明之與法性。逼應眾緣。號之為淨。濁水清水。波濕無殊。清濁雖即。由緣而濁成本有。濁雖本有。而全體是清。以二波理通。舉體是用故。

[829] **Had there not been elephants and pearls, there would not have been clear and muddy [waters].** 象珠 ナカラマシカハ清濁ナカラマシ。Compare *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* 止觀輔行傳弘決 (Decisions on Supporting Practice and Broadly Disseminating [the Teachings of the Great] Calming and Contemplation) by Zhanran (711-782) (T. 1912, 173c18-20):

> When elephants enter the water of a big pond it becomes muddy, when pearls enter it becomes pure. It should be understood that the pond's water is the basis of purity and muddiness, while the pearls and the elephants are the conditions for purity and muddiness.大池水象入則濁,珠入則清。當知池水為清濁本。珠象以為清濁之緣。

[830] **evil realms** (*akushu* 惡趣). The three lower paths of rebirth: the realms of hell-dwellers, hungry ghosts and animals.

[831] **Not even the guidance of the Buddhas will protect them.** 諸佛[ノ]教化[ニモ]アツカラス。 Compare Nāgārjuna's admonotion in *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Verses of the Middle Way), translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413) (*Zhonglun* 中論, T. 1564, 18c16-c17):

> The great noble ones explained that the method of emptiness is meant for relinquishing all views. Those with a view of emptiness, the Buddhas cannot reform. 大聖說空法為離諸故. 若復見有空諸佛所不化.

This phrase is widely cited and paraphrased, for instance in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 38c26-c28), Zongmi's *Yuanjuejing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 (X. 243, 328b22-b24) and Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 666a21-a23).

[832] The expression "thief in the Buddhadharma" can be traced to the *Fanwang jing* (*Bommōkyō* 梵網經) (T. 1484, 1009a13-a19).

extent of a poppy seed.[833] This is why in the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* [the Buddha] refuted attachment to both existence and emptiness by demonstrating that pulling on either the left or right side of a celestial cloth [equally] failed to [untie] the knots in it.[834] Indeed, when unknowing people, deluded about the true state of things, are told that the myriad dharmas exist, they will solely cling to existence. But since [dharmas] are illusory existing existents, that existence is not existence. [Such people] do not know that the intrinsic emptiness [of dharmas] is nonexisting existence.[835] When you tell them that all dharmas are empty they will solely cling to emptiness. But since [dharmas] are nonempty emptiness, that emptiness is not emptiness. [Such people] do not understand that the characteristic [of dharmas] is nonempty emptiness. In this way, leaving saṃsāra and becoming a buddha is a difficult thing. It is an error avoided only when awakening to the mind.

When a Mind King of one essence flies up to truth-heaven there is no cause and effect,[836] [but] when a Dharma King of three disciplines swims around in the storehouse-ocean there is

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[833] **Therefore it is said that eventhough falling into a view of existence [is a mistake] as big as Mount Sumeru, one should not be buried under a view of emptiness either, not even to the extent of a poppy seed.** 故有見ヲチムコトハ須弥コトクナリトモ空見ウツモレムコトハ芥子ハカリモアルベカラス。A comparable phrase is found in several Tang and Song sources, e.g. Fazang's *Shiermenlun zongzi yili* 十二門論宗致義記 (T. 1826, 217c28-c29), Zongmi's *Yuanjuejing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 (X. 243, 228b22-b23) and by Chengguan's 澄觀 (738-839) *Huayanjing shuchao xuantan* 華嚴經疏鈔玄談: "It is better to give rise to a [mistaken] view of existence [as big as] Mount Sumeru then to permit the rise of a [mistaken] view of emptiness [as tiny as a] poppy seed 寧起有見如須彌山不起空見如芥子許. Similarly Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* reads: "It is better to have an attachment to existence [as big as] Sumeru than to have an attachment to emptiness [as tiny as] a poppy seed 寧可執有如須彌不可執空如芥子 (T. 2016, 851c26). The abovementioned works attribute the line to an unspecified sūtra. The *Jingtulun* 淨土論 by the Tang monk Jiacai 迦才 (620-680), which also has this line (T. 1963, 103b28-b29), attributes it to the *Dichilun* 地持論, that is, the *Pusadichijing* 菩薩地持經 (T. 1581); a few Song dynasty sources (e.g. *Lengyanjing xunwenji* 楞嚴經熏聞記 by Renyue 仁岳) attribute it to the *Miyanjing* 密嚴經 (T. 681 and T. 682), but I have not been able to locate the line in either of these works. Śiksānanda's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* 入楞伽經 has a similar line: "It would be better to give rise to the view of an existent self then to give rise to arrogance derived from a [mistaken] view of emptiness 寧起我見如須彌山。不起空見懷增上慢。 (T. 672, 608c26c27).

[834] This remark alludes to an episode in the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (T. 945, 125b18-b26) in which the Buddha shows his student Ananda a cloth with knots tied into it. The cloth stands for the undifferentiated state of reality and the knots for the six ways of sensorial perception (seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, tasting and thinking). The Buddha demonstrates that pulling at the right or left side of the cloth does not untie the knots: a knot must be untied from its center.

[835] シカラス emended to シラス.

[836] **truth-heaven** (*giten* 義天). A heavenly stage accessed by bodhisattvas with a thorough understanding of emptiness. Mentioned in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (T. 374, 494b18-b26):

> Know that the Tathāgata does has not fixedly entered nirvāṇa. Why? Because the Tathāgata is perpetual and immutable. It follows that the Tathāgata's nirvāṇa is also not fixed. Good sons, you should know that the Tathāgata is also not fixed. The Tathāgata is not a deva. How so? There are four kinds of heavens: (1) worldly heaven, (2) ordinary beings heaven, (3) purity heaven and (4) truth heaven. Worldly heaven comprises secular Kings; ordinary beings heaven comprises the four heavenly kings up to the devas of non-thought and non-thoughtlessness; purity heaven comprises the stream-enterers up to the pratyekabuddhas; and truth-heaven comprises the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas of the tenth stage. What does "truth" denote and why is the [state] of bodhisattvas of the tenth stage called "truth-heaven"? It is because [the bodhisattvas] are able to thoroughly apprehend the truth about dharmas. What is this truth? It is seeing that all dharmas are empty. 當知如來亦不畢定入於涅槃。何以故。如來常住不變易故。以是義故。如來涅槃亦復不定。善男子。當知如來亦復不定。如來非天。何以故。有四種天。一者世間天 二者生天。三者淨天。四者義天。世間天者如諸國王。生天者從四天王乃至非有想非無想天。淨天者從須陀洹至辟支佛。義天者十住菩薩摩訶薩等。以何義故十住菩薩名為義天。以能善解諸法義故。云何為義。見一切法是空義故。

Elsewhere the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* mentions a "supreme truth-heaven" (*daiichi giten* 第一義天), the highest heaven of buddhas and bodhisattvas; it is described as eternal, immutable, and free of birth, age, illness and death (T. 374, 470c23-24).

distinction between good and evil.[837] This being so, those grasping at existence bury reality in existence, while those attached to emptiness conceal the ordinary world in emptiness. But this, too, is not the actual situation. The Buddha, in fact, expounded neither existence nor emptiness. When people grasped at existence he expounded emptiness, just to break their attachment to existence, but he did not say: "Cling to emptiness!" When people were attached to emptiness, he proclaimed existence, just to grind their attachment to emptiness, but he did not say: "Cling to existence!" Why would he speak of existence and emptiness to benefit those who cling to neither? When the extremes "emptiness" and "existence" are both gone, the designation "middle way" also disappears.[838] [To view reality in terms of] the threefold truth [as the Tendai school does] is a provisional stage.[839] The one mind alone is true reality. So, there is no causality-dust on the one mind-ground, and there are no good or evil waves on the sea of true reality.

Venerable Longya said: "It is of no use to know a dream while dreaming. The locus of awakening is not in dreaming or waking. When deluded it is like a thing inside a dream. After realization it is equally there in those asleep and awake."[840] What is meant here is that in the presence of delusion, cause and effect exist, but that in the presence of realization good and evil do not exist. National master Zhong said: "A deluded person turns to words to look for it, an awakened person turns to the mind and realizes it. A deluded person cultivates a cause and waits for the effect, an awakened person apprehends the mind and [sees] it is formless."[841]

[8] QUESTION: Frankly, the more I am listening to this the less clear it becomes. Once the karmic seeds of ordinary beings [produce] manifest activities, kalpas will go by without [karma] being

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[837] **three disciplines** (*sanji* 三自). A threefold division of the Buddhist eightfold path (*hasshōdō* 八正道): 1. self-investigation (自調 : right views, thought and speech), 2. self-purification (自浄: right actions and livelihood), 3. self-transcendence (自度 : right remembrance and meditation). **storehouse-ocean** (*zōkai* 蔵海). A synonym of *zōshiki* 蔵識 or *arayashiki* 阿頼耶識 (Skt. *ālaya-vijñāna*): the "storehouse consciousness," the eighth consciousness in Yogācāra analysis.

[838] **middle way** (*chūdō* 中道). A term, especially used in Mādhyamika type analyses, denoting accurate understanding that does not conceptualize things as either existing or not existing. The term is also used to denote that true state of reality itself.

[839] **threefold truth** (*santai* 三諦). A Tendai term that describes reality as simultaneously existent, nonexistent and "the middle," transcending the former two.

[840] Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (835-923) (Ryūge Kodon). According to the *Jingde chuandenglu*, Chan master Longya was one of twenty-six dharma heirs of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869), the co-founder of the Caodong school. Longya traveled widely and studied with several teachers, including Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學 (n.d.) and Deshan Xuanjian. In the assembly of Dongshan he had a first awakening: "One day [Longya] asked, 'What is the intention of patriarch [Bodhidharma]?' Dongshan replied: 'Wait until Dong Brook flows upwards, then I will tell you.' Hereupon Master [Longya] for the first time understood the meaning." Hereafter Longya resumed his perigrinations, calling on other teachers, including Linji Yixuan. Finally he settled at a temple called Dhyānā Park of Subtle Aid (Ch. Miaoji Chanjuan 妙濟禪苑) on Mount Longya in Hunan (T. 2076, 337b02-338a03). A collection of ninety-five verses attributed to Longya is included in *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Verses by the Patriarch Masters of the Chan Gate), under the title *Tanzhou Longyashan Dun chanshi song* 潭州龍牙山遁禪師頌 (Verses by Chan master Dun of Mount Longya in Tanzhou) (X. 1298, 726c05-729a20). Eighteen of these verses are found in the *Jingde chuandenglu*, under the title *Longya heshang Judun song yishibashou* 龍牙和尚居遁頌一十八首 (Eighteen Verses of Venerable Judun of Longya) (T. 2076, 452c27-453b02). The lines cited in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* correspond to T. 1298, 728a14-a15 and T. 2076, 453a13-a14.

[841] 迷人向文字中求悟人向心而覺 悟迷人修因待得果悟人了心而無相。National master Zhong 忠国師 (J. Chū Kokushi) usually refers to Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (d.775) (J. Nanyō Echū), who is considered a dharma heir of Sixth Patriarch Huineng. The cited lines, however, are near identical to words attributed to Dazhu Huihai, as found in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 442c21-c22).

even so much as slightly reduced. It is like glue sticking to a form, or lacquer applied to an artifact. How could it be that one can simply eliminate [karma] by [ ] the one mind? [842]

ANSWER: If you grasp at the mind and the objects [it perceives] as if they are real, then, since you grasp at persons and things as if they are not empty, you will vainly practice while passing through myriads of kalpas, and in the end you will not realize the fruit of the path. When you suddenly understand that there is no self and deeply penetrate the emptiness of things, then both mind and objects are completely eliminated. What, then, is not realized?

The reason that there are slow and fast awakenings, is that there are sudden and gradual teachings. When studying gradual teachings, you are held up in the village of transmigration while countless kalpas go by. The day you awaken to the sudden vehicle, you arrive in the capital of sublime awakening in the time it takes to stretch and bend back your arm. How much more so when you intimately realize it in the supreme vehicle of sudden awakening, by knowing it for yourself!

Chan master Huihai said: "Suddenly awakened to the supreme vehicle you surpass both ordinary beings and sages. Only people deluded about the nature of mind talk about ordinary beings and sages." He also said: "Deluded people seek attainment and realization. Awakened people do not seek or attain anything. Deluded people anticipate longlasting kalpas. Awakened people suddenly see the original buddha."[843] Indeed, when you understand that the self-nature is pure 自性清淨 and you completely manifest the perfectly luminous substance of mind, then the floating clouds of triple delusion will be like dust motes scattered in a violent storm, and the five defilements will be like a light boat swept away on a fast stream. [844] In the *Sugyō*[*roku*] it is therefore said:

> Bodhisattva Yongshi committed a sexual transgression and still awakened to non-arising. Nun Hsing had no spiritual practice and still realized the fruit of the path. So, [if even they succeeded], how could one who trusts and understands the Buddhadharma, and who clearly apprehends his own mind, fail to attain

[842] Both the question and the subsequent answer incorporate large chunks from the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 511c05-c17).

[843] 頓悟上乘超凡超聖, 迷心性人論凡論聖, 又云若於迷人求得求證, 若於悟人无得无求, 若於迷者期久遠劫, 若於悟者頓見本佛. Compare *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 441c05-08):

> Someone asked: How much time does it take to attain liberation by means of cultivating the mind? Master [Huihai] said: "Cultivating the mind is like polishing mud by rinsing it with dirt. The subtle quality of prajña is fundamentally unborn and the presence of its great function is not concerned with units of time." Question: "Can ordinary people attain this, or can't they?" Master [Huihai] answered: "One who sees the nature is not an ordinary person. Suddenly awakened to the supreme vehicle one surpasses ordinary beings and transcends sages. People who are deluded about the nature of mind argue over ordinary beings and sages. Awakened people go beyond saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. Deluded people discuss noumenon and phenomenon. Awakened people function broadly without constraints. Deluded people look for attainment and realization. Awakened people do not attain or look for anything. Deluded people anticipate distant kalpas. Awakened people suddenly see it. 人問。將心修行幾時得解脫。師曰。將心修行喻如滑泥洗垢。般若玄妙本自無生。大用現前不論時節。曰凡夫亦得如此否。師曰。見性者即非凡夫。頓悟上乘超凡越聖。迷人論凡論聖。悟人超越生死涅槃。迷人說事說理。悟人大用無方。迷人求得求證。悟人無得無求。迷人期遠劫。悟人頓見。

[844] **dust motes scattered in a violent storm … a light boat swept away on a fast stream.** From the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 511c05-c09).

awakening? Someone who doubted this said: "Why should we not eliminate the afflictions?" I explained: "Just clearly see that murder, theft, sexual transgressions and conceit all issue from the one mind! The moment they arise they are calm: what need is there for further elimination? Just apprehend the one mind and the myriads of objects will naturally become like phantasms. Why? All dharmas arise from the mind. Since the mind is formless, what characteristics could dharmas possibly possess?[845]

[9] QUESTION: If you maintain that the one mind is nondual and the myriad dharmas are one [with it], then why differentiate between ordinary beings and sages, and why is there a division between noble and base?

ANSWER: The moment red and green are in the eyes, a thousand flowers distort the sky.[846] The moment the golden scalpel cuts the eye-membrane, all is empty, tranquil and serene.[847] The

[845] *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 511c11-c17). The bodhisattva Yongshi, in this case, refers to one of the two central characters in a remarkable sūtra entitled *Sūtra on the Purification of Karmic Hindrances* 淨業障經 (T. 1494). This sūtra describes the exploits of two monks named Yongshi 勇施 (Valiant Charity) and Wugou Guang 無垢光 (Undefiled Light) and explains how the karmic burdens of their evil deeds were eliminated through insight into the non-arising of dharmas. According to the text the extremely handsome monk Yongshi fell for the sexual advances of a woman whose husband thereupon threatened to kill her. By design of the monk Yongshi, however, the woman managed to poison her husband. Overcome with remorse about having violated the precepts against killing and sexual misconduct, Yongshi then flees the scene and wanders about in despair, convinced he is bound for hell. One day he meets a bodhisattva called Birouduoluo 鼻揉多羅 who transports him to a mysterious forest to listen to a lengthy hymn that is being recited by countless buddhas. Having listened to this hymn, Yongshi realizes that he had been "deliberately picking and choosing between dharmas." In that moment he "separated from all taints and constraints and accomplished the state of patiently enduring the non-arising of dharmas 得無生忍 .

[846] **The moment red and green are in the eyes, a thousand flowers distort the sky.** 赤青メニアルトキニハ千花乱空。 Compare the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 419c18-c26):

> A verse in the *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The vehicles of Brahma and the devas, the vehicles of the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, the vehicles of Buddhas and Tathāgatas: all the vehicles I expounded are transformations of the mind. These vehicles are not the ultimate. When the mind is fully extinguished there are no vehicles or vehicle dwellers, and no establishment of vehicles. My teaching is one vehicle, but to guide sentient beings I make distinctions and expound various vehicles." This is why a virtuous one of the past said: "One cataract in the eye, and a thousand flowers distort the sky. One delusion in the mind, and innumerable phenomena arise and cease. When the cataract is removed, the flowers are extinguished. When the delusion is eliminated, one awakens to the real. Recovered from the illness, the medicine is discarded. When ice melts, water appears. When divine cinnabar is turned nine times, one drop transforms lead into gold. One word of the ultimate principle turns an ordinary being into a sage. A deranged mind is without rest, while in rest it is bodhi. The mirror's purity is the mind's clearness. It is fundamentally buddha. 楞伽經偈云。諸天及梵乘。聲聞緣覺乘。諸佛如來乘。我說此諸乘。乃至有心轉。諸乘非究竟。若彼心滅盡無乘及乘者。無有乘建立。我說為一乘。引導眾生故。分別說諸乘。故先德云。一翳在目。千華亂空。一妄在心。恒沙生滅。一翳除華盡。妄滅證真。病差藥除。冰融水在。神丹九轉。點鐵成金。至理一言轉凡成聖。狂心不歇。歇即菩提。鏡淨心明。本來是佛。

[847] **The moment the golden scalpel cuts the eye-membrane, all is empty, tranquil and serene.** 金錍膜サクルトキニハ一空寂靜。 The metaphor of the golden scalpel derives from the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (T. 374, 411c14-c28):

> Bodhisattva Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: "It is exceedingly wonderful World Honored One. The buddha- nature you speak of is exceedingly deep, exceedingly deep, difficult to see and difficult to enter. Śrāvakas and pratyekas are unable to adopt it." The Buddha said: "Good man. It is so, it is so. Your praises are not different from what I expound." Bodhisattva Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: "World Honored One. Why is the buddha-nature exceptionally profound, difficult to see and difficult to enter?" The Buddha said: "Good man. When a hundred blind persons consult a good doctor for treatment of their eyes, the good doctor, with a golden scalpel, cuts the eye-membrane.

moment you are in a nonawakened state of mind, ordinary beings and sages, worthy and despicable, are differentiated. The moment you are in a fully awakened state of mind, the sad distinction between ordinary beings and buddhas is gone. Venerable Yunju said: "The one way is void and calm. The myriad things are equal. Which one is noble, which one is base? What disgrace or glory can there be?"[848]

[10] QUESTION: A thoroughly evil icchantika falls into into the Avīci hell, a thoroughly virtuous Tathāgata dwells in tranquil light. The six ordinary and four noble ways of rebirth are different, the nine realms of bondage are far removed from the single state of liberation. How can you so obscenely say they are one? [849]

Holding up one finger he asks: 'can you see this?' The blind person replies: 'I still have no vision.' When he subsequently holds up two fingers and then three fingers, that person says: 'I have some vision.' Good man, so it is when this subtle scripture of Great Nirvāṇa has not yet been expounded by the Tathāgata. Countless bodhisattvas may have carefully practiced the various pāramitās and reached the ten stages, but still they have not been able to see that there is buddha-nature. If the Tathāgata speaks they will have some vision. When the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas have obtained vision completely they will unitedly say: 'It is exceedingly wonderful, World Honored One. Constantly confused about non-self we have been meandering through saṃsāra without bounds (…). 迦葉菩薩白佛言。甚奇世尊。所言佛性甚深甚深難見難入。聲聞緣覺所不能服佛言。善男子。如是如是。如汝所歎。不違我說。迦葉菩薩白佛言。世尊。佛性者云何甚深難見難入佛言。善男子。如百盲人爲治目故造詣良醫。是時良醫即以金錍決其眼膜。以一指示問言見不。盲人答言。我猶未見。復以二指三指示之乃言少見。善男子。是大涅槃微妙經典如來未説亦復如是。無量菩薩雖具行諸波羅蜜乃至十住。猶未能見所有佛性。如來既説即便少見。是菩薩摩訶薩既得見已。咸作是言。甚奇世尊。我等流轉無量生死。常爲無我之所惑亂。(Note that in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* the import of the metaphor is less subitist than in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*. In the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, the vision of the patients whose cataracts have been removed clears only gradually).

[848] There are several Chan monks with the name Yunju, e.g. Yunju Daojian 雲居道簡 (n.d.), Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (d. 902) and Yunju Daoqi 雲居道齊 (929–997). The cited lines, however, are from the *Xixinming* 息心銘 (Inscription on Stopping the Mind) by Wang Min 亡名 (*fl.* 567). Wang Min, née Zong Quedai 宗闕殆, was a scholar with a deep interest in Buddhism, who served in the administration of emperor Liang Yuan 梁元帝 (*r.* 552-555). Turning away from metropolitan politics he moved to Sichuan to study with dhyāna master Dui 兌禪師. Several years later he was again conscripted into office, this time under emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou 武帝 (*r.* 561-578). Wang Min ("Name Forgotten") wrote several works, including the *Xixinming*, a succinct text with Chan and Daoist overtones. The text is preserved in Wang Min's biography in the *Xugaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060, 481b10-482b18) under the title *Xixinzan* 息心贊 (Eulogy on Stopping the Mind). It is also found in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 458a15-458b06). The lines cited in *Kenshōjōbutsugi* appear near the end of the *Xixinming* :

> Beware of shadows and tracks, leave them behind far and away. Seated upright in the shade of a tree, tracks vanish and shadows disappear. Dislike of birth, suffering and old age follow from thinking and fabricating. When thoughts are eliminated, saṃsāra is forever cut off. Birthless, deathless, formless and nameless: the one way is void and calm, the myriads of things are equal. What is noble. What is base? What is disgrace? What is glory? What is excellent? What is inferior? What is heavy? What is light? The sparkling heaven discredits purity. The resplendent sun discomfits a lightbeam. It is quiet as the peak of Mount Dai and equanimous as the Golden Castle. With respect I leave this behind for the wise and worthy, that you may be virtous in the way. 畏影畏跡逾遠逾極。端坐樹陰跡滅影沈。厭生患老隨思隨造。心想若滅生死長絕。不死不生無相無名。一道虛寂萬物齊平。何貴何賤何辱何榮。何勝何劣何重何輕。澄天愧淨皎日慚明。安夫岱嶺同彼金城。敬貽賢哲斯道利貞。

On Wang-min see Livia Knaul, "Chuang-Tzu and the Chinese ancestry of Chan Buddhism," in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 13 (1986): pp. 411-428.

[849] **icchantika** (*sendai* 闡提). A person considered forever incapable of attaining liberation.
Avīci hell (*muken* 無間). The hell of uninterrupted suffering, the lowest of the eight hells in Buddhist cosmology.
six ordinary and four noble ways of rebirth (*rokubon shishō* 六凡四聖). Hell-dwellers, hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, human beings, deities, śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas and buddhas.
nine realms of bondage (*kubaku* 九縛). Nine realms of transmigration, being the hellish realms of fire, blood and knives, the realms of asuras, human beings, devas, demons and nigranthas (Jains), and the realm of form & nonform.
single state of liberation (*ichidatsu* 一脱). Nirvāṇa.

ANSWER: Your [mistaken] view of a self is towering. Your deluded attachments reach deep. When, Oh when, will be the day that Mount Self suddenly crumbles to reveal the sky of the true self? When will Delusion Ocean dry up instantly to [reveal] the void of the golden lake? The sword of self-assertion is the enemy that injures your body. The rope of deluded attachment is the error that binds your chest. You must throw away the sword of the provisional self [850] and polish the sword of the true self, cut the ropes of bondage and seize the cord of great samādhi.

Indeed, when the deluded mind grasps at unreal objects, the true mind is covered in mental creations. When a self-important self [is made to] exist, true vision is buried in wrong views and conceits. By way of analogy: when climbing a mountain one does not see the ocean, when staring out over the ocean one does not see the mountain. Actually, even if you are not one who sees the nature, why would you confront Mount False to see Truth Ocean? "The true path and a false path are not two. Understand that common and holy are the same, that delusion and awakening are originally undivided, that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are one." [851] How true these words!

II.B [11~44]

[11] QUESTION: It seems that [you are using] words in various ways here, but your replies do not go beyond the doctrinal side [of Buddhism]. Are we to consider this the dharma gate of the Zen school? Or have you been answering in accord with the doctrinal gate?
ANSWER: In accordance with the questions asked I just momentarily borrowed from the doctrinal gate. It is not the true purport of the Zen gate.

[12] QUESTION: Please explain the real meaning of this true teaching, so I will understand it.
ANSWER: The moment stone tigers fight at the foot of a mountain and reed flowers sink to the bottom of a lake, I will tell you the essential point of this teaching. [852]

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[850] Emendation: the text has 實我 (*jitsuga*: "true self"). The argument demands the opposite, namely the false notion of a fixed self, indicated for instance by Buddhist terms *kega* 假我 ("provisional self") and *tōga* 倒我 ("mistaken self").

[851] 正道邪道不二、了知凡聖同、迷悟本无別、涅槃生死一イヘルコトマカトナルカナヤ。These lines derive from the *Fourteenfold Eulogy* by Baozhi (418-514). Cited in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 492a27-b03):

> The true path and a false path are not two. Understand that common and holy are the same road; delusion and awakening are originally not different; saṃsāra and nirvana are one suchness; involvement with conditions is ultimately tranquil; thinking, seeking and imagining are void; and not a single dharma can be grasped. [Understand this and] you will enter naturally, with great speed, and without anything remaining. 正道邪道不二。了知凡聖同途。迷悟本無差別。涅槃生死一如。究竟攀緣空寂。惟求意想清虛。無有一法可得。翛然自入無餘。

[852] 石帚山ノフモトニタタカヒ蘆花ミツノソコニシツマムトキヲマチテコノ宗ム子ヲハノフヘシ. Compare to the *Zongjinglu*:

> The *Sūtra of Perfect Awakening* says: "Conditioned thoughts depend on mental activity. They [depend] entirely on the six sense fields, false thinking and the forces of conditioning. They are not the true mind-substance. They are like flowers in the sky. To use these conditioned thoughts to discern the buddha-field would be like the sky flowers growing sky fruits; such proliferating of false concepts is pointless."
> QUESTION: A propos your previous explanation about not contriving existence or non-existence, how are we to correctly apprehend no-mind?
> ANSWER: Stone tigers fight at the foot of the mountain. Straw flowers sink to the bottom of the lake. 圓覺經云。有作思惟從有心起。皆是六塵妄想緣氣。非實心體。已如空華。用此思惟辯於佛境。猶如空華復結空果。展轉妄想。無有是處　問。既不得作有無之解。如何是正了無心　答。石虎山前鬪。蘆華水底沈。(T. 2016, 682a11-a15)

[13] QUESTION: How could such things happen?
ANSWER: How could I explain the purport [of the Zen gate]?

[14] QUESTION: If you don't explain, how can I understand?
ANSWER: How can you understand if I do explain?

[15] QUESTION: I beg you, please explain it, so I may awaken to the one mind and leave saṃsāra.
ANSWER: I already explained.

[16] QUESTION: How can you say you have finished explaining what I had not yet asked?
ANSWER: Is not the fact that I said I cannot explain it an explanation? It is the case that you did not [yet] ask. It is not the case that I did not [already] explain.

[17] QUESTION: How am I to understand that not explaining is explaining ?
ANSWER: How am I to understand that explaining is explaining?

[18] QUESTION: In that case, do you in this school consider not explaining as having explained?
ANSWER: How could one consider not explaining as having explained?

[19] QUESTION: Well then, tell me.
ANSWER: I already did. You're not listening!

[20] QUESTION: How can I listen to what you do not tell me?[853]
ANSWER: When I tell you, how would you listen? I already told you what I do not tell you.

[21] QUESTION: If the meaning is like this, who could learn this essential point and awaken?
ANSWER: There are in fact no delusions. Who could be the first to awaken?

[22] QUESTION: Ordinary beings are, obviously, deluded. How can you say that there are in fact no delusions?
ANSWER: I say it is a delusion not to know that there is no delusion. Delusion has no existence. Therefore, awakening, too, does not exist.

[23] QUESTION: How is it that one who sees the nature 見性ノヒト awakens to the mind without separating from delusion?

ANSWER: One who sees the nature neither separates from delusion nor attains awakening.

[24] QUESTION: In that case, how will he leave saṃsāra and attain bodhi?
ANSWER: He neither separates from saṃsāra nor attains bodhi, and in this way he will have left saṃsāra once and for all.

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[853] ノヘサラ emended to ノヘサル.

[25] QUESTION: If that is how it is, who would aspire to study this dharma text? [854]
ANSWER: When there truly is no "person", there is nothing to study. When there is, that person should realize this essential point.

[26] QUESTION: Is the one who just spoke not a person?
ANSWER: Assuming I were a person, how could I articulate this essential point?

[27] QUESTION: I hear all this but I really do not understand what it means. Please explain it.
ANSWER: I will tell you about it when you see your eye with your eye and touch your finger with your finger.

[28] QUESTION: How can I see my eye with my eye?
ANSWER: How can one explain the mind with the mind?

[29] QUESTION: If you do not explain, how will I know?
ANSWER: How will you know if you do not see it [for yourself]?

[30] QUESTION: How could I see my eye with my eye, given the fact that [an eye] is plainly one?
ANSWER: How could you understand the mind with the mind, given the fact that [the mind] is plainly one ?

[31] QUESTION: This dharma is really inconceivable. It is out of reach for ordinary beings. How are we to understand it?
ANSWER: In wide open space there are no ordinary beings and sages.[855] What ordinary beings exist that about this dharma we might say "in reach" and "out of reach"?[856]

[32] QUESTION: If there are no ordinary beings and sages, then why in reality is there a deluded and an awakened kind.
ANSWER: Within great clarity they are extinct.[857]

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[854] **this dharma text** (*kono hōmon* コノ法文). The pronoun *kono* suggests that the speaker has a text close at hand. Another possibility is that *kono hōmon* is meta-reference to *Kenshojobutsugi* itself, but this seem unlikely. Perhaps the characters 法文 are a mistaken rendering of homophonous 法門 ("dharma gate"), as in *zenshū no hōmon* 禅宗ノ法門 ("dharma gate of the Zen school") in QUESTION 11.

[855] **wide open space** (*kakunen* 廓然). The term *kakunen* hints at a famous episode in the Bodhidharma myth. When Emperor Wu of the Liang asked Bodhidharma about the "prime meaning of the holy truth" 聖諦第一義, Bodhidharma replied: "Wide open space, nothing holy" (*kakunen mushō* 廓然無聖). See for instance *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 2076, 219a26-27).

[856] **in reach** translates *kyōkai* 境界 (Skt. *viṣaya*). **out of reach** translates 境界ニアラス (i.e. *hikyōkai* 非境界) (Skt. *aviṣaya*).

[857] **extinct** (*nebureri* 子フレリ). Literally, "fell asleep."

[33] QUESTION: If this is the case, are you not about to fall into a false attachment? [858]
ANSWER: External to the mind there are no holes [to fall in].[859]

[34] QUESTION: Wouldn't this be annihilationism? [860]
ANSWER: There is no hair on the back of a tortoise.[861]

[35] QUESTION: If [the dharma gate of the Zen school] is like this, who will trust it? How can this not be nonsense?
ANSWER: Sun and moon have no flaws.[862]

[36] QUESTION: This is altogether incomprehensible. How is a fool to discern and express it?
ANSWER: What fools do you know?

[37] QUESTION: Could we say that one may understand despite being a fool?
ANSWER: The wise do not understand.

[38] QUESTION: If that is the case, can we say that only the wise understand
ANSWER: The wise are not deluded.

[39] QUESTION: If one maintains that the nature of the mind is neither foolish or wise, should it not follow that it is devoid of understanding, like a hollow space, a tree, or a rock? 頑空木石
ANSWER: Numinous awareness. 靈知 [863]

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[858] i.e. attachment to extinction, nothingness.

[859] The notion of descending into false attachments is itself merely a construct of the mind.

[860] **annihilationism** (*danken* 断見) (Skt. *uccheda-drstii*) refers to the idea that sentient beings become completely extinct upon death. As it contradicts the laws of karma and rebirth *uccheda-drstii* is considered a false view, rejected by the Buddha.

[861] i.e. annihilationism, too, is just a view. It is ultimately without basis in reality, like a tortoise with hair.

[862] The sun and moon here may denote the buddha-nature, ever spotless beyond nonsense and no nonsense.

[863] The term "numinous awareness" 靈知 is of central importance in the Chan thought of Zongmi. To Zongmi numinous awareness and its equivalents "constant awareness" 常知 and "empty and tranquil awareness" 空寂知, Peter N. Gregory explains, "is not a specific cognitive faculty but the underlying ground of consciousness that is always present in all sentient life. It is not a special state of mind or spiritual insight but the noetic ground of both delusion and enlightenment, ignorance and wisdom" (Peter. N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, p. 218). In his *Chan Preface* Zongmi emphasizes that this awareness is a tranquil yet dynamic force: it is not like "an empty space, a tree or a rock" (*kokū bokuseki* 虛空木石). The argument and idiom are very close to QUESTION AND ANSWER 39 in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*, suggesting influence from Zongmi's *Chan Preface*, possibly through the conduit of Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 615a7-10):

> Q: Earlier you mentioned original, clear and ever-present awareness. Why do Buddhas need to open up and manifest it?
> A: The awareness I spoke of is not the awareness of realization. I meant to explain that the true nature is not the same as empty space, or a tree, or a rock (*kokū bokuseki* 虛空木石). This is why I call it "awareness." It is not like consciousness that is involved in objects and discriminates them. It is not like wisdom that illumines the substance and apprehends it. It is the nature of suchness, natural and ever-present awareness 問。既云性自了了常知。何須諸佛開示 答。此言知者。不是證知。意説眞性不同虛空木石。故云知也。非如緣境分別之識。非如照體了達之智。直是眞如之性自然常知。

[40] QUESTION: If one maintains that it has awareness, should it not follow that it deliberates, measures and calculates?
ANSWER: It goes with the flow. 任運 [864]

[41] QUESTION: How can I know this numinous awareness that goes with the flow? 任運靈知
ANSWER : Rather then asking a thousand times, see it once and you'll know.

[42] QUESTION: How can I see it?
ANSWER: The lantern boy comes looking for fire. [865]

[43] QUESTION: I don't know what that means. Quickly, explain how I can understand this!
ANSWER: The bowl faces up, the kāṣāya points down.

[44] QUESTION: I still don't understand. Please explain, how can I figure this out?
ANSWER: Your fault is that you don't know directly from your own experience. How sad! Though self and other are nondual and originally equal you have no idea; not knowing this you search while following others. How sad! How sad! The condition for truly leaving the village of saṃsāra and arriving at the shore of bodhi is [right here], in apprehending this dharma gate.

Fifth year of Einin, month eight, day four.
Finished at the hour of the bird.

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[864] The term *nin'un* indicates spontaneous functioning, freely following along with circumstances. It is possible to read the term here as an advise to the questioner: "Go with the flow!" The compound *nin'un reichi* 任運靈知 in the subsequent entry might then be rendered as "numinous awareness experienced when one freely follows along with circumstances." However, *nin'un* here reads as a description of the function of numinous awareness as such. I have not been able to locate the compound *nin'un reichi* in another text. *Zongjinglu* (T. 2076, 615b07- b15) has the similar 任運常知 (*nin' un jōchi*; "ever-present awareness that goes with the flow"):

> *Baozanglun* says: "When aware of existence, one is impaired by existence. When aware of nonexistence, one is corrupted by nonexistence." The wisdom of awareness does not consider existence and nonexistence. Not considering existence and nonexistence, it is inherent nondiscriminative awareness. Hence awareness, the intrinsic substance of the true mind, is unconditioned mind. Free of deliberation, it is ever-present awareness that goes with the flow. 寶藏論云。知有有壞。知無無敗。其知之智有無不計。既不計有無。即自性無分別之知。是以此真心自體之知。即無緣心。不假作意。任運常知。

[865] **lantern boy** (*heitei-dōji* 丙丁童子). *Heitei-dōji* is a deity of fire. The term was also used for temple boys whose task it was to light the temple lanterns. The maxim "the lantern boy comes looking for fire" indicates the situation of seeking after awakening as if it were something not already in one's possession. See for instance *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 341c9-c17).

TEXT III
DHARMA GATE FUNDAMENTALS

I. LECTURE

[I.a] In awe I say that that every single teaching method used by the World Honoured One in the eighty years he was in this world is completely inconceivable! [866] Aged nineteen he fled the castle. At thirty he attained the way. For forty-nine years, at over three-hundred and sixty assemblies, he expounded the teachings. First, those of superior capacity received instruction through the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. In the Deer Park he expounded [the four noble] truths, and under the twin trees he revealed his eternalness.[867] Throughout these times, he combined provisional with ultimate [teachings]. The exoteric and esoteric: all [were expounded] for the sake of attaining the great matter. Finally, [the Buddha] transmitted the mind, which is considered the fundamental point of the bequeathed dharma 遺法本宗.

[I.b] Twenty-eight patriarchs from the Western Skies [i.e. India] transmitted it in succession. Bodhidharma came to the east and proselytized in China. He had three superior students: Nun Zongchi obtained his flesh, Daoyu obtained his bones and Huike obtained his marrow.[868] Huike explained: "Originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi" 本无煩恼元是菩提. This means that afflictions depend on delusion. The substance of delusion is fundamental emptiness. This empty and tranquil principle is naturally endowed with numinous awareness (*reichi* 靈知). It is a pure dharma, complete in itself 淨法宛然. It is called bodhi. Bodhi has no characteristics 無相. How could we discuss it in terms of arising and extinction, or false and true? The mind is luminous on its own and cannot change. This is why [Huike] said, "originally there are no afflictions; fundamentally they are bodhi." Daoyu said: "Deluded there are afflictions; awakened there is bodhi" 迷即煩恼悟即菩提. Originally there is awakened nature; but because of nonawakening, the mind is stirred, and [as a result] one instantly revolves in the immensity of saṃsāra. [And yet], being empty of characteristics, saṃsāra is not separate from the awakened nature. When the awakened nature is not stirred, it emerges without contaminations. Nun Zongchi said: "By cutting off the afflictions, we attain bodhi" 斷煩恼得菩提. All sentient beings have afflictions as their basic substance. Though all are endowed with dharma-nature 法性, it does not manifest. To put an end to delusion, contemplate truth, and manifest Buddha's illumination: this

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[866] **teaching methods** (*kegi* 化儀). The term *kegi* (Ch. *huayi*) derives from the Tendai system of doctrinal classification known as Five Periods and Eight Teachings (*goji hakkyō* 五時八教). It refers to four methods that the Buddha is said to have used when instructing his listeners: sudden, gradual, secret and variable.

[867] **twin trees** (*sōju* 雙樹). Refers to the forest near Kuśinagara where according to tradition the Buddha pronounced his final words. The forest is the setting of the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, in which the eternalness of the Buddha is expounded.

[868] The earliest known account of this famous episode in Chan historiography is found in Zongmi's (780-841) *Chan Chart*. In a diagram Zongmi records the names of Nun Zongchi, Daoyu and Huike and provides their respective replies to Bodhidharma. The seminal Chan record *Jingde chuangdenglu* (1004) presents a drastically changed narrative that includes four students– Daofu, Nun Zongchi, Daoyu and Huike, with a different set of replies, culminating in Huike's silent bow. This four-student narrative became the normative version.

is cultivating the way. The above are all Mahāyāna explanations, simply divided from sharp to blunt.

[I.c] In the past, before the Buddha appeared in this world, there were early physicians outside of Buddhism 舊醫外道 who explained the principle and spoke about the way. Three sages – not from the Three Eastern Lands under the Western Skies but from China – transmitted this teaching for a for a long time. Kongzi propagated the five cardinal virtues and is considered the original patriarch of Confucianism. Laozi took refuge in the void. Zhuangzi advocated naturalness.[869] These two sages conveyed Daoism 道家. All [three] made pacifying the mind and restraining evil the criteria of the right path. But, failing to break [their mistaken] attachments to selfhood, [people could] not escape the three worlds.[870] The new physician – the Tathāgata – accurately taught the world-transcending path. Gradually purifying themselves so as to enter the gate of the one mind, Hināyānists got attached to dharmas. Though they were far from the land of reward, the Buddha, at the time of his nirvāṇa, revealed his [true] body to them and showed them the unexcelled path. In the same way [the Buddha] adapted himself to the level of bodhisattvas. In the Vaipulya period he explained provisional truths, in the Prajñā period he expounded emptiness and in the Lotus period he clarified the real truth.[871]

[I.d] In the beginning of the trace part [of the *Lotus Sūtra*] [the Buddha] explains the ten suchnesses and reveals the sublime field. He opens up buddha-perception in the mind-ground of sentient beings. The Tathāgata's sole purpose for appearing in the world was to awaken [sentient beings] and [have them] enter the sublime field through buddha-perception.[872] We already accord with the original mind and are one with all buddhas. Let me give one example. When the Buddha swiftly attained the way he became equal with the nature of original awakening. There was no fruition of actualized awakening. The basic idea of the origin part [of the *Lotus Sūtra*], then, is that [buddhahood] has no beginning and no end. Origin and trace are high and wide, yet simply reside within your own mind. See them with a pure mind and Buddha's response will not be far. Still, when no longer captivated by dharmas, don't get constrained in purity!

[I.e] In his parting words [before entering] nirvāṇa [the Buddha] spoke at length about buddha-nature.[873] This refers to objectless awareness.[874] Shingon takes the secretly explained A-syllable

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[869] 庄○生○ emended to 莊子.

[870] **three worlds** (*sangai* 三界). The realms of desire, form and no-form.

[871] The Vaipulya, Prajñā and Lotus periods are the third, fourth and fifth periods in the Buddha's preaching career according to the Tendai system of doctrinal classification. In the Lotus period the Buddha expounded the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, which are both alluded to in the subsequent paragraph in *Kenshōjōbutsugi*.

[872] **trace part** (*shakumon* 迹門). According to Tendai hermeneutics the *Lotus Sūtra* breaks down into two parts. The first fourteen chapters, called *shakumon*, reveal the Buddha as a manifested, temporal being. The second fourteen chapters, called *honmon* 本門, reveal the Buddha as an eternal, numinous being.

[873] **parting words [before entering] nirvāṇa** (*nehan isoku* 涅槃遺属). The *Nirvāṇa sūtra*.

[874] **objectless awareness** (J *muen no chi* 無縁之知). This term appears prominently in volume thirty-six of Yanshou's *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 631a10-631a21). This volume contains a lengthy exposition on "awareness" (Ch. *zhi* 知), which Yangshou (after Zongmi) considers the ultimate reality, synonymous with buddha-nature. At the conclusion of this exposition Yanshou cites a passage from *Dafangguangfo huayanjing suishu yanji chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (Exegesis of the

as its main point,[875] which is none other than the formless, original mind [that I have been talking about]. It exactly corresponds to the limit of the original unborn.[876] It resides at the summit of the many teachings. The dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka* is nothing more than the subtle principle of mind-only.[877] It is considered to be above number eight of the ten consciousnesses that are distinguished in the *Exposition on Mahāyāna*.[878]

[I.f] To conclude I will clarify the substance and function of the one mind. The Yogācāra (Hossō) concept of three natures reveals the twofold mind of truth and delusion.[879] Mādhyamika (Sanron) [practitioners] accord with the formless mind by contemplating the eight negations.[880] The Zen

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Commentary on the Avataṃsaka sūtra) (T.1736) by the Huayan patriarch Chengguan (738-839), who in turn comments on a passage in *Chanzong Yongjia ji* (T. 2013) (Anthology of Yongjia of the Chan school):

> *Yongjia ji* says: "If one is aware of tranquility by means of tranquility, it is not objectless awareness (*muenchi* 無緣知): in a hand that holds on to a wishfulfilling jewel there is, likewise, no nonexistence of a wishfulfilling jewel. If one is aware by means of ones own awareness, it is not objectless awareness: in a hand that makes a fist there is, likewise, no nonexistence of a fistless hand." […] Venerable Chengguan said: "This objectless awareness (*muen no chi* 無緣之知) mentioned here is the wonder of the Zen school. With it one simply manifests objectless, true wisdom. Regard it as a true path. Those who decide on it simply manifest the original mind and do not follow the deluded mind. 永嘉集云。若以知知寂。此非無緣知。如手執如意。非無如意手。若以自知知。亦非無緣知。如手自作拳。非無不拳手 […] 觀和尚云。此上無緣之知。斯為禪宗之妙。以彼但顯無緣真智。以為真道。若奪之者。但顯本心。

Zongmi's 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 (Subcommentary on the Sūtra of Perfect Awakening) has: "The Sixth Patriarch said: "If you are aware of tranquility by means of awareness, this is not objectless awareness"." 六祖云。若以知知寂。此非無緣知。(X. 245, 530c03).

[875] In Esoteric Buddhism the Sanskrit A-syllable (*aji* 阿字) embodies the central Buddha Mahāvairocana.

[876] **limit of the original unborn** (*honpushōzai* 本不生際). The term *honpushō* describes the true state of things, free of arising and extinction. In Esoteric Buddhism this designates Buddha Mahāvairocana. The term "limit of the original unborn" repeatedly occurs in the influential *Dapiluzhena jing shu* 大毘盧遮那經疏 (Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra) (T. 1796) by the Tang monk Yixing 一行 (685-727), in reference to Mahāvairocana and the A-syllable. Yixing's *Commentary* was introduced in Japan by Saichō. Kūkai also brought it with him from his studies in China, as did the Tendai pilgrims Ennin and Enchin.

[877] **dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka*** (*kegon hokkai* 花厳法界). The dharma realm (Skt. *dharmadhātu*) as described in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and interpreted by its exegetes. According to the Huayan monk Chengguan 澄觀 (737- 838), there are four dharma realms: 1) dharma realm of phenomena (*jihokkai* 事法界), 2) dharma realm of noumenon (*rihokkai* 理法界), 3) dharma realm of unobstructed interpenetration of noumenon and phenomena (*riji muge hokkai* 理事無礙法界) and 4) dharma realm of unobstructed interpenetration of phenomena and phenomena (*jiji muge hokkai* 事事無礙法界).

[878] ***Exposition on Mahāyāna*** (J. *Shakuron* 釋論; Ch. *Shilun*). *Shilun* is short for *Shimoheyanlun* (J. *Shakumaenron* 釋摩訶衍論)(T. 1668), a work attributed to Nāgārjuna but probably a Chinese apocryphon. The *Shimoheyanlun* is especially known for positing ten consciousnessess, namely the eight consciousnesses distinguished in Yogācāra analysis (eye, ear, nose, tongue and bodily consciousness, thinking consciousnes and storehouse consciousness) plus a "differentiation consciousness" (*taitsu shiki* 多一識) and a "unified consciousness" (*ichi ichi shiki* 一一識). Also mentioned in the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 680c14-c24).

[879] **three natures** (*sanshō* 三性). "Three natures" refers to a Yogācāra analysis of the nature of phenomena. The first is "constructed nature" (Skt. *parikalpitasvabhāva*) and refers to the way the mind falsely imputes a separate existence on what it perceives. The second is "dependent nature" (Skt. *paratantrasvabhāva*) and refers to the mutually interdependent condition of phenomena. The third is the "perfected nature" (Skt. *parinispannasvabhāva)* and refers to suchness, the true nature of phenomena, discovered in meditation. See Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Foundations*, pp. 88-92.

[880] **eight negations** (*hachifu* 八不). The eight negations appear in Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*: non-ceasing, non-arising, non-annihilation, non-permanenc, non-identity, non-difference, non-appearance, non-disappearance. See David Kalupahana, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā of Nāgārjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way* (Motilal Banarsidass, 2004) (reprint), p. 101.

Gate school transmits mind to mind from buddha to buddha and patriarch to patriarch, and is not established on words and letters. Words and letters are completely separated from it. With accurate language we point to the mind, having attained the mind we forget words, relying on the mind we search buddha, having attained buddha we forget the mind. Mind is a name. Its substance is awareness.[881] What things is mind aware of? It is aware of the sublime field 妙境. The sublime field is Buddha's true substance 真躰. It is without sameness or difference. Awareness is [also] buddha's function. Numerous virtues develop from it. Awareness emerges from intrinsically pure principle 性浄理. This principle exists through the absence of characteristics 無相. Since absence of characteristics is fundamental emptiness, awareness is unobtainable 無所得. Because it is unobtainable, it constitutes unexcelled awakening 无上菩提. This is the heart and liver of exotericism and esotericism. There is no substance other than this one.

[1.g] All those who simply have not yet disclosed the original nature, and abide in a discriminative and grasping mind, are called ordinary worldlings, for whom it is difficult to leave saṃsāra. They may study various teachings, but it will all be in the same class as the kalpa-consuming practices of humans, devas and hināyānists. But if, thanks to the revelation of a good friend 善友開示, they realize thoughtless perception, all conditions will suddenly be tranquil, and the dharma realm will be void and clear.[882] Whatever the eyes and ears perceive, there will be nothing that is not the

[881] **Mind is a name. Its substance is awareness.** 心是名其躰即知也。 The notion that "mind" is a name (*myō* 名) whose substance (*tai* 體) is awareness (*chi* 知) derives from Zongmi and is, in extension, found in Yanshou's *Zongjinglu*. In the *Chan Preface* (T. 2015) Zongmi uses the analytical tool of *name*/*substance* to elucidate the relationship between signifying language and the signified dharma itself. In a poignant passage Zongmi gives the example of water as the name and wetness as the substance. Zongmi applies this principle to the mind-transmission (*denshin* 傳心) of the Chan school: the mind that Bodhidharma spoke of is a "name", while the substance of that name is "awareness" (T. 2015, 405b03-b05; T. 2015, 406c05-407a04; Ishii Shūdō & Okawa Takashi, "Zengen shosen ji tojo no yakuchū kenkyū (5)," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 55, (1997): pp. 21-26; Ishii Shūdō & Okawa Takashi, "Zengen shosenji tojo no yakuchū kenkyū (6)," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 28 (1997), pp. 96-100; Jeffrey Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 137-138 and 145-147. Peter N. Gregory, "Tsung-Mi and the single word awareness," *Philosophy East and West* 35/3 (1985), pp. 249-269. The passages of the *Chan Preface* alluded to above are cited extensively in chapter thirty-four the *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 610c07-617b02). Also compare *Zongjinglu* (T. 2016, 448c24-c29):

> Q: In the orthodox lineage of the Chan gate, the mind is considered to be the source. But mind is a name. What is considered to be the substance?
> A: Among scholars nowadays many cling to phrases and neglect the purport. They obscure the substance and recognize [only] the name. How could those who recognize the name, but forget the substance, possibly reach the stage of truth? Complying with phrases and deluded about the purport, how will they accord with the fount of the way? Mind is a name. We consider awareness to be the substance. This is numinous awareness, intrinsic spiritual understanding. It is not the same as deluded consciousness, which is aware through thinking, while relying on conditions and depending on objects. It is also not the same as a great hollow space or an annihilationistic absence of awareness. 問。以心為宗。禪門正脈。且心是名。以何為體。答。近代已來。今時學者。多執文背旨。昧體認名。認名忘體之人。豈窮實地。徇文迷旨之者。何契道原。則心是名。以知為體。此是靈知。性自神解。不同妄識。仗緣託境。作意而知。又不同太虛空廓。斷滅無知。

[882] **thoughtless perception** (*munen no chiken* 無念知見). This term appears in Zongmi's *Chan Preface* (T. 2015, 403a06-a10; Ishii Shūdō & Okawa Takashi 1997, *Zengen* III, p. 29.) Zongmi uses this term in a description of the "doctrine that directly reveals the nature" (三直顯心性宗), that is, the doctrine of the Heze lineage of Chan to which Zongmi himself claimed succession. See Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 122-24. The same passage also mentions the "good friend" who reveals the path (*zenyū kaishi* 善友開示):

> If you acquire a good friend who reveals [the truth], you will suddenly realize empty and tranquil awareness. Awareness is without thought and without form. Who is it that affirms characteristics of self

sublime field. In the midst of the four activities they will always see the Buddha's face. One who directly realizes and enters like this, constantly basks in tranquil radiance and continually renews sublime awakening.[883]In our world of hardship it is difficult to contemplate phenomena, let alone sincerely contemplate the principle! But why not be joyful? You may not yet see with your eyes, but your mind already sees with complete clarity. Have courage on the path and do not deny causality. On what basis could attachments and false insights possibly arise?

[1.h] This is practicing deep prajñā, also called oneness samādhi. It is none other the pure dhyāna of the Tathāgata.[884] It corresponds to the concentrated state of being mindful of Buddha 念佛定. Indeed, it is the marvelous cause of Pure Land awakening. It is the essential technique for long life and immortality. [Practice it and] you will quickly accomplish extensive benefits! In the mansions of hell, the buddhas of the ten directions, the worthy sages and the celestial deities only protect the person [who practices this samādhi]. Why? Because such one is a prince of the Buddha Land. Why seek outside this essential point? Comparably, a crown pretender aspires only to the throne and does not have other ambitions. Those who enter this dharma not only accomplish the way of the Buddha, but are also able to govern the country, control its clans, and regulate body and mind. Monk and lay, who would not take refuge in this?

[1.i] Children of the Buddha, fortunately you have received a human body and encountered the noble teachings. As students of the bequeathed dharma you took on a name and dyed your robes.[885]

> and other? When you awaken to the emptiness of all characteristics, the mind will naturally be without thought. If a thought arises, be aware of it. Being aware of it, it will cease. The subtle gate of practice lies solely in this. You may thus fully cultivate myriads of practices, but just make non-thought the essential point. If you just attain thoughtless perception, then love and hate will spontaneously fade away, compassion and wisdom will spontaneously gain in brightness, evil karma will spontaneously be removed, and meritorious practices will spontaneously be developed. If you deeply apprehend that all characteristics are non-characteristics, it will be natural, practiceless practice. The moment that the afflictions are exhausted, saṃsāra is terminated. Once arising and ceasing have ceased, tranquil luminosity will be manifest and you will actively respond to things, without limit. The name for this is buddha. 若得善友開示。頓悟空寂之知。知且無念無形。誰為我相人相。覺諸相空心自無念。念起即覺。覺之即無修行妙門唯在此也。故雖備修萬行。唯以無念為宗。但得無念知見。則愛惡自然淡泊。悲智自然增明。罪業自然斷除。功行自然增進。既了諸相非相。自然無修之修。煩惱盡時生死即絕。生滅滅已。寂照現前應用無窮。名之為佛。

[883] **four activities** (*shi igi* 四威儀). Walking, standing, sitting and reclining. **realizes and enters** (*gonyū* 悟入). To attain awakening; realize buddhahood; achieve nirvāṇa.

[884] Compare Zongmi's *Chan Preface* (T. 2015, 399b17-b22):

> If you suddenly realize that your own mind is fundamentally pure, originally without afflictions and outflows, and naturally endowed with wisdom essence, then this mind is buddha. There is absolutely no difference. To practice accordingly is the dhyāna of the supreme vehicle. It is also called the pure dhyāna of the Tathāgata, oneness samādhi and suchness samādhi. It is the root and stem of all samādhis. If you are able to practice it continually you will naturally achieve a million samādhis, step by step. It is this dhyāna that Bodhidharma and his students transmitted forward. 若頓悟自心本來清淨。元無煩惱。無漏智性本自具足。此心即佛。畢竟無異。依此而修者。是最上乘禪。亦名如來清淨禪。亦名一行三昧。亦名眞如三昧。此是一切三昧根本。若能念念修習。自然漸得百千三昧。達摩門下展轉相傳者。是此禪也。

[885] **took on a name and dyed your robes** (*kana sen' e* 假名染衣). The added *kanbun* markers indicate the reading: *mei wo kari koromo wo somu*. As a compound the term *kana* 假名 indicates the notion that words are mere insubstantial designations

Though you may fear to commit the error of breaking the precepts, I urge you to study the intent of the teaching, seek out lots of wise friends, and learn about its central issue. Uncover the explanations of the buddhas and patriarchs, and accord with the principle of mind. Always devote yourself to seated meditation, extinguish all thoughts, deeply contemplate impermanence and do not give in to laxity. Equipped with the three right attitudes, completely separate yourself from falsities and be intensely mindful of the main object of veneration.[886] Attain realization [for yourself] and safe [others]. Wrap the dharma realm in benevolence and sympathize with its unawakened. Spread virtue where you can and sincerely wish for universal salvation. All this is a residue of bliss that follows from good deeds in previous lifetimes. Still, your illness is not yet eliminated. It is difficult to explain this quickly. But when I meet someone who is responsive, I cannot remain silent. May the noble [buddhas] empower you to attain a pure mind!

II. DIALOGUE

[II.a] Someone said: "The suchness buddha-nature is fundamentally immutable. Ordinary beings and sages equally possess it. It is not conditional on austere practices.[887] The nature and characteristics of defiled activities are empty and calm. Attain original nonarising! 本不生 Do not give rise to thoughts!"[888] All Noble ones agree on this teaching. Hence they expound the dharma and benefit living beings. In the end, [all] accord with this principle. Though they may provisionally use various expedients, they all consider the awakened state of mind the foundation. Birth [in the Pure Land] by being mindful of Buddha (*nenbutsu* 念佛) is one such expedient teaching. The decisive activity for attaining birth in the Pure Land is to be intently mindful of the Buddha and to recite his name 專稱念佛名 on the basis of the three right attitudes and a mind set upon awakening. Do not doubt this!

[II.b] QUESTION: Do buddhas still do *nenbutsu*, or do they not?
ANSWER: Tathāgathas of the ten directions – in past, present and future – are all gifted with four lands and all perfectly sport three bodies.[889] They illumine thought after thought, without

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(Skt. *prajñapti*). *Sen'e* 染衣 (literally: "dyed garment.") refers to the kāṣāya, the outer robe worn by monks and nuns, which is received during ordination.

[886] **three right attitudes** (*sanshin* 三心). Literally: "three minds." According to the *Sūtra of Contemplating Buddha Amitāyus* (*Kanmuryōjūkyō* 觀無量壽佛經, T. 365) there are three minds that assure rebirth in the Pure Land: 1) a sincere mind 至誠心 2) a deep mind 深心 and 3) a mind that transfers acquired merits towards the goal of being born in the Pure Land 廻回発願心. **main object of veneration** (*honzon* 本尊). The principal deity (buddha, bodhisattva, vijārāja, etc) that is the focus of meditative, liturgic and ritual practice. In effect this means the central image or statue of a temple.

[887] **not conditional on austere practices** (*mutai shūji* 無待修治) (*shūchi [ni] matsu koto nashi*; "it does not wait for the cultivation of restraint").

[888] Quotation not identified.

[889] **four lands** (*shido* 四土). A categorization of four Buddha Lands is found in Zhiyi's *Weimojing xuanshu* 維摩經玄疏 (Profound Commentary on the Vimalakīrti sūtra) (T. 1777): (1) Land where ordinary beings and sages dwell together (*bonshō dōido* 凡聖同居土, (2) Expedient land for those with karmic residues (*hōben yūyodo* 方便有餘土, (3) True reward land for those without obstructions (*jippō mushōgedo* 實報無障礙土), and (4) Land of eternal tranquil light (*jōjakkōdo* 常寂光土). In *Yuimakyō anraki* 維摩經菴羅記 (Record of the Vimalakīrti sūtra Mango), the Japanese monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240-1321) provides a categorization of four Pure Lands: (1) Dharma-nature Pure Land (*hōshō jōdo* 法性浄土), (2) True reward Pure

interruption for even one kṣaṇa. How is this not very deep *nenbutsu* concentration? 念佛定 It is none other than the fount of oneness samādhi, [enabling them] to repose in the vastly deep dharma realm. It is an urgent task for oneself and for others. What compares to it? The four dependable beings and the sūtra transmitters therefore all observe it. [890]

[II.c] QUESTION: Should those who practice deep samādhi contemplate impermanence?
ANSWER: To understand that the [buddha-] nature is without arising 無生 [and extinction] and yet to fear this world's impermanence, is the ultimate factor in arousing the mind of awakening. So why not contemplate it?

[II.d] QUESTION: Should those who are at one with the profound dharma believe in causality?
ANSWER: Even if one understands non-arising, in the end one should not deny causality.

[II.e] QUESTION: After one has realized the originally unborn 本不生, what method should be taken up as superior expedient 勝方便?[891]
ANSWER: Just an unpolluted method: this is the vital point. Why? Buddhas guard their thoughts and are inwardly without defilements. This is why they possess the principle of the great way.

[II.f] Know that these four dialogues are in accordance with the explanations of the buddhas and patriarchs. Make sure to retain them in your heart.

III. NOTE ON BODHIDHARMA

Someone said: "At first, great master Bodhidharma sat facing the wall of a small cave at Grove temple on Mount Song 嵩山林寺. By means of the wall he cut off all conditions. For nine years he waited for the right circumstances and eventually accepted Chan master Huike." And: "In his small cave he never practiced recitations or circumambulations at the six appointed hours of the day. But aware of his role as a guide he would sometimes teach a method for regulating the body.

Land (*jippō jōdo* 實報浄土, (3) Phenomenal Pure Land (jijōdo 事浄土) and (4) Transformation Pure land (*kejōdo* 化浄土). ZGDJ, p. 457.
three bodies (*sanshin* 三身). The absolute body (Skt. *dharmakāya*), the reward body (Skt. *sambhogakāya*) and the manifested body (Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*). See Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism,* pp. 172-186.

[890] **the four dependable beings** (*shie* 四依). According to the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* there are four kinds of beings that are to be relied upon after the Buddha entered parinirvāṇa: 1) those who are garbed in delusion but follow the precepts, 2) stream-enterers and once-returners, 3) non-returners, and 4) arhats.

> Such are the four kinds of people who appear, benefit and pity the world. They thus become the refuges of the world and give peace and bliss to man and god. They are the most honoured and the most superb of all men and gods. It is as in the case of the Tathagata, who is the most superb of men and gods and is the Refuge of the world. (translation: Yamamoto, *The Mahāyāna parinirvāṇa sūtra*)

[891] **superior expedient** (*shōhōben* 勝方便). The term refers in particular to the practice of reciting the name of Buddha Amitābha so as to attain rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land in the West. See for instance *Dashen qixinlun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on the Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith), attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (T. 1666, 583a15-19).

Recitations and circumambulations obstruct the arising of compassionate thoughts. Sure enough, the purport that [Bodhidharma] conveys is unobtainable." [892]

IV. CITATIONS AND COMMENTS

[IV.a] [Bodhisattvas] must give rise to this mind without abiding anywhere.[893] *Diamond sūtra*
Retreat, retreat! Look, look! Stubborn stones move! A verse says:

> A mountain hut, quiet evening meditation, no words.
> Perfectly calm, utterly alone, natural in essence.
> From where does the west wind move the forests and fields?
> A lone cry of a winter goose rings out in the sky. [894]

The *Diamond sūtra* says: "[Bodhisattvas] must give rise to this mind without abiding anywhere." A commentary says that "without abiding anywhere" basically means "no-mind" and that to "give rise to this mind" is true awareness devoid of thought, the self-illumination of the principle.[895]

[IV.b] The *Dashenqixin lun* says: "If you understand that a perturbed mind is actually without arising and extinction, you gain access to the gate of suchness."[896]A perturbed mind depends on deluded

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[892] **recitations and circumambulations at the six appointed hours of the day** (*gin'ei rokuji gyōdō* 吟詠六時行道). *Gin'ei* refers to the vocal intonation of sūtras, mantras, dhāraṇīs, etc. *Rokuji gyōdō* refers to rituals that include prostrations, recitations and circumambulation of a Buddha image, performed at six appointed hours of the day (sunset, beginning of the night, middle of the night, end of the night, dawn, noon).
regulating the body (*chōshin* 調身). The term *chōshin* refers to regulating ones physical posture in meditation practice.

[893] *Diamond sūtra* (T. 235, 749c18-c23):

> [The Buddha said to Subhūti]: "Subhūti, what do you think? Do bodhisattvas adorn buddha lands, or not?" "No, World Honored One! Why? Adorning buddha lands is not adorning buddha lands: this is called adorning." "That is why, Subhūti, bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas must give rise to a pure mind. They should not give rise to this mind while abiding in form. They should not give rise to this mind while abiding in sound, scent, taste, touch, or thought. They must give rise to this mind without abiding anywhere." 須菩提。於意云何。菩薩莊嚴佛土不。不也世尊。何以故。莊嚴佛土者則非莊嚴。是名莊嚴。是故須菩提。諸菩薩摩訶薩應如是生清淨心。不應住色生心。不應住聲香味觸法生心。應無所住而生其心。

The phrase "they must give rise to this mind without abiding anywhere" is widely cited in Chan/Zen literature due to its connection with a celebrated passage in the biography of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. The *Platform sūtra* (Kōshōji edition) describes how the illiterate Huineng suddenly attained awakening when hearing the fifth patriarch Hongren expound this phrase. See *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, Philip B. Yampolsky, Columbia University Press, 1967, p. 133n41.

[894] **stubborn stones move** (*ganseki dō* 頑石動). The trope of "stubborn stones" that move alludes to the notion of inanimate objects possessing the buddha-nature. The image is traced to a story about the monk Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355-434) who is said to have preached the idea of universal buddhahood as expounded in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* to a group of stones; in response the "stubborn stones nodded their heads" (*ganseki tentō* 頑石點頭). ZGDJ, p. 183-84. The phrase from the *Diamond sūtra*, the exclamation about the stubborn stones, and the four line poem in *Hōmon taikō* section IV.a are lifted integrally from *Jingangjing zhu* 金剛經註 (*Kongōkyō chū*) (Notes on the Diamond sūtra) (X. 461, 546b22-24) by the Chan monk Yefu Daochuan 冶父道川 (fl. mid-twelfth century); this text is said to record Daochan's oral replies to questions posed to him about the *Diamond sūtra*. ZGDJ, p. 932.

[895] 釈云無所住者畢竟無心、生其心者無念真知理自照也。Commentary not identified. The introductory 釈云 could be read as *shaku shite iwaku* ("in explanation he said"), referring to an explanation provided by the lecturer.

thoughts. The substance of delusions is fundamentally empty and therefore does not arise and cease. The blessing of non-arising 無生之恵 leads to the region of reality 眞際.

[IV.c] Bodhidharma said: "Those who want to see the buddha must first apprehend the mind before they see the buddha, and then immediately forget about the mind. It is like looking for a fish – you first see water before seeing the fish and then [immediately] forget about the water." A buddha is truly and thoroughly aware. This awareness arises from the mind. This is why one [must] first discern this mind before one attains true mindfulness. In the absence of grasping at mind-produced characteristics, the dharma realm has only one flavor. It is impossible to differentiate in it.[897]

[IV.d] Tiantai [Zhiyi] said: "When you fix the mind in one place, not a thing is left unaccomplished."[898] To "fix the mind in one place" means to end distraction and rouse concentration. A concentrated

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[896] From *Dashenqixin lun* (T. 1667, 588a24-a29. With minor difference):

> When investigating the other skandhas we may gradually arrive at an infinitesimal particle. When looking for a characteristic of this particle none in particular is found. The same goes for the unconditioned dharmas. Even if you were to leave the dharma realm, in the end [characteristics] cannot be obtained. Know that this is the case for all dharmas in the ten directions. A person who is lost, mistakes east for west, though in reality nothing shifted. Sentient beings are like this. Because of ignorance and delusion they think that the mind is perturbed, though in reality it is not perturbed. If they would understand that a perturbed mind is actually without arising and extinction, they would gain entry to the gate of suchness. 推求餘蘊漸至刹那。求此刹那相別非一。 無爲之法亦復如是。離於法界終不可得。如是十方一切諸法應知悉然。猶如迷人謂東爲西方實不轉。衆生亦爾。無明迷故謂心爲動而實不動。若知動心即不生滅。即得入於眞如之門。

[897] 菩提達磨云、欲見佛者先悟心既見仏已即忘心、譬如求魚者先見水已見魚已 (*sic*) 忘水。佛真了知、此知從心而生、故先悟此心既得真念無取心相、法界一味不可分別云云 Compare *Wuxinglun* 悟性論 (J. *Goshōron*), attributed to Bodhidharma (T. 2009, 372b03-b09):

> A sutra says: "Not seeing characteristics is called seeing the buddha." This, then, is being free of mind produced characteristics. "Separate from the buddha there is no mind" means that the buddha issues from the mind. The mind is able to give rise to the buddha. Still, though the buddha arises from the mind, the mind never arises from the buddha. It is like fish arise from water but water does not arise from a fish. Those who want to see a fish see the water before they see the fish. Those who want to see the buddha [must] see the mind before they see the buddha. You know that once you have seen the fish you forget about the water. [Likewise], once you have seen the buddha you [must] forget about the mind. If you don't forget about the mind, the mind will delude you, [just like] you will be perplexed by the water if you don't forget about it. 經云。不見相名為見佛。即是離心相也。離佛無心者。言佛從心出。心能生佛。然佛從心生。而佛未嘗生心。亦如魚生於水。水不生於魚。欲觀於魚者。未見魚而先見水。欲觀於佛者。未見佛而先見心。即知已見魚者忘於水。已見佛者忘於心。若不忘於心。尚為心所惑。若不忘於水。尚被水所迷。

[898] **When you fix the mind in one place, not a thing is left unaccomplished.** 制心一處無事不辦。 This line appears in two of Zhiyi's works, *Miaofa lanhuajing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 (Profound Meaning of the Lotus sūtra) (T. 1716, 685c21) and *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials for the Seated Meditation Practice of Calming and Contemplation), also known as *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 (Concise Calming and Contemplation) (T. 1915, 469c24-c29):

> Practitioner, if by practicing calming and contemplation you have cleared and calmed your body and mind, you will also have accomplished the [tenfold] contemplation on impermanence, suffering, nonself, emptiness, impurity, abhorence of the world, impurity of food, death, separation and exhaustion; the [six] conducive thoughts upon buddha, dharma, saṃgha, precepts, almsgiving and the heavens; the [four] stages of mindfulness; the [four] right efforts; the [four] steps to supranormal powers; the [five] agents; the [five] faculties; the [seven] limbs of awakening; the [eightfold] path; [the three liberating contemplations on] emptiness, non-characteristics and non-production; the six paramitas; the [six] supranormal powers and the eighteen transformations – all these dharma gates are brought forth and one must distinguish them extensively. Therefore the sūtra says: "When you fix the mind in one place, not a thing is left unaccomplished." 行者因修止觀故若得身心澄淨, 或發無常, 苦, 空, 無我, 不淨, 世間可厭,

mind pervasively illumines all places, it accords with circumstances, entrusts itself to things and receives favors in equanimity: this is what is meant by "not a thing is left unaccomplished."

[IV.e] The verse that Mañjuśrī conferred on Chan master Fazhao on Mount Wutai says:

> Dharmas are just products of the mind.
> Apprehend that the mind is unattainable,
> and continually rely on this practice:
> This is called the true characteristic of reality.[899]

食不淨相, 死, 離, 盡想; 念佛法僧, 戒, 捨, 天, 念處, 正勤, 如意, 根, 力, 覺, 道, 空, 無相無作, 六度諸波羅蜜, 神通變化等, 一切法門發相, 是中應廣分別。故經云制心一處, 無事不辦。

The line under consideration is originally from the *Foyijiao jing* 佛遺教經 (Sūtra of the Buddha's Bequeathed Teachings, T. 389, 1111a20). It is widely cited in Buddhist literature. See for instance the *Zuichangchenglun* 最上乘論 (J. *Saijōjōron*) (Treatise on the Supreme Vehicle), attributed to Hongren (T. 2011, 377c24-c25). Hongren cites the line in support of the practice of "guarding the mind" (Ch. *shouxin* 守心).

[899] Biographies of Fazhao 法照 (8th c) are included in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Monks) by Zanning (919-1001) (T. 2061, 844a08-845b08), *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (Writings on the Land of Bliss) by the Tiantai monk Zongxiao 宗曉 (1151-1214) (T. 1969A, 193a16-b07) and the *Fozutongji* 佛祖統紀 (Chronicle of Buddhas and Patriarchs) by the Tiantai monk Zhipan 志磐 (d. 1269) (T. 2035, 263c12-264a25). The latter two works are the first to construct a Pure Land patriarchate; they both depict Fazhao as a patriarch of the socalled Lotus society (Ch. Linashe 蓮社). On this issue see Daniel Getz, "Shengchang's Pure Conduct Society and the Chinese Pure Land Patriarchate," Richard Payne and Kenneth Tanaka (eds.), *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha*, pp. 52-76. Fazhao, whose Pure Land thought incorporates Tiantai, Chan and esoteric elements, is reported to have had several visions through which he received instruction from Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra and Buddha Amitābha. He is especially known for having developed the ritual practice of reciting the name of Buddha Amitābha in five cadences (Ch. *wuhui nianfo* 五會念佛), hence his alias "Dharma master Wuhui" 五會法師. On Mount Wutai (believed to be the abode of Mañjuśrī) Fazhao established the Zhulinsi 竹林寺 (Bamboo Grove temple), which became a centre for this form of *nianfo* practice. See Ōta Tatsu, "Tō chūki no Jōdokyō: toku ni Hōshō zenji," *Shigaku* 13/1 (1934), pp. 171-174. The verse cited in *Hōmon taikō* appears in the *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳 (Expanded Accounts of the Clear and Cool Mountains), a chronicle of Mount Wutai composed by the monk Yanyi 延一 in 1060 (T. 2099, 1114c22-24). A similar account appears in the *Xinxiu wangsheng zhuan* 新修往生傳 (Newly Revised Biographies of those Reborn in the Pure Land) composed in 1084 by the Buddhist layman Wanggu 王古 (X. 1546, 154b11- 156a13). According to the latter text, Fazhao had a series of visions of Mount Wutai, reflected in his bowl when he was eating rice gruel. Later, when he was visited the mountain, mysterious lights guided him and he was led to a hall. Entering it he saw the bodhisatvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. After making prostrations Fazhao asked the bodhisattvas what the essential practice is for attaining buddhahood and benefitting others. In his reply Mañjuśrī proclaimed the following (X. 1546, 154c24-155b03):

> "All methods, prajñā-pāramitā, very deep dhyānā concentration, the ocean of all-pervading knowledge – all these rise from *nianfo* (J. *nenbutsu*). Therefore we know that *nianfo* is the king of all methods. You must always be mindful. Do not allow yourself to ease off [mindfulness]."
> Fazhao said: How must I be mindful?
> Mañjuśrī said: "West of this world resides Buddha Amitābha. The power of this buddha's vow is inconceivable. You must concentrate and attentively view this land, without allowing any interruption. After death you will definitely be born in that Buddha Land and never regress from it. You will promptly leave the triple realm and quickly attain buddhahood."
> Having uttered these words the two great noble ones extended their golden-colored hands, touched the crown of Fazhao's head and made the following prediction: "Since you have been mindful of Buddha (*nianfo*) you will soon realize supreme and unparalled awakening. If any good man or woman who wishes to promptly become a buddha does unblemished *nianfo* he or she will be able to quickly realize supreme awakening. After this present body is exhausted they will definitely transcend the sea of suffering."
> After these words the great noble Mañjuśrī spoke in verse: "All of you that desire and seek liberation must first remove the mind that asserts a self. [If you assert a self], deceit, greed, stinginess and [desire for] fame and profit may be gone, but unwholesome thoughts will still remain. By being intently mindful of [A]mitābha's name one is able to calmly dwell in the buddha realm. One who calmly dwells in the buddha realm continually sees all buddhas. One who continually sees all buddhas is able to penetrate suchness-nature. One who is able to promptly cut off afflictions is able to penetrate suchness-nature. Though residing in the sea of suffering such a person will always be blissful. Like the lotus flower is

The ten realms depend on accurately identifying dharmas. Dharmas are originally nonexistent but come into being when the mind makes distinctions. The mind-nature is always empty, and being empty it is fulfilled. Therefore unobtainability is the characteristic of reality. Just be aware of the characteristic of reality and the mind will have nothing to obtain. The great essential for liberation is to arouse the mind for awakening in accordance with the principle and, on the basis of this mind, be wholly mindful of the Worthy [Buddha Amida] of the West. This is why the great Noble one – attentive to subtilities – pointed out this essential road, and from the distant past extended it to us!

V. NOTES ON PRAJÑĀTĀRA AND BODHIDHARMA

[V.a] Someone said: "The twenty-seventh patriarch [Prajñātāra] was attending a banquet of the King of East India. Everyone was reading sūtras except for master [Prajñātāra], who was not reading. The patriarch [Prajñātāra] said: 'Breathing out, this lousy wayfarer does not ford through the myriads

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unattached to the water, the purity of the mind stands out above the river of desire, enabling one to quickly realize the fruit of awakening.

The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī then again expounded in verse: *dharmas are just products of the mind. Apprehend that the mind is unattainable, and continually rely on this practice: this is called the true characteristic of reality*."

Then the bodhisattva Samantabhadra also expounded in verse: "View yourself and all beings universally. Always humble yourself before monks. Forbearance is the cause of awakening. Absence of anger surely invites direct reward. All sentient beings will look upon you with joy and arouse the mind of supreme awakening. If you practice according to these words, countless Buddha-fields will manifest from the mind. All [buddhas therein] will be able to act out their vows and practices and transport all sentient beings, who thus will promptly separate from the river of desire and mount the other shore."

After hearing this Fazhao jumped around in joy. His doubts were completely dispelled. He bowed, folded his hands and remained standing. Mañjuśrī then announced: "You may go and visit the bodhi halls." Making the rounds and prostrating at each hall, Fazhao received instructions. Eventually he arrived at the "Orchard of the seven jewels." Its fruits were ripe and as big as bowls. He took one and ate it. The taste was exquisite. After having eaten it Fazhao's body and mind became calm. He then resurfaced in front of the great noble [Mañjuśrī]. He bowed and then withdrew. On his way back he met two boys who escorted him outside the gates. When he raised his head after making a bow he could no longer see them. It made him sad and he felt increasingly somber. 因念佛故。因供養故。得於一切種智。是故一切諸法般若波羅蜜多。甚深禪定。乃至諸佛正遍知海。皆從念佛而生。故知念佛諸法之王。汝等應當常念。令無休息。照曰。當云何念。文殊曰。此世界西有阿彌陀佛。彼佛願力不可思議。當繫念諦觀彼國。令無間斷。命終之後。決定往生彼佛國中。永不退轉。速出三界。疾得成佛。說是語已時。二大聖。各舒金色手。摩法照頂。而為授記。汝已念佛故。不久證無上正等菩提。若善男子善女人。願疾成佛者。無過念佛。則能速證無上菩提。盡此一報之身。定超苦海。說是語已時。文殊大聖。而說偈言。汝等欲求解脫者。應當先除我慢心。嫉妒名利及慳貪。去卻如斯不善意。應專念彼彌陀號。即能安住佛境界。若能安住佛教界。是人常見一切佛。若得常見一切佛。即能了達真如性。若能速斷諸煩惱。則能了達真如性。在苦海中而常樂。譬如蓮不著水。而心清淨出愛河。即能速證菩提果。於是文殊師利菩薩又說偈言。諸法唯心造。了心不可得。常依此修行。是名真實相。普賢菩薩又說偈言。普觀汝及一切眾。常應謙下諸比丘。忍辱是即菩提因。無瞋必招端正報。一切眾見皆歡喜。即發無上菩提心。若依此語而修行。微塵佛剎從心現。悉能廣修諸行願。運接一切諸有情。速離愛河登彼岸。法照聞已。歡喜踊躍。疑網悉除。復作禮已合掌而立。文殊師利告言。汝可往詣諸菩薩院。次弟巡禮。法照受教。次第巡禮。遂至七寶果園。其果纔熟。可大如盆。即取食之。味甚香美。法照食已。身意泰然。迴至大聖前。作禮辭退。還見二童子。送至門外。禮已舉頭。遂隱不見。師乃愴然。倍增悲感。

of conditions. Breathing in, I don't reside in the world of skandhas. This way I constantly turn a thousand million sūtra roll'." [900] – From the *Chuangdenglu*? Must check this.

[V.b] Separate practice outside the teachings; a plain transmission of the mind seal; no reliance on words and letters; not using expedients; directly point to your mind, see the nature and become a buddha; without relying on steps, and without creating knowledge and views. [901] And: "Mind is buddha. No buddha, no mind." [902] – Must look into this .

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[900] ○ 東○ 印国齋次、同二十七祖諸人看經唯師ノミ不看、祖曰貧道出息不涉万緣入息不居陰界、常轉如是經百千万卷。This story about Prajñātāra does not appear in the *Jingde chuandenglu*. It does appear in the earlier Chan record *Zutangji* (952), which in turn relied on *Baolin zhuan* (801). *Zutangji* reads (Yanagida, *Sodōshū*, pp. 31-32):

> The twenty-seventh patriarch, the worthy Prajñātāra, was a native of Eastern India. He was of Brahmin stock. When mourning the death of his parents he was guided by bodhisattvas and turned to the practice of Buddhism. He obtained the dharma from Puṇyamitra. Travelling around and teaching, he arrived in a country in Southern India. The king was a kṣatriya and [the country] was called Kōshi. Master [Prajñātāra] attended a banquet of the king. All the noble [guests] were turning the sūtras, except for master [Prajñātāra], who was not turning the sūtras. The great king asked the master why he did not turn the sūtras. The master said: "Breathing out, this lousy wayfarer does not follow the multitude of conditions. Breathing in, I don't reside in the world of skandhas. In this way, I constantly turn a hundred thousand million sūtra rolls, not just one roll. Thereupon the great king presented the master with a brilliant, sparkling jewel. 第二十七祖般若多羅尊者東印土人。姓婆羅門。父母俱喪示化菩薩而作佛事。得不如密多法行化至南天竺國。國王刹帝利名香至。師因赴王齋次諸聖盡轉經唯有師不轉經。大王問師為什摩不轉經。師曰貧道出息不隨衆緣入息不居蘊界。常轉如是經百千万億卷非但一卷。尒時大王賜師一珠光明耀然。

lousy wayfarer (*bindō* 貧道). A term used by monks and nuns to humbly refer to themselves. Also used in reference to others, in a derogatory way.

[901] 祖師云教外別傳/行、單傳心印、不立文字、不假方便、直指人心、見性成佛。又云不立楷梯、不生知見。 These lines appear almost verbatim in the recorded sayings of Chan master Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135). Compare the following passages from *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄 (Discourse Record of Chan Master Foguo) (T. 1997, 779c21-c24 and 809c11-c13):

> This great dharma is realized equally by all buddhas of the triple world. Six generations of patriarch-masters transmitted it, sealed in the samadhi of the one seal. Point directly to ones mind, see the nature and become a buddha, no reliance on words, letters and phrases: this is called "separate practice outside the teachings" and "plain transmission of the mind seal." If you ford through texts until your clothes are damp, rely on stairs and steps, and ruminate over core and side issues, you lose the fundamental point. 此箇大法。三世諸佛同證。六代祖師共傳。一印印定。直指人心見性成佛。不立文字語句。謂之教外別行單傳心印。若涉言詮露布。立階立梯。論量格內格外。則失却本宗。
>
> What is called "separate practice outside the teachings" and "plain transmission of the mind seal" has from the old golden-hued master [Kāśyapa] been passed down without interruption. It only discusses pointing straight to ones mind, seeing the nature and becoming a buddha, without relying on steps and without creating knowledge and views. 謂之教外別行單傳心印金色老子以來的的綿綿。只論直指人心見性成佛。不立階梯不生知見。

[902] **Mind is buddha** (*sokushin sokubutsu* 即心即佛). **No buddha, no mind** (*hibutsu hishin* 非佛非心). These lines are close to two well-known statements attributed to Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788):

> First [Damei] studied with Daji (i.e. Mazu) and asked him: "What is buddha"? Daji said: "Mind is buddha" (*sokushin zebutsu* 即心是佛). Master [Damei] thereupon attained great awakening" (*Jingde chuandenglu* , T. 2076, 254c03-4)
>
> A monk asked: Sir, what do you mean by saying that the mind is buddha (*sokushin sokubutsu* 即心即佛)? Master [Mazu] said: "It is stopping a baby from crying." The monk said: "When the crying stopped, then what?" The master said: "No mind, no buddha" (*hishin hibutsu* 非心非佛). (*Jingde chuandenglu* , T. 246a21-22).

The reverse variant "No buddha, no mind" (*hibutsu hishin* 非佛非心) also occurs, but less frequently. For instance *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* (Discourd Record of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo) (T. 1997, 726a19-20):

VI. NOTE ON THE TRANSMISSION OF ZEN TO MOUNT HIEI.

Dengyō Daishi [Saichō] first followed Venerable Gyōhō of Daianji and received the Zen dharma [from him]. Venerable [Gyōhō] was a student of Venerable Daoxuan 道璿 from the Xianfu temple in the Great Tang, who belonged to a branch of our school. When the great master [Saichō] entered the Tang, he also met Xiuran of the Zen Forest monastery on Mount Tiantai 禪林寺. [Xiuran] transmitted the dharma, a lineage chart, as well as dharma teachings from Mount Oxhead. [Saichō] installed them in the repository of Mount Hiei. The *Record of Scriptures Imported by Great Master Jikaku* lists the *Dharma Jewel Platform Sūtra Preached by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of Mount Caoxi on the Sudden Teaching of Seeing the Nature and Becoming a Buddha Through Direct Apprehension With Certainty and Beyond Doubt,* in one volume, recorded by student Fahai 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師説見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶化檀經一卷門入法譯.[903] The *Record of Scriptures Imported by Great Master Chishō* lists the *Platform Sūtra by Great Master Neng of Caoxi,* in one volume 曹溪能大師檀經一卷 and the *Lineage Chart of the Bodhidharma School* 達磨宗系圖. [904] These were also brought over [to Japan and stored on Mount Hiei].

VII. MANUAL FOR SEATED MEDITATION

[VII.a] Preparatory method.[905] Straighten the spinal column. Make it neither flaccid nor rigid. Make sure that the four limbs are neither loose nor tense. Next, open the mouth and exhale.[906] Blow out as long as you see fit, utilizing the hundred blood vessels in the body. Open the mouth widely to completely expel all turbid air. Then close the mouth and take in clean air through the nose. Next, make the lips and teeth touch lightly, and the tongue point up toward the palate; the eyes are to be

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> Saying "this mind is buddha," is like placing a head on top of your head. Saying "no buddha, no mind" is very much like searching for fire by subdueing waterbubbles. Go beyond these two views, don't sink into the space in between. 若謂即心即佛。正如頭上安頭。更言非佛非心。大似撥漚覓火。超出二見不墮中間。

Mazu's two statements are widely cited in Chan literature. For instance *Wumenguang* 無門關 (*Mumonkan*), case 30 (T. 2005, 296b03-04) and case 33 (T. 2005, c27-28). For a discussion on the two statements see Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 108-111.

[903] The *Record of Scriptures Imported by Great Master Jikaku* 慈覺大師將来記 (*Jikaku daishi shōraiki*) refers to Ennin's 847 *Nittō shingushōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目録 (Inventory of Sacred Scriptures Newly Sought in the Tang) (T. 2167), which lists the *Platform Sūtra* under the near identical title 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師説見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記檀經一卷沙門入法譯 (T. 2167, 1083b08).

[904] The *Record of Scriptures Imported by Great Master Chishō* 智證大師將来記 (*Chishō daishi shōraiki*) refers to Enchin's 859 *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請来目録 (Inventory of Texts Imported by Great Master Chikaku) (T. 2173), which lists both mentioned documents (T. 2173, 1106b19; 1106b20).

[905] 引法 (*inbō*). I suspect this term is an abbreviation of *inbōhō* 導引法 (Ch. *daoyinfa*). *Daoyin* ("guiding and pulling") refers to gymnastic techniques for controlling ones "vital energy" (Ch. *qi*; *chi* 氣) as taught in Daoist traditions. Daoyin techniques, according to Catherine Despeux, "aimed to let *qi* properly circulate, expel pathogenic *qi*, heal certain diseases, keep old age away, and nourish life. They are performed in an upright sitting or reclining position and can be combined with ingestion of breath, abstention of cereals, massage and visualization." *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol. 1, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (Routledge, 2008), pp. 334-37 (entry for "Daoyin").

[906] **exhale** (*toki* 吐氣). Literally "spew out *chi*"

slightly opened. Regulate your inhalations and exhalations, making them neither raspy nor smooth. Next, regulate the mind, making it neither float nor sink. Having regulated body, breathing and mind, you enter from the coarse into the fine. If, when calmly dwelling in dhyāna, you become unbalanced, you should repeat this method from the beginning.

[VII.b] When emerging from this concentrated state, you should rise slowly, without making abrupt movements. Having regulated the three activities [of body, mind and breathing] you should produce the following thought: "May sentient beings everywhere likewise enter deep dhyāna and illumine their sublime nature." At that moment deluded conditions disappear from the content of thought. Having destroyed characteristics of self and other, ordinary and sagely, not one dharma can be grasped. Practice like this for a long time and you will naturally arouse the radiance of wisdom. In one moment it will suddenly be manifest in all sounds, scents, tastes and textures, in form and emptiness, in light and darkness, in heaven and hell. The *Avataṃsaka* says: "There is just one indestructible mystery body, manifest in all particles."[907] Once you set foot in this place, even bodhi and nirvāṇa will be illusory things – How could samsaric dust possibly hinder you?[908]

[VII.c] If dhyāna is practiced like this, it is uncontrived and sublime concentration that pierces the dharma realm. It is not the same as the four dhyānas and eight concentrations, which depend on mere conception of voidness and serenity.[909] It is also not the concentration of the śrāvakas and pratyekas, which is sunk in emptines and stuck in tranquility. Someone of long ago said: "Even if you are like a reflection of the moon in an autumn pond or like the sound of a bell on a quiet evening, you are still just at the shore of saṃsāra."[910] Trainees must know this.

[VII.d] If in seated meditation the three obstacles and four demons arise in conflict and confusion, you must contemplate like this: "Where do these objects reside? From where do they arise? Where do they cease?" [911] When you reverse and contemplate the mind of the one who contemplates, what place is there to arrive at? Having carefully contemplated and investigated

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[907] 唯有一堅密身 一切塵中現. *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (T. 297, 31c06).

[908] **set foot in this place** (*risen shishi* 履踐至此). The term *risen* indicates actual, first-hand experience. ZGDJ, p. 1266.

[909] **four dhyānas** (*shizen* 四禪). Four states of meditative absorbtion pertaining to the world of forms. **eight concentrations** (*hachijō* 八定). The four dhyāna plus four formless states of concentration pertaining to the world of nonform.

[910] **Even if you are like a reflection of the moon in an autumn pond or like the sound of a bell on a quiet evening, you are still just at the shore of saṃsāra.** 直得如秋澤月影靜夜鐘聲正是生死岸頭。 Compare *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* 玄沙師備禪師廣錄 (Extensive Record of Chan master Xuansha Shibei) (X. 1445, 15a16-a23):

> The way is original suchness, spontaneous and natural. It is not the same as cultivating and verifying. The only requisite is to be emptily at ease, not obscuring the dynamic functioning, not wading through dust and mud. If in this state there remains one thin hair, the way is not exhausted and you will be a minion of the Demon King. Words before and words after – this is a nuisance for trainees. So, when a single phrase matches heaven, the eighty-thousand gates extinguish saṃsāra. Even if you can be like a moon reflected in an autumn pond, which does not scattered when stirred by waves, or like the sound of a bell on a quiet evening, which is not impaired by hitting it, this is still just an activity at the shore of saṃsāra . 道本如如。法爾天真。不同修證。只要虛閑。不昧作用。不涉塵泥。箇中纖毫道不盡。即為魔王眷屬。句前句後。是學人難處。所以一句當天。八萬門永絕生死。直饒得似秋潭月影。靜夜鍾聲。隨扣擊而無虧。觸波瀾而不散。猶是生死岸頭事。

[911] **three obstacles and four demonic forces** (*sanshō shima* 三障四魔). The three obstacles refer to karmic retribution, afflictions, and karmic deeds. The four demonic forces refer to the demon of the skandhas, the demon of afflictions, the demon of death, and celestial demons. The phrase "the three obstacles and four demons arise in conflict and confusion" 三障四魔汾然競起 appears verbatim in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911, 49a01).

this, you will reach a place free of intentional effort.[912] Obstacles, demons – all things will, of their own accord, be perfectly tranquil!

[VII.e] I wish that in all you encounter you always remember life and death, and that in each effort you equally accomplish this path. I universally recommend seated meditation and implore you to illumine the mind-ground, realize nonarising, and equally attain all-inclusive wisdom.

Recorded on the full moon day of the first summer month of the sixteenth year of Chunxi (1189).[913]

[VII.f] On the twenty-third day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Kenkyū (1194) the Japanese monk Jikinen 直念 entered the Song.[914] First he arrived at the Yanqinsi 延慶寺 in Mingzhou. Thereafter he visited the Guoqingsi 國清寺, the principal monastery of Tiantai. These words were written on a wall of this monastery and he transcribed them at the foot of the wall. This was on the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the first year of Qingyan, *yimao*, of the Song (1195).

VIII. Eliminating seated meditation illnesses. Layman Ruru

When in seated meditation the mind is numb, the sleep demon invades. When in seated meditation the mind is distracted, there are wild thoughts and calculations. When distraction is eliminated, numbness reappears. When numbness is eliminated, distraction again erupts. All [ ] conditions [ ] deficient, hence you depend on others and go round in the saṃsāric cyle. Throw out both, completely forget the ten quarters, and sit with utmost rigor. The whole body will be equal with empty space, and for a long time you will experience its miraculous efficacy.[915]

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[912] **Having carefully contemplated and investigated this, you will reach a place free of intentional effort.** 觀照推尋至無着力處。Compare *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi yulu* 玄沙師備禪師語錄 (Discourse Record of Chan master Xuansha Shibei) (X.1446, 32a09-12):

> The ancients cured and counteracted [afflictions] with inexhaustibly wondrous medicines and directly attained the ten [bodhisattva] stages. Without acquiring clarity it is near impossible to nourish wisdom. The ancients contemplated as if they were mourning their deceased mothers. My students nowadays seem negligent. How could another person do your understanding? Regrettably, you are squandering your time. What is keeping you from penetrating the innermost region by yourself? Through meticulous contemplation and investigation you will reach a place free of intentional effort. Pacified, all conditions will be removed. 古人以無窮妙藥醫療對治。直至十地。未得惺惺。將知大不容易。古人思惟。如喪考妣。如今兄弟。見似等閑。何處別有人為汝了得。可惜時光虛度。何妨密密地自究。子細觀尋。至無著力處。自息諸緣去。

[913] 淳熙十六年孟夏月望日謹録。The fist summer month (*mōka* 孟夏) corresponds to the fourth month of the lunar calender. The full moon day (*bōjitsu* 望日) corresponds to day fifteen of the lunar calender.

[914] Unidentified monk.

[915] 坐禪心若昏々則睡魔侵。 坐禪心若散々則胡思算。 散去昏復来昏去散又乱。 皆緣 [ ] [ ] 虧所以随他轉。 放下両俱忘十方都坐斷。 當体等空虛久久自靈驗。The Chinese lay buddhist Ruru 如如居士 (Nyonyo Koji) (d.1212), also known as Yan Bing 顏丙, studied under Chan master Ke'an Ruiran 可庵慧然, a dharma successor of Dahui Zonggao. For a

IX. THREE OLD CASES

[IX.a] *Illumining the mind through seeing a form*

Chan master Lingyun Zhiqin from Fuzhou realized the way upon seeing a peach blossom. In verse he wrote:

> For thirty years I was looking for a swordsman
> How many times leaves fell and branches sprouted!
> But from one look at a peach blossom, right up to this moment:
> No doubts.

He presented it to Guishan. Guishan said: "One who enters through circumstances will never slide back and loose it. You must guard and sustain it well!" Xuansha heard about this and said: "[Lingyun] hit the mark – he hit it precisely! But I'm afraid my older brother [Guishan] has not yet penetrated! " [916]

[IX.b] *Realizing the way through hearing a sound*

Great master Xideng of the Xiangyan temple entered Mount Wudang and took up residence in the old hut of National teacher Zhong.[917] When the great recluse flung away a pebble it hit bamboo and made a sound. Suddenly he experienced great awakening. In a verse he wrote:

> One hit, and all my knowledge perished.
> It was not caused by austere practice.
> A moving form revealed the old road.
> Not falling into quietude, I act briskly.
> Wandering about, I leave no tracks.
> Activity beyond form and sound. [918]

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detailed study of Ruru and his thought see Alan Gerard Wagner, *Practice and Emptiness in the Discourse Record of Ruru Jushi, Yan Bing (d. 1212), a Chan Buddhist Layman of the Southern Song*, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, May 2008.

[916] The story of Lingyun's awakening and its aftermath involving Xuansha are widely rehearsed in Chan literature. The rendition that is found in *Hōmon taikō* matches Dōgen's *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*, case 55 (*chūkan*). See *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*, critical edition by Kawamura Kōdō in "Shinji Shōbōgenzō no kenkyū," *Komazawa daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 45 (1989), p. 110-11. This rendition of the story also also matches with the *Zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏 (*Shōbōgenzō*) by Dahui Zonggao (X. 1309, 574a05-a08).

[917] **Great master Xideng** 襲燈大師 (J. Shūtō daishi) refers to Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑 (d. 898) (Kyōgen Chikan). ZGDJ, p. 834. **National teacher Zhong** 忠國師 refers to Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (d. 775) (J. Nanyō Echū). ZGDJ, p. 100.

[918] 香嚴寺襲燈大師入武當山忠國師舊庵基卓庵住弃礫擊竹作響忽然大悟有頌云 一擊亡所知 更不因修治 動容揚古路 不墮悄[然]機 [處]處無蹤跡 聲色外威儀。 Though truncated and with minor differences, *Hōmon taikō*'s rendition of the story about Xideng and the pebble is strikingly close to Dōgen's *Shinji Shōbōgenzō*, case 17 (*jōkan*). See Kawamura (ed.), "Shinji Shōbōgenzō no kenkyū," p. 59-60. Dōgen is thought to have modeled his version by blending elements from the *Jingde chuangdenglu* and *Liandeng huiyao*. See Ishii Shūdō, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi wa*: *Shinji Shōbōgenzō ni manabu* (Zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1988), p. 339.

[IX.c] *The stream is deep, the ladle is long* [919]

At the slopes of Mount Xuefeng there was a monk, a great recluse, who had not shaved his head for many years. With a wooden ladle, carved by himself, he would go to the edge of a stream and scoop up water to drink. One time a monk asked him: "What was the intention of the patriarch-master [Bodhidharma] coming from the West?" The hermit said: "The stream is deep, the ladle is long." The monk left and took this up with Feng. Feng said: "This is extraordinary." [920]

X. NEEDLE FOR SEATED MEDITATION

The essential functioning of the buddhas,
the functioning essence of the patriarchs.

It is aware without touching things,
it illumines without facing objects.

It is aware without touching things:
its awareness is inherently subtle.

It illumines without facing objects:
its luminosity is inherently wondrous.

Its awareness is inherently subtle:
it is ever without discriminative thought.
Its luminosity is inherently wondrous:
it is never subject to fragmentation.

It is ever without discriminative thought:
its awareness is rare, without company.

It is never subject to fragmentation:
its luminosity comprehends without grasping.

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[919] The caption is not in the original document.

[920] 雪峯山畔有一僧卓庵多年不剃頭。 自作一柄木杓 [=杓] 去溪邊舀水喫。 時有僧問如何是祖師西來意。 庵主云溪深杓柄長。 僧歸舉似峯。 々云也甚奇恠 [=怪]。 云々。 This story is found in a number of Song dynasty Chan records. In most cases the story continues with Xuefeng eventually shaving the hermit's head. *Hōmon taikō*'s rendition precisely matches case 83 (*chūkan*) of the *Shinji Shōbōgenzō* by Dōgen. This rendition is also very close to Dahui's *Zhengfa yanzang* (X. 1309, 559b18-b23):

> At the slopes of Mount Xuefeng there was a monk, a great recluse, who had not shaved his head for many years. With a wooden ladle, carved by himself, he would go to the edge of a stream and scoop up water to drink. One time a monk asked him: "What was the intention of the patriarch-master [Bodhidharma]'s coming from the West?" The hermit said: "The stream is deep, the ladle is long." The monk left and took this up with Xuefeng. Feng said: "This is extraordinary." 雪峰山畔有一僧卓菴多年。不剃頭。自作一柄木杓去溪邊舀水喫。時有僧問如何是祖師西來意。菴主云溪深杓柄長。僧歸舉似雪峰。峰云。也甚奇怪。

The water is clear right through to the bottom!
A fish slowly glides along.

The sky is vast without horizon!
A bird flies far into the distance.[921]

The above was written by the imperially designated Chan master Hongzhi from Mount Taibai of the great Song.[922]

[921] 坐禪箴　佛佛要機　祖祖機要　不觸事而知　不對緣而照　不觸事而知　其知自微　不對緣而照　其照自玅　其知自微　曾無分別之思　其照自玅　曾無毫忽之兆　曾無分別之思　其知無偶而奇　曾無毫忽之兆　其照無取而了　水清徹底[兮]　魚行[遲]々　空闊莫涯兮　鳥飛杳々。The translation is indebted to Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*, p. 100.

[922] Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覚 (J.Wanshi Shōgaku) (1091-1157). Chan master of the Caodong (Sōtō) school. Hongzhi presided over the Jingde monastery 景德寺 located on Mount Taibai. He is known for advocating a form of tranquil meditation, which was later called "silent illumination" (*mokushō* 黙照). This approach to meditation was criticized by Hongzhi's contemporary Dahui Zonggao, who instead advocated intense investigation of a phrase from a koan story (Ch. *kanhua* 看話).

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