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

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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.