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

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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