

THE CH'AN MASTER SHEN-HSIU:

THREE LITERARY PORTRAITS

THE CH'AN MASTER SHEN-HSIU (+606? - 706):

Three Literary Portraits Of
A Patriarch Manqué

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: The Ch'an Master Shen-hsiu was a pivotal figure in the development of Ch'an Buddhism in China. Traditionally, he has been cast as a staunch defender of "gradual enlightenment", in contradistinction to his rival and surpasser, Hui-neng, who espoused the "sudden doctrine".

This thesis re-examines the above portrayal of Shen-hsiu as a "Patriarch manqué" in light of several doctrinal and biographical documents, heretofore untranslated. We conclude, on the basis of this examination, that Shen-hsiu has indeed been mis-represented in traditional accounts; however, it is our further contention that this portrait itself---when viewed as a "negative paradigm"---serves to underscore the centrality of the enlightenment experience.

Dedicated To

MY MENTORS

My rabbi has a silver buddha,
my priest has a jade talisman.
My doctor sees a marvellous omen
in our prolonged Indian summer.

My rabbi, my priest stole their trinkets
from shelves in the holy of holies.
The trinkets cannot be eaten.
They wonder what to do with them.

My doctor is happy as a pig
although he is dying of exposure.
He has finished his big book
on the phallus as a phallic symbol.

My zen master is a grand old fool.
I caught him worshipping me yesterday,
so I made him stand in a foul corner
with my rabbi, my priest, and my doctor.

---LEONARD COHEN

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

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Paris.
- CTS Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書. Po-na edition.
- CTW Ch'uan T'ang wen 全唐文. Taipei, 1961. 20 vols.
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Tokyo, 1914-22. 85 vols.
- WYYH Wen yuan ying hua 文苑英華. Taipei, 1965. 12 vols.

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INTRODUCTION

What does the foregoing mean?
I asked. Mean? my Gunslinger
laughed. Mean? Refugee, you
got some strange obsessions,
you want to know what some-
thing means after you've seen
it, after you've been there,
or were you out during that
time?

---EDWARD DORN (Gunslinger I)

INTRODUCTION

Bodhidharma 達磨, an Indian Monk of the dhyāna 禪 (meditation) school, came to China in +526, bringing with him several things: the Lankavatara Sutra, a robe and bowl that--beginning with Sakyamuni Buddha--had been passed down from generation to generation as symbols of the transmission of the Dharma 法, and an innovative doctrinal message. This latter has been characterised as follows:

- 1) A special transmission outside scriptures

(教外別傳)

- 2) Not relying on words and letters

(不立文字)

- 3) Directly pointing to man's Mind

(直指人心)

- 4) Seeing into one's nature and attaining Buddhahood

(見性成佛)

Subsequent to his arrival in China, Bodhidharma paid a visit

to Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝, a sovereign who expressed his allegiance to Buddhism through the creation of monasteries and shrines. The Emperor informed Bodhidharma of these Imperial acts and inquired into the amount of merit he had thereby acquired. The response was emphatic: "No merit!"

Saying thus, Bodhidharma secluded himself in the forest where, facing a stone-wall, he sat in meditation for eight or nine years. (During this period, he once fell asleep while meditating. Angered by this, and to insure that it would not happen again, he cut-off his eyelids. When they hit the earth, tea plants immediately bloomed; consequently, decoctions from this plant are used in monasteries as a stimulant for monks. It is from this incident that the saying "The taste of ch'a (tea) and the taste of Ch'an are alike" takes its roots.)

Towards the end of this prolonged period of "wall-gazeing" Bodhidharma was approached by a troubled wanderer named Hui-k'o 慧可 whose presence, despite the fact that he stood all night in waist-deep snow near the entrance to Bodhidharma's cave, was ignored. Desperate to be acknowledged, he cut-off his left arm and made a presentation of it.

Apparently convinced, by this act, of his seriousness, Bodhidharma bid him speak:

"My heart/mind 心 is troubled, and I long to be at peace."

"Bring forth this heart/mind and I will pacify it for you," responded Bodhidharma.

"But I cannot bring it forth, for when I look for it, it is not there."

"In that case," concluded Bodhidharma, "I have pacified it for you already." At this, Hui-k'o was enlightened. Bodhidharma then taught him the Lankavatara Sutra and transmitted to him the Dharma and its symbols, thereby making him the second Chinese Patriarch in the Ch'an lineage.

Subsequently, Hui-k'o transmitted the Patriarchship to Seng-tsan 僧璨, by whom it was transmitted to Tao-hsin 道信, who, in turn, passed the transmission to Hung-jen 弘忍.

Hung-jen, the Fifth Patriarch, had many disciples, of whom the most honoured and respected was Shen-hsiu 神秀, the head monk. Further, it was assumed by all that the transmission would be continued through him. However, when it came time to present the mind-verse that would demonstrate the depth of his understanding, Shen-hsiu failed: his verse was rejected by Hung-jen in favour of a verse composed by an illiterate peasant from Southern China who was at that time working in the threshing room of the monastery.

It was upon this "barbarian", Hui-neng 慧能, that the title of Sixth Patriarch was, in secret, conferred. Essentially, it was an emphasis on "sudden-enlightenment" 頓悟 that distinguished him and what was to become known as the Southern School 南宗, from the Northern School 北宗 of Shen-hsiu which advocated the importance of cultivation and "gradual enlightenment" 漸悟.

Furthermore, it is through Hui-neng that both of the later major Ch'an schools--Lin-chi臨濟 (Japanese: Rinzai) and Ts'ao-tung曹洞 (Japanese: Sōtō)--traced their lineage. It is from him, then, that "orthodox" Ch'an has descended.

* * * * *

The foregoing is a brief, synthetic synopsis of what, with minor exceptions of one kind or another, has been traditionally accepted as the way in which Ch'an Buddhism originated and developed in China. However, with the enormous cache of manuscripts unearthed at Tun-huang in the early part of this century, the reliability of much--if not all--of this account was thrown open to serious doubt.

Examining all the aspects of this traditional history is beyond the scope of this present inquiry; rather, we shall limit ourselves here to a re-examination of Shen-hsiu--the details of both his life and teachings--from several differing points of view. Towards this end, our investigation will assume the following form:

Part One will consist of a re-presentation of the traditional portrait of Shen-hsiu, based largely on the Platform Sutra and the Conversations of Shen-hui. This will be essentially "descriptive" in nature, and concerned with both biographical and doctrinal material.

Part Two will deal with more strictly biographical accounts of Shen-hsiu, some of which--as we shall see--tend to confirm the details of the traditional image of Shen-hsiu, and others of which controvert this image in a variety of ways.

In Part Three we shall attempt to construct a doctrinal portrait of Shen-hsiu, based on recently discovered texts that have either been attributed to Shen-hsiu himself, or which were clearly associated with his school.

Each of these three parts will be primarily descriptive and explicative and will, whenever feasible, assume the point of view of the texts being considered therein. In the Conclusion, however, we shall adopt a slightly different stance. From there, we shall be able to look back upon the various images of Shen-hsiu that will, by then, have emerged, at which point the need to be explicitly interpretive shall become imperative.

That is to say, after having laid a "base-line" founded upon traditional accounts (Part I), and after having plotted the points at which this differs from other biographical (Part II) and doctrinal (Part III) records, it will be necessary to come to terms with the question of what--if anything--the discrepancies that exist between the "subjective" vision of the Ch'an tradition and more "objective" historical data might

possibly signify.

That is, our goal is not to merely demonstrate that the orthodox portrayal of Shen-hsiu has distorted certain historical truths: that this is the case is not even a matter of debate. Rather, it is our hope that through an exposition of where these have occurred, some insight into why they came about in the first place might be gained.

In short, this thesis shall attempt to make more readily accessible an understanding of how Ch'an has interpreted itself in relation to Shen-hsiu so that, in turn, we might come to better understand Ch'an: what it values and affirms as important, what it rejects as deluded and irrelevant.

Part One: REFLECTIONS ON A MIRROR

It is curious to note to what
an extent memory is unfaithful,
even for the most important
periods of one's life. It is
this, indeed, that explains
the delightful fantasy of
history.

---MARCEL DUCHAMP

REFLECTIONS ON A MIRROR

The most widely recognised portrait of Shen-hsiu 神秀 is essentially a composition of the so-called Southern School of Sudden Enlightenment 頓悟南宗. Our aim in this chapter will be to examine in detail the delineations of this depiction as they emerge from the works of Hui-neng 慧能 and Shen Hui 神會 who might be characterised, respectively, as the "founder" and "St. Paul" of Ch'an's 禪 Southern branch.

Towards this end, we shall begin with the Platform Sutra¹⁾ and its sketch of Shen-hsiu, followed by a similar exposition of the Conversations of Shen-hui.²⁾ This section will then conclude with an explication of the famous "Mirror Stanzas" (see section C, below) and of the ways in which the image of

¹⁾. T48, no. 2007 and 2008. Of the several English translations available (see Bibliography) we have employed The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, the text of the Tun-huang manuscript, translated, with notes, by P. Yampolsky (Columbia: 1967).

²⁾. Tun-huang mss. collected and edited by Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i chi (Shanghai, 1930); translated by J. Gernet, Retractions du Maître de Dhyāna Chen-houei du Ho-tsō (Hanoi, 1949).

the mirror functions as a hermeneutical guide to the controversy between the North and South and to the orthodox tradition's view of itself and its rivals.

A. The Platform Sutra

The Platform Sutra is traditionally counted as one of the central documents of Ch'an. Although it was allegedly compiled around +714 by the monk Fa-hai, the oldest extant manuscript dates back only to between +820 - 850.³⁾ However, and despite these historico-textual uncertainties, its influence upon the Ch'an self-image is virtually unsurpassed.

The text itself is made up of varying "genres" of material, though only two of these need concern us here: the biographical material in which Hui-neng details the nature of his relationship with Shen-hsiu, and the doctrinal materials which either extoll the Southern teachings at the expense of the Northern School 北家, or condemn the latter outright. Let us go, then, to the text proper.

Section II of the Platform Sutra⁴⁾ marks the beginning of what purports to be a first-person narrative of Hui-neng's life. According to this rendition, his father was ousted from an official post and banished as a commoner to Hsin-chou in Ling-

³⁾. see Yampolsky, op. cit., p. 59 and p. 89ff.

⁴⁾. The following account is a summary of sections two to nine. Roman numerals appearing in the body of the text refer to the section numbers of the Sutra; Arabic numerals indicate the pages of Yampolsky's (op. cit.) translation.

nan. He died while Hui-neng was still quite young (some accounts give age three), leaving the latter and his mother in a state of dire poverty. The two of them moved on to Nan-hai where, in order to raise money, Hui-neng sold firewood in the marketplace.

One day, a customer took him to the lodging house for officials where, upon receiving payment and turning towards the gate, an event of capital significance took place; for it was at this time that he

happened to see another man who was reciting the Diamond Sutra. Upon hearing it my mind became clear and I was awakened.

(II, 127)

Hui-neng proceeded to interrogate the reciter and thus learned that he had made obeisance to Hung-jen 弘忍 the Fifth Patriarch 五祖, who was dwelling upon the East Mountain with over one-thousand disciples. Hearing this, Hui-neng realized that the encounter was pre-ordained; taking leave of his mother, he set out for Hung-jen's community.

As section III opens, we find Hui-neng being questioned by the Fifth Patriarch with regard to his place of origin and his reasons for having come to make obeisance. He replies that he is a commoner from Ling-nan, seeking nothing but the Buddhadharma 佛法.

The Master then reproved me, saying: 'If you're from Ling-nan than you're a barbarian. How can you become a Buddha?'

I replied: 'Although people from the south and people from the north differ, there is no north and south in Buddha nature.'

(III, 127)

At that, Hui-neng was sent to work with the assembly and was subsequently assigned to the threshing room where he treadled a rice-pounding device for over eight months.⁵⁾

This unfolding drama becomes more immediately relevant in section IV when Hung-jen, apparently sensing that his death is near, summons his disciples. Thereupon he preaches a sermon and exhorts his followers to go to their rooms and examine themselves, whereby the wise will "grasp the original nature [本性] of their prajñā intuition," (IV, 128). Each person is also requested to write a verse with the promise that the robe and Dharma of the patriarchate will be conferred upon whosoever demonstrates, through his verse, that he has awakened to the cardinal meaning 悟大意。

In the ensuing section Shen-hsiu is, for the first time, mentioned by name. We learn that the disciples see their versifying task as futile, the reason for this being that they unanimously regard Shen-hsiu as the only possible contender for the title of Sixth Patriarch 六祖. Consequently, they all agreed:

⁵⁾. This event became one of the favorite themes of Ch'an painters, especially during the later part of the T'ang Dynasty when Hui-neng was often pictorially represented by this foot pedal alone. see Awakawa, Zen Painting (Tokyo, 1970), p.99.

'There's no point in our purifying our minds and making efforts to compose a verse to the priest. Shen-hsiu, the head monk, is our teacher. After he obtains the Dharma we can rely on him, so let's not compose verses.'

(V, 128)

However, despite this confidence on the part of his co-disciples, Shen-hsiu himself was much distressed by Hung-jen's request. In section VI we are provided with a description of the head monk's thoughts as he ponders his dilemma: on the one hand, the degree of his comprehension cannot be measured by the Fifth Patriarch if no mind-verse is submitted; but, on the other hand, while seeking the Dharma is justifiable, to seek the patriarchship cannot be justified.

Finally, after much wrestling with his motives, Shen-hsiu crept off stealthily at midnight and, unobserved, wrote the following verse on a corridor wall:

The body is the Bodhi tree,
The mind is like a clear mirror,
At all times we must polish it,
And must not let the dust collect.^{a)}
(VI, 130)

Subsequently, Shen-hsiu returned to his room and the narrator reiterates that "no one had seen him" (VII, 130).

At dawn, the following day, Hung-jen happens upon the anonymous verse. After reading it, he informs a painter who had been commissioned to illustrate the corridor walls that he

a). 身是菩提樹。心如明鏡臺。時時勤拂拭。莫使有塵埃。

has changed his mind about having the paintings executed.⁶⁾

This change of plan is accompanied by the comment:

It is said in the Diamond Sutra: 'All forms everywhere are unreal and false.'⁷⁾

(VII, 130)

And though ostensibly related to the artist's task, one cannot help but see this as a comment upon the mind-verse itself. That this is the case is strengthened--if not confirmed-- by the exchange which shortly thereafter takes place between Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu.

Calling the head monk into the hall, the Fifth Patriarch questions him as to whether or not he had authored the verse. When this is affirmed by Shen-hsiu, Hung-jen says:

'This verse you wrote shows that you still have not reached true understanding. You have merely arrived at the front of the gate but have yet to be able to enter it. If common people practice according to your verse they will not fall. But in seeking the ultimate enlightenment (bodhi) one will not succeed with such an understanding. You must enter the gate and see your own original nature.'

(VII, 131)

Thus rebuked, Shen-hsiu is given a second chance in the form of several days more thought; leading, hopefully, to a

⁶⁾. The intended scenes were to have been illustrations of the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, and Hung-jen transmitting the Dharma. see section V, 128ff and Yampolsky op. cit., p. 129, fn. 25 and fn. 26.

⁷⁾. T8, p. 749a, 24: 凡所有相皆是虛妄。

better verse. But, heaping insult upon injury, the author tells us that "after several days he was still unable to write a verse," (VII, 131).

If this accounting of Shen-hsiu is that of a prodigée's dissipation--and it is--the rise of Hui-neng chronicled in the following sections is nothing short of the Myth of Upward Mobility made flesh. This meteoric ascent begins when one day, while in the threshing room, Hui-neng chances to hear an acolyte reciting Shen-hsiu's verse.⁸) He remarks:

As soon as I heard it I knew that the person
who had written it had yet to know his own nature
and to discern the cardinal meaning.

(VIII, 131)

Learning that the verse was authored by Shen-hsiu, and under the pretense of desiring to make obeisance to it, Hui-neng had the young boy lead him to the south corridor. Once there, and owing to his illiteracy, he requested that someone read him the verse. Upon hearing it, he immediately understood its cardinal meaning. Thereupon Hui-neng made his own verse; again, since he could not himself write, he had someone transcribe it upon the western wall in order that he, too, might offer his own original mind 本心. Hui-neng's verse said:

Bodhi originally has no tree,
The mirror also has no stand.

⁸). Note the parallel between this 'chance hearing' and that of the Diamond Sutra in section II; see p.3, above.

Buddha nature is always clean and pure;
Where is there room for dust?^{b)}
(VIII, 132)

A second verse read:⁹⁾

The mind is the Bodhi tree,
The body is the mirror stand.
The mirror is originally clean and pure;
Where can it be stained by dust?^{c)}
(VIII, 132)

Upon hearing these verses, everyone in the temple was astounded. However, the reaction of Hung-jen himself adds to the dramatic tempo of the story: for, although he immediately recognizes that Hui-neng's understanding of the cardinal meaning is exceptional, out of fear he tells the assembly, "This is still not complete understanding," (VIII, 132).

Despite this public stance, Hui-neng was privately summoned into the hall, at midnight, by the Fifth Patriarch, who then expounded to him the Diamond Sutra. In but a single hearing, the rice-pounder was immediately awakened and, subsequently, made the recipient of the Dharma:

Then he transmitted to me the Dharma of Sudden
Enlightenment and the robe, saying: 'I make you

⁹⁾. The significance of two verses appearing here, and the omission of the famous third line, "From the very first, nothing exists" 本來無一物, will be discussed below.

b). 菩提本無樹。明鏡亦無臺。佛性常清淨。何處有塵埃。

c). 心是菩提樹。身為明鏡臺。明鏡本清淨。何處染塵埃。

the Sixth Patriarch. The robe is the proof and is to be handed down from generation to generation. My Dharma must be transmitted from mind to mind. You must make people awaken to themselves.'

(IX, 133)

However, fearing that physical harm might come to Hui-neng, Hung-jen urged him to take leave at once; his advice was taken.

Thus it was that Hui-neng, an illiterate 'barbarian' from Ling-nan, came to be the Sixth Patriarch and the Dharma successor to Hung-jen. It should be noted, though, that in order to protect the transmission (which was as "tenuous as a dangling thread"), all of this--necessarily--transpired secretly.

* * * * *

In section XXXIX, the theme of rivalry between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng is resumed; the fact that they both now seem to be widely known would indicate that several years have elapsed since the latter's clandestine escape with the Dharma and robe. Here, we learn that, "People in all the world say: 'In the south Neng, in the north Hsiu'" (XXXIX, 162), though the reason for this is largely not understood. The author goes on to remark that, although the Dharma is one teaching, people are from either the north or the south; consequently, the Northern and Southern Schools have been established. As for the distinction which is made between 'gradual' 漸 and 'sudden' 頓 :

The Dharma itself is the same, but in seeing it there is a slow way and a fast way. Seen slowly, it is the gradual; seen fast it is the sudden (teaching). Dharma is without

sudden or gradual, but some people are keen and others dull; hence the names 'sudden' and 'gradual'.

(XXXIX, 163)

This explanation of the derivation and characteristics of the Northern and Southern schools and the 'gradual' and 'sudden' teachings is surprisingly docile and mild; surely, the observation that some are keen and others dull is a far cry from the later claims that the Northern School's method is not only deluded, but heretical as well.¹⁰⁾ However, despite this burst of seeming harmony, the subsequent section (XL) goes on to rekindle the diatribic flames that were previously lit beneath Shen-hsiu.

The plot of this episode revolves around Shen-hsiu's curiosity as to the nature of Hui-neng's Dharma and method. Having heard rumours of their swiftness and directness, he contrives to have the nature of these claims investigated. Summoning his disciple Chih-ch'eng, he said:

'You're bright and of wide knowledge. Go for me to Mount Ts'ao-ch'i, and when you get to Hui-neng's place, make obeisance to him and just listen. Don't tell him I've sent you, but just listen to the essentials of his teaching, memorise them, and come back and tell me. Then I'll be able to tell which of our understandings is the swifter. And at all costs come back quickly or else I will be angry.

(XL, 163)

It is grimly ironic and of little surprise that this plan

¹⁰⁾. cf. Gernet, op. cit., p.178.

backfires, for we know from the start, really, that Shen-hsiu is not destined to meet with an heroic end. The contingency which he seems to have overlooked is that Chih-ch'eng could-- or would--be won over; but this, of course, is precisely what did happen.

Chih-ch'eng heard the Dharma [of Hui-neng] and was at once enlightened, and awakened to his original mind. Arising, he bowed and said: 'Master, I come from Yü-ch'üan Temple, but under my teacher Hsiu I have been unable to gain awakening. But now, on hearing your sermon, I have awakened to my original mind. I wish that, in your compassion, you would give me instruction.'

(XL, 163)

In short, in his jealous zeal to know of the Sixth Patriarch's Dharma, Shen-hsiu only manages to lose a disciple and to once again--and inevitably--be outshone by Hui-neng.

Section XLI is one of the few in which the doctrines of the Northern School are specifically described and contrasted to those of the South. Herein, the Master questions Chih-ch'eng about Shen-hsiu's method of instructing by means of handing down precepts 戒, meditation 定, and wisdom 慧. As to the constituent elements of this triad, Chih-ch'eng replies:

'The priest Hsiu explains them in this way: not to commit the various evils is the precepts; to practice all the many good things is wisdom; to purify one's mind is meditation.'

(XLI, 164)

Hui-neng remarks that, although this view is wonderful, his own is substantially different:

The mind-ground[心地], not in error, is the precept of self-nature[自性]; the mind-ground, undisturbed, is the meditation of self-nature; the mind-ground, not ignorant, is the wisdom of self-nature.

(XLI, 164)

He goes on to elaborate that, whereas the teachings of Shen-hsiu are designed to encourage those of shallow capacities, his own teachings are for men of superior attainments. Furthermore, since the core of his Dharma is the awakening of self-nature, precepts, wisdom, and meditation are not set-up 不立. When pressed to explain this latter's meaning, he replies:

'Every thought puts forth the radiance of prajñā wisdom, and when one is always separated from the form of things, what is there that can be set up? Self-awakening to self-nature, and sudden practice with sudden awakening--there is nothing gradual in them, so that nothing at all is set up.'

(XLI, 165)

By way of brief summary: in the most general of terms, it should be clear by now that the Platform Sutra's portrait of Shen-hsiu is not a pretty one. Marred by an imperfect understanding, motivated by anger and jealousy, his teaching can but cater to men of shallow capacities. Shen-hsiu--not merely in regard to the patriarchship, but in every sense--is truly "manqué". We shall go on now to see how similarly Shen-hsiu is portrayed by Shen-hui.¹¹⁾

¹¹⁾. For a biographical account of Shen-hui, see J. Gernet, "Biographie du Maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsö", Journal Asiatique, CCXLIX (1951), pp. 29-60.

B. The Conversations Of Shen-hui

The monk Shen-hui (+670 - 762)¹²⁾ was one of Hui-neng's immediate disciples and largely responsible for the Southern School's eventual recognition as the "orthodox" Ch'an sect. In the Platform Sutra, Shen-hui is only mentioned twice: the first incident is concerned with his arrival at Mount Ts'ao-ch'i and is not especially significant viz our concern here;¹³⁾ the second, however, lays the foundations for his later campaign:

The Master said: 'Come close. In the eighth month [of +713] I intend to leave this world. If any of you have doubts, ask about them quickly... [for] after I have gone there will be no one to teach you.'

Fa-hai and the other monks heard him to the end and wept tears of sorrow. Only Shen-hui was not impressed, nor did he weep. The Sixth Patriarch said: 'Shen-hui, you are a young monk, yet you have attained the (status of awakening) in which good and not good are identical, and you are not moved by judgements of praise or blame. You others have not yet understood....

(XLVII, 174)

What immediately stands out in this passage is Hui-neng's singling out of Shen-hui as the only disciple with the proper

¹²⁾. His dates are usually given as 668 - 760, but this has been corrected by Demiéville to 670 - 762; see Demiéville, "Deux documents de Touen-Houang sur le dhyāna chinois", first published in Tsukamoto hakushi shōju ki'nen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Kyoto, 1961); full correction appears in reprint of same in Demiéville, Choix d'études bouddhiques (Leiden, 1973).

¹³⁾. Recounted in section XLIV, 169-170.

understanding and awakening, surpassing even that of Fa-hai, the head monk. But more important, perhaps, is Hui-neng's response to Fa-hai's query as to who shall inherit the robe and Dharma of the patriarchate:

The Master said: 'The Dharma has already been entrusted; that you may not ask. Some twenty years after I have died evil dharmas will run rampant and becloud the essentials of my teaching. Then someone will come forward and, at the risk of his life, fix the correct and false in Buddhism, and raise up the essentials of the teaching. This will be my true Dharma.'

(XLIX, 176)

The significance of this prophecy is that it corresponds in every respect with Shen-hui's attack on the Northern sect in +732;¹⁴⁾ in fact, it is so accurate that Hu Shih has taken it "to indicate that the original version of the tan ching was probably composed by Shen-hui's followers or associates."¹⁵⁾ However, we shall disregard the authorship question for the moment to explore, instead, the nature of this "battle" and the issues which were at stake.

* * * * *

One of the first things to strike the reader of the

¹⁴⁾ Hu Shih originally posited this date as +734, but it was revised in light of additional findings; see Yampolsky, op. cit., p.26. fn.72.

¹⁵⁾ Hu Shih, "An Appeal for a Systematic Search in Japan for Long-hidden T'ang Dynasty Source-Materials of the Early History of Zen Buddhism," p.20, in Yamaguchi (ed.), Bukkyō to bunka (Kyoto, 1960).

Shen-hui fragments is the prominence attached to Shen-hsiu's school and the relative obscurity of that of Hui-neng.¹⁶⁾ That is, in contrast to the impression created in the Platform Sutra that people everywhere recognized the superiority of the Southern branch, we find herein that it is the Northern School which still dominates the scene, twenty-six years after the death of Shen-hsiu.¹⁷⁾ This monolithic-ness is underscored by the details of Shen-hui's attack.

The chronicle begins in +732, in Ho-nan, when at a large public gathering an unknown Southern monk rose from the ranks of the audience to denounce the disciples of Shen-hsiu. The substance of his pronouncement centered around the patriarchal succession:

The Ch'an Master Shen-hsiu, during his life, declared that the Sixth Patriarch received the robe of the Law at Shao-chou, but he never said that he himself was the Sixth Patriarch. Today, the Ch'an Master P'u-chi¹⁸⁾ gives himself the title of seventh patriarch and thus falsely establishes his teacher as the sixth. This is...not permissable.

(iii, 94f)

Hearing such an outrageous and blasphemous charge--and

¹⁶⁾. The following account is based largely on Gernet, "Entretiens..." (sometimes abbreviated Conversations); small-case Roman numerals refer to the chüan ('sections') of the original text, and are followed by the page numbers of the translation; cf. fn.2, above.

¹⁷⁾. see Part II, below.

¹⁸⁾. One of Shen-hsiu's foremost disciples.

possibly sensing derangement--one of the monks in the crowd attempted to point out the seriousness of such affrontery:

The glory and name of Shen-hsiu cover the world.
He is known and he is talked about everywhere.
All mouths transmit his teachings. He is most
extraordinary! To attack him as you have done is
to risk your life.

(iii, 96f)

To which Shen-hui unquaveringly replies:

The Ch'an Master Shen-hsiu is in disaccord with
the sect of the south. For myself, I have ex-
amined the true and false, I have fixed the prin-
ciples of the school, I spread everywhere today
the Great Vehicle, I establish the true Law and
make it known and heard by all beings. Why should
I have a care for my Life?

(iii, 97)

From this short interchange it is readily apparent that Shen-hui is launching a two-pronged attack: historically, he is challenging the claim that Shen-hsiu is the Dharma-heir of the Fifth Patriarch, Hung-jen; at the same time, he is also contending that the Northern School is not doctrinally in accord with the True Law.¹⁹⁾ With regard to the first of these two prongs, his argument is essentially a reiteration of the Platform Sutra's account; that is, the claim that Hui-neng was--in

¹⁹⁾. In this context, the following remark by Gernet is quite perceptive; he writes: 'The antagonism and divergent viewpoints [between the Northern and Southern Schools] did undoubtedly not arise until after Shen-hsiu's death in 706. What was in the beginning but an opposition of tendencies became, for the disciples of the two great masters, a doctrinal opposition.' "Biographie...", p.31.

secret--confirmed as Hung-jen's successor. The arguments that accompany the second prong--the doctrinal dispute--are more highly refined than those of the Platform Sutra, however, and will thus be more fully elaborated.

At the opening of Chüan iii in the Conversations, Shen-hui makes the claim that:

...the words of my grand-master, the Sixth Patriarch, penetrated the listeners one by one, directly, like a knife; he caused them to directly see and understand their true nature, without ever once speaking of gradualness.

(iii, 92)

In another context, he similarly maintains rigorously that all cultivation of concentration originates in error. Further,

If we declare that this concentration is the true one, Vimalakīrti should not have scolded Sariputra for remaining seated in tranquility.²⁰⁾
(i, 35)

Thus, Shen-hui seems to be levelling an uncompromising critique of gradualness and spiritual cultivation, both of which are styled by him as central tenets of the Northern School. Coupled with this, he also censures the importance of tso-ch'an 坐禪 --"sitting in meditation". Again, this latter is identified as a practice advocated by the North; the nature of his opposition to it is revealed in the following:

²⁰⁾ Reference to an incident in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, T14, p.475c.

The master of Yüan²¹) asked: 'The Ch'an master P'u-chi...and the Ch'an master Hsiang-mo..., these two priests instruct people to congeal their minds in order to enter concentration, to congeal their minds in order to see purity...; they indicate that this is their doctrine. Why Ch'an master, although you preach dhyāna, don't you instruct people in this method. What do you call sitting in dhyāna 坐禪 ?'

(iii, 93)

Shen-hui's reply is truly in the spirit of iconoclasm; in fact, so much so that it has earned him scholarly rebuke.²²) But, to the point, his answer is:

If I instructed people in this method, it would be an obstacle to complete awakening. 'Sitting', this is the non-production of thought. 'Dhyāna', this is seeing into one's fundamental nature.

(iii, 94)

A similar sentiment is re-echoed in the "Sermon":

Those who 'freeze their mind when entering into samādhi'²³) first drop into an irrelevant void, afterwards when they awake from samādhi, and their mind works again, they discern all the different mundane entities; They call this prajñā, the sutras call it self-deception.²⁴)

²¹). About whom see Gernet, Entretiens..., p.43, fn.1.

²²). Hu Shih has written that Shen-hui advocated a "new Ch'an which renounces ch'an itself and is therefore no ch'an at all." "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism In China, Its History And Method," Philosophy East And West (April, 1953), p.7.

²³). A reference to the alleged teachings of the North.

²⁴). W. Liebenthal, "The Sermon of Shen-hui", Asia Major (no.2, 1952), p.147.

* * * * *

Thus far we have presented Shen-hui's explicit critique of the Northern School; however, there is an implicit criticism also at work in the positive statements that he makes about his own teachings. That is, every assertion carries with it--necessarily--an unspoken negation viz those who are 'outside' the True Law. This obtains not only with regard to Shen-hui, of course, but is equally applicable to the Platform Sutra, as well. What, then, is the Southern School's own position?

On the basis of frequency of occurrence and authorial emphasis, the concept of 'no-thought'²⁵⁾ (wu-nien 無念) emerges as at least one important part of it. No-thought appears, further, as a central theme in both the Conversations and the Platform Sutra and, in many ways, serves as the thread that pulls them together.²⁶⁾ We intend to examine this theme in detail in Part III, section 'C',²⁷⁾ and will thus confine our discussion here to its more 'general' aspects.

²⁵⁾ see Gernet, Entretiens..., p.12, fn.5; see, also, Yampolsky, op. cit., p.116f.

²⁶⁾ The theme of the identity between meditation and wisdom is also common to both works but, as Gernet writes: "...meditation and wisdom are but two aspects of the one unique reality of wu-nien," Entretiens..., p.13n.

²⁷⁾ Especially in light of the li-nien ("beyond thought" 離念) doctrine that appears quite frequently in the writings associated with the Northern School.

The locus classicus--in the Southern School²⁸)--of the no-thought doctrine, is section XVII of the Platform Sutra, wherein Hui-neng maintains that it constitutes the core of his Dharma:

'Good friends, in this teaching of mine, from ancient times up to the present, all have set up no-thought as the main doctrine, non-form as the substance [体], and non-abiding as the basis [本] '.

(XVII, 137f)

The passage further elucidates the doctrine, substance, and basis in a suitably Ch'an fashion: non-form 無相 is to be beyond form 離相 even when amidst form; no-thought is not thinking, even while involved in thought;^{d)} non-abiding is man's original nature (XVII, 138). However, despite the fact that no-thought is "set up as the main doctrine" of the Platform sutra, little more is therein said about it; the Conversations, though, give further elaboration.

In the Shen-hui writings, several facets of the no-thought theory are expounded. The first of these is that no-thought can neither be affirmed or denied from a relative (mundane) point of view. In the following incident, the reason for this is explained:

²⁸). Like many ideas in the Platform Sutra this, too, is based on--or related to--earlier textual sources; see especially The Awakening Of Faith, translated, with commentary, by Y. Hakeda (Columbia, 1967).

d). 無念者於念而不念。

'You, Ch'an master, constantly speak about no-thought, and you encourage people to study and cultivate it, but I don't know if it exists or not.'

'I don't say that it exists, nor that it does not exist. If I said that it existed, it would only be a mundane existing, and if I said that it did not exist, it would but be a mundane non-existence. It is for this reason that no-thought neither is, nor is not.'

(i, 31)

Secondly, no-thought is described in terms of the t'i 体 yung 用 pattern;²⁹⁾ that is, no-thought is the activity 用 of the Absolute (真如 "really thus"); in turn, the Absolute is the substance 体 of no-thought, (i, 52).³⁰⁾

Thirdly, it is only through no-thought that liberation is attained,³¹⁾ and it is also the means by which the 'common man' 凡夫 can become a Sage 聖人:

The prince of Szu-tao asked: 'Is no-thought to be cultivated by common men or by Sages? If it is a method intended for the Sage, why should you encourage the common man to cultivate it?'

'No-thought is a method intended for the Sage, but if cultivated by a common man he will no longer be oriented towards the profane.'

(i, 51)

²⁹⁾. About which see Hakeda, op. cit; W. Liebenthal, The Book Of Chao (Peking, 1948); Fung Yu-lan, A History Of Chinese Philosophy, Volume II, translated by D. Bodde (Princeton, 1953). This, too, will be briefly returned to, below.

³⁰⁾. cf. Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang..., p.130.

³¹⁾. ibid., p.101: 但得无念即是解。

However, we find here, too, that little is given in terms of the specific method (s) by which no-thought is to be cultivated. Perhaps Hakeda's comment upon the wu-nien passage in the Awakening Of Faith is applicable here, as well:

At first glance, this section seems to be disappointingly short and elusive. However, what else could have been said about the problem?...([since] wu-nien is used in the text in the sense of 'beyond empirical predication or determination'...) the solution lies in personal experience rather than in verbal description.³²⁾

Below, we shall return to the no-thought doctrine and to the question of the ways in which--indeed, if there are any--it differs from the central tenets of the Northern School.

C. The Mirror Image

As mentioned previously, the enormous block of manuscripts recovered from Tun-huang has stimulated a number of scholarly researches³³⁾ and scholarly debates. Of the latter, the now famous interchange between D.T. Suzuki and Hu Shih³⁴⁾ ranks

³²⁾. Hakeda, op. cit., p.73 (commentary).

³³⁾. see P. Demiéville, "Récents travaux sur Touen-houang," T'oung Pao (LVI, 1971), pp.1-45.

³⁴⁾. Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism..."; D.T. Suzuki, "A Reply To Dr. Hu Shih," Philosophy East And West (April, 1953), pp.25-46.

probably, as the most widely known example.

One important issue which is raised by them concerns the relative importance of Hui-neng as compared to Shen-hui, with regard to the development of Ch'an in China. On the one hand, Hu Shih contends that Hui-neng (as we know of him) was virtually 'created' by Shen-hui, arguing that the infamous disciple--or his "junior colleagues"--fictionized the Platform Sutra in an effort to oust the Northern School from its prominent position; the assumption here being that the Southern charges against Shen-hsiu were unjustified.³⁵⁾ Countering this, Suzuki claims that the "message" of Hui-neng is legitimate and that, consequently, Shen-hui's attack--though a bit over-zealous--was but a restoration of the True Dharma to its rightful heirs.³⁶⁾

In terms of events and chronologies, Hu Shih is no doubt correct in maintaining that--but for Shen-hui--the Northern School would have continued to flourish. But even granting that, what has been gained? Given that the Ch'an tradition accepted, and still accepts, this doctored version, how and why it chose to interpret itself in this manner would seem to be a more important concern than the mere establishment of what happened when. A consideration of the mind-verses that were quoted above (p.5, 7f.) provides a case in point.

³⁵⁾. see Hu Shih, ibid., passim., and "An Appeal....", p18.

³⁶⁾. Suzuki, op. cit., especially pp.44-46.

Though the historical evolution of these mind-verses is still not totally clear, several facts are clearly discernible. Firstly, as Hu Shih points out, that two verses appear in the earliest extant versions of the manuscript seems to indicate that the author--not being sure which was the better--opted for safety by including them both.³⁷⁾

Secondly, the omission in this early version of the later-to-be accepted third-line (in Hui-neng's verse) suggests that tampering with the verse's form was not uncommon. Furthermore, that the biography of Hung-jen completed circa +710 makes no mention of either these verses or the competition between Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu, is perhaps the most weighty evidence in the trial of authenticity.³⁸⁾ But what is really accomplished by controverting the traditional claim that Hui-neng authored the verse? If no more is said, very little.

It is our hope, though, to take the matter further, especially in terms of the statements that Ch'an is making about itself and about Shen-hsiu, when it pays credence to the verse. This former (that is, the orthodox self-image) will be examined in the Conclusion, below, but we shall at this point consider the latter--the orthodox tradition's image of Shen-hsiu. It should be noted, too, that our choice of these mirror stanzas for consideration was not at

³⁷⁾. Hu Shih, "An Appeal....," pp.20-21.

³⁸⁾. K. Ch'en, Buddhism In China (Princeton, 1964), p.353n.

all arbitrary, for it is our contention that this mirror image captures the essence of the Southern School's view of Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu, and functions as the paradigmatic guide par excellence to the controversy between the two. Which see.

The phrase "mirror image" possesses a certain ambiguity of import, though this is in many ways an asset: in its more literary sense it conjures up the mind-verses themselves, in which the image of the mirror symbolically represents the nature of Shen-hsiu's understanding and the characteristics of his doctrines; at the same time, it literally symbolises the fact that, in the Platform Sutra, Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu are, in every respect, reversed figures.

In more detail: Shen-hsiu's stanza, in positing an existent mirror ("The mind is like a clear mirror"), becomes guilty of falsely "setting up".³⁹⁾ In this context, Hung-jen's quotation from the Diamond Sutra ("All forms everywhere are unreal and false") can be seen in a new light. In other words, Shen-hsiu's verse demonstrates that he has yet to go beyond a dualistic point of view: in setting up some-thing to be wiped and, thus, some-one to wipe it--he is wallowing in the subject/object structure that was anathema to the later Ch'an tradition. In fact, this abhorrence is underscored by the fact that the earliest known third-line of the

³⁹⁾. cf. p.12, above.

Hui-neng verse ("The mirror is originally clean and pure") was altered to read, "Originally, not a thing exists".⁴⁰⁾ In this sense, then, the content of the mirror image in its literary aspect epitomizes the doctrinal flaw which the Southern School has used to characterise Shen-hsiu.

Returning to the literal mirror image, the incidence of incidents in the Platform Sutra where Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu are pictured as opposites--in one sense or another--is too numerous to permit mention of them all. However, some of the more prominent of these bi-nomial pairs may be listed, briefly, as follows:

- a. whereas Shen-hsiu is depicted as the head monk and Hung-jen's most promising pupil, Hui-neng is drawn as an illiterate 'barbarian', fit only to pound rice; despite this, it is Hui-neng who inherits the patriarchship; ⁴¹⁾
- b. Shen-hsiu struggled for some time before he was able to write a verse and, at that, had yet to demonstrate that he knew his own nature; Hui-neng's verse was composed on the spot and, further, he understood and expressed the cardinal meaning immediately (ie. suddenly);

⁴⁰⁾. see above, p.7f.

⁴¹⁾. Similar to the way in which the stanza was later changed to reinforce the Southern School's opposite-ness to Shen-hsiu, it seems, Hui-neng was more or less 'de-classed'; that is, in the biography of Hung-jen cited above (fn.38) it is stated that Hui-neng was one of the eleven disciples worthy enough to transmit the teaching. "This would seem to indicate that Hui-neng was not the unknown illiterate rice pounder the later Ch'an accounts make him." Ch'en, loc. cit.

- c. concerning the merit of their verses, Hung-jen tells the assembly that Shen-hsiu's verse can produce great benefits, while privately telling Shen-hsiu that he has not yet fully "entered the gate"; viz that of Hui-neng, he publicly states that it does not show a complete understanding, yet privately, and in secret, transmits to him the robe and Dharma;
- d. whereas Shen-hsiu's disciple Chih-ch'eng never achieved awakening while studying in the North, on hearing but one sermon by Hui-neng he was totally enlightened;
- e. lastly--and perhaps most importantly--where the gradual teaching of Shen-hsiu encourages those of "shallow capacity", Hui-neng's sudden method reaches those of "superior ability".

In short (and with apologies to K. Marx), the Shen-hsiu of the Platform Sutra is really Hui-neng stood on his head.

* * * * *

Looking back on the portrait of Shen-hsiu that emerges, then, from the Platform Sutra and the Conversations, there is little but negativity that appears: biographical-negativity of the type that delights in noting Shen-hsiu's "personal" shortcomings, and doctrinal-negativity that stresses the inadequacies and faulty orientation of his teaching. Both of these aspects are reflected in what we have dubbed the "mirror image" and it is our contention that this latter may be used as a compact guide to the North/South controversy as depicted in later Ch'an accounts. It seems only too appropriate, though none the less ironic for that, that Hui-neng was honoured with the posthumous title: "Ch'an Master of the Great Mirror" 大鑑禪師.

Part Two: A BIOGRAPHICAL COLLAGE

Interest in the past, the real and not the legendary past that is, is not a universal characteristic of mankind or even of civilized mankind. It seems to have been largely absent in ancient India, where the timeless verities of religion were what attracted men's minds. It was pre-eminently present in China.

---E. G. PULLEYBLANK

A BIOGRAPHICAL COLLAGE

The picture of Shen-hsiu 神秀 developed in the previous section is characterized by a persistent homogeneity of viewpoint, in that the Platform Sutra and the Conversations of Shen-hui 神會 are of a united vision with respect to the position--both personal and doctrinal--that Shen-hsiu occupies within the Ch'an 禪 tradition. In this chapter, our aim will be to survey the image--or better, images--of Shen-hsiu that emerge from several biographical accounts¹⁾ and to, in turn, compare them to that of the Southern School.

We shall begin by examining each of the appended Documents on an individual basis in terms of its historical context, its contents, and its author or compiler, as the case

¹⁾. The sources for this section are translated below in Appendix A; bibliographic information may be found there as well. These documents are sometimes abbreviated, respectively, as follows: Memorial, Lanka Records, Old T'ang History, Eminent Monks, and Eulogy. References to them will assume the form A, II.2, for example, wherein 'A' refers to Appendix A, Roman numerals refer to the Document number, and Arabic numbers refer to the page of the Document.

may be. This will be followed by a thematic investigation that will cut across the documents as units. The categories to be utilised for this have been, in part, generated by the texts themselves; for the rest, we have "created" categories of consideration that are especially pertinent vis à vis the image of Part One as corroboration/contradiction or addition/ommission.

Before embarking upon this venture, however, it should be noted that a certain amount of disparate-ness between the texts is expected from the outset. There are several reasons for this, one of them being that they encompass a wide range of literary genres, such as "pure" biography, eulogy, and Courtly memorial. Each of these "types" attempts to fulfill a special purpose and is accompanied by specific motivations. Thus, the results of these endeavors will vary accordingly.

For example, the glorification of an Emperor or an historical period, the commemoration of an admired figure (such as a religious leader), or the chronicling of events in an "objective" fashion, will each entail differing intents that will, consequently, condition and affect the nature of the final product.²⁾

In short, a "standard" history such as the Old T'ang.

²⁾. see C.S. Gardner, Chinese Traditional Historiography (Harvard, 1938), reprinted with additions and corrections by Yang Lien-sheng (Harvard, 1961), especially pp. 7-17.

and a "private" history³⁾ such as the Lanka Records, will each necessitate that the information dealt with be grouped around a differing--and often unspoken--core concern: in this case, an Imperial exaltation as opposed to a sectarian one. With this principle in mind, then, let us turn to the texts.

A. The Documents: Background and Summary

Document One. Our first document is a memorial to the throne, composed by Sung chih-wen 宋之問, a T'ang 唐 dynasty poet whose death date is variously given as +710 or 713.⁴⁾ According to Herbert Giles' biography⁵⁾, he was singled out for a military career on account of his "martial appearance." He was appointed to a post by the Empress Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天, subsequently banished, and finally re-appointed as an archivist dealing with state ceremonials. Eventually, he was re-banished and allowed to commit suicide.

In the Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳 (part of which is translated in Document IV), he is mentioned as having visited

³⁾. H. Franke measures 'private', in this sense, by "the degree of independence from bureaucracy, particularly from the historical offices in the capital." "Some Aspects of Chinese Private Historiography In the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in Historians of China and Japan, edited by Pulleyblank and Beasley (Oxford, 1961), pp. 115-134.

⁴⁾. Yampolsky, in the Platform Sutra (Columbia, 1967), p. 78, gives 713; Giles, in A Chinese Biographical Dictionary (London, 1898), p.609, gives 710.

⁵⁾. see Giles, op. cit., entry no.1829.

Hui-neng 慧能 and having gone to his gravesite.⁶⁾ Although he may have visited Hui-neng during his period of exile, the foundations for this posthumous encounter are extremely shaky;⁷⁾ further, there is little question that he grouped himself as a follower of Shen-hsiu.

The Memorial itself was written sometime between +701 and 713.⁸⁾ It is relatively brief and its composition was--as the full title indicates--occasioned by a courtly invitation that brought Shen-hsiu to the capital city of Lo-yang 洛陽. Also, it is more concerned with the accolades heaped upon Shen-hsiu than it is with the details of his life.

The text first treats the warm reception that was given Shen-hsiu. However, despite the hospitable atmosphere, he was apparently dissatisfied with urban life and, as a consequence, went off to the mountains and "founded an abode which was difficult to reach," (A, I.1). Still, he was near enough to the Capital that his longing for his native territories persisted.

Other information provided by this Memorial is scant. There is no mention of Hung-jen 弘忍 --(other than obliquely: "[he] transmitted the East Mountain's Wonderful Law," A, I.1)--

⁶⁾. T50, p.755b-c.

⁷⁾. see Yampolsky, op. cit., p.78f.

⁸⁾. That is, between the time Shen-hsiu arrived in Lo-yang (701), and Sung chih-wen's death (at the most, 713).

or Hui-neng; nor are the patriarchal 祖 lineages referred to. Doctrinally, the only concrete statement is that Shen-hsiu was devoted to the Perfect Principle 至理 of Non-production 無生 (A, I.1).

Document Two. The Lanka Records, unearthed at Tun-huang, is the second-oldest extant manuscript that deals with the history of Ch'an, the oldest being the Ch'uan fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀.⁹⁾ It was compiled by Ching-chüeh 淨覺 (died mid-eighth century) about whom very little is known. However, as his inscription was composed by the famous poet-painter Wang-wei 王維¹⁰⁾ (699 - 759)--who also wrote an inscription for Hui-neng--it may be assumed that he was a figure of some prominence.

The text, which was probably compiled in the K'ai-yüan 開元 era¹¹⁾ (712 - 748), is based on a no-longer existent work that was compiled by Hsuan-tse 玄奘, a contemporary of Shen-hsiu. Structurally, it consists of a Preface and eight numbered sections, each of which corresponds with, and is devoted to, a recipient of the transmitted 傳 Dharma 法. In

⁹⁾. T85, p.1291a-c, contains a Preface to this work; it, and a fuller copy, are discussed by Yampolsky, op. cit., p.5ff.

¹⁰⁾. Biographical entry in Giles, op. cit., no.2241.

¹¹⁾. The various scholarly positions surrounding this dating are summarised in Yampolsky, op. cit., p.19, fn.48.

order, these are: 1) Gunabhadra 求那跋陀, 2) Bodhidharma 達磨, 3) Hui-k'o 慧可, 4) Seng-tsan 僧粲, 5) Tao-hsin 道信, 6) Hung-jen 弘忍, 7) Shen-hsiu 神秀, and 8) P'u-chi 普寂.¹²⁾ Though these eight are not referred to in specific terms as "patriarchs", it is clearly asserted that a transmission was passed on from one to the other.

The seventh section, which deals with Shen-hsiu, states at the outset that he, Hsuan-tse, and Hui-an 慧安, were the National Teachers 國師 for three Sovereigns. It then deals briefly with Shen-hsiu's early years in a manner that was to become standard: having thoroughly studied the Classics 經 and Histories 史, he was still dissatisfied and longed for the Tao 道.

Thus, he wanders to the borders of the Yang-tze 江 in search of fulfillment, and eventually travels to the Ch'ei prefecture 蕪州 where Hung-jen resides. "From him, [Shen-hsiu] obtained the Dharma of Ch'an," (A, II.2).

No further details are given about their relationship, and the next major episode we are told of is Shen-hsiu's being summoned to the Capital in +701. He is widely acclaimed but, as in the Memorial, we find that he is not very taken with courtly life and goes so far as to request per-

¹²⁾. T85, p.1283c-1290c; following the Preface to the Ch'uan fa-pao chi (cf. fn.9. above), a similar list occurs, with these exceptions: it is un-numbered, and no mention is made of either Gunabhadra or P'u-chi.

mission to return to his original prefecture. The Emperor (Chung-tsung 中宗), however, finds this unsuitable and advises him not to be hindered by attachments to his homeland (A, II.3).

Shortly thereafter, Shen-hsiu dies peacefully, and the bulk of the remainder of the text is devoted to an extollation --by both members of the Court and his disciples--of his many and varied virtuous qualities. The section concludes with a number of selected quotations that are attributed to Shen-hsiu. Some of these are taken from sutra literature, but they all possess a distinctly kōan-like flavour (see A, II.6-7).

It should be pointed out that no mention is made of Hui-neng or the Northern/Southern rift. Such details, as well as the doctrinal aspects that emerge in this account, will be discussed in section B, below.

Document Three. The Old T'ang History is a "standard" dynastic history, completed during the period of the Five Dynasties 五代 (+907 - 960). It was presented to the Emperor in 945 by Liu-hsü 劉昫, ostensibly its compiler.¹³⁾ However, this work was, for a variety of reasons, deemed unsatisfactory¹⁴⁾

¹³⁾ Howard Levy cites evidence to indicate that it was actually compiled by Chao-ying 趙瑩; Biography of An Lu-shan, University of California, Inst. of East Asiatic Studies, Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, No. 8 (Berkeley, 1960), p.21, fn.4.

¹⁴⁾ Some of these reasons are enumerated in N. Toan and L. Ricaud, Wou Tsō-t'ien (Saigon, 1959), p.12f.

and a "new" 新 history was ordered circa 1050; hence, the designations of old and new. This latter was presented to the Emperor in 1060. Having been supervised by Ou-yang hsiu 歐陽修¹⁵⁾ (1007 - 1072), a notorious anti-Buddhist, the Shen-hsiu entry was dropped.

The document opens with traditional comments about Shen-hsiu's youth, and his later encounter with Hung-jen at the Tung-shan Monastery 東山寺. It then recounts several events that have become widely associated with Ch'an: Bodhidharma's coming from India 天竺 to China, his encounter with Emperor Wu 武帝 of Liang 梁, the robe and bowl that have been transmitted since the time of Sakyamuni 釋迦, and Hui-k'o cutting off his arm (A, III.1-2).

Some biographical information is given about Hung-jen, and Shen-hsiu's success at the Capital is described. Following this, mention of Hui-neng is--for the first time--made. We are told that he and Shen-hsiu were fellow-students and that they were, in all respects, "equally matched," (A, III.3).

Thereafter, we read that Shen-hsiu approached Tse-t'ien about having Hui-neng summoned to court. The latter declined the invitation. Consequently, Shen-hsiu himself sent a note, repeating the invitation. Hui-neng again declined, and sent a messenger to explain to Shen-hsiu that his reason for not

¹⁵⁾. Biographical entry in Giles, op. cit., no.1592.

coming is two-fold: first, he fears that the people of the North would find him physically vulgar and would, thus, not respect his Dharma; second, his former Master (Hung-jen) thought him to have a special affinity with the South.

In the end, then, Hui-neng died without ever crossing into the Northern territories, though his Tao was dispersed and transmitted throughout the world. For this reason, we are told, Shen-hsiu is said to constitute the Northern School 北宗 and Hui-neng the Southern 南宗, (A, III.4).

Following this, Shen-hsiu's death and his various posthumous honours are briefly related, and the text concludes with the note that his disciples P'u-chi and I-fu 義福 were esteemed by their contemporaries.

Document Four. The Lives of Eminent Monks consists of three recensions, and is one of the most fertile sources for information concerning Buddhism in China. The first of these collections¹⁶⁾ was made by Hui-chiao 慧皎 and covers the period from the Later Han 後漢 (ended +220) to circa +520. It contains biographical accounts of two-hundred and fifty-seven monks and refers to two-hundred others. The second collection, Further Lives of Eminent Monks,¹⁷⁾ was compiled

¹⁶⁾. T50, p.322-423.

¹⁷⁾. T50, p.425-707.

by Tao-hsüan 道宣 and covers the period from the Liang Dynasty 梁紀 (+502 - 556) to 667. It contains four-hundred and eighty-five biographies and mentions two-hundred and nineteen other monks. The Sung collection¹⁸⁾ was compiled by Tsan-ning 贊寧 and covers the period from +667 to 987. It contains biographical accounts of five-hundred and thirty-two monks and mentions another one-hundred and twenty-five.¹⁹⁾

Our Document Four comes from this last collection and its make-up is substantially similar to that of the Old T'ang History. With regard to Bodhidharma, it adds that he died of poison, but it makes no reference to Hui-k'o's having cut-off his arm.

What is singular to this document, however, is the Historian's Commentary 系曰 that is appended to the biography proper.²⁰⁾ This consists of an elusive metaphor that compares the North/South controversy to the medicinal prescription of bitter/sweet herbs: an emphasis on one--especially to the exclusion of the other--runs contrary to the principle of effectiveness. (A, IV.5).

18). T50, p.709-900.

19). These figures come from Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism In China (Princeton, 1964), p.248, fn.3.

20). This practice of appending 'judgements' to a text goes back to the I-ching 易經 ; see J. Needham, Science and Civilisation In China, Vol.II, sections 8-18 (Cambridge, 1956), pp.305-307.

Further, the conflict between the Sudden Gate 頓門 of the South and the cultivation 修 of the North, is seen in similar terms. Also of interest is the mention of Ho-tse (the school of Shen-hui 神會) which, we are told, prevails in the Middle Land. However, this commentator writes that the Great Teaching 大義 died with Hung-jen (A, IV.5) and that Shen-hui "erroneously treated the illness with only one medicine," (A, IV.6).

Thus, though the "two disciples" (presumably Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu) were unable to wash the dust off of their Master's feet, they were able to break his legs with great ease, (A, IV.6).

Document Five. Although it appears as the last document in this series, the Eulogy for Shen-hsiu is, chronologically, the earliest of them all (with the possible exception that the Memorial might be a few years older--at most, five). It was written in +706, the year of Shen-hsiu's death, by Chang-yüeh 張說²¹) (667 - 731). This authour was a native of Lo-yang who, after much conscious striving, was given a post in the Court of the Empress Wu. But, like Sung chih-wen, he, too, was banished.

He was later brought back to the Capital by the Emperor

²¹). Biographical entry in Giles, op. cit., no.134.

Chung-tsung 中宗 and, under the following Emperor, Jui-tsung 睿宗, was made a Minister of State and given the responsibility of compiling the dynastic history. Eventually, he again fell into disfavour but was, again, reinstated. And, according to Herbert Giles, "his fame rests chiefly upon his poems, the pathetic beauty of which was said to have improved under the reverses of his later life."²²⁾

The "story line" of this document is, in essence, quite similar to the others we have thus far encountered. His version of Shen-hsiu's youth, relation to Hung-jen, stay in the Capital, and subsequent death and posthumous glorification, neither depart from nor add to the previous accounts in any significant way.

There are other elements, however, that are worthy of note. First, no mention is made of Hui-neng, or the split between the Northern/Southern - sudden/gradual factions. Secondly, the controversy over the patriarchal succession is also unmentioned. Lastly, there is a great deal of material related to doctrinal issues, much of which would seem to contradict the views that were later attributed to Shen-hsiu (notably by the Platform Sutra and the Shen-hui Conversations). Each of these points will be treated below.

22). Ibid., p.52.

B. A Thematic Excursion

Now that we have introduced and summarized--(albeit briefly)--each of the Documents under consideration, we would like to examine several themes that are especially relevant to an understanding of the transformations that Shen-hsiu's "life" has been subject to. These thematic categories will include: Shen-hsiu's relationship to Hung-jen, his relationship to Hui-neng, and his place in the patriarchal tradition. Also to be included is a doctrinal exegesis.

It should be pointed out here that this section, like its predecessor, will be essentially descriptive in nature; our more interpretive comments have been reserved for section 'C', below.

Shen-hsiu and Hung-jen. With the exception of Sung chih-wen's Memorial, which makes no references to Hung-jen, all of the Documents share a number of common elements with regard to the relationship between he and Shen-hsiu. First, they unanimously report that Shen-hsiu, after completing his classical training, still experienced an existential "lack". Thus, he wandered about in search of fulfillment and eventually reached the residence of Hung-jen on the East Mountain in the Ch'ü prefecture. His reaction is consistent: "This is truly my Master."

Secondly, each of these texts reports that Shen-hsiu's admiration and respect for Hung-jen were, by the latter, reciprocally returned: "Though the people I have ferried (to the 'other shore') are numerous, with regard to complete understanding and perfect enlightenment, you are surpassed by no one," (see A, III.2, IV.2).

The subsequent events in Shen-hsiu's stay with Hung-jen, though, vary somewhat from text to text. Chang-yüeh writes that he dilligently and unceasingly attended his Master for six years, after which Hung-jen pronounced that he had exhausted the East Mountain's Dharma (A, V.3). At this point--following Hung-jen's command that his disciple's feet be washed, and his suggestion that they sit together in meditation--Shen-hsiu tearfully takes leave of him (A, V.4).

In the Lanka Records, the above scene does not occur. Instead, we are told only that Shen-hsiu received the Dharma from Hung-jen. His leave-taking is, apparently, to be assumed, since the next thing we read there is that, "later, Shen-hsiu resided at the Yü-ch'uan Monastery 玉泉寺 in the prefecture of Ching 荊州," (A, II.2).

In both the Old T'ang History and the Lives of Eminent Monks, we read similar accounts of these post-introductory events: following his arrival to the East Mountain, Shen-Hsiu immediately took to chopping wood and drawing water and,

by these activities, sought the Tao, (A, III.1, IV.1). Further, both of these documents state that Shen-hsiu went to Mount Tang-yang 當陽山 (which is where the Yü-ch'uan Monastery is located) after Hung-jen's death, (A, III.3, IV.2). It is significant that neither document tells us that Shen-hsiu received the Dharma from Hung-jen.

Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. On the basis of the account in the Platform Sutra (see Part One, above), one would expect Shen-hsiu's relationship with Hui-neng to appear as an important corollary to his stay upon the East Mountain. In fact, however, neither the Memorial, the Eulogy, nor the Lanka Records²³)--that is, the three oldest documents here under consideration--ever mentions his name.

On the other hand, both the Old T'ang History and the Lives of Eminent Monks devote space to Hui-neng; furthermore, they are mutually corroborative. In both accounts we read that Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng were fellow-students, studying at the monastery of Hung-jen. With respect to their various capacities, they were evenly matched and neither was favoured by the Tao, (see A, III.3, IV.3).

Later, while Shen-hsiu was residing in the Capital, the Empress--at his urging, summoned Hui-neng to Court. The

²³). In section Six of the Lanka Records, which is devoted to Hung-jen, Hui-neng's name appears in the list of his disciples. T85, p.1289c-14.

invitation was refused.²⁴⁾ In both versions it was repeated by Shen-hsiu himself, but these efforts were to no avail. In the end, Hui-neng died without without ever crossing-over the mountain range that separates the South from the North (A, III.4 and IV.4).

Related to this question of the relationship between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng is the so-called Northern/Southern or the gradual/sudden controversy, to which both the Platform Sutra and the Shen-hui Conversations make frequent allusion and reference. In our documents, however, it only makes a brief appearance and, as was the case with the subject of Hui-neng, it does not appear at all in the oldest three.

The first mention of these "northern"/"southern" designations occurs in the Old T'ang History, and there they are given an essentially geographical quality. That is, since Hui-neng lived and died in the Southern regions, his is said to constitute the Southern School; so, too, does the Northern School derive its name from Shen-hsiu's associations with the geographic north, (A, III.4).

The text proper of the Lives of Eminent Monks contains

²⁴⁾ In the Ch'uan T'ang Wen, ch.17 (I, 241), a similar incident is related in Hui-neng's biography. According to it, Shen-hsiu and Hui-an said to Chung-tsung, "In the south is the Ch'an Master[Hui]-neng, who was in secret given the robe and Dharma by the Master[Hung]-jen," and suggested that he be summoned. Cited by Yampolsky, op. cit., p.65.

a similar account, (A, IV.4). In the appended commentary, however, the Northern School is associated with the practice of cultivation (ie., gradualness) and is juxtaposed to the Sudden Gate of the South, (A, IV.5). The Ho-tse school of Shen-hui is also mentioned (A, IV.5) in conjunction with this latter. It should be noted, though, that the commentator is critical of the entire issue, and maintains that one should only esteem the Dharma, and should not diminish it through personal conflicts, (A, IV.6).

The Question of Succession. The issue of patriarchal succession is a complicated one, especially if all of the extant versions of the lineages are taken into account.²⁵⁾ Confining ourselves, though, to the five texts at hand,-- (four, really, since the matter does not arise in Sung chih-wen's Memorial)--we find that a distinct pattern emerges.

In Chang-yüeh's Eulogy, Bodhidharma is said to have brought the Ch'an Dharma to China, where it was transmitted to Hui-k'o, Seng-tsan, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. Presumably, it was in turn passed on to Shen-hsiu; this is not explicitly stated, though there is little question but that Shen-hsiu is treated as Hung-jen's Dharma heir, (A, V.3).

²⁵⁾. Aspects of this issue are discussed in Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism In China," Philosophy East and West (April, 1953), pp.3-24; it is treated more fully in Yam-polsky, op. cit., especially pp.3-23.

In the Lanka Records, as noted above,²⁶⁾ this list is slightly changed: Gunabhadra is listed in the first position, thus increasing the "numbers" of the next recipients by one. Shen-hsiu is, consequently, listed as the seventh patriarch and his disciple P'u-chi, as the eighth. Herein, it is directly stated that Shen-hsiu obtained the Dharma from his master, Hung-jen, (A, II.2).

In both the Old T'ang History and the Lives of Eminent Monks, Bodhidharma is restored to the Number One slot. Also, both of these documents include the later-to-be-standard elements of his biography: the robe and bowl, the incident with Emperor Wu of Liang, and the excavation of his tomb, wherein only his robe and shoes were found, (A, III.1-2, IV.1-2).

The rest of the list is identical to that given in the Eulogy, through Hung-jen, (A, III.2, IV.2). However, that Hung-jen passed the Dharma to Shen-hsiu is not mentioned in either of these accounts. Furthermore, we read in them both that when Hui-neng died, his Tao was dispersed and transmitted throughout the world, (III.4. IV.4); however, when Shen-hsiu dies, though he is Imperially honoured, nothing is said about a transmission. But, we are told that his two chief disciples were esteemed, (III.5. IV.5).

²⁶⁾. See this Chapter, p.6 and fn.9, above.

Doctrinal Considerations. The more doctrinal or philosophic aspects of these documents, as they relate to Shen-hsiu, are confined for the most part to the Eulogy and the Lanka Records.

The former of these two opens with a Discourse that---given that the text is a eulogization of Shen-hsiu---may be taken as representing Chang-yüeh's understanding of his Dharma. It begins by asserting that the body is empty 虛, and that the mind is not real 非實. Further, to see the body as void 空 is the beginning of Mysterious Function 妙用, while viewing the mind as illusory 幻 is itself the highest truth 眞 (A, V.1).

From subsequent statements, it might be best to consider the above-mentioned mind as "ordinary mind", in contradistinction to a more fundamental or absolute "Mind". For example, we later read that Shen-hsiu "clearly viewed the Original Mind 本心," (A, V.2) and that he "maintained and respected the Lankāvatāra Sūtra's transmission of the Essence of Mind 心要, and surpassed those of the past who had not recognized it," (A, V.5). That this distinction is in fact warranted is substantiated by the following passages:

With regard to the general outline of his Dharma, [he advocated] focusing on each single thought in order to stop mentation 息想, and using utmost strength in order to control the mind 攝心.

(A, V.4)

And again:

After the Mind of Wisdom 慧 arises, all things are thus as they are.

(A, V.5)

Clearly, a contrast is being drawn between the illusory mind that requires controlling, and the Original Mind or the Mind of Wisdom.

In the Lanka Records, the importance of Mind is also much stressed. Therein, we read that when Shen-hsiu's traces were destroyed, One-Mind 一心 was left behind. Further, this One-Mind transcends the Three Realms 三界 of desire, form, and formlessness, (A, II.5).

Another important doctrinal aspect treated by both of these texts concerns the nature of language. In the Eulogy we are told that the Wonderful Tao originally conflicts with language, for when "words are out, the True doctrine is hidden," (A, V.1). Similarly, we find in the Lanka Records:

The Ch'an lamp is silently illuminated,
[therefore] the language of the Tao is
cut-off; mind and practice therein cease;
it cannot be commented upon in literature.
(A, II.2)

Also, we find later in the same text the statement that Shen-hsiu borrowed words to illustrate the principle (A, II.5), further emphasizing and stressing the fact that "words" and "reality" are not to be confused.

Also worthy of attention is the following statement that is attributed to Shen-hsiu:

My Method and my Way can be summed up
by the two characters t'i 体 substance
and yung 用 function ,

(A, II.6)

a theme to which we shall return in the Conclusion, below.

With regard to the Old T'ang History and the Lives of Eminent Monks, the only substantial doctrinally-related passage occurs in the Commentary appended to the latter. There, we read that Shen-hsiu advocated dusting and wiping, while Hui-neng claimed that the whole is not. This is not elaborated upon, but is most certainly a reference to the Mirror stanzas discussed in Part One, above. Although, as we saw, they are central to the Platform Sutra's picture of Shen-hsiu, they are alluded to in no other place in any of the Documents.

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C. The Disparity Explored

It should be clear by now that, whereas the Platform Sutra and the Shen-hui Conversations present a unified picture of Shen-hsiu, no such holistic image of him may be drawn on the basis of these biographical accounts. Rather, what emerges from them is an unwieldy morass of historical

data, romantic fancy, and fiction which, at first glance, does not readily lend itself to systematization. What, then, are we to make of all this?

Some of the incongruity that exists amongst these texts may no doubt be accounted for by the various natures of the texts themselves. Still, though, this is only a partially sufficient and adequate answer. A perhaps more satisfying resolution is revealed by a closer examination of where the incongruous elements lie. That is to say, despite the fact that no single likeness of Shen-hsiu can be constructed upon a foundation made from these documents, there is an essentially bi-focal pattern that can be uncovered.

This may be demonstrated by a division of our texts into two basic groups, consisting of the Memorial, the Eulogy, and the Lanka Records, on one side, and the Old T'ang History and the Lives of Eminent Monks on the other. (This is not merely an arbitrary grouping, as the divisions possess a chronological correspondent).

For the sake of referential convenience, imagine these as two columns, and let the first group be designated as the "Left-side" and the other as the "Right-". Through so doing, the following facts issue forth:

Under the Left-hand column, we find that 1) it is nowhere stated that Shen-hsiu knew Hui-neng; in fact, the latter is nowhere mentioned; 2) Shen-hsiu is said to have gotten

the Dharma from Hung-jen; 3) references or allusions to north/south - gradual/sudden are non-existent; 4) neither the robe and bowl, the incident with Emperor Wu, or the excavation of the tomb are cited in conjunction with Bodhidharma; 5) a good deal of space is given over to doctrinal exposition.

Under the Right-hand column, however, each of these points is systematically reversed: 1) Hui-neng is discussed and his life is briefly chronicled; 2) it is nowhere said that Shen-hsiu received the Dharma; 3) the north/south distinctions are used, and their derivation explained; 4) all of the Bodhidharma "paraphenalia" is employed; 5) virtually no doctrinal elements are to be found.

In short, the Left- and the Right-hand columns are internally consistent; further, there is a clear transformation from the one to the other. Having thus discerned this inverted pattern, how and/or why this change was effected remains to be explicated.

That is, what happened between the mid-eighth century---the outer compositional limit of the youngest text on the Left---and the mid-tenth century---the compositional date of the oldest text on the Right---to occasion or encourage such a shift of view? The answer, I think, is, at least, twofold.

The first event was the composition of the Pao-lin chuan, "the work which established the Ch'an legend and wrote the

'history' of the sect as it has come down to us."²⁷⁾ According to Yampolsky's account, this work (compiled in +801) was the product of a "new" school of Ch'an that was developing in the outlying districts of Kiangsi and Hunan while the Northern and Southern schools were wilting in the capital cities.²⁸⁾

The origins of this new sect are ambiguous at best, though it traced its lineage back through Hui-neng. Consequently, the purpose of the Pao-lin chuan,

was to champion the cause of this new school of Ch'an....To this end, it devised an entirely new tradition of the Seven Buddhas of the Past and of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, one which was adopted by all later Ch'an histories, and came to represent the tradition as accepted today.²⁹⁾

Thus, though these traditions were embellished, refined, and elaborated upon by subsequent histories, it was this work--and this new school--that began the movement which turned away from Shen-hsiu and his successors, and towards Hui-neng and his descendants.

A second major factor that facilitated this innovative trend was the Buddhist Persecution of +845, during which more

²⁷⁾. Yampolsky, op. cit., p.47 and following.

²⁸⁾. Ibid.

²⁹⁾. Ibid., pp.47-48.

than 4,600 monasteries, and 40,000 shrines and temples were destroyed; further, 260,000 monks and nuns were returned to lay life.³⁰

Of all the Buddhist sects extant at that time, Ch'an was the least affected by these Imperial measures, since it was least dependent upon Monasteries and large land-holdings. This was especially so for those communities outside the large city centers that were obviously crippled by such actions.

In other words, the Ch'an of the Capitals which, by this time, was already in a state of decline, was essentially destroyed by this Persecution. On the other hand, the "Ch'an of the mountains", such as the Kiangsi/Hunan school referred to above, were comparatively unscathed and, consequently, carried the day.

Thus it was, in part, that Hui-neng was transformed from a "one-liner" in the Lanka Records to a later Patriarch, while Shen-hsiu was de-formed from a Patriarch to an "almost was".

³⁰). see E.O. Reischauer, Ennin's Travels In T'ang China, (New York, 1955), especially pp.217-271. For a comprehensive accounting of religious persecutions throughout Chinese history, see J.J.M. De Groot, Sectarianism And Religious Persecution In China, first published in 1901, reprinted (Taipei, 1963), especially pp.27-93.

Part Three: SELF-PORTRAIT

One can only regret that
his life has proved more
popular than his work.

---Preface, Edwin Mullhouse:
The Life And Death Of An
American Writer (1943-1954)

SELF-PORTRAIT

The two views of Shen-hsiu 神秀 thus far presented--- despite their numerous differences---have at least one fundamental element in common, this being that they are both essentially external visions of Shen-hsiu and the so-called Northern School 北宗. In this section we shall attempt to develop a more internal and self-reflective portrait of this Northern tradition. In turn, this will be used as a base-line against which the later Southern claims about the North may be appraised.

Our primary source in this attempted reconstruction is a text that was discovered at Tun-huang in 1930.¹⁾ It is entitled "The five upāya of the Mahayana (Northern School)" 大乘五方便(北宗)²⁾ and has been attributed to Shen-hsiu

1). Two versions of this text are correlatively given in Ui Hakuju, Zenshū shi kenkyū, Vol. I. (Tokyo, 1939), p.468-510.

2). It seems likely that the final two characters of the title (北宗) are a later scribal gloss. Cf. Paul Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa (Paris, 1952), p.16n.

himself.³⁾

We will begin by briefly setting the context of this text, and will then go on to summarize its five major divisions from the standpoint of content. This chapter will conclude with an overview exposition of the ontological "facts" and consequent methodological "acts" associated with Shen-hsiu and his followers, on the basis of the materials with which we are here concerned---insofar as such a task is possible.

A. Context

According to Paul Demiéville, the notion of "five upāya" played a prominent role in the doctrinal development of Ch'an 禪 and, during the T'ang Dynasty 唐紀 constituted "one of the essential rubrics of what is called the Northern School of Chinese Dhyāna."⁴⁾ This centrality may be discerned from several factors:

First, the Ch'u san ts'ang chi chi⁵⁾ makes reference to a "Sutra of the five upāya" whose translator was, at that time, unknown. Although this sūtra was already lost by the

3). see Kuno Hōryū, "Hokushū Zen", Taishō Daigaku Gakupō (March, 1940), where the question of authorial attribution is discussed.

4). Demiéville, loc. cit.

5). T. 2145. 出三藏記集.

+6th Century⁶⁾ it may well have been the original source of this later-to-be-popular doctrine.

Secondly, the historian Tsung-mi 宗密 (+780 - 841)⁷⁾, summarized what he considered the essential teaching of Shensiu's school as follows: "Wipe-away the dust, contemplate purity, interpret the sūtras with upāya." ^{a)} Elsewhere, five such upāya are enumerated by him, each of which is linked to a specific sūtra. Respectively, the Śraddhotpāda 起信論⁸⁾, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 妙法蓮華⁹⁾, the Vimalakīrti 維摩詰¹⁰⁾, the Szu-i-ching 思益經¹¹⁾, and the Avatamsaka 華嚴經¹²⁾. His description of the five upāya¹³⁾ largely agrees with what we

6). see Demiéville, op. cit., p.17n.

7). About whom see Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an," T'oung Pao (Vol. LVIII, 1972), pp.1-54.

8). Translation: The Awakening Of Faith In The Mahayana, trans. Y.S. Hakeda (Columbia, 1967).

9). Translation: The Lotus Of The True Law, trans. H. Kern (Oxford, 1884; reprint, Dover, 1963).

10). Translation: L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti, trans. E. Lamotte (Louvain, 1962).

11). "...abréviation de Sseu yi fan t'ien so wen king 思益梵天所問經, version de Kumārajīva de la Viśeṣacintibrahmā-paripṛcchā, T.586, 42b (titre sanskrit d'après le Kanjur). La première partie de ce sūtra a été commentée par Vasubandhu (T.1532)." Demiéville, op. cit., p.67, fn.3.

12). Portions of this are translated by Garma C.C. Chang, The Buddhist Philosophy Of Totality (State College, 1971).

13). see Appendix 'B', below.

a). 拂塵看淨。方便通經

find said of them elsewhere (see Chart One, following page).

A third source of information has been provided by the manuscripts excavated at Tun-huang. Among these there are several which---under varying headings---deal with the five upāya. "Despite the differences in their titles and redactions," Demiéville concludes, "all of these manuscripts are but recensions of a single, even small, treatise, an outline of which Tsung-mi has provided in his exposition of the Dhyāna [Ch'an] Schools."¹⁴)

In short, the following observations can be made with virtual certainty: A sūtra entitled the "Sutra of the five upāya" was in circulation at some point between the period of the Three Kingdoms 三國 and the Liang Dynasty 梁紀 (ie., +264 - 502)¹⁵); that it was popular is attested to by the number of summary/commentaries now extant. Furthermore, since the texts of this group discovered at Tun-huang agree, for the most part, with Tsung-mi's description of the five upāya, we may credit his summary with a good deal of accuracy. Lastly, though the "Five upāya of the Mahayana (Northern School)" might well be a commentary on the above mentioned "lost sūtra", it more likely represents a summary or summary/sermon, a position supported by the question and answer format which comprises the bulk of the text.

¹⁴). Demiéville, op. cit., p.16n.

¹⁵). ie., its first catalogue mention and the date by which it was designated as 'lost'.

B. Content¹⁶⁾

As mentioned previously, there exist but slight differences among the ennumerations of the five upāya from text to text, and what few there are between those with which we are concerned here may be conveniently seen in the following chart:

Chart One: THE UPĀYA COMPARED

"Comments on interpreting the <u>sūtras</u> with <u>upāya</u> " (Tsong-mi)	"Five <u>upāya</u> of the Mahayana (Northern School)"
1). General illustration of the essence of Buddha (總彰佛體)	Full display of the essence of Buddha, also called the Entrance beyond thought (惣彰佛體亦名離念門)
2). Opening the Wisdom-Gate (開智慧門)	Opening the Wisdom-Gate, also called the Unmoving Gate (開智慧門亦名不動門)
3) Manifesting the Inconceivable Liberation (顯不思議解脫)	Manifesting the Inconceivable Entrance (顯不思議門)
4) True nature of <u>dharma</u> (諸法正性)	Entrance to the true nature of <u>dharma</u> (諸法正性門)
5). Knowing the Nondifferentiated, Self-so, Unhindered Liberation (了無異自然無礙解脫)	The Nondifferentiated Gate (不二門)

¹⁶⁾. The two texts provided by Ui (see fn.1, above) form the basis of this section. Textual references will consist of a Roman numeral (= section of original text) and an Arabic /cont'd/

Clearly, the discrepancies between these two texts are minimal, the only one of significance being that the Shen-hsiu document---with respect to numbers one and two on the Chart-- includes a brief summary of the principle idea linked with the upāya (ie., "also called..."). Let us go, then, to the text itself.

1. The Essence of Buddha: the first "upāya"¹⁷⁾

The opening section, a general explanation of the essence of Buddha, begins with a series of couplets that deal with the relationship of Enlightenment 覺, Mind 心, Body 身, and Forgetfulness 忘念 :

Where does enlightenment reside?
Enlightenment resides within the mind.

Where does mind reside?
Mind resides within the body.

Where does body reside?
Body resides in forgetfulness.
(IV, 469)

/cont'd/ number (= page number in U1). The further addition of either 甲 or 乙 signify which of the two versions is being used in cases where they differ substantially.

¹⁷⁾. In this text, "le terme fang pien 方便 correspond peut-être à prayoga, "effort, exercice", et non à upāya, "moyen". Avant de se fixer comme traduction d'upāya exclusivement, fang pien avait, en effet, servi à rendre prayoga ..., et il est possible que ce vieux sens ait survécu dans le vocabulaire de l'école du Dhyāna, qui doit tant à la littérature antérieure aux grandes traductions des T'ang par lesquelles s'est fixée la terminologie classique du bouddhisme chinois." Demiéville, op. cit., p.17n. Though we shall employ upāya for fang pien, the connotations of prayoga should, as Demiéville suggests, be borne in mind.

If we reduce this to a logical proposition, the result is that "enlightenment resides within forgetfulness", and it is just this relationship that the text next considers, though the line of argument becomes more complex:

To illuminate forgetfulness and
to penetrate body and mind:
this is passing through to
Original Enlightenment 本覺。

To illuminate forgetfulness:
this is the beginning of Enlightenment 始覺;

To penetrate body and mind:
this is Original Enlightenment.

The beginning of Enlightenment:
this is the Buddha Way 佛道;

Original Enlightenment:
this is the Buddha Essence 佛體。
(IV, 469)

The fundamental idea at work here comes from the Awakening of Faith, specifically the section that deals with the "two aspects of enlightenment".¹⁸⁾ Hakeda comments upon their relationship as follows:

Original Enlightenment is intrinsic, but Non-Enlightenment is accidental. The latter is the unactualized state of the same original enlightenment. That is to say, man is originally enlightened, or saved, but suffers because he does not realize that he is enlightened or saved and continues on as a blind or faithless man groping for enlightenment or salvation elsewhere. The premise is that if man is not

¹⁸⁾. see Hakeda, op. cit., p.37f.

enlightened or saved originally, there is no possibility for his attaining enlightenment or salvation at all.19)

In other words, that we are originally enlightened yet simultaneously unaware of this fact is the root of what is a seemingly insoluble dilemma. However, there is a way out of this bind: the re-actualization of our fundamentally enlightened state, a path to which access is gained through being free from thought 離念 20)

If body and mind are free from thought,
And, returning to illumination, one
intimately examines the utter purity
of the Dharmakaya 法身:
Then will he gain entry to the
Buddha Way.

If body and mind are free from thought,
And, exerting strength, one
unyieldingly examines the utter purity
of Original Enlightenment:
Then will he gain entry to the
Buddha Way.

(IV, 469)

This being "free from thought" that leads one on the Buddha Way is said to be analagous to a sphere of empty sky 虛空界: there is no place that either cannot reach. Further, both empty-sky and li-nien are said to be: neither

19). Ibid., p.38n.

20). The term li-nien (離念) means, literally, to be cut-off or separated from thought and remembrance. "Beyond thought", "free from thought", and "transcending thought", are all somewhat suggestive of these qualities; depending on the context, we shall employ all three.

produced nor destroyed 不生 / 不滅; characteristicless 無相;
without activity 無為; neither increased nor decreased 不增/
不減; without mind 無心. ²¹⁾

Thus, when one is free from thought, when it is realized that the six sense-organs 六根 originally arise without movement, then does one realize, suddenly and completely 頓圓, the fundamental essence of Buddha, (IV, 470).

2. Opening the Wisdom-Gate: the second "upāya"

The opening lines of this section continue to be concerned with the notion of being free from thought. When the meaning of this is queried, the response is that "to be free from thought is to be un-moving 不動," (VIII, 471). Furthermore, this Un-moving is in accord with meditation 定; it manifests the wisdom-upāya and opens up the wisdom-gate.

It is also the Un-moving that provides the basis for ferrying unenlightened beings to the "other shore", which is nirvāṇa:

- Q. There is a power 力 that enlightens all sentient beings; what is this power, and who are these beings?
- R. The Un-moving is the power; those whose thoughts are deluded 妄念 are the sentient beings. When body and mind are eternally un-moving, this is called the ability to enlighten all beings.
- (IX, 471)

²¹⁾. Portions of this section of the text are quoted from the Awakening Of Faith; see Hakeda, op. cit., p.37.

By way of further explanation the text goes on to say that the Unmoved is stirred by eight winds. These are: gain利, loss 衰; defamation 毀, extollation 譽; joy 樂, sorrow 苦; praise 稱, ridicule 譏. Each of these "sets" contains a favourable 順 element, and one that is not 違. When one is enlightened about both groups, the mind attains to the Un-moving. This is Buddhahood (IX, 471).

Thus, as we read in section twelve:

Q. What is the Un-moving?

R. The Un-moving is the opening. What does it open? It opens up the Wisdom-Gate.

(XII, 472)

3. The Inconceivable Entrance: the third "upāya"

One of the central motifs of this third section is that of the relationship between bondage 縛 and liberation 解. With regard to this, four paradigmatic "types" are formulated as follows:

a) The fetter of not having upāya-wisdom

When a man of the second-vehicle 二乘人 emerges from meditation he is able to hear and is similarly in touch with his other sense faculties. However, once a meditative state is entered into, he no longer can hear, etc. Also, he is then without wisdom and is un-

able to preach the Dharma 說法. More importantly, he is then unable to enlighten sentient beings. Such a person---one who is dependent upon the "watering and fertilization" of meditation---is said to be in the unfertile stage of wisdom (ie., "nominal wisdom", the lowest of ten stages). This exemplifies the bondage that results when one is without upāya-wisdom (XV, 474).

b) The liberation of having upāya-wisdom

A Bodhisattva perceives that the six sense-organs are fundamentally Un-moving 不動. Thus, whether there is a sound, there is not a sound, or sound itself fades away, he always hears. He is always in accord with the practice and cultivation of the Un-moving. Because he has attained this upāya, his meditation is correct and he achieves perfect stillness. This is great Nirvana; this is the liberation that results from the possession of upāya-wisdom (XV, 474).

c) The fetter of upāya without wisdom

The mind of a man of the two vehicles is upāya. However, he suppresses mind in order that he might dwell in the Un-moving, but this suppression itself constitutes movement. Accordingly, the sūtras left behind by the Buddha say that all realms stir-up the dharma that is Un-moving. This is what characterizes the

corrupt and the un-peaceful. This is called the fetter of upāya without wisdom, (XV, 474).

d) The liberation of upāya with wisdom

The constituent element of this category is expressed quite simply and directly: "A Bodhisattva does not crave nirvāṇa. He knows that seeing, hearing, perception, knowledge, and mentation are Un-moving. This is the liberation that results from possessing the upāya of wisdom," (XV, 474).

The importance of the Un-moving---an idea that figured prominently in relation to "opening the Wisdom-gate"---to liberation and bondage emerges readily from the above discussion. It is also employed in the text as an expository key to various sūtras, in the following manner:

Q. What is the Lotus Of The Wonderful Law?

R. The mind, un-moving, is the wonderful law, the body, un-moving, is the lotus.

When both are un-moving, one enters the meditation called 'the station of the exposition of the Infinite'.²²⁾

This is what is referred to as the Lotus Of The Wonderful Law.

(XVII, 476)

²²⁾無量義處三昧; Sk.: ananta-nirdeśa-pratiṣṭhānta-samādhi. The state of meditation entered into by the Buddha before preaching the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. See H. Kern, op. cit., p.20.

Q. What is the Prajna-Diamond Sutra?

R. Prajna is a Sanskrit word meaning Wisdom

The mind, un-moving, is chin 金, 23)
the body, un-moving, is kang 剛, 23)

When mind and body are truly thus,
un-moving, this is what is called
the Prajna-Diamond Sutra.

(XIX, 476)

Q. What is the Universal Garland Sutra?

R. The mind, un-moving, is universal,
the body, un-moving, is the garland,

When body and mind are truly quiescent,
un-moving, this is what is called
the Universal Garland Sutra.

(XX, 476)

Clearly, the Un-moving is of prime significance and is equated, at points, with both suchness and Nirvana, higher than which it is impossible to go. It is of further importance in answer to the question of how one awakens to the liberation of inconceivable suchness (tathatā, 如如). This latter is assigned ten aspects:

- 1) The world
- 2) Sentient beings
- 3) The three periods of time
- 4) The four elements 四大
- 5) The five aggregates

23). chin + kang = "diamond".

- 6) Mental consciousness 心 識
- 7) Emptiness 虛 空
- 8) Buddha-nature 佛 性
- 9) The Buddha-body 佛 身
- 10) Liberation

(XXIX, 479)

With regard to the first of these aspects, it is said that both the common-man 凡 夫 and the man of the second-vehicle energetically pursue both intellection and conception; consequently, they are each in an "upside-down" (tumultuous) state. However, there no longer is either conception or intellection when a sentient being is awakened to suchness: Liberated. Moreover, and with regard to the other aspects listed above, all intellectual conceptions must be similarly given up; this is the Inconceivable Liberation.

4. The True Nature of Dharma: the fourth "upāya"

The exposition of the true nature of all dharma takes place in relation to two fundamental categories, the basic components of which are mind 心, self-nature 自 性 (svabhāva), and meditation 定, on the one hand, and consciousness 識, the limitations imposed by desire 欲 際, and wisdom 惠, on the other. The overall dynamics of how these parts interact vis à vis the true nature of dharma may be clarified in the following manner.

First, when the mind grasps at the senses and perceives the five aggregates as having "own-being" (Conze): this is what constitutes self-nature. Secondly, when consciousness is connected to the objects of the senses (that is, what is heard by the ear, seen by the eye, etc.) it is at once bound to and circumscribed by them: this constitutes the limits of desire. However, both of these "conditions" --necessarily-- must be transcended.

Q. What is "going beyond self-nature and the limits of desire"?

R. When mind does not arise,
self-nature is transcended;

When consciousness is not produced,
the limits of desire are transcended.

When neither mind nor consciousness
arise,
this is the true nature of dharma.

Thus, when the ocean's water is
exhausted, no waves can arise.

Similarly, when mental consciousness
is destroyed, the manifold consciousnesses are no longer produced.

(XXXV, 485)

Furthermore, the mind's not-arising is identical to meditation, while consciousness' not-arising is equal to wisdom. Both of these equations are further defined in terms of several sets of "matched pairs", the constituent members of which are listed below:

Meditation 定 is...	Wisdom 慧 is...
mind not arising	consciousness not produced
transcending self-nature	transcending the limits of desire
absolute truth	relative truth
great knowledge	great compassion
the Universal	the Particular
Substance	Function
self-cultivation	cultivation of others
non-action	taking action
<u>nirvāna</u>	<u>samsāra</u>

It should be pointed out that despite the apparent dualism that is set-up here, it is only the transcending of both self-nature and the limits of desire---by extension, meditation and wisdom---that constitutes the true nature of dharma (XXXV, 485 Z). This thoroughgoing non-dualism is further stressed in the following section.

5. Non-differentiation: the fifth "upāya"

The core-meaning signified by "the upāya of non-differentiation is seemingly straightforward and further affirms

the radical non-duality that emerged in the discussion of the true nature of dharma.

In the center of the formless-dharma 無相法 there is neither differentiation nor discrimination; since the mind is without discrimination, no dharmas are distinguished between. Long/short are not differentiated, self/other are not differentiated.

(XXXIX, 489 乙)

Moreover, no distinctions are drawn between the commoner/the sage, liberation/bondage, nirvāna/samsāra, sorrow/joy, wisdom/ignorance, etc. "To understand non-differentiation is spontaneous (self-so 自然), un-hindered liberation," (XXXIX, 489 乙).

Associated with non-differentiation are three Ways or Paths 道: the Unhindered Way, the Liberated Way, and the Nonabiding Way. These are explained as follows:

When the organs of sense do not hinder their objects, transcending the objects is the Unhindered Way.

When the objects of sense do not hinder the organs, transcending impurity is the Liberated Way.

When impurity and the objects of sense are both transcended, this is the Nonabiding Way.

(XXXIX, 490 乙)

Furthermore, it is said that if the mind is not mind 非心 and not not-mind: this is the Unhindered Way. If the body

is not body 非身 and not not-body, this is the Liberated Way. And finally, if the object realm is not the object realm and not not-the-object-realm, this is the Nonabiding Way (XXXIX, 490 乙).

C. Ontology and Method

Having thus summarized the basic outlines of the teaching associated with Shen-hsiu and his followers, we are left with the task of trying to "get at" what it means. Towards this end, we have appropriated the categories of "ontology" and "method" as organizational principles by which we can focus on certain aspects of the text. Although these categories are artificial---in the sense that they have been created and imposed upon the material---they nonetheless preserve the integrity-of-intent that we discern therein. Let us, then, define our terms.

By "ontological" we mean to refer to statements and to premises whose concern it is to describe "the way things really are" (ie. tathatā; 真如; 'suchness'). Coupled to such descriptions is the normative proscription that one should ultimately realize, be in accord with, or be awakened to this prior suchness.

Contingent upon these ontological premises, there arises the further question of "method". That is, by what means

is such an ultimate realization or awakening effected. Seen in these terms, a suitable answer would then have to come to terms with why this kind of radical transformation is necessary in the first place.

In short, what we are asking of the text is: 1) What is the real nature of man and the world (ontology)? 2) What---if anything---prevents us from realizing or perceiving this true nature? 3) How can this "ordinary" state be rectified (methodology)?

Returning to our text, then, several such ontological premises emerge. The first is that the essence of the Enlightened Mind is beyond thought (離念), in contradistinction to the unenlightened mind that is mired in intellection and conceptualization. The second is that the Enlightened Mind is Unmoving (不動), in contradistinction to the unenlightened mind that arises and is "stirred" by the eight winds. This Unmoving opens up the Wisdom-gate and, further, it is said that the Mind that has transcended thought and the Mind that is Unmoved are identical.

There emanates, thirdly, the contention that Original Enlightenment (本覺) is fundamental or "intrinsic", while nonenlightenment is "accidental" (Hakeda). Fourth, we read that the mind is not mind, nor is it not not-mind, and that meditation and wisdom---while having different attributes---

are in the end the same; that is, that the ultimate state of things is Nondifferentiated (不異).

Several "obstacles" stand between this Enlightened Mind--Unmoving, beyond thought, non-dualistic, and undifferentiating--and the "ordinary mind". For one, this latter looks at the five aggregates and the objects of consciousness and perceives "own-being" (svabhāva; 自性), contrary to the frequently occurring sutra-teaching that "Own-being is empty" (自性是空). Secondly, the ordinary mind energetically pursues conception and intellection (思, 議)---two modes of activity that prevent us from realizing the Inconceivable Liberation.

A third enlightenment-obstacle consists of the limitations imposed by desire (欲 際); that is, the ear's attachment to sound, the eye's to sight, the nose's to smell, etc. A fourth is constituted by the distinctions, discriminations, and dualistic perceptions that characterize this ordinary mind; a mind, then, beset by fetters whose elimination and/or transcendence comprises the actualization of Original Enlightenment.

What remains to be exposed is how this actualization can be precipitated. In "classical Ch'an", the methodologies employed were kung-an (公案; Japanese: kōan), wen-ta (問答; Japanese: mondo), and the practice of meditation²⁴) (tso-ch'an;

²⁴ see Richard De Martino, The Zen Understanding Of Man, an unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Temple University, 1971, especially Chapter X.

坐禪; Japanese: zazen). However, the answer that issues forth from our text is, essentially, the idea of fang-pien (方便).

Now, we saw previously that the compound fang-pien has two distinct connotations²⁵), and it seems that both of these are applicable to the category of method. Viewed in the sense of upāya or "means", it can be seen---in general terms---as referring to the ways by which one goes about aiding the enlightenment of others (the specifics, however, are not well defined by the text). Viewed in the sense of prayoga or "cultivation/application", it can be seen---again, in general terms---as referring to the ways by which one goes about enlightening oneself (the specifics are, again, not very well-defined). Further, when fang-pien is fulfilled in both of these senses, so too is enlightenment totally fulfilled. As we read in Tsung-mi's "Commentary":

To transcend 離 the mind is called
'self-enlightenment';

(to realize that the mind is no-mind
constitutes the transcendence of mind).

To transcend form 色 is called
'enlightening others';

(to realize that the body is no-body
constitutes the transcendence of form).

²⁵). see fn.17, above, p.61.

To transcend both [mind/form] is
called the 'completion of enlightenment';

(to realize the characteristics of a
'self' and 'other' that transcend body
mind is a liberating awareness 自在知見.²⁶)

Thus, the basic ontological premise of the "Five upāya of the Mahayana (Northern School)" centers on an Enlightened Mind that stands in contrast to the ordinary mind. To realize, awaken to, or actualize the former requires that mind/body, and self/other be transcended. The basic methodology which this involves centers on fang-pien both as upāya (viz. body/other) and prayoga (viz. self/mind).

In short, what we find in this text---surprisingly enough---is not the advocacy of gradualness and "freezing the mind" that the Southern School's exposition led us to expect. Instead, we have found a teaching that, in both its method and ontology, is remarkably similar to that of the Southern School itself, a point that we shall further examine in the Summary/Conclusions, below.

²⁶). Appendix 'B', p.111, below.

SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS

V.

I do not know which to prefer,
The beauty of inflections
Or the beauty of innuendoes,
The blackbird whistling
Or just after.

---WALLACE STEVENS

SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS

In Part I of this study, we examined the details of the life and teachings of Shen-hsiu 神秀 as they are depicted by the Platform Sutra and the Conversations of Shen-hui 神會. We found that each of these documents was pervaded by a relentless negativity with regard to both of these aspects (ie., biography and doctrine). Further, in the concluding section of the Chapter it was shown that this portrait of Shen-hsiu is the symmetrical reverse---or "mirror image"---of that which is drawn of his rival and surpasser, Hui-neng 慧能.

The Biographical Documents examined in Part II at first yielded a far more ambiguous image of Shen-hsiu than that of Part I. However, upon closer examination, we discovered that there was a discernible pattern amidst the seeming morass. That is, we found therein two basic portraits of Shen-hsiu, each of which was essentially consistent internally and, at once, exclusive of the other. On

the one hand, the three earliest documents unanimously controverted the traditional portrayal in a variety of ways, while the two later documents tended to conform to and corroborate the traditional accounts (not only of Shen-hsiu, but of Bodhidharma 達磨, and Hui-neng as well) on the other. Thus, we concluded that between ca. +750 (the latest date of the 'early texts') and ca. +950 (the earliest date of the 'later texts') Shen-hsiu's biographical-life was transformed in a very specific way.

Just as the biographical accounting of Shen-hsiu in Part I was contradicted by materials in Part II, so too was the Southern School's doctrinal accounting contradicted by the text examined in Part III. In this context, several observations are worthy of note.

For one, the Southern exponents---especially Shen-hui---characterised Shen-hsiu's teaching in terms of "gradualness" and "freezing the mind"; in contrast to this attribution, however, the "Five upāya of the Mahayana" pays virtually no attention to either of these concepts. In fact, its mention of a "sudden and complete" 頓圓 realization, and its disavowal of the man of the second-vehicle who, while meditating, cuts-off his connections with his sense faculties and who, thus, cannot preach the Dharma, appears to constitute a point of view remarkably and markedly similar to that of its

critics.

Secondly, in terms of their major "ontological premises"---in the sense that we used this category in Part III---the North and South emerge as essentially congruent. Whereas the Platform Sutra and the Conversations both assert the centrality of no-thought 無念 or no-mind, the "Five-upaya" text---while also asserting the importance of these two concepts---stresses departing from, going beyond, or transcending (ie., 離) both thought and the mind. However, what basically underlies both of these suppositions is the notion that the "ordinary mind" and the "Enlightened Mind" are constituted differently.

Also, in the Shen-hui text we find several mentions of the t'i/yung 體/用 or substance/function pattern, and the contention that meditation and wisdom are ultimately "not two". So, too, do we find that both of these tenets are of prominence in the "Five upāya of the Mahayana".

In short---and despite their much touted opposition---on the basis of our research we cannot but conclude that the teachings of Hui-neng and Shen-hui, on the one hand, and Shen-hsiu, on the other, shared a fundamentally similar vision of the nature of "suchness".

Given, then, that the traditional portrait of Shen-hsiu has been, in a certain sense, "undermined by new

historical data", is rejecting Ch'an tradition as "wrong" our only alternative, or can we gestalt the situation in another way? This latter option, as mentioned previously, is the one that we prefer, but before going into the question of what this entails, we would like to examine what appears to us as an analagous interpretive model.

Many modern dramatists---especially in France---have concerned themselves with the re-creation and re-presentation of Classical myths. Examples that come to mind are Sartre's Les Mouches, Giraudoux's Electra, Cocteau's Orphée, and several plays by Jean Anouilh. None of these works is ever a mere retelling of its classical counterpart; rather, certain thematic and contentual changes have been written in to each, and it is this, indeed, that for the most part constitutes the "point" of the drama.

That is to say, when examining Anouilh's Antigone, for instance, we find that many of the elements which figured prominently in Sophocles' version---such as the section that deals with Tiresias---are absent; at the same time, certain new elements---a developed relationship between Antigone and Hémon, for one---have been introduced.

Because we are familiar with the storyline of the classical myth (even if we are not, the French Antigone retains a chorus that keeps us informed) we are able to detect the

ways in which it has been changed. However, upon noticing these alterations, we do not respond to this new Antigone by saying that Anouilh has gotten the original plot "wrong". Instead, our attention is by them directed to the question of why X-particular element has been added or omitted; that is, what is Anouilh, as opposed to Sophocles, saying through this myth. Furthermore, it is precisely at these points of change that the locus of the play's significance could be said to reside.

Applying this principle to the literature that we have been dealing with yields up to us the following task: instead of gathering historical data to demonstrate that Ch'an has misrepresented or misunderstood itself (as scholars like Hu Shih seem wont, at times, to do)---and after all, 1,500 years of tradition can't be all bad---we can use this historical base-line much in the same way that we employ Sophocles in the above example: not to prove that the new version is wrong or false, but to ascertain what the re-creators thought was important enough to merit a change. What, then, results when we pose the question in these terms?

The nature of the changes that were effected has already been pointed out, but let us reiterate them briefly. In terms of Biography, the most important re-writing was

the demotion of Shen-hsiu from Patriarch to Patriarch-manqué, a feat that was accompanied by an emphasis upon the differences---of background, temperament, and ability---between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng.

Doctrinally, we have seen that the teachings of Shen-hsiu were, in fact, not very different from those of the Southern School. However, they were radically transmorgified to the point that 180 degrees lay between them.

Why these changes were made in the original story, and what these signify, can be viewed in several ways. In practical-political terms, much was to be gained, by some, in the installation of Hui-neng as the rightful Sixth Patriarch, for by so doing those who traced their lineage through him acquired a previously denied legitimacy and status. The further biographical alterations, concerning "personality", also served to underscore the uniqueness of Hui-neng and the comparative inferiority of Shen-hsiu and, consequently, his followers. In the same vein, these doctrinal attributions heightened the distinctiveness of "Us"---the Orthodox tradition---in contrast to "Them"---the deluded and heretical fringe.

In a larger sense, though, the confluence of these many revisions resulted in the creation of an almost totally negative paradigm: that is, the portrayal of Shen-hsiu---

both his life and teachings---as the perfect model of how not to be. And though this anti-model appears to have had little in common with the "historical Shen-hsiu", the former has to this day been cast as the great advocate of Gradual Enlightenment and, as such, has provided an efficacious foil for the orthodox sudden teaching.

In conclusion, it is our contention that the Ch'an tradition was willing to "Kill the Patriarch" for good reason: through this negation of the fictionalized Shen-hsiu who advocates a "dusting and wiping" form of Ch'an that lends itself readily to ossification and sterility, it re-affirms the immediacy and centrality of the Enlightenment experience, without which there is no Ch'an---indeed, without which there remains but the hollow shell of Buddhism.

APPENDICES

But when one translates the Indian originals into Chinese, they lose their literary elegance. Though one may understand the general idea, he entirely misses the style. It is as if one chewed rice and gave it to another; not only would it be tasteless, but it might also make him spit it out.

-----KUMĀRAJĪVA

APPENDIX 'A':

Five Biographical Documents

DOCUMENT ONE: A Memorial to the Throne, by Sung chih-wen
宋之問 ; CTW, ch. 240 (V. 3076); also in WYH, Vol.7,
p.3732.

DOCUMENT TWO: Biography from Records of the Abilities of
the Lanka School Masters; T.85, p.1280a-c.

DOCUMENT THREE: Biography from Old T'ang History; CTS 191,
p.13b - 14b.

DOCUMENT FOUR: Biography from Lives of Eminent Monks (Sung
Collection); SKSC, T.50, pp.755c - 756b; also in
'Chinese Version'; no.69, p.30022a-c.

DOCUMENT FIVE: A Funeral Inscription by Chang-yüeh 張說 ;
CTW, ch. 231 (V. 2953 - 54); also in WYH, Vol.12,
p.5389c - 5391a.

DOCUMENT ONE

"A memorial to the Throne on behalf of the monks of Lo-yang 洛陽 who requested that the Ch'an Master Hsiu 秀禪師 be ceremoniously welcomed"

With due respect, we understand that on a certain day Tao-hsiu 道秀 the monk from the Yü-ch'uan monastery 玉泉寺 was welcomed by a Royal Envoy. Your Majesty has dreamed of this man, and greatly promoted this affair.

Everyone came to point him out; night and day they came to question this monk who was devoted to the perfect principle 至理 of non-production 無生, and who transmitted the East Mountain's Wonderful Law 東山妙法.

He founded an abode which was difficult to reach and, when his years exceeded ninety, his form was still elegant and flourished more each day. His vast benefits became even more profound.

The disciples in the Capital were crowded by many believers who did not think that a thousand li 里 was too far [to come]; five [different] schools came in company with each other. With processional gongs, robes, and fish-symbols, they marched up to the grass Halls, going back and

forth between their huts like geese travelling to their nests.

When clouds collect, the fog, too, becomes thick; let the False go away and the True come forth.

Concealed in the desolate forest of the Three Chu's 三楚, he followed the Buddha 佛 and praised transformation.

The wooded mountains he loved were far away; he had resided in Ching-nan 荆南 for a long time and had connections with the State; now [he wished] to return to Hu-peì 豫北. He longed for the common ways of Chiu-chang 九江 like [one longs for] his parents. [Nonetheless] he was looked up to and respected by the men and women of San-ho 三河 like a mountain.

An official statement instructed Buddhist followers 緇徒 to spend the night in the wilderness, since dharma 法 affairs are welcomed in the country.

If the Light who was caused to come to the Capital [now] departs, those near and far will lose hope.

Tao-hsiu put aside the sense of decorum which was the prevailing custom; he esteemed and respected unusual people and was in harmony with multitudinous desires.

Having been invited to the Capital by those people who nourished dharma affairs, these latter came to Lung-men 龍門 to welcome Tao-hsiu with praise. Thus, the Light was met with heavenly decorum and profound submission; [everyone] struggled [to see him].

DOCUMENT TWO

The great Master of the T'ang 唐 dynasty, from the Yü-ch'uan Monastery 玉泉寺 in the Ching prefecture 荊州 was [named Shen-] hsiu [神秀]. The great Master from the Shou-shan Monastery 壽山寺 in the An prefecture 安州 was [named Hsuan-tse] [玄] 蹟. The great Master from the Hui-shan Monastery 會善寺 on Mt. Sung 嵩山 in the Lo prefecture 洛州 was [named Hui-] an [慧] 安.

These three great Masters were the National Teachers of three royal sovereigns: Tse-t'ien 則天 the great sagely Empress 大聖皇后; Shen-lung 神龍 the great Emperor 皇帝 who responded to the Mandate 命 of Heaven; and the "retired" king 太上皇 [Jui-tsung 睿宗]. The previous great Master [Hung-jen] [弘] 忍 prophesied that: "Later, [those who] preach my Tao 道 will only number ten." He was succeeded by them all.

According to the Annals of the Masters and the Dharma of the Lankavatara School 楞伽佛人法志, which was compiled by the monk from the Shou-shan Monastery in the An prefecture [Hsuan-tse], this Ch'an Master [Shen-] hsiu, lay-surname Li 李, was a native of Wei-shih 尉氏 in the Pien prefecture 汴州. He travelled to the upper stream of the [Yang-tze] river, searching for intellectual [fulfillment].

and longing for the Tao.

Sojourning [on foot], he reached the Twin Peak mountains 雙峯山 in the Ch'i prefecture 蘄州, which was the residence of the Ch'an Master [Hung-] jen. [From him, Shen-hsiu] obtained the Dharma 法 of Ch'an.

The Ch'an lamp is silently illuminated, [therefore] the language of the Tao is cut-off; Mind 心 and Practice 行 therein cease; it cannot be commented upon in literature.

Later, [Shen-hsiu] resided at the Yü-ch'uan Monastery in the Ching prefecture. In the first year of Ta-tsu 大足 [= +701] he was summoned to the Eastern Capital [= Lo-yang 洛陽] and, accompanied by carriage, he came and went between the two Capitals [the other being Ch'ang-an 長安], in order to teach. He personally acted as the Emperor's teacher.

Tse-t'ien, the great sagely Empress, inquired of the Ch'an Master Shen-hsiu, saying: "The Dharma which you transmit, of which house is it the principle doctrine?"

He replied: "I received [instruction] at the East Mountain Dharma School 東山法門 in the Ch'i prefecture."

"On what scriptures does [this school] depend?"

He replied: "The Prajnaparamita Sutra 般若經 spoken by Manjusri 文殊 [which teaches] one-action samādhi 一行三昧."

Tse-t'ien said: "If we discuss cultivation of the Tao, [you say that] the East Mountain Dharma is unsurpassed. But, since you are a disciple of [Hung-] jen, such a phrase naturally becomes you."

On the thirteenth day of the Third Moon, in the first year of Shen-lung 神龍 [= +705], the great Emperor who responded to the Mandate [=Chung-tsung 中宗], proclaimed: "The Ch'an Master's traces are far from the common dust [of the world]. His spiritual excursions are outside [the realm] of things. He is identified with the wonderful principle of formlessness 無相, and he transforms by teaching [those who] are entangled from having missed the path. Within, his concentration 定 resembles [still] water; without, his morality 戒 resembles the purity of a pearl.

"This disciple takes refuge in Buddhism 釋教. Stopping and starting at ford and bridge, I wish to open the Dharma gate and long to meet the leader of the Tao.

"Yesterday, the Ch'an Master expressed a wish to return to his original prefecture. [My reply is that] this is not suitable. I hope you will help me to fulfill my wish, and will not hinder yourself with attachment to your homeland."

A letter was sent to express these sentiments, and no more was said [about returning].

The two Emperors admirably received instruction [from Shen-hsiu] and, by his instructions, the people of both Capitals were transformed. Officials and commoners alike received his benefits, and innumerable people were ferried [to the 'other shore']. Also, an Edict ordered that the Pao-en Monastery 報恩寺 be established in the great village of Li 李.

his birthplace.

On the twenty-eight day of the Second Moon in the second year of Shen-lung [= +706], without sickness, [Shen-hsiu] peacefully sat [and wrote his] last testament with three characters: "Yield to the crooked and the straight," 屈曲直 .

Thereafter, he died at the T'ien-kung Monastery 天宮寺 in the Eastern Capital, aged more than one-hundred years. The entire city and the four groups [of the Samgha] extensively adorned [the city] with palatial banners. He was ceremoniously buried on Lung-men mountain 龍門山.

All of the royal sons-in law and princes wrote funeral odes, and an Imperial edict proclaimed: "The late Ch'an Master Hsiu, had a wonderful cognition of external harmony; his internal spiritual capacity shone clearly. He searched for the profound non-duality and he alone obtained the urna pearl. He preserved the gate of True Oneness and he alone made manifest the mirror of Mind [with a] perfect and spiritual response to circumstances.

"His form was intermingled with the brilliant spirit, and he abided in non-action 無為 . His [worldly] dust was purified and his [Karma] burden was removed. What he nourished [within himself] attracted admiration and, daily, his vital essence was sharpened. He thoroughly comprehended the future and the mystery and subtlety of previous consciousness.

"He guided the senses of sentient beings 群生 and, without [deliberate] intention was one with the essence of Great

Compassion 大悲 [mahākarunā]. Through transformation, he followed [worldly] conditions.

"All at once [I am] grieved by this black day's conclusion. [I will] always remember the teaching of the transmission [of Mind]. And, although his principle is not connected with name 名 and form 相, and he is not dependent upon posthumous honours, [because of my] urgent memories of the Master's qualities, [I wish] to adorn his glory. May I declare him the "Ch'an Master of Great Penetration" 大通禪師?"

Another proclamation declared that the Palace Librarian Lu cheng-ch'uan 盧正權 was to be dispatched as a Royal Messenger and to take this Edict to the Ching prefecture where it would be displayed. [Some of Shen-hsiu's] disciples were to be ordained [as part of this honour]. Also, an official name tablet [bearing the Royal Seal] was to be placed on the Monastery gate. When these duties were completed [Cheng-ch'uan] was to return to the Capital and report to the Emperor.

In praise, his disciples said: "Utmost perfect was our Master. His Tao exhausted absolute truth 真諦 [paramārtha] and his purity was made clear. He was perfectly enlightened 圓明 [bhūtatathatā], he displayed the highest Tao, and he explained the highest prajñā. His traces were destroyed, [leaving only] the One Mind; Mind which transcends the Three Realms. [He] borrowed words to illustrate the Principle 理 and

following this Principle, he was identified with it. He was always the Dharma raft, helping what was his to help."

The great Master said: "The Nirvana Sutra says, 'The one who understands well is called a Master of Vinaya' 律師; the truth is explained in the text, but the realization is within?"

He also said: "This mind, is it Mind? What Mind is this mind?"

He also said: "Seen-form 見色, is it Form? What form is this form?"

He also said: "When you hear the striking of a bell, does the sound exist before or after the striking? What sound is this sound?"

He also said: "When the sound of the striking bell exists only within the Monastery, does this sound exist in the World of Ten Directions, as well?"

He also said: "The body is destroyed, the shadow is not. The bridge flows, the water does not. Generally speaking, my Method 會 and my Way 歸 can be summed up by the two characters t'i 體 [substance] and yung 用 [function]. This is also called doubling the Gate of Profundity; it is also called turning the Wheel of the Law; it is also called the fruit of the Path."

He also said: "When you do not see [are unenlightened?]

you see [something?]; when you see [are enlightened?], you see [the same thing?] again."

He also said: "The Ying-lo Sutra 璣珞經 says, 'The Bodhisattva 菩薩 is enlightened but not quiescent; the Buddha 佛 though quiescent, still enlightens.'"

He also said: "The tiniest mustard seed can enter the massive Mt. Sumeru, yet Mt. Sumeru can also enter into the mustard seed."

Seeing the flying birds pass over, he inquired: "What thing is this?"

He also said: "When are you able to sit in meditation on the tip of a tree branch?"

He also said: "Are you not able to pass straight through the middle of a wall?"

He also said: "The Nirvana Sutra says: 'There was once a Bodhisattva whose body had no borders, who came from the Eastern region.' If the Bodhisattva's body has no borders, how can he come from the Eastern region? Why does he not come from the Northern, Western or Southern regions? The ability to identify cannot be obtained."

DOCUMENT THREE

The monk Shen-hsiu 神秀, lay-surname Li 李, was a native of Wei-shih 尉氏 in the Pien prefecture 汴州. In his youth, he read the Classics 經 and Histories 史 completely. Towards the end of the Sui 隋 dynasty, he left his family to become a monk.

Later, at the Tung-shan Monastery 東山寺 on the Twin Peak mountains 雙峯山 in the Ch'i prefecture 蘄州, he met the monk Hung-jen 弘忍 who took sitting in meditation 坐禪 as being his profession. Thereupon, he sighed with conviction and exclaimed, "This is truly my Master!"

Immediately he went to serve Hung-jen and especially took to voluntarily collecting wood and drawing water, in order to seek his [Hung-jen's] Tao 道.

In the past, towards the end of the Later Wei 後魏, there was a sramana 僧 [by the name of] Bodhidharma 達摩. He was originally an Indian Prince 天竺王子 but renounced household life in order to [spiritually] protect the country. He entered the South Sea 南海, Ch'an School's Wonderful Law 禪宗妙法.

AND OBTAINED THE

It is said that since [the time of] Sakyamuni's 釋迦 transmission, there has been a robe and a bowl which act as signs of this transmission from generation to generation.

Taking this robe and bowl in his hands, Bodhidharma left

[India] and sailed the sea. Arriving in Liang 梁, he paid a visit to Emperor Wu 武帝. The Emperor asked [Bodhidharma] about mundane affairs [有為之事], but Bodhidharma did not speak [back]. Thereupon he entered Wei and secluded himself at the Shao-lin Monastery on the Sung Mountain 嵩山少林寺 where he encountered poison and died.

In that year of the Wei dynasty, the envoy Sung-yün 宋雲 saw [Bodhidharma's] disciples excavating his tomb at Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺; they found his robe and his shoes, but nothing more.

Bodhidharma transmitted [the Dharma] to Hui-k'o 慧可 who once cut off his left arm in order to seek just this Dharma. Hui-k'o transmitted [] to [Seng-]Tsan [僧] 璨, by whom it was transmitted to Tao-hsin 道信, by whom it was transmitted to Hung-jen 弘忍.

Hung-jen, lay-surname Chou, 周, was a native of Huang-mei 黃梅. In the beginning [of his career as a monk] Hung-jen and Tao-hsin lived together at the Tung-shan Monastery and, for this reason, their Dharma was referred to as the "East Mountain Dharma School" 東山法門.

When Shen-hsiu became a disciple of Hung-jen, the latter valued him deeply [and recognized that he was] extraordinary. Addressing him, [Hung-jen] said: "I have ordained many men, but with regard to profound understanding and complete enlightenment, there is no one who surpasses you."

Hung-jen died in the fifth year of Hsien-heng 咸亨 [= +674]

[Thereupon] Shen-hsiu went to the Ching prefecture 荊州 and dwelled on Mt. Tang-yang 當陽山. Subsequently, [Empress] Tse-t'ien 則天 heard of his reputation and ordered that he be escorted to the Capital. When he arrived, [Shen-hsiu] was carried into the palace in a shoulder sedan; [further, the Empress] personally performed the kneeling ceremony. [She also] decreed that the Tu-men Monastery 度門寺 be built on Mt. Tang-yang, for the purpose of displaying his virtue 德.

At this time, from the Princes 王 and Dukes 公 down to the scholars 士 and commoners 庶 of the Capital city--[they all] heard of his reputation and struggled to have audiences with him. At simply seeing the dust [raised by his feet] they prostrated themselves in respect. Daily, they came by the thousand.

When Chung-tsung 中宗 [posthumous title=] Hsiao-ho 孝和 ascended the throne, [he was] even more respectful of Shen-hsiu's extraordinariness. Also, a Drafting Official 中書舍人 named Chang-yüeh 張說, while maintaining the propriety of an immediate disciple, often asked Shen-hsiu about the Tao. Returning [from these sessions] he would say to others: "The Ch'an Master's body is eight chih 尺 long, his eyebrows are bushy and his earlobes are refined. How imposing are his majesty and virtue! He has the form of a mighty ruler."

Shen-hsiu's fellow student, the monk Hui-neng 慧能 was originally a native of the Hsin prefecture 新州. Compared to Shen-hsiu in practice 行 and ability 業 he was evenly

matched. After Hung-jen's death, Hui-neng lived at the K'uang-kuo Monastery 廣果寺 in the Shao prefecture 韶州.

Of old, there were many tigers and leopards on Mt. Shao-chou [but upon Hui-neng's arrival,] they all suddenly disappeared. Far and near, people exclaimed [about this] and they all took refuge [in him].

Shen-hsiu once approached Tse-t'ien, requesting that she invite Hui-neng to be escorted to the Capital; however Hui-neng firmly declined. Once again Shen-hsiu repeated the invitation, writing the note himself. [In response] Hui-neng sent a messenger, saying: "My figure and form are short and vulgar; if the people of the Northern regions 北土 see [me] I fear they would not esteem my Dharma. Further, my late Master thought that my Southern School 南宗 had an affinity [with the South]; this, also, cannot be disregarded."

In the end, he died without crossing the mountain range [which separates the North from the South]. Thereupon, his Tao was dispersed and transmitted throughout the world. [As a consequence] it is said that Shen-hsiu constitutes the Northern School 北宗, and that Hui-neng constitutes the Southern School.

In the second year of Shen-lung 神龍 [= +706] Shen-hsiu died. Scholars and commoners alike came to his funeral procession. Also, there was a decree that the posthumous title "Ch'an Master of Great Penetration" 大通禪師 be conferred [upon him]. Furthermore, at Hsiang-wang 相王, his former

residence, the Pao-en Monastery 報恩寺 was established.

Prince Fan of Ch'i 岐王範, Chang-yüeh, and the selected scholar Lu hung 盧鴻 all wrote eulogies. After Shen-hsiu's death, his disciples P'u-chi 普寂 and I-fu 義福 were both esteemed by their contemporaries.

DOCUMENT FOUR

"Shen-hsiu 神秀 of the Ching prefecture 荊州 and the Tu-men Monastery 廬山寺 on Mt. Tang-yang 當陽山."

The monk Shen-hsiu, lay-surname Li 李 was a native of Wei-shih 尉氏, which is now the Eastern capital 東京. In his youth, he comprehensively read the Classics 經 and Histories 史 and was well-learned. Thereafter, he was determined to renounce worldly [life] ; shaving [his head] and dyeing [his clothes] he then received the Dharma 法.

Later, on the Twin Peaks 雙峯 at the Tung-shan Monastery 東山寺 in the Ch'i prefecture 蘄州 he encountered the Fifth Patriarch 五祖, Master Jen 忍師. [This latter] took sitting in meditation 坐禪 as his profession. Thereupon, Shen-hsiu sighed and said, "This really is my Master." Thus, he dilligently took to carrying water and collecting wood while seeking [Hung-jen's] Tao 道.

Towards the end of the former Wei 昔魏, there was an Indian 天竺 sramana 沙門 [by the name of] Bodhidharma 達磨 who obtained the Ch'an School's 禪宗 Wonderful Law 妙法. Since Sakyamuni Buddha 釋迦佛 [the Dharma] has been transmitted with a robe and a bowl which act as signs of this transmission from generation to generation.

Sailing the sea, [Bodhidharma left India and] came [to China, where] Emperor Wu 武帝 of Liang 梁 inquired about mundane affairs [有為之事] . Bodhidharma esteemed the direct-path transmission of the essence of mind 心要 [but] this important teaching [and the Emperor's concerns] were mutually incompatible. Thereupon, like a rock thrown into the water, [Bodhidharma] entered Wei and secluded himself at the Shao-lin Monastery 少林寺 on Mount Sung 嵩丘 where he subsequently died.

At Ts'ung-ling 蔥嶺 that [same] year, a Wei envoy [named] Sung-yün 宋雲 saw [Bodhidharma's] followers excavate his tomb. They found his robe and his shoes, and that was all. [His] Dharma was transmitted to Hui-k'o 慧可, by whom it was transmitted to Seng [-tsan] 僧 [璨], by whom it was transmitted to Tao-hsin 道信, who transmitted it to [Hung-] jen [弘] 忍. Jen and Hsin dwelled together upon Tung-shan; therefore, their Dharma [was known] as the East Mountain Dharma School 東山法門.

As soon as Shen-hsiu began serving Hung-jen, the latter silently recognized his profundity; moreover, he addressed him with reverence, saying: "The people I have ferried [to 'the other shore'] are numerous, but when it comes to complete and perfect enlightenment, you are surpassed by none."

In the middle of Shang-yün 上元 [= +674], Hung-jen died and, thereafter, Shen-hsiu crossed the river and went to live on Mt. Tang-yang 當陽山. Buddhist followers from the four seas heard of [Shen-hsiu's] reputation and scattered his Tao. [His] fragrance was praised and its scent reached everywhere.

The Empress Tse-t'ien 則天 [also] heard about him and ordered that he be brought to the Capital. [Upon his arrival, Shen-hsiu] was escorted to the Palace in a shoulder-sedan; moreover, [Tse-t'ien] personally kneeled before him in [the Imperial] chapel. Abundant praise was bestowed upon him and he was frequently asked about the Tao. It was also decreed that--upon the mountain where he formerly dwelled--the Tu-men Monastery 廬門寺 be erected as a tribute to his virtue 德.

At this time, from the Princes 王 and Dukes 公 down to the scholars 士 and masses 庶 of the Capital city--[they all] struggled to have an audience with him. At seeing the dust [raised by his feet] they submissively prostrated themselves; daily, they came by the thousands. When Emperor Chung-tsung 中宗 [posthumous title=] Hsiao-ho 孝和 ascended to the throne, he esteemed [Shen-hsiu] even more [than had the Empress].

A Drafting Official 中書令 [named] Chang-yüeh 張說 would frequently question [Shen-hsiu] about the Dharma, and maintained the propriety of an immediate disciple. Returning [from these sessions] he would say to people: "The Ch'an Master's body is eight chih 尺 long, his eyebrows are bushy and his eyes are refined. His majesty and virtue are eminently lofty. [He has] the capacities of a mighty king."

In the beginning [of his career as a monk] the Ch'an Master Hui-neng 慧能 was a fellow-student of Shen-hsiu; and with regard to virtue 德 practice 行 and appearance 相 they were reciprocally matched. They were mutually helpful, and neither

was favoured by the Tao.

[Shen-hsiu] once approached the Empress T'ien and requested that Hui-neng be escorted to the Capital; however, Hui-neng firmly declined. Shen-hsiu sent another note, this time writing it himself, and explained that the Empress's intention in summoning him up [had been to please Shen-hsiu]. [Still] they were unable [to change his mind]. A messenger was sent [by Hui-neng] saying: "My appearance 形 is not very handsome; if the people of the Northern region 北土 would see [my] shortness and vulgarity, I fear they would not respect [my] Dharma. Further, my former Master thought I had an affinity to Ling-nan 嶺南 : this, too, cannot be disregarded."

In the end, [Hui-neng] did not cross the Ta-yü mountain range 大庾嶺 [which separates the North from the South], yet his Tao was transmitted throughout the world. It is said that the Hsiu School is the Northern, and the Neng School is the Southern: the names of the two schools ('north' and 'south') are derived from this.

In the second year of Shen-lung 神龍 [= +706] Shen-hsiu died. Scholars and commoners alike attended his funeral procession. He was given the posthumous title "Ch'an Master of Great Penetration" 大通禪師 ; also, at Hsiang-wang 相王, his former residence, the Pao-en Monastery was established.

Prince Fan of Ch'i 岐王範, the Duke of Yen, Chang-yüeh 燕國公張說, and the selected scholar Lu-heng 盧鴻, each

prepared a eulogy. The eminent scholars and well-known officials who mourned [his death] could not be counted. [Shen-hsiu's] disciples P'u-chi 普寂 and I-fu 義福 were both esteemed at Court and in the country because they followed their former Master's Tao.

Historian's Commentary 系曰：

The differing smells of the bitter and the sweet conflict with one another. If the sweet cannot vanquish the bitter, then pure bitterness will prevail for the moment; [conversely] if the bitter cannot overcome the sweet, then pure sweetness will function in the event. If the case is similar to this, [it is like] prescribing medicine to treat a disease: partial emphasis [i.e., bitter or sweet herbs] surely departs [from the prescription's] effectiveness.

Of old, with the death of Bodhidharma, subtle words ceased to be. Since the funeral of the Fifth Patriarch, the Great Teaching 大義 has disappeared. As for [Shen-]hsiu, he [advocated] dusting and wiping to enlighten the mind; as for [Hui-]neng, [he claimed that] the whole is non-existent, and thereby promoted the Tao.

When we come to [what] circulates in, and influences the North region, [it can be seen that they] honor cultivation and the practice of diligence; from here, divergence begins. The teaching of the Sudden Gate 頓門 [to Enlightenment] has flourished and been served in the South. Thereafter, Ho-tse

荷澤 [the school of Shen-hui 神會] prevailed in the Middle Land. With the Sudden Gate [they] rejected complicated cultivation and refinement, but [still] did not remove the Great Rock [Shen-hsiu?].

Those who press a string against the elephants hide are acting with hasty minds and spending their time in vain. Thus, they encouraged each one to love his own relatives, and they grouped themselves apart.

Therefore, Lu-yi 盧奕 [a disciple of Shen-hsiu, and a court official] reported to the throne that Shen-hui [should be] censored and deported to Lo-yang 洛陽: this was because [Shen-hui] erroneously treated the illness with only one medicine. Subsequently, the mutual conflict between the bitter and the sweet was made manifest and verified.

The principle of illness has not yet been affected, but perverse quarrels have already been completed. Man should only have esteem for the Dharma: what reason is there for men to diminish the Law [because of personal conflicts]?

These two disciples were unable to accomplish the task of washing the dust off the Master's feet, but they [were able to] break his legs [with ease]. Is this not analagous to their understanding?

DOCUMENT FIVE

Selections from:

"Eulogy for the Ch'an Master of Great Penetration 大遍禪師 from the Yü-ch'uan Monastery 玉泉寺 in the Ching prefecture 荊州"

Discourse: The Four Basic Elements 四大 are completed by what? The body 身 .

The ten-thousand established Dharmas 立萬法 are mastered by what? The mind 心 .

The body is empty 虛 !

Thus, when this body is seen as void 空 it is the beginning of Mysterious Function 妙用 .

The mind is not real 非實 !

Thus, when the mind is viewed as illusory 幻 , this itself is the highest truth 真

The Wonderful [Tao] originally conflicts with language: when words are out, the True doctrine is hidden. Therefore, the Tathagata's 如來 intention was to transmit the Essential Tao 要道 ; he had the strength to uphold Perfect Virtue 至德 .

For myriad kalpas, and distantly, he hands over the mudrā seal 法印 ; in the moment of a single thought, and

instantly, he receives the Buddhakaya 佛身。

Who is the man who will enlarge upon this? This man, the precious Ch'an master of great penetration.

The Ch'an master who was honoured and praised as "greatly penetrating", had the (taboo name) of Shen-hsiu 神秀; originally surnamed Li 李, he was a native of Wei-shih 尉氏 in Chen-liu 陳留。

His mind saw through the nine āsravas 九漏 and his profound understanding was quick to be awakened. His body was eight chih 尺 long and he [possessed] refined eyebrows and large ears. He corresponds to the form of princes and earls; he is in agreement with the capacities of the virtuous and the sagely.

In his youth, he was a total student, wandering to the borders of the Yang-tze 江 [in order to] inquire about the profound doctrines of Lao 老 and Chuang 莊, the principle meanings of the Histories 史 [經] and the Book of Changes 易 [經] and the Sutras 經 and Sastras 論 of the Three Vehicles 三乘. He also observed the fourfold Vinaya 四分律. He thoroughly understood the grammar and commentaries of the Shuo [-wen] 說 [文] and he penetrated the phonetics of both Wu 吳 and Chin 晉

In the year that he understood the Heavenly Mandate 天命 [= age fifty], he uprooted himself from the world of men. He respectfully heard that [Hung-] jen [弘] 忍, who had penetrated the Dharma 法 of the Ch'an school 禪門 was residing

in the Ch'i prefecture 蘄州 .

When Bodhidharma 達磨 came east from India 天竺, the Dharma was transmitted to Hui-k'o 慧可, then Seng-tsan 僧璨 then Tao-hsin 道信, and then to Hung-jen. The name [of the school] continued; the footprints [of the teaching] were repeated; the characteristics were continued by the Five Brilliances 五光 .

Thereafter, not impeded by great distance, [Shen-hsiu] overcame [mountains] and crossed [rivers] in order to pay a visit to the Master. With regard to profound understanding, his empty, receptive, and fertile mind was identical to the rich mind of his teacher. His deep apprehension was on the same path as the True Vehicle 真乘 . He exhaustively pointed out false consciousness 妄識, and clearly viewed the Original Mind 本心 . He dwelled in the quiet state of nirodha 寂滅 and acted in the sphere beyond affirmation 是 and denial 無 .

He had a Master and [was thus able to] complete [his] training . [This completion] is that which Dipamkara Buddha 燃燈佛 [described as] the Dharma-gate of the King of Emptiness 空王法門 which cannot be spoken of with words.

For six years, he dilligently attended [his Master] stopping neither day nor night. The Grand Master, sighing, said, "The East Mountain Dharma 東山法 is exhausted in Shen-hsiu."

Hung-jen then ordered that his [Shen-hsiu's] feet be

washed, and suggested that they sit together [in meditation]. Thereupon, [Shen-hsiu] tearfully took leave and departed, concealing himself in seclusion.

During I-fung 儀鳳 [= +676 to 679] he began to establish himself at the Yü-ch'uan Monastery, where his name is in the Register of Monks.

Seven miles east of this monastery, the earth is flat and the mountains are lofty; regarding them, he said: "This is just the solitary peak for the Lanka 楞伽 school, and a monastery for ordination. Lying on the grass under those shady pinetrees, I would grow old there."

[But as] the cloud follows the dragon, and the wind follows the tiger, [so too] must the Sage come out when the Great Tao prevails....

The disciples were repeatedly looked after [by Shen-hsiu], and there were some who excelled in the four states of dhyāna 四禪. Seventy received official prominence, and three-thousand tasted the Tao 味道. [Still] they did not surpass [the Master].

With regard to the general outline of his Dharma, [he advocated] focusing on each single thought in order to stop mentation 息想 [= samjñā], and using utmost strength in order to control the mind 攝心. As for his entrance 入: classes are levelled and everyone is a Sage 聖; as for his benefit 利: practice has neither before nor after.

Before one enters samadhi, the ten-thousand ties [must be] exhaustively cut-off. After the mind of Wisdom 慧 arises, all things are thus as they are.

He maintained and respected the Lankavatara Sutra's transmission of the essence of mind 心要, and surpassed those of the past who had not recognized it.

By the middle of Chiu-shih 久視 [= +700], the Master's Springs and Autumns had been many. He was summoned to the Capital and, upon his arrival, was carried into the Palace upon a shoulder sedan. Her Majesty [Tse-t'ien 則天], surrendered her position as the Ruler of ten-thousand chariots, in order to bow down before him. The Palace had been carefully cleaned and prepared. He was highly esteemed and he dwelled there in peace.

Of those who transmit the Sagely Tao, he alone does not face North. Of those who possess grand virtue, he alone does not respect the propriety of ministers.

Subsequently, he was elected Dharma Master of the Two Capitals [Ch'ang-an 長安 and Lo-yang 洛陽], and was the National Teacher 國師 of Three Emperors. He was looked upon as the noon-time sun of Buddhism, and as another manifestation of Gotama....

[However] always surrounded by high officials and beautiful ladies-in-waiting, he was thus unable to preach the Esoteric Doctrine....

[Still] the Majesty's respect [for Shen-hsiu] increased from day to day; the Court's grace accumulated from reign to reign. At Tang-yang 當陽, where he held his first assembly, a monastery 寺 named Tu-men 度門 was established. At his forefathers' home in Wei-shih 尉氏, a monastery named Pao-en 報恩 was built. His name was known everywhere, and his manifestation of Virtue 德 was incomparable.

[Nonetheless,] he disliked his circumstances and the noise from the Royal carriages. For a great length of time he longed for the empty valley 虛壑 and repeatedly begged to [be able to] return to the mountains. After his long stay [in the Capital], he was nothing but worn out and troubled by his sorrows.

When the form is dispersed, the spirit is completed;

When the body is washed out, strength is wilted.

During the night of the twenty-eighth day of the Second Moon of the second year of Shen-lung 神龍 [= +706], he calmly entered Nirvana 滅.

The Ch'an Master received his full ordination at T'ien-kung Monastery 天宮寺, in the eighth year of Wu-te 武德 [= +625] [under the cycle of] Yi-yu; this year, [under the cycle of] Ping-wu, he returned to this monastery and died [there].

He was a full monk for eighty years. Having been born towards the end of the Sui 隋 Dynasty, his age was over one-hundred years. However, he himself never discussed this

subject; thus, no one knew his exact age....

[On the day of his funeral], the Son of Heaven 天子 came out from the Palace gate, and his tears fell on his golden mourning robes. He climbed to a high place and then stopped there, watching the procession until it was out of his eye; he then returned to his carriage.

From the Yellow River to the Yang-tze, people sadly waited by the roadside for his body to pass. Hundreds of carriages with banners and flowers were displayed, the fragrant cloud of which covered a thousand li 里

Appendix 'B':

"Comments on penetrating the Sutras
with upāya," by Tsung-mi 宗密.

(Translated from the textual version
given by H. Ui in Zenshū shi kenkyū,
Volume I, pp.356-367.)

Comments On Penetrating The Sutras With upāya

(These are called the five upāya)

I. THE ESSENCE OF BUDDHA

The first [upāya] is a general explanation of the essence of Buddha 佛体, and relies upon the Awakening of Faith. It is said that a Buddha is enlightened 覺; self-enlightened, he enlightens others and [thereby is] enlightenment completed.

To transcend 離 the mind is called 'self-enlightenment'
(to realize that the mind is no-mind constitutes the transcendence of mind).

To transcend form 色 is called 'enlightening others'
(to realize that the body is no-body constitutes the transcendence of form).

To transcend both [mind/form] is called the 'completion of enlightenment'

(to realize the characteristics of a 'self' and 'other' that transcend body and mind is a liberating awareness 自在知見).

"With regard to the meaning of what is referred to as

'enlightenment', it is said that the essence of Mind is beyond thought 離念. The characteristics of being beyond thought are analagous to a sphere of empty sky 虛空界..."

(As for the mind, it explains 'self-enlightenment'; it is said that [one should] neither be delighted by praise, nor angered by scoffing. Being beyond thought is identical to no-mind 無心 and no-mind is identical to the empty sky; because they are of the same essence, [no-mind] and a sphere of empty sky are referred to as analagous. However, an arising-mind 起心 is not analagous to a sphere of empty sky.)

"...which reaches everywhere. The one characteristic of the world of Reality [dharmadhātu 法界]..."

(As for form, it explains the 'enlightening of others'.)

"...is none other than the universal Essence-body [dharmakāya 法身] of the Tathagata 如來."

(As for both [mind/form], they explain the 'completion of enlightenment'.)

Accordingly, [one should] always and unceasingly pay attention to mind 用'心 and nourish the dharmakāya. No-body, no-mind, no-heaven, no-earth: this is utter purity; it is also referred to as the perfection and completion of the dharmakāya. However, just one glance at the arising-mind produces both mind and form; thereby, the dharmakāya is destroyed.

Now, form is the form-aggregate [rūpaskandha 色蘊] which refers to the five sense-organs 五根 and the six objects of cognition 六塵. Mind comprises the other four aggregates. An 'aggregate' signifies what is gathered together; this is also referred to as a 'yin' 陰, and 'yin' signifies what is covered-over.

It is said that if [one] is free from thought, then there is no-mind; no-mind is identical to no-form. Mind and form are pure 清淨, the five aggregates are eternally empty 空; therefore, [no-mind] is named the One Characteristic.

The twelve sense-fields [āyatana] and the eighteen sense-spheres [dhātu] regulate perception. [But] it is said that if one is beyond the sense-organs, the objects of cognition, and consciousness [ie., the components of the eighteen dhātu], then the dhātu will reveal themselves as eternally empty and quiet. The sense-organs are empty, the objects of cognition are pure; the sense-organs are no-mind, the objects of cognition are sagely.

The Sage 聖者 is perfect. If the eye sees form and the intellect [manas 意] similarly perceives form, this is the defiled world of Reality [dharmadhātu]; but if the intellect does not similarly perceive [form], it is the pure dharmadhātu. With regard to the ear and the other sense-organs, it is also so.

Glancing at the arising-mind affirms the eighteen dhātu, but no-mind is of [only] one characteristic; this single characteristic is [itself] without characteristics.

When confronting the world of objects, being without movement is called 'thus', not following responses is 'come' [together = 'thus come' = Tathagata]. If one sees form, then there are hate and love and so forth; this is 'movement' this is 'going', it is not 'thus', it is not 'come'. Therefore, being without hate and love is a liberating awareness 自在知見.

This is the eye-consciousness of the Tathagata of Illumination, (his ear-[consciousness], etc., also exemplify this). Other Tathagatas, of Infinite Guidance, Fragrance, Ambrosia, Gathered Flowers, and of the Dharma Gate, are similarly matched to the other five consciousnesses.

Arriving at this: do not perceive an existent body, the body is the Buddha; do not perceive an existent mind, the mind is the Buddha; body and mind should never be perceived, body and mind are ever the Buddha.

II. OPENING THE WISDOM GATE

The second [upāya], opening the wisdom gate, relies on the Lotus Sutra. "Open [the gate of] Buddha-wisdom, manifest it, [help others to] realize and enter it."

It is said that body and mind are unmoving 不動; thus, understand that no-thought is tranquility 定. Sight, hearing, contemplation, and knowledge: these are wisdom. If the [gate to the] unmoving is opened up, this unmovingness [itself] becomes the ability to manifest wisdom from tranquility.

When the intellect is unmoving, the discernment 智 gate is opened; when the five sense-organs are unmoving, the wisdom 慧 gate is opened. The function of discernment is knowledge 知; the function of wisdom is perception 見. This is called "opening [the gate] of Buddha-wisdom" [ie., wisdom as jñāna-knowledge of things and prajñā-perception of reality: 佛知見. This wisdom is bodhi.

As for bodhi, it cannot be attained through either mind or body. Nirvana is bodhi because all characteristics are therein extinguished. If the eye sees form but does not suffer the hindrance of form-as-cognitive-object: this is eye-bodhi, (for the ear, nose, tongue, and for touch and volition it is also thus). When the six sense-organs are not hindered by the characteristics of any cognitive objects, this is perfect and complete mahābodhi.

Knowledge is fundamental wisdom; it is connected to the absolute 真; perception is specific discriminatory wisdom; it completes the relative 俗.

What is directly connected to the absolute, first takes corroboration as fundamental. If corroboration is

not taken as primary, what wisdom 知見 there is will be in accord with impurity. But when the blaze of the sun burns amidst the six defilements, freedom is attained. Why? Only because corroboration is taken as fundamental. Accordingly, wisdom does not defile the six cognitive objects; this wisdom that clearly reveals itself everywhere is Buddha-wisdom 佛知見.

Below is explained why "Buddhas and World Honoured Ones only perform One Great Act 一大事," and so forth.

III. MANIFESTING THE INCONCEIVABLE LIBERATION

The third upāya [manifests] the inconceivable liberation, and relies on the Vimalakirti Sutra. It is said that a glance at the arising-mind is bondage; the non-arising mind is freedom. A man of the second vehicle repudiates clamour and resides in a state of quietude.

"To be desirous of dhyāna-samādhi is a fetter for a Bodhisattva; but what is imperishable, non-quiet, and produced by upāya [effects] a Bodhisattva's release."

When a man of the second-vehicle resides in meditation 定, he is unable to preach the Dharma 說法; when he comes out of meditation, he preaches a Dharma that is produced and destroyed. Consequently, when the mind is not watered and fertilized by meditation, this is referred to as the

stage of nominal wisdom [the lowest of the ten stages].

But when Dharma is preached from the unmoving center, this unmoving [itself] is upāya, and the preaching of the Dharma is wisdom 慧. When a man of the second vehicle hears the Dharma being preached, the unmoving constitutes upāya and he then dwells in the unmoving center. However, without a Liberated Awareness 自在知見, though he resides in meditation he is still unable to preach the Dharma.

In the meditative state of a Bodhisattva there is both wisdom and a Liberated Awareness; thus, he is not hindered by fetters and meditation and wisdom are attained. When [one dwells] in the center of the empty 空 formless 無相 non-created 無作 Dharma, because of the self-moderation of the passions this is called wisdom.

The five aggregates are empty: the Liberation of Emptiness. The six defilements (or cognitive objects) are without conception: the Formless Liberation. The mind is without conditions: the Non-created Liberation. These are referred to as the Three Entrances to Liberation.

Below, the ten types of sutra literature are explained.

IV. THE TRUE NATURE OF DHARMA

The fourth [upāya] illuminates the true nature of dharma and relies on the Visesacinti Brahma Sutra. It is said that when mind does not arise, self-nature [svabhāva

自性] is transcended 離; when consciousness 識 is not produced, the limits of desire 俗際 are transcended.

Seeing is the silent-nature of the eye (and so forth for hearing and the other five senses).

When the mind does not arise, this is no-mind 無心; when there is no-mind, this is nature without boundaries 無境性: this is called the true nature of dharma.

The eye is desire, the form is the limitation: when eye-consciousness is not produced, the limits of desire are transcended (and so forth for ear-[consciousness] and the other five [sense-consciousnesses]).

The remainder is like the other sections.

V. THE LIBERATION OF NON-DIFFERENTIATION

The fifth [upāya] makes known the Non-differentiated 無異 Self-so 自然 Un-hindered 無礙 Liberation, and relies on the Garland Sutra. The totally Unhindered Man affirms the Unhindered Way 道. Only one Way leads out of life and death [samsāra, 生死]; this is the Non-abiding 無住 Way, which is neither long nor short. Where the Liberated Man walks is the Liberated Way.

Because of Non-differentiation, one is able to transcend both the sense-organs and their objects. If the eye sees that form is without differentiation, no form-object

is able to be a hindrance. The Unhindered Way transcends sense-objects and form, and is not contaminated. To perceive that seeing is beyond contamination is the Liberated Way. If one departs from impurity and the characteristics 相 of the sense-organs and the objects of sense, then each dharma will be without the objects which arrive at impurity.

But when there is wisdom [as knowledge and perception = 知見], this alone preserves the universally shining Illumination:

The Unhindered Way enlightens in steps 等;

The Liberated Way mysteriously 妙 enlightens;

Step-enlightenment is the shining of discernment 智 : according to the nature 性 it causes characteristics to arise.

Mysterious-enlightenment is the shining of wisdom 慧 : it pacifies the nature and takes hold of the characteristics.

Discernment is able to illuminate the Universal 理;

Wisdom is able to illuminate the Particular 事;

The awareness that then reveals itself is the universally shining Illumination.

Step-enlightenment is great discernment; mysterious-enlightenment is great wisdom. When mind does not arise, this is mental suchness 心如; when mind is such, all things are such. Suchness is discernment, and discernment is able to embody wisdom; this is called Great Prajna 大智慧.

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The statement is pointless
The finger is speechless

----R.D. Laing

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