

The Life And Thought
Of A Chinese Buddhist Monk
Zhiyuan (976-1022 C.E.)

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF A CHINESE BUDDHIST MONK

ZHIYUAN (976-1022 C.E.)

BY

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Abstract

This dissertation is a study of a Buddhist monk, Zhiyuan, in the Song dynasty who was generally known as a leader of the Off-mountain (*Shanwai*) faction of the Tiantai school. The aim of the study is threefold: first, to investigate critically the nature and development of the Home-mountain/ Off-mountain (*Shanjia/ Shanwai*) debate of the Tiantai school in the Song dynasty; and second, to reconstruct the views of Zhiyuan on some of the issues involved in the Home-mountain/ Off-mountain debate; and third, to examine the life of Zhiyuan and what lies behind his label of a leader of the Off-mountain faction.

This dissertation consists of four chapters. Chapter one challenges the traditional rigid division of the Tiantai school into the Home-mountain and Off-mountain factions and suggests that this division was closely related to the formation of an orthodox lineage of the school among different competing lineages.

Chapter two reconstructs the views of Zhiyuan on various issues involved in the Home-mountain/ Off-mountain debate. Our study shows that many of the issues debated by Zhiyuan and his opponents have to do with a 'mind-only'

persuasion which can be traced back to Zhanran's teaching. This provides a more sympathetic understanding of the Off-mountain faction of the Tiantai school.

Chapter three studies the image of Zhiyuan in his different surviving biographies written by both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. The study shows that Zhiyuan was understood by his biographers, not as a leader of the Off-mountain faction, but as a learned monk with remarkable literary skills.

Chapter four examines Zhiyuan's self-portrait as found in his autobiographical essays which reveal other aspects of his life that lie behind his label of being a Off-mountain leader especially his involvement in the literary movement known as the Ancient Style (*Guwen*) of Writing which is Confucian in orientation, and his struggle with his ill-health.

A translation of Zhiyuan's own prefaces to his ten commentaries on Buddhist canon written for his disciples is also provided at the end of this dissertation which provides a summary of his Buddhist thoughts.

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The Life And Thought Of A Chinese Buddhist Monk Zhiyuan

I. Introduction: the Problem

Zhiyuan (976-1022 C.E.) was generally known as a major spokesman of the Shanwai (Off-mountain) faction of the Tiantai school. The Shanjia (Home-mountain) and Shanwai (Off-mountain) debate was an important event in the history of the Tiantai school of Buddhism during the Song dynasty. The debate refers to a complicated doctrinal controversy within the Tiantai school during the Song dynasty. The terms 'Shanjia' and 'Shanwai' suggest the existence of two distinct and independent factions of the school. The Shanjia and Shanwai debate is often understood as an important schismatic development of the Tiantai school during the Song dynasty.¹ This means that the doctrinal controversy within the school during the Song dynasty brought about the division of the school into two opposing groups--the Shanjia group and the Shanwai group. The terms

¹See, for instance, the recent unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of Chan Chi-wah on "Chih-li (960-1028 A.D.) and the Formation of Orthodoxy in the Sung T'ien-t'ai Tradition of Buddhism" (University of California, 1993), p.7 where Chan uses the word 'schism' to describe the "Shanjia" and "Shanwai" debate.

'Shanjia/Shanwai' also have a strong connotation of orthodox/heterodox. The de facto founder of the Tiantai school, Zhiyi,² lived on mount Tiantai and the school was named after that mountain. Therefore, the term 'Shanjia' which literally means 'Home mountain' has a connotation of remaining within the mainstream teaching of the school while 'Shanwai' which means 'Off-mountain' implies a divergence from the main stream teaching of the school and is therefore heterodox.³

Recent studies on the Shanjia and Shanwai debate, however, indicate that the division of the school into Shanjia and Shanwai was far less rigid than the terms suggest.⁴

²According to the Tiantai tradition, Zhiyi was the fourth patriarch: Nagarjuna--Huiwen--Huisi--Zhiyi. Modern scholars, however, regard Zhiyi as the de facto founder of the Tiantai school. For a modern study on Zhiyi, see Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i (538-597 A.D.): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk*. Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques Douaieme Volume: 1960-1962. (Bruxelles: Juillet, 1962); Sato Tetusei, *Tendai daishi no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1961) and his *Zoku tendai daishi no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1981); *Kyodo Jiko Tendai daishi no shogai* (Tokyo: Regulus Library, 1975).

³See, for instance, Ra Lang Eun's unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality: A Study in Chan-jan and Chih-li" (Temple University, 1988) p.166-167 where he refers to the "Shanwai" faction of the Tiantai school as the Heterodox School and the "Shanjia" faction as the Orthodox School.

⁴Daniel B. Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan and T'ien-t'ai History" in Neal Donner and Daniel
(continued...)

Daniel Stevenson, for instance, has pointed out that in the celebrated sectarian history of the Tiantai School, *Fozutongji* (Record of the Lineal Transmission of the Buddhas and Patriarchs)⁵ and *Shimen zhengtong* (The Orthodoxy Transmission of the Buddhist School)⁶ written by monks belonging to the Shanjia lines in the thirteenth century, the Shanwai group, although peripheral to the mainline, was

(...continued)

Stevenson *The Great Calming and contemplation: A Study and Annotated Translation of the First Chapter of Chih-i's Mo-ho Chih-kuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993) pp.85-86. See also Linda L. Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang dynasty: Chan-jan and the Sinification of Buddhism" (Columbia University, 1993) Unpublished Ph.D.Dissertation, p.321, n.425.

⁵Written by Zhipan (fl.1258-1269 C.E.) in the years between 1268 to 1269 C.E. and is collected in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* (hereafter quoted as T) 49: 129-476. Zhipan is a dharma-descendant of Guangzhi Shangxian (fl. 1050 A.D.), a famous disciple of Zhili. See his own lineage chart in his *Fozutongji*, fascicle 24, T49: 254. Therefore Zhipan belongs to the "Shanjia" faction.

⁶Collected in *Xuzang jing* (hereafter quoted as XZJ) 130: 457-463. It was written by Zongjian in the years between 1237 to 1241 C.E. The *Shimen zhengtong* of Zongjian (fl.1237 C.E.) is a continuation of an unfinished work by the layman Kaian Wu keji (1140-1214 C.E.) written between 1208 to 1225 C.E. Zhipan lists Wu as a disciple of Beifeng Zongyin (1148-1213 C.E.), a dharma-descendant of Nanping Fanzhen (fl.1051-1072 C.E.) who is a famous disciple of Zhili. See the lineage chart at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 24, T49: 256. Hence, *Shimen zhengtong* also contains the viewpoints of the Shanjia's faction. See Zongjian's preface to his *Shimen zhengtong* collected in XZJ 130:357a.

included within the sectarian fold. He, therefore, argues that

Despite their exegetical squabble, there is no indication that any one faction ever thought to compel the other to forfeit its right to identify with the T'ien-t'ai heritage.⁷

Stevenson also suggests that the Shanjia and Shanwai debate was,

not so much a full-fledged internecine rivalry as the exploration of diverse interpretive possibilities at a time when the strict ideological boundaries imposed by later T'ien-t'ai histories had not yet been clearly drawn.⁸

In fact, as pointed out by Ando Toshio, views close to those of the Shanwai figures appear frequently in the Shanjia camp without causing any particular stir.⁹ Similarly Linda Penkower writes,

The split between the Shan-chia/Shan-wai (i.e. Shanjia/Shanwai) faction of T'ien-t'ai during its initial stage was not as severe as we are led to believe by the SMCT (*Shimen Zhengtong*) and especially the FTTC (*Fozutongji*).¹⁰

⁷Daniel Stevenson, "Problematic and T'ien-t'ai history" p.85.

⁸Daniel Stevenson, "Problematic and T'ien-t'ai History", p.86.

⁹Ando Toshio, *Tendai Shiso Shi*, (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1959) pp.37-41. Also quoted by Dan Stevenson, "Problematic and T'ien-t'ai history", p.85.

¹⁰Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", p.321, n.425.

The above comments on the Shanjia/Shanwai debate can perhaps be further substantiated by a comment on the debate by Qingshao (963-1017 C.E.), a member of the Shanwai faction, in a letter written to his opponent Zhili where Qingshao writes,

I have read your *Guanxinyi* (The Meaning of Contemplation on the Mind) in three chapters...Although the position you maintained there is different from mine, we both have our own interpretation which shows our [different] transmission [of teaching]. There is no harm in it. I have tried to think about this. Those who understand me would say that you and I are working hard to the utmost for the *dharma*.¹¹

We shall argue that the Shanjia and Shanwai factions of the Tiantai school were not formed during the doctrinal controversy of the school but rather years after the controversy. First we shall study the history of the usage of the terms 'Shanjia' and 'Shanwai'. That the distinction of Shanjia/Shanwai did not exist during the doctrinal controversy can be testified to by the fact that the terms

¹¹The letter is titled "*Qiantang shaojiangzhu shang simingfashi shu*" (A Letter from the lecturer Shao of Qiantang to the dharma master of Siming) and is collected in *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu* (Records on the Teachings and Practices of the Venerable One of Siming), fascicle 5, T46:903c(4-8). The purpose of Qingshao's letter to Zhili was to ask him to send a copy of his *Shibuermen zhiyao chao* (Notes of the Essentials of the Ten Gates of Non-duality) which Qingshao had heard about but did not have a chance to read. See T46: 903c(11-13).

'Shanjia' and 'Shanwai' were not used by either side of the participants to identify one another.

In the polemical works *Shinan fuzongji* (Dissolving the Criticism to Defend the Truth)¹², *Shiyi shu* (The Letter on Ten Points of Truth)¹³, *Guanxin erbaiwen* (Two Hundred Questions Concerning the Contemplation of Mind)¹⁴ of Zhili (960-1028 C.E.),¹⁵ the supposed leader of the Shanjia group, he neither designates his opponents as Shanwai nor does he refer to his opponent as a group at all. In the *Shinan fuzongji*, Zhili addresses his opponent as (Yuan) Qing shi (master Qing) (d.997 C.E.).¹⁶ In *Guanxin erbaiwen*, Zhili

¹²The work is preserved in the *Siming renyue yishue zongshu* (A Collection of the Works of Heresy by Renyue of Siming) found in XZJ 95: 416a-420a.

¹³*Shiyi shu*, T46: 831-856.

¹⁴The full title of the work is *Fazhi yibian guanxin erbaiwen* (The Collection of Works Left by Fazhi: Two Hundred Questions Concerning the Contemplation of Mind) and is collected in T46: 824-831.

¹⁵Biography in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 8, T49: 191c(29)-194b(12), and *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 2, XZJ 130: 382b(1)-384c(8). See also the biographical source collected by his *dharma*-descendant Zongxia (1151-1214 C.E.) entitled *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu* (Record of the Teachings and Practice of the Venerable Master Siming). For a modern study on Zhili, see Ikeda Rosan, "Shimei chirei no shogai to chojutsu" *Toyo bunka kenkyujo kiyo* 100(1986): 195-247; and Chan chi-wah "Chili and the Formation of Orthodoxy".

¹⁶*Shinan fuzongji* XZJ95: 416a(12). No biography of
(continued...)

calls his opponent Shao Shangren (Reverend Shao)¹⁷ or simply, Shangren. In his *Shiyi shu*, the same expression, Shangren, is used when Zhili refers to his opponent.¹⁸

In the *Shiyi shu*, when referring to himself, Zhili never used the term 'Shanjia', rather he used *yijia* (literally one family) which can be rendered as "our school".¹⁹ Occasionally, Zhili used the expression 'Shanjia' to refer to his school. For instance, in an epilogue of his short essay "*Shi qingguanyin shu zhong xiaofu sanyong*" (An Explanation on the Three Kinds of Subduing Function as Found in the Commentary on the Sutra of Inviting the Guanyin), Zhili states,

(...continued)

Yuanqing survives. For an account on his teachings, see Chan chi-wah "Chili and the Formation of Orthodoxy", pp.90-100; and Ando Toshio, *Tendai shogu shisoron* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1973), pp.174-175.

¹⁷*Guanxin erbaiwen*, T46: 824a(7), 830c(26). Biography of Qingshao is found in the *Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 204b(26)-c(11); and *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 416c(17)-417a(14). For an account on his teachings, see Chan chi-wah "Chili and the Formation of Orthodoxy", pp.110-112; and Ando Toshio, *Tendai shogu shisoron*, pp.176-178.

¹⁸*Shiyi shu*, T46: 832a (17), (21).

¹⁹*Shiyi shu*, T46: 833b(18); 834a(12), b(9), c(5); 837c(9), (23); 840b(17); 841c(25); 843a(11); 845c(16); 848a(20); 850a(24); 851c(29); 853a(21); 854a(6). Although *yijia* were frequently used, occasionally *jinjia* 850b, and *jinzong* 856b, which both can be rendered as 'our school today', were used instead.

If one is confused about the teaching and meditation of the Shanjia, it would not be easy to explain this commentary.²⁰

Similarly, towards the end of his life, in two letters written to his two disciple, Zhili uses the expression 'Shanjia' to refer to his own school.²¹ There is no evidence, however, that in this usage of the term 'Shanjia' by Zhili, he was using the term as a counterpart to 'Shanwai'. It was used in Zhili's works as a general term which means 'school of the mountain' rather than 'home-mountain' versus 'off-mountain', and it is interchangeable with the term 'Tiantai school'. This usage of the term 'Shanjia' can be traced back to Zhanran (711-782 C.E.).²²

²⁰The essay was written with a preface dated the first year of Tianxi (i.e. 1017 C.E.) and is collected in the *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu*, fascicle 2, T46: 873a(20).

²¹*Siming fu menren (Chong)ju fashi shu* (A Letter to My Disciple dharma-master Chongju from Siming) T46: 905b(7) where Zhili writes "the doctrines and practices of Shanjia rely on you to promote and develop". *Siming fu menren Cong fashi tie* (A Letter to My Disciple Dharma-master Cong from Siming) T46: 907b(10) where Zhili told Juecong "once you study (the teaching of) Shanjia, you should be different from the other (schools). You should practice the noumenon and the phenomenon. Saving yourself as well as others." The above works are collected in *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu* (The Teachings and Conduct of the Venerable One of Siming), fascicle 5. Chongju's biography can be found in the *Fozutongji* fascicle 12, T49: 215a(26)-b(23), *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 6, XZJ 130: 424d(5)-425a(16). Juecong's biography is in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 12, T49: 216a(4-7).

²²Biography at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 7, T49: 188c(5)-
(continued...)

In his celebrated magnum opus, *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhongjue* (Extensive Teachings in the Form of a Commentary as an Aid to the Practice of (the Great) Concentration and Insight), Zhanran uses the term *Shanjia jiaomen* (the teachings of the School of the Mountain) to refer to the teachings of the Tiantai school in general.²³

The same usage was found in the works of Zhiyuan (976-1022 C.E.), the supposed spokesman for the Shanwai group.²⁴ In his early work *Jingangbei xianxinglu* (A Commentary on the Jingangbei of Zhanran), Zhiyuan uses the term 'Shanjia' three times, not in the sense of orthodoxy but in a neutral

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189b(24); *Shimen zhengtong* fascicle 2, XZJ 130: 377b(2)-379a(9). For a modern study on Zhanran, See Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the Tang Dynasty: Chanjan and the Sinification of Buddhism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1993); Hibi Nobumasa, *Todai tendaigaku kenkyu* (Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, 1975).

²³Zhanran, *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhongjue*, fascicle 1, part II, T46:151c.

²⁴See Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During T'ang", p.344; and koichi Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical essay: 'The Master of the Mean'" collected in Phyllis Granoff & Koichi Shinohara ed. *Other Selves: Autobiography and Biography in Cross-cultural Perspective* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1994) p.36. Both Penkower and Shinohara regard Zhiyuan as the major spokesman for the Shanwai faction. For a biographical study on Zhiyuan see chapter 3 & 4 of this dissertation.

sense referring to the Tiantai school as discussed above.²⁵ Again, in a quotation from Qingshao and Zhiyuan's works now lost titled *Bian'e* (Analyzing the Fallacy) in Zhili's *Siming shiyi shu*, we can find Qingshao and Zhiyuan's use of the term 'Shanjia' in a neutral sense.²⁶ Therefore, I believe that the term *Shanjia* was commonly used in Zhiyuan's time by the Tiantai followers to refer to their own school.²⁷ 'Shanjia' was a synonym of the term 'Tiantai school' used by all members of the school. In this connection, it is not surprising that Zhipan would include Zhiyuan's works in his list of works of the Shanjia faction--the "*Shanjia jiaodian*

²⁵*Jingangbei xianxinglu*, fascicle 2 & 4, XZJ 100: 260b, 267a, 281a.

²⁶*Siming shiyi shu* was written by Zhili in the year of 1006 C.E. Zhili's quotation is found in T46: 845b(15).

²⁷Corroborating evidence of this usage of the term are: Ciyun Zunshi's (963-1032 C.E.) usage in his *Tianzhu chanzhu shang simingfashi shu* (A Letter Submitted Respectfully by the Master of Repentance in Tianzhu to the Dharma-master in Siming) T46: 907a(3) as well as Renyue (992-1064 C.E.)'s usage in his *Shimen xinan shu* (Repudiating Criticism in Ten Sections). XZJ95: 407b(6) & 425x(14), and his *Zhiyi shu* (Cessation of Doubts) XZJ95: 425c(14). Both works of Renyue are collected under the title *Fazhi yibian* (The Works Left by Master Fazhi). See also Renyue's Preface to Zhili's *Jiangwei wenda sanshizhang* (Thirty Questions of dogma in our Camp) T46: 878a(1). Again, there was no evidence to show that Zunshi and Renyue was using the expression "Shanjia" as a counterpart to "Shanwai".

zhi"--contained in his *Fozu tongji*.²⁸ This probably reflects an early usage of the term 'Shanjia'. 'Shanjia jiaodian' means the texts of the Tiantai school rather than that of the Shanjia faction of the school.²⁹

There is, however, no reference to the term 'Shanwai' in any of Zhiyuan's existing works. Obviously the derogatory term 'Shanwai' would not be the term that the 'Shanwai' group would use to call themselves. The term 'Shanwai' does not appear in any of Zhili's works. According both to the *Fozu tongji* and the *Shimen zhengtong*, the Shanjia and Shanwai faction were formed after the seven years' (1000-1007 C.E.) debate on the authenticity of two existing versions of Zhiyi's commentary (*xuanyi*) on the *Jingguangming jing* (Sutra of Golden Light).³⁰ Zhipan, for instance, pointed out that after Zhili had written his

²⁸*Fozu tongji*, fascicle 26, T49:259b.

²⁹In the *Shimen zhengtong*, Zongjian prefers to use "Shanmen" (mountain-gate) instead of "Shanjia" as a neutral term referring to the Tiantai school. See XZJ 130: 357(b-c).

³⁰See the biography of Qingshao in *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 204c(9-10) and in *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ130: 417a(7-8). Both Zhipan and Zongjian state that the separation of Tiantai into "Shanjia" and "Shanwai" happened after the seven years debate and when Zhili wrote his *Shiyi shu* which summarized the issues in the debate.

Shiyishu (The Letter on Ten Points of Truth)³¹, the scholar in Siming started to refer to the teaching of (Wu)en, (Yuan)qing, (Qing)shao, and (Zhi)yuan as the Shanwai faction, which is a pejorative term.³²

The earliest appearance of the term 'Shanwai' in existing sources is found in the work of Fuzong Jizong (1012-1082 C.E.)³³, a second generation disciple of Zhili belonging to the line of Guangzhi Shangxian (fl. 1028 C.E.). In the postscript to his collection of letters exchanged between Zhili and the Chan master Tiantong (n.d.), *Tiantong siming wangfu shu houxu*, written in the third year of Xining (1070 C.E.), Jizong states that the main theme of Zhili's works, *Shibuermen Zhiyao chao* (Notes of the Essentials of the Ten Gates of Non-Duality), is to illustrate the teaching of contemplation on the deluded mind and to repudiate the views of the Shanwai group which were to contemplate on the True mind.³⁴ A similar claim was made by Yitang Fadeng

³¹*Shiyishu*, T46: 831-856.

³²*Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 204c(8-10).

³³Biography at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 13, T49: 217a(7)-b(3); *Shimen Zhengtong*, fascicle 6, XZJ 130: 428d(11)-429b(11).

³⁴The *Tiantong siming wangfu shu houxu* is collected in *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu*, fascicle 4, T46: 896c(1). For the issue of contemplation on the True mind versus on the
(continued...)

(fl.1194 C.E.), a dharma-descendant of Zhili belonging to the line of Guangzhi shangxian (fl.1028 C.E.).³⁵ In Fadeng's writing "*Yi zhongxing jiaoguan*" (On the Doctrine and Contemplation Expounded by Zhili that lead to the Mid-period Revival of the Tiantai School), a 'manifesto' of Zhili's orthodoxy, he contrasted the teaching of Shanjia and Shanwai and is consciously establishing Zhili as the 'mid-period' (*zongxing*) reviver of the teaching of the Tiantai school while downgrading the teaching of the so-called Shanwai group.³⁶ The main point of his short essay "*Yi zhongxing jiaoguan*" is to argue that Zhili is the 'mid-period' reviver of the Tiantai teaching precisely because he has revised the misunderstanding of the Tiantai teaching by the Shanwai faction. This was achieved in two theories of Zhili: (1) *Bieli suiyuan* (the distinct principle that accords condition). (2) *Wangguan* (Contemplation on the deluded mind). In his "*Yi zhongxing jiaoguan*", Fadeng speaks of the Shanwai faction (*Shanwai yipai*, *Shanwai*

(...continued)

deluded mind, see p.84ff of this dissertation.

³⁵See the lineage chart at *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle3, XZJ 130: 393a. Fadeng's biography is found in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 18, T49: 238b(19-28).

³⁶*Yi zhongxing jiaoguan* XZJ 101: 204b.

yizhong) as a distinct and independent organization. Zhili's role as a 'mid-period' reviver of the Tiantai school was also emphasized by a contemporary of Fadeng, Shizhi Zongxia (1151-1214 C.E.).³⁷ Zongxia was also a *dharma*-descendant of Zhili belonging to the line of Guangzhi shangxian and was the author of the celebrated work *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu* (Records of the Teachings and Practice of the Venerable Master Siming). Of special interest is an essay collected in Zongxia's *Jiaoxinglu* entitled "*Siming chuan chizhengfa wei ershijiudai zushi*" (Siming as the 29th (39th?) patriarch as he had transmitted the correct *dharma*).³⁸ In this essay, Zhili was established as a patriarch of the Tiantai school and the lineage was extended down to Mingzhi Zhongli (d.1115 C.E.).³⁹ The inclusion of

³⁷See his preface to the *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu* dated at 1202 C.E. in T49: 856b(8). Cf. his preface to the collection *Baoyun zhenzujì* (A Collection of Essays to Promote Patriarch Baoyun) collected as an appendix in the *jiaoxinglu* fascicle 7, T49: 928a(26). Biography of Zongxia can be found in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 18, T49: 239c(15)-240a(11).

³⁸*Jiaoxing lu* fascicle 6, T49: 915c(10)-916a(7). The essay gives Zhili as the 29th patriarch. This may represent a copyist's mistake (= for 三). As stated in the essay, there were 24 transmissions from Kasyapa to Aryasimha. If Kasyapa was the first patriarch after the Buddha, Zhili should be the 39th patriarch according to this lineage.

³⁹According to an interlineal note, probably written by
(continued...)

this essay into Zongxia's collection indicates his interest in Zhili's status of patriarch. Therefore, both Zongxia and Fadeng were interested in establishing the role of Zhili as a reviver of the school, thereby justifying his status of patriarch of the school.

We have shown that the terms Shanjia/ Shanwai were not used by either of the participants to identify one another during the doctrinal controversy. The terms were used in the works of Zhili's *dharma* descendants, probably first by Jizong. It is important to note that in Fadeng and Zongxia's works, the Shanjia and Shanwai debate was discussed in relation to their claim of Zhili's role of a 'mid-period' (*zongxing*) reviver of the orthodoxy legacy of Zhanran who had reclaimed the Tiantai teaching from the brink of extinction through the compiling of exegetical works. This role of 'mid-period' reviver, again, qualifies Zhili as a patriarch of the school. This suggests that the

(...continued)

Zongxia, the essay was based on the pagoda inscription of Mingzhi written by Chao Shuozhi. See T49: 916a(7). The inscription can be found in the *Fozutongji*, fascicle 50, T49: 444c(25)-445b(18). Chao was a disciple of Mingzhi Zongli. See the lineage chart at *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 3, XZJ 130: 393. Biography of Chao zhuozhi can be found in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 15, T49: 226a(11-16); *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 439b(11)-c(8). Biography of Mingzhi Zhongli is at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 14, T49: 220b(2)-c(13); *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 6, XZJ 130: 431a.

clear distinction of Shanjia/ Shanwai made by Zhili's *dharma* descendants is closely related to their endeavour to establish Zhili as a patriarch of their school.

The existence of a single patriarchal genealogy in the Tiantai school gives us the impression that there was a tradition of a single successor for each generation starting with the founder, thereby forming an unbroken line of transmission. In her dissertation, Linda Penkower has argued that it was only by the second half of the eighth century that Tiantai, along with its main competitors, Huayen and Chan, was developing a conscious awareness of itself as an independent school complete with founder and lineage.⁴⁰ Before that time, the early master-disciple relationship was not yet understood in the sense of a lineal transmission from one patriarch to another. More importantly, the notion of the selection of a single successor within Tiantai was not at issue.⁴¹

There was, however, a small piece of information found in the biography of Qineng (fl. 1009-1025 C.E.), a contemporary of Zhili, which supports the existence of a tradition of appointing a successor in the Tiantai school.

⁴⁰Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the Tang", p.282.

⁴¹Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", p.168.

In the biography of Qineng⁴², it is mentioned that there was a tradition in the Tiantai school of passing the censer and whisk of Zhiyi, the *de facto* founder of the school, from master to disciple as a sign of continuity of the lineage. The censer and whisk of Zhiyi were eventually passed to Qineng making fourteen generations from Zhiyi. The story goes on to tell that in his old age, Qineng tried to pass the censer and whisk to Fuzong Jizong (1012-1082 C.E.) who declined his offer because Jizong had received the *dharma* from Zhili's disciple, Guanzhi Shangxian (fl. 1050 C.E.). Qineng then stored the censer and whisk on mount Tiantai and the tradition of passing them, therefore, ceased. This tradition of passing the censer and whisk of Zhiyi recorded in Qineng's biography was not taken lightly by Zhipan. He added a long discussion of the tradition as an appendix at

⁴²*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 206c(26)-207a(14). Qineng was a disciple of Quoqing Zongyu (n.d.), a contemporary of Zhili and was a disciple of the twelfth patriarch Xiji (919-986 C.E.). Zongjian also mentions about the possession of Zhiyi's censer and whisk by Qineng in the biography of Yiji. See *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 2, XZJ 130: 381c(10-12). A parallel tradition in the Chan school is the handing down of the robe of Bodhidharma as a symbol of the transmission of the Chan teaching. According to the *Platform Sutra*, this practice ceased with the sixth patriarch. For a discussion on this practice in the Chan school, see P.B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp.27, 42-45, 112-113.

the end of Qineng's biography which is much longer than Qineng's biography itself. Zhipan writes,

The [number of] disciples of Luoxi [Xiji] exceeds a hundred. Yet in my work [i.e. the *Fozutongji*], [I] take Baoyun [Yitong] as Luoxi's senior disciple and do not mention the name of master [Zong]yu. [I] suspect that master Yu met Luoxi first, and therefore he received the censer and whisk. Baoyun went later and yet the *Dao* was widely spread because of him. Therefore, in my work, [I] make him the chief [disciple]. In this connection, the [possession of] censer and whisk does not count but the *Dao* does [in the matter of lineage]. The passing of our patriarch's censer and whisk, in the course of time, may go wrong. One may receive them because of relationship or as a result of one's own endeavour. This has nothing to do with the *Dao*....⁴³

The above serious discussion by Zhipan on the tradition of passing Zhiyi's censor and whisk indicates that the tradition was perceived as an important tradition at one time although it was later belittled by Zhili's *dharma*-descendants, especially those from the line of Guangzhi Shangxian from which Zhipan came. Unfortunately, there was no further information available which can help us to understand the exact nature and function of this tradition of passing the censor and whisk of Zhiyi. Stevenson's recent studies on the Song monastic culture may shed some light on the nature of this tradition of passing censor and whisk.⁴⁴

⁴³*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 206c(26)-207a(14).

⁴⁴Daniel Stevenson, "The Status of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan (continued...)"

According to Stevenson, there were three broad groups of monks within the Tiantai monasteries:⁴⁵

- (1) Full residents who did not formalize a master-student relationship with the Abbot.
- (2) *Rushi dizi* (those who not only did formalize a master-student relationship with the Abbot but also were given the privilege of entering the Abbot's quarters to seek personal instruction).
- (3) *Zhen rushi dizi* (true room-entering disciples who are promising *dharm*a-heirs and potential candidates for Abbots appointed by the Abbot).

That is to say, there was a tradition of appointing *dharm*a-heirs in the Song Tiantai community. In fact, we may find in the biographies of Zhili's disciples that Zhili often bestowed his censer, talisman-pearl (*ruyi*), and his *Uttarasanga* (upper garment of his robe) to his disciples. Zhili, for instance, passed a censer and talisman-pearl together with a letter (*Shouci*) to Zeijiao (n.d.) in the second year of Tianshan (1024 C.E.) on the occasion of

(...continued)
in the T'ien-t'ai tradition" collected in Neal Donner and Daniel B. Stevenson *The Great Calming and Contemplation*, pp.54-61.

⁴⁵Daniel Stevenson, "The Status of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan", p.54.

Zeijiao's becoming a teacher in a lecture hall.⁴⁶ Two years later (1026 C.E.), Zhili also bestowed his *Uttarasanga* and a censor, together with a letter to Wencan (n.d.), when Wencan accepted an invitation to preach at a temple.⁴⁷

Interestingly enough, Ciyun Zunshi gave Chongju (n.d.), a disciple of Zhili, a censor, a talisman-pearl as well as a letter upon Chongju's leaving Tianzhu.⁴⁸ The practice of Zhili's passing his censor and so forth to his disciples seems to be related to Stevenson's description of the appointing of *dharma* successors in the Song Tiantai community. The passing of Zhili's censors and so forth to his disciples symbolizes his sanction of the transmission of the Tiantai teachings. I believe, Zhili's passing of his censor and the like was a continuation of the practice of passing the censor and whisk of Zhiyi which is a symbolic

⁴⁶*Fozutongji*, Fascicle 12, T49: 215c(30).

⁴⁷*Fozutongji*, fascicle 12, T49: 216a(15).

⁴⁸See the biography of Chongju collected in *Fozutongji* fascicle 12, T49: 215b(12). Zhipan explains at the end of the biography of Chongju that Zunshi treated Chongju as his nephew and that Chongju was mistakenly placed under Ciyun Zunshi as his disciples in the past which was corrected by (Zong)jian. In the biography of Xianrun (fl. 1007-1025), it is also mentioned that before his death, Qingshao had passed his censor and whisk to Xianrun. See *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 417b(9); & *Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 205b(17).

action of appointing *dharma* successors. It is unclear whether the passing of Zhiyi's censor and whisk was meant to appoint a single successor. In the case of Zhili, the passing of his censor and the like was not exclusively to one disciple but to a few selected disciples. The existence of a tradition of passing Zhiyi's censor and whisk seems to have posed a threat to Zhili's disciples who were seeking to establish Zhili as a patriarch. This is because it suggests a lineage which gives Zongyu as a *dharma* heir to Xiji (919-986 C.E.)⁴⁹

Zhanran....Xiji---Zongyu---Qineng

According to Zhipan's comments found at the end of Qineng's biography,⁵⁰ the lineage was replaced to give Yitong (931-988 C.E.)⁵¹ as Xiji's successor:

(Zhanran....Yiji---Yitong---Zhili....Zhipan)

The new formulation of the Tiantai lineage by replacing Zongyu by Yitong was in favour of Zhili since he was a disciple of Yitong. In the interlineal note at the end of

⁴⁹Biography at *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 8, T49: 190c(11)-191b(9); *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 2, XZJ 130: 381a(13)-c(12).

⁵⁰*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 206c(26)-207a(14). See also footnote 43 of this dissertation.

⁵¹Biography at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 8, T49: 191b(10)-c(20); *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 2, 381c(13)-382a(17).

Qineng's biography, Zhipan downplays the lineage of passing Zhiyi's censor and whisk by placing emphasis on the transmission of teachings over the transmission of pledges. More interesting is that in the *Fozutongji* the disciples of Qineng were eventually all transferred under the line of Zhili. Jizong to whom Qineng was prepared to pass Zhiyi's censor and whisk, would formerly have been a disciple of Qineng although it was not mentioned in his biography.⁵² This is because the passing of the censor and whisk of Zhiyi was described as a *Dichuan* (transmission to disciple of a master of direct line) and therefore was only done between master and disciple.⁵³ Another disciple of Qineng, Shenwu (Chu)Qian (1000-1075 C.E.), was said to have first left the household under Qineng when he was nine and later studied under Ciyun Zunshi who admired him very much. Chuqian later also studied under Shenzhao Benru (982-1051 C.E.) and was enlightened concerning the Perfect teaching. Eventually Chuqian returned to his home town and succeeded to Qineng's the place of Qineng.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Chuqian was placed by Zhipan under Benru as his disciple in *Fozutongji*.

⁵²Jizong's biography can be found in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 13, T49: 217a(6)-b(3).

⁵³*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 206c(29).

⁵⁴*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49:206c(29).

Similarly, Jizong was placed by Zhipan under Shangxian as his disciples. This arrangement virtually strips Qineng of any *dharma*-inheritance.⁵⁵ I believe this is part of Zhipan's plan to reformulate the lineage narrative of the Tiantai school.

Another indication of the existence of a competing lineage is found in the biography of two little known Tiantai masters Haoduan (890-961 C.E.) and his teacher Xuanzhu (fl. 890 C.E.), who were placed under the section of unclear lineage in the *Fozutongji*.⁵⁶ In the three-line biography of Xuanzhu, it was mentioned that Xuanzhu transmitted the doctrine in the capital where he attracted several hundred followers and, more importantly, he was given the venerable title of tenth patriarch, that is a successor of Zhanran. Haoduan was the disciple of Xuanzhu. In Haoduan's biography, it was again mentioned that his teacher Xuanzhu was regarded as the tenth patriarch by his contemporaries. What is important about this designation of the status of patriarch to Xuanzhu is that in the biography of Wu'en (912-986 C.E.) as found in the *Song gaosengzhuan*, Haoduan was

⁵⁵See the lineage chart at *Fozutongji*, fascicle 24, T49: 253 & 254.

⁵⁶*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 413d-414a

given as the teacher of Wuen.⁵⁷ As we know, it is from Wuen that we have the line of the so-called Shanwai transmission. It is also important to note that Haoduan was grouped together with Wuen, Zhiyuan, Qingshao and so forth who are all the members of the Shanwai group in the *Hofu fuchi zhuan* (subsidiary biographies section) in the *Shimen zhengtong*.⁵⁸

Penkower in her unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation has convincingly argued that Xuanzhu, Haoduan and Wuen belong to a Tiantai Northern Communities as a counterpart to the Guoqing si community in mount Tiantai.⁵⁹ Penkower has also pointed out that in terms of numbers of disciples and prestige, the Xianzhu's group were far more influential than the Guoqing si community. Stevenson also speaks of two long-standing and vital centres of Tiantai teaching in addition to the one on mount Tiantai in Southeast China -- one in Yuquan monastery in Hubei, the other in the Tang capital of Changan including mount Wutai to the north.⁶⁰

⁵⁷*Song gaosengzhuan*, fascicle 7, T50: 751c(27).

⁵⁸*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 413c-417b.

⁵⁹Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", pp.345-346.

⁶⁰Dan Stevenson, "Status in T'ien-t'ai Tradition", p.43.

Therefore, there was evidence to show that there were competing lineage narratives competing with the one that comes to us through the *Fozutongji* and the *Shimen zhengtong*. The alternative lineage that we have just mentioned was:

Zhanran---Xanzhu---Haoduan---Wuen

As pointed out by Penkower,⁶¹ the Shanwai faction traced their lineage directly back to Zhanran, ignoring all successors of Zhanran. This is evident in a letter from Qingshao written to Zhili where he refers to his generation as the tenth generation while that of Zhanran as the ninth one.⁶² In this connection, we can understand why Stevenson has argued that,

Even during the Song period -- the heyday of patriarchal genealogies such as the *Fozutongji* -- Tiantai remained a dispersed tradition organized around a plurality of semiautonomous master-disciple *dharma* successions (*sifa*). As best as we can tell, this state of affairs was typical of earlier periods as well.⁶³

We have shown that a distinction between Shanjia/Shanwai was not drawn during the doctrinal controversy. The terms Shanjia and Shanwai were not used by either of the participants during the doctrinal controversy. Therefore,

⁶¹Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", p.343.

⁶²*Qiantang shaojiangzhu shang simingfashi shu* collected in *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu*, fascicle 5, T49: 903b(4-5).

⁶³Daniel Stevenson, "The Status of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan in the T'ien-t'ai Tradition", p.40.

there was neither a Shanjia group nor a Shanwai group as such during the controversy. They were formed years after the controversy. The two terms represent not so much an actual organization or branch of the school as labels given by later Tiantai followers, notably Zhili's *dharma*-descendants, to indicate their doctrinal judgement on earlier followers. We have also suggested that their doctrinal discussion was actually closely related to the formation of the orthodox lineage among a few competing lineage claims within the school. The distinction between Shanjia/ Shanwai was used to justify the orthodox lineage claim of Zhili's group. Zhili's *dharma*-descendants were using the doctrinal controversy to establish Zhili's status of patriarch.

If our hypothesis is correct, it calls for a re-examination of the image of Zhiyuan as a Shanwai leader. The rigid characterization of the doctrinal controversy of the Tiantai school in terms of two factions, by using such terms as Shanjia/ Shanwai, may have prevented modern scholars from taking an impartial view of the historical reality of the controversy. Such a division of the two groups has also blurred the contribution that the Shanwai members made both to the Tiantai school and to Chinese Buddhism at large. Omatsu Hironori, therefore, has proposed

replacing the terms orthodoxy and heresy with the terms conservative and liberal when discussing the Shanjia and Shanwai debate of the Tiantai school.⁶⁴

This dissertation is an attempt to provide a more sympathetic understanding of the Shanwai faction of the Tiantai school. We will focus on one person, Zhiyuan who, according to the traditional view, was an important member of the Shanwai faction. In the Shanwai faction, the largest surviving body of works is that of Zhiyuan.⁶⁵ This makes the systematic study of him possible.⁶⁶

Our re-examination of Zhiyuan will proceed in three steps:

- (1) An investigation of the Shanjia/ Shanwai debate from the point of view of Zhiyuan. This is done by a close study of Zhiyuan's important commentarial work entitled

⁶⁴See Omatsu Hironori, "Sodai Tendai Gaku to Shu ryozonkyo" in *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu* 37 (December 1988):125.

⁶⁵For a list of Zhiyuan's works, see pp.185-187 (Table of his subcommentaries) and also pp. 197-199 (Table of his ten commentaries) of this dissertation.

⁶⁶A pioneering study of Zhiyuan is found in Koichi Shinohara's recent essay "Zhiyuan's autobiographical essays 'The Master of the Mean'" in P. Granoff & K. Shinohara ed., *Other Selves: Autobiography and Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1994), pp.35-72.

Jing angbei xianxinglu (Record on the Manifestation of the Nature stated in the *Diamond Spear*).⁶⁷

- (2) An investigation of the image of Zhiyuan in his biographies written both by Buddhists and non-Buddhists. We shall see that Zhiyuan was never presented as a leader of the Shanwai faction in any of his biographies nor is there any reference to his involvement in the Shanjia/ Shanwai debate. The image of Zhiyuan in his biographies is that he was a learned monk with remarkable literary skills.
- (3) An investigation of his life around three different themes based on his autobiographical essays in his *Xianjubian* (Writing Compiled in Retirement). The three themes are i) Confucian theme, ii) Buddhist theme, and iii) the theme of his ill health. Zhiyuan was involved in a literary movement known as *Guwen* style of writing (Ancient writing) which is Confucian in orientation. The Confucian aspect of his life was mainly expressed in his literary theory which we shall examine in some detail. The Buddhist aspect of his life will be reconstructed mainly on the basis of the information as found in his collection of essays and poems, the

⁶⁷XZJ 100:256ff.

Xianjubian. Finally we shall study how Zhiyuan dealt with his chronic disease.

II. The Issues of the Debate Between Zhili's Group with
Wu'en's Group as Understood by Zhiyuan

The earliest account of the narrative of the debate between Zhili's group and Wu'en's group is found in the preface to Zhili's polemic works the *Shiyishu* (The Ten Exposition)⁶⁸ written by Zhili's spiritual descendant Jizong (1012-1082 C.E.) eighty years after the debate. A later account can be seen in the sectarian history of the Tiantai school, the *Shimen zhengtong*,⁶⁹ compiled by Zongjian (fl. 1237-1241 C.E.). The account is found in the biography of Zhili and briefly in Qingshao's biography; both are collected in the *Shimen zhengtong*⁷⁰. A similar account can be seen in the biography of Zhili written by Zhipan (fl.1258-1269 C.E.) in his celebrated *Fozutongji*⁷¹ and briefly in the biography of Qingshao written also by

⁶⁸*Shiyishu*, T46: 831a-856a.

⁶⁹*Shimen zhengtong* in 8 fascicles was collected in XZJ130: 357-463.

⁷⁰Zhili's biography is found in *Shimen zhengtong* fascicle 2, XZJ130: 383a-b; and Qingshao's biography is in fascicle 5 of the same work, XZJ130: 417a.

⁷¹*Fozutongji* fascicle 8, T49: 192b-193b.

Zhipan.⁷² The problem with these accounts is that they were written by members of Zhili's group and therefore represent their views. The modern Japanese scholar, Shimaji Daito, has reconstructed the "Shanjia and Shanwai" debate into four issues.⁷³ Based on his studies, the debate can be summarized into the following four charts:

- (1) Issue: Authenticity of two existing versions
(shorter/ extended) of the *Jing Guangming jing xuanji* (Commentary on the Scripture of Golden Light) by Zhiyi

Text: *Jing Guangming jing xuanyi* (T39: 1-12)

Wu'en	Zhili
<p><i>Jing Guangming jing xuanji</i> <i>fahuiji</i> (Exhaustive Clarification of the Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Golden light)</p>	<p><i>Shinan fuzongji</i> (Dissolving the Critics to Defend the Truth) (XZJ 95: 382a-432b)</p>

⁷²*Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 204b-c.

⁷³Shimaji Daito *Tendai kyogaku shi* (Kyoto: Ryubun kan, 1986), pp.182-210.

Yuanqing/ Hongmin <i>Nanci</i> (Rebutting Argument)	Zhili <i>Wenyi shu</i> (A Letter to Question the Doubts)
Qingshao/ Zhiyuan <i>Bian'e</i> (Analyzing the Fallacy)	Zhili <i>Jienan shu</i> (A Letter to Counter-question the Criticism)
Qingshao <i>Dayi shu</i> (An Answer to the Letter of Questioning the Doubts)	Zhili <i>Wenyi shu</i> (A Letter to Question the Doubts)
Qingshao <i>Wuyi shu</i> (A Letter of Five Exposition)	Zhili <i>Fuwen shu</i> (A Letter of Second Question)
Qingshao <i>Shiwen shu</i> (A Letter to Resolve the Questioning of Doubts)	Zhili <i>Shiyi shu</i> (The Ten Exposition) (T46:831a-856a)

<p>Qingshao</p> <p><i>Da shiyi shu</i> (The Response to the Letter on Ten Points)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Guanxin erbai wen</i> (Two Hundred Questions on the Contemplation of the Mind) (T46: 824a-831a)</p>
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(2) Issue: The distinct principle that responds to causation

Text: *Shibuermen* (Twelve Gates on Non-duality) by Zhanran (T46: 702-704)

<p>Jiqi</p> <p><i>Zhilan</i> (Pointing Out Mistakes)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Shibuermen zhiyao chao</i> (Notes on the Essentials the Ten Gates of Non-duality) (T46: 704-721)</p>
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<p>Yuanying</p> <p><i>Zhengjue</i> (Soliciting a Resolution)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Bieli suiyuan ershiwen</i> (Twenty Questions on the Distinct Principle that Responds to Causation) (T46: 874c-76c)</p>
<p>Zixuan</p> <p><i>Xuyuanpu</i> (On Searching for the Meaning of Responding to Causation)</p>	<p>Renyue</p> <p><i>Shimen shinan</i> (Resolving Challenges on the Issue of Responding to Causation in Distinct Doctrine) (XZJ 95: 407-415)</p>

(3) Issue: Poison of Principle and innate evil

Text: *Qing guanyin jingshu* (Commentary on the Scripture of the Incantation that Invokes the Bodhisattva Guanyin to Dissipate Poison and Harm) by Zhiyi (T39: 968-977)

<p>Zhiyuan</p> <p><i>Qing guanyin Jingshu chanyichao</i> (Notes on the Elucidation of the Commentary on the Scripture of the Incantation that Invokes the Bodhisattva Guanyin to Dissipate Poison and Harm) (T39: 977-1004)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Shi qing guanyin jingshu zhong xiaofu sanyong</i> (An Explanation on the Threefold Function of Dissipation as Expounded in the Commentary on the Scripture of the Incantation that Invokes the Bodhisattva Guanyin to Dissipate Poison and Harm) (T46: 872a-873a)</p>
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<p>Xianran</p> <p><i>Qianyi</i> (A Note to Express Doubts)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Dui chanyichao ban sanyong yi shijiuwen</i> (Nineteen Questions on the Discussion of the Threefold Functions in the Notes on the Elucidation of the Commentary on the Scripture of the Incantation that Invokes the Bodhisattva Guanyin to Dissipate Poison and Harm) (T46: 873a-874b)</p>
	<p>Jingyue Renyue</p> <p><i>Zhiyi</i> (To Stop the Doubts) (XZJ 95: 420-425)</p>

(4) Issue: The three thousand worlds are inherent in the form

Text: *Guan wuliangshou jingshu miaozong chao*
 (Treatise on the Subtle Teaching Expounded in the Scripture on contemplating the Buddha of Longevity) by Zhili (T37: 195-233)

<p>Xianrun</p> <p><i>Zhixia</i> (On Pointing out the Flaws)</p>	<p>Zhili</p> <p><i>Guan wuliangshou jingshu miaozong chao</i> (Treatise on the Subtle Teaching Expounded in the Scripture on contemplating the Buddha of Longevity) (T37: 195-233)</p>
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	<p>Renyue</p> <p><i>Jumeo shu</i> (A Treatise of Piercing the Membrane of the Eyes) (XZJ 95: 425a-432b)</p>
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Shimaji had basically followed the description of the debate as found in the writings of Zhili's group mentioned above. As we can see from the charts, each issue of the debate has to do with a specific text, and polemic essays were exchanged between the two factions. All of the essays listed above which belong to Wu'en's group were lost except the *Qing guanyin jingshu chanyichao* (Notes on the elucidation of the Commentary of the Scripture of Invoking the Bodhisattva Guanyin) of Zhiyuan. In addition to Zhiyuan's work, Yuanqing's *Fahua shimiao buermen shizhuzhi* (The Exposition on the Essential Meaning of the Ten Wondrous Gates of Non-duality of the Lotus)⁷⁴, which is not listed above and, which Zhili criticized inexplicitly in his *Shi buermen zhiyaochao* also survives today. On the other hand,

⁷⁴XZJ100: 108-140.

most of the essays written by Zhili's group survive. This perhaps partly explains why there were more studies on Zhili's group than on Wu'en's group.⁷⁵ The views of Wu'en's group were usually reconstructed by using the occasional quotation from their writings found in the polemic works of Zhili's group such as the *Shiyishu* (Ten Expositions) of Zhili. A reconstruction of someone's views through the eyes of his opponents always brings the danger of misrepresentation or even distortion of someone's view.

In this chapter we will, therefore, try to reconstruct the views of Zhiyuan on the issues he debated with Zhili by using his own writings. We will try not only to reconstruct Zhiyuan's views on the issues as defined by Zhili and his associates but also as defined by Zhiyuan himself. Although none of Zhiyuan's polemic works written for the purpose of debating survive,⁷⁶ in his *Jingangbei xianxinglu* (Record on

⁷⁵Some of the recent studies in English on Zhili, for instance, are: Chan Chi-Wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy"; Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai philosophy of Non-duality: A Study in Chanjan and Chih-li"; Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17.1 (1994):26-65. Another Ph.D. Dissertation on Zhili has recently been completed by Dan Getz of Yale University entitled "Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty". See also the recent book of the Chinese Tiantai monk Shi Huiyue *Zhili* (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi), 1995.

⁷⁶According to the traditional narrative of the
(continued...)

the Manifestation of the Nature Stated in the *Diamond Scalpel*)⁷⁷ Zhiyuan picked up a few issues to comment on repeatedly and passionately. Zhiyuan did not name his opponent. He criticized his opponent's view as 'someone' (*youren*)⁷⁸ or as 'other' (*Taren*)⁷⁹ but we can identify the person by reading his discussion of the issues in the light of Zhili's *Shiyishu* (The Ten Expositions), Zhili's famous ten-point refutation of Yuanqing and Qingshao's views. In the following, I will outline (A) the issues as discussed by Zhiyuan in his *Jingangbei xianxinglu* in order of their appearance and (B) the issue of the debate mentioned in his *Qing guanyin jingshu chanyichao* (An Elucidation in a Commentary on the Scripture of Invoking Guanyin).

(...continued)

"Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate, there were two polemic works attributed to Zhiyuan: one is the joint work with Qingshao, namely the *Bian'e* (Analyzing the Fallacy); the other is the *Jingguangming xuanyi biaoweiiji* (A Subtle Exposition on the Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Golden Light). Both are now lost. See Shimaji Daito, *Tendai Kyogaku shi*, pp. 186-187.

⁷⁷The *Jingangbei xianxinglu* (Hereafter quoted as the *xianxinglu*) in 4 fascicles is collected in XZJ100: 249-291.

⁷⁸*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 253C(15). In fascicle 4, 280d(14), Zhiyuan uses another expression "jinren" or the contemporary to name his opponent.

⁷⁹*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ 100: 253d(1), 254b(3), 254d(10), and fascicle 3, 276a(17).

(A) Issues of the debate mentioned in the *Jingangbei*
xianxinglu

Issue 1 : Whether Contemplation on the mind includes both its creation in terms of principle (*lizao*) and creation in terms of phenomena (*shizao*).⁸⁰

This issue was raised by Zhiyuan when he was commenting on the sentence "the sacred and the profane are seen as unity, colour and scent as exhausted" in Zhanran's *Jingangbei*.⁸¹ While the writings of Zhanran were written mostly in the form of commentaries to Zhiyi's work, the *Jingangbei* is an exception: it was written by Zhanran in the form of treatise. The *Jing angbei* was a short treatise written towards the end of Zhanran's life the purpose of which was to provide a theoretical justification for his celebrated theory of insentient beings possessing Buddha

⁸⁰Zhiyuan discussed the issue in the following places of his *Xianxinglu*:

- (1) Fascicle 1 XZJ100: 235d(2)
- (2) Fascicle 1 XZJ100: 260b(11-12)
- (3) Fascicle 3 XZJ100: 270a(18)-b(1)
- (4) Fascicle 3 XZJ100: 273a(16)
- (5) Fascicle 4 XZJ100: 285a(11-12)

⁸¹*Jingangbei* T46: 781a(19-20). For an English translation of the text, see Linda Penkower *T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty*, p.388.

nature (*wuqing yu foxing*).⁸² Zhanran presented his argument by adopting *Tathagata-garbha* and Huayen terminologies such as the idea of 'Suchness is immutable and yet responds to causation' (*zhenru bubian suiyuan*).⁸³ This leads some scholars like Hibi to believe that Zhanran had abandoned the Tiantai doctrine of reality in favour of Huayen idea of dependent co-arising.⁸⁴ Most scholars, however, believe that Zhanran's treatise was written as an attack to the Huayen teachings represented by those of the Huayen masters Fazang (643-712 C.E.) and Chengguan (738-839 C.E.).⁸⁵

Let us go back to the issue of whether Contemplation on the mind includes both its creation in terms of principle (*lizao*) and creation in terms of phenomena (*shizao*). The

⁸²For a brief remarks on Zhanran's theory see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", pp. 361-381.

⁸³For a discussion of the idea of Suchness responds to causation (*zhenru suiyuan*), see pp.53-57 of this dissertation.

⁸⁴Hibi Sensho, *Todai Tendaigaku josetsu: Tannen no chosaku ni kansuru kenkyu* (Tokyo: Sankibo busshorin, 1975), pp.1-2.

⁸⁵See the discussion by Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", p.368. For a study on Fazang, see Liu Ming-Wood, "The Teaching of Fa-*tsang*: An Examination of Buddhist Metaphysics", (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979). For a study on Chengguan, see Jitsugen Kobayashi, "Chokan kyogaku no kenkyu: Kegon kanmon no tenkai to kyogaku no henshen" *Ryukoku daigaku ronshu* 377 (1964): 83-136.

issue has to do with the spiritual cultivation of the Tiantai school known as Contemplation of the Mind (*Guanxin*). Like most of the issues debated between Zhili's group and Wu'en's group, this issue arises from different interpretations of Zhanran's writing. It can be traced to Zhanran's discussion of the Contemplation of Mind in his *Zhiguan yili* where he describes Contemplation of Mind in two steps: Contemplation on the inner mind first and then the Contemplation on the external world.⁸⁶

For Zhiyuan, this distinction of two steps in Contemplation of Mind is unnecessary for "all *dharma*s are the transformation of the mind."⁸⁷ It is because of the emphasis on this mind that the *Moho zhiguan* teaches us to use the mind as the focus for contemplation. Zhiyuan expressed his viewpoint in a pair of terminology coined by Zhanran: (a) creation in terms of principle (*lizao*) and (b) creation in terms of phenomena (*shizao*). According to Zhiyuan, Contemplation of the mind includes its creation in terms of principle and creation in terms of phenomena. These two kinds of creation by the mind comes from Zhanran's *Zhiguan fuxing chuan hunjue* (Delineation for Supporting

⁸⁶*Zhiguan yili*, T46: 452a(22-24).

⁸⁷*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 253a(5-8).

Practice and Broadly Disseminating the (great) Calming and Contemplation).⁸⁸ If I understand correctly Zhanran's two kinds of creation by the mind, the creation by the mind in terms of principle which Zhanran equated with 'inherent inclusion' (*ju*)⁸⁹ means the un-manifested potentiality of the phenomenal world inherent in the mind. Whenever Zhanran spoke of the creation by the mind, he was quick to point out that this creation is in fact an inherent inclusion.⁹⁰ That is to say the universe as a creation of the mind is not an artificial creation as a result of some action but a mere manifestation of the mind's potential already present there within the mind.⁹¹ The creation of the mind in terms of

⁸⁸*Zhiguan fuxing chuan hongjue* (Hereafter quoted as *fuxing*), fascicle 5, part III, T46: 293a(8-18). cf. the translation by Ra Lang-eun, "T'ien-t'ai philosophy of non-duality", p.223.

⁸⁹*Ibid.* *Ju* is a short form of *xingju* (inherent in nature) which is the doctrine of all phenomenal *dharmas* are inherent to the Buddha nature. I have followed the translation of the word *ju* by Brook Ziporyn. See his article, "Anti-Chan Polemic in Post Tang Tiantai", pp.26-41.

⁹⁰Zhanran spoke of the mind creation in the following works: *Jingangbei* T46: 782c(7-12); *Zhiguan yili* T46: 452a(22-24); *Shibuermen* T46: 703a(23-27); *Zhiguan dayi* T46: 460a(22-24).

⁹¹On the Tiantai teaching of the three thousand realms as expression of the mind's own original inclusiveness rather than a new *dharmas* of artificial creation, see the discussion by Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", p.256.

phenomena means the phenomenal world in its actuality. By saying that the contemplation of mind includes the two kinds of creation of the mind, Zhiyuan wanted to emphasize that the contemplation of the mind includes already the contemplation of the phenomenal world as the phenomenal world comes originally from the mind. The view of Zhiyuan implies that the two steps of contemplation of the mind as expounded by Zhanran would be unnecessary.

Zhiyuan makes the accusation that 'somebody' interpreted the 'Contemplation on the inner mind' as contemplating the inner mind with its inherent creation in terms of principle only but not its creation in terms of phenomena. Zhiyuan writes,

Somebody based himself on [the teaching of] two creation: creation in terms of principle and creation in terms of phenomenon in the *Fuxing*⁹² and the [teaching of] going through [phenomena] with the purified mind in the *Yili*⁹³, and claimed to be interpreting according to [our school's] teaching. While [acknowledging] everything is but the mind, [he claimed that] when cultivating meditation, [one] only contemplates the internal mind [with] its inherent creation in terms of the principle but not its creation in terms of phenomenon. To cultivate internal

⁹²The full title of the text is *Zhiguan fuxing chuan hongjue* (Delineation for Supporting Practice and Broadly Disseminating (the Great) Calming and Contemplation). The teaching of two creations by the mind is found in T46: 293a(7-9) .

⁹³*Zhiguan yili* (Selected Topics form the Great Calming and Contemplation), T46:452a(25) .

meditation is to prevent the mind being attracted outwardly. To cultivate external meditation is to prevent the mind being attracted inwardly. When cultivating the internal meditation, one should wait until the principle is revealed within the inner mind, then one applies the principle revealed in the purified mind to the external phenomena.⁹⁴

Zhiyuan therefore accused 'someone's' views as incorrect.⁹⁵

Based on Zhiyuan's discussion of his opponent view, we can identify the subject of his criticism as Zhili. In his *Shiyishu*, Zhili mentions a similar debate between himself and Qingshao,

Again your reverence [Qingshao] insists on challenging [my saying] that "to cultivate internal meditation is to prevent the mind being attracted outwardly and to cultivate the external meditation is to prevent the mind being attracted inwardly." as making a strict distinction of internal and external, and is therefore not a perfect and harmonious [teaching]... This is because your reverence does not know that the distinction of internal and external is no distinction [ultimately] and yet [we] make a distinction [provisionally]... In cultivating the internal

⁹⁴*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 253d(1-5)

⁹⁵Zhiyuan made six charges against 'someone's' views:

- (1) Circumvention of the Profane (i.e. phenomenal) since the profane was not included in the contemplation according to 'somebody'.
 - (2) Defaming of the worthies whose teaching is the harmony between phenomena and noumena.
 - (3) Submitting to ignorance since he insists on the distinction of internal/ external.
 - (4) Drawing further apart from the enlightenment which is the all inclusiveness of the mind.
 - (5) Contradicting the texts (of our school) where his teaching could not be found.
 - (6) Misunderstanding the meaning of the text he quoted.
- See *Xianxinglu* fascicle 1, XZJ100: 254b(7-10).

meditation, [one] first applies [one's] wondrous understanding that all external *dharmas* are condensed to the internal mind, then one contemplates the nature of three thousand worlds solely within the mind.... In cultivating external meditation, it is like contemplating on [any given speck of] dust. [One] should also first apply [one's] wondrous understanding of internal mind and all *dharmas* are condensed to a dust, one then contemplates all *dharmas* solely in that dust.⁹⁶

Although Zhili did not use the expression of creation in terms of principle or phenomena, his discussion of the two steps of Contemplation of Mind is remarkably similar to Zhiyuan's description of his opponent. This leads me to believe that Zhiyuan's opponent was indeed Zhili.

In the form of an answer to an imagined questioner, Zhiyuan presented his own position on the issue. The imagined questioner questioned Zhiyuan's claim of Contemplation on the Creation in terms of principle already includes the contemplation on the creation in terms of phenomena since Zhanran in his *Yili* clearly teaches the two steps of contemplation: contemplation of our mind and then on all *dharmas*. Zhiyuan's answer was:

[Zhanran teaches us] to contemplate on the inner mind first because the material form of dependent environment and primary constituents are all created by the mind. The whole is the mind. Therefore, to contemplate only that the three thousand realms are inherent in [our] inner mind includes everything... If we realize that the three thousand worlds are inherent

⁹⁶*Shiyishu* T46: 837a(11-12), (20-21), (26-27).

in the mind, then, when we look at the realm of phenomenon, the dependent environment and primary constituents of us, living beings, and the Buddha, all do not go beyond our mind.⁹⁷

Here Zhiyuan did not answer the question directly about the two steps of contemplation as taught by Zhanran. He simply pointed out that the main point of Zhanran's teaching lies in his teaching us to cultivate contemplation on our mind first. This indicates Zhanran's emphasis on the mind over the phenomena. It is because everything are inherent in the mind that Zhanran taught us to contemplate on our mind first. Zhiyuan then argued that since everything are inherent in the mind, the contemplation of the mind includes the contemplation of phenomena.

The debate between Zhiyuan and Zhili on the necessity of the two steps of contemplation of the mind comes from their different understanding of the mind. The understanding of the mind according to Zhiyuan can be summarized in four parts:

- (1) There is no realm apart from the mind (*Xinwai wujing*).⁹⁸
- (2) Both object and subject (*Yizheng*) are created by the mind. The whole is the mind. All existence is

⁹⁷*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 254a(7-12).

⁹⁸*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 250a(8).

inherent in the nature of the mind which creates all.⁹⁹

(3) The three thousand realms are completely inherent in the mind.¹⁰⁰

(4) All the outside forms are all in our mind.¹⁰¹

Zhiyuan's teaching of the mind can be described as the 'mind-only' teaching which, according to Zhiyuan, is the highest form of teaching.¹⁰² The 'mind-only' teaching is the main thread which runs through Zhiyuan's teaching. The 'mind only' teaching can be found explicitly in Zhanran's writing.¹⁰³ Zhiyuan took a literal interpretation on the 'mind-only' teaching of Zhanran and regarded it as the highest teaching of the school. Zhili, on the other hand, though acknowledging the mind-only teaching in the Tiantai school, rejected the assigning of special status to the

⁹⁹*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 251b(9) & 254a(11).

¹⁰⁰*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 2, XZJ 100: 266b(16).

¹⁰¹*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 272b(6).

¹⁰²*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 250a(7-8).

¹⁰³See for instance Zhanran *Zhiguan dayi*, T46: 460a(23) where he claims that all the forms are created from the mind and all the forms are the mind. See also his *Zhiguan yili*, T46: 452a(23) where he says that the ten thousand *dharma*s are but the mind (i.e. *weixin* or mind-only). Also in his *Jingangbei*, T46: 782c(7), Zhanran tells us that without the teaching of 'mind-only', all the great teachings become useless.

mind. Zhili interpreted the statements about the primacy of mind in Zhanran and Zhiyi as expedient devices. The mind is closest and is the most accessible to the practitioner and therefore it is chosen as the starting point for effective religious cultivation.¹⁰⁴

Zhili and Zhiyuan's different attitudes towards the mind-only teaching can be demonstrated by their contrasting statements on the 'mind-only' teaching as found in Zhanran's *Jingangbei*. In his preface to his commentary on *Jingangbei*, Zhiyuan explains the main theme of Zhanran's work as reducing all existence into one's mind.¹⁰⁵ In other words the main theme of *Jingangbei* as understood by Zhiyuan is its 'mind-only' teaching: to subsume all existence into one mind. Zhili in his *Shiyishu*, when he mentions the teaching of 'three thousand realms inherent in the mind' as found in the *Jingangbei*, comments that the teaching of material form as identical to the mind is for the purpose of arguing for the possession of the Buddha nature by

¹⁰⁴For a study on Zhili's position on the teaching of the mind, see Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.33 and p.42; Paul L. Swanson, *Foundations of T'ien-t'ai Philosophy: The Flowering of the Two Truths Theory in Chinese Buddhism* (Berkeley: Berkeley Asian Humanities Press, 1989), p.135; and Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.80, note 42.

¹⁰⁵Xianxinglu, fascicle 1, XZJ100 249a(3-4).

insentient beings and it is for the benefit of the beings of lower realm.¹⁰⁶ Zhili, while acknowledging the 'mind-only' teaching in Zhanran's *Jingangbei*, insists that 'mind-only' teaching was only an expedient teaching which is to serve the purpose of liberating the beings in the lower realms who have strong attachment to the material forms. In his *Zhiyaochao*, Zhili criticized the 'mind-only' teaching as found in Yuanqing's teaching,

They [Yuanqing and his disciples] directly point to the *dharm*a of mind and call it principle [i.e. the absolute]; they do not point to [all] phenomena as being identical with principle. Only because the two phenomena, sentient beings and Buddhas, are reduced to mind do they call them identical to principle. For each of them [Yuanqing and his disciples], *dharm*as do not, immediately, possess the three thousand *dharm*as [comprising the universe]. Thus we know these teachers, although they quote [Zhiyi's] dictum about 'form only' twist it so that it only means [an instance of] "only the true mind".¹⁰⁷

Zhili's position was clearly expressed in his another passage in the *Zhiyaochao*,

Any *dharm*a chosen at random is the totality, the single unifier of all *dharm*as.¹⁰⁸

Modern scholar Ziporyn describes Zhili's position as:

¹⁰⁶*Shiyishu*, T46: 837b(15-20).

¹⁰⁷*Zhiyaochao*, T46: 709a(16-19). Translation by Brook Ziporyn, in his "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.45.

¹⁰⁸*Zhiyaochao*, T46: 708b.

The three thousand *dharmas*, the determinate features of the entire universe, as seen from every point of view are implicitly contained in every particular *dharma*, both in principle and in phenomena. Any given *dharmas*, for example, a speck of dust, is the universal totality (*Zong*) and every other *dharma* is its particular manifestation or part (*bei*).¹⁰⁹

And the point of contention between the "Shanjia and Shanwai" faction as put by Ziporyn is:

Whether mind, however construed, has some special ontological status among all *dharmas*, as their source or ultimate ground, or whether it is in principle on equal footing with any other given *dharmas*. The latter is Zhili's position.¹¹⁰

As we can see from the discussion below, all the other issues debated by Zhiyuan and his opponent come down to the same issue of mind-only philosophy. The 'mind-only' teaching as expounded by Zhiyuan is not an unique Tiantai teaching. It is found also in the Huayen school as well as the Chan school.¹¹¹ The Tiantai teaching as formulated by Zhiyuan in terms of the 'mind-only' teaching blurred the

¹⁰⁹Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai:", pp.45-46.

¹¹⁰Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-ghan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.33.

¹¹¹For a study on the 'mind-only' teaching on the Huayen school, see Tamaki Koshiro, "Yuishin no tsuikyu" in Kawada Kumataro and Nakamura Hajime ed. *Kegon Shiso* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1960) trans. into Chinese by Li Shijie as *Huayen sixiang* (Taipei: Faer chubanshe, 1989), pp.361-443. For the 'mind-only' teaching in the Chan school see Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post-Tang Tiantai", pp.37-40.

difference between Tiantai and the Chan and Huayen school. I believe part of Zhili's purpose in criticizing the 'mind-only' teaching of Zhiyuan is to draw a distinction between Tiantai teaching and the Chan and Huayen teachings. Zhili engaged in a heated debate with the Chan master Tiantong (n.d.)¹¹² and he remained critical of the Huayen doctrines in his life.

As suggested by Weinstein, the imperial patronage plays a decisive role in the formation of the philosophical school in China and their development owed not so much to the momentum of its own inner doctrinal development as the close connection between founder of the school (in Zhili's case, the patriarch of the school) and the imperial family.¹¹³

There are ample evidence to show that there was a close relationship between Zhili and the ruling court. In 1010

¹¹²The exchanges between Zhili and the Chan master Tiantong are collected in the *Jiaoxing lu*, fascicle 4, T46: 885-896. Included in the same fascicle are Zhili's exchanges with another Chan master Tai (n.d.), another evidence of Zhili's critical attitude towards the Chan school. For a study on Zhili's criticism on the Chan school, see Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai".

¹¹³Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism" in Arthur F. Wright & Dennis Twitchett ed. *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp.265-307. See also his *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

C.E., the emperor Zhenzong issued an imperial decree to appoint Zhili as the permanent 'abbot of ten direction' at Yanqing monastery and urged him to preach the Tiantai teaching.¹¹⁴ As pointed out by Chan, this indicates an official recognition of Zhili's legitimate status in the Tiantai school by the Song imperial authority.¹¹⁵ In 1017 C.E., Zhili was granted a purple robe through the recommendation of Yangyi (974-1020 C.E.), the Hanlin academician, and Li Zunxu, the Commandant-escort.¹¹⁶ This indicates that Zhili had the support of high government officials and members of the imperial family. Yangyi was also instrumental in submitting a memorial to Emperor Zhenzong suggesting him to issue an imperial order to urge Zhili to stop from engaging in the practice of self-immolation by fire (*fenshen*), a religious practice in which one burns one's own body as an offering to the Buddha.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴The imperial decree entitled "*shitie yanqingsi*" was collected in the *Jiaoxinglu*, fascicle 6, T46: 909-910.

¹¹⁵Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy in the Sung T'ien-t'ai Tradition of Buddhism", p.239.

¹¹⁶See the *Mianpu* (Year by year Chronicle) of Zhili written by Zongxia (1151-1214 C.E.) in the *Jiaoxinglu* fascicle 1, T46: 858a(10-12).

¹¹⁷See Ting Fubao, *Foxue dazidian*, entry on 'fenshen', p.948b. For a brief discussion on the subject of Self-
(continued...)

Having placed the issue debated by Zhili and Zhiyuan in such a historical context, it helps us to see why Zhili was so concerned to distinguish carefully the Tiantai teaching from Chan and Huayen teaching. In order to receive imperial patronage, it is important for Zhili to build up a clear identity of the Tiantai school and to show that the teaching of other Buddhist schools like those of the Chan and Huayen schools are incomplete and are, therefore, inferior to the Tiantai school.

Issue 2 : Whether the three thousand worlds are inherent in the land (*guotu*, i.e. material forms or phenomena),¹¹⁸

(...continued)

immolation by fire, see Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy in the Sung T'ien-t'ai Tradition of Buddhism", pp.226-231.

¹¹⁸*Guotu* or *Ksetra* means native land or abode of a race. It refers to the world of countries on which people depend for existence. *Guotu* can also mean the material form or phenomena. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *guotu*, pp.344 & 250. The issue was discussed by Zhiyuan in his *Xianxinglu* in the following places:

- (1) Fascicle 1, XZJ100: 254d(12)
- (2) Fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256a-257b
- (3) Fascicle 3, XZJ100: 271d(5)
- (4) Fascicle 3, XZJ100: 272b(11-13)
- (5) Fascicle 3, XZJ100: 278c(13-18)

When commenting on the sentence, "both object and subject in the Avici hell as located entirely within the mind of the ultimate sages, and Vairocana and his land as not surpassing a single thought of the ordinary person"¹¹⁹ in the *Jingangbei*, Zhiyuan writes,

The primary constituents and dependent environment [i.e. subject and object] of ourselves, living beings and Buddha are all created by the mind. That all are inherent in the mind was what that the text [meant by] stating 'the mind of the ultimate sage' and 'a single thought of the ordinary person'...other people do not understand that all are originated from the mind. [The text] states that not only does the mind create the three thousand [worlds] but also the Buddha and living beings. But [other people] do not know [what the text] means. It is the mind of living beings and the Buddha which [create the three thousand worlds]. And the text states the three thousand worlds are inherent in the land but [other people] do not know the land are all in our mind.¹²⁰

Later on, when commenting on the sentence "the innate cause of sentient beings is exclusively universal", Zhiyuan writes,

[We] should know that when our school maintains that the three thousand worlds are inherent in the mind of sentient beings, we mean both the primary constituents and dependent environment. This is a deep understanding of Buddha's teaching. Some who study our teaching are ignorant of this teaching. When they see the expression of 'form-only', 'scent-only', and that

¹¹⁹*Jingangbei*, T46: 781a(20-21), For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", pp.389-392.

¹²⁰*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 254d(7-12).

'no *dharma* lies outside the form'¹²¹, they do not realize that form and mind are one in their substance and they claim that the three thousand worlds are inherent in grass and trees and the land. They do not search for the real meaning of the text.¹²²

Here Zhiyuan brings out the issue of whether the three thousand realms are inherent in the land or the material form. Zhiyuan's position is clear. Although there are passages in the Tiantai canon which support the idea of three thousand realms inherent in the form, Zhiyuan interpreted them to mean inherent in the mind as everything comes from the mind. Again the 'mind only' teaching is at work here.

Zhiyuan then elaborates his position by addressing five questions to himself:¹²³

Question 1: If you do not allow the three thousand realms inherent in grass and trees, why is that in the *Moho zhiguan*, chapter seven, after applying the ten modes of contemplation to the mind, the discussion moves on to the other realms. Is this not implying the *dharmas* are also inherent in the material form and scent ?

Answer: In the beginning of that text [*Moho zhiguan*], it is pointed out first that the mind of consciousness is able to create all *dharmas*.

¹²¹Quotations from the *Sinianchu*, fascicle 4, T46: 578c(8-10).

¹²²*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256b(4-7).

¹²³The following rendering of Zhiyuan's six questions and his answers bases on Zhiyuan's *Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256c-257b.

It is able to create because the three thousand realms are originally inherent in the nature of the deluded mind which is identical to the principle of threefold truth. Since all material forms are the mind, it is also possible to state that *dharmas* are inherent in each of the form and scent since to say that *dharma* is inherent in the form is equivalent to saying that *dharmas* are inherent in the mind.¹²⁴

Hence, according to Zhiyuan, even though the text suggests the three thousand realms are inherent in the form, inherent in the form is equivalent to inherent in the mind.

Question 2: If we do not allow the three thousand worlds to be inherent in the grass and trees unless we understand that the form is identical to the mind before the *dharmas* can be inherent in the form, then, the form becomes the subject which condenses [to the mind] rather than the object [to which everything] is condensed. How could [we] explain what the sutra states "all *dharmas* are condensed to the form"¹²⁵

Answer: Since form is identical to the mind. The form can be the object of condensing. No matter whether it is the subject or object of condensing, the nature of mind remains the same. [This is like] the wave and the water. The wetness is inherent in both.¹²⁶

Here again Zhiyuan emphasized the form is identical to the

¹²⁴*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256c(3-12).

¹²⁵*Mahaprana paramita sutra*, fascicle 52; T5: 292-297
cf. the *Dazhi dulun*, fascicle 71, T25: 560a(17-18).

¹²⁶*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256c(15-18).

mind. Therefore it does not matter whether the form or the mind acts as the subject of condensing:

Question 3: The *Fuxing* quotes the expression 'consciousness only', 'form only' of the *Sinianchu*¹²⁷ and states that living beings of the lower realms tend to attach to the form, therefore, they have to contemplate the mind. Living beings of the upper realm tend to attach to their mind. Hence, they have to contemplate on the form. Does this not [imply that] the three thousand worlds are inherent in the dependent environment and the form ?

Answer: As we said [before], [when we speaks of] attachment to the form or attachment to the mind one [has] made the distinction between mind and form out of ignorance. Hence, there is a preference [for either of them]. One does not understand that both internal form [mind] and external form [three thousand worlds] are all in our own mind. If one is [spiritually] suitable for contemplation of the form, it is but to realize that the form is identical with the mind. The three thousand worlds being inherent in the form is identical to being inherent in the mind.¹²⁸

Again the formula 'form is identical to mind' is used by Zhiyuan. Both contemplation on the mind or on the form has the same function, which is to realize that the form is identical to the mind.

Question 4: *Fuxing* states both 'consciousness only' and 'form only'. Now if we state first that all

¹²⁷*Sinianchu*, fascicle 4, T46: 578c.

¹²⁸*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256c(18)-256d(8).

form is the mind before we state that *dharmas* are inherent in the form, what is the difference between us and the other school which teaches 'consciousness only' ?

Answer: Our school elucidates that all *dharmas* are completely inherent in the nature of the mind. All *dharmas* are included, with no exception in the form. Therefore, it is possible to state in terms of the Perfect doctrine: 'form only' 'scent only'. It is because form and scent are all the nature of mind and are originally inherent in it. When the other [school] states 'consciousness only', they mean 'mind origination' and the expressions 'form only' and so forth are lacking in them.¹²⁹

The teaching of 'mind-only' is also found in other schools but Zhiyuan states that the main difference between Tiantai and other schools lies in the teaching of inherent inclusion (*ju*) -- phenomena are inherent in the Buddha nature.

Question 5: When the *Nirvana sutra* talks about the Buddha nature, it states that the Buddha nature is neither internal nor external. When the *Moho zhiguan* discusses "the three thousand worlds", it states neither cause nor condition. Now when we say that *dharmas* are inherent in the inner causative mind, does it not conflict with the scripture?

Answer: What the *Nirvana sutra* meant when it states 'neither internal nor external' was that all is but the nature of the mind of sentient beings. Therefore we cannot limit to the internal or external. [With regard to] the *Moho zhiguan*, it is to demonstrate the

¹²⁹Xianxinglu, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256d(8-14).

teaching of the three thousand worlds inherent in the mind which applies to all *dharmas*, and [the mind] cannot be onesidedly distinguished as inward cause and outward condition, external and internal¹³⁰

The meaning of the above discussion is that the thesis that all existence is inherent in the mind does not go against the non-duality teaching of the scripture which rejects distinction between internal versus external (the mind as internal, the world as external). Zhiyuan's answer is that the purpose of the 'mind-only' teaching is precisely to lead us to the notion of non-duality, for if everything is but the mind the distinction of internal/ external, subject/ object will naturally dissolves.

Question 6: When [we] do not allow 'the three thousand worlds' inherent in the grass and trees, [then, consider the case of] the *Moho zhiguan* which teaches us that when one does not attain enlightenment by contemplating the mind, one should proceed to contemplate the form. Now if the form is identical to the mind, what is the object of contemplation [when one contemplates the form]?

Answer: For those who have the favourable conditions for and are suitable to contemplate the form, [they should cultivate contemplation on the form so as] to realize that form is identical to the mind. The choice of contemplation of form is only a preference. How can one then deduce that form and mind are forever different ...the form is created by the mind

¹³⁰Xianxinglu, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 256d(14), 257a10).

and the whole is the mind. To contemplate on the one which can create is equivalent to see all the *dharmas* because all the *dharmas* are the mind.¹³¹

Therefore, although there is a teaching of contemplation of the form in the Tiantai school, it serves the same function in contemplation of the mind: to realize that everything is but the mind. From the above detailed discussion by Zhiyuan, we learn that he does not reject the teaching of 'three thousand realms are inherent in the form' insofar as it is understood in terms of 'mind-only'. The 'three thousand worlds inherent in the form' is identical to being inherent in the mind since form is created by the mind.¹³²

According to the traditional account of the "Shanjia and Shanwai" debate, the issue of 'three thousand realms inherent in the form' was debated between Xianrun on the one hand and Zhili with Renyue on the other.¹³³ In the *Shiyishu*, however, we found the discussion was also carried on between Zhili and Qingshao. According to Zhili, Qingshao claimed that the 'three thousand worlds' are inherent only

¹³¹Xianxinglu, fascicle 1, XZJ100: 257a(10-18).

¹³²Xianrun expressed the same view in his *Zhixia* as quoted in Renyue's *Jumeoshu* collected in XZJ95: 426d(8-9).

¹³³See chart 4 on p.37 of this dissertation.

in the mind but not the material form.¹³⁴ Zhili traced Qingshao's position back to Yuanqing, Zhili states,

Now your coming [letter] avoids going against the meaning of absorption of material form into mind as taught in the [*Shibuermen*] *shizhuzhi*¹³⁵. Therefore, [you] maintain that the three thousand worlds are inherent only in the internal mind and say that the three thousand worlds are not inherent in the external material form.¹³⁶

In contrast, Zhili designates his position as one which includes all (*juyi quanshou*).¹³⁷ Zhili further illustrates his position by the model of the Indra's net:

This is like the hundreds of thousands of jewels in the net of Indra. Their light and shadows are interpenetrated and inter-inclusive so that when viewing one of them one is viewing all. The light and shadows of other jewels are absorbed [i.e. reflected] into that one jewel [we have chosen to view]...Any jewel, chosen at random, includes [the reflection] of all other jewels.¹³⁸

Zhili then concludes that we, therefore, cannot maintain that the 'three thousand worlds' are not inherent in the

¹³⁴*Shiyishu*, T46: 836c(12).

¹³⁵XZJ 100: 108-141.

¹³⁶*Shiyishu*, T46: 837b(27-28)

¹³⁷T46: 340c(15) & (19). For a study on Zhili's position, see Ra Lang-eun "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", pp.212-213; Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-*chan* Polemics in Post-Tang Tiantai" in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* vol.17 No.1 (1994)42ff; and Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", pp.200-204.

¹³⁸*Shiyishu*, T46: 837b(4-5) & 840c(6).

external material form. Zhili, in a similar fashion, designates his own position in his *Zhiyaochao* as "any *dharma*, chosen at random, is the totality, the single unifier (i.e. the universal) of all" (*suiju yifa jiedewei zong*)¹³⁹. Zhili criticized Yuanqing's position as conflicting with Zhanran's teaching as represented in the *Fuxing*: "Apart from the form there is no mind. Apart from the mind, there is no form"¹⁴⁰ as well as the passage of 'form only' 'mind only'.¹⁴¹

Based on the above discussion found in the *Shiyishu*, I believe the view of 'other people' as criticized by Zhiyuan that we have discussed above represents Zhili's view. Everything can be reduced to the form, according to Zhiyuan, only when the form is understood as the mind. Mind and form, however, have the same status in Zhili's teaching. They are different expressions of the same truth. Once again, the difference between Zhili and Zhiyuan on the issue of the 'three thousand worlds inherent in the form' comes down to the different interpretation of Zhanran's 'mind-

¹³⁹*Shibuermen zhiyaochao*, T46: 708b.

¹⁴⁰It is a quotation from the *fuxing* used in the text *Sinianchu*, fascicle 4, T46: 578c(6) but I am not able to locate it in the *fuxing*.

¹⁴¹*Sinianchu*, T46: 578c(8-9).

only' philosophy.

Issue 3 : The status of the Huayen school in the Tiantai scheme of the classification of doctrine.

When commenting on the phrase "once mind-only (*weixin*) is penetrated and its essential completeness (*tiju*) is realized" in the *Jingangbei*. Zhiyuan said,

[We] should know for the Perfect Teaching of the other school, their hit is the teaching of mind only, their miss is the [absence of] the teaching of 'inherent in the mind' (*xinju*). Now contemporaries do not understand [this], and claim that the Perfect teaching of masters of *Huayen* and *Awakening of Faith* (*Dacheng qixin lun*) is equivalent only to the Distinct teaching of our school. This is a big mistake and a serious false accusation on their part.

Question: You have mentioned that the other school does not teach the evil inherent in nature; [their teachings] necessarily involves the cutting off of defilement. Is this not a teaching of Distinct doctrine?

Answer: [What I meant] is only that without clarifying the meaning of evil inherent in nature, the doctrine of identification (*ji*) is groundless. How can we equate their teaching of non-obstruction of phenomena and noumena with the Distinct doctrine.¹⁴²

Here, Zhiyuan raised an objection to somebody who classified the teaching of Huayen masters as a Distinct Doctrine

¹⁴²*Jingangbei*, T46: 782c(6-7). For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p.457.

despite the fact of their ignorance of the teaching of 'inherent in mind'. The Distinct Doctrine is one of the Four Teachings of Conversion (*Huafa sijiao*) in the scheme of classification of doctrines (*panjiao*) in the Tiantai school. There are three schemes of classification of doctrines in the Tiantai school: (1) Five Periods (*Wushi*)¹⁴³, (2) Four Methods of Conversion (*Huayi sijiao*),¹⁴⁴ and (3) Four Doctrines of Conversion (*Huafa sijiao*).¹⁴⁵

The scheme of Four Doctrines of conversion includes the *Tripitaka* doctrine, (*zangjiao*) the Common doctrine (*tongjiao*), the Distinct Doctrine (*beijiao*) and the Perfect doctrine (*yuanjiao*). The Four Doctrines of Conversion are

¹⁴³The Five Periods are (1) *Huayen* (2) Deer Park (3) Expanded (*Vaipulya*) (4) Wisdom (5) *Lotus* and *Nirvana*. Japanese scholar Sekiguchi Shindai challenges the traditional belief that the scheme of Five Periods is central to Zhiyi's *panjiao* teaching while others scholars like Sato Tetsuei and Ikeda Rosan defends the traditional belief. See Sekiguchi Shindai, *Tendai kyogaku no kenkyu* (Tokyo, 1978). Ikeda Rosan, "Tannen ni seiritsu suru goji hakkyo-ron", *Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyu* 24, 1 (1975): 268-271. For a brief account on Sekiguchi's theory, see David W. Chappell ed., *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the fourfold Teachings* (Tokyo: Daiichi-Shobo, 1983), pp.36-41.

¹⁴⁴The Four Methods of Conversion are: Sudden, Gradual, Secret, Variable. For a discussion, see David W. Chappell, *T'ien-T'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings* (Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1983), pp.55-61.

¹⁴⁵For a brief discussion, see Liu Ming-wood, *Madhyamaka School in China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp.207-217.

understood to be four different forms of Buddhist teachings to meet the different capacities and special needs of different groups of sentient beings. The *Tripitaka* Doctrine is expounded in the Hinayana *Tripitaka* and is represented by the *Abhidarmika* teaching.¹⁴⁶ The Common Doctrine is marked by the emphasis on the ideas of emptiness and non-duality which is expounded in the *Prajnaparamita* and *Madhyamaka* literature.¹⁴⁷ The Distinct Doctrine is intended for Bodhisattva alone and is represented by the concept of *Alaya* and *Tathagarbha* concepts as taught in the *Yogacara* tradition.¹⁴⁸ The Perfect Doctrine is intended for practitioner of the highest capacity and is represented by the *Lotus sutra*.¹⁴⁹

In a much later section of his text *Jingangbei xianxinglu* where Zhiyuan, commenting on the statement "some say, 'sentient beings only possess the clean and pure nature'"

¹⁴⁶For an account on the *Tripitaka* doctrine, see David Chappell, *An Outline of the Fourfold Teaching*, pp.83-118.

¹⁴⁷For an account on the Shared Doctrine, see David Chappell, *An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings*, pp.119-129. Chappell translates *tongjiao* as Shared Doctrine.

¹⁴⁸For an account on the Distinct Doctrine, see David Chappell, *An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings*, pp.129-143.

¹⁴⁹For an account on the Perfect Doctrine, see David Chappell, *An Outline on the Fourfold Teachings*, pp.143-173. Chappell translated the *Yuanjiao* as Complete Doctrine.

in the *Jingangbei*¹⁵⁰, has a similar discussion,

Question: since the *Huayen* sutra states 'the mind creates the myriad [worlds]', does this not mean the pure nature is able to create by responding to causation (*suiyuan*)¹⁵¹ ? Why [do you] insist on [the teaching of] phenomena inherent in nature.

Answer: without the inherent inclusion in nature, how would [the mind] be able to create. [We] should know that the mind is able to create [what was already] inherent in its nature. Just as water can produce a wave only because the nature of the wave is inherent in the water. Therefore the teaching of our school is forever different from the other school. That is precisely what [Zhiyi] had learnt in the [preaching on] the Spiritual Vulture Peak [Grdhrakufa]. Hence, although other school taught [also] "harmony" and identity, their explanation of "harmony" is unclear without a discussion on "inherence" (*ju*). In terms of our school's [scheme of classification of doctrine], they belong neither to Perfect, Distinct, nor Tripitaka or Common Doctrines. Although we criticize them, they share a small part of [our] Perfect Doctrine.¹⁵²

Here, Zhiyuan has shown his attitude towards the teaching of Huayen. On the one hand, Zhiyuan admits that the Huayen teaching is inadequate because of the absence of the

¹⁵⁰*Jingangbei*, T46: 786a(21). For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p.550.

¹⁵¹For a discussion of English translation of the term *suiyuan*, see Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", p.176. Ra translates the term as 'origination'. Chan chi-wah translates it as 'accords with condition', see his "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.183. Ziporyn translates it as 'follow along with condition', see his "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post-tang Tiantai", p.49. Linda Penkower translates it as 'responds to causation', see her "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p.463. Here I have followed the translation by Linda Penkower.

¹⁵²*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 289b(11-17).

teaching of 'inherent in nature'. On the other hand, it is unfair to classify theirs as a Distinct doctrine since they share the teaching of 'mind-only' which is a Perfect doctrine. Zhiyuan is unclear, though, on where to place the Huayen teaching in the scheme of Tiantai's classification of doctrines. Apparently he is suggesting that the Huayen teaching does not perfectly fit into the existing scheme of Tiantai classification of doctrine as it is situated somewhere between the Perfect doctrine and the Distinct doctrine.

I believe the 'contemporary' who claims that the master of *Huayen* and *Awakening of Faith* belongs to the Distinct Doctrine refers to Zhili. In his *Shibuermen zhiyao chao* (Notes to the Essentials of the Ten Gates of Non-duality), Zhili differentiates two kinds of teaching of the Suchness responds to causation (*zhenru suiyan*): one is that of the Perfect Doctrine and the other of the Distinct Doctrine. Zhili was the first Tiantai master to claim that there is a teaching of Suchness responding to causation in Distinct Doctrine and to use the expression *Bieli suiyan* (Distinct Doctrine of the Suchness responds to causation).¹⁵³ Zhili

¹⁵³See Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", p.242 & p.262. The Distinct doctrine in the scheme of the Tiantai classification of doctrines refers to
(continued...)

designates the *suiyuan* teaching of the Distinct Doctrine by such terms as: Suchness responds to causation,¹⁵⁴ One principle responds to causation,¹⁵⁵ One-sidedly designated principle responds to causation.¹⁵⁶ In contrast, Zhili describes the *suiyuan* teaching of the Perfect teaching as: inclusive principle responds to causation,¹⁵⁷ Perfect teaching of responding to causation,¹⁵⁸ whole essence responding to causation,¹⁵⁹ inclusive essence of inherence responding to causation.¹⁶⁰ The main difference between the two teachings is that in the Distinct teaching, the principle of Suchness that responds to causation is conceived as pure and does not include all *dharmas* while in the Perfect teaching, the Suchness includes all the three

(...continued)

the teaching of the Consciousness-only school. Zhili had re-defined the Distinct doctrine to include the teaching of Huayen school as part of the Distinct doctrine. This invited criticism from the Wu'en group.

¹⁵⁴*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715b(23).

¹⁵⁵*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715b(14).

¹⁵⁶*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715c(29).

¹⁵⁷*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715c(9).

¹⁵⁸*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 710b(19).

¹⁵⁹*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 713c(20-21).

¹⁶⁰*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715c(16).

thousands *dharmas*, including impure *dharmas*, by its own nature from the very beginning.¹⁶¹ Because of this original inclusion of all *dharmas* in the principle, Zhili claims,

[The Perfect teaching of] our school makes clear that the substance (*ti*) of the three thousand realms arises as the function of the three thousand realms when [the substance] responds to causation. [Even when] the [substance] does not respond to causation, the three thousand realms are still there just the same. Thus the differentiated *dharmas* and the substance are not two because even when delusions is eliminated, the distinction remains.¹⁶²

It is precisely that the three thousand realms are always inherent in the principle (essence) that no artificial creation is necessary in manifesting the three thousand realms. The manifestation is simply an expression of its own original inclusion in the three thousand realms. Hence it is a manifestation of inaction (*wuzuo*).¹⁶³ Most scholars identify Zhili's description of Distinct doctrine of responding to causation as Huayen master Fazang's

¹⁶¹I have borrowed the phrase 'by its own nature from the very beginning' as a translation of *ju* from Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", p.247, p.45, and p.57 note 5.

¹⁶²*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 756b(18-20). English translation by Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.33.

¹⁶³*Zhiyao chao*, T46: 715c(3).

teaching¹⁶⁴, especially found in his *Huayen jing tanxuanji* (An Inquiry into the Profound Meaning of the Scripture of the Flower Garland),¹⁶⁵ and his *Xiu Huayen aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* (Cultivation of Contemplation of the Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Flower Garland: the End of Delusion and the Return to the source).¹⁶⁶ Therefore Zhili's distinction of two kinds of teaching of the Suchness responds to causation was to assign a lower status to Huayen teaching.

In other words, in his *Zhiyao chao*, Zhili classifies the teaching of responding to causation of the Huayen school as a Distinct doctrine. In the traditional account of the "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate, this is the second issue of the debates with Zhili and Renyue on one side and Jiqi, Yuanying, and Zixua on the other.¹⁶⁷ In the *Xianjubian* of Zhiyuan, there is a "letter to master (zi)xuan of jiahe"¹⁶⁸ written by Zhiyuan to Zixua inviting him to comment on the

¹⁶⁴See Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.186; Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Non-duality", p.244; Mou zongsan, *Foxing yu banruo*, vol.II, p.851.

¹⁶⁵XZJ4: 61-833.

¹⁶⁶T45: 637-641.

¹⁶⁷See Chart two in p.31 of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁸*Xianjubian*, fascicle 21, XZJ101: 58d-59a.

debate between Zhili and Jiqi on the issue of the principle responding to causation of the Distinct doctrine. There is no existing work attributed to Zhiyuan which deals exclusively with this issue nor is there any indication that he wrote such a work. Given his sympathetic attitude towards Huayen teaching despite his acknowledgment of their inadequacy, Zhiyuan may well have been reluctant to classify *suiyuan* teaching as found in Huayen as Distinct doctrine. The main reason for Zhiyuan's sympathy with Huayen teaching is that they have the 'mind-only' teaching too. Again, we can see that the issue of *Bieli suiyuan* finally comes down to the 'mind-only' persuasion in the case of Zhiyuan.

By distinguishing two kinds of teachings of the Suchness responds to causation, Zhili drew a distinctive line between the teachings of Huayen and Tiantai and assigning a lower status to Huayen teaching by classifying it as merely the Distinct doctrine inferior to the Perfect doctrine of the Tiantai school. This suggests that a major part of Zhili's debate with Zhiyuan involves the 'uplifting' of Tiantai status and was related, as we have argued before, to imperial patronage of the Tiantai school that Zhili was enjoying.

Issue 4 : The adequacy of phenomenal contemplation
alone

In order to understand the issue of adequacy of phenomenal contemplation alone debated by Zhiyuan and his opponent, we have to investigate first the three kinds of contemplation in the Tiantai school. As explained in Zhanran's *Zhiguan yili*, there are three kinds of practice of contemplation of the mind: (1) Cultivational (*yuexing*): the approach of 'immediate practice'--marvellous contemplation of principle itself. (2) Doctrinal (*fufa*): Contemplation of mind based on *dharmas* and their marks. (3) Phenomenal (*tuoshi*): Contemplation of mind that resorts to phenomenal (ritual and cultic) distinctions.¹⁶⁹

According to the study by Stevenson, the latter two categories, *fufa* (Doctrinal contemplation) and *tuoshi* (Phenomenal contemplation) are both *shi* or phenomenal approaches to practices which emphasize ritual and devotion (the ritual discourse). The first of the three categories alone is equated with the instantaneous contemplation of

¹⁶⁹*Zhiguan yili*, T46: 458a(10-16). I have consulted the translation of three kinds of *Guanxin* in Tiantai by Chan Chi-wah, see his "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", pp.170-171 and mostly Dan Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan and T'ien-t'ai History", p.87, note 56.

principle, the contemplation of principle itself which places less emphasis on the cultic practices to focus on an interiorized discernment of principle (the contemplative discourse).¹⁷⁰ Stevenson also suggests that the early seven-year debate between Zhili and Qingshao on the issue of Contemplation of the mind has largely to do with these two approaches to practices: the ritual and the contemplative. Zhili favoured the co-ordinate use of the two approaches on practice: phenomenal ritual forms of veneration and confession with discernment of principle. Qingshao cherished the contemplative approach, sometimes known as *liguan*, an interiorized discernment of principle and placed less emphasis on the role of the phenomenal content of ritual praxis, the ritual discourse.¹⁷¹ Stevenson also further traces these two approaches of practices, though in tension, as integral to Zhiyi's understanding of religious

¹⁷⁰Dan Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan and T'ien-t'ai History", p.87 note 56. According to Stevenson, the contemplative mode places primary emphasis on an interiorized Contemplation of mind or religious truth and reduces ritual to an ancillary or even metaphoric role. The ritual mode stresses the ritual itself thereby subordinating contemplation to the service of ritual.

¹⁷¹Dan Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan", pp.87-88.

practices.¹⁷² They are both found in the *Moho zhiguan*.¹⁷³ With the help of Stevenson's discussion of the two approaches of practice as found in the *Moho zhiguan*, we can understand Zhiyuan's debate with his opponents on the issue of the adequacy of phenomenal or ritualistic contemplation (*shi*) as the following: Zhiyuan claimed that the phenomenal approach to religious practice is inadequate and insisted on the contemplative discernment of principle represented by the ten modes of contemplation as taught in the *Moho zhiguan*. Zhili on the other hand, was defending the efficacy of the phenomenal approach to religious practices.

Zhiyuan raised the issue in his commentary to the *Jingangbei*. When commenting on the sentence "If you truly want to cultivate (for the supreme result), the teachings, as method, are incomplete; unless you perfect the tenets of my tradition, you cannot penetrate (the gate of practice from beginning to end" in the *Jingangbei*¹⁷⁴, Zhiyuan makes

¹⁷²Dan Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan, p.96.

¹⁷³Dan Stevenson, "The Problematic of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan", p.64ff.

¹⁷⁴*Jingangbei*, T46: 785a(4-5). For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p.515.

the following two points:¹⁷⁵

(1) Although in the *Fahua xuanyi*, at the end of each explanation of doctrine, there is contemplation of mind (*guanxin*), the main point of the text is to interpret doctrine in five sections.¹⁷⁶ Therefore the emphasis is on doctrine while practice, or contemplation, is supplementary. Contemplation thus taught, that is the contemplation based on phenomena, is not adequate to serve as a cultivation for religious attainment.

(2) Zhiyuan quote Zhanran's *Zhiguan yili* as a canonical support for his point. As stated in the *Yili*, the contemplation as taught in the twelve divisions of the Mahayana canon belongs to phenomenal contemplation. Although the authors use the expression of Three Contemplations, without the Ten Modes and Ten Realms of contemplation, the teaching on contemplation is

¹⁷⁵Xianxinglu, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 280d(7-14).

¹⁷⁶*Wuzhong xuanyi*, they are (1) *Shiming*, Interpretation of the Name, (2) *Bianti*, Discussion of the Essence, (3) *Mingzhong*, Classification of the Gist, (4) *Lunyong*, Discussion of the Function, (5) *Panjiao*, Classification of the Teaching. I have followed the English translation made by Paul Swanson. See his *Foundations of T'ien-t'ai Philosophy: The Flowering of the Two Truths Theory in Chinese Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1989), p.164ff.

incomplete.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, Zhiyuan criticized contemporaries who claimed that the phenomenal contemplation of the mind is sufficient for cultivation. Without maintaining the teaching of the *Zhiguan* (Cessation and Contemplation), they are the same as the heresies of the past.¹⁷⁸

Again, later on in the text, when commenting that "these questions¹⁷⁹ only address themselves to the marvellous realm of reality, which is the first of the ten modes (of conterplation)",¹⁸⁰ Zhiyuan explains,

These questions refer to the previous forty questions. These forty questions are in the realm of *skandhas* of the ten realms in the *Zhiguan* (Cessation and contemplation). This is to show the inconceivable realm of the Ten Modes of contemplation ... please look at this text. Although the forty questions had already shown the inconceivable realm, the text still states 'if you truly want to cultivate [for the supreme result], the teaching, as method, is incomplete'¹⁸¹not to mention those texts [which explain] doctrinal and phenomenal [contemplation]. Since they have not taught

¹⁷⁷*Zhiguan yili*, T46: 458a(15-18), quoted by Zhiyuan in his *Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 280d(10-12).

¹⁷⁸*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 280d(14).

¹⁷⁹Refers to the forty six questions in the *Jingangbei*, see T46: 783c-784b. cf. the forty six questions, responses and corrective illustrations in *Zhiguan yili*, T46: 453b(29)ff. For a discussion, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang dynasty", p. 267, note. 284.

¹⁸⁰*Jingangbei*, T46: 785a(13-14). For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p, 521.

¹⁸¹*Jingangbei*, T46: 785a(5).

the [teaching of] the three thousand worlds, [we] should know that [by learning them alone] we are not ready for cultivation.¹⁸²

Zhiyuan also indicates that other people had responded to his criticism on the issue of the adequacy of 'phenomenal contemplation'. Their argument for the adequacy of phenomenal contemplation are as follow:

(1) Zhiyi taught different texts at different times. He, for instance, taught *Fahua xuanyi* before the *Moho zhiguan*. We should allow those who, after hearing Zhiyi's teaching in *Fahua xuanyi* to engage in cultivation right away before they have a chance to hear the teaching of *Moho zhiguan*. Hence, the phenomenal contemplation in *Fahua xuanyi* is adequate for cultivation of attainment.¹⁸³

¹⁸²*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 281d(9-16).

¹⁸³Based on *Xianxinglu* fascicle 4, XZJ100: 281d. The meaning of the sentence is unclear in *Xianxinglu*. I have consulted Zhili's related passage in *Shiyishu*, T46: 853a(22), to make the above summary of Zhiyuan's sentence. Zhili's passage is: when lecturing on the *Fahua xuanyi*, reaching the section on contemplation of phenomena, we need to refer to the *Moho zhiguan* about the meaning of the objective realm of contemplation to teach the practitioners in order to let them (initiate) cultivation at the moment of listening (to the explication). Those who can practice in this way do not have to wait for (acknowledging) the text on subtle objective realm in the *Moho zhiguan* in order to let the practitioners cultivate (contemplation). T46: 853a(22).

(2) Panthaka¹⁸⁴ obtained the fruit, that is, escaped the chain of transmigration, only by chanting one stanza of Gatha. This also proves the efficiency of Phenomenal contemplation.

(3) Zhiyi's last testament about the *Zhiguan* was that it is not necessary to transmit the teaching of contemplation on a one to one basis in the manner of the Chan transmission. It is only needed to preach the text itself. This supports the Phenomenal contemplation.¹⁸⁵

(4) In the *Guoqing bailu* (Miscellaneous Records of the

¹⁸⁴See Ding fubao *Foxue dacidian*, entry on Panthaka (*bantuojia*), pp.452. According to Ding, *Panthaka* means 'born on the road'. There were two brothers who were born on the road. One with a sharp capacity while the other has a dull one. Both of them left the household and eventually attained the fruit of *Arhat*. The dull brother attained enlightenment by merely chanting one stanza of Gatha. Ding gives the reference as *Samantapasadika*, Ch.16, T24: 673.

¹⁸⁵Zhiyi's last testament concerning the *Zhiguan* was mentioned by Zhanran in his *Fuxing*, T46: 147b(29)-c(3). As pointed out by Stevenson, "Zhanran's mention of Zhiyi's last testament seems to be related to his effort to fight against a deviant trend of thought within the Tiantai tradition which espoused the notion of an oral teaching or transmission of the essentials of mind separate from and more fundamental than Zhiyi's literary legacy. This trend of thought apparently is a product of a rapprochement between Tiantai and Chan traditions." Quoted from Dan Stevenson, "The Status of the Mo-ho Chih-kuan in the T'ien-t'ai Tradition" collected in Neal Donner & Daniel B. Stevenson, *The Great Calming and Contemplation: A Study and Annotated Translation of the First Chapter of Chih-i's Moho Chih-kuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p.47.

Guoqing temple) Chapter seven, Teaching for the monks who attend to practical affairs (*zhishi*), it is stated that in the past there were practitioners who attained enlightenment through the cultivation of phenomenal contemplation.¹⁸⁶

Zhiyuan then further presented his disagreement by pointing to the fact that

(1) Panthaka lived at the time when Buddha lived. Now we are in a different time of 'last period', and our capacity is different.

(2) What Panthaka had achieved is of 'Small Vehicle'. Now we are talking about Perfect teaching.

Zhiyuan concluded that a living being of the last period with dull capacity cannot realize the truth by engaging in phenomenal contemplation on one or two sentences.¹⁸⁷

This issue of the adequacy of the phenomenal contemplation described by Zhiyuan is also mentioned in Zhili's *Shiyi shu*. Based on Zhiyuan's quotation of his opponent's views, we can identify Zhili as the target of his criticism. In his *Shiyishu*, Zhili quotes the *Fahua xuanyi*

¹⁸⁶*Quoqing bailu*, fascicle 1, T46: 798c(21ff). Guanding told a story of a monk who secretly listened to preaching and practised meditation on the preaching. He eventually attained enlightenment.

¹⁸⁷*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 282a(7-8).

as the scriptural support for his position,

As for the explication of contemplation of mind, [its function] is to let [people] cultivate [the contemplation of mind] at the very moment when they hear [the doctrine] and initiate the will of advancement.¹⁸⁸

He also quotes Zhanran's commentary on it,

On listening to a sentence, the practitioner can absorb the phenomena into the principle. There is no need to wait for [the lecture] on the realm of contemplation before it can be called cultivation.¹⁸⁹

Zhili reiterates his main argument later on in his text as:

When the Great master taught the *Xuanyi* (Profound Meaning), he has not yet taught the *Zhiguan* (Cessation and Contemplation). Could then the practitioner at that time, upon hearing the teaching on phenomenal contemplation, not immediately cultivate contemplation while waiting until [the preaching of Cessation and Contemplation] at the temple of Yuquan.¹⁹⁰

According to Zhiyi's biography as found in the *Guoqing bailu*, Zhiyi lectured on the *Fahua jing* when he was thirty to thirty eight years old. The lecture was later collected as the *Fahua xuanyi*. He preached the *Moho zhiguan* when he was fifty seven.¹⁹¹ Therefore Zhili argued that before the *Moho zhiguan* was preached, practitioners needed to cultivate

¹⁸⁸Quoted in section five of Zhili's *Shiyi shu*, T46: 842b(29) and section nine, T46: 852b(14-15).

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰*Shiyishu* T46: 853b(16-18).

¹⁹¹*Guoqing bailu*, fascicle 4, T46: 823b(14-15) & (28-29).

contemplation, therefore,

The practitioners do not have to discover the text on Cessation and contemplation (*Zhiguan*) and do not have to deliver a special lecture on ten Cessation and contemplations before they start to practice [Cessation and Contemplation].¹⁹²

Zhiyuan on the other hand insists that

it is impossible to attain the fruit of realization of the Way (*Dao*) without cultivating the Ten Modes of contemplation [as taught in the *Moho zhiguan*].¹⁹³

Zhiyuan concludes his discussion by saying that "(I) hope (you) would give up the heretic teaching and reflect carefully on the great meaning".¹⁹⁴

In the *Shiyi shu*, representing the view of Zhili, the debate between him and Qingshao on the issue of the Phenomenal contemplation involves a different issue -- Contemplation of the True Mind. Zhili stated that Qingshao interpreted the sentence 'no need to wait for (the preaching of) contemplation on the realms' as 'no need to wait for (the preaching of) contemplation on the realm of *skandhas*' and stated that by reducing the phenomena into the Truth (that is the True Mind), one has already achieved the purpose of contemplation, and, therefore, is equivalent to

¹⁹²*Shiyi shu*, T46: 853a(24-25).

¹⁹³*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 282a(14).

¹⁹⁴*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 282a(15).

cultivating contemplation. There is no need to contemplate on the *Skandhas*.¹⁹⁵ This is a classic statement of the traditional "Shanjia" charges against the "Shanwai" group, namely that the "Shanwai" group maintains a teaching of the Contemplation of the True mind while the "Shanjia" group teaches the Contemplation of the deluded mind.

In the *Shiyishu*, however, there is implicit evidence to show that the Contemplation on the True mind may not represent the position of Wu'en group. At least not everyone of the Wu'en's group shares the same view. The evidence is that Zhili charges Qingshao with revising his position in the course of their debate.

In section six of the *Shiyishu*, Zhili identifies Qingshao's position as

From Your Reverence's teacher [i.e. Yuanqing] onwards, everyone claims that the mind alone is the principle [while] living beings and the Buddha are only the phenomena. You have falsely considered the discussion on the True nature as the contemplation on the mind.¹⁹⁶

Then, Zhili criticized explicitly the (*Shibuermen*) *Shizhuzhi* (An illustration of the Essential of the Ten Gates of Non-duality) of Yuanqing,

¹⁹⁵*Shiyishu*, T46: 852b(17-18). According to Zhili, Qingshao expressed his view in his *Wuyi shu* which no longer exists today.

¹⁹⁶*Shiyishu* T46: 846b(9-11).

The discussion of the mind in the *shizhuzhi* is inadequate. It indicates that [the author] does not recognize at all that there are two kinds of creation [*lizao/ shizao*] for living beings and the Buddha. Moreover [his] teaching of the *dharma* of the mind is restricted to [the level] of principle [i.e. teaching only the True Mind but not the Phenomenal Mind]. There is an absence of the meaning of the identity of principle and phenomena.¹⁹⁷

Zhili then pointed out that Qingshao revised his teaching of True Mind into Phenomenal Mind or Deluded Mind in the course of debate.

Contemplation on the deluded mind of the six consciousness and [thereby] transforms [the deluded mind] into a Real mind which is neither pure nor deluded. It is this Real mind that creates the Buddha when it responds to causation.¹⁹⁸

Zhili angrily interrogated Qingshao about his revision of his position

With regard to [your teaching of] Contemplation on the deluded mind of the Six consciousness and [thereby] to transform the deluded mind to a Real mind of the Threefold truth, from whom do you get this interpretation? If you heard it from Fengxian [Yuanqing], why is it that in [his] *Zhizhuzhi*, there is no interpretation in terms of deluded mind, and there is no discussion of the contemplation on the deluded mind?¹⁹⁹

Later on in the text, Zhili brings up the same charge again

Your reverence had stolen others correct teaching of Contemplation on the deluded mind to shield your

¹⁹⁷*Shiyishu*, T46: 846b(9-11).

¹⁹⁸*Shiyishu* T46: 846c(15-17).

¹⁹⁹*Shiyishu*, T46: 847a(5-7).

previous mistakes. Moreover [with regard to] contemplating only the deluded mind, from whom did you get this understanding. Who did not allow that [teaching]? From the *Fahui* (Elucidation, i.e. Wu'en's *Jingguangming jing xuanyi fahuiji*) onwards, which texts [of your side] teach contemplation on the deluded mind only.²⁰⁰

From the above passionate discussion of Zhili, we learnt that Qingshao had denied the charge of upholding the teaching of contemplation on the True mind, which Zhanran had explicitly criticized in his *Jingangbei*.²⁰¹ Since the writing of Qingshao no longer survives, there is no way to know whether Qingshao had revised his position as stated by Zhili or although we do not have direct evidence, it is possible that Zhili had previously misunderstood Qingshao's position. Qingshao may have revised not his own teaching but his teacher, Yuanqing's, teaching of the contemplation on the true mind.

In the case of Zhiyuan we can find his explicit denunciation of the teaching on the True mind in his writing. When commenting on the sentence "take issue with the one-sided (notion) of a clean and pure suchness" in the

²⁰⁰*Shiyishu*, T46: 848a(13-15).

²⁰¹Zhanran explicitly denounced the teaching of one-sided notion of the truth in the following place of his *Jingangbei*: T46: 782c(4); 786a(22); 783b(21).

*Jingangbei*²⁰², Zhiyuan writes,

The other school, both in their teaching of doctrine and contemplation, has the one-sided [notion] of Reality. Our school maintains that, apart from the reality, there is no delusion, apart from the delusion there is no reality. The mind of ignorance is identical to the Threefold Truth. Therefore, the *Zhiguan* (Cessation and Contemplation) [teaches us] to contemplate on the mind of Skandhas... this is different from the usual way of separately establishing a pure reality... One should know that the nature of mind according to our school is real and deluded at the same time. This applies to both the doctrine and to contemplation. A one-sided notion of reality is wrong as well as a one-sided notion of delusion... Therefore impermanency is identical to permanency, delusion is identical to reality. Only by saying that two *dharmas* [,Reality and delusion, are of] one principle can [one] be free from the mistake of the one-sided. I personally see that some who are in our school do not realize this meaning and claim that our school uses the one-sided [notion] of deluded mind as the realm [for contemplation] and that one is not allowed to speak of the real. Therefore, they maintain that the deluded mind is the essence for practice and teaching. [They] do not realize the essence should be delusion in essence identical to reality. [They] should know that one-sided [notion] of reality is like the one-sided notion of water. The one-sided [notion] of delusion is like the one-sided [notion] of waves. The main point is, water is identical to waves.²⁰³

In the above long discussion of the issue of real and deluded mind, Zhiyuan has clarified that he does not maintain a teaching of pure mind but pure in identity with the deluded. Later on in the text, Zhiyuan explains,

²⁰²*Jingangbei*, T46: 782c(4). For an English translation, see Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang Dynasty", p.455, note 108.

²⁰³*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 2, XZJ100: 266d(1-12).

Now the discussion of *dharmas* inherent in Suchness [here] is different from [others'] one-sided [notion] of pure Suchness.²⁰⁴

and also,

Now we say the Suchness which responds to causation is forever different from others. Others talk only of the pure Suchness and do not know that the three thousand *dharmas* is inherent in the Suchness.²⁰⁵

In the same fascicle, Zhiyuan states,

When we realize that the ignorance while being identical to Buddha nature creates all *dharmas*, then we know that the Buddha nature is identical to ignorance and includes both subject and object. Therefore, when the deluded mind is [manifested], there is only one principle. Hence the teaching that mind is perfect only when delusion is identical with Reality... The identity of reality with delusion is like the [relationship] between waves and water.²⁰⁶

In a later passage Zhiyuan states,

The sacred is the Real mind. The profane is the deluded mind. To speak of True mind only is to say that there is reality apart from the delusion... Therefore we cannot have the one-sided [notion] of pure Suchness. To speak of 'deluded mind only' [is impossible because] the deluded mind [necessarily] has erroneous views which result in differentiation of the different *dharmas*. This does not [agree with the teaching of] 'mind-only' [which reduces everything into the mind]. Therefore we say that both positions are wrong and we know the contemporary's one-sided notion of the deluded mind is a big mistake. We should know that the three thousand [worlds] are inherent in the nature of the mind of defilement. The delusion is

²⁰⁴*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 270d(15-16).

²⁰⁵*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 268d(14-16).

²⁰⁶*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 271c(3-6).

identical to the Reality.²⁰⁷

Zhiyuan concludes that the mind which creates is the mind of neither the real nor the deluded but the mind in which the reality and delusion are both inherent. He claimed that others also speaks of merely the pure Suchness are wrong and are totally in conflict with the intention of Buddha's teaching.²⁰⁸ It is inappropriate to say that there is merely pure nature which does not include the three thousand worlds.²⁰⁹ We will return to the issue of True mind teaching later in this chapter.

(B) Issue of the debate mentioned in the *Qingguanyin jingshu chanyichao*: the issue of whether the Poison of the principle (*lidu*) is the innate evil (*xing'e*).

Apart from Zhiyuan's *Jingangbei xianxinglu*, his *Qing guanyin jingshu chanyichao* (An Elucidation on a Commentary on the Scripture of Invoking [the Bodhisattva] Guanyin)²¹⁰ is another important source for reconstructing Zhiyuan's

²⁰⁷*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 274d(6-9).

²⁰⁸*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 3, XZJ100: 276a(17).

²⁰⁹*Xianxinglu*, fascicle 4, XZJ100: 289C(15).

²¹⁰*Qing guanyin jingshu chanyichao* (hereafter quoted as *Chanyichao*), T46: 872a-873a.

view in his debate with Zhili. As we have mentioned above, Zhiyuan's *Chanyichao* is one of the very few pieces of writings of the Wu'en group that survives in its entirety.²¹¹ Zhiyuan's work was criticized directly by Zhili in the form of two works, namely, the *Shi qingguanyin shu zong xiaofu sanyong* (An Explanation on the Concept of Dissipation of the Three poisons stated in the Commentary on the Scripture of Invoking the Bodhisattva Guanyin)²¹², and the *Dui chanyichao ban sanyong yi shijiuwen* (The Nineteen Questions on the Discussion of the Concept of Function in the "Elucidation on a Commentary")²¹³.

The issue arises from Zhiyi's commentary on the *Qing guanyin jing* (Scripture of Invoking the Bodhisattva Guanyin)²¹⁴, known as the *Qing guanyinjing shu*²¹⁵ where he distinguished three kinds of function of the incantation as found in the *Guanyin jing*: (1) Function on the level of phenomenon (*Shiyong*); (2) Function on the level of practices

²¹¹See p. 38-39 of this dissertation.

²¹²*Shi qingguanyinshu zong xiaofu sanyong* (hereafter quoted as *Xiaofu sanyong*), T46: 872a-873a).

²¹³*Dui chanyichao ban sanyong yi shijiuwen* (hereafter quoted as *Shijiuwen*), T46: 873a-874b).

²¹⁴T20: 34a-38a.

²¹⁵T39: 968a-977a.

(*Xingyong*); (3) Function on the level of principle (*liyong*). Function on the level of phenomenon means that by invoking Buddha's name and chanting the incantation (*dharani*), one can overcome dangers and harms one encounter in this phenomenal world such as the danger brought about by wild animals like tigers and wolves, and by knife and sword which Zhiyi called 'poison on the level of phenomena' (*shidu*). Function on the level of practice means the ability of the incantation to overcome the Five fundamental conditions of passions and delusions which Zhiyi called 'poison' on the level of practice (*xingdu*), or the obstacle to religious cultivation. Finally the function on the level of principle refers to the power of the incantation to overcome the defilement of the principle that is the *dharmadhatu* which is, paradoxically, a defilement of non-defilement. Zhiyi called it 'poison' on the level of principle. The issue of the debate is whether the 'poison' on the level of the principle here is the same as the inherent evil (*xing'e*). The theory of inherent evil or evil inherent in the Buddha nature is a unique teaching of the Tiantai school. According to this theory, evil phenomena are inherent in the absolute and are an eternal essence of the Buddha who can

never eliminate his inherent evil.²¹⁶ In his *Chanyichao*, Zhiyuan writes,

It has been said that inherent evil means the poison on the level of principle. [In this case], although the concept of poison is established, the concept of the dissipation of [the poison on the level of principle] is left out. If the concept of the dissipation of [poison on the level of principle] is not established, how can we understand [the concept of] the function [on the level of poison]? But if we accept the concept of the dissipation of poison on the level of principle, then the concept of inherent evil would be refuted. But the doctrine of inherent evil cannot be refuted.²¹⁷

Zhiyuan's main point was that the poison on the level of principle is not the inherent evil because in discussing the concept of poison on the level of principle, Zhiyi was talking about the elimination of three kinds of poisons, including the poison on the level of principle. If we equate the poison on the level of principle with inherent evil, then it follows that the inherent evil has to be

²¹⁶See Zhanran's discussion of this theory in his magnum opus *Fuxing*, T46: 296a-c and in his *Wenchuji*, T34: 292c. For a modern study on the theory see Sato Tetsuei, *Tendai Daishi no kenkyu: Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyu* (Tokyo: Hyakkaen, 1961), p.494. Ando Toshio, *Tendai shogu shio ron* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1953), p.63. Neal Donner, "Chih-i's meditation on Evil" in David W. Chappell ed. *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, *Buddhist and Taoist Studies II*, *Asian Studies at Hawaii* no. 34 (Honolulu, 1987) p.49-64. Brook Ziporyn "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", pp.49-50.

²¹⁷*Chanyichao*, fascicle 1, T39: 978b(1-3). English translation by Chan Chi-wah in his "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.194.

eliminated too. This is in conflict with the theory of inherent evil because the inherent evil is the eternal part of the essence of the Buddha which is not to be eliminated.

Zhili had a different view. He wrote two works setting out his objection to Zhiyuan's position. In Zhili's opinion, the three kinds of poisons discussed by Zhiyi correspond to the three levels of teachings in the scheme of Classification of doctrine in the Tiantai school. Zhili did not discuss the poison on the level of phenomenon but he equated the poison of practice with the Distinct Doctrine and the Poison on the level of principle with Perfect Teaching.

The Five fundamental conditions and delusion [i.e. the Poison on the level of Practice *xingdu*] cannot be eliminated without the Threefold Contemplation. The Threefold Contemplation, however, was practised by both the two Vehicles and the three [kinds] of Bodhisattva [i.e. those of the Tripitaka, Common, and Distinct Doctrines]... These practitioners, can [by practising threefold contemplation] dissipate defilement. The defilement [in their views, however,] is not identical to *dharma*. Their view is a Distinct Doctrine. Though they know that the substance of the mind which creates is the Buddha nature, they maintain that the ignorance is self-sufficient, (*zizhu*) [as separate from the *Dharma* nature]. It is because they are ignorant of the teaching of inherent evil.²¹⁸

Zhili continues,

If the *dharmadhatu* about which one is deluded does not

²¹⁸*Shi qingguanyin shu zong xiaofu sanyong*, collected in *Siming zunche jiaoxinglu*, fascicle 2, T46: 872b(18-23).

in itself inherently possess the three obstacles [karma, defilement, and retribution] and only has these three obstacles because of [one's own] tainted (*ran*) [understanding], then even if we speak of the one [Buddha] nature responding to causation, the taint and delusion are still considered self-sufficient, and the poison and harms are creations of something new; to go back to the source, the three obstacles must be destroyed and thus the meaning of identicalness (identity?) is not complete. This cannot yet be called the poison which is identical with principle and the [Buddha] nature, and thus this doctrine belongs to the Distinct Teaching... If, however, the *dharmadhatu* about which one is deluded originally and inherently includes the three obstacles, which are manifest because of one's tainted [understanding, which is itself inherently included therein] then the taint and delusion are dependent [on the Buddha nature], and the poisons have created nothing that was not already there. When one returns to the source, the taint and poison are still there as always. This is the only perfect meaning of "identity". Therefore it is called poison as identified with the nature of principle and it belongs to the perfect doctrine.²¹⁹

Hence, Zhili clearly identifies the Distinct doctrine with the concept of poison on the level of practice, and Perfect doctrine with the concept of poison on the level of principle. The main difference between the two is the theory of inherent evil which was taught only in the Perfect doctrine. With regard to the question raised by Zhiyuan, Zhili's comment was:

In the Perfect teaching, since inherent evil has been explained, delusions of view and thought, large and small, are poisons which are identical with the

²¹⁹Xiaofu sanyong, T46: 872c (4-11). English translation was taken from Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.49-50.

[Buddha] nature. This being the case, these poisons themselves are that which is capable of overcoming and destroying [poisons]. Since the poisons are what can destroy poison, they can be absolute just as they are - - where is there any differentiation between that which destroys and that which is destroyed, that which traces and that which is traced? Poison and harm are identical to the mean, all *dharma* is reducible to harm, the awareness that negates it and posits it are mutually identical...²²⁰

Zhili's main point was that inherent evil is a teaching of Perfect doctrine. In the Perfect doctrine, that which destroys is identical to that which is destroyed. The poisons are what can destroy poison. Zhili's conclusion is: ignorance is identical to nature of *dharma* (*dharmata*), the wisdom produced by contemplation is identical to ignorance.²²¹ If that is the case, then destroying of ignorance is identical to not destroying. In this connection, there is no need for Zhiyuan to worry that when one equates inherent evil with Poison on the level of principle, then the inherent evil would have to be destroyed. It is because in the Perfect doctrine, destroying is identical to not destroying.

A close reading of Zhiyuan's *Chanyichao* leads me to

²²⁰Xiaofu sanyong, T46: 872c(25-29). English translation by Brook Ziporyn, "Anti-Chan Polemics in Post Tang Tiantai", p.50.

²²¹According to Zhili, these are quotations from Zhanran's works which I am not able to identify. See Zhili's *Xiaofu sanyong*, T46872c(29) & 873a(1).

believe that Zhiyuan has a similar explanation on Poison on the level of principle. Zhiyuan writes,

Now [the Poison on the level of principle] is different. Here the obsession is [merely] on the level of principle. There is no subject and object in principle. It is because of inherent delusion [that the text states] "it is not polluted and yet polluted. This is called poison and harm". The delusion is identical to the nature of *dharmā*. That is [the teaching of] polluted and yet not polluted. This is called dissipation [of poison].²²²

In other words, to Zhiyuan, dissipation (*xiaofu*) means polluted and yet not polluted. If polluted is identical to not polluted (*ran er wu ran*) then dissipation of the polluted is identical to no dissipation. If my reading of Zhiyuan's commentary is correct, Zhili's criticism of Zhiyuan of "not understand (the doctrine of inherent evil) although having heard of it"²²³ may not be a fair criticism.

There is a tendency for Zhili to read Zhiyuan's writing in terms of 'True mind' philosophy, that is, the concept of an intrinsically pure consciousness or mind (*Tathagata-garbha*) as found in *Dacheng qixin lun* (Awakening of Faith in

²²²*Chanyichao*, fascicle 1, T39: 978a(27-29)

²²³*Shijiwen*, in *Jiaoxinglu* (Record of the Teachings and Practices of the Venerable Master Siming), fascicle 2, Question no. 9, T46: 873c(8).

the Great Vehicle)²²⁴ from which evolves the entire phenomenal world of experience.²²⁵ In question ten of his *Yishijiu wen*, for instance, Zhili criticized Zhiyuan explanation on the Poison on the level of Practice.

According to Zhiyuan

The previous (discussion on Poison on the level) practice is in terms of wisdom and eradication. Wisdom is that which eradicates. Eradication is that which is eradicated. The eradication of the five fundamental conditions of passion and delusion is called the dissipation of Poison on the level of Practice.²²⁶

Zhili's question was whether there is a substance (ti) for that which is eradicated (i.e. the Five fundamental Conditions of passion and delusion). If it has no substance, then this is a teaching of small vehicle which

²²⁴*Dacheng qixinlun*, T44: 183cff.

²²⁵The concept is first advocated by the *Dilun* and *Shelun* masters during the Northern and Southern dynasties and then by the Yogacara school. The clearest and most mature expression of the early Chinese Yogacara thoughts are provided by Huiyuan of Jingying (523-592 C.E.) whose biography was found in the *Xu gaoseng chuan* (T50: 489c-492b). For a modern study on his 'mind-only' teaching, see Liu, Ming-Wood, "The Mind-only Teaching of Ching-Ying Hui-Yuan: An Early Interpretation of Yogacara Thought in China" *Philosophy East and West* 35.4 (October, 1985): 351-376. The 'true mind' teaching was also taught by the Huayen school as well as some of the Chan school. One of the most representative of the True mind teaching in the Huayen and Chan school is found in the writings of Zongmi. For a modern study on Zongmi, see Jan yun-wah, *Zongmi* (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1988).

²²⁶*Chanyichao*, fascicle 1, T46: 978a(26-27).

teaches emptiness only. If it has substance and the substance is not the inherent evil what could it be? Be it the one-sided pure reality?²²⁷ Again in question eighteen, Zhili criticized Zhiyuan's explanation on Poison in Principle which Zhiyuan explained as "the mutual dependence (*xiangdai*) of delusion and (*dharma*) nature". Zhili's question was, if the nature in contrast to delusion is not the nature in which the evil is inherent, would it not then be a pure reality (*qingjing zhenru*)?²²⁸

Zhili's questions on Zhiyuan when read with his accusation to Qingshao of having revised his previous position found in his *Shiyishu* reveals an interesting phenomenon. As we have mentioned before, Zhili was angry with Qingshao who switched from a 'True mind' philosophy to a 'neither true nor deluded mind' philosophy.²²⁹ Zhili said this represents Qingshao's effort to rectify the True mind teaching as found in his master Yuanqing's *Zhizhuzhi*.²³⁰ It seems that Zhili understands Yuanqing, Qingshao and Zhiyuan's teaching as identical which can be classified as

²²⁷*Yishijiu wen*, T46: 873c(13-20).

²²⁸*Yishijiu wen*, T46: 874b(2-8).

²²⁹*Shiyishu*, T46: 847b(23-25).

²³⁰*Shiyishu*, T46: 847b(25-26).

'True mind' teaching. Although some scholars still take this position,²³¹ we have argued that this may not be the case. As we have pointed out Zhiyuan was critical of the True mind philosophy.²³²

Perhaps Zhiyuan is often taken as a teacher of 'True mind' teaching because he used such terms as 'real nature' (*zhenxing*)²³³ and real mind (*zhenxin*)²³⁴ in his writing. For instance, in his commentaries on the ten Buddhist sutras written at a later stage of his life,²³⁵ Zhiyuan describes the Buddhist path as the path that enables one to 'return to

²³¹See Mou zongsan, *Foxing yu banruo*, vol.II, p.1141, 1142, 1145. In his analysis of Zhili's two works: the *Xiaofu san yong* and the *Yishijiu wen*, Mou claims that Zhiyuan advocated a True Mind philosophy.

²³² See the discussion on p.86-89 of this dissertation. In this connection, we can see why Tochi Daito had classified Zhiyuan in the same camp with Zhili as Tiantai masters who taught meditation on the deluded mind. See Tochi Daito *Tendai kyogaku shi*, (Tokyo: Chusan shabo, 1976), p.202. Tochi Daito believes that Zhiyuan had changed his position as a result of the influence from the teaching of Zhili.

²³³*Wenshu banruo jingshuxu, Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ 101: 33a(9).

²³⁴*Wuliangyi jingshuxu, Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33d(4).

²³⁵See my translation of Zhiyuan's prefaces to his own commentaries on the Ten Buddhist sutras in the appendix of this dissertation, p.226-270.

one's true nature.'²³⁶ This, perhaps, lead some to think Zhiyuan was indeed a teacher of 'True mind' philosophy. It is necessary, however, to study closely what Zhiyuan meant by 'true nature'. In his *Foshuo amituo jingshuxu*, Zhiyuan writes,

The substance of the nature of the mind is luminous, quiet and of one. There is [no distinction] of sacred and profane.... pure and impure.²³⁷

In his *Wenshu banruo jingshuxu*, Zhiyuan states,

In the quietude of true nature, there is no one *dharma* that exists [independently]. Because of the subtle movement of the illusive mind, ten thousand realms are produced... and a choice of the sacred in preference to the profane.²³⁸

In other words, the distinction between sacred and profane, true and false comes from the illusive mind. The ultimate reality itself, as understood by Zhiyuan, whether you call it nature of the mind or true nature, transcends the distinction true and false. In his *Shoulengyan jingshuxu*, Zhiyuan explains the reason why the *Lengyan sutra* was

²³⁶*Wenshu banruo jingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33a(13); cf. *Banruo xinjingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33c(9), and *Puru busiyi famen jing (shu)xu*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32d(12).

²³⁷*Foshuo amituo jingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34c(1-2).

²³⁸*Wenshu banruo jingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33a(9-10).

preached. Since the teaching of *Lotus Sutra*, the intention of Buddha's coming into this world had become fully known, the Buddha, however,

also cared for those with low capacities who heard a lot but were weak in their cultivation.... Therefore he taught the wondrous concentration to discern the mind of permanency.²³⁹

Zhiyuan wrote two commentaries on the *Lengyan sutra* which teaches a teaching of 'True mind'. This leaves the impression that Zhiyuan put a lot of emphasis on the 'True mind' philosophy. But Zhiyuan also clarified that the 'True mind' teaching was actually for 'those with low capacities' and is, therefore, an expedient teaching. In this connection, we can see why Zhiyuan claims that his commentaries on the *Lengyan sutra* are like fingers pointing to the moon.²⁴⁰ The same simile can, perhaps, be applied to his 'True mind' teaching which is presented an expedient teaching -- a finger pointing to the moon.

In this chapter we have studied the debate between Zhili and Zhiyuan from the perspective of Zhiyuan's writings. We have demonstrated that many of the issues debated by Zhiyuan and Zhili (and others of his groups) have

²³⁹*Shoulengyan jingshuxu, Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32a(12-16).*

²⁴⁰*Shoulengyan jingshu guxiangchao, Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 37a(1-2).*

to do with a 'mind-only' persuasion. This 'mind-only' teaching comes from Zhanran. In his *Jingangbei*, Zhanran states,

If [the doctrine of] mind-only is not established, then all Mahayana teachings are unclear. If [we] do not allow [the concept of the Absolute] inherent in mind (*xinju*), then the principle of completeness and subitism (*yuantun*) would be enforced in vain... Therefore we should know that one single tiny dust mote and one single mind are the mind-nature of all sentient beings and Buddhas.²⁴¹

Also, in his *Zhiguan dayi*, Zhanran writes,

What should the object of contemplation be? The five *skandhas* the twelve *ayatanes*, and the eighteen *dhatus*, do not outstrip the boundary of form and the mind. Because form is created by the mind. The whole is none other than the mind. Thus the Huayen Sutra says "the Three Worlds are nothing but what is created by the One Mind."²⁴²

Again in his *Shibuermen*, Zhanran justifies the notion of Non-duality by the teaching that all dharmas are the mind itself,

Since we recognize that the particular perspective has been absorbed into the universal perspective, all *dharmas* are nothing but the mind-nature. The one single nature without other natures is the three thousand realm existence as such. We should know that the phenomenal aspect of the mind and the mind itself are that very mind named as the mind transformation.

²⁴¹*Jingangbei*, T46: 782c(7-12). English translation was taken from Chan chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.59.

²⁴²*Zhiguan dayi*, T46: 460a(22-24). English translation was taken from Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai philosophy of Non-duality", p.190.

The mind transformation is called the mind creation, which is called the substance and the function.²⁴³

Zhanran's introduction of 'mind-only' teaching into Tiantai thought had led some scholars, like Chan Yingshan,²⁴⁴ to believe that he had moved away from the teaching of Zhiyi for Zhiyi had explicitly denounced an idealist interpretation of the mind in which mind is the ontological root of phenomena. In his celebrated *Moho zhiguan*, Zhiyi states,

Now one mind comprises ten *dharma*-realms but each *dharma* realm also comprises ten realms, giving a hundred *dharma* realms.²⁴⁵

Here, Zhiyi grants no ontological primacy to the mind as an instance of thought. Mind and phenomena are mutually inclusive and ontologically equal.²⁴⁶ Therefore Chan Chi-

²⁴³*Shibuermen*, T46: 703a(23-27). English translation was taken from Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.61-62.

²⁴⁴Chan yingshan, "Gushan Zhiyuan di lijuweixin sixiang jiqi dui Zhili zhi fanpi" (The 'inherent in principle' and 'mind-only' views of Zhiyuan of the Lonely Mountain and his counter criticism on Zhili), *Diguan* vol.76 (1994): 131-152; and "Jingxi Zhanran ligu sixiang zhi tantao" (An investigation on the Concept of 'inherent in principle' of Zhanran) *Zonghua foxue xuebao* vol.6 (1993, July): 279 & 299.

²⁴⁵*Moho zhiguan*, T46:54a(5-10) & (13-18). English translation was taken from de Bary *Buddhist Tradition*, pp.165-166.

²⁴⁶See the discussion on that Zhiyi did not support a mind only idealism by Paul Swanson *Foundation of T'ien-t'ai Philosophy*, p.135; Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.80, note 42.

wah speaks of a 're-formulation' of Tiantai Buddhism by Zhanran.²⁴⁷ Chan Yingshan, in her two recent articles, argues that there is a big gap between Zhanran and Zhiyi's thoughts.²⁴⁸ Tamaki Koshiro has also pointed out that for Zhiyi the idea of the completeness of mind identified with the realm of inconceivable reality is primarily subjective; for Zhanran it takes on an objective and fixed dimension.²⁴⁹ Other scholars, however, maintains that Zhanran was a faithful follower of Zhiyi's thoughts.²⁵⁰ More study on Zhanran and Zhiyi is required in order to determine whether Zhanran had deviated from the teaching of Zhiyi. It is fair enough, though, to say that the mind-only persuasion of Zhiyuan was inspired by the writings of Zhanran.

²⁴⁷Chan Chi-wah, "Chih-li and the Formation of Orthodoxy", p.52ff.

²⁴⁸Chan yingshan, "Gushan Zhiyuan di lijuweixin sixiang jiqi dui Zhili zhi fanpi" *Diguan* vol.76 (1994): 131-152; and "Jingxi Zhanran ligu sixiang zhi tantao" *Zonghua foxue xuebao* vol.6 (1993, July): 279 & 299.

²⁴⁹Tamaki Koshiro, *Shinha'aku no tenkai* (Tokyo, 1961), pp.375-478 quoted in Linda Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai During the T'ang", p.531.

²⁵⁰See, for instance, Mou Zongsan, *Foxing yu banruo*, vol.2, and Ando Toshio, *Tendai gaku: Konpon shiso to son o tenkai* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1982) p.340, where Ando states that the Mind origination teaching of the Tiantai school was only an outer appearance, hence Zhanran did not distort the orthodox teaching of the Tiantai school. Ando's view was also quoted in Ra Lang-eun, "The T'ien-t'ai philosophy of Non-duality", p.203.

III. The Image of Zhiyuan in His Biographies

The earliest biographical information on Zhiyuan is found in Wu Zunlu's *Xianjubian xu* (Preface to "Writings Compiled in Retirement"), also known as *Xingye ji* (Account of Conduct)²⁵¹ where Zhiyuan's life was described in a rich literary style.²⁵² The preface to "Writings Compiled in Retirement" was dated as written in the first month of *qianxing renxu* (1022 C.E.) In the *Zhongyong zi zijiwen* (The Sacrificial essays of the Master of the Mean written by himself), it was given that Zhiyuan died on the nineteenth of the second month,²⁵³ and in most biographies of Zhiyuan, it was given that the year Zhiyuan died was *qianxing* (1022C.E.)²⁵⁴ This means that the Preface to "Writings

²⁵¹In Liaokong's colophon to *Xianjubian*, Wu zunlu's work was quoted as *Fashi xingzhuan*. See *Xianjubian*, XZJ101: 108a(8). In *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, Wu's work was quoted as *Xingye jie*. See XZJ130: 416a(14).

²⁵²Collected in XZJ 101: 27a-b.

²⁵³The date was given in the form of a interlineal note under the title of *Zongyongzi zijiwen*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 53c(11).

²⁵⁴See for instance, the biography of Zhiyuan in *Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 204c(27).

Compiled in Retirement" was written one month before Zhiyuan's death.

The historical facts on Zhiyuan, however, are very few in this biography. It only gives the courtesy name (*zi*) Wuwai, and the style (*ho*) Zhongyong *zi* of Zhiyuan, and that he became a novice at eight²⁵⁵ and studied, under Yuanqing (d. 990 C.E.), Tiantai's teaching of Three Contemplations (*Sanguang*) when he was twenty one. This information is apparently taken from Zhiyuan's "Biography of the Master of the Mean" (*Zhong yongzi zhuan*).²⁵⁶ Wu presented Zhiyuan as a skilful literary writer who placed equal emphasis on form and content, and was well versed in Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist teachings. Though Zhiyuan was a recluse, he attracted many earnest visiting students and scholars. Wu's

²⁵⁵My tentative understanding of the term *Dengju*. The meaning of the term *dengju* is not clear. *Deng* is to ascend, advance, or attain (see W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *Deng*, p.384); and *ju* is complete (W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *ju*, p.250). *Dengju* could be a short form for *juzujie*, complete rules or commandments (250 for the monks and 500, actually 348 for the nuns). To receive the complete commandments is to receive the full ordination which is normally done at the age of twenty and is technically not possible at the early age of eight. Therefore, I, tentatively read the *dengju* as to become a novice.

²⁵⁶See *Zhongyong zi zhuan* collected at *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ 101: 56b(2-8).

emphasis on the literary aspect of Zhiyuan's life can be explained by his own concern as a writer himself²⁵⁷ and the fact that he was writing a preface to Zhiyuan's collection of essays. In fact, Zhiyuan was one of the most important biographers.

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Kung's *Longping ji*
Wuanshu zhenben, vol.II.
 Wu, like his father, was a
 famous literati in the year of 1012 C.E.

and he was a friend of the famous literati Fan Zhongyan. Wu was involved in the imperial editorial projects of such important works as (1) *Taiping yulan* (An Encyclopedic Abstract of Books Prepared at the Period of Taiping), (2) *Wenyuan yinghua* (A Collection of the Best Works in the Literary Circle), (3) *Taiping guangji* (A Broad Collection of Novels Prepared at the Period of Taiping). Wu's biography was also found in Tuotuo's *Songshi* (A History on the Song dynasty), fascicle 426, under *Liezhuan* fascicle 185, See *Songshi* (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju) pp.12700-12701. This biography of Wu concentrates more on the history of his life as a government official.

Date	Author	Title
1230 C.E.	Tanxiu (fl. 1230 C.E.)	<i>Rentian baojian</i> (A Precious Mirror of Human and Heavenly Beings)
1237 C.E.	Zongjian (fl. 1237-1241 C.E.)	<i>Shimen zhengtong</i> (On Orthodoxy in Buddhism)
1256 C.E.	Yuanjing (fl. 1253-1259 C.E.)	<i>Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue</i> (A Brief Record of Eminent Monks in the Western Lake at Wulin)
1258-1269 C.E.	Zhipan (fl. 1258-1269 C.E.)	<i>Fozu tongji</i> (A Record of the Lineage of the Buddha and Patriarchs)
1341 C.E.	Nianchang (fl. 1341 C.E.)	<i>Fozu lidai tongzai</i> (A General Record of Buddha and Patriarchs Through the Ages)
1354 C.E.	Jue'an (fl. 1354 C.E.)	<i>Shishi jigulue</i> (A Brief Examination of Ancient Records of Buddhists)
1588--1640 C.E.	Minghe (1588-1640 C.E.)	<i>Buxu gaoseng chuan</i> (A Supplement to the Biographies on Eminent Monks)

The earliest among the seven biographies was written two hundred years after Zhiyuan's death. It was contained in the work *Rentian baojian* (A Precious Mirror in Heaven and Earth) written by Tanxiu (fl. 1230 CE) with a preface written by the same author dated 1230 C.E.²⁵⁸ Tanxiu's biography of Zhiyuan does not provide us with much historical information on Zhiyuan. It carries a full quotation of Zhiyuan's *Zhongyong zi zijiwen* (Sacrificial essay of the master of the Mean) at the end of the biography. Excluding the quotation of Zhiyuan's sacrificial essay, the biography consists of only eight lines. Almost half of it was devoted to describing how Zhiyuan refused Zunshi (964-1032 C.E.)'s invitation to join him in welcoming in person the coming of the prime minister.²⁵⁹ This incident was selected together with Zhiyuan's instruction to

²⁵⁸XZJ 148:55(b).

²⁵⁹According to the *Fozu tongji*, the prime minister, Wang Qinruo (also known as Wen Muwang), was demoted to serve at Qiantang in the third year of Tianxi, i.e. 1019 CE. See *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 44, T49:406b(6). This story of Zhiyuan refusing to welcome the coming of the prime minister was not told in Zhiyuan's own works, although Zhiyuan did indicate that "the wealthy, noble, and powerful, he (Zhiyuan) does not follow", and that "he (Zhiyuan) is not affected by power" in his autobiography *Bingfu zhuan* (Biography of the Sick man) (*Xianjubian* fascicle 4, XZJ 101:76c(15) & 76c(17)).

his disciples not to give him an elaborate funeral but to bury him in a porcelain pot²⁶⁰, and that he had prepared his own elegiac essay which was quoted in full at the end of his biography to give us an impression that Zhiyuan had transcended both worldly fame as well as life and death. The main theme of Zhiyuan's elegiac essay is precisely on the illusion of life and death. As we shall see, this image of Zhiyuan is found in all Zhiyuan's biographies written by Buddhist biographers.

The biography of Zhiyuan in Zongjian (fl.1237-1241 C.E.)'s *Shimen zhengtong* is substantially longer than Tanxiu's one.²⁶¹ The *Shimen zhengtong* was written with a preface dated 1237 C.E. In his biography of Zhiyuan, Zongjian made extensive use of Zhiyuan's works as found in his collection *Xianjubian*. First, Zongjian quoted from Zhiyuan's *Zhongyong zi zhuan* (Biography of the Master of the Mean) to give us basic historical information on Zhiyuan such as his courtesy name (*zi*) Wuwai, style (*hao*) Zhongyong

²⁶⁰Tanxiu quoted from Zhiyuan's *Zhongyong zizhuan* on his words to his disciples not to give him an elaborate funeral after his death but to bury him in a porcelain pot. [XZJ 101: 56d(13-14)] Tanxiu also quoted in full Zhiyuan's *Zongyong zi zijiwen* at the end of his Zhiyuan's biography. [XZJ 101: 53c(11)-53d(5)] This suggests that Tanxiu had relied heavily on Zhiyuan's *Xianjubian* in writing Zhiyuan's biography.

²⁶¹*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130:414b-416b.

zi, lay surname Xu, and that he was a native of Qiantang.²⁶² Based on *Zhongyong zi zhuan*, Zongjian also gives us information about Zhiyuan's early childhood: Zhiyuan understood filial piety and brotherly love as soon as he learnt how to speak. Instead of ordinary child's play, Zhiyuan used branches to practice writing and he preached to flowers, pretending that they were his disciples.²⁶³

By making reference to Zhiyuan's preface to Zhanran's work *Shibuer men*²⁶⁴, Zongjian praised Zhiyuan that his teaching did not violate the principles of the Tiantai school²⁶⁵ and that his discussion of the main theme of the school--identified by Zhiyuan as Three Contemplations (*Sanguang*)--surpasses all other Tiantai masters' discussion.²⁶⁶ Zongjian then quoted in full Zhiyuan's "Sishier zhangjing zhuxu" (Preface to the Commentary on the

²⁶²*Zhongyong zizhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ 101: 56b(2-6).

²⁶³See Zhiyuan's *Zhongyong zizhuan* in his *Xianjubian* fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56a(17).

²⁶⁴*Fahua xuanji shibuermen zhengsi xu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 10, XZJ 101:42a(1)

²⁶⁵*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130:414c(13-14).

²⁶⁶*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130:414d(2-1).

Sutra of Forty Two Chapters)²⁶⁷ and in half of the "Yu luoyan jiepan shu" (A Letter to the Official Luoyan).²⁶⁸

The main theme of these two long quotations is how the three teachings (Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism) complement each other.

Zongjian then praised the contribution of Zhiyuan using the Tiantai teachings (Three Contemplations and four teachings) to interpret the *Lengyan sutra*.²⁶⁹ Then Zongjian quoted a work titled "*Channa xianjing men*" (On the realm revealed through meditation)²⁷⁰, which is not included in

²⁶⁷*Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ 101:32b(13)-c(17).

²⁶⁸*Xianjubian*, fascicle 21, XZJ 101:58a(13)-b(18).

²⁶⁹In writing Zhiyuan's Biography, both Zongjian and Zhipan tells a story about the *Lengyan sutra* which came to China towards the end of Zhiyi's life and that Zhiyi (according to Zhipan it was Qingliang) predicted that there would be a Bodhisattva monk who would, after a few hundred years of the translation of the sutra into Chinese by a Bodhisattva who was an official, interpreted the sutra by using the Tiantai's teachings. Zongjian admitted that this was a legend but he pointed out that the prediction was fulfilled by Zhiyuan. Zhipan identified his source as *linjianlu* [XZJ 148: 585-648, a work attributed to Huihong (1071-1128 C.E.)] while Zongjian's source is unclear [he gave as *Qinghua* of Yinggong (n.d.) which I cannot identify] See *Fozutongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 205a(21-23), *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ130: 415bc(1-6). Zhiyuan's commentary on the *Lengyan sutra* no longer exists but his preface to his commentary survives in his collection *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1 & 4, XZJ 101:32a-b, & 36d(14)-37a(6).

²⁷⁰*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130:415c(6)-d(12).

the existing version of Zhiyuan's *Xianjubian*, the main theme of which is to entrust the ruler with the mission to guide against those who cause damage to the *dharma*.

Zongjian then introduces Zhiyuan by telling the following events:

- (1) He was the author of the ten commentaries.
- (2) He studied both Confucianism and Daoism and expressed the Way in his writing of poems and prose.
- (3) He lived alone and never submitted to the powerful. He befriended Lin Bu and declined Zunshi's invitation to welcome the prime minister, Wang Qinruo, to Qiantang.²⁷¹
- (4) He was sick and called himself a sick man, nevertheless he did not stop writing. He hated fortune-telling and wrote to refute the practice of them.
- (5) He instructed his disciples not to give him an elaborate funeral but bury him in a porcelain pot and only place a stone in front to mark the date of his death and his name.
- (6) Fifteen years after his death, Zhiyuan's disciples reopened the porcelain container to find his body had not rotted and both the master's hair and nails had grown

²⁷¹See note 259 on page 109 of this dissertation.

long, the lips were slightly open and the teeth shone like jewels, his clothing was also fresh. The disciples then scattered incense over the body and buried it again.

- (8) In the year of 1103 C.E., Zhiyuan was given the posthumous title Fawai. In the year 1152 C.E., the Empress Xianren once went hunting in the North but was surrounded by enemies. She happened to carry with her a picture of the four saints²⁷² that she had painted earlier. At night, she had a dream of the four saints and thereafter she was rescued. She then ordered the old residence of Zhiyuan to be changed to a temple devoted to worshipping the four saints. Therefore the pagoda of Zhiyuan had to be moved to the Northern mountain.

Zhiyuan's biography also appears in one of his *dharma* descendants, Yuanjing's, (1253-1259 CE) *Wulinxiu gaoseng shilue* (Brief biographies of the Eminent Monks in the

²⁷²It is unclear of who were the four saints to whom the empress were referring. It is likely that she was referring to the four famous *Bodhisattvas*: *Avalokitesvara*, *Maitreya*, *Samantabhadra*, *Manjusri*. See Ding Fubao, *Foxue dacidian*, entry on *Sisheng* (Four Saints) and Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *Sipusa* (the Four *Bodhisattvas*) p.181.

Western Lake).²⁷³ The preface of the work was dated 1256 C.E. By comparing the biography of Zhiyuan produced by Yuanjing with the previous Zhiyuan biographies we may see that by the time of Yuanjing, the basic structure of Zhiyuan's biography had come into being. There are two basic events in Zhiyuan's biographies, they are (1) his declining of Zunshi's invitation to welcome the Prime minister to Hangzhou which was first recorded by Tanxiu. (2) The miraculous preservation of Zhiyuan's body fifteen years after his death which was first recorded in Zongjian's *Shimen zhengtong*.

The first event seems to aim at presenting Zhiyuan as someone who was living a life of renunciation. This image becomes apparent when we read the first event together with

²⁷³XZJ 134:237(b-c). According to the *Hushan bianlan* of Zhai Hao (Fl.1766 CE), Yuanjing built the *Gaoseng ge* (the chamber for eminent monks) at the Mano slope during his residence at Gushan (Lonely mountain) in the year of 1233 CE. See Zhaihao, *Hushan bianlan* fascicle 4, (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1969), p.336. Yuanjing 's biography can also be found in Shen yiji (1735 CE) *Zhejiang tongzhi* fascicle 198, (Taipei: Huwan shuju, 1735), p.17 (3279). Apparently, Yuanjing was a *dharma*-descendant of Zhiyuan. In the postscript to Zhiyuan's *Xianjubian* (written in the year of 1249 CE), Yuanjing claimed that he moved to the mountain (Gushan) formerly lived in by his *dharma* ancestor (*Zu*), that is Zhiyuan, and that he built an Arbour and pagoda as well as collecting money to publish Zhiyuan's *Xianjubian* so as to popularize the teaching of his *dharma* ancestor (*zu dao*). See *Xianjubian*, appendix following fascicle 51, XZJ 101: 108b(1-5).

the following two points: (i) Zhiyuan's retreating to Gushan to live with the famous recluse Lin Bu, and his writing of his own elegiac essays and poems, thereby refusing the honour of having someone important write them for him.

(ii) Zhiyuan's instruction to his disciples not to give him an elaborate funeral but to bury him in a porcelain pot. All these point to the image of someone who is leading a life of true renunciation.

The second event, the miraculous preservation of his body, seems to give proof of Zhiyuan's being an eminent monk (*gaoseng*)²⁷⁴, a status which is further supported by the fact that he was given the posthumous title as the great master of *Fawai* (wisdom of *dharma*) by the court. Zhiyuan's biography often ends with mentioning the moving of his pagoda to the Northern mountain.

²⁷⁴According to Zanning (919-1001 C.E.)'s *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song), there are ten categories through which a monk could attain eminence. The ten categories are: (1) Translators (*Yijing*), (2) Exegetes (*Yijie*), (3) Chan Practitioners (*Xichan*), (4) Disciplinarians (*Minglu*), (5) Dharam Protectors (*Hufa*), (6) Miracle Workers (*Gantong*), (7) Self Immolators (*Yishen*), (8) Cantors (*Dujing*), (9) Promoters of works of Merit (*Xingfu*), (10) Various Categories of Invokers of virtue (*Zake shengde*). See Albert Welter, "Zanning and Chan: the Changing Nature of Buddhism in early Song China", *Journal of chinese Religions* 23(Fall 1995):109 & 128, n.18.

Another Tiantai monk, Zhipan, has also written a biography of Zhiyuan between the years 1265-1275 C.E.²⁷⁵ In writing Zhiyuan's biography, Zhipan followed closely the structure laid down by Zongjian. By using information from *Zhongyong zi zhuan*, Zhipan first gives us information on Zhiyuan's early childhood up to his study of Tiantai Buddhism under Yuanqing. Then follows by the two basic events of Zhiyuan's life as described above. Like Zongjian, Zhipan also emphasized Zhiyuan's contribution to Buddhism: (1) Zhiyuan made important comments in his writing on how Buddhism surpasses the Confucian and Daoist teaching. Zhiyuan's essay "*Sishier zhangjingshuxu*" was partly quoted at the end of Zhipan's biography on Zhiyuan. (2) He wrote important commentaries on the *Lengyan* sutra -- a salient Buddhist scripture in the Song dynasty. The main difference between the two Tiantai biographers, however, was that Zongjian was very sympathetic towards Zhiyuan's version of the Tiantai teaching. This can be seen from his comments on Zhiyuan such as "his (Zhiyuan's) teaching did not violate the principles of the school", "his discussion of the main themes of the school surpasses all other (Tiantai)

²⁷⁵XZJ 131:77b-c.

masters".²⁷⁶ This kind of comments on Zhiyuan is not found in Zhipan's biography.

We must note here that Zhipan himself belonged to the lineage of Zhili which is commonly known as the Shanjia faction.²⁷⁷ We, therefore, do not expect Zhipan to have positive comments on the Tiantai teaching of Zhiyuan who was supposed to be the leader of the Shanwai faction. Zongjian's sympathetic attitude towards Zhiyuan may be explained by their common interest in the Confucian tradition. Both Zhiyuan and Zongjian studied Confucianism before turning to the Tiantai school.²⁷⁸

Zhiyuan's biography in the *Shishi jigulue* (A Brief Examination of Ancient Records on Buddhists) was the shortest among all his biographies written by Buddhists.²⁷⁹ It was written by Jue'an (fl. 1354 CE) with a preface by Lihuan dated at 1354 C.E. In this biography of Zhiyuan, Jue'an mentions only (1) Zhiyuan's calling himself Zhongyong

²⁷⁶XZJ 130: 414c(13-14), 414d(2-3).

²⁷⁷See the Tiantai lineage chart collected in the appendix of Kamata Shigeto, *Chugoku Bukkyo shi* (Iwanami shoten, 1980).

²⁷⁸For a brief biography on Zongjian see Mingfu, *Zhongguo foxue renming citen* (Taibei: fangzhou chupan she, 1974) Entry on Zongjian.

²⁷⁹XZJ 133:54.

zi (Master of the Mean), and his writing of his own elegiac essay, (2) his writing of ten commentaries on Buddhist scriptures,²⁸⁰ (3) his being a neighbour of Linbu, and a friend of Zunshi²⁸¹, (4) his being buried in a porcelain pot and his body not decaying fifteen years after his death, (5) the moving of his grave in the year 1151 C.E.

²⁸⁰Mentioned in Zhiyuan's *Amituo jingshu xizi chaoxu* (Preface to Commentary on the Amitabha Sutra as Resources to the West) XZJ 101: 37c(3). The ten commentaries are

- (1) *Wenshu shuo banruojing shu* (Commentary on the Prajna Sutra Spoken by Manjusri)
- (2) *Banruo xinjing shu* (Commentary on the Heart Sutra)
- (3) *Shuo lengyanjing shu* (Commentary on the surangama Sutra)
- (4) *Puru busiyi famenjing shu* (Commentary on the Sutra of the Universal Entrance into the Inconceivable)
- (5) *Yijiao jingshu* (Commentary on the Sutra on Teachings Handed Down by Buddha)
- (6) *Ruiying jingshu* (Commentary on the Sutra of Auspicious Responses)
- (7) *Wuliangyi jingshu* (Commentary on the Sutra of Infinite Meaning)
- (8) *Guan puxian xingfa jingshu* (Commentary on the Sutra of the Practice on the Contemplation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra)
- (9) *Zhu sishier jiang jing* (Commentary on the Sutra of the Forty Two Chapters)
- (10) *Amituo jingshu* (Commentary on the Amitabha Sutra). Of the above, only the *Banruo xinjing shu* survives which is collected in XZJ 41. Of the rest, only the prefaces to the commentaries survive which are collected in the *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1-2, XZJ 101: 32a-35d. See also the chart on p.197-199 of this dissertation.

²⁸¹Zunshi's biography can be found in *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, T49: 207a-209a.

Another biography of Zhiyuan written in the same dynasty appears in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* (A General Record of Buddha and Patriarchs Through the Ages) which was written by a Chan monk, Nianchang, with a preface dated 1341 C.E. by Yuji. This biography is similar to the one found in the *Xihu goaseng shilue* except that Zhiyuan's study of Confucianism and Daoism in his early life is not mentioned. A list of Zhiyuan's writings is, however, provided at the end of Nianchang's biography on Zhiyuan.

The latest Buddhist biography of Zhiyuan was written in the Ming dynasty by the monk Minghe (1588-1640) known as the *Buxu gaoseng zhuan* (A Supplement to the Biography on Eminent Monks).²⁸² In writing the biography of Zhiyuan, Minghe follows closely the *Fozu tongji* but does not provide a list of his works. He added, though, that Zhiyuan had resolved to revitalize the teaching of Zhanran.

2. Secular Biographies of Zhiyuan

The lonely mountain on which Zhiyuan lived towards the end of his life was in Xihu (Western Lake) in Hangzhou, a famous tourist spot in China. Zhiyuan was, therefore,

²⁸²XZJ 134:35.

mentioned in various gazetteers and travelling records.

There are eight secular works which contain Zhiyuan's biographical records. They are:

Year	Author	Title
1268 C.E.	Qian Shuoyou	<i>Xianchun linanchi</i> (The Gazetteer of Linan written in the Xianchun period)
1526 C.E.	Tian Rucheng	<i>Xihu youlanzhi</i> (The Record of Travelling in Xihu)
1573-1620 C.E.	Wu Zhijing	<i>Wulin fanzhi</i> (The Record of Temples in the Wulin Area)
1735 C.E.	Shen Yiji	<i>Zhejiang tongzhi</i> (The Gazetteer of Zhejiang)
1760 C.E.	Shen Teqian	<i>Xihu zhizuan</i> (A Collection of Gazetteers of Xihu)
1766 C.E.	Zhaihao	<i>Hushan bianlan</i> (A Quick Survey of the Lakes and Mountains)
1784 C.E.	Shao Qiran	<i>Hangzhou fuzhi</i> (The Gazetteer of Hangzhou)
1888-1900 C.E.	Gong Jiajun	<i>Hangzhou fuzhi</i> (The Gazetteer of Hangzhou)

The earliest one was Qian Shuoyou's *Xianchun linan zhi* (The Gazetteer of Lian written in the Xianchun period).²⁸³ It was written in the year 1268 C.E. There are four entries about Zhiyuan in this work. One is under the name Zhiyuan, one is under the name of Zhiyuan's temple, the Mano Baosheng temple, and one is under the entry 'Fawei dashi fen', or the grave of Zhiyuan, and the last one is on the pagoda of Zhiyuan's *dharma* ancestor Wuen. All four of the entries are brief. In the entry on Zhiyuan, he was portrayed as a *fashi*, (Buddhist master of *dharma*) of Qiantang styled Wuwai, who was very good at writing and he called himself Zhongyong zi (The Master of the Mean). In this short entry on Zhiyuan, Qian quotes two sentences from Wu Zunlu's Preface to *Xianjubian* to praise his achievement in *Dao* which is also shown in his physical appearance.²⁸⁴ Writing here refers not so much to Zhiyuan's Buddhist commentary writings as to his secular literary writings, especially poetry. It was

²⁸³Qian shuoyou, *Xianchun linan zhi*, Fascicle 70,79,89; found in the *Songyuan tifangzhi sanshiqizhong* (Taipei: Guotai wanhua shiye youxiangongsi, 1980) vol.7 p.4530, 4624, 4722.

²⁸⁴Zhiyuan was said to be "*shenyu qingming*". See Wu zunlu's Preface to *Xianjubian*, XZJ 101: 27a(9-11)& (15).

told that Zhiyuan had no teacher for his literary writing and that he learnt it from studying Han Yu's writing.²⁸⁵

Not much information on Zhiyuan's life is found in the other three entries. In the entry of Mano Baoshengji, a brief history of Zhiyuan's temple is given. It is told that the temple was first built in the third year of Kaiyun (946 C.E.)²⁸⁶ Then in the second year of Zhiping (1065 C.E.), a plaque for the temple was bestowed by the court. In the twenty second year of Shaoxing (1152 C.E.), the temple was moved to the East of Geling to make room for the building of the new Yanxiang temple ordered by the court. In the sixth year of Shaoting (1233 C.E.), the Gaoseng ge was built, and in the eighth year of Chunyou (1248 C.E.), the temple was rebuilt by the official Zhao Anfu (n.d.). Then Qian mentions that there was a grave of a Chan master (probably a copyist's mistake for *dharma* master) Fawei in the temple. His pagoda was later moved to the mountain behind the temple. Fawei called himself Zhongyo ng zi (Master of the

²⁸⁵Qian Shuoyou especially points out that Zhiyuan's essay "*Minghu guang*" (Naming the Light at the Lake) [Xianjubian fascicle 32, XZJ 101: 73c(15)-74a(14)] was written in imitation of Hanyu's style, see *Xianchun linan zhi*, fascicle 70, p.4530, entry on Zhiyuan.

²⁸⁶In "*Manoyuan chongjie daijieji*" in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 40d(11-12), Zhiyuan tells us that his temple was first built in the second year of Tiancheng, that is 927 C.E.

Mean) and he wrote his own sacrificial poems which were quoted at the end of the entry. In the entry on the grave of the great master Fawei, Qian tells us that the grave is situated on the mountain behind the Baosheng temple and the master's name was Zhiyuan, style Wuwei, though he called himself Zhongyongzi (Master of the Mean). He was a very able poet and he asked to be buried in a porcelain pot. He wrote his sacrificial essay as well as sacrificial poems some of which were quoted at the end.²⁸⁷

There is only one sentence under the entry on the pagoda of the eminent monk (Wu)en. It was told that the pagoda was situated on the slopes of Mano and a sentence from Zhiyuan's poem on the pagoda was quoted.²⁸⁸ Apparently what interested Qian about Zhiyuan was his poems.

There are two secular writings of the Ming dynasty which contain Zhiyuan's biography. The first one is the *Xihu youlan zhi* (The Record of Travelling in Xihu) by Tian Rucheng who received his *Xinshi* (bachelor) in the year of 1526 C.E.²⁸⁹ In this writing, Zhiyuan is mentioned under

²⁸⁷*Wangeci sansou* (Three writings of Dirge) collected in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 37, XZJ 101: 80d(7-16).

²⁸⁸*Gushan shi sanshou* (Three poems on the Lonely Mountain) in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 40, XZJ 101:85a(6).

²⁸⁹Tian rucheng, *Xihu youlan zhi* (Taibei: Shijie shuju, (continued...))

the entry of his Mano Baosheng temple. Here, more information on Zhiyuan's life is given. Tian starts his introduction of Zhiyuan by mentioning two springs that were dug by him.²⁹⁰ They were probably special points of interest at the Gushan. Zhiyuan is then portrayed as a learned monk who called himself the master of the Mean. It also includes the story of Zhiyuan's refusal to welcome the coming of the prime minister to his area,²⁹¹ and that Zhiyuan was a friend of Lin Bu, the famous recluse. As well, there is Zhiyuan's instruction to his disciples to bury him in a porcelain pot and that he had written his own

(...continued)
1963) fascicle 2, p.18-19.

²⁹⁰The *pufu quan* (Spring of the servant) is mentioned in the *Pufu quanji* (A Record on the Spring called Pufu), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ 101: 49c(12)-d(12). cf. *Sushan shi sanshou* (Three poems on the Lonely Mountain, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 40, XZJ 101: 85a(3). Zhiyuan mentions about the Xian quan (Spring of Leisure) at his poems *Gushanshi ershou* (Two poems on the Lonely Mountain) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 39, XZJ 101:83b(16). In an interlinear note found in the poem, Zhiyuan mentions that the spring is near the Mano temple but he does not mention that it was dug by him.

²⁹¹Tian Rucheng's quotation of Zhiyuan's reply to Zunshi, "(Unlike others who) consuming the mountain and its rivers so as to get busy in the secular world, (I would rather) stay here for the time being" (*Xihu youlan zhi*, p.18) is different from the Buddhist biographers' quotation "Tell Ciyun for me that Qiantang needs one monk to stay there". (For instant *Rentian baojian* XZJ 148:55d(13-14)). Apparently Tian was using another sourcedifferent from the Buddhist biographers like Tanxiu for this story.

elegiac essays which were quoted together with his poems at the end.²⁹² Tian's portrait of Zhiyuan is quite similar to those of Buddhist biographers which indicates that he had consulted their works when writing his biography of Zhiyuan.

The other work written in the Ming dynasty which contains Zhiyuan's biography is known as the *Wulin fanzhi* (The Record of temples in the Wulin), written by Wu Zhijing who got his *Xinshi* between the years 1537-1620 C.E.²⁹³ Having noted that most of the shrines and temples in the Hangzhou area were damaged due to age, Wu Zhijing decided to make a record of them. Zhiyuan's biography is found in Wu's work under the entry of the Mano temple. This biography is, however, a word for word reproduction of the one found in the earlier work *Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue*. Another indication that the secular biographers have relied on the Buddhist biographies in writing their biographies on Zhiyuan.

²⁹²The *Wangeci sansou* (Three writings of Dirge), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 37, XZJ 101: 80d(7-16), and the *Zongyongzi yuzi ming zhiyuemuzhi* (The Tomb Inscription of Zongyong zi Prepared by Himself), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 27, XZJ 101: 80d(17)-81a(1).

²⁹³Wu zhijing, *Wulin fanzhi* (Taibei: Xinwanfeng chubanshe, 1987) fascicle 10, p.238-239.

During the Qing dynasty the writing of Gazetteers flourished. There were five works in which Zhiyuan's biography could be found. The earliest one being the *Zhejiang tongzhi* (The Gazetteers of Zhejiang) by Shen yiji and others written in the year of 1735 C.E.²⁹⁴ The biography of Zhiyuan in this work consists of quotations from two earlier Buddhist works, *Fozu lidai tongzai* and the *Xihu goaseng shilue*. The writer uses *Fozu lidai tongzai* to give basic historical information on Zhiyuan and uses *Xihu goaseng shilu* to introduce Zhiyuan as someone who (1) refused to welcome the coming of the prime minister, (2) lived next to the recluse Linbu, (3) was fond of writing poems and wrote his own elegiac essays, (4) ordered his disciples to bury him in a porcelain pot where his body remained undecayed fifteen years after his death.

Next we have the *Xihu zhizuan* (A Collection of Gazetteers of Xihu) of Shen Teqian and others written in the years 1731-1760 C.E.²⁹⁵ The author mentions the *Wanli*

²⁹⁴Shen yiji, *Zhejiang tongzhi* (Taibei: Huawan shuju, 1735) fascicle 198, pp.13-18.

²⁹⁵Shen teqian et al. *Xihu zhizuan* (Taibei: Guangwan shuju, 1978) fascicle 3, pp.324, entry on the slope of Mano. Related entry can be found in fascicle 8, entry on the Lecture hall of Mano, pp.577-578; and entry on *Pufu quan*, pp.578-579.

hangzhou fuzhi (The Gazetteer of Hangzhou prepared during the period of Wanli, i.e. 1573-1619 C.E.), the *Xianchun linanchi*, and the *Xihu youlanzhi*, as his sources. In this work, Zhiyuan is briefly mentioned under the entry on the slopes of Mano. It was told that there was a Baosheng temple on the slopes of Mano where there were two springs--the *Xianquan* (Spring of Leisure) and the *Pufu quan* (Spring of the Servant) both of which were dug by Zhiyuan. Of Zhiyuan, it was told that he was a monk styled *Wuwai*, also known as the master of the Mean who was a friend of Linbu.²⁹⁶ Another related entry in the *Xihu zhizuan*, is the entry on the Mano jiangji where, by quoting the *Xianchun linanchi*, the author gives a brief history of Zhiyuan's temple.²⁹⁷

In the *Hushan bianlan* (A Quick Survey of the Lakes and Mountains) of Zhai Hao written in the year 1766, there are four entries related to Zhiyuan.²⁹⁸ They are the Mano Baosheng temple, the Gaoseng tower, the Xian spring, the Pufu spring. Information about Zhiyuan's life is, however,

²⁹⁶Shen teqian gives *Xianchun linanchi*, *Xihu youlanzhi*, as well as the *Hangzhou fuzhi* as his reference.

²⁹⁷*Xihu zhizuan*, fascicle 8, p.578.

²⁹⁸Zhaihao, *Hushan bianlan* (Taibei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1969) fascicle 2 & 4, pp.16-18, 36-37.

found only under the entry on the Mano Baosheng temple. Zhiyuan is introduced as a monk who rebuilt the Baosheng temple and built the *Yejiang ting* (Arbour for night lectures) and the *Gaoseng ge* (Chamber for eminent monks).²⁹⁹ It is also told that (1) Zhiyuan exchanged poems with Lin Bu and had written a work named *Xianjubian* in fifty one fascicles. (2) Zhiyuan was buried in a porcelain pot in the mountain behind his temple and it was known as the *Taoqi fen* (Porcelain grave). (3) The grave was eventually moved to the mountain Ge during Shaoxing period. Two poems written by Zhiyuan are quoted at the end of the entry on Mano Baosheng temple.³⁰⁰ In each of the entries on the *Gaoseng ge*, *Xianquan*, and the *Pufu quan*, one sentence for Zhiyuan's poem "*Gushan shi sanshou*" (Three poems on the Lonely Mountain), and "*Gushanshi er shou*" (Two poems on the Lonely Mountain), where he mentions the above place, are quoted.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹Zhaihao probably based himself on Zhiyuan's essay "*Yijiangting ji*" (A Record on the Arbour for Night Lectures) in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101: 50a(14)-c(12).

³⁰⁰"*Huju jishi ji renzhi*" (A Poem to My Cousin Written During my Dwelling at the Lake), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 41, XZJ 101: 86b(10-14) and *Wangeci san sou* (Three Writings of Dirge); *Xianjubian*, fascicle 37, XZJ 101: 80d(14-16).

³⁰¹"*Gushanshi sanshou*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 40, XZJ 101:85a(3) & (6). "*Gushanshi ershou*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle
(continued...)

There are two gazetteers from Hangzhou with the same title, *Hangzhou fuzhi*, where biographies of Zhiyuan can be found. The first one was written by Shao Qiran in the year 1784 in which there is a biography of Zhiyuan. This biography, however, is a word to word quotation from the biography of Zhiyuan found in the *Zhejiang tongzhi* written in the year 1735 C.E.³⁰² The other one was written by Gong Jiajun between the years 1888 and 1900 C.E.³⁰³ The biography of Zhiyuan found in this work is a summary of the *Hangzhou fuzhi* written in 1784 C.E. which is based on an earlier work *Zhejiang tongzhi* written in 1735 C.E.

Our study of the biographies on Zhiyuan written by secular biographers has shown that they relied on the biographies written by the earlier Buddhist biographers. In some cases, the biography consists of either quotations or summaries of the Buddhist biographers' works. Most secular biographers appear to have more interest in Zhiyuan's poems than his Buddhist writings. The image of Zhiyuan from the writings of secular biographers is that of a recluse poet

(...continued)
39, XZJ 101:83b(16).

³⁰²Shan qiran *Hangzhou fuzhi* (Taibei: Dongfang wanhua gongyingshe, 1970) fascicle 107, pp.11-12.

³⁰³Gong jiajun, *Hangzhou fuzhi* (Taibei: Chengwan chubanshe, 1874) fascicle 171. pp.11-12.

who lived next to Lin Bu and wrote his own elegiac poems and essays.

Our survey of the fifteen biographies of Zhiyuan has shown that the *Xihu gaoseng shilue* was the major source used for many biographies of Zhiyuan.³⁰⁴ The portrait of Zhiyuan by the author of *Xihu gaoseng shilue* has become the standard reference for later biographers especially non-Buddhist biographers. One of the main points of the *Gaoseng shilue*'s portrayal of Zhiyuan is that he studied Confucianism in early life. Most biographers recorded that Zhiyuan was a neighbour of Lin Bu. Lin Bu was a famous Confucian recluse and poet. Being a neighbour of Linbu means more than just living physically next to him. It suggests that they have a common interest, namely poetry writing. In other words, the literary skill of Zhiyuan is appreciated by many secular biographers. The other point that was stressed by *Gaoseng shilue* is the story about Zhiyuan's body remaining undecayed fifteen years after his death. This was widely told by Zhiyuan's secular biographers. This is a sign of an eminent monk. Also commonly found in Zhiyuan's biographies was his desire to be buried in a porcelain pot and that he wrote his

³⁰⁴The account of Zhiyuan in *Wulin Xihu gaoseng shilue* was used by the authors of *Wulin fanzhi*, *Zhejiang tongzhi*, the two *Hangzhou fuzhi*, and the *Fozu lidai tongzai*.

own sacrificial poems. To be able to write one's sacrificial essays means that one is trying to present himself as someone who is able to face one's death calmly.

To summarize, the image of Zhiyuan as found in his biographies is that he was a learned and literary monk skilled especially in poetry writing. He was remembered as a monk who transcended the world of fame as well as life and death. Our study of Zhiyuan's biographies shows that there are no references to his involvement in the "Shanjia/Shanwai" debate.

IV. Three Themes of Zhiyuan's Life in His Autobiographies

Apart from his Buddhist commentarial works, Zhiyuan left behind a rich collection of his essays and poems entitled *Xianjubian* (Writings Compiled in Retirement). His essays, especially his autobiographical essays *Zhongyongzi zhuan* (The biography of the Master of the Mean)³⁰⁵, his "Xie Wu Sicheng zhuan Xianjubianxu shu" (A Letter of Giving Thanks to Official Wu Who Has Compiled a Preface to My Collection 'Writings Compiled in Retirement')³⁰⁶ and his long narrative poems *Huchu kanshang* (On the Sentimental Feelings During My Residence at the Lake) provides us with important biographical information on his life.³⁰⁷ Based on these essays and poems, we are able to reconstruct a picture of Zhiyuan's life that lies behind the label of a "Shanwai" monk.

Zhiyuan was born in 976 C.E. in Qiantang. Qiantang is situated in the Southeast coastal prefecture Hangzhou which

³⁰⁵*Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 55c-57a.

³⁰⁶*Xianjubian*, fascicle 22, XZJ101: 59d-60d.

³⁰⁷*Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ101: 102b-d.

had gradually become an important economic centre in the country.³⁰⁸

There is very little information with regard to Zhiyuan's family background. Based on his autobiographical essays as found in his *Xianjubian* (Writings Compiled in Retirement), Zhiyuan's life can be reconstructed in three themes which probably reflected different themes of his family background: the Confucian theme, the Buddhist theme and the theme of his ill health. Zhiyuan discussed the Confucian and Buddhist aspect of his life in terms of practices inherited from former lives (*suxi*).³⁰⁹ The Confucian theme of his life as a practice inherited from his former lives is shown in the following points:³¹⁰

(1) His favourite childhood game which was to arrange flowers as if they were his students and pretend to lecture

³⁰⁸For a discussion on the economic situation during Song, especially in the Qiantang area, see T.C. Liu & Peter J. Golas ed. *Change in Sung China: Innovation or Renovation* Problems in Asian Civilizations Lexington: D.C. Heath & W, 1969.

³⁰⁹The term *suxi* was used in Zhiyuan's long narrative poems *Wuchu kangshang*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ101: 102b(5).

³¹⁰Taken from *Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56a(17)-b(1); and *Wuchu kangshang*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ101: 102b(6-7).

to them on such subjects as treating parents with filial piety or loving older and younger brother.

(2) When he was a child, instead of playing ordinary children games, Zhiyuan used grass and tree branches, wetted them with water, and wrote on stone to practice Chinese characters.

(3) When he started to talk, he already understood filial piety and brotherly affection, the two most basic Confucian moral principles in the family.

At the same time, Zhiyuan spoke of his predilection for the Buddhist path (*kongmen*, literally gate of emptiness) which was also a practice inherited from previous lives³¹¹ and his early determination to leave the family home -- a decision the parents had to accept.³¹² Zhiyuan became a novice at the age of eight.³¹³

In his essay *Jimeng* (On Recording Dreams), Zhiyuan mentions that his leaving of the householder's life (*Chujia*) was related to the ill-health he had suffered since he was a

³¹¹"*Xie wusicheng zhuan xianjubianxu shu*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 22, XZJ101: 60a(13).

³¹²*Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(1-2).

³¹³*Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(2). The meaning of the term *dengju* is not clear. I tentatively read the *dengju* as to become a novice. See my discussion in note 255 in p.106 of this dissertation.

small baby.³¹⁴ It was his father's intention that he should leave the householder's life. His ill health represents a third important aspect of his life. Zhiyuan composed an autobiography entitled *Bingfu zhuan* (The Biography of the Sick man) where his illness was placed at the centre of his self-portrait.³¹⁵ Zhiyuan also collected some of his literary works in a collection named *Bingkeji* (Collected Assignments in illness).³¹⁶ Some of the literary works collected in his *Xianjubian* were also clearly related to his illness, notably his *Bingfu* (Rhapsody on Sickness)³¹⁷ and his narrative poems *Bingqi zixu* (A Self-description Written During a Recovery from Sickness).³¹⁸

³¹⁴*Jimeng, Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51a(16).

³¹⁵*Bingfu zhuan, Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76c-d.

³¹⁶According to the colophon written by Liaokong (n.d.), the *Bingkeji* was included in the present version of the *Xianjubian*, and the *Bingkeji* consists of three fascicles. I believe the *Bingkeji* had mixed up with the rest of Zhiyuan's works collected in the *Xianjubian* and cannot be identified as a separate work. See Liaokong's colophon at the end of *Xianjubian*, XZJ101: 108a(10-11). The preface to the collection, *Bingkeji*, however, survives and is collected in the *Xianjubian*, fascicle 11, XZJ101: 44b-c.

³¹⁷*Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76d(4)-77a(2).

³¹⁸*Xianjubian*, fascicle 48, XZJ101: 100b-c.

1. Zhiyuan's Life and Confucian Learning

In his essay 'Jimeng', Zhiyuan mentions that at the age of thirteen, after telling his father about his dream of the Buddha, his father sighed and replied,

You have always suffered from illness since you were a baby. Therefore, I let you leave the householder's life. I also let you befriend those Confucian scholars (ru) and make studying [of classics] your basic career so that you might [later] receive salary from this illuminated dynasty [i.e. work with the government] thereby honouring our clan.³¹⁹

While it was the intention of Zhiyuan's father to let him become a monk, it was also his father's will to have him familiarize himself with the Confucian tradition so that he might have a chance to work as a civil servant in the future. It is unclear how Zhiyuan's father could expect his son to engage simultaneously in two diametrically opposite ways of life: leaving the household and entering the civil service. Perhaps he thought that Zhiyuan might return to

³¹⁹*Jimeng*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51a(16-17). The idea of getting religious blessings in order to increase the chance of surviving of a sick child is not totally unprecedented. Recorded in the *Hou Han Shu* 10.6a is a story of a prince who was brought up in the family of a Daoist. It was explained that since the emperor Ling lost his other sons several times, he dared not give a formal name to this son and had him brought up in the family of a Daoist named Shi Zimiao and called his son Shi Hou. (Quoted by Ying-shih Yu in his "Life and Immortality in the mind of Han china" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25(1965):117). This story has some parallels with Zhiyuan.

secular life after he grew up and overcame his illness. It is clear, though, there is a tension in Zhiyuan's life in these two conflicting roles: Zhiyuan as a Buddhist monk and Zhiyuan as a Confucian literary writer. Zhiyuan's association with the Confucian tradition comes from his predilection for literary writing.

In his *Zhongyongzi zhuan*, Zhiyuan tells us that by the age of fifteen he understood *Sao* and *Ya*, two kinds of classic poetry, and he liked to compose a stylized poems popular during the Tang dynasty (*lushi*). Zhiyuan confessed that he started to make plans to study more of the Confucian writings (*Zhoukong shu*) under some Confucian scholars when he was twenty one.³²⁰ Zhiyuan's collection *Xianjubian* is vivid evidence of his predisposition for literary writing. The relationship of his predisposition for literary writing and his engagement in Confucian studies needs to be examined against both the background of his time and his literary theory.

³²⁰*Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56d(3-4).

A) The Background of Zhiyuan's Literary Writing

Zhiyuan's predisposition for literary writing is related to the social and political atmosphere of his time. In order to strengthen the power of the court and to reduce the possibility of rebellion by the generals or regional military commanders (*Jiedu shi*) which happened so often during the Five Dynasties³²¹, Taizu (Zhao kuangyin , reigned 960-974 C.E.), the grand progenitor of the Song dynasty, placed all military forces directly under the central government and kept the best military units at the capital. He also transferred his own leading generals to minor posts or retired them with suitable rewards. Taizu limited the power of local military commanders and replaced them with civil officials wherever it was possible.³²² This policy of replacing the regional military commanders with civil officials was further adopted by Taizu's successors. The civil service examination had, therefore, to be

³²¹See Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1967).

³²²Taizu traded his general's appointments to civil officials for their swords and sealed the New agreement with a famous 'cup of wine'. On Taizu's policy to strengthen the centre in order to control the provinces, see Raymond Dawson, *Imperial China*, Penguin Books, 1972, p. 132.

substantially expanded to provide the court with an extra supply of civil officials.³²³ During the reign of Taizu, the average number of Bachelors (*Jinshi*), one of the highest titles given to successful candidates of the examination, granted per year was nine. During the reign of the second emperor, Taizong, (Zhaojiong, reign 976-997 C.E.), it was increased to fifty. The number of *Jinshi* further increased to eighty seven during the reign of the third emperor Zhenzong (Zhaozhong, reign 998-1022 C.E.), and to one hundred and thirteen during the reign of the fourth emperor Renzong (Zhaozhen, reign 1023-1063 C.E.).³²⁴

The civil service examination can be traced back to the Sui dynasty but successful candidates were often limited to the descendants of wealthy families.³²⁵ Therefore, prior to

³²³On civil service examination during the Song, see E.A. Kracke Jr., *Civil Service in Early Sung China: 960-1067 A.D.* (Harvard University Press, 1953); John W. Chaffa, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China*, (State University of New York Press, 1994); and Winston W. Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Song China With Emphasis on Its Personnel Administration* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii press, 1987).

³²⁴Chikusa Masaki, *Sono Taiso to Taiso*, translated into Chinese by Lin jiebin as *Zhao kuangyin zhuan* (The Biography of Zhao kuangyin) (Taipei: Guoji wenhua shiye yuoxiangongsi, 1989), pp.140-141.

³²⁵Chikusa Masaki, Lin jiebin trans. *Zhao kuangyin zhuan* (Taipei: Guoji wenhua shiye yuoxiangongsi, 1989) p.140.

Song, China's social landscape was dominated by men of aristocratic lineage known as *menfa* who monopolized culture, scholarship, and the opportunities for government service.³²⁶ The situation changed during the Song dynasty. Although recruitment on the basis of family lineage or Yin privilege for officials of civil rank still accounted for 50% of the personnel, the civil service examination system channelled talents into the bureaucracy and the ruling elite.³²⁷ By introducing a large number of literati into the court, the Song emperor replaced the aristocratic class who had dominated the court since the Six Dynasties by the literati class.³²⁸ Song emperors attempted to maximize political support for the dynasty by extending access to civil service to as many people as possible. Indeed, the size of the central bureaucracy as a result of over-recruitment from the civil service examination became a

³²⁶See Winston W. Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Song China With Emphasis on Its Personnel Administration* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p.21.

³²⁷W. Lo, *An Introduction to Civil Service of Sung*, p.21.

³²⁸See Edwin Reischauer & John Fairbank "China's Early Modern Society" in James T.C. Liu and Peter J. Golas ed. *Change in Sung China: Innovation or Renovation?* (Lexington: D.C. Heath & Co., 1969), pp.1-3.

burden to the government towards the end of the Northern Song dynasty.

In addition to the policy of replacing military officials by civil officials, Song emperors also undertook projects of collecting books and publishing them in large collections. The popularization of wood block and movable type printing facilitated these projects. Four large collections resulted.³²⁹ (1) The *Taiping yulan*, an encyclopedic abstract of over a thousand kinds of books found at the time of Song. This work was completed in the year 982 C.E., that is, during the reign of Taizong. (2) The *Taiping guangji*, a collection of novels written between the Han dynasty and the Five Dynasties, also collected at the time of Taizong. (3) The *Wenyuan yinghua*, a collection of literary works written between the Liang dynasties and Tang dynasties. This work was meant to serve as a sequel to the *Wenxuan* of Prince Zhaoming of the Liang dynasty. It was completed in the year 986 C.E. (4) *Cefu yuangui*, a collection of historical records from ancient time to the Five dynasties was completed at the time of Zhenzong.

³²⁹Chikusa Masaki, Lin jiebin trans, *Zhao kuangyin zhuan* (Taipei: Guoji wenhua shiye yuoxiangongsi, 1989), pp.142-144.

Some scholars, like Chikusa Masaki, believe that there was a political intention behind the project of editing publications. It was to shift the attention of literati, especially those in the newly conquered states in the South, to cultural activities.³³⁰ It was therefore part of the emperor's plan to centralize all political power in his own hands. In any case, through the promotion of the civil service examination and the projects of editing publications, Song emperors created an atmosphere that put emphasis on cultural, especially literary, accomplishment. This, I believe, is the context in which we should understand Zhiyuan's zeal for literary writings.

B) Zhiyuan and the *Guwen* Literary Tradition

(1) Zhiyuan and his Literary Theory

Zhiyuan's strong association with the Confucian tradition can also be explained by his own commitment to literary writing. It was with a conscious effort that

³³⁰Chikusa Masaki, Lin jiebin trans, *Zhao kuangyin zhuan* (Taipei: Guoji wenhua shiye yuoxiangongsi, 1989), pp.145-146. As Chikusa points out himself in his book, he is not the first one to hold this opinion. Scholars during the Southern Song, Ming and Qing dynasties had expressed this opinion.

Zhiyuan had engaged himself in the revival of a writing tradition--the *Guwen* (Ancient Style) tradition. Zhiyuan had written essays to comment on the works of *Guwen* stylists in the past like Li'ao (fl.798 C.E.), Pi Rixiu (834-883 C.E.), Lo Shuwei (fl.988 C.E.), and Han Yu (768-824 C.E.).³³¹ In his own preface to his *Xianjubian*, Zhiyuan states that he learnt to compose in the ancient style (*Guwen*) so as to follow the Confucian Way.³³² Therefore, his literary theory consists of that of the *Guwen* writing theory.

There are two essays in the *Xianjubian* in which Zhiyuan put forward his theory on *Guwen*. The first one is his letter replying to a *xiucaï* (a graduate of first degree) by the name of Li, who had previously written a letter to him enquiring about the writing of *Guwen*.³³³ In his reply,

³³¹His comments on Lu Shuwei can be found in the essay "Yi chenghou bei" (Some Doubts on the Grave Inscription of Duke Cheng), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 25, XZJ101: 63b(17)-64a(5). His comments on Li'ao is in "Rang Li Zazhi" (Dispute with Li), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 26, XZJ101: 65c(3)-d(4). His comments on Pi Rixiu is in "Guang pi rixiu fayen houxu" (Praising the Postscript to *Fayen* by Pi) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 12, XZJ101: 45b(6)-45d(3). His comments on Hanyu is in "Shihanyi" (Discussion on Following Han), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 28, XZJ101: 68c(11)-68d(9).

³³²*Xianjubian*, preface, XZJ 100: 27c(2).

³³³"*Da Lixiucai shu*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 24, XZJ 100: 62(a-c).

Zhiyuan states that there were three things in *Guwen* writings: its fundamental, its function and its rhetoric. The fundamental of writing lies in moral virtues which Zhiyuan defined as humanity (*ren*), righteousness (*yi*), propriety (*li*), and music (*yue*). The function of writing was compared by Zhiyuan to punishment in criminal law which discourages people from committing crimes. Similarly, through praising the good and denouncing evil in one's writings, the writer encourages good and discourages evil. With regard to the rhetoric of writing, Zhiyuan says that it was to be confined to embodying the virtues and carrying out the function of commendation and censure in one's writings. Apparently, Zhiyuan paid little attention to rhetoric per se in writing.³³⁴ Zhiyuan criticizes the writings of his time which paid attention solely to elegant expression and prosodic regulations while contributing nothing to the civilizing (*jiaohua*) of the people. In this letter to Li, Zhiyuan also criticizes the then current idea of literature as an expression of emotion or passion which serves no pedagogical function. He proposes to substitute for it the

³³⁴In his "*Ping Qiantangjun beiwen*" (Evaluation of the inscriptions in the prefecture of Qiantang), Zhiyuan said he was using the fact that whether a writing conveys the Way (*Dao*) rather than whether the writing displays rhetorical techniques as the standard for its evaluation. *Xianjubian* fascicle 25, XZJ 100: 63b(11).

idea of writing as an expression of regulated and moderated emotion or passion which does not violate the moral virtues. Zhiyuan claimed that his principle of writing is the principle of equilibrium and harmony (*Zhonghe*) which comes from the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong*).

Before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow and, joy are aroused, it is called Equilibrium (*zhong*, centrality, mean). When these feelings are aroused and each and all attain due measure and degree, it is called harmony (*he*). Equilibrium is the great foundation of the world, and harmony is its universal path.³³⁵

In a similar fashion, Zhiyuan discusses his ideas on *Guwen* writings in his *Song Shuji xu* (Valediction to a monk of the discipline named *Shuji*), a contemporary of Zhiyuan, who had come in person to enquire from him about the writing of *Guwen*.³³⁶ In his Valediction, Zhiyuan first defines *Guwen* as the art of writing in accordance with the ancient Way--the Way of Confucius which is Humanity (*Ren*), Righteousness (*Yi*), and the Five Constants. In order to engage in *Guwen* one must first explore in depth and internalize the Confucian Way to such an extent that one

³³⁵Quoted in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 24, XZJ101: 62c(6-7). Translation was taken from Chan Wing-tsit, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.98.

³³⁶"*Song Shuji xu*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 29, XZJ 100: 69b-70a.

never violates the rule of moderation, and one must be able to apply the Way in every situation. To be able to do so is to understand thoroughly the Way. Only after a long period of moral discipline is one able to be in full compliance with the Way. A writer could then express his moral achievement in the *Guwen* form of writing which would fulfil its function of civilizing. As a result of the civilizing effect of writing, there would be a sage king, faithful and capable ministers, and loyal and compliant subjects. Even though one's writing may not be accepted in one's own time, one's writing can still be passed to posterity so that the Way of the Sage king can be appreciated by later generations.

From the above discussion of Zhiyuan, we can see that his theory of *Guwen* writing is such that he

- (i) puts emphasis on inner moral cultivation as a prerequisite to good writing,
- (ii) insists on the primacy of content over form,
- (iii) stresses the function and uses of writing,
- (iv) maintains that writing should embody Confucian principles.

Zhiyuan's *Guwen* theory was a continuation of the main tenets of the *Guwen* movement in the Tang (618-907 C.E.)

dynasty. It also anticipated some of the ideas in the Neo-Confucian theory of literature.

(2) History of the *Guwen* Tradition

In order to understand Zhiyuan's literary theory, we have to investigate briefly the *Guwen* movement in the Tang dynasty. Recent studies have demonstrated that the *Guwen* movement was not an homogeneous movement but that there were important divergences between *Guwen* masters.³³⁷ The *Guwen* masters were united, however, in their dissatisfaction with the Parallel Prose (*Pingwen*) writings. This Parallel Prose writing was a decorous and elegant style of prose composed in couplets of grammatically parallel lines and marked by the heavy use of literary allusion and ornate diction which were popular in the Wei and Jin, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (220-581 C.E.).³³⁸ It was prevalent during the Tang dynasty. Government documents like memorials and

³³⁷See Yu-shih Chen, *Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose: Studies of Four Masters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.). cf. Luo Liantian, "Tangsong guwendi fazhan yu bianqian" (The Development of *Guwen* during Tang and Song Dynasty) in his *Tangdai wenxue lunji* (A Collection of Essays on the Study of Tang Literature) (Taiwan: xueshengshujxu, 1989), pp.137-186.

³³⁸Definition based on Ronald C. Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072 CE)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.12.

edicts were written in this style and composition in this style was required in the civil service examination.

As pointed out by Ronald Egan, from the outset, the protests of the *Guwen* advocates concerning the Parallel Prose centred not on mere stylistics but rather on the function and uses of writing.³³⁹ The *Guwen* masters were not only attempting to substitute one writing style for another but also struggling to bring back a Confucian view of literature--a view which makes literature subservient to the Confucian project of moral transformation of the world. The primary goal of the *Guwen* masters was, therefore, to reverse the emphasis of the Parallel Prose writers which regarded the verbal beauty and decorous writing as primary and the content as secondary. Writing should embody Confucian principles before it could fulfil its pedagogical function of transforming the people which, in turn, would lead to the transformation of the state. This Confucian view of literature, which scholars designated as a utilitarian

³³⁹Ibid., P.15.

view,³⁴⁰ can be traced back to one of the Confucian Classics: the *Book of Odes*.

The *Book of Odes* was never read, in the Confucian tradition, as poetic literature in the usual sense of the word. As shown by Steven Van Zoeren in his recent studies,³⁴¹ the *Book of Odes* was understood in the *Analects* first as a musical accompaniment to ritual, then as a repertoire of good phrases to be used in polite conversation, especially in diplomatic meetings, and finally as text which embodies moral significance. Therefore Confucius said,

Little ones, how is that you have not studied the *Odes*. The *Odes* can be used to stimulate (moral insight), to observe (character), to reaffirm one's commitment to the group, or to express sentiment. Close at hand one can serve his father, and further away his lord, and you can increase your acquaintance with the names of birds, beasts, plants, and trees.³⁴²

³⁴⁰See for instance Donald Holzman, "Confucius and Ancient Chinese Literary Criticism", in Adele Austin Rickett ed. *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Chi-chi'ao* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, P.39. See also James Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).

³⁴¹Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality Reading, Exegesis and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.)

³⁴²*Analects* 17:9. Translation was taken from Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, pp.44-45.

Here we see that Confucius' interest in the Odes was on the functions, both social and moral, rather than on an aesthetic appreciation of them as literature.

We must note that the concept of literature in the modern sense was not found in the *Analects*. *Wen*, usually translated as literature, referred to, all kinds of scholarly writings. *Shi* or poetry is closer to what we call literature today. The famous commentator of the *Analects*, Xing Bing (932-1010 C.E.), glossed the word *wenxue* (study of *wen*) in the *Analects* as "extensively studying previous writings"³⁴³. When Confucius said "the superior man should study extensively the *wen*"³⁴⁴, he was referring to all kinds of scholarly works and not specifically to literature. Hence, in order to understand Confucius's view of literature, we have to look at his view of poetry.

Confucius' functional approach to the Odes was further developed by Xunzi. As pointed out by Van Zoeren, it was Xunzi who proclaimed explicitly that the authors of the Odes were in every case morally accomplished individuals, that

³⁴³Xingbing, *Lunyu Zhengyi* (Correct significance of the *Analects*).

³⁴⁴*Analects* 6:27.

is, the Sages.³⁴⁵ The *zhi* (motivation) behind the Odes was, therefore, in every case paradigmatically normative. Xunzi said,

The sages were the channel of the Way, they were the channel through which the Way [was realized] in the Empire... What the Odes articulate are their aims.³⁴⁶

Xunzi's claim that the Odes contain the aims of the Sages justifies not only the study of the Odes as canon but also the use of them as a means of moral education.

Xunzi's view was again fully articulated in the Mao school of Odes whose view came to represent the authoritative Confucian interpretation of the classic.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, p.76.

³⁴⁶Xunzi 4:7a, translation by Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, p.76.

³⁴⁷As put by modern scholar Van Zoeren, the Mao school, sometimes known as the Guwen (Old Text) school (not to be confused with the *Guwen* movement in the Tang dynasty), represented a coherent and self-conscious school rather than a style of scholarship. It was characterized by a philological and an interpretive reticence that tended to focus on the historical background of a text rather than on its speculative exposition. Founded upon a sense that the continuity between past and present had been lost, the Mao school's concern was to search for an authentic, historical version of the classics by collecting, collating, and editing the best and oldest texts of the classics. Under the promotion of Zheng Xuan (127-200 CE), the views of the Mao school become prevalent in the Eastern Han. The Mao school also influenced the composition of the *Wujing Zhengyi* (Correct Significance of the Five Classics) in the Tang dynasty. See Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, pp.80-86, 116-130.

According to the Mao school, the Odes contain normative aims of their authors, and by studying the Odes--that is by memorizing, reciting, and internalizing them--one can be morally transformed by them.³⁴⁸ It is from this tradition of using the Odes as an agent for moral cultivation that the Confucian idea developed of ascribing pedagogical function to literature in general.

This Confucian didactic view of literature was challenged first by *Cifu* (rhapsody) writers and by writers, especially poets, in the Wei and Jin dynasty. According to the Chinese scholar Guo Shaoyu, the concept of 'pure literature' started to develop slowly in the Han dynasty when a distinction was made between *Wenzhang* and *Wenxue*, the former referred to writings of academic studies while the latter to a new literary form of writing called *Cifu*.³⁴⁹ The *Cifu*, sometimes simply called *fu*, was a literary form used by the noble class at the court. It was started during the Warring States period and became popular under the Han dynasty. *Fu* was written for the purpose of amusing the noble class. It therefore represented a departure from the

³⁴⁸Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, p.114.

³⁴⁹Guo Shaoyu, *Zhongguo wen xue pipingshi* (The History of Chinese Literary Criticism) (Xianggang (Hong Kong): Hongzhi shuju, 1970). p.25.

Confucian didactic view of literature. As pointed out by the famous modern writer Lu Xun, the period of Wei and jin dynasties was the period of 'self-consciousness' in Chinese literature. This means that the concept of 'pure literature' became ripe in that period and literature began to take on the modern meaning of the term. To use Lu's own words: "Art is for art sake" (i.e. Art has value on its own).³⁵⁰

This change in the view of literature was occasioned by the fall of the Han dynasty which brought about not only the disunity of the nation but also a collapse of the prestige of Confucianism with which the Han empire had identified closely. Scholars and artists turned, instead, to Daoism and Buddhism for inspiration of their works. The Confucian conception of writings as a means for moral instruction no longer prevailed.

In poetry, for instance, writers like Xie Lingyun (385-433 C.E.) started to write on "a beautiful day in pleasant

³⁵⁰Lu Xun, "*Wei jin fengdu ji wenzhang yu yao ji jin zhi guan xi*", (The Atmosphere of Wei jin Period and the Relationship between Literature, Medicine, and Wine) *Lu Xun quanxi* (The Complete work of Lu Xun) Vol. 3 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989). p.504. According to Lu, the self-conscious of literature began at the time of Cao Pi (187-226 CE)--brother of Cao Cao (155-220 CE) and Cao Zhi (192-232 CE), also known as the period of Jian'an of Wei jin dynasties.

surroundings, enjoying oneself in happy event"³⁵¹ which has no bearing on moral instruction. Again Shen Yao (441-513 C.E.) developed his theory of poetic composition named the "Four tones and eight mistakes" (*Sisheng babing*) which set the pace of prosodic regulation.³⁵² Similarly in prose writing, attention was paid to the beauty of unity, symmetry and euphony. This led to the birth of *Pingwen* (Parallel Prose) which has four main characteristics:³⁵³

- (1) It uses parallel construction substantially.
- (2) Most of the lines consist of four or six syllables, hence the alternative designation, the Four-six style.
- (3) It emphasizes euphony, rhyme and ornate diction.
- (4) It uses classical allusions heavily.

³⁵¹A quotation from his preface to his own poem "*Ni weitaizi yizhongji shibashou xu*" collected in Lu Qinli (1910-1973 CE) *Xianqin hanweijin nanbeichaoshi* Vol.2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp.1181.

³⁵²The style of poem advocated by Shenyao is called Yongming style. Yongming is the name of the reign of Qiwudi for the year of 481-493 CE.

³⁵³For a study of Parallel Prose, see James Robert Hightower "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose" in John L. Bishop ed. *Studies in Chinese Literature*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XXI (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp.108-139. For a brief account see Aoki Masaru, *Shina bungaku shisoshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943), p.84. Aoki's book was translated into Chinese by Meng Qingwen as *Zhongguo wenxue sixiangshi* (Liaoning: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1985).

This aesthetic trend in literature finally provoked intense opposition, which came to be known as the *Guwen* movement, during the Sui and Tang dynasties when China was politically unified and Confucian ideology was, again, the ruling ideology. In the form of the *Guwen* movement, Confucianism once again regained its influence in the field of literature. As the *Guwen* stylists maintained, the purpose of writing is not to afford pleasure but to instruct and reform the people. They strove to reverse the trend in literary writing which paid more attention to verbal beauty and display than to content.

The *Guwen* principles were later fully developed by the Neo-Confucian writers. It gains its full momentum at the time of Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072 C.E.).³⁵⁴ Major Neo-Confucian writers like Cheng Hao (1032-1085 C.E.), Cheng Yi (1033-1107 C.E.), and Zhu Xi (1130-1200 C.E.) all insisted on the primacy of the Way over literary style. They put emphasis on inner moral cultivation as a prerequisite for good writing. Besides, they maintained that writing was a repository of Confucian teaching. This is reflected in Chou Tunyi's (1017-1073 C.E.) most celebrated dictum 'literature

³⁵⁴For a modern study on Ouyang xiu see Ronald Egan, *The Literary Works of Ouyang Hsiu*. cf. James T.C. Liu, *Ouyang Hsiu: An Eleventh Century Neo-Confucianist* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).

is a vehicle to transmit the Way'.³⁵⁵ In other words, the Neo-Confucian literary theory was a further development of the *Guwen* theory of writing.

We have seen that the *Guwen* tradition has to do not only with problem of style of writing but also function and uses of writing. It involves Confucian view of literature--writing should embody Confucian principles. By maintaining such a position, it created a tension for Zhiyuan who, in addition to being a *Guwen* writer, is at the same time a Buddhist monk. There is no indication that Zhiyuan substituted Buddhist principle for Confucian principle in composing *Guwen* style of writing. We saw above, Zhiyuan clearly defined *Guwen* as writing in accordance with the ancient way, and defined the ancient way as the way of the sage teacher Confucius.³⁵⁶ In composing literary writings, Zhiyuan maintained that the only teaching that literature should convey is Confucianism.³⁵⁷ In this connection,

³⁵⁵*Chouzi quanshu* (Complete Work of Master Chou) 10:180, quoted in Guo Shaoyu, *Zhongguo wenxue pipingshi*, p.141.

³⁵⁶*Song shujixu, Xianjubian*, fascicle 29, XZJ101: 69b(13-15).

³⁵⁷"*Song shuji xu*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 29, XZJ 100: 69c.

Zhiyuan criticized even his own writings which contain non-Confucian teachings such as that of Buddhism and Daoism.³⁵⁸

Zhiyuan maintained, however, that there is no conflict between the Buddhist teachings and the Confucian teachings. In his autobiography, *The Biography of the Master of Mean (Zhongyongzi zhuan)*, Zhiyuan writes,

Confucianism and Buddhism are different in expression but are harmonious in principle. Confucianism is a teaching for cultivation (literally decoration) of the body. Therefore it is called external canon. Buddhism is a teaching for cultivation of the mind. Therefore, it is called internal canon... Confucianism and Buddhism are the inside and outside [of the same thing]³⁵⁹

There is no conflict between Buddhism and Confucianism nor also among the Three Teachings: Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. In his *Biography of the Sick man (Bingfu zhuan)*, Zhiyuan writes,

I have said that it is impossible to dismiss the Three Teachings which are great. [The teaching of] practising the Five Constants and rectifying the Three Cardinal Relationships [ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife] constitutes the main substance of the ethics of mankind. [It] is found in Confucianism. To exterminate the Sage and discard the wise (*Laozi* Chapter 19), [the teaching of] keeping to

³⁵⁸"*Xie Wusicheng zhuan Xianjubian xu shu*", (A Letter to thank the Official Wu who had comprised a Preface to my *Xianjubian*), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 22, XZJ 100: 60c; "*Bingkeji*" (A Collection of Works during my Sickness) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 11, XZJ 100: 44b.

³⁵⁹*Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 55c(14)-d(2).

the role of female (*Laozi* Chapter 28), and to protect the weak [is found in Daoism.] [The teachings of] controlling the consequences by its caused, to turn away from delusion and return to truth, to let the one thousand transformations and ten thousand appearances go back to the Mind-Nature are found in Buddhism. Our mind is the diseases, the Three Teachings are its medicine. Since there are three [aspects] of the disease, how can we dismiss [anyone] of the medicine. My way is like a tripod, the three teachings are their legs. In order not to overturn the tripod, how can [we] break [any of] the legs.³⁶⁰

By stating that the Three Teachings are in harmony does not mean that they are identical and equal. Zhiyuan states in his preface to *Sishier zhangjingzhu*,

Contemporaries claimed that the Three Teachings can be mixed. This, perhaps, is a mistake. Some claim that the Three Teachings are totally different, this is also not acceptable. Why it is so? [It is because] there is a different degree in returning to the nature (*fuxing*). With regard to the level of depth, there cannot be without a difference. With regard to [teaching others to] turn away from sin to good, overcome [their] cruelty and to stop killing, there must be similarity.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰*Bingfu zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76c(7-12).* For a discussion of the theory of harmony of the three teachings in Zhiyuan's thoughts, see the article by Pan Guiming, "Cong zhiyuan de xianjubian kan beisong fojiao de sanjiaoheyi sixiang" (A Study on the Ideas of Harmony of the three teachings in North Song Buddhism from the collection of Writings Compiled in Retirement by Zhiyuan) in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* (Studies on World Religions) (January, 1983):78-94.

³⁶¹*Sishierzhang jingzhuxu, Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32c(14-17).*

The view that Three Teachings, especially Confucianism and Buddhism,³⁶² belong to different levels of teaching are expressed in Zhiyuan's writings in terms of dichotomies. In addition to the dichotomies of body and mind, external and internal (*biaoli*), Zhiyuan also used the dichotomies of mundane/ transcendental (*yunei/ yuwai*), provisional truth/ ultimate truth (*jiadi/ zhendi*) to describe the relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism.³⁶³ These dichotomies have two implication. They indicate that the two teachings complement one another, and that one is on a higher level than the other.

³⁶²Despite his claiming of the harmony of the three teachings, Zhiyuan seems to have a preference on Confucianism over Daoism. In his poems, Zhiyuan even speaks of rebuking (*Chu*) Zhuangzi and Laozi [*Muqiu shuzhai shuhuai ji shounieng shi* (A Poem to Master Shenneng to state My Ambition Written in My Reading Room During Late Autumn) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 39, XZJ 101: 83c(10)]; and despising (*bi*) Zhuangzi and Laozi in his *Shanju zhaoyouren shi* (A Poem to Greet my Friend Who Visited My Residence in the Mountain), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 39, XZJ 101: 82d(14).

³⁶³The dichotomy of *yunei (yuzhong)/ yuwai* is found in his "*Sishier zhangjing zhuxu*" (A Preface to the Commentary on Sutra of Forty two Chapters) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ 101: 32c(6-13), and his "*Shengsi wu haowu lun*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 18, XZJ 101: 54d(3). The dichotomy of *Zhendi/ jiadi (sudi)* is found in his "*Shengsi wu haowu lun*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 18, XZJ 101: 54d(16). The dichotomy of *Biao/ li* is found in his "*Wuchou deqing juehuajingtu chanyuanji*", (On the Juehua Pureland temple of Repentance at Wuchou), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 23, XZJ 101: 61d(14).

In Zhiyuan's view, Buddhist teachings are deeper than Confucian teachings. Zhiyuan attributes transcendental, internal, and ultimate truth to Buddhist teaching. He explains Mencius' famous metaphor: the fish and the bear's palm to describe the two teachings³⁶⁴ by identifying the fish with Confucian teaching and the bear's palm with Buddhist teaching. When the two cannot both be obtained, one will abandon the fish and get the bear's palm. Zhiyuan thus gave a higher status to Buddhist teaching. In his Preface to the Commentary on Sutra of Forty Two Chapters (*Sishier zhangjing zhuxu*), Zhiyuan writes

The teaching of Zhongni (Confucius) was to promote the Way of the three kings of Tang and Yu, and to value both the benevolence (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*) so that the [ruling] emperor can return to [the Way] of the [ancient] kings and get close to [the way of the ancient] emperors. The teaching of Boyang (Laozi) was to provide the simple way of the three [legendary] kings [Fuxi, Shennong, Huangdi], to exterminate the sage and discard the wise so as to return to the [Way] of the [ancient] kings. Nevertheless, both [schools] in their discussion of [human] nature and destiny (*xingming*) have not yet arrived [to the level] of 'mind only' teaching (*weixin*). [They] have not completed their teaching on retribution without including the Three Periods [past, present, future]. [Although] they are indispensable in pacifying the country, it is clear that they belong to the teaching of this world. The teaching of Buddhism identified all space and the worlds with our own mind... Although the Confucian way

³⁶⁴Mencius 11:10. Quoted in his essay "Shengsi wu haowu lun", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 18. For an English translation of Mencius, see D.C. Lau, *Mencius* (London: Penguin Book, 1970), p.166.

is extensive, with regard to the discussion of spirit and the highest truth, the only teaching that can point to them and sufficiently discuss their wonders is the Buddhist teaching. Therefore, it is clear that it belongs to the teaching of the other world. Teaching of this world is for cultivation of the body. Teaching of the other world is for cultivation of the mind.³⁶⁵

Here, while acknowledging the value of Daoism and Confucianism, Zhiyuan obviously has placed a higher value on Buddhist teaching, especially its 'mind-only' teaching. In advancing his theory of harmony of the Three teachings, Zhiyuan defends the superiority of the Buddhist teaching by maintaining that the Three Teachings belong to different levels. Only the Buddhist teaching belongs to the highest level--defined by him as the 'mind-only' teaching.

In other words, although Buddhism and Confucianism converges in some aspects,³⁶⁶ they cannot be mixed or used interchangeably. Each of the two teachings has a different role to play. This is spelt out by Zhiyuan in his autobiographical essay, the Biography of the Master of the Mean (*Zongyongzi zhuan*),

Without the teaching of Confucianism, there would be no order in the state, no peace in the family, and no

³⁶⁵*Sishierzhang jing zhuxu, Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32(1-13).*

³⁶⁶In "*Bo siyu shuo*", Zhiyuan matches concepts from the two tradition. The Five constants, for instance, was matched with the Five disciplines in Buddhism. *Xianjubian, fascicle 28, XZJ 100:*

cultivation of the body. If there is no order in the state...how could Buddhism be practised.... Therefore I cultivated my body with Confucianism and my mind with Buddhism.³⁶⁷

This is to say Confucian teachings paves the way for Buddhist teachings. They provide Buddhist teaching with a social order without which the practice of Buddhism would be impossible.

2. Zhiyuan's Career as a Buddhist Monk

Despite his great interest in literary writing, the principle identity of Zhiyuan known to posterity is as a Tiantai Buddhist monk.³⁶⁸ In this section we will examine the Buddhist theme of Zhiyuan's life as found in his self-portrait. As we have already examined in some details the teaching of Zhiyuan in the context of "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate, we will concern ourselves here mainly with the Buddhist activities of his life from a biographical point of view. Based on the information in his *Xianjubian*, I have reconstructed the Buddhist aspect of Zhiyuan's life in the form of the following chart:

³⁶⁷*Zongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ 100: 55d.

³⁶⁸See the discussion of the image of Zhiyuan in his biographies in chapter three of this dissertation, p.105ff.

Age and Years	Events and Composition	Source
Age: 8 984 C.E.	Became a novice in the Longxingsi temple (Also known as the Dazhong xiangfusi temple) in the Qiantang area.	<i>Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(2-3).</i>
Age: 13 989 C.E.	Dreamt of the Buddha in the palace of the king of dragon and Zhiyuan being Buddha's attendant.	<i>Jimeng, Xianjubian, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51a(3-15); Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56c(11-13).</i>
Age: 21 997 C.E.	<p>The teacher (a monk) who shaved his head has prevented him from furthering his studies in Confucian classics under some Confucian scholars but he studied them by himself.</p> <p>In the same year, he was afflicted with a serious sickness which made him decide to first study Buddhism and then Confucianism as his secondary interest</p>	<p><i>Xie wusicheng zhuan xianjubian xushu, Xianjubian, fascicle 22, XZJ101: 60a(14-18).</i></p> <p><i>Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(4-7).</i></p>

<p>Age: 21-23 997-1000 C.E.</p>	<p>Eight years after his dreaming of the Buddha, Zhiyuan studied under Yuanqing about the Threefold Contemplation of Zhiyi</p>	<p><i>Jimeng, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51b(2); <i>Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(7-9).</p>
<p>Age: 23-26 1000-1004 C.E.</p>	<p>Upon the death of Yuanqing, he withdrew himself from others and continued to study Buddhist scriptures and treatises by himself. He has the ambition of propagating the teaching of Zhanran by writing commentaries on his works.</p> <p>Resided at the temple on Mount Shibi in the province of Renhe together with Qingshao.</p>	<p><i>Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(9-11).</p> <p><i>Huai shibijiuju jianjian shaoshengren (In Memory of my Old Residence on Mount Shibi and A Letter to Reverence Shao)</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 41, XZJ101: 86b(15ff)</p>
<p>Age: 26-32 1004-1010 C.E.</p>	<p>Resided at the temple of Fantian together with Qingshao</p>	<p><i>Yi nantasi shangfang yinji qingshao shi</i> (A Poem to Qingshao in memory of the Nantao (i.e. Fantian) temple)</p>

	<p>In the period of 1006-1014 C.E., Zhiyuan taught Buddhism, and studied historical writings, sutras, and commentaries. He elaborated on them in the form of notes which resulted in thirty pieces of work.</p> <p>In the year of 1006 C.E., he composed his <i>jingangbei xianxinglu</i></p> <p>In 1007 C.E., he went to Shuixin temple on Mount Nanping where he read about the subduing of ghosts by the Buddha in the wilderness in Chapter 15 of Nirvana sutra--a scenery of his dream when he was thirteen.</p> <p>In 1007 C.E., he composed the <i>Qiantang ciguangyuan beifashi xing zhuang</i> (A Biography of Master (Wen)bei of the Ciguang temple in Qiantang)</p>	<p><i>Muluxu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 12, XZJ101: 45a(7-10).</p> <p><i>Jingangbei xianxingluxu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37d(10).</p> <p><i>Jimeng, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51b(5-8).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 21, XZJ101: 59d(1).</p>
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	<p>In 1009 C.E., he composed the <i>Qinguangyin jingshu chanyichao xu</i></p> <p>In 1010 C.E., he composed the <i>Xinyin huanyuanguan houxu</i> (A Postscript to the Newly Printed <i>Huanyuanguan</i>)</p>	<p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36c(9).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40c(3).8</p>
<p>Age: 35-37 1011-1013 C.E.</p>	<p>Resided at Chongfu temple in Western Lake and composed the <i>Niepan jingshu sande zhigui</i> (Pointing to the End of the Three Virtues Taught in the Commentary of the Nirvana sutra)</p>	<p><i>Niepanjingshu sande zhiguixu</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37b(15-16).</p>
<p>Age: 37-38 1013-1014 C.E.</p>	<p>Resided at Chongfa temple on Mount Daci and composed the <i>Yulanpen jingshu caihuachao</i> (An Abstract on the Commentary of the Yulanpen sutra) and the <i>Niepanxuanyi fayuan yiyaoji</i> (A Record on the Essentials of the "Profound Meaning of the Nirvana Sutra")</p>	<p><i>Yulanpen jingshu caihuachao</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36(d)2; <i>Niepanxuanyi fayuan yiyaoji</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 3, XZJ101: 35b(5-6).</p>

<p>Age: 38-39 1014-1015 C.E.</p>	<p>Went back to Chongfu temple and dreamt of Guanyin and Nagarjuna after which composed six commentaries on Nirvana sutra.</p> <p>In 1014 C.E., he composed <i>Niepanjing baifei chao</i> (Notes on the Interpretation of Sentences on Baifei in the Nirvana Sutra); <i>Nansan daishi zan</i> (Words of Praise to the Master Nanshan); and the <i>Songjiang chongyou he libai gushushi yongshixu</i> (A Preface to the poems composed by master Chongyou of Songjiang in Response to the Ten Poems of Gushu of Poet Libai)</p> <p>In 1015 C.E., he composed the following: <i>Guanjing shu kanzhengji</i> (Record on the newly edited Commentary on the Guanyin sutra of Yuanqing);</p> <p><i>Mulu xu</i> (A Preface to the Catalogue of My Works);</p>	<p><i>Jimeng, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51b(8-17).</p> <p><i>Niepanjing baifei chaoxu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37b(1-2); <i>Nansan dashi zanhouxu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40b(6-7); <i>Songjiang chongyouhe libai gushushi yongshixu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 33, XZJ101: 75c(15).</p> <p><i>Guanjing shu kanzheng ji xu, Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 4, XZJ101: 35d(16)-36a(1).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 12, XZJ101: 45a(9-10).</p>
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	<p><i>Zhizhedashi shidelizhanxu</i> (A Praise on the Ten Virtures of Master Zhiyi)</p> <p><i>Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji</i> (A Record on the Excellent Way as Taught in the Shorter Commentary on Virmalakirti Sutra by Zhiyi) composed during a trip to Mount Long</p>	<p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 39d(13-14).</p> <p><i>Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji xu</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 3, XZJ101: 35c(7-10), (17-18).</p>
<p>Age: 40 1016 C.E.</p>	<p>Moved to Gushan</p> <p>Buried the ashes of Wu'en in Manao hall</p>	<p><i>Manaoyuan chongjie dajie ji</i>, (Preface for the Framed Record of the Marking of the Precinct of the Manao Hall in the Lonely mountain) <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d(11).</p> <p><i>Ji zushiwen</i>, (An Essay commemorating the Sacrifice to My Patriarch), <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52a(4); <i>Ji gushanshen wen</i>, (An Essay Commemorating the Sacrifice to Deities in the Lonely Mountain), <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52c(6).</p>

	Asked his student to help in editing his collection <i>Xianjubian</i> .	<i>Xianjubian zixu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 1, XZJ101: 27c(9).
Age: 41 1017 C.E.	He dug a hole in an unnoticed place in Gushan for burying the porcelain pot into which he would be put in after his death.	<i>You ji gushanshen wen</i> (An Essay commemorating the second sacrifice to the deities in the Lonely mountain), <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52d(14-15).
Age: 42	He built the stone tablet in Gushan for Zhiyi and Zhanran Composed the <i>Dasong gaoseng ciguangsheli taji</i> (Inscription for the Eminent Monk Ciguang of Song Dynasty)	<i>Shu zhizhedaishibei houxu</i> (A Postscript to the Inscription on the Stone Tablet of Master Zhizhe) <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 12, XZJ101: 44c(6). <i>Shu jingqi daishibei hou xu</i> (A Postscript to the Inscription on the Stone Tablet of Master Jingqi), <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 12, XZJ101: 44d(4). <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 15, XZJ101: 49a(13).
Age: 43 1019 C.E.	Composed <i>Yizhu</i> (Last Will)	<i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76c(1).

<p>Age: 44 1020 C.E.</p>	<p>Composed <i>Bingkeji</i> (Collected Assignment in Illness)</p> <p>Composed the <i>Gu fantiansi shaosheli xingyiji A</i> Biography of the Late Reverence (Qing)shao of the Fantian Temple)</p>	<p><i>Bingkeji xu</i>, <i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 11, XZJ101: 44c(1).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 15, XZJ101: 49c(11).</p>
<p>Age: 45 1021 C.E.</p>	<p>Composed <i>Qiantang gushan zhiguoyuan jiedaijie xu</i> (A Preface to Commemorate the Marking of the Precinct of the Zhiguo hall in Mount Gu)</p> <p>Composed the <i>Tiantai guoqingsi chongjie daijie xu</i> (A Preface to Commemorate the Remarking of the Precinct of the Guoqing temple in Tiantai)</p>	<p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 31, XZJ101: 72b(14).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 31, XZJ101: 72c(17).</p>
<p>Age: 46 1022 C.E.</p>	<p>Composed the <i>Shensi wu haowu lun</i> (Essay on Life and Death)</p> <p>Composed the <i>Zhongyongzi zijiwen</i> (Sacrificial Text for the Master of the Mean)</p>	<p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 18, XZJ101: 55a(5).</p> <p><i>Xianjubian</i>, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 53d(11)- d(5).</p>

Zhiyuan became a monk when he was very young. It seems that it was both his and his father's intention for him to become a monk.³⁶⁹ From his essay "In Praise of the Pure Land" (*Jingtu zan*), we learn that Zhiyuan's mother was a devoted practitioner of the Pure Land Buddhism. Before her death, Zhiyuan's mother gave him an Amitabha Buddha statue, and commanded him to worship the Buddha.³⁷⁰ Zhiyuan also had an uncle by the name of Wenbei (925-985 C.E.) who was a Tiantai monk studying under Zhiyin. Zhiyuan had written a biography of Wenbei which is collected in his *Xianjubian*.³⁷¹ This information indicates that Zhiyuan came from a family with some Buddhist background.

According to his autobiographical comments in the *Xianjubian* as reconstructed in the above chart, Zhiyuan continued to spend a substantial amount of time on Confucian studies after he became a monk until he became a student of

³⁶⁹*Jimeng, Xianjubian, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51a(16-17) and Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(1-2).*

³⁷⁰*Jingtu zan, Xianjubian, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40a(9-11).*

³⁷¹*Qiantang ciguangyuan beifashi xingzhuang, Xianjubian, fascicle 21, XZJ101: 59c(18).*

Yuanqing.³⁷² In a self-mocking way he reproached himself during a bout of illness,

You are a Buddhist. By shaving your head, you have damaged the integrity of your body (which is against the Confucian teaching) and yet instead of studying the teaching of the Buddha, you aspire to study Confucian teaching. This amounts to forgetting fundamentals and going against morality. This is not what the Duke of Zhou and Confucius intended. You should first study Buddhism and then study Confucianism as your secondary interest.³⁷³

Apparently, Zhiyuan was willing to show that he was well versed in Confucian classic -- he had spent substantial time on studying them. This is a pre-requisite for a *Guwen* writer but spending a long time on studying Confucian classic goes against his identity as a Buddhist monk. Zhiyuan resolves this tension by making a self-mocking criticism of himself and indicates that he has spent the early stage of his life on Confucian studies and the rest of his life concentrating on Buddhist studies.

Study under Yuanqing has become a dividing line for Zhiyuan's life. He concentrated on Buddhist studies form

³⁷²Xie wusicheng zhuan xianjubianxu shu, Xianjubian, fascicle 22, XZJ101: 60a(14-18).

³⁷³Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56b(5-7). Translation taken from Koichi Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical Essay: The Master of the Mean" collected in Phyllis Granoff & K. Shinohara ed. *Autobiography and Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1994), p.40.

the time he became a student of Yuanqing and continued his intense study on Buddhist cannon after the death of Yuanqing. The most striking thing about Zhiyuan's self-portrait of his life as a Buddhist monk is that he makes no mention of his involvement in the "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate which is supposed to be a great event in his life. Zhiyuan is generally known as a major spokesman for the "shanwai" faction.³⁷⁴

In his autobiographical essay, *The Biography of the Master of the Mean (Zhongyongzi zhuan)*, for instance, Zhiyuan makes no mention of the "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate. He indicates, though, he is aware of criticism of his works which was brought to his attention by his disciples but his attitude was that

If the criticisms come from the wise, I should go to thank them with good words. If they come from the ignorant, why should I care... If they come in person, I should receive them with decorum... With regard to their criticisms of me, [I wonder if they were] real or delusive? If the [criticisms] are real, I would correct them. Since they [the critics] teach me and therefore are my teachers, why should I be angry [with them]? If [the criticisms] are delusive, I would laugh and have a good time. Why should I blame them. Besides, praising and condemning is as delusive as the echo.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴See for instance, Koichi Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical Essays", p.36.

³⁷⁵*Zhongyongzi zhuan, Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ101:
(continued...)

With regard to Zhiyuan's apparently detached attitude towards the "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate, Shinohara argues that in writing his autobiographical essays, Zhiyuan had been using the third person but suddenly he began to speak in the first person at a point where he mentioned Yuanqing.

Shinohara explains that it is because Zhiyuan felt compelled to start speaking directly in describing his heated doctrinal debate with Zhili. Therefore Shinohara writes,

By saying that the debate does not really bother him very much, he [Zhiyuan] suggests indeed the reverse, that he was bothered so deeply by the controversy that he was not able to write about it openly even in his attempted 'biography/ autobiography'.³⁷⁶

To be fair to Zhiyuan, we must point out that surviving early accounts on the narrative of the "Shanjia/ Shanwai" debate such as the one found in the Preface to *Shiyishu* by Jizhong,³⁷⁷ and those in the *Shimen zhengtong*, and *Fozu tongji*,³⁷⁸ indicate that Zhiyuan indeed had a limited direct participation in the debate. For the most part of the

(...continued)
56c(1-9).

³⁷⁶K. Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical Essay", p.43.

³⁷⁷*Shiyishu*, T46: 831c-832a.

³⁷⁸*Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 2, XZJ130: 383a-b;
Fozutongji, fascicle 8, T49: 192c.

debate, it was Qingshao who was the major participant.³⁷⁹ In fact, Zhiyuan was instrumental in bringing to an end the debate on the first issue between Zhili's disciples and Qingshao.³⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Shinohara's comment on Zhiyuan is right when we take into consideration those passionate comments and repeated discussions on the issues of the debate by Zhiyuan in his *Jingangbei* that we have reconstructed in Chapter three. Zhiyuan's close association with the debate can also be shown by his close relationship with Qingshao, another disciple of Yuanqing and an obvious major participant in the debate.

In the biography of Qingshao, we learn that Qingshao had taken the place of Yuanqing as lecturer in the Fengxian temple for a short while before he was invited to reside on mount Shibi.³⁸¹ Qingshao had studied under Yuanqing for 17 years and was said to be a noted disciple of Yuanqing. In 1004 C.E., Qingshao moved from mount Shibi to the Fantian

³⁷⁹See the Charts of the development of the Shanjia/Shanwai debate in Chapter Two of this dissertation, pp.31-38.

³⁸⁰See the preface to the *Shiyi shu*, T46: 831c-832a. cf. the corresponding passage in the biography of Zhili in the *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 8, T49: 192c(16-18).

³⁸¹See his biography in *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, XZJ 131:77a-b. Also his biography by Zhiyuan in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 15, XZJ 101:49a(14)-c(12).

temple. The old name for the Fantian temple was the Nanta.³⁸² Zhiyuan appears to have had a close relationship with Qingshao. He had written five poems to Qingshao, and three poems about the Fantian temple.³⁸³ Of special interest is the poem *Yi Nantasi shangfang yinji Qingshao shi* where Zhiyuan indicated that he had lived in the Fantian temple, with Qingshao, for six years.³⁸⁴ Indeed, Zhiyuan had another six poems about a temple on Mount Shibi where Qingshao's old residence was.³⁸⁵ One of them was titled as *Huai Shibi jiuju* or "in memory of my old residence at Mount Shibi" which suggests that Zhiyuan had been living on Mount

³⁸²*Hangzhou fuzhi* fascicle 31.

³⁸³The poems dedicated to Qingshao are collected in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 40, "*He Congshangren dao Fantian sheli*" fascicle 41, "*Yi Nantasi shangfang yinji Qingshao shi*", fascicle 42, "*Jiti Fantian shengguo ersi jianjian shao, Wu er shangren*" & fascicle 45, "*Xiju jishi ji fantian sheli*" and "*Ciyun qiu Fantian sheli*". The poems about the Fantian or Nanta temple are collected in fascicle 41, "*Fantiansi ershou*" fascicle 42, "*Nantasi shangfang*", fascicle 43, "*Fantiansi xianju shushi*".

³⁸⁴*Xianjubian* fascicle 41, XZJ 101:87b(4) where Zhiyuan said, "*Liunian gaoyuan jiyouzong*" or "for six years I left my footprint leisurely at the high hall (of the Fantian temple)."

³⁸⁵They are collected at *Xianjubian* fascicle 41, "*Huai Shibi jiuju jianjian Shaoshengren*", fascicle 45, "*Ti Shibisan Shao shengren guangfeng ting*". fascicle 47, "*Huai Shibisan si*", and "*Jiangru Shibisan zuo*", fascicle 49, "*Bingzong huai Shibi Xingshao shengren*", fascicle 51, "*You Shibi si*".

Shibi for some time. Three of Zhiyuan's poems about the temple on Mount Shibi mention the monk Xingshao (953-1033 C.E.)³⁸⁶. Xingshao was a Tiantai monk who studied under Xiji (919-986 C.E.), the twelfth patriarch of the school. Xingshao had been living in a temple at Shibi since 983 C.E., and he stayed there for fifty years until his death.³⁸⁷ Zhiyuan and Xingshao probably stayed together at Xingshao's temple at Mount Shibi from 1000-1004 C.E. before they moved together to the Fantian temple. If Zhiyuan, Xingshao, and Xingshao did live together in the same temple, they must have lived close to each other on the same mountain.³⁸⁸

If this hypothesis happens to be correct, we can see Zhiyuan's deep involvement with the debate between Zhili and

³⁸⁶(1) *Huai Shibijiuju jianjian Shao shengren*, (A Poem in Memory of My Old Residence at Shibi and Dedicated to Reverence Shao), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 41, XZJ101: 86c(15)ff; (2) *Ti shibisan Shao shengren guangfengting*, (On Naming the Pavilion of Viewing the Wind for Reverence Shao of the Mount Shibi), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 45, XZJ101: 94b(3)ff; (3) *Bingzong huai shibi xingshaoshengren* (In Memory of Reverence Xingshao of Shibi During my illness). *Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ101: 104a(3-5).

³⁸⁷See his biography by Qisong collected in Qisong's *Tanjin wenji* fascicle 13, T52:717, also see his biography by Zhipan in *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, T49:204b(26)-c(11)..

³⁸⁸It is interesting to note that one of Xingshao's disciples Jiqi, had studied the *Virmalakirti* sutra under Xingshao on Mount Shibi. See *Shimen zhengtong*, fascicle 5, XZJ 130: 417a(16-17). This also further illustrates the close relationship between Xingshao and Xingshao.

Qingshao despite his reluctance to mention his involvement. Zhiyuan and Qingshao stayed together from 1000 to 1010 C.E. This was the period when the issue of the authenticity of two existing versions of the commentary on the Scripture of Golden Light (*Jingguangming jing xuanju*) by Zhiyi were vigorously debated between Zhili and Wu'en's group. In 1000 C.E., Zhili wrote the *Shinan fuzong ji* criticizing Wu'en for denouncing the longer version of the *Jingguangming xuanyi*. This work triggered off a heated debate between him and Qingshao. Between the period 1004 to 1005 C.E., Zhiyuan and Qingshao wrote a joint work known as *Bian'e* to attack Zhili's viewpoint. Then in 1006 C.E., Zhili sent his disciples together with his works *Erbai wen* and *Shiyi shu* to Qingshao. It was Zhiyuan who, with the help of a government official, prevented the face to face heated debate to have taken place. This all happened during Zhiyuan's stay in Qingshao's Fantian temple.³⁸⁹ Zhiyuan's close association with Qingshao despite his role in avoiding a face to face debate between Qingshao and Zhili's disciples leads me to believe Zhiyuan was deeply involved in the debate.

³⁸⁹See the charts on pp.31-33 & 165-166 of this dissertation.

In 1011 C.E., Zhiyuan left Qingshao to stay in the Chongfu temple in the Sihü.³⁹⁰ Before his departure from the Fantian temple, Zhiyuan had made a trip to the Shuixin temple on Mount Nanping,³⁹¹ and to the Yuhang.³⁹² It was at the Chongfu temple that Zhiyuan wrote his commentaries on the *Nirvana* sutra to which he attached a lot of importance. In his essay "Records on Dreams" (*Jimeng*), Zhiyuan tells how he dreamt of the Buddha preaching to ghosts in a wilderness when he was thirteen years old.³⁹³ At the age of thirty, Zhiyuan found a record of Buddha subduing the ghosts in the wilderness in the *Nirvana* sutra,³⁹⁴ and he dreamt of the Bodhisattvas Guanyin and Nagarjuna when he was about to write a commentary on the *Nirvana* sutra.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰One of Yuanqing's disciple Qingluan (n.d.) resided in the Chongfu temple. See the lineage chart in the *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 24, T49:252. Zhiyuan, however, made no mention of Qingluan in his works.

³⁹¹Mentioned in his essay "*Jimeng*" in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101:51b(6).

³⁹²Mentioned in his essay "*Lianju Zhaohu shixu*", (the preface to the joint work of poems made at the lake Zhao), in *Xianjubian* fascicle 29, XZJ 101:70c(5) & d(1).

³⁹³"*Jimeng*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101:50-51.

³⁹⁴"*Jimeng*" XZJ 101:51b(6-7). Zhiyuan claimed to have read about it in the chapter 15 of the *Nirvana* sutra.

³⁹⁵"*Jimeng*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101:51d(8)-51c(1).

There is an essay written by Zhiyuan which may explain why Zhiyuan recorded his dreams about the *Nirvana* sutra in detail. In his essay *Dui youren wen* (Answering the question of a friend), in the form of a dialogue between him and his friend, Zhiyuan defends his authority to teach and write on the *Nirvana* sutra as a Tiantai master.³⁹⁶ According to this essay, Zhiyuan was asked by his friend how, since he had never studied the *Nirvana* Sutra under a Tiantai master, he could teach and write commentaries on it as a Tiantai master. Zhiyuan then refers to lineages in Buddhist and Confucian tradition.

Confucian lineage: Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.)--Mencius (372-298 B.C.E.)--Yang Xiong--Wang Tong--Han Yu (768-824 C.E.) & Liu Zhongyuan.
 Buddhist lineage: Manjusri--Nagarjuna--Huiwen--Zhiyi (538-598 C.E.)--Guanding (561-632 C.E.)--Zhanran (711-782C.E.)³⁹⁷

Zhiyuan argues that these lineages shows that when we say that teaching was transmitted from one patriarch to another, it does not necessarily mean that the preceding patriarch had actually taught the next patriarch. Sometimes the patriarchs lived in different centuries. Zhiyuan further cited the example of the Confucian master Xunzi (fl. 298-238

³⁹⁶"*Dui youren wen*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101: 51c-d.

³⁹⁷"*Dui youren wen*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ 101:51c-d.

C.E.). Xunzi taught Li Si in person, yet, when Li became the prime minister in the Qin dynasty, he burnt books and slaughtered Confucian scholars. Similarly Wei Yuansong was taught in person by a famous Buddhist teacher. Yet when he worked for King Wudi of the Northern Zhou (557-581 C.E.), he started to persecute Buddhism. Therefore teaching in person cannot guarantee a true transmission of the teaching. What makes a transmission authentic is whether someone truly understand the teaching rather than whether he hears the teaching from patriarchs in person.

The fact that Zhiyuan had written an essay to justify his teaching of and writing on the *Nirvana* sutra suggests that there was criticism about his teachings of and his writings on the *Nirvana* sutra. Since he received no formal teaching on the *Nirvana* sutra from any other Tiantai masters, the criticism was possibly mainly about his authority to teach and write on that sutra as a Tiantai master, that is the legitimacy of Zhiyuan's subcommentary on the *Nirvana* sutra. To Zhiyuan, the commentarial tradition of the *Nirvana* sutra in the Tiantai school had broken down.³⁹⁸ In his *Muluxu*, Zhiyuan mentions that he was

³⁹⁸As pointed out by Shinohara, although the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Nirvana Sutra* belongs to the highest rank among all scriptures in his scheme of classification of
(continued...)

engaged in editing those works which were no longer taught in the Tiantai school.³⁹⁹

Because of the discontinuation of the transmission of commentarial works in the Tiantai school on the *Nirvana* sutra, Zhiyuan obliged to justify his teaching of and writing on the *Nirvana* sutra. He did so by clarifying the meaning of transmitting the teaching in the essay entitled "Answering the questioning of a friend" (*Dui youren wen*) as well as by telling us his two dreams in his autobiographical essay. He also recorded his two dreams in detail in a separate essay entitled "On recording dreams" (*Jimeng*). By telling his dreams, Zhiyuan attempted to explain that his teaching of and writing on the *Nirvana* sutra was actually

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doctrines (*panjiao*), Zhiyi (538-598 C.E.) did not leave a commentary on the *Nirvana Sutra* as he had done with the *Lotus Sutra*. Similarly, Zhanran wrote no subcommentary on the *Nirvana Sutra* as he had done with the *Lotus Sutra* (Zhanran's *Fahua wenjuji*, T34: 151-361, is a subcommentary on Zhiyi's commentary on the *Lotus Sutra*, *Fahua wenju*, T34: 151-361). The basic Tiantai commentary on the *Nirvana Sutra* was written by Guanding entitled *Daban niepanjing shu* (T38: 41-230). According to Zhiyuan's preface to the *Niepanjingshu sande zhigui* (*Xianjubian*, XZJ101: 58: 175b), he composed this commentary as the missing subcommentary for the *Nirvana Sutra*. See K. Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical Essays: The Master of the Mean", note.23, p.66.

³⁹⁹Muluxu, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 12, XZJ101: 45a(7-8).

sanctioned by Buddha himself through Bodhisattva Guanyin and Nagarjuna.

In 1013 C.E., Zhiyuan moved from the Chongfu temple to the Chongfa temple on Mount Daici where he finished his work on *the Nirvana* sutra entitled *Niepan sande zhigui* (On the Main Theme of the Three Virtues of the Commentary on the *Nirvana* Sutra). After one year, Zhiyuan moved back to the Chongfu temple where he wrote a preface to a catalogue of his works, the *Muluxu*. In this preface, Zhiyuan mentioned that,

Since I had taken up the task of lecturing, despite the fact that I had not understood fully all the teachings of the saints, I was determined to teach. I, therefore, read extensively on historical documents, sutras, and commentaries. For those works which were no longer taught, or when others' teachings were incorrect, I made notes and discussed them in order to benefit the students. From the period of the third year of Jingde (1006 C.E.) to the seventh year of Dazhongxiangfu (1014 C.E.), I, while lecturing and tending to my sickness, produced thirty commentarial works in seventy one fascicles.⁴⁰⁰

From here we learn that Zhiyuan spent his time after the death of his master Yuanqing basically on (1) further studying of Buddhist scriptures by himself, (2) writing commentaries, and (3) teaching. If this started from the year 1006 C.E. as he said, that would be the time when he stayed in the Fantian temple with Qingshao. It is

⁴⁰⁰"*Muluxu*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 12, XZJ 101:45a.

interesting to note that Zhiyuan had taught in the community of Qingshao. This explains also the traditional image of him as a "Shanwai" leader.

In his autobiographical essay, Zhiyuan mentions that he had lamented that the subtle teachings of the Tiantai school had been neglected since the death of Zhanran. Those who tried to teach them often did so incorrectly. Therefore he had determined to rectify the situation and had written hundreds of thousands of words to spread the Tiantai teachings.⁴⁰¹ The list of his Commentarial works is as follows:

Date	Title	Source
1006 C.E.	<i>Jingangbei xianxinglu</i> (XZJ 100) in 4 fascicles	<i>Jingangbei xianxinglu xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37d(3-10).
1009 C.E.	<i>Jing guanyinjingshu chanyichao</i> (T39) in 2 fascicles	<i>Chanyichao xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 10, XZJ101: 43a(5-12).
1011-1013 C.E.	<i>Niepanjing shu sande zhigui</i> (XZJ 58) in 20 fascicles	<i>Niepanjing shu sande zhigui xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37b(4-17).

⁴⁰¹*Zhongyongzi zhuan*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 19, XZJ 101: 56b(13-16).

1013 C.E.	<i>Yulanpen jingshu caihuachao</i> in 2 fascicles	<i>Yulanpen jingshu caihuachao xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 5, 36c(12)-d(2).
1014 C.E.	<i>Niepan xuanyi fayuanjiyao ji</i> (T38) in 2 fascicles <i>Niepan baifeichao</i> in 1 fascicles	<i>Niepan xuanyi fayuanjiyao ji</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 3, XZJ101: 34b(8)-35b(7). <i>Niepan baifeichao xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37a(11)-b(2).
1015 C.E.	<i>Guanjingshu kanzhengji</i> in 2 fascicles <i>Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji</i> (T38) in 10 fascicles	<i>Guanjingshu kanzhengji xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 3, XZJ101: 35d(11)-36a(2). <i>Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 3, XZJ101: 35b(9)-d(6).
1018 C.E.	<i>Jinguangming jing xuanyi biaoweiji</i> (Elucidation of the Subtle points in the Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Golden Light) in 1 fascicle. <i>Jinguangmingjing wenju suoyinji</i> (Record of Index to Exegesis on the Scripture of Golden Light) in 3 fascicles	<i>Jinguangming jing xuanyi biaoweiji xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 4, XZJ101: 36a(7-17). <i>Jinguangmingjing wenju suoyinji xu</i> , <i>Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 4, XZJ101: 36b(1-10).

Undated	<i>Fahua xuanji shibuermen zhangyi</i> (The Correct Meaning of the Twelve Gates of Non-duality in the Record of Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra)	<i>Fahua xuanji shibuermen zhangyi xu, Xianjubian</i> , fascicle 10, XZJ101: 41d(15)-42b(17).
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After staying one more year in Chongfu temple, that is in 1015C.E., Zhiyuan moved to Mount Wuxing where he compiled a subcommentary on Zhiyi's commentary on the Vimalakirti sutra known as "A Record on the Excellent Way As Taught in the Shorter Commentary on the Vimalakirti sutra" (*Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji*).⁴⁰²

In the year 1016 C.E., Zhiyuan bought a temple on Gushan and spent the rest of his life there. This indicates that by now Zhiyuan had gathered enough disciples to establish a temple of his own. Zhiyuan did not explain how he financed the purchase of the land on Gushan. He, however, mentions that it was his disciples who paid to expand his temple on Gushan, which indicates that the community continued to expand.⁴⁰³ The things that Zhiyuan

⁴⁰²This is mentioned in the Preface to the *Weimojing lueshu chuiyuji* which is found in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 3, XZJ101: 35c(7-10), (17-18). See also the Chart on p. 169 of this dissertation.

⁴⁰³"*Manaoyuan chongjie daijie ji*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle (continued...)

did after moving to Gushan indicate his interest in establishing a Buddhist community of his own where he could teach his disciples and continue the lineage of the Tiantai school to which he belonged.

It also seems that there was an attempt by Zhiyuan to live in seclusion. His decision to be a neighbour of the famous recluse Linbu suggested so.⁴⁰⁴ This is also supported by his poem "In speaking of my Ambition" (*yanzhi*).⁴⁰⁵ According to this poem, Zhiyuan wanted to withdraw from his failing mission of a Confucian writer and to reflect on his being a Buddhist monk. Zhiyuan gave us two more indications as to why he came to live in Gushan. One is in his "Preface for the framed record of the marking

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13, XZJ 101: 46d(17).

⁴⁰⁴Linbu's biography is found in the section on biographies of hermits and recluses in the *Songshi* fascicle 457. Lin lived in Gushan and is said to have stayed away from the city for twenty years. Zhiyuan seems to have formed a friendship with Lin. There are six poems in zhiyuan's *Xianjubian* that are dedicated to Linbu. From these poems we not only know that they exchanged poems but also visited each other. See *Xianjubian* fascicle 41 "Zeng Linbu chushi", fascicle 47 "Jun fu chushi, qi daishi su youwan yue fan hu zhiyue...", "Shantang luocheng zhao Lin chushi", "Jiuyue wangye zhao chushi Linjun fanhu wanyue", fascicle 48 "Ji Linbu chushi", fascicle 51 "Shu Lin chushi bi".

⁴⁰⁵*Yanzhi*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 48, XZJ101: 100c(7)-d(13).

of the precinct of the Manao hall in Gushan" in which he stated that he lived in the Manao hall and prepared to teach his students on the Tiantai teaching of the Three Contemplations.⁴⁰⁶ Again in his "Record of the second ceremony marking the precinct of the Manao hall", Zhiyuan said he bought the hall on the mountain so as to cure his sickness.⁴⁰⁷

It is our contention that, despite the various reasons he gave on why he moved to Gushan, Zhiyuan's main preoccupation during his stay in Gushan was to establish a Buddhist community of his own. His buying of the Manao hall in Gushan was the first step of his plan to establish a Buddhist centre of his own where he could teach his disciples and continue the lineage of Wu'en to which he belonged.

One of the things that Zhiyuan did when he moved to Gushan was to have the ceremony of marking the precinct performed in his Manao Hall.⁴⁰⁸ The ceremony was an

⁴⁰⁶"Gushan Manaoyuan jiexiang bang xu" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ 101: 45d(9).

⁴⁰⁷"Manaoyuan chongjie daijie ji" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d(11-12). cf. Zhiyuan's own preface to his *Xianjubian* entitled *zixu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 27c(6).

⁴⁰⁸In the *Manoyuan chongjiedaijie ji*, Zhiyuan tells us
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unfamiliar ritual which is, apparently, more popular in Tantric Buddhism. It was used in marking off a sacred place for religious practices to avoid disturbance from evil forces.⁴⁰⁹ The ceremony was done by his friend master Zewu, a Vinaya master. His *Xianjubian*, reproduces seven more records of the marking of the precinct of other temples in the region of Hangzhou.⁴¹⁰ The ceremony of marking the precinct (*Jiejie*) seems to be an important concern of Zhiyuan. From his writing of the above records, we learn that the ceremony had been somehow neglected in the area of Hangzhou.⁴¹¹ This means that many temples were built without the performance of the ceremony. Zewu, the vinaya master, appears to be a advocator of the ceremony which was

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that the remarking of the precinct of the Manao Hall was performed in the third year of Tianxi, i.e. 1019 C.E. As for the first marking of the precinct, Zhiyuan says it was done on the third day of the fourth month. No year was given. See *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d(16) & 47a(4).

⁴⁰⁹See Mochizuki Shinko, *Mochizuki bukkyo daijiten* (Tokyo, 1935), entry on *kekkaï*, pp.839-897.

⁴¹⁰Collected in the *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, 31, and 34, XZJ101: 45d-47a, 72b-73a, 76a respectively.

⁴¹¹In "*Yu menren shu*", Zhiyuan mentioned even his own disciples mistook *jiexiang* (the precepts) as the *jiexiang* (the precinct). This indicates that the *jiexiang* is an unfamiliar concept in the Buddhist milieu at that time. See *Xianjubian*, fascicle 24, XZJ 101: 62c-63a.

very much supported by Zhiyuan. To Zhiyuan, the ceremony represents an important part of the Vinaya, therefore, not to be neglected. Besides, as a form of Vinaya which is designed to restrict our behaviours,⁴¹² Zhiyuan argued that the ceremony came from Buddha himself. Therefore when a Buddhist does not practice what the Buddha taught, he is a heretic. Zhiyuan compared the Buddha with the Confucian sage king who had set up the orders and rules. A correct observance of the rules and regulations set by the sage king represents a correct following of the way of the sage. The same logic applies to Buddhism. A careful complying of Buddha's precepts is to be a true inheritor of the way of Buddha.⁴¹³ Therefore when Zhiyuan wanted the ceremony of marking the precinct to be performed, at least part of his concern was to be a true heir of the way of the Buddha. The performance of the ceremony was, in a manner of speaking, to sanction the establishment of Zhiyuan's Buddhist centre as an orthodox and true successor of the Buddha.

The other thing that Zhiyuan did immediately after he had moved to Gushan was to establish the Tiantai lineage at

⁴¹²"*Hangzhou fahui yuan jie daijie ji*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 31, XZJ 101: 72c.

⁴¹³"*Huating xingsheng yuan jiexiang bang xu*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46c.

Gushan. This is certainly related to his effort to 'sanction' his Manao hall as a true Buddhist institution. In the same year he moved to Gushan, that is in 1016 C.E., Zhiyuan succeeded in his search for the ashes of Wu'en, and subsequently buried them in his Manao hall.⁴¹⁴ He then performed a sacrifice to Wu'en, calling him his ancestral teacher, and later wrote an essay to commemorate this event in which he wrote,

In the past, Nagarjuna transmitted the way of Manjusri ...Zhiyi transmitted the teaching Nagarjuna, and elaborated on it.... When Zhiyi died, Changan succeeded him, and the two Wai inherited him. Zuoxi explained and interpreted [his teaching] and Jingxi record it. Therefore his [Zhiyi's] Way became more and more profound. Because of this, there were very few people in later ages who were able to enter his way. Among the very few was my ancestor [teacher, Wu'en]. He made use of his exceptional talent and his unique understanding to teach his students.... Hence the declined teaching of Tiantai school became well-known again.⁴¹⁵

Zhiyuan then perform another sacrifice to the local deities of the Gushan so as to introduce Wu'en to them.

⁴¹⁴*Jizushi wen, Xianjubian, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52b(10).* Zhiyuan claimed that the ashes of Wu'en was taken to other province by one of his disciples (name unknown). Twenty years later, two monks by the name of Guangjun (n.d.) and Baolong (n.d.) took them back to Qiantang and put it in the Jingzhu Hall for another ten years before Zhiyuan took them to Gushan. *Jizushi wen, Xianjubian, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52b(8-13).*

⁴¹⁵"*Ji zushi wen*" *Xianjubian, fascicle 17, XZJ 101: 52a(12-18).*

Later Zhiyuan also wrote an essay to commemorate this ritual.⁴¹⁶

Zhiyuan's actions in bringing Wu'en's ashes to his Gushan centre, building a stupa in Gushan for Wu'en, and his performing sacrifices to Wu'en indicate that he had treated Wu'en as an important founder of the Buddhist centre he was about to establish in Gushan. More important is that Wu'en was established by him as a true successor of Zhiyi, the founder of Tiantai school. Thus it follows that Zhiyuan's Buddhist centre in Gushan is a genuine and faithful branch or offspring of the Tiantai school of Buddhism.

Therefore, Zhiyuan's aim is clear. He wanted to legitimize his community as an accurate continuation of the Tiantai school by establishing the Tiantai lineage at Gushan. As an initiator of a new Buddhist community, it was important for Zhiyuan to leave behind information about himself so that posterity could get to know him. Therefore shortly after his moving to Gushan, Zhiyuan started, under the help of his disciples, the editing of his collection of writing known as the *Xianjubian*. This was an ongoing process as he continued to write during his stay in

⁴¹⁶"*Ji gushanshen wen*" and "*Yu ju gushanshen wen*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52c-d.

Gushan.⁴¹⁷ Four years later, towards the end of his life, Zhiyuan edited another collection of his poems of the ancient style and the Tang style written when he was sick. Hence he named his collection as the 'works during sickness' (*Bingkeji*)--a work that is now incorporated in the present version of the *Xianjubian*.⁴¹⁸

In the same year when he edited his 'works during sickness', Zhiyuan wrote a couple of long narrative poems which were a flashback of his life.⁴¹⁹ Probably in the same year, Zhiyuan compiled his autobiographical essay "Biography of the Master of the Mean" (*Zongyongzi zhuan*),⁴²⁰ an important document from which we can learn about his life. One year earlier, that is during 1019 C.E., Zhiyuan wrote

⁴¹⁷See his preface to his *Xianjubian* contained in the beginning of his collection, XZJ101: 27c(6-7).

⁴¹⁸His own preface to his "*Bingke ji*" is contained in his *Xianjubian* fascicle 11, XJ101: 44b. Cf. Note 314, p.107 of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁹They are "*Bing qi zixu*", (A self-recount after recovering from sickness), "*zi mian*" (A self reassurance), "*yan zhi*" (A narration of my ambition); all collected in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 48, XZJ 101: 100b-c, 100a-b, 100c-101a respectively.

⁴²⁰The *Zhong yong zi zhuan* was undated but in this work Zhiyuan mentioned his last will and testament which was written by him in the year 1019 C.E. Therefore we can deduce from here that his *Zhong yong zi zhuan* must have written some time after 1019 C.E. See his *Zhong yong zi zhuan*, *Xianjubian* fascicle 19, XZJ101: 56d.

down his last will and testament, and had it hung in his lecture hall.

I have dug, in advance, a cave for the storage of a porcelain pot into which my body should be put after death. After my death, there is no need to shave my head nor to wash my body. It should be wrapped with bathing clothes and you should immediately hire someone to bring the body to the cave and put it in the porcelain pot. Then, two or three stones should be used to seal the cave. Nobody should inform my relatives, parents or disciples [about my death]... All my clothes, bowls and belongings should be divided in accordance with the precepts... With regard to the Manao Hall, Weizheng, Xiqi, Haocai, they had assisted [me] in starting or in establishing [the community], and [one of them] is a new comer, [the hall] would be given to three of them.⁴²¹

The central message of his testament was to show that he had no desire to achieve fame after his death.⁴²² Therefore he stated that he did not want any elaborate funeral. He wanted only to be buried in a piece of pottery that he himself had prepared and had stored in a cave near the Manao hill.⁴²³ A shorter form of his last will and testament had already been given in his "An essay on performing sacrifice to the local deities in Gushan" (*Ji gushanshen wen*) two

⁴²¹*Yizhu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76b(4-13). cf. *Bingqi zixu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 48, *Xianjubian*, b(7)-c(9).

⁴²²"*Yi zhu*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76a-c.

⁴²³See also his "*Yu zhi gushanshen wen*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52d.

years ago.⁴²⁴ Zhiyuan seems to be very concerned to show his desire of not achieving fame and popularity after his death. (We must note that to be able to have an elaborate funeral was considered one of the greatest honour of a Chinese.) This, however, does not mean that Zhiyuan wanted himself to be forgotten in history. The fact that he chose to stay in a famous tourist spot to spend the rest of his life, and his effort in collecting and passing down his writings suggest that he wanted to be known by posterity, perhaps as someone who transcends the fame of this world.

Zhiyuan was eventually remembered by some eight different secular gazetteers because of his stay in the famous Gushan of Xihu,⁴²⁵ and his biography appears in seven different Buddhist biographical writings.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴"*Yu zhi gushanshen wen*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 52d.

⁴²⁵They are Wu zhijing, *Wulin fanzhi*; Tain rucheng *Xihu youlan zhi*; Zhai hao, *Hushan bianlan*; Shen tejian *Xihu zhizuan*; Shen yiji, *Zhejiang tongzhi*; Shao qiran, *Hangzhou fuzhi*; Qian shuoyou *Xianchun linan zhi*; Gong jiaou *Hangzhou fuzhi*. For a more detailed information on these gazetteers, see the table on p.121 of this dissertation.

⁴²⁶They are Zong jian, *Shimen zhengtong*; Yuan jing, *Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue*; Zhi pan, *Fozu tongji*; Tan xiu *Rentian baojian*; Nian chang, *Fozu lidai tongzai*; Jue an *Shishi jigu lue*; Ming he *Buxu Kaoseng zhuan*. For more detailed information on these biographies, see the table on p.108 of this dissertation.

One of the most important things that Zhiyuan had done in Gushan was his writing of ten commentaries on different Buddhist sutras. The list of the ten commentaries written by Zhiyuan in Gushan is as follows:

Date	Title	Source
1017 C.E.	<i>Wenshu shuo banruojing shu</i> (Preface to the Commentary on the Wisdom Scripture Spoken by Manjusri)	<i>Wenshu shuo banruojing shuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33a(8)-b(15). <i>Shu wenshu banruojingshu houxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40c(8)-40d(11)
Undated	<i>Banruo xinjing shu</i> (XZJ41: 330d-334a) (Commentary on the Heart Sutra)	<i>Banruo xinjing shuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33b(16)-c(11).
1017 C.E.	<i>Banruo xinjing yimouchao</i> (XZJ41: 334b-339d) (Notes on the Commentary for Transmission (to my students) on the Heart Sutra)	<i>Banruo xinjing yimouchao xu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 4, XZJ101: 36a(2-4).
Undated	<i>Shuo lengyanjing shu</i> (Commentary on the Surangama sutra)	<i>Shoulengyan jingshuxu</i> Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32a(4)-b(12).
Undated	<i>Yijiaojing shu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of the Last Teaching)	<i>Yijiaojing shuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 2, XZJ101: 33d(13)-34a(15).

Undated	<i>Ruiyingjing shu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of the Auspicious Response)	<i>Ruiyingjing shuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 2, XZJ101:34a(10)-b(12).
Undated	<i>Wuliangyi jingshu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of Infinite Meaning)	<i>Wuliangyi jingshuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33c(12)-d(8).
Undated	<i>Guan puxian xingfa jingshu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture on the Practice of contemplation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian))	<i>Guan puxianxingfa jingshuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34b(13-14).
Undated	<i>Sishierzhang jingshu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of Forty Two Chapters)	<i>Sishierzhang jingshuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32a(13)-c(7).
Undated	<i>Foshuo amituo jingshu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of the Amitabha Buddha Spoken by the Buddha)	<i>Foshuo amituo jingshuxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34c(1)-d(3).
1020 C.E. Spring	<i>Shoulengyan jingshu guxiangchao</i> (Commentary as Illusive as the Echo in the Valley on the Surangama Sutra)	<i>Shoulengyan jingshu guxiangchaoxu</i> Xianjubian fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36d(14)- 37a(6).

1020 C.E. 4th month	<i>Purubusiyi famenjingshu</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of Entering Extensively the Gate of Inconceivable Teaching)	<i>Purubusiyifamen jingshuxu</i> <i>Xianjubian</i> fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32d(8)-33a(7).
1020 C.E. 6th month	<i>Wenshushuo banruojingshu xizhongchao</i> (Simplified Commentary on the Wisdom Scripture Spoken by Manjusri)	<i>Wenshushuo banruojing shu xizhongchaoxu</i> <i>Xianjubian</i> fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36d(4-13).
1021 C.E. 11th month	<i>Amituojingshu xizichao</i> (Commentary on the Scripture of Amitabha Buddha as Resource for Rebirth in the Western Paradise)	<i>Amituojingshu xizichaoxu</i> <i>Xianjubian</i> fascicle 6, XZL101: 37b(18)-d(2).

As we have mentioned earlier, upon the death of his master Quanqing, Zhiyuan had the ambition of propagating the teaching of Zhanran by writing subcommentaries on Zhanran's commentarial works.⁴²⁷ It was in Gushan that Zhiyuan started to produce his own commentary rather than subcommentary. In his "Preface to a copy of the commentary on the Amitabha sutra as the capital for travelling to the

⁴²⁷See the chart on p.165 of this dissertation.

Western Pureland" (*Amituojingshu xizichaoxu*), Zhiyuan told us that

The ten commentaries which I have compiled start with the *Wenshu banruojing* and ends with the *Amituojing*. Although they are unplanned works, their sequence seems to be meaningful. Is it not to begin with using the real emptiness of the *prajna* to destroy attachment and to finish the commentaries by following the path of pure land to seek for one's rebirth [in it]. To cultivate the Pureland by using the mind of non-attachment. How suitable it is !⁴²⁸

In his postscript to his commentary on *Manjusri prajna* sutra,⁴²⁹ Zhiyuan tells the story

The monk of the temple Dazhong xiangfu by the name of Kezi sent his *dharma*-descendant Qingyue to see me [and invite me] to write a word of praise on this [Manjusri Prajna] sutra. He [Qingyue] told me that one day, [Ke]zi was cleaning [outside] the Library of Buddhist sutras, he discovered that one sutra alone lay opened. He, therefore, went in to find that the title of that sutra was *Prajna Sutra Spoken by Manjusri*. [Ke]zi was overwhelmed [by its content] and that he had never seen this sutra in his life. He then washed his hand before he [continued to] read it and understood its meaning. He [also] showed the text to his friend Zhihai who, like [Ke]zi understood the meaning of the text too. They both lamented that the text was not transmitted in the world. Since people seldom heard of the text, [Ke]zi therefore plans to print the text in order to popularize it. Now [they] left me with a copy is to

⁴²⁸*Amituojingshu xizichaoxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37c(2-6). The *Amituojing* translated by Kumarajiva is collected in T12: 346-348.

⁴²⁹"*Shu Wenshu banruo jingshu houxu*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 9, XZJ101: 40c-d. There are two versions of the *Wenshu banruojing*. One was translated by Mandra which is collected in T8: 726-732. The other was translated by Sanghapala and is collected in T8: 732-740.

wish that after I read it, I may write [commentary] on it.⁴³⁰

Xianjubian contains a poem Zhiyuan dedicated to Kezi, thanking him for giving him the Prajna sutra, the Lengyan sutra, and some medicine for treating the pancreas.⁴³¹ This reveals that Zhiyuan started his works of commentary because of an invitation from his friends.

From his various prefaces to his commentaries we learn that Zhiyuan commented on both the Prajna sutra and the Surangama sutra from the point of view of the Tiantai school, especially from the perspective of the Three Contemplation teaching of the school.⁴³² Zhiyuan then continued to do the same thing to the famous Heart sutra, followed by a subcommentary on his own commentary.⁴³³ He

⁴³⁰*Shu wenshubanruo jingshu houxu, Xianjubian*, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40c(9-16). Zhiyuan had also mentioned the two monks Zhihai and Kezi in his *Luchao yi houxu* (A Postscript to the Meaning of Notes on Precepts), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 8, XZJ101: 40d(13ff).

⁴³¹"*Xie Kezi shangren hui lengyan banruo er jing bing zhi pi yao*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ 101: 104a(6ff).

⁴³²*Shoulengyan jingshu guxiangchao xu* (dated at the fourth year of Tianxi i.e. 1020 C.E.) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 5, XZJ101:36d(16); *Wenshu shou banruo jingshu xu, Xianjubian* fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33b(1-2). The *Shoulengyan jing* translated by Kumarajiva is collected in T15: 629-645.

⁴³³*Banruo xinjing yimouchaoxu* (Notes on my Commentary on the Heart Sutra), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 4, XZJ101: 36a(4-5). The *Banruo xinjing* translated by Xuanzhuang is
(continued...)

then proceeded to comment on other sutras including the sutra of the Infinite meanings, a prelude of the Lotus sutra⁴³⁴ which expounds the traditional teaching of emptiness and transience of all things from the perspective of ultimate truth.⁴³⁵

Zhiyuan also commented on three Hinayana sutras: the sutra of the last teaching⁴³⁶, the sutra on the biography of the Buddha,⁴³⁷ and the sutra of the Forty two chapters.⁴³⁸ The first sutra is a scripture on Buddhist precepts while the second is a biography of the Buddha. The sutra of the

(...continued)
collected in T8: 848-849.

⁴³⁴According to the tradition, the Buddha preached the *Wuliangyijing* first before he proceeded to preach the *Lotus sutra*. See Ding Fobao, *Foxue daicidian*, p.1091, entry on *Wuliangyijing*. The *Wuliangyi jing* translated by Dharmagatayasas is collected in T9: 383-389.

⁴³⁵*Wuliangyijing shuxun*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33c(13)-33d(8).

⁴³⁶*Yijiaojing shuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33d(13)-34a(15). The *Yijiaojing* which is also known as *Fochui boniepan lueshuo jiaojiejing* is collected in T12: 1110-1112.

⁴³⁷*Ruiying jingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34a(17)-b(12). The *Ruiyingjing* translated by Zhiqian is collected in T3: 472-483.

⁴³⁸*Sishierzhang jingzhuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32b(14)-d(7). The *Sishierzhang jing* translated by Kasyapamatanga and Dharmaraksa is collected in T17: 722-724.

forty two chapters was a collection of aphorisms, illustrating the Buddhist moral system.

In the year 1020 C.E., Zhiyuan wrote a subcommentary on his own commentary on the Manjusri prajna sutra and the Surangama sutra, showing how much he valued the two sutras. After that Zhiyuan carried on his writing of commentaries by commenting on two meditational texts, the sutra of entering the inconceivable teaching⁴³⁹ and the sutra on contemplating the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian).⁴⁴⁰

Finally, Zhiyuan wrote a commentary on a Pure Land sutra entitled Amitabha sutra.⁴⁴¹ As we have noted earlier, Zhiyuan's interest in the Pure Land Buddhism could be traced back to his mother who, before her death, left him with a statue of the Amitabha Buddha and requested him to continue offering sacrifice to the Amitabha Buddha.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹*Puru busiyi famen jingxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32d(9)-33a(7). The *Puru busiyi famenjing* is the chapter 10 of the *Maharatnakuta* sutra (Pinnacle of Jewels) which is a collection of 49 sutras translated by Bodhiruci and is collected in T11: 158-162.

⁴⁴⁰*Guan puxianxingfa jingshuxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34b(15-19). The *Guan puxianxingfa jing* translated by Dharmamitra is collected in T9: 389-395.

⁴⁴¹*Amituojingshu xizichao xu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37c(3-6). The *Amituojing* translated by Kumarajiva is collected in T12: 346-348.

⁴⁴²"*Jingtu zan bing xu*"., *Xianjubian* fascicle 8, XZJ
(continued...)

From our sketch of Zhiyuan's endeavour to comment on the Buddhist sutras, we may see that he had gone beyond a mere response to a friend's invitation to write on the prajna sutra. Zhiyuan seems to have had an agenda in his choice of sutras rather than writing at random. Within the ten sutras that he wrote, we have sutras on doctrines, on precepts and on meditation. That is to say they cover the Three Learnings of Buddhism. Besides, it also included a biography of the Buddha, and a collection of Buddha's sayings on Buddhist cultivation in general. The whole thing would serve as a basic text book for a Buddhist novice.

Perhaps this was the idea that was in Zhiyuan's mind. When he wrote his various works of commentary, Zhiyuan wanted to provide for his disciples a collection of basic Buddhist texts with his comments that would serve as a textbook for their Buddhist learning. His choice of texts for his disciples largely constitutes the prajna sutras and meditational practice together with some basic knowledge of the Buddhist precepts, biography of the founder of Buddhism

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101: 40a(10-11). For a study on the faith of Pure Land of Zhiyuan, see Yaguchi koen, *Tendai Jodokyo shi*. See also p.172 of this dissertation.

and his sayings, and a Pureland text.⁴⁴³ These perhaps were the kind of teachings that were received in the new Buddhist community set up by Zhiyuan. His community seems to have had some success. There was an expansion of his Manao hall to include more disciples as recorded in the *Xianjubian*.⁴⁴⁴ Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the history of his community after his death.

Zhiyuan passed away on the nineteenth day of the second month of the year 1022 C.E. Two days before his death, Zhiyuan composed his own sacrificial text.⁴⁴⁵ He may have also written a 'dirge' shortly before his death.⁴⁴⁶ Zhiyuan

⁴⁴³It is interesting to note that the *Lotus* and the *Nirvana* sutras are surprisingly not included here. Perhaps the ten sutra serves only as an introduction to basic Buddhist thoughts to Zhiyuan disciples before they were exposed to more complicated sectarian commentarial works of the Tiantai school.

⁴⁴⁴*Manao yuan chongjie dajie ji, Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d.

⁴⁴⁵"*Zhong yong zi ziji wen*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 53c-d.

⁴⁴⁶"*Wan ge ci san shou*" *Xianjubian*, fascicle 37, XZJ101: 80d. There is an interlinear note under the title of the 'dirge' which gives the date of composition as the 28th day of the second month. No year was given. A similar note is also found under Zhiyuan's *Zhongyongzi zijiwen* which gives the date of his dictation of his work as the 17th of the second month and that Zhiyuan passed away on the 19th. Also no year was given. Since we know Zhiyuan died in the year 1022, the *Zhongyongzi zijiwen* should also be composed in the same year. As the date of the two titles was given

(continued...)

seems to be clearly aware of the approach of his own death. Besides his dirge and sacrificial text, Zhiyuan had also previously written his own biographical sketch in a poetic form to be engraved on a memorial tablet (the *Muzhiming*) as well as his last will and testament that was written down on a block to be hung in his lecture hall in Manao hill. His desire not to have an elaborate funeral but to be buried in a piece of pottery which he had prepared and stored in a cave were recorded in almost all secular and Buddhist biographies.

Also commonly included in these biographies are the story about miraculous preservation of Zhiyuan's body. It is said that fifteen years after Zhiyuan's death, the cave in which he was buried was opened up because of rain. When his disciples opened the pottery in which his body was buried, they found that not only his body had not decayed but also his nails and hair had been growing. Also his

(...continued)

in a similar manner (only date and month was given without the year and was given under the title as an interlinear note), it is possible that the 'dirge' was also composed in the same year. If this is the case, the 'dirge' was not composed by Zhiyuan as the work is dated 28th of the second month but he died on the 19th.

mouth was slightly open and the teeth looked like white jade.⁴⁴⁷

3. Illness in Zhiyuan's life

As we have mentioned earlier, Zhiyuan suffered from ill health from childhood -- the reason why his father agreed to let him leave the household.⁴⁴⁸ There were thirteen poems collected in the last four fascicles of Zhiyuan's Writings Compiled in retirement (*Xianjubian*) that were written in relation to his sickness. They are:

⁴⁴⁷See, for instance, the *Fozu tongji*, fascicle 10, XZJ131: 77c(1-2).

⁴⁴⁸*Jimeng*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 16, XZJ101: 51a(16-18).

Fascicle No.	Title	Source
Fascicle 47	<p><i>Xunfuchushi xidashi suyou wanyuefahu zhiyue yuyiwobing zhishuangxinqi yinweicizhang liaoyidaoyi</i> (Writing this piece of work in apology for my former absence from the appointment with Xunfu (Lin Bu) and Master Xi to see the moon by rowing boat on the lake)</p> <p><i>Jiubing</i> (Long Illness)</p> <p><i>Bingqi</i> (Recovering from Illness)</p> <p><i>Bingzhong yuye huaitongzhi</i> (In Memory of My Friend During Sickness in a Rainy Night)</p> <p><i>Jiubing youkan yinshi houxue</i> (Showing My Feeling After a Long Sickness to My Students)</p>	<p>XZJ101: 97a(2-6).</p> <p>XZJ101: 97b(5-8).</p> <p>XZJ101: 97b(17)- c(2).</p> <p>XZJ101: 97c(11- 14).</p> <p>XZJ101: 98b(9-12).</p>
Fascicle 48	<p><i>Qiubing</i> (Sickness During Autumn)</p> <p><i>Bingqi zhixu</i> (A Self-description after a Recovering from Sickness)</p> <p><i>Bingzhong wanyue</i> (Viewing the Moon during Sickness)</p>	<p>XZJ101: 99c(16- 17).</p> <p>XZJ101:100 b(7)-c(9).</p> <p>XZJ101: 100d(14)- 101a(7).</p>

Fascicle 49	<p><i>Bingzhong huaishibi xingshaoshengren</i> (In Memory of Reverend Xingshao of Shibi during my Sickness)</p> <p><i>Xie kezishengren huilengyan banruo erjing bing zhipiyao</i> (Thanking Reverence Kezi giving me the Surangama and Prajna Sutras as well as Medicine for curing the Pancreatic Disease)</p>	<p>XZJ101: 104a(3-5).</p> <p>XZJ101: 104a(6-9).</p>
Fascicle 50	<p><i>Bingqi ershou</i> (Two Poems written after a Recovery from Sickness)</p> <p><i>Yangji</i> (Nursing my Sickness)</p> <p><i>Bingzhong kan tiyuanshengren jianfang</i> (Thank the Visit of Reverend Tiyuan during my Sickness)</p> <p><i>Bingqi zhichao</i> (A Self-mockery after a Recovery from Sickness)</p>	<p>XZJ101: 104b(5-9).</p> <p>XZJ101: 104d(4-8).</p> <p>XZJ101: 105b(3-5).</p> <p>XZJ101: 105b(9-11).</p>

These works indicate that Zhiyuan was chronically ill. In his *Bingfu* (Rhapsody on Illness), Zhiyuan described his sickness as Pancreatic disease and his symptoms as

If I speak for a long time, or overeat, I begin to breathe heavily and sweat. My ears ring and I feel dizzy. The pain is unbearable.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹*Bingfu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76d(4-5). An interesting Tiantai classification of illness can be found in the *Moho zhiguan*, fascicle 8, T46: 106b. This
(continued...)

Apparently, Zhiyuan had to struggle continuously with his illness. In this section, we shall examine how Zhiyuan dealt with his illness. In his *Bingfu zhuan* (Biography of the Sick man), Zhiyuan describes his life of sickness,

Climbing the mountain or facing the water, [I] recite chosen phrases and depict the scenery. Remaining correct but relaxed, [I] do not take the illness in my body as suffering. In the quietude of self-attainment, I do not falsely adopt the forms of the contemporary world. Even [when I encounter] the wealthy, noble, and powerful, I do not follow them, using illness as the excuse. Even [when I sees] great fame and material benefit, I do not take advantage of them, giving illness as the excuse. Even [when I hear] such beautiful tunes as "Qingshang" and "Liuzheng", [I] do not listen to them, giving illness as the excuses. Even [when I am offered] such delicious food as well-fattened meat and tasty grains, [I] do not eat them, giving illness as the excuse.⁴⁵⁰

As pointed out by Shinohara, Zhiyuan has turned his sickness into an ideal state in which the spiritual quest is carried out.⁴⁵¹ In dealing with his sickness, Zhiyuan not only tried not to be bothered by it but also made use of it as a favourable condition for his religious practice. Zhiyuan claimed that by using his sickness as an excuse, he was able

(...continued)

information was provided to me by K. Shinohara.

⁴⁵⁰*Bingfu zhuan, Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76c(13-17). Translation is taken from Koichi Shinohara, "Illness and Self: Zhiyuan's Two Autobiographical Essays" Conference Proceedings (Israel, 1995) p.12-13.

⁴⁵¹Koichi Shinohara, "Illness and Self: Zhiyuan's Two Autobiographical Essays", p.16.

to stay away from the powerful, noble and wealthy. Hence he "was not affected by power, nor enslaved by reputation, not deafened by beautiful sounds, nor led astray by delicious taste."⁴⁵² In his introduction to his own *Bingfu* (Verses on Illness), Zhiyuan writes,

I have heard that there are four methods of curing diseases. They are (1) by medicine, (2) by contemplation, (3) by incantation, (4) by cure of the first truth. I, [though being] an unwise person, strive for the Way of the wise and uses the Contemplation of Principles as a cure for [my] sickness.⁴⁵³

Later on in the verses, Zhiyuan describes in detail the method of curing his sickness by Contemplation of Principle as

Illness arises from the mind. Illness is a form. All form are nothing but the mind. How could the mind harm itself. The substance of the mind is fundamentally non-being. From where can illness materialize? ... Illness is identical with the absence of illness. Illness has nothing to do with me.⁴⁵⁴

Here, Zhiyuan spelt out his way of dealing his sickness. It is his 'mind-only' persuasion that helps him deal with his illness. As we have argued earlier, the 'mind-only' teaching is the major teaching of Zhiyuan. From his writing

⁴⁵²*Bingfu zhuan, Xianjubian, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76c(17-18),*

⁴⁵³*Bingfu, Xianjubian, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76d(9-11).*

⁴⁵⁴*Bingfu, Xianjubian, fascicle 34, XZJ101: 76d(18)-77a(2).* Translation is taken from K. Shinohara, "Illness and Self: Zhiyuan's Two Autobiographical Essays", P.16.

on his illness, we learn that his 'mind-only' persuasion is more than some abstract philosophical concepts accepted by him only in a rational way. There is an experiential context for his 'mind-only' teaching namely his ill health. Zhiyuan upheld of his 'mind-only' teaching not only because it is rationally convincing to him but experientially helpful to him to deal with his sickness. In an essay *Zhongyongzi zhijiwen* (A Text for the Occasion of Offering Sacrifice to the Master of Mean by himself), Zhiyuan writes,

With his illusory body that suffers from illusory illness, dictates illusory words with his mouth to illusory disciples who take an illusory pen and produce illusory pieces of writing.⁴⁵⁵

In a short essay of twelve lines, Zhiyuan used repeatedly the world 'huan' (illusory) for sixteen times. This essay, which was written shortly before his death,⁴⁵⁶ has revealed how his mind-only pervasion has actualized in a real life context.

⁴⁵⁵*Zhongyongzi zhijiwen, Xianjubian, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 53c(12)-d(5). Translation is taken from K. Shinohara, "Illness and Self: Zhiyuan's Two Autobiographical Essays", p.27.*

⁴⁵⁶In an interlinear note, it was given that the essay was dictated on the seventeenth day of the second month, and Zhiyuan passed away in the nineteenth. Zhiyuan told us that it was his disciple who had written down this essay for him. See *Zhongyongzi zhijiwen, Xianjubian, fascicle 17, XZJ101: 53c(11) & d(3).*

As Zhiyuan has mentioned, one of his reason for living in the Gushan was to attend to his sickness.⁴⁵⁷ His writing of his own sacrificial essay, tomb inscription, last testament, dirge, sacrificial essays indicate that Zhiyuan realizes the incurability of his illness and anticipate his imminent death.⁴⁵⁸ Shinohara has argued that in Zhiyuan's writings we can detect different stages in Zhiyuan's struggle with his own illness. he first went to Gushan, seeking a cure for his illness but later came to realize its incurability as his condition worsened.⁴⁵⁹ In facing his imminent death, Zhiyuan writes,

As long as there is birth, there is death. Birth is the beginning of man's [life] and death is the end. There is beginning and end of [all] things. Therefore there is birth and death for man.⁴⁶⁰

Zhiyuan further explains why he could come to such a state

⁴⁵⁷*Manaoyuan chongjie dajieji, Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d(11-12).

⁴⁵⁸*Zhongyongzi zhijiwen* (Self-sacrificial text for Master of the Mean) XZJ101: 53c(12)-d(5). *Yizhu* (Last Testament), XZJ101: 76a(18)-c(2). *Zhongyongzi yuzhiming zhi muzhi* (A Self-prepared Tomb Inscription for Master of the Mean), XZJ101: 80d(8-16). *Wangeci sanshou* (Three pieces of Dirges)., XZJ101: 80d(7-16). See my remarks on the authorship of the Three Pieces of Dirges in note 443 in p. 163 of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁹Koichi Shinohara, "Illness and Self: Zhiyuan's Two Autobiographical Essays", p.17.

⁴⁶⁰*Shengsi wu haowu lun* (On No Like or Dislike on Birth and Death), *Xianjubian*, fascicle 18, XZJ101: 54c(10-11).

In the quietude of the Principle of Heaven, there is no birth or death of myself. It is out of the ignorance that produces the distinction of coming and going. This is like watching the sunny sky with a 'pure' eye, [one would see] there is only space but no coverings. One, however, will see [illusion] of flowers when watching [the sky] for a long time. Since there is arising of flowers, there is disappearance. The unwise like the arising of flowers and dislike the disappearance of flowers for no reason without knowing that the original inexistence of the flowers.⁴⁶¹

Therefore it is the Buddhist teaching of emptiness which enables Zhiyuan to transcend life and death. Later on in the same text, Zhiyuan quotes the *Surangama* sutra⁴⁶² to support his point

The nature of permanent real mind is pure and its substance illuminate. Out of delusive thoughts, which is unreal, transmigration is produced. Since there is no birth, there is no death. Birth, death, coming and going are originally the Tathagatha.⁴⁶³

In a poem entitled *Xianyong* (Leisure), Zhiyuan writes,

Both the world and the space are like illusion. Do not let the leisure mind go after the realms.⁴⁶⁴

There is an interlinear note in the poem where Zhiyuan explains

⁴⁶¹*Shengsi wu haowu lun, Xianjubian, fascicle 18, XZJ101: 54d(5-9).*

⁴⁶²*Surangama* sutra translated by Kumarajiva is collected in T15: 629-645.

⁴⁶³Quoted in *Shengsi wu haowu lun, Xianjubian, fascicle 18, XZJ101: 54d(10-11).*

⁴⁶⁴*Xianyong, Xianjubian, fascicle 50, XZJ101: 105a(8-10).*

The *Surangama* sutra states that the space arises from ignorance. Out of the space the world is established. The sutra also states when our mind attached to itself [its production], the illusive *dharma* is produced out of non-illusion.⁴⁶⁵

Therefore it was the *Surangama* sutra which contributes to inspire Zhiyuan's 'mind-only' teaching that help him to deal with his illness and his own death.

⁴⁶⁵Xianyong, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 50, XZJ101: 105a(8-10).

V. Concluding Remarks

Our study on Zhiyuan's life and thoughts concentrates on Zhiyuan's two major works: his *Jing angbei xianxinglu*, and his *Xianjubian*. The former reveals his mind-only persuasion and the latter presents different aspects of his life which are often overshadowed by his image as a Shanwai leader.

Zhiyuan had a strong opinion on most of the issues raised in the debate between the Wu'en's group and Zhili, though he did not take part in the direct exchanges of series of doctrinal essays. His involvement in the debate consists mainly in producing competing exegetical works on the Tiantai cannon. His view, which consisted of the mind-only teaching had immediate roots in Zhanran's thoughts.

Apart from his involvement in the doctrinal debate, our re-examination of Zhiyuan's life and thoughts has demonstrated that there were important themes of Zhiyuan's life which are often neglected or overshadowed by his image as Shanwai leader. Zhiyuan was remembered in his biographies, not as a leader of the Sharwai faction, but as a Buddhist monk with remarkable literary skills. In his *Xianjubian*, Zhiyuan mentions about fifty eight names of

monks to whom Zhiyuan had dedicated a poem and who, apparently had exchanged poems with Zhiyuan.⁴⁶⁶ Although no further information can be found about these monks, they represent an unique phenomenon of the religious life of Buddhist monks in China, namely the active involvement in the literary activity as an avocation of their religious life. Their interest in literary writing provides a point of contact with the literati class in China,⁴⁶⁷ thereby helping Buddhism to take a strong foothold in the milieu of the educated class.

There is a tension, however, in Zhiyuan's life between his two roles: Zhiyuan as a Buddhist monk and Zhiyuan as a skilful literary writer. The poem written by Zhiyuan entitled "the demon of poetry" (*Shimo*)⁴⁶⁸ in which he characterizes his desire for literary writing as a demon which disturbs his religious cultivation expresses, in a metaphorical way, the tension Zhiyuan

⁴⁶⁶For the sake of simplicity, instead of listing the names, I list here only the number of monks' name mentioned in each of the fascicles in Zhiyuan's *Xianjubian*, : fascicle 38, (1); fascicle 40 (1); fascicle 41, (10); fascicle 43, (10); fascicle 44, (12); fascicle 45, (4); fascicle 46, (1); fascicle 47, (6); fascicle 49, (3); fascicle 50, (1); fascicle 51, (9).

⁴⁶⁷One example would be Zhiyuan's relationship with Wu zunlu (fl. 1012 C.E.), a literati official who admired Zhiyuan's literary skills. For a brief background of Wu zunlu see note 257 on p. 107 of this dissertation.

⁴⁶⁸*Xianjubian*, fascicle 46, XZJ101: 95a(2-4). cf. his poem *Xie renshengren huicha* (To thank the giving of tea by reverence Ren) where he uses the term *shimo* again. *Xianjubian*, fascicle 46, XZJ101: 95b(7).

encountered as a Buddhist monk who was committed to the movement of the *Guwen* style of writing which is Confucian in nature. Zhiyuan tried to resolve the tension by maintaining that the Three Teachings are in harmony.

Another important theme of Zhiyuan's life was his continued struggle with his ill-health. We have demonstrated that it was his mind-only persuasion that had helped Zhiyuan to deal with his chronic disease. His mind only persuasion which Zhiyuan had defended vigorously throughout the debate with Zhili was, therefore, more than an abstract philosophical issue to Zhiyuan. His mind-only teaching, which was inspired by his master Yuanqing and his reading of Buddhist scriptures, especially the *Surangama sutra*, was realized by Zhiyuan in a real life context.

TRANSLATION

Introduction to Translation

Zhiyuan's large collection *Writing Compiled in Retirement (Xianjubian)* indicates that Zhiyuan was a prolific writer. He wrote both literary works and Buddhist commentaries. The latter consists of two kinds: (1) his subcommentaries on existing commentaries of previous Tiantai masters especially Zhanran's works, and (2) his own commentarial works on Buddhist sutras.

There are two phases in Zhiyuan's writings of his commentarial works: (1) Before he moved to Gushan, Zhiyuan was obsessed with writing subcommentaries on existing commentaries of Tiantai masters so as to rectify the misunderstanding of and to promote the Tiantai teachings. (2) After he moved to Gushan, Zhiyuan concentrated on writing commentaries on ten Buddhist sutras.⁴⁶⁹

As we have argued that Zhiyuan's main pre-occupation during his stay in Gushan was to establish a Buddhist

⁴⁶⁹There is one exception: the *Jinguangmingjing xuanji biawei* and the *Jinguangmingjing wenju suoyinyi* were written by Zhiyuan in Gushan. See his preface to both works in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 4 XZJ101: 36a(7-17) & 36b(1-10) respectively.

community of his own⁴⁷⁰ and that his commentaries on the ten Buddhist sutras, which cover the Three Learnings of Buddhism: precepts, meditation, and wisdom, serve as a basic 'textbook' for his disciples.⁴⁷¹ The most bewildering thing about Zhiyuan's choice of the ten Buddhist sutras was his exclusion of all Buddhist scriptures that were central to the Tiantai school namely the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Nirvana sutra*. One will expect a Tiantai master to use the Three Major Works⁴⁷² or the Five Minor Works⁴⁷³ of the Tiantai

⁴⁷⁰See my discussion on p.189 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷¹See my discussion on p.204 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷²The three major works of the Tiantai school are: (1) *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi* (Profound Meaning of the scripture of the Lotus flower of the Wonderful Teaching), T33: 681a-814a. (2) *Miaofa lianhuajing wenju* (Words and Phrases of the Scripture of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Teaching), T34: 1a-149a. (3) *Moho zhiguan* (Great Cessation and Contemplation) T46: 1a-140c.

⁴⁷³The five minor works of the Tiantai school are: (1) *Foshuo Guanwuliangshoufo jingshu* (Commentary on the Scripture of Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life Spoken by the Buddha), T37: 186-194. (2) *Jinguangmingjing xuanyi* (Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Golden Light), T39: 1-11. (3) *Jinguangmingjing wenju* (Words and Phrases of the Scripture of Golden Light), T39: 46-82. (4) *Guanyin xuanyi* (Profound Meaning of the Scripture of Guanyin), T34: 877-891. (5) *Guanyin yishu* (Commentary on the Scripture of Guanyin), T34: 921-935. All the five minor works are attributed to Zhiyi. Some scholars like Sato Tetsuei, however, think that the five minor works do not reflect the thinking of Zhiyi. See Sato Tetsuei, *Tendai daishi no kenkyu: Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyu* (Tokyo: (continued...))

school to teach his disciples. Zhiyuan did not provide an explanation for his omission.

One possible explanation was Zhiyuan's experience of his ill health. Zhiyuan's deteriorating health because of his chronic disease may explain his choice of wisdom scripture and Pure Land scripture which both help him to deal with his imminent death. As we have mentioned that part of his plan to move to Gushan was to attend to his sickness.⁴⁷⁴ In a poem entitled *Bingqi zixu* (A Self narration after a recovery from sickness), Zhiyuan wrote about his experience of his pancreatic diseases. He told us that he could not have regular sleeps and meals and was suffering from serious diarrhoea which made him thought that he was approaching death.⁴⁷⁵ This poem was written one year before Zhiyuan's death but similar experience must also be

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Hyakkaen, 1961), and his *Zoku Tendai daishi no kenkyu: Tendai chigi o meguru sho mondai* (Tokyo: Hyakkaen, 1981).

⁴⁷⁴See *Manaoyuan chongjie daijieji* in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 13, XZJ101: 46d(11-12). cf. note 407 on p.189 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷⁵"*Xie kezishengren hui lengyanbanruo erjing bing zhipiyao*", *Xianjubian*, fascicle 48, XZJ101: 100b(13-15). In this poem Zhiyuan mentions that he was forty five years old (100b(16)). This means that this poem was written by Zhiyuan in the year 1021 C.E. that is one year before his death.

experienced by him throughout his whole life as he had been suffering from ill health since his birth.⁴⁷⁶

A monk by the name of Kezi gave the *Manjusri*⁴⁷⁷ *prajna* scripture, the *Surangama* sutra, together with the medicine for treating Pancreas to Zhiyuan.⁴⁷⁸ Thereupon, Zhiyuan started to write commentary on the *Manjusri* sutra--the first of the ten Buddhist sutras on which Zhiyuan had written commentary. Therefore, it was his sickness which drew his attention to the Buddhist scriptures other than the basic texts of the Tiantai school. The wisdom scriptures, like the *Manjusri* sutra, help Zhiyuan to realize that "illness is identical with the absence of illusion. Illness has nothing

⁴⁷⁶Zhiyuan's ill health represents a third important theme of his life. See my discussion on p.207 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷⁷*Manjusri* is a popular Mahayana bodhisattva who is considered the personification of the wisdom. For a study on him see E. Lamotte, "*Manjusri*", *T'oung Pao* 48 (1960): 1-96.

⁴⁷⁸See *Xie kezishengren hui lengyan banruo erjing bing zhipiyao*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 49, XZJ101: 104a(6-9). cf. p. 200 of this dissertation. The poem is not dated but the Postscript to the Commentary, *Shu wenshu banruojingshu houxu*, mentions that Kezi sent his disciples Qingyue with the *Manjusri* scripture to visit Zhiyuan two years after his moving to Gushan (i.e. 1017 C.E.), and the Postscript to the commentary was dated the first year of Tiantai (i.e. 1017 C.E.). Therefore the commentary must be written in the year of 1017 C.E.

to do with me."⁴⁷⁹ Therefore it was his experience of ill health which shifts Zhiyuan from his earlier obsession with Tiantai commentaries to Buddhist scriptures like the *Manjusri prajna*, *Lengyan*, and the pure land scriptures.⁴⁸⁰

Zhiyuan's commentaries to the ten Buddhist sutras produced towards the last stage of his life can also help us to understand his Buddhist thinking apart from his common label of a 'Shanwai' master. To use Zhiyuan's words it is

To begin with using the real emptiness of the *prajna* to destroy attachment and to finish the commentaries by following the path of pure land to seek for one's rebirth in it. To cultivate for the rebirth in the pure land by using the mind of non-attachment.⁴⁸¹

Among the ten Buddhist sutras, Zhiyuan had written two commentaries both on the two wisdom sutras (*Wenshu shuo banruojing* and the *Heart sutra*) and the pure land scripture, *Amituo sutra*. He has written three commentaries on the *Surangama sutra*. This indicates that Zhiyuan's Buddhist thoughts in his latest years consists of three foci:

⁴⁷⁹*Bingfu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 34, XZL101: 77a.

⁴⁸⁰Zhiyuan's interest in the Pureland faith can be traced back to his mother. See my discussion on p.172 of this dissertation. It is likely that Zhiyuan's continuous experience of his ill health, especially during the last few years of his life, renewed his interest in the Pureland faith.

⁴⁸¹*Amituojingshu xizichaoxu*, *Xianjubian*, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37c(2-6).

- (1) doctrine of emptiness as taught in the wisdom scriptures
- (2) doctrine of rebirth in the pure land scriptures
- (3) doctrine of 'mind-only' in the *Surangama sutra*

Most of Zhiyuan's commentarial works are lost.⁴⁸²

The following is a translation with notes of Zhiyuan's prefaces to all his commentarial works on the ten Buddhist sutras which gives us a summary of Zhiyuan's Buddhist thoughts.

⁴⁸²The only exception is Zhiyuan's commentaries on the *Heart Sutra*. His *Banruo xinjing shu* (Commentary on the *Heart Sutra*) is collected in XZJ41: 330d-334a; and his *Buruo xinjing yimouchao* (Commentary for Transmission (to my students) on the *Heart Sutra*) is collected in XZJ41: 334b-339d).

List of Translation

- I. On the Perfection of Wisdom Scripture Spoken by manjusri
- II. On the Heart Sutra
- III. On the *Surangama Sutra* (*Shoulengyan jing*)
- IV. On the Scripture of Entering Extensively the Gate of Inconceivable Teaching (*Puru busiyi famejing*)
- V. On the Scripture of the Last Teaching (*Yijiaojing*)
- VI. On the Scripture of Auspicious Response (*Ruiyingjing*)
- VII. On the Scripture of Infinite Meaning (*Wuliangyi jing*)
- VIII. On the Scripture on the Practice of Contemplation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Fuan puxian xingfa jing*)
- IX. On the Scripture of Forty Two Chapters (*Sishierzhang jing*)
- X. On the Scripture of the Amitabha Buddha (The Smaller *Sukhavativyuha Sutra* or *Amituojing*)

I. On the Perfection of Wisdom Scripture Spoken by
manjusri

1. *Wenshu banruojing shuxu*

(Preface to the Commentary on the Prajna sutra spoken
by Manjusri)⁴⁸³

Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33a(8)-b(15).

In the quietude of True nature, there is no one *dharma* that exists.⁴⁸⁴ Because of the subtle movement of the illusive mind ten thousand realms are produced. Thereupon, the difference between ascending to pleasurable realm of rebirth and descending to realm of suffering comes to be established firmly.⁴⁸⁵ The choice between the lower way of

⁴⁸³The *Wenshushuo banruojing* is found in T8. Zhiyuan wrote a commentary on the sutra entitled *Shu wenshubanruojingshu houxu*, its postscript is found in his *Xianjubian*, fascicle 9, XZJ101: 40c(8)-d(11). He also wrote another commentary on the same sutra he called the *Wen shushuo banruojingshu xizhongchao* (Notes on the Simplified Commentary on the Prajna Sutra Spoken by Manjusri). Its preface is in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36d(4)-(13).

⁴⁸⁴In the *Wenshu banruojing*, it is stated that the Buddhas do not perceive any of the realms of *dharma*. That is in their eyes not one *dharma* exists. See T8: 727b(21).

⁴⁸⁵The *Wenshu banruojing* teaches that there is no difference on excellence of all *dharma*s since they are all identical to *dharma* nature. There is no preferences among
(continued...)

life [as the householder] in the World and the noble life of the monk becomes a grave one. Beings then come to seek renunciation; otherwise they fall downward. Thus some down in the world, others sink with the smaller [Vehicle]; still others are attached to one-sided views and so on. It is not possible to describe fully the nine realms⁴⁸⁶ with words. The Great Sage observed this [situation] and took pity. In order to point to delusions in their mind and return them to true nature, [Buddha] taught that all are empty and the non-abiding, thereby eliminating [living beings'] doubts and wakening up those with great capacity. Consequently the follower of the Two Vehicles arrives at peaceful mind, and the Bodhisattva achieved his onedistinctive [*bugong*] *dharma* which is the true teaching of the Buddha. This is the way that leads to preservation of sincerity and `disclosure and

(...continued)

all *dharmas* since they are all abide in reality. See T8: 727a(13-14).

⁴⁸⁶The nine realms of the living are the hells (or purgatories), *Pretas*, animals, *Asuras*, men, *devas*, *Sravakas*, *Pratyeka-buddha*, and *Bodhisattvas*. These nine realms together with the Buddha's realm forms the ten states of existence. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *Shifajie* (ten *dharma*-realm or states of existence).

completion of things'⁴⁸⁷. Are these not all accomplished by his teachings.

The *prajna sutra* spoken by Manjusri belongs to this category of teaching. [It consists of] questions asked by the Buddha and answers given by the Virtues or disciples.⁴⁸⁸ The sentences were carefully constructed and the meaning is easy [to understand]. When the sun of wisdom rises up, the long night leads to dawn. When the sword of wisdom is raised, the net of doubt is broken. Only by correct perception can the virtue of Tathagata's benefiting [others] become obvious;⁴⁸⁹ only by entering the evil realm can the wisdom of no regression become manifested. This teaching is no longer transmitted in the world. Although I am not an able man, I received the Perfect Vehicle of the One Nature Principle of Nagarjuna, and the learning of Threefold Contemplation of Zhizhe. I have a shallow and rough understanding of their deep and precise meanings. Therefore, on the basis of [the teaching] of this School, I

⁴⁸⁷Quotation from *Xici of Yijing*. For an English translation see R. Wilhelm and C. Baynes trans. *The I Ching* (Princeton University Press, 1977) 3rd ed., p.316. (*Ta Chuan: The Great Treatise [Great Commentary]*).

⁴⁸⁸The *Wenshu banruojing* consists of conversation between Buddha and Sariputra and Manjusri.

⁴⁸⁹T8: 726b(21).

interpret this profound scripture. As for "name", this scripture mentions the man (i.e. Manjusri) and *dharmā* (i.e. prajna) in the title to show that the [distinction] between subject and object is illusory. As for "substance", [the discussion of] Reality is to show that the living beings and the Buddha are identified with the reality. As for "principle", it used contemplation to put an end to all distinctions. As for "function", it uses the elimination of attachment to show that there is nothing to eliminate. As for "teaching"⁴⁹⁰, it uses Mahayana to show the all appearances are totally destroyed; by teaching emptiness, [it enables] one to be aware of non-attainment.⁴⁹¹ [It is like] entering the sea to see that all are in one. There is no coming and going. Through the three periods [of past, present, future] there is no difference of excellence among the ten realms [of existence]? The Bodhi is identical to the wrong way.⁴⁹² The Buddha is mixed with living beings.

⁴⁹⁰Paul Swanson translates items listed here, elsewhere called the *Wuzhong xuanyi* as the name, essence, gist, function, and teaching. See note 176 on p. 77 of this dissertation.

⁴⁹¹T8: 726c(15).

⁴⁹²In the *Wenshu banruojing*, it is stated that the Bodhi is identical to the five deadly sins, i.e. parricide, matricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, destroying the harmony of the Sangha or fraternity. W.E.

(continued...)

He did not strive for Nirvana yet Nirvana is rapidly realized. He did not abandon the world of life and death and yet he departed far away from it. This is like the attaining of the pearl⁴⁹³ by the elephant, or not taking the tiles [in the pond as the pearl]. The profane can be transformed. The sacred can be followed. Therefore the 'Samadhi of One Practice'⁴⁹⁴ reveals the practice of non practice. The inconceivable realm is manifested. One attains the non-attainment. In this way provisional names is not harmed and extinction is not taught. Although one sees things while drunk, what [one] sees is the process of cosmic transformation. [It is like] dreaming of crossing a river on a boat. Upon waking up, one realizes the original non-existence of the boat and the oar. This teaching

(...continued)

Soothill, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *Wuni* (Pancanantarya), p.128.]. See T8: 732b(21-24).

⁴⁹³The *moni* pearl, a bright luminous precious pearl symbolizing Buddha and his doctrines. W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary on Chinese Buddhist Terms*, entry on *Moni*, p. 435.

⁴⁹⁴The first of the Four kinds of *samadhi*. Also known as Cultivating *Samadhi* through Constant Sitting which is a practice of three months intensive sit in meditation based on the *Wenshu shili suoshuo banruo bolomijing*. For a discussion on this practice, see *Mohozhiguan* T46: 11a(25)-12a(19). For a modern study, see Daniel Stevenson, "The Four Kinds of Samadhi in Early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism" in Peter Gregory ed. *Tradition of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

presents the essentials for engaging in practice and the way that leads to fruition of results. Therefore the god Indra vowed to protect the [teachings of] Buddha⁴⁹⁵ and the Buddha manifested auspicious signs and taught with Mudras. How much more should an ordinary being do to spread the teaching. I have divided the Profound and weighty teaching into small parts and this commentary still falls short of the Buddha's intention. [Even so] it is my hope that [my] shallow discussion contribute to the real transformation.

2. *Wenshushuo banruojingshu xizhongchao*

(Notes on the Simplified commentary on the *Prajna Sutra*

Spoken by Manjusri)

Xianjubian, fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36d(4-13).

The true edict of the *Prajna [sutra]* is simple in wording and yet deep in the meaning. Even the wisest blames it for being hard to understand. When it is explained in the form of commentaries and secondary commentary [*ji*]⁴⁹⁶,

⁴⁹⁵T8: 732b(21-24).

⁴⁹⁶There is a tradition in the Tiantai school to name the subcommentary or the secondary commentary as the *ji*. For instance, Zhanran's secondary commentary on Zhiyi's *Fahua wenju* (T34: 1-58) is known as *Fahua wenjuji* (T34: 151-369). Zhili's secondary commentary on Zhiyi's *Jingguangming* (continued...)

the average and those with low capacity may enter into the gate (i.e. understand). This is like when there is an object which is extremely heavy. Even Wuhuo [the strong man of the Warring Period]⁴⁹⁷ is not strong enough [to raise it]. When it is, however, broken into pieces to reduce its weight, even a small child is able to [raise it].

I compiled a commentary for this sutra earlier. Now I compile a secondary commentary [ji] for my own commentary. This is to break it into pieces so as to reduce its weight, thereby making it understandable to both the average and the low capacity. Therefore, it was stated in the Sastra "to break the heavy [object] so as to reduce its weight."⁴⁹⁸ [This was achieved by using] various metaphors to make it easy to understand. If, still, there is someone who says he cannot understand, then, I do not know what to do. On the sixth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of the

(...continued)

wenju (T39: 46-82) is known as *Jing Guangming wenjuji* (T39: 83-159) and Zhili's secondary commentary on Zhiyi's *Guangyin xuanyiji* (T34: 877-891) is known as *Guangyin xuanyiji* (T34: 892-920).

⁴⁹⁷Mencius 12:2 D.C. Lau trans. *Mencius* (London: Penguin Books), p.172.

⁴⁹⁸The Sastra refers to the *Dazi dulun* (T25: 57-756) but I am not able to locate this quotation.

Tianxi year, (i.e. 1020 C.E.) I write this preface at the hut on the Manao slope.

II. On the Heart Sutra

Banruo xinjing shuxu (Preface to the Commentary on
Heart Sutra)⁴⁹⁹

Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33b(16)-c(11).

The highest truth has no name. Without a name, however, the truth cannot be interpreted. The true emptiness is beyond words. Without words, however, the emptiness cannot be known. Therefore, the no name is named and the indescribable is described. Since sentient beings differ in their capacity, some sharp and some dull, the teaching is sometimes detailed and sometimes brief. This is like making different bamboo traps and snare [*quanti*]⁵⁰⁰. The purpose is to catch fish and hares. If one is to present the indescribable through description and the unnameable through name, then the two thousand *gathas* (i.e. the long version of the *prajnaparamita sutra*) of praise are

⁴⁹⁹The *Heart sutra* trans by Xuanzhuang is found in T8: 848-849. There are four other translations of the same sutra collected in the same *Tashio* volume. There is another commentary written by Zhiyuan on the same sutra know as the *Banruo xinjingshu yimouchao* (Notes on the Commentary for Transmission (to my students) on the Heart sutra), XZJ 41, Preface in *Xianjubian*, fascicle 3, XZJ101: 36a(3-5).

⁵⁰⁰*Quanti* is a term from *Zhuangzi*, Chapter 25 "External Things". See B. Watson trans. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.302.

not too many, and yet fourteen lines (i.e. the condensed version of the *Prajnaparamita sutra*) are still not too few. As the perfect teachings were taught and the elegant admonition was expressed, the difference between the [different] teachings are comparable to the branches and the trunk [of one tree]. [The long version] represents such great details as the fine hair [of an animal]. The [short] version shows the essentials. Therefore the detailed [version] not offers overly complicated and the brief [version] is not insufficient. The two are equal and of the same favour with the same end.

With regard to the dissolving of doubts and explanation of the rightful truth, [this sutra] not only [enables] one to see the non-duality of form and emptiness, but also teaches that living beings and Buddha are originally the same. No one precedes, no one is behind. How can this be conceivable by the mind and spoken by mouth? In quietude, there is no self nor is there any appearance. The suffering is delivered without deliverance. The Bodhi is attained without attainment. This is the primary way of returning to the origin and the front-line to destroy the ignorance. I dare to base [myself] on the teaching of Tiantai and Nagarjuna to compose this commentary to elucidate [its meaning] and to leave it behind for my [*dharma*] descendants

so that they may look into their empty chamber where
brightness is born. (i.e. introspect) ⁵⁰¹

2. *Banruo xinjing yimouchao*

(Notes on the commentary for Transmission (to my
students) on the *Heart Sutra*)

Xianjubian, fascicle 4, XZJ101: 36a(2-4)

The Preface states: this sutra is deep in meaning but
brief in wording. The Master of the Mean once wrote a
commentary on it on the basis of the teaching of Threefold
Contemplation. I still fear that future students will be
deluded by my commentary. Therefore I write this Note to
assist with them and call it *Notes for Transmission*
[Yimouchao].⁵⁰²

⁵⁰¹Zhuangzi Inner Chapters, Ch.4, "In the World of Men"
I, Burton Watson trans. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.58.

⁵⁰²*Yimou* is a term from *Shijing* (The Odes), *Daya* (The
Major Odes of the Kingdom), "*Wenwang yousheng*" (The Praise
of Kings Wen and Wang). The original phrase in the Ode is
"*Yijue sunmou*" (He would leave his plans to his
descendants). For English translation, see James Legge *The
Sacred Books of China Part I, Vol.III* (Delhi: Motilal
Banarsidass, 1966) reprint ed., p.396.

III. On the *Surangama Sutra* (*Shoulengyan jing*)

1. *Shoulengyan jingshuxu*

(Preface to the Commentary on the *Surangama sutra*)

Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32a(4)-b(12).

In the harmonious principle of enlightenment, there is no distinction of subject and object. In the quietude of the truth, how can there be difference of ignorance and enlightenment? Nevertheless bubbles can accumulate into an ocean, the cloud can cover the entire space [*Taiqing*].⁵⁰³ In the morning, one looks at the mirror, and, saying that one has lost his head, runs around in panic.⁵⁰⁴ Because of his sick eyes, one sees flowers in the air,⁵⁰⁵ and hoping the fruit to mature he keeps standing there. Alas! With the arising of one moment of thought of the deluded mind, the delusion of the nine realms appear. One will then enter the cycle of rebirth. Being born and perishing in

⁵⁰³My tentative understanding of the two obscure phrases *Ousheng juhui* and *Yundian taiqing*.

⁵⁰⁴Yajnadatta, a crazy man who saw his eyebrows and eyes in a mirror but not seeing them in his own head thought himself bedevilled. *Shoulengyan jing*, T19: 121b; S.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.424.

⁵⁰⁵*Shoulengyan jing*, T19: 114a(27).

accordance with the interaction of cause and effects, one falls into the realm of suffering. What a pity it is! How can words describe how stupid the ten thousand [kinds] of living beings are.

Our Great Honourable Saint [the Buddha], abiding in the [concentration] of *Surangama*, established the Great Teaching. With compassion, he observed the situation of [living beings]. He, therefore, appeared, though he is fundamentally without appearance, [like a] dragon flying over the sky, preaching the unspeakable teaching so that his words filled the whole universe [*dharmadhatu*]. He appeared in eight phases of the Buddha's life.⁵⁰⁶ His preaching is the teaching of the Five Periods.⁵⁰⁷ Those who with good

⁵⁰⁶Baxiang chengdao according to the *Awakening of Faith* are: (1) descent into and dwelling in the Tusita heaven; (2) entry into his mother's womb; (3) dwelling there visibly preaching to the devas; (4) birth from mother's side in Lumbini; (5) leaving home at 19 (or 25) as a hermit; (6) after six years' suffering, attaining enlightenment; (7) rolling the Law-wheel, or preaching; (8) at 30 entering nirvana. The *Sijiaoyi* group of Tiantai is slightly different--descent from Tusita, entry into womb, birth, leaving home, subjection of Mara, attaining perfect wisdom, preaching, nirvana. See W.E. Soothill & L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1982), p.38, entry on *Baxiang chengdao*.

⁵⁰⁷A Tiantai classification of Buddha's teaching into five periods: (1) the Avatamsaka or first period in three divisions each of seven days, after his enlightenment, when he preached the contents of this sutra; (2) the twelve years
(continued...)

accumulated *karma* attained enlightenment right in the place of preaching. Those with dull mental faculty [benefited] from the preaching at mount Vulture⁵⁰⁸ and met with the same end. Since then the principle and phenomena were harmonized and the intention [of the Buddha's] coming into this world had been fully shown. He, however, still cared for those with low capacities. Some heard a lot (i.e. widely read) but were weak in their cultivation [of meditation] so that they fell into [the trap of] language. Some who cherished the higher truth while defaming the expedient teachings, thereby destroying the ambrosial truth (*ganlu* i.e. the Buddha truth) and brought about an early death [of their religious life]. Therefore he taught the wondrous concentration to discern the mind of permanency. Once again, he taught Lesser [Vehicles] and precepts so as to

(...continued)

of his preaching the agamas in the deer park; (3) the eight years of preaching Mahayana-cum-Hinayana doctrines, the vaipulya period; (4) the twenty-two years of his preaching the *prajna* or wisdom sutras; (5) the eight years of his preaching the *Lotus sutra* and, in a day and a night, the Nirvana sutra. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.119, entry on *Wushi bajiao*.

⁵⁰⁸Grdhrakuta, Vulture Peak near Rajagrha, so called because of its shape or because of the vultures who fed there on the dead; a place frequented by the Buddha; the imaginary scene of the preaching of the *Lotus sutra*. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.488, entry on *jiu*.

show that expediency is inseparable from the Real. In order to realize the truth, [we] need [to cultivate] the practice [that belongs to the level of] phenomenon. This explains why the *Surangama* and the *Nirvana sutras* were composed. The best part of the two sutras is the highest teachings of the elucidations of one Truth. How great it is! The *Surangama* sutra is a precursor of the *Nirvana* sutra [in which it told the story of] Ananda were brought to the [by incantation] and being seduced.⁵⁰⁹ Buddha saved him by his mysterious [power]. The evil incantation [of Matangi] was [eventually] destroyed by Buddha, [and Ananda] returns safe. He repented on listening to many things only [without sufficient cultivation]. Only after [Ananda's] continuous petition for [Buddha's preaching] for three times, the teaching was [eventually] given. Because of his determination, the preaching of seven aspects were thus given.⁵¹⁰ A series of wondrous teachings and sayings [were given]. The Absolute and the delusion, though distinguished, is of one substance,

⁵⁰⁹Refers to the story about Matangi, the low caste woman who seduced Ananda. See *Shoulengyan jing*, T19: 106c(9-10).

⁵¹⁰Refers to the discussion of seven possible locations of our mind. See *Shoulengyan jing*, T19: 107-108. See also the Preface of the scripture at T19: 106a(1).

principle and phenomena, though distinguished, have the same end. This is wonderful, unobtainable, and inconceivable!

After the Perfect teaching is understood, perfect practice is needed. Without understanding, there would be no guidance for our practice. Without practice the truth cannot be realized. It is because of the petition in the flowering house [by Ananda] that the essence of religious cultivation is explained. It is to distinguish the Perfect and Common [teaching] and to show directly the practice. By identifying the evils, one can know in advance of their coming. For those with adequate capacity it is easier to attain enlightenment, [if they would] protect themselves [against those evils] in the manner mentioned [in the sutra], and [if they would] increase the light of their sun of wisdom and have their net of their evil [thinking] broken, they can suddenly go beyond those who leave their family and even those of great learning⁵¹¹ in a snap of a finger. Is this not because of the teaching of this sutra?

⁵¹¹Wuxue, or Asaiksa, the state of Arhatship, the fourth of the Sravaka stages with nothing more to learn; the preceding three stages requiring study; there are nine grades of Arhats who have completed their course of learning. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.378, entry on Wuxue.

I live in the period of Counterfeit Law,⁵¹² and it happens to be a peaceful time. Having come across this scripture, I have mixed feelings of joy and sadness. Ignoring that I have a very shallow knowledge, I interpret this text for the future generation and together with them, I wish for a perfect enlightenment.

2. *Shoulengyanjingshu guxiangchao xu*

(Notes on the Commentary as Illusive as the Echo in the Valley on the *Surangama Sutra*)

Xianjubian, fascicle 5, XZJ101: 36d(14)-37a(6).

It is titled "as Illusive as the Echo in the Valley" [*Guxiangchao*] because words are originally empty. Another name for it would be *zhiyuechao* [Notes on Pointing to the Moon], another metaphor for word used to interpret the principle. Earlier, the Master of the Mean compiled a Commentary to interpret the scripture on the basis of the teaching of Threefold Contemplation. Now, fearing that beginners may become not understand [my] words, [I] compiled

⁵¹²There are three periods of Buddhism: the Correct Period (500 years), the Semblance or Counterfeit Law Period (1000 years) and the Termination Period (3000 years) when Maitreya is to appear and restore all things. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 420, entry on *Xiangfa*.

the Notes to explain [my] Commentary. Furthermore, fearing that future students may become attached to [my] work, giving rise to illusion, and thereby forgetting the principle, and wandering along illusive paths, passing through the realm of rebirth, [I] adopted, these two titles to warn them. [They] should know that the Notes are like the echoes in the valley. Even the Commentary and the Sutra itself are like the echoes in the valley. [They] should also know that the words of the Notes are like a finger pointing to the moon. Even the Commentary and the Sutra are like a finger pointing to the moon. By contemplating on the title half of the teaching of the sutra is revealed. In composing the Notes I had to stop after one fascicle, this covers the discussion of the profound meaning [of the title]. [I have] no time to do the rest. [I] wrote this preface in the twenty seventh day of the second month of the spring of the fourth year of Tianxi, in the Elegant Pavilion on the Manao slope.

[I] completed five fascicles in the spring of next year.

IV. On the Scripture of Entering Extensively the Gate of
Inconceivable Teaching (*Puru busiyi famejing*)

Puru busiyi famen jing (shu)xu (Preface to the
Commentary on the Scripture of Entering Extensively the
Gate of Inconceivable Teaching)
Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32d(8)-33a(7).

In the past, [the Buddha, in the presence of] *deva nagas* and flying *yaksas* which appear out of transformation,⁵¹³ silently reflected on the Dao and realized that there was no attainment [to be attained]. He looked down on the living beings who were one with him in their nature but different from him because of their passion. Therefore, they transmigrated in the cycle of rebirth without knowing how to return. They became attached to the delusion.

Hence he [the Buddha] made use of names and appearance out of no names and appearance and said if they can [make the living beings] return to their nature, what was the harm in having [names and appearance]? This was like holding an empty fist to attract the [attention of] young children who

⁵¹³This is my tentative understanding of the beginning two sentences. In the scripture, it is told that among the audience of Buddha, there are *devas*, *nagas*, *yaksas*, *pisacah*, and *kinaras*. See T11: 2b(11).

were crying. When they stopped crying, we open our fist which is empty. The twelve divisions [of the Mahayana] canon⁵¹⁴ and the eighty thousand of *dharmas*⁵¹⁵ were the empty fist of the saints which were to attract the young children. Thus no [presentation of] the Way (i.e. the Buddha's teaching) is superior to others. Though some are more difficult than others. If the language is easy, the meaning would be clear, those who read them were able to [be led to] enter the gate [of practice] without having to spend the whole day. This is the case for the Scripture of Entering Extensively the Gate of Inconceivable Teaching (*Puru busiyi famenjing*).

The Samadhi as set forth in the sutra numbered twenty eight.⁵¹⁶ If [we] elaborate on them we will end up with an infinite number of scripture. This is beautiful! [By means of the teachings in the sutra] the realm of Buddha can be

⁵¹⁴Twelve divisions of the Mahayana canon: (1) *sutra*; (2) *geya*; (3) *gatha*; (4) *nidana*; (5) *itivrataka*; (6) *jataka*; (7) *adbhuta-dharma*; (8) *avadana*; (9) *upadesa* (10) *udana*; (11) *vaipulya* (12) *vyakarana*. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 44, entry on *shier bujing*.

⁵¹⁵The total of Buddha's teaching. An abbreviation for 84,000 teachings or lessons credited to the Buddha for the cure of all sufferings, and the twelve sutras in which they are contained. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.39, entry on *bawan*.

⁵¹⁶T11:15a(5-13)

reached without effort. The deep overcoming of illusion [faren]⁵¹⁷ can be attained without striving. Are these not all taught in this sutra? This sutra is found in the twenty ninth chapter of the *Daibaoji sutra*.⁵¹⁸ I want to use this sutra to teach my students. Therefore, I publish it separately. In accordance with Buddha's answer to Ananda's questions, I name this sutra as "Extensive entering into the gate of Inconceivable Teaching."⁵¹⁹ Here I am following the example of Dharmaraksa (Tan wuchen 385-433 C.E.)⁵²⁰ who copied the chapter of *Pumen* in the *Lotus sutra* separately as the *Guanyin jing*.⁵²¹ In case the people in the future do not know about this, I write this preface to explain it in the third day of the fourth month of Tianxi (i.e. 1020 C.E.).

⁵¹⁷Patience attained through *dharma*, to the overcoming of illusion; also ability to bear patiently external hardships. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 269, entry on *faren*.

⁵¹⁸*Daibaojijing*, T11: 158.

⁵¹⁹The title of the sutra was given by Buddha upon the request of Ananda. See T11: 162c(28-29).

⁵²⁰Biography in *Gaoseng zhuan*, T50: 335c(15)-337b(4). In the *Fahua zhuanji* (T51: 52c(14-18)), it was told that Tan Wuchen was born in central India who went to Hexi to cure the sickness of Juqu mengxun by instructing him to chant Chapter 25 of the *Lotus sutra*. Hereafter, the chapter was circulated as a separate chapter.

⁵²¹Chapter 25 of the *Lotus sutra*, T9: 56c-58b.

V. On the Scripture of the Last Teaching (*Yijiaojing*)

Yijiao jingshuxu (Preface to the Scripture of the Last teaching)

Xianjubian, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33d(13)-34a(15).

The *dharma* body has no images [*xiang*],⁵²² no birth, no death. The highest truth is beyond words. It is neither big nor small. Being uncomprehending, living beings are deluded without knowing how to return [to their source]. In the unseen world, they wonder at the [cycle of rebirth] and do not know how to turn back (*fu*).⁵²³ The Buddha of great enlightenment, out of his uncaused compassion, appeared in this inferior world to preach in accordance with conditions of sentient beings. [Some living beings] benefited substantially right away. [Some] gradually entered into the

⁵²²*Xiang* is a term from *Xici* "Ta Chuan (The Great Treatise)" of *Yijing* (Book of Change). For an English translation, see R. Wilhelm and C. Baynes *The I Ching* p.322, ch.12:2, the original sentence in the *Yijing* is "The holy sages set up the images in order to express their thoughts completely". The term *xiang* is also used in the *Daodejing* Ch.14, 35, and 41. D.C. Lau also translates it as image. See D.C. Lau *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching* (Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 70, 94, & 102.

⁵²³*Fu* is a term from the *Daodejing*. It is found in Ch. 16, 25, 40, 65, & 78. D.C. Lau translates it as 'turning back', See his *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching*, pp.72, 82, 101, 127, & 140.

Buddha's path. Those who were not ready for the perfect [teaching], received, the small [Vehicle] teachings, and waited for other Buddhas to come to perfect them, and to return to [the Great Vehicle Teaching] in the other world (i.e. the Pure land).

When the teaching was finished, the Buddha entered Nirvana under the twin trees [Sala trees]. How great is this virtue and how extensive and profound is his teaching! It is so extensive that it was more than enough to cover the ten directions; it lasts longer than nine generations. It is indeed beyond our ability to comprehend completely.

The *Yijiaojing* is the Small [Vehicle] teaching received. [The Buddha] worried that after his death the shining of the 'pearl of precepts' would be covered and the milk of the *dharma* would be diluted. In the mid-night, [shortly before he entered Nirvana],⁵²⁴ he worried about this [and taught this sutra] so that those who would immerse themselves in their virtues might swim in the pond of emancipation. Those who strove for the noble [Way] might walk in the path of purity. Because of [the Buddha's preaching] the right *dharma* survives permanently and gods honour the king and ministers so that they educate the

⁵²⁴See *Yijiaojing*, T12: 110c(16).

people through their moral influence and display brightly their virtues with reverence.⁵²⁵ How great is the benefit of *Yijiao [jing]*. Without the great compassion [of the Buddha] on the lacking of cultivation [of living beings], how can these have been accomplished. In the past in India, Asvaghosa discussed [this sutra]. Lingyu (518-605 C.E.)⁵²⁶ of the Sui dynasty had compiled a commentary [on this sutra]. The Vinaya master [of precepts] Huaisu (624-697 C.E.)⁵²⁷ of the Tang dynasty also taught on this sutra [in the form of a commentary]. These two commentaries, however, no longer exist today, indicating the transmission of this sutra had ceased.⁵²⁸

When the rain of the *dharma* stops, the fire of the house cannot be extinguished. Although there were thunders of awakening, the foolish hibernating worms had not been

⁵²⁵*Qinliang qifeng*, a phrase from *Shujing* (Books of Documents), *Zhoushu* (Documents of the Zhou dynasty) Chapter on *Zhouguan* (Officials of the Zhou dynasty). For an English translation, see J. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China Part I*, p.228.

⁵²⁶Biography in *Xugaosengzhuan*, fascicle 9, T50: 495b(5)-498a(22).

⁵²⁷Biography in *Song gaosengzhuan*, fascicle 14, T50: 792b(25)-793a(10).

⁵²⁸Today the only extant commentary on the *Yijiaojing* collected in the Tashio collection is Vasubandu (d.117 C.E.)'s *Yiaojinglun* translated into Chinese by Paramartha (fl.546 C.E.) and is found in T26: 283-290.

wakened. Whenever I thought of this, I felt guilty myself. Therefore, despite my lack of intelligence, I [compiled this commentary] to fill the gap. By using other passages of Asvaghosa and the teaching of Zhizhe. [I believe] an adequate explanation of the principle of the scripture can be reconstructed. Although it is still incomparable to the works of the former philosophers, it can benefit my students.

VI. On the Scripture of Auspicious Response (*Ruiyingjing*)*Ruiyingjing shuxu*

(Preface to the Scripture of the Auspicious Response)

Xianjubian, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34a(16)-b(12).

The true body (i.e. the *dharmakaya* of Buddha) cannot be perceived through forms and images. The wondrous Dao, in its quietude, cannot be adequately described by words. The Buddha, who is an able scholar [*nengru*], a master who subdues evils [*tiaoyu*], and an enlightened real being [*miaojuezharen*], had attained the *dharma* body of no forms and images, realizing the wondrous indescribable Dao. [He], in view of the [situation] of the Three Realms,⁵²⁹ took pity on those deluded beings. He, therefore, appeared in a bodily form out of no form. He descended [to the world] to help the weak. He taught the unspeakable [Dao] so as to enlighten beginners. Since [sentient beings] differ in their capacity, some sharp and some dull, the teaching is

⁵²⁹Triloka, or the three realms are: (1) *Kamadhatu*, World of sensuous desire such as sex and food. It includes the six heavens of desire, the human world, and the hells. (2) *Rupadhatu*, the realm of form which is above the lust-world and is a semi-material conception. (3) *Arupadhatu*, the formless world of pure spirit where no human terms would apply but where the mind dwells in mystic contemplation, its extent is indefinable. See W. E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.70, entry on *sanjie*.

sometimes of high and low levels. It is like the mirror which is unmovable itself. It reflected both ugly and beautiful forms. [It is also like] the nature of water which is unchanged, yet water changes shape in accordance with the containers. If we inquire deeper into the meaning of the Buddha's teachings, we realize that all are of the same reality. The 'original intention' of [the Buddha coming to this world] was for a 'great event'.⁵³⁰ This is great, beautiful and inconceivable!

The *Taizi benqi ruiying jing* contains the speech of the Buddha and its meanings are not only extensive but also clear. It is also beautifully translated [into Chinese]. *Benqi* refers to the prophecy of the Dingguang [Buddha].⁵³¹ *Ruiying* refers to the birth of [the Buddha] in a palace.⁵³² This sutra is named after these two events. It consists of teachings for the low capacity which were the first part of the [Buddha's] teachings [delivered] in the deer park. It describes the phenomena in detail⁵³³ and reach the principle

⁵³⁰The 'original intention' and 'great event' are quotations from the *Lotus sutra*, T9: 7a(23).

⁵³¹Dingguang Buddha foretold the enlightenment of Sakyamuni, See T3: 473a(21-22).

⁵³²T3: 473c(4).

⁵³³*Zhixia*, literally travelling far, is a term from
(continued...)

in depth.⁵³⁴ It shines like a sun ⁵³⁵to those who are in the path of confusion; it is the sword⁵³⁶ which breaks their nets of delusion. It is a pity that there had not been commentary to this sutra since the ancient time, and [the sutra] was not transmitted in the world. I cannot, in my unworthiness, count myself as having attained [enlightenment].⁵³⁷ When I interpret the sutra, although I use beautiful words, I am shameful in front of those practitioners in the past. Nevertheless, I am not ashamed of my works of researching and editing done on the text to my students.

(...continued)

Shujing, the *Shangshu* (Documents of the Shang Dynasty), chapter on *Taijia* II. For an English translation, see J. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China* Part I, p.100.

⁵³⁴*Jishen yanji* (to reach all depths and to grasp the seeds of all things) is a phrase from the *Ta Chuan* (the Great Treatise) of *Yijing*, Ch.X:5. See R. Wilhelm, and C. Baynes *The I Ching*, p.315.

⁵³⁵*Yaoling* is a term from *Chuci* chapter on *Yuanyou*, See *Hanyu daci dian*, Vol.9, p.694, entry on *Yaoling*.

⁵³⁶*Tai'e* is the name of a precious sword. See *Zhongwen daicidian*, vol.8, entry on *Tai'e*, p.361.

⁵³⁷*Wusi* is a term from *Liji* (Book of Rites) chapter on *Aigongwen* (Questions of the Old man Ai). For an English translation, see J. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China* Part IV, p.264.

VII. On the Scripture of Infinite Meaning (*Wuliangyi jing*)*Wuliangyi jingshuxu*

(Preface to the commentary on the Scripture of Infinite Meaning) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 33c(12)-d(8).

The substance [of the truth] does not differ in its summarization and elaboration.⁵³⁸ Yet its function can not only be separated but also united. To elaborate [the truth] is to produce many [expositions] out of one [truth]. To summarize it is to include all in one. Summarization and elaboration [of the truth] are not dichotomous. They are in harmony. To understand the principle [is to realize] there is no distinction between the living beings and the Buddha. To investigate the phenomenon [is to know] that there is difference between the sacred and the profane. How great is this! Our Buddha is a sage. He attained enlightenment without a teacher. He was born with knowledge.⁵³⁹ His preaching is with sincerity and illumination, in accordance with the *Dao*, springing out from his perfection [*cheng*] and

⁵³⁸My tentative translation of *Shujian* which literally means to extend and roll up.

⁵³⁹*Analects* 16:9 "Those who are born with knowledge are the highest." For an English translation, see D.C. Lau trans. *Confucius: The Analects* (Penguin Books, 1979), p.140.

understanding [*ming*].⁵⁴⁰ In his [realm of] inaction, quietude and light,⁵⁴¹ [the Buddha] took pity on the living beings and appeared in physical human form, preaching hundreds of thousands of *dharmas* for five days.⁵⁴² To those with sharp capacity, he taught sudden enlightenment. To help those with dull capacity, he taught gradual enlightenment in the deer park. In the period of *Vaipulya*⁵⁴³, [he preached] mostly the criticism [of the Hinayana teaching]. When the way of *Prajna* was taught, the doctrine of harmony was manifested. When [the living beings'] capacity is ripe, the [original] intention of Buddha's [teaching] is shown in the meeting at the peak of

⁵⁴⁰*Chengming* (moral perfection and understanding of what is good) is a term from *Liji* chapter on *Zhongyong* (The Mean). For an English translation, see J. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, Part IV, p.318.

⁵⁴¹*Duangong* means the realm of quietude and inaction, see *Hanyu dacidian* vol.8, p.398, entry on *duangong*.

⁵⁴²According to the Preface of the scripture, before the Buddha taught this scripture, he preached (1) the five precepts, (2) the four noble truth, (3) the twelve chains of cause and condition, (4) the six paramitas. On the fifth day he preached this scripture and on the sixth day he preached the *Lotus sutra*, and on the seventh day he preached the *Nirvana sutra*.

⁵⁴³The *Vaipulya* is the third of the five periods of *Tiantai*, the eight years from the twelfth to the twentieth years of the Buddha's teaching. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 155, entry on *fangdeng*.

vulture and the source of his transformation was explained in details. In teaching the [scripture] of the Infinite Meaning, [the Buddha] elaborated on the one [truth] so as to produce many and to show that the [teaching of] the Three Vehicles are all based upon no features. In preaching the Lotus sutra, [the Buddha] united many [expositions] into one and showed that the ten thousand realms are all identical with the True Mind. After the two sutras were preached and the great event was finished, the merchants, once gave up their trade, proceeded to the Treasure.⁵⁴⁴ The great vehicle goes directly to the place of enlightenment.⁵⁴⁵ All [happens] because of the expounding of this teaching.

This wondrous scripture, although it had been circulating in China for a long time, was not transmitted to my *dharma* descendants. I do not care about my own shallow knowledge, writing a commentary for this difficult text. [My works] are like different birds, flying towards the

⁵⁴⁴Metaphor is taken from chapter 3 of the *Lotus sutra*, T9: 26c(5).

⁵⁴⁵Metaphor is taken from chapter two of the *Lotus sutra*, T9: 12c(8). *Daochang* is Bodhimandala, Truth-plot, circle or place of enlightenment. The place where Buddha attained enlightenment. Also a place for teaching, learning, or practising religion. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.416, entry on *Daochang*.

Sumeru⁵⁴⁶, all heads for the same target; when different streams return to the ocean, their name of origin will be discarded.

⁵⁴⁶Sumeru is the central mountain of every world which is of wonderful height and wonderful brilliancy. At the top is Indra's heaven, or heavens. Below them are the four devalokas. Around are eight circles of mountains and between them the eight seas, the whole forming nine mountains and eight seas. See W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.394, entry on *Xuli*.

VIII. On the Scripture on the Practice of Contemplation to
the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Fuan puxian xingfa
jing*)

Guan puxian xingfa jingshuxu (Preface to the Commentary
on the Scripture on the Practice of Contemplation on
the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian). [T9: 389ff]
Xianjubian, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34b(13-14).

The *Guan puxian xingfa jing* is on the essentials of the
Lotus Samadhi;⁵⁴⁷ it [teaches] the straight path of the
realm of the one reality. On the phenomenal ritual, it
teaches the confession on the wrongdoing of six senses. In
examining the contemplation on the principle, [it teaches]
the original emptiness of our mind. It is indeed a great
[life-saving] boat in the ocean of life and death, and the

⁵⁴⁷The Lotus Samadhi is also known as 'Cultivating
Samadhi through Part Walking and Part Sitting' which is of
two kinds: (1) The *Fangteng* repentance and (2) the Lotus
Samadhi. The Lotus Samadhi belongs to one of the Four kinds
of Samadhi of the Tiantai school. See *Moho zhiguan* fascicle
2A, T46: 13a(24)-14b(25). For a modern study see Daniel
Stevenson, "The Four Kinds of Samadhi in Early T'ien-t'ai
Buddhism" collected in Peter Gregory ed. *Tradition of
Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (University of Hawaii Press,
1986). Stevenson gives the Lotus Samadhi as "an intensive
worship and recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* for 21 days and
performance of a formalized confession ceremony called
repentance of the six senses."

medicine for the sickness of vexation (*fannao*) This scripture, however, was not transmitted among [my] students. I, therefore, wrote the commentary in the midst of my sickness. Although the discussion of principle may not reach to the mind of sages, it may be helpful for future generations.

IX. On the Scripture of Forty Two Chapters (*Sishierzhang jing*) *Sishierzhang jingzhuxu*
 (Preface to the Commentary on the Scripture of Forty Two Chapters) *Xianjubian*, fascicle 1, XZJ101: 32a(13)-c(7).

The reason why the Buddha was respected as the king in India of the ancient time was that he appeared without image and preached the indescribable [Dao to the living beings] in order to return to the nature of their beings. As a result, Buddhism emerged. The level of the teaching differs in accordance with the dull or sharp capacity [of living beings]. Accordingly, there is a [difference between] sudden and gradual [teachings]. Later [these two] would be mixed to become one [teaching]. This is called the revelation [of the truth]. Those unenlightened living beings following the teachings [of the Buddha], returned to their nature and thereby engaged in the right path and abode in the secret store [of treasure]. How wonderful it is!

During the period of the Later Han [dynasty], the [Buddhist] teaching spread to the East. The then emperor, admiring its spirit, classified its teaching together with those of Zhongni (Confucius) and Boyang (Laozi), as one of the Three Teachings. The teaching of Zhongni was to promote

the Way of the Three [legendary] kings during the time of Tang and Yu⁵⁴⁸ who had high esteem of humanity (*Ren*) and righteousness (*yi*). The teaching inspires others to follow the examples of the three [legendary] kings.

The teaching of Boyang was to promote the simple way of the three legendary emperors,⁵⁴⁹ by exterminating the sage and discarding the wise⁵⁵⁰ so as to return to the simple way of the ruling of those emperors.

These two teachings, on the discussion of nature and destiny have not yet reached [to the depth] of the 'mind-only' teaching. In their doctrine of retribution, they do not discuss the [retribution of] the Three Periods [of past, present, and future]. Although they are wonderful and indispensable in ruling the country and pacifying the nation, it is clear that they belong to the teaching of this world.

In the case of Buddhist teaching, [the Buddha] taught that the space and the world are nothing but [illusion of] our own mind. [He] did not cease to teach the Great Primal

⁵⁴⁸Yu, Yao and *shun*.

⁵⁴⁹Fuxi, Shennong, and *Huangdi*.

⁵⁵⁰*Daodejing*, chapter 19. For an English translation see D.C.Lau trans. *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching* (England: Penguin Classics), p.75.

Beginning which generates the two primary forces [Yin and Yang]⁵⁵¹ and the mysterious female which is the root of Heaven and Earth.⁵⁵² In his examination of retribution, the Buddha taught that all came from our own *karma*; he did not cease to teach that the Lord on High is unpredictable as well as the net of heaven spread wide.⁵⁵³ Therefore we know that although Confucianism and Daoism teach extensively, they only have a brief discussion on the teaching of spirit and highest truth. It is only in the Buddhist teaching that the teaching [of spirit and highest truth] are widely discussed. Therefore it is clear that [Buddhism] is the teaching of otherworldliness.

The worldly teaching is to 'cure' the human body. Therefore it is called external teaching. The teaching of otherworldliness is to cure the mind. Therefore it is called internal teaching. The use of the terms 'external

⁵⁵¹Quotation from the *Yijing*. For an English translation see R. Wilhelm and C. Baynes *The I Ching Ta chuan* (The Great Treatise) 3:11, p.318.

⁵⁵²Quotation from the *Taode jing* chapter 6. For an English translation, see D.C. Lau, *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching*, p.62.

⁵⁵³Quotation from *Daode jing*, Chapter 73, meaning the punishment of Heaven never fails. For an English translation, see D.C. Lau, *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching*, p.135.

and internal' by Ruan Xiaoxu⁵⁵⁴ is unmistakable. Therefore when some contemporaries claimed that the Three Teachings can be mixed, they were mistaken. Others claimed that the Three Teachings were totally different, their claims were also unacceptable. Why is it so? It is because in returning to [one's] nature and in their discussion of phenomena [among the Three Teachings], there are bound to be a difference in depth. The three teachings of staying away from sins and returning to good as well as eliminating cruelty and killing are bound to be the same.

The scripture of Forty Two Chapters comes from a summary of the main teaching in Hinayana and Mahayana [Buddhism] by the sages of the land [India] after the death of the Buddha. They urgently made it so as to teach the world. The scripture is a collection of those teachings. In the past when Tang and Ran (i.e. Kasyapa Matanga and Gobharana) came to China from India to teach the Chinese, they were not given trust at first. Therefore, they translated the text to enlighten [the people] and used it as a tool as to promote their religion. I am not an able person yet I have been committed to the *Dao* for years. I have lamented for no commentaries to this scripture in our

⁵⁵⁴For a brief biography, see *Zhongwen daicidian*, vol.35, p.217, entry on Ruan xiaosu.

land for students of later time since the scripture has been transmitted in the ancient time. Is this not an ignoring of the origins? Therefore, I have compiled a commentary to preach its meaning in order to promote the teaching of the Buddha as well as to assist in educating [the subject] of our king. The people will all then enter the Peaceful land;⁵⁵⁵ they will be engaged in the path of enlightenment.

⁵⁵⁵*Shouyu* is a term from *Hanshu* (History of the Han dynasty) meaning peaceful land, See the *Hanyu Dacidian*, vol. 2, p.1204.

X. On the Scripture of the Amitabha Buddha (The Smaller
Sukhavativyuha Sutra or *Amituojing*)

1. *Foshuo amituo jingshuxu*

(Preface to the Commentary on the Amitabha Sutra]

Xianjubian, fascicle 2, XZJ101: 34c(1)-d(3).

The substance of the nature of the mind is luminous, quiet, and of One. There is [no distinction] between sacred and profaned, subject and object, long and short [life span], pure and impure. Responding to various condition, the mind moves in response to its objects and becomes transformed. Thereby the six profaned beings and the three sacred beings are formed. Thereupon there is [distinction] between subject/ object, and [life span] has [the difference] of short/ long, the land (i.e. environment for existence) has [the distinction of] pure and impure.

Our Buddha is a great sage who has achieved the One [reality]; the one is luminous and quiet [in its nature]. Out of his compassion, he wanted to lead the deluded beings to return to their origin. Therefore, he appeared in a body form out of no body, showed his [Pure] land out of no land, extended his life span [in the Pure land] and purified his land so that [living beings] might aspire to it. He [also]

shortened his life span [in this world] and regards [this] world as impure so that deluded beings might reject [this world]. The plan for bringing about their aspiring [to the pure land] and rejecting [this world] is therefore working. For this reason, Sakayamuni appeared in a limited [life span] and in the impure land [of this world]. Is this not to arouse the rejection of [this world by living beings]? Amitabha appeared in an unlimited [life span]. Is this not to arouse their [living beings'] aspiration [to the Pure land]? The former is to turn [living beings] away from [impure land], the latter is to attract [them] into [pure land] so as to return to their origin and attain their nature. Therefore Jingming stated that "[a Bodhisattva] wins the Buddha land according to the living beings tamed by him."⁵⁵⁶ Jingming was referring to the same teaching. Although the precious buildings and the golden pond [in the

⁵⁵⁶*Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sūtra*, T14: 538a(22-23). I have followed the translation by Charles Luk. See Luk K'uan yu (Charles Luk) trans. *The Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sūtra (Wei Mo Chieh So Shuo Ching)* (Berkeley & London: Shambhala, 1972), p.8. cf. the translation by Robert A. F. Thurman in his *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti: A Mahayana Scripture* (University Park & London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 15. Thurman gives the translation as "He (a Bodhisattva) embraces a Buddha field to the same extent that living beings become disciplined". Thurman bases himself on the Tibetan version of the scripture while Luk bases on the Chinese version translated by Kumarajiva.

Pure land]⁵⁵⁷ are attractive to the eyes, yet they are not delusive, they are able to bring about the realm of 'mind-only'. Although the sound of wind, trees, and birds [in the Pure land]⁵⁵⁸ are amusing to the ears, they would not [bring about] attachment but thoughts of the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha). In this way the [living beings are led to] return to the substance of purity and enlightenment. As stated in the *Zhuan zhang er jing*, "all the living beings are the Avivartin [beings of no retrogression]."⁵⁵⁹ How great this is! It is a good expedient [teaching] of the sage. That is why this scripture alone, among others, praises the Pure land unreservedly. There is meaning in it. The *Foshuo amituo jing* is the one which praises [the Pure land] uniquely. I love the simplicity of its wording and the clarity of its [explanation] of principles. The text is succinct and yet sufficient in [its description of] phenomena to attract the weak beginners. Explaining the principles of the scripture in the form of a commentary, I depend on the teaching of Nagarjuna and Zhizhe. I dare not

⁵⁵⁷The Amituo jing speaks of the pond in the pure land which is filled with seven kinds of treasures, see T12: 346c(16), and the pond which is filled with golden sand, see T12: 347a(1).

⁵⁵⁸Amituo jing, T12: 347a(14-15).

⁵⁵⁹I am not able to identify this quotation.

say I have reached the deep meaning of the text. I [only] hope to benefit students and assist them in promoting the true teaching.

2. *Amituojingshu xizichaoxu*

(Preface to the Notes on the Commentary as Resource for Rebirth in the Western Paradise).

Xianjubian, fascicle 6, XZJ101: 37b(18)-d(2).

The Records and Notes (*ji, chao*) of commentaries are the records made by students on the essentials [of the commentaries]. [They] copy the aphorisms to assist [their understanding] on the commentaries in order to avoid mistakes in transmitting [the teachings] and to prevent their lapse of memory [in what had been taught].

The ten commentaries which I have compiled start with the *Wenshu banruo jing* and end with the *Amituo jing*. Although they are unplanned works, their sequence seems to be meaningful. Is it not to begin with using the real emptiness of the *Prajna* to destroy attachment and to finish the commentaries by following the path of Pure land to seek for one's rebirth [in it]? To cultivate for the rebirth in the Pure land by using the mind of non-attainment. How suitable it is!

I recall that there were [metaphors] of a pregnant mule, the bamboo which bears fruit, and the sickness of mankind.⁵⁶⁰ Before long three of them [mule, bamboo and the sick man] must have subsequently died. I have been suffering a serious illness; my life is misery and my body is desperately thin. How can I [expect to] live long in this world? Therefore, I dictate my teaching to my students to popularize the path of Pure land. There is a student of mine who vowed to write down what I had said so as to avoid mistakes [in transmitting them] and to prevent the lapse of memory. I, therefore, granted him, Weiya (n.d.),⁵⁶¹ permission to dictate my teachings in one fascicle of over ten pages. I read them and laughed at myself that I had already said too much by writing a commentary on the sutra, not to mention compiling Notes on my commentary. Although it is to speak of the unspeakable by using language, [one should] get rid of the fish trap and the rabbit snare (i.e. the language) once the fish and the rabbit (i.e. the

⁵⁶⁰See chapter 11 of the *Nirvana sutra*, T12: 678b(20-21).

⁵⁶¹A brief biographical remarks on Weiya as a *dharma* descendant of Zhiyuan is found in the *Fozutongzi*, fascicle 10, T49: 205b(25-29).

teaching) are caught.⁵⁶² Besides, I [intended to] make future students transmit the lamp of the infinite (i.e. teaching) so as to benefit infinite beings, and to make them believe in Sakaya's admonition: praising for the guard and care of the Buddhas (*Hunian*)⁵⁶³, and entering the ocean of great vows of Amituo (i.e. reborn in the Pure land of Amituo Buddha). Could not all these be accomplished by this text? In this way [the merit of teaching] this text can be used as the resource for my rebirth in the Western paradise and hence it could be named as *Xizichao*.

My student understood [my intention] and my disciple agreed to it. After listening to my words, they saluted to me and went away. It was in the seventh day of the eleventh month of the fifth year of Tianxi (i.e. 1021 C.E.) that the writing of the text had begun, and it was finished the following night.

⁵⁶²*Zhuangzi* Miscellaneous Chapters, Ch.26 "External Things", Burton Watson trans. *Chuang Tzu*, p.302.

⁵⁶³*Hunian* means to guard and care for, to protect and keep in mind. See W. E. Soothill, *A Dictionary for Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.484, entry on *Hunian*.

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I . Titles of works

II . Personal Names

III . Technical Terms & Others

I . Titles of works

Amituojingshu xizichaoxu	阿彌陀經疏西資鈔序
Banruo xinjingshu	般若心經疏
Baoyun zhenzujì	寶雲振祖集
Bian'e	辨訛
Bieli suixuan ershiwen	別理隨緣二十問
Bingfu zhuan	病夫傳
Bingkeji	病課集
Bingqi ershou	病起二首
Bingqi zixu	病起自敘
Bingzhong huaishibi xingshao shengren	病中懷石壁行紹上人
Bingzhong kan tiyuanshengren jianfang	病中感體元上人見訪
Bingzhong wanyue	病中翫(玩)月
Bingzhong yuye huaitongzhi	病中雨夜懷同志
Buxu gaoseng chuan	補續高僧傳
Cefu yuangui	冊府元龜
Chan yi chao	闡義鈔
Channa xianjingmen	禪那現境門
Da shiyishu	答十義書
Dacheng qixinlun	大乘起信論
Dasong gaoseng ciguang shelitaji	大宋高僧慈光闍黎塔記
Dayishu	答疑書
Dui chanyichao bansanyong yishijiwen	對闡義鈔辨三用一十九問
Dui yourenwen	答友人問
Erbaiwen	二百問
Ersiji	而已集
Fahua jing	法華經
Fahua shimiao buermen Shizhuzhi	法華十妙不二門示珠指
Fahua xuanji shibuermen zhangyi	法華玄義十不二門正義
Fahua xuanyi	法華玄義
Fahui	發揮
Fahuiji	發揮記
Fazhiyibian guanxin erbaiwen	法智遺編觀心二百問
Foshuo amituo jingshuxu	佛說阿彌陀經疏序
Foshuo amituojingshu	佛說阿彌陀經疏
Foxuedazidan	佛學大辭典
Fozu tongji	佛祖統記
Fuwenshu	覆問書

Fuxing	輔行
Gu fantiansi shaosheli xingyiji	故梵天寺昭闍黎行業記
Guan wuliangshoujing shu miaozong chao	觀無量壽經疏妙宗鈔
Guanjingshu Kanzhengji	觀經疏刊正記
Guanpuxian xingfajingshu	觀普賢行法經疏
Guanxin erbaiwen	觀心二百問
Guoqing bailu	國清百錄
Gushanshi ershou	孤山詩二首
Gushanshi sanshou	孤山詩三首
Hangzhou fuzhi	杭州府志
Hofu fuchi zhuan	荷負扶持傳
Huai shibijiuju jianjian shaoshengren	懷石壁舊居兼簡紹上人
Huayenjing tanxuanji	華嚴經探玄記
Huchu Kanshang	湖居感傷
Hushan bianlan	湖山便覽
Ji gushanshenwen	祭孤山神文
Ji zushiwen	祭祖師文
Jiangwei wenda Sanshizhang	絳幃問答三十章
Jienanshu	詰難書
Jimeng	記夢
Jingguangmingjing wenju suoyinji	金光明經文句索隱記
Jingtuzan	淨土贊
Jing angbei xianxinglu	金剛鐔顯性錄
Jinguangming jing	金光明經
Jiubing	久病
Jiubing youkan yinshi houxue	久病有感因示後學
Jumeo shu	抉膜書
Laozi	老子
Linjianlu	林間錄
Longpingji	隆平集
Manaoyuan chongjie dajieji	瑪瑙院重結大界記
Moho zhiguan	摩訶止觀
Muluxu	目錄序
Muzhiming	墓誌銘
Nanci	難辭
Nansan daishizan houxu	南山大師贊後序
Ni Weitaizi Yi zhongji Shi bashou Xu	擬魏太子鄴中集詩八首序
Niepan sande zhigui	涅槃三德指歸
Niepanjing baifeichaoxu	涅槃經百非鈔序

Niepanxuanyi fayuanjiyaoji	涅槃玄義發源機要記
Purubusiyi famenjingshu	普入不思議法門經疏
Qiangtang ciguangyuan beifashi Xingzhuang	錢唐慈光院備法師行狀
Qiantang gushan zhiguoyuan jiedaijiexu	錢唐孤山智果院結大界序
Qiantang shaojiangzhu shang simingfashishu	錢塘昭講主上四明法師書
Qianyi	籤疑
Qing guanyin jingshu Chanyichao	請觀音經疏闡義鈔
Qinghua	清話
Qiubing	秋病
Rentian baojian	人天寶鑑
Ruiyingjingshu	瑞應經疏
Shanjia jiadianshi	山家教典志
Shensi wuhaowu lun	生死無好惡論
Shi buermen zhiyaochao	十不二門指要鈔
Shi qingguan yinshu zong xiaofu Sanyong	釋請觀音疏中消伏三用
Shi zhuzi	示珠指
Shimen shinan	十門折難
Shimen zhengtong	釋門正統
Shimou	詩魔
Shinan fuzongji	釋難扶宗記
Shishi jigulue	釋氏稽古略
Shitie yanqingsi	使帖延慶寺
Shiwenshu	釋問書
Shiyishu	十義書
Shou lengy an jingshuxu	首楞嚴經疏序
Shoulengan jingshu	首楞嚴經疏
Shoulengyan jingshu guxiangchao	首楞嚴經疏谷響鈔
Shu jingqi daishibei houxu	書荆谿(溪)大師碑後序
Shu zhizhedaishibei houxu	書智者大師碑後序
Siku quanshu zhenben	四庫全書珍本
Siming chanchi zhengfa wei ershijiudai zushi	四明傳持正法爲二十九代祖師
Siming fumenren (chong)ju fashishu	四明付門人(崇)矩法師書
Siming fumenren congfastitie	四明付門人琮法師帖
Siming ranyue yishue zongshu	四明仁岳異說叢書
Siming shiyishu	四明十義書
Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu	四明尊者教行錄
Sinianchu	四念處
Sishier zhangjing (zhu)xu	四十二章經注序
Sishierzhang jingshu	四十二章經疏

- Song gaosengzhuān 宋高僧傳
 Songjiang chongyoushi helibai 松江重祐師和李白姑熟十詠詩序
 gushushiyongshixu
 Songshujixu 送庶幾序
 Songyuan tífāngzhī sānshiqìzhōng 宋元地方志三十七種
 Taiping guāngjì 太平廣記
 Taiping yulan 太平御覽
 Tiantai guoqingsi chongjie daijiexu 天台國清寺重結大界序
 Tiantong siming wangfu shu houxu 天童四明往復書後敘
 Tiauzhu chanzhu shang simingfashishu 天竺懺主上四明法師書
 Wanli hangzhou fuzhi 萬曆杭州府志
 Weijin fengdu ji wenzhang yuyao jijiu zhi 魏晉風度及文章與藥及酒之關係
 guanxi
 Weimojing lueshu chuiyujì 維摩經略疏垂裕記
 Wenshu banruo jingshuxu 文殊般若經疏序
 Wenshu shou banruojingshu 文殊說般若經疏
 Wenshushuo banruojingshu xizhongchao 文殊說般若經疏析重鈔
 Wenxuan 文選
 Wenyishu 問疑書
 Wenyuan yinghua 文苑英華
 Wuliangyi jingshu 無量義經疏
 Wulin fanzhi 武林梵志
 Wulin xihu gaoseng shilue 武林西湖高僧事略
 Wuyishu 五義書
 Xianchun linanzhi 咸淳臨安志
 Xianyong 閑詠
 Xie Kezishengren huilengyan banruo erjing 謝可孜上人惠楞嚴般若二經并治脾藥
 bingzhipiyao
 Xie wusicheng zhuan xianjubian xushu 謝吳寺丞撰閑居篇序書
 Xihu youlanzhi 西湖遊覽志
 Xihu zhizuan 西湖志纂
 Xingyeji 行業記
 Xinyin huanyuanguan houxu 新印還源觀後序
 Xiu Huayenaozhi wangjin huanyuanguan 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀

 Xunfuchushi xidashi suyōu wanyuefahu zhiyue 君復處士栖大師夙有翫月泛湖之
 yuyiwobing zhishuangyuexinqi 約予以臥病致爽約前期因爲此章
 yinweicizhang liaoyidaoyi 聊以道意
 Yanzhi 言志

Yi nantasi shangfang yinji qingshao shi	憶南塔上方因寄慶昭師
Yi zhongxing jiaoguan	議中興教觀
Yijiaojingshu	遺教經疏
Yili	義例
Yishijiu wen	一十九問
Yizhu	遺囑
Youji gushanshenwen	又祭孤山神文
Yu luoyan jiepan shu	與駱偃節判書
Yulanpen jingshu caihuachao	蘭盆經疏撫華鈔
Zhejiang tongzhi	浙江通志
Zhengjue	徵決
Zhiguan dayi	止觀大義
Zhiguan fuxing chuanhongjue	止觀輔行傳弘決
Zhiguan Yili	止觀義例
Zhilan	指濫
Zhixia	指瑕
Zhiyi	止疑
Zhizhedashi shide lizhanxu	智者大師十德禮贊序
Zhong yong zi zijiwen	中庸子自祭文
Zhongguo foxue renming citen	中國佛學人名字典
Zhongyongzi zhuan	中庸子傳

II. Personal Names

Baoyun Yitong	寶雲義通
Beifeng Zongyin	北峰宗印
Cao Cao	曹操
Cao Pi	曹丕
Cao Zhi	曹植
Chao Shuozi	晁說之
Cheng Hao	程顥
Cheng Yi	程頤
Chengguan	澄觀
Chongju	崇矩(浮石)
Chongyou	重祐
Chou Tunyi	周惇頤
Ciguang	慈光
Ciyun Zunshi	慈雲遵式
Fadeng	法登
Fazang	法藏
Fuxi	伏羲
Fuzong Jizong	扶宗繼宗
Gong Jiajun	龔嘉(俊)
Guanding	灌頂
Guangzhi Shangxian	廣智尙賢
Haoduan	皓端
Huangdi	黃帝
Huihong	慧洪
Huiwen	慧文
Huiyuc	慧岳
Hunyu	韓愈
Jiahe	嘉禾
Jingyue Renyue	淨覺仁岳
Jiqi	繼齊
Jue'an	覺岸
Kaian Wu Keji	鎧菴 吳克己
Kezi	可孜
Li'ao (Zazhi)	李翱(習之)
Libai	李白
Linbu	林逋
Lisi	李思

Liu Zhongyuan	柳宗元
Lu Shuwei	盧叔微
Luoxi	螺溪
Minghe	明河
Mingzhi Zongli	明智中立
Nanping Fanzhen	南屏梵臻
Nianchang	念常
Ouyang Xiu	歐陽修
Pi Rixiu	皮日休
Puxian	普賢
Qian shuoyou	潛說友
Qineng	契能
Qingshao	慶昭
Qiwudi	齊武帝
Shao Qiran	邵齊然
Shen Teqian	沈德潛
Shen Yao	沈約
Shen Yiji	沈翼機
Shennong	神農
Shenwu Chuqian	神悟處謙
Shenzhao Benru	神照本如
Shi zimiao	史子眇
Shizhi Zongxia	石芝宗曉
Shuji	庶幾
Tanxiu	曇秀
Tian Rucheng	田汝成
Tiantong	天童
Tiyuan	體元
Wang Tong	王通
Wei Yuansong	衛元嵩
Wenbei	文備
Wencan	文粲
Wu zhijing	吳之鯨
Wudi	武帝
Wuen	晤恩
Xi	栖(大師)
Xianran	咸潤
Xie Lingyun	謝靈運
Xiji	羲寂

Xing Bing	刑昺
Xingshao	行紹
Xuanzhu	玄燭
Xunfu	君復
Xunzi	荀子
Yangxiong	楊雄
Yangyi	楊億
Yinggong	瑩公
Yitang Fadeng	逸堂法登
Yitong	義通
Yu Ying-shih	余英時
Yuanjing	元敬
Yuanqing	源清
Zeijiao	擇交
Zhaihao	翟灝
Zhanran	湛然
Zhao Anfu	趙安撫
Zhao Heng	趙禎
Zhao Jiong	趙炅
Zhao Kuangyin	趙匡胤
Zhi	知禮
Zhihai	智海
Zhipan	志磐
Zhiyi	智顛
Zhiyuan	智圓
Zhizhe	智者
Zhu Xi	朱熹
Zixuan	子玄
Zongjian	宗鑑
Zongxia	宗曉
Zongyu	(國清)宗昱

III. Technical Terms & Others

Bantuojia	半託迦
Bei	別
Beijiao	別教
Bianti	辨體
Biaoli	表裏
Bieli suiyuan	別理隨緣
Chongfa	崇法
Chongfu	崇福
Chujia	出家
Chunyou	淳祐
Cifu	詞賦
Dao	道
Dazhong xiangfusi	大中祥符寺
Di chuan	嫡傳
Dujing	讀誦
Fantian	梵天
Fawei daishi fen	法慧大師墳
Fenshen	焚身
Fufa	附法
Gantong	感通
Gaoseng	高僧
Gaoseng ge	高僧閣
Geling	葛嶺
Goutu	國土
Guanxinyi	觀心義
Guoqing	國清
Gushan	孤山
Guwen	古文
Hauyen	華嚴
He	和
Ho	號
Huafa sijiao	化法四教
Huan	幻
Huayi sijiao	化儀四教
Hufa	護法
Ji	即
Jiade	假諦

Jian'an	建安
Jiaohua	教化
Jiejie	結界
Jinjia	今家
Jinren	今人
Jinshi	進士
Jinzong	今宗
Ju	具
Juyi quanshou	舉一全收
Kaiyun	開運
Kongmen	空門
Lidu	理毒
Liezhuan	列傳
Liyong	理用
Lizao	理造
Lunyong	論用
Lusho	律詩
Manao	瑪瑙
Menfa	門閥
Mingzong	明宗
Mt, Long	龍山
Nanping	南屏
Nantao	南塔
Nianpu	年譜
Panjiao	判教
Pufu quan	僕夫泉
Qiantang	錢塘
Qianxing	乾興
Qianxing renxu	乾興壬戌
Qingjing zhenru	清淨真如
Ran	染
Raner wuran	染而無染
Ren	仁
Renhe	仁和(縣)
Renzong	仁宗
Ru	儒
Rushi dizi	入室弟子
Sanguang	三觀
Sao	騷

Shangren	上人
Shanjia jiaomen	山家教門
Shanwai yipai	山外一派
Shanwai yizhong	山外一宗
Shaoting	紹定
Shaoxing	紹興
Shi	詩
Shiming	釋名
Shitu	事毒
Shiyong	事用
Shizao	事造
Shouci	授辭
Shuxin	水心(寺)
Sipusa	四菩薩
Sisheng	四聖
Sisheng babing	四聲八病
Songjiang	松江
Suiju yifa jiedewei zong	隨舉一法皆得爲總
Suiyuan	隨緣
Suxi	宿習
Taizong	太宗
Taizu	太祖
Taoqi fen	陶器墳
Taren	他人
Ti	體
Tiancheng	天成(年)
Tianxi	天禧(年)
Tianzhu	天竺
Tiju	體具
Tongjiao	通教
Tuoshi	託事
Wangguan	妄觀
Weijin	魏晉
Weixin	唯心
Wenxue	文學
Wenzhang	文章
Wuqing yu foxing	無情有佛性
Wushi	五時
Wuzuo	無作

Xiangdai	相待
Xianquan	閑泉
Xiaofu	消伏
Xichan	習禪
Xing'e	性惡
Xingfu	興福
Xingming	性命
Xingtu	行毒
Xingyong	行用
Xining	熙寧
Xinwai wujing	心外無境
Xiucan	秀才
Xuanyi	玄義
Ya	雅
Yejiang ting	夜講亭
Yi	義
Yi zheng	依正
Yijia	一家
Yijie	義解
Yijing	譯經
Yin	蔭
Yishen	遺身
Yongming	永明
Youren	有人
Yuanjiao	圓教
Yuantun	圓頓
Yue	樂
Yuexing	約行
Yunei	域內
Yuwai	域外
Zake Shengde	雜科聲德
Zangjiao	藏教
Zhen rushi dizi	真入室弟子
Zhendi	真諦
Zhenru bubian suiyuan	真如不變隨緣
Zhenxin	真心
Zhenxing	真性
Zhenzong	真宗
Zhi	志

Zhiping	治平
Zhishi	知事
Zhonghe	中和
Zhou Kong shu	周孔書
Zi	字
Zizhu	自住
Zong	總
Zongxing	中興
Zu	祖
Zutao	祖道