

The Nembutsu Zen of the Disciples of the Fifth Patriarch

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I. ZEN AND NEMBUTSU

WHEN WE ATTEMPT to survey the Zen school in China, attention will be drawn to two early instances: the older is reflected in the term *zensu* (*ch'an-shu* 禪數), or ART OF MEDITATION, in which An Shih-kao 安世高 (An Seikō; second century A.D.) was said to be proficient, and the later is the so-called Hīnayāna zen which was practiced by monks of the Sarvāstivāda school in China. Since this type of zen is designated by the compound *zensu*, we may suppose that it consisted chiefly in a contemplation practice on something like one of the *bodhipakṣika dharma* (*san-shih-chi tao-p'in* 三十七道品 *sanjūshichi dōbon*), or 37 CONDITIONS LEADING TO BUDDHAHOOD. This terminology of numerical categories, therefore, has caused it to be regarded as Hīnayāna zen, and indeed the interpretation of those who practiced it was probably that of the "half-truth" (*p'ien-chen* 偏真 *henshin*) regarding the nonexistence of the ego (*wo-k'ung* 我空 *gakū*),¹ so that it is customary to distinguish this type of zen from the zen of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, the problem remains as to whether, if this type of zen is carried to its farthest point, the resulting state of mind of the zen practitioner is in fact completely different from that of the practitioner

* This is a translation of the author's "Gosomonka no nembutsu zen" 五祖門下の念佛禪 [The Nembutsu-zen Followers of the Fifth Patriarch], in *Zenshū-shi kenkyū* 禪宗史研究 [Studies in Zen History] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1935; reprint 1966), pp. 169-194. It was originally translated some forty years ago by Burton Watson in connection with his work at the First Zen Institute of America in Japan, but was never published. We wish to thank him for making it available to us, and Kaji Yōichi for editing and annotating technical portions of the text.

¹ The complement to this half-truth being the existence of the Dharma.

of Mahāyāna zen. At least from the point of view of general Buddhism, I am inclined to believe that no distinction so precise as that made by later zen proponents should be attempted.

Following this, due to the translation and teaching efforts of Kumārajīva (344–413) and Buddhabhadra (359–429), the so-called bodhisattva-zen (*p'u-sa-ch'an* 菩薩禪 *bosatsu-zen*) came to be practised in northern China. Kumārajīva, it appears, devoted himself mainly to the translation of zen-related sūtras, and did not necessarily consider himself a practitioner of zen. Buddhabhadra, however, not only had a thorough understanding of zen, but did a great deal to teach others and spread the influence of zen. The core of Buddhabhadra's zen was probably the *kuan-fo-san-mei* 觀佛三昧 (*kambutsu-zammai*), or SAMĀDHI ON THE CHARACTERISTIC MARKS OF A BUDDHA. At this time, at Mount Lu 廬山 (Rozan) in south China, the White Lotus Society (Po-lien she 白蓮社 Byakuren-sha) had been founded which placed great emphasis on *kansō* nembutsu 觀想念佛 (*kuan-hsiang nien-fo*), THE CONTEMPLATION OF BUDDHA, and practiced *kanzō* nembutsu 觀像念佛 (*kuan-hsiang*), IMAGINING THE FORM OF BUDDHA (especially that of Amida).² For this reason Buddhabhadra eventually joined the society and took over the leadership of the zen activities, so that the White Lotus Society of Hui-yüan 慧遠 (Eon; 336–416) became the center of Southern Buddhism and exerted a very great influence. In this White Lotus Society of Mount Lu, it appears that zen meditation and the nembutsu were linked together in a kind of union.

At the same time, however, men such as Dharmamitra and Kala-yaśas had not only translated the sūtras on *nien-fo kuan* 念佛觀 (*nembutsu-kan*), or NEMBUTSU CONTEMPLATION, and, as zen practitioners themselves, had taught the zen doctrine to their disciples, but also the translations of the sutras made by the latter exerted a wide general influence even in the north. On the other hand, in south China, there arose the theory of the attainment of Buddhahood by sudden enlighten-

² With regard to transcription, we have given preference to the Chinese (Wade-Giles) reading of the terms. Exceptions have been made in cases when we felt that the Japanese readings would be more familiar to the readers of this journal or when it was necessary to distinguish two identical transcriptions. The former case would include the terms zen (rather than ch'an), Amida (A-mi-to), and nembutsu (nien-fo); the latter case would include *kansō* (*kuan-hsiang*) and *kanzō* (*kuan-hsiang*), and *makubō* (*mo-wang*) and *makumō* (*mo-wang*).

ment expounded by Tao-sheng 道生 (Dōshō; 355–434). This theory, which stood in opposition to the theory of gradual enlightenment of Hui-kuan 慧觀 (Ekan; d. 453), won relatively little support at the time, but possessed its own school of followers and resembled the zen tendencies which developed within the San-lun sect of later times.

Due to the wars and uprisings that followed the time of Kumārajīva, Buddhism in the north never attained the flourishing state that it enjoyed in the south, and it suffered particularly from the severe blow inflicted by the Buddhist persecution of the Northern Wei. Shortly after this, however, zen was widely preached in the north by Buddazenji (Fo-t'o ch'an-shih 佛陀禪師 Buddazenji) and Ratnamati (Lo-na-mo-t'i 勒那魔提 Rokunamadai; ca. 508), who both had a number of influential disciples, to whom they transmitted the "Law of the mind." But this zen doctrine, in addition to resembling the *zensu*, or ART OF MEDITATION, was mainly concerned, we are told, with the doctrine of the sixteen particular excellences (*shih-liu-t'e-sheng* 十六特勝 *jūrokudokushō*) and cessation and contemplation (*chih-kuan* 止觀 *shikan*). It is likely that the *shikan-zen* of the later T'ien-t'ai (Tendai) Sect arose from the same school as these.

In contrast to the above stands the school of Bodhidharma zen, known in early times as *tsui-shang-ch'eng-ch'an* 最上乘禪 (*saijōjō-zen*) [SUPREME ZEN] or *Ju lai-ch'ing-ching-ch'an* 如來清淨禪 (*Nyoraishōjō-zen*) [TATHĀGATA-PURITY ZEN] and later called *tsu-shih-ch'an* 祖師禪 (*soshi-zen*) [PATRIARCH ZEN]. According to historians, "the Mahāyāna wall-gazing [Bodhidharma] achieved the greatest eminence and students flocked to him during his life as to a marketplace." He transmitted the doctrine that, through "wall-gazing," one could come to a direct realization of the profound truth that "one's own mind itself is Buddha," a doctrine described as "of extreme subtlety and one which is difficult to comprehend." He established a unique and special school of zen. According to tradition, this doctrine was handed down from one individual to the next up to the time of the Sixth Patriarch, though in fact there were already collateral branches of the school from the earliest time and the doctrine was received by many people. In particular, among the disciples of the Fifth Patriarch there were men fully qualified to be teachers of the doctrine who journeyed to various regions of China, so that Bodhidharma's Zen doctrine soon commanded the attention of the whole empire. Among these disciples of the

Fifth Patriarch, as well as among the members of the schools which developed from them, there were some who practiced nembutsu-zen, so that not only was the nembutsu incorporated in some fashion into pure zen practice, but this nembutsu zen also exercised a very real influence upon the Pure Land school, a fact that is of great interest. In the sections that follow I propose to consider these points in detail.

II. MASTERS WHO WERE DISCIPLES OF THE FIFTH PATRIARCH

The Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (Gunin) was born in the first year of Jen-shou (601 A.D.) and died in the fifth year of Hsien-heng (674) or the second year of Shang-yüan (675). It is not clear whether he actually had any connection with nembutsu or not. Judging from the words of the *Leng-chia-jen-fa-chih* 楞伽人法志 (*Ryōga-nimbōshi*) by Hsüan-tse 玄曠 (Gensaku), a direct disciple of Hung-jen, which are quoted in the *Leng-chia-shih-tzu-chi* 楞伽師資記 (*Ryōga-shishiki*) of Cheng-chüeh 淨覺 (Jōkaku), it would seem that Hung-jen, like the Sixth Patriarch, took as the basis of his teachings the words:

If you would attain the Pure Land,
you must purify your mind;
When the mind is pure,
then the Buddha land will be pure.

Among his disciples and the schools which developed from his disciples, however, there had already appeared what we may call nembutsu-school zen, and we can recognize that there is a close connection between the disciples of the Fifth Patriarch and nembutsu-zen. Among his disciples who were most closely associated with this trend were Fa-chih 法持 (Hōji), the school of Chih-shen 智詵 (Chisen), the school of Hui-an 慧安 (Ean), and Hsüan-shih 宣什 (Senjū).

FA-CHIH

Fa-chih 法持 (635-702) was the Fourth Patriarch of Niu-t'ou 牛頭 (Gozu). His family name was Chang 張 and he was a native of Chiang-ning in Jun-chou 潤州江寧. It is certain that he left home to become a monk when he was young and later studied under a well-known teacher. According to the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Sō Kōsōden*)

and the *Ching-t'u-wang-sheng-chuan* 淨土往生伝 (*Jōdo-ōjōden*) he left home at about the age of nine to follow Hui-fang 慧方 (Ehō), the Third Patriarch of Niu-t'ou, and at the age of thirteen he joined the group of Huang-mei Hung-jen 黃梅弘忍 (Ōbai Gunin). He was thirteen in the twenty-first year of Chen-kuan (647). According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu* 景德伝燈錄 (*Keitoku dentō roku*), however, he went to study under Huang-mei at the age of thirty, which would be in 664. On the other hand, Fa-chih's disciple who was the Fifth Patriarch of Niu-t'ou, Chih-wei 智威 (Chii, 646-722), was studying under Fa-chih at Mount Niu-t'ou at the age of twenty, i.e., in 665, so that it appears that the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu* figure is incorrect. While Fa-chih was a member of the Huang-mei group, though still very young, he received the essentials of the Law, took the precepts, and understood the deepest mysteries. After some years, he returned once more to Mount Niu-t'ou and, receiving the *inka* (seal) of Hui-fang, became the Fourth Patriarch of Niu-t'ou. It is not certain just when he became the Fourth Patriarch but since it appears that Hui-fang left Mount Niu-t'ou before he died, it is probable that Fa-chih was Fourth Patriarch from that time on; Hui-fang's departure seems to have been some time before 665. Following this, Fa-chih relinquished his position at Niu-t'ou to Chih-wei and went to Yen-tsu-ssu temple in Chin-ling 金陵延祚寺 (Enzo-ji). According to the *Ching-t'u-wang-sheng-chuan*, he "devoted his thought to the Pure Land for some nine years and in all his daily activities he always relied upon the *kansō* (contemplation of Buddha)." Since he died in the second year of Ch'ang-an or 702, he must have gone to Yen-tsu-ssu nine years earlier, in 694. During these nine years he devoted particular energy to nembutsu, but since the *Ching-t'u-wang-sheng-chuan* says that he "relied upon the *kansō*," we must suppose that the nembutsu which Fa-chih practiced was the so-called *kansō* nembutsu in which zen plays the most important part. It is clear, though, that with Fa-chih the nembutsu and zen were inseparably linked. On the day of Fa-chih's death we are told that a number of spirit banners appeared in the sky from the west and revolved several times about the mountain where he was, being seen by a multitude of people, and also that the bamboo forest at Yu-hsi-ssu 幽棲寺 (Yūsei-ji), the temple where he had lived at Mount Niu-t'ou, turned white. These are indications that he was reborn in the Pure Land. After Fa-chih died, Chih-wei left Niu-t'ou and went to Yen-tsu-ssu, where he

“worked to help others by his preaching of the Law and brought benefit to many.” Like Fa-chih, it would seem that Chih-wei also practiced nembutsu.

CHIH-SHEN

The name of Chih-shen 智詵 (Chisen; 609–702) appears in the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* in two places only, the biographies of Ch’u-chi 處寂 (Shojaku) and Wu-hsiang 無相 (Musō). Recently, however, since the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* 歷代法寶記 (*Rekidai-hōbōki*) from Tun-huang has been published,³ the facts of his life have become clear. Chih-shen, whose family name was Chou 周, was a native of Ju-nan in Honan Province (河南省汝南). When he was thirteen, he entered a temple and studied the sutras and commentaries under Hsüan-tsang. Later he became a follower of Hung-jen at Mount Shuang-feng 雙峰山 (Sōhōzan), and was told by Hung-jen that, since he had a talent for learning, as well as being proficient in Buddhism, he might become a teacher of others. Following this he took up residence in Te-ch’un-ssu 德純寺 (Tokujun-ji) in Tzu-chou in Szechwan Province (四川省資州) where he wrote the *Hsü-jung-kuan* 虛融觀 (*Kyoyūkan*) in three *chüan*, the *Yüan-ch’i* 緣起 (*Engi*) in one *chüan*, and the *Pan-jo-hsin-su* 般若心疏 (*Hannya-shinsho*) in one *chüan*. Since Szechwan at the time was known as the Chien-nan Circuit 劍南道 and the city of Ch’eng-tu 成都 was known as Chien-nan, Chih-shen is often called Chien-nan Chih-shen (Kennan Chisen) or Nan-shen (Nansen), and the second character of his name, *shen* 詵 is sometimes written *shen* 侁. According to the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, in the second year of Wan-sui-t’ung-t’ien (697), at the age of eighty-nine, he was summoned to court by Chang Ch’ang-chi 張昌期, who had been sent as imperial messenger from Empress Wu, Tse-t’ien 則天武后. At court he was feasted and presented by the Empress with the “robe of the transmission” (*ch’uan-i* 傳衣 *denne*), which the Empress had received from Ts’ao-hsi Hui-neng 曹溪慧能 (Sōkei Enō) the year before, the Empress presenting Hui-neng with other gifts by way of compensation. In this matter of the robes, however, since the

³ The author is here referring to Yabuki Keiki’s *Meisha yoin* (Echoes from the Singing Sands) 鳴沙餘韻 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1930), which compiles the cache of Chinese Zen manuscripts that were uncovered by Stein at Tun-huang in 1906, but were not catalogued until Yabuki examined them in 1916.

Li-tai-fa-pao-chi was written by men of Chih-shen's own line, we may say only that the fact is recorded and cannot put too much faith in its reliability. In the first year of Ch'ang-an (701), it is probable that Chih-shen returned to his temple. Among his disciples was Ch'u-chi.

CH'U-CHI

The biography of Ch'u-chi 處寂 (Shojaku) is found in both the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* and the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, though the two accounts differ on various points. The former gives his family name as Chou 周, and describes him as a native of Shu 蜀, while the latter gives his name as T'ang 唐 and his native place as Fu-ch'eng-hsien in Mien-chou (縣州 浮城縣). In the writings of Tsung-mi 宗密 (Shūmitsu; 780-841) and grave inscriptions of the period, Ch'u-chi is referred to as T'ang ho-shang (Tō oshō), T'ang ch'an-shih (Tō zenji), T'ang kung (Tō kō), etc., so that T'ang (Tō) is undoubtedly the correct surname. Mien-chou is in Shu, or present day Szechwan Province, so on this point the two accounts are not really in disagreement. According to the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan*, he studied under Pao-hsiu ch'an-shih 寶修禪師 (Hōshū zenji), and, having understood the deepest mysteries and practiced *dhū-ta* (tuto 杜多 zuda), he was eventually summoned to court by Empress Wu, but later excused himself and returned to his temple. According to the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, he lost his father at the age of ten and placed himself under the guidance of Chih-shen ho-shang. The latter work is both older and a work of Ch'u-chi's own line, so that it is probably to be trusted on this point. Whether the Pao-hsiu ch'an-shih referred to in the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* is Chih-shen, or is one of his disciples, is not clear. There is some disagreement about Ch'u-chi's dates as well. The *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* says that he died in K'ai-yüan 22 (734) at the age of eighty-seven, so that his dates would be 648-734, but the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* says that he died in K'ai-yüan 20 (732) at the age of eighty-six, so that his dates would be 665-732, while a different text of the latter work gives his death as K'ai-yüan 24 (736) so that his dates would be 669-736. His disciple Nan-yüeh Ch'eng-yüan 南嶽承遠 (Nangaku Jōon) studied under him for several years and, having perceived the deepest meanings and become enlightened as to the truth, later traveled to Chuang 壯, and in K'ai-yüan 23 (735) visited Yü-ch'uan Hui-chen 玉泉 慧真 (Gyokusen Eshin), we are told, so that if we assume that he went

on his trip to Chuang after the death of Ch'u-chi, we must regard K'ai-yüan 22 (734) as the correct date for Ch'u-chi's death. We are told only that Ch'u-chi practiced *dhūta*, but his disciples Wu-hsiang and Ch'eng-yüan both practiced nembutsu.

WU-HSIANG

Wu-hsiang's family name was Chin 金 (K. Kim, J. Kin); he was a native of Silla in Korea and the third son of the king of Silla, but he left home and took monastic vows. According to the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan*, he came to China in K'ai-yüan 16 (728), had an audience with Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 and was attached to Ch'an-ting-ssu 禪定寺 (Zenjō-ji). Later he went to Shu and visited Chih-shen. Wu-hsiang's meeting with Chih-shen is mentioned twice in the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan*, and again in the notes to the *Pei-shan lu* 北山錄 (*Hokuzanroku*) of Shen-ch'ing 神清 (Shinsei), but K'ai-yüan 16 (728) was twenty-six years after the death of Chih-shen, so that the facts do not tally. The *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* therefore is quite correct in saying nothing about any connection between Wu-hsiang and Chih-shen. The name Wu-hsiang was said to have been given by Ch'u-chi; Wu-hsiang studied under Ch'u-chi for two years, later lived at Mount T'ien-ku 天谷山 (Tenkoku-san), and then returned to Ch'u-chi's temple, Te-ch'un-ssu, where he received the *inka* from Ch'u-chi. Like Ch'u-chi, Wu-hsiang constantly practiced *dhūta*, living first among the cliffs of Mount T'ien-ku and later in Ch'ing-chung-ssu 淨衆寺 (Jōshu-ji), because of which he is called Ch'ing-chung-ssu Chin ho-shang. Wu-hsiang taught the three precepts of wu-i 無憶 (*muoku*), NO-REMEMBRANCE; wu-nien 無念 (*munen*), NO-THOUGHT; and makubō 莫忘 (*mo-wang*), NO-FORGETTING, and transmitted to others the *yin-sheng* nembutsu (引聲 *inzei*), or INVOCATION OF [THE NAME OF] BUDDHA TO AN ARRANGED PATTERN, and for this reason he is regarded as an exponent of nembutsu-zen. He practiced *dhūta* to an extreme degree and, when his food was exhausted, used to eat dirt, so that the magistrate of Ch'eng-tu Prefecture, Yang I 楊翊, suspected him of witchcraft. After some wonders had occurred, however, the magistrate was won over to Wu-hsiang and, becoming a follower of his, built the Ch'ing-chung-ssu, Ta-tz'u-ssu 大慈寺 (Daiji-ji), P'u-t'i-ssu 菩提寺 (Bodai-ji), Ning-kuo-ssu 寧國寺 (Neikoku-ji), and others. The *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* states that Wu-hsiang died in Chih-te first year (756) at

the age of seventy-seven, which would make his dates 680–756, but the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* says he died in Pao-ying first year (762) at the age of seventy-nine, in which case his dates would be 684–762; the latter is probably correct. With regard to his disciples, the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* gives the name of a *shang-tsu* 上足 (*jōsoku*), or leading disciple, named Monk Li 李 (Ri), who is the same as Pao-t'ang-ssu Wu-chu 保唐寺無住 (Hotō-ji Mujū). Shen-hui 神會 (Jōshū-ji Jinne) was also a disciple of his. According to Tsung-mi, Chang-sung-shan Ma 長松山馬 (Chō-shōzan Ba), Chi-chou Chi 逐州季 (Chikushū Ki)—the name is probably a mistake for the character Li 李 (Ri)—and T'ung-ch'uan-hsien Chi 通泉懸季 (Tsū-senken Ki)—the last again probably a mistake for Li—were also disciples of his. Again, according to the *Pei-shan lu* of Shen-ch'ing, Shen-ch'ing was also a disciple of Wu-hsiang; and according to the notes to the *Pei-shan lu* by Hui-pao 慧寶 (Ehō), Wu-hsiang also had as disciples Nan-yin Hui-kuang 南印慧廣 (Nan'in Ekō), and monks named An 安 (An) and Liang 梁 (Ryō). Little is known about these last two.

NAN-YÜEH CH'ENG-YÜAN

Concerning Nan-yüeh Ch'eng-yüan 南嶽承遠 (Nangaku Jōon; 712–802), we have the memorial inscription, “Nan-yüeh Mi-t'o ho-shang pei” 南嶽彌陀和尚碑 (Nangaku Mida-oshō hi), with preface (composed in 808) by Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元 (Ryū Sōgen; 773–819), and the “Nan-yüeh Mi-t'o-ssu Ch'eng-yüan ho-shang pei” 南嶽彌陀寺承遠和尚碑 (Nangaku Mida-ji Jōon-oshō hi) by Lü Wen 呂溫 (Ro On, 767–806) which tell us something about his life, while the *Nan-yüeh-tsung-sheng-chi* 南嶽總勝集 (*Nangaku-sōshōshū*) is also valuable for reference purposes. Ch'eng-yüan was a son of the Hsieh 謝 family of Mien-chu-hsien 縣竹縣, Han-chou 漢州 in Szechwan Province. At first he studied under Ch'u-chi, at which time he searched out the deepest truth and achieved true enlightenment; after this he traveled here and there, journeying as far as Ching-chou 荊, and in K'ai-yüan 23 (735) visited Yü-ch'uan-ssu Chen-kung 玉泉寺眞公 (Gyokusen-ji Shinkō). Chen-kung is the same person as Nan-yang Hui-chen 南陽惠眞 (Nanyō Eshin), who was a disciple of Nan-yang Hung-ching 弘景 (Kōkei, 634–712); thus Ch'eng-yüan studied at the same school as Nan-yang Huai-jiang 懷讓 (Ejō), Wen-kang 文綱 (Bungō) of the Lü 律 (Ritsu; Vinaya) Sect, and I-hsing 一行 (Ichigyō)

of the Chen-yen 眞言 (Shingon) Sect, so that he was in the line of T'ien-t'ai (Tendai) teaching. It was at Hui-chen's orders that Ch'eng-yüan made the trip to Huai-jang. At this time Tz'u-min san-tsang 慈愍三藏 (Ji-min sanzō; 680-748) had returned from his trip to India (702-719) and was teaching the so-called Tz'u-min school of Ching-t'u [Pure Land] doctrine. When Ch'eng-yüan learned that Tz'u-min was for a time in Kuang-chou 廣州, he went to visit him and was taught the *nembutsu-zammai* (nembutsu samādhi) by him. Thus Ch'eng-yüan was inspired to devote his efforts to nembutsu. The followers of the Tz'u-min school, it is true, were strongly opposed to the Zen sect, but this shows the degree to which they were concerned with Zen. Later, at the beginning of the T'ien-pao era (741), Ch'eng-yüan went once more to Nan-yüeh, living on the southwest slope of the mountain and practicing *dhū-ta*; when he received no gifts of food from people, he resorted to eating dirt and boiled weeds after the fashion of Ch'u-chi and Wu-hsiang. He also laid great stress on nembutsu and many people flocked to him, so that the place where he lived came to be called the Mi-t'o-t'ai 彌陀臺 (Midadai; Amida Terrace). Ch'eng-yüan's virtue was reported far and wide, and Emperor Tai-tsung 代宗 (reigned 763-779) expressed his respect for Ch'eng-yüan and named the place where he lived Pan-chou tao-ch'ang 般舟道場 (Hanju dōjō; Pratyutpanna Hall). Later Emperor Te-tsung 德宗 (reigned 780-804) issued an edict conferring upon the place the name Mi-t'o-ssu (Mida-ji; Amida Temple).

During the Yung-t'ai era (765), Fa-chao 法照 (Hōshō) journeyed from Mount Lu and became a disciple of Ch'eng-yüan. Following the footsteps of Hui-yüan, Fa-chao journeyed originally from eastern Wu 吳 to Mount Lu, where he built the Hsi-fang tao-ch'ang 西方道場 (Saihō-dōjō; Western-direction Hall), entered into meditation (入定 *nyūjō*) and reached the Land of Happiness (An-lo-kuo 安樂國 Anrakukoku); there he saw an old bhikṣu in attendance before the seat of Amida. When he asked the Buddha who the man was, he was told that it was Nan-yüeh Ch'eng-yüan. Fa-chao then proceeded to Nan-yüeh and sought someone who resembled the bhikṣu he had seen in his dream; there he met Ch'eng-yüan and studied under him so that, because of his teachings, the Way was spread throughout the empire. Fa-chao is known by the title *Wu-hui fa-shih* 五會法師 (*Goe-hōshi*), 'the dharma teacher of the five-tone nembutsu'.⁴ According to what he writes of himself in the second chapter of the *Ching-t'u-wu-hui-nien-fo-sung-*

ching-kuan-hsing-i 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀 (*Jōdo-goe-nembutsu jukyō-kangyō-gi*), in the second year of Yung-t'ai (766) at the Mi-t'o-t'ai he was converted to the Ch'ing-tu (Jōdo) Sect. Later Fa-chao journeyed to Mount Wu-t'ai in northern China, where a number of miracles were associated with his name. In Ta-li 4 (769), he was given the title of *kuo-shih* 國師 (*kokushi*; national preceptor) and in Ta-li 9 (774) he wrote the *Ching-t'u-wu-hui-nien-fo-sung-ching-kuan-hsing-i* in three *chüan*. It is clear that the nembutsu described in this work derived from the teachings of Ch'eng-yüan.

Besides Fa-chao, Ch'eng-yüan had as his disciples Hui-ch'üan 惠詮 (Esen), Chih-ming 知明 (Chimyō), Tao-tien 道愼 (Dōchin), Ch'ao-jan 超然 (Chōnen), and others, all of them men of superior ability. We can gather from his writings 慈愍集 that though Tz'u-min san-tsang bent his efforts toward the rejection of zen, it is obvious that he had already been influenced by zen. In contrast to him, however, Ch'eng-yüan seems from the outset to have been primarily interested in zen, and in his teachings zen and nembutsu were combined into one. Since Fa-chao received his teaching from Ch'eng-yüan, we may suppose that he too was inclined toward zen. Thus although the Pure Land line in Japan recognizes T'an-luan 曇鸞 (Donran; 476-542), Tao-ch'o 道綽 (Dōshaku; 562-645), Shan-tao 善導 (Zendō; 613-681), Huai-kan 懷感 (Ekan; d. 699?), and Shao-k'ang 少康 (Shōkō; d. 805) among its patriarchs, it does not count the names of Ch'eng-yüan or Fa-chao. The fundamental reason for this is that, although they were famous as dharma teachers of the five-tone nembutsu (*wu-hui fa-shih*), they did not teach the oral nembutsu, but it also indicates to what extent these two men were zen-oriented in tendency. Among Fa-chao's disciples were Ch'un-i 純一 (Jun'itsu), Wei-hsiu 惟秀 (Ishū), Kuei-cheng 歸政 (Kisei), Chih-yüan 智遠 (Chion), the novice Wei-ying 惟英 (Iei), the layman Chang Hsi-chün 張希俊 (Chō Kishun), and others.

WU-CHU

The biography of Wu-chu 無住 (Mujū, 714-774) is found in greatest detail in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, and in abbreviated form in the *Yüan-*

⁴ The author discusses the concept of *goe* [five-tone] nembutsu in greater detail later in this article.

chüeh-ta-shu-ch'ao 圓覺大疏鈔 (*Engaku-daishoshō*) of Tsung-mi, and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu*. His family name was Li 李 and he was a native of Feng-hsiang-mei-hsien 鳳翔郿縣 in Shensi Province. He was a military man, and it was not until he was over twenty that he decided to become a monk. At this time he met Ch'en Ch'u-chang 陳楚章 (Chin Soshō; the last character is also written 璋), a lay believer who was not holding any official position. Ch'en Ch'u-chang was a disciple of Hui-an 慧安 (Ean; 628–709), who in turn was a disciple of Hung-jen. Hui-an was also known as Lao-an 老安 (Rōan) and was treated with great favor by Empress Wu. According to Tsung-mi, Hui-an's other disciples included such outstanding men as T'eng-t'eng 騰騰 (Dōdō), Tzu-tsai 自在 (Jizai), and P'o-tsao-to 破竈墮 (Hasōda). Although Ch'en Ch'u-chang was only a lay believer, he was called Chin ch'i-ko 七哥 (*shichika*), and was said to be an avatar of Vimalakīrti; he taught the method of sudden enlightenment. Wu-chu received the teaching of the Law from this man and studied for a period of several years. According to Tsung-mi, Wu-chu later went to Shu, where Chin ho-shang [Wu-hsiang] was teaching zen, and, after questioning Chin ho-shang, found that there was no reason to doubt the validity of his earlier enlightenment gained under Ch'en Ch'u-chang. According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu*, Wu-chu first obtained the Law from Wu-hsiang ta-shih, but it says nothing of Ch'en Ch'u-chang. The *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, however, says that he also questioned Ming ho-shang 明 (Myō), a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch; Shen-hui ho-shang 神會 (Jinne) and Tzu-tsai ho-shang (Jizai). If this assertion is accepted, then Wu-chu would be a member of the line of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng. To be more specific, it is said he traveled to T'ai-yüan and studied under Tzu-tsai ho-shang; he then shaved his head and in T'ien-pao 8 (749) took full orders as a priest; hence this would make him a disciple of a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch. Wu-chu passed a half-year of study in T'ai-yüan and then journeyed to Mount Wu-t'ai, where he spent another half-year of study at Ch'ing-liang-ssu 清涼寺 (Shōryō-ji), and from there went to visit Ming ho-shang at Mount Tzu 次山. In T'ien-pao 9 (750) he took leave of Ming ho-shang and went to An-kuo-ssu Ch'ung-sheng-ssu 安國寺崇聖寺 (Ankoku-ji Sōshō-ji) in the Western Capital. In T'ien-pao 10 (751) he went to Mount Chia-lan 賀蘭 where he lived for two years. At this time he heard about Chin ho-shang from a merchant named Ts'ao Kuei 曹瓌, and was even told that he looked so much like Chin ho-

shang that he must be an avatar of him. In Chih-te 2 (757), he went via Feng-hsiang to Mount T'ai-po 太白 where he passed a period of half a year in study, and in Ch'ien-yüan 2 (759), he met Chin ho-shang at Ch'ing-chung-ssu and finally received instruction from him. Tsung-mi asserts that Wu-chu questioned Chin ho-shang and later determined to spread his teachings, and because he had received his training only from a layman, Ch'en Ch'u-chang, he believed it more convenient to represent himself as a disciple of Chin ho-shang; Tsung-mi believes, however, that Wu-chu's doctrine derives wholly from Ch'en Ch'u-chang, and consequently regards him as belonging to the lineage of Hui-an (i.e., Lao-an). Later Wu-chu journeyed to Mount T'ien-ts'ang 天蒼 and Mount Po-yai 白崖 and for this reason is known as Po-yai Wu-chu (Hakugai Mujū). In Yung-t'ai 2 (766), he converted the Prime Minister Tu Hung-chien 杜鴻漸 (To Kōzen) and other eminent officials, changed Wu-hsiang's three precepts of *wu-i*, *wu-nien*, and *makubō* 莫忘 [NO-FORGETTING] to *wu-i*, *wu-nien* and *makumō* 莫妄 (*mo-wang*), NO-DELUSIONS, and taught the doctrine that "no-thought and no-mind is Buddha" (*wu-nien wu-hsin chi-fo* 無念無心即佛 *munen-mushin soku-butsu*) and that the attainment of Buddhahood in no way depends upon religious rituals or ceremonies. Because when he was in Ch'eng-tu he lived at the T'ai-li Pao-t'ang-ssu 大曆保唐寺 (Daireki-hotō-ji) Wu-chu is regarded as a member of the Pao-t'ang (Hotō) line, and it is customary to distinguish this line from the Ch'ing-chung (Jōshū) line of his teacher Wu-hsiang.

SHEN-HUI

The family name of Shen-hui 神會 (Jinne; 720-794) was Shih 石; his family was originally from Central Asia, but because his grandfather moved to Feng-hsiang, he is known as a native of that place. In T'ien-pao 8 (749), when he was thirty, he went to Shu and studied under Wu-hsiang. The latter recognized him as his heir and was said to have declared that "my way now resides in you." After this, being full of virtue and vast wisdom, he worked hard to increase the community of zen, teaching that:

In quietude and clarity everything is destroyed,
 And the realm of no-thought is achieved.
 The Mind itself is Buddha,

And one ceases to see one's own body.

Of these four lines, the former two express the ideas of Northern Zen, while the latter two are common to Southern Zen as well. From this it would appear that the line of Chih-shen—Ch'u-chi—Wu-hsiang—Shen-hui taught a type of zen which was not peculiar to either Northern or Southern Zen. Shen-hui is also called Ch'ing-chung-ssu Shen-hui, so that it would seem that he was at Ch'ing-chung-ssu and carried on the sect of Wu-hsiang, though whether he also carried on Wu-hsiang's nembutsu teachings as well is a matter of doubt. Among Shen-hui's disciples were Na-t'i 那提 (Nadai), I-chou Nan-yin 益州南院 (Ekishū Nan'in) and Nan-k'ang-wang Wei Kung-kao 南康王韋公皐 (Nankō-ō I Kōkō). However, I-chou Nan-yin received the Law from Tzu-chou Fa-ju 磁州法如 (Jishū Hō'nyo) and became a patriarch of the Ho-tse 荷澤 (Kataku) Sect. Perhaps because of this connection between their disciples, and because their names are the same, this Shen-hui has often been confused with Ho-tse Shen-hui, though in fact the Shen-hui of Ch'ing-chung-ssu and the Shen-hui of Ho-tse are two completely different people and even lived at different times.

Finally we come to Hsüan-shih 宣什 (Senjū) about whose life we know absolutely nothing. Tsung-mi, in the latter part of the third chapter of his *Yüan-chüeh-ta-shu-ch'ao* speaks of the 'nembutsu zen sect of Nanshan' (Nan-shan nien-fo-men ch'an-tsung 南山念佛門禪宗 Nanzan nembutsu-mon zenshū) and says,

Its founder was also a disciple of the Fifth Patriarch whose clerical name was Hsüan-shih. Kuo-chou Wei ho-shang 果州未和上 (Kashu Mi-oshō), Lang-chou Wen-yü 閩州蘊玉 (Rōshū On-gyoku) and the nun I-ch'eng of Hsiang-ju-hsien 相如縣一乘 (Shōnyo-ken Ichijō) all spread his teachings. For the rest, it is impossible to determine exactly their relationship or lines of descent.

From this passage we learn only that Hsüan-shih was a disciple of the Fifth Patriarch. In Tsung-mi's *Chung-hua-ch'uan-hsin-ti-ch'an-men-shih-tzu-ch'eng hsi-t'u* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (*Chūka-denshinji-zen-mon-shishi-jōshū-zu*) we find Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih 果閩宣什 (Karō Senjū) listed among the disciples of the Fifth Patriarch, but whether the word Kuo-lang means Kuo-chuo and Lang-chou, or a place called

Kuo-lang, we do not know. It is certain, however, that it is someplace in Szechwan Province; Lang-chou is the present day Lang-chung 閬中 (Rōchū), and Kuo-chuo was in that neighborhood. It is also unclear whether Kuo-chuo ho-shang is meant to be Hsüan-shih himself or some other person, though it is probable that it is another person. Since even Tsung-mi did not know what connection Hsüan-shih had with Lang-chou Wen-yü and the nun of Hsiang-ju-hsien, I-ch'eng, we have no way at the present time of discovering the truth. Nan-shan probably refers to the area of Szechwan Province which I have indicated above, and need not necessarily be the name of a particular mountain. Thus, although none of the facts are very clear, we may say that in Szechwan Province Hsüan-shih and others practiced nembutsumon-zen, and that this derived from the teachings of the Fifth Patriarch. It is remarkable how much nembutsu-zen we find in Szechwan Province.

From the first there were a number of varieties of nembutsu, among which four types may be distinguished, namely, (1) *ch'eng-ming* (稱名 *shōmyō*), (2) *kanzō* (觀像 *kuan-hsiang*), (3) *kansō* (觀想 *kuan-hsiang*), and (4) *shih-hsiang* (實想 *jissō*) nembutsu. Among these the *kanzō* nembutsu is often omitted and the three types of nembutsu spoken of. *Ch'eng-ming* nembutsu is the same as *k'ou-ch'eng* nembutsu (口稱 *kushō*) or INVOCATION OF THE NAME OF THE BUDDHA; *kanzō* nembutsu is CONTEMPLATION OF THE FIGURE OF BUDDHA; *kansō* nembutsu is CONTEMPLATION OF THE CHARACTERISTIC MARKS AND VIRTUE OF THE BUDDHA; and *shih-hsiang* nembutsu is CONTEMPLATION OF THE DHARMAKĀYA [the ideal body] of the buddha. Again in the case of the three types of nembutsu, *kansō* nembutsu is called *ting-yeh* nembutsu (定業 *jōgō*) and *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu is known as *san-yeh* nembutsu (散業 *sangō*), and these two together are known as the *yu-hsiang* nembutsu (有相 *yūsō*) as opposed to the *shih-hsiang* (*jissō*) nembutsu which is known as *wu-hsiang* nembutsu (無相 *musō*). Only the *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu is classified as *san-yeh*, while the rest are all *ting-yeh*, and in this phrase, *ting* is equivalent to *zen*, so that they are all types of nembutsu-zen. In the zen sutras which were translated and circulated during the Eastern Chin dynasty, the five types of contemplation were frequently expounded: (1) *an-pan* 安般 (*anpan*), BREATH CONTROL; (2) *pu-ching* 不淨 (*fujō*), CONTEMPLATION ON THE UNCLEanness OF THE DEAD BODY; (3) *tz'u-hsin* 慈心 (*jishin*), COMPASSIONATE MIND; (4) *kuan-yüan* 觀緣 (*kan'en*), CONTEMPLATION OF CAUSES; and

(5) NEMBUTSU. Among the nembutsu-kan we find further divisions such as (a) *sheng-shen-kuan* 生身觀 (*shōshin-kan*), CONTEMPLATION ON THE LIVING BODY [OF THE BUDDHA]; (b) *fa-shen-kuan* 法身觀 (*hosshin-kan*), CONTEMPLATION ON THE DHARMAKĀYA; (c) *shih-fang-chu-fo-kuan* 十方諸佛觀 (*jippō shobutsu-kan*), CONTEMPLATION ON THE BUDDHAS OF THE TEN DIRECTIONS; (d) *kuan-wu-liang-shou-fo-kuan* 觀無量壽佛觀 (*kan-muryōjubutsu-kan*), CONTEMPLATION ON THE ETERNAL BUDDHA; (e) *chu-fa-shih-hsiang-kuan* 諸法實相觀 (*shohō jissō-kan*), CONTEMPLATION ON ALL THE DHARMAS AS REALITY; and (f) *fa-hua san-mi* 法華三昧 (*hokkezammai*), THE SADDHARMA-PUNḌARIKA SAMĀDHI. The so-called *kuan-fo san-mi* (*kanbutsu-zammai*) was constantly practiced from early times, and it would appear that the various classifications of nembutsu were created in imitation of this. The word *nen* in nembutsu refers to *kannen*, and nembutsu and *zenjō* [meditative state] are closely associated; in regard to the word *butsu*, although it supposedly refers to the Buddhas of the ten directions, in actual practice it has come to refer to Amida Buddha, and it is the nembutsu addressed to Amida Buddha that are classified in the above manner. In the three lines of Chinese Pure Land, the line of T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o, and Shan-tao adopted the *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu, giving as explanation the so-called doctrine of *nien-sheng-shih-i* 念聲是一 *nenshō-zeichi*—i.e., *nien*, or 'thoughts' and *sheng*, or the voice, are the same thing—by which *nien* is interpreted to be nothing more than the invocation of Buddha's name, and this became the outstanding characteristic of this important line of Pure Land. However, although using the term *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu, there were some who did not necessarily take it to mean invocation, but interpreted it as simply one of the various types of *kuan-nien* or contemplation, so that one cannot conclude that the *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu is limited to the school of T'an-luan, Tao-ch'o, and Shan-tao. There were others who combined the *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu with zen, and in the discussions which follow, those who were concerned with the *ch'eng-ming* nembutsu were principally persons of this type.

III. THE VARIOUS FORMS OF NEMBUTSU-ZEN

In order to discover what sort of nembutsu was practiced by these men

described above, and what connection it had with Zen, we must examine what has been recorded about them.

As I have already mentioned, the nembutsu practiced by Fa-chih was always connected with the "pure land"; we are told that "in all his daily activities he relied upon the *kansō*," and thus this *nien* which is connected with the "pure land" is not the *k'ou-ch'eng* nembutsu but rather the *kuan-nien* nembutsu, and the *kansō* which he is said to have relied upon refers principally to the practice of *ch'an-ting kuan-nien*, i.e., in order to achieve this state he meditated upon the Buddha of the Pure Land. Therefore this should be regarded as *kansō* nembutsu, and from the words, because "all his daily activities" were not only meditative sitting, we may see that it was not necessarily *kansō* nembutsu, or contemplation of the image of Buddha. It is likely that this method of Fa-chih was transmitted at the Yen-tsu-ssu, and since his disciple Chih-wei was Fa-chih's successor at Niu-t'ou and took over as master of Yen-tsu-ssu, it is not unreasonable to surmise that he also carried on this teaching as well.

It is not clear from the accounts which we have of Chih-shen or Ch'u-chi whether they actually had any connection with nembutsu or not. We know that Ch'u-chi was very diligent in practicing *dhūta*; "For forty years he never set foot in a village but, seated on a folding palette, gave himself up to meditation and never fell asleep," and his efforts were answered in the form of certain unusual phenomena. His disciple Wu-hsiang, it appears, was even more strict in the practice of *dhūta*, and he seems to have employed a special type of preaching and ceremony. Tsung-mi, in his *Yüan-chüeh-ta-shu-ch'ao*, says that the *san-chü-yung-hsin* 三句用心 (*sanku yōjin*) are called (or, according to another text, "comprise") the *chieh* 戒, COMMANDMENTS, *ting* 定, MEDITATION and *hui* 慧, WISDOM (*kai*, *jō* and *e*). He himself explains this in his *Ta-shu-ch'ao* as follows:

The *san-chü*, or three phrases, are *wu-i*, NO-REMEMBRANCE, *wu-nien*, NO-THOUGHT, and *makubō*, NO-FORGETTING. The first means having no remembrance of the realm of the past; the second means not thinking beforehand of the changes that will come in the future; to keep this wisdom constantly at one's side, to be neither deluded nor in error, this is called *makubō*. Again it is said that *wu-i* (*muoku*) means not re-

membering one's external surrounding; *wu-nien* means not thinking of one's inner mind; *makubō* means to be detached and dependent on nothing. (Above is the explanation of *makubō*.)

The *chieh*, *ting* and *hui*, or COMMANDMENTS, MEDITATION and WISDOM, are also matched up with the 'three phrases'. Although there are a number of teaching devices used for expounding the doctrine, the basis of the doctrine of the school is in the 'three phrases'.

The ceremony for transmitting the teaching is roughly the same method as conferring orders upon priests at the government authorized altars in our country at this time. This is as follows: A month or two before the ceremony, a notice of the ceremony is posted and monks, nuns and laity called together. A square ceremonial hall (*tao-ch'ang*) is set up, where worship and penance are carried out for three or five weeks, after which the Law is transmitted. It is all done at night so as to avoid the distractions of outside noise and bustle. After the Law has been transmitted, they are immediately made to cease their thoughts and sit in meditation. In the case of those who have come from a considerable distance, or nuns and lay believers who cannot stay for a long time, there may simply be one or two weeks of meditation, after which they are free to leave as their situations require. It also resembles the ordinations of the Lü (Vinaya) Sect, as there must be a number of priests officiating. Permits of transmission are received from the government officials, in which the ceremony is given the name *k'ai-yüan* (*kai'en*). It is held once a year or once every two or three years at no set intervals.

According to the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, Chin ho-shang held a ceremony each year in the twelfth and first months at which he transmitted the Law to an inestimable number of priests, nuns, and lay believers of both sexes. He would set up an elaborate ceremony hall and, taking a seat on a high platform, preach to the people to intone the nembutsu so that one recital of the formula exhausted one breath, and to let the "thoughts" came to an end when the voice died out. After this we would say, "*Wu-i*, *wu-nien* and *makubō*. *Wu-i* is *chieh* or the com-

mandments, *wu-nien* is *ting* or meditation, and *makubō* is *hui* or wisdom. The words of these three phrases are *tsung-chih-men* 總持門 (*tsōji-mon*), the esoteric teachings of tantric Buddhism." It appears that in actual practice the ceremony of transmission was held twice a year, and that before the transmission took place, the invocation nembutsu was carried out, and all thought came to a stop with the stopping of the voice. This stopping of thought by the invocation nembutsu is designed to lead to the state of *wu-nien*, which in the school of Wu-hsiang was regarded as the most important objective. Thoughts were to be done away with, and when they cease to arise, the result is like the face of a mirror which reflects clearly all the universe; if thoughts arise, however, it is like the back of a mirror which will give out no reflection. In the two books cited above, the three phrases *wu-i*, *wu-nien* and *makubō* are equated with *chieh*, *ting* and *hui* in that order, and this, it would appear, corresponds with the original teaching of Bodhidharma (Daruma-daishi). The two masters Chih-shen and Ch'u-chi say nothing about this, so that we must suppose that it was Wu-hsiang himself who first made this point clear. From Bodhidharma on it was an accepted view that *wu-nien* was the essence of the doctrine; basically all beings are essentially pure and essentially perfect, and nothing can either be added to them or taken from them. Wu-hsiang also seems to have held this view, as evidenced by the fact that pronouncements such as these are found among his recorded teachings. The use of the invocation nembutsu in inducing and transmitting the state of *wu-nien*, combined with the method of ordination at altars authorized by the government, however, seems to be a peculiarity of this school. The invocation nembutsu which is possibly encompassed in one breath also seems to be an invention of Wu-hsiang. This school came to be called the Ch'ing-chung Sect. Whether Wu-hsiang's disciple Shen-hui carried on his teacher's practices exactly is a matter of doubt. In the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* we are told that Shen-hui's teachings flourished, but that he introduced his teachings to others in various ways, depending upon whether the nature of the disciple was superior, medium or inferior; he did not use the same method with all persons, and hence it would seem that he did not necessarily make use of the nembutsu in all cases. We therefore cannot regard Shen-hui as an exponent of nembutsu-zen exclusively, nor can we assume that the Ch'ing-chung school in later times necessarily conformed to the practices of Wu-hsiang.

With regard to Wu-chu, it would appear from the description of him by Tsung-mi that, rather than carrying on the teachings of Wu-hsiang, he carried on those of Ch'en Ch'u-chang; in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* we are told only that Ch'en Ch'u-chang was an exponent of the Sudden Enlightenment method and are not informed of any particular practices which he employed. It would seem that Ch'en Ch'u-chang's main concern was the zen which he received from Hui-an. From this we must conclude that Wu-chu was responsible for certain innovations of his own, in part perhaps based upon what he received from Wu-hsiang, but developed in one particular direction. In his *Yüan-chüeh-ta-shu-ch'ao*, Tsung-mi says that Wu-chu uses the phrases: *chiao-hsing-pu-chü* 教行不拘 (*kyōgyō-fuku*), 'TEACHING AND PRACTICE NOT BOUND BY CONVENTION', and *erh-mieh-chih* 而滅識 *ji-metsu-jiki*, 'and destroying consciousness'. Tsung-mi explains these himself and concludes that, in the method of expression, Wu-chu is basically in accord with the idea of Wu-hsiang. After this he writes as follows:

His ceremony of transmission is completely different from that of the line of Chin (i.e., Wu-hsiang). This difference consists in the fact that Wu-chu and his school do not carry out any of the practices expected of Buddhist monasteries. After a monk's head is shaved, he then puts on the mantle (*shichijō-kesa*), but does not receive any commandments; as for ceremonies of penance, reading scriptures, drawing pictures of the Buddha, or copying sutras, these are completely done away with, for they are all regarded as also delusions. Nor do the temples where the monks live have in them any implements for the performance of Buddhist ceremonies. Therefore it is said that 'in teaching and practice they are not bound by convention'.

By the phrase 'destroying consciousness' they refer to the practice to be done. By this they mean that all transmigration is caused by the mind when aroused, and that the mind when aroused is delusion. Good or evil is not to be discussed, for only the unaroused mind is truth; this is quite different from the carrying out of traditional practices. They consider thought their enemy, and the absence of thought the Mysterious Way.

In addition Wu-chu taught the three phrases of Chin ho-shang, except that in the third phrase, *makubō*, he changed the term *bō* 忘, 'forgetting' to *mō* 妄, 'delusion', claiming that his fellow disciples had misunderstood the terms as doctrines of their former teacher Wu-hsiang. He explained the change by saying that while *wu-i* and *wu-nien* represent the truth, the terms *i*, remembrance, and *nien*, thought, represent *mō*, delusions. Remembrance and thought must not be permitted, hence the phrase [must be] *makumō*, 'no-delusions'.

In disregarding the various classifications of Buddhist doctrine the purpose is to do away with thoughts and achieve perfect truth. Therefore in the places where they live these monks give no consideration to matters of food and clothing, but depend upon the donations of others. If donations are forthcoming, then they wear warm clothes and eat to their fill, but if nothing is sent to them, they endure hunger and cold. They do not seek to convert others, nor do they beg for food. When someone visits their monastery, regardless of whether the person is of noble or humble station, they none of them greet him or see him off, nor do they work [intentionally]. Whether others shower them with praises and gifts or treat them with suspicion or malice, they regard as a matter of no concern. Because the fundamental principle of their doctrine is that there must be no thoughts, they recognize no such thing as right or wrong in their school, but honor only the state of 'no-mind', which they consider the pinnacle of Truth. Hence they use the phrase 'destroying consciousness'.

According to the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, when Wu-chu met Ch'en Ch'u-chang the two men recognized the secret worth of each other and silently transmitted the doctrine from one to the other; both ceased all thought, suspended all consideration, and abandoned all ritualistic practices, so that "the teaching and practices which are not bound by convention," which Tsung-mi mentions, must already have been in existence at the time; later, when Wu-chu met Wu-hsiang, therefore, there was no reason for him to revise the enlightenment which he had already experienced. Again in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* we find the statement attributed to Wu-chu that,

if one would seek the joy of nirvana, he must study the method of the *śramaṇa*. To depart from consciousness and become mindless is the method of the *śramaṇa*. The various so-called "masters" shave their heads and doff their layman's robes, declaring that they are the disciples of Buddha, but they are unwilling to study the method of the *śramaṇa*; lazy and indolent, they spend their time in words; suspicious and dull, they make no progress in the way. These are not true *śramaṇas* and sons of Buddha, but a bunch of wild foxes. The Buddha has clearly predicted that in future ages there will be men wearing monk's robes who will preach false doctrines of reality and destroy his true Law. They will be like the ignorant who, when a man points his finger at an object, look only at the finger and do not see the object it points to. Entranced by the "finger" of words and theories, they develop attachments, so that all their lives they can never discard this finger of the written word but, chasing after words and grasping at meanings, they are led to postulate all manner of things, postulations that will land them in hell after death.

Another time, when a number of monks of Chien-nan (Kannan), preparing to journey to Mount Wu-t'ai, came to take their leave of Wu-chu, he asked them where they were going. They explained that they were going to Mount Wu-t'ai in order to worship the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, whereupon he replied, "Gentlemen! Buddha is in your own mind and body! Mañjuśrī is not far away! If deluded thoughts do not arise in your mind, you may see the Buddha. Why put yourselves to the trouble of a distant journey?" Still the men continued their preparations for the trip, so Wu-chu composed a verse on them which read:

Like lost children they wander the earth,
 Calling at mountains, paying their respects to hillsides,
 But Mañjuśrī is nowhere to be found.
 They turn their backs on Buddha, looking for Amida.

Again when the officials asked why it was that Wu-chu ho-shang did not require others to recite scriptures, invoke the name of Buddha, or worship, his disciples were unable to explain, but Wu-chu himself replied with a stern and undaunted air that, if a man has attained the ulti-

mate nirvana himself, he may cause others to do likewise; without making use of the “incomplete teachings” of the Buddha expressed in the scriptures, he may impart his own enlightenment to others and awaken even those who are beginners in study so that they may enter at once into *samādhi*.

These anecdotes show that the “teaching and practice not bound by convention” which Tsung-mi attributes to the school was an actuality, arising probably from the fact that the members practiced a severe form of *dhūta* in which the central philosophical idea was the concept of “no-thought, no-mind.” Making this philosophy of “no-thought, no-mind” their motto, the elimination of thought is expounded several times, with quotations from various kinds of scriptures, so that it appears to have been a very important concept which, we must suppose, was part of the teaching inherited from Wu-hsiang. Tsung-mi has characterized the doctrine very well by his phrase *mieh-chih*, “destruction of consciousness.” The *Ching-te ch’uan-teng-lu* likewise says that, although the school made wide use of the Buddha’s spoken word, it considered the essential part of its doctrine to be the concept of no-thought. With regard to the assertion that Wu-chu transmitted the three phrases of Wu-hsiang but changed the character *bō* to *mō*, it is recorded in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* that,

when Tu Hung-chien (To Kōzen) asked whether Chin ho-shang [Wu-hsiang] had really taught the three phrases, Wu-chu replied that he had. Asked whether the three phrases represented three ideas or one, Wu-chu replied that it was one idea, not three, *wu-i* [NO-REMEMBRANCE] standing for *chieh* [COMMANDMENTS], *wu-nien* [NO-THOUGHT] for *ting* [MEDITATION] and *makumō* [NO-DELUSIONS] for *hui* [WISDOM], so that *wu-nien* embraces all three principles of *chieh*, *ting* and *hui*. Tu Hung-chien further asked whether the character *wang* (either 忘 [*bō*] or 妄 [*mō*]) should have the woman radical 女 or the heart radical 心 under the phonetic *wang* 亡, to which Wu-chu replied, “the woman radical.” Asked what scriptural basis there was for this doctrine, he replied that in the *Fa-chü-ching* 法句經 (*Hokku-gyō*) the various methods of achieving earnest practice are discussed and characterized as doctrines of intellectual pride. Without intellectual pride, there is

neither good nor earnest practice; yet if the mind is set upon earnest practice, then this is a delusion (*mō*) and not earnest practice. Only if there are no delusions of the mind can earnest practice be achieved.

From this it is clear why Wu-chu believed the character should be *mō*. The same thing is recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu*. The *Fa-chü-ching* here referred to is not the work usually known by that name, but a work entitled *Fo-shou Fa-chü-ching* 佛說法句經 (*Bussetsu Hokku-gyō*) which was recently discovered at Tun-huang.⁵ It has been identified as a forgery, but is often quoted by zen proponents of the T'ang period. Whether we speak of the "mind set upon earnest practice," or what, we can see that, if the mind is roused to thought, this is already a state of delusion and hence not earnest practice, while if the mind is not roused but is free of delusion, this is earnest practice. Therefore it is obvious that the character *bō* should be changed to read *mō*; the passage, moreover, gives a clear exposition of Wu-chu's thought. From the statement that Wu-chu never considered food or clothing but, if it was given to him, would eat and wear it, but if it was not given to him, would bear hunger and cold, we see that he practiced the same ways as Wu-hsiang, only with even greater severity. It is reported that when Wu-hsiang heard of Wu-chu's way of life, he remarked that he himself had in the past lived in such a way and that his teacher Ch'u-chi, on hearing of it, had been greatly pleased. The statement that Wu-chu did not rise to greet distinguished persons is proved by the fact that he did not even greet Tu Hung-chien. When Tsung-mi says of the transmission ceremony of Wu-chu that it was completely different from that of Chin ho-shang line, and that the difference lay in the fact that "in teaching and practice he was not bound by convention," he probably means that he did not follow the "suspension-of-thought *zazen*" type of ceremony which attempted to bring the practitioners to a state of "no-thought" by the use of the invocation *nembutsu*. The *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi*, being written by Wu-chu's disciple, describes Wu-chu's method of preaching in comparative detail, but it says nothing whatever about the ceremony which Wu-hsiang used to transmit the Law. This is the information it gives:

⁵ An apocryphal sutra, it borrows the name of the *Dhammapāda*; see note 3.

Wu-chu ho-shang of the T'ai-li Pao-t'ang-ssu in Ch'eng-tu-fu 城都府 (Kennan, Jōto-fu), in giving instruction to the four classes of believers, made no distinction between a group of millions or a single individual; he observed no fixed schedule, but whenever anyone had doubts, allowed the person to question him about them; wherever he happened to be he preached the doctrine, leading his followers directly to *kenshō*, 'insight into the nature of oneself'.

So it appears that he made constant use of the question and answer method for inducing enlightenment. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu* of course says nothing of this. If this account is true, then Wu-chu's Pao-t'ang school should not be regarded as identical with Wu-hsiang's Ch'ing-chung school; at least it seems impossible to say that Wu-chu made use of nembutsu-zen.

It is impossible to determine just what kind of nembutsu-zen was practiced by Ch'eng-yüan. Since Wu-hsiang, who was a fellow disciple of Ch'eng-yüan under Ch'u-chi, went so far as to practice the invocation of nembutsu, we may suppose that, among the teachings which Ch'eng-yüan received from Ch'u-chi, there was no injunction in his school which actually forbade the use of nembutsu-zen. On this point they appropriated the teachings of Tz'u-min san-tsang from which it may be implied that the Tz'u-min style of nembutsu was somehow linked to zen. Tz'u-min san-tsang strongly rejected the teachings of the zen proponents; his reaction would appear to be opposed to the earlier rejection by Wu-hsiang and Wu-chu of the practice of nembutsu, fasting, chanting sutras, making images, copying scriptures, and the like which zen practitioners did as well. But Tz'u-min san-tsang considered that the true ch'an-ting, or Zen meditative state, which is expounded in the sacred teachings consisted in concentrating the mind on one object, carrying on a process of meditation, and maintaining the mind in a state of quietude free from either lethargy or agitation. In order to achieve this, he believed that one should practice [everything] from the nembutsu to the copying of scriptures and, making use of the power of the Buddha, strive for birth in the Pure Land; in such a case, both zen and nembutsu would become one. Since Ch'eng-yüan directed all his efforts to the practice of *dhūta*, he considered that all other beneficial practices were included within *dhūta*, and for this reason, it appears,

he adopted the method of practicing nembutsu. Tz'u-min's position represents a rejection of the attitude of the zen proponents of the time, not a rejection of zen itself; on the contrary he considered zen and nembutsu to be essentially the same thing. Thus Ch'eng-yüan also followed this opinion and, while practicing the zen which he had received from Ch'u-chi, also practiced the nembutsu.

Among the disciples of Ch'eng-yüan was Fa-chao, who, through Ch'eng-yüan, came to devote himself entirely to the Tz'u-min style of nembutsu. That there is a close connection between Fa-chao and Tz'u-min is obvious to scholars not only because of the similarities in the teachings of the two men, but from that fact that among the writings of Fa-chao is a piece in praise of Tz'u-min. Fa-chao, however, never actually met Tz'u-min, since the latter had already been dead for seventeen years when Fa-chao came to Nan-yüeh. For this reason it is apparent that he must have learned about Tz'u-min partly through his writings, but also in many cases through the words of Ch'eng-yüan; indeed it may even have been due to Ch'eng-yüan that Fa-chao became familiar with the writings of Tz'u-min. Thus although Fa-chao's nembutsu was that of the Tz'u-min style, we cannot deny that it also bore the added influence of Ch'eng-yüan's thought.

According to Fa-chao's own description of his *wu-hui* (五會 *goe*) nembutsu, he made a vow at the Amida Terrace of Nan-yüeh and, entering the ceremony hall and proceeding to the place of Amida Buddha, he was given by the Buddha the teaching of the *wu-hui* nembutsu in the fourth month of the second year of Yung-t'ai (766; the date is also given as the fourth month of the first year of Ta-li, but this is impossible since the era Ta-li began with the eleventh month); this was the year after Fa-chao came to study under Ch'eng-yüan. The word *hui* 會 of *wu-hui* nembutsu means "to meet together" and refers to the five types of sounds, from slow and relaxed to rapid and sharp. It is taken from a passage in the *Ta-wu-liang-shou-ching* 大無量壽經 (*Daimuryōjukyō*) in which the jeweled trees of the Pure Land are described as sending forth the five sounds "in meeting":

Concentrate your thoughts upon Buddha, the Law and the Order, without intrusion of miscellaneous thoughts; when your thoughts concentrate [of themselves] without your concentrating your thoughts, you cross the threshold of Buddhist

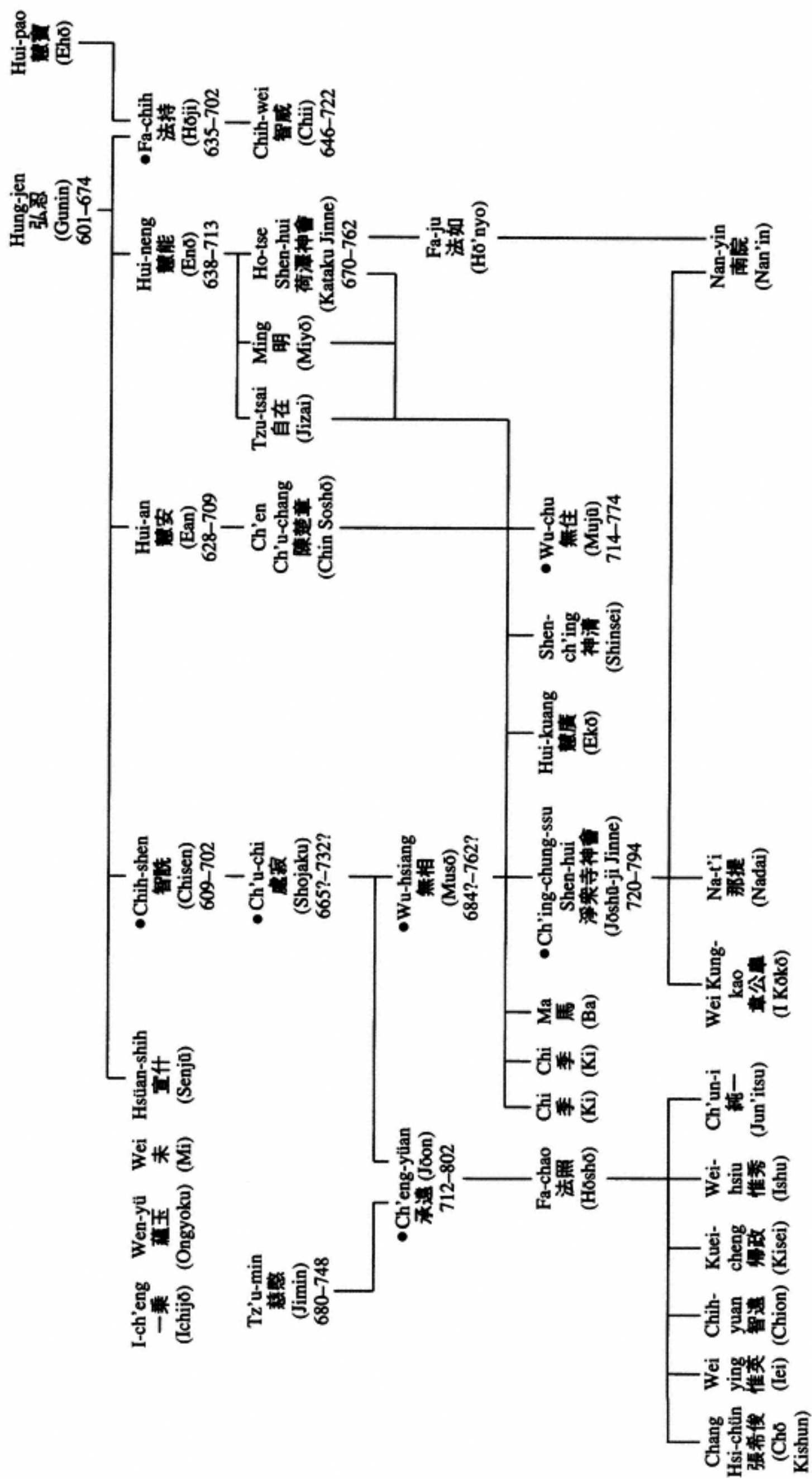
nonduality; when your voice issues forth without your voicing it, it is the first sign of the working [of the Name⁶].

In the first meeting, the first "thought" or recitation is of the words "Namu Amida-butsu" in a slow, even voice; the second is of the same words in a slow voice, high but even; the third of the words in a voice neither slow nor fast; the fourth in a voice growing more and more rapid; and the fifth of the words "Amida-butsu" alone rapidly; this is followed, we are told by miscellaneous praises addressed to the jeweled trees and other objects in the Pure Land. By means of these "five meetings" of the voice, or *wu-hui*, miscellaneous thoughts are eliminated and a state of "no-thought" and "no-sound" is achieved; in this important respect we are led to feel, when we compare it with the vocal nembutsu of Wu-hsiang in which the recitation takes place in one breath, and in which when the sound ceases, thoughts likewise come to an end, that the two share an essential similarity. In both cases there is a performance of the vocal nembutsu, followed by preaching of the doctrine and hymns of praise, so that even in the order of steps the two are alike. It may be impossible to establish that one of these initiated or was influenced by the other, but it is interesting to note that in one type of nembutsu-zen it came to be considered absolutely necessary to follow this procedure. We are told that Fa-chao frequently meditated, and that while in meditation he worshipped Amida Buddha, so that it is clear that he was adept at zen meditation. From the above, then, we know that the nembutsu-zen of Ch'eng-yüan was of the school of Fa-chao.

Regarding the methods used by Hsüan-shih, Tsung-mi says in his *Yüan-chüeh-ta-shu-ch'ao* that he "makes use of the transmission of incense and preserves the Buddha." In the *Ta-shu-ch'ao* he explains this as follows:

By the 'transmission of incense' is meant that when he first gathers together the congregation, he conducts ceremonies of worship and penance in the same way as the school of Chin ho-shang; when the time comes to transmit the Law, he uses the transmission of incense as a sign of the faith between teachers and disciples. The ho-shang hands the incense to a

⁶ The Name refers to the Name of the Buddha, or Namu-Amida-butsu.



disciple, who returns it to him; he then presents it again to the disciple, and so on for three times. This is done for each person.

Regarding the phrase 'preserving Buddha', at the times of transmission of the Law proper, he first preaches on the meaning of the doctrines and practices of Buddhism. After this he orders the 'one-word nembutsu'. The voice is raised and the 'thought' or invocation pronounced, after which the voice gradually subsides until it becomes very faint and finally dies out entirely. While the thoughts are turned toward Buddha and the will is employed, the will and the thought are still coarse, and while the mind is still engaged in thought, thoughts and imaginings still remain; Buddha is constantly in the mind. But when, after this, one reaches a state of no-imaginings, then the Way has been attained.

Though we have no information other than this to judge by, we may say that the method followed in the ceremony is the same as that of Wu-hsiang, the difference being in the 'transmission of the incense' in which the teacher hands it to the disciple and the disciple returns it three times. Though it is incense that is handed over, the incense is of course no more than a symbol for the Law which is being transmitted. It is probable that an incense burner from which the smoke rose was used in the ceremony. After this the doctrine and practices were expounded and, since Hsüan-shih was a zen practitioner, the doctrine expounded was no doubt that of zen, in which the state of no-thought and no-imagining is the highest achievement. After this came an explanation of the general practices of Buddhism, as well as of the exact fashion in which the vocal nembutsu was performed. The "one word nembutsu," we may surmise, is the same as the "one voice nembutsu"; the voice being first raised, one contemplates the Buddha, after which the voice fades away into silence, bringing about the state of "no-thought." The "turning of thoughts toward Buddha and employment of the will" appears to be a kind of contemplation (*kansō*); while the mind is engaged in these imaginings, Buddha is in the mind, and only when a state of no-thought and no-imagining is reached is the Way attained. In other words, the whole is not very much different from the practices of Wu-hsiang, the main difference being that the order is

reversed; while Wu-hsiang conducted the vocal nembutsu first to induce a state of no-thought and no-imagining to achieve the state of "no-thought, no-imagining" and lectured afterward on the "three phrases," Hsüan-shih lectured first on the practices of Buddhism and used the vocal nembutsu after to achieve the state of "no-thought, no-imagining." Both of them, however, are distinguished by the use of the vocal nembutsu.

IV. CONCLUSION

The above is a discussion of nembutsu-zen as it is found among the disciples of the Fifth Patriarch and among the schools which arose from these disciples. Those who bear some relation to the question are the disciples Fa-chih and Hsüan-shih, and the schools which derived from the disciples Chih-shen and Hui-an. Judging from what we know of Fa-jung 法融 (Hōyū, the First Patriarch of Niu-t'ou-zen), the school to which Fa-chih belonged, his zen was a kind of prajna meditation on emptiness (*pan-jo-k'ung-kuan* 般若空觀 *hannya-kūkan*) and therefore up until the Sixth Patriarch, as well as among the members of his school, Ho-lin Hsüan-su 鶴林玄素 (Kakurin Genso) and Ching-shan Fa-ch'in 徑山法欽 (Kinzan Hōkin), it appears that this type of zen prevailed. The nembutsu which was practiced by Fa-chih, and probably by Chih-wei, during this period, was mainly *kansō* nembutsu; superficially at least, they appear to tend toward the schools of Mount Lu and Tz'u-min, with only the difference that, unlike these, their main emphasis was on zen. As for the particular type of ceremony used by Hsüan-shih, we do not have enough material in his biography to discover whether he developed it himself, or whether he derived it from elsewhere, though it seems that the type of procedure was for long used in the neighborhood of Ch'eng-tu. Wu-hsiang, we have seen, also used a similar type of ceremony, and from the fact that Hsüan-shih was a disciple of the Fifth Patriarch, while Wu-hsiang was only a disciple of a disciple of a disciple of his, and that both Hsüan-shih and his school seem to pre-date Wu-hsiang, it is not unlikely that Hsüan-shih exercised some influence on Wu-hsiang. In any event the nembutsu-zen of Hsüan-shih and Wu-hsiang was something quite special. In the case of Wu-chu, it is impossible to say whether he actually practiced this nembutsu-zen,

though it is clear from the way he altered the "three phrases" that he carried on the teachings of Wu-hsiang, and hence is at least related to Wu-hsiang, while the points in which they differed give rise to the separate designation for Wu-chu, the Pao-t'ang Sect. In fact, however, the Ch'ing-chung and Pao-t'ang Sects in later times were much alike and both showed a tendency to return to some extent to pure zen. Ch'eng-yüan, who was a fellow disciple of Wu-hsiang under the same master, would seem, judging from his disciples, to have practiced a type of nembutsu-zen which in the end was very much like that of the Pure Land school, and hence the name of Ch'eng-yüan has come to be linked with those of Tz'u-min and Fa-chao. Thus we may say that in general Fa-chih and Ch'eng-yüan moved in one direction, while Hsüan-shih and Wu-hsiang moved in another, while Wu-chu and Shen-hui sought to return to zen, thus forming three groups.

Scholars who are primarily concerned with the history of the Zen sect tend to consider the teachings of the Bodhidharma school as orthodox, and to regard such things as nembutsu-zen as heterodox. And yet it was by no means a rare thing in the past to find zen proponents who also practiced the nembutsu; indeed, as we have seen above, such men may be found even among the disciples of the Fifth Patriarch and the schools descended from them. There is a tendency to regard zen and nembutsu as opposite extremes, and yet in the history of Chinese Buddhism we discover more often that the two are found in combination; even in the case of the five masters of the invocation nembutsu, there is no doubt that the psychology of their invocation is founded on a zen-centered basis. In general, from the point of view of actual practice, zen is used throughout all Buddhism, for it is only when *chieh*, THE COMMANDMENTS, and *hui*, WISDOM, are based on *ting*, or MEDITATION, that they become the true *chieh* and *hui*. This general type of *ting*, or meditation, developed along special lines into a separate sect and school, the so-called Zen sect and Zen school, so that it is both reasonable and natural that nembutsu-zen should appear. Within this nembutsu-zen, however, depending upon whether one considered zen as the primary concern, or nembutsu as the primary concern, the attitudes and tendencies of its followers came to differ, so that the various types of ceremonies were developed, along with a number of varieties of chants and praises.

Fa-chao and others whom I have treated in the discussion above

have been studied and treated in a specialized manner by scholars concentrating on the history of the Pure Land Sect. In this short article, however, I have approached them somewhat differently, treating them rather from the standpoint of the Zen School.

TRANSLATED BY BURTON WATSON