THE CHINESE TENDAI TEACHING.[1]

Introductory.

History and Literature.

When we discuss Tendai Buddhism, we must strictly distinguish between the Chinese Tendai school as founded by Chisha Daishi (智者大師) in the sixth century, and the Japanese Tendai school as founded by Dengyo Daishi (傳敎大師) at the beginning of the ninth century. My present lecture concerns *Chinese Tendai teaching* or Tendai teaching proper.

To deal with Chinese and Japanese Tendai in one and the same short lecture, would be impracticable, the subject being too vast. But for your orientation I must tell you that the Chinese Tendai teaching is identical with the Tendai element in Japanese Tendai. Therefore, when we know Chinese Tendai we know at the same time the most important element in Japanese Tendai,—the element which has given its name to Dengyo's school. The other elements forming Japanese Tendai, namely the Shingon, Zen, Kai Ritsu, Nembutsu, Shōmyo, and Shinto elements do not prejudice the Tendai element proper in Japanese Tendai.

Now I begin the description of the Chinese Tendai school by giving you first a few data on its history and its literature.

The great Mahayana teacher, Nāgārjuna, who is believed to have lived in Southern India in the second or third century and is placed at the head of various Mahayana schools, is also regarded as the ancestor of the Tendai school. But the real originator and first patriarch was the Chinese priest Emon (慧文), in Chinese pronunciation Hwei-Wen or Hwui-Wen. We know very little about him, as he has not left any record behind. Still, so much is clear, that he lived in the early part of the sixth

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[1] A lecture delivered at the German Embassy in Tokyo before the Asiatic Society under the presidency of the German Ambassador, Dr Solf.

century, his death year being 550(?), that he was a native of Northern China (Pe Tsi, the Northern Tsi Kingdom) and that he first discerned the great fundamental truth of Tendai teaching. He was like a Moses who could see the new country, but was not allowed to enter it.

The second ancestor of the Chinese Tendai school is Emon's disciple, Nangaku Eshi (慧思), in Chinese pronunciation, Hwui-Sz or Hwei-Si, of Nan-ngo or Nân-yo, of whom we know much more, as we still possess four works attributed to him. Namely: 1. The Text of Nangaku Eshi's Prayer; 2. The Samadhi-Teaching of Non-Discord (i.e., of the Perfect Amalgamation of All Dharmas); 3. The Dharma Gate (i.e. Teaching) of Mahayana Shi Kwan (i.e., of Tendai meditation); 4. The Meaning of the Anraku Practice, as stated in the Hokke Kyo (namely in its Anraku Chapter);[1] of which works the two first can be regarded as authentic.

Nangaku was a great master of meditation, and his outlook on Buddhism was so new and provoked such antagonism, that twice he was in danger of being assassinated by fanatical fellow-monks. He died in 577. His greatest disciple was Chi-ki (智顗) or Chisha Daishi (智者大師), by the Chinese called Chi-che-ta-shi, or ChiK'ai or Ch'en Chi-k'ai or K'i,[2] the Great Sage of the Thien-thai mountains in Chekiang, also commonly called Tendai Daishi—The Great Teacher of Tendai.

He is the real founder of the Tendai school and of Tendai teaching which was systematised by him, Emon and Nangaku being only its predecessors. Chisha Daishi was born in 531 A.D. in the reign of Emperor Wu Ti, a few years after the death of Theodoric the Great and the execution of Boetius. He himself died a peaceful death in 597 when Pope Gregory the Great

[1] 1 立誓願文 (The Ryu Se Gwan Mon), in 1 fas., Nanjio, 1576; 2 無諍行門 (The Mu Jo Gyo Mon), in 2 fas., Nanjio, 1543; 3 大乘止觀法門 (The Dai Jo Shi Kwan Bo Mon), in 4 fas., Nanjio, 1542; 4 法華經安樂行義 (The Hokke Kyo An Raku Gyo Gi), in 1 fas., Nanjio, 1547.

[2] Chi-Kai or Chi Gai is the "Go" pronunciation (吳音), i.e. the pronunciation used by the Buddhist priests: Chi-Ki or Chi-Gi is the Han pronunciation (漢音), i.e. the pronunciation used by the Confucian literati.

was sending Christian evangelists to the Anglo-Saxons in England and when the archbishopric of Canterbury was being established. The century to which Chisha Daishi, the patriarch of Chinese Buddhism, belongs, is the same century which witnessed the activity of Saint Benedict, the patriarch of occidental monasticism, and the birth of Mohammed, which occurred 27 years before Chisha Daishi's death.

China at that time as to-day was full of anarchy and civil war, devided between a Northern and a Southern Dynasty. Chisha Daishi who was born in Southern China in the province of Ke (荊州), in the village of Kwa Yo (華容縣), saw as a boy the downfall of the Ryo Dynasty, that is, of the Southern Empire, and his mind became early impressed with the futility of earthly greatness and with the vanity of the pomp and splendour of kings. He migrated with his family to the city of Cho Sa (長沙), the capital of Honan.

At the age of eighteen years he became a Buddhist novice and at the age of twenty full priest. His genius soon became noticed by the leaders of Buddhism of that time and attracted the attention of the Imperial Court of Nanking. He was invited there and became the religious teacher of the crown prince. Two emperors were his protectors and intimate friends. But the atmosphere of the court was not to his liking, and he preferred to live far from the madding crowd on Rozan, famous as the seat of the White Lotus Society, or on Thien-thai mountains, the "Platform of Heaven," teaching those whose minds were entirely detached from worldly ambitions and sensual pleasures.

Chisha Daishi and Nangaku-Eshi were of course not the only great Tendai teachers. They had famous successors. I mention only three, each of them being a restorer of the Chinese Tendai school after periods of decadence, namely, Keikei Tannen (荊溪湛然), or Myoraku Daishi (妙樂大師, 711–782) in the eighth century; Chirei (智禮), or Shimei Daishi (四明大師, 960–1028) in the tenth century; and Chi Kyoku (智旭) or Gu Eki Daishi (藕益大師, 1599–1655) in the seventeenth century. But in the long history of the Chinese Tendai school, which altogether comprises about 1000 years Chisha Daishi is undoubtedly the

dominant figure, and therefore to-day we shall concentrate our interest on him.

He, like most great teachers in classical times, wrote very little himself, but his lectures were faithfully recorded by his great disciple, Shoan (章安), or Kwanjo Daishi (灌頂大師) in Chinese pronunciation called Kwanting.[1]

Two groups of Chisha Daishi's works are considered specially important, namely the so-called "San Dai Bu" (三大部) or "Three Great Parts" and the "Go Sho Bu" (五小部) or "Five Small Parts." The Tendai San Dai Bu, or in Chinese pronunciation, Thien-thai-san-ta-pu, consists, as the name indicates, of three works, namely:

1. "Hokke Gen Gi" (妙法蓮華經玄義), or the "Profound Meaning of Hokke-Sutra," in 20 fasc., Nanjio 1534, a work, which aims at explaining the essence or the true principles of the Hokke Sutra, and is in fact a systematic description of all teachings by the Buddha, or a synthetic philosophy of all the systems of Buddhism, placing the Hokkekyo, the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra, in the centre.
2. "Hokke Mon Gu" (妙法蓮華經文句), or "The Sentences and Phrases of Hokke Kyo," in 20 fasc., Nanjio 1536, a textual commentary on the Hokke Kyo, the famous Saddharma Puṇḍarika Sutra, as it is called in Sanskrit.
3. "Maka Shi Kwan" (摩訶止觀), or the "Great Meditation," in 20 fas., Nanjio 1538, containing, besides many profound theoretical discussions, the practical teaching of Tendai. It is a contemplative method on a philosophical foundation ,something much deeper than has ever been offered to the world by Zen Buddhism.

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[1] The Shanghai Almanac of 1857 mentions 76 distinct works, all of which in the year 1027, were admitted into the Chinese Buddhist Canon, which is evidently a great exaggeration (cf. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 244, 5). When we look up Nanjio's catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, i.e. the catalogue of the Buddhist scriptures which form the Chinese Canon, we find 22 works by Chisha Daishi, which in the year 1024 (about four hundred years after the death of the master) were all declared canonical.

According to the usual reckoning none of these three works comprises 20 fasc., but only 10 fasc.[1] which makes these fundamental books appear a little less imposing. However, to these three works by Chisha Daishi the commentaries by Keikei Tannen, or Tsan Zan, as the Chinese call him, have to be added, namely:

1. "Hokke Gen Gi Shaku Sen" (法華玄義釋籤), or "Commentary on Hokke Gen Gi," Nanjio 1535;
2. "Hokke Mon Gu Ki" (法華文句記), or "Notes on Hokke Mon Gu," Nanjio 1537;
3. "Maka Shi Kwan Bu Gyo Den Ku Ketsu" (摩訶止觀輔行傳弘決) or "Open Teaching in the Form of a Commentary as an Aid to the Practice of the Great Meditation" (Maka Shi Kwan), Nanjio 1539.

These three commentaries are regarded as classical or canonical, like Chisha Daishi's text itself, and are in the Japanese editions, since the Genroku era, always combined with it, the "Hokke Mon Gu" edition comprising moreover the full text of the Hokke Sutra. Then the three works, text and commentary combined, amount, in the binding as used in Japan, to 20 fasc. for "Hokke Gen Gi"; to 30 fasc. for "Hokke Mon Gu"; and to 40 fasc. for "Maka Shi Kwan,"—the full "San Dai Bu" comprising 90 fasc. in all.

These three works must not be considered only as sectarian works. They are highly appreciated by all real scholars of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism without distinction of school and creed, as the study of them is undoubtedly the best way to gain a comprehensive view of the immense realm of Buddhism and to reach the real bottom of the metaphysical problems involved in Buddhism. These scholars acknowledge that the metaphysics of Buddhism have their solid foundation in Tendai teaching, and that Tendai teaching has made Buddhist metaphysics comprehensive of all Buddhist thought,—a fact which easily suggests the special importance attached to this teaching.

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[1] Nanjio's Tripitaka Catalogue evidently divides every fas. into two parts: A and B.

Besides the "San Dai Bu" or "Three Great Parts" we have, as already stated, the "Go Sho Bu," or "Five Small Parts." They comprise:

1. The "Kwanzeon Kyo Gen Gi" (觀世音經玄義), or "The Profound Meaning of the Kwannon Chapter of the Hokke Sutra," in 2 fasc., Nanjio 1555;
2. The "Kwanzeon Kyo Sho" (觀世音經疏), or "Explanation of the Meaning of the Kwannon Chapter," which is a textual commentary on the same chapter of the Hokke Sutra, in 2 fasc., Nanjio 1557;
3. The "Konkomyo Kyo Gen Gi" (金光明經玄義), or "The Profound Meaning of the Konkomyo Sutra," Sanskr. Suvarṇa-Prābhāsa-Sūtra, in 2 fasc., Nanjio 1548;
4. The "Konkomyo Kyo Sho" (金光明經疏), a textual commentary on the Konkomyo Sūtra, in 6 facs., Nanjio 1552;
5. The "Kwan Mu Ryo Ju Kyo Sho" (觀無量壽經疏), a commentary on the Amitâyurdhyâna Sutra, in 1 fasc., Nanjio 1559.

This last work is from the standpoint of modern criticism, probably not by Chisha Daishi. It would be more correct to exclude it from the "Go Sho Bu" and to insert, instead of it, the very important commentary on the "Yuima Kyo" or "Vimalakīrtti Sutra."

Strange to say, this famous work, of which there exist three different editions is in Nanjio's catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka omitted from the 22 cannonical works by Chisha Daishi, although there cannot be the slightest doubt of its authenticity. As this instance shows, there are among Chisha Daishi's works, as enumerated in Nanjio's catalogue some doubtful and even certainly false books, and on the other hand very important genuine works are omitted,—reason enough, not to rely exclusively on this list of Chisha Daishi's books.

Now it may not be quite useless for the proper understanding of the place which Chisha Daishi occupies in the history of Buddhism to keep in mind the following elementary facts. When Chisha Daishi evolved his grandiose system and made

himself the leader of a new school, China was already imbued with the philosophical teachings of the two Hinayana schools, namely the Abhidharma Sarvastivāda school, which in China was called the Bidon school, and the Satyasiddhi or Jojîtsu school. The Ritsu or Vinaya school, which has given to Buddhism its moral code, of course had already greatly influenced Chinese Buddhism, which at the time when Chisha Daishi appeared on the scene, was already 550 years old: but the great Dosen or Nanzan Daishi, who interpreted the Hinayana code of morality in the Mahayana spirit, was not yet born, when Chisha Daishi died. As to the two Indian Mahayana schools,—the Madhyamika school and the Yogacarya school they find their Chinese expression in the Sanron school and in the Hosso school. The founder of the Sanron school, the great Kajo Daishi, was a contemporary of Chisha Daishi and probably personally known to him: but the great Genjo Sanzo, or Hsiuen Tsang, the founder of Hosso had like Nanzan Daishi not yet appeared, and the same is to be said of Genju Daishi, the great systematiser of the Kegon school. In Chisha Daishi's time we have the Jiron Sect, which later on developed into the Kegon Sect, and the Shoron Sect, Jiron and Shoron being both derived from Asangha's Yogacarya school, but not yet any Hosso Sect, which also is a branch of the Yogacarya school. The Nirvana school, based on the Mahayana "Mahā-Parinirvāṇa sutra" had, in Chisha Daishi's time, evidently already lost its independent existence. But Zen Mysticism was already powerfully intrenched in China, and the same is to be said of the Jodo or Pure Land teaching, which, however, had not yet developed any definite school—the Jodo and the Nembutsu schools, like the Shingon or Tantric school, belonging to a much later time.

The Religion of Tendai.

We turn now to the discussion of Tendai teaching. Tendai teaching being a religion as well as a philosophy, we first deal with the religion of Tendai.

The Tendai school from a religious point of view, is based

on sutras, that means on the words attributed to Buddha himself as contained in the holy and canonical texts of Buddhism. The Tendai school highly respects all sutras and rejects none. But it has a special veneration for two sutras, the "Saddharma-Pundarika Sūtra," or "The Lotus of the True Teaching," and the "Mahā-Pari-Nirvāṇa Sūtra" or "Book of the Great Decease," —the first called in Japanese "Myo Ho Ren Ge Kyo," or more shortly "Hokke Kyo," and the second "Dai Nehan Gyo," or as abbreviated "Dai Kyo," the "Great Sutra."

Of the Hokke Kyo we still possess the Sanskrit text which already has been translated twice into a European language: once into French by Burnouf and another time into English by Kern. Besides the Sanskrit text there exist three old Chinese translations, of which the one made by Kumārajīva (of the latter Tshin Dynasty, 384–417), is even more famous than the Sanskrit original,—at any rate in the East. The Tendai school, like the Nichiren sect, is based on this translation by Kumārajīva. It shows considerable differences from the Sanskrit text and unfortunately no translation of it into any European language has yet been published.

The Hokke Kyo in the translation by Kumārajīva (Nanjio 134) comprises eight volumes. Chisha Daishi further combined with it two other sutras, each comprising one vol., namely the "Mu Ryo Gi Kyo" or "Amitārtha Sūtra" (Nanjio 133) and the "Fugen Kwan Gyo" or "Samantabhadra Bodhisattva Dhyana Sutra" (Nanjio 394) which form, so to say, the prologue and the epilogue of the Hokke Kyo itself. This enlarged work is the Hokke Kyo in ten vol., on which the faith of the Chinese and Japanese Tendai sects and that of the Nichiren sect is based.

To the Hokke Kyo, the most popular of all Buddhist texts used in China and Japan, the name "The Lotus Evangel" has been attached by certain foreigners, who have become familiar with it. Arthur Lloyd used to compare it even with St. John's Gospel. I shall not stress the point. But the meaning of the comparison will appear when I recall to your mind, that the Sakyamuni of the Hokke Kyo is no more the itinerant preacher in flesh and blood, who for fifty years walked through the

fields of India, but a being, divested of all historical individuality and identified with the cosmic principle, with the Truth itself. This Sakyamuni of the Hokke Kyo is no Buddha of physical body, but the Buddha of original enlightenment from all eternity. He did not die in past time, nor will he be born in the future. He is one and the same with those whom he enlightens. His mind contains all phenomena in time and space. His essence is oneness, and there is nothing besides him. Therefore, the present world is Buddha's world, the present human body is Buddha's body, the passions are enlightenment.

The clouds of ignorance and worldly desires, which cover our mind, have only to be dispelled, and enlightenment will appear immediately as Buddha's enlightenment is hiding in our mind. So, we and all living beings are already Buddha, but in a latent state; we could never become *de facto* Buddha, if Buddhahood were not already in us. This great teaching of the Hokke Kyo that every being possesses Buddhahood and will become real Buddha, involves the principle that there is only one truth, or, to speak in the language of the Hokke Kyo, that there is only one vehicle, namely the Buddha Vehicle, and not three distinct Vehicles,—the so-called Śravaka-, Pratyeka-Buddha- and Bodhisattva-Vehicles. As these three Vehicles are one, so is all mankind only one,—all man, even all living beings forming a universal community of reciprocal participation, a mutual partnership. Our misery, the misery of nations and states, is caused by being blind to this fundamental oneness, and our highest duty consists in striving zealously, with all our might, to realise this oneness.

With this teaching of the Hokke Kyo, for which already Emon, the first patriarch of Tendai teaching, is said to have shown a special predilection, the Tendai school combines the teaching of the "Nehan Gyo" or "Mahā-Pari-Nirvāṇa Sutra" (Nanjio 113, 114), a Mahayana text, which must not be confounded with the Hinayana text of the same name. In this Sutra, very similar in spirit to the Hokke Kyo, and delivered when Buddha laid himself down for the last rest between the twin Sala trees--a most positive interpretation is given to the

idea of Nirvana, which for a long time, was only negatively, or we may perhaps better say, quite colourlessly, conceived by Buddhism. Nirvana, in this Sutra, is identified with Bodhi, with the highest enlightenment itself, or what comes to the same thing, with Buddhahood. It is no longer unqualified deliverance from Samsara, the stream of becoming and decaying: it is still less 'annihilation,' but a positive state, which possesses four virtues, namely, Eternity, Supreme Happiness, Self-Existence, and Purity, or to use the Japanese terms: Jo, Raku, Ga, and Jo (常樂我淨). Of these four terms,—which stand in clear contradistinction to the terms Temporariness, Agony, Non-Ego, and Impurity, characterising all things worldly according to the teaching of Hinayana—the term Ga, or Ego, is of special interest. Hinayana Buddhism, like Mahayana Buddhism, denies most emphatically the existence of any individual self or Atman. The Anatman theory, the theory that man has no permanent individuality whatever, but is only a bundle of five bodily and mental aggregates which dissolve after death,—this theory is indeed the corner-stone of Buddhist philosophy. But here we find acknowledged an Ego, Ga (我), which, distinct from and in juxtaposition to the ordinary Ego, is called the True Ego (Shin Ga 眞我), or the Great Ego (Dai Ga 大我), and is identified with Buddha, the cosmic truth. For the first time we hear of a "true" Ego in Buddhism in connexion with the Vatsiputriya school, the so-called heretical school of Buddhism, which in spite of being a Hinayana school maintained the existence of a self, different from the ordinary self and not perishing at death, but transmigrating. But the true ego of the Vatsiputriya school and of the four schools derived from it was after all a phenomenological entity, while the true ego of the Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Sutra is a metaphysical entity.

The Buddha of the Nehan and the Hokke Kyo is Sakyamuni. The Tendai school, however, does not believe only in Sakyamuni: its great founder, Chisha Daishi, was an earnest worshipper of Amida too, and prayed on his death-bed to be reborn in the Western Paradise, the Pure Land of Amitābha. And when we look at the Tendai theory of the three Buddha-

bodies or Tri-Kāya, we find Sakyamuni identified with the body of change or Nirmāṇa-Kāya, Loshana identified with the body of bliss or Sambhoga-Kāya and Vairoshana identified with the body of law or Dharma-Kāya. But that by no means proves that Tendai teaching is a polytheistic teaching, as Sakyamuni, Loshana, Vairoshana and Amida are only so many names for one and the same universal principle, regarded from different points of view.

The conviction of the unity of the whole universe and of all living beings is for a true Tendai believer, not a cold abstract theory, but a deep religious conviction. It pervaded the whole personality of Chisha Daishi and impressed it with a wonderful sweetness. You all remember St. Francis of Assisi preaching to the birds. Chisha Daishi preached to the fishes, and he not only preached to them, but delivered them from the avarice and cruelty of men by buying up the fishing-rights from the fishermen on the sea-shore near Tientai-mountains in Tchekiang, where the monastery of the Tendai sect was erected. The fishes in the vicinity of this monastery could now live in peace, and their comrades in the ponds of other Buddhist sanctuaries profited from this example. Still to-day you can see how on Itsukushima Island in Lake Biwa fishes are daily set free into the lake; in other temple grounds we see large fish ponds, where the inmates live unmolested and happy, blessed by the spirit of Chisha Daishi.

The Philosophy of Tendai.

Several Characteristics and Main Divisions.

We now turn to the philosophy of the Tendai school.

The first question, which arises here is: Have we any right at all to speak of a Tendai philosophy? Tendai teaching, as we have first seen, is based on Buddhist books. Therefore, it is certainly not *voraussetzungslos*, free of all premises. But learned men tell us that philosophy, in order to be philosophy, must be *voraussetzungslos*, free of all premises. At any rate, that was the current opinion among scholars during the last

generation, who made a watertight distinction between belief and knowledge, between *Glauben* and *Wissen*; considering the one as the domain of religion, the other as the domain of philosophy.

In return, we may be permitted to point out that a least one premise is common to all philosophers and shared even by the most extreme agnostics: namely, the supposition that knowledge, having an objective value, is attainable, as without such supposition any striving after truth would be absurd. Therefore, philosophy without any presupposition does not exist. Moreover, this watertight distinction between religion and philosophy does not seem the fashion any more amongst present-day philosophers. To give only one instance: A well-known and very liberal-minded professor from the University of Gieszen, Dr. August Messer, in an excellent little hand-book, called *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* (Present Time Philosophy)—divides his subject into three parts:

1. Religious-ecclesiastical philosophy, subdivided into Roman Catholic philosophy and Protestant philosophy;
2. Rationalist or scientific philosophy;
3. Irrationalist philosophy or the philosophy of sentiment, intuition and action.

Now if we are allowed to speak of Christian philosophy, we are certainly fully entitled to speak of Buddhist philosophy and especially of Tendai philosophy. Chisha Daishi, the supreme master of it, may be reckoned amongst philosophers at his face-value if we do not limit the term philosophy to rationalist and scientific philosophy only.

To this worldly wisdom Chisha Daishi of course was opposed, as Buddha was opposed to the sixty-two teachings of the Indian philosophers. Chisha Daishi also quite naturally considered Buddhism as the highest teaching, much higher than any wisdom of the "Ge Do" or Heretics, because with him Buddha's teaching was the only wisdom, which brought salvation, the only *Heilswahrheit*.

But—and this point is of special importance: in spite of taking his stand on the holy texts of Buddhism, the founder

of the Tendai school was no blind believer in their words or in any former interpretation given to these words.

He used first to form his own opinions independently; then, after having formed them he used to look for some Sutra or Sastra text which was able to serve as authority for his opinion, and he was satisfied even if the text had merely a remote resemblance to his opinions. In any case his opinion comes first and the text afterwards. Logical reasoning, dialectic argumentation and meditative intuition, which according to the orthodox view, must only be secondary expedients to enlighten the meaning of the text,—they take the front-rank and modify text-sentences until they fit in with Chisha Daishi's system.

So it happens, that Chisha Daishi's philosophy can be considered rather as an original philosophical system, dressed in the cloak of Buddhism, than as a system, which renouncing all independent thinking, blindly tries to conform to tradition or to any established ecclesiastical authority. To make things clear by a comparison: The Vedanta system stands, as the name indicates, on the Veda, but it is nevertheless considered as a truly philosophical system, freely evolved by independent thought.

In the same way the Tendai teaching, in spite of being based on Buddhism, is in its essence an original creation, pervaded by the thought of a philosophical genius.

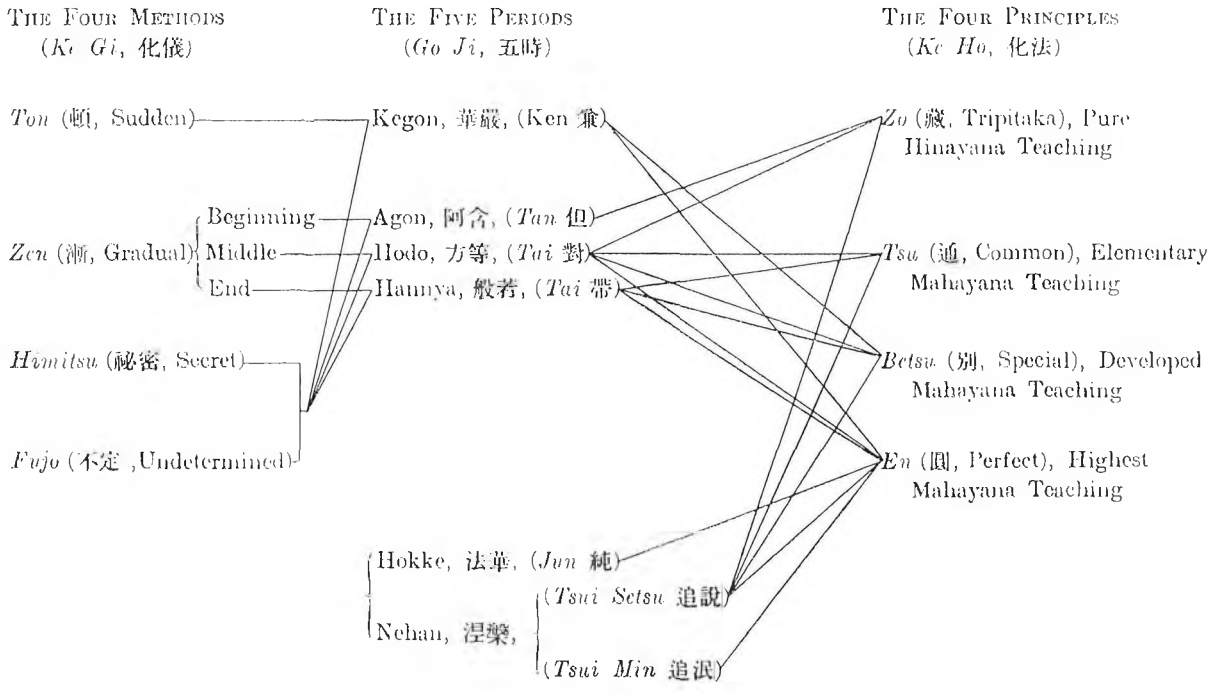
The philosophy of Chisha Daishi can be considered from three points of view, in so far as it is:

1. A synthesis of the whole Buddhist teaching;
2. Pure theory or metaphysics;
3. A practical teaching.

This threefold division is not Chisha Daishi's own classification, whose books have no index and are not in any way arranged in a systematical order as it is the fashion with the books-written by our modern scholars. But the division I adopt follows naturally from any deeper study of Chisha Daishi's philosophy and is certainly the most convenient one for a comprehensive survey of the Tendai teaching.

TABLE I

THE FIVE PERIODS AND THE EIGHT TEACHINGS (*Goji Hakkyo* 五時八教)



I. The Synthesis of the whole Buddhist Teaching.[1]

We will speak first of the synthesis of the whole Buddhist teaching. This synthesis itself is threefold, namely:

1. According to the time when the different Sutras were preached by Buddha;
2. According to the methods used by Buddha in preaching;
3. According to the principles taught by Buddha.

The term used by Chisha Daishi to denote this threefold synthesis, is Go-Ji Hak-kyo (五時八教), i.e. "The Five Periods and the Eight Teachings." By the Five Periods he understands the synthesis according to time; by the Eight Teachings he understands the synthesis according to methods and principles, each of these two latter synthetical doctrines consisting of four distinct teachings.

The Five Periods.

The Five Periods are:

1. The period, in which Buddha preached the "Kegon Kyo," 華嚴經 or Avatamsaka Sutra, one of the most famous Mahayana texts.
2. The period, in which Buddha preached "Agon Kyo," 阿含經 or the four Āgamas and other Sutras of the Hinayana;
3. The period, in which Buddha preached the "Hōdō Kyo," 方等經 or Mahā-Vaipulya Sutras, which name comprises a great many different Mahayana Sutras;
4. The period, in which Buddha preached the "Dai Hannya Kyo" 大般若經 or Maha Prajñā-Pāramitā Sutras, also of Mahayana character;
5. The period, in which Buddha preached the "Hokke and Nehan Kyo" 法華涅槃經 or the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka Sutra and the Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Sutra of the Mahayana Canon.

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[1] In order to facilitate the understanding of the Tendai system, three tables have been prepared. For this part, see Table I.

Let us consider these five periods more closely to understand what meaning Chisha Daishi connects with each of them.

According to the founder of the Tendai school, after Buddha had reached complete enlightenment, sitting under the tree of enlightenment, he remained for some time in a state of beatitude, enjoying his newly-gained knowledge. Then still in an ecstatic frame of mind, he preached the Kegon Kyo or Avatamsaka Sutra which contained the full truth, which Buddha had gained after his struggle with Mara, the demon of darkness. This sutra Buddha preached in nine meetings and in seven different places without moving from his place of quiet meditation under the tree of enlightenment, to innumerable Bodhisattvas, gods and human beings. But only the beings of highest intellectual capacity, namely the Bodhisattvas, could understand this sutra, which is a teaching of pantheistic idealism, to the effect that the mind, Buddha, and all living beings have the same nature as the absolute spirit, the *Weltseele*, which is poured through the universe, the whole world being nothing else than a revelation of the absolute spirit. Of this great teaching the audience of lower capacity could not understand even a word, and without asking questions, they ran away upset and disconcerted as if they had been knocked on the head.

After Buddha had convinced himself in this way that human beings and those lower than human beings, were not ripe for the deepest Mahayana truth, he started to preach the Hinayana sutras, which conformed to the understanding of common mankind. The truth, which Buddha was now preaching, was not the full truth, but the accommodated truth, containing the elementary principles of Buddhism,—namely the so-called Four Noble Truths, The Eightfold Path and the Twelvefold Chain of Causation. This doctrine was contained in the many Agama Sutras, preached in the second period, and could be understood by the beings of lower capacity. Not only kings and princes, warriors and merchants, peasants and labourers, but also dragons and snakes, Yakshas and Demons came in crowds to listen to this teaching, and soon the followers of the Enlightened One amounted to many thousands.

Buddha now became aware that he could risk advancing one step further. He suggested to his audience, that the sutras, which had been preached by him in the Deer Park and in other places, made famous by the Pali Canon, did not contain the last word which he had to say, but that beyond the range of ideas involved in the Agama Sutras, there was a higher truth, to which one had to penetrate in order to gain real enlightenment and deliverance. This higher truth was the Mahayana teaching. The Buddha, however, very wisely refrained from preaching the Mahayana truth once more in its whole fullness, as he had done in the so-called Kegon Period, but stated only the general character of the Mahayana truth: namely, that far higher than the ideal of the Arhat, who was striving for his own salvation, there is the ideal of the Bodhisattva, who first strives for the salvation of others and only in the second instance thinks of his own salvation. In this period Buddha compares the Hinayana and Mahayana doctrines, and by pointing out the superiority of Mahayana, endeavours to break the self-satisfaction and pride of the believer in Arhatship. This period is the so-called Hōdō (方等) or Vaipulya Period—a name which indicates that the teaching of this period is a "right," "broad" and "equal" teaching: "right" teaching meaning a teaching of absolute truth and absolute love, "broad" teaching meaning a universal teaching, and "equal" teaching meaning a teaching of the sameness of Buddha and men, of the Absolute and the Relative, of the Noumenon and the Phenomena.

In the following period, the fourth, the Buddha attacks very abstract and metaphysical problems. He asks: "What is the nature of the absolute?" which was taught in the third period, and he answers: The absolute is free from all attributes and is unconditioned; it cannot be defined, because it surpasses all human conceptions; it is the "void" or "śūnyatā." This teaching which, very wrongly, has been characterised by European scholars as a teaching of absolute Nihilism, belongs to the so-called half-developed or provisional Mahayana doctrine and is contained in the Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā Sūtra or Dai-Hannya-Kyo, which in Hsiuen Tsang's Chinese translation comprises not

less than 600 volumes. It maintains that, from an absolute point of view, there are no opposites, and that all distinctions are only conventional distinctions made by our imperfect apparatus for thinking. They are, to speak in Kantian style, only *Anschauungsformen*, peculiar ways of looking at the world, which are inborn in us, but have no objective reality. Therefore, opposites like Subject and Object, Ignorance and Enlightenment, Samsara and Nirvana, Mara and Buddha, are only artificial constructions, the distinction between Hinayana and Mahayana being likewise only a conventional one. In the third or Hodo period, the difference between Hinayana and Mahayana had been pointed out by Buddha. As now, in this Hannya period, the unity underlying Hinayana and Mahayana doctrines is shown by him, it is clear that the Hannya teaching means an advance beyond the Hodo teaching. This advance was moreover of a very practical purport, as hitherto many Buddhist believers had considered Mahayana as an ideal which was far too high for their own limited talent and only suitable for superhuman beings. These timid believers, by learning the truth of the relativity of contrasts, gained sufficient courage to identify themselves with the so-called Mahayana teaching.

The negative formulation of the absolute, preached in the fourth period, was replaced by a positive formulation in the fifth and last period, which began only after Buddha had already spent forty years in preaching. In the Hannya Period, Buddha had stated the absolute non-existence of contrasts; in the Hokke and Nehan Period, he stated the absolute identity of contrasts. In the first period, the Kegon Period, this teaching of identity had already been anticipated by Buddha. In the Kegon Sutra, however, he formulated it as pantheistic idealism; in the Hokke and Nehan Sutra he formulated it as pantheistic realism. From the point of view of the fifth period, the teachings of the former three periods are only preparatory teachings or "hoben," i.e. artifices. True reality or "shin jitsu" is the teaching of the fifth period only. But in the last instance there is no difference between the preparatory teachings and the true teaching, between "hoben" and "shin jitsu": when we open

"hoben," there appears "shin jitsu," as the kernel of a nut appears, as soon as we open its shell.

To these five periods, which I have just described, definite terms of years have been allocated by Chisha Daishi, so that the fifty years of Shaka's teaching are just covered by these five periods. According to this arrangement, the Kegon period comprises three weeks, the Agon period twelve years, the Hodo and Hannya period together thirty years, the Hokke period eight years, and the Nehan period one day and one night.

Later Tendai teachers elaborated this time-table still further and assigned a special term for the Hodo, and a special term for the Hannya period, some of them limiting the Hodo period to sixteen and the Hannya period to fourteen years, others limiting the Hodo period to eight or ten years and the Hannya period to twenty-two or twenty years.

This whole time-table is not an arbitrary invention, but follows directly or indirectly from different sutra texts. What Chisha Daishi himself thought of it, becomes clear from his statement that the limitation of the five periods by years must be understood not only in its common meaning, but also in its mystical meaning. Therefore, when Chisha Daishi, adopting the "Muryo Gi Kyo" statement, says that more than forty years passed before Sakyamuni began to teach the true teaching, namely the Hokke Sutra, we are quite at liberty to interpret these forty years as four hundred years.

That would mean that Shaka preached the Hokke Sutra several hundred years after his death, an idea impossible to the ordinary mind, but not impossible to the Mahayana believer, who considers that Shaka's death, as he distinctly says himself in the "Nehan Gyo," was only an artifice or hōben,—that Shaka really did not die, but continued to preach through the mouth of inspired speakers and writers,—that he preached in fact as long as the output of fundamental Mahayana texts lasted.

If we make allowance for the mystical interpretation, we can also find an intelligent meaning in the arrangement which places the Kegon Sutra, one of the latest Mahayana Sutras, at the beginning of the five periods and before the Hinayana

sutras. But time forbids to enter into the discussion of such niceties.

The Four Methods.

We turn now to a description of the second part of Chisha Daishi's system, from which we shall see how the founder of the Tendai School systematised the whole of Buddhism according to the methods, which had been used by Buddha in preaching. These methods or styles of teachings are four, and they are called:

1. Ton-kyo(頓教), or the sudden teaching(*tun* in Chinese);
2. Zen-kyo (漸教), or the gradual teaching (*tsien*);
3. Himitsu-kyo (秘密教), or the secret teaching (*pi-mi*);
4. Fujō-kyo (不定教), or the undetermined teaching (*pu-ting*).[1]

1. The sudden method means the method which refrains from all preparatory instruction and is suitable only for beings of highest ability, who can immediately grasp the truth. It was the method adopted by Buddha in preaching the Kegon Kyo or Avatamasaka Sutra.

2. The gradual method, or the method which advances step by step, intends to lead men of mediocre ability gradually up from Hinayana to Mahayana; it is of a threefold kind, being subdivided into beginning, middle, and end. The "beginning" of this gradual instruction coincides with the Agon—or Hinayana period; the "middle" with the Hodo—or Vaipulya period; the "end" with the Dai Hannya—or Mahā-Prajñā-Paramitā period. The Hokke and Nehan teaching which is identical with the highest Mahayana teaching, is neither sudden nor gradual, but is beyond all methods, as this teaching represents the ultimate object of Buddha and is therefore exempt from all "artifices" or "hōben."

[1] Edkins translates "ton" by "compliant," but it clearly means "sudden" or "abrupt" (cf. Edkins' "Chinese Buddhism" p. 182.) For "undetermined," "fu jo," Edkins uses the term "indeterminate," which evidently comes to the same thing.

3. The secret method does not of course mean Tantric method, as Tantrism was entirely unknown to Chisha Daishi. By secret method he understood the method which Buddha uses, when he speaks secretly to somebody, and when he can only be properly understood by the individual to whom he addresses himself. The "secret" or "himitsu" method in Tendai Daishi's system is explained by the phrase: "The hearers and the teaching are both unknown,"—i.e. the hearers do not know each other, and the teaching is not known to all hearers in common, but only to every hearer individually.

4. The "undetermined method," or "fu-jō kyō," on the other hand, is explained by the phrase: "The hearers are known, but not the teaching,"—i.e. the teaching, as in the case of "himitsu-kyo", is only known to each individually, according to everybody's individual understanding, but the hearers know each other's faces and forms, while in "himitsu kyo" they do not know each other.

These two methods, the secret and the undetermined, were used when Buddha had to teach beings of different intellectual capacity and of different degrees of spiritual perfection at one and the same time,—when he had to instruct very mixed audiences composed not only of ordinary men, but of beings belonging to the ten different worlds which are inhabited by human beings, Devas, Nagas and Dragon Kings, by Hungry Ghosts and Fighting Demons, etc. These different beings, forming one and the same audience, needed different teachings, and in order that Buddha could speak to everybody separately, he isolated the hearers,—the "undetermined" method forming as it were a single isolation, while the "secret" method can be regarded as a double isolation.

These two methods presuppose an almighty Buddha who has the supernatural power of concealing men from each other or to make them known to each other,—a Buddha who does not speak with one voice only, as he does in preaching the Hokke Kyo, but who is able, whenever it pleases him, to speak with so and so many voices at one and the same time, addressing every hearer individually and conforming his speech to everybody's

requirements,—a Buddha, who does not speak at a given moment in one place only, but at the same moment in innumerable places, or who is quiet in one place and speaks in innumerable other places, or who is quiet in innumerable other places and speaks in one place,—a Buddha who does not teach in our small limited world only, but in the whole universe.

When he uses the secret or undetermined method, the Buddha teaches, as we said, different teachings at one and the same time. He may preach at a given moment one single sutra, as he did in history, and then this one sutra will imply so and so many meanings to the hearers of different understanding according to each one's capacity. Or he may preach many different sutras simultaneously, adapting each text to such hearer as can understand it.

To some hearer he may preach the Kegon Sutra, to others the Agon, Hodo or Hannya Sutras, according to each one's need. But the Hokke and Nehan Sutras are entirely left aside, when the Buddha uses these methods. That means to say that the secret and undetermined methods, like the sudden and gradual ones, are only concerned with "hōben" (Sanskrit, *Upāya*), i.e. with skilful device, but not with the highest and true teaching,—they have to do only with the means to the end, but not with the end itself.

Like the gradual method, the secret and undetermined methods explain away all seeming contradictions in Buddha's teaching. Some former Buddhist metaphysicians had maintained the theory, that these seeming contradictions were merely different ways of understanding the Buddha, who speaks with one voice only and does not use various preachings. Chisha Daishi rejects this theory. He boldly acknowledges that Buddha purposely speaks with many voices, but that these many voices at last are harmonised into one voice in the Hokke and Nehan period.

According to this view, as maintained by Chisha Daishi, the differences in Buddha's teaching are not to be ascribed to the different interpretations by the hearers, but to Buddha's own intention, who by his wonderful power at one and the same

time communicates quite different meanings to different hearers, when speaking to a mixed audience.

The voice, physically considered, may be the same. But what this voice expresses and carries to the mind and heart of every hearer, can be very different. So, in his "hōben" teaching Buddha speaks at one and the same moment many different languages in various degrees of profoundness, and it is not to be considered as an effect of their own perversion, when the hearers understand him differently; but, on the contrary, the hearers understand Buddha differently, because Buddha speaks at one and the same time to every one differently, exactly as everyone can understand him. When Buddha conceals from each other the individuals forming his audience, as he does in using the "secret" method, his intention is to put everybody at ease, to avoid making anybody in the audience feeling ashamed, because the Buddha preaches to him a teaching which is inferior when compared with the teaching addressed to other hearers. A schoolboy of an elementary or middle school (corresponding to the men of the two Vehicles, namely to the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-Buddhas) would not like to be taught together with university students (corresponding to the Mahayana Bodhisattvas), he would prefer to be taught, when the other hearers, who receive the higher teaching and who might laugh at the ignorance of a mere beginner in scholarship, are not present. Therefore, the Buddha skilfully arranges it, that nobody knows and sees each other.

In other cases, the Buddha finds it more convenient and considers it the best way, to work out the salvation of everybody, by addressing his different teachings to an audience in which everybody knows each other, and then he uses the "undetermined" method.

This "undetermined" method is meant, when the Buddha speaks of his style of preaching in the following words: "On a certain happy day Krishna wedded all virgins at the same time, appearing to eachone of them as her husband. Sixteen thousand and one hundred was the number of his wives and in as many individual shapes the god embodied himself, so that every

girl believed: 'I alone have been selected by the Lord.' When I, (so continued the Bhagavat), preach the doctrine and in front of me is sitting a congregation of several hundreds of monks and nuns and of male and female lay-believers, listening to me, then everyone of all these hearers thinks: 'Only for me the ascetic Gautama has preached the teaching.' Because on the individual mind of every seeker of peace I direct the strength of my spirit, tranquillise it, harmonise it, and adjust it. So I am always acting and in this way I adopt the sixteen thousand and one hundred-fold bridegroom-position of Krishna —by spiritualising it, ennobling it, and perfecting it.[1]''

The teaching of methods qualifies the teaching of periods. It goes without saying that a definite order of sermons is only applicable, when the preacher sticks to a definite method (*jō*), and that any definite arrangement of the sermons becomes impossible when the preacher follows an indefinite method (*fujō*). So the five period-classification only holds good in the case of ''jō,'' while it cannot be maintained in the case of ''fu-jō.''

As long as Buddha's preaching falls in with the five period classification he is limiting his freedom by adhering to one preconceived plan, to which he subordinates his work of salvation. But he is not bound to follow always this periodical order. He may reject it and resume his entire freedom of action and preach in a quite undetermined way. That he does when he preaches to the ten worlds, in which an immense variety of conditions exist, and to which no definite plan is applicable.

The ''open'' teaching (i.e. when the hearers are known to each other) and the ''secret'' teaching (i.e. when the hearers are not known to each other) may both be considered as determined or undertermined. Consequently we have:

1. The open and determined teaching, namely, ''ton'' and ''zen'';
2. The open and undetermined teaching, namely, ''fu-jō'';
3. The secret and determined teaching, which, however, is illogical, and therefore, does not find any room in Buddha's preaching;

[1] Quoted from Karl Gjellerup: *Der Pilger Kamanita,* pp. 247, 248.

4. The secret and undetermined teaching, namely, "himitsu."

The Four Principles.

The most original part of Chisha Daishi's threefold system is undoubtedly his doctrine of principles (化法), to which we now direct our attention. The five-period classification is after all only an improvement on classifications made before Chisha Daishi by Indian and Chinese scholars, and the classification according to methods is also based on foundations laid in former times. But in this classification according to principles, Chisha Daishi is entirely original.

Moreover, this classification according to principles is the most important of the three, as it pervades the whole theoretical and practical teaching of Chisha Daishi. It is, like the doctrine of methods, a fourfold classification, summarised in four fundamental terms:

1. Zō-kyo (藏教 *tsang-chiao*), or the Tripitaka teaching;
2. Tsū-kyo (通教 *t'ung*), or the common teaching;
3. Betsu-kyo (別教 *pieh*), or the special teaching;
4. En-kyo (圓教 *yuan*), or the perfect teaching.[1]

"Zō-kyo" or "Tripitaka" teaching, means the Hinayana

[1] "Zō" means literally "store" or "collection," i.e. collection of books (Sanskrit, *Piṭaka*), namely, the Hinayana Tripiṭaka,—not "the variously catalogued phenomena, which occupy the disciple in the early stages of his progress," as Eliot supposes. "Tsū" means "passing through," namely, from Hinayana to Mahayana; still we would not like to use as an equivalent the term, "progress," as Edkins does, or to adopt the terms "transition" or "communication," which Eliot proposes in addition to the term "progress"; we prefer instead the term "common," which seems to us to express best here the inner meaning of the term "tsū" i.e. that which is common to Hinayana and Mahayana. "Betsu" means "separate," "distinct," or "special." "En," which means literally "circular" or "round," involves the meaning of "completion," "completeness" and "all-roundness" and will best be rendered by the term "perfect." Cf. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* p. 182, and Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 311.

teaching, which is intended for the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-Buddhas only and, therefore, is also called the Two-Vehicle Teaching. "Tsū-kyo," the "communicating" or "common" teaching means the teaching which is common to Hinayana and Mahayana, as it forms, so to speak, the gate, through which the believer passes out of Hinayana into Mahayana. We may also call it Elementary Mahayana or Three-Vehicle Teaching, as it addresses itself to the Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in common: another reason for calling it the "common" teaching. "Betsu kyo" or the "special" teaching is only preached for the Bodhisattvas specially and includes all such doctrines which might be characterised as the middle or developed stage of Mahayana. The highest stage of Mahayana is represented by "En kyo" or the "perfect" teaching, which is only intended for Bodhisattvas of highest capacity. It is also called Pure Mahayana Teaching.

In what relation do these principles stand to the five periods?

The Kegon Period involves both the special and the perfect teaching: therefore, it is called "twofold" or "ken" (兼). The Agon Period involves only the Tripiṭaka teaching: therefore, it is called "simple" or "tan" (但). The Hodo Period involves all four teachings: therefore, it is called "related with all" or "tai" (對). The Hannya Period involves the last three, namely, the common, the special, and the perfect teaching: therefore, it is called "partly possessing" or "tai" (帶). And the Hokke Period involves the perfect teaching only: therefore, it is called "pure" or "jun" (純). In preaching the Nehan Gyo, Buddha first recapitulated all four teachings: therefore this first part of Nehan Gyo is called "renewed preaching" or "tsui setsu" (追說). But in the second part of Nehan Gyo he exclusively preached the perfect teaching, as he had done already in the Hokke Kyo, breaking again all differences by the principle of unity: therefore, this second part of Nehan Gyo is called "renewed destruction" or "tsui min" (追泯).

Now all that may sound trashy to unsophisticated minds. But as a matter of fact this threefold classification of the whole of Buddhism according to periods, methods, and principles, indicates

in an admirable way the development and growth of religious and philosophical ideas in Buddhism. All these strange terms, which I find necessary to inflict upon my hearers, denote the different ways of looking at the Buddhist religion, and express the innermost content of Buddhist thought in its progressive development through a period of 1000 years since Sakyamuni's death. This threefold classification by Chisha Daishi, far from being a phantastic chimera, really means a great and ingenious effort to bring order and system into a vast and seemingly contradictory mass of ideas, and to understand the history of Buddhist dogmas and theories as an evolution from primitive conceptions to higher and higher views. To do justice to Chisha Daishi, we must consider his threefold system, especially his *zō,-tsū,-betsu,-en*-classification, as a classification of the different attempts to solve the fundamental metaphysical problem, which were made by Buddhism during its long history.

"Zō kyo" or the Tripiṭaka teaching attacks this problem analytically. It dissolves the Subject and the Object of this world of experience,—or the Ātman and the Dharmas, as they are called in Buddhist philosophy,—into their smallest parts, and proves that the Subject or the individual Ego is only a constant stream of momentary states of consciousness, where one wave supersedes another wave, and that the Objects or Things are momentary combinations of elements, which incessantly unite and disintegrate again. There is no constant subject, no constant object from this analytical point of view, only a continual becoming and passing away, an endless repetition of birth and death, regulated by the law of cause and effect. We can only escape from it by renouncing our thirst for existence; that is the Nirvāna of Zo Kyo, which is a mere negative conception, as it means deliverance from this flux of cause and effect.

"Tsū kyo," understood as elementary Mahayana teaching, deals with the fundamental metaphysical problem synthetically. It does not dissolve the Ātman and the Dharmas into their smallest parts, but considers them as a whole. The idea of non-existence or emptiness of the subject and of the object is here derived from the consideration that the categories of our think-

ing are themselves empty (Sk. *Śūnyatā*, Jap. "kū" 空) and of a mere conventional nature as our whole thinking is moving in contrasts: every negation presupposes an affirmation and in every affirmation a negation is concealed. Our whole thinking, from this "tsū kyo" point of view, is only a meaningless play with concepts, a hunting for empty illusions. We have here a subjective conception of emptiness, while "zō kyo" or Hinayana teaching was a purely objective conception of emptiness. Being a subjective conception of emptiness, "tsū kyo" only denies our illusions, but does not deny reality itself. It says: our subjective conceptions of the Ego and of the objective reality are illusions, but it does not say that the Ego and the objective reality themselves are illusions; it does not deny that there is a subjective and objective reality independent of our illusions.

"Betsu kyo" (pronounced, bekkyo), or the teaching of speciality, places the idea of an absolute reality, which in "tsū kyo" emerges only on the boundary of our thinking, in the foreground, and for the first time the universe is considered, from an absolute point of view, as a totality. The phenomena, which in "zō kyo" or Hinayana teaching had a quite isolated existence and were not in any way considered as inherent in an independent absolute substance, now for the first time are considered as parts of a whole. These parts are related to each other, inasmuch as they are derived from one and the same origin: Tathatā as cause with the help of avidyā as condition creating the phenomena or parts. But still they are parts, and like children of one and the same mother, the phenomena of the special teaching have all their own individuality.

"En kyo" or the teaching of perfect harmony, does away with this individuality of parts by identifying all phenomena with themselves. The dualism of the parts and the whole now disappears, and with it disappears the indirect identity between the phenomena and the absolute, which is replaced by a direct identity: now in every particle of dust, in every single-moment's thought, the whole universe is contained.

II. Pure Theory or Metaphysics.

The Three Truths.

We turn to the second part of Tendai philosophy, namely, to the theoretical part, and to a teaching, which has been called the very marrow of Tendai philosophy, namely to the doctrine of the three truths or "San Dai" (三諦). These three truths express the three fundamental forms of existence of all dharmas, the term "dharma" meaning not only physical, but psychical things as well, in short anything existing in the material and moral world.

The three forms of existence of all dharmas are:

1. Emptiness, or *kū* 空 (Chinese, *k'ung*);
2. Temporal existence, or *ke* 假 (Chinese, *kia*);
3. The Middle, or *chū* 中 (Chinese, *chung*).[1]

When I take all dharmas and make them entirely free from all my subjective views and passions by immersing them in the sea of unconditionality, then these entirely unconditioned dharmas are the truth of "*Kū*" (空) or emptiness. This truth is also called the truth of breaking, as it breaks with all subjective illusions. It is the negative form of existence of all dharmas and corresponds to what we are accustomed to call the state of transcendence or universality.

This emptiness or unconditionality of dharmas of course does not mean "nothingness." If it were nothingness, how could it break all illusions? Emptiness is indeed so far away from nothingness, that it postulates the idea of temporal existence. "The particular," as Prof. Anezaki[2] has justly remarked, "derives its being from the universal nature of things, while

[1] The terms "hypothetical," "false," and "invented," used by Edkins as equivalents for the term "*ke*," are misleading and to be rejected. Instead of the term "medial" or "central" used by Edkins for the term "chu," we prefer the term "middle." (Cf. Edkins: *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 160, 172, 184).

[2] Cf. Anezaki: *Nichiren*, p. 150. Appendix II: "Tendai's Doctrines of the Middle Path and Reality."

the universal could not fully realise its true nature without manifesting itself in a particular."

This particular is not the phenomenal world in ordinary meaning, but a phenomenal world, which is an antithesis of the universal world or emptiness. Therefore, Chisha Daishi calls it by the name "*Ke*" (假) to distinguish it from the phenomenal existence in common meaning, which is called "*U*" (有). This "Ke tai" or truth of temporal existence is also called truth of establishment, because it establishes all dharmas temporally. It is the positive form of existence of all dharmas and corresponds to what we are used to call the state of immanence or particularity.

This thesis of emptiness and antithesis of temporal existence find their synthesis in the truth of the middle or "Chu (中), which harmonises universality and particularity, transcendence and immanence, the negative and positive in one absolute entity.

It may be helpful for the understanding of this problem, to use the metaphor of the magnet, which has a negative and a positive polarity and is itself a perfect harmonisation of both. Goethe at several times has expressed his world-view by this simile, and we may also use it here. Only I must ask you to keep in mind that it expresses neither the deepest view of Goethe himself nor the deepest Tendai truth.

The Three Truths of the "Empty," of the "Temporal Existence" and of the "Middle" were first discovered by Emon, the first patriarch of the Tendai School, and the way he discovered them is described as follows:

The Zen teacher, Emon, said: "I walk alone in the valley of the Yellow River and of the Wei River; there is no man whom I call my teacher. If I get sūtras, I shall make the Buddha my teacher; if I get śastras, then I shall make the Bodhisattvas my teachers." After uttering these proud words, which show that Emon considered himself superior to all contemporary learners and only looked for truth in the canonical texts of Buddhism, he entered a great Buddhist library. Here he first burned incense and scattered flowers. Then with his back to the books he drew one at haphazard from the vast collec-

tion. The work, which he thus blindly selected, was the famous "*Madhyamika Śāstra*" by the great Indian patriarch, Nāgārjuna —in Chinese, called "Chu Kwan Ron," in English "The Commentary on the Middle Meditation," translated into German by Walleser. Emon opened it and the gātha which his eyes first met, ran thus:

"The dharmas are born from cause and condition.

"I (Nāgārjuna) teach: they are identical with emptiness.

"They are also called temporal existence,

"And they also have the meaning of the middle way."

Emon understood the profound significance of these lines and was in an ecstasy of joy. He transmitted his doctrine of "*One thought and three kinds of meditations*" (Jap. *Isshin-San-Gwan* (一心三觀), which he found formulated in this gātha, to Nangaku Eshi, and Eshi of the Southern Mountain transmitted it to Chi-kai of Tendai. In this way this gātha of twenty Chinese characters came to be acknowledged as the highest criterion and metaphysical standard by the Tendai School. Keikei Tannen says: "This gātha of the Madhyamika Śāstra contains the one inexpressible truth and its meaning universally stretches through all Sūtras," the word "sūtras" meaning, of course, "Mahayana Sūtras."

The Three Truths in the Light of the Four Principles.[1]

To this gātha Chisha Daishi applied his own doctrine of principles, deepening and systematising thereby the thought of Nāgārjuna. The "Zō" principle had to be put aside, as in "Zō kyo" or Hinayana Teaching only the first truth, namely emptiness (*kū*) is involved, and not the two other truths, which the gātha also proclaims, namely temporary existence and the middle way (*ke* and *chū*). Of course, there is also a middle way in Hinayana. But this Hinayana middle way is only another name for emptiness—emptiness of the Ātman and emptiness of the Dharmas—and has no other philosophical meaning.

[1] Table II and III attached here give a schematic view of the interrelation between the Four Principles and the Three Truths.

TABLE II

THE FOUR PRINCIPLES AND THE THREE TRUTHS

(*Ke-ho-shi-kyo* 化法四教 and *San-dai* 三諦)

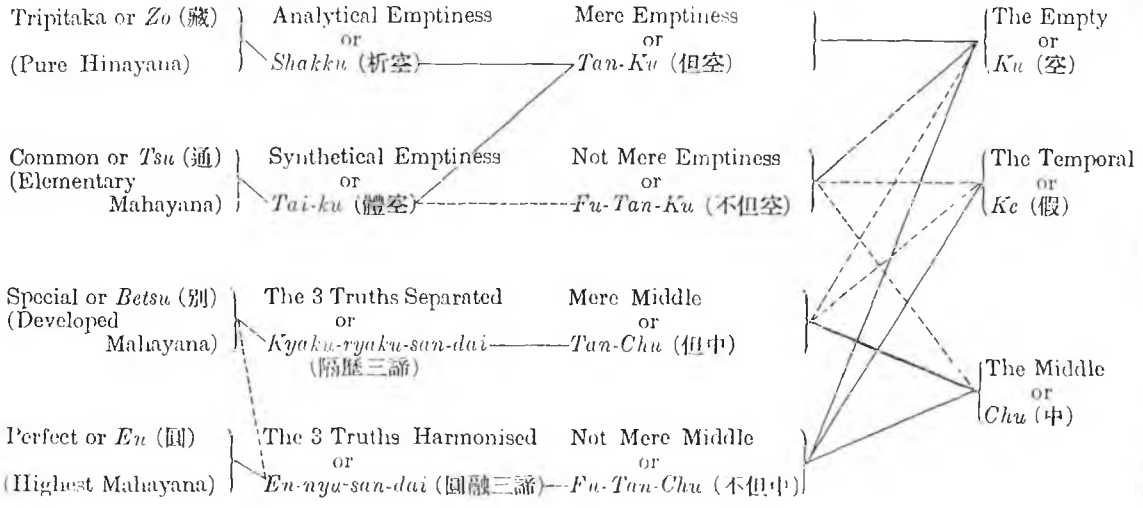
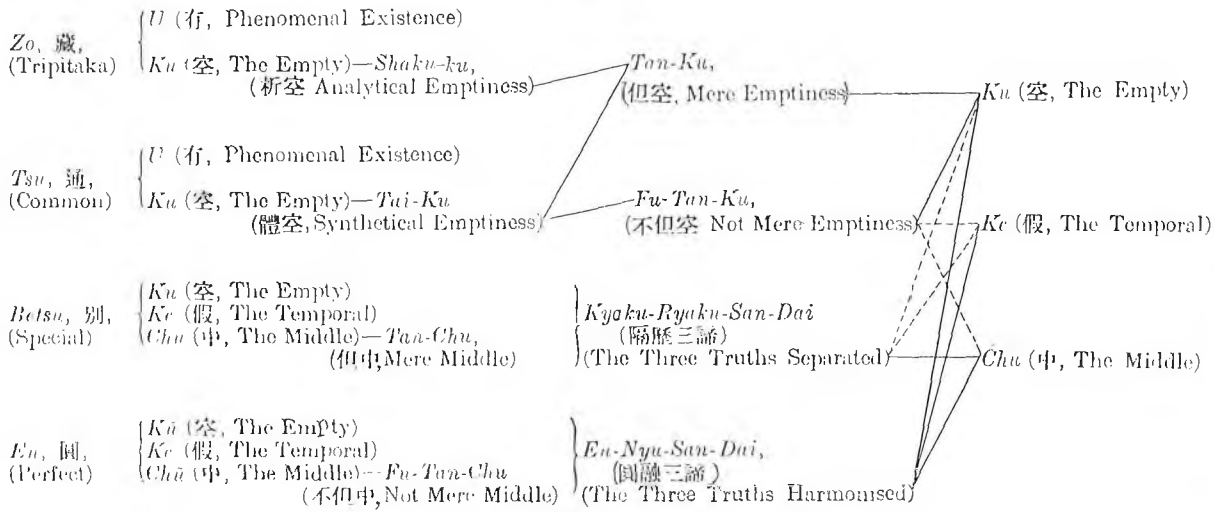


TABLE III

THE FOUR PRINCIPLES (四教) AND THE THREE TRUTHS (三諦)

(*Ke-ho-shi-kyo* 化法四教 and *San-dai* 三諦)



We hear also of temporary existence in Hinayana. This temporary existence, however, is not the manifestation of the Absolute, as the gāthā of the Madhyamika Śāstra understands it, but is of a purely phenomenal or relative character.

Therefore, only tsū-, betsu- and en-kyo, the common, the special, and the perfect principles were applicable to the gāthā, and by making use of them, Chisha Daishi obtained three different interpretations of the three truths involved in the gāthā.

As these three interpretations are of supreme importance in Tendai Philosophy, I shall briefly describe them. Let us first consider the gāthā from the point of view of "Tsūkyo" or the common teaching. The common teaching can be considered in two ways: as "mere emptiness" (*tan ku* 但空) and then it is on the same level as Hinayana teaching and has only relative meaning; or as "not mere emptiness" (*fu-tan-ku* 不但空), and then it is elementary Mahayana and has absolute meaning. What concerns us here, is the common teaching of "not mere emptiness," that means the teaching of emptiness, which leads us up to the two other truths of the temporary existence and of the middle. According to this view the first two lines of the gāthā acknowledge that the self-nature or essence of the dharmas, i.e. the physical and mental elements, is empty, because they are born from cause and condition. The argument is: If the essence of the dharmas were not empty, they would exist by themselves, without waiting for their birth by causes and conditions. The third line says that these same dharmas, which are non-existent through their real nature, show temporarily the form of existence, or to express it a little differently: the true nature of all dharmas is not phenomenal existence (*u*, 有) itself, but only appears temporally (*ke* 假) in the form (*so* 相) of phenomenal existence (*u*). So we find here a distinction made between the "true nature" (*jitsu-so* 實相) and the "temporary form" (*ke-so* 假相) of the dharmas, the true nature, which is empty, assuming the outside show of existence, which, however, is only temporal and not absolute reality.

The fourth line of the gāthā says: All dharmas have also the meaning of the middle way. Of course! If they are real

emptiness (*jitsu-ku* 實空) as well as temporary existence (*ke-u* 假有), but at one and the same moment neither the one nor the other, then there must be something inexpressible beyond them, which harmonises emptiness and temporary existence. As we can easily see, from this point of view of "Tsū-kyo" or common teaching, emptiness is not 'the one and all' of Buddhist teaching, like in "Zō-kyo" or Hinayana teaching. Besides emptiness the temporal existence and the middle are acknowledged by the common teaching,—but only indirectly. So we may say: In the common teaching the idea of emptiness is the main issue and centre, the ideas of temporary existence and of the middle are only side-issues and on the periphery,—or: the emptiness is the substance, temporary existence and the middle are only shadows of this substance.

We consider now the gāthā from the point of view of "Betsu kyo" or the special teaching.

In "Betsu kyo," the temporary and the middle are not only side-issues and existing merely on the periphery, as it was the case in "Tsū kyo" or common teaching, but all three have independent existence; they are arranged horizontally in space and perpendicularly in time, i.e., they exist side by side, and the practitioner must first go through the truth of emptiness, then climb up to the truth of temporary existence, and finally he will reach the truth of the middle.

In this teaching of speciality, the empty and the temporary existence form a couple and are differentiated:—they belong to the realm of matter (*ji* 事); the middle, however, does no more know such dualism, being the one absolute and equal truth;—namely the absolute reason (*ri* 理). When we consider the 10,000 phenomena from the point of view of emptiness and temporary existence (*kū* and *ke*), they are eternally differentiated; but when we make them go back to their fundamental origin, namely to the truth of the middle (*chū*), they are absolutely equal to each other.

This teaching first introduces into the realm of Buddhist metaphysics the positive conception of absolute truth, called by different names, "true likeness" (Japanese, *shin-nyo* 眞如; in

Sanskrit, "tathatā), "real form," "Dharma-body," "Dharma-nature," "Store-house of the Tathagata," or "Vairoshana," all these terms being identical with the term "chū," the middle.

This middle appeared in the former teaching of "Tsū kyo" only like a thief in the night, it did not dare to show itself openly, and emptiness could come in contact with it only furtively and in the dark. Now in the teaching of "Betsu kyo" the full charm of the middle can be exercised on the empty in full daylight as both are publicly acknowledged and honoured members of the Mahayana tribe. Emptiness can now abandon itself to the middle without shame, like a bride to the bridegroom.

Consequently, the first two lines of the gāthā of the Madhyamika Śāstra which speak of the emptiness of the dharmas, assume now a very different signification, compared with the former interpretation. The dharmas, after they have entered into emptiness, gain the help of "mu-myō" (無明) or "non-brightness," in Sanskrit, avidyā, in English, ignorance—and by ignorance, which is the condition, they assume temporary existence. At last, they enter into the middle way, by identifying ignorance with absolute truth, "mu-myo" with "shin-nyo," "avidyā" with "tathatā."

We come to the last interpretation of the gāthā, as we find it in "En kyo" or the perfect teaching, which, as you will remember, is identical with the Tendai teaching proper.

According to this teaching, the three truths of the empty, the temporary existence, and the middle are no more arranged in horizontal and perpendicular order, as was the case in "Betsu kyo," but they are perfectly amalgamated and melted together: the empty being directly identical with the temporary existence or the middle, and the temporary existence being directly identical with the empty and the middle.

The emptiness of the dharmas, according to this teaching, means that all the innumerable dharmas are without any differentiation and perfectly amalgamated with each other in the absolute truth of true likeness (*shin-nyo*). This true likeness never increases nor decreases, it is not born, nor does it die, but

nevertheless is constantly changing its forms. It is similar to a great ocean, whose water is of a constant quantity and stability, but whose waves are for ever changing, rising, and disappearing. The waves of the ocean are the nature of the water itself; similarly the changing forms of the dharmas are the nature of Shin-nyo itself, and not caused by the help of some other extraneous factor, namely, by Mu-myo: Mu-myo is directly identical with Shin-nyo. As the absolute perfection comprises these two truths of emptiness and temporary existence, it is also the middle truth.

The "En kyo" view of the three truths, to the superficial observer, comes very near to the "Betsu kyo" view of the three truths, and yet there is a great difference between them, as great as between heaven and earth. The special teaching only acknowledges the dharmas as empty, after they have been absorbed by the absolute truth. The perfect teaching considers that all dharmas are in the absolute truth from the beginning and are therefore empty from the very first, fundamentally and originally.

"Emptiness," according to the special teaching, has an *a posteriori* meaning; according to the perfect teaching, it has an *a priori* meaning. The same may be said of the "temporary existence." The special teaching considers that the dharmas, after having entered the truth of emptiness, pass over to the temporary truth, and finally enter the middle truth, these being three distinct stages. The perfect teaching considers the "empty," the "temporary," and the "middle" as perfectly identical with each other.

The special teaching teaches, that "the three thousand dharmas, which exist by their nature from the very beginning" (*hon rai sho gu no san zen*, 本來性具ノ三千) and "the three thousand dharmas, which are created things" (*ji zo no san zen*, 事造ノ三千) are different from each other; the perfect teaching acknowledges the identity of both. That is to say: The special teaching considers the *a priori* (*sho gu* 性具) and the *a posteriori* (*ji zo* 事造) as distinct and different; the perfect teaching considers them as one and the same, the *a posteriori*

being only another manifestation of the *a priori*. Therefore, the perfect teaching never calls the *a posteriori* "temporary production," but emphatically says that the absolute world or the realm of original existence and the world of phenomena or the realm of causes and conditions are the same, or that our present world is Buddha's world.

To sum up: In the special teaching the phenomenal world is *indirectly* identical with the noumenal world, but there is no direct identity; although the phenomena are in the last instance a manifestation of the absolute, still the phenomenal world is actually differentiated and limited, while the noumenal world is undifferentiated and limitless. In the perfect teaching, on the contrary, there is no indirect, but *direct* identity between the noumenal world and the phenomenal world: the middle of the perfect teaching including both the empty and the temporal and being involved in the empty and in the temporal. In the same way, the three thousand (i.e., all) dharmas exist, according to the perfect teaching, not only in the temporal, but also in the empty and in the middle.

Moreover this perfect amalgamation of the three truths of the "empty," "the temporal" and "the middle" is, as Chisha Daishi tells us, not a clever construction of his own fertile brain, but has objective existence and did not wait for any human being to come into being. It existed before philosophers discovered it and meditated on it.

As you can easily see now, the world view of Goethe, which I mentioned before and which is expressed by the simile of the magnet, might be called "Betsu" teaching, because in this view of the world the dualism of two extremes still subsists and is only indirectly neutralised by reducing the two extremes to one unifying original entity.

But Goethe did not stubbornly adhere to this world-view. In his pantheistic poems he clearly proceeds a step further and expresses himself in a way, which we may characterise as "En" view and which evidently is the highest view of Goethe. According to this "En" view, no more dualism at all is to be found in the universe: the negative is here not only directly identical with

the positive, but even directly identical with the amalgamation of the positive and of the negative. That means in Tendai terms:

1. The empty is directly identical with temporal existence and the middle.
2. The temporal existence is directly identical with the empty and the middle.
3. The middle is directly identical with the empty and temporal existence, the ultimate truth being the amalgamation of these three threefold identities expressed by the formula of "*en nyu san dai*" (圓融三諦) or "the perfectly amalgamated three truths."—(1=3, 3=1).

The Identity of the Human Mind and of the Universe.

It will probably be presumed by you that the "Chu Ron" or "Madhyamika Śāstra" (Nanjio 1179), from which Emon selected his gāthā, is the main canonical commentary of the Tendai school. But as a matter of fact, the Śāstra on which the Tendai philosophy is mainly based, is not Nāgārjuna's "Chu Ron," but the "Dai Chi Do Ron" or "Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā Śāstra" (Nanjio 1169), also attributed to Nāgārjuna. The "Chū Ron" is one of the three, in fact the most important of the three commentaries, on which the San Ron- or Madhyamika School is founded, and gives on the whole a negative formulation of the highest metaphysical reality. The "Dai Chi Do Ron" or "Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā Śāstra," on the contrary, gives a positive formulation of the ultimate reality and was, therefore, selected by the Tendai school as its main canonical commentary.

This preference given to the "Dai Chi Do Ron" by Tendai, is easy to understand, when we consider that the Tendai philosophy is an offshoot of the Madhyamika philosophy: the negative foundations of this Indian school having become inverted by the Chinese Tendai school and adopting a positive meaning. The middle way taught by the Madhyamika school was absolute emptiness; in Tendai philosophy the middle way is identical

with the three thousand dharmas, i.e., *the whole universe, which exists in our thought of only one moment:*

"Ichi-nen San-zen (一念三千),
San-zen Ichi-nen (三千一念)"—
"One thought is the three thousand,
The three thousand are one thought"

is a fundamental principle of the Tendai teaching, expressing the identity of the subject and of the object, or the truth that the human mind and the universe are both one and the same absolute reality.

The number, 3000, mentioned above, needs an explanation.

A fundamental doctrine of Tendai philosophy, based on some statement by the Hokke Kyo in Kumārajīva's translation, says that every dharma possesses *Ten Attributes*—the so-called "Jū Nyo Ze" (十如是, literally "ten-like-this")—namely:

1. So (相)=form, i.e., outer appearance;
2. Sho (性)=nature, i.e., inner essence;
3. Tai (體)=body, i.e., substance, namely, physical body and mind, which are supporting the other nyoze's;
4. Riki (力)=power, i.e., in latent and dynamical meaning;
5. Sa (作)=action, i.e., application of *riki* or power;
6. In (因)=cause, i.e., direct or main cause;
7. En (緣)=condition, i.e., indirect or assisting cause;
8. Kwa (果)=effect, i.e., effect of the direct cause, namely of *in*;
9. Ho (報)=reward, i.e., effect of both *in* and *kwa*;
10. Hon-matsu-ku-kyo-to (本末究意等)="beginning" (i.e., "so"=form) and "end" (i.e., "ho"=reward) are melted into each other, i.e., this Nyo-ze No. 10 representing the harmonising principle, by which the other nine Nyo-ze's from "so" to "ho" are all amalgamated with each other.

So, the ten "Nyo-ze" are like a ring, in which we cannot distinguish any beginning or end, or in which any such distinction has only a conventional meaning.

The first nine "Nyo-ze" are *ji* (事=matter) while "Nyo-ze" No. 10 is *ri* (理=absolute reason), by which the other nine are harmonised and in which they find their true being and final reconciliation. Therefore, the nine material attributes are no other than the "reason of equality" (byō-dō-no-ri 平等之理) itself. That means to say: In the last instance, the ten "Nyo-ze" are equal to each other and every one of the ten "Nyo-ze" involves the nine others without exception.

The "Ju Nyō-ze" System amalgamates bewilderment (*mei* 迷) and understanding (*go* 悟); it manifests the principle that "matter and reason are not different" and that "the temporal and the real are one and the same." By this teaching of the "Ju Nyo-ze," the "Eight Teachings" of Tendai—(*Hakkyo*) become transformed into the "One Vehicle"—(*Ichi jō*).

In the "reason of equality" (or "Nyo-ze" No. 10) the three truths of "Kū," "Ke," "Chu," of the empty, the temporal, and the middle are involved, as these three truths themselves are the absolute reason (*ri*), which is also commonly called "real form," (*Jitsu Sō* 實相). From the point of view of "emptiness" the "Ju Nyo-ze" are "true nothingness" (*shin kū* 眞空); from the point of view of "temporal existence" the "Jū Nyo-ze" are "wonderful existence" (*myo ke* 妙假); from the point of view of the "middle," the "Jū Nyo-ze" are "the dharma-world of the middle way" (*chū dō hō kai* 中道法界).

However, as the three truths of "Ku," "Ke" and "Chū" are identical with each other and exist perfectly in each other—not perpendicularly, and not horizontally, not before and not after, but completely amalgamated—therefore, everyone of the ten "Nyo-ze" possesses these three truths harmonised perfectly and without exception.

Buddha preached the ten "Nyo-ze," in order to explain that all dharmas are real form (*Sho-hō jitsu-sō* 諸法實相), namely, Absolute Reality, or "True Likeness" (*Shin-Nyo* 眞如) itself, which idea is also exemplified in the Tendai philosophy by the identification of the ten "Nyo-ze" with the ten "Shin-Nyo," i.e., the ten characteristics of Tathatā.

This teaching of the "Jū Nyo-ze" is so fundamental, that

the sentence of the Upāya Chapter of the Hokke Sutra, in which it appears, has been called the "Abbreviated Hokke Sutra,"—the meaning of the full Hokke Sutra being condensed in this sentence, according to the Tendai view. But, on the other side, this teaching is so profound that the Hokke Sutra says: "Only Buddha and Buddhas can go to the botttom of the real form of all dharmas, that is of the so-called "Nyo-ze Sō," "Nyo-ze Sho, etc."

With the teaching of the ten Nyo-ze there is intimately connected in the Tendai philosophy the teaching of the *Ten Worlds* or "Jikkai" (十界), which Chisha Daishi borrowed from the Kegon Sutra.

According to this doctrine, there are not only six ways of existence, as the Hinayana Buddhism taught, but ten ways of existence, by adding four more to the original six:

1. Jigoku, or Hell; 2. Gaki, or Hungry Ghosts; 3. Chiku Shō, or Animal Life; 4. Asuras, or Fighting Demons; 5. Nin, or Human Beings; 6. Ten, or Heavenly Gods; 7. Shōmon, or Śrāvakas; 8. Enkaku, or Pratyeka-Buddhas; 9. Bosatsu, or Bodhisattvas; 10. Butsu, or Buddhas.

As the tenth "Nyo-ze" comprises all other nine "Nyo-ze's," and as in every one "Nyo-ze" the other nine are involved, so the tenth world comprises all the other nine worlds and in every world the other nine are involved. According to the superficial view, the first nine worlds are temporal (*gon* 權) and the tenth world is real (*jitsu* 實): but when we consider their true essence, then the ten worlds are not different from each other, but originally equal, as all ten worlds possess the "temporal" and the "real" in an incomprehensible way. So, Hell is not different from the Buddha-world, both being identical from the point of view of the middle way.

Thus, the same view of the identity of contrasts, which we found already applied to the ten "Nyo-ze," we find also applied to the ten Worlds.

Now, everyone of the ten worlds involves the ten "Nyo-ze." As every dharma-world involves the nine other dharma-worlds, we get 10 ×10 dharma-worlds or 100 dharma-worlds possessing

each the ten "Nyo ze," which brings the number of "Nyo-ze's" up to 1000. Moreover, every world (*kai*, Sanskrit, *dhātu*) comprises three separate realms (*seken* 世間, Sanskrit, *loka*): namely, the Five Bundles (*goun* 五蘊, Sanskrit the five *skandhas*), All Living Beings (*shujo* 衆生), and Country and Earth (*kokudo* 國土), which again comprise the ten "Nyo-ze." We have therefore to multiply the 1000 "Nyo-ze" by three getting 3000 "Nyo-ze," or 3000 dharmas, the precise formula being: 10 Nyo-ze×10 Kai×10 Kai×3 Seken=3000 dharmas. These 3000 dharmas exist, as already stated, in "one mind," ie.., in every thought, feeling, and volition of even one moment's duration:

"One thought is the three thousand;
The three thousand are one thought!"

Other Identities.

The doctrine described above lays down a twofold identity. Another threefold indentity is established by a famous formulation of the Tendai school, which says that *Buddha, the mind, and all living beings*[1] are one and the same absolute reality. When the absolute reality is the knowing and distinguishing force in myself, it is called the "mind"; when revealed in the external animate world, it is called "all living beings"; when it is revealed in the work of enlightenment and

[1] Not "Buddha, the universal mind, and all things," as Armstrong says, who characterizes Tendai teaching as "Absolute Idealism," while it is (roughly characterized) Absolute Realism. "The mind," according to the orthodox Tendai school, as represented by Shimei Daishi, means here not at all the "universal" mind, but on the contrary the "individual" human mind with all its shortcomings. The third of the Triad is "all other living beings," (Japanese, *shu jō*; sanskrit, *sattva*), and not "all things,"—all things, (i.e. "the many kinds of five aggregates," or the universe) being the objects, which, according to this particular doctrine, are created by Buddha, the individual mind, and all living beings. As the object, however, involves the subject, the "creators" can at the same time be considered as "created," anyone of the Triad creating the two others, or being created by the two others. (Cf. R. C. Armstrong, "The Doctrine of the Tendai Sect," in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. III, No. 1, April–June, 1924 pp. 43–44).

considered as effect, it is called "Buddha";—such revelation being of course no revelation in a literary meaning, i.e., something which exists only *a posteriori,* as the One Absolute Reality, according to our former statements, involves the identity of the *a posteriori* and the *a priori.*

It is only another formulation of the same truth of identity, when Tendai proclaims the sameness of "*ri*" (理) and "*ji*" (事),—i.e. of reason and matter,—by "ri" meaning the absolute reason, and by "ji" the physical as well as the psychical dharmas, or human mind as well as matter. This formulation amounts to a proclamation of the identity of the noumenon and the phenomena, of the eternal and of the temporal, of Nirvana and Samsara.

All these identities are involved in the identity of the "empty," of the "temporal being," and of the "middle," and find their highest religious formulation in the identity of the *Dharmakāya,* the *Sambhogakāya* and the *Nirmānakāya,* or of the three Buddha-bodies, namely, the spiritual body, the compensation body, and the transformation body.

It would be very interesting to point out here striking similarities between the Tendai teaching and the Indian philosophy and Taoist teaching on the one side, and with the Christian metaphysics and the German transcendental philosophy on the other side. But our time does not allow us such excursions, as it does not allow me to deal any further with the purely theoretical part of Tendai teaching, which in my work on Tendai philosophy, comprises not less than twenty-four chapters.

III. The Practical Teaching.

It will be indispensable, however, to say at least a few words on the third part of Tendai philosophy, on the practical teaching, which corresponds to what modern philosophers, like the already-mentioned Professor Messer, call "irrationalistic philosophy," or "philosophy of sentiment, intuition, and action."

At the outset, let me correct here two misconceptions. It

has been stated repeatedly, for instance, by Sir Charles Eliot in his book *Hinduism and Buddhism*, that "Chi-kai followed originally Bodhidharma's teaching," before evolving his own meditative system.[1]

Of Nangaku Eshi, it is said by Edkins (*Chinese Buddhism* p. 170): "He was a monk of one of the sects that followed the teaching of Bodhidharma."

But in the biography of Chisha Daishi and in the works left by his teacher, Nangaku Eshi, we do not find anything which would justify the views that these two patriarchs of the Tendai school, commonly called "Zen ji" or "Zen Teachers," were at any time of their lives under the spell of Dharma Daishi's Zen teaching. Of the meditative system of Chisha Daishi, and here I come to the second misconception which I want to correct, the excellent Buddhist scholar, Beal, has given an outline in his *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*. But unfortunately he selected for translation the "Small Meditation" or the "Shō Shi Kwan (小止觀)" by Chisha Daishi, also called "Dō Mō Shi Kwan (童蒙止觀)" or "Meditation for Childhood," in two fasc. Nanjio 1540 which, as the name indicates, was considered by the author himself as a mere A B C book for beginners. The "Great Meditation" or "Maka Shi Kwan (摩訶止觀)" by Chisha Daishi, which with Keikei's commentary, comprises forty volumes and really contains the practical Tendai philosophy, was not even mentioned by Beal, so that the reader gains the entirely erroneous impression that the "Small Meditation" is the last word that Chisha Daishi had to say on Meditation.

In Dharma Daisha's Zen School, meditation is the one and only thing. In Chisha Daishi's Tendai School meditation or, as it is called here, "Shi Kwan (止觀)," i.e. "fixedness of mind and observation"[2] in Sanskrit, Samatha (=calm) and Vipāś-

[1] Eliot, Vol. III, p. 310 says: "Chi-kai followed originally Bodhidharma's teaching, but ultimately rejected the view, that contemplation is all sufficient."

[2] The three translations offered by Edkins for the term "Shi Kwan" (Chinese, *chi-kwan*) namely: "Reflection carried to its limiting point," or "Limited or perfected observation," or simply "Perfected observation,"

yana (=insight)[3] is also indispensable, but not more and not less than philosophy proper. While in the Zen School meditation is only a discipline, in the Tendai School meditation is associated with philosophy. While Zen Buddhism acknowledges intuition only, Tendai Buddhism acknowledges both intellect and intuition considering them as the two wheels of the vehicle, which carries us to enlightenment.

It goes without saying that Tendai meditation, making full allowance for philosophy, i.e., for religious ecclesiastical philosophy, is of a much more intellectual character than Zen meditation and must make a much stronger appeal to intellectual people. The philosophical conceptions of the "empty," the "temporal existence," and the "middle," which are the central ideas of Tendai theory are also the main objects of Tendai meditation. And these three meditations are all involved simultaneously in the mind of one moment: "Isshin Sangwan (一心三觀),—"*One Mind Three Meditations*"—being the fundamental formula of the practical Tendai teaching.

What this meditation in "En" 圓 teaching means, we can best understand when we compare it with the meditation in "Betsu" teaching.

According to "Betsu" teaching: When the practitioner fully understands the truth of emptiness, he annihilates the ordinary bewilderments of feeling and thinking; when he fully understands the truth of temporal existence, then he annihilates the innumerable "sand and dust" bewilderments; when he fully understands the truth of the middle way, then he annihilates the delicate bewilderments of ignorance (*avidyā*). The whole path of saintship is traversed according to a definite order, consisting of fifty-two definite steps: before the practi-

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are all not to the point. (Cf. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 172, 179 181.) Beal translated the term "Chi Kwan" by "Knowledge and meditation" which is also incorrect. (Cf. Beal's *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 250).

[3] These two Sanskrit terms must of course not be understood here in narrow Hinayana meaning, but have distinct Mahayana colour, as the term "Maka" (=*Mahā*), placed in front of them, indicates.

tioner has gained the wisdom of emptiness, he cannot gain the wisdom of temporal existence, and before he has gained the wisdom of temporal existence, he cannot gain the wisdom of the middle way.

In the "En" teaching, on the contrary, enlightenment is suddenly and completely gained without any definite order.

The mind, by which and on which we meditate, is our normal, everyday mind, which has only to be purified, in order to become identified with the highest truth. This normal, human mind possesses, according to the Tendai view, three possibilities of gaining knowledge: namely, by hearing or reading, by intellectual operation, and by intuition. From these three sources of knowledge all worldly wisdom as well as all Buddhist knowledge, is derived: even in the highest Buddhist teaching, namely the "En" or perfect teaching, we still find hearing wisdom and thinking wisdom associated with intuitive wisdom. This last way of *Erkenntnis* may, from a relative or conventional point of view, be considered as the highest one; from an absolute point of view, it is of the same order as the two former ones; in fact, all three are fundamentally one.

Like the pure theory or metaphysics and like the synthesis of the whole Buddhist teaching, so is the practical teaching of Tendai based on sutras and śāstras, as can be seen from a statement by Keikei Tannen, who says in his "Shi Kwan Gi Rei" (止觀義例, "The Meaning and Rule of the Great Meditation"):

"The three meditations (*San Gwan*) exist originally on the foundation of "Yo-Ra-Ku" (Sutra)[1].....Moreover the meaning [of "San Gwan"], which is adopted [by the Tendai school] considers the "Hokke" [Sutra] as its bones, the "Chi Ron" [Dai-Chi-Do-Ron]as its compass, the "Dai Kyo" [Dai-Nehan Kyo] as helper, the "Dai Bon" [Dai-Bon-Hannya Kyo] as rule of meditation: all sutras help to bring them [the three meditations] to perfection."

However, we must keep in mind, what we have already said at the beginning of our very rudimentary outline of Tendai

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[1] Bosatsu Yo Raku Hon Go Kyo, Nanjio 1541, 2 fas.

philosophy: What Chisha Daishi took from the sutras and śāstras were only bricks with which he constructed his philosophical building, according to his own plan.—using the building materials *ad libitum*, never making himself the slave of them, but always mastering them as a supreme genius.

Time forbids to say any more on the practical Tendai teaching. As in my outline of the theoretical part I had to omit all special problems, so I must leave aside here all technical details, which really form the practical Tendai teaching.

My only purpose to-day was to make my audience acquainted with a few fundamental ideas of Tendai teaching. But even this information is so scanty, that at the end of my lecture I have the feeling of having given you nothing.

In Conclusion.

Let me conclude by a short and very famous passage from Chisha Daishi's "Great Meditation," which still to-day is used as a daily prayer by all Tendai priests, and is commonly called the "En-Don Chapter" (圓頓章) of the "Maka-Shikwan."

It may help you to form an opinion on the worth or worthlessness of Tendai teaching. It reads:

"To practise the perfect and sudden meditation (*en-don shi-kwan*) means, to meditate from the first moment on the True Reality [i.e., on the Absolute]. Any object meditated on is the middle way [i.e., absolute truth] itself, and there is nothing but truth. Tranquillise your subjective condition, until it becomes harmonised with the absolute universe! Identify your subjective wisdom with the absolute universe! Then any single colour or odour will be nothing other than the middle way. The ego, the Buddhas, and all animate beings are also the same [i.e., the middle way or the meditation on the middle way]. The five Skandhas [i.e., the five aggregates forming every human being: body, sentiments, perception, Sanskara and consciousness] and the twelve Āyatanas [i.e., the six senses and six objects of the senses] are all Tathatā [i.e., Suchness or the Absolute]. Consequently, there is no pain to be relieved of! Ignorance and

passions are enlightenment itself. Consequently, there is no need to cut off the origin of suffering [i.e., the passions]. The extreme ideas [i.e., of emptiness and temporary existence] or the wrong ideas [i.e., the heresies] are the middle or the right meditation; there is no way to practice. Birth and death are Nirvana. Consequently, there is no annihilation of passions, in order to become enlightened. There is no pain and no passion: therefore, nothing is worldly. There is no way and no annihilation of passions: therefore, there is nothing superworldly. There is only the One True Reality, there is nothing besides True Reality. The absolute calm of the Dharma Nature [i.e. the absolute Reality] is called fixedness of mind [Japanese, *shi*, Sanskrit, *Śamatha*): the quiet but eternal wisdom [of the Dharma-Nature] is called intuition [Japanese, *kwan*, Sanskrit, *Vipaśyanā*]. We may speak of beginning and end [in the practice of meditation]; but [really] there is no such difference. That is called "En-Don Shi Kwan" [the perfect and sudden meditation]."

There is a saying: "To a Tendai-man anything is wonderful." How could it be otherwise as for a Tendai-man anything is the Absolute Reality itself? It is also said. "The whole Tendai teaching can be summarised by this one little word, "wonderful." The term, "wonderful" (Japanese, *myō* 妙), implies the meaning "inexpressible." I may, therefore, be excused, if I could not express what I had hoped to express.

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