

## A Historical Outline of Japanese Research on the Chinese Chan Writings from Dunhuang

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**Preface**

It is a well-known fact that a great number of ancient documents, known as the Dunhuang documents, were discovered at Dunhuang, in Cave No. 17 (the Sūtra Depository Cave) of the Thousand Buddha Caves, Mogao Caves. The works relating to Chan are generally referred to as the Dunhuang Chan writings, and these comprise one section of Buddhist literature, consisting of approximately 100 works, and numbering in all more than 300 items including variants.

These can now be generally classified according to subject matter as follows:

- Historical works of transmission of the Chan Schools, the so-called “Transmission of the Lamp Histories”.
- “Recorded sayings”, which record the sermon and the question-and-answer forms of exposition by a Chan priest—or Chan teaching in the form of question-and-answer.
- Verses expressing in eulogistic form the realm of Enlightenment and the joy of practising the Way, or the attitude to practice.
- Spurious sūtras of instruction in Chan, borrowing the forms of Buddhist literature, or excerpts from sūtras, and comments on them by Chan priests.

Also, the Chan writings in Tibetan translation have attracted particular attention in later years. Chinese Chan came to Tibet during the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (786–848), and quite a number of Chinese Chan writings were translated into Tibetan.

So, in what manner has the introduction to the discovery of these Dun-huang Chan writings and the research so far been conducted? The aim of

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the present article is to review the course of this research and summarize the history of Chinese Chan. As the research on the Chan writings in Tibetan translation belongs to the field of Tibetology and not Sinology, I shall not touch upon it here.

### **Yabuki Keiki and his works**

Buddhism, originally introduced from India, united with Chinese culture, and as the research on these Dunhuang works on Chan elucidates the history and thought of Chinese Chan, it is a matter of vital interest for the history of Chinese Buddhism, in particular the history of the Chinese Chan Schools. By examining the history of recent academic study on the history of the Chinese Chan Schools, we can come to an understanding of what an important part these studies on the Dunhuang Chan writings have really played. Research on Chinese Chan in recent times started in the first decade of this century, just at the time when the excavation of the Thousand Buddha Caves, Mogao Caves at Dunhuang, took place. Thereafter, during the next decade, the results of studies by scholars such as Sakaino Kōyō, Matsumoto Bunzaburō, Kohō Chisan, and Nukariya Kaiten were published one after another, here enumerated as follows:

- Sakaino Kōyō. *Shina Bukkyōshi-kō*. Morie Shoten, 1907  
Matsumoto Bunzaburō. *Daruma*. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911; revised ed., *Daruma no kenkyū*. Daichi Shobō, 1942  
———. *Kongōkyō to Rokusodankyō no kenkyū*. Baiyō Shoin, 1913  
Kohō Chisan. *Zenshūshi*. Koyūkan, 1919; repr. as *Indo-Shina Nihon Zenshūshi*. Daihonzan Sōjiji, 1974  
Nukariya Kaiten. *Zengaku shisōshi*. 2 vols. Genkōsha, 1925; repr. Meicho Kankōkai, 1969

However, at this stage, research on the Dunhuang Chan writings had yet to be undertaken.

Now, the first to discover the Dunhuang Chan writings, or Dunhuang works relating to Chinese Chan, was Yabuki Keiki in 1916. Yabuki, who had studied these Dunhuang texts at the British Museum in the autumn of that year, presented to the public the results of his study for the first time in May 1917 at the exhibition “Tonkō kosha Butten rōtogurafu-ten”, held by Shūkyō University (now Taishō University). In the exhibition catalogue from that time, *Shutain [Stein]-shi shūshū Tonkō-chihō-shutsu kosha Butten rōtogurafu kaisetsu mokuroku* (publ. 22nd May 1917, on the anniversary of the founding of Shūkyō University. The same contents were published in *Shūkyō Kenkyū*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (Sept. 1917), No. 6 (Nov. 1917), and No. 8 (Aug. 1918)). The following seven Dunhuang works on Chan were introduced from among 132 items of ancient, lost, and unknown Buddhist works:

1. *Chanyao jing*<sup>1</sup> (S. 5532)
2. *Dacheng wusheng fangbian men* (S. 2503)
3. *Dacheng beizong lun* (S. 2581)
4. *Guanxin lun* (S. 2595)
5. [Treatise in one scroll (Untitled work)]<sup>2</sup> (S. 2715)
6. *Putidamo Chanshi guanmen*<sup>3</sup> (S. 2583)
7. *Chengxin lun* (S. 2669)

These were the first existing Dunhuang works on Chan to be known in Japan.

Later, a grant from the Keimeikai Foundation enabled Yabuki to conduct research on the documents at the British Museum a second time, from December 1922 to July 1923, and he made facsimiles of these with a view to future studies. These facsimiles are now kept at the library at Taishō University in five trunks, but part of this ancient material, with its more than six thousand leaves in all, was published in *Meisha yoin* (Oct. 1930) and *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Feb. 1932, Vol. 85 (Ancient and Lost Texts (*koitsu-bu*))); hereafter referred to as T. or *Taishō*). Before this, in 1928, the *Taishō Zōkyō* had published the Dunhuang works *Lidai fabao ji* (S. 516, P. 2125; Vol. 51) and *Liuzu tanjing* (S. 5475; Vol. 48), also a copy from Yabuki's facsimiles.

The fundamental results of Yabuki's research on the Dunhuang materials/texts are his *Meisha yoin kaisetsu* (Iwanami Shoten, 1933; repr. Rinsen Shoten, 1980), which is an explanatory study of the Dunhuang materials on the basis of the photographs of Dunhuang materials collected in the *Meisha yoin*, and his *Sankaikyōdō no kenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1927; repr. 1973), in which he succeeded in collecting studies on Dunhuang materials relating to The School of the Three Stages (Ch. Sanjie Jiao). Among the Dunhuang Chan materials the photographs of which Yabuki collected and recorded in the *Meisha yoin*, there are the following:

1. *Lengqie shizi ji* (75, 76–I; S. 2054)
2. *Lidai fabao ji* (76–II; S. 516)
3. *Wuxinlun* (77, 78–I; S. 5619)
4. *Nan tianzhu guo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen* (78–II; S. 2583)
5. *Liang Wu men Zhi Gong*<sup>4</sup> (78–III; S. 3177)
6. *Quanzhou qianfo xinzhū zhū zushi song* (85–I; S. 1635)
7. *Guanxin lun* (85–III; S. 2595)
8. *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng Mohe banruoboluomijing liuzu Huineng yu Shaozhou Dafan Si shi fatan jing* (102, 103; S. 5475)

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<sup>1</sup> Actually *Chanmen jing bingxu*.

<sup>2</sup> Actually a copy of the long version of *Erru sixing lun*.

<sup>3</sup> Actually *Nan tianzhu guo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen*.

<sup>4</sup> Actually *Liang Wu Di men Zhi Gong shang ruhe xiu dao*.

Of these eight items, the first seven are explained in *Meisha yoin kaisetsu* as the fifth main section, “Eulogistic Verses on the Historical Transmission, Miscellaneous Section [Shizhuan lizan zabu]”, and the eighth as the second extra section, “Random Scrolls on Minor Meditations [Xiguan canjuan]”. Moreover, at the end of this work, especially in the chapter entitled “Tonkō-shutsudo Shina kozenshi, narabi ni kozenseki-kankei bunken ni tsuite”, he gives very detailed discussion, presenting four items relating to ancient Chan history—adding the *Zhuan fabao ji bin xu* (P. 2634) to the *Lengqie shizi ji*, the *Lidai fabao ji*, and the *Quanzhou qianfo xinzhū zhū zushi song*, which he had previously shown photographs of and commented on—and five items relating to ancient Chan documents—adding the the *Dasheng kaixin xianxing dunwu zhenzong lun* (P. 2162) and the jointly copied *Wuxin lun* (S. 5619) and *Dunwu wusheng banruo song* (S. 5619, S. 468) to the *Wuxin lun*, *Nan tianzhu guo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen*, and the *Guanxin lun* (which he had similarly shown photographs of and commented upon).

Concerning the *Zhuan fabao ji bingxu*, a paper by Anayama Kōdō, “Den Hōbōki ni tsuite”, supports the historical evidence for Dufei’s authorship, and as for *Guanxin lun*, Yabuki reprinted Kamio Isshun’s *Kanjinron shikō* (in *Shūkyō kenkyū*, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 5 (1932)) after the commentary, and he himself wrote a postscript supporting the view which treats Datong Shenxiu as the author of Huilin’s *Yiqie jing yinyi*.

Thus, the exhaustive research by Yabuki was the first study on the Dun-huang works on Chan—a substantial and excellent result indeed—and can only be regarded as a great and remarkable achievement which has laid an unshakeable foundation for the expanding research on the Dunhuang Chan writings ever since. The publication of Yabuki’s studies relating to the Dunhuang Chan writings for the academic community awakened interest in these ancient, lost, and rare works. A typical example is the publishing of “Rokuso dankyō no shoshigaku-teki kenkyū” (*Zengaku kenkyū*, No. 17/18 (Mar./July 1932)), a comparative study of the three versions of the *Liuzu tanjing*—the Dunhuang version, the Kōshōji version, and the Ming Tripiṭaka version. The publishing of *Kongōkyō to Rokuso dankyō no kenkyū* (1913) by Matsumoto Bunzaburō, mentioned above, has in one way also effected a re-discovery of the *Chodang chip*, according to *Kōrai-ban Sodōshū to Zenshū kotenseki*, Vol. 2 (Tōyō Gakuen, 1933) by Anayama Kōdō.

### **Hu Shi and Kim Kugyōng**

Hu Shi’s first work on Chan was *Tuyi benli yanjiu fojiao de chanbao* from 1925 (*Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 3, Yadong Tushuguan, 1930), but at this stage he had not yet come in contact with the Dunhuang writings. The first time Hu Shi came across the Dunhuang documents was during a journey to Europe the following year, 1926, and he used the time between conferences and lectures for a study of these documents at the British Museum and the Bib-

liothèque Nationale in Paris. There were said to be fifty complete volumes in Paris and one hundred in London at this time, and the following Chan works were discovered:

- *Chanhui lu* (P. 3047)
- *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*, Vol. 1 (P. 3047)
- *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*, Vol. 2 (P. 3488)
- *Chanmen miyao jue* (P. 2104)
- *Dunwu wusheng banruo song* (S. 468)

The results of these investigations are compiled in *Haiwai dushu zaji* (*Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 3, 1927), written during his crossing of the Atlantic, but as titles like (1) A Historical Summary of the Dunhuang Manuscripts, (2) The Contents of the Dunhuang Works, (3) The Recorded Sayings of Shenhui, (4) The So-called *Yongjia Zhengdao Ge*, and (5) The Author and Age of the Verses in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* show, he gave priority to the authorship of Shenhui, which he himself had discovered, and a summary of the Dunhuang manuscripts. On his way home from abroad he stopped in Japan and met Takakusu Junjirō, Tokiwa Daijō and Yabuki Keiki. While he learned of the existence of the *Liuzu tanjing* (S. 5475) to be published by Yabuki, these Japanese scholars were eager to persuade Hu Shi that these posthumous works by Shenhui ought to be published.

Again, in August the same year he published *Putidao kao* (*Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 3); in March 1928, *Bai jiyi shidai de chanzong shixi*; and in July, *Lun chan zongshi de gangsong* (a collection of correspondence with Tang Yongtong) and *Chanxue gushi kao*—all of these in *Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 3—but these studies were for Hu Shi nothing but one part of the history of Chinese thought, as may be seen from the subtitle to *Putidamo kao*, “An Essay on the History of Chinese Philosophy in the Middle Ancient Period [Lun chanzong shi de gang song]”. Furthermore, Hu Shi was driven by necessity to take a new look at these studies, a result of his earlier plan to work with the Dunhuang Chan writings, and in accordance with the urging of the Japanese scholars. In this manner *Shenhui Heshang yiji* (Yadong Tushuguan, 1930; new ed. 1968 as *Hu Shi jinian guan*), which might be called the collected works of Dunhuang Chan writings from Hu Shi’s early period, appeared.

The contents of the four volumes are as follows, taking as their general title thoughts on recorded biographies relating to Shenhui, on whom Hu Shi pursued research throughout his life.

Intr.: *Heze Dashi Shenhui chuan*

1. *Shenhui yulu* 1<sup>5</sup> (P. 3047)
2. *Shenhui yulu* 2—*Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (P. 3047)

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<sup>5</sup> Actually *Nanyang Heshang wenda zaweiyi*.

3. *Shenhui yulu* 3—purportedly the latter half of *Nanzong ding shifei lun* (P. 3488)
4. *Dunwu wusheng bore song*, Misc.—that is, *Heze Dashi xianzong ji* (S. 468)  
App.: *Heze Shenhui Dashi yu* (collected in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Vol. 28)

Between Hu Shi and Suzuki Daisetsu<sup>6</sup>—who had published *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London 1930), and stimulated Hu Shi’s publishing of studies on Shenhui the academic interchange deepened, but Kim Kugyōng was the one who initiated the contact between these two. Kim, a young Korean scholar, studied under these two great scholars and he showed Hu Shi *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, which had been sent to him by Suzuki, and asked for his opinion on it. Hu Shi sent his comments in a letter to Kim in January 1931, and in his letter he wrote that he had facsimiles of the *Lengqie shizi ji* (P. 3436, S. 2054), which he had discovered together with *Shenhui yulu* among others, during his research in Paris and London, and that Suzuki did not know of the existence of the *Lengqie shizi ji*, a historical document of the Lengqie School. Through Kim, Suzuki—who had been informed of this—urged Hu Shi to publish *Lengqie shizi ji*, and in this manner a paperbound edition—*Jiaokan tang xieben Lengqie shizi ji*, revised by Kim Kugyōng and including a preface by Hu Shi, “Lengqie shizi ji xu” (*Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 4)—was published. It was then reprinted three years later, in 1935, in one volume of *Jiangyuan yeshu*. Regarding the *Jiangyuan yeshu*, Kim revised four works on the Chinese Chan Schools of the early period, edited in three volumes, with the following titles:

1. *Jiaokan anxin si ben Damo Dashi guanxin lun* (Longqing 4, Anxin Si woodblock edition, and the *Taishō* edition; S. 2595); *Jiaokan dasheng kaixin xianxing dunwu zhenzong lun* (P. 2162 and the *Taishō* edition)
2. *Jiaokan Lengqie shizi ji* (a revision of *Jiaokan tang xieben Lengqie shizi ji* (S. 2054 and P. 3436)
3. *Jiaokan lidai fabao ji* (rev. ed. in 3 vols.; *Taishō* edition; P. 2125 and S. 516)

Hu Shi resumed his former study on the *Shenhui Heshangyiji* and published “Lengqie zong kao” (*Hu Shi wencan*, Vol. 4, 1935), providing a new angle of research on the Chan School of the early period in compliance with the preface he had written for the *Lengqie shizi ji*, edited by Kim; this work has had a great influence on the modern history of research on the Chinese

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<sup>6</sup> *Tr. note:* For the sake of consistency within this article, this name will be given in the Japanese manner, and with the correct Hepburn romanization, not the customary “Daisetz [T.] Suzuki”.

Chan schools according to the Dunhuang writings. In October the same year the first volume of *Hu Shi lunxue jinzhū* was published at the Shangwu Yinshuguan as a synthesis of his latest research; in this, beginning with the previously mentioned “Heze Dashi Shenhui zhuan” (Apr. 1930), articles such as “‘Ba Caoqi Dashi zhuan’—tanjing kao zhiyi [Part One]” (Jan. 1930), and “‘Ba Riben Jingdu kuchuan Xingsheng Si [Nihon Kyōto Horikawa Kōshōjij]-zang beisong huixin ben tanjing ying yinben’—tanjing kao, zhier [Part Two]” (Mar. 1934) were included.

In order to introduce these brilliant research results of Hu Shi’s to the Japanese academic community, Imazeki Tenhō chose six papers relating to Chan studies from the former’s *Hu Shi Wencan*, Vol. 3, and *Hu Shi lunxue jinzhū*, Vol. 1, translated them into Japanese, and published them in September 1936 as *Shina zengaku no henshen* (Tōhōgakugei Shoin). In August the same year the first volume of *Nikka Bukkyō Kenkyūkai nenpō* was published, and in this the latest result of Hu Shi’s studies, *Lengqie zongkao*, which had appeared in a Japanese translation in *Shina Zengaku no henshen*, was included in a new translation by Iwai Tairyō and Wang Hecheng. At the same time, Suzuki Daisetsu also published *Zenshū shoso tōshite no Daruma no Zenpō*, and so it came about that research on the early Chan Schools took the form of rivalry between Japanese and Chinese scholars. However, later in 1938 Hu Shi was first given a post at the American embassy; then in 1946 he became head of Peking University; and finally he went to America as an exile due to the political changes in 1948. In the course of these fifteen years he withdrew from his research on Chan due to these great upheavals.

A revival of Hu Shi’s studies on Chan was inaugurated in 1952 with “Liuzu tanjing yuanzuo (tanjing) kao” (*Hu Shi shougao*, Vol. 7, Part 1), in 1953 with “Zongmi de Shenhui luezhuan” (*Hu Shi shougao*, Vol. 7, Part 2), and advanced on a large scale with “Xin jiaoding de Dunhuang xieben Shenhui huoshang yizhu liangji” in draft form (*Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, Vol. 29; Taipei, 1958). Being a revision of the hitherto known *Tanyu* and *Ding shifei lun* on the basis of P. 2045 (the first half of which consisted of the newly reappeared *Nanyang heshang dunliao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu*; the second half, of the latter half of the *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*), this is a complete restoration of the original manuscripts; to this are appended some historical considerations concerning Shenhui. Its contents are as follows:

1. *Nanyang heshang dunliao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* (P. 2045, han 81);  
Addendum: *Nanzong ding xiezheng wugeng zhuan* (P. 2045)
2. *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*, Vol. 1 (P. 3047)
3. *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*, Vol. 2 (P. 2045, P. 3488)
4. Postscripts of the critically revised texts.  
(1) Postscript of the revised *Nanyang heshang dunliao jietuo*

*chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu*

- (2) Postscript of the revised *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*
- (3) *Fuji Shenhui heshang de shengzu nian xin kaozheng*
- (4) *Zongji sanshi duonianlai lixu chuxian de Shenhui yizhu* Appendix:  
*Nanyang heshang dunliao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu*,  
*Dunhuang xieben zhaopian*

Especially in these revised postscripts he managed to revise the traditional view substantially, by thirty years, by, *inter alia*, moving the dates for Shen-hui's life two years on, from 668–760 to 670–762; changing the time of the latter's attack on the Northern School from Kaiyuan 21 (733) or 22 (734) to Kaiyuan 20 (732); and revising the traditional view that Shenhui was the author of the *Liuzu tanjing* to regarding the main portion as the work of Shenhui. This is the real achievement of Hu Shi's "Zongji sanshi duonianlai lixu chuxian de Shenhui yizhu".

The introduction to Japan of Stein's documents in Chinese on microfilm by Enoki Kazuo during 1952–3 provided an opportunity for a revival of Dunhuang studies in Japan, and research by specialists within each field was furthered, centring on the Research Institute for the Humanities at Kyōto University and the Tōyō Bunko. A fragment of *Shengwei ji* (S. 4478) was discovered by Iriya Yoshitaka, then professor at Kyoto University, and the results of the research on this were introduced to the academic community in Yanagida Seizan's "Genmon-shōchūshū ni tsuite" (*Bukkyōshigaku*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Oct. 1958)). One more discovery by Iriya, *Shenhui yulu* (S. 6557), was known to Hu Shi in Taiwan, with whom contact had continued since the publication of Hu Shi's paper in 1958, and thus the draft of "Shenhui heshang yulu de disange Dunhuang xieben 'Nanyang heshang wenda zawei yi... Liudeng ji'" (*Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, Suppl. Vol. 4, Taipei, 1960) was published. And so it became clear that the original which had been called an imitation of the *Shenhui yulu* was actually the *Wenda zawei yi*. This discovery of Iriya's was also known to the French orientalist, Paul Demiéville; he published "Deux Documents de Touenhouang sur le Dhyāna Chinois" in *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyōshigaku ronshū*,<sup>7</sup> an article treating the two texts, *Dunwu dasheng zhengli jue* (S. 2672) and *Wenda zawei yi* (S. 6557); it received worldwide acclaim.

In the same way that Yabuki's presentation of the finding of the Dunhuang Chan materials had earlier drawn attention to the ancient lost documents such as the *Chodang chip*, these new studies on the Dunhuang materials made Hu Shi propose to Japanese scholars an investigation of the ancient

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<sup>7</sup> English title, *Essays on the History of Buddhism Presented to Professor Zenryū Tsukamoto*, Kyoto, 1961, pp. 1–27; repr. in: *Choix d'Études Bouddhiques* (1929–70), Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1973, pp. 320–46. [*Tr. note.*]



Chan documents which had been introduced to Japan of old, and subsequently dispersed and lost. Then, in February 1960, the same year in which the paper on *Wenda zawei yi* was published, a paper entitled “An Appeal for a Systematic Search in Japan for Long-hidden Tang Dynasty Source Materials on the Early History of Zen Buddhism” was published in *Bukkyō to bunka*, a collection of papers published in celebration of Suzuki Daisetsu’s 95th birthday, as an appeal for material brought to Japan in the past by Ennin, Enchin, and others.

So, adding the third volume of Shenhui’s recorded sayings to the other two recensions, Hu Shi, who had completed his research on Shenhui, proceeded to a study of Guifeng Zongmi, and completed “Ba Pei Xiu de Tang gu Guifeng ding hui Chanshi zhuanbao bei” (*Hu Shi shougao*, Vol. 7, Part 2) in August 1961; this article, published in the December 1962 issue *Zhongyangyanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, No. 34, after Hu Shi’s death on the 24th of February, became his parting word. Later, during the period 1966–70, Hu Shi’s unpublished papers were collected and published successively as *Hu Shi shougao*, 10 vols., and an enlarged and revised edition of *Shenhui heshang yiji* was published as well (Dec. 1968), adding a new collection of his studies on Shenhui, *Xin jiaoding de Dunhuang xieben Shenhui heshang yizhu liangzhong*.

### **Suzuki Daisetsu and Ui Hakuju**

The first work on Chinese Chan by Suzuki Daisetsu was *Zen no kenkyū* (Heigo Shuppansha, 1934; rev. ed., Meiji Shoin, 1934; *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Vol. 12, Iwanami Shoten, 1969). The great turning-point in his contact with the Dunhuang Chan writings, however, came when Kim Kugyōng showed Hu Shi *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*. And then Hu Shi informed Suzuki, through Kim Kugyōng, who had asked Hu Shi for his opinion of this work, that he owned the manuscript *Lengqie shizi ji* (P. 3436, S. 2054), and Kim Kugyōng also sent the revised and paperbound edition of *Jiaokan tang xieben lengqie shizi ji* for Suzuki. After having studied the *Lengqie shizi ji*, Suzuki published *Ryōgashi jiki to sono naiyō gaikan* (*Ōtani gakuhō*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Oct. 1934)) and brought his meeting with the Dunhuang Chan writings into practical effect. The year before, in 1930, Hu Shi’s *Shenhui heshang yiji* had been published, and when Ishii Mitsuo—who likewise had a copy of Shenhui’s *Luyu* [Recorded Sayings] from Dunhuang—privately published *Tonkō Shutsudo Jinne Roku* (1932), Suzuki wrote a commentary for it; when Ataka Yakichi published a facsimile of *Kōshōji-bon Rokuso dankyō* in September of the following year, 1933, Suzuki edited and revised three texts in co-operation with Kōda Rentarō: the previously mentioned and the *Kōshōji-bon Rokuso dankyō*, and the *Tonkō-bon Rokuso dankyō* brought back from England by Yabuki; adding a volume of commentary and contents to these three texts he published the four items in a single volume at Morie

Shoten, 1934. This is a comprehensive survey of Suzuki's studies relating to Huineng and Shenhui, and, together with Hu Shi's *Shenhui Heshang yizhu*, one of the absolute masterpieces of that period's research on the Dunhuang Chan materials. Its contents are as follows:

1. Tonkō-shutsudo kataku Jinne zenji goroku
2. Tonkō-shutsudo Rokuso dankyō
3. Kōshōji-bon Rokuso dankyō
4. Tonkō-shutsudo Jinne zenji goroku kaisetsu oyobi mokuji Tonkō-shutsudo Rokuso dankyō kaisetsu oyobi mokuji Kyōshōji-bon Rokuso dankyō kaisetsu oyobi mokuji

Suzuki, who since his contact with Hu Shi had had an intense desire to study the Dunhuang documents, travelled to Korea, Manchuria, and China, and set about investigating the documents at the Peking Library when he arrived there. The results of his trip will be described later, but in 1935 he studied the long edition of *Xi tianzhu guo Putidamo Chanshi guanmenfa dasheng falun* (Ryūkokū version) at the library of Ryūkokū University, where this Dunhuang text had been discovered by Tokushi Yūshō, and published a paper on the *Xiuxin yao lun*, “Ryūkokū Daigaku fuzoku toshokan-zō Tonkō bon Bodaidaruma kanmonhō daijōhōron, koto ni sono naka no ‘Shū shūshin’-yōron’ ni tsukite” (*Ōtani gakuho*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Mar. 1935)). This was later included in *Daruma no zempō to sono shisō oyobi sonota*, the appendix of “Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu”, Ataka Bukkyō Bunko, 1936), and in *Zen shisōshi kenkyū dai-ni* (Iwanami Shoten, 1951; *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Vol. 2, 1968 (repr.)). Furthermore, with regard to the *Kanjinron*, four texts were published and compared, under the title, “Daruma kanjinron (hasōron) shi-hon taikō”, in *Ōtani gakuho* (Vol. 15, No. 4 (Dec. 1934), and Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1935)):

1. The Dunhuang text, S. 2595
2. The Kanazawa Bunko edition, *Damo heshang guanxin poxiang lun*, a Japanese copy (Kenchō 4 11252) of a Chinese copy (Huichang 5 [8451])
3. A Korean printed edition (*Sōnmun ch'waryo*)
4. A Japanese popular edition (*Daruma daishi hasōron, Shōshitsu rokumon*)

Moreover, Suzuki, who knew of the existence of these alternative versions in the Ryūkokū collection, investigated these four texts, and, adding an extra Ryūkokū version, made a comparative study of five texts.

In June 1935, the same year, Suzuki published a private edition of the collection, based on the facsimiles of the Dunhuang Chan writings from the documents he had studied in Peking before: *Tonkō-shutsudo Shōshitsu issho*, which work was re-published the following year with a commentary, “Kōkan

Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu”, and “Daruma no zenpō to shisō oyobi sonota” as a synthesis of his studies (Ataka Bukkyō Bunko, 1936). The Chan writings included in *Tonkō-shutsudo Shōshitsu issho* are as follows:

- *Erru sixing lun* (Beijing su 99)
- *Guanxin yaolun, Zhengxin lun, Ruding zhenyan* (Beijing chang 75)
- *Heshang dunjiao jieshuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* (Beijing han 81)
- *Guanxing fa wumingshangshi ji*,<sup>8</sup> *Shamen zhisong shu, Ji Heshang shuoji* (Beijing run 84)  
*Huida Heshang dunwu dasheng mimi xinqi chanmen fa* (Beijing dao 86)

In the summer of 1936, when these Dunhuang Chan writings were published, Suzuki went to London and Paris to obtain facsimiles of the Dunhuang documents there.

I have mentioned before that the two works of the *Liuzu tangjing*, one a Dunhuang text, the other a Kōshōji version, were published by Suzuki; but a year after its publication, in 1935, Ōya Tokujō published “Gen’enyū kōrai kokuhon Rokuso daishi Hōbō dankyō ni tsuite” (*Zengaku kenkyū*, No. 23 (1935), an introduction to a Gen’enyū kōrai woodblock text; and when Ōkubo Dōshū published “Daijōji Rokuso-shi dankyō — Daijōji-hon wo chūshin to seru Rokuso dankyō no kenkyū” (*Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakkai kaihō*, Vol. 8 (Apr. 1938)), an introduction to a Daijōji version from the Daijōji collection in Kaga, Suzuki added a commentary to it and published a revised edition under the title, *Shōshū Sokeizan Rokusoshi dankyō* (Iwanami Shoten, 1932); in this manner three studies on the *Liuzu tanjing* were made public. One may clearly see from the above-mentioned studies that Suzuki—in pleasant contrast to Hu Shi, who devoted himself entirely to research on Heze Shenhui—applied himself prior to that to the study of the recorded sayings of Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch.

There is, however, another important Dunhuang Chan document from the early period besides the *Shenhui yulu* and the *Liuzu tanjing*, namely the *Jueguan lun*. The discoverer of this text was Kuno Hōryū, and when he published a paper as an introduction to the *Jueguan lun* (based on three Pelliot documents (P. 2074, P. 2732, and P. 2885) held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) with the title, “Ryūdōsei ni tomu Tōdai no Zenshū tenseki—Tonkō-shutsudo-bon ni okeru Nanzen Hokushū no daihyōteki sakuhin” (*Shūkyō kenkyū*, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Feb. 1937)), Suzuki also published a commentary and a collation of these three texts, entitled “Tonkō-shutsudo Daruma-oshō zekkanron ni tsukite” (*Bukkyō kenkyū*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (May

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<sup>8</sup> Actually *Jueguan lun*.

1937)). Besides this study, Kuno published two other works which relate to the early Chan Schools:

- “Gozu Hōyū ni oyoboseru Sanronshū no eikyō—Tonkō-shutsudo-bon wo chūshin toshite”, *Bukkyō kenkyū*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (Feb. 1939)
- “Hokushūzen—Tonkō-bon hakken ni yotte meiryō to nareru Jinshū no shisō”, *Taishō Daigaku gakuhō*, Vol. 30/31 (Mar. 1940)

These two works have had a great influence on research on the early Chan Schools, making the best possible use of the Dunhuang Chan writings.

This discovery of three Pelliot versions of the *Jueguan lun* by Kuno awakened considerable interest in the *Jueguan lun*. Thus the existence of these three Pelliot documents plus the *Guanxing fa wuming shangshi ji* (run 84) from the Beijing collection included in Suzuki’s *Shōshitsu issho*, and the *Erli lumen ron* (Ishii version; from the collection of Ishii Mitsuo)—five in all—became known. As a consequence, *Tonkō-shutsudo Sekisuiken-bon zekkanron* (Kōbundō, 1945), was published, with notes based on the Ishii photographic facsimile, and a comparison of the Ishii facsimile, the Ishii text and the Beijing text, as well as the three Pelliot texts; it was edited by Suzuki and revised by Furuta Shōkin.

In this manner Suzuki collated research on the Chan Schools of the early period, and in 1951 *Zen shisōshi kenkyū dai-ni—Daruma kara Rokuso Enō ni itaru* (Iwanami Shoten; repr. in *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Vol. 2, 1968) appeared. In the preface Suzuki wrote:

In this second volume of *Zen shisō-shi kenkyū* mainly papers on the development of Chan thought from Bodhidharma to Huineng have been included. On this point the documents from the Dunhuang site play a great role. Passages which have thus far been unclear have for the most part become clear.

As Suzuki says, there are indeed many controversial points in the Dunhuang Chan writings. In the first chapter, Bodhidharma’s method of Chan is treated, based on the appendix to *Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu*; the second chapter introduces the *Erru sixing lun*, the *Jueguan lun*, the *Wuxin lun*, and the *Guanmen* as the literary remains of Bodhidharma; the third, the Chan School of *Daoxin*; the fourth, the *Xiuxin yao lun* and the Chan School of *Hongren*; in the fifth, the Chan School of Huineng and the *Liuzu tanjing*. In the sixth chapter he gives a summary of Chan after Huineng, and the seventh and last chapter is a commentary on and textual revision of seven Dunhuang Chan writings. These seven Chan documents are as follows:

1. *Chengxin lun* (S. 2669, S.3558, S. 4064)
2. *Faxing lun* (S. 2669; and Ryūkokū collection)

3. *Sanbao wenda* (S. 2669; and Ryūkoku collection)
4. *Chanmen miyao jue* (S. 4037, P. 2104)
5. *Liaoxing ju bingxu*—*Chongji Si chanshi* (*Man heshang zhuan*) (S. 3558, S. 4064)
6. *Wolun chanshi kanxin bao* (S. 1494; and Ryūkoku collection)
7. *Shizi qizu fangbian wumen*—*zhiju chouxin lu zhi ruzuo* (Ryūkoku collection)

The *Zen shisōshi kenkyū dai-san* [Part 3], a sequel to *Zen shisōshi kenkyū dai-ni* [Part 2] (*Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Vol. 3 (in all 30 vols., plus 2 suppl. vols.), Iwanami Shoten, 1968) first became known after Suzuki's death. In the first chapter, entitled “Enō jijaku chokugo no Zen-shisō”, all the lineages are included as follows:

- The Northern School lineage
- The Southern School lineage, the Heze School
- Wushang's Jingchong lineage after Zhishen
- The Baotang lineage of Wuzhu
- The Oxhead lineage
- The Mazu lineage
- The Shitou lineage

The second chapter, “Kenkyū bunken” is a critical edition of six texts:

1. *Beizong wu fangbian* (No. 1: S. 2503(2); No. 2: S. 2503(3); No. 3, Part 1: P. 2058, P. 2270(1); No. 3, Part 2: P. 2270(2); No. 4: S. 2503(1))
2. *Shenhui lu* (compared with Ishii's and Hu Shi's editions (P. 3047))
3. *Dunwu wusheng bore song* (Hu Shi edition, S. 468))
4. *Heshang dunliao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* (Beijing han 81)
5. *Dasheng kaixin xianxing dunwu zhenzong lun* (P. 2162, compared with Kim Kugyōng's edition)
6. *Chanmen jing* (S. 5532)

Thus Suzuki's research on the Dunhuang Chan writings saw its conclusion with the two works, *Zen shisōshi kenkyū 2*, ranging from Bodhidharma to Huineng, and *Zen shisōshi kenkyū 3*, which begins immediately after Hui-neng's death.

In contrast to Suzuki, who was active within the Rinzai sect, Ui Hakuju is a typical scholar of the Sōtō sect. Ui was an authority on Indian philosophy; his study, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* [Studies on Indian Philosophy] (Iwanami

Shoten), numbers twelve volumes, but three volumes on Chan form a part of this work: *Zenshūshi kenkyū* (Vol. 9), *Zenshūshi kenkyū 2* (Vol. 10), and *Zenshūshi kenkyū 3* (Vol. 12). This study in three volumes, starting with the Dunhuang Chan writings, deals with the *Chodang chip*, and the stone and metal inscriptions, but then Ui is not always a straightforward scholar, in contrast to other scholars doing research on the original documents at that time. But from the point of view of a historical argument, based on extensive reading of historical material, it displays particularly sharp insight. When Ui's interest in the Chan Schools of the early period began in 1937, he was lagging six years behind Suzuki in this respect, but hereafter the results of his research were published successively during the next three years. These are, in chronological order:

- “Goso Konin no hōshi”, *Shūkyō kenkyū* (New Series), Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1937)
- “Gozu-hōyū to sono dentō”, *Nikka Bukkyō Kenkyūkai nenpō*, No. 2 (Sept. 1937)
- “Goso monka no nenbutsu-zen”, *Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai nenpō*, Vol. 10 (Apr. 1938)
- “Hokushūzen no hitobito to kyōsetsu”, *Bukkyō kenkyū*, Vol. 2, Nos. 3, 4 (June 1938, Dec. 1939)

To these four papers were added three more, plus “Hokushū zankan”, which revised material on the Northern Chan School, and these results of research on the early history of the Chan sect from Bodhidharma down to Mazu and Shitou (excepting the separately studied Huineng) were published by Iwanami Shoten in December 1939. This is the *Zenshūshi kenkyū* (repr., 1966), which corresponds to Volume 9 of *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*. Of the fragments of the Northern School given particularly in Chapter 8, the following nine Dunhuang Chan works have been revised:

- *Lengqie shizi ji—Shenxiu chuan* (S. 2054)
- *Chuan fabao ji* (first part; P. 2634)  
(App.:) *Lengqie shizi ji—Hongren chuan* (S. 2054)  
(App.:) *Lengqie shizi ji, xu* (S. 2054)
- *Dasheng beizong lun* (S. 2581)
- *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* (S. 2503(3))
- (A) *Dasheng wu fangbian beizong* (P. 2058, P. 2270)
- (B) *Wuti* (S. 2503(1))
- *Wuti*, app.: *Zan chanmen shi* (S. 2503(2))

Furthermore, *Zenshūshi kenkyū 2* (*Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, Vol. 10 (1941), has Huineng and his disciples as its main theme. Ui studies various texts

comparatively, especially with regard to the *Liuzu tanjing*, starting with the Dunhuang text S. 5475 as *Tanjing kao*. Ui attached little importance to marking off the parts appended by later generations, a method which Sekiguchi Shindai adopted in his studies on Bodhidharma; but such later additions do indeed show the concrete reality of Chan thought, and Yanagida Seizan points out in his introduction to *Tonkō Butten to zen* (Kōza Tonkō 8, Daitō Shuppansha, 1980) that it has the consequence of failing to notice that these additions present a valid aspect of the history of the Chan Schools.

*Zenshūshi kenkyū 3* (*Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, Vol. 12 (1943); repr. 1966) treats the history of the lineage of the Chinese Caodong [Jap. Sōtō] sect after Yunyan Tancheng until Tiantong Rujing, and assumes the transmission to the founder of the Japanese Sōtō sect, Eihei Dōgen. Only Chapter 9, “Chūka-den shinchi Zenmon shishi shōshū-zu no itsubun ni tsuite”, is based on Chinul’s *Popchip pyōrhaeng nok chōryo pyōngip sagi* (1570 (Kangan 4)), and is an excellent study on the lost work, *Chanmen shizi chengxi tu* by Guifeng Zongmi, and a critical survey of the history of the Chan Schools of the early period. This merits attention, as well as the fact that the end part of Guifeng Zongmi’s *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu* and an extra document containing an author’s index (Taiwan 133) were discovered in the collection of Dunhuang documents at the National Central Library at Taiwan in recent times.<sup>9</sup>

After Ui’s death, a plan to issue his unpublished papers was put forward by Nakamura Hajime and others, and, as the first volume of these, *Seiki Butten no kenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten) was published in December 1969. As the subtitle, *Tonkō issho kanyaku*, implies, it contains translations and comments on the sūtras and sastras from the Dunhuang site, and their commentaries, but as far as the Chan writings among them are concerned, the problem has been raised by Mizuno Kōgen that the *Foshuo faju jing* (former collection of Nakamura Fusetsu; S. 2021) and the *Faju jing shu* (P. 2325) were forged within the Chan Schools; this problem is treated in Chapter 5, “Bussetsu Hōkkūyō narabi ni shō”, with a Japanese translation of the texts and a commentary.

### **Sekiguchi Shindai and Yanagida Seizan**

Sekiguchi Shindai was a scholar belonging to the priesthood of the Tendai sect and, up to his recent decease, Professor Emeritus at Taishō University. His subject of study was *zhiguan* [cessation and insight] as a way of practice within Tiantai. Looking at the history of his literary activity, one discovers that he devoted himself entirely to the study and annotated translation of *shao zhiguan* and *mohe zhiguan* materials in Tiantai:

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<sup>9</sup> See my “Tonkō-bon Zengen shosenshū tojo zankan kō”, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, No. 37 (Mar. 1979).

- *Tendai shō-shikan no kenkyū* (1954); repr., rev. and enl., Risōsha, 1961; Sankibō Busshorin, 1974
- *Maka shikan—Zen no shisō genri*, 2 vols., Iwanami Shoten, 1966
- *Tendai shikan no kenkyū*, Iwanami Shoten, 1969
- *Tendai shō-shikan*, Iwanami Shoten, 1974
- *Shikan no kenkyū* (ed.), Iwanami Shoten, 1975

However, for Sekiguchi it was not enough only to study the tenets of his own school, the *zhiguan* of Tendai. Later, at the time when his *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū* (Shōkokusha, 1957; rev. and enl., Shunjūsha, 1969)—an attempt to throw light on the thought of Bodhidharma, revered as the founder of the Chan School in its formative stage—was published, he wrote in the preface as follows on the thought of Bodhidharma:

[Research on Bodhidharma Chan] should be elucidated by combining it with research on the Tendai [Tiantai] discipline of *shikan* [*zhiguan*], which one ought to call one of the two great main streams of Zen thinking on meditation. Hitherto these have hardly been studied together, but when one considers these two together their respective characteristics become clearer and clearer, and one wonders whether the general features of Zen thinking may be determined to be a distinctive form of Buddhism.

As he says, research on Bodhidharma Chan, which takes as its object of research Chan meditative thinking in general as a practical Buddhist path, and which is now one main stream standing in contrast to the Tiantai discipline of *zhiguan*, was a matter of essential importance for Sekiguchi.

From this point of view he studied the history and thought of Chinese Chan, and he published the following three works as the result of this:

- *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, Shōkokusha, 1957; enlarged ed., Shunjūsha, 1969
- *Zenshū shisōshi*, Sankibō Busshorin, 1964
- *Daruma no kenkyū*, Iwanami Shoten, 1967

Also, *Shikan no kenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1975) is a collection of papers by leading scholars which relates to *zhiguan*, and *Bukkyō no jissen genri* (Sankibō Busshorin, 1977), again enlarging upon this theme, is a collection of papers written by young scholars which relates to the principles of Buddhist practice—a theme which Sekiguchi came to pursue throughout his entire lifetime, and to which he devoted himself intensively, in this case as editor.

This study on *zhiguan* emphasises the categories of practice in the system of the so-called *jiaoguan ermen* [The Two Ways, Teaching and Meditation [within Tiantai]], and not one set of dogma is neglected in any way. Just as



Sekiguchi's maiden work, *Shōwa kōtei Tendai shi-kyōgi* (Sankibō Busshorin, 1935), was on the Four Teachings of Tiantai, his research articles on Tiantai's classificatory system (*jiaopan*) as supreme among the classifications of the Buddhist teaching which had become the basis for the formation of a new Buddhism in the Sui and the Tang, and which were the peculiar characteristic of Chinese Buddhism, are exceedingly numerous; and this brings to mind how, in his the last years when he had to withdraw from academic activity due to illness, he devoted all his energy to a polemic with Sato Tetsuei over the Tiantai doctrine of *wushi bajiao*, the Five Periods and Eight Doctrines.

Returning to the main subject, I would now like to draw attention to Seki-guchi's study of Chinese Chan. His interest was directed to a careful study of whether the so-called Bodhidharma discourses, texts written in the name of Bodhidharma as the founder of Chan, as *Damo dashi*, *Damo Chanshi*, *Damo heshang*, *Putidamo* and others from among the Dunhuang Chan writings, really were written by him. Sekiguchi came to the conclusion that most of these Bodhidharma discourses were in fact not works by Bodhidharma himself but later forgeries within the Chan community, and he began to question who then was the real author of the Bodhidharma discourses. From various studies on the Chan Schools of the early period, i.e. one making the *Jueguan lun* the work of Farong from the Oxhead School, and another study making Zhiyi from Tiantai the author of the *Zhengxin lun*, most of these studies were conducted in this manner.

Besides, he continued his research on the Dunhuang Chan documents he already knew, such as:

- Fu Dashi, *Xinglu nan* (Ryūkoku collection)
- *Zuimiao shengding jing* (formerly in the collection of the Lushun Museum)
- *Nan tianzhuguo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen* (S. 2583, S. 2669; Ryūkoku collection)
- *Damo Dashi sixing lun* (variant; S. 2715, su 99)

He also studied the *Damo Chanshi lun* from the former collection of Hashi-moto Gyoin, recently discovered, collected his former studies together with with introduction, and published the result as *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū* (1957).

*Daruma Daishi no kenkyū* is important, as it includes studies on the Dunhuang Chan writings from the period before the war by Suzuki Daisetsu and Ui Hakuju, and extends to the postwar period of the new studies on the Dunhuang Chan writings. This work contains four chapters and an appendix, and in the second chapter, "Daruma daishi senjutsu ni tsuite no shomondai", all of the so-called Bodhidharma discourses are again studied carefully one by one. These are given as follows:

1. *Damo chanshi lun* and Bodhidharma

2. *Damo heshang jueguan lun* and the Oxhead School
3. *Putidamo wuxin lun* and the Southern School
4. *Damo dashi guanxin lun* and the Northern School
5. *Zhengxin lun* and the practice of Tiantai *zhiguan*
6. *Damo chanshi guanmen* and Nianfo Chan
7. *Damo dashi sixing lun* and *Anxin famen*
8. *Damo dashi xinxin ming* and *Xiangxuan chuan*
9. *Xinglu nan* and Fu Dashi
10. *Damo dashi zhushi liuxing neizhen miaoyong jue* and Daoism

Also, four works entitled *Damo Dashi yanjiu xin ziliao* are introduced in the appendix of the last volume, and the first, *Damo chanshi lun* (Hashimoto collection), and the third, *Xinglu nan* (Ryūkoku collection) are Dunhuang Chan works. A compilation of later studies, *Zenshū shisōshi* (Sankibō Busshorin, 1964) was published as a sequel to *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*. Also other works were published after *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū*, such as:

“*Gozu-zen no rekishi to Daruma-zen*”, *Shūkyō Bunka*, Vol. 14 (Mar. 1959)

“*Zenshū no hassei*”, in *Fukui Hakushi shōju-kinen—Tōyō shisō ronshū*, 1960

“*Nanshū to Nanshū-zen*”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Mar. 1963)

“*Zenshū sotosetsu no hassei*”, in *Iwai Daiei Hakushi koki-kinen tenseki ronshū*, 1963

“*Daruma to Daruma*”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 1964)

These works are, however, an attempt to elucidate the evolutionary process of the history and thought of Chan, in particular the history of the formation of the Chan Schools. Starting with Sekiguchi’s own paper, “*Daruma no denki to senjutsu*”, on various aspects of the legend of Bodhidharma, and then papers like “*Ryōgashū no hassei*”, “*Tōzanshū no hassei*”, “*Tōzanshū no tenkai*” and “*Darumashū no hassei*”, the historical development of Chinese Chan is treated, taken as the development of the *Lengqie*, the *Dongshan* and the *Damo School* respectively. Besides the Damo School, i.e. the school which claims its own direct lineage from Bodhidharma, the schools established since the Tang period are treated in “*Zenshō no hassei*”, and the appendix “*Gozu-zen no rekishi to Daruma-zen*” treats the history of the Oxhead School, which among the Chan Schools developed uniquely. Some comments are needed regarding the contents and the name of the Damo School, but from the viewpoint of elucidating the formative history of the Chan Schools

and as a compilation of the evolutionary process of the establishment of Chan in the early period, this work has to be appreciated.

In contrast to *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū*, which aims to throw light on the thought of Bodhidharma and the question of whether the Bodhidharma discourses were real or forgeries, *Daruma no kenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1967) is a study on the life of Bodhidharma. Sekiguchi has this in particular to say in the preface concerning the significance of a study on Bodhidharma's life:

The Chan Schools profess no reliance on the scriptures, and a special transmission outside the sūtras; unlike other Buddhist denominations they do not have any authoritative sūtras like the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* or the *Amitābha Sūtra*. Accordingly, this unwritten item of faith was more than anything else determined by the conduct of Bodhidharma.

The study of Bodhidharma's life and the realization of his character is close to a characteristic of Chan. In this lies the true meaning of studying the life of Bodhidharma.

In other words, Chan thought, which did not rely on the scriptures, placed its authority on Bodhidharma as the founder, either as a personality or a function, and indeed the cause of Chan thought must be found in the personality of Bodhidharma. From this point of view, the works transmitted as legends of Bodhidharma can be divided according to their contents into forty-three items, and, in order to clarify whether this material on the legends of Bodhidharma from different periods really was used for instruction, seventeen works from this material were chosen for comparative studies. Thus the specific feature of this work is a study of the evidence of change in the Bodhidharma legends.

The reality of this great change in the Bodhidharma legends is indicated by the claim of the Chan believers of later ages, who entrusted themselves to the great personality of Bodhidharma, as indicated in Chan thought in every age. And this image of Bodhidharma is indeed a reflection of the Chan of that period, so we simply have to regard this as the history of Chan. Then if one has to ignore the parts which have been added later, from the point of view that this is not historical reality, the conclusion is that we have to ignore the history of Chan and cannot adopt it as a method for research on the history of a religion. On this point, we cannot concur with Sekiguchi, who maintains that Chan followers who are perplexed at the later additions' being quite false must discard them once and for all. Rather one has to say with Yanagida Seizan, who criticized Sekiguchi for this, that in such fabrications which are seen in religious literature, notably in Chan literature, is found the history of the Chan of the period, and this is an important key in the study of Chan history.

Yanagida Seizan was born in a temple affiliated with the Eigenji branch of Rinzai, but he studied Shinshū Buddhism at Ōtani University before turning

to the study of Chan. He attended lectures on Chan by Suzuki Daisetsu at Ōtani University and later taught at Hanazono University. He has mainly been influenced by the scholars of Kyōto University, such as Hisamatsu Shin'ichi, on the philosophic aspects of Chan, and by Iriya Yoshitaka on the literary and linguistic aspects, and is at present, having retired from his professorship at the Institute of Humanities, Kyoto University, head of the Institute for Zen Studies at Hanazono College.

His area of specialization is the history of Chinese Chan, but subsequently Yanagida's scholarly interests have expanded widely, and today he is, rather, a Chan scholar in the literal sense of the word, integrating literature, history and philosophy, and covering the whole field of Chan studies. Especially his annotated translations into Japanese of the Chan "Records", first *Kunchū "Daiōroku"* (Kichūdō, 1957) and *Kunchū "Rinzairoku"* (Kichūdō, 1961) later became successful as a new genre of translations of the Chan Records into modern Japanese. Also covering the Dunhuang Chan writings which are our subject here, almost all important Chan writings are given in annotated translation in the *Zen no Goroku Series* (Chikuma Shobō), the *Sekai Koten Bungaku Zenshū Series* (Chikuma Shobō), the *Sekai no Meicho Series* (Chūōkōronsha), and *Jinrui no Chiteki Isan Series* (Kōdansha). Now, these texts are as follows:

- *Zen no Goroku Series* (Chikuma Shobō):
  1. *Daruma no goroku—Ni'nyū shigyōron* (1969)
  2. *Shoki no zenshi 1—Ryōga shijiki • Den Hōbōki* (1971)
  3. *Shoki no zenshi 2—Rekidai Hōbōki* (1976)
- 16. *Shinjinmei • Shōdōka • Jūgyūzu • Zazenshin —Shinjinmei • Shōdōka* (1974)
- *Sekai Koten Bungaku Zenshū Series* (Chikuma Shobō):
  - 36 a. *Zenke goroku 1—Daruma ni'nyū shigyōron* (1972)
  - 36 b. *Zenke goroku 2—Sanso shinjinmei • Yoka shodoka Isan keisaku* (1974)
- *Sekai no Meicho Series* (Chūōkōronsha):
  - sq. 3. *Zen goroku —Mushinron • Rokuso dankyō* (1974)
- *Jinrui no Chiteki Isan Series* (Kōdansha):
  16. *Daruma —Ni'nyū shigyōron* (1981)

Concerning ancient and rare Chan writings like *Baolin chuan*, *Chodang chip*, *Chanmen zuiyao* and others, the Soroku Kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of the Records of the Patriarchs) was established at Hanazono University, and it was of great benefit to the academic world when these were published in mimeographed form. When, due to progress in photographic techniques, it became easier to publish facsimiles, these important Chan

writings were published by Chubun Shuppansha in Kyōto as *Zengaku sōsho* (10 vols., 13 bindings). Among the Dunhuang Chan writings, eleven works in facsimile of the *Liuzu tanjing* found in Vol. 7, *Liuzu tanjing zhuben jicheng* (1976), the first is a Dunhuang facsimile, and again, among four works found as supplements, the second is a fragment of *Liuzu tanjing* (Peking collection, Xixia version); the third is also a fragment of the *Liuzu tanjing* (Ryūkokū collection, Xixia version). One can only be deeply grateful for this endeavour to publish rare Chan texts, thus providing the academic world with material on a large scale.

Yanagida seems above all to be preoccupied with the material itself. His basic opinion on this is specified in the preface of his *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū* (Hōzōkan, 1967):

Before taking the history and thought of Chan into account, one must by all means know the formation of the Records of Transmission, and the bibliographical research on the Recorded Sayings. This necessitates an evaluation of the material as such. Research with only the upper stratum, neglecting this sort of preparation, is after all nothing but theory. At this present stage of research, where we are not favoured with either archaeological material or folklore data, I find it important first of all to get the textual material itself into proper order. The present work is with this view in mind an attempt to consider the character of this material related to the Records of Transmission of the early period and the historical meaning of their coming into existence. Because of this intention my interests have extended into many fields in the more than ten years since I published “Tōshi no keifu”, but in the end I always followed the above-mentioned principle closely.

The first study by Yanagida, based on this academic principle, is his just mentioned “Tōshi no keifu”, *Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai nenpō*, No. 19 (Apr. 1954). Judging from his first work, “Sodōshū no shiryō-kachi” (*Zengaku kenkyū*, Vol. 44 (Oct. 1953)), he had already completed “Tōshi no keifu” at this early stage, an admirable feat to say the least. Moreover, this study was a work of great importance that made Yanagida’s name renowned internationally, attracting the attention of the French orientalist, Demiéville, in 1958, and resulting in contact with Hu Shi in Taiwan from 1961. Its contents are as follows:

Preface

1. The formative period of the Northern Chan School
2. The activities of Heze Shenhui
3. The veneration of the twenty-nine generations of the transmission
4. The formation of the *Baolin chuan*

## 5. The development of patriarchal Chan

Even from these contents we can see that the historical process, in regard to the formation and development of the Transmission of the Lamp in Zen Buddhism as we generally know it today, had more or less been clearly ascertained then.

Later, Yanagida's academic interests came to cover the whole field of Chinese Chan, and his papers on the Dunhuang Chan writings under consideration here are as follows:

“Genmon ‘Shōchūshū’ ni tsuite”, *Bukkyōshigaku*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Oct. 1958) [S. 4478]

“Zenmonkyō ni tsuite”, *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju-kinen Bukkyōshigaku ronshū*, 1961 [S. 5532]

“Den Hōbōki to sono sakusha”, *Zengaku kenkyū*, Vol. 53 (July 1963) [P. 3559]

“Daijōkaikyō tōshite no Rokuso dankyō”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Mar. 1964) [S. 5475]

“Bodaidaruma ni nyū shigyōron no shiryō kachi”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Dec. 1966) [S. 2715, *tian* 99]

“Zekkanron no honbun kenkyū”, *Zengaku kenkyū*, Vol. 58 (Mar. 1970) [P. 2045, P. 2074, P. 2732, P. 2885, *run* 84, Ishii collection]

“Hokushūzen no ichishiryō”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Mar. 1971) [deals with the *Erru sixing lun* (P. 2923); *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* (P. 2799); *Banruo boluo miduo xinjing shu* (Zhizhu): S. 839, S. 5850, P. 2178, P. 4940, *wei* 52, *kun* 12, *que* 091]

“Kōnan chiyū zenji-chū hannya haramittashingyō”, *Kashinpū*, Vol. 2 (July 1976) [P. 3131, *jiang* 46]

And for studies based on research on these Dunhuang Chan writings:

“Zen no butsuden”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Jan. 1965)

“Gozu-zen no shisō”, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Dec. 1967)

“Zen shisō no keisei”, *Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, No. 1 (March 1970)

“Daruma Zen to sono haikai”, in: Ōchō Enichi, ed., *Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū*, Heirakuji Shoten, 1970)

“Hokushūzen no shisō”, *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 6 (May 1974)

“Shoki zenshū to shikan-shiso”, in: Sekiguchi Shindai, ed., *Shikan no kenkyū*, Iwanami Shoten, 1975

“Zekkanron to sono jidai—Tonkō no zen-bunken”, *Tōhō gakuho*, No. 52 (Mar. 1980)

Earlier I mentioned the annotated translations of Chan texts into modern Japanese, but besides the various series of Dunhuang Chan writings in modern translation, there is one of the *Jueguan lun* as well, published by Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo (1976). It was issued as a result of joint studies by this society at Hanazono University and contains an introduction, six copies of the *Jueguan lun* (all in facsimile), an English translation with notes by Tokiwa Gishin, a translation into Japanese based on the original text (Ishii collection), and an index in both English and Japanese. Yanagida was in charge of the Japanese translation and the introduction that contains explanatory notes on the *Jueguan lun* and the research done on it so far. This introduction, based on an earlier paper by Yanagida, “Zekkanron no honbun kenkyū” (*Zengaku kenkyū*, No. 58 (Mar. 1970), is in line with his later “Zekkanron to sono jidai” (*Tōhōgaku*, No. 52 (Mar. 1980)).

Again, among serial works, the one regarded as incorporating the latest results is *Daruma*, published as Vol. 16 in the eighty-volume series, *Jinrui no Chiteki Isan* (Kōdansha, 1980); this examines Daruma, the founder of Chinese Chan, centring on the records of his life and on his thought.<sup>10</sup> Chapter Two, Daruma no Shisō, is a translation of the Dunhuang work *Erru sixing lun* into modern Japanese, and in the first chapter, Futatsu no Daruma-zō, we find the sections, “Tonkō monjo no hakken” and “Suzuki Daisetsu to shoki zenshūshi”; in Chapter Four, Daruma to Gendai, the section entitled “Nihon to Chibetto he no atarashii hamon” is a compilation of the historical development of Bodhidharma studies, based on the Dunhuang Chan writings.

Concerning the history of research on Dunhuang Chan, “Ko Seki [Hu Shi] Hakushi to Chūgoku shoki Zenshūshi no kenkyū” (*Mondai to kenkyū*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (Feb. 1975)), summarizes the contributions by Hu Shi separately, and “Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki” (*Sanzōshū* 2; Daitō Shuppansha, 1975) reviews the studies by Yabuki Keiki. The former article is included with “Ko Seki [Hu Shi] Hakushi zengaku nenpu” at the beginning of *Ko Seki Zengaku an: Zengaku sōsho*; special issue, Chubun Shuppansha, 1975), which is a collection of all Hu Shi’s studies on Chan; the latter one, “Tonkō no Zenseki to Yabuki Keiki”, is found in the first section of the introduction to *Tonkō Butten to Zen* (Kōza Tonkō 8, Daitō Shuppansha, 1980). The second section of the introduction, “Tonkō-bon ‘Rokuso dankyō, no shomondai’”, gives a detailed account of the history of research, with the focus on the *Liuzu tanjing*.

It was an enormous help to myself, as I faced the subject matter of the present paper, that Yanagida has thus summarized the contributions by these three great scholars—Yabuki Keiki, Hu Shi and Suzuki Daisetsu—on the

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<sup>10</sup> He is chosen as a Buddhist along with four others: Gotāma Buddha (Vol. 3), Nāgārjuna (Vol. 13), and Vasubandhu (Vol. 14) from India, and Shandao (Vol. 18) from China.

Dunhuang Chan writings and the history of the early Chan Schools. That this article has been favoured tremendously by these results goes without saying, and in the face of this scholarly debt I would like to express my profound gratitude.

In another work which is of benefit for future research on the history of Chinese Chan, we find “Zenseki kaidai” and “Chūgoku Zenshūshi keizu”, appended to *Sekai koten bungaku Zenshū* 36B (Chikuma Shobō, 1974). Especially in the third section of “Zenseki kaidai”, “Sōsho”, and the fourth, “Tonkō no Zenseki, sonota”, there are bibliographical notes on almost all of the Dunhuang Chan writings, and this, combined with the table of lineages, makes it of great benefit for the study of the Chinese Chan Schools. As a general survey, covering all aspects of the thought and history of Chinese Chan, we find the following papers by Yanagida:

“Chūgoku Zenshūshi”, in: *Zen no rekishi—Chūgoku* (Kōza Zen, 3), Chikuma Shobō, 1967

“Zen shisō no seiritsu”, in: *Mu no tankyū—Chūgoku Zen* (Bukyō no Shisō 7), Part 1, Kadokawa Shoten, 1969

*Zen shisō* (Chūkō Shinsho 400), Chūōkōronsha, 1976

His “Chūgoku Zenshūshi” especially is an excellent paper on the history of Chinese Chan in recent times.

The contributions by Yanagida on the Dunhuang Chan writings, have, since his paper from the earliest period, “Tōshi no keifu” (1954) up to the present, come to span more than four and a half centuries, and these studies are all very important works which cannot be overlooked, at least as reference for research on the history of Chinese Chan. Later he published “Shinzoku tōshi no keifu—jo no ichi” (*Zengaku kenkyū*, No. 59 (Nov. 1978)). At the beginning he writes:

In 1952 I wrote “Tōshi no keifu”, in order to throw light on the early history of Chan and get acquainted with the nature of the material. Now this is already twenty-five years ago and a thing of the past. Then, since I amplified this aim in *Shoki Zenshū-shisho no kenkyū*, twenty-two years have passed.

As one reason that Yanagida did not write a sequel to this, he states that he could not easily part with the Dunhuang Chan writings. And he writes hereafter:

As I progressed from *Chuan fabao ji*, *Lengqie shizi ji*, and Shen-hui’s posthumous works up to the *Liuzu tanjing*, tracing these from the *Caoqi Dashi chuan* to the *Baolin chuan*, I moved increasingly to the period of Mazu and Zongmi, and had to part with the Dunhuang Chan writings. I have not yet come to terms with the separation from the Dunhuang documents, which I have known



for a long time. As this was unsettled I could not in fact move on after Mazu. Also, some fragments resembling the *Fufa zangchuan* as well as a work like *Shengzhou ji* were weighing on my mind. The latter has begun to reveal itself in its entirety, carrying a hint of Esoteric Buddhism. So how could I give up Dunhuang? Now, however, not being too happy about this state of indecision, I have finally decided to stop after twenty-five years.

This ought to be the concluding statement by Yanagida, who has left us an enormous amount of studies on the Dunhuang Chan writings, spanning over four centuries.

## Conclusion

Two kinds of document which Yanagida mentioned above as his “regret to leave” the Dunhuang field, were “some fragments resembling the *Fu facang chuan*” and “a work like *Shengzhou ji*, carrying a hint of Esoteric Buddhism”. My own debut, however, happened in May 1960, at the 11th meeting of the Nihon Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kai at Waseda University, when I was in my second year of the doctoral course at Komazawa University. The paper I presented at that time was “Manura [Manorhita] • Kakurokuna [Haklena]-fuhō ni kansuru Tonkō shinshutsu shiryō ni tsuite”, introducing S. 366, which is one of the “fragments resembling the *Fufa cangchuan*” (*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan. 1961)). With this study as a turning-point, I was favoured with the privilege of borrowing Yanagida’s valuable notes on the Beijing text, *xian* 29, the so-called “work like *Shengzhou ji*, carrying a hint of Esoteric Buddhism and found in *Tonkō zatsuroku*. With a basis in *this xian* 29, I have written a paper, “Denpōge ni kansuru Tonkō shinshutsu shiryō nishu to sono kankei” (*Shūgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 3 (Mar. 1961)), on the connection between this and S. 2144, related to it, for the 5th meeting of the Shūgaku Taikai at Komazawa University in November, 1960. And this paper, which I first presented at the meeting in 1960, is related to these two works which I recently have found a solution to, together with Yanagida. One must call it a strange turn of fate that my own studies on the Dunhuang Chan writings happened to start with these two works.

Then, in the summer of 1972, when I studied the Pelliot texts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as a research student from Komazawa University, I discovered P. 3913, a work “like *Shengzhou ji*, carrying a hint of Esoteric Buddhism”, and this document has become the main theme of my later studies. Recently my study of these two works has almost reached the stage of conclusion—the central theme being two textual studies left to me by Yanagida. With this as a concluding remark, it might well be time to

leave research on the Dunhuang Chan writings, which has been in progress for sixty-five years, since the time of Yabuki.

*Translated by*  
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### List of Characters

<i>Anxin famen</i>	安心法門
<i>Banruo boluomiduo xin jingshu</i>	般若波羅密多心經疏
<i>Baolin chuan</i>	寶林傳
Baotang	保唐
Beizong	北宗
<i>Beizong wu fangbian</i>	北宗五方便
Caodong (Jap. Sōtō)	曹洞
Caoqi	曹溪
<i>Chanmen jing</i>	禪門經
<i>Chanmen jing bingxu</i>	禪門經并序
<i>Chanmen miyao jue</i>	禪門秘要決
<i>Chanmen shizi chengxi tu</i>	禪門師資承襲圖
<i>Chanmen zuiyao</i>	禪門撮要
<i>Chanyao jing</i>	禪撮經
<i>Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu</i>	禪源諸詮集都序
<i>Chengxin lun</i>	澄心論
Chinul	知訥
<i>Chodang chip</i>	祖堂集
<i>Chōryo pyōngip sagi</i>	節要并入私記
<i>Chuanfa baoji bingxu</i>	傳法寶紀并序
Damo Chanshi	達摩禪師
<i>Damo Chanshi guanmen</i>	達摩禪師觀門
<i>Damo Chanshi lun</i>	達摩禪師論
Damo Dashi	達摩大師
<i>Damo Dashi guanxin lun</i>	達摩大師觀心論
<i>Damo Dashi sixing lun</i>	達摩大師四行論
<i>Damo Dashi xinxin ming</i>	達摩大師信心銘
<i>Damo Dashi yanjiu xin ziliao</i>	達摩大師研究新資料
<i>Damo Dashi zhushi liuxing nei zhenmiao yongjue</i>	達摩大師住世留形內真妙用訣
Damo Heshang	達摩和上
<i>Damo Heshang guanxin poxiang lun</i>	達摩和上觀心破相論
<i>Damo Heshang jueguan lun</i>	達摩和上絕觀論
Damo zong	達摩宗

<i>Dasheng Bei zong lun</i>	大乘北宗論
<i>Dasheng kaixin xianxing dunwu zhenzong lun</i>	大乘開心顯性頓悟真宗論
<i>Dasheng wu fangbian</i>	大乘五方便
<i>Dasheng wusheng fangbian</i>	大乘無生方便
<i>Dasheng wusheng fangbian men</i>	大乘無生方便門
Datong Shenxiu	大通神秀
Daoxin	道信
Ding shifei lun	定是非論
Dongshan zong	東山宗
Dufei	杜朮
<i>Dunwu dasheng zhengli jue</i>	頓悟大乘正理決
<i>Dunwu wusheng banruo song</i>	頓悟無生般若頌
<i>Dunwu zhenzong yaojue</i>	頓悟真宗要決
Eihei Dōgen	永源道元
Eiheiji	永源寺
Enchin	圖珍
Ennin	圓仁
<i>Erru sixing lu</i>	二入四行論
Farong	法融
<i>Faxing lun</i>	法性論
<i>Foshuo Faju jing</i>	佛說法句經
<i>Foshuo Faju jingshu</i>	佛說法句經疏
<i>Fufa zangchuan</i>	付法藏傳
guanmen	觀門
<i>Guanxing fa wuming shangshi ji</i>	觀行法無名上士集
<i>Guanxin lun</i>	觀心論
<i>Guanxin yaolun</i>	觀心要論
Guifeng Zongmi	圭峰宗密
<i>Heshang dunliao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu</i>	和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語
Heze zong	荷澤宗
Heze Shenhui	荷澤神會
<i>Heze Shenhui Dashi yu</i>	荷澤神會大師語
Hongren	弘忍
<i>Huida Heshang dunwu dasheng mimi xin qi chanmen fa</i>	惠達和上頓悟大乘秘密心禪門法
Huilin	慧琳
Huineng	慧能
<i>Ji Heshang shuo ji</i>	寂和上說偈
<i>Jiaoguan ermen</i>	教觀二門
Jiaopan	教判
Jingzhong	淨眾
<i>Jingde chuandeng lu</i>	景德傳燈錄

<i>Jueguan lun</i>	絕觀論
Kōshōji	興聖寺
<i>Lengqie shizi ji</i>	楞伽師資記
Lengqie zong	楞伽宗
<i>Lidai fabao ji</i>	歷代法寶記
<i>Liang Wu Di wen Zhi Gong Heshang ruhe xiudao</i>	梁武帝問和上如何修道
Liaoxing ju bingxu chongji si chanshi	了性句并序崇濟寺禪師
Linji (Jap. Rinzai)	臨濟
<i>Liuzu tan jing</i>	六祖壇經
Mazu	媽祖
<i>Man Heshang zhuan</i>	滿和上撰
Moshi (?)	
<i>Nan tianzhu guo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen</i>	南天竺國菩提達摩禪觀門
Nan zong	南宗
<i>Nan zong dingxie zheng wugen zhuan</i>	南宗定邪正五更轉
<i>Nan zong ding shifei lun</i>	南宗定是非論
<i>Nan zong dunjiao zuishang dasheng mohe banruoboluomi jing Liuzu Huineng yu Shaozhou dafan si shi fatan jing</i>	南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜多心經六祖慧能於韶州大梵寺施法壇經
<i>Nanyang Heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhi liaoxing tanyu</i>	南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語
<i>Nanyang Heshang wenda xawei yi</i>	南陽和上問答雜微義
Nihon Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kai	日本印度佛教學會
nianfo	念佛
Niutou zong	牛頭宗
<i>Popchip pyōrhaeng nok chōryo pyōngip sagi</i>	法集別行錄節要并私記
<i>Putidamo Chanshi guanmen</i>	菩提達摩禪觀門
<i>Putidamo nan zong ding shifei lun</i>	菩提達摩南宗定是非論
<i>Quanzhou qianfo xinzhu zhu zushi song</i>	泉州千佛新著諸祖師頌
<i>Ruding zhenyan</i>	入定真信
<i>Ruli yuanmen lun</i>	入理緣門論
<i>Sanbao wenda</i>	三寶問答
Sanjie jiao	三階教
<i>Shamen zhi song shu</i>	沙門知嵩述
Shenhui	神會
<i>Shenshui Heshang yi ji</i>	神會和上遺集
<i>Shenhui lu</i>	神會錄

<i>Shenhui yulu</i>	神會語錄
<i>Shengzhou ji</i>	聖胄集
Shitou	石頭
<i>Shizi qizu fangbian wumen</i>	師資七祖方便無門
<i>Sodōshū: see Chodang chip</i>	禪門撮要
<i>Sōnmun ch'waryo</i>	壇語
tanyu	壇語
<i>Tanjing kao</i>	壇經考
Tiantai (Jap. Tendai)	天台
Tiantong Rujing	天重如淨
wenda	問答
<i>Wenda zawei yi</i>	問答雜微義
<i>Wolun Chanshi kanxin fa wu</i>	臥輪論禪師看心法
<i>wushi bajiao</i>	五時八教
<i>wu ti</i>	無題
<i>Wuxin lun</i>	無心論
Wuzhu	無住
<i>wuxiang</i>	無相
<i>Xi tianzhu guo Putidamo chanshi guanmen fa dasheng falun</i>	西天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門法大乘法論
<i>Xiangxuan chuan</i>	詳玄傳
<i>Xinglu nan</i>	行路難
<i>Xiuxin yaolun</i>	修心要論
<i>Yiqie jing yinyi</i>	一切經音義
<i>Yongjia zhengdao ge</i>	永嘉証道歌
<i>Zan chanmen shi</i>	讚禪門詩
Zhen zong	真宗
<i>Zhengxin lun</i>	証心論
<i>zhiguan</i>	止觀
Zhishen	智誦
Zhiyi	智顓
<i>Zuimiao shengding jing</i>	最妙勝定經

倒常滅不起其八種仙性功德善根運運增長又禪師  
集錄云作此如來藏八種仙法觀者即得无始已來  
一切惡頓斷永與生死別即得入并位後一仙國至仙國  
乃至成仙又裴公云頓除往惡入大位適遊淨刹遠結  
善提又占察經云若能作此真如觀者速疾得入  
并種性又仙性論云為除五種過失五種功德故須作  
此仙觀下除下方心過生善提心功德於諸衆生不生  
下方心故二除輕慢衆生過生恭敬功德三除執虛  
妄過失波若惠功德四除誹謗真實功德過生