

The Provenance of the *Damo Chanshi lun* (The Treatise of Chan Teacher Bodhidharma)

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The history of the groups who were to later form what was labeled “Northern Chan” is still relatively obscure. As noted by John McRae in his comprehensive survey and analysis, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism*, “specific teachings cannot be correlated with” each of the third to fifth generations of the claimed lineage of early Chan.¹ There was probably no such “Chan lineage” in the sixth and seventh centuries, but some people had begun to associate themselves with the name of Bodhidharma, later asserted to be the first patriarch of Chan.

The earliest collection associated with Bodhidharma was the *Erru sixing lun* 二人四行論, called in the Korean reprint of 1464 the *Putidamo sixing lun* 菩提達摩四行論 (Treatise on Bodhidharma’s Four Practices).² This collection was an anthology of the sayings of many Buddhist teachers who lived during the period from ca. 520 to ca. 600. Some of these teachers may not have had anything more than a tenuous association with Huike 慧可, the so-called “second patriarch,” or with the

1. John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 11.

2 For a copy of the text, see Shiina Kōyū, “Tenjun-bon *Bodaidaruma sigyō ron*,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 54 (1996): 189–214. This is the most complete text available, but it has only a few more lines than that translated in Jeffrey L. Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). I believe the 1464 copy to be a reprint of a state-operated printing house connected to the printing of the Koryō Tripiṭaka. See John Jorgensen, “Chan/Seon and a Goryeo ‘Continued Tripiṭaka,’” 7th KSAA (Korean Studies Association of Australasia) Biennial Conference, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 17th November 2011 (in proceedings, on CD Rom).

likely compiler of the anthology, Tanlin 曇林. This anthology then is made up of quotes from a wide spectrum of meditators and scholars on the topics of mind and meditation practice. For example, section 67 is a quote of a Meditation Teacher Xuan 暄禪師, also known as Dharma Teacher Xuan, who in 592 wrote a letter of reply to Yang Guang, later to become Emperor Yang of Sui.³ Dharma Teacher Xuan had no discernible connection with Huike or Tanlin. The anthology represents a “broad church” rather than a narrow, lineage-focused group.

In the following century or more after the *Erru sizing lun* anthology was completed, a number of other texts with the name of Bodhidharma in their titles were written. These include the *Tianzhuguo Putidamo Chanshi lun* 天竺國達摩禪師論 (Treatise of Chan Teacher Bodhidharma of the Indian Country), Pelliot ch. 2039 dated sometime after 659;⁴ the *Nantianzhuguo Putidamo Chanshi guanmen* 南天竺國達摩禪師觀門 (Entrance via Contemplation of the Chan Teacher Bodhidharma of the South Indian Country) that probably belongs to the time of the so-called “fifth patriarch of Chan,” Hongren 弘忍 (601–674) or one of Hongren’s pupils;⁵ the *Damo Heshang Jueguan lun* 達摩和尚絕觀論 (Treatise on Contemplation Extinguished of Reverend Bodhidharma) attributed from the ninth century or earlier to Fayong 法融 (594–657);⁶ and the *Damo Chanshi lun* 達摩禪師論, the subject of this paper. In a later period, probably from the late seventh to early eighth century, we find the *Putidamo wuxin lun* 菩提達摩無心論 (On the No-mind of

3. Compare Broughton, *Anthology*, 44–45 and *Guoqing bailu*, T46.805b15. For these conclusions see John Jorgensen, “Early Chan Revisited: A Critical Study of Daoxuan’s Hagiographies of Bodhidharma, Huike and Their Associates,” in *Chan Buddhism—Dunhuang and Beyond: Texts, Manuscripts, and Contexts*, ed. Christoph Anderl and Christian Wittern (forthcoming).

4. Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō Zenshū benken no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983), 201.

5. *Ibid.*, 225; see also Tanaka Ryōshō, “Nenbutsu Zen to goki Hokushū Zen,” in *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, ed. Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), 221–233. This text is found in Stein ch. 2583, 2669, 6958, and Pelliot 2058, Ryukoku, and in Tibetan transcription, one in the Stein collection and Pelliot tib. 1228.

6. Hirai Shunei, “Guzushū to Hōtōshū,” in *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, ed. Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), 204–205. This title is in Pelliot 2045, but it also has other titles minus the reference to Bodhidharma.

Bodhidharma) and the *Damo Dashi guanxin lun* 達摩大師觀心論 (On the Contemplation of the Mind of Great Teacher Bodhidharma) that was probably composed in the last quarter of the seventh century.⁷ Later, in Japan there were three texts grouped together as the *Daruma sanron* 達磨三論 (Three Treatises of Bodhidharma) that were most likely texts of the *Daruma-shū*, a group founded by Dainichi Nōnin 大日能忍 (d. 1196) that was later absorbed by Dōgen and his heirs into the Sōtō Zen community.⁸

Modern scholars generally describe these texts as falsely ascribed to Bodhidharma, but as the cases of the *Jueguan lun* and *Guanxin lun* show, it is more than likely that the name “Putidamo” was sometimes used simply as a mark of affiliation with a group or movement, just as “Moheyan” 摩訶衍 or “Dasheng” 大乘 (Mahāyāna) was prefixed to some sutras or śāstras to indicate that they were Mahāyāna texts rather than belonging to another strain of Buddhism. Examples of this could include *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (The Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith) or the *Dasheng weishi lun* 大乘唯識論 for Vasubandhu’s *Vimśatikā(vṛtti)*. Likewise “yinming” 因明 was prefaced to works to indicate they were logic texts, such as the *Yinming zhenglimen lun* 因明正理門論 for the Nyāyamukha or *Yinming ruzhengli lun* 因明入正理論

7. *Putidamo wuxin lun* is closely related to the *Jueguan lun*, but appears to be a product of the “Southern school,” which would make it at the very least an eighth-century product. See Shinohara Hisao, “Hokushū Zen to Nanshū Zen,” in *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, ed. Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), 194–198. Text available in Suzuki Daisetsu, *Zen shisōshi kenkyū 2: Daruma kara Enō ni itaru* (Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, vol. 2) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968; orig. ed. 1951), 216–219. A name like *Putidamo Chanshi guanxin lun* appears in a Korean print dating to 1570 and in the Kanazawa Bunkō collection, but this is the *Guanxin lun* attributed to Shenxiu (606–706). See Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1969; repr. of Shōkusha 1957 text), 213–214; and Shinohara, “Hokushū Zen to Nanshū Zen,” 175 and McRae, *Northern School*, 148.

8. See Shiina Kōyū, “Shoshitsu rokumon to Daruma Daishi sanron,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 9 (Nov. 1978): 208–231; and Yanagida Seizan, “Goroku no rekishi,” in Yanagida Seizan, *Zen bunken no kenkyū* 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001) (this chapter is a reprint of the article by this name in *Tōhō gaku* 57), 48–57, and 57–63 discusses the relationship of one of the texts of the *Daruma sanron*, the *Poxiang lun* 破相論 and the *Guanxin lun*.

for the Nyāyapraveśa.⁹ This use of an affiliation marker may well have been the case with the *Damo Chanshi lun*.

John McRae does not mention the *Damo Chanshi lun* in his study of Northern Chan beyond the remark that the “text is probably relatively early, although its putative date of compilation or transcription, 681, is not reliable. Unfortunately its contents do not lend themselves to precise dating.”¹⁰ McRae does note that it seems “more closely related to the *Xiuxin yao lun*,” 修心要論 a text attributed to Hongren and that “I cannot discern any criteria for determining the exact provenance of the text.”¹¹ McRae may have been guided by the remark of Yanagida Seizan that “Dunhuang specialists have doubts about this holograph.”¹² On the other hand, Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, who first introduced this text to the public, believed it was genuine and by Bodhidharma. This issue of provenance is what I will attempt to address here.

CODICOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The *Damo Chanshi lun* exists in only one copy, was allegedly from Dunhuang, and is incomplete. It was owned by Hashimoto Gyōin 橋本凝胤 (1897–1978), the abbot of Yakushiji in Nara Prefecture. A strict monk who observed the precepts and was a member of the Hossō school, Gyōin was a student of the Tripiṭaka, having worked on the compilation of the Taishō Tripiṭaka. He wrote many books, including books on Buddhist doctrine, especially Yogācāra or Yuishiki (Yogācāra), the bodhisattva, the Buddhist view of humanity, the Song woodblock Tripiṭaka, and Yakushiji. He appeared in the media and was a well-known calligrapher and connoisseur of calligraphy. He travelled to China, Tibet, and India, and he gained support from wealthy businessmen to help preserve the ruins of Heijō palaces and restore Yakushiji.¹³

9. I owe this insight to discussions with Dan Lusthaus on the logic texts and the *Awakening of Faith*.

10. McRae, *Northern School*, 118.

11. *Ibid.*, 308n28. Romanization changed.

12. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 85n7 discussing this and texts titled *Daruma ron* listed in Nara period catalogues.

13. This is taken from Wikipedia Japan, library catalogues, and various websites. He had a reputation as a “mystery monk.” Unfortunately, I have not found a decent article on him, and I have not seen a detailed chronology of his life. I suspect he went to China in the 1930s when a delegation of Japanese went to visit the China Institute of Inner Learning (Zhina Neixue yuan) 支那内

It is probably when he went to China, possibly in 1937 or 1938, that he may have acquired the manuscript of the *Damo Chanshi lun*.

As I have only seen the last few lines of this manuscript (rather than a transcription of it into movable type) as reproduced in the frontispiece plate in Sekiguchi Shindai's *Daruma Daishi no kenkyū*, the following description is that made by Sekiguchi. As the first part of the manuscript is missing, we do not know how long the original was or what the full title was, nor do we know who the author was. The text has faint ruled vertical lines but no margins. It totals 1,502 characters, eight of which are illegible. It has 105 lines extant, and about halfway through, at line 59, the number of characters per line changes from sixteen to fourteen, although there are a number of deviations from this. However, the calligraphy appears to be in one hand.¹⁴

From what I can see from the plate in Sekiguchi's book, the calligraphy is in a neat and clear *kaishu* (clerical) script, unlike the poor style of calligraphy of some other Chan texts found at Dunhuang. Sekiguchi noted several corrections, such as a rubbing out and overwriting, and several signs like a tick to indicate a reversal in the order of the characters. However, what Sekiguchi thinks is an error by the copyist, mis-copying a variant of 莊 for在, is in fact correct, as can be seen when compared to the source of the quote in which this alleged error appears.¹⁵ The copyist used a number of variant characters, such as one for *yuan* 願, but this was usual in handwriting.¹⁶

The end of the text has a note or dedication reading, "Sixth month of the first year of the Kaiyao reign era, Distributed on the day received and kept by the abbot of Puren Monastery, Daoshan," 開耀元年六月普仁寺主道善受持日宣. Sekiguchi has doubts about the last four characters because he cannot really understand them. *Shouzhi* 受持 is usually

學院 that promoted Faxiang 法相 (Jpn. Hossō) thought, and Beijing. His study of the Song Tripitaka was published as "Song-ban yiqiejing kao" 宋版一切經考 translated by Huimin in *Haichaoyin* 海潮音 19, no. 11 (15/11/1938), which suggests he went to China before then.

14. Sekiguchi, *Daruma*, 49–50. There may be another description in Nakagawa Taka, "Daruma Zenjiron (Tonkō shutsudo) kō," *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 12 (1959), but I have not had access to it.

15. Sekiguchi, *Daruma*, 50–51; see the source, *Dafangdeng rulaizang jing*, T16.457c23–24. For the variant, see Li Linhua 李琳華, comp., *Fojiao nanzi zidian* 佛教難字字典 (Taipei: Changchunshu shufang, 1990), p. 275 no. 3033.

16. See Li Linhua, *Fojiao nanzi*, p. 371 no. 4026.

a Buddhist term meaning to receive a teaching and remember it, but here this does not seem to fit the context. It also means to take possession of or make one's own a Mahāyāna text with extraordinary faith.¹⁷ This term has a close association with the *Lotus Sutra*. *Rixuan* 日宣 or “daily display” comes from the Confucian Classic, the *Shangshu* (also called the *Shujing*).¹⁸ However, I would split the characters differently because I think it is an administrative term, rather like that used by a librarian when receiving a new volume, and so I have translated it in the sense of “distributed/displayed on the day received,” possibly with the nuance of “to take care of it.”¹⁹ I have found only one other example of this four-character combination. It is found at the end of a manuscript of the *Sifenlü biqiu jieben* 四分比丘戒本 (Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa of the Four Division Vinaya) kept in the Beijing Library collection of Dunhuang texts, yu 羽36 (BD06836).²⁰ However, it turns out that this note at the end of the manuscript is almost certainly a forgery.

According to Fang Guangchang, when the Education Department (Xuebu) of the Chinese government was considering sending to Beijing all the remaining manuscripts left after Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot and others had taken materials from Dunhuang, a sample manuscript was sent in 1909, together with another twenty-two “fascicles.” These were received in November 1910 by the Education Department. However, sometime after, the official in charge of the transport, He Yansheng 何彦升, together with the diplomat and bibliophile Li Shengduo 李盛鐸, stole the twenty-two fascicles. This theft was discovered and He and Li had to return the manuscripts. In the interval between the theft and the return, the thieves or their associates clumsily added dedications or notes to the end of these texts in order to give them more value for intended sale to collectors.²¹

17. Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyō shoseki, 1975), 638a–b.

18. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, 2nd rev. ed. (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1972), 71.

19. See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan Wa jiten*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1955–1960), no. 3159.120 (2).

20. For this text in the catalogue, see Shangwu yinshu guan, comp., *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 85b.

21. Fang Guangchang 方廣鎬, “Bainian qiande yizhuang gong’an” 百年前的一樁公案 (A Hundred-Year Old Case), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 1 (2009). My

BD06836 lacks the first part of the text and is damaged. It is judged to belong to the ninth to tenth centuries, the period of the Guiyi Army administration at Dunhuang. The note reads, “The fourth year of Zhenguan. Distributed on the day received by Huizong, abbot of Puren Monastery in Chang’an,” 貞觀四年長安普仁寺惠宗受持日宣. The date given is 630. However, this is judged to be a forgery on a number of grounds. The dedications on those of the twenty-two manuscripts that have dedications are all in the same hand, but the dates span centuries. Moreover, the calligraphic style of the dedications differs from that of the body of the text. In addition, the dating is not in the contemporary fashion. Fang Guangchang finds the four characters 受持日宣 very strange because this expression is not found in any type of old manuscript known to him. Moreover, Fang knows of no Puren Monastery in Chang’an. If Fang is correct, then we should draw the conclusion that the *Damo Chanshi lun* dedication at least is a forgery, which would cast doubt over the provenance of the entire text.

However, the handwriting of the dedication and the body of the *Damo Chanshi lun* manuscript appears to be the same, especially evident in the character 道 that appears in both the dedication and last lines of the manuscript. Secondly, if the dedication is a fake, the forger must have been well versed in Tang history, for the Kaiyao era (681) lasted only fifteen or sixteen months, and unlike the clumsy forger of the dedication to BD06831 and BD06826, who used *yinian* 一年 for the first year of the reign era, in the *Damo Chanshi lun* the correct form *yuannian* 元年 is used.

Moreover, the name of the “receiver” or copyist of the *Damo Chanshi lun*, Daoshan, is known from other contemporary sources. A Daoshan is listed as a copy-editor of a copy of the *Lotus Sutra* made in 676 (Stein 2637) by the court sutra-copying agency in Chang’an.²² There Daoshan is listed as being from Baocha Monastery 寶剎寺, which was in Chang’an.²³ The purpose of the copying agency was to distribute

copy is electronic and unpaginated, <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/23447686/>.

22. Fujieda Akira, “Tonkō shutsudo no Chōan kyūtei shakyō” 敦煌出土の長安宮廷写経, in *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyōshigaku ronshū* 塚本博士頌壽記念佛教史学論集 (Essays in the History of Buddhism Presented to Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto on His Retirement), comp. Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen kai (Kyoto: Nagai shuppansha, 1961), 651.

23. Fujieda, “shakyō,” 658.

exact copies in the *kaishu* script of core scriptures to important monasteries in the provinces.²⁴ Given the proximity of the dates (676 and 681) of the two texts, the copy-editor Daoshan is most likely to be the same monk as the Daoshan who wrote the dedication to the *Damo Chanshi lun*, for Daoshan is an uncommon name. There is not a single Daoshan among the names of 5,326 monks and nuns listed in Mingfu's dictionary of Chinese Buddhists or in the thousands of names of monks in the most comprehensive dictionary of Zen.²⁵ The only reference to a monk named Daoshan in the *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (biographies of eminent monks) series is to a disciple of the founder of the Sect of the Three Stages, Xinxing 信行 (540–594), who is most unlikely on chronological grounds to be the 676 copy-editor Daoshan.²⁶

The evidence then is mixed, with the Daoshan of the *Damo Chanshi lun* likely to have been a real person, the date of 681 probably not a forgery, but the name of the monastery and the four characters “distributed on the day of reception” problematic. However, there is yet one more piece of evidence. There is a seal on the end of the *Damo Chanshi lun* that reads in seal script 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏 that gives further evidence of provenance. This seal is one of those used by Li Shengduo, who came from Dehua County. It means “rare book kept in the Fanjiang Pavilion of Mr. Li of Dehua.”²⁷ Because it is known that Li Shengduo colluded to steal a number of the Dunhuang manuscripts, it is also widely suspected that he also colluded in the forgery of manuscripts alleged to have come from Dunhuang. He was indeed a connoisseur of books and manuscripts, and he had 432 items in his personal collection of the finest works, although he had more in other collections as we know from catalogues. It has been argued that many of the works with Li Shengduo's seals stamped on them are forgeries, but Rong Xinjiang has argued that those in Li's collections were

24. *Ibid.*, 663–665.

25. Mingfu 明復, *Zhongguo Foxue renming cidian* 中國佛學人名辭典 (Taipei: Fangzhou chubanshe, 1974); Komazawa Daigaku Zengaku Daijiten hensansho, comp., *Zengaku daijiten*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1977).

26. Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T50.696a7–8.

27. For this seal, see that reproduced in Susan Whitfield, “Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries,” IDP (International Dunhuang Project) News Issue no. 20, http://idp.bl.uk/archives/news20/idpnews_20.a4d, the insert in color, upper right hand. For the reading of the seal, see Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 503–504.

genuine. Late in his life, Li's children sold many of them. However, it appears that after Li died in 1937, his collection of seals was sold to a rare books shop in Beijing and that the unscrupulous owner affixed Li's seals to old editions and Dunhuang manuscripts (perhaps even forgeries) and that some forgers may have also forged Li's seals. Rong rejects the widespread allegation that Li Shengduo had a manuscript-forging workshop and contends that a seal of Li Shengduo on a manuscript does not prove that the said manuscript was part of Li's collection.²⁸

Given that the *Damo Chanshi lun* is not listed in any of Li Shengduo's catalogues, it is more than likely that it is a Dunhuang manuscript to which the book store owner affixed Li's seal to give it more value via the borrowed approval of a renowned connoisseur.²⁹ Therefore, despite some doubts about the provenance of the *Damo Chanshi lun*, I conclude that the text was from Dunhuang and that the date on it is correct. This is because the text is unique. As Susan Whitfield has written, "As far as we know, the texts of forged manuscripts are not unique or variants: they are simply reproductions of existing texts. The forgers were not concerned to create history."³⁰

As a tentative conclusion I think that the text arrived in Chang'an in 681, having come from the provinces. Daoshan, either as a monastery librarian or official copyist, made the copy, and it was sent to a monastery in Shazhou 沙州, the administrative center for Dunhuang. As a librarian or copyist, especially one having worked or still working in the palace sutra copying agency, he used a bureaucratic term when he received or copied it. I do not think this was a copy made in Dunhuang of Daoshan's copy because of its careful handwriting and because we have no evidence that there is anything written on the reverse side. Most Dunhuang Buddhist manuscripts were written on the back of discarded official documents because paper was expensive. It was probably meant as a model from which copies could be made.

On the other hand, the identical four characters "distributed on the day received" found in BD06836 made by a forger around 1910 were probably copied from another genuine Dunhuang manuscript like that of the *Damo Chanshi lun*, if not from the *Damo Chanshi lun* given that

28. Rong, *Eighteen*, 507–510.

29. For Li's catalogues of Dunhuang materials, see Shangwu yinshu guan, comp., *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin*, 318–326.

30. Whitfield, "Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries."

Sekiguchi and Fang were both suspicious of it. I think the forger of the dedication to BD06836 did imitate the dedication on *Damo Chanshi lun* because he also used the name of “Puren Monastery,” a place otherwise unknown. The forger has simply added “Chang’an,” changed the reign era from the barely known Kaiyao to the very well recognized Zhenguan era, and invented a monk’s name, Huizong.

The only other evidence is internal, such as thought and the texts quoted. Therefore an annotated translation of the *Damo Chanshi lun* follows.

TRANSLATION

“Simply observe whether or not your conduct is good or not.”³¹ You must make this your duty at all times. A hymn says,

If you are angry at yourself there will be no frustrations,
If you are angry at others frustrations will be produced.
Everybody should be angry at themselves,
For then they know what is to be purified.

As the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* says, “Keep to your own practice of the precepts and do not ridicule others for their deficiencies. This is the

31. This is from a verse (*gāthā*) in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, where on being asked how Dharmadatta, who always wanted to harm the Buddha, could listen to and obey the Buddha and become a monk, the Buddha quoted his own verse spoken when he had been a king in a previous incarnation, “Accord with the words of others and do not go against them. Moreover, do not do what is not to be done. Simply observe whether or not your own conduct is good or not,” T374.12.426b29–c1 (Dharmakṣema translation), and T375.12.668a18–19. Yanagida Seizan notes that this verse appears in many Dunhuang scrolls that include the early Chan texts the *Chengxin lun* 澄心論 and the *Xiuxin yaolun*, suggesting this may have been a handbook of the Dongshan Famen 東山法門, that is, the group centered around Daoxin and Hongren. Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshūshisho*, 85n6. For *Chengxin lun* as possibly a work by one of Hongren’s disciples, see Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 54–55. Note, if we can find a manuscript ending with the first lines of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* cited above that is also concerned with the bodhisattva precepts, it may be possible to locate the first part of the *Damo Chanshi lun*.

bodhisattva's pure land.³² Forbearance is the bodhisattva's pure land.³³ The ten [precepts of] good conduct are the bodhisattva's pure land."³⁴

First of all openly avoid³⁵ being angry at others. If you are angry at another for a single thought-moment, the other in turn will be angry at you. The sutra says,

Constantly remove [or reflect on] your own faults,
Do not harp on the shortcomings of others.
Always single-mindedly
Seek the various merits.³⁶

Simply use this pure mind to constantly illuminate all sense-realms up to humans above and down to the insects below; the beings that have sentience and cognition are to be definitely viewed with equanimity as if you are looking at a child.³⁷ What if [the child] acts unreasonably, physically and verbally, and you hit and scold it [to the extent that it] would rather lose its life?³⁸ You should vow not to give rise to thoughts of anger and resentment and pledge not to be impatient. The *Precepts Sutra (Jie jing)* says,

If someone comes and dismembers you bit by bit, you should control your mind so that anger and resentment do not occur. You should also guard your tongue so that you do not utter evil words. By this anger and rage³⁹ you block yourself from the Way and lose the benefits of the merits [you have accumulated]. To bear with this [anger]

32. *Weimo jing*, T14.538b21–22.

33. *Weimo jing*, T14.538b7.

34. *Weimo jing*, T14.538b23.

35. 赤諱, I suspect this may be an error for 亦諱.

36. *Weimo jing*, T14.553b6–7.

37. This resembles the following in Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Nirvana Sutra*: "The mind is constantly and deeply imbued with the practice of the pure precepts, all able to perfect such merits and produce a great compassionate mind towards sentient beings equally and non-dually, like looking at a child." T12.366b28–29.

38. This is similar to the forgery, the *Fanwang jing*, T24.1009b18–21. "If you receive the Buddhist precepts you should keep the precepts like thinking of a child or serving your parents. When a bodhisattva hears a non-Buddhist evil person use bad words to disparage the Buddhist precepts ... he would rather enter hell."

39. The sutra quoted, the *Fo yijiao jing*, here reads "If it should happen that you have thoughts of rage."

is a virtue that cannot be equaled by the observance of the precepts and the practice of austerities. One who practices forbearance may be called a great person of power. If you cannot joyfully forbear and endure the poison of vilification and drink it like ambrosia you will not be called a person of insight who has entered onto the Way.⁴⁰

Contemplate all the sense-realms before you and interpret them all as simply good and ultimately you will not interpret them as bad. Only the interpretation of purity can be used for the production of good because such a pure mind is this body and mind called the pure land and called the body of the pure land. Practitioners,⁴¹ you should strive and strive, not begrudging your corporeal life. Hearing the preaching and practicing, [that] is to enter and to act vigorously and courageously advance. Only when you practice and attain are you said to attain birth in the pure land, [but] this is not called attainment. It is called attainment because every thought-moment that gives rise to this [attainment] is pure. This body is one pure buddha land. “One” is the all-at-once birth [into] the pure land because this is viewing all sentient beings as being like one child. Raise your eyes to contemplate the dharma-realm and sentient beings to be of one substance and one attribute, equal and non-dual. Because they are viewed as one and equal they are of one seed 種, they are therefore all the *tathāgatagarbha* Buddha.⁴² This is because you

40. *Fo yijiao jing* 佛遺教經 (full title *Fo chuibanniepan lueshuo jiaojie jing*, trans. by Kumārajīva between 402 and 412), T12.1111b10–15.

41. Usually this means a postulant, a person who lives the life of the monk but has yet to be tonsured.

42. This name is unusual. It appears in the *Jin'gang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經 (T9.370b29), a text connected to early “Chan” and possibly composed in Silla Korea between 645 and ca. 665 that includes ideas from the *Erru sixing lun* and the Dongshan Famen (group founded by Daoxin). See McRae, *Northern School*, 118. This text has been translated and analyzed by Robert Buswell in his *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea: The Vajrasamādhī Sūtra, A Buddhist Apocryphon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). According to Philip Yampolsky, this apocryphon was “strongly influenced by Laṅkāvatāra thought and established Tathāgata-garbha concepts in this early Ch'an.” Philip Yampolsky, “New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an History,” in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 4–5. The word “*tathāgatagarbha* Buddha” also appears in Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, *Ru Lengqie jing* at T16.583a11, “*Tathāgatagarbha* Buddha realm,” and in another of Bodhiruci's translations, the *Foshuo Foming jing* 佛說佛名經, T14.318c18–19, a text that

constantly use the one pure mind and because you constantly rely on the one principle to practice, which is the all-at-once entry into the One Vehicle.⁴³

When you understand, the Buddha is ever so close. When you do not understand, the Buddha is ever so distant. When you understand, you see the Buddha within your own body. When you do not understand, you ignore [your own] body and mind and look for the Buddha in the distance. The Buddha that I say is in the body is fully possessed of the three bodies, and the three bodies are one, the dharma-body Buddha, two, the response body, and three, the transformation body.⁴⁴

was probably influential in the “cult” of the names of the Buddha that was part of the formation of the Dilun and early Huayan schools (especially by Zhiyan, 602–668), and was most popular in the Sect of the Three Stages. See Ishii Kōsei, *Kegon shisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1996), 102, 282–283, 370. 43. The One Vehicle or *ekayāna* is a term from the *Lotus Sutra* that implied all beings could become Buddha and was adopted by Zhiyan and other predecessors of the Huayan school as subsuming all other vehicles of Buddhism. It also appears in the first line, “Only the expansive source of the One Vehicle,” of the *Xiangxuan fu* 詳玄賦 by Huiming 慧命 (531–568), who may have been associated with Huike 惠可, the so-called second patriarch of Chan. See Ishii, *Kegon*, 151–152, 166n48 and n49. A text attributed to Zhiyan, the *Yisheng shixuanmen* 一乘十玄門 (The Ten Mysteries Gate of the One Vehicle) is very similar to the *Xiangxuan fu* and a text attributed to Sengcan, the so-called third patriarch of Chan. This text is quoted at length in the ca. 716 transmission text of Chan, the *Lengqie shizi ji*, and may be a kind of commentary or imitation of the *Xiangxuan fu*. This is titled *Xiangxuan zhuan* 詳玄傳. See Ishii, *Kegon*, 151, 167n51. This is also discussed in Sekiguchi, *Daruma*, chap. 8, who also provides a parallel text of the *Xiangxuan fu* and *Xiangxuan zhuan*, pp. 469–478. Note that Huiming may have been associated with Huixiao 慧暁 (d. 582+), who may have been the Huiyao 慧堯 found in section 85 of the *Erru sixing lun*; see Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 191n41, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* T50.562b–c. Huixiao gave Zhijiao 智敎 a copy of Tanlin’s *Jie niepan lun* 解涅槃論. Huike asked Zhijiao to go and see Haichao 海潮, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* T50.512c11–12. Huixiao is briefly discussed in Jorgensen, “Early Chan Revisited.”

44. These three bodies are the subject of considerable discussion by Sekiguchi, *Daruma*, 62–64. Sekiguchi says these three bodies (*trikāya*) here, the *fashen* 法身, the *yingshen* 應身, and the *huashen* 化身, are not the usual *fashen*, *baoshen* 報身, and *yingshen* that are found in the *Lankāvatāra*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, *Lotus*, *Diamond*, and *Amitāyus* sutras, or the *Awakening of Faith* and *Cheng weishi lun* and other treatises. Rather, he thinks it is influenced by the *Jingguangming jing* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa [uttamarāja]-sūtra*). This was first translated by

The Dharma Buddha is the original nature [that is] pure mind, and is the original awareness that is true suchness that is frozen and constantly present, neither increasing nor decreasing.⁴⁵ The *Śrīmālā(devi)-sūtra* says,

Dharmakṣema, but it lacks the chapter on the three bodies, which first appears in the *Hebu Jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經 compiled by Baogui in 597 from three earlier translations. This was followed by Yijing in his 703 translation. Note it does not seem to exist in the Sanskrit text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa [uttamarāja]-sūtra*. Huiming's *Xiangxuan fu* used one of the earlier translations for a metaphor of metal and rings, see Ishii, *Kegon*, 152 and *Hebu Jinguangming jing*, T16.364a28–29 and by the commentary on the *Xiangxuan zhuan*, Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no goroku 2: Shoki no Zenshi I: Ryōgashijiki, Denhōbōki* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), 174, 185, that must date to before ca. 716. Moreover, Paramārtha sometimes used *fa*, *ying*, and *hua* for the bodies in his translations such as the *She Dasheng lun* and its commentary (T31.113c3, 155c8), and also in the *Foxing lun*, T31.808a–809a. For the use of these terms in the *Foxing lun*, see Sallie King, *Buddha Nature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 70–76. This topic has been controversial because it has been used to argue over the provenance of the *Awakening of Faith*. The situation was not simply a difference between *fa*, *bao*, and *ying* versus *fa*, *ying*, and *hua*, for a passage of Jizang's *Fahua xuan lun* 法華玄論 9 cited by Mochizuki Shinkō, *Kōshutsu Daijō kishinron* (Tokyo: Tōzanbō, 1938), 82, uses *fa*, *bao*, and *hua*, as well as *ying*.

45. This sentence is derived from *tathāgatagarbha* thought, especially that found in the *Awakening of Faith* associated with original awareness 本覺 (*benjue*). For example, *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32.576b13–14, “Reliance on this dharma-body is called original awareness.” The “pristine mind” that is one's original nature is a feature of the *tathāgatagarbha*. In the *Jin'gang xian lun* 金剛仙論, possibly an adaptation of a commentary on the *Diamond Sutra* by Bodhiruci or a forgery by one of the Dilun scholars who followed Bodhiruci, probably dating to ca. 535 (see Ono Genmyō, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, 14 vols. plus supplements [Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1932–1936], 3:475–476; Ōtake Susumu, *Gengi kanyaku Vasubandhu yakkyō rongun no kenkyū* [A Study of the Yuan-Wei Translations of Vasubandhu's Sutra Commentaries] [Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 2013], 10, 37 for date) there are the following lines: “The constant mind has two kinds of constancy. One refers to the dharma-body of the buddha-nature that is frozen and constantly present, this and that being equal.” It further divides the dharma-body into three kinds. T25.805c15–17. Ōtake, 99n4, says that this “dharma-body of the buddha-nature” 佛性法身 (*foxing fashen*) is rare, found only in the works by Bodhiruci. In any case, this idea of the true suchness being frozen, not allowing “perfuming” or the

All dharmas are constantly present.
Therefore I take refuge in [the *buddhadharma*].⁴⁶

This is the dharma-body Buddha.

The “response body” is this body that is in the world, and is omnipresent throughout the external container world, reaching everywhere. It arrives in response to thought/mindfulness 念 and so is called the response body.

The “transformation body” means the transformation of sentient beings⁴⁷ or the overturning of evil so that it is made into good, or the ending of the erroneous and entry into the true, or the transformation of the perverse so that it reverts to the correct. Thought-moments give rise to gross and fine frustrations.⁴⁸ Awareness of the gross and fine frustrations enables all within the mind to be refreshed and cool. Awareness of evil thoughts occurring enables one to make them revert to good. It is only the originally aware mind that teaches

influence of teaching, became a topic of debate in Japan led by Tan’ei (1271–1346).

46. *Shengman shizi kong Yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing*, trans. by Guṇabhadra, T12.217a27. This is an important sutra in the development of *tathāgatagarbha* thought.

47. In the same passage mentioned by Mochizuki, *Daijō kishinron*, 82 cited above, Jizang writes, “They take the buddha-nature to be the dharma-body. The cultivation of practice shows that the buddha-nature is the recompense (*bao*) body, and that the meaning of transforming 化 sentient beings is the transformation body 化身.” Jizang tells us a few lines later that this is the teaching of the Dilun school coming out of Bodhiruci. See *Fahua xuanlun*, T34.437a24–25, and identical passage in *Dasheng xuanlun* 大乘玄論, T45.45c10–11. “Transformation” could also mean “conversion” here.

48. The idea of the coarse and refined frustrations or troubles comes from the *Da zhidu lun*, T25.220c5, “Because the gross and refined frustrations cannot move [the Buddha’s insight].” However, this seems to have developed into the idea of the grades of gross and refined characteristics that are differentiated in rising and cessation spoken of in the *Awakening of Faith*. See T32.577c26–578a4. This is discussed by Mochizuki, *Daijō kishinron*, 160–164 in relation to ideas in the *Śrīmālā* and *Laṅkāvatāra* sutras. Likewise, “giving rise to thought-moments” 起念 (*qinian*) is a core problem to be overcome according to the *Awakening of Faith* and in early Chan. See *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32.577c6–7, 579a27–28, as it is ignorance.

and transforms what the mind previously thought (*nian*).⁴⁹ [When] the mind of evil frustrations is made to completely revert to good, revert to the true and revert to the correct, is refreshed, cool, secure, stable, and quiescent, then it is called nirvana. Therefore a sutra says,

The mind-king is frustrated [by] the bonds of love, [but] the mind is quiescent and does not arise, so it is called the Way. I would completely have all sentient beings to enter the nirvana without excess and so liberate them.⁵⁰

Therefore I said [previously] that “the body is fully possessed of the three bodies” so that in this body there is not only the full possession of the three-bodied buddha/s, but also merits as numerous as the sands

49. See *Dasheng qixin lun*, T32.576b18–19, “Because it is just as ordinary people perceive that a previous thought-moment has given rise to evil they can stop the later thought-moment so that it does not arise.”

50. This sutra quote has not been located. The punctuation of the first sentence is unclear, and could be a list of “mind-king, frustrations, and bonds of love (or mind of bonds of love).” The bond of love is that of the craving, one of nine bonds. The mind king is the mind itself, the basis of the mind. In the early period of Chan this probably came from the *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra*, which in Guṇabhadra’s translation says, “Contemplate the mind-king dharma and divorce [yourself] from the characteristics of the mind, sense-data, and cognition/consciousness 識,” T16.565c1. It also appears in the *Jin’gang sanmei jing*, T9.366c21–22, “If you are disturbed in vain, you lose your original mind king. If there are no concerns then there is no rising and cessation.” Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592) wrote, “Which is to say that the mind itself is of the nature of frustrations, and there is no separate existence of particulars that are shared in response to the mind king.” *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T44.568b3–4. There is also the *Xinwang ming* 心王銘 (Inscription on the Mind King) attributed to Fu Dashi 傅大士 (497–569), but I suspect it is a product of the Hongzhou lineage of Chan of the ninth century. However, it has been accepted as authentic by many scholars of Chan, and it has been pointed out that according to the *Lengqie shizi ji* hagiography of Daoxin that Daoxin learnt his practice of “keeping to the one” 守一 (*shouyi*) from Fu Dashi’s teaching. See Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 286–287 and Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 225, 236. The term is also found in the *Erru sixing lun*, section 3 (see Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no goroku 1: Daruma no goroku* [Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969], 47, 50), but is also found widely in the *Avatamsaka* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sutras. There was also a *Xinwang jing* used by early Chan leaders, such as Hongren and Shenhui; see McRae, *Northern School*, 124, 316n62.

of the Ganges and eighty-four thousand regulations and demeanors.⁵¹ Because sentient beings sin they cannot gain sight of these [bodies, merits and regulations]. Practitioners, view the mind ceaselessly and the waters of the mind will be clear and still.⁵² [When] the lack of clarity has not ended, then you can gradually see all the myriads of matters in the body as being fully possessed from the beginning and pure from the beginning. From the beginning the body and mind are pure. The *Dafangdeng rulaizang jing* says,

It is for example like honey in a magnificent tree that has many swarms of bees surrounding and defending it. An artful means [is needed to] get it. You must first remove the bees and only then can one take the honey.⁵³

51. The controls on the body, good actions. I have found no numbering of these controls as 84,000.

52. “Viewing the mind” 看心 (*kanxin*), at least according to the *Lengqie shizi ji*, was a practice Daoxin used for starting meditators, but was not a method that clarified the mind at a higher level. Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 255, 205. A number of other phrases found in the *Damo Chanshi lun* are also found in these passages, as I will mention later in note 62. The term *kanxin* is also found in the *Zuishangsheng lun* 最上乘論 attributed to Hongren, “When the mind is yet to be purified, verify the intent and view the mind while walking, standing, sitting, and reclining.” T48.378b24–25. It is denounced as delusive in the Dunhuang *Platform Sutra* (T48.338b24–25) and linked to Northern Chan by Shenhui 神會 and Zongmi 宗密 (see *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, T48.405a11–12). Here it is like Daoxin’s practices for beginners, so *xingzhe* 行者 here may even refer to postulants.

53. This is a slight summary from Buddhahadra’s 420 translation of the (*Mahāvaiṣṭya*) *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra*, T16.457c23–25. It is in this passage that Sekiguchi misread the characters. The use of the *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* here, with the metaphor of the honey being surrounded by the covering frustrations, aligns with the idea that Chan, from its very beginning, was part of the *tathāgatagarbha* theories that also speak of the “buddha-nature.” This is seen in its use of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Śrīmālādevī*, and *Nirvana* sutras. See John Jorgensen, “Early Chan Revisited,” and John Jorgensen, “The Zen Commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* by Kokan Shiren,” *Zenbunka kenkyū kiyō* 32 (2013): 13–18. The *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* was one of the foundational texts for the *tathāgatagarbha* thesis, using nine metaphors for it, of which honey surrounded by bees is one. See Takasaki Jikido, *Nyoraizōshisō no keisei* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1974), 40, 49.

Practitioners, because merits as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, all the types of wisdom, and the magnificence of the pure dharmas of the myriad deeds of the buddhas and bodhisattvas that are in the body are covered over by limitless frustrations, these objects for the eyes are not seen and so you experience all kinds of suffering and transmigrate through the six destinations [of rebirth] and you cannot escape from the great ocean of birth and death, falling into hell, and are born as starving ghosts and beasts. You will always live in a burning house,⁵⁴ be roasted and boiled, drowned [in such states] for long eons, experiencing various sufferings and poisons. How painful! How painful! Why [is this so]? It is only due to not being able⁵⁵ to protect/keep 守 to the originally pure mind,⁵⁶ that allows the mind to erroneously take as an object (緣) the sense-realm of male and female, which is called *rūpa* 色,⁵⁷ because one gives rise to craving and attachment, which is to be burnt by fire. The *Faju jing* 法句經 says,

Because you crave *rūpa*,
 You circulate through the three existences [of past, present, and future],
 Like a whirling fire circle,
 Without a pause or rest.⁵⁸

54. A famous metaphor from the *Lotus Sutra*.

55. I take 解 here to have the meaning of 能, which is commonly found in Tang literature, including in poems attributed to Shide 拾得, the companion of the famous poet Hanshan 寒山, and in Chan literature.

56. “Keeping” or “protecting” the pure mind is found in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, see Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 67, and Daoxin used “keeping to the one,” the “one” referring to a line — (Ch. *yi* or one) on the horizon as an object of contemplation for beginners and the “one mind” for advanced practitioners. This is linked to Fu Dashi. See Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 225, 234–235 and Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshūshisho*, 417, 450. The *Zuishangsheng lun* attributed to Hongren uses *shouxin* 守心 or “protecting the mind” often (T48.377c11, 377b1, b15), and “protect the original true mind” (T48.377b20) a number of times. However, “protecting the mind” is found in much Buddhist literature, often referring to an elementary practice of being mindful or focusing the mind.

57. This can mean matter or a constituent of existence, or in Chinese at least, sex.

58. This is the pseudo-*Dhammapada*, T85.1433b28–c1. Here there is the minor variant of the first line that reads, “Because one craves and is attached.” The pseudo-*Dhammapada* was first discovered at Dunhuang and first reported by Yabuki Keiki in 1932, which is further evidence that the *Damo Chanshi lun* is not

The Lotus Sutra says,

They are firmly attached to the five desires,
 By stupidity and love/passion 愛 they produce troubles.
 Through the causation of their desires,
 They fall down into the three evil paths.
 They transmigrate through the six destinies [of rebirth],
 There experiencing sufferings and poisons.⁵⁹

Again [this] sutra says,

Do not crave coarse and gross *rūpa*, sound, smell, taste, or tangibles.
 If craving and attachments [to these] produce love, you will be burnt
 by it.⁶⁰

There are three kinds of dharma-gate (method) of ease 安樂 that practitioners should learn.⁶¹ The first is to be unhurried in doing things.⁶² The second is nothing-but purity. The third is nothing-but good. The first, unhurried, is to look around, not being hasty in your speech, all being nothing-but leisurely. A person of the past said, “If you wish to hurry you will not arrive.”⁶³ Moreover, leisure can restrict haste.

a forgery. The first real study was done by Mizuno Kōgen in 1961. It is found in scrolls that also contain other “Northern Chan” texts, and is considered to be connected with the *Erru sixing lun*. It dates to before 664, and may go almost back to 650. See Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 410–411. However, Okabe Kazuo, “Zensō no chūshō to gikyōkyōten,” in *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, ed. Shinohara and Tanaka, 358–359, shows that Daochuo (582–645) quoted this apocryphon between 609 and 645 in his *Anle ji* 安樂集 (T47.20c–21a), and so it dates from before 645. It is quoted in the *Lengqie shizi ji* chapter on Daoxin, Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 263. 59. *Fahua jing*, T9.8b11–13, also translated in Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma: Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 35.

60. T9.13b10–11, Hurvitz, *Lotus*, 62.

61. The term *anle* 安樂 is often associated with the Pure Land. Here it does not appear to have any connection with Daochuo’s *Anle ji*.

62. Nakagawa Taka, “Tonkō shutsudo Daruma Zenji ron ni tsuite,” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 8, no. 1 (1963): 266–267 relates this to similar words in the *Xiuxin yaolun* of Hongren. See also the chapter on Daoxin in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 249, “put it down/settle down slowly,” p. 25, “examine the mind slowly,” here part of beginning practice.

63. *Lunyu*, XIII.17, translated by James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:270 as “Desire to have things done quickly prevents them being done thoroughly.”

The second, nothing-but purity, is the body and mind at ease and constantly pure. A sutra says,

The mind of ease 樂 delights in purity.⁶⁴

What is done internally and externally always must be pure. The third, nothing-but good is to be without anger and resentment, to be good. If you produce anger and resentment, even though you have cultivated all kinds of merit, you will not be called a good person and you will not escape falling into hell and being roasted and boiled. The *Da zhidu lun*, fascicle 14 has Śakradevendra ask by speaking a *gāthā* (verse):

“What thing kills security?⁶⁵
 What thing is the root of poison,
 That swallows up and eliminates all good?
 What thing kills and yet is lauded?”
 The Buddha replied,
 “The mind that kills anger is security.
 The mind that kills anger does not regret.
 Anger is the root of poison.
 Anger eliminates all good.
 The buddhas who kill anger are lauded.

If you kill anger there will be no anxiety.”
 The bodhisattva thought, “I am now practicing compassion so that sentient beings will attain ease. [As] anger swallows and eliminates good, poisoning and harming all good, I should say, “Why do you practice this grave sin?”⁶⁶

Anger is the gravest of the frustrations. The retribution for anger is the greatest of all the retributions for not [doing] good. Again the *Da zhidu lun* says,

Even though you also read the sutras and sit in meditation,
 A sword blade comes out of your mouth.
 The sword blade that is in your mouth,
 Comes out with evil words to abuse people.
 It is this sword blade
 That prattles on about the faults of others.
 [So that when] you die you go rapidly to hell,

64. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in Kumārajīva’s translation, T14.543b11.

65. A line has been dropped.

66. *Da zhidu lun*, T25.167a15–24.

And even when *icchantikas* become buddhas,
That person [you] has still not escaped [from hell].⁶⁷

A sutra says,

If you praise yourself and revile others,
You will fall into the three evil paths [of rebirth].⁶⁸

This is not leaving home [becoming a monk]. What I [mean] here by leaving home is leaving the home of the five desires.⁶⁹ If you crave the home of the five desires you are not leaving home [and becoming a monk]. Leaving home is to leave the home of wealth and *rūpa* (sex). If you crave and are attached to wealth and sex that is not called leaving home. Leaving home is leaving the home of I and the ego. If you have I and ego that is not called leaving home. Leaving home is leaving the home of affection and love. If you are attached to affection and love that is not called leaving home. Leave the home of erroneous conceptions and misinterpretation. If you have erroneous conceptions and misinterpretations that is not called leaving home. Leave the home of craving, anger, and stupidity. If you have craving, anger, and stupidity, that is not called leaving home. Leave the home of dissipation, self-indulgence, and unrestraint. If you have dissipation, self-indulgence, and unrestraint, that is not called leaving home. Leave the home of all the frustrations. If you have the occurrence of frustration that is not called

67. This is not a quote from the *Da zhidu lun*. However, the first two lines and the last three are identical to a *Yaoshi jing shu* 藥師經疏 (Commentary on the Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra) found only at Dunhuang (T85.314b3–6). Two such sutras were translated, the *Yaoshi rulai benyuan jing* translated in 616 and a *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* translated in 650. After quoting the *Da zhidu lun*, it gives this as a quote from an *āgama*. This *Yaoshi jing shu* is said to be written in a seventh-century manuscript, with a text commemorating the death of Shenxiu's pupil Puji 普寂 (651–739) written on the reverse. Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 564–563. This suggests this commentary has “Chan” connections. Requires more research. *icchantikas* are incorrigible beings who according to some theories can never become buddhas.

68. The first line appears in many scriptures, but the combination with the second line has not been found. The closest I can find is in the *Yaoshi jing shu*, T85.317b3–4, “Due to jealousy you will fall into hell. Because you praise yourself and revile others you will be born among the beasts.”

69. This metaphor is used by the later Bodhiruci in his translation of the *Mahāratnakūta*, the *Dabaoji jing*, sometime after 706, so this was probably not the source.

leaving home. Leave the home of views. If you have views, that is not called leaving home. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* [lacunae of two characters, says] the eight views are all views.⁷⁰ [If] like this you leave home, you leave the mind [lacunae of three characters]. If you are able to not be tethered and bound by the home of these and other frustrations that is true leaving home, is called release, which is called leaving entanglements, and is called leaving the world. If you leave home like this it will not be long before you perfect the Way, and you will give ease to yourself and will also give ease to all sentient beings.

The essentials of the dharma that have been preached [here] are entirely the marvelous intent of the sutras. Practitioners, advance diligently, be constantly mindful in every thought, and remember [these ideas] that are all identical with [those of] the sutras. Vow to remove ideas of doubt and delusion, which is to gain escape from the ocean of birth and death and to climb up the path to nirvana. Strive, strive. The shining light is more valuable than a thousand pieces of [gold?]. Be sure not to discard it in vain.

The treatise of Meditation teacher Dharma.

Sixth month of the first year of the Kaiyao era. Displayed on the day received by the abbot of Puren Monastery, Daoshan.⁷¹

CONTENT EVIDENCE

The texts cited or used in the *Damo Chanshi lun* give evidence of the dates of the text and whether the text is a forgery or not. Firstly, it quotes from the pseudo-*Dhammapada* that dates from before 645, and it uses a distinctive term from the *Jin'gang sanmei jing* that dates at the latest from 665 but may date back to 645 (see notes 58 and 42). It also quotes a *Yaoshi jing shu* (notes 67 and 68). There are no quotes from texts that date after 665. Therefore I tentatively conclude that the *Damo Chanshi lun* dates from sometime between 645 at the earliest and 681 at the very latest.

Secondly, it cannot be a modern forgery because it was not known till at least 1932 that the pseudo-*Dhammapada* was connected with early “Chan” or “Bodhidharma,” and no one knew of the connection of the

70. This may refer to the 108 views elaborated on by the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* as translated by Bodhiruci, T16.521b2, but this is not a quote.

71. Text in Sekiguchi, *Daruma*, 463–468.

Yaoshi jing shu 藥師經疏 with Chan (“a certain Dhyāna monk”) until it was mentioned by Lionel Giles in his catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts in 1957.⁷² The author of the *Damo Chanshi lun* also knew of issues that had been brought to the fore by the Dilun 地論 and early Huayan schools in the sixth and seventh centuries, and was influenced by the rising bodhisattva precepts movement. It would have been almost impossible for a modern forger to have created this text because the requisite knowledge was not available till at least the 1950s at the earliest. Moreover, as Whitfield says, “The forgers were not concerned to create history.”

The similarity of phrases and ideas in the *Damo Chanshi lun* with the texts attributed to Daoxin 道信 or Hongren also suggest that it was written by these leaders of the Dongshan Famen. According to the *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 compiled by Jingjue 淨覺 ca. 716, Daoxin wrote a *Pusa jiefa* 菩薩戒法 or “Dharma of the Bodhisattva Precepts,” and as the *Damo Chanshi lun* is dominated by the theme of the bodhisattva precepts, a number of observers have equated the *Pusa jiefa* and the *Damo Chanshi lun*.⁷³ This is not an unreasonable speculation, given that we know from other “Northern Chan” texts unearthed in Dunhuang that the bodhisattva precepts were popular in early “Chan.”⁷⁴ The *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 attributed to Shenxiu contains some similar passages to those found in the *Damo Chanshi lun* such as, “Constantly cultivate the precepts to combat the poison of craving because they pledge to eliminate all evil ... when you transcend the evil actions of those three poisons [craving, anger, and stupidity] you will perfect the Buddha Way” or “If you wish for the pure buddha land, first purify your mind.”⁷⁵ Therefore it is possible that the *Damo Chanshi lun* reflects the teachings of Daoxin who died in 651 given that the pseudo-*Dhammapada* dates from before 645 and the *Jin’gang sanmei jing* may date as early as 645.

72. Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 554.

73. Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 186 and T85.1286c; connected with the *Damo Chanshi lun* by Nakagawa, “Tonkō shutsudo,” 267.

74. See Tanaka, *Tonkō Zenshū*, 462–467.

75. Cited by Shiina Kōyū, “Hokushū Zen in okeru kairitsu no mondai,” in *Kairitsu no sekai*, ed. Mori Shōji (Tokyo: Keiseisha, 1993), 534. Shiina thinks the equation of the *Damo Chanshi lun* with Daoxin’s *Pusa jiefa* is unreasonable because the bodhisattva precepts movement was widespread at the time (p. 541), but that is to ignore the other features of the *Damo Chanshi lun* that connect it with early “Chan.”

Moreover, the sutras quoted in the *Damo Chanshi lun* overlap considerably with those used by Daoxin in his entry in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, beginning with the pseudo-*Dhammapada*,⁷⁶ the *Nirvana*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Lotus*, *Fo yijiao*, and *Laṅkāvatāra* sutras, and possibly the *Jin'gang sanmei jing* and the *Awakening of Faith*.⁷⁷ I therefore contend that the *Damo Chanshi lun* was probably written by Daoxin or one of his pupils.

CONCLUSION

The codicological and content evidence suggests that the *Damo Chanshi lun* is not a forgery, and that it was probably written by Daoxin or a member of his school sometime between 645 at the earliest and 681 when it was copied by Daoshan, probably in Chang'an. A copy of it was then sent to Dunhuang, from where it was taken, probably by Chinese collectors, either associated with the Education Department in the years 1909 or 1910, or a private individual. Sometime after this time a seal of Li Shengduo was affixed to it, and later, possibly in the late 1930s, it came into the possession of Hashimoto Gyōin.

The *Damo Chanshi lun* may not have been its original title given that it is mostly concerned with the bodhisattva precepts as used in early "Chan." The title may just have been an affiliation marker. Unfortunately the start of the text is missing, which may have provided us with a full title. Whatever the case, this text provides more information on the formation of early Chan and the path towards the "formless precepts" of the *Platform Sutra*.

76. Yanagida, *Ryōgashijiki*, 263.

77. *Ibid.*, 264 (and in notes on 211 and 235) for the *Nirvana*; 241 et passim for the *Vimalakīrti*; 236, 241 (and in notes on 247 and 255) for the *Fo yijiao jing*; 205, 241 for the *Lotus*; 186 for the *Laṅkāvatāra*; notes on 197 and 235 for the *Jin'gang sanmei jing*; note on 253 for the *Awakening of Faith*.