

Contested Identities in Chan/Zen Buddhism: The “Lost” Fragments of Mazu Daoyi in the Zongjing lu

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Introduction: Mazu Daoyi and the Hongzhou Faction

Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, the founder of the Hongzhou faction is a major figure in the Chinese Chan, Korean Seon and Japanese Zen traditions.ⁱ He is especially credited with the unique Chan innovation known as “encounter dialogue.” Encounter dialogues (*jiyuan wenda* 機・問答) constitute one of the unique features of Chan *yulu* 語・, and served as a defining feature of the Chan movement.ⁱⁱ Until recently, it was commonly assumed that *yulu* and encounter dialogue were the products of a unique Tang Chan culture, initiated by masters hailing from Chan’s so-called golden age.ⁱⁱⁱ Recent work on the *Linji lu* 臨濟・ exposed how dialogue records attributed to Linji were shaped over time into typical encounter dialogue events that did not reach mature form until the early Song.^{iv} Regarding Mazu, Mario Poceski has shown how his reputation as an

ⁱ Many of the prevailing assumptions regarding Mazu and the Hongzhou school have been challenged by the work of Mario Poceski, *Everyday Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Jia Jinhua. *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-Century China* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).

ⁱⁱ It is important to note that the term *jiyuan wenda* to describe the phenomena known in English as “encounter dialogue” is a modern expedient devised by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, without precedent in original Chan sources. The significance of Hongzhou and Linji faction Chan to the development of *yulu* and encounter dialogue is one of the presuppositions animating Yanagida Seizan’s work on the development of Chan *yulu*, “Goroku no rekishi--zenbunken no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū” 語録の歴史: 禅文献の成立史的研究 (*Tōhō gakuho* 東方学報 57 [1985: 211-663]).

ⁱⁱⁱ Works discussing the development of *yulu* that challenges this view include Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Buddhism*; my own work, *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Urs App, “The Making of a Chan Record: Reflections on the History of the Records of Yunmen” (*Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 禅文化研究所紀要 17 [1991: 1-90].); and Mario Poceski, “Mazu *yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings,” in *The Zen Canon*. Ed. Steven Heine and Dale Wright, pp. 53-81 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

^{iv} *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, especially pp. 81-108.

iconoclast derives from later sources.¹ Morten Schlutter points out that in earlier sources, Mazu “appears as a rather sedate and deliberate champion of the doctrine of innate Buddha-nature,” and his record in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 gives a decidedly less iconoclastic picture than in later sources.² The view of Mazu as a conventional sermonizer is borne out in the depiction of him in the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, in fragments that have been virtually ignored, especially in terms of their significance, where Mazu appears as a scripture friendly exegete, citing canonical at every turn and spinning at times elaborate commentaries around them. In the current paper, I examine these “lost” (i.e., ignored) fragments in the *Zongjing lu* that shed light on Mazu’s contested identity as a scriptural exegete.³

The Classic Image of Mazu and the Hongzhou Faction: Encounter Dialogue in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*

The classic image of Chan is determined by what may be referred to as the “Mazu (and Hongzhou faction) perspective,” which I have described elsewhere as follows:

By the “Mazu perspective,” I am referring to a style and interpretation of Chan attributed to the Mazu lineage, including

¹ Poceski, “Mazu yulu and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings,” and *Ordinary Mind as the Way*. Recently, Poceski has outlined a similar process in the case of records of Baizhang Huaihai’s teachings, “Monastic Innovator, Iconoclast, and Teacher of Doctrine: The Varied Images of Chan Master Baizhang,” Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds. *Zen Masters* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

² Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p. 16. Schlütter also notes how this process also related to the development of the *Platform sūtra*, the early eighth century version of which contains no encounter dialogues or antinomian behavior. On this, see Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2. (1989: 53-114). Schlütter credits David Chappell (p. 186, n. 19) as the first to note the discrepancy between the earlier and later depictions of Mazu.

³ The *Zongjing lu* is a work by the scholastic Chan master Yongming Yanshou who has been uniformly marginalized in modern Chan and Zen interpretation as a “syncretist,” who represents a decline in the fortunes of “pure” Zen. With the undermining of the supposition that Chan transmission records (*denglu* or *tōroku* 燈錄) preserve faithful renderings of Tang Chan teachings, it is no longer tenable to treat Yanshou’s record as anachronistic nostalgia for a bygone age, but to restore his place as a participant in an ongoing debate about the nature of Chan that was a germane issue of his age. The Chan fragments found in his works, virtually ignored for many years, also need to be considered as viable alternatives to the way Chan masters are depicted in transmission records. For a full treatment, see Welter, *Scholastic as Chan Master: Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Much of the discussion that follows is taken from my work there.

Mazu and his more immediate descendants. More than any other Chan group, this contingent of masters is regarded in Chan lore as the instigators of the “classic” Chan style and perspective, memorialized in terms of a reputed Chan “golden age.” It is this style and perspective that became the common property of Chan masters in *denglu* texts, beginning with the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*. This common style and perspective represents the standardization of Chan as a uniform tradition dedicated to common goals and principles. While factional differences may still have the potential to erupt into controversy, the standardization of the Chan message and persona tended to mask ideological disagreements. The standardization of Chan also provided the pretext for a Chan orthodoxy that was no longer the sole property of a distinct lineage.⁴

The “Mazu perspective” is typified by the development of encounter dialogues, the witty, often physical and iconoclastic repartee between Chan protagonists that characterizes their enlightened behaviour. While the encounter dialogue genre became fully developed among Mazu’s descendents, it is also, by necessity, projected on to the behaviour of Mazu himself as founder and hypothetical progenitor of the style that his faction came to typify. Two examples from Mazu’s record in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* bear this out.

In the first example, an unidentified monk famed for his lectures on Buddhism visits Mazu and asks him, “What is the teaching advocated by Chan masters?”, to which Mazu posed a question in return: “What teaching do you uphold?” When the learned monk replied that he had lectured on more than twenty scriptures and treatises, Mazu exclaimed: “Are you not a lion (i.e., a Buddha)?” When the monk declined the suggestion, Mazu huffed twice, prompting the monk to comment: “This is the way to teach Chan.” When Mazu asked what he meant, the monk replied: “It is the way the lion leaves the den.” When Mazu remained silent, the monk interpreted it also as the way to teach Chan, commenting: “The lion remains in the den.” When Mazu asked: “When there is neither leaving nor remaining, what way would you say this was?”, the monk had no reply but bid Mazu farewell. When the monk reached the door, Mazu called to him and he

⁴ *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: the Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, [2006: 69]).

immediately turned toward Mazu. Mazu again pressed him for a response, but the monk still made no reply. Mazu yelled out: "What a stupid teacher!"⁵

The encounter dialogue here draws on a common trope of the Mazu faction perspective, contrasting the Buddhist understanding of the learned exegete against the penetrating insight of the Chan master. The example draws attention to the typical way in which the Buddhist understanding of allegedly renowned Buddhist exegetes is undermined, and revealed to be lacking the penetrating insight of true awakening that Chan engenders. In a manner not uncommon in encounter dialogues, the episode ends with the Chan master (Mazu) yelling out his denunciation, "What a stupid teacher!" (which may be more colloquially rendered: "You're an idiot!"). Yelling and shouting in Chan--expressions of spontaneous enlightened insight--displace the reasoned disputations of exegetical discourse. Recourse to the trope of the renunciation of the learned Buddhist exegete in Mazu's discourses proves ironic in light of Yanshou's suggestion, considered in detail below, that Mazu himself epitomized in his sermons the learned Buddhist exegesis that he is here criticizing.

A second example demonstrates that Mazu not only participated in shouting and belittling techniques, but also fostered the physical denunciation practices that Chan is renowned for. When a monk asked Mazu the common question intended to test one's Chan mettle: "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?", Mazu struck him, explaining, "If I do not strike you, people throughout the country will laugh at me."⁶

The above examples typify the way in which Mazu's image as an iconoclast has been received in the Chan and Zen traditions. This image is ubiquitous to the point of being unchallengeable. It solidifies Mazu's image as the progenitor of a movement that came to represent an orthodox interpretation of Chan and Zen enshrined in classic sources like the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

The "Lost" Fragments: Mazu as Sermonizing Exegete in the *Zongjing lu*

In spite of the rather tame, prosaic character of the teachings attributed to Hongzhou 洪州 masters like Mazu in early sources, his reputation in the Chan

⁵ CDL 6 (T 51.246b). Following Chang Chung-yuan, trans. *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism* (New York: Vintage Books, [1971: 151-152]).

⁶ CDL 6 (T 51.246b). Following Chang Chung-yuan, trans. *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism*, p. 150.

and Zen traditions affirms his central role as the progenitor of the iconoclastic movement Chan and Zen are most noted for. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, compiler of the *Zongjing lu*, acknowledged what must have been a growing trend to interpret Mazu as an iconoclast, a trend that was already evident in the late Tang critiques by the scholastic Chan protagonist, Zongmi 宗密.⁷ Yanshou inherited Zongmi's concerns, and the *Zongjing lu* was written, in part, to counter this trend by proposing that Mazu's teaching was not iconoclastic, but fully compatible with doctrinal teachings.

This line of argument represents a significant change in our understanding of Yanshou and his position in the development of Chan. Previously, when Mazu was assumed to be the champion of radical, iconoclastic Chan, characterized by an aggressive antinomian posturing, Yanshou's characterization of Mazu was deemed an anachronistic fancy, a wishful fantasy of who Yanshou would like Mazu to be, but a far cry from who Mazu actually was. The discovery of the *Zutang ji* in the twentieth century, coupled with a more nuanced text-critical approach to the sources of Mazu's teachings, have reshaped our understanding of Mazu along the lines described above, and made us more aware of the forces in the later Chan tradition that animated Mazu as champion of Chan iconoclasm. This makes a reevaluation of Yanshou's characterization of Mazu both timely and significant. This is not to suggest that Yanshou's depiction of Mazu is unbiased, or lacking in motivations close to Yanshou's own heart. It does suggest that Yanshou's characterization not be casually discarded as irrelevant, but be entertained as a further piece in our understanding of Mazu and the pressures influencing how he came to be interpreted within the Chan community.

In the eyes of Yanshou, Mazu Daoyi and other Hongzhou faction masters were like any other Chan master worthy of the name, relying on scripturally based doctrinal teachings to promote Chan principles. On the basis of this, the suggestion that the Mazu inspired Hongzhou faction stood for an interpretation of Chan independent of the scriptures and doctrinally based Buddhist practices was untenable. In order to demonstrate the effect of Yanshou's portrayal, I contrast fragments of Mazu's teaching in the *Zongjing lu* against those recorded in Chan transmission records that came to inform his image as an iconoclast.

⁷ See Jeffrey Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Jan Yün-hua 冉雲華, "Tsong-mi, His Analysis of Chan Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972: 1-54).

Perhaps the most telling fragment is the fragment of Mazu's teaching in the *Zongjing lu* that contains a commentary on the meaning of the key *Lankavatāra sūtra* passage: "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth (*zong*), and 'gatelessness' (*wumen*) is the dharma-gate." Because of its length and for the sake of comparison with other sources, I have broken the commentary into four sections. The first three sections have no counterpart in either the *Zutang ji* or *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈 ； they appear solely in the *Zongjing lu*.⁸

Section 1

何故佛語心為宗。佛語心者。即心即佛。今語即是心語。故云。
佛語心為宗。無門為法門者。達本性空。更無一法。性自是門。
性無有相。亦無有門。故云。無門為法門。亦名空門。亦名色門。
何以故。空是法性空。色是法性色。無形相故。謂之空。知見
無盡故。謂之色。

Why does [the *Lankavatāra sūtra* say] "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth?" As for "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth," mind is Buddha. Because the words currently [attributed to the Buddha] are mind-words (i.e., designations for mind; *xinyu*), when it says, "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth, and 'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate," [it means that] they understood the emptiness of the inherent nature [of things] (*benxing*), on top of which there is not a single dharma. Nature itself is the gateway. But because nature has no form and also lacks a gateway to access it, [the *sūtra*] says "'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate." Why is it also known as the "gate of emptiness (*kongmen*)," and as the "gate of physical forms" (*semen*)? Emptiness refers to the emptiness of the dharma-nature; physical forms refer to the physical forms of the dharma-nature. Because the dharma-nature has no shape or form, it is referred to as "empty." Because the dharma-nature is known and seen in everything without limit, it is referred to as "physical forms."

⁸ The commentary is found in *Zongjing lu* 1 (T 49.418b16-c5).

Section 2

故云。如來色無盡。智慧亦復然。隨生諸法處。復有無量三昧門。遠離內外知見情執。亦名總持門。亦名施門。謂不念內外善惡諸法。乃至皆是諸波羅蜜門。色身佛。是實相佛家用。經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦名法性家焰。亦法性功勳。菩薩行般若時。火燒三界內外諸物盡。於中不損一草葉。為諸法如相故。故經云。不壞於身而隨一相。今知自性是佛。於一切時中行住坐臥。更無一法可得。乃至真如不屬一切名。亦無無名。故經云。智不得有無。

Therefore, the scriptures say:⁹ “The physical forms of the tathāgata are unlimited, and wisdom is also like this as well (i.e., unlimited).” Since the various dharmas occupy their respective positions in accordance with the process of arising, they also serve as inestimable gateways to *samādhi*. Distancing oneself far from emotional attachments to what is known internally and seen externally is referred to as the gateway to esoteric techniques, on the one hand, and as the gateway to practices that bestow blessings, on the other.¹⁰ It means that when one does not think of the various dharmas as subjective or objective, as good or evil, the various dharmas all become gateways to the *pāramitās*. The Buddha comprised of a physical body (*śeṣhēng fō*)

⁹ This line appears in both a gatha in the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Scriptures of the Great Treasure Storehouse; T 11-310.673a7), and in Fazang’s 法藏 commentary to the *Awakening of Faith*, the *Dacheng qixinlun lunyi ji* 大乘起信論義記 (T 44-1846.247a27-28), where it is attributed to the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經.

¹⁰ The reference to “the gateway to esoteric techniques” (*zongchi men* 總持門) corresponds to “what is known internally.” “Practices which bestow blessings” (*shimen* 施門) refer especially to the practice of almsgiving, corresponding here to “what is seen externally.”

is the true form [of the Buddha] (*shixiang*) used by members of the Buddhist faith.¹¹

The scriptures say:¹² “The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination.”¹³

They (i.e., the scriptures) also refer to it (i.e., the Buddha’s physical body) as the blazing house of the dharma-nature, or as the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature.¹⁴ When bodhisattvas practice *prajñā*, the fire [of wisdom] incinerates everything in the three realms [of desire, form and formlessness], whether subjective or objective, but does not harm a single blade of grass or leaf in the process. The reason is that the various dharmas are forms existing in the state of suchness (*ruxiang*).¹⁵ That is why a scripture [*Vimālakīrti sūtra*] says:¹⁶ “Do no harm to

¹¹ Pan Guiming, the translator of selected sections of the *Zongjing lu* into modern Chinese (*Zongjing lu*, Foguangshan, [1996: 36 & 39]), punctuates the text so as to make the last two characters of this sentence, *jiayong* (literally, “house use,” or “used ‘in-house’”) the title of the scripture that follows, the *Jiayong jing* 家用經. As there is no scripture bearing such a title, I have refrained from following this suggestion, and have taken the cited scripture as an abbreviated reference to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (see below).

¹² An abbreviated citation from the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (T 12.343a21-22).

¹³ The thirty-two distinctive marks and eighty distinctive bodily traits are auspicious signs accompanying the physical attributes of a Buddha, distinguishing him from ordinary human beings. A common list of the thirty-two distinctive marks are: flat soles; dharma-wheel insignia on the soles of the feet; slender fingers; tender limbs; webbed fingers and toes; round heels; long legs; slender legs like those of a deer; arms extending past the knees; a concealed penis; arm-span equal to the height of the body; light radiating from the pores; curly body hair; golden body; light radiating from the body ten feet in each direction; tender shins; legs; palms; shoulders; and neck of the same proportion; swollen armpits; a dignified body like a lion; an erect body; full shoulders; forty teeth; firm, white teeth; four white canine teeth; full cheeks like those of a lion; flavoured saliva; a long, slender tongue; a beautiful voice; blue eyes; eyes resembling those of a bull; a bump between the eyes; and a bump on top of the head. These are listed in *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a); the list here is drawn from *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 255a (see also Nakamura: 472d-473d).

The eighty distinctive bodily traits represent similarly construed, finer details of a Buddha’s physical appearance. They are discussed in fascicle 2 of the *Dirghāgama sūtra* (Pali: *Dīgha nikāya*; C. *Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經 [T1.12b]; see Nakamura: 1103c-d, *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 95b-96a).

¹⁴ The reference to the burning house is undoubtedly to the parable contained in the *Lotus sūtra*; given the context, the reference to meritorious deeds is likely to the *Lotus* as well.

¹⁵ The term *ruxiang* 如相 (suchness) is common in Chinese Buddhism. It appears, for instance, in the *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*); T 14.547b22).

¹⁶ This phrase is found in Kumarajiva’s translation of the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* (*Weimo jing*; T 14.540b24), and appears in various Chinese Buddhist commentaries: Sengzhao’s 僧肇 *Zhu Weimojie jing*

the physical body, and be in accord with the universal form [underlying all phenomena] (*yixiang*)."

Since we now know that [our own] self-nature is Buddha, no matter what the situation, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained. And even though true suchness (*zhenru*) is not limited by any name, there are no names that do not refer to it. This is why a scripture [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] says: ¹⁷ "Wisdom is not obtained in existence or non-existence."¹⁸

Section 3

內外無求。任其本性。亦無任性之心。經云。種種意生身。我說
為心量。即無心之心。無量之量。無名為真名。無求是真求。

Internally or externally, there is nothing to seek. Let your original nature (*benxing*) reign free, but do not give reign to a "mind" (*xin*) [that exists over and above] nature (*xing*). When a scripture (the *Lankavatāra sūtra*) says: ¹⁹ "All the various deliberations give

注維摩詰經 (T 38.350a25); Zhiyi's 智顗 *Weimo jing lueshu* 維摩經略述, summarized by Zhanran 湛然 (T 38.619c17 & 668c15); Zhiyi's *Jingguangming jing wenju* 金光明經文句, recorded by Guanding 灌頂 (T 39.51a6); Guanding's *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (T 46.588b27 & 599b18); and Jizang's *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 (T 38.847a22) and *Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏 (T 38.940c1).

¹⁷ A line from a verse in the *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16.480a28, 480b1 & b3). What follows in the *sūtra* is, in each case, the verse: "... and yet one gives rise to a mind of great compassion." The line also appears in Jizang's (T 35.386b22) and Chengguan's (eg., T 35.855a19) commentaries on the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經; and Zongmi's *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lueshu zhu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略述註 (T 39.541b4).

¹⁸ The first thing to note here is that some lines from this section are also attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思. *Zongjing lu* 97: T 48.940b24-26 & 28. The teaching attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi there reads:

...is the true form [of the Buddha] (*shixiang* 實相) used by members of the Buddhist faith. The scriptures say: "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination." They (i.e., the scriptures) also say (i.e., the Buddha's physical body) is the blazing house of the dharma-nature, and also the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature....no matter what the situation, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained."

¹⁹ Lines from a verse in the *Lengqie ching* 楞伽經 (T 16.500b17). "Contents of the mind" (*xinliang* 心量) is another name for "mind-only" (*weixin* 唯心) (Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 770a).

rise to [notions of] physical bodies; I say they are accumulations of the mind (i.e., mind-only),” it refers to ‘mindless mind’ (*wuxin zhi xin*, i.e., the mind of ‘no-mind’, or a mind of spontaneous freedom) and ‘contentless contents’ (i.e., the contents of ‘no-contents’). The ‘nameless’ is the true name.²⁰ ‘Non-seeking’ is true seeking.

The long commentary from Mazu, cited in sections 1 through 3 above, has no counterpart in the *Zutang ji* or *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄. The only portion of the commentary from the *Zongjing lu* recorded in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* is the fragment cited below (section 4). The fragment is recorded in the *Zongjing lu*, as follows:²¹

Section 4

經云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善
不作惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依。法無自性。三界唯心。經云。森羅及
萬像。一法之所印。凡所見色。皆是見心。心不自心。因色故心
。色不自色。因心故色。故經云。見色即是見心。

[According to Mazu Daoyi]:²²

The scriptures say: “Those who seek the Dharma (*fa*) should not seek anything.”²³ There is no Buddha separate from mind; there

²⁰ An allusion to passages regarding the nameless (*wuming* 無名) in the *Daode jing* 道德經.

²¹ *Zongjing lu* 1; 418c5-10.

²² Although there is no attribution to Mazu by Yanshou in the *Zongjing lu* text, these lines clearly correspond to the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄 (X 69 2b22ff.; Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, trans., *Baso no goroku* 馬祖の語録 (Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūjo, [1984: 19-21]), and other sources that record Mazu’s teachings, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T 51.246a9ff.), and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (X 78.448c11ff.).

²³ This is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25-26). “There is nothing to seek” is one of the four practices attributed to Bodhidharma in the “Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice” (*Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論). In the *Mazu yulu* and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* this passage is not attributed to a scripture but to Mazu himself. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* concurs with the *Zongjing lu* in attributing the statement to a scriptural source.

is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not create evil.²⁴ In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Phenomena (*fa*) have no intrinsic nature. The triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind (*weixin*). The scriptures say: “Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth.”²⁵ Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself. Mind is mind because of physical forms.²⁶ Physical forms are not physical forms of themselves. Physical forms are physical forms because of mind. That is why the scriptures say: “To see physical forms is to see mind.”²⁷

The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions are virtually identical, and read as follows.²⁸

又云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善
不捨惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依怙。□□□□。念念不可得。無自性故。
三界唯心。森羅萬象。一法之所印。凡所見色皆是見心。心不自
心。因色故有心。

It [the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] also says: “Those who seek the Dharma should not seek anything.”²⁹ There is no Buddha separate from

²⁴ The *Mazu yulu* and other sources have *shewu* 攝惡 (“reject evil”) for *zuowu* 作惡 (“create evil”).

²⁵ This phrase, “Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth,” is found in the Chan apocryphal text, the *Faju jing* 法句經 (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan 澄觀 in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (T 36.60c28-29 & 586b6-7). Elsewhere in the commentary (T 36.301b16-17), Chengguan attributes the phrase to a *Prajñāparāmīta* source.

²⁶ This is where the *Mazu yulu* and other sources end. I have attributed the following lines to Mazu, however, as best fitting the context of the *Zongjing lu*.

²⁷ The phrase is reminiscent of general Māhāyāna teaching. With slight variation, it appears in the *Panro xinjing zhujie* 般若心經註解 (Commentary on the Heart Sūtra) by Patriarch Dadian 大顛祖師 (X 26-573.949a1), suggesting that the phrase is an extrapolation of *Heart Sūtra* teaching (see T 8-251.848c4-23).

²⁸ Save for the character *xin* 心 at the end of the *Zutang ji* passage, which the *Chuandeng lu* lacks, the two versions are identical.

²⁹ As noted above, this is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25-26). “There is nothing to seek” is one of the four practices

mind; there is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not reject evil.³⁰ In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Sinfulness, by nature, is empty; passing thoughts are incapable of [committing sins] because they have no intrinsic nature of their own. Therefore, the triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind (*weixin*). Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth.³¹ Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself; the existence of mind depends on physical forms.³²

(*Zutang ji* 14; ZBK ed. 514.8-13 & *Chuandeng lu* 6; T 51.246a9-14)

The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*, in effect, skip the long exegetical commentary attributed to Mazu in the *Zongjing lu*, cited in sections 1 through 3 above, and go directly to a second scripture quotation, which they attribute, by inference, to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*. Even here, where the *Zongjing lu* punctuates Mazu's comments with citations from scriptures to verify the accuracy of his interpretation (concurring with Yanshou's own stipulated methodology for revealing *zong*, the implicit truth), the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* simply cite the *Lankavatāra* briefly and attribute the rest of the passage to Mazu himself. This effectively makes Mazu the authority, not the scriptures. Ishii Kōsei has suggested that the role of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in Mazu's teachings lessens from the *Zongjing lu* to the *Zutang ji* to the *Chuandeng lu*.³³ The omission of the long commentary attributed to Mazu in the *Zongjing lu* only reinforces this point. In the *Zongjing lu*, Mazu is depicted as a traditional Buddhist master, whose intimate knowledge of the scriptures and interpretive acumen are readily apparent. The presentation of

attributed to Bodhidharma in the "Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice" (*Erru sixing lun*). Here it appears to be attributed to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*.

³⁰ See n. 28 above.

³¹ As noted above, this phrase, "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth," is found in the Chan apocryphal text, the *Faju jing* (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (T 36.60c28-29 & 586b6-7). While Yanshou acknowledges its scriptural origin, the *Chuandeng lu* and other sources portray it as Mazu's own declaration.

³² This is where the *Mazu yulu* ends. I have attributed the following lines to Mazu, however, as best fitting the context of the *Zongjing lu*.

³³ Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, "Baso ni okeru Ranka kyō, Ninyū sigyō ron no iyō" 馬祖における『楞伽經』『二入四行論』の依用, *Komazawa tanki daigaku ronshū* 11 (2005: 112-114).

Mazu as a Buddhist exegete conflicted strongly with the aims of later Chan lineage advocates. The latter shaped Mazu's image so as to minimize Mazu's scripture-friendly persona and exegetical tendencies.

In addition, one other item of note is the substitution of the character *she* 捨 (to reject) in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* in place of the character *zuo* 作 (to create) in the *Zongjing lu* version. This changes the *Zongjing lu* line: "Do not grasp good; do not create evil" (不取善不作惡) to read "Do not grasp good; do not reject evil" (不取善不捨惡) in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions. The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions were eventually standardized in the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語 . This small alteration effectively changes Mazu from advocating a conventional Buddhist morality, "do not create evil" into an advocate of an antinomian Chan, "do not reject evil," that has transcended the limitations of a moral dualism (good versus evil).

The *Mazu yulu* also incorporates the passages cited above from the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*. The placement of the fragments occupies a prominent place in the *Mazu yulu*, the first sermon following the opening biographical section.³⁴ The fragments thus constitute the first teachings of Mazu that readers of the *yulu* are introduced to. Not surprisingly, the long *Zongjing lu* commentary is omitted from the *Mazu yulu*. As a result of this editing process, Yanshou's view of Mazu as scriptural exegete was effectively removed from historical memory.³⁵ As Yanshou was marginalized from the ranks of "true" Chan, his characterization of Mazu was similarly ignored.

In other words, the *Zongjing lu* fragments relating to Mazu Daoyi not only augment the source material that we have attributed to Mazu, they also dramatically challenge the way he has normally been depicted as the instigator of the iconoclastic, antinomian style of Chan promoted in Linji faction rhetoric.

As seen above, Yanshou's depiction of Mazu is built around fragments of sermons that are not recorded elsewhere, and as a result, did not make it into the

³⁴ The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* fragments are found at *Mazu yulu*, X 69-1321.2b19-c1 & GDL X 78-1553.448c8-15; Iriya Yoshitaka, *Baso goroku*, pp. 17-23.

³⁵ The *Zongjing lu* commentary is included among the appended supplementary materials not contained in the original *Mazu yulu*, in Iriya Yoshitaka's modern Japanese edition of the *Mazu yulu*, *Baso goroku*, pp. 193-197.

Mazu yulu (The Dialogue Records of Mazu), the standardized record of Mazu's teachings. There is one other major fragment of Mazu's teaching recorded in the *Zongjing lu* that augments and challenges the conventional image of Mazu derived from his existing *yulu*. It reads as follows.

如馬祖大師云。若此生所經行之處。及自家田宅處所。父母兄弟等。舉心見者。此心本來不去。莫道見彼事則言心去。心性本無來去。亦無起滅。所經行處。□□□□□□□□。今所見者。由昔時見故。皆是第八含藏識中。憶持在心。非今心去。亦名種子識。亦名含藏識。貯積昔所見者。識性虛通。念念自見。名巡舊識。亦名流注生死。此念念自離。不用斷滅。若滅此心。名斷佛種性。此心本是真如之體。甚深如來藏。而與七識俱。

As the great master Mazu says: "If you apply this passage from the scriptures to your own circumstances--your own family, land holdings, and domicile, your father and mother, older and younger brothers, and so on--and consider how to view mind, this mind never goes away. You cannot say mind passes away as a result of observing [your own] objective circumstances. The mind-nature never comes or goes, nor does it rise or perish. When the passage from the scriptures is viewed in terms of the current [situation] as it applies to your own family, your father and mother, dependents, and so on, all of these are recollections lodged in the mind, contained in the eighth alaya-consciousness, as the result of past views. It is not that the mind [generated by] present [circumstances] goes away. It is known both as seed consciousness and alaya-consciousness. When the stored-up accumulations of the past appear, the consciousness-nature reveals an illusory existence. Thoughts [currently] manifesting themselves are known as the consciousness derived from past [karmic accumulations]. It is also known as the pouring out of birth and death (i.e., samsara). Since these thoughts are naturally separate [from the original mind-nature], there is no need to extinguish them. When you extinguish the mind, it is known as

eliminating the seeds of Buddha-nature.³⁶ This mind is fundamentally the essence of true suchness, the very profound womb of the tathagata, and yet it complements the [other] seven consciousnesses.” (*Zongjing lu* 49 ; T 48.707b16-26)

This passage is not attributed to Mazu in any other source. It is obviously intended to link Mazu to scriptural and doctrinal teachings, especially the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and the Weishi/Consciousness-Only School. The preceding passage in the *Zongjing lu* cites/paraphrases passages from the classic work of the Weishi School, the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論.³⁷ Mazu’s remarks are intended as a commentary on these passages. The dependence on standard doctrinal formulations (like alaya-consciousness, which is nowhere mentioned in other sources for Mazu’s teachings) stands in contrast to the way Mazu is depicted in other sources. It emphasizes Yanshou’s view of Mazu as an expert in doctrine who readily applies his expertise in scriptural exegesis.

Contested Chan Identities: A Separate Transmission Outside the Teaching vs. Reliance on the Scriptures

The competing images of Mazu Daoyi, as prototypical Chan iconoclast and as dedicated Buddhist exegete, are not unique but are part of a larger struggle over Chan identity as it emerged from the Five Dynasties period and entered the new Song milieu.³⁸ Although the debate was not always as reducible as is often supposed, the contest boiled down to two competing views over Chan identity: as a “separate transmission outside the teaching (i.e., scriptures)” (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) or a “special transmission within the teaching” (*jiaozhong techuan* 教中特傳).³⁹ With the predominate interpretation of Chan ceded to

³⁶ Reading 斷佛性種 for 斷佛種性.

³⁷ T 31-1585.

³⁸ I have written elsewhere of these developments, in *The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) and *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³⁹ Unlike *jiaowai biechuan*, *jiaozhong techuan* is not a phrase used in the tradition itself, but is a phrase I have coined to represent the contrasting view. For a fuller exposition see Welter, *Scholastic as Chan Master: Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu, A Special Transmission within the Scriptures..*

Linji/Rinzai orthodoxy, Yanshou's position has never really been given the consideration it is due. The position embedded in the Chan fragments in the *Zongjing lu* have remained "lost" in the fog of orthodoxy and not examined in light of a viable alternative on the nature of Chan identity in the early Song. The restored *Zongjing lu* fragments tell a different story of the Chan tradition, where the teachings of legitimate masters concur with the messages conveyed in scriptural teachings. In this interpretation, Mazu Daoyi is no longer the iconoclast depicted in encounter dialogues, but a sermonizing exegete who expounds Chan teachings through commentaries on well known scriptural passages in a highly conventional manner.

In conclusion, this study of the "lost" fragments of Mazu Daoyi in the *Zongjing lu* has two aspects or dimensions. On the one hand, Yanshou's interpretation of Mazu in the *zongjing lu* has implications for our understanding of the Chan tradition. By imagining Mazu as a prosaic sermonizer and exegete, the *Zongjing lu* challenges the received interpretation of Mazu in "encounter dialogues" and his place as a progenitor of the interpretation of Chan as a "separate transmission." In short, it challenges the image of "true" Chan promoted in orthodox sources. Secondly, the study points to the importance of the *Zongjing lu* for study of Chan. The Chan fragments in the *Zongjing lu* challenge the orthodox interpretation of the Linji/Rinzai School, replacing the interpretation of Chan as "a separate transmission outside the scriptures" with a different message of a scripture reliant Chan as a "special transmission within the scriptures"