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# KUAN-YIN: THE CULT OF HALF ASIA

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, which offers to all beings a *yāna* or "vehicle" leading to liberation by faith and love as well as by knowledge,[1] the central figure is Kuan-yin (the Bodhisattva "Avalokitasvara"), "the Regarder of the Cries of the World," the personification of Buddhist compassion, and to some the idealization of Gautama Buddha. The name of Kuan-yin—popularly known in the West in the present feminine form as the "Goddess of Mercy" or the "Buddhist Madonna," and hailed by Henry Adams as the sexless "merciful guardian of the human race"[2]—is a household word in the East. As the saying goes, in every home there is a Kuan-yin (Japanese, Kwannon or Kannon), in every house an Amitā Buddha. While Amitā (Japanese, Amida) vows to take the sentient beings after death into a world where the retribution of karma is no more effective, Kuan-yin caters to the

For the Chinese characters which are presented in the text in transliterated form, see the Appendix.

[1] Cf. S. Radhakrishnan: "The Buddha's system is not a darśana, or a philosophy, but a yāna, or a vehicle, a practical method leading to liberation" (*Indian Philosophy*, 2 vols. [London, 1951], 1:464, citing *Majjhima Nikāya*); see also Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (London, 1916), p. 226.

[2] See Mabel LaFarge, "A Niece's Memories," in *Letters to a Niece and Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres*, ed. Henry Adams (Boston, 1920), p. 14. I owe this information to Margaret Brown, who showed me the draft of her doctoral dissertation on Henry Adams and the Orient (chap. 2) prepared for the English department at Tulane University. Cf. Hans Nordewin von Koerber, "Kuan-yin, the Buddhist Madonna," *Theosophical Forum* (July 1941), available in reprint at the University of Southern California Library, Los Angeles.

human desire to rise above our own karma even while in this life.[3] Thus in Tibet, the Panchen (Sanskrit, Paṇḍita) Lama is regarded as the manifestation of Amitā, and the Dalai Lama, the temporal ruler, the manifestation of Kuan-yin. In popular religion Kuan-yin is an object for worship and devotion; but the illumined may find in him an ideal and a tangible aid for concentration and mental tranquilization, through which they may identify themselves with the universal mind.

This paper attempts to examine the concept of Kuan-yin in its cultural setting. It endeavors to clarify the name and idea and elucidate the basic sūtras (the *Lotus*, the *Heart*, the *Śūraṅgama*, and the *Thousand-Hand*, among more than eighty canonical works devoted to Kuan-yin) in the light of Chinese humanism and Mahāyāna mysticism, which prefers "positive and religious expressions" to the Hīnayāna's "negative and philosophically strict definitions."[4]

## I. KUAN-YIN

The term "Kuan-yin", "he who has perceived sound," is a subject of long controversy. Hsüan-tsang (602–64) categorically declares it a "mistake" in translation along with all other early renderings, giving the "correct" form as Kuan-tzu-tsai, from the Sanskrit Avalokiteśvara (= Avalokita-iśvara), "the lord of what is seen" or "the lord who is seen."[5] Ch'eng-kuan (738–839?), however, points out that the Sanskrit originals themselves contain two different names,[6] which is substantiated by the discovery in 1927 of an old manuscript in Sinkiang assigned to the end of the fifth century in which the name Avalokitasvara (= Avalokita-svara, "Kuan-yin") occurs five times on an incomplete leaf, thus dismissing the possibilities of a clerical error and leading Mironov to conclude that Avalokitasvara was the original form, later supplanted by

[3] D. T. Suzuki, "Impressions of Chinese Buddhism," *Eastern Buddhist* 6 (1935): 345.

[4] Radhakrishnan, 1:589. Cf. Prof. Paul Demiéville's reference to "le 'mysticisme spéculatif' de l'Inde mahâyâniste" in "La Pénétration du bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1956):22. For a list of canonical works devoted to Kuan-yin, see Gōtō Daiyō, *Kanzeon bosatsu no kenkyū*, rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1970), pp. 283–88.

[5] Hsüan-tsang, *Hsi-yü chi, chüan* 3 (Taishō Daizōkyō, 51:883b); Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1884), p. 127, n. 28.

[6] Ch'eng-Kuan, *Hua-yen ching su* [Commentary to the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*], *chüan* 57 (Taishō, 35:940a).

Avalokiteśvara.[7] As Professor Murray B. Emeneau observes in a letter to me, "Avalokitasvara undoubtedly means 'who has perceived sound,' a bahuvrihi compound with a passive particle as first member. That is, avalokita is 'that which has been perceived,' and the compound is very literally 'he who has sound perceived.' " Hsüan-tsang's famous disciple K'uei-chi (632–82), remarkably, keeps to the use of Kuan-yin in the preface to the Sino-Sanskrit phonetic transcription of the *Prajñā-pāramitā hṛdaya* (heart) *Sūtra*, as does his biographer and contemporary, Hui-li.[8]

Hsüan-tsang was not the originator of the term "Kuan-tzu-tsai," as Takakusu Junjirō and Kenneth K. S. Ch'en have alleged. In Professor Takakusu's words, Hsüan-tsang "introduced a new translation of the name, viz., Kuan-ts'u-ts'ai, 'Self-existent who gazes' or 'Gazing lord.' "[9] And Professor Ch'en writes: "All early translators in China used Kuan-yin or Kuan-shih-yin, and it was not until Hsüan-tsang that the expression Kuan-tzu-tsai, the Onlooking Lord, a correct translation of Avalokiteśvara, was first used."[10] Kumārajīva (344–413), who was among those criticized by Hsüan-tsang for using Kuan-shih-yin in his translation of the *Lotus* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) and the *Heart* (*Hṛdaya*) sūtras, had already noted that Kuan-shih-yin was "also called Kuan-tzu-tsai."[11]

Nor is Kuan-yin a contraction of "Kuan(perceive)-shih(world)-yin(sound)" in deference to the name of Li Shih-min, the emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang (reigned 627–49), as it is often surmised.[12] When T'ai-tsung was installed heir apparent in 626, his father ordered his personal name avoided by not using the elements *shih* and *min* in toto, but allowing separate use, in accordance with decorum; and that, moreover, applied only to "official titles, public and private documents, and names of *persons*." In 650, however, his overzealous son and successor, Kao-tsung, renamed the *min-pu* (ministry of finance) *hu-pu*;[13] but when the preliminary translation

[7] See N. D. Mironov, "Buddhist Miscellanea," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1927), pp. 241–52. Cf. Honda Giei, "Kannon no komei ni tsuite," *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronsō*, no. 296 (February 25, 1931), pp. 1–23; Marie-Thérèse de Mallman, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara* (Paris, 1948), pp. 59–82.

[8] See K'uei-chi, *T'ang-Fan fan-tui tzu-yin Po-jo-po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching*; Hui-li and Yen-tsung (fl. 688), *Tz'u-en chuan, chüan* 1 (Taishō, 8:851a and 50:224b, respectively).

[9] Takakusu Junjirō, "Kwan-yin," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1915), 7:763b.

[10] Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), pp. 340–41.

[11] See Seng-chao (384–414), *Chu Wei-mo-chieh ching* [Commentary to the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*], *chüan* 1 (Taishō, 38:331a), citing Kumārajīva.

[12] *Fo-hsüeh ta-tz'u-tien*, ed. Ting Fu-pao (1874–1952), s.v. "Kuan-yin."

[13] See *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*, ed. Wang Ch'in-jo (962–1025), 1754 reprint of 1672 reengraved ed., 3:10ab.

of the *Tsui-sheng t'o-lo-ni ching* [Supreme dhāraṇī sūtra] was presented to him in 679 with *shih-tsun* (World-honored or Bhagavat) replaced by *sheng-tsun* (honored Sage) and *shih-chieh* (the world) by *sheng-chieh* (creatures), etc., the emperor decreed after perusal: "Since they are the words of the Sages (Buddhas), they need not observe the taboo," and the terms were restored.[14]

The fact is, "Kuan-yin" appeared as early as 185 in Chih-yao's translation of the *Ch'eng-chü kuang-ming ting-i ching* [Perfect splendor samādhi sūtra], contemporaneous with "Kuan-shih-yin" which was used in the title of a liturgy "translated during the Later Han" and "is not extant."[15] Furthermore, as Professor Emeneau tells us, "Avalokitasvara certainly cannot be analysed as containing a form meaning 'world'; lokita never means that. If Kumārajīva's rendering in Chinese contains an element meaning 'world,' it might possibly be because of the similarity (quite accidental) between avalokita and loka 'world.'" Ch'eng-kuan sheds no light when he writes: *Avalokita* means *kuan* (perceive); *svara* means *yin* (sound). When the *Lotus* says the Bodhisattva "perceived (*kuan*) their sound (*yin*) and all were delivered," it means "Kuan-shih[?]-yin."[16]

On Bodhisattva, which originally applied to Gautama Buddha in the previous stages of his lives before final attainment of Buddhahood, the term denotes "one whose essence is perfect knowledge," or "a being destined for enlightenment."[17] Suzuki describes the Bodhisattva as one who, believing in the Bodhi ("intelligence" or "wisdom"), which is a reflection of the Dharmakāya (the "Dharma-body" or essential Buddha-nature) in the human "soul" (*sic*), directs all his spiritual energy toward realizing and developing it for the sake of his fellow-creatures.[18] From the

[14] See preface by Yen-tsung dated 682 in *Tsui-sheng t'o-lo-ni ching*, trans. Divākara (613–87) (Taishō, 19:355a).

[15] For the dating of the *Ch'eng-chü kuang-ming ting-i ching* (Taishō, 15:451c; cf. Gōtō, p. 3) and the mention of the title, *Kuan-shih-yin so-shuo hsing-fa ching*, see *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*, ed. Chih-sheng in 730, *chüan* 1 (Taishō, 55:482c, 483c, respectively).

[16] *Hua-yen ching su*, *chüan* 57 (Taishō, 35:940a).

[17] Clarence H. Hamilton, "The Idea of Compassion in Mahayana Buddhism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, no. 3 (July–September 1950):148, citing Louis de La Vallée Poussin and Moriz Winternitz, respectively.

[18] D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (New York, 1963), p. 9. Cf. Radhakrishnan: "Reality in its ontological aspect is called Bhūtatathatā [Chinese, *chen-ju*], or the essence of existence. In its religious aspect it is called Dharmakāya. It is the highest principle which harmonises all contradictions. It is also called Nirvāṇa, since it brings absolute peace to the torn heart. It is Bodhi, or wisdom. It directs the course of the world and gives shape to all" (1:592–93; see also Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* [London, 1932], pp. 4–9).

moment one vows to attain Buddhahood for the salvation of all beings (by practicing the Pāramitās or "Perfections" of charity, morality, forbearance, vigor, concentration, and wisdom), one is called a Bodhisattva.[19] The way of the Bodhisattva is "entered upon with the mind for Bodhi, founded on compassion, and fulfilled by benefiting others by means suitable to their capacity to receive."[20]

The iconographic transformation of Kuan-yin from male to female, symbolic of maternal love and infinite compassion, is traceable to the fifth century during the north and south dynasties, contrary to assertions by Hu Ying-lin (1551–1602) and Professor Wing-tsit Chan that the feminine form did not appear in China until the eleventh century;[21] though until the T'ang (618–907) Kuan-yin was *predominantly* masculine, as evinced by existing sculptures and paintings and the epithet "brave and manly" (*yung-meng chang-fu*) in the T'ang translation of the *Hua-yen* or *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*,[22] and until modern times he is still referred to as "father" or "compassionate father."[23]

The encyclopedic *Fa-yüan chu-lin* compiled in 668 notes that Kuan-yin manifested himself in the feminine form in 479 to free the devotee P'eng Tzu-ch'iao from chains. The histories of Northern Ch'i and the north and south dynasties compiled earlier tell of a similar manifestation to heal the dissolute and emaciated Northern Ch'i emperor Wu-ch'eng (reigned 561–65); and reveal that the last empress of the Ch'en, née Shen, became a Buddhist nun and received the religious name "Kuan-yin" in 617.[24] Yang

[19] *Ta chih-tu lun* [Commentary to the *Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*], trans. Kumārajīva, *chüan* 4 (Taishō, 25:86a). On the six Pāramitās, see *Chieh shen-mi ching* [*Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*], trans. Hsüan-tsang, *chüan* 4 (Taishō, 16:705a ff.); also *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom*, trans. Edward Conze (London, 1955), pp. 66–70.

[20] *Ta-jih ching* [*Vairocana Sūtra*], trans. Śubhakarasiṁha (637–735) and I-hang (673–727), *chüan* 1 (Taishō, 18:1bc).

[21] See, respectively, Hu Ying-lin, *Shao-shih-shan-fang pi-ts'ung*, *chüan* 40 (Peking, 1958), pp. 536–39; and Wing-tsit Chan, "Buddhist Terminology," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (Paterson, N.J., 1964), p. 92b.

[22] *Hua-yen ching*, trans. Śikṣānanda (652–710), *chüan* 68 (Taishō, 10:366c).

[23] See Tsung-kao (style Ta-hui, 1089–1163), "Ta-hui ch'an-shih li Kuan-yin wen," in *Tzu-men ching-hsün*, ed. Ju-chin (Ming dynasty), *chüan* 8 (Taishō, 48:1081b); Fan-ch'i (style Ch'u-shih, 1296–1370), "Kuan-yin ta-shih tsan," in *Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i ch'an-shih yü-lu*, *chüan* 13 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 29/1:106b); and Ting-hsi (1895–1962), "Ting-hsi ta-shih yü-lu," p. 48, and 1 vol. with *Tung-lin hsiao-chih* (Hong Kong [1963]).

[24] See, respectively, Tao-shih (d. 683), *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, *chüan* 27 (Taishō, 53:484c); *Pei-Ch'i shu*, 33:7b; *Pei shih*, 90:5b; *Nan shih*, 12:9a (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an). Cf. Chao I (1727–1814), *Kai-yu ts'ung-k'ao*, *chüan* 34 (Shanghai, 1957), p. 739; Yü Cheng-hsieh (1775–1840), *Kuei-chi lei-kao*, *chüan* 15 (Taipei, 1965), p. 571; Ting Fu-pao, "Chien-ching tsa-chi," *Kuan-shih-yin ching chien-chu* (Shanghai [1918]), p. 2a.

Hsiu-lieh (fl. 737), in his eulogy of a Buddhist nun, refers to another with spiritual penetration "whom people of the time called Kuan-yin."[25] And in the Annals of T'ien-chu, Kuan-yin is said to appear in the form of a woman in Ch'ien Liu's (852–932) dream, in which the future prince of Wu-Yüeh was told that he was to rule a princedom, and his domain would last through the chaotic Five Dynasties period because he was compassionate and averse to killing.[26] With the translation of the *Cundīdevīdharaṇī Sūtra* in the seventh century, the feminine aspect of Kuan-yin in the form of Cundī-Avalokitasvara (Chun-t'i kuan-yin), "mother of seven koṭīs (a huge number often represented as ten million) of Buddhas," was established in China.[27]

## II. THE *Lotus*

Kuan-yin is portrayed in the *Lotus*—one of the greatest religious dramas in the world teaching the Mahāyāna doctrine of the eternal Buddha symbolized by the embodiment of the past, present, and future in the lotus, which contains simultaneously the flower, the seed within the flower, and the rootlet within the seed—as the compassionate savior who "perceives (*kuan*) the sound (*yin*)" of innumerable suffering beings, who "call on his name with *one mind*" and are forthwith delivered. This is the theme of the 2,062-word, twenty-fifth chapter in Kumārajīva's version which is considered one of the world's literary masterpieces, known also separately as the *Kuan-yin Sūtra*.[28]

There are three extant Chinese translations of the *Lotus*: Dharmarakṣa's *Cheng-fa hua ching* [Lotus of the true dharma] from

[25] "Ta-T'ang Chi-tu-ssu ku-ta-teh pi-ch'iu-ni Hui-yüan ho-shang Shen-k'ung chih-ming," in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (1814; reprint ed., Taipei, 1965), 396:20a.

[26] See *Miao-fa lien-hua ching Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa p'u-men-p'in ping-t'u* (same as *P'u-men-p'in t'u-cheng*), ed. Li Yüan-ching, 14th reprint (Shanghai, 1937), p. 40b. There is a sixty-two-word eulogy of Kuan-yin by Ch'ien Liu's son Ch'ien Kuan, Prince of Wu-Yüeh, dated 949, in *Ch'üan T'ang wen chi-shih*, ed. Ch'en Hung-ch'ih in 1814, *chüan* 106 (Shanghai, 1959), p. 1300.

[27] See *Chun-t'i t'o-lo-ni ching*, trans. Divākara (Taishō, 20:185–186); cf. *Ta-ch'eng chuang-yen pao-wang ching* [*Karaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*], trans. T'ien-hsi-chai (d. 1000), *chüan* 3 and 4 (Taishō, 20:59b and 63a), available in stitched-bound (Taipei, 1974) reprint of Chin-ling woodblock print with added punctuation by Dr. C. T. Shen et al. Cundī, more commonly Cundā, is a name for Durgā, "the violent or ferocious one" in Brahmanic mythology. Oda Tokunō (1860–1911), who is followed by some Chinese and Japanese scholars, interprets it as "purity, in praise of the purity of mind and nature" (*Bukkyo daijiten*, rev. ed. [Tokyo, 1954], p. 993b, s.v. "Juntei"), which denotes the Dharmakāya. The three-*chüan* glossarial *Chun-t'i ching hui-shih*, ed. Hung-tsan (1611–85) (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 37/3), neglects to explain; and Prof. Edward Conze tells me, "She is called 'mother of the Buddhas' because of the habit of devising feminine deities from P. P. [*Prajñā-pāramitā*] as prototype."

[28] Taishō, 9:56c–58b.

the Sanskrit in 286; Kumārajīva's *Miao-fa lien-hua ching* [Lotus of the wonderful dharma] from the Kucha text of present-day Sinkiang in 406; and the *T'ien-p'in miao-fa lien-hua ching* [Supplemented lotus] by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta in 601, which corresponds with Kumārajīva's accepted version and supplies the latter with the *gāthā* or metrical section of the Kuan-yin chapter which was originally lacking.[29] There is also a Tibetan translation from the Sanskrit in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (no. 781 in vol. 30).

In Western languages, E. Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la bonne loi* (Paris, 1852) and H. Kern's *The Saddharma-Pundarîka* (Oxford, 1909) are based on Sanskrit manuscripts dating as late as 1039; while Soothill and Kato's synoptic *Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (Oxford, 1930) and the unabridged version entitled *Myōhō-renge-kyō* published forty-one years later in Tokyo are rendered from Kumārajīva's Chinese. Also in press and under preparation are two new English renditions based primarily on the Chinese and the Gilgit (Kashmir) Sanskrit version of ca. 500, respectively, by two outstanding scholars in the field, Leon Hurvitz and Edward Conze, bearing testimony to the importance of the sūtra which "had been the inspiration for Buddhist art and practices during the past millennium and a half in China . . . attracting and keeping the attention of people by its sheer imagery, pageantry, vision, similes, and parables."[30] The Kuan-yin chapter from the Kumārajīva version is also available separately in Samuel Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* (London, 1871), pages 389–96; Timothy Richard's *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (Edinburgh, 1910), pages 16–23, entitled, anomalously, "Kwanyin, the So-called Goddess of Mercy, or a Far Eastern Version of the Holy Spirit";[31] and Suzuki's *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (London, 1950), pages 30–38.

The P'u-men-p'in or chapter of the "Universal Door" of Kuan-

[29] See Taishō, vol. 9, nos. 263, 262, and 264, respectively. The writer of the preface to the third work, whom I take to be the eminent monk and Indologist Yen-tsung (557–610) of the Sui (to be distinguished from his aforesaid T'ang namesake), states that he had compared the first two works with their respective originals which were then extant.

[30] Ch'en, pp. 381–82; cf. J. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art* (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 105 pp. See also Wing-tsit Chan, "The Lotus Sutra," in *Approaches to the Oriental Classics*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, 1959), pp. 153–65.

[31] When asked about his part in Rev. Richard's translation of the "Awakening of Faith" in the same volume, which is criticized in Chan's book, Yang Wen-hui (1837–1911), often called the Father of the Chinese Buddhist revival, said, "I had explained the text clearly to Mr. Richard, and received his assurance that he had fully understood it; but at the time of writing he substituted his own ideas to the

yin, denoting *universal* salvation (*p'u*) and the unlimited *access* (*men*) open to the Bodhisattva in the enlightenment of all beings,[32] sets forth, esoterically, unity in diversity—the identification of the individual with the universal mind or Buddha-nature immanent in all beings, like a drop of water entering the ocean,[33] by concentrating on the name of, and empathizing with, Kuan-yin. As Chu Tao-sheng puts it, Kuan-yin is a "name" devised by the Buddhas to help the beings toward enlightenment.[34] The chapter, however, appeals also to the masses in its smooth and facile account of the Buddha apprising the Bodhisattva of Infinite Thought (Akṣayamati or Wu-chin-i) of the salvific deeds of Kuan-yin, enlivened by miracles and the many forms assumed by our silent protagonist to help all beings by manifesting himself in the forms they are able to receive. The choice of the Bodhisattva of Infinite Thought for the colloquy is significant. Because the chain of causation and the whole range of existence are infinite, the mind for Bodhi intent on saving all beings is infinite.[35]

The forms assumed by Kuan-yin are given in lengthy detail. If needed as a Buddha or a Hīnayāna teacher, he appears as such; if as Brahma, or Indra, or Iśvara, or a deva, a king, an elder, a citizen, an official, a brahman, a monk, nun, or male or female disciple, then he appears as such. If needed in the form of a wife of an elder, citizen, official or brahman, he appears as such; or if as youth or maiden, he appears as such. If needed as a god, or a demon, he so appears.[36]

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contrary of all reasons" (editor's note on the thirteenth letter to Nanjio Bunyiu in Yang, *Teng pu-teng kuan tsa-lu* [Chin-ling woodblock print, n.d.], 7:23a). Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China* (New York, 1953), p. 99, n. 9.

[32] Chu Tao-sheng (d. 434), *Fa-hua ching su* [Commentary to the *Lotus Sūtra*], *chüan* 2 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 23/4:412a).

[33] Cf. the Sufi poet Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī: "Enter that ocean, That your drop may become a sea which is a hundred seas of 'Omān'" (*Selected Poems from the "Dīwāni Shamsi Tabrīz,"* trans. Reynold A. Nicholson [Cambridge, 1898], p. 49); and Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101): "Like throwing water into the sea, or blowing air into the wind: even the all-wise cannot tell them apart" ("O-mi-t'o-fo sung," in *Su Tung-p'o chi, chüan* 10 [Wan-yu wen-k'u, 6:115]).

[34] Chu Tao-Sheng, *chüan* 2 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 23/4:412a); cf. the *Lotus* which states that the Buddhas resort to *chia ming-tzu* or "provisional names" to lead the beings to Buddha-wisdom (Taishō, 9:8a; Kato, trans., *Myōhō-Renge-Kyō* [Tokyo, 1971], p. 51). Walter Liebenthal inadvertently renders *huo-chi ming-hao*, "or resort to names," as "or may argue" in "The World Conception of Chu-Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* 11, no. 2 (1956):99.

[35] See Chih-i (538–97), *Kuan-yin i-su, chüan* 1 (Taishō, 34:921c). In the *Ta pao-chi ching* [*Ratnakūta Sūtra*], trans. Bodhiruci (d. 727), *chüan* 90, Akṣayamati says to the Buddha: "I can undertake with boundless vow to save the *infinite* beings in all realms of existence" (Taishō, 11:514b). Kawai Zyuntarō ventures that the name indicates the infinite meaning of every word and phrase of the *Kuan-yin Sūtra* (*Kannonkyō shinkai* [Tokyo, 1959], p. 13).

[36] Soothill, *Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (Oxford, 1930), p. 248.

The *Lotus* tells us how King Resplendent (Śubhavyūha) gave praise for his enlightenment to his two sons who had turned his mind from heresy to Buddha-truth, saying, "These two sons are indeed my good friends, for desiring to develop the good roots planted by me in my former lives, they came and were born in my home."[37]

By the same token, Kuan-yin may be said to have manifested himself in the form of Queen Māyā, whose likely difficult labor at the age of forty-five and death seven days after giving birth to the Buddha might have confronted the sensitive young prince with the evanescence of all human things and impelled him to "shoulder the burden of all beings"—who had been his father or mother at one time or another in the long course of transmigration—and seek their deliverance from the unending rounds of birth and death by ethical discipline and the perfection of human nature. Hence the saying, "The Lord Buddha is all-filial, repaying his parents' kindness aeon after aeon" (*ta-hsiao Shih-chia tsun, lei-chieh pao ch'in-en*). Legend has it that the Buddha was born pure and undefiled from the queen's right side, as befitting the immaculateness of a hallowed founder of religion. But the erudite venerable Pao-hsien, in the unconventional footsteps of Chu Tao-sheng, ventured Caesarian section as an explanation, citing the surgical skill of Jīva, a contemporary of Buddha[38] (there are three medical works attributed to Jīva in the bibliographic section of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*, and there is support of modern research in ancient Indian operative and instrumental practice, including the hazardous "removal of the foetus from the uterus").[39]

The thirty-three manifestations enumerated in the Kumārajīva version are by no means exhaustive. Dharmarakṣa's mentions twenty-two, the current Sanskrit sixteen, and likewise the Tibetan according to Geshe Wangyal; compared with thirty-two in the *Śūraṅgama* and twenty in the *Karaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. A painting of the Ch'ing dynasty shows Kuan-yin in the form of a bull to convert a butcher; and in Japan Kuan-yin was once even believed to be "reincarnated" in the goddess Amaterasu-Omikami enshrined at

[37] Ibid., p. 258.

[38] Huo-t'ou-seng (pseud), "Yü-Fo chung-chung," *Hsiang-kang Fo-chiao* (*Buddhism in Hong Kong*), no. 157 (June 1973), p. 3; cf. *Nai-nü Ch'i-yü ching* [Sūtra on Āmrapālī (and her son) Jīva], trans. An Shih-kao (fl. 148) (Taishō, 14:896c).

[39] See *Sung shih* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an), 207:20a, 22b, 29b; and Horace Hayman Wilson, *Works*, 3 vols. (London, 1864), 3:391, citing the ancient works *Saušruta* and *Vāgbhatta*.

Ise.[40] Kuan-yin would be a light to the blind, adds the *Karaṇḍa-vyūha*; a shade in the heat, a stream for the thirsty, a bestower of fearlessness in fear, a remedy in sickness, a father and a mother for the suffering beings, a guide to Nirvāṇa for the beings in hell.[41] In imitation of Kuan-yin, the Ch'an master I-shan Jan (Chiao-jan [?], fl. 773) would "become medicine to help the sick in a pestilence, and grains to relieve the poor and hungry in a famine."[42]

As Teh-ch'ing (style Han-shan, 1546–1623) has remarked, the Dharmakāya has no substance; compassion is its substance.[43] In Su Tung-po's (1036–1101) poem, the sound of the brook is the "broad, long tongue" (true Word of the Buddhas); the sight of the hill the pristine Dharmakāya.[44] The Dharma-body of Kuan-yin pervades all natures and embraces all things, as "one moon imprints a thousand streams, and all the thousand streams reflect the one moon; one spring nurtures a myriad flowers, and all the myriad flowers are endowed with the wonder of spring."[45] The reflections, denoting the host of species, arise and vanish; but the moon, denoting self-nature, is one and undifferentiated.

Although Kuan-yin appears in many forms, reality is one. Although Kuan-yin traverses all worlds, he remains unmoved.[46] In Su Tung-p'o's inspired lines: Kuan-yin does not come hither; I do not go thither; the water is in the basin; the moon is in the heavens.[47] When the water is clear, the moon appears; when the

[40] See, respectively, painting by Chuang Chiung-sheng (style Tan-an, b. 1626) in *Li-ch'ao ming-hua Kuan-yin pao-hsiang*, ed. Ching-yuan she (Shanghai, 1938), 1: unpaginated; and Shinsho Hanayama, *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, trans. Kosho Yamamoto (Tokyo, 1966), p. 66.

[41] *Chüan* 2 (Taishō, 20:55b).

[42] "I-shan Jan ch'an-shih fa-yüan wen," in *Tzu-men ching-hsün*, *chüan* 6 (Taishō, 48:1073a). Prof. Philip B. Yampolsky has drawn my attention to *Shinsan zen-seki mokuroku*, ed. Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan (Tokyo, 1962), p. 3, which identifies I-shan Jan with the poet-monk Chiao-jan. I am unable to verify with materials at hand.

[43] *Fa-hua ching t'ung-i*, *chüan* 7 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 49/5:473a).

[44] "Tseng tung-lin tsung-chang-lao," in *Su Tung-p'o chi*, *chüan* 13 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 4:15). "Broad, long tongue," one of the thirty-two marks of a Buddha, signifies that a Buddha speaks no falsehood (Commentary to the *Prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*, *chüan* 8 [Taishō, 25:115a]). Su's lines remind us of Yen-shou's (style Yung-ming, 904–75) utterance of enlightenment on hearing the sound of falling leaves: "It is not 'things' that have fallen; / Nor is it 'dust' that reaches in all directions. / The mountains and rivers and the whole world, / All reveal the body of the Dharma-king."

[45] Yin-kuang (1860–1940), "Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa san-shih-erh ying fa-yin," in *Yin-kuang fa-shih wen-ch'ao*, 4 vols. (Soochow, 1947), 4:53b.

[46] T'ung-li (fl. 1746), *Fa-hua ching chih-chang su*, *chüan* 7 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 93/5:428a).

[47] "Ying-meng Kuan-yin tsan," in *Su Tung-p'o chi*, *hsü-chi*, *chüan* 10 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 13:11). Cf. *Leng-ch'ieh ching* [*Lankāvatāra Sūtra*], trans. Guṇabhadra (394–468), which Su had transcribed and prefaced: "Like the moon in the water, neither coming nor going" (Taishō, 16:506b). In Fan-ch'i's words, "The water

mirror is bright, the image emerges. It is the emergence of our awakened self-nature, "the Kingdom of God within you," so to speak, which is beyond word and image, and without name and form. The Sages name It Kuan-yin, "the sound [of self-nature] which is perceived."

When self-nature is deluded, says Hui-neng (638–713), we are ordinary beings. When self-nature is awakened, we are Buddhas. To be compassionate is Kuan-yin.[48] Without compassion, warns Teh-ch'ing, no Buddha would have appeared in the world, and there would be no Dharma to talk about.[49] The *Lotus of Compassion* or *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* describes Kuan-yin's consecration in mythological but unequivocal terms. The Tathāgata Ratnagarbha tells the crown prince of King Cakravatī: "Good son, you have regarded gods and men and beings in the three evil destinies with great compassion, and resolved to relieve them from suffering and give them joy. Wherefore I designate you Kuan-shih-yin."[50]

The Confucian learns to emulate the humaneness and righteousness of Confucius and Mencius. The Buddhist learns to emulate the compassion of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and to become a Buddha or a Kuan-yin for the sake of all beings, "knowing that I am a potential Buddha and the Buddhas are those who have matured," and "all the Buddhas are my teachers, and all the Bodhisattvas my fellow-students."[51] "By following the sublime path of enlightenment," says the Buddha, "all my disciples shall become Buddhas."[52] Kuan-yin also started as an ordinary being.

The *Lotus* states in moving dramatic terms that Kuan-yin protects merchants bearing precious jewels from robbers, sailors

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is on the earth; the moon is in the heavens: Reality looms before your very eyes" ("Kuan-yin ta-shih tsan," in *Yü-lu, chüan* 13 [Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 29/1: 106b]).

[48] *Liu-tsu fa-pao t'an-ching*, chap. 3 (Taishō, 48:352b). The Tun-huang manuscript version varies slightly. Cf. *The Platform Scripture*, trans. Wing-tsit Chan (New York, 1963), pp. 94 and 95; *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, trans. Philip B. Yampolsky (New York, 1967), text p. 7, trans. p. 158: "If you are deluded in your nature, Buddha is then a sentient being." After attaining Buddhahood, however, a Buddha does not recede (*avaivartika* or *pu t'ui-chuan*) and revert to an ordinary being. It is interesting to note, as Ch'i-sung (1007–72) has observed, that the Sixth Patriarch, who professed illiteracy when he was still a menial, was well grounded in both canonical and secular literature which he readily quoted (see biography of Hui-neng, in *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi, chüan* 6 [Taisho, 51: 748c]).

[49] *Fa-hua ching t'ung-i, chüan* 7 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 49/5:473a).

[50] *Pei-hua ching*, trans. Dharmarakṣa (385–433), *chüan* 3 (Taishō, 3:186a).

[51] *Fan-wang ching* [*Brahmajāla Sūtra*], trans. Kumārajīva (Shih-shih shih-san ching ed.), 2:16b (precept 34), 1:11b, respectively; cf. Hui-ssu (515–77), *Shou p'u-sa chieh i* (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 10/1:2a).

[52] Kern, *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* (Oxford, 1930), p. 128.

from shipwreck, criminals from executions. By his help women obtain the children they desire. If one thinks of Kuan-yin, fire ceases to burn, swords fall to pieces, enemies become kindhearted, bonds are loosened, spells "*revert* to whence they came" (in the *Supplemented Lotus* this reads, more congruously, "instantly turn back"), beasts flee, and snakes lose their poison. In the midst of fears and disasters, it is he who gives us fearlessness ("safety," or "faith"), and for this reason he is called in this world of karma and retribution the Bestower of Fearlessness.[53]

In the Buddhism of faith, Kuan-yin is a refuge and protector, who "suffers vicariously in the hells out of great compassion."[54] Reflectively, however, Kuan-yin exemplifies the compassion of one who knows that, "in some way, all suffering is his own suffering, and all 'sentient beings' the disguises of his own inmost nature."[55] "A skylark wounded in the wing, A cherubim does cease to sing." The Bodhisattva is sick because his fellow beings are sick.[56]

When Li Ao (772–841) asked the Ch'an (Zen) master Wei-yen (style Yo-shan, 751–835) what was meant by "A black gale blows their ships adrift upon the land of the Rākṣasa-demons," with reference to Kuan-yin protecting sailors from shipwreck, the master snapped: "Li Ao, you rascal! Why do you ask?" The eminent T'ang essayist and governor flushed with anger. Whereupon the master smiled and said: "This [angry heart] is 'A black gale blows their ships adrift upon the land of the Rākṣasa-demons.'" From this Chen Teh-hsiu (1178–1235) concludes: "A burning desire is the 'fire pit'; a sink of avarice the 'sea of suffering.' With one instant of pure thought, 'a raging fire becomes a placid pool'; with one instant of awakening, we are ferried to the other shore across the sea of misery. Beset with calamities, I am reconciled to the situation; I have no fear, and 'bonds are loosened by themselves.' Oppressed by evil men, I am willing to put up with them; I

[53] Taishō, 9:57ab; Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (Oxford, 1960), p. 152; Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (London, 1950), p. 34.

[54] *Ch'ing Kuan-yin ching*, trans. Nandi (ca. fourth century) (Taishō, 20:36b). "As long as the heavens and the earth abide," writes Śāntideva, the seventh-century Mahāyāna poet, "the Bodhi-sattva would continue to overcome the world's sorrows. May all the world's suffering be cast upon me, and may the world be made happy by all the merits of the Bodhi-sattva" (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, trans. in L. D. Barnett, *The Path of Light*, 2d ed. [London, 1947], p. 26; also Marion L. Matics, *Entering the Path of Light* [New York, 1970], p. 232).

[55] Prefatory essay by Alan Watts in Suzuki, *Outlines*, p. xxv.

[56] *Wei-mo-chieh ching* [*Vimalakīrti Sūtra*], trans. Kumārajīva, chap. 5 (Taishō, 14:544b). Cf. "Vimalakirti's Discourse on Emancipation," trans. Idzumi Hokei, *Eastern Buddhist* 3, no. 3 (1924):234; "The Sutra Spoken by Vimalakirti," trans. Richard Robinson, typescript (University of London, n.d.), p. 23.

have no spite, and 'beasts flee by themselves.' The reader of the Sūtra who contemplates in this light will see the veracity of Kuan-yin's altruistic deeds."[57]

The Sung emperor Hsiao-tsung (reigned 1163–1189) once saw an image of Kuan-yin holding a string of beads in his hand, which was not uncommon in Sung times as attested by existing stone sculptures at Ta-tsu in Szechuan. Turning to the monk at his side, he said, "What is the rosary doing in Kuan-yin's hand?" "To recollect Kuan-yin," answered the cleric. "Why recollect himself?" "To help oneself is better than to seek the help of others."[58] To take refuge in Kuan-yin is to seek him in one's own being.

Kuan-yin's thirty-three manifestations and fourteen "bestowals of fearlessness" provide a wealth of iconographic possibilities, which not only serve as an inspiration for higher belief but also satisfy the need of popular religion for a personal "God" that "answers" to prayers and sustains the faithful in the fears and insecurities of life.[59] The T'ien-t'ai (Japanese, Tendai) historical works compiled in 1237 and 1269 mention the efficacy of the Kuan-yin *ch'ien* (oracles) in two versions despite the Buddha's admonition against divination: the Yüan-t'ung (an epithet of Kuan-yin) Temple (in Shaohsing, Chekiang) oracles with 130 lots which are no longer extant; and the 100-lot T'ien-chu Temple (in Hangchow) version found recently in the "belly" of a statue of Buddha in Peking, and published by Professor Cheng Chen-to, with folklore-laden oracular verses and exquisite woodcut illustrations dating back to the early

[57] See biography of Chen Hsi-yüan (Teh-hsiu) in P'eng Chi-ch'ing (1740–96), *Chü-shih chuan, chüan* 34 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 22/5:458b). *Chih-yüeh lu,* ed. Ch'ü Ju-chi in 1602, *chüan* attributes the confrontation to the Ch'an master Tao-t'ung (731–813) and Prime Minister Yü T'i instead of Li Ao and Wei-yen (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 16/2:103b). The Vinaya master Jen-chün writes in his poem, "Sojourn in the Hills": "When the air is oppressive and obstructs my view, I reach the summit and see things in perspective. In a world of unpredictable changes, my mind is unmoved in Samādhi" (*che-jen ch'i-yen feng-t'ou yen, pien-ti feng-yün ting-li hsin*) ("Shan-chung hsiao-chu," *Hui-chü* [Torch of wisdom], no. 144 [April 1976], p. 62). Fortitude arises with compassion when one realizes that "All mortal men are but moths dashing into the flame" (*chü-shih wu-fei p'u-huo o*) (Cheng Hung-yün, untitled poem in "Fo-chou hsiao-ts'ao," *Torch of Wisdom,* nos. 137–38 [September–October 1975], p. 83).

[58] Chang Tuan-i (fl. 1242), *Kuei-erh chi* (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, no. 2783, p. 2). Su Shih (Tung-p'o), *Wen-ta lu* (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, no. 2987, p. 4) attributes the dialogue to Su and his monastic friend Liao-yüan (style Fo-yin, 1032–98). For sculptures of Kuan-yin holding beads, see *Ta-tsu shih-k'o,* ed. Ssu-ch'uan Mei-shu Hsüeh-yüan tiao-su hsi (Peking, 1962), pp. 24, 30, 31, 95.

[59] As it is said of "the Christian," the average Buddhist "will not accept an impersonal God instead of a personal God (for an impersonal Being cannot be loved), and yet a 'personal' God is not, as such, the Object of the Mystical quest. The conception of Personality enshrines, but it is not, the Ultimate Reality" (Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Divine Names and the Mystical Theology,* trans. C. E. Rolt, new ed. [London, 1940], p. 195, n. 1).

thirteenth century.[60] In a religion which proclaims the equality of Buddha and all beings, the poor and the lowly, and the rich and the high, where the Buddha and his disciples addressed female devotees as "elder sister,"[61] and his demise was felt by his followers like a loving father losing his only son (*sic*),[62] it is no surprise to find women in the Chekiang countryside chatting about Kuan-yin as if they were talking about their own sister; while a popular novel like Wu Ch'eng-en's (d. 1582) *Hsi-yu chi* [Journey to the west], which mocks every Buddha and God in heaven, takes a different attitude and pictures Kuan-yin as affable and sometimes even with adoration.[63]

Buddhism was once the wisdom undertaking of the literati, and virtue and conduct of the priesthood were taken for granted.[64] Among men of letters attracted by the *Lotus* were the luminaries of T'ang and Sung poetry. Li Shang-yin (812–56) was a lifelong votary who found it a constant consolation and recourse in sickness and peril.[65] Tu Fu (712–70) availed himself of its terms and expressions, while Su Tung-p'o adopted lines from the Kuan-yin *gāthā* and conceded that "[spells] revert to when they came" was "not compassionate" and should be amended to read, "Both sides

[60] See Tsung-chien, *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, *chüan* 3 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 3/5:396a); Chih-p'an, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, *chüan* 33 (Taishō, 49:318c; same as *chüan* 34 in Zokuzōkyō, pt. B case 4/3:198b); and Cheng Chen-to, *T'ien-chu ling-ch'ien* (Shanghai, 1958). Cf. Buddha's admonition to Bhikṣus against five forms of "perverted livelihood" in Chih-hsü (style Ou-i, 1599–1655), *Fo i-chiao ching chieh* (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 59/1:14a); and Commentary to the *Prajñā-paramitā Sūtra*, *chüan* 19 (Taishō, 25:203a). Prof. Wolfram Eberhard has noticed that "Kuan-yin oracles are very popular and even appear in Japan and California" (*Studies in Chinese Folklore and Related Essays* [Bloomington, Ind., 1970], p. 193).

[61] *Nieh-p'an ching* [*Nirvāṇa Sūtra*], trans. Dharmarakṣa, *chüan* 4 (Taishō, 12:385c); Commentary to the *Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*, *chüan* 3 (Taishō, 25:79c); *Vimalakīrti*, chap. 4 (Taishō 14:524c).

[62] *Nirvāṇa*, *chüan* 1 (Taishō, 12:367a).

[63] "*Hsi-yu chi* cha-chi," in *Chung-kuo ku-tien wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, 2 vols. (Hong Kong, 1958), 2:139–40, n. 1. Cf. C. T. Hsia, "Comedy and Myth in the Hsi yu chi," in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Chow Tsê-tsung (Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 229–39; and my review in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92, no. 2 (April–June 1972): 329–33, esp. 331.

[64] "In the history of Chinese Buddhism," notes the venerable Yin-shun whom Professor Kitagawa called "a living example of Chinese Buddhism at its best," "eminent monks like Tao-an (314–85) and Hui-yüan (334–416) were masters of Chinese learning (moral and intellectual), and were thus able to draw the intelligentsia of their time to Buddhism after taking the monastic vow" ("Lun seng-ts'ai chih p'ei-yang," in *Miao-yün chi* [Taipei, 1972], pt. 3, vol. 8, p. 152; cf. Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Buddhism in Taiwan Today," *France-Asie* 43, no. 174 [July–August 1962]:443; cited in Cheng Seng-i [C. N. Tay], "Ho-shih hsing-hui yeh Chih-kung," *Torch of Wisdom*, no. 122 [April 1974], pp. 49–50). Yin-shun's emphasis on both scriptural and secular knowledge is underscored by the Buddha's words to Mañjuśrī: "Do not go into the profound 'supreme truth'; just tell it in 'worldly truth'" (*Nirvāṇa*, *chüan* 21 [Taishō, 12:489a]).

[65] *Li I-shan wen-chi* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an), 3:34b.

are unharmed."[66] Kuan-yin was so imbedded in the consciousness of the intelligentsia even before the T'ang that a so-called Kuan-yin lingo was in vogue. When the Sui sent Lu Ssu-tao (535–86) on a mission to the Ch'en, the Ch'en emperor made game of him by adapting a line from the sūtra: "Who is this merchant bearing precious jewels?" Lu riposted in the same Kuan-yin lingo: "He suddenly met an ill wind and is blown adrift upon [this] land of the Rākṣasa-demons."[67] The iconography of Kuan-yin also inspires belief, as Yeh Kung-ch'o (1881–1968), poet-calligrapher and university founder, has professed, "My conviction arose from art appreciation. The fetters of life were loosened because of you."[68]

Lu Yüan (1110–94), a court official and cousin of the Sung poet-patriot Lu Yu (1125–1210) who wrote his epigraph, recited the whole 69,505-word sūtra (nearly the same size as the four gospels and the Acts put together) once every day for thirty consecutive years and thrice after he reached eighty, and started each day by bathing, offering incense, and reciting his own poem reflecting the Buddha in him seeking Nirvāṇa:[69]

> I wash my hands at dawn and open the Sūtra,
> Not to ask a favor of the Buddhas, or to drive away evil.
> If things should come to an end, let them end:
> In the fire of destructive aeons, I shall dance but once.

Kumārajīva's flowing and absorbing translation of the *Lotus* is read by Buddhists of all sects and strata in China and Japan, where it is regarded, respectively, as "king of the sūtras" and chief of "the three Scriptures that protect the land" (the other two are the *Chin kuang-mingching* and the *Jen-wang ching*, Taishō nos. 663 and 246, respectively). The abbot Shou-su (ca. 810) of the famed Ta

[66] See, e.g., Tu Fu's reference to the "three vehicles" (*Lotus*, chap. 3; trans. Soothill, pp. 86–94) in "Ch'ou Kao shih-chün hsiang-tseng" (*Tu-shih ching-ch'üan*, ed. Yang Lun [1747–1803], *chüan* 7 [Peking, 1962], p. 311); Su's opening line in "Ho Kuo Kung-fu yün sung Chih tao-jen yu Yin-ching" (*Su Tung-p'o chi, hsü-chi, chüan* 1 [Wan-yu wen-k'u, 10:35]. On Su's remark, see Ta-i (fl. 1695), *Fa-hua ta-ch'eng, chüan* 9 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 51/3:215a).

[67] Liu T'ao (fl. 1090), "Ch'i-yüan lu," in *Shuo-fu*, ed. T'ao Tsung-i (fl. 1368), *chüan* 23 (Wan-wei-shan-t'ang, 1647 reengraved ed.).

[68] *Li-ch'ao ming-hua Kuan-yin pao-hsiang*, vol. 2, epilogue. Cf. Hui-yüan on the icon of Buddha: "If you face it but once in all your lifetime, all your sorrows will be gone forever" (*pi-ming i-tui, ch'ang-hsieh pai-yu*). See biography of Hui-yüan in Hui-chiao (fl. 552), *Kao-seng chuan, chüan* 6 (Taishō, 50:358c), translated in E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, 1959), p. 243. Zürcher interprets *pi-ming*, "in our lifetime," as "at the end of our lives."

[69] See biography of Lu Tzu-yüan (Lu Yüan) in P'eng, *Chü-shih chuan, chüan* 24 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 22/5:442); cf. Lu Yu, "Wei-nan wen-chi," in *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* (Ssu-pu pei-yao), 34:7b. The word count is from Po Chü-i (772–846), *Po Hsiang-shan chi, chüan* 60 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 9:47); the comparison is from Richard, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 128.

hsing-shan ssu in Changan, whose lecture on the *Lotus* was celebrated in Chiao-jan's verse, recited the whole sūtra 37,000 times in thirty years;[70] and Monk Hui-ching, noted Ts'en Shen (175–70) in a poem cited by Kuo Mo-jo, repeated it for ten years without descending from his cliff-top retreat.[71] The Ch'an master and Pure Land advocate Yen-shou made a practice of "Chanting the *Lotus* by day and sitting in dhyanā ('meditation') by night."[72] Reciting the sūtra audibly or inaudibly with undivided mind aids in mental concentration. "If the mind is divided," admonishes Teh-ch'ing, "you may scream yourself hoarse but to no avail."[73]

Lu Yüan's devotion was made possible by the calumny of his colleague which deprived him of his office and gave him the necessary leisure. He attributed his dismissal to retribution for wrongs he had done to his colleague in his former lives and sought to make amends by requiting evil with good. Buddhism urges the oneness of friends and enemies and a mind free from hate and affection.[74] Śāntideva vows that "all who slander me, or do me hurt, or jeer at me, gain a share in Enlightenment."[75] Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433), who was executed on a trumped-up charge of treason, concludes his last poem with the hope that "in my future lives, / Adversaries and friends are one at heart."[76] And the Buddha gives thanks to "my good friend Devadatta," who plotted his ruin, for helping him to perfect the Pāramitās and attain Buddhahood for the weal of all beings.[77]

[70] See Tuan Ch'eng-shih (d. 863), *Yu-yang tsa-tsu, hsü-chi, chüan* 5 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, no. 278, p. 214); cf. biography of Shou-su in *Sung kao-seng chuan*, ed. Tsan-ning (919–1001), *chüan* 25 (Taishō, 50:868a). See also Chiao-jan, "T'ing Su fa-shih chiang Fa-hua ching," in *Ch'üan-T'ang shih*, ed. Ts'ao Yin (1658–1712), *chüan* 820 (Peking, 1960), p. 9244.

[71] Kuo Mo-jo, *Li Po yü Tu Fu* (Peking, 1972), p. 232. It is interesting to note, as Kuo has pointed out with remarkable erudition in Buddhism, that Tu Fu, who has since the Ming dynasty been called and is acclaimed the Shih sheng or "Sage (Confucian) of Poetry," is by his own poetry a Buddhist and more deservedly called Shih Fo or the "Buddha of Poetry" (pp. 189–95).

[72] *Yung-ming shan-chü shih* (Chiang-pei woodblock print, 1885), p. 5a. Yen-shou repeated the *Lotus* 13,000 times during his fifteen years' residence at Yung-ming monastery in Hangchow (see *Ching-teh ch'uan-teng lu*, ed. Tao-yüan [fl. 1004], *chüan* 26 [Taishō, 51:422a]). In principle the Ch'an and Pure Land schools are compatible with one another, since one proclaims "this mind is the Buddha" and the other "this mind is Amitā."

[73] "Han-shan ta-shih fei-hsien ko," in *Ch'an-men jih-sung* (Hong Kong, 1965 abridged reprint of T'ien-ning ssu [1900] woodblock print), p. 132b.

[74] *Nirvāṇa, chüan* 19 (Taishō, 12:479c); cf. Commentary to the *Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra, chüan* 5: "The Great Compassionate Buddha helps friends and enemies alike: the hateful as well as loved ones" (Taishō, 25:94b).

[75] Barnett, p. 42.

[76] "Lin-tsung shih," in *Kuang hung-ming chi*, ed. Tao-hsüan (596–667), *chüan* 30 (Taishō, 52:356a).

[77] Teh-ch'ing, *Fa-hua ching t'ung-i, chüan* 4 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 49/5:441a).

Kuan-yin helps the yogin not only "favorably, and aids his fulfilment by manifesting himself in innumerable 'thirty-two forms'"; but also "adversely, and spurs him to greater effort by assuming the forms of innumerable Māra (demoniac) hardships and Māra hordes."[78]

### III. THE *Śūraṅgama*

The 260-word *Heart Sutra*, which is considered the essence of all Mahāyāna teaching, begins with the statement: "When the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was absorbed in deep contemplation of the Prajñā-pāramitā ('transcendental Wisdom'), he perceived that all the five Skandas ('heaps' or 'aggregates,' which constitute existence) were [by their nature] empty. Thus he was able to overcome all suffering and misery."[79]

The five Skandhas are form, feelings, perceptions, volitions, and consciousness, which becloud our true nature. Our form or material body is bound to decay. Our feelings or sensation are fleeting and transitory. Thus form and feelings are by their nature empty. If we can perceive that form is empty, we shall not be attached to our material body and fear death; and we overcome one kind of suffering and misery. If we can perceive that feelings are empty, we shall not be attached to pleasure and covet gain, and we overcome another kind of suffering and misery. If we can perceive that all the five Skandhas are empty, we shall overcome all suffering and misery.[80]

The purpose of the *Śūraṅgama* (Shou-leng-yen or Leng-yen; Japanese, Ryōgon) is to "break the delusion of the five Skandhas and reveal the reality of the One Mind," by "insight into self-nature

[78] Chang Ch'eng-chi (Garma C. C. Chang), "Chieh-shao i-ko 'hsin' Kuan-yin tsan," in *Special Issue Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Eastern States Buddhist Temple of America* (New York, 1972), p. 37.

[79] *Hsin ching* [*Prajñā-pāramitā hṛdaya* (heart) *Sūtra*], trans. Hsüan-tsang (Taishō, 8:848c, no. 251); comparable to *Ta po-jo ching* [*Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*], trans. Hsüan-tsang, *chüan* 4 (Taishō, 5:17c). Kumārajīva's version (Taishō, no. 250) has Avalokitasvara instead of Avalokiteśvara; and both Kumārajīva and Hsüan-tsang do not contain "by their nature" or "in their own being," which appears in five of the nine extant Chinese translations (Taishō, nos. 252, 254, 255, 257, and another version of 252) and Conze's rendering from the Sanskrit in *Buddhist Wisdom Books* (London, 1958), p. 78. See also Garma C. C. Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality* (University Park, Pa., 1971), p. 64; Suzuki, *Manual*, pp. 26–30; Huo T'ao-hui, "Po-jo hsin-ching Han-i yen-chiu," *Chung-kuo hsüeh-jen* 3 (June 1971):87 ff. Yin-shun, "Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching chiang-chi," in *Miao-yün chi*, pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 174, puts the number of Chinese translations only at seven "through the Ch'ing."

[80] Wang Jih-hsiu (style Lung-shu, fl. 1161), "Wu-yün chieh k'ung shuo," in *Lung-shu ching-t'u wen*, *chüan* 10 (Taishō, 47:282b).

and self-cultivation, in preference to hearing and intellection."[81] The way to achieve this is called Samādhi, "mental concentration and tranquilization" (*chuan-ssu chi-hsiang*), by which "no mystery is not penetrated."[82] It enables the Bodhisattva to transcend the limits of finite existence. He is able, in the language of the *Śūraṅgama-samādhi Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva (which is distinct from the current ten-*chüan* version under discussion), to put the universe in a mustard seed and to cause all the mountains, rivers, and heavenly bodies, and all beings to appear as always without overcrowding;[83] or, in Blake's poetic analogue, "To see a world in a grain of sand / And a Heaven in a wild flower, / Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand / And Eternity in an hour."

The Ch'an master Kuei-tsung (style Shih-yen) was asked by Li Po (773–831; homophonous with the name of the T'ang poet), "How can a mustard seed admit Mount Sumeru?" He retorted: "People say that you are 'Ten-thousand-volume' ('Walking Encyclopedia') Li. Is it true?" "That is so." "You look scarcely three-foot tall," rejoined the master. "Where do you put the ten thousand books?"[84]

The term "Śūraṅgama," literally "heroic gait" (*yung-chien* or *chien-hsiang*), signifies "the ultimate and adamantine nature of all phenomena" (hence "Buddha nature"), implying that all conditioned things are the universal activity of the Bhūtatathatā or Dharmakāya, which is the eternal and immutable reality behind the rounds of birth and death.[85] If "sin is nothing else but the turning away of the creature from the unchangeable Good to the changeable; from the perfect to the imperfect,"[86] then the Buddhist

[81] See, respectively, Teh-ch'ing, *Leng-yen ching t'ung-i, chüan* 1 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 19/1:52a; cf. Teh-hung [alias Hui-hung, 1071–1128], preface to *Leng-yen ching ho-lun* [Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 18/1:1b]); Yen-shou, *Tsung-ching lu, chüan* 36 (Taishō, 48:624c).

[82] Hui-yüan, "Nien Fo san-mei shih-chi hsü," in *Kuang hung-ming chi, chüan* 30 (Taishō, 52:351b); cf. Zurcher, p. 222. The righteous mind firmly fixed in one place is called Samādhi (Commentary to the *Prajña-pāramitā Sūtra, chüan* 7 [Taishō, 25:110b]).

[83] *Leng-yen san-mei ching*, in 2 *chüan, chüan* 1 (Taishō, 15:635c). This is the last and only extant version of nine translations of an early text, beginning in 186, and involves the Bodhisattva of Firm Mind (Sthiramati or Chien-i) instead of Ānanda (see Seng-yu [445–518], *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi, chüan* 2 and 4 [Taishō, 55:14a, 32b]; cf. *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra: La Concentration de la marche heroïque*, trans. Étienne Lamotte, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, vol. 13 [Brussels, 1965]).

[84] See K'o-ch'in (style Fo-kuo, 1063–1135), *Yüan-wu hsin-yao*, ed. Tzu-wen (1269–1351), *chüan* 1B (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 25/4:371b).

[85] See, respectively, *Fan Fan-yü, chüan* 2 (Taishō, 54:993a), s.v. "Shou-leng-yen"; *Nirvāṇa, chüan* 27 (Taishō, 12:525a); and Yin-kuang, "Leng-yen ching k'ai-shu hsü," in *Yin-kuang fa-shih wen-ch'ao hsü-pien*, 2 vols. (Shanghai, 1940), 2:14–15. For "Bhūtatathata," see n. 18 above.

[86] *Theologia Germanica* (New York, 1949), p. 116.

equivalent is Avidyā ("ignorance" or "unenlightenment" which mistakes becoming for being and illusion for reality), a fall from Vidyā. To reveal our self-nature or the Buddha-nature immanent in us, we must break through Avidyā.

Unlike other sūtras translated in China since the Eastern Chin (317–420), which have been produced in the capital under imperial patronage, the current ten-*chüan Śūraṅgama* was said to be translated in private in Canton in 705 by Paramiti, who brought it there from India, and embellished by Fang Jung, the T'ang prime minister who was then in exile from the capital. This anomaly, in conjunction with bibliographical discrepancies and conceptual innovations, its fluency of style, and the disappearance of the Sanskrit original, has long cast a shadow on the authenticity of the work.[87] Chu Hsi (1130–1200) considers only the mantra or incantation and Ānanda's story authentic and ascribes the rest to Fang Jung's additions, presumably in view of the literary finesse which makes the sūtra, in Su Tung-p'o's words, the acme of subtlety and ingenuity in the translation of the Mahāyāna canon.[88] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873–1929) is adamant but content to leave the question open. T'ai-hsü (1890–1947) insists on the opposite and refutes the apocryphal charge. Suzuki concedes that it is perhaps one of the later Mahāyāna works developed in India.[89] One "critic" that goes unnoticed is Shen Ch'u (1735–99), a long-time literary official of the Ch'ien-lung court, who arbitrarily calls the *Śūraṅgama* "a native work." He based his assumption, however, on the gross misunderstanding on the part of a Confucian scholar that the Chinese Tripiṭaka was translated "either from Indian works through the Tangut (an ancient region in northwestern China) or directly *from Tangut originals* (which is untrue)," and the *Śūraṅgama* had never appeared in the Tangut region.[90]

[87] See *Daijō sanron daigi shō* (in Chinese), ed. Genei in 829, *chüan* 3 (Taishō, 70:151b); preface by Yü Ch'un-hsi dated 1591 in Teh-ch'ing, *Leng-yen ching hsüan-ching* (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 19/1:29a); Chang Hsin-cheng, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* (Shanghai, 1954), pp. 1130–34.

[88] *Chu-tzu yü-lei*, ed. Li Ching-teh (fl. 1240), *chaün* 126 (1473 reprint of 1270 ed.; facsimile reproduction, Taipei, 1970), p. 4851; cf. "Shu Liu Tzu-hou Ta-chien ch'an-shih pi hou," in *Su Tung-p'o chi*, *chüan* 19 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 9:67). During his long and arduous exile with a minimum of impedimenta, Su fondly kept "the *Śūraṅgama* at my bedside" (see poem entitled "Tz-u-yün Tzu-yu yü-pa," in *chüan* 6 [Wan-yu wen-k'u, 7:81]).

[89] See, respectively, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Ku-shu chen-wei chi ch'i nien-tai* (Peking, 1955), pp. 11, 26, 62–63; and "Fo-tien chih fan-i," in *Yin-ping-shih chuan-chi* (Shanghai, 1936), 14, *chüan* 60:55; T'ai-hsü, "Leng-yen ching yen-chiu," in *T'ai-hsü ta-shıh ch'üan-shu* (Taipei, 1959), 27:1745–49; Suzuki, *Manual*, p. 65.

[90] *Hsi-ch'ing pi-chi*, *chüan* 2 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, no. 2966, p. 14). Shen's year of death is from the preface by his Hanlin colleague, Yüan Yüan (1764–1849). Hsi-ch'ing is the name of Ch'ien-lung's imperial study, where Shen had served until his death.

Suffice it to say that the question of authenticity is no detriment to the authority of the 62,127-word sūtra, which has been venerated by all Buddhist schools in the Far East and acclaimed "the essence of the Dharma, the guiding star for both the intuitional (Ch'an or Zen) and instructional (conventional) schools," and "the compendium of Buddhism," with more than sixty commentaries written by the pandits of Ch'an.[91] There are three partial English translations from the Chinese in Beal's *Catena* (pp. 284–369), Goddard's *A Buddhist Bible* (2d ed. [Thatford, Vt., 1938], pp. 108–276, and 661–67), and Suzuki's *Manual* (pp. 64–72), as well as *The Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (London, 1966) by Charles Luk, which omits the mantra section and uses Avalokiteśvara in lieu of Kuan-yin.

The *Śūraṅgama* begins with Ānanda seeking the Buddha's instruction in Samādhi, culminating in Kuan-yin recounting his experience of *yüan-t'ung*, or "perfect interpenetration" of all the six senses in enlightenment, by reflecting on the self-nature of hearing, as his name implies. Ānanda, the Buddha's cousin and most lovable disciple and "chief among his hearers" (*to-wen ti-i*, an epithet of Ānanda), was rescued in the nick of time from the enticement of a courtesan. The essential principle of the dialogue that ensued is the application of Śūnyatā or "emptiness." The dialogue and the experiments in meditation are constructed to break down the barriers of reason and plunge the inquirer into the undifferentiated state of "no-mind" which is emancipation. By asking Ānanda to locate his mind, he comes to the point of finding all his philosophical and metaphysical notions absurd, at which time he has no alternative but to let go.[92]

Chu Tao-sheng once said, To be aware by "insight [into self-nature]" is called "enlightenment"; to be aware by "hearing" is called "faith."[93] Without cultivating oneself, warns the *Śūraṅgama*, hearing much is the same as hearing nothing, even as one who hears others talk about food is not satiated; and, adds the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, one who hears the physician's prescription without

[91] The tributes are, respectively, from Chih-hsü, *Yüeh-tsang chih-ching* (Chin-ling woodblock print, 1892), 11:1b; and Huo-t'ou-seng (pseudonym of Pao-hsien), "Wen-t'i Leng-yen," *Buddhism in Hong Kong*, no. 182 (July 1975), p. 5. For a list of exegeses, see *Fo-hsüeh ta-tz'u-tien*, ed. Ting Fu-pao, p. 1563, s.v. "Shou-leng-yen ching"; *Bukkyō daijiten*, ed. Mochizuki Shinkō, 4th ed. (Tokyo, 1963), 4:3389bc, s.v. "Daibucchō." The word count is mine.

[92] Cf. prefatory essay by Alan Watts in Suzuki, *Outlines*, p. xxiv; E. Zürcher, *Buddhism: Its Origin and Spread in Words, Maps and Pictures* (Djambatan N.V., 1962), p. 61.

[93] Hui-ta (fourth century), *Chao-lun su*, *chüan* 1 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 23/4: 425b).

taking the medicine is not healed.[94] Despite his "hearing" the Buddha's teachings, Ānanda could not avoid the siren's seduction. At the Buddha's behest, he "Sought his mind inside his body, outside it, and 'in between' in vain. / With the mind nowhere to be found, the source of illusion vanished. / The vanishing of the illusory mind *is* Bodhi. / There is no difference between the world of birth and death (Saṁsāra) and Nirvāṇa."[95]

The poet-monk Fan-ch'i (style Ch'u-shih, 1296–1370) gives us a glimpse of his insight on reading this part of the *Śūraṅgama*:[96]

In seven places [Ānanda] sought for his mind, but his mind refused to be found;
To eight sources he attributed his perception, but his perception was [by its nature] empty.
Suddenly the myriad veils of mystery broke asunder,
And out burst the pearl full and bright (i.e., the all-illuminating Prajñā light).
Henceforth all intellection, holy and ordinary, fall into silence (the barriers of reason are broken down):
The passions of birth and death bind me no more (Saṁsāra is Nirvāṇa).
My hint may find not many an understanding ear;
Let it remain among men as an inspiration.

The *Śūraṅgama* (*chüan* 6) explains in detail Kuan-yin's experience in Samādhi by negating in succession, as Dr. C. T. Shen aptly points out, sound, the sensation, the faculty, and the nature of hearing, and *I*.[97] The auditory sense is selected for concentration because, according to the exegeses, sound is the "thorn of Samādhi," which pierces the calmed mind and causes discomposure like a thorn in the flesh.

"At the beginning I reflected on my faculty of hearing by entering the stream [of Dharma-nature] and letting the object of hearing subside (*ju-liu wang-so*).[98] The object (sound) and the sensation of

[94] *Śūraṅgama, chüan* 1 (Taishō, 19:109a); *Nirvāṇa, chüan* 25 (Taishō, 12:511a)

[95] Cited in Ti-hsien (1858–1932), *Ti-hsien ta-shih yü-lu*, ed. Pao-ching (Hong Kong, 1964), p. 230. Cf. *Vairocana Sūtra, chüan* 1: "The mind is not inside, not outside, and not in between: the mind is nowhere to be found" (Taishō, 18:1c). Nirvāṇa is only the destruction of the fires of moral affliction (i.e., lust, hatred, and ignorance) (*Nirvāṇa, chüan* 13 [Taishō, 12:441a]; cf. n. 18).

[96] See biography of Fan-ch'i in Hsü Ch'ang-chih (fl. 1654), *Kao-seng chai-yao, chüan* 1 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 21/4:345a); cf. C. N. Tay, biography of Fan-ch'i, in *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, 2 vols. (New York, 1976), 1:422–25. The Ch'an master Fan-ch'i is noted for his Pure Land poetry, "Hsi-chai ching-t'u shih," in *Ching-t'u shih-yao*, ed. Ch'eng shih in 1688, *chüan* 8 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 13/5:409a–425b).

[97] Shen Chia-chen (C. T. Shen), "Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa te hsiu-hsing fang-fa chi cheng-wu kuo-ch'eng," *Torch of Wisdom*, no. 169 (April 1969), pp. 1–10, available in Taipei offprint; cf. Taishō, 19:128b.

[98] A striking analogue elucidative of this cryptic phrase is found in Rolt's introduction to Dionysius: "Man, having as it were floated into the world down

hearing have both subsided, the phenomena of motion (which produces sound) and quiescence both disappeared. Gradually advancing in Samādhi, the faculty and the object of hearing became undifferentiable; the conscious self and consciousness also ceased to exist; and the experiencer and the experienced merged in the vast expanse of emptiness. (At this point the break-through of Avidyā begins.) With the illusions of conditioned existence and annihilation finally obliterated, Nirvāṇa prevails. Suddenly transcending the mundane and the supra-mundane (Nirvāṇa), all is One in the all-pervading Prajñā light of the Dharma-body."[99] Kuan-yin is thus identified with the Buddhas above in their pristine enlightenment and salvific compassion and with the beings below in their immanent Buddha-nature and yearning for salvation, and is able to manifest himself to the beings according to their capacity to receive and deliver them from suffering by *awakening them to their own immanent Buddha-nature.*

In the practice of Samādhi, moral discipline (Śīla) is essential. The mind, inconstant and unstable, to use Radhakrishnan's diction, must be "steadied into an unruffled lake, that it may mirror the wisdom from above." When the fires of passion and the tumult of desire—lust, the desire to kill and eat meat (Buddhism views abstinence from meat as a means to cultivate sympathy to all men and compassion to all beings), to steal, and to lie—are stilled, our heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not. From Sīla comes Samādhi, and from Samādhi Prajña grows and self-nature is revealed.[100]

The *Śūraṅgama* is called "King of the wonderful lotus"; and Kuan-yin is styled the "Lotus king," and ascribed the celebrated

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the Universal stream of Emanation, now enters into his spirit, and so plunges beneath the stream, and there below its surface finds an undercurrent which begins to sweep him in a contrary direction towards the Source" (*The Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, p. 25).

[99] Concise modern interpretations of this passage are available in T'ai-hsü, "Leng-yen ta-i," in *Ch'üan-shu*, 26:1712–13; Shen, "Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa." The latter, which reflects the experience of a practitioner of Samādhi and is especially helpful, differs however from the established understanding of *ju-liu* (see above). On the question of Avidyā, see Hsien-tz'u (1899–1955), *Leng-yen ching i-chieh su* (Hong Kong, 1952), 6:1b–2b. I am indebted to Upāsaka Yang Jin-lin (Yeung Yat Lam) for access to this work.

[100] If Śīla is pure, Samādhi appears (Chih-i, *Mo-ho chih-kuan, chüan* 4A [Taishō, 46:41b]). As the poet puts it: "The breezes are calm, the sky is clear, and the clouds are standing still; / The palms practicing Samādhi are growing sprouts of Truth. / Say not that nonsentient beings are without Buddha-nature: / The lotus is always free from defilement" (Vidyā Tay [Cheng Hung-yün], "Hot Summer in Miami," *Middle Way* 49, no. 3 [November 1974]:35; Chinese text in "Fo-chou hsiao-ts'ao," *Hai ch'ao yin* 50, no. 8 [August 1969]:9). On abstinence from meat, see *The Lakavatara Sutra*, trans. Suzuki (London, 1932), pp. 211–22.

mantra, *Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ* [Hail the jewel (or pearl) in the lotus].[101] The lotus symbolizes the Buddha's teaching because it is born in the mire but rises to bloom above the muddy water, just as the Dharma springs from among the beings in the mire of suffering; and, like the Buddha, "born in the world, but undefiled by the world, ultimately surpassing the rounds of birth and death."[102] Wang An-shih (1021–86), the Sung reformer and exegete of the *Śūraṅgama*, was to the point in his poem in reply to his daughter who was married and thinking of home: "To help you see that all conditioned things are like a dream. There is nothing in the world but the *Wonderful Lotus*."[103]

When Prajñā penetrates the auditory sense in Samādhi, as in the case of Kuan-yin, the "ear" not only hears but sees; the "eye" sees, hears, etc. The fact is, as Fan-ch'i has said, "Sight and sound are not sight and sound per se [but dependent on mental discrimination]; if no mind arises, all the six senses subside."[104] Hui-hung thus asserts that when the *Lotus* says "Kuan-yin perceived their sound and all were delivered," it means that he was seeing sound and speech with his [mind's] eyes.[105] In Chinese, the word *wei* stands for both "taste" and "aroma"; and *wen*, "to hear," also means "to smell." In the graphic pen of the great master, a pretty girl "listens with her eyes and speaks with her brows" (*mu-t'ing mei-yü*); and in his preface to the *Anthology*, Hsiao T'ung (Prince Chao-ming, 501–31) "roamed [the field of literature] with my mind and pondered with my eyes" (*hsin-yu mu-hsiang*).[106] If you respond without carnal desire, in the *mot juste* of the *Śūraṅgama*,

[101] See, respectively, *Śūraṅgama*, *chüan* 8 (Taishō, 19:143a); *Karaṇḍavyūha*, *chüan* 1 and 4 (Taishō, 20:48c and 61b). The *Nirvāṇa*, *chüan* 9, likens the teachings of the Mahāyāna sūtras to the purifying Maṇi pearl, and the awakening of the Bodhi in all beings to the blooming of the lotus in the sunshine of Nirvāṇa (Taishō, 12:419ab); cf. Tu Fu's poem: "The world is dark and turbid. / Everyone is scurrying and scrambling. / Only the Maṇi pearl / Can illumine the source of the muddy waters" ("Tseng Shu-seng Lü-ch'iu shih-hsiung," in *Tu-shih ching-ch'üan*, *chüan* 7, p. 332). In the *Lotus*, the Maṇi also alludes to Buddha-nature (see Teh-ch'ing, *Fa-hua ching t'ung-i*, *chüan* 4 [Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 49/5:431b]). See also A. Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London, 1959), 310 pp.

[102] See, respectively, *Vimalakīrti*, chap. 8 (Taishō, 14:549b); *Tsa o-han ching* [*Saṃyutta-nikāya Sūtra*], trans. Guṇabhadra, *chüan* 4, no. 101 (Taishō, 2:28b).

[103] "Tz'u Wu-shih nü-tzu yün," in *Wang Lin-ch'uan chi*, *chüan* 31 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 4:17); cf. Hui-hung, *Leng-chai yeh-hua*, *chüan* 4 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, no. 2549, p. 21).

[104] "Kuan-yin ta-shih tsan," in *Yü-lu* (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 29/1:106a). It is remarkable that, "if the optic nerve could be functionally connected to the ear and the acoustic nerve to the eye, lightning would be heard and thunder seen" (*New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropedia 16, p. 546, s.v. "sensory reception").

[105] *Fa-hua ching ho-lun*, *chüan* 7 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 47/5:412a).

[106] See, respectively, P'u Sung-ling (1630–1715), *Liao-chai chih-i* (T'ung-wen ed.), 6:34, s.v. "Ch'ing-mei"; *Wen-hsüan* (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu), preface, p. ii.

"lying" with someone "tastes like chewing wax."[107] As Chuang-tzu put into the mouth of Confucius: "Listen with not your ear, but with your mind; listen not with your mind, but with your Mind-essence."[108] The Mind of the Sage pervades the universe and, being empty like a clear mirror, responds spontaneously to the needs of all beings.

Thus in the poetic language of religion in the *Śūraṅgama*, Kuan-yin appears with one head, three heads, 1,000 heads, and 84,000 heads; two arms, four arms, 1,000 arms, and 84,000 arms; two eyes, three eyes, 1,000 eyes, and 84,000 pure, precious eyes, of compassion or wrath, of Samādhi or Prajñā, all the better to help the beings and free them from the bonds of existence.[109]

Su Tung-p'o was asked by his youngest son Su Kuo (1072–1123), who had followed him in exile and had hand-copied the aforesaid *Chin kuang-ming ching* and offered it to a monastery to contribute to the "passage" to the Pure Land for his deceased mother, whether the words of the sūtra were truth or mere fable. "Well asked," said the Elder Su. "I often heard His Excellency Chang An-tao (Grand Tutor to the Imperial Crown Prince) say: 'The words of the sūtras are neither true nor false. It depends on what I see for myself. All things (dharmas) are one and the same. If I have insight, fable is truth. If I have not, both truth and fable are false.'"[110]

### IV. THE THOUSAND-HAND KUAN-YIN

The T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung asked Wei Cheng (580–643) the difference between an enlightened ruler and an unenlightened one. "A ruler is enlightened who listens to all," replied the counselor, "and unenlightened who confides in a few. The Sage-kings of yore

[107] *Chüan* 8 (Taishō, 19:145c). In Luk's version, the expression *heng-ch'en*, literally "lying horizontal," is rendered "during the intercourse" (*The Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, p. 191), which is the implication but not the diction of Fang Jung, who derived it from Sung Yü's (third century B.C.) satirical "Feng fu," in which Sung Yü told the licentious king of Ch'u that the innkeeper's daughter sang to him when the two were alone: "I *lay* myself by your side" (heng *tzu*-ch'en *hsi chün chih p'ang*) (see *Ku-wen yüan, chüan* 2 [Wan-yu wen-k'u, p. 62]).

[108] *Chuang-tzu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao), 2:7a.

[109] *Chüan* 6 (Taishō, 19:129c). For an explanation of the multitudinous expression, "84,000," see Yüan-ching (Ming dynasty), *Chiao-ch'eng fa-shu* (Hui-k'ung woodblock print, 1878), 12:28a

[110] *Su Tung-p'o chi, hou-chi, chüan* 19 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 9:67–68). The *Chin kuang-ming ching* [*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* or Golden splendor sūtra], trans. Dharmarakṣa, expounds the immanence of the Dharmakāya with the aid of Brahmanic mythology and the charity of the selfless Bodhisattva with anecdotes.

opened the four doors and the four eyes and extended the four ears [to the four corners of the universe], and their wisdom was all-illuminating."[111] Thus Kuan-yin is represented in the *Lotus* by the "Universal Door," and in esoteric Buddhism with 1,000 hands and an eye in each hand, to help all and illuminate all with the light of Wisdom. The great compassion and great wisdom of Kuan-yin are here symbolized.

It does not matter if there were "four hands," "one thousand hands," "84,000 hands," or "hundreds of thousands of hands."[112] Who would take issue with Li Po (699–762) for saying, "My white hair extends thirty thousand feet, Entwined with sorrows just as long"?[113] Religious experience, like poetical experience, transforms facts but remains true, even truer than facts.

The current version of the *Sūtra of the Thousand-Hand-and-Thousand-Eye Kuan-yin Great-Compassionate-Heart Dhāraṇī* (abbreviated as *Thousand-Hand* or *Great Compassionate Heart Dhāraṇī Sūtra*) translated by Bhagavaddharma (ca. 700) tells us how Kuan-yin vowed to a former Buddha to benefit all beings and give them peace and joy, saying, in the mode of Genesis, "Let there be a thousand hands and eyes": and there were a thousand hands and eyes. He then enjoined both the clergy and the laity who wanted to keep and recite the Dhāraṇī (or mantra) to awaken in themselves a compassionate heart toward all beings and concentrate on his name and the name of Amitā Buddha. When asked by Brahmā about the characteristics of the Dhāraṇi, which is ineffable and can only be hinted at by speaking of its relative aspects, Kuan-yin said: "It is the great compassionate heart; it is the heart of non-discrimination; it is the unconditioned or spontaneous heart; it is the heart of non-attachment; it is the heart of contemplating all things as unreal; it is the heart of reverence; it is the heart of humility; it is the heart of non-confusion (or Samādhi); it is the heart of not clinging to heterodox views and attainment; it is the heart of unexcelled perfect enlightenment."[114] The metaphysical and ethical ideal of the Mahāyāna is thus epitomized.

The crux of the sūtra is contemplation on the great compassionate heart, according to Chih-li (style Ssu-ming, 960–1028) who compiled the *Exegesis* and *Liturgy*; the remaining eight (actually

[111] Wu Ching (670–749), *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* (Ssu-pu pei-yao), 1:2b.
[112] See *Karaṇḍavyūha, chüan* 1 (Taishō, 20:48c).
[113] "Ch'iu-p'u ko," fifteenth of seventeen verses, in *Li T'ai-po chi, chüan* 8 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 3:28).
[114] *Ch'ien-shou ching* (Taishō, 20:108a).

nine) states of contemplation are ways leading to compassion.[115] When properly intoned, the syllables of the "streaming" Great Compassionate Dhāraṇi (*shui-liu ta-pei*) resemble the sound of streaming waters, while the "flaming" Śūraṅgama Mantra (*huo-shao leng yen*) blazes like a raging fire, gathering momentum and pressing on to "the other shore," leaving no room for distracting thoughts. Concentrating on Kuan-yin's name until Kuan-yin and "I" (the experienced and the experiencer) are one and undifferentiable in the One Mind reaffirms the doctrine of release enunciated in the *Lotus* and the *Śūraṅgama*. Saichi was thus moved to utter in exultation: "When I worship thee, O Buddha, this is a Buddha worshipping another Buddha."[116] And Hsüan-chüeh (style Yung-chia, 665–713) exclaimed in the Song of Enlightenment: "The Dharma-body of all the Buddhas enters into my own being, And my own being is in union with theirs."[117] As Conze aptly remarks, the Mahāyāna came to the conclusion that it is really the Buddha in us who does the seeking [for Nirvāṇa] and that it is the Buddha-nature in us which seeks Buddhahood.[118]

The Thousand-Hand *Liturgy* calls for an image with 1,000 hands and eyes, or one with forty; if not available, one with six, or four, or any Kuan-yin image.[119] Su Shun-ch'in (1008–48) has on record a new iron statue in the northern Sung capital with the actual 1,000 hands and eyes.[120] The most vivid depiction is given by Su Tung-p'o of a new statue in Chengtu carved out of a giant red sandalwood, with 1,000 hands branching out in every direction and of every description, "some open-palmed, some closed, some holding up or grasping objects, some snapping fingers or patting, with an eye in each hand not lifted in vain."[121] Both men, however, had not seen the statue themselves. Although the latter's description is matched by an existing sitting stone sculpture of the Sung times in gigantic (25 × 35 feet) high relief at Ta-tsu in Szechwan, it is inconceivable that figures in the round could accommodate any more than token hands in miniature around the trunk of the body, as seen in the eighteen-foot eighth-century standing dry lacquer at Toshodai-ji in Japan, and the new eighteen

[115] Chih-li, *Ch'ien-shou-yen ta-pei-hsin chou hsing-fa* (Taishō, 46:977b).
[116] Suzuki, *Mysticism: Christian and Buddhist* (New York, 1962), p. 124.
[117] *Yung-chia cheng-tao ko* (Taishō, 48:396b); trans. in Suzuki, *Manual*, p. 97.
[118] Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, p. 149.
[119] Chih-li (Taishō, 46:973a).
[120] "Tung-ching Pao-hsiang ch'an-yüan hsin-chien ta-pei-tien chi," in *Su Shun-ch'in chi* (Shanghai, 1961), p. 180. During the Sung dynasty, iron, a baser metal, was used extensively in lieu of copper, including some issues of coinage.
[121] "Ta-pei-ko chi," in *Su Tung-p'o chi, chüan* 40 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 6:111).

footer at the Ta-ch'eng ssu or Mahāyāna Temple at South Cairo, New York, which are typical of the 1,000-hand iconography.[122]

Su Tung-p'o continues:

> If I ask someone to wield an axe in his left hand and hold a knife in his right, count the flying geese with his eyes and time the rolling drums with his ears, nod to bystanders with his head and pick the steps of the stairs with his feet, even a wizard will be at his wit's end; not to speak of holding various objects with a thousand hands, and seeing different things with a thousand eyes.
>
> But when I sit in dhyāna with all thoughts hushed, in a state of consciousness with the clarity of a great bright mirror, there rise before me a jumble of men, ghosts, birds, and beasts; and within me a tangle of forms, sounds, aromas, and flavors. Without one thought arising, I am all-responsive, and proper in all responses. Thus without actually extending a thousand hands and moving a thousand eyes, the truth is the same.

Deluded by illusory thoughts, ordinary man is confused with only two hands and eyes. Kuan-yin responds spontaneously and properly with 1,000 hands and eyes like one hand and eye, because he has no [discriminating] mind which differentiates between "you" and "I."[123]

The Pure Land master Shih-hsien (style Hsing-an, 1685–1733) sums up the concept of Kuan-yin in his panegyric:[124]

> The Dharma-body of Kuan-yin
> Is neither male nor female.
> Even the body is not a body,
> What attributes can there be? . . .
> Let it be known unto all Buddhists:
> Do not cling to form.
> The Bodhisattva is *you*:
> Not the picture or the image.
> Let it further be known:
> "I" and "you" are not two [but One].
> If you can perceive this (the Buddha-nature in you),
> It is truly inconceivable!

"How can Oneness be achieved?" Su Tung-p'o poses the question and answers, "By forgetting *I*." "If you can really achieve nonduality, you are Kuan-yin."[125] Kuan-yin is "not to be sought

[122] Cf. *Ta-tsu shih-k'o*, p. 120; see also anonymous thirteenth-century painting at Taipei's Chinese Palace Museum (*Chinese Art Treasures* [Skira, 1961], plate 65), with a virtual cloud of lifelike hands and attributes filling the entire standing body aura. For further discussion and illustration of Kuan-yin iconography, see Gōtō, pp. 105–89; Hemmi Baiei, *Kannonzō* (Tokyo, 1960); *Kannon zushū*, ed. Yukosha (Tokyo, 1941); *Li-ch'ao ming-hua Kuan-yin pao-hsiang*.

[123] "Ta-pei-ko chi" (see above).

[124] "Kuan-yin ta-shih hsiang-tsan," in *Hsing-an fa-shih yü-lu, chüan* 1 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. B, case 14/4:302b).

[125] See, respectively, "Shu Jo-k'uei so-shu ching hou" and "Kuan-yin tsan," in *Su Tung-p'o chi, hou-chi, chüan* 19 (Wan-yu wen-k'u, 9:58, 59).

outside," exhorts Fan-ch'i, "but in the sudden awakening of your self-nature. Kuan-yin is you. You are Kuan-yin."[126]

My sister, Vidyā, recapitulates in her eulogy of Pāṇḍaravāsinī, the white-robed Kuan-yin symbolizing the Bodhi-mind from which the Buddhas emanate:[127]

> White-robed Kuan-yin:
> Abounding in Compassion and profound in Wisdom;
> Searching for the Sound and saving the beings from the sea of suffering, embracing all within the [One] Mind;
> Appearing like the moon in all the streams,
> To awaken the heart of mundane beings;
> Giving joyfully in the past, future, and present—
> Namo Bestower of Fearlessness, Bodhisattva, Mahāsattva!

The more profoundly we are conscious of our true nature, the oneness of life and the impermanence of things, the deeper is our insight into the sufferings of others, which gives rise to compassion and altruism. Kuan-yin becomes not merely the keystone of Bodhi, but the polestar of conduct.

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[126] "Kuan-yin ta-shih tsan," in *Yü-lu, chüan* 13 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 2, case 29/1: 106b).

[127] Cheng Hung-yün (Vidyā Tay), "Pai-i Kuan-yin tsan," in "Fo-chou hsiao-ts'ao," *Torch of Wisdom*, no. 115–16 (September–October 1973), p. 80. On Pāṇḍaravāsinī, see I-hang, *Ta-jih ching su* (commentary to the *Vairocana Sutra*), *chüan* 5 and 10 (Zokuzōkyō, pt. 1, case 36/1:84b, 2:136a).

APPENDIX

Ch'an-men 禪門日誦
Chang An-tao 張安道
Chang Ch'eng-chi
張澄基，介紹一個新觀音讚
Chang Hsin-cheng
張心徵，偽書通考
Chao-lun su 肇論疏
che-jen 遮人氣燄峰頭眼，
過地風雲定裏心
Chen-kuan 貞觀政要
Chen Teh-hsiu 真德秀
Cheng Chen-to
鄭振鐸，天竺靈籤
Cheng-fa hua 正法華經
Cheng Hung-yün
鄭烘雲，佛州小草
Cheng Seng-i
鄭僧一，何時幸會謁支公
Ch'eng-chü 成具光明定意經
Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀，華嚴經疏
Ch'i-sung 契嵩，傳法正宗記
Ch'i-yen lu 啟顏錄
chia ming-tzu 假名字
Chiao-ch'eng 教乘法數
Chiao-jan
皎然，聽素法師講法華經
Chieh shen-mi 解深密經
Chien-i 堅意
Ch'ien Liu 錢鏐
Ch'ien-shou 千手眼觀世音菩薩
廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經
Chih-hsü 智旭
佛遺教經解，閱藏知津
Chih-i 智顗
觀音義疏，摩訶止觀
Chih-li 知禮
千手眼大悲心呪行法
Chih-yüeh lu 指月錄
Chin kuang-ming 金光明經
Ching-teh 景德傳燈錄
Ching-t'u 淨土十要
Ch'ing Kuan-yin 請觀音經
Ch'iu-p'u 秋浦歌
Chu Tao-sheng 竺道生，法華經疏
Chu-tzu 朱子語類
Ch'u san-tsang 出三藏記集
Chü-shih chuan 居士傳
chü-shih 舉世無非撲火蛾
chuan-ssu 專思寂想
Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩
Ch'üan T'ang wen 全唐文
Ch'üan T'ang wen chi-shih
全唐文紀事
Chuang Chiung-sheng 莊炯生
Chuang-tzu 莊子
Chun-t'i 準提經會釋
Chun-t'i 准提陀羅尼經
Chung-kuo 中國古典文學參考資料
Daibucchō 大佛頂
Fa-hua ching chih-chang
法華經指掌疏
Fa-hua ta-ch'eng 法華大成
Fa-yüan 法苑珠林
Fan-ch'i 梵琦，楚石梵琦禪師
語錄，西齋淨土詩
Fan Fan-yü 樊梵語
Fan-wang 梵網經
Fang Jung 房融
Fo-tsu 佛祖統紀
Genei 玄叡，大乘三論大義鈔
Gōtō 筑藤大用，觀世音菩薩の研究
Hai Ch'ao Yin 海潮音
Hemmi 逸見梅榮，觀音像
heng-ch'en 橫陳，
橫自陳今居之豪
Ho Kuo Kung-fu 和郭功父韻
送芝上人游隱靜
Honda 本田義英，觀音の古名に就て
Hsi-yu chi 西遊記，札記
Hsiang-kang 香港佛教
Hsiao T'ung 蕭統，文選
Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運
Hsien-tz'u 顯慈，楞嚴經易解疏
Hsin ching 心經

hsin-yu 心遊目想
Hsüan-tsang 玄奘，西域記
hu-pu 户部
Hu Ying-lin
胡應麟，少室山房筆叢
Hui-ching 惠淨
Hui-chü 慧炬
Hui-hung 惠洪（慧洪）
冷齋夜話，法華經合論
Hui-li 慧立，慈恩傳
Hui-yüan 慧遠，念佛三昧詩集序
huo-chi ming-hao 或寺名號
huo-shao 火燒楞嚴
Huo T'ao-hui 霍韜晦
般若心經譯譯研究（中國學人）
I-shan Jan 怡山然禪師茂頌文
Jen-chün 仁俊，山中小住
Jen-wang 仁王經
ju-liu wang-so 入流忘所
Kai-yü 開餘叢攷
K'ai-yüan 開元釋教錄
Kannon zushū 觀音圖集
Kao-seng 高僧摘要
Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳
Kawai 河合誠太郎，觀音經新解
Ku-wen yüan 古文苑
Kuan-shih-yin so-shuo
觀世音所說行法經
Kuan-tzu-tsai 觀自在
Kuan-yin 觀音
Kuang hung-ming 廣弘明集
Kuei-chi 癸巳類稿
Kuei-erh 貴耳集
Kuei-tsung 柱眼歸宗
K'uei-chi 窺基，唐梵翻對
字音般若波羅蜜多心經
Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若，李白與杜甫
Leng-ch'ieh 楞伽經
Leng-yen san-mei 楞嚴三昧經
Li Ao 李翱
Li-ch'ao 歷朝名畫觀音寶相
Li Po 李勃
Li Po 李白，李太白集
Li Shang-yin 李商隱，李義山文集
Li Shih-min 李世民（唐太宗）
Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超
佛典之翻譯，古書真偽及其年代
Liao-chai 聊齋誌異
Liao-yüan 佛印了元
Liu-tsu 六祖法寶壇經
Lu Ssu-tao 盧思道
Lu Yu 陸游，渭南文集
Lu Yüan 陸沅（子元）
Lun seng-ts'ai 論僧材之培養
Lung-shu 龍舒淨土文
Miao-fa 妙法蓮華經
Mochizuki 望月信享，仏教大辭典
mu-t'ing 目聽耳語
Nai-nü 楞女祇域經
Nan shih 南史
Nanjio Bunyiu 南條文雄
Nieh-p'an 涅槃經
O-mi-t'o-fo 阿彌陀佛頌
Oda 織田得能，仏教大辭典
Pai-i Kuan-yin 白衣觀音贊
Pao-hsien 保賢（火頭僧）
浴佛種種，問題楞嚴
Pei-Ch'i shu 北齊書
Pei-hua 悲華經
Pei shih 北史
P'eng Tzu-ch'iao 彭子喬
pi-ming
畢命一對，長謝百憂
Po Chü-i 白居易，白香山集
pu t'ui-chuan 不退轉
P'u-men-p'in 普門品
Ryūkoku 龍谷大學論叢
Seng-chao 僧肇，注維摩詰經
Shen Chia-chen 沈家楨
觀世音菩薩的修行方法及證悟過程
Shen Ch'u 沈初，西清筆記
sheng-chieh 生界
sheng-tsun 聖尊
Shih-hsien 實賢，南庵法師語錄

Shih-men 釋門正統
shih-tsun 世尊
Shinzan 新纂禪籍目錄
Shou p'u-sa 受菩薩戒儀
Shou-su 守素
Shu Liu Tzu-hou
書柳子厚大鑒禪師碑後
shui-liu 水流大悲
Shuo-fu 說郛
Su Kuo 蘇過
Su Shun-ch'in 蘇舜欽集
Su Tung-p'o 蘇東坡集
Sung kao-seng 宋高僧傳
Sung shih 宋史藝文志
Sung Yü 宋玉，諷賦
Ta-ch'eng 大乘莊嚴寶王經
Ta-ch'eng ssu 大乘寺
Ta chih-tu 大智度論
ta-hsiao 大孝釋迦尊，累劫報親恩
Ta-hui 大慧禪師禮觀音文
Ta-jih 大日經，大日經疏
Ta pao-chi 大寶積經
Ta-pei ko 大悲閣記
Ta po-jo 大般若經
Ta-tsu 大足石刻
Taishō 大正大藏經
T'ai-hsü 太虛大師全書
楞嚴經研究，楞嚴大義
Takakusu 高楠順次郎
Tao-an 道安
Tao-t'ung 道通
Teh-ch'ing 德清
法華經通義，憨山大師遺閑歌，
楞嚴經通議，楞嚴經懸鏡
Teh-hung 德洪，楞嚴經合論
Ti-hsien 諦閑大師語錄
T'ien-p'in 添品妙法蓮華經
T'ien-t'ai 天台
Ting Fu-pao 丁福保
佛學大辭典，觀世音經箋註
Ting-hsi 定西大師語錄
Toshodai-ji 唐招提寺
to-wen 多聞第一
Tsa o-han 雜阿含經
Ts'e-fu 冊府元龜
Ts'en Shen 岑參
Tseng Tung-lin 贈東林總長老
Tsui-sheng 最勝陀羅尼經
Tu Fu 杜甫，贈蜀僧閭丘師兄
Tu-shih 杜詩鏡銓
Tung-ching 東京寶像禪院
新建大悲殿記
Tzu-men 緇門警訓
Tz'u Wu-shih 次吳氏女子韻
Wang An-shih 王安石，王臨川集
wei 味
Wei Cheng 魏徵
Wei-mo-chieh 維摩詰經
Wei-yen 惟儼
wen 聞
Wen-ta lu 問答錄
Wu-chin-i 無盡意
Wu-yün 五蘊皆空說
Yang Hsiu-lieh 楊休烈
大唐滑度寺故大德比丘尼惠源
和尚神空誌銘
Yang Jih-lin 楊日霖
Yang Wen-hui 楊文會，等觀雜錄
Yeh Kung-ch'o 葉公綽
Yen-shou 延壽
永明山居詩，宗鏡錄
Yen-tsung 彥琮(隋)，彥悰(唐)
Yin-kuang 印光法師文鈔
Yin-shun 印順，妙雲集
Yu-yang 酉陽雜俎
Yü Ch'un-hsi 虞淳熙
Yü Ti 于頔
yüan-t'ung 圓通
Yüan-wu 圓悟心要
Yüan Yüan 元元
Yung-chia 永嘉證道歌
yung-chien 勇健，健相
yung-meng 勇猛丈夫
Zokuzōkyō 續藏經