

Memory and Chinese Buddhist History

A.W. Barber

Calgary University Department of Religious Studies

It is indeed curious that any sense of history developed in Buddhism because there are unambiguous statements within the sutras declaring that exerting efforts on the usual materials employed in the historic project, was a waist of time. Further, the use of memory for the creation of history, ought to have been questioned in ancient times because the Indian Buddhist were quit aware of faulty memory.

This paper will proceed to investigate the praxis oriented approach that Buddhism has employed in the use of history by first presenting information on faulty memory based on modern research. Second, documenting that in ancient times the Buddhist were aware of some of these problems. Third, discussing the prohibition placed on the historic project by Wakyamuni. Fourth, arguing for a praxis oriented understanding of the development of histories in Buddhism, Finally, how this was understood and interpreted within the context of Chinese Buddhism with a comparative analysis between Pure Land history and Ch'an history will be presented.

Memory:

Modern research on faulty memory has been greatly enhanced by recent discoveries in various brain imaging technologies and brain chemistry. In addition, psychological studies with a focus on memory have also advanced the field. The medical profession has known for some time that the hippocampus is the central processing unit employed in recalling. If an active memory search is needed, the hippocampus will be assisted by the frontal cortex.¹

Research by Gardner, Pickett, and Brewer has shown that memory is highly selective. In two well composed studies, this team of investigators discovered that just like physical hunger induces selective memory for food-relevant stimuli, social hunger (i.e. belongingness) also induces selective memory for socially relevant stimuli.² One of the outcomes of this

research is that our memories are often relationally constructed and therefore not 100% accurate in the creation phase of memory.

This lack of accuracy in memory is also noted in the research of Woike, Mcleod, and Geggin with regard to our accessing memories. Their study suggests that “implicit motives are linked to accessibility of specific and emotional experiences, whereas explicit motives are linked more strongly to accessibility of specific and general memories that relate to the self-concept.”³ In this research, “explicit motives” are conscious, easily articulated impulse and “implicit motives” are less conscious and not easily articulated.

Thus, the stories we compose with regard to the events of our life, not only shape our memories but also can influence our current views.⁴ A study conducted by McGregor and Holmes, determined that, “by and large, most people replaced the actual incidents of the story with their own subjective version...Instead of the true account, subjects recalled only their perspective of the story.”⁵

These are just a few examples of some of the research that is on-going. However, they lead us to the understanding that in both the creation of memories and in the recalling of memories, our mental facilities can be less than 100% accurate. Emotional, psychological, and sociological factors all play a role in the memory process making it in fact much less than it seems. The ancient Buddhist were well aware of some of these facts.

The Abhidharma literature mentioning memory in many places and presenting a few detailed discussions about memory that were quite advanced for their day. These are supplemented with post-canonical works by various Buddhist masters. The sophistication that is presented in the discussions on memory in several texts is indeed impressive. For example this passage in the **Melinapabha**:

The king said: “In how many ways, Nagasena does memory spring up?”

‘In sixteen ways, O King. That is to say: by personal experience,... or by outward aid,...or by the impression made by the greatness of some occasion,...by the impression made by joy,... or by the impression made by sorrow,...or by similar appearance,...or by

difference of appearance,...or by the knowledge of speech,...or by a sign,...or from effort to recollect,...or by calculation,...or by arithmetic,...or by learning by heart,...or by meditation,...by reference to a book,...or by a pledge,...or by association.’⁶

In general, the Abhidharma presents memory as being the reoccurring of the arising of particular conglomerates of dharmas⁷ that could be triggered by various circumstances.⁸ However, I think it would be incorrect to regard memory as explained in the Abhidharma as being understood as positivistic. This is because neither the empirical self nor the empirical world was seen as real. The Abhidharmic discussion avoids falling into the trap of formism.⁹

Memory is mentioned in several places in Vasubandhu’s **Abhidharmakosa** and classified under *mahabhūmikas*. False memory is identified as *musitasmitita*. This term is a compound of *musita* meaning “obscured, cloud,” and *smitita* meaning “remember, recollect, call to mind, etc.”.¹⁰ Some of the various connotations regarding *smṛti* were already mentioned long before the composition of the **Abhidharmakosa**. For example one reads in the Dhammasangani:

The mindfulness (Pali *satti*/ Skt. *smṛti*) which on that occasion is recollecting, calling back to mind; the mindfulness which is remembering, bearing in mind the opposite of superficiality and of obliviousness; mindfulness as faculty, mindfulness as power, right mindfulness — this is the faculty of mindfulness that there then is.¹¹

The longest discussion regarding memory in the **Abhidharmakosa**, a work that became authoritative, occurs in the section on Pudgalavadins.

Pudgalavadin: If the self does not absolutely exist how can the momentary mental events (*cittas*) be capable of the remembrance or recognition of an object experienced (*anubhūat*) a long time ago?

Vasubandhu: A special type of mental event connected (*anvaya*) with the conceptual identification (*samjba*) of the object already

perceived —which is hence called object of memory”—produces memory and recognition.

Pudgalavadin: What is this special condition of the mental event which is immediately followed by memory (*smṛti*)?

Vasubandhu: The following conditions are required:

1. *tadabhoga*: There should be “bending” (*abhoga*) of the mental event, i.e. a turning of attention towards that object.

2. *sadrva-samjba*: That mental event should have a conceptual identification which resembles the [conceptual identification of the past] object, should such a resemblance exist [e.g. a memory of a fire seen in the past aroused by its resemblance to the conceptual identification of fire in the present.]

3. *sambandha-samjba*: Or, that mental event should have a conceptual identification suggesting a relation (*sambandha*) to the past object [e.g., a memory of a past fire aroused by the conceptual identification of smoke seen in the present.]

4. *pranidhana*: The mental event should have a certain resolution (*pranidhana*), for example, “I shall remember this at a certain time.”

5. *anupahata-prabhava*: There should be no impairment of the mental event on account of bodily pain, grief, or distraction, etc.

These conditions are necessary but not adequate to produce a memory. If these conditions are fulfilled but the mental event is not connected with a previous concept of the object to be remembered then also there can be no memory. On the other hand, if the mental event is so connected but the above conditions are absent, it likewise is not able to produce the memory. Both factors, namely connection to the previous conceptual identification and suitable state of mind, are necessary for the emergence of a memory. A mental event which is not like this is incapable of evoking memory.¹²

Here, I will not enter into the many interesting aspects of Vasubandhu’s theory with regards to momentariness, the occurrence of past and present

moments, dharmas, and the such as it is not pertinent to our discussion. However, it is of importance that Vasubandhu discussion of memory began a line among his disciples of later generations that developed into a full negative critique of the use of memory in reasoned thought.

In the logical/ philosophical system that develops from Asanga-Vasubandhu (4th century), to Dignaga-Dharmakirti (5th century) we find that the use of memory is disallowed in a discussion of “authority” in logic which for the latter only included perception and inference. The reason for its nonacceptance was that it did not meet the criterion of nondeceptiveness. In their system of thought, a true memory was only possible in samadhi. A meditative state wherein self is no longer operational.¹³

This is an important point for our discussion of memory and history. As long as one’s *modus operandi* was within the greater field of “self” then the possibility of having a nondeceptive memory could not be ultimately ruled out. This is a fairly bold statement on the possible faultiness of memory and it is *exceptis excipiendis*. Further, the above information can adequately demonstrate that in classic times the Indian Buddhist were critical about memory and understood its limits within the intellectual tradition. The above material shows that they understood, like modern medical science, that memory could be faulty in production and recall and that it could be influenced. Let us now turn our attention to the prohibition of using historic materials.

The case For and Against History:

In the Pali canon’s **Brahmajala Sutra**, one of the most influential text in Buddhism because it delineated the differences between Wakyamuni’s positions on important topics and that of other teachers, we find the following interesting quotation.

(17) ‘Or he might say: “Whereas some recluses and Brahmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to such low conversation as these:

Tales of kings, or robbers, of ministers of state; tales of war, of terrors,

of battles; talk about food and drinks, clothes, beds, garlands, perfumes; talks about relationships, equipages, villages, town, cities and counties; tales about women, and about heroes;...

Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low conversation.¹⁴

In fact, tales of kings, ministers, heroes, customs, relationships, towns, countries, women and etcetera, is the usual material for the creation of histories as noted by others.¹⁵ The reason that *Wakya*muni stays away from such conversations is because they are not conducive to the awakening project. In brief, the awakening project is all about the present moment and staying in it, tales of great events and people are about the past and distracting from the project.

Further, because Buddhist doctrine is founded on the idea of impermanence, any event would be of a fleeting nature and thus philosophically of no intrinsic historic value.¹⁶ As is well know, Buddhist also do not give the awake-state reality any greater validity than the reality of the dream state.¹⁷ If we also include Mahayana notions, all things being *śūnyata*, then not only are the people and events essentially empty but even the notion of time can no longer be maintained.¹⁸

Given the above it is a wonder that a sense of history developed at all in Buddhism. However, there were other currents at work as well. Perhaps the first genre of literature that help us bridge this lacuna is the extremely popular **Jatakas**.¹⁹

The **Jatakas** are a collection of more than 547 stories, the verse portion considered canonical and the accompanying story commentary on the verse. Some of the **Jatakas** are found in the Tripitaka and thus can be dated at least before the first century BCE. I will not go into the details of these stories but there are two points that I think are significant for our discussion about historiography. The first is that these stories about people are acceptable because they teach morality and cause and effect. Both of these points are important to the awakening project.²⁰ The tales teaching morality engender Buddhist values and doctrine understanding into the living experience of adherents. At the same time, the teaching of cause and effect gets instilled in the audience and this is one of the major Buddhist doctrinal points. These early tales in the canon are joined with

many others and by the second century we see considerable growth in the *Avadana* literature. In fact the collection of **Jatakas** is called **Bodhisattva-Avadana**. The oldest collection of these tales is the **Avadanawataka**.²¹

The second source for the development of history in Buddhism was the spotty information on Wakyamuni's life found in the sutras and vinaya. However, these sources focused on his awakening and his parinirvana.²² A complete account of his life did not develop until centuries after his death.²³ One of the earliest Sanskrit works being the **Mahavastu**,²⁴ part of the vinaya of the Lokattaravadin branch of the Mahasamghika. It therefore had to come into existence between one hundred years after the parinirvana and the first century B.C.²⁵ Other similar texts presenting a full account of his life are to be found. Further short stories on the lives of the Arhats need to be mentioned as well.²⁶

For the purposes of our study, the salient point is that these accounts present an understanding of the awakened state and a picture of what it is like to be awakened in the world. Two points we will return to below. In addition, since one aspect of Buddhism is the cult of Wakyamuni, we find many tracts that are *laudatory temporis acti* and that "golden age" orientation that is often part of the cult of a deceased figure became a feature of Buddhist thinking with regards to time, which was seen as cyclic. There is yet two more source that becomes increasing important in the development of Buddhist historical thought, and those are the accounts of sects and the vinaya transmission.

Sometimes in works dealing with the different doctrines of the various sects within Buddhism, one finds historic material on the arising and activities of some of these groups. The earliest of these works seems to be Vasumitra's **Samyabhedoparacanacakra**,²⁷ probably composed in the first century CE. This was followed by the **Mahavibhassa**²⁸ (2nd century), Bhavaviveka's account²⁹ (6th century), and other sources. Although these texts fall short of the critical study of history as presently understood in the academy, they were early attempts to account for divisions and sub-divisions among the sangha. By the time of their composition, the material presented within were usually long past and these accounts are as much legend as useful history. Modern studies have been comparative and where finding agreement, have considered that as probable. However,

much of this body of literature is both small in number and late in development.

It is difficult to know with any degree of certainty, but at some point in time past that parinirvana of the Buddha Wakyamuni, keeping track of the lineage list of the vinaya transmission becomes an important consideration. Some of the impetus surely came from the fact that there were a number of schools that developed in and around the time of Awoke's official patronage of Buddhism. We find in the Parivara section of the Pali canon, and account listing the vinaya masters from Upali (#1) to Moggaliputtatissa (#5). The Parivara is considered to have been composed sometime between the first century BCE and the first century CE.³⁰ The list continues past Moggaliputtatissa, who some have associated with Upagupta, with the masters in Sri Lanka. Further, the **Awoke-Avadana** (2nd century CE) mentions four teachers that form a lineage.³¹

In the fifth century CE, Buddhaghosa provides us with a lengthy list of the lineage of the Abhidharma. This demonstrates that by this date, the necessity of providing a lineage for the teachings was already well grounded.

There are other works of perhaps a more secondary nature that could be referred to, but let the above examples suffice. The pulse of Indian Buddhist historical writings has been shown to be not the accuracy of the facts as recalled but driven by its *modus docendi*. The Buddhist had early on realized that memory was not trustworthy for supporting intellectual undertakings, the fact that the usual materials used in making histories was considered a waste of time, the doctrinal position of impermanence and *unyata*, all contributed to using "history" in a manner that would support the goal of liberation instead of being a factual accounting.

Let us now turn our attention to the historic project as it was conceived in China. Following that, we will investigate Chinese Buddhist history.

Chinese Historiography

The historic tradition in China is both long and diverse. There were many different trends over the centuries showing a rich and stimulating intellectual tradition. The very fact that the succeeding dynasty usually wrote the official history of its predecessor, guaranteed that Chinese

approach to history would be critical. While true the ancient's sense of critical scholarship may well not conform to the demands of modern historical scholarship, it is highly admirable that it incorporated such elements at its foundational level. This short paper is not the place to delve into Chinese historiography in either depth or breadth, however, I will point out some salient features that were important, in my opinion, to the development of Chinese Buddhist history.

From the earliest histories such as **Spring and Autumn Annals**, and supported by the **Shu ching** (traditionally considered as of ancient vintage),³² and many other texts, we can see the development of an approach to history that is grounded in ethical evaluations. It was generally held that Confucius had incorporated his moral evaluations in his compilations of the **Spring and Autumn Annals**.³³ This makes history both descriptive and prescriptive.

We can see this approach to historiography continuing from Confucius's time throughout the classic period. For example, in the **Shu Ching**, the reason for the change in the mandate of heaven from one dynasty to the other is always couched in moralistic terms. How far the old ruler has fallen from the Tao is publicly proclaimed by the soon to be founder of a new dynasty. Here, I do not wish to entertain an evaluation of the validity to the claims made of moral and administrative corruptions as it is not pertinent to our study nor delve into the arguments regarding the dates and historic accuracy of various parts of this text. What is significant is the fact that historiography had as one of its corner stones moral consideration. As noted by Burton Watson, "The function of history, ..., is twofold: to impart the tradition and to provide edifying moral examples as embodied in the classics."³⁴

Historically, time was seen as being cyclic particularly after the yin/yang and five agents theory was applied to historic thought. This coupled with the theories of the ten heavenly stems and the twelve earthly branches provided the Chinese with a complex system of measuring the passing of time.³⁵

Further fundamental concepts also influenced Chinese historian's thinking about history. This included, "conceiving of history as a series of great deeds by great men."³⁶ The establishing of the "golden age" as a

measure for all succeeding dynasties in terms of harmony, unity, and order, played a continuing role in their historiographical approaches.³⁷ Even a critical thinker such as Ssu-ma ch'ien praised high antiquity,³⁸ while being very critical about other topics that had both symbolic and historic significance.³⁹ Yet his criticism did not delve into the problems associated with memory, either personal or collective, as he uses memories to help establish the “history” of the five early emperors.⁴⁰

One last point that I feel is pertinent to our discussion is the significant role played by the ritualistic aspect of the respect paid to ancestors. From prehistoric times, the Chinese have accepted the idea that providing the family ancestors with ritual offerings was reciprocated by the ancestors bringing blessings into the family. Certainly, this ritualistic role also was part of the impetus to maintain family lineage records. This in turn made history both familial and formal for everyone. History was personal, not just the doings of the emperor.

Chinese Buddhist Histories

We can see from the above that there were many points of intersection between the Indian Buddhist historic tradition and the key features found in Chinese historiography. Both laid emphasis on the ethical aspects of events, both had “golden age” mentality and saw time as cyclic, both saw history as the record of great men and events, and the role lineage would play was significant. Although the articulation of these notions was different in China than in India, there was a “happy marriage” of concepts as Buddhism moved into the middle kingdom. We will see below how these concepts played out in the development of Chinese Buddhist historical records.

Before we do, it is interesting to note that the use of memory in Chinese Buddhist historical writings is in line with Chinese usage and not the Indic usage. We see for example, that Hui-chiao in his **Biography of Eminent Monks**,⁴¹ consulted respected elderly people with regard to oral history.⁴² This example was followed by such other authors of collected biographies as Tsang-ning⁴³ and Tao-hsyan.⁴⁴

Although at times a brief account of master — disciple relationship is provided in those biographies, the accounts mainly focus on the great man and his great events. The information does not approach the use of lineage

in the way that will be outlined below in the Ch'an tradition. Although with the Song material we find more use of lineage in the ritualistic since amongst Buddhist historic writers this was due to the Ch'an influence. Here I do not plan a full scale critique of these Biographies. The pertinent point is that the Biographies were composed as accounts of great men. Their use was clearly to act as a model for future generations be they monastic or imperial/bureaucratic.⁴⁵ The question that arises is exactly what type of model.

Because of the emphasis placed on ethics in both Chinese and Buddhist histories, the biographies of different masters were didactic. However, they were more than just examples of how good monks act.⁴⁶ For example, in one of the accounts of Wubhakarasiṃha, he shares a room with Tao hsiyan at a monastery in the capital. The unkempt Indian master comes home every night drunk and vomits on the floor. He criticizes Tao hsiyan, a vinaya expert, for killing a flea. Looking at this story simply as a lesson in morality would not allow one to fully understand the implications of the story.⁴⁷ The unkempt Indian is not just some monk but a Vajrayana master. His unkemptness is in keeping with the tantric yogins then very popular in India.⁴⁸ His drinking is also understandable within the paradigm of advanced tantric practice.⁴⁹ This story is not merely about morality, although that is present, it is also a statement about tantric realization. The biography is not just morally instructive but is actually a small section of a larger depiction of liberation in this world as understood in the tantric forms of Buddhism. By fully comprehending the symbolism within the depiction, one actually enters into liberation as defined in that particular system. This point becomes significant below wherein I will finish this article with an analysis of the Pure Land lineage and the Ch'an lineage as two examples of historical compositions.

The Pure Land teachings in China were very dynamic and had many different developments within. Certainly the promotion of Pure Land teachings by the T'ien T'ai tradition was extremely important in making Pure Land practice a ubiquitous feature of Chinese Buddhism. However, the line that is most discussed in scholarly works is the developments that stem from T'anluan (476-542). In his **Collection (of Passages Concerning Birth in the Land of) Peace and Bliss**,⁵⁰ Tao ch'o (562-645) provides a list of six masters of the Pure Land. These are: Bodhicuci, Hui ch'ung, Tao

ch'ang, T'an luan, Ta hai, Fa shang.⁵¹ Shinko Mochizuki thinks that Hui ch'ung is an alternative name of Tao ch'ung the founder of the Ti lun tradition, Tao ch'ang was a scholar of the Prajñā Paramitā, Ta hai is the same person as Hui hai and that Fa shang was a disciple of Hui kuang and was a Maitreya devotee.⁵² A number of these individuals are not counted in the Pure Land lineage as they belong to other teachings. Of the remainder, some seem to have been fellow disciples of Bodhiruci along with T'an luan. According to, **The Collection of Biographies of Buddhist Masters in the Pure Land Tradition in the Three Countries**,⁵³ Ta hai was T'an luan disciple and Fa shang studied with Ta hai.

T'an luan's teacher was the famous Bodhiruci (5th - 6th century), who had produced a translation of Vasubandhu's **Discourse on the Pure Land**⁵⁴ as well as many other texts. T'an luan wrote a commentary to Vasubandhu's work wherein he also shows influence from Nagarjuna's thought.⁵⁵ The next master mentioned is Tao Ch'o (562 - 645). However, he was not a direct disciple of T'an luan but was inspired by T'an luan after a visit to the Hsyan chung temple.⁵⁶ Tao ch'o's direct disciple was Shan tao (613 - 681), one of the most influential Pure Land teachers in the history of Pure Land in China. His direct disciple was Hui kai (7th - 8th century). The next important master was Shao k'ang (? - 805). However, again he was not a direct disciple of Hui kai but was inspired by Shan tao.

What seem important to me with regard to this list of masters of the Pure Land teachings is that there is no attempt to provide an indisputable master to disciple lineage that is unbroken. In fact, the text indicate breaks in the succession. With all of this historic literature, we see accounts of great men and great events. In some, there is the further addition of cause and effect being demonstrated, in this case with the causes engaged here on Earth, and the effect taking place with birth in the Pure Land of Amita. There are some moral aspects to these biographies and some depictions of masters living in the world. However, even these last two are not greatly emphasized. A good example of this is found in the **Wang-sheng his-fang ching-t'u jui-ying shan chuan** by Shao-k'ang in the 9th century.⁵⁷ This account provides biographical information on approximately 50 individuals Pure Land followers. Masters both lay and monastic, male and female are given space. Yet in all of this there is no attempt to provide a unbroken succession of master to disciple relationships.

We find a completely different picture when we turn our attention to the Ch'an lineage.⁵⁸ Starting with the Tun Huang manuscript the **Ch'uan fa pao chi**,⁵⁹ although the record is partial, we can trace a very different developmental approach to history than with the Pure Land tradition.

The **Ch'uan fa pao chi** compiled by Tu fei in the first part of the eighth century seems to be one of the earliest record in extant associating an Indian lineage with the Chinese Ch'an lineage. To be certain, it is not the final version that would be accepted as authoritative, but many of the final elements are found within this text. Moreover, it draws from earlier sources like the **Ta mo to lo ch'an ching**⁶⁰ and the **Chy kao-seng chuan**.⁶¹

In this text, one finds only the suggestion of a link going back to the historic Buddha with the Preface providing a listing of the Indian Patriarchs and the following chapter listing Chinese masters. This text does not establish an unbroken patriarch session yet we do find the presentation of the first five "Patriarchs" as will become authoritative in later texts. However, here again, the text is primarily about great men and great events with some exemplary morality and brief indication of Ch'an awakening in the world.⁶² Another Tun Huang text entitled the **Leng-chia shih-tzu chi**⁶³ and datable to or before 741, although not listing Indian Patriarchs, does provide numbers to the Chinese masters. In the **Li-tai fa-pao chi**,⁶⁴ datable to about 780, one finds a listing of the 29 Indian Patriarchs followed by the six Chinese Patriarchs ending with Hui-neng. It continues listing the masters of the Ch'u chi, Wu hsiang and Wu-chu line. Although some aspects of the "history:" as given in the **Li-tai fa-pao chi** will not become part of the authoritative tradition, there is much there that will. Finally, the version of the history of Ch'an that does become authorities is found in the **Pao-lin chuan**.⁶⁵

For the most part, the Indian Patriarchs' list is in fact the Sarvastivada Vinaya transmission list also know to us from Tibetan sources,⁶⁶ along with various great luminaries, many in the Mahayana. There seems to me to be little chance that Bodhidharma was greatly influenced by Sarvastivada as his homeland was the strong hold of the Mahasamgika. So here we have the creative use of lineal information in the formation of Ch'an's history. For me, what is of significance is the manner the Ch'an used the idea of the unbroken lineage to tap into the very Chinese idea of lineal succession and the spiritual blessings that it can bestow on the decedents.

Conclusion:

This paper has demonstrated that according to modern psychological research, there can be serious problems with the formation and recall of memories. These problems were understood in ancient India Buddhist circles and thus they were critical of memory.

There was a strong negative position taken on the materials that are normally used for the creation of histories in the early sutras. Further, doctrinal points such as impermanence, the world being like a dream, and *munyata*, have been taken into consideration with regard to their effect on the development of Buddhist historiography. This section concluded that is surprising that histories developed in Buddhism.

We then looked into the use of several types of literatures such as the *Avadanas*, vinaya accounts of the life of Wakyamuni and the arhats, vinaya lineages, and commentaries to show that there was other forces that came to the fore in the development of Buddhist historiography. Moral edification, instilling doctrinal understanding, and depicting the awakened in the world all helped in developing Indian Buddhist history as a pedagogical tool. It is with this position that historic writings portrayed as they were translated and studied in China.

This paper also presented a brief over view of the important features of traditional Chinese historiography that were pertinent to our study. These included the use of memory, the ethical orientation, the use of “golden age” mentality, and history being an account of great men and great events, all played a significant role in the development of Chinese historiography in classic times.

The paper briefly discussed the merging of Buddhist and Chinese notions in the formation of Chinese Buddhist historiography and provided examples of the continued use of memory in these writings. A comparison between the use of history by the Pure Land tradition and the Ch’an tradition was then presented.

This comparison concluded that the Pure Land tradition did not surpass and open up new approaches in historiography but instead stayed true to

the format of such works as **The Biographies of Eminent Monks**. Pure Land histories demonstrate the elements of : showing cause and effect and how the masters live in the world, the great man and great events, “golden age” thinking, and ethics. The source of spirituality is Amita and use of supposed historic events is secondary to it.

With the Ch’an histories, we find that the major distinguishing feature is the use of the idea of the unbroken lineage acting in a ritual context, which is within keeping with Chinese cultural norms. The Ch’an histories also include cause and effect depictions, “golden age” thinking, ethics, great men and great events, and how the awakened live in the world. However, by bringing together the information from the Vinaya with the notion of Patriarchal succession, Ch’an was able to tap into a powerful source in Chinese traditional culture.

One last note, by the Sung dynasty, when the Kung-an/ Wa tou was an assigned contemplative technique, each aspirant would personally engage in an intimate relationship with the ancestors in a manner previously unknown in Buddhism. From then on the lineage was and is not just a formal bow to the founders and a ceremony held to pay respect and show gratitude to them, but a living encounter with the lineage that bestowed their blessings in the awakening project.

Notes:

¹ Staff, *Psychology Today*. (cms.psychology today.com/articles/pto-19920501) captured 10/16/04.

² Gardner, W., Pickett, C., & Brewer, M. "Social Exclusion and Selective Memory: How the Need to Belong Influences Memory for Social Events." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 26, No. 4, April 2000, pp. 486-497.

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- ³ Woike, B. Mcleod, S. & Goggin, M. "Implicit and Explicit Motives Influence accessibility to Different Autobiographical Knowledge." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol.29. No. 8. Aug. 2003, pp. 1046-1055.
- ⁴ Staff, *Psychology Today*. (cms. psychology today.com/articles/pto-19990701-...) captured 10/16/04.
- ⁵ *Ibid.* pg. 1.
- ⁶ Rhys-Davids, T.W. *The Questions of King Milinda*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1963, pp. 12-23.
- ⁷ Potter, Karl, H. *Abhidharma Buddhism To 150 A.D.* in **Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy**. 1996, Vol. VII, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, pg. 421.
- ⁸ *Ibid.* pg. 476.
- ⁹ Botella, Luis. "Personal Construct Psychology, Constructivism, and Postmodern Thought." (www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/virtual/Construc.htm) captured 10/16/04, pg. 6.
- ¹⁰ E.g. Poussim, Louis de La Vallee. *Abhidharmakowibhasyam*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities press, 1990, pg. 194.
- ¹¹ Rhys-Davids, Caroline. (trans.) *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics (Dhamma-sangani)*. London: The Pali Text Society, 1974, pg. 14.
- ¹² Jaini, Padmanabh S. "Smṛti in the Abhidharma Literature and the Development of Buddhist Accounts of Memory of the Past." in Gyatso, Janet. *In the Mirror of Memory: Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications,

- 1992, pp. 49-50.
- 13 Wayman, Alex. "Buddhist Terms for Recollection and Other Types of Memory." in Gyatso, *ibid.* pp. 139-141.
- 14 Rhys Davids, T.W. *Dialogues of the Buddha*. London: Pali Text Society, 1977, pg. 13-14.
- 15 Gokhale, Valkrishna G. "On Buddhist Historiography." in Narain, A.K. (ed.) *Studies in Pali and Buddhism*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1979, pg. 99 ff.
- 16 *Ibid.* pg. 99.
- 17 For example see: Williams, Paul. *Mahayana Buddhism*. London: Routledge, 1991, pg. 88
- 18 For an interesting discussion of Buddhist use of different concepts of time see: Wayman, Alex. "No Time, Great Time, and Profance Time in Buddhism." in his: *Buddhist Insight*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, pp. 269 ff.
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