

Development of the Way of Practice in Buddhism

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I. Introduction

What can be made possible by the path of Buddhist practice? I would like to limit my discussion of Buddhist practice to the observation of the body and mind. Today, Buddhist practice is often referred to as “cessation and observation.” However, from the study of early Buddhist scriptures, namely the Pali scriptures, the practice carried out by the Buddha was what is called *satipaṭṭhāna*, or in Chinese translation, *nianchu* (Jpn. *nenjo*) 念處. It is known that *nianchu* was the first of these practices. It has been pointed out by Dr. Nakamura Hajime 中村元 that the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* was the first canon in which terms *samatha* (cessation) and *vipassanā* (observation) appeared. It has been clarified that the term does not appear in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and *nikāya* canons. Instead, the word that appears in these sutras is *satipaṭṭhāna*.

This has traditionally been translated as *nianchu*. There are two possible back-translations of this word, *smṛti-upasthāna* and *smṛti-prasthāna*, which could be translated as “to put remembrance” or “to cause remembrance to arise.” A literal understanding of *nianchu* would be close to the interpretation of it as placing remembrance, but its actual meaning, according to recent research, is considered to be “to turn one’s attention and grasp firmly.”

It was the Pali Text Society that introduced the Pali Buddhist scriptures to

Europe and published those texts. The PTS used “mindfulness” as an English translation of *satipaṭṭhāna*. Since the 1990s, this mindfulness has gradually generated interest in Japanese society. In the 1990s, Buddhism in Southeast Asia was thus re-introduced to Japan, this time with a focus on practice, or *samatha* and *vipassanā*, rather than on doctrine.

An important figure in the early days was almost certainly the Sri Lankan bhikkhu Sumanasara. At the same time, Thanabutto of Dhammakaya in Thailand also came to Japan to study in the Department of Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies at the University of Tokyo and introduced the Dhammakaya-style practice to Japan, but unfortunately his activities did not develop into a major movement, because he mainly instructed the Thai people living in Japan.

The *Samatha* and *Vipassanā* center had already been established in Kyoto in the 1980s under the guidance of Master Goenka, who was guided by the Myanmar monk, U Bha kin, but it was also not well known. In this respect, I must say that the achievements of Bhikkhu Sumanasara in the 1990s are significant. In his case, the establishment of the Theravada Association for Buddhist Meditation and the support of Japanese people were remarkable.

And then, another activity appeared. This activity was led by clinical psychologists. Professor Jon Kabat-Zinn of the University of Massachusetts Medical School in the U.S. had established mindfulness training, called Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR).

Initially, it was introduced as a technique to reduce stress, and the benefits of *satipaṭṭhāna*, “turning your attention to the present moment and just seeing things as they are,” were brought to the fore. Eventually, several applications arose, with inputs from Buddhism. A variety of psychotherapies using mindfulness meditation were developed, including Mindfulness-Based Relapse Prevention for Addictive Behaviors (MBRP).

This growing interest in Buddhist meditation in the United States can be attributed to the collapse of the Tibetan kingdom and the exile of the Dalai Lama. The University of Wisconsin was one of the first to invite Tibetan

monks, including the Dalai Lama, to conduct research on meditation, and this laid the groundwork for the scientific study of the Buddhist practice of observing the body and mind.

In this way, fields other than Buddhist studies took the lead in drawing attention to the Buddhist meditation, which in turn led to a gradual increase in research interest in Buddhist meditation in the field of Buddhist studies.

II. Interest in Buddhist Studies

It is a matter of course that in the world of Buddhist studies does exist a research concerned with meditative practices, or the observation of the body and mind. Research in this direction is, however, rarely positioned as the center of Buddhist studies. The interest in meditative practices has also arisen in Indian philosophical studies. The most directly related is Bronkhorst's work, *Two Ways of Meditation in India*. This study was groundbreaking in that it outlined the flow of meditation in the Indian world. Since then, there has been no end to the number of studies of Buddhist practice conducted in the Western world. However, when we look at the East Asian world, there are surprisingly few studies on meditative practices.

If we focus on research in Japan, the importance of such research on meditation was recognized by scholars of the Tendai (Ch. Tiantai) lineage. In the Meiji era (1868-1912), Buddhist studies in Japan began to take on new perspectives in response to previous Buddhist studies. The first such scholars were Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 and Murakami Senshō 村上專精. They introduced the perspective of historical research, established in the Western world, into the study of Buddhism, and their research on the history of Buddhism and the development of thought set the direction for the rest of their work. Among them, Murakami Senshō planned to establish the "Theory of the Unification of Buddhism" for the purpose of clarifying ideological characteristics of Buddhism based on the history of Buddhism from India to

Japan, and unifying various forms of Buddhism. It is questionable whether his plan was successful or not, but unfortunately, meditative practices do not occupy a significant place in the perspective of his research.

In Japan after the Meiji era, we can cite several people who showed interest in meditative practices, such as Hirai Kinza 平井金三, who as a lay Buddhist follower formed the Sammajikai 三摩地会 and worked to spread *samādhi*, and Yamazaki Bennei 山崎弁栄 (1859-1920), who made great achievements in the practice of *nenbutsu* 念仏 in the Pure Land. Until the Meiji and Taishō periods, there had been a certain amount of research on meditative practice. Unfortunately, however, the number of studies on meditative practices has been gradually decreasing.

After the end of World War II, there appeared a man who lamented such a situation and conducted a comprehensive study on meditative practices using the scientific research funds of the Ministry of Education. That person was Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大 (1907-1986). To his research, Nakamura Hajime 中村元 (1912-1999), a famous scholar, participated as a member of this research. Sekiguchi conducted as a group leader, and reached a peak in the study of meditative practices.

In the book he compiled, Sekiguchi lamented the decline of research on practice, and in fact, Buddhist studies in Japan tended to focus on ideology, theory, and textual studies. For example, when the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in Tibet by Rahula Sankrityayana were introduced to the world, they attracted the attention of many scholars. The introduction of such new materials is thought to have been the background that prepared the way for the rise of manuscript studies. In addition, the cultural background of Buddhist studies in Japan, which has tended to focus on scholarship since ancient times, may have also had an influence on such a trend.

However, as mentioned earlier, from around the 1990s, Buddhism in Southeast Asia was introduced into Japan, only for the purpose of practicing *samatha* and *vipassanā*. In this context, interest in the practice of Buddhism was rekindled in Japanese Buddhist studies. The first researchers to do so were

Haya Tatsuo 羽矢辰夫 (professor at Soka University), Sakuma Hidenori 佐久間秀範 (professor emeritus at Tsukuba University), and the author Minowa.

Also in Korea, researchers who took an interest in *samatha* and *vipassanā* appeared early. One of them is probably Master Kim Jae-Sung. He has already published a paper on Buddhist practice in Myanmar in the 1980s in Japanese. Interest in the practice of Buddhism has also been directed toward Chinese Buddhism, and an interesting paper on the practice of Buddhism for Chinese Buddhists was published in a joint symposium of three universities: Toyo University in Japan, Renmin University in China, and Geumgang University in Korea.

In Taiwan, the Dharma Drum Mountain has become known as a group that values the practice of meditation, and one of its representatives, Bhikkhu Huimin 慧敏, has discussed meditation in his research on the Yogacara school. Master Tsai 蔡 of Taiwan University has also recently taken an interest in meditative practices in his research. On the continent, with recent emergence of young people studying in Southeast Asia and researching Pali Buddhism, it is expected that interest in meditation will eventually increase.

If we look at it this way, we can say that Buddhist studies up to now have tended to focus on ideology, texts, and cultic theories, but that ascetic practices are also growing into an important area of interest. Because practice is concerned with the inner life of human beings, it may be difficult to study, but I think it is becoming a subject of research. In the background, the application of Buddhist meditation in the field of psychology, under the name of mindfulness, is probably having an impact. This is a situation in which Buddhist practices are now attracting attention from another discipline, psychology. Today, the field of brain science is also involved in the examination of Buddhist meditation.

III. Changes in the Way of Practices

So, what is the overall picture of such a path of meditation practice? In general, the terms such as *nianchu* (mindfulness) and *zhiguan* 止觀 (cessation and observation) are widely used, but in fact, their inner reality is surprisingly unclear. Therefore, I would like to present my own understanding of what is involved in this practice. I would like to call it “observation of body and mind” generically.

For Shakyamuni Buddha, the first observation of the body and mind dates back to the time of his asceticism. It is said that he experienced the non-possessiveness stage of Āḷāra Kālāma and the non-thoughtlessness stage of Uddaka Rāmaputta. This experience was a quieting of the workings of the mind, and later in Buddhism it came to be called *jhāna* meditation. The state of *jhāna* meditation was thought to be entered through the practice of concentration on something, called *samādhi*. Now, Shakyamuni Buddha thought that he could not get rid of his worries and sufferings through this state of *jhāna* meditation, so he abandoned this direction of observation and practiced another kind of observation, which led him to enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, according to the biographical materials.

In fact, however, another tradition is found in the Pali scriptures such as the *Sacchaka sutta*, included in the *Majjima-nikāya*, which is said to tell the story before and after the Buddha’s enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. According to the *Sacchaka sutta*, Shakyamuni Buddha remembered his past lives and the past lives of sentient beings one after another, and he felt that his defilements had been exhausted. This *sutta* states that he had the so-called “three divine powers.” This divine power is said to arise spontaneously when one enters the state of *jhāna* meditation, in which the workings of the mind are quieted, and Buddha attained it under the Bodhi tree. In some later biographies, the Buddha’s meditation under the Bodhi tree is described as the practice of *vipassanā*. In fact, that meditation is not *vipassanā*, and the Buddha was just

observing the stilling of the mind, which is equivalent to the Yoga tradition. It is highly likely that this is the case, for in an old biographical document, the Vinaya tradition, it is written that the Buddha enjoyed this state of mind for a week. This may have been a symbolic expression of Buddha's attainment of the state of *nirodhasamāpatti*.

From this point of view, the meditation under the Bodhi tree was still in the traditional category of Indian yoga to calm the mind, though it had reached its ultimate state. Now, I would like to draw attention to this point.

IV. Observations of Body and Mind taught by Buddha

The observation of body and mind in early Buddhism is generally referred to as *satipaṭṭhāna*. It is well known that this is what the Buddha practiced and is translated into Chinese as *nianchu* 念處, and in Japanese *nenjo*. Being translated into English as “mindfulness,” “awareness,” or “monitoring,” etc., it means “to pay attention and grasp firmly.” In the beginning of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, it says, “It is a path to end suffering and to attain *nibbāna*.” This is closely related to the fact that mindfulness meditation, which is currently being applied in the field of psychology, has been helpful in reducing stress.

So, what exactly did the practitioners of *satipaṭṭhāna* do? We will examine the content of the *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, which are included in the *Majjima-nikāya*. Although the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* is likely to have been altered by later generations, its description is easy to understand: the content of *satipaṭṭhāna* is to pay attention and grasp firmly the various bodily movements and mental functions that are occurring in the present moment. There are four types of objects to pay attention to and grasp firmly: the movements of the body, the sensory perception, the workings of the mind, and the objects of the mind, which anyone can surely experience – they are named body, receptivity, mind, and dharma, respectively.

Through this practice of *satipaṭṭhāna*, the first thing to be noticed is the separation of our perceptions that are perceived through the sense organs and the workings of the perceiving mind. This realization is called the “wisdom of separation of name and form (名色分離),” and it arises naturally. This “wisdom of the separation of name and form” is the gateway to a finer distinction of the workings of our mind, which will eventually be divided into four categories of mental workings and one material category. These are the five *skandhas*: *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *sankhāra*, and *viññāṇa*, or form, sensation, perception, impulse, and consciousness.

As we continue to observe the five *skandhas*, we realize that the form and name arise in the mind and disappear only for a short period of time, and from here we become aware that everything is impermanent, suffering, and selfless. This impermanence, suffering, and selflessness are called the three phases, and they are valued in early Buddhism. The relationship between the name and the form is that the name always arises when the form arises. When the form perishes, the name also perishes. This relationship is always one-sided. Perhaps this is where the concept of dependent origination comes from. In this way, it is important to note that the five *skandhas*, the three phases, and dependent origination are all derived from the practice of meditation. (It should be noted that by the time of Abhidharma, when the treatises on Buddhism were written, the three phases had changed into four phases: impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and selflessness, with the inclusion of emptiness.)

By the way, why is it that when we practice *satipaṭṭhāna*, or *nianchu*, we can escape from worry and suffering? In the early Buddhist scriptures, for example, there is an expression in the *Samyutta-nikāya* that says, “The Bhikkhu, who hears the teaching has no second arrow.” What is this “second arrow”? In fact, it turns out that the stage where we perceive the world through our sense organs is the “first arrow,” and the next reaction triggered by that is called the “second arrow.” In other words, our worries and sufferings are the second arrow, which is the automatic reaction of our mind. This meant that by practicing the *satipaṭṭhāna*, or *nianchu*, we could prepare our minds

to prevent the second arrow from arising. In addition, the root that causes the second arrow to arise is *saṅkhāra* (impulse) among the five *skandhas*. In the end, by observing *satipaṭṭhāna*, or *nianchu*, the *saṅkhāra* that exists in our minds will be changed.

V. Relationship between *Satipaṭṭhāna* and Language

Now, I mentioned earlier that *nianchu* is generally a translation of *satipaṭṭhāna*, but in fact it often appears in the Pali scriptures as a compound word, *sati-sampajañña*. This word is translated as “remembrance” and “right knowledge,” but we need to be careful with these two words. These two words need to be treated with caution, because it is important to understand what exactly these two words mean. According to Hayashi’s research, *satipaṭṭhāna* means “to turn one’s attention and grasp firmly,” and the function of turning one’s attention is equivalent to the first part of this compound, *sati*, which appears in the front part, and the function of grasping firmly is equivalent to the latter part of the compound, *sampajañña*. The question is whether or not this *sampajañña* includes linguistic understanding, because when we perceive an object, we sometimes have a firm grasp of that object without the intervention of words. The meaning of the word, *sampajañña*, is sometimes used to include linguistic understanding, but in the practice of observation, we may grasp the object clearly even without linguistic understanding, so we can think of it as referring to such a function.

A description that reinforces this understanding appears in the *Milindapañhā*. The description indicates that *sati* is characterized by *apilāpana* and *upaganhana*. Here, *apilāpana* seems to refer to merely uttering words to direct attention, while *upaganhana* is thought to refer to having a firm grasp. It is not clear whether language is involved here or not, but it is important to note that there is a function of grasping an object even if the language function does not work, and that such a function is indicated by the verb *√jña*, which

should be given the utmost attention.

VI. The Relationship between *Zhi* (Cessation) and *Guan* (Observation)

When did the words *samatha* and *vipassanā* (cessation and observation), which are used in many areas today, first appear? The timing of their appearance cannot be determined chronologically. However, Dr. Nakamura Hajime has already noticed and reported that they appear in the Pali scriptures in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, but not in the other *nikāyas*. This tells us that the term *samatha* and *vipassanā* were introduced in a later age. In early Buddhism, *samatha* was divided into two, *samādhi* and *jhāna*. *Samādhi* is the highest state that exists beyond meditation in the yoga tradition. From this point of view, we can see that Buddhists placed the word for the highest state of yoga at the beginning of their observations and that their sense of resisting the yoga tradition was operating there.

Now, as it is written, the characteristic of cessation is to quiet the mind, while the characteristic of observing is to observe things as they are. This observation proceeds from *samādhi* to *jhāna*, and reaches its ultimate state called *nirodhasamāpatti*, in which there is no activity in the mind – this may be called extinction. It has been a point of argument since ancient times whether this state of perfection is different from *samādhi*, or the ultimate state of yoga attained by non-Buddhists (but Buddhists called it *nirodhasamāpatti*, the state of concentration of total cessation). Later treatises, such as *Abhidharmakosabhāṣya* and *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra śāstra* stated that there are different wishes when entering this state, but phenomenally there is no difference.

Then, what exactly is the nature of *guan* 觀 (observation)? Basically, *guan* follows the concept of *nianchu*, which means to pay attention to everything and grasp it firmly. The only difference is that the objects, to which we

direct our attention, exist at the same time or at different times. For example, in the *Ānāpānasati-sutta*, concerning to the breath observing, it is said that one should observe the breathing in and breathing out while recognizing the sensory perception. This is an example of the simultaneous existence of meditative objects. Observing meditative object one after another means observing multiple meditative objects, such as breathing, sitting posture, and sounds in succession. The description in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* says this. Then, what kind of state emerges from such kind of simultaneous or successive paying attention and grasping firmly?

The answer to this question is, as stated at the beginning of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, “suffering will cease and nirvana will be attained.” The Buddha clarifies that suffering arises because we perceive the world and the next action arises from it. This is expressed by the expression “the second arrow” appearing in the early Buddhist scriptures. The “first arrow” is the perception caused by our mind. That perception triggers the second arrow of suffering and pain. In the *Ānguttara-nikāya*, there is an example of a person, who did not hear the Buddha’s teachings, getting the perception of suffering and then crying and grieving. This shows that he regarded our perception of the external world through our sense organs as the “first arrow,” and the next reaction triggered by that perception as the “second arrow.” It is thought that the observation, which here had the function of changing the pattern of the mind’s reaction so that the second arrow might not arise, was indeed *satipaṭṭhāna*, or *nianchu*. In other words, it can be said that observation of paying attention to and grasping multiple sources simultaneously or in succession is *guan*.

It is important to note, however, that another type of observations is also called *guan*. These are the observation of defilement and that of compassion, which are thought to have appeared from the time of the Buddha. The observation of defilement or impurities includes the method of looking at a human corpse and observing, “My body is like this,” and the method of looking at bodily parts, such as hair, nails, skin, etc., one after another as

being impure. The observation of compassion, according to the *Sutta-nipāta*, is to repeatedly wish in one's heart that all living beings be happy and that those who will be born in the future be happy as well.

These observations of defilement and compassion are called *guan*, but their inner reality is slightly different from that of the observations mentioned above. The reason is that while both types of observations are identical in that they pay attention to and grasp the fields of karma, the latter observations of defilement and compassion confirm that the body is defiled and that all living beings should be happy. In this respect, these two types of *guan* are similar but different. If we were to name them in a modern way, we could call the former “the observations of careful attention” and the latter “the observations of confirming the subject.”

The effects of both are also different. The observations of careful attention change the mind in the direction of preventing the second arrow from arising (i.e., the direction in which our worries and sufferings do not arise), while the observations of confirming the subject literally work in the direction of establishing the subject in the mind.

In the case of *samatha*, there is only one object for observation, and it works in the direction of calming our mind. In the case of *vipassanā*, there are multiple objects, and it works to (1) create wisdom, (2) prepare our mind so that the second arrow does not arise, and (3) establish the subject matter in our mind. However, in later generations, there was an understanding that cessation was merely directing one's attention. However, in later generations, there appeared an understanding that cessation was merely a diversion of one's attention, and this understanding can be clearly seen in the Yogacara school.

VII. Objects of Observations

Next, I would like to examine observations from the view of the types of objects. In the early Buddhist scriptures, there were four categories of objects.

The objects were divided into four categories: bodily movements (body), sensory perceptions (reception), mental actions (mind), and mental actions that anyone can cause (Dharma). The three sensory perceptions are suffering, pleasure, and neither suffering nor pleasure, and the five obstructions and five *skandhas* are the Dharma.

The *Visuddhimagga*, or *Path of Purification*, presents this in a more concrete form. It is estimated to have been compiled by Buddhagosa around the fifth century, and in this text he introduces forty field of karma (*kammaṭṭhāna*) as the objects of observation, such as the ten impurities, the ten *kaṣiṇas*, the ten *anusatis*, and so on, but the practice of *anusati* is the one that is thought to have had the greatest influence on later generations. The first thing that is introduced as the practice of *anusati* is Buddha *anusati*. It is the practice of repeating the ten epithets of the Tathāgata and confirming them in one's mind. It is to repeatedly confirm in one's mind the ten epithets of the Tathāgata, which are the honorific titles for the Tathāgata, such as "teacher of man and deities," "Buddha," and "World-Honored One." This is characterized by using words as an object to which attention is directed. Since concentrating on one thing is called *samādhi*, words are also used as objects of concentration. This state of concentration was also understood to be the same as *ekaggatā* (心一境性).

When this kind of *samādhi* is being practiced, it is not clear whether the function of grasping firmly is occurring or not. At any rate, however, it is important to note that concentration on something is *samādhi* and that words are also used as the object of concentration. It is known that while there have been variations in the use of words as the object of concentration, such as "Buddha," "Dhamma" and "monks," the *Visuddhimagga* does not yet introduce the method of using a tangible object, such as a statue of Buddha, as the object.

The method of concentrating on a tangible object is probably represented by the observing impurities, but here I would like to focus on what is described as *kaṣiṇa samādhi*. In the case of the earth, it is a method of placing a

disc of earth in front of the eyes and concentrating on it, earth by earth. As concentration progresses, it is said that one can see the appearance of the earth even without the disc. This is called image of semblance, and the image of semblance drawn in the mind can be enlarged by one's own will and can be made pervasive in this space. This is a reason why it is called *kasiṇa samādhi* (concentration on the entirety), and a new pattern of *kasiṇa samādhi* will soon appear. This is the so-called "sutra for observing the Buddha": the sutra that preaches on the observation of Buddha images as meditative objects.

VIII. Experience of Seeing the Buddha in *Kasiṇa Samādhi*

The Banzhou sammei jing 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*), considered to be one of the representative scriptures on the contemplation of the Buddha, is famous for its description of Buddha-standing *samādhi*, in which the Buddha appears in front of the practitioner. This can be well understood by assuming the *kasiṇa samādhi*. If one keeps concentration to the extent that the image of the Buddha is burned into one's mind, or if the image of the Buddha statue is taken, the image of the Buddha will come into one's mind even if there is no image of the Buddha statue in front of him. In this way, Buddhist *samādhi* can be positioned as an advanced form of the *kasiṇa samādhi* as taught in the *Viśuddhimagga*, or Path of Purification.

Another method that seems to have evolved from the *anusati-bhāvana*, method of using the ten epithets of the Buddha as an object to be held in the mind is the chanting the name of the Buddha. This is the so-called naming nianfo or *nenbutsu* 念佛, and it can be considered as a new form of *anusati* practice. It can be said that the practice of repeating the epithets of Buddha in one's mind has somehow changed into the practice of chanting the name of Buddha. A typical example is the recitation of Amitabha Buddha or "Namu Amitabha Buddha." Since the important point is to concentrate on the Buddha,

there is no problem in using various names of Buddha. In fact, various patterns are known, such as chanting Shakyamuni Buddha or Henjo Kongo 遍照金剛 in Japan. There is even a sutra called the *Buddha's Name Sutra* (佛名經) that only lists the names of many Buddhas. It can be assumed that this sutra was created for chanting. Chanting has a linguistic function, and whether it is accompanied by sound or not is not a big issue in terms of concentration, but it is thought to be easier to practice when accompanied by sound.

These two methods, using the Buddha's image as the object of concentration and concentrating by chanting the Buddha's name, appeared in Mahayana Buddhism and were probably added to the methods of early Buddhism. Although it is a unique form, it is not something that arose suddenly.

IX. Development in the East Asian World

It is well known that Buddhism was first introduced to East Asia around the beginning of the common era. The practice of Buddhism was probably introduced around the same time, but the initial form of acceptance is not clear. However, there is no doubt that interest in Buddhism gradually increased during the Later Han Dynasty, when An Shigao 安世高 translated a number of sutras concerned with meditation. The best-known meditative scripture translated by him is the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經, in which besides the observation of breath in and breath out, the observation of impurities is also taught. It is noteworthy that the observation of breathing and the observation of impurities are combined in this sutra, and it is presumed that he studied in the saṅgha of the Sarvāstivāda school, as this sutra was used in the same school. It may be that in the Sarvāstivāda school, the observation of breath and the observation of impurities were always practiced in tandem. Nearly a hundred years after An Shigao's passing, a monk named Kang Senghui 康僧會 appeared on the scene. In his biography, it is mentioned that he learned about the practice from a disciple of An Shigao, who was also active in the Jiangnan

area, which means that meditative practices were based on the scriptures introduced by An Shigao and were passed down to future generations.

The next person of note in the field of meditation is Kumārajīva. He translated a sutra called the *Zuochan sammei jing* 坐禪三昧經, which is said to be a compilation of important excerpts from several Indian sutras introducing the view of meditation. It is said that Daosheng 道生 was the one who made efforts to translate the sutra, but it was disseminated as a translation of his master, Kumārajīva. In fact, it is said to have been a commonly used sutra in the Central Plains of China in the fifth century. In the *Zuochan sammei jing*, the word *satipaṭṭhāna* is translated as *nianzhi* 念止, and it is thought that this translation is used to focus on the stillness of the mind.

The next person to appear on the scene was a pivotal figure in the path of practice. This was Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛. He inherited the Lotus Flower *Samādhi* from Huisi 慧思, and eventually systematized the practice of cessation and observation. His first work on cessation was the *Cidi chanmen* 次第禪門, which was followed by the *Liumiao famen* 六妙法門 and then *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. These are called gradual cessation and observation, indefinite cessation and observation, and perfect cessation and observation respectively, and the final and complete form is said to be represented in the *Mohe zhiguan*.

The characteristic feature of meditation in Zhiyi's theory is that he reorganizes the system of practices handed down from India and integrates it with traditional Chinese thought. First of all, although it was mentioned earlier that the objects of observation of body and mind are basically divided into the four categories, Zhiyi re-divided them from two perspectives: the actions of one's own body and the things received through the sense organs. This is indicated by the terms *liyuan* 歷緣 and *duijing* 對境. *Liyuan* refers to actions such as walking, standing, sitting, lying down, other actions, and language. Language is also understood to be an object of observation, which is no different from the practice of *anusati* in India. Incidentally, it was the Chan (Jpn. Zen) Buddhism of the Song Dynasty that achieved a unique Chinese development in this use of language. This was done by Dahui

Zonggao 大慧宋杲, who used the sentence as an object to be held in mind. For example, the sentence “Is there Buddha-nature in the dog or not?” appears in his “Letters,” and that sentence is called *huatou* 話頭. It is recommended to hold on it when feelings of depression or restlessness arise in the mind. This is considered as a new pattern in the practice of *anusati-bhavanā*. In India the meditative object in *anusati-bhavanā* is short words, but here in China short words changed to the sentence.

The second of the pair *duijing* refers to the six sense objects that can be captured by our sense organs: shape, voice, fragrance, taste, touch, and dharma. This means that the shapes and sounds are the objects to which we direct our attention. In this way, we can see that Tiantai Zhiyi’s classification was based on the Indian tradition, which divided the objects of observation into two categories: the actions of one’s own body and the external world that is received through the sense organs.

Another important point is the emphasis on physicality. Both *Tiantai shao zhiguan* 天台小止觀 and the *Mohe zhiguan* emphasize the importance of physicality. For example, there is a description of the breath filling the whole body through breathing, which cannot be understood without *qi* 氣. He also clearly defines the form of sitting, placing the left foot on top of the right foot and the left hand on top of the right hand. It is presumed that this way of sitting is based on the flow of *qi* through the body. It is necessary to keep in mind the path of *qi* flow. In this way, Zhiyi combines the Indian tradition with the Chinese tradition.

X. Development of Zen Buddhism

In Chinese Buddhism the development of the Chan (Jpn. Zeen) school, which was founded by Bodhidharma, is interesting. It is often pointed out that the *Lankāvatāra-sutra* and the *Vajracchedika-pāramitā-sutra* were important in the early days of Chan Buddhism. Both scriptures assert that the world we

see is a reflection of our mind, or a creation of our mind. Although we can see the importance they placed on these scriptures, it is not clear what kind of observation they had practiced actually. However, the words *wuxin* 無心 (without the discriminating mind) and *wunian* 無念 (without thoughts) appear in the early Chan literature such as the *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 and also in the *Ding nanzhong shifei lun* 定南宗是非論 written by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會. In these texts the important mind-state come to be described in terms of *wuxin* and *wunian*. Let us examine how this state of mind corresponds to the terms used in the context of Indian Buddhism.

For Heze Shenhui, the most important state of mind is *wunian*, which refers to the state in which there are attentions (作意), but no cognition (認識) – this is same with a state of *nirvikalpa*. It is as if things are just reflected in a mirror. This is a state in which one is receiving the external world, and images are drawn in one's mind, but there is no judgment or discrimination about them. In the Indian Buddhist tradition, this is the so-called state of indiscrimination or no-cognition. From this point of view, it can be inferred that early Chan Buddhism clearly had observations of Indian Buddhist origin.

In the Chan tradition of the Tang Dynasty, “recorded sayings” (語錄) and *gongan* 公案 (lit. “public cases”) were important objects of contemplations, and of these the questions called *gongan* were important. The purpose of these *gongan*, which can be taken to mean official questions, was to make people realize that the mind of the self is none other than the Buddha. Since this can be considered as an act of absolute affirmation of the self, it seems that the traditional Chinese thought of Dao is behind it.

A newer use of this *gongan* is *huatou* 話頭, which appeared in the Song Dynasty. As I mentioned a little earlier, a new device for the practice of holding short sentences in one's mind, or *anusati-bhavanā*, appeared. This development can be said to be the re-consideration of Chan practice in the context of Indian Buddhism.

The Chan sects of the Song Dynasty are often divided into two major groups: Kanhua Chan 看話禪 of Dahui and Mozuo Chan 默照禪 of Hongzhi

Zhengjue 宏智正覺. Of these two groups the latter simply encourages the practitioners to observe the workings of our mind without any added effort. In this way, it is possible to understand Chinese meditation as a form of Indian Buddhism. If we look at it in this way, what Chinese Chan Buddhism does is based on the context of Indian Buddhism, and although it has its own wording, it is not different. In addition, it is said that the *Tiantai shao zhiguan* was often used as a guide to sitting meditation (it has been clarified that the Chan theory appearing in the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 is almost entirely a quotation from the *Tiantai shao zhiguan*), which may be natural, considering that the Tiantai school was based on the Indian tradition.

XI. New Innovations

However, it is thought that there were new innovations. This is the new understanding of *huatou*, although the date of its appearance is not known. Originally, the character for *tuo* 頭 was meaningless, but somehow it came to be understood as meaning “first.” It is now understood as Chan that captures the first movement of the mind when some action occurs in the mind. This understanding of Huatou Chan may appear new because we can see it first presented in the biography of Chan Master Xuyun 虛雲. It is still practiced at Gaomin Temple in Yangzhou, China, and can also be found in the Buddhist world in today’s Taiwan.

There is also a definition of Chan as capturing the beginning of speech, but since this can only be practiced when the mind is still, it seems to be a new understanding that emerged as an extension of *zhi* or cessation. By the way, in Japan, in the Middle Ages, the expression “Zen of remembrance” (念起の禪) appeared in the records of Shinchi Kakushin 心地覺心. This Zen, too, is thought to be almost identical to the new type of *Huatou* Chan. If this is the case, then Huatou Chan, in which the first words of speech are observed, may have existed since much older times.

XII. Influence of Xuanzang

Lastly, I would like to mention the influence of Xuanzang 玄奘. This may be more to do with the Yogacara school than with Xuanzang. I mentioned earlier that the important thing in observing the body and mind is to pay attention to it and grasp it well. It is thought that this observation was eventually differentiated into cessation and observation and that both cessation and observation have the function of grasping. For example, in Tiantai Zhiyi's *Moho zhiguan*, there is a passage that says, "If you follow your mind and make awareness born, you will be fully endowed with cessation and observation." The purport of this passage is that both cessation and observation are concerned with the actions of the mind to grasp firmly.

It is known that Tiantai Zhiyi's view of cessation and observation is based on the Prajñāpāramitā Sutra, the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, and the *Dazhi dulun*

大智度論 (**Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sāstra*). So it can be said that the Tiantai practice is based on the Madhyamika school of Buddhism.

In contrast, the Yogacara school's view for cessation and observation (*vipassanā*) is slightly different. In the explanation of cessation given in the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* (Ch. *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論), cessation is to contemplate and continue to contemplate in a quiet place and achieve peace of mind and body, while observation is to carefully discern, contemplate, and investigate the mind function that appears as a result of such *samādhi* (which is thought to be cessation). The definition of "cessation" is to concentrate, and the definition of "observation" is to investigate firmly to the image that is captured in the mind. In this definition, "cessation" can be replaced by "concentration" and "observation" by "insight." In this case, it is difficult to imagine that the function of firm grasping exists in cessation. In other words, in the Yogacara school, cessation is seen as mere concentration, and this is where it differs from Tiantai's concept of observation.

The question arises as to what accounts for this difference, and perhaps this is due to the fact that the Yogacara school is related to yoga, as it is called “practice of yoga” (Skt. *yogācāra*). Recent studies have suggested that the yoga of the Yogacara school may have been influenced by the yoga described in the *Mahabharata*. It is likely that the definition of cessation became different with the introduction of this yogic tradition.

The influence of the Chinese Yogacara school, later called Faxiang zong (Jpn. Hossōshu) 法相宗, has also spread to Japan. The person who introduced the observation of body and mind to Japan in earnest is said to be Dōshō 道昭, who was active in the Asuka period. He went to Tang China and studied there under Xuanzang’s tutelage and introduced the meditation view to Japan. Considering that Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the mid-sixth century and that Hōkōji 法興寺 Temple was officially established in the early seventh century, it can be assumed that monks of the Sanlun 三論 sect were already practicing Buddhist meditation at this time. However, there is little documentation on the practice during this period, and it is believed that the first full-scale transmission of meditation was by Dōshō. It should also be noted that the first full-fledged meditation of cessation and observation in Japan was that of the Yogacara school. It is not difficult to imagine that this would have caused friction with the Tendai (Ch. Tiantai) school in terms of differences in understanding.

XIII. Conclusion

I began by suggesting that the Buddha’s observations under the Bodhi tree were in the tradition of yoga itself, which calms the mind, and that eventually an observation called *satipaṭṭhāna* must have arisen. This method of observation seems to have been the Buddha’s original method of observation. This method of observation must have been divided into two parts: cessation and observation. The important thing in both cessation and observation is to

pay attention and grasp it firmly. It is important to note, however, that there are two types of observations: the observations of careful attention (inherited from the *satipaṭṭhāna* tradition) and the observations of confirming the subject (e.g., one confirms that the body is impure when practicing in the observation of impurities). The observation of impurities is also thought to have existed since the time of the Buddha, but it is seen as being somewhat different from *satipaṭṭhāna*. Such observation of the body and mind probably did not undergo a major change until the establishment of the Yogacara school.

The observation of the body and mind in China seems to have developed precisely in accordance with the Indian Buddhist tradition. The major development was achieved by Tiantai Zhiyi in the Sui Dynasty. It can be confirmed that the traditional Chinese practice, or understanding of qi, so influence on him that he included its own parts in his system of Buddhist practice. After that, the understanding of the Yogacara school was introduced, and a new development in the understanding of cessation seems to have occurred.

It should be noted that the practice of Chan Buddhism, which is often regarded as an original development in China, is not dubbed in traditional Buddhist terminology, but its practice is no different from that of cessation and observation in Indian Buddhism.

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Development of the Way of Practice in Buddhism

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What is the significance of studying the Buddhist way of practice? Recently, the term “Siddhartha Intent” has been heard among Tibetan Buddhists. It means that we should be aware of the purpose of the Buddha’s renouncing the worldly life, which was to transcend the suffering of affliction. The way that makes this possible was practice, or the method of observation called *satipaṭṭhāna*. The practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* was later called “cessation and observation.” I will consider the historical development of this cessation and observation that first appeared in India, then developed in China and was renovated to Chan (Jpn. Zen) Buddhism.

Keywords: Buddhist way of practice, Siddhartha Intent, *satipaṭṭhāna*, cessation and observation, Chan