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## *Mahākāśyapa's Smile*

### Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition

ALBERT WELTER

ONE OF THE most famous kung-an in the Ch'an tradition relates the story of how the Buddha's disciple, Mahākāśyapa, broke into a smile when the Buddha held up a flower to an assembly of the *saṃgha* on Vulture Peak. The standard version of this well-known story is recorded in one of the most widely used kung-an (kōan) collections, the *Wu-men kuan* (J. *Mumonkan*).

The World Honoured One long ago instructed the assembly on Vulture Peak by holding up a flower. At that time everyone in the assembly remained silent; only Mahākāśyapa broke into a smile. The World Honoured One stated: "I possess the treasury of the true Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*, the subtle dharma-gate born of the formlessness of true form, not established on words and letters, a special transmission outside the teaching. I bequeath it to Mahākāśyapa."<sup>1</sup>

The episode exemplifies and openly affirms one of the cardinal features of the Chinese Ch'an and Japanese Zen traditions: the silent transmission of Buddhist truth between master and disciple as "a special transmission outside the teaching" (C. *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*, J. *kyōge betsuden*). Taken literally, the story suggests that this silent transmission outside the teaching originated with none other than Śākyamuni Buddha himself. According to Zen lore, the "special transmission" was passed down from master to disciple through a long list of patriarchs in India, conventionally fixed at 28, and was finally brought to China by the emigre monk Bodhidharma, whose descendants flourished, eventually forming several Ch'an lineages. The story thus plays a remarkably important role in Ch'an. The entire tradition is in some sense predicated on this episode. The identity and credibility of every Ch'an master and practi-

tioner who believes in Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" derive from it.

The significance of this silent, "special transmission" is especially evident in the kung-an collections compiled during the Sung dynasty. The first case in the *Wu-men kuan*, "Chao-chou Cries *wu!*" (J. *mu!*), illustrates a basic principle of the kung-an Ch'an tradition.

A monk asked Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen: "Does a dog also have the Buddha-nature?" Chao-chou answered: "*Wu!*"<sup>2</sup>

The commentary by Wu-men Hui-k'ai (1183–1260) asserts that Chao-chou's *Wu* is the first barrier of Ch'an, and that those able to pass through this barrier will attain the same realization as Chao-chou and the patriarchs themselves. Wu-men compares this enlightenment experience, where "distinctions like inner and outer are naturally fused together," to a deaf-mute who has a dream. It cannot be communicated to anyone else.<sup>3</sup>

The analogy of the enlightenment experience to a dreaming deaf-mute underscores the degree to which the Ch'an kung-an tradition was predicated on the notion of silent transmission. The enlightenment experience, by its nature, cannot be communicated through rational, verbal means. Rather than a "statement," Chao-chou's *Wu* amounts to a categorical renunciation of the possibility of meaningful statements. Enlightenment is an inherently individual experience that is incommunicable in words.

As important as the story of dharma-transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa is for the Ch'an and Zen traditions, it has received remarkably little critical attention. Few have looked into the origins and veracity of this episode, freed of the influence of sectarian interpretation. The critical work of scholars who have investigated the Śākyamuni–Mahākāśyapa exchange has thus far received little attention, so the results are not widely known even in scholarly circles. Practitioners are similarly unaware of the true foundations upon which some of their most highly cherished notions are based.

This chapter examines the origins and development of the Śākyamuni–Mahākāśyapa story. The textual record indicates that the story was fabricated in China as part of an effort by Ch'an monks to create an independent identity within the Chinese Buddhist context. It also suggests that the Sung, rather than the T'ang, was the critical period in which this Ch'an identity crystalized. The most significant innovations in the Śākyamuni–Mahākāśyapa story are recorded in Sung documents. Such findings contradict the "golden age" hypothesis that has informed Ch'an and Zen studies in the modern period. This hypothesis postulates the T'ang era as the critical period in the formation of Ch'an identity, and it interprets later developments in terms of "decline" or "stagnation," devoting little effort or space to post-T'ang Ch'an. The clear message in Ch'an and Zen studies has been almost unequivocal in suggesting

that Sung Ch'an developments were insignificant compared with the accomplishments of the great T'ang masters.

The study shows how the development of the Mahākāśyapa, silent-transmission story parallels the growth of Ch'an identity as "a special transmission outside the teaching" during the Sung dynasty and is intimately linked to it in its conception. The kung-an or kōan collections that were produced during the Sung, such as the *Wu-men kuan* (*Gateless Barrier*)<sup>4</sup> and the *Pi-yen lu* (*Blue Cliff Record*),<sup>5</sup> represent the culmination of this Sung Ch'an search for identity as "a special transmission outside the teaching." They were compiled as testimony to the validity of this interpretation of Ch'an. The concern here, however, is not with these kung-an collections as such, but with the development of a Ch'an identity that the kung-an tradition served to affirm.<sup>6</sup> What is of interest is not the dynamics of kung-an as such, but the developments that made kung-an study viable as quintessential techniques for communicating the special status of Ch'an enlightenment as "a special transmission outside the teaching."

### T'ang Ch'an and the Myth of Bodhidharma

The figure of Bodhidharma casts a large shadow over Ch'an and Zen studies as the founding patriarch and instigator of Ch'an teaching in China. The fact that little is known about Bodhidharma is hardly unusual in the history of religions, where historical obscurity often serves as a prerequisite for posthumous claims regarding sectarian identity. Indeed, one learns much about the nature and character of Ch'an through Bodhidharma, an obscure meditation master from India, around whose image the most successful challenge to Chinese Buddhist scholasticism was mounted.<sup>7</sup>

The history of Buddhism in China is generally presented as an evolutionary scheme involving several stages of development. It begins with the first trickle of Indian Buddhist texts and foreign monks into China in the early centuries of the common era.<sup>8</sup> Buddhism attracted few Chinese converts in its early years in China and was confined largely to emigree communities. The fall of the Han at the beginning of the third century and the sacking of the northern capitals of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang a century later heralded an unprecedented crisis for Chinese civilization, bringing both a greater presence of Buddhism in China and a greater interest in the religion among native Chinese. As knowledge and interest regarding Buddhism grew, so did the translation and interpretation of Buddhist scriptures. This led to the presence of a number of essentially Indian-based Buddhist schools on Chinese soil.<sup>9</sup>

The next phase in the development of Buddhism in China is characterized by the formation of a native Chinese Buddhist tradition. While heavily indebted to the Indian scriptural tradition, Chinese monks began to reassess the conflicting claims and relative merits of the plethora of texts that had flooded

into China as “the word of the Buddha.” They did so by temporalizing the Buddha’s teaching, assigning texts and teachings to different periods of the Buddha’s preaching career, and assuming an evolutionary scale of development culminating in the final, perfect representation of the Buddha’s message.<sup>10</sup> This method of hermeneutical or doctrinal taxonomy,<sup>11</sup> referred to as *p’an-chiao* (“dividing/classifying the teaching”) in Chinese, had the combined benefits of being inclusionary on the one hand, awarding relative merit to all teachings promoted under the name of the Buddha, and comprehensive on the other, resolving apparent contradictions through a doctrinally conclusive scheme. Debates erupted over which scriptures represented the full, final version of Buddhist teaching, but the principle of interpreting Buddhism by assigning scriptures to a relative scale determined by doctrinal criteria became the norm.

Implicit in *p’an-chiao* interpretation was the assumption that the textual tradition was the sole legitimate vehicle for transmitting Buddhist teaching. This assumption was eventually challenged by a new tradition of Buddhist interpretation in China that came to be associated with Ch’an. Ch’an undermined the textual assumptions of established Buddhist schools and provided an alternate interpretation of how Buddhist teaching was legitimately transmitted. As a result, Ch’an was more than a new “school” formulated on the old model of textual interpretation: it was a “revolution” that undermined the entire scholastic tradition and rewrote the history of Buddhism in China according to new criteria.<sup>12</sup>

According to currently accepted views of Ch’an history, the successful assault of Ch’an on Buddhist scholasticism coincided with a period of vibrant dynamism, during which the activities of a core group of Ch’an masters, mostly descendants of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788), formed the basic components of Ch’an identity. Following this so-called “golden age,” Ch’an dynamism was reduced to static formalism and lapsed into a state of gradual decline. Until recently, this view of the history of Buddhism in China has been pervasive to the point that it was universally accepted. According to this view, Sung Buddhism represents the “sunset period,” the twilight glow of a once strong, vital tradition, reduced to a shadow of its former glory. From this perspective, the golden age of Buddhism in China, including Ch’an Buddhism, was unequivocally the T’ang dynasty (618–907). Sung Buddhism, especially Ch’an, represents the irrevocable process of decline.<sup>13</sup>

History rewritten from the Ch’an perspective posits Bodhidharma as champion of a “mind-to-mind transmission,” focusing on the enlightenment experience occurring in the context of the master–disciple relationship, as an alternative to the exegetical teachings of the scholastic tradition. According to the Ch’an perspective, this true, nontextual transmission of Buddhist teaching originated in China with the arrival of Bodhidharma and was based on a lin-

eage traced back to the Buddha himself. In one grand stroke, the long and well-established traditions and conventions of Buddhist scholasticism in China were turned on their head. Throughout the T'ang period, while Buddhist scholastics constructed ever more refined doctrinal systems, the true teaching of the Buddha was secretly being transmitted among the beleaguered and isolated descendants of Bodhidharma, battling the dark forces of establishment Buddhism, holding steadfastly to the truth.

So pervasive is this reconstruction of Buddhist history in China that virtually everyone who studies Ch'an or Zen Buddhism today has fallen under its spell. With all of the appeal of a good conspiracy theory, the Ch'an version of events replaces the syncretistic background of Ch'an history with a simple and straightforward message summarized through four expressions:

1. A special transmission outside the teaching (C. *chiao-wai-pieh-ch'üan*, J. *kyōge betsuden*)
2. Do not establish words and letters (C. *pu-li wen-tzu*, J. *furyū monji*)
3. Directly point to the human mind (C. *ch'ih-chih jen-hsin*, J. *jikishi ninshin*)
4. See one's nature and become a Buddha (C. *chien-hsing ch'eng-fo*, J. *kenshō jōbutsu*)

These slogans are known to those with even limited acquaintance with Ch'an and serve as a common starting point for the modern study of Zen.<sup>14</sup> The traditional position of Ch'an and Zen orthodoxy has been that the slogans originated with Bodhidharma and that they represent the implicit message of Ch'an teaching from its outset. Ch'an historians, following contemporary Zen school orthodoxy, regard the slogans as products of the T'ang period, reflecting the rise to prominence of the Ch'an movement in the eighth and ninth centuries during its so-called "golden age."<sup>15</sup> As a result, the slogans are typically regarded as normative statements for a Ch'an identity fully developed by the end of the T'ang. Ch'an kung-an collections, compiled in the Sung, expressed the principles contained in these slogans through dramatic encounters and riddle-like exchanges. What are the origins of these slogans, and how did they come to represent the Ch'an tradition of Bodhidharma?

Individually, the slogans are found in works dating before the Sung, but they do not appear together as a four-part series of expressions until well into the Sung, when they are attributed to Bodhidharma in a collection of the recorded sayings of Ch'an master Huai (992-1064) contained in the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan*, compiled by Mu-an in 1108.<sup>16</sup> In reality, three of the slogans—"do not establish words and letters," "directly point to the human mind," and "see one's nature and become a Buddha"—were well established as normative Ch'an teaching by the beginning of the Sung. The status of the fourth slogan,

“a special transmission outside the teaching,” as an interpretation of the true meaning of “do not establish words and letters” was the subject of great controversy throughout the Sung. The reason for this controversy is not hard to fathom. Of the four slogans that came to represent the Ch’an identity, this slogan sharply contradicted the textual basis upon which the Buddhist scholastic tradition in China was based. It met great resistance from Buddhist and Ch’an circles.

This chapter will explore how these slogans became accepted as integral features of Ch’an identity. It will focus on the first slogan, “a special transmission outside the teaching,” and the controversy that erupted over its acceptance. In examining developments relating to this slogan, I will first review documents in which its acceptance in Ch’an circles is verified, and then look at controversial opinions surrounding its assertion. My contention is that without the acceptance of this first slogan, the Ch’an kung-an tradition would not have taken the form that it did, and might not have developed at all. More precisely, the kung-an tradition serves as vivid illustration of the principles expressed in the slogan “a special transmission outside the teaching.”

The presentation will deviate from strict chronological order. First is a brief review of how the other three slogans were accepted. Then the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* (*Record of the Extensive Transmission [of the Lamp] compiled during the T’ien-sheng era*), compiled by Li Tsun-hsü and issued in 1036, is discussed as the primary document asserting Ch’an identity as “a special transmission outside the teaching” in the early Sung. Following this, an alternate view of the relationship between Ch’an and the teaching (*chiao*) as harmonious, or unified, is presented as a contrast to the view of Ch’an as “a special transmission outside the teaching.” This alternate view was suggested by members of the Fa-yen lineage, dominant in the Wu-yueh kingdom during the Five Dynasties. It is presented here through a review of the prominent representatives of Wu-yueh Buddhism, Yung-ming Yen-shou (904–975) and Tsan-ning (919–1001). Finally, two prefaces are compared with regard to the important Sung transmission text that became known as the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* (*The Transmission of the Lamp compiled in the Ching-te era*), issued in 1004—one by the original compiler, Tao-yuan, and the other by the Sung official Yang I, who helped reedit the text in the form by which it has become known to us. The terminology employed in each preface is reviewed in light of the debate over Ch’an identity as “a special transmission outside the teaching.” Both of the transmission records discussed here, the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* and the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, provided numerous episodes that later found their way into kung-an collections.<sup>17</sup> Thus they served as primary sources for many kung-an cases as well as support for the growing identity of the Ch’an tradition as “a special transmission outside the teaching.”

## Ch'an Slogans and the Formation of Ch'an Identity

The notion that Ch'an represented a teaching within the Buddhist tradition advocating "do not establish words and letters," "directly point to the human mind," and "see one's nature and become a Buddha" was widely acknowledged by the ninth century. These three slogans are all documented in Ch'an works dating from the T'ang period. The slogan "do not establish words and letters" is recorded in the work of Tsung-mi and became a set phrase (along with "mind-to-mind transmission" [*i-hsin ch'uan-hsin*]) during the later half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth.<sup>18</sup> According to Yanagida Seizan, the first recorded instance where the slogan "directly point to the human mind" appears as a set phrase is in Huang-po's *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao*, compiled by P'ei Hsiu in 849.<sup>19</sup> "Seeing one's nature" was an old idea in China promoted by Tao-sheng (355–434), a disciple of Kumarajiva. Drawing from Mahayana doctrine, Tao-sheng advocated the notion of an inherent Buddha-nature in everyone, including *icchantika*. The full phrase *ch'ien-hsing ch'eng-fo* (see one's nature and become a Buddha) first appeared in a commentary to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching chi-chieh*, in a statement attributed to Seng-liang: "To see one's nature and become a Buddha means that our own nature is Buddha."<sup>20</sup> In the *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao*, the three slogans are even documented together, two—"directly point to the human mind" and "see one's nature and become a Buddha"—in the exact language with which they would later be appropriated, and the third—"do not rely on spoken words" (*pu-tsai yen-shuo*)—as a conceptually implicit form of the slogan "do not establish words and letters" (*pu-li wen-tzu*).<sup>21</sup> By the end of the T'ang period, Ch'an had an undisputed identity represented by these three slogans. This was the universally accepted image of Ch'an in the early Sung.<sup>22</sup>

The first use of the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*) that can be documented with historical certainty is in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (*Collection of the Patriarch's Hall*), the oldest extant Ch'an transmission history to include a multibranched lineage, compiled in 952 by descendants of Ch'an master Hsüeh-feng I-tsun (822–908) at the Chao-ch'ing Temple in Ch'uan-chou.<sup>23</sup> Even here, the lone, insignificant appearance of the phrase *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan* in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is overshadowed by the repeated use of the other three slogans.<sup>24</sup>

The phrase is also included in a "tomb-inscription" of Lin-chi I-hsüan (?–866), the *Lin-chi hui-chao ch'an-shih t'a-chi* (*The Tomb Inscription of Lin-chi Ch'an Master "Wisdom-Illumination"*), attributed to Lin-chi's disciple, a certain Yen-chao of Pao-shou in Chen province. The tomb inscription was appended to the end of *Lin-chi lu*, the record of Lin-chi's life and teachings as a Ch'an activist.<sup>25</sup> According to this inscription, Lin-chi's use of the phrase was prompted by frustration after he mastered the Vinaya and widely studied the sūtras and śāstras: "These are prescriptions for the salvation of the world, not

the principle of a special transmission outside the teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*).<sup>26</sup> The historical authenticity of this inscription as the work of Lin-chi's disciple is highly dubious,<sup>27</sup> but the connection of the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" with the *Lin-chi lu* is highly suggestive of a Ch'an identity that developed in the Lin-chi lineage during the Sung, as we shall see.

While the *Lin-chi lu* professes to be the record of Lin-chi's words and deeds as recorded by his disciples, the current form of the text dates from an edition issued in 1120, accompanied by a new preface by a reputedly high-ranking (but otherwise unknown) Sung bureaucrat, Ma Fang.<sup>28</sup> This same edition is also the oldest extant source for Lin-chi's purported "tomb inscription" claiming Lin-chi's explicit use of the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching."<sup>29</sup> This suggests that sometime around the beginning of the twelfth century or before, Lin-chi became associated with the Sung image of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching." This is also around the same time when the slogan "a special transmission outside the teaching" was added to the list of Ch'an slogans attributed to the Ch'an patriarch Bodhidharma in the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan*. The association of this slogan with Lin-chi and Bodhidharma was the culmination of a process through which the identity of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" was transformed by members of the Lin-chi lineage, casting a strong shadow over both the T'ang Ch'an tradition and the image of Ch'an and Zen down to the present day. Sung kung-an collections compiled by monks belonging to the Lin-chi lineage memorialized the contributions made by Lin-chi, his teachers, associates, disciples, and heirs, by making them prominent subjects of kung-an episodes.

According to the oldest extant record of Lin-chi's teachings and activities, Lin-chi was a viable candidate for association with the new slogan.<sup>30</sup> In one of Lin-chi's sermons he is recorded as saying: "[I]n bygone days I devoted myself to the Vinaya and also delved into the sūtras and śāstras. Later, when I realized that they were medicines for salvation and displays of doctrines in written words, I once and for all threw them away and, searching for the Way, I practiced meditation."<sup>31</sup> The source of this record is the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* of 1036. It is the primary source documenting a new Ch'an identity as "a special transmission outside to the teaching" in the early Sung.

### The T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu and Ch'an Identity as "A Special Transmission outside the Teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*)

The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* is one of a number of important Ch'an transmission records (*teng-lu*) compiled in the Sung.<sup>32</sup> As their name implies, the purpose of these texts is to record the transmission lineages of important Ch'an masters, using a biographical format. In this way, lines of descent can be traced



and links established between Ch'an masters. T'ang Ch'an transmission records had already succeeded in tracing the transmission lineage back to Śākya-muni through a line of Indian patriarchs (conventionally established at 28).<sup>33</sup> A major innovation of the Sung records was to establish lineal transmission with multiple branches.<sup>34</sup> This became the basis for the so-called "five houses" (*wu-chia*) of T'ang Ch'an. The much-heralded "golden age" of Ch'an (and Zen) history that the "five houses" represent is largely the product of this Sung-inspired revisionism and organization of the T'ang tradition.

Of the Sung Ch'an transmission records, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, compiled by Tao-yüan in 1004, is regarded as the most important. It was the first to be accepted in official Sung circles and set standards that all subsequent Ch'an transmission records would follow. It helped establish a number of well-known Ch'an conventions: "great awakening" (*ta-wu*); the enlightenment experience as the culmination of Ch'an practice; confirmation of one's realization by a recognized master as the legitimate criteria for succession; and the transmission verse as a poetic account of one's experience. Many incidents involving Ch'an masters later memorialized in kung-an collections were recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. With its emphasis on Ch'an style dialogues and encounters between practitioners, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* became a primary source for Sung kung-an collections.<sup>35</sup> Some of the earliest versions of Ch'an *yü-lu* (*Recorded Sayings*) texts are also found within the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.<sup>36</sup>

The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* and other Sung Ch'an transmission records are usually accorded little importance alongside the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. Their contribution has frequently been ignored or minimized.<sup>37</sup> They are sometimes regarded in a dismissive tone as peripheral and imitative.<sup>38</sup> While it is true that the tendency of the transmission records to be comprehensive does make them repetitive, borrowing liberally from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and earlier transmission records, this should not blind us from seeing the innovative features of each work. The tendency to regard the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* as normative and later transmission records as imitations stems in part from the glorification of T'ang Ch'an and its masters as being representative of a Ch'an "golden age" while Sung Ch'an stands for a period of decline. On the basis of this interpretation of Ch'an history, it makes sense to see the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* as the more important record, since it documents the activities of Ch'an masters during the "golden age" before the decline of the Sung had a chance to take hold. The further one moves into the Sung, the more serious the decline in Ch'an is presumed to be, leaving a dark cloud over subsequent transmission records.

In the present context, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* assumes an importance that surpasses the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. As an "extensive record" of Ch'an transmission (*kuang-teng*), the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was clearly intended to supplement and revise the claims of the previous transmission re-

cord, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The need for a new transmission record a mere 25 years after the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled suggests that the earlier record was found lacking in some circles. In short, Ch'an masters associated with the Lin-chi lineage were transforming Ch'an in the early Sung, particularly in the early decades of the eleventh century. The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was a tribute to the contributions of and to the novel styles being promoted by these new Ch'an masters, many of whom were still alive or only recently deceased when the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was compiled. In order to highlight the importance of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* and its importance in the rising self-definition of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching," "I will discuss this text before going back to explain the view of "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching" it attempted to displace, and the role played by the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* in the debate.

One of the most important contributions that this "new breed" of Ch'an masters made was to establish Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching." The phrase *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan* does not appear in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, except in an altered form in the preface by Yang I (discussed below).<sup>39</sup> It appears several times in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* and is one of the prominent features of this work. Another important contribution was that it recorded important *yü-lu* materials, many for the first time, of masters associated with the Lin-chi lineage.

According to the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the interpretation of Ch'an as a "special transmission outside the teaching" was not the innovation of Bodhidharma or Lin-chi, or any of a number of likely candidates associated with the T'ang Ch'an tradition. The first mention of "a special transmission outside the teaching" in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* is in the biography of Ch'an master Kuei-sheng, recipient of a Purple Robe, from the Kuang-chiao Temple in Ju-chou.<sup>40</sup> The dates of Kuei-sheng's life are unknown, but the dates of contemporaries whose biographies are before and after his indicate that he was active in the early Sung period, in the last decades of the tenth century and the first decades of the eleventh.<sup>41</sup> Kuei-sheng uses the phrase in connection with a sermon in which he attempts to explain the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the West: "When Bodhidharma came from the west and transmitted the Dharma in the lands of the East [i.e., China], he directly pointed to the human mind, to see one's nature and become a Buddha. . . . What is the meaning of his coming from the West? A special transmission outside the teaching."<sup>42</sup> In this way, Kuei-sheng's reference to "a special transmission outside the teaching" was directly connected to established slogans of the collective Ch'an identity, the image of Bodhidharma, and the implicit meaning of his message.

This same link between Bodhidharma's message and the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" is also established in the biography of Ch'an master Shih-shuang Ch'u-yüan (987-1040) of Mount

Nan-yüan in Yüan-chou, active in the early decades of the eleventh century, he notes: "Therefore the Way [consists in] one saying: 'Bodhidharma came from the West, a special transmission outside the teaching.' What is this special transmission of the Way? Directly pointing to the human mind, seeing one's nature and becoming a Buddha."<sup>43</sup> This linkage pointed to the new, comprehensive direction Ch'an identity was taking in the early Sung. As Ch'u-yüan was the teacher of both Yang-ch'i Fang-hui (992-1049) and Huang-lung Hui nan (1002-1069), heads of the two branches that have dominated the Lin-chi lineage since the Sung, the influence of his interpretation was considerable. The question regarding the meaning of the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" even acquired kōan-like status in Sung Ch'an circles.

One of the preoccupations of the search for Ch'an identity in the early Sung was coming to terms with the meaning of Bodhidharma's arrival from the West.<sup>44</sup> In the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the question is asked by students with considerable frequency (over 70 times), as a test of a Ch'an master's mettle. It evoked a wide variety of responses, ranging from seemingly random observations about the weather and seasons, to nonsensical references to objects close at hand, as well as the infamous shouts and beatings for which Lin-chi-style Ch'an became famous. As the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" came to represent one of the central features of Bodhidharma's teaching (along with "directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become Buddha"), the question: "What is [the meaning of] the one saying: 'a special transmission outside the teaching'?" came to be asked in the same manner as: "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?" as a test of a Ch'an master's understanding.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of the association between Bodhidharma and the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" by many Ch'an masters in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, there is no evidence for this connection in the record's biography of Bodhidharma. The biography does have Bodhidharma claim "seeing one's nature is Buddha,"<sup>46</sup> and "many people clarify the Way, but few practice it; many people explain *li* [principle], but few understand it,"<sup>47</sup> so that he is representative of principles summarized in later Ch'an slogans. The Bodhidharma of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* is more aptly characterized as the conveyor of the "seal of the Dharma" (*fa-yin*),<sup>48</sup> or transmitter of the "seal of Buddha-mind" (*fo-hsin yin*).<sup>49</sup> In the biographies of Bodhidharma's descendants, Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, and Tao-hsin, the transmission is characterized in terms of "the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye" (*cheng fa-yen tsang*) (familiar to many in its Japanese pronunciation, *shōbōgenzō*), where it is described as the essential teaching passed to Mahākāśyapa from Śākyamuni, down through the line of Indian patriarchs to Bodhidharma.<sup>50</sup> This point is confirmed in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* biographies of Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa, which make a point of stipulating that the "content" of the transmission between them was "the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye."<sup>51</sup> This

constitutes the content of transmission from patriarch to patriarch through all the subsequent biographies of the Indian patriarchs in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* as well.<sup>52</sup>

What the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* suggests, then, is that the depiction of Bodhidharma's message in terms of "a special transmission outside the teaching" was the product of early Sung interpretation, first affirmed in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* text. The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* also alludes to the fact that this new interpretation was not universally accepted in Ch'an circles. Other Ch'an masters with biographies recorded in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, contemporaries of Kuei-sheng and Ch'u-yüan (who promoted Bodhidharma's Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching"), retain a more traditional interpretation of Bodhidharma. Ch'an master Hsing-ming (932–1001) of the K'ai-hua Temple of Dragon Mountain in Hang-chou continued to maintain "the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the West claiming 'directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become a Buddha, and do not exert one iota of mental energy,'"<sup>53</sup> invoking standard Ch'an slogans without recourse to the new interpretation of Bodhidharma's message as "a special transmission outside the teaching." In doing so, Hsing-ming was confirming an accepted view of Ch'an in the early Sung, based on "official" interpretations of Ch'an in the T'ang, of "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching."

### Two Interpretations of Ch'an: "A Special Transmission outside the Teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*) versus "Harmony between Ch'an and the Teaching" (*chiao-ch'an i-chih*)

Until the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the prevailing view of Ch'an that was accepted in official circles was one of harmony between Ch'an and the Buddhist scriptural tradition. The phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" had not gained standard currency. The situation began to change in the latter half of the tenth century, when some Ch'an monks began spouting their claim to be "a special transmission outside the teaching," independent of the scholastic tradition of Buddhism that preceded them. The new claim precipitated a conflict within the Ch'an movement over its proper identity. Advocates of Ch'an as a special transmission within the teaching—that is, Ch'an as the culmination of the Buddhist scriptural tradition—began to defend themselves against what they deemed to be pernicious, self-defeating claims. The story of this conflict is embedded in the rise of the Fa-yen lineage in the Wu-yüeh region and the evolution of Buddhism in the early Sung.

In the tenth-century period of the so-called Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, China was without effective central control and the country was politically and geographically divided into several autonomous regions.<sup>54</sup> The fate

of Buddhism fell into the hands of warlords (*chieh-tu shih*) who controlled these regions. Given the recent experience of dynastic collapse and the perception of Buddhist culpability for T'ang failings, most warlords continued policies established in the late T'ang designed to restrict Buddhist influence over Chinese society. As a result, support for Buddhism during this period was geographically restricted to a few regions. Ch'an lineages emerged as the principal beneficiaries of this regionally based support. The established schools of the T'ang, Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai, had been highly dependent on imperial support, and they were left vulnerable when it was withdrawn. Campaigns against Buddhism during the T'ang were generally directed at obvious targets: the large, wealthy Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai monasteries. Equally debilitating for Buddhism was the collapse of T'ang society, which deprived the aristocratic classes of wealth and position and Buddhism of its source of extra-governmental support. Ch'an lineages (such as the "Northern school" of Shen-hsiu and the "Southern school" of Shen-hui) located near the capital and dependent on imperial support suffered a similar fate.

As a result of the changing circumstances affecting Buddhism in the tenth century, Ch'an emerged as the dominant movement within Chinese Buddhism. At the same time, support for Buddhism varied from region to region, and this environment naturally produced different conceptions regarding the normative identity of the Ch'an school. These regionally based variations of Ch'an teaching became best remembered in the debate over whether Ch'an represented "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*) or "the harmony between Ch'an and the teaching" (*chiao-ch'an i-chih*),<sup>55</sup> that is, the controversy between the notion of Ch'an as an independent tradition and the view that sought to interpret Ch'an in terms of the Buddhist scriptural tradition. The debate is already implicit in the thought of Tsung-mi, the ninth-century Buddhist syncretist who interpreted Ch'an positions in terms of the doctrines of Buddhist scholasticism.<sup>56</sup> In order to understand the emergence of the Ch'an slogan "a special transmission outside the teaching," one needs to review the partisan reactions this debate generated in the early Sung.

The Buddhist revival in tenth-century China was dominated by supporters of the Fa-yen lineage.<sup>57</sup> Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958) hailed from Yü-hang (Che-chiang province) and was ordained at the K'ai-yüan Temple in Yüeh-chou. Travel took him to Fu-chou and as far as Lin-chuan (Ssu-ch'uan province), but he eventually settled at the Pao-en Ch'an Temple in Chin-liang (Chiang-hsi province). His teachings attracted numerous students, many of whom achieved considerable fame in their own right.<sup>58</sup> The influence of Wen-i's disciples was especially strong in two kingdoms in the south, Nan-T'ang (Chiang-hsi) and Wu-yüeh (Che-chiang), where his disciples tended to congregate.<sup>59</sup> The rulers of these kingdoms were the strongest supporters of Buddhism during this period. The normative definition of Ch'an in Fa-yen circles, later summarized as

“harmony between Ch’an and the teaching,” directly countered the notion of “a special transmission outside the teaching,” however articulated. A review of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh makes this point clear.

Broadly conceived, the promotion of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh envisioned solutions to the social and political turmoil plaguing China through the revival of past Buddhist traditions. Aside from spiritual concerns, the preservation of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh was linked to providing social and political stability. This was rooted in a T’ang vision of Buddhism as an indispensable force in the creation of a civilized society. As a result, the Wu-yüeh revival of Buddhism was broad-based. It depended on the reestablishment of Buddhist institutions as central features of Wu-yüeh society and culture, and to this end Wu-yüeh rulers made a concentrated effort to rebuild temples and pilgrimage sites and to restore the numerous Buddhist monuments and institutions that had suffered from neglect and the ravages of war. Historically important centers in the region, such as Mount T’ien-t’ai, were rebuilt. New Buddhist centers, like the Yung-ming Temple in Lin-an (Hang-chou), were established. Ambassadors were sent to Japan and Korea to collect copies of important scriptures no longer available in China. After several decades of constant dedication to these activities, the monks and monasteries of Wu-yüeh acquired considerable reputations. Monks throughout China, fleeing hardship and persecution, flocked to the protection and prosperity that Wu-yüeh monasteries offered. Rulers of non-Chinese kingdoms sought to enhance their reputations by sending monks from their countries to study under famous Wu-yüeh masters.<sup>60</sup>

The Buddhist revival in Wu-yüeh was largely carried out under the Ch’an banner, and the nature of the revival determined the traditional qualities of Wu-yüeh Ch’an. In addition to embracing Ch’an innovations, Wu-yüeh Ch’an identified with old T’ang traditions, and this identification with the larger Buddhist tradition became a standard feature in the collective memory of Wu-yüeh Ch’an. The distinguishing character of the Fa-yen lineage within Ch’an is typically recalled through the syncretic proclivities of its patriarchs, normally reduced to the harmony between Ch’an and Hua-yen in Wen-i’s teachings, the harmony between Ch’an and T’ien-t’ai in Te-shao’s teachings, and the harmony between Ch’an and Pure Land in Yen-shou’s teachings.<sup>61</sup>

The reconciliation of Wu-yüeh Ch’an with the larger tradition of Chinese Buddhism was coupled with undisputed normative aspects of T’ang Ch’an self-identity. This is readily apparent in the Wu-yüeh Buddhist definition of itself in distinctly Ch’an terms. Even the writings of Tsan-ning (919–1001), a Wu-yüeh Vinaya master who became the leading Buddhist scholar-bureaucrat at the Sung court, reveal a definition of Buddhism in terms of a Ch’an identity that was compatible with conventional Buddhist teaching. In “The Transmission of Meditation and Contemplation Techniques to China” (*ch’uan ch’an-kuan fa*) section of the *Ta-sung seng shih-lüeh*, where Tsan-ning treats Ch’an from the perspective of the broader tradition of meditation practice in Chinese

Buddhism,<sup>62</sup> Bodhidharma is praised for having first proclaimed in China: "directly point to the human mind; see one's nature and become a Buddha; do not establish words and letters."<sup>63</sup> The "official" view of Wu-yüeh Ch'an presented to the Sung court asserted that these three slogans attributed to Bodhidharma were definitive of normative Ch'an teaching, along with a characterization of Ch'an as the quintessential teaching of Buddhism ("the *ch'an* of the Supreme Vehicle").<sup>64</sup> The fact that the fourth slogan, "a special transmission outside the teaching," was missing from this normative definition is closely connected to the view of Ch'an as the quintessential teaching of Buddhism, which presupposes harmony between Ch'an and Buddhist teaching. Rather than "a special transmission outside the teaching," Tsan-ning considered Bodhidharma's teaching as a branch of the larger tradition of Buddhism stemming from Śākyamuni.

The Truth (*fa*) preached by the Buddhas of the three ages [past, present, and future] is always the same, and the learning imparted by the Sacred Ones of the ten directions is textually uniform. The teachings of Śākyamuni are the root [fundamental teaching]; the words of Bodhidharma are a branch [supplementary teaching]. How truly lamentable to turn one's back on the root to chase after the branches!<sup>65</sup>

Implicit in Tsan-ning's definition of Ch'an was a criticism of Ch'an practitioners who denigrated Śākyamuni's teachings in favor of Bodhidharma's. Using language that Confucian trained-bureaucrats could easily identify with, Tsan-ning levels harsh criticism at those who view Ch'an as some kind of "special transmission outside the teaching."

[The government minister] who does not follow the virtuous influence of his sovereign [*wang-hua*] is referred to as a rebellious minister. [The son] who does not carry on the legacy of his father is referred to as a disobedient son. Anyone daring to defy the teachings of the Buddha [*fo-shuo*] is referred to as a follower of demonic heterodoxies.<sup>66</sup>

Tsan-ning's aim was to provide an orthodox interpretation of Ch'an following the conventional understanding of Wu-yüeh masters. His message to those attempting to isolate Ch'an from Buddhist teaching is explicit: "based on an examination of the records and writings of those who have sought [meditation] techniques [*fa*] from the past down to the present, *ch'an* meditation in India is taught along with the vehicle of Buddhist teaching [*chiao-ch'eng*] [and not independently]."<sup>67</sup> Those who conceive of a Ch'an identity independent of Buddhist teaching do not understand that "the scriptures [*ching*] are the words of the Buddha, and meditation [*ch'an*] is the thought of the Buddha; there is no discrepancy whatsoever between what the Buddha conceives in his mind and what he utters with his mouth."<sup>68</sup>

The Wu-yüeh perspective on the harmony between Ch'an and the scriptures was not unprecedented but represented the "official" view in the T'ang. A century earlier Tsung-mi (780–841) promoted harmony or correspondence between Ch'an and Buddhist teachings, arguing that Ch'an teachings are in accord with the Buddhist canon, on the one hand, and with the doctrinal positions of Buddhist schools, on the other.<sup>69</sup> Tsung-mi's views provided the model for Wu-yüeh Ch'an, both for Tsan-ning<sup>70</sup> and for the teachings of Yung-ming Yen-shou (904–975), Wu-yüeh Ch'an's greatest representative.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve deeply into either the complexity of Yen-shou's thought or his indebtedness to Tsung-mi.<sup>71</sup> Yen shou's commitment to the principle of "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching" is evident throughout his writings, as is his opposition to a conception of Ch'an isolated from Buddhist teachings and practices. Yen-shou's view of Ch'an, framed within the parameters of the Buddhist revival in Wu-yüeh, was of a teaching supportive of Buddhist ritual and conventional practices.

Yen-shou's view of Ch'an as the "Mind School" was firmly based on the theoretical assumptions of T'ang Buddhist scholasticism. The implication that Yen-shou drew from such standard Buddhist premises as "the myriad phenomena are mind-only" and the "interpenetration of *li* [noumena] and *shih* [phenomena]" was a radical phenomenism: "It is unreasonable to assume that [any phenomena] is deprived of the essence of *li* [noumena]."<sup>72</sup> Taking the interpenetration of *li* and *shih* as a reasonable proposition, Yen-shou recommended pluralism as the guiding principle governing Buddhist teaching and practice. For Yen-shou, Ch'an suggested the principle of inclusion in which the entire Buddhist tradition culminated in a grand epiphany. Doctrinally, this meant that the entire scriptural canon became united in a great, all-encompassing harmony. From the perspective of practice, all actions, without exception, became Buddha deeds.<sup>73</sup>

Similar postulates became the pretext for licentious behavior in rival Ch'an lineages, where breaking the bounds of conventional morality was viewed as expressing one's true nature.<sup>74</sup> Yen-shou's reaction was the opposite. According to Yen-shou, "increasing cultivation with myriad practices [is required to] make the mind clear and lucid; . . . if the myriad dharmas are none other than mind, how can the mind be obstructed by cultivating them?"<sup>75</sup> The Ch'an experience, in Yen-shou's eyes, does not culminate in the mystic union of the sacred and profane where "everything that comes into contact with one's eyes is in the state of *bodhi*; whatever comes into contact with one's feet is the *tao*,"<sup>76</sup> expressions linked with Hung-chou Ch'an,<sup>77</sup> but in a concrete program of activities sanctioned by the Buddhist tradition: participation at Buddhist assemblies, ordination rites, prayers and rituals aimed at enlisting the blessings of the Buddhas, and so on.

Yen-shou thus clearly distinguishes Wu-yüeh Ch'an as distinct from Ch'an practitioners who "have become attached to emptiness, and [whose practice]



is not compatible with the teaching.”<sup>78</sup> For Yen-shou, Ch’an practice is firmly based in the scriptures and doctrinal formulations of the past, promoting conventional practices and rituals as requirements for actualizing enlightenment. Rather than “enslaving one’s thought and wearing out one’s body,” as critics of Yen-shou charged,<sup>79</sup> conventional Buddhist activities (the myriad good deeds) are viewed positively, as “provisions with which Bodhisattvas enter sainthood, . . . gradual steps with which Buddhas assist [others] on the way [to enlightenment].”<sup>80</sup>

In the end, much was at stake over the two competing interpretations of Ch’an. The two conceptions of Ch’an as “harmony between Ch’an and the teaching” and “a special transmission outside the teaching” reflect different religious epistemologies. In essence, the distinction here is between a form of rationalism,<sup>81</sup> a view that reasoned explanation is capable of communicating the truth coupled with the belief that the vehicle of this reasoned explanation is Buddhist scripture, and a type of mysticism, a view that the experience of enlightenment is beyond reification, verbal explanation, or rational categories and that Buddhist scripture is incapable of conveying that experience. The debate in early Sung Ch’an was whether Ch’an is acquiescent with the tradition of Buddhist rationalism or belongs to an independent mystical tradition.

The history of Ch’an and Zen is generally presented as denying Buddhist rationalism in favor of a mysticism that in principle transcends every context, including even the Buddhist one. The “orthodox” Ch’an position maintains that the phrase “do not establish words and letters” is consistent with “a special transmission outside the teaching,” treating the two slogans as a pair. In this interpretation, both phrases are said to point to the common principle that true enlightenment, as experienced by the Buddha and transmitted through the patriarchs, is independent of verbal explanations, including the record of the Buddha’s teachings (i.e., scriptures) and later doctrinal elaborations. This interpretation was not acknowledged in Wu-yüeh Ch’an, which distinguished the phrase “do not establish words and letters” from the principle of an independent transmission apart from the teaching and which treated the two as opposing ideas. Wu-yüeh Ch’an acknowledged the validity of Bodhidharma’s warning against attachment to scriptures and doctrines, but did not accept that this warning amounted to a categorical denial. As Ch’an became established in the Sung, monks and officials rose to challenge the Wu-yüeh interpretation and to insist on an independent tradition apart from the teaching.

### The *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* and the *Fo-tzu t’ung-tsan chi*: A Tale of Two Prefaces

The view of harmony between Ch’an and the teaching exhibited in the writings of Yen-shou and Tsan-ning is oddly inconsistent with the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng*

*lu*, the influential transmission record promoting the Fa-yen lineage compiled by the Wu-yüeh monk Tao-yüan.<sup>82</sup> The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* was innovative in ways that signaled a departure from Wu-yüeh Ch'an. It became the model for the new style of Buddhist biography that became prevalent in Sung Ch'an, emphasizing lineage as the basis for sectarian identity (in contrast to Tsan-ning's *Sung kao-seng chuan*, conceived in the old, nonsectarian style based on categorical treatment). Moreover, through the prominence it gave to transmission verses and "encounter dialogues," it represented a style of Ch'an that seemed at odds with conventional Buddhism and "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching."

Other evidence, however, supports the Wu-yüeh view of a harmonious relationship between Ch'an and the scriptures, similar to that of Yen-shou and Tsan-ning.<sup>83</sup> The evidence is based on a comparison of the two prefaces with the work that became known as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*: the "standard" preface by Yang I (974–1020) and the original, largely forgotten preface by the compiler Tao-yüan. Yang I's preface shows, among other things, that Tao-yüan's original compilation was subjected to an editing process by leading Sung officials, headed by Yang I himself.<sup>84</sup> Since Tao-yüan's original compilation is no longer extant, it is difficult to assess the extent to which editorial changes were made to the text during this process. The two prefaces indicate that, at the very least, the conception of the work was significantly altered under Yang I's supervision. Tao-yüan's original title for the work, *Fo-tzu t'ung-tsan chi* (*Collection of the Common Ch'an Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs*), suggests harmony between Ch'an and the Buddhist tradition. The disparity between Tao-yüan's conception for the work he called the *Fo-tzu t'ung-tsan chi*, and Yang I's conception of the revised work, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, is further reflected in the content of their respective prefaces.

The differences between Tao-yüan and Yang I's view of Ch'an is revealed in their prefaces in two ways. One concerns their view of the relation of Ch'an to Buddhist practices; the other relates to how the teaching of Bodhidharma is expressed in Ch'an slogans. Tao-yüan conceived of Ch'an practice in a way that was consistent with Wu-yüeh Ch'an, especially as promoted in the writings of Yen-shou.

The best way of release from birth and death [i.e., *samsāra*] is to realize *nirvāṇa*; to instruct those who are confused, myriad practices [*wan-hsing*] are employed according to the differences among practitioners.<sup>85</sup>

Yang I's preface cast the meaning of Ch'an practice in an entirely different light. In contrast to Tao-yüan's interpretation of Ch'an as a teaching where "myriad practices are employed according to the differences among practitioners" (*wan-hsing i chih ch'a-pieh*), Yang I's preface insisted that the teachings of Ch'an masters be viewed in terms of "a special practice outside the

teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-hsing*). According to Tao-yüan, Ch'an teaching employed *wan-hsing*, the "myriad practices," while to Yang I Ch'an represented *pieh-hsing*, a "special practice (outside the teaching)." Not only did Yang I's phrase promote Ch'an exclusivity and implicitly undermine Ch'an pluralism, it paralleled the expression "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*), which came into vogue around the same time through the vehicle of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*.

The different interpretations of Ch'an teaching held by Tao-yüan and Yang I were also reflected in the slogans that each attributed to Bodhidharma's teaching. According to Tao-yüan, "[Bodhidharma] did not make a display of verbal expressions [*pu-shih yü-yen*], and did not establish words and letters [*pu-li wen-tzu*]."<sup>86</sup> According to Yang I, [Bodhidharma taught]: do not establish words and letters [*pu-li wen-tzu*], directly point to the source of the mind [*ch'ih-chih shin-yüan*]; do not engage in gradual methods [*pu-chien chieh-ti*], attain Buddhahood immediately [*ching-teng fo-ti*].<sup>87</sup> In spite of their different interpretations, Tao-yüan and Yang I both were in agreement that Bodhidharma's teaching was represented in the phrase "do not establish words and letters" [*pu-li wen-tzu*]. Their divergent views on the relationship between Ch'an practice and Buddhist practices were based on rival interpretations of this phrase.

Within the Ch'an tradition, the issue of whether Bodhidharma's teaching represented compatibility or incompatibility with Buddhist scriptures and practices depended on the interpretation of Bodhidharma's *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* (*Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*).<sup>88</sup> In the section of the Treatise where "entrance by principle (or reason)" (*li-ju*) is discussed, two characterizations are given. On the one hand, entrance by principle is said to "awaken one to the truth [*wu-tsung*] in accordance with [scriptural] teaching [*chi-chiao*]. Later, after realizing true nature (*chen-hsing*), one is said to "reside fixedly, without wavering, never again to be swayed by written teachings [*wen-chiao*]."<sup>89</sup> The two statements provided ample support for either interpretation of Bodhidharma's message. "Awakening to the truth in accordance with [scriptural] teaching" easily supports the position of "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching"; and "residing fixedly, . . . never again to be swayed by written teachings" serves similarly to support the position of "a special transmission outside the teaching."

In spite of the Sung emphasis on interpreting Bodhidharma's message as "a special transmission outside the teaching," the interpretation of it in terms of "harmony between Ch'an and the teaching" is more justifiable historically. John McRae has already pointed out that the distinction proposed by Bodhidharma in the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* "is similar to the *Lankavatara Sūtra*'s concept of *tsung-t'ung*, or 'penetration of the truth,' i.e., the true inner understanding of the ultimate message of the scriptures, as opposed to *shuo-t'ung*, or 'penetration of the preaching,' a conceptualized understanding of the words

and formulae of the text and nothing more.”<sup>90</sup> This distinction between “penetration of the truth” and “penetration of the preaching” was the favored method of interpreting Bodhidharma’s phrase “do not establish words and letters” in T’ang Ch’an, and was adopted by Wu-yüeh masters. In this interpretation, “do not establish words and letters” was taken not as a denial of the recorded words of the Buddha or the doctrinal elaborations by learned monks, but as a warning to those who had become confused about the relationship between Buddhist teaching as a guide to the truth and mistook it for the truth itself.

Yang I’s presence in the reinterpretation of Ch’an is a sure indication of the important role Ch’an played in the Sung as well as the role played by Sung literati in determining the shape of Ch’an ideology. The biography of Yang I in the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the transmission record compiled by Li Tsun-hsü, a son-in-law of the emperor, that consolidated the position of Ch’an as a “special transmission outside the teaching” suggests that Yang I’s reinterpretation of Ch’an was closely linked to the Ch’an masters with whom he associated.<sup>91</sup> Yang I’s initial associations with Ch’an masters were with descendants of Fa-yen Wen-i, Master An and Master Liang.<sup>92</sup> Later he developed close relations with Chen-hui Yuan-lien (951–1036), a descendant of Lin-chi.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, Yang I’s adoption of a Lin-chi perspective on Ch’an intensified under the influence of Li Wei, a close cohort at the Sung court who was an avid follower of Lin-chi masters. In this way, Yang I’s own biography parallels the changes occurring in early Sung Ch’an, changes that are reflected in his preface to the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* and in the inclusion of his biography in the influential Ch’an transmission record, the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*. The Yuan edition of the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* acknowledges Yang I’s importance in establishing the new interpretation of Ch’an by appending the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* biography of Yang I to it.<sup>94</sup> Yang I, more than any other figure, was responsible for establishing Ch’an as “a special transmission outside the teaching” in official circles.

### Mahākāśyapa’s Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an Tradition

The surge of recognition for Ch’an as “a special transmission outside the teaching” stimulated a number of ancillary developments to help give credence to the Ch’an claim. The most important of these was the story recounting how the “special transmission” was first conceived in the interchange between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa. The credibility of the Ch’an tradition, as it took shape and began to assume a comprehensive form, necessitated that the “special transmission” originate with none other than Śākyamuni himself. It was the secret, esoteric enlightenment experience of Śākyamuni that Ch’an claimed as its unique possession, transmitted from mind to mind, not via writ-

ten texts, between master and disciple. Ironically, however, official acknowledgement of this tradition of secret, unwritten lore relied on written documents to substantiate Ch'an claims.

The most famous early Ch'an document to substantiate this tradition of secret transmission is the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*. This document describes how the transmission was secretly passed from the Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen to the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng, over the rival claims of the learned head monk Shen-hsiu. The following statement, attributed to Hui-neng, summarizes the new meaning that Ch'an transmission had acquired.

At midnight the Fifth Patriarch called me into the hall and expounded the *Diamond Sūtra* to me. Hearing it but once, I was immediately awakened, and that night I received the dharma. None of the others knew anything about it. Then he transmitted to me the dharma of Sudden Enlightenment and the robe, saying: "I make you the Sixth Patriarch. The robe is proof and is to be handed down from generation to generation. My dharma must be transmitted from mind to mind. You must make people awaken to themselves."<sup>95</sup>

Hui-neng, a supposedly illiterate peasant from the south without access to written documents, became a fitting symbol of Ch'an "mind to mind transmission" (*i-hsin ch'uan-hsin*) and a "special transmission outside the teaching," freed of the alleged limitations of Buddhist doctrinal teaching.

The same forces that produced the *Platform Sūtra* were also questioning the nature of transmission throughout the Ch'an tradition. It made no sense that this "mind-to-mind transmission" began with Hui-neng, or even Bodhidharma. In order for a credible link to be maintained, the genesis of a secret mind transmission had to originate with none other than the Buddha himself. This requirement made the alleged transmission from Śākyamuni to Mahākāśyapa the first and crucial link in the chain, the prototype of mind to mind transmission in the Ch'an tradition.

An important early Ch'an source addressing the issue of how the transmission took place between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa is the *Pao-lin chuan*, compiled in 801.<sup>96</sup> The *Pao-lin chuan* records Śākyamuni's words when transmitting the teaching to Mahākāśyapa as follows:

I entrust to you the pure eye of the dharma [*ch'ing-ching fa-yen*], the wonderful mind of *nirvāṇa* [*nieh-p'an miao-hsin*], the subtle true dharma [*wei-mao cheng-fā*] which in its authentic form is formless [*shih-hsiang wu-hsiang*]. You must protect and maintain it. . . .

The dharma is at root a dharma of no dharma,  
But that no dharma is yet the dharma.  
When I now transmit the dharma,  
What dharma could possibly be the dharma?<sup>97</sup>

According to Mahākāśyapa's biography in the same record, Mahākāśyapa was not present in the assembly when the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*, but the Buddha made it known to his leading disciples that upon his return, Mahākāśyapa would clarify the treasury of the true dharma eye (*cheng-fa-yen tsang*), that is, the true teaching of the Buddha. Later, Mahākāśyapa verified that the treasury of the true dharma eye, the true teaching of the Buddha, was none other than the collection of sūtras preached by the Buddha, recited at the assembly by Ananda.

In this way, the *Pao-lin chuan* reflected an ambiguous understanding of the true nature of the Buddha's teaching transmitted to Mahākāśyapa. On the one hand, it contended that this teaching was "formless" and subtle, alluding to the mind-to-mind transmission that became the hallmark of Ch'an identity. On the other hand, it identified the teaching of the Buddha with the canonical tradition compiled through Ananda at the council of Rājagṛha, as verbal rather than formless.

There is no hint of the story of Mahākāśyapa responding with a smile when Śākyamuni holds up a flower to the assembly in early Ch'an records. In the *Pao-lin chuan* the whole episode is implausible given Mahākāśyapa's absence from the assembly where his role in clarifying the Buddha's teaching after the Buddha passes into *nirvāṇa* is announced. Likewise the transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa is acknowledged in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* as a transmission of "the pure Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*," but there is no mention of the episode of the flower and Mahākāśyapa's smile.<sup>98</sup>

The first mention in Ch'an records of the transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa involving the presentation of the flower before the assembly and Mahākāśyapa's smile in response is in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*. This comes as no surprise in light of the previous discussion highlighting the role of this text in establishing Sung Ch'an identity in terms of "a special transmission outside the teaching." In the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, Śākyamuni presents the flower to the assembly as a test of the attendees' knowledge of the true nature of the dharma.

When the Tathāgata was on Vulture Peak preaching the dharma, various devas presented him with flowers. The World Honoured One took a flower and instructed the assembly. Mahākāśyapa faintly smiled. The World Honoured One announced to the assembly: "I possess the treasury of the true dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*. I entrust it to Mahākāśyapa to spread in the future, not allowing it to be cut off."<sup>99</sup>

Acknowledging the nonverbal nature of the "formless" dharma, Mahākāśyapa responds in kind with a smile to the Buddha's challenge to the assembly, at which point the Buddha announces: "I possess the treasury of the true Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*. I entrust it to Mahākāśyapa." The

content of the treasury of the true Dharma eye (*cheng fa-yen tsang*), the essence of Buddhist teaching that Śākyamuni was said to possess, was not yet explicitly connected to the expression *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*, but the basis for identifying the two was clearly drawn. In the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the dharma transmitted from the Buddha to Mahākāśyapa is contrasted with the Buddha's preaching career, characterized in terms of the three vehicles. The implication is that the Ch'an dharma, transmitted secretly between master (the Buddha) and disciple (Mahākāśyapa), is superior to the exoteric message preached in the *Lotus Sūtra*, the teaching of the three vehicles, and particularly the supreme dharma in the *Lotus*, the "one vehicle."<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was the first record to emphasize an interpretation of Ch'an as a tradition independent of Buddhist scriptural teaching associating the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" with the teachings of prominent Ch'an masters active in the early Sung. The inclusion of a story about how that independent tradition began forms a natural parallel to the kind of image that early Sung Ch'an masters were projecting about the unique and superior nature of the dharma they were transmitting. What is remarkable is that both of these developments, the story of silent transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa as unequivocally associated with a superior Ch'an teaching, and the identification of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching," were Sung rather than T'ang innovations.

The first version of the story involving the transmission of the dharma from Śākyamuni to Mahākāśyapa to make explicit what was only implicitly drawn in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* is the one recorded in the *Ta fan-t'ien wang wen fo chüeh-i ching* (*The Scripture in which Brahman Asks Buddha to Resolve his Doubts*).<sup>101</sup> It is ostensibly part of the Buddhist canon, but there is no evidence that this "scripture" existed prior to the Sung. It is widely regarded as apocryphal, all the more so for the scriptural support it conveniently provided for the story involving Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa.<sup>102</sup> According to the *Ta fan-t'ien wang wen fo chüeh-i ching* version, when Śākyamuni sat before the assembly holding a lotus blossom that had been given him by Brahman, speechless and without uttering a word, Mahākāśyapa broke into a smile. The Buddha proclaimed, "I possess the treasury of the true Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*, the subtle dharma-gate born of the formlessness of true form, not established on words and letters, a special transmission outside the teaching," and went on to entrust it to Mahākāśyapa.<sup>103</sup> This proclamation established the origins of the Ch'an tradition in terms that directly linked the content of the Buddha's teaching, "the treasury of the true Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*," and so on, silently bequeathed to Mahākāśyapa, to the Ch'an identity as "a special transmission outside the teaching." It did so, ironically, under the pretext of scriptural authorization.

Subsequently the story of the transmission of the dharma from Śākyamuni to Mahākāśyapa as told in the *Ta fan-t'ien wang-wen fo-chüeh-i ching* began to

appear in Ch'an transmission records. The *Lien-teng hui-yao*, compiled by Wu-ming in 1189, records this rendition of the story explicitly connecting the transmission with "a special transmission outside the teaching."<sup>104</sup> It also appears in a Ming dynasty collection of Ch'an biographies, the *Chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*, compiled by the official Li Mei and others (preface dated 1633). This work organizes the lineages of the "five houses" around the motif of its title "A Special Transmission Outside the Teaching," suggesting that the entire Ch'an tradition be incorporated under this phrase.<sup>105</sup>

The full popularity of Ch'an that combined scriptural authorization with the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" was not realized through either the Ch'an transmission record where it originated or the scriptural account that supported it, but through the uniquely Sung literary form, the collections of kung-an case studies. The *Wu-men kuan* (*Gateless Barrier*), compiled at the end of the Sung in 1228, includes the story of the interaction between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa as one of its case studies, following the version established in the apocryphal *Ta-fan t'ien-wang wen-fo chüeh-i ching*.<sup>106</sup> Through the inclusion of this story in the *Wu-men kuan*, the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" reached countless numbers of Ch'an and Zen students, continuing down to the present day.

In spite of the success the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" enjoyed, the history of Ch'an in the Sung reveals a mixed legacy. Even with the dominance of the Lin-chi line of Ch'an in the Sung, the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching" was not universally acknowledged. There was a reluctance among Ch'an masters to deny the Buddhist scriptural tradition and to give voice to the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching." In this respect, many masters continued to exhibit the influence of "scripture friendly" Ch'an, to see Ch'an in terms a basic harmony with the teachings of the scriptures, however much they fell under the sway of Ch'an rhetoric. Even in the Sung, when the Lin-chi branch rose to dominance, the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the scriptures" did not go unchallenged. Members of the Yün-men branch took the lead in this challenge. The record of Ch'an master Huai (992–1064), the *Huai ch'an-shih lu*, included in the aforementioned *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan*, a collection of Yün-men lineage records compiled in 1108, contests the interpretation of "a special transmission outside the scriptures" promoted in Lin-chi circles. After citing the four slogans in connection with Bodhidharma, Ch'an master Huai remarks, "Many people mistake the meaning of 'do not establish words and letters.' They speak frequently of abandoning the scriptures and regard silent sitting as Ch'an. They are truly the dumb sheep of our school."<sup>107</sup>

There were limits to what Ch'an rhetorical claims to be "a special transmission outside the teaching" could, in practice, allow. These may be generally



characterized as follows. The success of Ch'an in the Sung led to official recognition and support. The fledgling Ch'an movement of the T'ang came to dominate Chinese Buddhism in the Sung. The success of Ch'an institutions made them highly dependent on activities, rituals, ceremonies, and other forms of Buddhist practice rhetorically denied in the interpretation of Ch'an as "a special transmission outside the teaching." In short, the social reality of Ch'an was inconsistent with its rhetoric: the more successful Ch'an became institutionally, the more dependent it became on T'ang scholastic teachings. Sung Ch'an institutions inherited the rituals and conventions of T'ang Buddhist monasteries.<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusion

This investigation into the origins of the Ch'an tradition as "a special transmission outside the teaching" and of the creation of the myth of silent transmission beginning with Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa raises some basic questions about the study of Ch'an. Rather than the standard view of a Ch'an "golden age" in the T'ang, the current study suggests that major components of the Ch'an identity were Sung, instead of T'ang innovations. In important respects, the so-called T'ang "golden age" must be treated as a product of Sung revisionism. The major sources for understanding T'ang Ch'an were, with few exceptions, compiled in the Sung. The fundamental "myths" of Ch'an's founding masters were crystalized in Sung imagination.

The possibility that Sung Ch'an masters were responsible for shaping our view of the Ch'an tradition, including the T'ang golden age, raises more fundamental questions about the way Ch'an history has been interpreted. In the first place, it undermines the entire Ch'an "golden age" hypothesis: was there such an era except in the retrospective vision of Sung Ch'an masters, who postulated it as a way to affirm their own identity? Rather than situating a hypothetical golden age in a particular historical period that demarcates sharply between T'ang and Sung Ch'an, it seems better to hypothesize Ch'an history during this important period of development on a T'ang-Sung continuum which acknowledges that our understanding of T'ang Ch'an is filtered through Sung memories of it.

In short, the whole "golden age" discussion presumes that such a period did, in fact, exist. This presumption has to a large degree influenced modern scholarship on Ch'an, directly and indirectly. It has influenced the way Chinese Buddhism and Ch'an have been interpreted, and established the agenda for Ch'an studies for some time. One need only look to the terminology of "Growth and Domestication" (pre-T'ang), "Maturity and Acceptance" (T'ang, "The Apogee"), and "Decline" (Sung, "Memories of a Great Tradition") employed in the leading English language text on Chinese Buddhism,<sup>109</sup> or to the preponderance of works, studies, and translations on T'ang Ch'an

masters to confirm this impression. A prominent example is the attempt at “canon formation” in modern Zen, exhibited in collections such as the *Zen no goroku* (*Ch’an yū-lu*) series, which formally introduces works from the Chinese Ch’an tradition, focusing on works from the T’ang period and works and masters associated with the Lin-chi (Rinzai) branch.<sup>110</sup> This impression regarding the ideological assumptions of modern Zen scholarship has recently received critical attention. Regarding the scholarship of Yanagida Seizan, the leading luminary of modern critical scholarship on Zen and the guiding visionary behind the *Zen no goroku* series, Bernard Faure comments:

For all its openness, Yanagida’s scholarship remains under specific constraints: the importance of the doctrinal texts, the belief in a “pure” Zen, a tendency to focus on Zen (to the detriment of traditional and popular Buddhism), and on Rinzai Zen in particular. In many respects Yanagida remains close to the Kyoto school. . . . Yanagida’s scholarship is still informed by an orthodox view of Ch’an/Zen. It is perhaps significant that he reserves his most severe criticism for the rival Sōtō tradition, and shares with his colleagues an interest in “classic Ch’an,” to the detriment of other trends like Northern Ch’an, despite the fact that he was one of the first to reevaluate the teaching of this school.<sup>111</sup>

As long as one thinks in terms of a “golden age,” one is bound by Zen orthodoxy and the “rhetoric of Ch’an.” Like any successful religious tradition, Ch’an has gone through a process of development, but it is not important to isolate any one period as a “golden age” in this process. This may be of concern to a religious tradition searching for self-identity or attempting to reform or renew itself, but it is not an important debate for modern scholars to engage in (except as a reflection of debates within the tradition itself). More recent studies have broken from this framework, and current studies suggest that this trend will continue.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, a reconsideration of Sung Ch’an challenges the way that the history of Buddhism in China has been interpreted. Rather than an age lacking in creativity, where once dynamic teachings have degenerated into static formalism, the Sung dynasty needs to be approached as a period of intense, innovative reevaluation of the Buddhist experience in China in the face of strong new challenges.<sup>113</sup> The investigation here has shown that the identity of Ch’an summarized in its four slogans, a hallmark of “T’ang” Ch’an identity, emerged in complete and comprehensive form only through the interpretation of early Sung masters. Three of the slogans were acknowledged as the undisputed legacy of T’ang Ch’an. The acknowledgement of Ch’an as “a special transmission outside the scriptures” was a decidedly Sung innovation, however much it was inspired by earlier records. Likewise, the myth of a “silent transmission” between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa, the prototypical transmission myth in the Ch’an tradition, was conceived in Sung Ch’an imagination as part of an effort to substantiate a unique identity. As such, it constituted a creative alter-

native to conventional ways in which the transmission of truth in Buddhism was conceived via textual means.

## NOTES

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1. T 48.293c; Hirata Takashi, *Mumonkan, Zen no goroku*, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 37–41.

2. T 48.292c.

3. T 48.292c–293a. For the full text of Wu-men's commentary, see the first section of Ishii Shūdō's study in this volume (chap. 4).

4. T 48, no. 2005.

5. T 48, no. 2003.

6. On the development of the kung-an tradition in terms of the sinification of Buddhism, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "The 'Short Cut' Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation: The Evolution of a Practical Subitism in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Meditation in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp. 321–377.

7. On the current scholarly appraisal of Bodhidharma and his teachings, see John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 15–19 (on the legend and life of Bodhidharma), and pp. 101–117 (on Bodhidharma's teachings).

8. See, for example, Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964).

9. The most noteworthy of these schools were the Mādhyamika (San-lun, or "Three Treatises") and the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda (Wei-shih, or "Consciousness-Only").

10. The T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools were the most famous.

11. Borrowing the characterizations used by Robert E. Buswell, *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea: The Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra. A Buddhist Apocryphon* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).

12. A view accepted in Chinese Buddhist circles as early as the beginning of the Sung dynasty; see Albert Welter, "Zanning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 23 (1995). In truth, the evidence suggests a reality other than Ch'an rhetorical interpretation proclaims. Rather than a "revolution" against scholasticism, the success of Ch'an might better be viewed as an accommodation to the tastes of the rising literati class in the Sung. The famous *yü-lu* collections, dialogues of famous Ch'an masters, and the "transmission records" (*ch'uan-teng lu*), the biographies of Ch'an masters recorded according to lineage and including their sayings, conversations, and activities, were written to appeal to Sung literary tastes.

13. Evidence for this view can be seen in the way standard texts introduce Chinese Buddhism. In the fourfold evolutionary scheme ("Introduction," "Growth and Domestication," "Maturity and Acceptance," and "Decline") adopted by Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, the final section begins with ch. XIV, "Memories of a Great Tradi-

tion: Sung Dynasty.” Another common text, Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1982), pp. 190–191, says: “The Ch’an School, so vibrantly alive during the T’ang (618–907), began to fossilize during the Sung (960–1279). The spontaneous, witty interviews between master and disciple, the kung-an, became set texts for later generations. Ch’an began to look back to a golden age, its creativity drying up in the process.” A survey of similar texts in Japanese reveals the same general attitude. It is interesting to note that the most recent edition (4th ed., 1997) of the Robinson and Johnson text has adopted a corrective approach, giving equal, fair-handed treatment to “Ch’an during the Five Dynasties” and “Ch’an in the Early Sung” (pp. 203–207), as well as “The Sung Dynasty” (pp. 207–210).

14. The slogans first became known in the West through the writings of D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism (first series)* (London: Rider, 1927; rep. New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 176.

15. A position reflected in Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, Volume I: India and China* (New York: MacMillan, 1988), p. 85, stemming from the works of Japanese Rinzai scholars like Furuta Shōkin and Yanagida Seizan.

16. The *Tsu-t’ing shih-yüan* is a collection of records of masters associated with the Yün-men branch of Ch’an. The four slogans are attributed to Bodhidharma in two places by Ch’an master Huai in ch. 5, ZZ 64.377b and 379a.

17. Of the 48 cases in the *Wu-men kuan*, for example, 25 are found in the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* and 4 are found in the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*; see the chart by Ishii Shūdō in his review of Nishimura Eshin’s translation of the *Mumonkan* in *Hanazono daigaku bungakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 28 (1996): 125–135.

18. Kamata Shigeo, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 44 and note on p. 47.

19. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 475.

20. T 37.490c. Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Zen Dust: The History of the Kōan and Kōan Study in Rinzai (Lin-Chi) Zen* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), pp. 228–230.

21. Iriya Yoshitaka, *Denshin Hōyō, Enryū roku, Zen no goroku*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), p. 85. Even the usage here is suspect, since the section where the three slogans appear are not included in the earliest known redaction of the text contained in the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu*, ch. 9 (T 51.270b–273a). The compilation of the full text of Huang-po’s teachings did not appear until 1036, when it was recorded in the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*.

22. This is the image provided in the “official” presentation of Ch’an in the early Sung by Tsan-ning, referred to in more detail below.

23. The *Tsu-t’ang chi* (K. *Chodong chip*) is noteworthy for promoting lineages descending from Ma-tsu Tao-i, including those descending from Lin-chi I-hsüan. An edition of this work was published by Yanagida Seizan based on the Korean edition contained in the library of Hanazono University (Taipei: Kuangwen shuchu, 1972). The phrase *chiao-wai pieh-ch’uan* appears in ch. 6, in the biography of Shih-shuang Ch’ing-chu (p. 130b). Regarding the circumstances surrounding the compilation and its connection to the lineage descended from Hsüeh-feng I-tsun (822–908), see chapter 6, by Ishii, in this volume (chap. 4).

24. See Yanagida Seizan, *Sodoshū sakuin*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, 1984) v. 1, 67c; v. 2, 1087a; v. 3, 1276c.

25. T 47.506c. See Urs App, *Concordance to the Record of Linji (Rinzai)* (Kyoto: Hanazono University International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, 1993).

26. Following Ruth F. Sasaki, trans., *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture* (Kyoto: The Institute for Zen Studies, 1975), p. 62.

27. Yanagida Seizan, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsüan," trans. Ruth F. Sasaki, *The Eastern Buddhist*, v. 5, no. 2 (October 1972): 71.

28. T 47.496a–b. The preface identifies Ma Fang as Scholar of the Yen-k'ang Hall, Gold and Purple Kuang-lu Official, Peace Keeping Envoy of the Chen-ting-fu Region, General Supervisor of Cavalry and Infantry Forces, and Director of Ching-te Military Prefecture.

29. T 47.506c.

30. Evidence of a growing distaste for the scriptures and doctrines of the Buddhist scholastic tradition is evident in the examples of Te-shan Hsüan-chien (780/82–865) and Hsiang-yen Chih-hsien (?–898) as well as Lin-chi (Yanagida, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsüan," p. 73).

31. ZZ 78.471b; T 47.500b; Sasaki, *Recorded Sayings*, p. 24.

32. Aside from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (compiled 1004; T 51, no. 2076) and the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* (compiled 1029; ZZ 78, no. 1553), there were the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu* (compiled 1101; ZZ 78, no. 1556) by Wei-po, the *Lien-teng hui-yao* (compiled 1183; ZZ 79, no. 1557) by Wu-ming; the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu* (compiled 1201; ZZ 79, no. 1559) by Cheng-shou (1146–1208); and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (compiled 1252; ZZ 80, no. 1565) by P'u-chi.

33. Early Ch'an chronicles with developed lineages of Indian patriarchs are the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zenshi II, Zen no goroku*, vol. 3 [Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976]), and the *Pao-lin chuan*, in Tokiwa Daijō, *Hōrinden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kangyōkai, 1973).

34. T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *Pacific World*, no. 8 (Fall 1992): 18–31.

35. See Ishii's book review of Nishimura Eshin's recent translation of the *Mumon-kan*, mentioned in note 17, above.

36. The *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* is appended to ch. 9 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51.270b–273a), and ch. 28 contains the *Nan-yang Hui-ch'ung kuo-shih yü*, the *Lo-ching Ho-tse Shen-hui ta-shih yü*, the *Chiang-hsi ta-chi Tao-i ch'an-shih yü*, the *Li-chou pao-shan Wei-yen ho-shang yü*, the *Yüeh-chou ta-chu Hui-hai ho-shang yü*, the *Fen-chou ta-ta Wu-yeh kuo-shih yü*, the *Ch'ih-chou Nan-ch'uan P'u-yüan ho-shang yü*, the *Chao-chou Ch'u-shen ho-shang yü*, the *Chen-chou Lin-chi I-hsüan ho-shang yü*, the *Hsüan-sha Tsung-i Shih-pei ta-shih yü*, the *Chang-chou lo-han Kuei-ch'en ho-shang yü*, and the *Ta Fa-yen Wen-i ch'an-shih yü* (T 51.437c–449a).

37. Selections from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* have been available to English readers for some time through the introduction and translation of nineteen biographies by Chang Chung-yuan (selected *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism [from the Transmission of the Lamp]* [New York: Vintage Books, 1971; orig. published by Pantheon Books in 1969]). There is no comparable selection for the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* or any later Sung collection. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (second series) (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970; orig. published in 1953) refers to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* numerous times (see the index, p. 365, entry for the *Transmission of the Lamp*), while failing to mention the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* or other collections. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* figures prominently in Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967)—see entry in the Index,

p. 206—, but no mention is made of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*. The prominence of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* warrants a mention in Etienne Balazs and Yves Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung)* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 352–353; with the exception of the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (pp. 354–355), other Ch'an transmission records like the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* are not mentioned. In contrast to the emphasis on the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and relative neglect of the other Sung collections in the works noted above, Heinrich Dumoulin provides an even-handed, if brief, introduction to each of the five major Sung transmission records, in *Zen Buddhism: A History*, Volume 1, pp. 8–9.

38. Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China" (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgandländischen Gesellschaft*, no. 64 [1964], pp. 360–381), remarks that although the volume of the Sung transmission records is great, "most part (sic.) of these works were quoted and requoted from the first work done by Tao-yüan" (p. 366), and that the new material in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* "was very limited," noting however that the references to the Lin-chi branch were "comparatively valuable" (ibid.). Similar comments are made by Jan in his entry on "Ch'an yü-lu (Dialogues of Ch'an Buddhists)" in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 202, describing the *Ching-te chuan-teng lu* as "a dialogical history of Ch'an Buddhism which has had a long-lasting influence," and "the authoritative and sectarian history of the Southern School of Ch'an." In contrast, the "dialogical quality . . . declined considerably in the works which were compiled to supplement Tao-yüan's original." The point here is not to dispute such characterizations, but to highlight the unique and important circumstances surrounding the compilation of each transmission history. Until more painstaking research is carried out on each work, it is difficult to make broad generalizations regarding their respective importance.

39. T 51.196b.

40. ZZ 78.496b.

41. Based on the dates of Ch'an master Sheng-nien of Shih-ying Ch'an Temple in Ju-chou, 926–993 (ZZ 78.493c–495a), and Ch'an master Shan-chao of T'ai-tzu Temple of Ta-chung monastery, 947–1024 (ZZ 78.496b–499a). Many of the dates of Ch'an masters recorded in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* are unknown. The closer proximity of Kuei-sheng's biography to Shan-chao than to Shen-nien makes it likely that Kuei-sheng's dates were closer to Shan-chao's as well.

42. ZZ 78.496a–b.

43. ZZ 78.504c. The same statement is also recorded in the *Shih-shuang Ch'u-yüan ch'an-shih yü-lu* (ZZ 69.184c), which is contained in the *Tz'u-ming ssu-chia lu*, compiled in 1027. Ch'u-yüan was the disciple of Fen-yang Shan-chao (947–1024). The link between Bodhidharma's teaching and the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" is also made in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* biography of Ch'an master Chih-sung (ZZ 78.501c).

44. The meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West is a question that is repeated frequently in both the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

45. ZZ 78.516b. For other examples see 522c, 523b, 525b, and 534a.

46. ZZ 78.441c. This occurs in the context of a famous conversation between Bodhidharma and the king of Liang, in which the king asks: "What is Buddha?" Bodhidharma answers: "Seeing one's nature is Buddha" [*ch'ien-hsing shih fo*]. The king then asks: "Does the master see his own nature, or not?" Bodhidharma replies: "I see the Buddha-nature." The king asks: "Where does [Buddha-]nature exist?" Bodhidharma replies: "[Buddha-]nature exists in activity" [*tso-yung*].

47. ZZ 78.443a.

48. ZZ 78.443a.

49. ZZ 78.443b.

50. ZZ 78.443c, 444a, and 444c.

51. ZZ 78.428a, and 428c.

52. The transmission in these biographies is usually invoked with a standard formula: "In the past, Sākyamuni transmitted the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye to Mahākāśyapa. It continued to be transmitted from one to another until it came down to me. I now transmit it to you. Protect and uphold it so that it will flourish in the future. Do not let it become extinct. Receive my teaching, listen carefully to my verse." This is then followed by the master's transmission verse (as an example, see ZZ 78.429b). While there are variations to this formula, the content is remarkably consistent throughout. *Cheng fa-yen tsang* is sometimes written *ta fa-yen tsang* (Treasury of the Great Dharma Eye).

53. ZZ 78.559c.

54. Conventions dictating the preservation of imperial succession made it necessary for dynastic historians to label the northern states of Liang (907–923), T'ang (923–934), Chin (936–947), Han (947–951), and Chou (951–960) the "Five Dynasties" during this period. For the regional states that appeared in central and southern China, historians coined the label "Ten Kingdoms": Shu (907–925) and Later Shu (934–965) in Ssu-ch'uan; Nan-p'ing or Ching-nan (907–963) in Hu-pei; Ch'u (927–956) in Hu-nan; Wu (902–937) and Nan T'ang (937–975) based in Nan-ching; Wu-yüeh (907–978) in Che-chiang; Min (907–946) in Fu-chien; Nan Han or Yüeh (907–971) based in Kuang-tung; and Pei Han (951–979) in Shan-hsi, a puppet state of Chi-t'an.

55. The expression *chiao-ch'an i-chih* was not used as a slogan in the same way as *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan* but was a phrase coined later to indicate the positions of Buddhists who rejected the notion of Ch'an as an independent tradition and sought to interpret Ch'an in terms of the Buddhist scriptural tradition. It is implicit in the thought of Tsung-mi, the ninth-century Buddhist syncretist who interpreted Ch'an positions in terms of the doctrines of Buddhist scholasticism.

56. See Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 224ff., and Jan Yün-hua, "Tsong-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* LVIII (1972), pp. 1–54.

57. The other influential branch of Ch'an in the tenth century, Yün-men, was eclipsed by Fa-yen in the early Sung.

58. The biography of Fa-yen Wen-i is recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51, no. 2076, ch. 24), a transmission record written to bolster the claims of the Fa-yen lineage. The biographies of Wen-i's disciples are recorded in ch. 25 (30 biographies) and ch. 26 (33 biographies). Wen-i's biography in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, ch. 13 (T 50.788a–b), claims that his dharma-heirs numbered over 100 and that 14 achieved fame in their own right. See *Zengaku daijiten* (Tokyo: Taishukan, 1978), p. 1230a.

59. For Buddhism in Nan T'ang, see Tsukamoto Shungo, "Godai nantō no ōshitsu to bukkyō" (The Monarchy and Buddhism in the southern T'ang during the Five Dynasties), *Bukkyō bunka kenkyū*, no. 3 (November 1953): 81–88. The situation of Wu-yüeh Buddhism is discussed later.

60. For a discussion of the Wu-yüeh kingdom and translation of key documents, see Edouard Chavannes, "Le Royaume de Wou et de Yue," *T'oung Pao* XVII (1916): 129–164. An extensive discussion of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh is found in Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1953), pp. 81–176. See also Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō—toku ni tendai tokushō to sono shi eimei enju ni

tsuite," *Otani daigaku kenkyū nempō*, no. 7 (1954): 305–365. The main features of Wu-yüeh Buddhism are outlined in Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kue chi* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 26–32.

61. I have elsewhere (*The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*) challenged this characterization of Yen-shou as simplistic and misleading, only to conclude that Yen-shou's syncretism was more broadly based and much more encompassing than this traditional interpretation allows.

62. T 54.240a. The roles played by non-Ch'an school masters, Kumarajiva and Seng-jui, Buddhahadra and Hui-yüan, in transmitting Ch'an to China are noted in addition to Bodhidharma's.

63. T 50.789b.

64. T 50.789c.

65. T 54.240a.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. T 50.790a.

69. Following Yoshizu Yoshihide, *Kegon-zen no shisōshi-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1985), Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 225–226, suggests distinguishing Tsung-mi's efforts as *ch'an-ching i-chih* (harmony between Ch'an and the teaching) and *tsung-chiao i-chih* (harmony between Ch'an and doctrinal teachings) in order to do better justice to the complexity of Tsung-mi's thought. See also Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi, His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism."

70. Tsung-mi's influence on Tsan-ning is evident in borrowed phrases in Tsan-ning's prose. Tsan-ning's above quoted statement: "the scriptures are the word of the Buddha, and meditation is the thought of the Buddha; there is no discrepancy at all between what the Buddhas have in their mind and what they utter with their mouth" (*ching shih fo-yen, ch'an shih fo-i; chu-fo hsin-k'ou ting, pu hsiang-wei*) is found nearly verbatim in Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* (Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 44).

71. Jan, in "Two Problems Concerning Tsung-mi's Compilation of *Ch'an-tsung*," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 19 (1974), pp. 37–47, has suggested that major portions of Tsung-mi's no longer extant collection of Ch'an sources were absorbed into Yen-shou's *Tsung-ching lu* (T 48, no. 2016). A general comparison of some of the main features of Tsung-mi and Yen-shou can be found in Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 15–19, 147–149, 161 and 166–167.

72. T 48.958b.

73. Ibid.

74. A position typified by the behavior and sayings attributed to Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788) and members of the Hung-chou lineage, and linked to the lineage of Lin-chi I-hsüan (d. 866). On Tsung-mi's characterization of Tao-i and the Hung-chou lineage, see Jan, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," esp. pp. 45–47.

75. T 48.958c.

76. T 48.961a. This phrase was used in Ch'an circles (e.g., *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, ch. 19; T 51.356b).

77. The expression ("whatever one has contact with is *tao*") is attributed to the Hung-chou school by Tsung-mi (Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 288; Jan, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," p. 45).

78. T 48.961b; following the words of Chih-i and the T'ien-t'ai school. According to Yen-shou, it is necessary to engage two types of practice to attain enlightenment:



practice which develops *li*, the abstract powers of penetrating insight; and practice which develops *shih*, provisionally engaging in concrete activities of worship and adoration, and so on. The “practitioners of emptiness” referred to here devote themselves exclusively to developing powers of penetrating insight at the expense of engaging in concrete activities.

79. T. 48.961a.

80. T 48.958c. In important respects, Yen-shou's position is reminiscent, of the religious philosophy of Northern school Ch'an. This is a topic with broad implications that can only be alluded to here with a couple of examples: (1) the Northern school text, the *Wu fang-pien* (Five Expedient, Means), connects the discussion of expedient means to the Buddhist scriptural tradition, a theme that also appears in Yen-shou's works, and (2) the list of religious activities enjoined in the scriptures according to another Northern school text, the *Kuan-hsin lun* (Treatise on Contemplating the Mind), including repairing temples, casting and painting images of the Buddhas, burning incense, offering flowers, burning memorial lamps, circumambulating stūpas, and sponsoring vegetarian feasts, are reminiscent of a list of activities deriving from Yen-shou's *Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi* (T 48, no. 2017), or the record of his personal activities, the *Tzu-hsing lu* (ZZ 63.158–166). On the Northern school, see McRae, *The Northern School*, pp. 148–233, esp. 171ff., and 199–200; on Yen-shou see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 131–142.

81. The use of the term “rationalism” here must be qualified. I am not imputing that the Buddhist use of language for arriving at truth be associated with the attempt to introduce mathematical methods to arrive at certainty, as in Descartes. The Buddhist conception, as in Augustine, acknowledges the mind's capacity to distinguish and connect things in a meaningful way, while stipulating that this rational activity is subordinate to the higher activity of the intellect, contemplation. The typical Buddhist way of appropriating rational activity is as “skillful means” (*fang-pien*), used for pointing to a truth that is essentially suprarational.

82. The details of Tao-yüan's life are largely unknown. He was a contemporary of Tsan-ning and a disciple of Te-shao. The circumstances are discussed by Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), pp. 26–44.

83. My comments here are based on the versions of Tao-yüan's *Fo-tzu t'ung-tsan chi hsü* (Preface to the Collection of the Common Ch'an Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) and Yang I's *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (Preface to the Record of the Transmission of the Lamp compiled in the Ching-te era) in Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 21–23, and on Ishii's discussion of them, pp. 8–21. The former is taken from *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu chen-pen*, vol. 8, *Wu-i hsin-chi*, ch. 7, 24a–26b; the latter from the Sung edition of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-kan pen*, 1a–2b.

84. The other officials mentioned are Vice Director of the Bureau of Military Appointments (*ping-pun yüan-wai lang*) and [Han-lin Academy?] Drafter (*chih-chih-kao*) Li Wei, and Aide to the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*t'ai-ch'ang ch'eng*) Wang Shu. Yang I held titles as Han-lin Academician (*han-lin hsüeh-shih*), Remonstrator of the Left (*tsu-ssu-chien*), and Drafter (*chih-chih-kao*). Yang I's biography is contained in *Sung-shih*, ch. 305. For a discussion of Yang I's influence at the Sung court, see Peter K. Bol, *“This Culture of Ours”: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 161–162.

85. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* p. 22a.

86. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* p. 22a.

87. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* p. 22b.

88. The text is recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, ch. 30 (T 51.458b-c); it is also contained in Yanagida Seizan, *Daruma no goroku: Ninyū shigyō ron, Zen no goroku*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969). For an English translation and discussion, see McRae, *Northern School*, pp. 101-117.

89. Yanagida, *Daruma no goroku*, pp. 31-32.

90. McRae, *Northern School*, p. 304, n. 14.

91. ZZ 78.511c-512a.

92. Nothing else is known of these masters. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, p. 19, speculates that they were disciples of T'ien-t'ai Te-shao.

93. The biography of Yuan-lin is contained in the *Ch'an-fan seng-pao chuan*, ch. 16.

94. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, p. 17.

95. Yampolsky, *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, section 9, p. 133.

96. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōzō ichin: Hōrinden, Dentō gyokuei shū, Zengaku sōsho* no. 5 (Kyoto: Chūbun, 1983). I am also indebted here to a soon to be published study by T. Griffith Foulk, "Accounts of the Founding of the Ch'an Lineage: A Case Study of Sung Buddhist Historiography," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); the manuscript consulted was submitted at the conference entitled "Buddhism in the Sung" held at the University of Illinois, April 20-22, 1996.

97. Yanagida, *Sōzō ichin: Hōrinden*, 10a-c; the translation is taken from Foulk, "Accounts of the Founding of the Ch'an Lineage."

98. Mahākāśyapa's biography is found in ch. 1 (T 51.205c-206b).

99. ZZ 78.428c.

100. Foulk, "Accounts of the Founding of the Ch'an Lineage."

101. ZZ 1, no. 27.

102. *Zengaku daijiten* (Tokyo: Daishukan, 1978), pp. 816c-817a, on the basis of its rendition of this episode, suggests that the *Ta fan-t'ien wang wen fo chüeh-i ching* post-dates the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The "Zenshūshi nenpyō" (Chronological Table of Zen History), *ibid.*, v. 3, p. 60a, claims that it was written in 1077.

103. ZZ 1.442a.

104. *Hsü-tsang ching* (Shin wen-feng reprint edition of *Zokuzōkyō*) 136.440b-441a.

105. The story of transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa, using the same language as the earlier precedents discussed above, is contained in ch. 1 (*Hsü-tsang ching* 144.27a).

106. T 48.293c. Hirata Takashi, *Mumonkan, Zen no goroku*, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 37-41. Another Sung Ch'an text, the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu*, compiled in 1188, follows a version of the Mahākāśyapa story that makes no mention of "a special transmission outside the teaching" (T 48.325b). For a list of the numerous texts in which the story appears, see Inoue Shūten, *Mumonkan no shin kenkyū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1922), pp. 301-303.

107. ZZ 64.379a. T. Griffith Foulk, trans., "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 199, n. 17. Foulk reads the comments as those of the compiler of the *Tsu-t'ing shih yüan*, Mu-an. It seems clear to me that they are part of the *Huai ch'an-shih lu* and thus attributable to Ch'an master Huai. See also Foulk's comments on p. 151ff.

108. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," pp. 147-208.

109. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*.

110. The *Zen no goroku* series (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō) contains twenty volumes of annotated translations of Ch'an works published in over a span of years from the late 1960s to the late 1970s. The volumes in this series are as follows:

1. Yanagida, *Daruma no goroku* (*Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*).
2. ———, *Shoki no Zenshi I* (*Ch'uan fa-pao chi and Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*).
3. ———, *Shoki no Zenshi II* (*Li-tai fa-pao chi*).
4. Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō* (*Liu-tsu t'an-ching*).
5. Shinohara, *Jin'e goroku* (*Shen-hui yü-lu*).
6. Hirano, *Tongo yōmon* (*Tun-wu yao-men*).
7. Iriya, *Horo kyōshi goroku* (*P'ang chu-shih yü-lu*).
8. ———, *Denshin hōyō & Enryu roku* (*Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao and Wan-ling lu*).
9. Kamata, *Zengen shosenshū tojo* (*Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu*).
10. Akitsuki, *Rinzai roku* (*Lin-chi lu*).
11. ———, *Jōshū roku* (*Chao-chou lu*).
12. Handa, *Tōzan roku* (*T'ung-shan lu*).
13. Iritani, *Kanzan ji* (*Han-shan shih*).
14. Shimada, *Hōkyō hen* (*Fu-chiao pien*).
15. Kajitani, *Setchō juko* (*Hsüeh-tou sung-ku*).
16. Kajitani and Tsujimura, *Jyūgyū zu* (*Shih-niu t'u*).
17. Araki, *Daie sho* (*Ta-hui shu*).
18. Hirata Takashi, *Mumonkan* (*Wu-men kuan*).
19. Fujiyoshi, *Zenkan sakushin* (*Ch'an-kuan ts'e-hsin*).
20. Iriya and Yanagida, *Goroku no rekishi* (*History of yü-lu*).

111. Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 110. Another interesting study of the ideological underpinnings of modern Zen, focusing on the works of D. T. Suzuki, is Robert Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in Donald E. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 107–160 (published originally in *History of Religions* 33/1 [1993]: 1–43).

112. In addition to the works already mentioned, one could include the works of a growing list of scholars, many of whom are contributors to this volume.

113. A viewpoint reflected in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*.