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Dahui Zonggao and Zhang Shangying: The Importance of a Scholar in the Education of a Song Chan Master

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In 1101 the future Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) abandoned a classical education and decided to become a Buddhist monk.¹ Three years later he was ordained. By the time he died in 1163 he had become the preeminent Chan abbot and teacher of the empire. He had attracted many patrons and students from the educated elite, including Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (1092-1159), Fu Zhirou 富直柔 (?-1156), Zhang Xiaoxiang 張孝祥 (ca. 1129-1170), Tang Situi 湯思退 (?-1164), Liu Zuhui 劉子翬 (1107-1147), Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084-1145), Zhang Jun 張浚 (1096-1164) and Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 (1118-1176). He had found a new method for making Linji Chan teaching and practice more effective, and thereby changed the way teaching and practice were done in the Linji house, not only for the rest of the Song dynasty but for all the succeeding centuries in China, Korea and Japan. His Dharma-heirs and others from the Linji house who were inspired by him occupied many of the abbacies at major Song temples. At the end of his life he presided over two of the empire's most prominent monasteries, Mt. Ashoka (Ahyuwangshan 阿育王山) and Jingshan 徑山. He enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Xiaozong (r. 1162-1189), who gave him the name, Dahui 大慧, "Great Wisdom."²

1 . Chinese customarily refer to Dahui Zonggao by his ordination name, Zonggao, and not by Dahui, one of three names given to Zonggao by emperors to honor him. Japanese authors customarily refer to him by the first of the honorific names, Dahui, followed by his ordination name, or simply Dahui. Dahui calls himself by a series of other names, given by others, self-chosen or taken from where he was teaching; the most common of these names was "Miaoxi" 妙喜. The literature in English so far largely uses "Dahui Zonggao."

2 . For a general account of Dahui's life and teachings, see Miriam Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment for Laymen: Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163) and the New Religious Culture of the Sung" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1978), and Chün-fang Yü, "Ta-hui and Kōan Ch'an," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 6 (1979): 211-35.

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How did the young monk become such a successful abbot and teacher? The answer requires a longer and more complex narrative than space allows here. But the conventional answer would no doubt focus on the importance of Dahui's years of *kōan* 公案 study followed by his decisive breakthrough to full awakening under the tutelage of the great Northern Song master Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135).³ And it might well omit the story I wish to tell here, the story of the influence on Dahui's future success of man who was not a Chan master, the statesman and scholar Zhang Shangying 張商英 (*zi* Tianjue 天覺) (1043-1122).

From the 1950's until recently, the myth of the formation of a Chan or Zen master as told in the West emphasized long years of solitary self-examination through seated meditation, patient endurance of hardships in the monastery, face to face encounters with the teacher, and transformative moments of sudden awakening. One who had successfully met and overcome these challenges was ready to teach and lead a Zen community. No particular study of Buddhist *sūtras* or Buddhist philosophies, let alone literary training or the study of secular subjects, was required for mastery of this teaching that was transmitted "without dependence on words and letters." Along with this myth went another myth, that Zen monasteries were found on remote mountain peaks and were a world unto themselves, independent of, or even completely divorced from, the mundane concerns and depressing politics of the larger society. While the popular versions of these myths developed in the West with reference to Zen in Japan, they were extended as well to the case of Chan in China, for most of the most famous "Zen stories" on which these myths are based are stories of Chan masters. The second myth was held even among some historians of the Song and scholars of literature until quite recently; such scholars proceeded as though Buddhists could be safely ignored.

This second of these two myths is now coming under attack. Scholars of Buddhism now attend to the ways in which state control, state funding and the patronage of the wealthy and influential played large roles in the successes and failures of many monasteries and lineages, both in Japan and in China.⁴ Likewise schol-

3 . On *kōan* study in the Song, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "The 'Short-cut' Approach of K'an-hua Meditation," in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 321-77; Ding-hwa Evelyn Hsieh, "Yuan-wu K'o-ch'in's (1063-1135) Teaching of Ch'an Kung-an Practice," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17 (1994): 66-95.

4 . The essays in the forthcoming *Buddhism in the Sung*, eds. Peter N. Gregory and

ars of China are becoming more aware of the many ways members of the elite and Chan masters interacted.⁵ As the second myth erodes, the first myth must erode too. For the formation of a master who must teach and lead a complex and necessarily worldly institution must in fact include more than the kinds of training available through monastic hardship and the meditation mat.

If we look at accounts of the formation of Chan masters in the Song, the period of greatest flourishing of Chan in China, clues can be found to an expanded understanding. Yet for many masters extant records concerning their education and formation are too sketchy and incomplete to reveal a realistic picture.⁶ Fortunately a complex and nuanced account of the necessary and useful literary, political and scholarly formation of Chan masters in Song society can be drawn from the records of the most well-documented Chan master of the Song, Dahui Zonggao.

It is well known that Dahui at the age of 37 studied for eight months with Yuanwu Keqin, realized a full awakening, and thereafter became a teacher. But I would argue that as an account of Dahui's education this is very incomplete. Much of his practical and theoretical formation occurred before he met Yuanwu and had that "great awakening" of which he often spoke.

(..continued)

Daniel Getz, reflect the current strong interest in this kind of contextualization of Song Buddhism. On the Japan side, see Joseph D. Parker's translations and his introductions to them entitled "Contested Orthodoxies in Five Mountains Zen Buddhism," in *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George Tanabe, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 423-34, and William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, No. 8, 1993).

5 . Robert M. Gimello's work, particularly his "Marga and Culture: Learning, Letters and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch'an," in *Paths to Liberation: The Marga and its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, eds. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Robert M. Gimello (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 371-437, and Beata Grant's *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shih* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), are good examples of this trend.

6 . Yü Chün-fang's valuable essay "Chan Education in the Sung: Ideals and Procedures" in *Neo-Confucian Education: the Formative Stage*, eds. Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 54-104, succeeded in broadening the picture of Ch'an education in some ways based in part on a study of Chan biographies in different collections. Yü points to the inadequacy of the sources for the kind of study she undertakes.

During the first half of his life, between his birth in 1089 and his flight with Yuanwu in 1126 from the capital at present-day Kaifeng to the south,⁷ a handful of men exercised a particularly

7. In what follows in this essay I draw on the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄, the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi pushuo* 大慧普覺禪師普說 in 5 *juan*, and the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu* 大慧普覺禪師年譜. All of these three were of course collected and edited by disciples of Dahui. The *Yulu*, T. 47.811b-943b, was compiled by Yunwen 蘊閑 and other disciples; its four parts apparently circulated separately. Apparently on Emperor Xiaozong's instruction the whole work as we have it now was entered into both the Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 and the East Temple 東寺 editions of the *Dazangjing* 大藏經 (*Tripitaka*) in 1171-72. The *Taishō* 大正 text was apparently checked against a Song text (no longer extant), and thus may be the most reliable text available now. I will hereafter cite this text as "*Yulu*;" page numbers will refer to the *Taishō* edition. The information given here on this and the other two texts discussed in this note is drawn from Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, "*Daie goroku no kisoteki kenkyū (jo)*" 大慧語錄の基礎的研究(上), *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學傳教學部研究記要 31 (March, 1973): 283-92.

The *Dahui pushuo* in 5 *juan* appears in the *Dai Nihon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 (the "*Kyōtō*" or "*Manji*" *zōkyō*). It contains a four-*juan pushuo* collection that does not duplicate the single *juan* of *pushuo* in the *Yulu*. It is this four-*juan* collection that I refer to here. There are two early Japanese copies of Song editions of this work; one is clearly from the Kamakura period (1185-1333). In the early Japanese copies there is a preface dated 1188 and a postface dated 1189 that are presumably reprinted from the Song text. I will cite this as "*Pushuo*."

There is also autobiographical material in Dahui's *Zongmen wuku* 宗門武庫 (hereafter *Wuku*), which was compiled by Dahui's disciple Daoqian 道謙. A preface is dated 1186. This text includes many anecdotes and stories that Dahui apparently told about himself and other teachers. The texts in the *Taishō* and the *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 are based on a Ming dynasty edition.

The *Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu*, which I call here his "Annalistic Biography," was compiled sometime before 1183 by a disciple named Zuyung 祖詠, and was revised in 1205. The revision was done by Huazang Zongyan 華藏宗演 to bring the *Nianpu* into accord with information given in a work called *Yunwo jitan* 雲臥紀談 by another of Dahui's Dharma-heirs, Xiaoying Zhongwen 曉瑩仲溫. The *Yunwo jitan* must date from sometime after 1178. The *Nianpu* was included in the Ming canon. It has been edited, annotated and translated into Japanese recently by Ishii Shūdō. Ishii's work is published in three parts as "*Daie Fukaku Zenji nenpu no kenkyū (jo)*, (*chū*) and (*ge*)" 大慧普覺禪師年譜の研究, 上, 中, 下, in *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 37 (1979): 110-43; 38 (1980): 97-133; and 40 (1982): 129-75. I cite Ishii's edition because it is a critical edition established by comparison of all the extant texts. The text itself is in parts one and two; part 3 is Ishii's notes. Thus when I cite "*Nenpu (jo)*" or "*Nenpu (chū)*," I am citing the text; when I cite "*Nenpu (ge)*" I am citing Prof. Ishii's notes.

formative influence on Dahui. One of these was the retired official and eminent Buddhist layman, Zhang Shangying.⁸ When the 27-year old Dahui met Zhang at his home in retirement in Jingzhou 荊州 in 1115, and visited him again four years later, Zhang was a former chief minister, a Dharma-heir of the Chan master Doushuai Congyue 兜率從悅, a scholar of Huayan 華嚴 Buddhism, and a prominent defender of Buddhism against its critics and political enemies. He was not a monk, and thus not a Chan teacher.⁹ But as patron, politician, and Confucian-educated essayist, Zhang contributed to the multifaceted education Dahui drew upon for his later success. And as a scholar of Huayan Buddhism, Zhang's contribution to Dahui's education was critical.

Dahui's education and formation in this period offered him five areas of knowledge and experience that he would later draw upon as a Chan abbot and teacher: (1) Chan study and training, including prominently the study of "discourse records" (*yulu* 語錄) and *kōans*; (2) encounter with different "houses" of Chan and awareness of sectarianism within Chan; (3) education in literary expression; (4) study of Buddhist and Confucian theory; and (5) education in conducting relations with lay patrons. This essay's focus will be on the fourth, for it was in that area that what Dahui learned from Zhang was crucial to his success. We do not often think of *sūtra* study, the study of Buddhist philosophy, a familiar-

8. For a biography of Zhang in English, see Robert M. Gimello, "Chang Shangying on Wu-t'ai-shan," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 89-149; on Zhang Shangying's life, see 91-93. See also Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, "Zhang Shangying (1043-1122)—An Embarrassing Policy Adviser Under the Northern Song," in *Studies in Sung History: A Festschrift for Dr. James T.C. Liu*, ed. Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強 (Kyoto: Dohōsha, 1989), 521-30. In Japanese, see Andō Tomonobu 安藤智信, "Sō no Chō Shōei ni tsuite: Bukkyō kankei no jiseki o chūshin to shite" 宋の張商英について: 佛教關係の事蹟を中心として *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 22 (July, 1961): 57-63; and Andō Tomonobu, "Chō Shōei no Gohōron to sono haikai" 張商英の護法論とその背景, *Ōtani gakuho* 大谷學報 42.3 (1963): 29-40.

9. Some readers may wonder what this means, supposing that Zhang Shangying could not be a Chan Dharma-heir since he was not a Chan teacher. Zhang was included in the lineage of Dharma-heirs in the genealogical histories of Chan beginning with the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 (1183), *Jiatai Pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (1202); and the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (1252) as a Dharma-heir of Doushuai Congyue. See Suzuki Tetsuo 鈴木折雄, *Chūgoku Zenshū jinmei sakuin* 中國禪宗人名索引 (Nagoya: Kikodo shoten, 1976), 257a-b, for detailed references.

ity with Buddhist-Confucian polemics and a study of Confucian philosophy as necessary to the training of a Chan master. But in the Song, during which the duties of a Chan master included being an abbot, and the duties of an abbot included “being asked by government officials for spiritual cultivation” they were at the very least extremely helpful.¹⁰ When educated men like Su Shi (1037-1101) and Wang Anshi (1021-1086) were reading Confucian classics, Buddhist *sūtras* and Buddhist scholastic commentaries, an effective Chan abbot was one who could do so too.¹¹

A. Dahui and the Huanglong House of Chan

It was Dahui's long involvement with the Linji Huanglong 臨濟黃龍 lineage that enabled him to meet the retired chief minister. We think of Dahui as a teacher in the Linji Yangqi 臨濟楊岐 lineage, and do not associate him with Huanglong. There is good reason for this, for at the end of this first period of his life, in 1125, on Zhang's recommendation, Dahui enrolled in the monastery at the capital whose abbot was the Linji house Yangqi master Yuanwu Keqin. Within eight months Dahui inherited his Dharma, and thereupon became a member of the Yangqi branch of the Linji school. But he had not been studying in the Yangqi branch of the Linji house before that time. The long preparation for this moment of awakening, the long education that prepared Dahui to lead the Linji school in the Southern Song, took place predominantly through many years of study exclusively with the Huanglong lineage.¹²

10 . Cf. *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規, juan 7, *Yakuchū Zennen shingi* 譯註禪苑清規, edited, translated and annotated by Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄, and Kosaka Kiyū 小阪機融 (Tokyo: Sōtōshu Shūmucho, 1972), 257, in the section on the role of the abbot; translated into English by Yifa, “The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery: An Annotated Translation and Study of the *Chanyuan qinggui*” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996), 348. A helpful essay on the institutional and ritual dimensions of Chan training and Chan abbacy in the Song is T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism,” in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, eds. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 147-208.

11 . On Su Shi's reading of sutras, see Beata Grant, *Mount Lu Revisited*, 23-37 and passim.

12 . On the significance of Dahui's long affiliation with the Huanglong school, see my unpublished essay “Dahui's Education: Sectarianism and Ecumenism in Song Chan” (forthcoming in *Creating the World of Zen*, eds. John McRae and Albert

The Huanglong branch of the Linji house had been in its second and third generations a large and powerful lineage. There were at least eighty-five Dharma-heirs of Huanglong Huinan 慧南 in the second generation, and over three hundred in the third generation.¹³ It was this lineage to which Zhang Shangying belonged as a lay Dharma-heir. It was through Dahui's ties to this lineage that he met Zhang.

B. Dahui and Zhantang Wenjun

The chain of events that resulted in Dahui's meeting Zhang Shangying began in 1109 when he enrolled in Jewel Peak Monastery (Baofeng Yuan 寶峰院) in the northern part of present day Jiangxi Province, where Zhantang Wenjun 湛堂文準 (1061-1115), a Huanglong branch teacher, was abbot.¹⁴ Jewel Peak was in the Stone Gate Mountains (Shimen Shan 石門山). The monastery was also called Letan 潞潭 Monastery after a nearby lake.¹⁵ It was famous as the place where Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788) had served as abbot at the end of his life and was buried.

Dahui's Chan training progressed under Zhantang in a number of ways. He studied and taught *kōans* from earlier masters. He improved his ability to express Chan verbally, as well as through his monastic deportment. But although Zhantang entrusted him with teaching duties at the monastery, he did not fully approve of Dahui's attainment, and did not certify him to become a master in his own right. Toward the end of Dahui's stay at Jewel Peak, Zhantang called the younger monk to him and made the following comment:

“Senior monk [Zong]gao, you understood my Chan at once. When I ask you to explain it, you explain it well. When I ask you to hold up stories of the ancients and

(..continued)

Welter).

13. Ishii Shudō, “Shinjo Kokumon no hito to shisō” 眞淨克文の人と思想, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 34 (March, 1976): 132.

14. This was not Dahui's first opportunity to study with a Huanglong teacher. He had in 1109 studied briefly with Haihui Cong 海會從 before going on to seek out Zhantang at Jewel Peak. “*Nenpu* (jo),” 116a; *Pushuo*, 465a.

15. Ishii, “*Nenpu* (ge),” 133a.

comment on them in prose (*niangu* 拈古), or make up verses commenting on the sayings of the masters of old (*songgu* 訟古), to give instructions to the monks, or to give sermons (*pushuo* 普說, lit., general instructions), you also do all these things well.¹⁶ There is only one thing that is not right. Do you know what it is?"

Dahui replied, "What is it I do not know?"

Zhantang said: "*He!* 喝 You lack this one release.¹⁷ If you do not obtain this one release, when I am speaking with you in my quarters, there is Chan, but the minute you leave my quarters, there is none. When you are awake and thinking, there is Chan, but when you are asleep, then there is none. If you are like this, then how are you going to defeat samsara?" Dahui replied, "This is exactly what I have doubts about."¹⁸

When Zhantang became ill, Dahui asked him who Dahui's next teacher should be should he die. Zhantang recommended Yuanwu Keqin, Dharma-heir of Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?-1104).¹⁹ In 1115, when Dahui was 27 by Chinese reckoning, Zhantang died.

Despite Zhantang's advice, it was a long time before Dahui actually left off his studies with the Huanglong branch. Instead, he undertook certain duties and broadened his education with the Dharma-heirs of Huanglong Huinan.

The first of his duties was to his deceased teacher. Dahui and the other senior students of Zhantang, including the poet Li Peng 李彭 (*zi* Shanglao 商老), chose Zhantang's teacher's most prominent patron to write Zhantang's stupa inscription, a rather detailed biographical epitaph. This patron was the retired Grand Councilor Zhang Shangying. Dahui volunteered to travel north to Zhang's home in Jingzhou in present-day Hubei province to ask this honor for his teacher.²⁰

But before Dahui set out to make this visit, he devoted himself to preserving Zhantang's teachings. Zhantang had forbidden his students to write down his sermons and Dharma instructions as he gave them.²¹ But Dahui and his fellow students no doubt under-

16 . An abbreviated version of this is at *Pushuo*, 426b: "I studied for seventeen years. I composed *gathas* (*jie* 偈), songs (*song* 頌), holding up the ancients (*niangu* 拈古), substitute words (*daibie* 代別)—there was nothing that I did not master."

17 . *He* is the sound word familiar to readers of accounts of Japanese Zen as *katsu*.

18 . *Taishō* (hereafter *T.*), 47.953b.

19 . *T.* 47.953b.

20 . Ishii, "*Nenpu* (*jo*)," 119ab.

21 . Ishii, "*Nenpu* (*jo*)," 118b. The source for the *Nianpu*'s statement of these

stood that publishing a master's words was important to bring one's teacher the honor due him, to make his teachings available to other students, and to cause his lineage to prosper. So Dahui recited and edited what he remembered of Zhantang's words.

C. Dahui and Juefan Huihong

He apparently took the resulting collection to the distinguished Chan literatus Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128), who was at the time also called Dehong 德洪, to discuss the editing.²² Through this visit he made a friend of Huihong; he also cemented a further connection to Zhang Shangying, whom he was soon to visit. Huihong wrote an afterword in which he mentioned that he received Zhantang's *Discourse Record* from Dahui.²³ Huihong also wrote a record of Zhantang's travels (*xingzhuang* 行狀).²⁴ Dahui's visits to Huihong were undoubtedly important to his education in the area of literary expression; I will take up the necessity for this kind of education and how Dahui attained it in another essay.

Juefan Huihong was from Yunzhou 筠州 in present-day Jiangxi province. At 14 he became a monk and studied the *Abhidharma-kośa* and the "Consciousness Only" version of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy. Huihong, a famous poet and a prolific man of letters, wrote, compiled and edited works in many literary genres.

Huihong was also closely connected to Zhang Shangying. It was at Zhang Shangying's invitation that Huihong's teacher Zhenjing Kewen had accepted the abbacy of the Baofeng Monastery in Shimen. Zhang was then governor of Hongzhou, the administrative region to which Shimen belonged. So there was a connection between Zhang and Huihong through Huihong's teacher.

(..continued)

details is unknown.

22 . *Nianpu*, 27th year, Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 118b-119a. There are biographies of Huihong in *Jitai Pudeng lu*, *juan* 7; *Wudeng huiyuan*, *juan* 17; *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, *juan* 19. For a biography in English, see Robert M. Gimello, "Chan Buddhism, Learning and Letters in the Northern Song: The Case of Chüeh-fan Hui-hung (1071-1128). Unpublished paper, 1989.

23 . Zhantang's "Record of Words" no longer exists. But the afterword exists in a collection of Huihong's writings. It bears a date of the tenth month of 1115. See Ishii, "Nenpu (ge)," 134b.

24 . T. 947a. This is extant in his *Shimen wenzi Chan* 石門文字禪, *juan* 30.

Furthermore, Huihong and Zhang had common interests not only in Chan but also in *sūtras* and Buddhist philosophy. Huihong like Zhang had read and written commentaries on several *sūtras*; he shared with Zhang an interest in the *Huayan Sūtra* and the thought of the Huayan scholastic Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635-730).

Finally, there were close ties of friendship and patronage between the two. Zhang had befriended Huihong more than once when the latter had landed in political trouble. In 1105, while he was living in present-day Nanjing, Huihong was accused both of having a forged monk's license, and of using Hui, the personal name of the empress, as his monk's name. The latter was a crime of *lèse-majesté*. Zhang Shangying intervened to have him released, and Huihong was thereafter often known as Dehong. When Huihong was in the capital in present-day Kaifeng in 1109 he again was jailed, this time for about a year. In 1110 Zhang Shangying was appointed one of two Vice Directors of the Department of State Affairs; since the Director was an inactive post, the pair were normally *de facto* heads of the government under the Emperor. From this position he was able to obtain Huihong's release. In 1111 Zhang Shangying was removed from high office, and was thereafter unable to protect Huihong. Huihong was exiled toward the end of the same year to Hainan Island as part of a purge of opponents by the new Chief Minister, Cai Jing 蔡京 (1046-1126). Cai's list of enemies included the name of Zhang Shangying, along with those of a number of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials and literati later highly admired. Since we know of no offense that Huihong might have committed against Cai Jing, we may suspect that Zhang Shangying and Huihong were so closely linked politically that Huihong's fortunes fell with Zhang's.

D. Dahui's First Meeting with Zhang Shangying

After his first visit to Huihong, at age 28, Dahui traveled first to Doushuai 兜率 temple in Hongzhou 洪州 to ask the Huanglong teacher Huizhao 慧照 for a letter of introduction to Zhang, and then on to Zhang's home in Jingzhou.²⁵

Zhang Shangying had obtained his "presented gentleman" degree in 1065 at the age of 22. He had been an important statesman, beginning his career at court as an enthusiastic but not uncritical supporter of the reforms of Wang Anshi. During the *Yuanyou* era (1086-1094) he criticized the conservatives like Sima

25. T. 47.947a. Huizhao was a Dharma-heir of Doushuai Congyue (1061-1115), who was a Dharma-heir of Zhenjing Kewen.

Guang (1019-1086), yet was nonetheless able to survive at court, though at reduced rank. When the reformers were recalled to high office beginning in 1093, Zhang's star rose again. When the emperor Huizong came to power in 1100, Zhang allied himself with Huizong's favorite minister, Cai Jing. From June of 1110 to September of 1111 he was briefly at the pinnacle of power as a Vice Director and Grand Councilor. However, he criticized Cai Jing as a self-seeking minister merely pretending to be a reformer, and found himself, for this and other reasons, out of office again. Furthermore, when some influential Daoists at Huizong's court encouraged the emperor in anti-Buddhist policies, Zhang vigorously opposed them. For the final ten years of his life he lived in retirement. During that period he devoted himself largely to Buddhist study and practice and to the affairs of the Buddhist world. He was honored posthumously in 1126 and again by the Emperor Gaozong in 1138 for his unshakable integrity and his opposition to Cai Jing.²⁶ Tang Wenruo 唐文若 in his "Record on Vice Chancellor Zhang's Ancestral Hall," dated 1149, pointed to a saying current among the people that if Zhang had still been alive, the Song could not have been forced to withdraw to the south.²⁷

As a learned lay scholar of Buddhism who called himself "the Inexhaustible Layman" (Wujin Zhushi 無盡居士), Zhang had a great interest in the *Huayan Sūtra*. As a scholar and an enthusiast he took part in the Northern Song revival of interest in the *Huayan Sūtra* and the Huayan philosophical school.

The Huayan school was so named because it considered the *Huayan Sūtra* the complete and perfect expression of the Buddha's wisdom in enlightenment. But in fact the masters of the school in their commentaries went well beyond the ideas contained in the *sūtra* and in other *sūtras* and commentaries on which they drew. The school originated in the early Tang dynasty with Du Shun 杜順 (557-640) and Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), and achieved further systematization and renown in China through the agency of Fazang 法藏 (643-712) and Li Tongxuan. Its next great systematic thinker was Chengguan 澄觀 (783-839). He in turn was followed by Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), who is considered the last patriarch in

26 . See Robert M. Gimello, "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-t'ai Shan," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, 89-149; on Zhang Shangying's life, see 91-93.

27 . *Chengxiang Zhang gong citang ji* 承相張公祠堂記, in Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘, *Songdai Shuwen jicun* 宋代蜀文輯存 (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1971), 645.

the Chinese line of transmission of this school.²⁸

The persecution of Buddhism in the 9th century and the disorder of the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods had dealt a severe blow to the Huayan school, which had never had a large popular following. A number of works by Huayan masters were completely lost in China during this period of disorder.²⁹

In the Song, however, the Huayan school experienced a revival through the efforts of Zixuan 子璇 (965-1038) and Jingyuan 淨源 (1011-1088). This revival was helped considerably by a Korean monk, Uich'on 義天 (1055-1101), who visited China between 1085 and 1087, bringing with him a number of the lost Huayan works, which Jingyuan immediately had reprinted.

From early in Zhang's life he read all the available works of the Huayan school, and later found himself in the thick of the Huayan revival.³⁰ In 1088 in an abandoned ruin of a house on Mt. Fang 方山 east of Taiyuan in Shanxi province he found a lost work by the Tang dynasty Huayan scholastic Li Tongxuan. This work was entitled *A Brief Explanation of the Newly Translated Version of the Huayan jing, Being a Treatise That Settles Doubts Concerning the Sequence of Cultivation*.³¹ On reading it Zhang experienced a sudden resolution of his doubts in relation to Buddhism. Thereupon he led a revival of interest in Li's life and teachings.³² He wrote an afterword for Li Tongxuan's work, and he also wrote an inscription about Li Tongxuan's life.³³

28 . See Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, *Chūgoku Keron shisōshi no kenkyū* 中國華嚴思想史の研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo, 1965), a book-length treatment of many aspects of the history of the school from Du Shun through Chengguan.

29 . Kamata, *Chūgoku Keron*, 594-604.

30 . Andō Tomonobu, "Sō no Chō Shōei ni tsuite", 61.

31 . This work by Li Tongxuan, the *Lueshi xin Huayan jing xiuxing cidai jueyilun* 略釋新華嚴經修行次第決疑論, is found in T. 36, 1011c-1048c.

32 . Andō Tomonobu, "Sō no Chō Shōei ni tsuite," 61. The idea of sudden enlightenment enters into the Huayan scholastic tradition with Li Tongxuan. Kojima Taizan calls this new Huayan of Li Tongxuan "Godaizan (Wutai shan 五台山) Keron." Recently the house in which Zhang found Li's text was found by Kojima. Personal communication from Ishii Shūdō. For an account of Zhang's discovery in English see Robert M. Gimello, "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-t'ai Shan" 126, n. 14. On Li Tongxuan in English see Robert M. Gimello, "Li T'ung-hsuan and the Practical Dimensions of Huayan," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, eds. Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 321-89.

33 . The former work, called for short the *Jueyi lun houji* 決疑論後記, is in T. 36, 1048c-1049c. The latter work is included in Lu Yaoyu 陸耀遹, ed., *Jinshi xubian*

Zhang's association in people's minds with Li Tongxuan was so great that it was commonly said that he was a reincarnation of the great Tang scholar.³⁴ But Zhang's contributions to the field of Huayan scholarship did not end with this very significant discovery of Li's text. Zhang also invited the monk Guangzhi Bensong 廣智本嵩 to give lectures on the *Contemplation of the Avatamsaka Dharmadhātu* (*Huayan fajie guan* 華嚴法界觀), a work attributed to the early Patriarch Du Shun, but probably in fact written down by his disciple Zhiyen.³⁵ Bensong's lectures were published as the *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen song* 注華嚴法界觀頌, an important addition to the literature of the Huayan school.

Zhang also had an interest in Chan. He became Dharma-heir to the Chan Linji Huanglong teacher Doushuai Congyue 兜率從悅 (1044-1091), Zhenjing Kewen's Dharma heir, in 1091.³⁶ After his death, Zhang built a tower to his memory, and on Zhang's petition the posthumous title Zhenji Chanshi 貞寂 was conferred on Doushuai by Imperial decree.

According to Dahui's account of his visit to Zhang included in his *Chan Arsenal* (*Zongmen wuku* 宗門武庫), Zhang tested Dahui's Chan insight through a verbal exchange before he even let him in the door. He tested Dahui again when he learned what Dahui wanted. He asked Dahui a Chan question, saying that he would agree to write the stupa inscription if Dahui answered well, and send him home with a refusal and a donation if Dahui answered badly. He apparently found the young Dahui gifted in his Chan conversation, for he agreed to write the inscription, and Dahui says that the two men immediately liked each other very much.³⁷ Zhang also gave Dahui the name Miaoqi 妙喜, "subtle or marvelous joy," a name by which he often referred to himself for the rest of his life.

(..continued)

金石續編 (Facs. reprod.; Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1965), 17.4a-b (401).

34. Andō, "Sō no Chō Shōei ni tsuite," 61.

35. Cf. Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Kegon*, 59.

36. Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* 宋代禪宗史の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1987), 436. Cf. also Isshu Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Zen Dust* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), 265-66, n. 61, in which the fascinating story of Doushuai Congyue's life and an additional detail about Zhang Shangying's relationship with him is told.

37. T. 47.947a.

E. Dahui's Second Visit to Zhang Shangying: Confucian Theory and Anti-Buddhist Polemics

After his first visit to Zhang Shangying, Dahui returned to Baofeng, traveled to study with other Huanglong teachers, and visited Huihong again. At the end of his 31st year Dahui received a letter inviting him to visit Zhang Shangying once more, and in the spring of his 32nd year by Chinese reckoning, in 1120, he arrived at Zhang's home in Jingzhou, where he spent eight months.³⁸ Dahui's accounts suggest that it was during this visit that he learned the most from Zhang.

As the author of an essay called "In Defense of the Dharma" (*Hufa lun* 護法論), Zhang Shangying was a famous "defender of the Buddhist faith" against its critics.³⁹ In the treatise Zhang's primary aim was to defend the truth and the social utility of Buddhism specifically against the attacks of Confucian critics Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and Ou-yang Xiu (1007-1072), whom he criticized severely. Zhang made no attempt to conciliatory toward Confucian opponents. He answered their arguments, but did not try to justify Buddhism from their point of view. For example, he replied directly and by name to the statement by the Daoxue philosopher Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) that Buddhists tried to do the impossible when they tried to "leave the world."⁴⁰ Zhang replied, "When members of the scholar-official class (*shidafu* 士大夫) talk about Buddhism in total ignorance of its profound meanings, they talk like this. It is elementary knowledge that in Buddhism the five aggregates of form, sensations, perceptions, habit-formations and consciousness are the worldly dharmas, while precepts, concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), *vimokṣa* (liberation) and the knowledge and vision of liberation are the dharmas that are beyond the world. Enlightened students of Buddhism, those who are able to attain the dharmas that are beyond the world, may be said to have 'left the world.'"⁴¹

38 . Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 124a-125a.

39 . The *Hufa lun* is found in T. 52.638a-46b. On Zhang's *Hufa lun*, see Andō Tomonobu, "Chō Shōei no Gohōron to sono haikai," *Ōtani gakuhō* 大谷學報 42.3 (Jan. 1963), 29-40. Andō makes a case for this definitely having been written by Zhang, and having been written in the period from 1112 to 1121 when Zhang was living in retirement.

40 . *Honan Chengshi yishu* 河南程氏遺書 18 (*Guoxue jiben congshu* ed.), 8.216, line 8f.

41 . T. 52, 642c.

Zhang suggested that the three teachings of Confucius, Laozi and the Buddha were like the three legs of a *ding* 鼎, a three-footed sacrificial vessel, all necessary to the well-being of the state. But he also argued that one could only attain Confucian virtues needed for good government through Buddhist precepts and meditative practice.⁴² This treatise has been called the most effective rebuttal to Confucian criticisms of Buddhism written by a Buddhist sympathizer in the Song, Jin or Yuan dynasties. Although Dahui never says this, it is possible that during this second visit Dahui discussed the need for a defense of Buddhism, and a good offense on behalf of Buddhism, in the context of the Confucian revival in the northern Song.

In the year prior to his second visit to Zhang Shangying, Dahui had already become aware in a very concrete, bodily way of the need for a defense of Buddhism on a different front. Due to the shifting balances of power among religious and ideological groups at the faraway court, a rather bizarre event occurred that affected all Buddhist monks in China, as a result of which Dahui experienced what he must have felt to be a shameful episode. In the first month of 1119, his 31st year, the new Emperor, Huizong, who favored Daoism, ordered all Buddhist monks and nuns to be called by Daoist titles, wear Daoist dress, and use their lay surnames. Monks were to be called *Deshi* 德士, or “Master of Virtue.” Daoist monks were called *Daoshi* 道士, so “Dao” and “De,” “the Way and its Virtue,” the title of the *Daode jing* 道德經, would be alluded to in these titles for the two groups of servants of the Way. All Buddhist temples and monasteries, and even the Buddhas themselves, were to be given Daoist names.⁴³ The *Annalistic Biography of Dahui* (*Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu* 大慧普覺禪師年譜) tells us that Dahui told an attendant that he himself in the second month of the year, as he was on the road in Jiangxi, was forced to wear Daoist garb and title himself “*Deshi*.”⁴⁴ Fortunately for Buddhists this suppression of Buddhism through “Daoification” ended near the end of the same year.

But quite apart from the need to mount a defense, it was important to Dahui’s education as a future teacher of scholars and

42. See Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, “Zhang Shangying,” 521.

43. Ishii, *Daijōbutsu, Chūgoku, Nihon hen* 大乘佛典，中國，日本編 12: *Zen goroku* 禪語錄 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 463-64.

44. Ishii, “*Nenpu (jo)*,” 123b-124a. To my knowledge there is no reference to this in Dahui’s extant works.

officials in the Song that the two discussed the relation of Buddhist truth and practice to Confucian truth.⁴⁵ In his future career as an abbot and Chan teacher at the highest levels of Song society, Dahui needed to be able to meet later Confucian scholars and classically trained patrons on their own ground.⁴⁶ Zhang's view, that Buddhist and Confucian truth and practice were fully compatible but that only Buddhist practice would enable one to understand and embody this truth in the practice of one's own life, is very close to the one Dahui adopted. A study of his letters and sermons makes clear that Dahui's ability to handle this subject contributed greatly to his eventual success.⁴⁷

F. Dahui's Second Visit to Zhang Shangying: Huayan Buddhism and the Theoretical Underpinnings of Dahui's Chan

The friendship between Zhang and Dahui was probably also very important for Dahui's development as a future teacher and controversialist within Chan. For one thing, it may well have been what set him to studying the *Huayan Sūtra* and Huayan school treatises and commentaries. In Dahui's many reminiscences about his studies in the period before meeting Zhang Shangying, he never mentions the *Huayan Sūtra* or any of the Huayan school authors or works. But his autobiographical accounts of the period immediately after his second visit to Zhang mention his reading and copying Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra*. Furthermore, he himself said that he took a copy of a section of this commentary with him when he enrolled in Yuanwu's monastery at the capital. And not long after his awakening with Yuanwu we again find him studying the *Huayan Sūtra*. In 1128, when Dahui was living at Tiger Hill near Suzhou, he spent the summer reading the *Huayan Sūtra* again. During this reading he experienced a breakthrough to a deeper understanding, a fuller command of skillful means of teaching, and a deeper level of samadhi. Dahui's interest in the *Huayan Sūtra* and its commentaries was life-long; he referred frequently to *sūtra* passages, and quotes Huayan school authors in sermons and letters dating from all the subsequent periods of his life. But it

45 . The *Annalistic Biography* gives an example of such discussion between Zhang Shangying and Dahui. See Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 124-25.

46 . *Yunwo jitan*, *Zokuzōkyō* 148.18a, quoted in Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 124b.

47 . See Levering, "Chan Enlightenment for Laymen," 103-70, for a discussion of Dahui's version of "Three Teachings" thought and for his deployment of Confucian discourse when meeting or instructing lay students.

seems to have been sparked during the eight months he spent with Zhang Shangying.⁴⁸

Most importantly, the visit to Zhang also may well have provided the theoretical foundation for Dahui's later new method of teaching. In his later sermons and letters, Dahui quoted from a text by Zhang called *Zhu qingjing haiyan jing* 注清淨海眼經 when he explained the theoretical underpinning of his understanding of awakening using the categories of *benjue* 本覺 (awakening from the beginning) and *shijue* 始覺 ("awakening for the first time"). These terms are also used in the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (*Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*), a treatise foundational to the Chinese Huayan school. It was also an important treatise to those like Zhang Shangying and Zongmi who sought to understand the Buddha's teachings more deeply and comprehensively by combining Huayan and Chan.⁴⁹ Thanks to Zhang's text, Dahui understood that the belief that one's true Mind or true Nature had been awakened "from the beginning" (*benjue*) was not in conflict with the belief that one needed a definitive moment of awakening, an awakening "for the first time" (*shijue*). Dahui was a tireless advocate of the necessity of *satori*, a recognizable moment of awakening, as an entrance into the true practice of Chan. He criticized contemporary Caodong 曹洞 house teachers because he believed that they failed to emphasize the need for a distinctive

48 . On Dahui's lifelong interest in the *Huayan Sūtra* and its commentaries, see Levering, "Chan Enlightenment for Laymen," 207-39; a large part of one chapter is devoted to Dahui and the *Huayan Sutra*.

49 . Zhang's text called *Zhu qingjing haiyan jing* is now lost. Dahui mentions this text in *Pushuo*, p 466a, and quotes its opening passages in line 8ff. See also Dahui's references to it at T. 47.878b and T. 47.887c-888a. For a discussion of the significance of this, see Ishii, *Sōdai*, 343. The lines that Dahui quotes from this text use the categories of *benjue* and *shijue* as used in the *Dasheng qixinlun* (*Awakening of Mahayana Faith*). *Benjue* means that awakening is always present, while *shijue* means that awakening has an inception in time. In my 1978 dissertation (273-74) on Dahui I saw the importance of this passage from *Pushuo*, 466a and discussed Dahui's understanding of the importance of awakening (*satori*) as *shijue*, and his criticism of Caodong teachings as failing to distinguish *shijue* from *benjue*. I did not point out that Dahui was discussing this in the context of quotations from a text by Zhang Shangying. Subsequent discussion with Prof. Ishii clarified this point. Morten Schlutter also discusses this in his "Silent Illumination, Kung-an Introspection, and the Competition for Lay Patronage in Sung Dynasty Ch'an," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, 113-14.

moment of awakening; he saw this as failing to distinguish *shijue* from *benjue*. While we do not know for sure that he read Zhang's text while visiting Zhang, it seems likely to have come to his attention during the eight months he spent with Zhang. And his quotation from Zhang's text rather than from the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* in his later discussions of this issue shows that he was indebted to Zhang for his grasp of this theoretical point.

G. Zhang Shangying's Advice

Dahui often mentioned that Zhang Shangying was a truly awakened person.⁵⁰ In the *Annalistic Biography* there is a story whose source is unknown that Zhang Shangying consulted Dahui about his understanding of a *kōan* involving Baizhang 百丈 and Mazu 馬祖, and complained that he had met few who could understand his mind. Dahui said that in recent generations there were only the two Huanglong masters Zhenjing Kewen and Sixin Wuxin 死心悟新 (1043-1114) who were on his level and could understand him. Zhenjing of course had died some time ago; Sixin had unfortunately died not long before.⁵¹

One of Dahui's accounts of his meeting with Zhang is of interest because it mentions his own self-doubt, and Zhang's advice:

I told him everything that I had learned. He winked at me. I asked him, "What do you think of the way I talk about Chan?" He said, "What you have seen is very good. The school of the venerable Jun (that is, Zhantang) is very correct, and it seems that it has given birth to a lion." I told him the truth; I said, "I do not dare deceive you or myself. I am not there yet." Zhang said, "If so, you had better see Keqin, the Szechwan monk."⁵²

The later chief minister Zhang Jun in his stupa inscription for Dahui wrote that Zhang offered to give Dahui financial support for that purpose.⁵³

50. *Pushuo*, 466a; T. 47.878bc; 887c.

51. Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 125a.

52. *Pushuo*, 418d.

53. T. 47.836c. The epitaph is appended to *juan* 6 of Dahui's *yulu* in the *Taishō* version. If this is true, then Zhang is, after the donor in Anhui who filled Dahui's subscription book, Dahui's first patron. Zhang apparently knew Yuanwu personally. See Robert M. Gimello, "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-t'ai Shan," 93 and also 125, n. 8.

H. Dahui at the Capital

From Zhang Shangying's home Dahui set out for the capital, though he spent a year en route. In 1122, at age 34, Dahui arrived at the capital. There he again sought Yuanwu in vain and continued to associate with Huanglong teachers.

In the ninth month of 1124, when he was 36, Dahui learned that Yuanwu had been invited to be abbot of Tianning Wanshou 天寧萬壽 Chan Monastery in the capital. He again remembered Zhantang and Zhang Shangying's advice and said to himself, "This old man is a gift to me from Heaven."⁵⁴ He decided to move to Tianning Monastery to be there when Yuanwu arrived.⁵⁵ Yet he was not sure at that point that his future lay in Chan, and he brought with him to Tianning Monastery a copy of Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan Sūtra*.

Even though he was finally following the advice he had received, Dahui was not expecting the great awakening that happened to him in 1125 after forty-two days at Yuanwu's monastery, and the complete and certain awakening that followed half a year later. Following this latter event Yuanwu gave Dahui a residence of his own at Tianning Wanshou Monastery, and allowed Dahui to share in the teaching and preaching duties there. Dahui's career as a fully certified Chan teacher had begun. Yet this profound affirmation of his vocation did not end his commitment to a course of study similar to Zhang's. When he reached the south ahead of the Jin armies and found himself at Tiger Hill in Suzhou without monastic office, Dahui devoted himself for months to further study of the *Huayan Sūtra*, Zhang's great interest. And in his later letters and sermons he frequently quoted from the *Huayan Sūtra*, as well as from Li Tongxuan, Chengguan and Zongmi, three scholars in the Huayan school.

I. Conclusion

Yuanwu expected a lot from Dahui as a future leader of Linji Chan, and Dahui fulfilled this expectation. It was not merely his *kō-an* study with Yuanwu and earlier teachers that prepared him to be an abbot, teacher and leader in the complex intellectual, social

54. Ishii, "Nenpu (jo)," 128a.

55. *Pushuo*, 426b.

and political world of the Southern Song. Dahui's multifaceted education prior to meeting Zhang and thereafter at the capital provided him with thorough monastic and *gongan* training, various kinds of institutional experience, and opportunities to write and edit with the advice of Juefan Huihong, a master poet and writer.

But apart from his *kōan* study proper, perhaps the most fruitful part of his education prior to meeting Yuanwu occurred in Dahui's two visits with Zhang Shangying. Those visits gave him the opportunity to get a sense of Buddhism's position in the larger culture of the Song from the era's most politically experienced and polemically astute Buddhist layman. They gave him useful discussions of the relation between Confucian truth and Buddhist truth with a sophisticated thinker who had the Confucian training that he lacked. They gave him his first personal experience with the important institution of lay patronage. They most likely also introduced him to the serious study of the *Huayan Sūtra*. Most importantly, they gave him the theoretical foundation in Huayan school philosophy that enabled him to advocate and explain his distinctive approach to Chan practice, the endeavor toward obtaining of a *rutou chu* 入頭處, an initial entrance into the Way, by means of the inspection of a *huatou* 話頭.

In short, I would suggest that Dahui's ability to teach the *huatou* practice and his ability to explain it to philosophically trained, intellectually astute lay patrons and students such as Zhang Jiucheng were crucial foundations of his success. So was his ability to understand the discourse of Confucian-trained scholars. These abilities helped him to attract patrons and promote Linji Chan practice at the highest levels of Southern Song literati society. The limits of the myth of how a Chan master's competence is acquired are exposed by the obvious fact that successful *kōan* study by itself would not have brought Dahui the same kind of response from Song literati culture. For that he needed what he learned from a scholar.

If we are to argue that our picture of the formation of Chan masters must change, it would seem that we must argue that *sūtras* study and the study of the basic ideas of scholastic Buddhism were as much the norm as the exception among future Chan masters in the Song. How unusual was Dahui's pursuit of *sūtra* study? How unusual was his study of texts related to a major Chinese Buddhist philosophical school? How rare was it for a Chan master to be able to explain his approach to realization of enlightenment in terms of Buddhist theory?

As Dahui makes clear in his autobiographical narratives, study of "discourse records" of Chan masters and listening to Chan

teachers talk about the teachings and *kōans* of ancient Chan masters was the core curriculum of Chan study. But *sūtras* were also available for study. While the Chan monastic codes such as the *Chanyuan qinggui* make no provision for *sūtra* lectures as a regular part of Chan instruction, they also make it clear that Chan monasteries contained libraries and librarians expressly to make *sūtras* available to monks for study. And of course monks and nuns chanted *sūtras* as part of certain rituals.⁵⁶

In her essay entitled “Ch’an Education in the Sung: Ideals and Procedures,” Yü Chün-fang reports that “after laboriously combing all the biographical materials on Chan monks of the Sung, I have only come up with forty-nine monks for whom information about their scriptural knowledge was available.”⁵⁷ She does not tell us in the essay how many biographies she examined, but given the texts she says she consulted, the number was certainly in the hundreds.⁵⁸ The sources she consulted would not have yielded all Chan biographies. Nor would they yield all the relevant informa-

56 . For example, see the thirteenth century monastery plans for Tiantongshan Jingde Monastery 天童山景德寺 and for the Beishan Lingyin Chan Monastery 北山靈隱寺, included in the *Gozanjissatsuzu* 五山十刹圖 and reprinted in the *Zengaku daijiten* 禪學大辭典 (Tokyo: Komazawa University Large Dictionary of Zen Studies Editorial Office, Daishukan shoten, 1977), 3:12-13 (photograph section). Both of these large monasteries had a sutra repository and a sutra reading hall in which monks could study. On this topic see Yü, “Ch’an Education;” T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism,” in *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China*, 147-208; and Yifa, “The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery: An Annotated Translation and Study of the *Chanyuan qinggui*” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996), especially the section beginning on 256 on the duties of the *Zangju* 藏局, or “Director of the Library.”

57 . Yü, *Ch’an Education*, 80.

58 . She lists the works she consulted: they were the *Fozu lidai tongcai*, five successive versions of the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* up through the *Da Ming sengbao zhuan*, and a sole representative of the “transmission of the flame” genre, the *Wudeng huiyuan*, which is an abbreviated combination of five earlier “transmission of the flame” texts. I am sure that this list would not yield all Song Chan biographies, since the extant *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* contains only 84 biographies, the *Nan Song Yuan Ming sengbao zhuan* only 95 for the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties, and the *Wudeng huiyuan* is an abbreviation of five transmission of the flame compilations, which themselves were not complete. I estimate that the genealogical charts in the *Large Dictionary of Zen Studies* (*Zengaku daijiten*) contain about 9000 entries for Song Dharma-heirs.

tion for those that she found. Including other “transmission of the flame texts,” and the nearly one hundred and fifty extant funerary inscriptions (*taming* 塔銘) for Song Chan monks would I am sure have yielded more biographical information. So would the eleven important collections of Chan “notes” (*sui biji* 隨筆記) indexed by Ishii Shūdō.⁵⁹ And as Yu notes, surveying the much larger library of “Discourse Records” (*yulu*) for individual masters would likely also yield many more indications of *sūtra* reading and familiarity with the ideas of scholastics among Chan masters in the Song.

Even so, no matter where one looked, one would find as Yu did that the information on this point for less well-documented masters would be sketchy and incomplete. I join Yu Chun-fang in believing, on the basis of the references that one does find in reading broadly through this literature, that literacy was common among monks and nuns. I likewise believe that knowledge of perhaps eight or nine basic *sūtras*, including the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and the *Huayan Sūtra* was not uncommon among Chan monks, nuns, and laity of both sexes. That we are not told of a given master’s *sūtra* study is may reflect what the genre of Ch’an biography was expected to include rather than of a lack of *sūtra* study. In that genre only exceptional training in *sūtra* exegesis or unusual interest in a particular *sūtra* or scholastic specialty would be likely to be reported. The anecdotes and examples cited by Yü support the view that Chan monks studied *sūtras*, while even some lay women practicing at home were reading texts from the Huayan school and composing their own Buddhist verse in response. The reason why what we can know of Dahui’s interest presents a fuller picture may primarily be because the sources for his life and education outside his biographies are vastly richer than those for any other Song master or Dharma-heir.

Furthermore, another piece of evidence comes from the “One Hundred and Twenty Questions” from the *Chanyuan Code* (*Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規) compiled by Zongze in 1103, that

59 . For a list of the extant funerary inscriptions, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 555-63. On funerary inscriptions as a source of Buddhist biography, see Koichi Shinohara, “Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: *Stupa* Inscriptions and *Miracle Stories*,” in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville, California: Mosaic Press, 1988), 119-28. Ishii’s index to Chan *suiji* collections can be found in Ishii Shūdō, “Juichishu Sodai zenmon zuihitsushu jinmei sakuin” 十一種宋代禪門隨筆集,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 42 (1984): 175-126 (Part 1); 43 (1984): 295-53 (Part 2).

Yü translates in full as an appendix to her essay. This document lists questions a monk should ask himself to test the efficacy and seriousness of his practice and attainment. It supports the supposition that a certain degree of literacy in *sūtras* and scholastic teachings could be expected in a Chan monk.⁶⁰ Among the questions were the following:

Is your spirit calmed by the three contemplations [of the empty, the unreal or provisional, and the mean]? Have you studied deeply the “six qualities” (*liuxiang* 六相)? Have you understood thoroughly the ‘ten mysteries’ (*shixuan* 十玄)? Have you harmonized the perfect causes for the “six stages” [of the Bodhisattva career]? Have you attained the ‘ocean of fruition’ of the ‘ten bodies’ of the Buddha (*shishen guohai* 十身果海)?

The “six qualities,” “ten mysteries,” and the “six stages” are Huayan concepts explained by Huayan patriarch Fazang; the “ten bodies” is from the *Huayan Sūtra*; and the “three contemplations” is from Tiantai scholasticism. None of these technical terms would be self-explanatory without study. Thus the list offers strong support for the idea that Chan monks and nuns had a practical grasp of certain technical terms and teachings from the Huayan and Tiantai schools.

How did the myth that to become a Chan master one needed neither *sūtra* study nor scholarly study become established? The discourse of Chan masters and editors of Chan compilations is certainly largely responsible for fostering this myth, which must have been influenced by Chan’s rivalry with Tiantai scholastics in particular. Chan teachers no doubt believed that they had in *kōans* a unique, attractive and effective curriculum. They no doubt believed that the realizations possible through *kōan* study with a master were superior to those attained in scholastic contexts, and that Chan was the only available transmission of the awakened mind of Śākyamuni Buddha. But it was also in their interest to hold and reinforce such beliefs. Many stories in Chan literature show *sūtra* lecturers defeated by Chan masters, shown up for possessing a kind of knowledge that is “book learning” only. Even Dahui, who brought up *sūtra* passages and scholastic concepts in his sermons and letters, also frequently pointed out that scholars

60. This list of questions is found in *juan* 8; Yifa does not translate beyond *juan* 7.

often merely count the jewels that belong to others without finding jewels of one's own.

Dahui probably did not in fact make any particular study of *sūtras* in the first part of his career as a Chan student, for he never mentioned *sūtra* study as a part of his own formation prior to his visit to Zhang Shangying. And he advised his own Chan students to concentrate on *kōans* and *huatou* to the exclusion of *sūtra* reading until they reached satori. After they realized that breakthrough, then the abstruse words and concepts of *sūtras* that puzzle scholars and the uninitiated would suddenly make sense. Responding to the poem of a successful woman student, Dahui underlined what she had expressed in her verse about her own surprise at how easily and profitably she read *sūtras* after her satori. "I often say to the brothers," he said, "When you have finished investigating Chan, all of the words in *sūtras* will be [as familiar] as going out of your own house to take a walk, [as familiar] as meeting with someone you knew in the past."⁶¹

How unusual was the opportunity Dahui enjoyed to spend months with a respected Buddhist scholar? Here no doubt Dahui was exceptionally fortunate. The breadth and intellectual sophistication of what Dahui was able to offer monastic students and lay patrons for the rest of his life probably excelled that of most Chan monks. He was not only familiar with *sūtras* and scholastic concepts, he was able to deploy them in his teaching, including the teaching of intellectuals. That he developed this ability was due I believe in part to his good fortune in spending time with Zhang.

Dahui's willingness and ability to speak the straight language of *sūtras* and scholastics, to explain in theoretical terms what Chan study sought to accomplish, he may have owed to Zhang Shangying. But that willingness may also have cost him some credibility among Chan and Zen opponents. The Japanese Caodong master Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200-1253), for example, dismissed Dahui as one who did not understand Chan, but merely memorized a few scripture passages from which to preach!⁶² The myth of the nar-

61 . On Zhang Jun's mother's awakening and this sermon, see my "Lin-chi Ch'an and Gender: The Rhetoric of Equality and the Rhetoric of Heroism," in *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, ed. Jose Ignacio Cabezon (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1992), 137-56; see esp. 147-50. Dahui's "great awakening" came after he had begun sutra study. But his model of "realization first and then sutra study" fits what he told his hearers of his own life experience, if we take into account that before his first references to his own sutra study he had at least had initial experiential realizations of his own.

62 . On Dōgen's criticisms of Dahui, see Carl Bielefeldt, "Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen," in *Dōgen Studies*, Kuroda Institute

row but deep Chan education not only continued, it also could be used against one's opponents. But I would offer the speculation supported by Dahui's story, by the stories of others, and by other scattered indications, that among the Chan masters most successful at working with the elite, including of course Dōgen himself in his latter years, it was more myth than reality.

(..continued)

Studies in East Asian Buddhism 2, ed. William LaFleur (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 21-53.