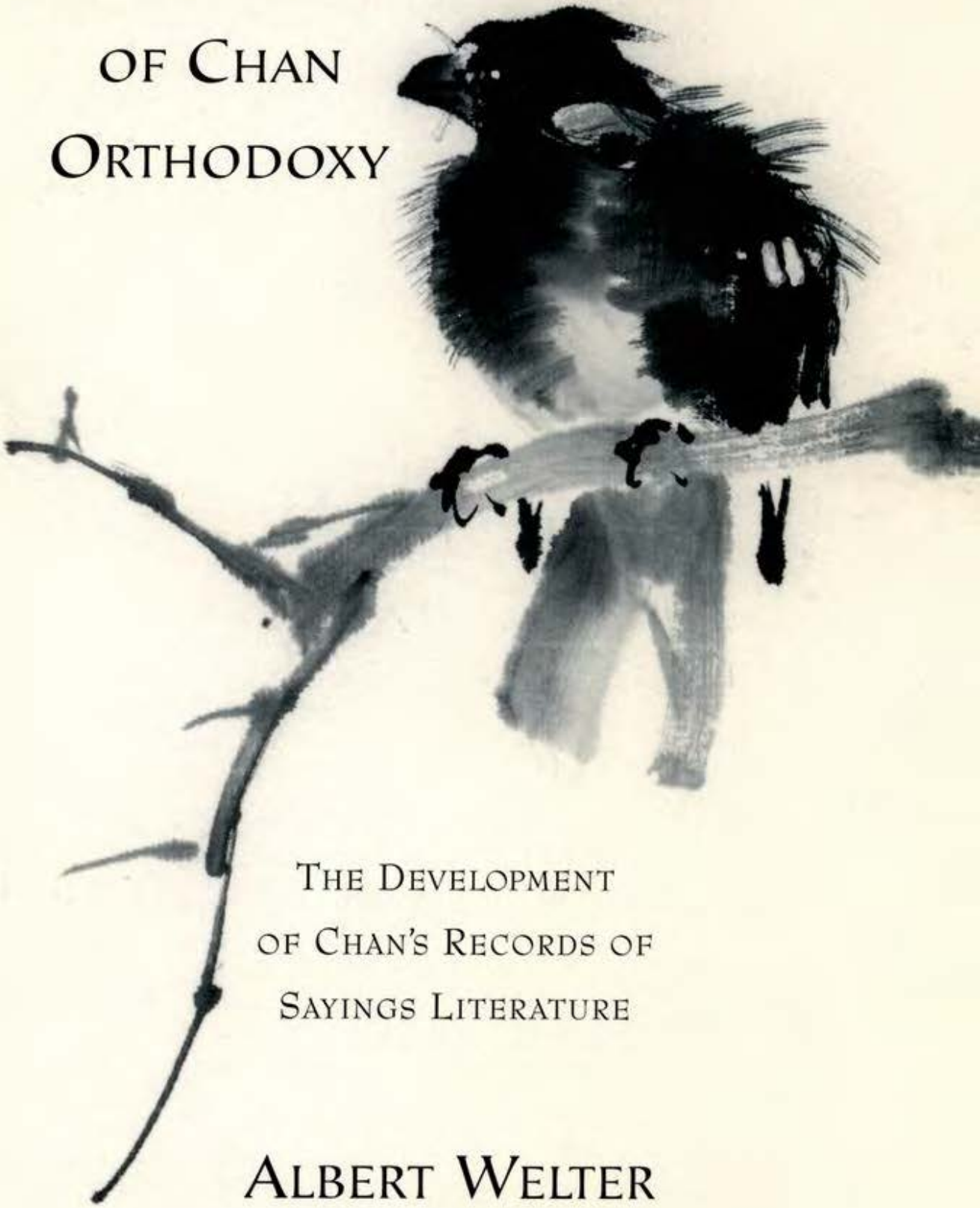
The *Linji lu* and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy



The Development of Chan's Records of Sayings Literature

Albert Welter

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Chengling stūpa of Linji Yixuan. Photograph by the author.

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ALBERT WELTER

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Linji si insignia on main gate with top of Chengling stūpa in the background. Photograph by the author.

Preface

Some 250 kilometers southwest of Beijing lies the bustling provincial capital of Hebei province, Shijiazhuang. Greatly overshadowed by its northern neighbor, Shijiazhuang nonetheless displays all the chaotic exuberance of a small, prosperous Chinese city at the beginning of the twenty-first century. As little as a hundred years ago, Shijiazhuang was a small, nondescript hamlet, not unlike those currently passed when traveling by train from Beijing. Until Shijiazhuang developed as a major northern rail link, the center of the region was the city of Zhengding, historically known as Zhenzhou, the location of Linji Monastery. While the vicissitudes of history have taken their toll in this area as in most regions of China, some important monuments remain: the Longxing Monastery with its massive Song dynasty Guanyin statue, revolving sūtra book case, Manichean Hall, etc.; and the pagodas of the local Kaiyuan, Tianning, and Guanghui monasteries. While these sites remain as relics of a flourishing past, only one monastery in Zhengding, the Linji Monastery (or Linji si), pulsates with life as contemporary Chinese Buddhism revives after decades of dormancy. Not far away in the district of Zhaoxuan, the Bailin si, located on the grounds of Zhaozhou's old monastery, enjoys much greater prosperity, but the Linji si is the only active monastery in contemporary Zhengding.

The most prominent fixture of the Linji si is a tall pagoda in the center of a large courtyard in front of the main hall. The pagoda is

named the Chengling stūpa and purportedly houses the remains of Linji Yixuan. According to historical records, the stūpa was erected to house Linji's cremated remains when he died in 867. Periodically refurbished over the centuries, the relation of the current stūpa to its original form is highly disputable. Like the monastery in which it stands, the stūpa symbolizes the way in which teachings attributed to Linji were reshaped through the vicissitudes of time. The archaeological-like examination of Linji's teachings that form the core of this work have been accompanied by similar excavations into surrounding terrain—the character of Chan orthodoxy and the processes governing Chan *yulu* formation.

The vicissitudes that shaped how Linji Yixuan was perceived are not just a thing of the past but continue into the present. When I visited the Linji si, some thirty odd resident monks and a handful of nuns attended the afternoon service in the Buddha Hall, in front of a gilded image of Śākyamuni. The style of the temple reveals much about contemporary Chinese Buddhism but bears few of the marks that Linji Yixuan purportedly left over Chan and Zen practice. The image of Śākyamuni in the main hall is flanked by two disciples, presumably Ānanda and Mahākaśyāpa, representatives of the two forms of dissemination of Buddhism: the exoteric teaching recorded in the scriptures and the esoteric mind-to-mind transmission promoted in Chan lineages. In front of this triad stands a small red-robed statue of Guanyin, a leading figure of Buddhist devotionalism. Streamers with the names of Buddhas hang from the ceiling. At the sides of the hall are eighteen gilded arhat statues. At the rear of the hall, there is a larger image of a multiarmed Guanyin facing out the back, with images of Puxian (Samantabhādra) on an elephant and Wenshu (Manjuśrī) on a lion flanking the sides, facing forward. An explanatory billboard in the courtyard at the front of the hall explains the three pillars of the monastery in typically Buddhist fashion, based on following the precepts, practicing meditation, and developing wisdom. The only concessions to a "Chan style" appear in the form of two placards on the side hall leading to the monk's quarters, which read: *zhaogu huatou* (consider carefully the "turning phrase" of your gong'an/kōan), and *nianfo shi shei* (who is it that invokes the Buddha?). Still, these concessions are more indicative of the Chan-Pure Land synthesis that came to typify Chan and Buddhist practice in China than to anything relating to Linji Yixuan. The monastery bookstore sells copies of the recent Chinese edition of the *Linji lu*, as one might expect, but it also sells copies of other texts such as Yongming Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*. The impressions from this visit provide a suitable postscript to the discussions regarding the *Linji lu*, the creation of Chan orthodoxy, and the development of Chan's records of sayings (*yulu*) undertaken in the current work.

Although I write from China, this work exposes my indebtedness to Japanese scholarship, particularly Japanese Buddhist scholarship, on China. Japanese scholars and Japan have been instrumental in my education regarding many different things, perhaps the least of which relates to Linji and the present work. Having said this, I cannot imagine this book without the experiences that Japan afforded me. For many people in a variety of fields of Asian Studies, Japanese scholarship affords the most detailed and sophisticated treatment of sources and materials, and I, too, fall into this category. While it is fashionable to expose the shortcomings of Japanese scholarship on Chan and Zen studies these days, the prodigious accomplishments of this scholarship continue to have a commanding influence over the field. It remains to be seen whether current and future generations of scholars, Japanese or otherwise, will be able to match the accomplishments of these predecessors. As a case in point, the scholarship of Yanagida Seizan, which figures so prominently in the pages that follow, tends to be viewed by the current generation of Japanese scholars as a trend whose luster has passed in favor of the linguistic-based scholarship of Iriya Yoshitaka. While applauding the linguistic approach that Iriya helped pioneer, I am reluctant to let Yanagida's insights lie fallow, however much revision they may ultimately need. Yanagida's recent passing reminds us anew of the immense footsteps we follow in. Aside from the writings of Yanagida, two scholars from Japan have had a particularly large impact on my career.

Koichi Shinohara first introduced me to Japan through his family, whose kindnesses are too numerous to mention and to whom I am forever indebted. I remember fondly sitting in Koichi's father's study in Meijiro, an area of Tokyo, enjoying the view of the aged plum tree in the garden that graced the house with its presence and that Koichi's father lovingly tended as a protective ancestor. Koichi's sister, Keiko, helped arrange for my first residence in Japan, in an era when foreigners were unwelcome in all but a few neighborhoods. I will never forget the day I moved in. Keiko and Koichi's mother bought presents for me to dispense to the neighbors. We went from door to door, where they time and again fell to their knees, humbly apologizing for the unimaginable inconveniences and unmentionable atrocities that would result from having *gaijin* neighbors. As it turned out, their fears were justified and over the next couple of years, like most novices in Japan, I proved unusually adept at overstepping the limits imposed by Japanese propriety.

Koichi himself was an indefatigable advisor, and it was only after spending time in Japan that I realized how lucky I was to work under him. While many academics in Japan understand the tools of modern academia, few are so well versed that they operate seamlessly in a Western environment. It is especially rare for such a one to be interested in Chinese culture. Honing graduate

students is an art unto itself. I remain forever indebted to Koichi's persistent efforts to shape me as a scholar and a person and, above all, for the friendly camaraderie that ensued in the process. I am a much different scholar as the result of his guidance, and my entire outlook on matters relating to China and Japan were greatly altered as a result.

Through Ishii Shūdō, I was introduced to Japanese scholarship *in situ*. I marveled at the discipline brought to bear upon the Japanese "team approach" at Komazawa, whose efforts yielded such monumental works as *Zengaku daijiten* (the three-volume encyclopedic dictionary of Zen Studies) and *Enō kenkyū* (Research on Huineng). While I ultimately opted for a more interpretive and less bibliographic approach, I cannot help but be grateful to the tedious attention given to bibliographic resources in the works of Japanese scholars like Ishii. On a personal note, Ishii sensei also shared some of his personal and private travails with me over the years, and through him I realized that the dilemmas of modernity and the passing of tradition were still palpable realities in contemporary Japan. I am especially grateful to Ishii and his late wife, Emi, for providing temporary shelter during one of my brief sojourns to Tokyo. Through conversations late into the night, aided by copious quantities of *sake*, I was offered another rare glimpse into the normal life of an accomplished Japanese scholar.

When I try to put these experiences into perspective, I am reminded that Japan has been studying China for a long time, arguably since the inception of its civilization. As Japan encountered Western academic methods some one hundred and fifty years ago, it has attempted to graft its age-old insights about China's tradition and culture, as well as its own, into the idiom of modern academia. Whatever flaws have accompanied this attempt, we are foolhardy to ignore the results. This is especially true in the field of Zen studies. In spite of the sectarian grip over much of Japan's best research on Zen, the nuance and sophistication that characterize it have been unmatched, many would argue, until quite recently.

Having said this, it seems a little odd for someone like me to write about the topics covered in this book. In Japan, I studied at Sōtō Zen affiliated Komazawa University, where the subject of Linji (or Rinzai) was seldom broached. On top of this, as those who know me will testify, I have a very un-Zen-like personality, as this term is commonly understood. From my Catholic upbringing, I am quite comfortable with mediated approximations of the sacred, and direct experience as an apprehension of "truth" strikes me as fantasy. Yet, intellectual curiosity leads us in unintended directions. The subjects of Linji and the development of Song dynasty Chan orthodoxy were compelling. My effort to understand these is reflected in the pages that follow.

Portions of the current work were presented at scholarly meetings, and some have appeared independently, in separate formats. Chapter 1, "Defining Orthodoxy in the Chan/Zen Traditions," formed the basis of a presentation given at the Nineteenth World Congress of the International Association of the History of Religions in Tokyo (2005). Portions of chapter 2, "Tracing the Elusive *Yulu*: The Origins of Chan's Records of Sayings," were delivered at the Fourteenth Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London, England (2005), and at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion held in Philadelphia (2005). Portions of this chapter were also extracted for publication as "Chan and Neo-Confucian Discourse Records (*Yulu*) in Comparative Perspective" in *International Confucian Studies* (*Guoji ruxue yanjiu*). Chapter 3, "Narration in Action: Early Fragments of Linji's Teachings," originated as a paper delivered for the Zen Seminar group at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion in Toronto (2002). Chapter 4, "Giving Form to the Formless: The Formation of the *Linji lu*," was prepared for the Third Korean Conference of Buddhist Studies held at Haein-sa (2006) and appeared in the *Proceedings of the Third Annual Buddhist Studies Conference in Korea, Volume 2* (2006) as "The Formation of the *Linji lu*: An Examination of the *Guangdeng lu/Sijia yulu* and *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* Versions." Chapter 5, "Strange Brew: The Fictional Background to *Yulu* Encounter Dialogues," was delivered for the conference "Harmony in Discord: Buddhism as a Means of Integration Across Culture," Peking University (2006).

Through these presentations, I have benefited from numerous comments, suggestions, and assistances. In this regard, I would like to thank Ogawa Takashi of Komazawa University for introducing me to Shan Chun of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, from whom I have incurred debts beyond counting for assistance provided while in Beijing. I would also like to thank Jinhua Chen for his invitation to participate in the conference at Peking University. I am grateful to Haein-sa for the opportunity to experience the rigors of a Chan-style monastic life while attending a conference there. While the opportunity to observe monastic regimen was insightful, I was reminded why it was better for me to study monks than to be one. In this regard, I am grateful to Guang Xing of Hong Kong University, who saved my knees from further deterioration by offering me more comfortable accommodation and enjoyable conversation during my last night at Haein-sa. Although not related directly to the current work, I am grateful to Chae Young Kim of Sogang University in Seoul, who made me work harder, and thus enjoy and learn far more than I would have otherwise, during my sojourn in Korea. Dale Wright and Steven Heine have continued to encourage my work over the years in ways for which

I continue to be grateful. At different junctures, Bob Sharf and Koichi Shinohara posed questions that challenged me to think harder about interpretations I put forth. John McRae brought to my attention a possible oversight, which I have attempted to remedy. Both Phyllis Granoff and Paul Groner offered encouraging comments after reading a draft version of chapter 5 during jet-lagged, sleepless nights in Beijing. I appreciate James Robson's encouraging comments after reading portions of the manuscript. Shaul Katzenstein also read drafts of portions of the manuscript with keen attention, and his suggestions helped improve the quality. Colin Shelton provided invaluable help with German sources and in providing access to resources unavailable in Beijing. I would also like to thank the team at Oxford University Press, specially Cynthia Read, Executive Editor, Daniel Gonzalez, Editorial Assistant, and Christi Stanforth, Production Editor, for their efforts in bringing the manuscript to completion. I am continually grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, whose support makes my research possible.

The conventions governing the use of names and citations in the current work are, for the most part, standard to the field and do not need articulating here. I have striven to use *pinyin* spellings of Chinese names throughout and converted Wade-Giles Romanization to *pinyin* whenever possible. I have foregone the inclusion of a glossary of Chinese characters in favor of inserting them on first appearance in each chapter and occasionally elsewhere when I felt it was warranted.

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Introduction

The position Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866) occupies in Chan tradition, including its affiliated lineages in Korea and Japan, is indisputable. Linji is heralded as the leading representative of Chan Buddhism during the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–906). The record of his teachings, dialogues, and activities, the *Linji lu* 臨濟録 (Record of Linji), serves as a primary example of the iconoclastic, antinomian, and unconventional spirit for which Chan and Zen are well known. However, the story of the *Linji lu* that I consider here is not the story of one man, Linji Yixuan. It is the story of a movement. The success of this movement contains the story of Chan's rise to prominence. In brief, this book on the *Linji lu* does not focus on Linji the man and the style of Zen he represented but looks at the *Linji lu* in light of the success of Chan, particularly the Linji faction, in Song China. A look at the development of Linji's teachings tells us how the image of Linji was shaped through various records and how the words and teachings attributed to him evolved through the filter of memory and imagination.

In spite of Linji's overwhelming significance, little attempt has been made to systematically study the textual record of his teachings in English, in spite of the existence for many years of English translations of the *Linji lu*. As a result, much of the Western, even scholarly, world is content to read the writings attributed to him at face value, as reliable records of the teachings of the historical figure, Linji. The current work is designed to bring to the English

language much of the scholarly literature available in Japanese about the development of the *Linji lu*.[1] However, I have not simply tried to reproduce what is available in Japanese, especially in the scholarship of Yanagida Seizan, but have also attempted to challenge prevailing assumptions in certain areas, particularly regarding the origins of the *yulu* 語録 records. I have also tried to set the analysis of the *Linji lu* in a broader historical framework, to show how the text was manipulated over time through the designs of the Linji faction.[2] Linji, obviously, was not born a patriarch (unless one reads the pious accounts of later predictions regarding his destiny literally), but his image was forged to reflect this as the status of the faction claiming descent from him rose in prominence. As a result, the story I tell here is not about the illustrious patriarch of legend from the Tang dynasty "golden age of Chan" but about the motivations of Linji faction descendants in the Song dynasty (960–1279) who created the myth of Linji. The creation of Linji as a major Chan patriarch was a calculated effort serving the interests of the Linji Chan faction. The myth was subsequently transmitted to Korea and Japan, where it resonated to the point that Linji 臨濟 (as Imjae or Rinzai) served as major representative of the "true" Chan spirit. The power of this myth remains palpable down to the present day, as new advocates from beyond the shores of Asian countries come under Linji's sway.

As a result, the story of the *Linji lu* is not simply the story of one heroic figure, Linji Yixuan, but the story of an entire movement that sought validation through retrospective image making. The success of this movement contains the story of Chan's rise to prominence. A look at the various layers of Linji's recorded teachings tells us how the image of Linji was shaped through various records and how the words and teachings attributed to him evolved to forge a lasting impression in Chan memory and imagination.

However neglected in Western scholarship, as the head of a leading Chan faction in China and Japan, Linji has been the focus of considerable attention among Asian, particularly Japanese, scholars. Until recent years, scholars have largely focused on earlier periods in the development of Chan (sixth to eighth centuries). One of the main reasons for this was the discovery of a hidden library in Dunhuang 敦煌, sealed around the beginning of the eleventh century and rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth. Among the manuscripts uncovered at Dunhuang were a number that challenged the traditional understanding of early Chan history. Much of Chan and Zen scholarship in the twentieth century was understandably focused on sorting, editing, analyzing, and interpreting these documents. The results of these efforts in Japanese scholarship are too numerous to mention but include the ground-breaking studies of Yanagida Seizan (especially *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, A Study

of Early Zen Historical Documents), as well as works by Iriya Yoshitaka and Tanaka Ryōshō and the Zen-affiliated institutions they are associated with, Hanazono University in Kyoto and Komazawa University in Tokyo.

Along with this focus on early Chan history prompted by the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts, presumptions about the Tang dynasty as Chan's "golden age" perpetuated the myths associated with a legendary group of Chan monks that allegedly forged Chan's classical style, including Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), Huangbo Xiyun 黄蘗希運 (d. ca. 850), and Linji Yixuan (d. 866). As the name bearer of one of Japan's most prominent Buddhist lineages, Linji was the focus of much of the Japanese Zen scholarship dealing with this period. Japanese annotated translations of the *Linji lu* (all titled *Rinzai roku*) include those by Asahina Sōgen, Akizuki Ryūmin, Yanagida Seizan, and Iriya Yoshitaka. English translations include Ruth Fuller Sasaki's *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture*, and Burton Watson's *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi*. There is also a French translation by Paul Demiéville, *Entretiens de Lin-tsi*.[3] In addition, Urs App, in conjunction with the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University, has published the *Concordance to the Record of Linji (Rinzai)*.

The works of Yanagida Seizan provide the most sophisticated understanding of the development of Linji Chan in China and its association with the "lamp records" (*denglu* 燈錄) and master's "records of sayings" (*yulu*). Among them are "Zenshū goroku no keisei" (The Formation of Chan Records of Sayings), "Daizōkyō to zenroku no nyūzō" (The Admission of Chan Records into the Buddhist Canon), "Shinzoku tōshi no keifu" (The Genealogy of Lamp Histories), and Yanagida's extensive study of the history and development of Chan records of sayings literature, "Goroku no rekishi" (A Historical Survey of Chan Records of Sayings). An English translation of one of Yanagida's articles, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," is also available. Specifically relating to the *Linji lu*, there is Yanagida's "Rinzai roku nōto" (Notes on the *Linji lu*).[4]

More recently, scholarship in the area of Chan and Zen studies has shifted from the Tang to the Song period. Rejecting the "golden age" hypothesis as an ideological construct of later Chan and Zen schools, scholars in the West, while continually indebted to the advances made by Japanese scholars, have begun to challenge some of their leading assumptions. Particularly singled out was the notion of a "pure" Zen, a leading concept in Zen studies until recently that privileged enlightenment as a pure, unadulterated, and unmediated experience of reality, uncompromising in its provocative assertion of a truth that condemned all vestiges of formalism. As Bernard Faure has pointed out, even

scholars like Yanagida, the father of modern Zen studies, have not been immune to such ideological presuppositions.[5] A changing approach to Chan and Zen's classical figures was first signaled by T. Griffith Foulk in his study of Baizhang Huaihai and the Chan monastic institution.[6] Following this, Foulk has published groundbreaking studies challenging perceived notions of Chan institutional practices and ideas, including "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism" and "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an."[7] A number of important works on the development of Chan and Zen continue to appear, freer of the ideological tinge that had suffused much of Chan and Zen scholarship. Among them are works relating to Song Chan by Peter Gregory, Rob Gimello, Morten Schlütter, Dinghwa Hsieh, Miriam Levering, and Chi-chiang Huang.[8] In Japan, groundbreaking work on Song Chan has been carried out by Ishii Shūdō, while Shiina Kōyū has published his extensive study of the Song and Yuan sources containing Chan manuscripts.[9] Peter Bol's work provides insight into the intellectual trends dominating Song Confucianism.[10] While scholars clearly distinguish between historical figures like Linji and the texts attributed to them like the *Linji lu*, no one has yet done a systematic study of the text against the background that produced it. This has been the aim of the current project.

The high regard accorded Linji and his teachings is directly connected to the prestige won by members of the Linji faction at the Song court and reflects their attempt to gain legitimacy and sanction for their interpretation of Chan. The *Linji lu* is the product of this faction's assumption of power. It involved numerous stages of development, culminating in the publication of an independent text in honor of Linji and his teachings. Because of the historical factors involved in the process culminating in the *Linji lu*, it is important to distinguish between the historical figure of Linji and the text that bears his name. Failure to make this distinction leads to erroneous assumptions about the completeness of our knowledge of Linji's actual teachings. More important, it implicitly accepts ideas attributed to Linji forged in the Song context that have contributed to the notion of a Tang "golden age" of pure Chan. The approach of the proposed research is that the Tang "golden age" is a product of Song Chan revisionism. An analysis of how the *Linji lu* was formed and the factors that contributed to its development will help to clarify my position.

Like many early Chan figures, the life of the historical person Linji is shrouded in legend. The relevant details of Linji's life have been ably interpreted by Yanagida Seizan in his article "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan."[11] The record of Linji's sermons, dialogues, and activities in the *Linji lu* are presented as if they were eye-witness accounts of the activities of Linji the man. While

they may have indeed been inspired by the actual words and deeds of Linji, over 250 years separate Linji's life (d. 866) and the compilation of the *Linji lu* in its standard form (1120). Even though the *Linji lu* is frequently read as a direct reflection of the words and deeds of Linji the man, the situation was obviously otherwise. Linji wrote nothing himself, but it seems to have been an increasingly common practice at the time for students to keep notebooks recording the content of sermons, conversations, and interactions with masters. The earliest surviving record of such material is the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Patriarch's Hall Anthology), compiled in 952. A compilation that includes material on around 250 masters, the *Zutang ji* used *xinglu* 行錄 (records of activities) or *shilu* 實路 (veritable records) as sources. Shortly after the *Zutang ji*, a scholastic Chan monk by the name of Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) issued the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-Mirror) in 961. The *Zongjing lu* was devoted to harmony between Chan and scholastic Buddhism and thus stood in contrast to the independent Chan that the *yulu* (records of sayings) materials promoted. In spite of this, Yanshou recorded a few "new" Chan materials in his compilation, among them being some fragments of Linji's teaching. With the reconsolidation of the Chinese empire by the Song emperors beginning in 960, Chan assumed hitherto unheard of importance in official circles.[12] Supported by high-ranking officials and members of the elite with close ties to the emperor, Chan enjoyed great prestige. When the classic work of Chan transmission history, the *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era Lamp Transmission Record), a compilation including the records of over 1,700 Chan personalities, appeared in 1004, it was issued under imperial sanction with a preface by Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020), one of the leading officials and literary figures of the day. The *Jingde chuandenglu* included not only a record of Linji but also excerpted fragments of Linji's teaching in a special section appended to the main body of the work. Linji was one of only twelve Chan masters to have his teachings recorded in this way in the *Jingde chuandenglu*, indicating the rising tide of support for Linji in Chan circles. The inclusion of the emperor's current reign designation (*jingde* 景德) in the title of the work symbolized a new era of official recognition for Chan. This official recognition for Chan coincided with the rising influence of the Linji faction at the Song court. The *Tiansheng guangdenglu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era Supplementary Transmission Record) compiled by Li Zunxu 李遵勗, a son-in-law of the emperor, in 1029 confirmed Linji Chan dominance at the Song court. One of the features of this work is the inclusion of chapters devoted to the "records of sayings" (*yulu*) of prominent Chan masters of a lineage culminating with Linji: Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, Huangbo Xiyun, and Linji Yixuan. The inclusion of full versions of these masters'

sayings in the *Tiansheng guangdenglu* suggests to Yanagida Seizan that these chapters represent the contents of the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), compiled some time early in the eleventh century but available to us now in only a seventeenth-century version.[13] The work of documenting the teachings of these masters is connected directly to Linji faction aims to substantiate and validate their legitimacy as representatives of "true" Chan at the Song court. The version of the *Linji lu* recorded in the *Tiansheng guangdenglu* represents the earliest known version of the full contents of the *Linji lu*. The *Tiansheng guangdenglu* version and the "standard" *Linji lu* text compiled in 1120 differ only in the arrangement of their contents, with no significant difference in wording. While translations of the *Linji lu* have already been done, none have acknowledged the significance of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu/Sijia yulu* text of Linji's teachings as the earliest complete version.

The present project is an extension of my previous research leading to the publication of *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*. In this work, I explored the social and political background and salient religious aspects relating to the formation of Chan identity in early Song China. An analysis of several key Chan "transmission records" (*denglu*) from this period formed the basis of this research. The current research may also be considered as a continuation and expansion of my long-term research interests in early Song Buddhism, especially the adaptation and transformation that occurred in Chinese forms of Buddhism between the Tang and Song dynasties. In general terms, Tang Buddhism is associated with scholastic schools such as Huayan 華嚴 and Tiantai 天台 that dominated the Tang religious world. With the demise of the Tang, Buddhism (especially the dominant scholastic schools) became implicated in the weakening state of Chinese society. The aristocratic structure of Chinese society also collapsed with the Tang, giving way first to regional independence movements supported by local military governors (*jiedu shi* 節度使), known as the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, or Ten Principalities (907–959), which eventually ceded to Song authority. The early Song was a time of great transition. Aristocracy gave way to an emerging gentry class. Song society itself was represented by a new urban culture, supported by numerous recent technological innovations. The advent of printing resulted in a rise in literacy and prompted the development of new literary styles to accommodate the artistic tastes of the new elite. Utilization of new varieties of rice resulted in increased production, a growing economy, and a population boom. Among the intellectual classes, Buddhism fell out of favor, replaced by a renewed interest in China's native ideology, Confucianism. Within the context of this social and intellectual transformation, Buddhism sought to redefine itself.

The aim of my previous book was to examine Chan identity as portrayed in formative texts, the so-called "lamp-records" (e.g., *Zutang ji*, *Jingde chuandenglu*, *Tiansheng guangdenglu*) and the *Zongjing lu*, against their social, political, and religious background and the motivations of their compilers. I also assessed the way classic Chan identity was established against the background of the multilayered phenomena of the Chan school. Through the analysis completed in this phase, I realized how complex the story behind the Chan *yulu* fragments was and decided to embark on a study of the development of the *Linji lu* as an example of the *yulu* formation process.[14] In addition to focusing on the fragments of Linji's teaching recorded in previously studied compilations, I examined the context surrounding the standardization of Linji's teachings represented in the compilation and publication of the *Linji lu* as an independent record.

In passing, it should be noted that the Song dynasty was an important period in the development of Chan literature. Not only were the five classic Chan "lamp records" compiled during this period, Chan's classic *gong'an* 公案 (J. *kōan*) collections were also compiled at this time. Moreover, this was the period when great numbers of Chan *yulu* began to be compiled and published in honor of the great masters of the Chan tradition. The formation of the *Linji lu* must be viewed in the context of this broad interest in Chan and records of sayings literature during this period.

As a result, this book on the development of the *Linji lu* contributes to our knowledge in a variety of ways: it provides an in-depth study of the formation of the *Linji lu* (Record of Linji), one of the main primary sources of a leading faction of Buddhism in East Asia; it contributes to our understanding of how Chan Buddhism, particularly the Linji (J. Rinzai, K. Imjae) faction, assumed a dominant role in Chinese Buddhism; it shows how the ascendancy of Linji Chan in China is connected to the support it received from official circles, how the rise of Linji Chan is intricately connected to its position as a form of officially sanctioned Buddhism in the Song; it discusses the nature of orthodoxy in Chan Buddhism, especially as a function of the Linji faction in the early Song; it suggests that Linji Chan flourished as a Song phenomenon and that the conception of a Tang "golden age" of Chan was the product of Song revisionism, promoted largely by Song Linji faction patrons; it demonstrates how the genre of literature known as Chan *yulu* (records of sayings), the unique contribution of Chan to Chinese literature, came into being, using the *Linji lu* as an example; it provides an analysis and translation of the earliest known fragments and versions of Linji's teachings, showing how recorded documentation of Linji's teaching evolved over time and determining the significance related to each stage in the documentation of Linji's legacy; and finally, it

demonstrates how the *Linji lu* fits into the compilation and publication of *yulu* in the Song. The book is aimed at students and scholars of Buddhism and East Asian cultures but will also be of interest to members of the general public interested in Buddhism and Zen.

In an attempt to provide a brief overview, the contents of individual chapters may be described as follows:

Chapter 1—Defining Orthodoxy in the Chan/Zen Traditions

This chapter examines the nature of orthodoxy and its applicability to the Chan tradition. It examines key, and hitherto unacknowledged, dimensions of modern Zen orthodoxy by suggesting D. T. Suzuki's 鈴木大拙 ideological links to Japanese nativism, represented by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (father of the Shintō revival) and Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 (Japan's preeminent neo-Nativist thinker). The chapter concludes with a review of the development of Chan orthodoxy in the Northern Song (960–1127), including sections on: (1) The First Crisis in Chan Orthodoxy: Shenxiu 神修 and Shenhui 神會; (2) The Importance of the Study of Early Song Chan; (3) The Crises over Chan Orthodoxy in the Early Song; (4) The Legacy of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存; (5) Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人 + 登), the *Zutangji*, and the Chan Movement in Nan Tang 南唐; (6) The Fayan Faction 法眼宗 and Chan Orthodoxy in Wuyue 吳越; (7) Zanning 贊寧 and Wuyue Chan Orthodoxy at the Song Court; (8) Chan Transitions: The *Jingde chuandeng lu*; and (9) The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* and Linji Faction 臨濟宗 Orthodoxy.

Chapter 2—Tracing the Elusive *Yulu*: The Origins of Chan's Records of Sayings

This chapter explores the origins of one of Chan's most distinctive literary genres, the *yulu*, or records of sayings. While *yulu* are frequently read as reliable accounts of a Chan master's teachings and utterances, the origins of the genre are shrouded in obscurity. This chapter shows how the *yulu* genre developed as a literary and rhetorical device to help Chan champion a new identity and a new claim to orthodoxy. After examining the nature and origins of *yulu*, the chapter includes sections on predecessors to the *yulu* genre and explains how these predecessors (e.g., *yanjiao* 言教 or oral teachings) were shaped into a new literary form. The chapter also includes comparisons with Neo-Confucian *yulu*, which were beginning to appear at roughly the same time.

Chapter 3—Narration in Action: Early Fragments of Linji's Teachings

This chapter is, in effect, a case study of the *yulu* formation process based on an examination of the earliest recorded fragments of Linji's teachings. The chapter analyzes the forces that determined Linji's image and demonstrates how these forces shaped the way that Linji's teachings would come to be remembered. It stipulates that the memory of Linji was a fluid process that was constantly evolving according to contemporary influences. It includes sections examining the development of Linji's most famous teaching, "the true man with no rank," the development of accounts of Linji's awakening and dharma-transmission from Huangbo, prophecies regarding Linji's destiny as an illustrious Chan master, and the transmission of Linji's teachings after his passing.

Chapter 4—Giving Form to the Formless: The Formation of the *Linji lu*

This chapter examines the compilation of Linji's teachings into a full-fledged *yulu*. My analysis investigates the two versions of Linji's *yulu*, the version that first appeared in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (compiled 1029) and was later incorporated into the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), and the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄 (Records of Sayings of Chan Master Huizhao of Linji in Zhenzhou; compiled 1120), which serves as the "standard" version of the *Linji lu*. While the contents of the two versions show minimal variation, the order in which the contents are presented is significantly different. My analysis demonstrates how the different order exposes the motivations of the compilers of the respective versions. It exposes how evolving notions of orthodoxy determined which aspects of Linji's teachings should receive priority.

Chapter 5—Strange Brew: The Fictional Background to *Yulu* Encounter Dialogues

Chapter 5 reflects on the emergence of the Chan *yulu* genre based on an examination of the development of the *Linji lu*. It contests the prevalent view that *yulu* are primarily a reflection of notes taken by students of private

conversations in the "back rooms" or private quarters of the Chan abbot, arguing that the back room is no more than an artifice to bolster Chan pretensions as a secret, mind-to-mind transmission. While later Chan custom ritually reenacted this pretension through gong'an (or kōan) investigation including private interviews between master and student, this practice is actually based on a literary artifice developed out of the need to present Chan as a new and dynamic form of Buddhism. To support this claim, and to forge a new sense of orthodoxy based on it, the prosaic style of Buddhist lecturing and sermonizing was transformed into a dynamic encounter exposing an authentic, existential form of enlightenment. To effect this transformation, Chan story tellers relied on fictional motifs current in literati circles since the late Tang.

Toward a Conclusion: The *Linji lu* and the Process of *Yulu* Formation

The final section ties up some loose ends and provides concluding reflections regarding the process of Chan *yulu* formation, particularly as reflected in the *Linji lu*.

1

Defining Orthodoxy in the Chan/Zen Traditions

Orthodoxy is my doxy,
heterodoxy is another man's doxy.
—George Gordon, Lord Byron

Introduction: On the Use of the Term *Orthodoxy*

Orthodoxy plays an important role throughout religious traditions in determining correct (*ortho*) doctrine (*dox*), a belief in established teachings and standards to orient the proper application of practice and ritual. How is orthodoxy determined? Who defines it? How is it sanctioned? My aim here is to explore notions of orthodoxy in Chan/Zen Buddhism as a function of those defining it and the circumstances governing their interpretation. Rather than assume Japanese Rinzai Zen interpretations as normative, as has frequently been the case in modern discussions of Zen in the West, I explore alternate models of orthodoxy in the Chan/Zen tradition, attempting to shed light on how questions relating to orthodoxy are decided and what criteria are used to determine orthodox principles and practices. My concern, in short, is not so much what Chan and Zen orthodoxies are or have been but how they came to be and what forces shaped them. My aim is to demonstrate how orthodoxy functions as a contested terrain used by competing groups to sanction their interpretations and marginalize opponents. Rather

than posit a single orthodoxy, which is the aim of orthodoxy itself, multiple orthodoxies exist in Chan/Zen tradition, rooted in the sociopolitical and religiospiritual concerns of contending groups and historical circumstances. I am particularly interested in how orthodoxy was framed in the texts central to the formation of classical Chan identity compiled in early Song China (ca. 960–1050), when concerns about Chan orthodoxy entered a decisive stage, the period when Chan entered the process of defining what would become, for many, its enduring identity. The formation of orthodoxy during this period had a lasting influence on the subsequent development of Chan-inspired traditions throughout East Asia, Sŏn (or Soen) in Korea, Zen in Japan, and Thiên in Vietnam.

Before launching into this discussion, a few preliminary concerns must be addressed. First of all, there is the applicability of orthodoxy itself to this context. Some may argue that *orthodoxy*, as a Latin term whose provenance derives from the Christian West, has little and perhaps only mistaken applicability to Chan or Zen traditions. If Western terminology must be applied (unavoidable if one operates outside traditional Chan/Zen linguistic regimes, most notably classical Chinese), the argument goes, Chan/Zen might better fall under the rubric of *orthopraxis* rather than *orthodoxy*. The stipulation here is that Chan and Zen are not predicated on notions of salvation tied explicitly to belief, as are dominant creeds in the West. Like most other East Asian religions, Chan and Zen are really about *what one does*, a series of cultural habits that define them, rather than what one believes. The concern over *orthodoxy*, the argument goes, should be reserved to traditions that stress faith and correct belief as requisite for salvation. For practitioners of other traditions, according to this perspective, who engage in activities as part of ritualized social conventions and who may have little understanding or interest in the beliefs they derive from, concerns that mark *orthodoxy* recede into the background. I do not dispute the value of emphasizing *orthopraxis* over *orthodoxy* and its applications in the East Asian and other religious contexts for calling attention to practitioners' unconscious and unarticulated religious activities, but I do not see this as an excuse for ignoring the very powerful role exerted by orthodoxies in East Asia, including the Chan and Zen traditions. Controversies over orthodoxy in Chan, for example, rarely concerned internal issues of monastic training or spiritual cultivation. The focus was on the public, political role of Chan in society, on debates about how to secure prestige, patronage, and privileges.[1]

There is no denying, however, that the origins and use of the term *orthodoxy* are deeply implicated in the often heated debates over correct doctrine in the Christian West, codified in such documents as catechisms and oral professions of faith such as creeds. The word *catechism* comes from the Latin *catechis-*

mus (Greek, *katēchizein*), pertaining to oral instruction in the form of questions and answers, while the word *creed* comes from the Latin *credo* ("I believe"), the formal summary of religious belief and authoritative statement of doctrine.[2]

Catechisms and creeds may appear as harmless and uncontroversial statements of faith and belief, but their benign facade masks the conflicts they were born of and the disputes they intended to resolve. According to legend, the Apostles' Creed—the most famous summary of the Christian faith—was composed by the twelve apostles on the day of the Pentecost, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[3] Recourse to ancient authority is a recurring feature of orthodoxy, as in this case, where presumption on the Creed's origin rests with the apostolic fathers, operating under divine guidance. Throughout the Middle Ages, Christians readily subscribed to this fantasy of the Creed's sacred origins. All points of doctrine contained in it were considered part of the Catholic Faith and could be called into question only under pain of heresy.[4] Eventually, the Apostles' Creed became part of catechismal instruction authorized by the Council of Trent in 1566. The Roman Catechism was conceived in reaction to the threat posed by Christian reformers. The lack of systematic knowledge of Christian doctrine among Catholic clergy and the resulting neglect of religious instruction for the faithful was initially filled by Protestant Reformers, who took advantage of the situation by issuing popular tracts and catechisms that attracted increasing numbers of converts. The Church Fathers who convened at Trent resolved "to apply a salutary remedy to this great and pernicious evil, and thinking that the definition of the principal Catholic doctrines was not enough for the purpose, resolved also to publish a formulary and method for teaching the rudiments of the faith, to be used by all legitimate pastors and teachers."[5] The Catechism served as the Church's official manual of popular instruction, a systematic and standardized presentation of the tenets of Church doctrine.

What does this tell us about the relationship between creeds, catechisms, and orthodoxies? The purpose of creeds and catechisms, and of the orthodoxies they authorize, is never far from political necessity and expediency. They are designed and authorized by legislative bodies, whether religious or secular, to standardize and legitimize the beliefs and practices of both teachers and followers. Because Christianity places such a high priority on faith as a means to salvation, creeds became an important measure of basic requisites for that salvation in Christianity. Buddhism, it can be argued, places less priority on orthodox views as an imperative for enlightenment the way faith functions as a prerequisite for salvation in Christianity, but one must concede that "right" or "correct" views are an essential component of the eightfold path, a requisite for nirvāna.

While Chan Buddhism has no catechisms or creeds, it is not above formulaic expressions of its basic tenets. In this regard, one is reminded of the prevalent use of slogans to define basic Chan/Zen principles: "A special transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan/kyōge betsuden* 教外別傳); "do not establish words and letters" (*buli wenzi/furyū monji* 不立文字); "directly point to the human mind" (*zhizhi renxin/jikishi ninshin* 直指人心); and "see one's nature and become Buddha" (*jianxing chengfo/kenshōjōbutsu* 見性成佛).[6] As with other orthodoxies, Chan/Zen formulae function as fundamental statements of principles, devised on the basis of political and social contingencies. What distinguishes orthodoxies, then, is not the assumption of a "correct doctrine" deemed as universally valid, a seemingly ubiquitous characteristic of ideologically based belief systems, but the protocols that shape them and give them their unique formulation.[7]

What is revealing about any orthodoxy, in other words, is not so much what it stipulates as "correct" but the climate and context that produce it. Any orthodoxy, properly understood, establishes a mental regime with defined patterns of ideological inclusion and exclusion, administrative jurisdictions of the intellect that determine what is allowed and what is not. Once established, orthodoxies regulate the habits of conformity through which a tradition operates. One well-known example from the Chan tradition is the determination of Huineng as sixth patriarch. Highly controversial, once the determination of Huineng's position became established, the new regime of orthodoxy demanded that all Chan factions link themselves to Huineng both genealogically and intellectually.

Not only is the term *orthodoxy* appropriate in discussing Chan and Zen, it would be impossible to talk about the public posture that Chan and Zen assumed without recourse to the term or some such like it. In addition to the authenticating and legitimating function that *orthodoxy* attends to internally by establishing the parameters of correct belief and doctrine, it is the political dimension that merits special attention in the case of Chan and Zen. Based on my comments above, one would expect any discussion of religious orthodoxy to include social and political ramifications. In the case of Chan, one must go farther and underscore how secular political actors orchestrated the orthodoxies implemented. In addition to resulting from intersectarian rivalries, religious orthodoxies in Chan exhibited strong political and social dimensions, and the administrative organs of government played leading roles in establishing regimes of orthodoxy in East Asia.[8] The influence that religious attitudes and activities had over the populace was never far from the concern of East Asian governments, who strove to ensure that religious aspirations coincided with officially authorized aims.

Before addressing the subject of Chan orthodoxy in Song China, it is necessary to consider, at least briefly, the influence of contemporary Zen orthodoxy over our current understanding of Chan and Zen. My discussion of the patterns of orthodoxies in Chan begins with an overview of current Zen orthodoxy.

Suzuki Daisetsu's 鈴木大拙 Zen Orthodoxy as *Nihonjin ron* 日本人論 (Japanism)

The formation of modern Zen orthodoxy is a complicated process rooted in Japan's reaction and adaptation to modernization and westernization. The figure most readily identified with Zen's twentieth-century renaissance, at least internationally but also widely acknowledged in Japan, is Suzuki Daisetsu, commonly known by the Western rendering of his name as D. T. Suzuki. Others have written perceptively regarding Suzuki's role in forging a modern Zen identity and the influences that inspired him.[9] My aim here is not to replicate what they have done but merely to remind us of what constitutes Suzuki's interpretation of Zen and to briefly indicate the context it rose from.

No one would deny the overwhelming influence Suzuki's interpretation of Zen had on the creation of contemporary Zen orthodoxy. So prevalent is Suzuki's interpretation that it would be hard to find a Zen or Zen-related movement anywhere in the world that had somehow not come under its sway.[10] Even Buddhist movements unaffiliated with Zen, including Theravāda ones, often fall under the spell of Suzuki's persuasive interpretation in their quest toward modernist reforms.[11] And as Robert Sharf has pointed out, the amazing thing about Suzuki, "an extraordinary and inspiring figure—an indefatigable champion of Zen who made a lasting impact on a generation of philosophers, theologians, writers, and artists, in addition to scholars of religion," is not his apologetic, proselytizing tone or its success but the uncritical way with which it was accepted by Western scholars.

> My consternation is directed not at the profligate apologetics of men like Suzuki and Hisamatsu, even though I suspect that their rhetorical excesses ultimately do a disservice to their own cause. Rather, I am dismayed by those Western scholars who uncritically accept these Japanese missionaries as living representatives of an unbroken tradition, and who refuse to acknowledge the ideological and rhetorical dimensions of the Zen of men like Suzuki.[12]

Future generations of scholars will be left to ponder over the reasons that Western academics, espoused champions of critical enquiry based on a tradition of skepticism, fell under the spell of Eastern, Pied Piper–type sages like Suzuki.

Before adopting an overly critical assessment of Suzuki, it is useful to recall the role Suzuki's interpretation of Zen played in challenging assumptions of then contemporary Buddhist Studies in the West: the presumed orthodoxy of Indian Buddhism and the Pali canon, the prejudice against Mahāyana, and the power and arrogance of the Western Buddhist establishment to exclude Asian Buddhist voices as authoritative.[13] It is also useful to remember the aptly termed "Protestant presuppositions" that governed the study of Indian Buddhism in the West, with decided and uncritical preference for text and doctrine, especially the texts and doctrines of religious founders, as providing unmediated access to Buddhism in its original and truest form.[14] According to these presuppositions, the Pali canon became the equivalent of the Bible, the dialogues of Śākyamuni paralleled the sermons of Jesus, and the activities of Śākyamuni's main disciples were reminiscent of the Acts of the Apostles. Perhaps more important, Protestant presuppositions served to substantiate the authority of Western scholars, who, through their newly acquired philological tools, assumed themselves privy to the direct "revelations" of the Pali scriptures in the original language, independent of and superior to the mediated interpretations of these scriptures accepted by Asian Buddhist authorities. The imperialist and orientalist assumptions associated with such claims are now well acknowledged to the point of needing no further explication. Suzuki's polemics were aimed, in part, at breaking these hegemonic assumptions held by contemporary Western Buddhist scholars.

Japan faced a similar imperialist, hegemonic threat from the West, and Suzuki's interpretation must also be framed within the context of Japan's response to the crisis, especially the threat it posed to Japan's cultural autonomy. Numerous examples could be cited here relating to Japan's response and the role played by prominent intellectuals.[15] Rather than focus on the philosophical responses to this dilemma proposed by members of the Kyoto School 京都派, as is often done, I would like to introduce briefly the ideas of the pioneer of Japanese folklore studies (*minzoku gaku* 民俗学), Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男 (1875–1962), as indicative of Japan's response to the threat Westernization and modernization posed to Japan's cultural autonomy.

Yanagita Kunio's program of Japanese folklore studies was based on an anthropological category, "folk culture," devised as a descriptive concept applicable to illiterate peasant communities.[16] Like so-called "primitive" cultures, illiterate peasant communities relied on oral transmission to pass on their

customs and lore, but unlike "primitive" cultures, peasant communities were not totally isolated from the urban societies of modern civilization. Hence, the concept "folk culture" was devised to fill a gap in anthropological studies between the local, isolated cultures of "primitives" and the institutionalized cultures of urban societies. Folk cultures formed the "little traditions," to borrow the terminology of Robert Redfield, which were independent yet influenced by the "great traditions" of urban literate societies. For Yanagita Kunio, however, "folk culture" was not only a descriptive academic discipline but was also used to address ideological concerns about Japan's culture. The study of folk customs in Japan served as a means "to intuit Japan's 'basic' or 'deep' culture (*kisō bunka* 基層文化) and deep religiosity (*kisō shinkō* 基層信仰) which lay as bedrock beneath the 'superficial' (*hyōsō* 表層) levels of literate culture and religion."[17] Japanese folklorists imported the concept of "basic" or "deep" culture from German folklorist Hans Naumann's work, *Kultur der Mutterschichten*, believed to have influenced the Nazis in their construction of a German racial myth.[18] As a result, in the interpretation of Sakurai Tokutarō, "folk religion (*minkan shinkō* 民間信仰)," for Yanagita, "was comprised of those oral folk transmissions (*minkan denshō* 民間伝承) which the Japanese have always believed," and "[i]t was precisely this body of traditionally transmitted folk religion which formed indispensable material for the Japanese people's understanding of the true mental history of their ancestors." Implicit here is the notion of a "basic" or "deep culture" (*kisō bunka*) in Japan underlying the expressions of "surface cultures" (*hyōsō bunka*) that have manifested themselves throughout Japanese history.[19] For Yanagita, Japanese folklore studies constituted a "new nativism" (*shin kokugaku* 新国学), the enduring spirit of Japan revealed through rural folk culture and a bulwark against the damaging superficialities of modern city life.[20]

Suzuki, who lived in the West and experienced Western intellectual life first-hand, mapped Japan's cultural enterprise on a broader canvas with far-reaching implications. Operating in an international, though primarily Western, intellectual arena, Suzuki cast Zen not only as an expression of Japan's basic or deep culture, the enduring spirit of Japan's religiosity, but also as a kind of bedrock Asian, and even world, religiosity. Rather than a quaint, somewhat idiosyncratic form of Buddhism characteristic of Japan and other East Asian societies, as was the normative view in Western academies where Buddhism was studied, Suzuki challenged that Zen was a spirituality of the highest order, representing the culmination and crystallization of the philosophies and religions of East Asia.[21]

Even more than this, Suzuki claimed for Zen a unique and superior place among all the world's philosophies and religions. By undermining the very

notions of philosophy and religion, Suzuki carved out a special place for Zen as a kind of "philosophy of no-philosophy" or "religion of no-religion," what we otherwise might refer to as a "meta-philosophy" or "meta-religion."[22] For Suzuki, philosophy represented a system of thought founded on logic and analysis, characterized by a dualistic mode of thinking. It relies on the rational ability of the mind to conceptualize and organize, analyze and categorize, activities anathema to Zen. Likewise, Zen could not be counted as a religion according to Suzuki, as it has no God, no ceremonial rites, no heaven, no soul, and is "free from all these dogmatic and 'religious' encumbrances."[23]

Surprisingly, given the emphasis on meditation in Zen, Suzuki proclaimed that Zen was not even a form of meditation but a universal mode of being in the world. The fundamental object of Zen is discovering the real nature of one's mind or soul. To facilitate this, Zen aims to expose one to the realm of pure feeling (feeling in its "deepest sense" or "purest form"), free of conceptual thinking, to experience "no-mind" or "no-self."[24] Moreover, though Zen is a form of mysticism, it is "a mysticism of its own order."[25] It represents a systematic training of the mind, a recovering of the sense of awe and mystery in the mundane events of daily life. When viewed from a Zen perspective, even the most ordinary incidents of daily life "vibrate with divine meaning and creative vitality," making us live in the world "as if walking in the garden of Eden."[26]

Ultimately, according to Suzuki, Zen delivers where other religions and philosophies cannot. It offers the means to recover one's true nature and walk in the domain of original purity, to discover the truth of nonduality beyond the purview of logical analysis and conceptual thinking. Hence, Suzuki positioned Zen on the stage of world religions and philosophies in a manner reminiscent of the way Yanagita Kunio posited Japanese folk culture as the deep bedrock beneath individual, superficial expressions of culture in Japan. In *Nihonteki reisei* 日本的霊性 ("The Soul of Japan" or "Japanese Spirituality"), for example, Suzuki describes Zen's fundamental influence on the life of Japanese people in terms highly reminiscent of Yanagita's descriptions of Japanese folk culture: "The fact that Zen manifestly encompasses the uniquely Japanese spiritual nature does not just mean that Zen has thrust roots deeply into the life of the Japanese people. Even more than this, it is preferable to describe the life of the Japanese people as uniquely Zen (*zenteki* 禅的, or "Zen-like")."[27]

For Yanagita, the real purpose was not so much to denigrate earlier expressions of Japan's "high" culture as to circumscribe modern imported cultural fashions from the West as not true reflections of Japan's "real" and enduring culture. For Suzuki, the purpose seems to have been twofold. Domestically, Suzuki rescued Zen from fading into obscurity as a quaint relic of Japan's

antiquated past by casting it as an expression of Japan's enduring religious values, inhabiting and informing the unconscious spirituality of the Japanese people. In this sense, Suzuki's interpretation of Zen is tied, in a broad sense, to Yanagita's ideological program for Japanese folk culture as an expression of the "deep" culture of Japan. Like Yanagita, Suzuki provided a means for preserving and enhancing Japan's cultural autonomy in the face of rapid westernization and modernization. Internationally, Suzuki posited Zen as the foundation for nothing less than a new world order, using it to challenge the intellectual regimes on which the very notion of modernity is based. In this respect, Suzuki's international mission coincided with that of the nation of Japan itself. By reviving its Shinto 神道 heritage of divine descent from Amaterasu 天照, Japan conceived itself as a divinely privileged nation among nations, with a special mission to propagate its culture among the nations of the world, especially Asia. Suzuki's interpretation of Zen as a unique expression of Japan's spiritual heritage melded easily with this nationalistic agenda.

The notion of Japan as possessing an inherent culture beneath its surface expressions throughout history was not an innovation launched by Yanagita or Suzuki. The notion of Japan's "pure" Shinto heritage was expounded by the Edo 江戸 period Shinto revivalist, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), and it is to Norinaga's interpretation of the special role of Shinto as Japan's true spiritual heritage that both Yanagita and Suzuki are indebted. This is not to say that Suzuki is in agreement, per se, with Norinaga's assessment of the special role of Shinto. Rather, it is more correct to say that the special role Norinaga claimed for Shinto, Suzuki declared for Zen.

For Norinaga, Japan's ancient tradition conveyed a unique legacy among the world's nations. The "true way" may be "one and the same, in every country and throughout heaven and earth," claimed Norinaga, but it "has been correctly transmitted only in our imperial land."[28] The "true way" spoken of by Norinaga refers to the ancient tradition memorialized in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters) and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (or *Nihongi* 日本紀, Chronicles of Japan), the tradition of the *kami* 神, who created, roamed, and ruled the world in the divine age and established Japan as their sacred domain. Although lost elsewhere in the world, this ancient tradition was preserved in Japan, as represented by the divine descent of Amaterasu's nephew and the mandate of imperial rule that followed.

> Because of the special dispensation of our imperial land, the ancient tradition of the divine age has been correctly and clearly transmitted in our country. . . . The "special dispensation of our imperial land" means that ours is the native land of Amaterasu who casts her light

> over all countries in the four seas. Thus our country is the source and fountainhead of all other countries, and in all matters it excels all others.[29]

The activities of the *kami*, their spirit of creativity, are deemed by Norinaga as beyond the ken of human understanding; they must be understood as miraculous and spiritual acts "beyond the comprehension of the human intellect." In this regard, he was quite critical of any form of rationalism, especially the Confucian variety that enjoyed great popularity and prestige as a result of Neo-Confucian intellectual dominance during the era of Tokugawa 徳川 rule. In place of the rationalistic explanations of Neo-Confucianism allegedly inspired by China's sage-kings and promulgated by Confucian scholars, Norinaga promoted the sacred mysteries and awe-inspiring feats of Japan's great founding *kami*. Against the moralizing doctrines of the Confucians, Norinaga championed an aesthetic experience allegedly woven into the fabric of Japan's culture, the living legacy of Japan's ancient tradition embodied in the emotional nature of the country and its people. Central to Norinaga's aesthetic experience was the notion of *mono no aware* 物の哀, which may be described as an expression of deep feeling in the heart.[30]

Essentially, *mono no aware* suggests a deep emotional capacity that resonates sympathy and harmony with human sentiments, especially regarding the sorrow of human experience. Speaking about good and evil in the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語), Norinaga writes:

> Those who know the meaning of the sorrow of human existence, i.e., those who are in sympathy and in harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as good; and those who are not aware of the poignancy of human existence, i.e., those who are not in sympathy and not in harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as bad.[31]

For Norinaga, the aesthetic experience allows one to feel as the *kami* themselves do, to share the mysterious and awe-inspiring sensation of the divine. In addition to the deep emotion felt in regard to things and events, Norinaga also accentuates the spontaneous and compelling quality of a *mono no aware* aesthetic.[32] Poetry was, for Norinaga, the most appropriate means to express the spontaneous feelings of one's deepest emotions. Distinguishing between emotion and passion, Norinaga stresses that emotion is more sensitive to things than passion, which aims only at the control or acquisition of things. Emotion is expressed through poetry.

> Poetry follows the principle of the sorrow of existence and attempts to express without adornment the bad as well as the good. Its aim is

> not to select and arrange for the heart that which is good or bad. . . . it [poetry] aims to give expression to an awareness of the poignancy of human life and should not be judged on any other basis.[33]

I think it is easy to draw a connection between Norinaga's "true way" and "ancient tradition" and Yanagita's notion of "deep" or "basic culture." Likewise, I think it is easy to suggest Norinaga's *mono no aware* aesthetic as a basis for Yanagita's idea of a "traditionally transmitted folk religion that formed indispensable material for the Japanese people's understanding of the true mental history of their ancestors." Through their *mono no aware* aesthetic, the Japanese people preserved the emotional experience of the *kami* themselves (expressed in terms of the "way of the gods," *kami no michi* 神の道 or *kamunagara* 神ながら). This aesthetic was at the heart of what Yanagita claimed to have captured as the enduring and unique aspects of Japan's folk culture.

The parallel between Norinaga and Suzuki is less direct in that Suzuki faced the obstacle of presenting Zen, a Chinese-based interpretation of Buddhism, as the essence of Japan's unique spiritual heritage, a role that Norinaga reserved for Shinto. Leaving this aside for the moment, one can see a distinct commonality in Norinaga and Suzuki's disdain for rationalism as a mode for understanding and interpreting human experience. While Norinaga's critique was aimed against a Chinese-inspired, Neo-Confucian rationalism, the cultural assault for Suzuki came not from China, which had ceased to be a threat to Japan's cultural autonomy, but the West. While the threat came from a new direction, the basis for Japan's unique cultural integrity remained the same. Through Zen, Suzuki insisted, one "can escape the tyranny of logic," and "acquire an entirely new (i.e., superior) point of view whereby to look into the mysteries of life and the secrets of nature."[34] The emphasis on emotion and experience over passion and logic remained, but the source of this deep emotional experience was no longer tied exclusively to Japan's "ancient tradition." It was a product of an essential Japaneseness, no longer found in a specific tradition but still exhibited in a *mono no aware* type capacity for deep human emotion in harmony with things or events. This capacity for Suzuki is cultivated through *zazen* 坐禅, the Zen discipline for attaining *satori* 悟い, or awakening. As Suzuki maintains, "*Satori* finds a meaning hitherto hidden in our daily concrete particular experiences, such as eating, drinking, or business of all kinds." It is a meaning revealed "in being itself, becoming itself, in living itself." It is the mind abiding in thusness, which Suzuki terms as an "isness . . . which is not isness—and thus free from intellectual complexities and moralistic attachments."[35]

Just as Zen awakening was promoted as the core, groundbreaking experience that opened a new world of spontaneity and mystery, infusing mundane reality with an inherent sacredness, so was Zen tied explicitly to various aspects of Japan's traditional culture, from tea ceremony, flower arrangement, pottery, painting, and poetry, to archery, swordsmanship, and the martial arts.[36] As a result, Zen offered a way to experience Japan's sacred inheritance, not only through its traditional disciplines of *zazen* and *kōan* 公案 investigation but also through the aesthetic appreciation cultivated through cultural pursuits common to ordinary people in everyday life, the kinds of folk activities promoted by Yanagita as emblematic of Japan's enduring cultural values. As Suzuki states: "the artistic genius of the Japanese people has been inspired by the Zen way of looking at individual things as perfect in themselves and at the same time as embodying the nature of totality which belongs to the One."[37] Suzuki's Zen aestheticism is distinguished by the terms *wabi* 侘び and *sabi* 寂び, "an innate longing for primitive simplicity," and "rustic unpretentiousness and archaic imperfection, apparent simplicity or effortlessness in execution, and richness in historical associations."[38] For Suzuki, this represents the ultimate expression of Japaneseness.

In this way, Zen escaped its foreign origins to become the very essence of Japanese culture. It did so by borrowing tactics from Norinaga's strategy book—a critique of rationalism, promotion of an emotional aesthetic as the underlying essence of Japaneseness, an amoral or transmoral understanding of human existence, an appreciation of primitiveness and the sacredness of nature, etc.—and applying them to current circumstances. D. T. Suzuki was not the only member of the Japanese literati to recommend Zen in this manner. Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 and Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎, philosophers of the Kyoto school, also promoted Zen as an unequivocally unique feature of Japanese culture.[39]

Secular members of the cultural establishment played leading roles in establishing Zen as a principal component of Japan's cultural autonomy in modern Japan. Through the efforts of people like Suzuki, Watsuji, and Nishida, Zen was elevated to a new status as a unique cultural treasure. Suzuki exported Japan's Zen heritage as a gem of world culture emanating from Japan's rich spiritual soil. The important thing for Suzuki was its utter uniqueness—it was not of the same category of any of the rest of the world's (especially Western) religions or philosophy. It transcended the inadequacies of logical thinking upon which the Western scientific tradition (and, by implication, Western culture) was based. It offered a new opportunity for the world to understand the errors of its ways by accepting a "made in Japan" solution to the ills of modernity. This was the cauldron from which Suzuki's interpretation of Zen bubbled forth.

Was Suzuki Daisetsu's interpretation of Zen unique? According to it, Zen is timeless and absolute and cannot be reduced to historical or societal forces. Like all good orthodoxies, Suzuki's Zen reconfigures the entire tradition in its own image and likeness—every aspect of Zen history becomes recast in a revelatory progression in the unfolding of timeless Zen truth. Orthodoxies are teleological by nature, culminating at the precise point where authority is assumed. They are suppositions of power translated into standard practices and conventional understanding.

What has all of this to do with Linji?—almost nothing and virtually everything. While my suggestion that Suzuki's modern interpretation of Zen is rooted in the recesses of Japanese cultural presuppositions has no visible link to Linji, Linji's presence lurks beneath the surface at virtually every turn. The *Linji lu* 臨濟録 (J. *Rinzai roku*) is a modern Zen classic that ranks high in the canon of modern Zen literature. Linji's position as a pardigmatic Zen champion reverberated through the ages, down to the present. In modern imagination, his totally awakened personality—iconoclastic, spontaneous, suprarational, morally transcendant, and so on—stands as a beacon to the true Zen spirit. For the likes of Suzuki, following well-arranged rows in the garden of Zen (rows that Suzuki himself helped plant), the "golden age" of Zen was the halcyon days of the Tang dynasty's iconical masters. The seeds of this golden age, transplanted to Japanese soil, found fertile ground. The true Zen spirit from the Tang golden age was thus nurtured and preserved in Japan, where it culminated in Rinzai orthodoxy. While this teleological trajectory defies logical explanation, the potency of its claims found ready and willing collaborators in the makers of Zen's modern mythology. With its alleged origins in India, its maturation in China, and its zenith in Japan, Zen represented both the essence and culmination of a truly Asian spirituality. This Zen paradigm fit well with Japan's own suppostions regarding the uniqueness of its culture and the role that it promised for the rest of the world.

The circumstances of modernity and westernization, the role of Zen presumed by Suzuki to counter these forces and preserve Japan's cultural autonomy—these are circumstances unique to contemporary Zen orthodoxy that provide its unique flavor. But aside from this unique set of conditions, aren't all presumptions of orthodoxy in the Chan and Zen traditions the product of their own set of circumstances and thus "unique"? What I wish to convey here is a sense of the role political and cultural factors play in determining Chan and Zen orthodoxies. When these are taken into account, the supposed uniqueness of Suzuki's interpretation of Zen fades into a pattern suggesting how orthodoxy is created in the Chan and Zen traditions.

The Zen mythology that Suzuki and his contemporaries drew on was not new but based on strong precedents in the Chan tradition. The invention of a "golden age," for example, was not a modern convenience but served the interests of a previous age of Chan proponents who used the technique to validate the Chan tradition, and themselves, at a time when Chan was first coming into its own. It is this set of circumstances that the current work is about, particularly in relation to the circumstances and issues surrounding the formation of the *Linji lu*. This discussion involves not only the *Linji lu*, its early fragments, and its eventual standardization into the text known to us today, but also explorations into the entire *yulu* 語録 (dialogue records) genre: how and why *yulu* like the *Linji lu* were formed, how they evolved, the purpose they served, and the literary conditions that influenced their form and composition. As a prelude to this discussion, I focus on Northern Song China, especially the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, when the parameters of Chan orthodoxy were determined.

Chan Orthodoxy in the Northern Song (960–1127)

The First Crisis in Chan Orthodoxy: Shenxiu 神修 *and Shenhui* 神會

By the beginning of the Song dynasty, Chan had been a prominent feature of Chinese Buddhism for over two hundred and fifty years. Chan first burst onto the scene in a major capacity at the outset of the early eighth century, when its principal protagonist, Shenxiu, was invited to the capital by Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) and feted lavishly and granted court privileges. Prior to this, the East Mountain 東山 Chan group of Daoxin 道信 and Hongren 弘忍 was a local phenomenon that did not command national attention. Shenxiu changed all that. In the words of Bernard Faure, the imperial support received by Shenxiu by Empress Wu Zetian "sealed the destiny of the young Chan school," transforming it "into a triumphant orthodoxy—in peril of turning into a court religion, a courtly doctrine."[40] Shenxiu's triumph was relatively short-lived. Within decades, Shenxiu's reputation was tarnished by the claims of an upstart Chan monk by the name of Shenhui, who claimed that orthodox Chan transmission had passed not to Shenxiu, as Shenxiu's illustrious disciple Puji 普寂 claimed, but through Shenhui's own reclusive master, Huineng 慧能. Chan would never be the same. Almost instantly, the myth of the secluded Chan master was born and elevated to heroic status. This mythology was inscribed in the *Platform Sūtra* (*Tan jing* 壇經) in the famous story of Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 and Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝, as

recounted in an alleged conversation between Prefect Wei 韋 and Huineng. Prefect Wei asks:

> I have heard that, when Bodhidharma was converting Emperor Wu of Liang, the emperor asked Bodhidharma: "I have spent my whole life up to now building temples, giving alms, and making offerings. Have I gained merit or not?" and that Bodhidharma answered saying: "No merit." The emperor was greatly disappointed and proceeded to banish Bodhidharma across the border. I don't understand this story and beg you to explain it.
>
> The Sixth Patriarch said: "Indeed he gained no merit. Do not doubt the words of the great master Bodhidharma. The emperor was attached to a heterodox way and did not know the true Dharma."[41]

According to modern Zen orthodoxy, this story is a prime example of Chan's alleged aloofness from political concerns and the allure of conventional merit-making endeavors. While such activities typify conventional religious approaches, they are unbefitting the ageless truth that Chan and Zen advance. Those who wield this truth as a testament to Chan and Zen's eternal wisdom read the story literally. Apart from reading it as a didactic tale, however, the first things to note are the levels of embeddedness at work here: a story about a conversation between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu contained within a story about a conversation between Huineng and Prefect Wei. Are we entering here a realm suggested by Zhuangzi's 莊子 butterfly dream? The second thing to note is that the earliest known version of this story appears in the recorded sermons of Shenhui.[42] Shenhui used this story as part of his rhetorical strategy for undermining the success of a rival faction, what he dubbed the "Northern School 北宗," in favor of his own "Southern School 南宗." The honor bestowed on his rivals was undeserving if the orthodox Chan dharma lay elsewhere. The convenient ploy resonated to become one of the enduring features of a Chan *mythos* inscribed as history.

I have commented elsewhere on this emergence of Chan on the national scene, to the effect that the real story associated with the struggle involving Shenxiu's relation to Huineng is about the political triumph of Chan in gaining support and recognition by the government and members of the cultural elite, rather than a doctrinal struggle involving the so-called Northern and Southern factions.[43] Chan's success at this critical juncture is determined more by the external circumstances of official acceptance and support for Chan than by the hotly contested nature of true Chan teaching. As distinct from Chan myth, Shenxiu is the real hero who presided over the birth of Chan as a national movement.

As the first "power struggle" in recorded Chan history, the factional controversy suggested patterns for deciding the vexed problem of orthodoxy in Chan. Aside from determining the alleged basis for such questions as correct teachings and the validity of transmission, mainstays of Chan orthodoxy predicated on doctrine and lineage, what emerged from the controversy was a strategy for how to promote one's cause against the allegations of competitors. In this competition, who you knew (i.e., who supported you) was as important (more important?) than what you knew (i.e., your doctrinal positions). In truth, this is probably an oversimplification. One's doctrinal positions were a function of what appealed to one's audience and supporters, and in this case it could be difficult to determine which priority drove the other. Shenxiu and Shenhui both had powerful patrons. It is impossible to view this first instance of Chan's success and the interfactional struggle that ensued apart from the web of patronage supporting protagonists on each side.

Among Shenxiu's official supporters were two reigning emperors (or empresses), Empress Wu and Emperor Zhongzong 中宗, and two future emperors, Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 and Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗. Other members of the imperial family closely associated with Shenxiu were Li Fan 李範, the fourth son of emperor Ruizong and half-brother of Emperor Xuanzong, and the monk Jingjue 淨覺, brother of Empress Wei (Wei furen 韋夫人), the consort of Emperor Zhongzong. Numerous high-ranking officials were also among Shenxiu's government supporters. Most of Shenhui's supporters, on the other hand, were literati who had risen through the exam system during the reign of Empress Wu and played an important role in helping Xuanzong's assumption of power; they were interested in Shenhui's protest movement as a means to support their own cause. In 745, Shenhui was invited to Luoyang 洛陽 by Song Ding 宋鼎, president of the Ministry of War. Influenced by the power of Shenhui's charisma and by his rising status as a leading Chan representative, many Chan adepts began to heed Shenhui's call and switch their allegiance. The "Northern School," however, continued to have supporters among high-ranking officials. One of these, the Imperial Censor Lu Yi 盧弈, accused Shenhui of causing disturbance and had him sent into exile in 753. Had events not taken the turn that they eventually did, Shenhui might have easily passed his remaining years in disgrace. The rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 changed the fortunes of many at the time. It resulted in Lu Yi's death and the recall of Shenhui to the capital in 757 to assist the new emperor, Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–764), in raising funds for his government by selling ordination certificates, a practice that had been forbidden by the former emperor, Xuanzong.[44]

The Importance of the Study of Early Song Chan

Less well known (until recently, almost completely unacknowledged) are the power struggle that occurred in the early Song and the legacy it left on notions of Chan and Zen orthodoxy. Almost all scholars agree, now, that Chan's "classical" age in China would be better assigned to the Song dynasty and not the Tang, as previously supposed. This in itself represents a profound shift away from the assumptions of modern Zen orthodoxy. In orthodox circles, and until recently in scholarly ones as well, the Tang dynasty was Chan's "golden age" and was lavished with unreserved praise. This was because it was the era of Chan's allegedly greatest patriarchs, who single-handedly forged the timeless truths upon which the house of Zen was built.[45] Whatever came after, beginning with the Song, was unremarkable and derivative and bore the unmistakable mark of decline. Until, as modern Zen orthodoxy informs us, the spark of Chan's spiritual greatness was rekindled in Japan.

The question undermining Zen orthodoxy revolves around how to read the sources for classical Chan. Everyone agrees what the sources are: Chan's vaunted transmission records (*denglu* 燈錄), records of sayings (*yulu* 語錄) texts, *kōan* (*gong'an* 公案) anthologies, and collections of monastic rules (*qinggui* 清規). What is at issue is how to understand their contents. There are two basic approaches: (a) the literal approach, favored by followers of the orthodox interpretation, which treats the material as a true reflection of the episodes depicted, presupposing a kind of journalistic record of the activities of prominent Tang Chan masters; and (b) a critical approach, recently adopted in academic circles, which treats the material as embedded with various layers but ultimately reflecting the presumptions of a Chan orthodoxy current among the Song compilers of the texts. While some may resort to describing these competing approaches as a new battle of competing orthodoxies, it is useful to bear in mind the different natures of these presumed "orthodoxies." One speaks *for* the tradition, the other speaks *about* the tradition. As a result, the critical approach is not, properly speaking, a claim about orthodoxy at all, however much it is inscribed by its own tangle of protocols and framed by issues of power, authority, and legitimacy.[46]

The effect that the two approaches have over the interpretation of sources is obvious. Like the story within a story cited above, the literal understanding treats this as an actual conversation between Huineng and Prefect Wei about an episode involving Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu that actually occurred. In so doing, it presumes orthodox Zen principles originating in Bodhidharma and affirmed by Huineng. The critical approach understands the story not in

terms of its content, but in terms of the context that produced it, as part of a rhetorical strategy employed by Shenhui in his bid to affirm his understanding of Chan as orthodox.

Aside from the Dunhuang Chan manuscripts, which single-handedly transformed our understanding of early Chan history, almost all of our information about Tang Chan derives from texts compiled in the Song dynasty. As the two interpretations suggest, the real difference is between whether to interpret the stories in these sources as productions of the Tang or of the Song. As the next chapter reveals, the answer to this question is not as simple as it seems. It is most likely that the stories were inspired by events that occurred in the Tang dynasty, as told and understood in the context of a Song reality. Regardless, the question of orthodoxy raised by these sources is a Song concern, not a Tang one. What the sources contain are materials compiled and written down in the Song for a contemporary audience concerned about how Chan should be understood and justified. It is ironic that, although virtually all of these sources (with the exception of the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集) have always been available to us, they have only recently been subjected to critical scrutiny, and largely as a result of the techniques employed in the study of the manuscripts unearthed at Dunhuang 敦煌. Later generations of scholars may well puzzle over the blinders that prevented a spirit of critical inquiry toward Chan sources until recently. Such has been the hold of orthodoxy over the field of Chan and Zen studies. Perhaps no one exhibits the dilemma better than Yanagida Seizan, the doyenne of Zen studies in the twentieth century and the pioneer of critical studies on Chan. Everyone currently working in the field of Chan and Zen studies follows in the footsteps provided by Yanagida. In spite of Yanagida's critical approach, his scholarship is still highly informed by the Kyoto school and current Rinzai Zen orthodoxy.[47]

It is true that much of modern scholarship continues to strain under the conceit of Rinzai orthodoxy—the story of Zen as told from a highly biased Linji Chan/Rinzai Zen perspective. While the Dunhuang manuscripts forced scholars to question the basis of this orthodoxy in early Chan sources, studies devoted to Tang Chan topics are still overwhelmingly determined by a Rinzai agenda. For the Song dynasty, the situation is more complex, given that Linji Chan orthodoxy is the product of this period, and our whole view of the Chan tradition prior to the Song is, in some large measure, the result of Song revisionism. This reverses the long-standing Rinzai view that largely denigrated Song Chan as unessential and derivative, symptomatic of entropy rather than vibrancy. The unfolding story of Song Chan dynamism now being told is, by and large, one dominated by Linji Chan's success. Non-Linji Chan players are peripheral, and unless we proceed carefully, we will unwittingly do little more

than contribute to an orthodoxy vindicating Linji/Rinzai dominance. In order to prevent this, I would like to contest here the assumption of Linji Chan supremacy in the Song—not that it didn't occur, because it clearly did, but that it went unchallenged. The "classical" Chan consensus arrived at in the Song, if we may call it so, was far from assured. It may not be unfair to suggest that the contested nature of Chan authority in the early Song paralleled the more famous struggle between the Northern and Southern schools in the Tang, with equally significant implications for the future of Chan orthodoxy.

The Crises over Chan Orthodoxy in the Early Song

While it is well known that Linji Chan masters came to dominate the Song Chan scene, it is not well known that such dominance was not very evident at the outset of the Song. At the beginning of the Song, a number of Chan factions were active, the legacy of regional autonomy that had characterized China politically and culturally for some two hundred years, since the middle of the eighth century. This regionalism spawned a number of active and vibrant Buddhist movements, loosely organized under the moniker of Chan. There was disagreement over what Chan stood for, and while Chan institutional practices deviated little from established Chinese Buddhist monastic practice, sharp differences emerged regarding Chan's public identity. Adding to the identity crisis was a changing political climate. As Song unification proceeded to absorb more and more previously independent territory, the legacy of Chan regionalism became passé, and there was growing need for Chan to present an integrated front. Regional Chan movements remained tenable only to the extent that they participated in the sanctioned activity that such integration promised. To achieve their goal, Chan factions needed to know what they held in common, how they contributed to the overall structure of the Chan movement, and how they fit into the general organization of Chinese Buddhist schools. And most importantly, whatever consensus was reached had to receive the sanction of the secular establishment—whatever success Chan achieved could only come through imperial approval. While the new Song government was anxious to harness Chan and the support it inspired, it would grant approval only to interpretations deemed to coincide with imperial motives.

Individual Chan factions had much to gain or lose in the ensuing tug of war over Chan identity, who defined it, and how it was defined. The first efforts to unite Chan in this fashion occurred not in the Song dynasty itself, but in politically autonomous regions in the south. Two of these regions were particularly important for the roles they played in promoting ideas regarding Chan consensus. One was the region straddling both sides of the lower reaches of

the Yangzi river 揚子江, known as Nan, or Southern, Tang 南唐 (937–975). In addition, Southern Tang acquired a large portion of the former territory of Min 閩 (909–945), which covered roughly the area of contemporary Fujian province. The other region, Wuyue 吳越 (895–978), covered roughly the area of contemporary Zhejiang province 浙江省, plus an annexed northern portion of the former state of Min, and was even more stable politically and economically stronger than Nan Tang. The role that Buddhism played in the revival of regional culture was unparalleled elsewhere in China at this time.

The Legacy of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存

The Chan movements in both Nan Tang and Wuyue claimed descent through a common patriarch, Xuefeng Yicun (822–908), allegedly a sixth-generation descendent of Huineng. After Xuefeng, the movement bifurcated into two prosperous factions, one that dominated in Min, and later Nan Tang, the other that dominated in Wuyue. While surviving records document the aspirations of later descendants of Xuefeng, there is evidence that Xuefeng and his immediate disciples also coveted the Chan legacy. Around the time of Xuefeng's death or shortly after, Xuefeng's disciple Nanyue Weijing 南嶽惟勁 compiled a text called the *Xu Baolin zhuan* 續寶林傳 (Continued Transmission of the Treasure Grove), compiled sometime in the *kaiping* 開平 era (907–911).[48] While the text is no longer extant and its contents are unknown, it is easy to surmise that the *Xu Baolin zhuan* was conceived as a successor to the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Transmission of the Treasure Grove), compiled over one hundred years before (ca. 800). The "treasure grove" (*baolin* 寶林) is the alleged name of Huineng's monastery on Mount Caoqi 曹溪. The *Baolin zhuan* promoted the aspirations of the Chan movement known as the Hongzhou faction 洪州宗 that prospered in the wake of its dynamic founder, Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), and his illustrious disciples. As the name *Baolin zhuan* indicates, Hongzhou faction members claimed the sixth patriarch's legacy as orthodox representatives of Chan. The *Xu Baolin zhuan* acknowledged the Hongzhou faction claim and appropriated it for Xuefeng and his disciples.

Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人+登), *the* Zutang ji 祖堂集, *and the Chan Movement in Nan Tang*

The Chan movement in Nan Tang was memorialized by disciples of the faction's leader, Zhaoqing Wendeng (884–972), a second-generation descendant of Xuefeng, in a work called the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* (*Zutang ji*) compiled in 952. The *Zutang ji* incorporated Weijing's implicit claim in the *Xu Baolin*

zhuan. A few years before (ca. 945), Zhaoqing Wendeng wrote verses memorializing Chan patriarchs, contained in the Dunhuang manuscript *Quanzhou Qianfo xinzhu zhuzu song* 泉州千佛新著諸祖頌 (Newly Composed Praises for Various Patriarchal Masters [compiled at] Qianfo Monastery in Quanzhou; hereafter abbreviated as *Qianfo song*).[49] The *Qianfo song* provides an important link between the *Baolin zhuan* and the *Zutang ji*. The preface by Huiguan 慧觀 (d. u.) mentions specifically "the patriarchs of the treasure grove" (*baolin zu* 寶林祖), a clear reference to the *Baolin zhuan*.[50] The patriarchs memorialized in the *Qianfo song* follow explicitly the succession documented in the *Baolin zhuan*—the twenty-eight patriarchs in India, the six Chinese patriarchs through Huineng, and the three generations of patriarchs from Huineng to Mazu Daoyi. Wendeng's *Qianfo song* verses, moreover, were incorporated directly in the *Zutang ji*. There can be little doubt that the *Zutang ji* represented an updated version of the claim made in the *Xu Baolin zhuan* that descendants of Xufeng Yicun had inherited the mantle of Chan orthodoxy.

The fact that a document like the *Zutang ji* advocating Chan consensus was issued even prior to the Song indicates the great sense of opportunity promised to whoever could harness the movement's forces. To faction leaders who succeeded in establishing their interpretation over Chan lay a bright and promising future, even more so given that large and powerful states such as Nan Tang harbored their own imperial ambitions. For local rulers with grand plans, support for Chan was a means to shore up a key base of their support. The *Zutang ji* provides a view of the gathering consensus forming around Chan in the middle of the tenth century. While it is a "regional" interpretation, it would be unwarranted to dismiss it too easily, since Nan Tang was one of the most powerful regions of China at this time, a military, economic, and diplomatic power that also served as an enclave for Buddhist monks from across China. Unlike northern dynasties during this period, southern regimes were relatively stable and prosperous. And whereas northern courts harbored latent suspicions about Buddhism inherited from the late Tang, rulers of southern regimes were often strong supporters of Buddhism and encouraged the growth of the religion as part of regional policy.

The collection of Chan monks from across China that assembled in southern regions undoubtedly contributed to the growing need to conceive a collective identity. This was an innovation inspired by the panfactional approach to Chan initiated by Zongmi 宗密. The *Zutang ji* capitalized on this by conceiving Chan not in terms of the unilineal model, typical of previous Chan transmission records, erasing other factions from the public record, but by incorporating a multilineal model acknowledging numerous factions. The *Zutang ji* was also the first Chan record to incorporate interactive "encounter dialogues" as

the distinguishing approach to Chan teaching, marking the beginning of the "classical" Chan style.

As inclusive as the *Zutang ji* was, it did not intend to value all Chan factions equally. Like Zongmi before, the *Zutang ji*'s strategy of inclusiveness masked claims to orthodoxy by Zhaoqing Wendeng and his disciples. While a number of important Chan factions were represented in the *Zutang ji*, the implication was that not all lineages were equal, that some were more orthodox than others. Wendeng's faction clearly headed the group of orthodox representatives of Chan. Like previous Chan transmission records, the *Zutang ji* was the manifestation of a regional Chan movement, albeit one exposed to the larger world of Chan, and was nothing more than the public presentation of regional claims, an attempt to win wider credibility for what had already received local sanction.

The Fayan Faction 法眼宗 *and Chan Orthodoxy in Wuyue* 吳越

Given Chan's insistence upon lineage affiliation as the basis for legitimacy, it was impossible for Chan to escape factionalism and regionalism in public representations of its teaching. This was also true of Chan in the Wuyue region, which bore unmistakable characteristics of regional and factional identity projected onto the national scene. The scope of Wuyue Chan was such that its national ambitions even outpaced those of its Min/Nan Tang based counterpart. What Wuyue Chan brought to the table was a different model for Chan integration, one that would become the basis for an alternate Chan future, based on a notion of assimilation with doctrinal Buddhism rather than independence from it. This provided the basis for controversy within Chan that bubbled to the surface in the early Song as Chan sought to determine how to represent itself. While the debate was less charged, it is reminiscent of the Northern/Southern school controversy that occurred centuries earlier and was arguably more important for deciding crucial issues pertaining to Chan orthodoxy.

The Chan movement in Wuyue was instigated by descendants of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958) and is usually designated under the Fayan faction name. Fayan was a prominent master in Nan Tang whose students assumed leading roles in Nan Tang and even as far away as Korea, in addition to Wuyue.[51] Fayan's approach to Chan established a framework that became characteristic of his faction's interpretation. Acknowledging phenomenal growth in the Chan movement, particularly in the south, Fayan disparages the overall quality of Chan teachers. He is especially critical of an approach reminiscent of that memorialized in the *Zutang ji* and associated with the Hongzhou school. Fayan's position may be summarized as follows.

Although Chan in principle represents sudden awakening (*dunming* 頓明), in practice it makes use of gradual attainments (*jianzheng* 漸證). Each master has numerous methods for converting students; none are by definition superior and none should be excluded, except those that defy orthodox Buddhist teaching and practice. All methods may be effective as enticements for benefiting living beings; their goal is the same. Chan masters who have no experience with Buddhist teachings and doctrines (*jiaolun* 教論) are ineffective. By rushing students through orthodox views while employing unorthodox methods, they mix heresies with important doctrines and impede the progress of their students. Instead of rejecting words (*wuyan* 無言), Fayan insists on verbal explanations. Instead of rejecting Buddhist teaching (*wufa* 無法), Fayan insists on relying on it.[52]

Fayan's student Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 (891–972) was responsible for the faction's success in the Wuyue region. Designated as Preceptor of State 國師 in Wuyue in 949, Deshao became the chief architect of a Buddhist revival in Wuyue. Through Deshao's influence and the ardent support of local rulers, Buddhism became state ideology, and a massive building campaign was mounted to restore Buddhist institutions throughout the region. Particular efforts were made to revitalize temple complexes on Mount Tiantai 天台山, the spiritual center of the region. The Chan facade constructed over the Tiantai legacy there is a fitting analogy for the amalgamation of Chan with doctrinal Buddhism that prevailed in Wuyue. The following excerpt from a sermon attributed to Deshao indicates his general agreement with Fayan's approach to Chan and his implicit criticism of the approach attributed to the Hongzhou school.[53]

> The expedient means of the sacred ones of old were as numerous as the sands of a river. When the patriarch said, "It is not the wind or the banner that moves; it is your mind that moves," it was nothing more than a dharma-method of the unsurpassable mind-seal. My colleagues, you who are disciples of this patriarch, how do you understand what the patriarch meant [when he said this]? You know that the wind and the banner do not move, the error is that your mind moves. You know that without fanning the wind and the banner [with the mind], the wind and the banner move freely. Do you know what moves the wind and the banner? Some say that mind is revealed through concrete things, but you must not concede things [as real]. Some say that forms themselves are empty. Some say that [to know the meaning of] "it is not the wind or the banner that moves" requires miraculous understanding. What connection does this have with the meaning that the patriarch intended? You

should not understand it in this way. You senior monks must know that when one gets to the bottom of the matter here and experiences awakening, what dharma-method is there that does not enlighten? The expedient means of the hundred-thousand buddhas are completely understood in an instant. What expedient means are you uncertain about? That is why the ancients said "when one thing is understood, everything is clear; when confused about one thing, everything is muddled." Senior monks, how can something understood today not be understood again tomorrow? Does it not make sense that matters difficult for those of superior abilities to understand will not be understood by average people of inferior abilities? Even if you pass through innumerable aeons understanding [the patriarch's meaning] in this way, you simply exhaust your spirit in meaningless speculation, as there is no basis for it.[54]

Deshao's sermon is a commentary on a famous exchange allegedly between the sixth patriarch and two monks debating over whether the wind or a banner was moving.[55] The episode was later memorialized as a famous kōan in the *Wumen guan* 無門關, compiled by Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260) in 1229.[56] According to later orthodoxy, this episode illustrates the ineffability of Chan truth. Instead, Deshao here uses it as a pretext for discussing the dharma-method of expedient means, emphasizing compassion as the principal concern of the Chan teacher. In the Chan orthodoxy that was later established, based on rhetoric attributed to the Hongzhou and Linji factions, an emphasis on expedient means was an anathema, an unconscionable compromise of Chan truth, a "slippery slope" leading to rationalized explanations of truth, doctrinal formulations, liturgical practices, patterned rituals, etc. The first question following Deshao's reported sermon raises precisely this issue.

A monk asked: "The physical characteristics (*xiang* 相) of dharmas, quiescent and extinct, cannot be explained with words. What can you do for others?"

Deshao responded: "No matter the circumstance, you always ask the same question."

The monk said: "This is how I completely eliminate words and phrases."

Deshao: "This is awakening experienced in a dream (i.e., it has no relationship with reality)."[57]

In other words, the questioner asks Deshao what help he can offer others, given the problematic nature of verbal explanations. Deshao's answer is not

just directed at the specific question but at the whole species of similarly phrased critiques: an experience of awakening that is not verbalized, etc., is a dream-like phantom. The enlightened mute lives an unreal existence whose experience is unattested except in his own imagination. Yet, this is precisely what later Linji orthodoxy will posit as the true enlightened state! Note, for example, the claim of Wumen Huikai (1183–1260), whose commentary on the *Wumen guan* (Gateless Barrier) epitomizes this orthodoxy.

> To attain inconceivable enlightenment (*miaowu* 妙悟), one must completely eliminate mental activity. Those who have not passed through the barrier of the patriarchs and eliminated mental activity are all ghosts inhabiting plants and trees. Now, tell me, what is the barrier of the patriarchs? It is none other than the one word "*Wu* 無!". . . . Those who are able to pass through this barrier . . . will be able to walk hand in hand with the patriarchs of history, intimately linked eyebrow to eyebrow. They will see with the same eyes as the patriarchs and hear with the same ears. What a wonderful thing this is! . . . It is like swallowing a red-hot ball of iron and trying to spit it out, but without success. If you wash away completely the depraved knowledge and perverse theories studied previously, applying yourself earnestly over a long period, distinctions like "inner" and "outer" will naturally be fused together. *Your experience is like a deaf-mute who has a dream.* You yourself are the only one who knows about it. You cannot communicate it to anyone else.[58]

The most famous advocate of the Wuyue Chan perspective, however, was neither Fayan Wenyi or Tiantai Deshao, but Deshao's disciple, Yongming Yanshou 永明延寿 (904–975). Yanshou is famous for his scholastic, doctrinal approach to Chan. This approach is contained in Yanshou's *magnum opus*, the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-Mirror), a work extolling the interpretation of Chan as harmonious with doctrinal Buddhist teachings (*jiao* 教). A question in the *Zongjing lu* confronts Yanshou's interpretation of Chan directly.

> *Question:* If you want to clarify the source [of truth] (*zong* 宗), you should simply promote the message of the patriarchs. What use is there in combining their teachings with citations from the words and teachings of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, taking these as a guide. That is why members of Chan lineages (*zongmen* 宗門) claim "by availing oneself of the eyes of a snake, one will not distinguish things for oneself."[59] If one only becomes a sage of words and letters, one will not enter the ranks of the patriarchs.

> *Answer*: The above claim is not intended to prohibit reading the scriptures (*jiao* 教). My worry is that people will not know well the words of the Buddha (*foyu* 佛語). People develop understanding through texts. When people forget about the Buddha's message, one safeguards the minds of beginners on the basis of [texts]. Whoever understands the teaching through the corpus of Buddhist writings will not create a mind and realm of objects in opposition to each other, but will realize the mind of the Buddha directly. What error is there in this?[60]

Yanshou was thoroughly opposed to treating Chan as some independent patriarchal tradition, separate from "the words and teachings of the buddhas and bodhisattvas." According to Yanshou, the Chan tradition transmitted to Mahākāśyapa and passed down through the patriarchs in India and China all stems from the words and teachings of the original teacher, Śākyamuni. The source of truth (*zong* 宗) is only known through reading and following his statements. The Buddha is the true measure. All of the patriarchs follow his model. There is no point in pitting one patriarch against others; "all of them perfectly awakened to their own minds through knowledge of the scriptures and treatises."[61] Even Mazu and his disciples, according to Yanshou, need to be understood in these terms.

Zanning 贊寧 *and Wuyue* 吳越 *Chan Orthodoxy at the Song Court*

Although Deshao and Yanshou were both active during the initial years of Song rule, Wuyue maintained its autonomous status and was not absorbed into the new dynasty until after both had passed away. The legacy of Wuyue Buddhism was brought to the Song court by the Buddhist scholar-official Zanning (919–1001). In keeping with the roles that Zanning served as a sangha administrator, both in Wuyue and at the Song court, Zanning was counted as a vinaya (*lu* 律) and not a Chan master. Given the interpretation of Chan prevalent in Wuyue, however, the distinction was probably not important. There is every indication that Zanning accepted Wuyue-style Chan as a valid, even superior expression of Buddhism, compatible with orthodox Buddhist teaching. And while Zanning's representation of Buddhism at the Song court went far beyond concerns relating to Chan and ranged over the full gamut of Buddhism in China, it did not prevent him from weighing in on the Chan debate. Not surprisingly, Zanning came down heavily on the side of the Fayan-lineage style of interpretation of Chan prevalent in Wuyue.

According to Zanning, two great traditions of Buddhist meditation, Chan and Tiantai, dominated the history of Chinese Buddhism, a view shared by Yanshou, perhaps less explicitly.[62] While *chan* 禪 (Chan) and *guan* 觀 (Tiantai) approaches to meditation differ, they are also highly compatible and should be viewed harmoniously. It goes without saying that bridging the Tiantai and Chan mediation traditions was highly attractive in Wuyue. Chan was prevalent, and the Chan-inspired revival of Mount Tiantai as a religious center also precipitated renewed interest in Tiantai doctrine.

Zanning was also naturally interested in Chan as a vinaya institution. He was particularly concerned about Chan's claim of separate institutions, another mark of Chan's alleged independent tradition. While Yanshou combated Chan aspirations for doctrinal independence, Zanning was disturbed over assertions of Chan's institutional autonomy. According to Zanning, there was no basis for distinguishing independent Chan monasteries from regular vinaya monasteries. Those who specialized in meditation practice and those who specialized in doctrinal study lived in the same monastery but maintained separate cloisters. Zanning tactfully allowed Chan innovations attributed to Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 on general doctrinal grounds that they constituted expedient devices, and specifically because they coincided with the vinaya provision that reforms not found in the original monastic rules are permissible if they contribute to the purity of sangha practitioners. Aside from this accommodation of characteristic Chan modes, Zanning was insistent that Chan practitioners adhere to the vinaya regulations of the Buddhist tradition as a whole.

Like the interpretation of Chan espoused in Wuyue by members of the Fayan faction, Zanning also insisted that the scriptures of Śākyamuni represented the fundamental teaching; the words of Bodhidharma were supplemental. The true legacy of *chan* meditation in Buddhism, according to Zanning, was that it was practiced alongside the study of Buddhist doctrine and not independently. Like Fayan, Deshao, and Yanshou before, Zanning was highly critical of Chan autonomy, from either an institutional or doctrinal standpoint.

Zanning brought this understanding of Chan to the Song dynasty, where it was promulgated as official government policy through Zanning's position as the leading Buddhist official of the Song court and through his imperially sanctioned writings. This view of Chan prevailed until Zanning's death. No official attack was launched on the Fayan faction's interpretation of Chan, but a change emerged after Zanning's passing. The situation was reminiscent of what happened previously with Shenxiu and his disciples at the Tang court. Shenxiu was highly feted at court, and his interpretation of Chan was officially acknowledged. After his death, Shenhui launched his famous attack

on Shenxiu's disciples and, through a combination of shrewd rhetoric and serendipitous circumstances, wrested the mantle of orthodoxy away from them. A similar set of conditions conspired against the Wuyue-based, Fayan faction inspired interpretation of Chan in favor of a resurgent Linji faction.

Chan Transitions: The Jingde Chuandeng lu 景德傳燈録

A key transitional document in this regard is the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp compiled in the Jingde era), originally compiled by Daoyuan 道原 (d. u.), a member of the Fayan faction from Wuyue, in 1004 but surviving only through the version edited under the supervision of the leading court literatus, Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020), issued in 1009. The *Chuandeng lu* followed the pattern of the *Zutang ji*, organizing numerous Chan factions around a multilineal model, but bore the stamp of official imperial sanction with the addition of the current reign epithet, *jingde* 景德, in its title. As there is no evidence that Fayan faction members in Wuyue used a model like that employed in the *Zutang ji*, it is likely that the *Chuandeng lu* represents a concession by Fayan lineage representatives at the Song court toward the formation of Chan as an independent movement. What the *Chuandeng lu* continues to maintain is Fayan factional dominance within a multilineal Chan framework. It also incorporates aspects of standard Fayan faction teaching by acknowledging the Chan contributions of masters associated with the Tiantai school.[63] While we have no access to Daoyuan's original compilation, his surviving preface indicates that Daoyuan intended the work to fall more squarely within the framework of Fayan faction interpretation.[64] Among the indicators for this are Daoyuan's original title of the work, *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Anthology of the Common Practice of Buddhas and Patriarchs), suggesting harmony between the teachings of the buddhas and Chan patriarchs. This stands in contrast to the independent Chan transmission suggested by Yang Yi's title, *Chuandeng lu*. Daoyuan also explicitly invoked Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquan ji* 禪源諸詮集 (Collected Writings on the Source of Chan) and the precedent Zongmi established of assimilating the various interpretations of Chan and harmonizing the various Chan factions into a unified tradition. According to Daoyuan, Chan teaching represented a myriad of Buddhist practices employed according to differences among practitioners (*wanxing yi zhi chabie* 萬行以之差別) and an unequivocal emphasis on expedient means as the primary method of instruction. In contrast to this, Yang Yi conceived the work in diametrically opposed terms as "a special practice outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biexing* 教外別行) and an explicit testament to Chan's independent tradition. There is no way to determine what effect Yang Yi's editorial

efforts had over the contents of Daoyuan's text. We know that it was dramatically reconceived in terms of an interpretation of Chan that was quite different from Daoyuan's. We can only speculate about what changes were made to the actual contents.

Yang Yi was among the leading literati of his day and, as a devout Buddhist, was exposed to numerous members of the Chan clergy. While his early Chan training was carried out under Fayan faction masters, he was eventually converted to the Linji faction by Guanhui Yuanlian 廣慧元璉 (951–1036) and counted himself as a member of the Linji lineage.[65] His reinterpretation of Daoyuan's *Fozu tongcan ji* in terms of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* reflects the influence of Linji faction explanations over Yang Yi's understanding of Chan. Guanghui Yuanlian provides interesting links to the change in interpretation of Chan. He hailed from the south and was initially a student of Zhaoqing Wendeng, whose disciples compiled the *Zutang ji*. After an exhaustive search, he allegedly experienced enlightenment in Ruzhou 汝州 in the north under Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–993), the Song dynasty "founder" of the Linji faction. Ruzhou (present-day Henan province 河南省) became the center of the Linji faction revival. Guanghui Yuanlian's experience under Zhaoqing Wendeng familiarized him with the lineage scheme presented in the *Zutang ji* and Wendeng's recognition of Mazu Daoyi's Chan orthodoxy. After Guanghui Yuanlian succeeded Shoushan Shengnian, he came into contact with the high-ranking official Wang Shu 王曙, who had been sent to Ruzhou as an administrator. Wang Shu was one of Yang Yi's chief assistants in reediting the *Fozu tongcan ji* into the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Later, Yang Yi was commissioned to Ruzhou, where he also fell under Guanghui Yuanlian's sway. Another literati affiliate of Yang Yi, Liu Yan 劉(龍+天) (971–1031), was an intimate associate of Chan master Guyin Yuncong 谷隱蘊聰 (965–1032), also a disciple of Shoushan Shengnian. These connections exerted profound influence over the reinterpretation of Chan at the Song court from Fayan to Linji faction notions of orthodoxy.

The Tiansheng Guangdeng lu 天聖廣燈録 *and Linji Faction Orthodoxy*

An unambiguous case for Linji faction supremacy was made by the literati figure Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988–1038)—son-in-law of one emperor (Taizong 太宗, r. 976–997), brother-in-law of another emperor (Zhenzong 真宗, r. 997–1022), and elder relative of still another emperor (Renzong 仁宗, r. 1023–1063)—in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (Expanded Lamp Record compiled in the Tiansheng era). Li Zunxu was also closely connected to contemporary Linji

faction masters. In an epitaph written for Guyin Yuncong, Li Zunxu admitted openly that the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled expressly to document the achievements of Shoushan Shengnian and his disciples, that is, the contemporary Linji faction.[66] The *Guangdeng lu* was the vehicle for the assertion of a new Chan orthodoxy at the Song court. Like the *Chuandeng lu* before it, the *Guangdeng lu* was issued bearing the stamp of official imperial approval, marked by the appearance of the current reign epithet, *tiansheng* 天聖, in its title.

While the *Guangdeng lu* was cast in the form of a *denglu*, or "lamp" record, predicated on the notion of mind-to-mind transmission, it highlighted *yulu*, or "records of sayings," as the distinguishing feature of the new Chan style. Both Daoyuan and Yang Yi acknowledged the use of *yulu* materials in the *Chuandeng lu*, and it is commonly accepted that the contents of the *Chuandeng lu* were culled from *yulu* sources.[67] It is obvious that the *Zutang ji* was compiled from *yulu* or *yulu*-type documents as well. What the *Guangdeng lu* did was not only single out *yulu* as Chan's distinguishing feature, it did so in a way that highlighted most prominently the accomplishments of the Linji faction. In other words, it helped create the association of the Linji faction with the *yulu* phenomenon.

How did the *Guangdeng lu* do this? It documented, for the first time, the records of sayings of four masters—Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, Huangbo Xiyun, and Linji Yixuan—to create a kind of who's who among illustrious Chan masters. This linked Linji and his descendants to the legacy of Mazu and Hongzhou Chan, usurping the previous claims of Zhaoqing Wendeng and his successors in the *Zutang ji*. It legitimized the claims of the contemporary Linji faction by establishing Linji as a major Chan patriarch and disputed the claims of the *Chuandeng lu* regarding Fayan faction supremacy.

Above all, the *Guangdeng lu* espoused a new Chan orthodoxy. As I have argued elsewhere, the *Guangdeng lu* played an important role in establishing Chan as "a special transmission outside the teaching" and enshrining this slogan as a cardinal Chan principle.[68] This was a direct assault on the Fayan faction's notion of Chan orthodoxy: the proposition that Chan principles and Buddhist teachings were harmonious and compatible, that Chan embraced the principle of expedient means and acknowledged the validity of multiple approaches. Linji Chan orthodoxy asserted the independence and superiority of Chan, denigrating Buddhist teaching as superficial and inferior.

A key proposal of the new orthodoxy was Chan's vaunted silent, secret transmission, allegedly instigated by Śākyamuni himself when he passed the dharma to Mahākāśyapa.[69] According to Fayan faction protagonists like Yanshou, the content of this transmission did not differ from but confirmed the status and authority of the Buddha's oral instructions written down in the

scriptures.[70] In the *Guangdeng lu*, the content of the "treasury of the true Dharma eye" (*zheng fayan zang* 正法眼藏), the essence of Buddhist teaching Śākyamuni purportedly transmitted, was not explicitly tied to the Chan's contention as "a special transmission outside the teaching," but the basis for connecting the two was readily evident. In the *Guangdeng lu*, the dharma-transmission from Śākyamuni to Mahākāśyapa is distinguished from the Buddha's exoteric preaching, characterized in terms of the three vehicles. The implication is that the secretly transmitted Chan dharma is superior to the exoteric message of the three vehicles, particularly as expressed in the *Lotus Sūtra* 法華經. The inclusion of this story in the *Guangdeng lu* about how Chan's independent tradition originated affirms the image of Chan that Song masters were projecting about the unique and superior nature of their teaching as a "special transmission outside the teaching."

What was implied in the *Guangdeng lu* was soon made explicit in, ironically, a scriptural account. The *Da fantian wang wen fo jueyi jing* 大梵天王問佛決疑經 (Scripture in which Brahman Asks Buddha to Resolve his Doubts), an apocryphal scripture whose existence is unknown prior to the Song, conclusively linked Chan as "a special transmission outside the teaching" to the content of Śākyamuni's alleged proclamation to Mahākāśyapa. Subsequently, the *Da fantian wang wen fo jueyi jing* account began to appear in Chan records. The *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要, compiled by Wuming 悟明 in 1189, recounts the *Da fantian wang wen fo jueyi jing* version.[71] Most famously, the story was enshrined in the Song kōan collection, *Wumen guan* (Gateless Barrier), from where it has been passed down through countless generations of Chan and Zen students. It also appears, understandably, in a Ming dynasty collection of Chan biographies called *Jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳, a work organizing the entire Chan tradition, subsumed under the lineages of the "five houses," in terms of the theme suggested by the designation of its title: *A Special Transmission Outside the Teaching.*

Concluding Remarks

In spite of qualifications within Buddhism that Buddhist teaching is merely an aid to spiritual progress that can either be accepted or rejected, "right" or "correct views" stand as a requisite to Buddhist realization, a sanctioning for orthodoxy, and doctrine formed an integral part of Buddhist teaching. The history of Buddhism is littered with the petitions of reform groups pressing claims of true orthodoxy against rivals. The one-vehicle teaching of the *Lotus sūtra*, the doctrinal taxonomy of the Tiantai school 天台宗, and Kukai's 空海

argument for the superiority of esoteric over exoteric teaching are but a few of the countless examples that could be suggested in this regard. On the subject of orthodoxy in the Chan and Zen traditions, there are three aspects I would like to comment on here: the nature of this orthodoxy vis-à-vis Mahāyāna teaching, the function of this orthodoxy as a response to crises, and the role of literati in shaping this orthodoxy.

As Chan entered the Song, two factions dominated: Linji and Fayan. In broad terms, the approaches to Chan these factions represented mimicked the general agenda of Mahāyāna Buddhism: wisdom and compassion. The Linji faction was defined by the quest for wisdom. It attempted to apply the message of the perfection of wisdom literature (at least rhetorically) to actual situations. Its teachings and methods purported to aim exclusively at awakening. As expedient means were nothing more than trivial impediments, it dismissed the liturgical exercises and practices of others as detrimental. The Fayan faction, based on the teaching of the *Lotus sūtra*, was firmly committed to the Mahāyāna notion of compassion. It viewed the exoteric message of the *Lotus* and other scriptures as legitimate expressions of Buddhist teaching. The doctrines and practices espoused in them were manifestations of Buddhist truth to be cherished and admired. As a result, they naturally adopted an inclusive approach to Chan orthodoxy that embraced the message embodied in conventional Buddhist teaching. Hence, the slogans attributed to each faction, "a separate transmission outside the teachings" (*jiaowai biechuan*) for Linji and "harmony between Chan and the teachings" (*chanjiao yizhi* 禪教一致) for Fayan, are indicative of their broader claims regarding Chan orthodoxy.

Issues regarding the definition of Chan and Zen orthodoxy are most pronounced during times of crisis. Crisis periods present new challenges and opportunities and require that prevailing assumptions be reconsidered to ensure survival. A need for redefinition occurs to meet the demands of new circumstances. This is a prominent facet of any religious movement or tradition, including Chan. Each of the periods that I have touched on here—the advent of Empress Wu Zetian's rule in the Tang, but especially the circumstances leading to Song reunification—were times of great crisis. The late Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song, as is often pointed out, were a time of great upheaval in China, from which Chan emerged as a leading school of Chinese Buddhism. It is hardly surprising that struggles over orthodoxy occurred throughout this period. Likewise, Suzuki's affirmation of a new Zen orthodoxy in the twentieth century cannot be understood apart from the cultural crises presented by modernization and westernization in Japan. In my view, these transition periods must be studied very closely, as the parameters of the new orthodoxy are established by conditions set during these periods.

The roles played by literati in shaping Chan and Zen orthodoxy are especially interesting. Seen in the framework of the current study, Suzuki appears as a modern-day Yang Yi or Li Zunxu, a literatus sympathetic to Zen whose interests are tied to the aims and aspirations of a broader political and cultural regime. This leads to further questions. Have the roles played by the Yang Yis, Li Zunxus, and Suzukis in Chan and Zen history been properly accounted for? When we insert their role into the Chan and Zen story, how is our understanding of the story altered? While we are generally clear about the cultural circumstances inspiring Suzuki's modern claims for Zen orthodoxy, have we fully unraveled all the implications? And what about the literati influence throughout the tradition? If the important role played by literati in the early Song has only recently come to light and is in need of further clarity, what about the rest of the tradition? Much more work, I would argue, needs to be done in this area.

Zen orthodoxy in the early Song, particularly the notion of orthodoxy advanced in the Linji faction, calls to mind many of the features of the "classic" Chan tradition. Among these features, one of the most distinctive is the collection of *yulu*, or records of sayings, the sacred scriptures of the Chan movement that effectively became the new canon of Buddhist teachings. While this genre is widely acknowledged for the importance of its contents, how and why this genre came into being is shrouded in legend and mystery. The next chapter explores the circumstances from which the *yulu* genre was shaped, by way of highlighting some of the parameters that formed the new sense of Chan orthodoxy in the early Song.

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2

Tracing the Elusive *Yulu*

The Origins of Chan's Records of Sayings

Bid me discourse, I will enchant thine ear.

—William Shakespeare

What Are *Yulu*? The Search for a Definition

Any discussion of *yulu* 語錄 must begin with a clarification of the term itself and the genre of literature it refers to. In simplest terms, *yulu* represent a record (*lu* 錄) of sayings or utterances (*yu* 語). But even this is not as straightforward as it appears, for Chan *yulu* are littered with nonverbal communications—slaps, shoves, waves of fly-whisks, thrusting staffs, and other sorts of behavior presumed to be highly meaningful but without verbal accompaniment.

There is less consensus over the use of the term *yulu* than there should be given *yulu*'s immense importance as a defining Chan literary genre. Primarily, there is disagreement over how much should be included. In broadest terms, the word *yulu* is regarded as embracing virtually all Chan literature.[1] Some tend to merge *yulu* with other Chan genres, such as *denglu* 燈錄 and *gong'an* 公案, effectively reducing *yulu* to an element of a larger category embracing several genres of Chan literature.[2] Some would include a wide variety but not all genres of Chan literature.[3] Others would limit *yulu* to the sayings attributed to Chan masters and the transmission records (*denglu*) of various branches within Chan.[4] Still others would

confine *yulu* to the records of a particular Chan lineage.[5] Some contest that *yulu* should be narrowly restricted to the utterances and activities dedicated to single masters, excluding *yulu*-style materials in Chan transmission records.[6] And what of the question of non-Chan *yulu*, particularly the genre associated with leading Song Confucian (i.e., Neo-Confucian) masters?[7] What relationship do these have to Chan *yulu*? In the following discussion, I entertain answers posed by these conflicting definitions and the questions they raise. I clarify the relationship between Chan *yulu* and other prominent forms of Chan literature, *denglu* (transmission records) and *gong'an* (J. *kōan*) collections. Finally, I consider the relationship between Chan *yulu* and their Confucian counterparts.

A complete list of the kinds of materials that *yulu* eventually came to incorporate may be characterized following the summary of Ishii Shūdō. The types of materials that compose *yulu* begin with a broad division of the records into two major areas: (A) orally delivered sermons of the designated master recorded by students; and (B) writings left by a master and materials compiled by disciples based on the conduct and interactions between Chan practitioners.[8] Representative of A are lectures delivered in the Dharma Hall (*shangtang* 上堂) and informal instructions (*xiaocan* 小參). Dharma Hall lectures were formalized after the Song dynasty, when such lectures were generally held every five days, on the first, fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-fifth of each month. During the Tang, when the places and times of Dharma Hall lectures were often not defined, they were often referred to as "Declarations [of the Dharma] to the Assembly" (*shizhong* 示眾). This same term was used in the Song for small-scale sermons delivered in hermitages (*an* 庵) and private cloisters (*siyuan* 私院). Also included are instances when the Abbot (*zhuchi* 主持) or Meditation Director (*shouzuo* 首座) took up his whisk and gave instruction, referred to as "Taking up the Whisk" (*bingfu* 秉拂).

"Informal Instructions" (*xiaocan* 小參) were sermons delivered in a comparatively relaxed atmosphere, either in the Dharma Hall or frequently in the Abbot's private quarters, to several listeners. They were so called to distinguish them from another term used to refer to Dharma Hall lectures, "Formal Instructions" (*dacan* 大參). During the Song, "Informal Instructions" were eventually established and formalized for the evenings of the three- and eight-numbered days of the month, the third, eighth, thirteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-eighth. Close to *xiaocan* in form were *pushuo* 普說 (general sermons), the difference being that *xiaocan* were regularly designated events on the monthly calendar, while *pushuo* were offered on special occasions.

Representatives of B, writings left by a master, include a broad range of diverse elements: *songgu* 頌古 (Odes to the Ancients), in which the composer relates his understanding of the stories of predecessors' awakening experience

(*guze* 古則; Ancient Cases) in verse form; *niangu* 拈古 (Selections from the Ancients), in which the composer relates his understanding of predecessors' awakening experience in nonverse, prose form; *zan* 贊 (Eulogies), songs in praise of buddhas, bodhisattvas, or patriarchs, often accompanied by paintings, and they also accompanied masters' image portraits given to contemporary Zen practitioners and students (also included here are mourning verses for the deceased); *fayu* 法語 (Dharma Instructions) and *shu* 書 (letters), aimed at specific practitioners (the form and contents of both are similar, except that the content of *fayu* explain fundamental aspects of Zen to a general audience; letters clarify situations for the recipient alone).

In addition, category B includes materials compiled by disciples based on the conduct of Chan practitioners: *jinglun* 經論, annotated commentaries on the scriptures and treatises; *guze* 古則 (ancient cases), compilations and collections of precedents provided by former masters; *qinggui* 清規 (monastic codes), the systemized rules at Chan monasteries; *dengshi* 燈史 (lamp histories), detailing the transmission history of Chan factions. The list does not stop here. A full accounting also includes *nianpu* 年譜 (chronological biographies), *taming* 塔銘 (tomb inscriptions) and *beiming* 碑銘 (stele inscriptions), *xinglu* 行錄 (records of conduct), *kanbian* 堪辯 (evaluations and judgments), *yufang yulu* 遊方語錄 (travel records), *runei jilu* 入內記錄 (records of conversations outside the monastery; literally, "within the imperial palace"), and *fahua* 法話 (dharma preaching). In effect, Ishii's definition of *yulu* seems to know no limits but becomes a catch-all for virtually every form of Chan and Zen writing. While the precision entailed in Ishii's discussion is instructive and authoritative for outlining the various forms of Chan writings, its all-inclusiveness seems to miss the point: *yulu* grew out of the circumstances of a particular time and place. Those inspired by the *yulu* form were not enthralled by its comprehensive nature. On the contrary, what appealed to them was *yulu*'s novelty and distinctiveness—the way it enabled them to say new things in new ways. To make the *yulu* genre so elastic as to stretch it over all Chan and Zen writings is to obscure its original intention.

The Nature of *Yulu*: An Expanding Genre

According to Yanagida Seizan, *yulu* originated as "Books of Sayings" (*yuben* 語本) that served as the basis for Chan writings from the mid-Tang. According to Yanagida, the Platform Talks (*tanyu* 壇語) of Shenhui 神會 established the precedent for *yulu*. The novelty of these works was that they expressed the subject's own words. Unlike the scriptures and treatises of doctrinal

Buddhism, the records of Chan masters' sayings presented the words of living bodhisattvas. The *Nanyang heshang wenda zazheng yi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義 presents Shenhui's own words, as compiled by his disciple Liu Cheng 劉澄; according to Yanagida, this represents the birth of genuine *yulu*.[9]

Elsewhere, Yanagida provides an even more precise definition, insisting that *yulu* are unique literary documents of patriarch-masters' sermons (*seppō* 説法) and dialogical interactions (*mondō ōshū* 問答応酬) with students, heard and recorded by other students; they constitute a kind of sacred text written through hearing a master's sermons.[10] Because they are records penned by students and the contents are recorded speech, they retain the quality of spoken words, recorded without literary embellishment, and according to Yanagida, faithfully transmit the words as uttered. What is ironic is that although *yulu* grew out of a movement that challenged the very nature of authority, especially as codified through existing canonical texts, *yulu* established a new authority, constituting what might be characterized as a kind of anti-authoritarian authority, a new anti-orthodox orthodoxy. Compared to previous sacred texts, the venerated classic scriptures of *yulu* achieved status as classic texts even though they had only recently appeared. In other words, the new texts were imbued with the authority of ancient classics.[11]

In an earlier writing, Yanagida acknowledged a broader scope of components that compose *yulu* texts.[12] Very broadly, *yulu* are an anthology of a master's words and deeds. They include dialogues between the master and students, poetry, and even short essays by the master or students, in addition to oral teachings in the form of a lecture (*shangtang*)—all displaying a characteristic similarity in style and content. The emergence of the genre, according to Yanagida, is traceable to Mazu and is closely connected with subsequent developments in Mazu's lineage. The genre appeared because the Mazu lineage broke with previous Buddhist tradition. Its teaching could not be confined by traditional literary forms; they demanded a more direct style and "a new method of expression to match their new content."[13] Essentially, Yanagida's position on *yulu* may be summarized as a genre that began with Shenhui's Platform Talks (*tanyu*) and found expression through Books of Sayings (*yuben*) assembled in lineages descended from Mazu. *Yulu* came to be understood as anthologies of a master's words and deeds, representative of a characteristic and uniform style and content.

While Yanagida's position is fairly specific, one detects a certain vacillation, especially as it is applied to works that Yanagida ascribes to the *yulu* genre. This is especially apparent in the *Zen no goroku* 禅の語録 (C. *Chan yulu*) series published in Japan during the late 1960s and 1970s.[14] Yanagida's contributions include annotated translations of the "Treatise on Two Entrances and Four

Practices" (*Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論) entitled as *Daruma no goroku* 達磨の語録, the "Dialogue Records of Bodhidharma," and two volumes containing annotated translations of early Chan transmission records, the *Chuan fabao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure), the *Lengqie shizi ji* (Records of the Teachers and Disciples of the Lankā[vatāra]), and the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma Treasure through the Ages). By Yanagida's own definition, the record ascribed to Bodhidharma would best be categorized as pre-*yulu*, as it comes before Shenhui. And for reasons explained more fully below, the early Chan transmission records included by Yanagida have a dubious relation to *yulu*. In practice, then, Yanagida seems to sanction a fairly broad inclusion of works in the *yulu* genre.[15]

As *yulu* became identified as the quintessential Chan/Zen literary genre, so did the tendency arise to subsume other forms of Chan and Zen literature under this term. One should also not underestimate sectarian pressures to include every important Chan and Zen record as epitomizing *yulu*. In this sense, *yulu* came to include not only *yulu* proper, but also *tan yu* (platform talks), *denglu* (transmission records), *gong'an* (kōan collections), *shu* (letters), *shangtang* sermons, poems, and so on. These approaches where *yulu* blend into other Chan literary forms to one degree or another are too broad, in my estimation, and not in keeping with the historical circumstances that produced the *yulu* genre. It is true that materials found in *yulu* texts overlap with other genres in ways that make it difficult, at times, to keep them separate, but this is no excuse to reduce other forms of Chan literature to *yulu*. It is also true that *yulu* do include and incorporate other literary forms in ways that make drawing the lines between them often difficult. However, I prefer to keep the lines distinct as much as possible. While the classic *denglu* texts, for example, are composed of edited materials drawn from *yulu* compilations,[16] this does not make them *yulu* per se. Also excluded are the preclassical Chan *denglu*, the *Chuan fabao ji*, the *Lengqie shizi ji*, and the *Lidai fabao ji*. While *gong'an* are typically drawn from *yulu* or *yulu*-style material recorded in *denglu*, their form and purpose distinguish them from true *yulu*. And although *yulu* may include poetic utterances, letters, sermons, and so on, collections of these on their own do not constitute *yulu*.

What are *yulu*? *Yulu* are Chan's defining literary form. They are the recorded sermons (*shangtang*), conversations, anecdotes, and poetic utterances of a specific master, either collected together in a group, like the *Sijia yulu* 四家語録 (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), or standing alone. In the present context, I argue that *yulu* came of age as the defining feature of Chan in a specific context, and it is this context that ultimately shaped and determined *yulu*'s parameters.

Hypothetical Origins of *Yulu*

As mentioned above, the emergence of the *yulu* genre was supposedly inspired by Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) and is closely associated with subsequent developments in Mazu's lineage. The argument generally states that the Mazu lineage broke with previous Buddhist tradition: Mazu lineage teachings could not be confined by traditional literary forms; they demanded a more direct style and "a new method of expression to match their new content."[17] While the *yulu* for Mazu was compiled much later, some indication of the characteristic style attributed to him is apparent in his records in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 and *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄.[18]

Yanagida Seizan argues that it was the attention to masters' actions as "models of enlightened behavior" that led directly to the record of sayings genre. As a master's popularity spread and the numbers of students increased, opportunities for individual instruction diminished. In this context, moments of direct contact between master and disciples became prized experiences, and Yanagida speculates that some students began taking secret notes of their encounters. Eventually, anthologies were created of the teacher's words and actions based on collections of these notes.[19] Crediting an "unpursued hypothesis of Yanagida," Christian Wittern proposes an even more speculative account of the origins of *yulu*.[20] According to this hypothesis, levies raised by the government in response to the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion caused many to seek refuge in the monastic life as a way to avoid conscription and taxation.[21] These novices had a different set of priorities than those addressed by standard teaching practices at the time. Rather than scriptural exegesis, the newly ordained wanted "concrete answers to existential questions."[22] The sheer number of new monks also resulted in changes in monastic teaching and practice. Long-drawn discussions between master and student gave way to pointed sentences and curtailed actions that could be meted out quickly and efficiently to tens or even hundreds of messages. According to Wittern, those who did the recording were likely the ones who did not understand the master's message, and these jottings became the basis for *yulu*. As intriguing as this hypothesis is, it is highly speculative and in need of more supporting evidence. Whatever the contributing social and political factors associated with the *yulu* phenomenon might be, I prefer to treat *yulu* in terms of the literary influences governing their compilation (see chapter 5).

One of the contributions of the Chan approach was indeed a new attitude toward the meaning of Buddhist scriptures. As is well known, one of the hallmarks of Chan is its claim to be "a separate transmission outside the teaching"

(*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), where "the teaching" refers to the doctrinal teachings and scriptures (*jiao* 教) of traditional Buddhism, and "not dependent on words and letters" (*buli wenzi* 不立文字). In fact, the slogan "a separate transmission outside the teaching" is a late, post-Tang innovation, developed to highlight Chan's independence from Buddhist doctrinal schools and the scriptural tradition they are based on.[23] The earlier slogan, "do not depend on words and letters," developed during the Tang, reflects not a renunciation of the scriptures but a new understanding of them. Instead of written commentaries on the scriptures, Chan proclaimed itself a tradition of oral commentary. The scriptures are not rejected but treated as the Buddha's "record of sayings."

In effect, *fo jing* 佛經, the scriptures of the Buddha, became *fo yulu* 佛語錄, the dialogue records of the Buddha. The Buddha's scriptures became seen in the manner of Chan patriarchs' teachings, as the transcripts of oral instruction.[24] This presented a problem in the case of the Indian patriarchs, whose recorded teachings exhibited unmistakable preference for the kind of doctrinal discussion characteristic of head monks or scripture masters otherwise singled out for criticism in Chan records. In fact, the written commentaries of many of these Indian patriarchs were the bases upon which the system of doctrinal classification (*panjiao* 判教) common to Chinese Buddhist schools was constructed. Later Chan interpretation condoned this by claiming that in spite of the great amount of doctrinal material in the Indian patriarchs' teachings, final transmission of the teaching in every case depended on the kind of direct practical demonstration found in Chan transmission records.[25] This in turn demonstrates how the new perspective championed in Chan transmission records determined the shape of their contents. The requirements of the genre necessitated that Indian patriarchs exhibit Chan characteristics, like the composing of verses to signify transmission. Square-pegged Indian patriarchs were wedged into the round holes of Chan transmission. We can assume a similar process was at work in shaping Chinese Chan masters into prototypical roles.

The slogan for Chan as "a separate transmission outside the teaching" may well reflect the origin of *yulu* in oral tradition and private notes. Since *yulu* did not originate as written records, flexibility prevailed in the discussion of them. As they were brought up for discussion, commented on and critiqued, *yulu* were subtly altered and enhanced as they were filtered through the memories of successive generations. While we can only glimpse, and just barely, at this filtering process, it is clear that such a process took place. The practice of raising a story, questioning and commenting on it, is amply evident in Chan transmission records that we possess from this period. The fact that different traditions existed about a master's life and career is also evident, as is the process of subtly altering and enhancing existing stories.

The fluid process of development that characterized *yulu* eventually came to an end, when they were written down, edited, and published. A note in the *Chuandeng lu* speaks to the process of *yulu* formation. The *Chuandeng lu* stipulates that students collected and copied the sermons given by Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益, as well as hymns, eulogies, inscriptions, annotations, and other materials written by him, and disseminated them throughout the empire.[26] The first collections of *yulu*-type materials were the noted Chan transmission records (*denglu*), the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. While these did not yet constitute *yulu* records themselves, they were based on hitherto privately circulating *yulu*-type documents and contained many of the same features of later *yulu* in abbreviated form. According to the preface by Yang Yi 楊億, the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled from selections taken from "the *yulu* of various quarters."[27] Fascicle 28 of the *Chuandeng lu* played a particularly important role in fostering this new literary trend. Included in it are extensive segments of *yulu* drawn from the records of twelve prominent Chan masters.[28] The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 continues this trend. It largely dispenses with the biographical framework of previous records, substituting large extracts of *yulu* teachings in its place. It also confirms the degree to which *yulu* were associated with the Linji lineage, including complete versions of the *yulu* of the four generations of masters that the contemporary Linji faction framed their identity around: Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海, Huangbo Xiyun 黃薄希運, and Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄.[29] Aided by technological advances relating to the development of wood-block printing, *yulu* texts were widely disseminated. As a function of Chan's growing popularity and the ready availability of *yulu* texts, *yulu* became "fixed as classical literature."[30] With the publication of *yulu* texts, the wording of *yulu* assumed a more conventionalized form, what amounted to a "written vernacular." Editorial changes show how this written form of the everday language developed as a literary form that owes more to rhetoric than to an apparently unmediated recording of the spoken word.[31] While commentary continued on stories and teachings associated with masters continued and eventually became formalized in *gong'an* (J. *kōan*) techniques, the stories themselves assumed a fixed form.

As the dates of the above mentioned records indicate, the impulse to edit, evaluate, and publish *yulu* materials became strong at the beginning of the Song 宋.[32] The stimulus for this activity was the Fayan 法眼 lineage situated in Wuyue 吳越 and Nan Tang 南唐. Members of this lineage were immediately responsible for publishing the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 and the *Chuandeng lu*. Associates of an affiliated lineage in the same geographical area compiled the *Zutang ji*. Members of the Fayan lineage were instrumental in restoring religious centers on Tiantai 天台 and Lu shan 盧山. The origins of the *Zhaozhou*

yulu 趙州語錄 are closely tied to the restoration at Lu shan. The text was edited by Qixian Chengshi 棲賢澄諶 (?–991?), a contemporary of Yanshou 延壽 and Daoyuan 道原 and a disciple of Fayan Wenyi's student, Baizhang Daochang.[33] Qixian Chengshi was the teacher of Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), and it is on the basis of these connections that Yanagida proposes that the inspiration for the Huanglong lineage was directly related to the earlier success of the Fayan lineage. Huanglong resided at the Guizong temple 歸宗寺 on Lu shan, a center for the Fayan lineage, which became the center from which the Huanglong faction developed. Huanglong himself was personally involved in the compilation of the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄.[34]

The first actual *yulu* issued during this period was the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄, written and published around the time of *Chuandeng lu* (1004).[35] Yang Yi wrote prefaces for both works, indicating the heavy involvement of leading government officials in recording and defining the literature marking the new Chan trend. Fenyang Wude's disciple, Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (987–1040), served as editor.[36] Official confirmation of the new role for *yulu* is found in Emperor Renzong's 仁宗 preface to the *Guangdeng lu*, a *yulu*-style text masquerading as *denglu*, which stipulates how the compiler Li Zunxu 李遵勗 "conceived the basic idea of collecting [Chan masters'] teachings . . . separate from the ultimate aims of the three vehicles. He tracked down the records of the patriarchs, widely disseminating their uniquely Chan style instruction (*zongfeng* 宗風). He selected their sudden methods to introduce them to lay officials (*shi* 士), collecting their everyday exchanges in the monastery (*conglin* 叢林)."[37] Shishuang Chuyuan was, in turn, the teacher of both Huanglong Huinan and Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (996–1049), leaders of the two branches of the Linji lineage that dominated Song Chan. Many of those involved in the Chan publication efforts during the Song were affiliated with the Huanglong lineage. As Yanagida claims, these men were responsible for establishing a new genre of religious literature, qualitatively different from the "transmission of the lamp" records, marking a fully matured literary genre and a new period in the development of Chan.[38] Following this development, Chan entered a new period focusing on the collection of *gong'an* anthologies. The material used in these anthologies was largely drawn from episodes extracted from transmission records involving prominent Chan masters.

Traces of *Yulu* (*Yulu* by Any Other Name?)

The habit of collecting Chan masters' sayings, dialogues, activities, etc., occurred prior to the formal designation of such collections as *yulu*. This

tendency is first exhibited in the *tanyu* 壇語 of Shenhui 神會 and the *Tanjing* 壇經 of Huineng 慧能, which collect the alleged "platform talks" (i.e., sermons), conversations, and anecdotes regarding the two masters.[39] Beyond strictly Chan precedents, the impulses for *yulu* are deeply imbedded in Chinese culture. The original inspiration may be attributed to Confucius, whose *Lunyu* 論語 (literally, "records of sayings"), *Analects*, served as the prototype for Chan *yulu*.[40] Not only are *yulu* reminiscent of the *Lunyu* in terms of the method of compilation—dialogues, pronouncements, and observations by Confucius and his students, recorded by disciples—*yulu* also employ the Confucian method of determining one's level of understanding through the use of questions.[41] Confucius is mentioned directly in the record of Chan master Zhangqing Huileng 長慶慧稜 (845–932), who raises his example as a pretext to examine his own students.

> Confucius asked his students: "What do you consider as the Way?" One student answered: "No-mind (*wuxin* 無心) is the Way." One student answered: "Whatever comes into contact with the eyes (*chumu* 觸目) is the Way." Another student slapped his knees with both hands, and hopped around like a sparrow.[42]
>
> Confucius assessed [their responses]: "No-mind is the Way" is the Way of the past. "Whatever comes into contact with the eyes is the Way" is the Way of the future. "Jumping up and hopping around like a sparrow" is the Way of the present."
>
> Master [Huileng] heard this account. He raised it and asked the assembly: "When Confucius tested them in this manner, would you say that any of the three students got the meaning?" No one replied. The master answered his own question: "Two got the meaning. One did not."[43]

Leaving aside Huileng's enigmatic interpretation—perhaps a case of alluding to the answer (one got the meaning, two did not) by asserting the opposite (two got the meaning, one did not)—or the implausibility of attributing such a story to Confucius, the episode makes explicit the specter of Confucius over Chan *yulu*. Confucius here assumes the role of the typical Chan master portrayed in Chan *yulu* texts, assessing and evaluating students' levels of understanding through "live" discourse. This technique is frequently employed in *yulu* dialogues and is regarded as one of its defining characteristics.[44] The influence of the *Lunyu* is likewise evident in the well-known Chan story recorded in the *Chuandeng lu* about Bodhidharma's interrogation of his students about their spiritual attainments, where he pronounces that Daofu 道副

has attained the skin, the nun Zongchi 尼總持 the flesh, and Huike 慧可 the marrow of his teaching.[45]

In addition, the Neo-Daoist appropriation of Confucius demonstrates how easily Confucius and the *Lunyu* could be held in high esteem in Chan circles. In the Neo-Daoist *xuanxue* (dark-learning) movement, it was assumed that Confucius and Laozi dealt with the same issue, "negativity" (*wu*). The fact that Confucius was unwilling to discourse on the subject is emblematic of his superiority; the fact that Laozi and Zhuangzi discuss it exhibits their deficiency. When asked why the Sage (Confucius) was unwilling to discourse about negativity, while Laozi speaks of it incessantly, Wang Bi reputedly replied:

> The Sage embodies negativity. Negativity furthermore cannot be elaborated upon. From this follows that words by necessity pertain to [specific] entities. Lao[zi] and Zhuang[zi, however,] have not escaped from [the realm of specific] entities [and thus their] constant talking [about negativity] is [exactly] their deficiency.[46]

In other words, while Confucius and Laozi are comparable and were concerned with the same issue, Confucius's silence was taken as a mark of his superiority as a sage (i.e., those who speak don't know; those who know don't speak). This is not, of course, to assert that Neo-Daoist interpretation is correct, only that it is wrong to project later interpretations that assume a great gulf between Laozi's and Confucius's understandings of the *dao* back on to earlier interpretations.

Whatever broad cultural influences Confucius and the *Lunyu* may have had, the direct antecedents of Chan *yulu* must be sought closer at hand, in the *yulu*-style documents that were compiled in contemporary Chan circles. The actual use of the term *yulu* in reference to compilations of Chan masters' records was relatively late, originating among the literati establishment as a term to define the new Chan literary genre, rather than among Chan monks themselves. What evidence is there for the usage of terms other than *yulu* to describe these compilations? If *yulu* was not the preferred term early on in Chan circles, what terms were used in its stead? While we cannot reconstruct the actual pre-*yulu* texts themselves, we can reconstruct some idea of their prevalence and which Chan masters they were associated with. In the following, I examine the appearance and usage of a number of terms besides *yulu* and generally used before the *yulu* genre gained currency as *yulu*: *yanjiao* 言教 (oral teachings), *yuben* 語本 (books of sayings), *xinglu* 行錄 (records of conduct), *shilu* 實錄 (veritable records), *xingzhuang* 行狀 (outlines of conduct), *bielu* 別錄 (separate records), and *guangyu* 廣語 (extensive talks) or *guanglu*

廣錄 (extensive records). One of the assumptions I wish to test in my analysis is that initiated by Yanagida Seizan and modern Rinzai sectarian orthodoxy, followed by virtually all modern Chan and Zen scholars, that the impetus for the compilation of *yulu* originated among the followers of Mazu Daoyi and culminated with the *yulu* compilations associated with the Linji lineage.

Appearance of the Term Yanjiao 言教 *(Oral Teachings)*

The term *yanjiao* appears in both influential *denglu* from the period, the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu*. The term appears nine times in the *Zutang ji*. It is not necessarily used for the name of a record of teachings attributed to masters (similar to *yulu*), but this usage is also included and is the most conspicuous of the intended meanings. The fact that the term *yanjiao* was used for book titles is apparent from the title *Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (The Oral Teachings of Reverend [Hui]zhong of Nanyang), listed in Enchin's 圓珍 catalogue.[47] Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (?–775) was named "Preceptor of State" (*guoshi* 國師) by Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 765–779). Huizhong was first invited to the capital by Imperial Commissioner Sun Chaojin 孫朝進 in 761, after Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–764) heard of his reputation. Both emperors treated Huizhong with great warmth. Regarded as a disciple of Huineng, Huizhong followed in the footsteps of Shenxiu 神修 and Shenhui 神會 as the representative of Chan in the capital.[48] Huizhong was quite critical of Southern School 南宗 Chan teaching and advocated a nonsectarian, ecumenical approach to Chan as a movement within the larger tradition of Chinese Buddhism. On the basis of this, it would seem best to qualify Yanagida's assertion that the *yulu* genre was precipitated by the "platform talks" (*tanyu*) of Shenhui. Huizhong's "oral teachings" (*yanjiao*) represent an equally viable precedent, but one not in keeping with the dictates of modern Rinzai orthodoxy.

The term *yanjiao* was also used in a broader context. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) refers to "the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) of the patriarchs and buddhas,"[49] equating the teachings of Chan masters with those of the doctrinal schools and conventional Buddhist scriptures. This is in keeping with Yanshou's professed interpretation of Chan as compatible with the doctrinal teachings of Buddhism, based on the assumption that the scriptures represent the "oral teachings" of the buddhas. The association of *yanjiao* with a syncretist like Huizhong and Yanshou's syncretic interpretation of *yanjiao* to include all the teachings of the patriarchs and buddhas may signal why the term was forsaken by the Linji faction in favor of *yulu*, which held no such associations.

According to the preface by Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人+登) (a.k.a. Shengdeng 省(人+登)), the compilers of the *Zutang ji* (and presumably their readers) considered *yanjiao* in terms of its Chan domain: "The oral teachings [of Chan] (*yanjiao* 言教) have spread bountifully across the seas, but the way these are linked together (*tiaoguan* 條貫) has not been arranged in terms of [the relationships between] masters and their disciples."[50] One can infer from this that the *Zutang ji* was compiled from existing *yanjiao* manuscripts, but on the basis of a new and unique arrangement—a systematic presentation of Chan lineages. Instead of standing on their own, *yanjiao* texts were made to serve a new purpose, to argue for the systematic coherence, the clarity, cohesion, and congruence of Chan as a unified but multilineal organization. This need to present Chan in terms of a rationally organized system gave birth to the *denglu* (lamp of transmission records) genre. It is within this genre that the earliest known fragments of *yanjiao* and other *yulu*-style materials are recorded.

In addition to the preface, the term *yanjiao* appears in six records and a total of eight times in the *Zutangji*:

- In the record of Shitou 石頭, Xingsi 行思 says to Shitou: "After I have departed, reverend, you will have my oral teachings (*yanjiao*). Return at once to the meditation platform and take up the great axe (i.e., emblem of transmission)."[51]
- The term *yanjiao* appears twice in the record of Yantou Quanhuo 嚴頭全豁, first, when Baofu 保福 raises a question with Zhangqing [Huileng] 長慶慧棱: "In former times, when Yantou left the world, did he leave any oral teachings (*yanjiao*) to Deshan 德山?"[52] Second, when the master [Yantou] asks if [Xuefeng 雪峰] had some oral teaching (*yanjiao*)?, the monk replies: "When I first arrived there, there was a copy of his interactions (*yinyuan* 因緣), and [the monks there] always commented on his former words."[53]
- The term *yanjiao* appears twice in the record of Zhangqing Huileng 長慶慧棱. In the first instance, Huileng is asked what appropriate oral teachings (*yanjiao*) he has, compared with the former sages who have preceded him.[54] In the second instant, Taichuan 太傳 asks: "What oral teachings (*yanjiao*) has the reverend of the mountain recently [delivered]?"[55]
- In the record of Baofu Congzhan 保福從展, Master [Baofu] raises a question to Zhaoqing [Wendeng] 招慶文(人+登): "During his life, did Yantou pass on some oral teachings (*yanjiao*) to Deshan 德山?"[56]
- In the record of Weijing 惟勁, it states that [Weijing] composed the Elephant Tusk gatha, which contains a verse "do not transmit the

phrases borne in the oral teachings (*yanjiao*); after definitions [provided by words] become fixed, the mountains and seas are forever separate."[57]

- In the record of Baizhang 百丈, it states: "all the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) simply clarify our own currently awakened nature."[58]

The explanations for the usage of the term *yanjiao* in the *Zutang ji* are, for the most part, self-explanatory. They confirm that one of the primary uses of *yanjiao* was as a record of a master's teachings, presumably delivered in oral form and recorded for posterity. The cautionary warning by Weijing not to record such teachings is interesting in that it anticipates similar warnings, mentioned previously, regarding the misuse of oral instructions. It is also interesting to note that all but the last occurrence of the term *yanjiao* (in the record of Baizhang) are non-Hongzhou 洪州 faction references. The implication drawn from the *Zutang ji* is that oral teachings (*yanjiao*) were largely connected to lineages descended through Shitou rather than Mazu.

In addition to the *Zutang ji*, the term *yanjiao* appears fifteen times in connection with thirteen masters in the *Chuandeng lu*:

- In the record of Baotang Wuzhu 保唐無住: "Even though [Wuzhu] widely lectured with oral teachings (*yanjiao*), he only regarded no-thought (*wunian* 無念) as the main principle (*zong* 宗)."[59]
- In the record of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海: "all the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) simply clarify our own currently awakened nature."[60]
- Twice in the record of Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏: Li Ao 李翱 once asked a monk: "What oral teachings (*yanjiao*) does great master Ma impart?" The monks replied: "The master sometimes says 'mind is buddha,' and sometimes says 'not mind, not buddha.'" Li Ao said: "This is completely beyond me." Li Ao then asked Xitang: "What oral teachings (*yanjiao*) does great master Ma impart?" Xitang called to Li Ao. Li Ao nodded in reply. Xitang said: "Activate the drum and flute (used in battle to move soldiers into action)."[61]
- In the record of Funiu Zizai 伏牛自在, who, in conversation with Huizhong 慧忠 is asked: "What other oral teachings (*yanjiao*) besides this ('mind is buddha') [does Mazu] impart?"[62]
- In the record of Linji Yixuan, 臨濟義玄 where Dayu 大愚 asks Linji: "What oral instruction (*yanjiao*) did Huangbo 黃薄 give you?"[63]
- In the record of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑, Baofu 保福 raised the matter with Zhaoqing 招慶, asking: "When Yantou 嚴頭 departed the world, what oral teachings (*yanjiao*) did he leave for Deshan? How did [Yantou] instruct him?"[64]

- In the record of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存, where it seems to be used in a different sense.[65]
- In the record of Lejing Hankuang 樂淨含匡.[66]
- Twice in the record of Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶: "the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) of venerable monks from the various quarters exist in the world like the sands of the Ganges river. Fascicle upon fascicle of scriptures in the great canon of the tathagata all explain the Buddha's truth (*foli* 佛理). Sentence upon sentence explains Buddha-mind (*foxin* 佛心). Why can't you understand?"[67]
- In the record of Daofeng Huiju 道峰慧炬: "The Master's (Huiju's) oral teachings (*yanjiao*) have yet to appear in China."[68]
- In the record of Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽: "When the ruler of Gaoli 高麗 (Korea) read Yanshou's Oral Teachings (*yanjiao*), he dispatched an envoy bearing a letter in which [the ruler] expressed his respects as a disciple."[69]
- In the *Bieyu* 別語 of Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗.[70]
- In the *Guangyu* 廣語 of Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠: "When one picks up their *Platform Scripture*, [one sees] it has been altered. The distortions and vulgarizations destroy the sage's intention and confuse younger students. How can it constitute the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) [of the Sixth Patriarch]? How lamentable! It will surely be the ruin of our School (*zong* 宗)."[71]

References to *yanjiao* in the *Chuandeng lu* are spread across a broad spectrum of lineages. Huizhong uses the term in connection with the teachings of Huineng, criticizing the *Tanjing* (Platform Scripture) as a true representation of Huineng's *yanjiao* (oral teachings). Three of the thirteen masters are students of Mazu, and two of the references to *yanjiao* are direct inquiries into Mazu's alleged teachings. One other reference concerns oral teachings allegedly transmitted between Huangbo and Linji, masters also connected with Mazu's lineage. In addition, references to *yanjiao* also appear prominently in records of masters descended from Shitou: in the context of teachings transmitted from Deshan to Yantou, commented on by Baofu and Zhaoqing Wendeng; and in the records of Xuefeng, Tiantai Deshao, and Yongming Yanshou. Of particular interest is the claim attributed to Deshao that "the oral teachings (*yanjiao*) of venerable monks from the various quarters exist in the world like the sands of the Ganges river," indicating how widespread the phenomena of *yanjiao* collections documenting the teachings of Chan masters had become. This comment comes as no surprise, however, given Wendeng's claim in his preface to the *Zutang ji*, noted above, that "[t]he oral teachings [of

Chan] (*yanjiao*) have spread bountifully across the seas," and the inference that the *Zutang ji* was compiled from these *yanjiao* compilations.

Use of the Terms Xinglu 行錄, Shilu 實錄, *and* Xingzhuang 行狀

In addition to *yanjiao* that documented Chan masters' oral teachings, other records purportedly documented their other activities. In the *Zutang ji*, these are referred to as *xinglu* (Records of Conduct), *shilu* (Veritable Records, records of actual conduct), and *xingzhuang* (Outlines of Conduct). These terms appear extensively in the *Zutang ji*, mostly in reference to *xinglu*, *shilu*, and *xingzhuang* not being available to the *Zutang ji*'s compilers ("We have not read his *xinglu/shilu/xingzhuang*"). The implication is that they were available in the majority of other cases and served as a basis for the records of Chan masters contained in the *Zutang ji*. Records where no *xinglu* was available are noted twenty-one times;[72] records where no *shilu* was available are noted ten times;[73] and records where no *xingzhuang* was available are noted four times.[74] The question remains, however, as to the nature of these records, how they compare with each other and to *yanjiao*. We know that *xinglu* emerges as a component of *yulu* texts when they make their full-fledged appearance later on.[75] Materials circulating as *xingzhuang* and *shilu* were probably similarly incorporated. The use of different terms may result more from a lack of consensus over customary usage than from actual differences in content.

From the titles alone, it is easy to speculate that *xinglu*, *shilu*, and *xingzhuang* all included similar materials relating to the activities, behavior, and conduct of Chan masters, as opposed to their oral presentations, and it is tempting to speculate that this is what distinguished them from *yanjiao*. More investigation is needed, however, to ascertain such an assumption. What can be determined is the relative difference in the length of entries in the *Zutang ji* of records where *xinglu*, *shilu*, and *xingzhuang* were lacking, compared to entries where no such claim is made. The average length of the 35 entries where *xinglu*, *shilu*, or *xingzhuang* were unavailable is 19.1 lines per entry. When the two longest entries are subtracted from this, one gets an even more accurate indication of their normal length.[76] With this subtraction, the average length drops to 12.4 lines, or less than one page of text (14 lines), per entry. In contrast, the average length of the remaining 179 entries (from Bodhidharma on) in the *Zutang ji* is over 50 lines, or over three and one-half pages of text, per entry. This is not to say that there are not other entries in the *Zutang ji* short or even shorter than those where *xinglu*, *shilu*, or *xingzhuang* were not available. One can find several entries of a few lines where no such claim is made. This does not change, however, the overall picture that one would

expect—the unavailability of *xinglu*, *shilu*, and *xingzhuang* seriously reduced the vast majority of records so affected.

It is interesting that none of these terms appear in the *Chuandeng lu*. Is it because they were superceded by the more encompassing term *yulu*? The term *yulu* was, perhaps, adopted for other reasons as well. By the time the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled, *yulu* had become established as the preferred term for defining the new Chan literary genre. One thing is certain. The compilation of Chan masters' sayings, conduct, etc., however defined, was broadly practiced and subject to no discernible factional or lineage-based restrictions. As in the case of *yanjiao*, no argument seems justifiable for isolating the special usage of the terms *xinglu*, *shilu*, or *xingzhuang* to any particular lineage.

Use of the Term Bielu 別錄

Although the term *bielu* (separate records) does not appear frequently in the *Zutang ji*, its usage attracts special interest. All three usages are connected with the Mazu lineage:

- In the record of Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齊安, a disciple of Mazu, there is the statement: "In the *dazhong* 大中 era (847–859), the emperor [Xuanzong 宣宗] treated [Yanguan] as a hidden dragon (i.e., a person whose superior virtue had not been revealed), saying: 'I always respected him as my teacher. How he was at answering questions and explaining treatises.' All of this is revealed in his *bielu*."[77]
- At the end of the record for Cen Heshang 岑和尚, a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (who, in turn, was Mazu's disciple), there is a note regarding the existence of a *bielu*: "Besides what is here [in this record], [Cen Heshang's dialogues] are recorded in detail in a separate record (*bielu*)."[78]
- At the end of the record of Linji 臨濟, it states: "In addition, encounter dialogues (*yingji duida* 應機對答) [involving Linji] appear extensively in a separate record (*bielu*)."[79]

The references not only are all to masters' records descended from Mazu, but they also reveal aspects regarding the nature of *bielu* records themselves. Cen Heshang was one of the masters for whom the compilers of the *Zutang ji* had not seen his *shilu*, as noted above. This suggests that *bielu* and *shilu* were regarded as separate categories and that *bielu* was not a broader category that included others. In addition, the reference in the record of Linji indicates at least one type of material that *bielu* did contain, encounter dialogues

(*yingji duida* 應機對答). The *bielu* of Yanguan, on the other hand, reportedly included explanations of treatises and answers to questions posed by the emperor, far removed in style and substance, it would seem, from encounter dialogues. Hypothetically, I would like to consider *bielu* as dialogical in character, a master's conversations with others regardless of the form they took, in contrast to *xinglu*, *shilu*, and *xingzhuang*, which are framed around a master's conduct, how he acquitted himself in actual affairs, and may also (and often do) include conversations.

The term *bielu* also appears in the *Chuandeng lu*, however, suggesting yet another usage. In the *Chuandeng lu*, the term *bielu* is not connected to the Mazu lineage but appears in the record of Qiyun Yuzhen 齊雲遇臻 of Wuzhou 婺州, a disciple of the Fayan lineage master Tiantai Deshao.[80] Following an example verse composed by Qiyun Yuzhen, the record proclaims: "The verses he composed were all prompted by actual situations (*shi* 事). More than three-hundred verses circulate in a separate record (*bielu*)."[81] In this case, the term *bielu* is clearly not used to refer to a record containing dialogical contents; nor does it have any connection with the Mazu or Linji lineage.[82]

Use of the Term Yuben 語本

The term *yuben* (Book of Sayings) is most closely connected to the pre-*yulu* genre in the Mazu lineage. According to the *Zutang ji*, some students of Mazu, following his death, recorded interesting events of his life in a Book of Sayings (*yuben*).[83] At the same time, the practice is disparaged as harmful to people who, not seeing that words are a trap, fail to grasp their meaning. They only remember the one saying from Mazu's teaching, "mind is Buddha," and nothing else. They forgo real teachers to pursue the footsteps of Mazu.[84] In spite of such warnings, it is apparent that collecting anthologies of masters' sayings was widely practiced. The epitaph written by Chen Xu 陳詡 for Mazu's disciple, Baizhang Huaihai, notes how two of his students, Shenxing 神行 and Fanyun 梵雲, collected brief sayings from Huaihai and edited them into a Book of Sayings (*yuben*).[85] This suggests that Books of Sayings were particularly popular among Mazu's descendants and were a way of commemorating the new style of Buddhism developed in the Mazu lineage.

While there is no mention of a Book of Sayings (*yuben*) for Linji, Zanning 贊寧 notes in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 that Linji's Oral Teachings (*yanjiao*) were extensively available.[86] Yanagida Seizan suggests an evolution in the use of terms from *yuben* to *yanjiao*.[87] I doubt such an assertion, given the widespread associations of the term *yanjiao* among various Chan lineages and to attributions by early masters, such as the alleged disciple of Huineng,

Huizhong (see above), who lived prior to Mazu. It seems more likely that the different terms in use for collections of Chan masters' teachings reflected diversity in the Chan movement before it reached consensus. Given the more widespread usage and greater associations for *yanjiao* in Chan circles, early preference was accorded this term. The term *yuben* emerges as a preferred term in Mazu's lineage.

The Appearance of Guangyu 廣語 *and* Guanglu 廣錄

Extensive Records (*guanglu*) and Extensive Sayings (*guangyu*) were collections of addresses delivered to the assembly, the *shangtang* sermons delivered in a more formal setting. The *Chuandeng lu* is the earliest record of *guangyu* and marks an important development in the recognition of the new *yulu* genre. The list of twelve masters included in this category and the titles of their *guangyu* is as follows.[88]

1. Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠, *Nanyang Huizhong guoshi yu* 南陽慧忠國師語
2. Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會, *Luojing Heze Shenhui dashi yu* 洛京荷澤神會大師語
3. Daji (=Mazu 馬祖) Daoyi 大寂道一, *Jiangxi Daji Daoyi Chanshi yu* 江西大寂道一禪師語
4. Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼, *Lizhou Baoshan Weiyan heshang yu* 澧州藥山惟儼和尚語
5. Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海, *Yuezhou Dazhu Huihai heshang yu* 越州大珠慧海和尚語
6. Dada Wuye 大達無業, *Fenzhou Dada Wuye guoshi yu* 汾州大達無業國師語
7. Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願, *Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan heshang yu* 池州南泉普願 和尚語
8. Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗, *Zhaozhou Chushen heshang yu* 趙州從諗和尚語
9. Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄, *Zhenzhou Linji Yixuan heshang yu* 鎮州臨濟義玄和尚語
10. Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備, *Xuansha Zongyi Shibei dashi yu* 玄沙宗一師備大師語
11. Tanzhou Guichen 潭州桂琛, *Tanzhou Luohan Guichen heshang yu* 潭州羅漢桂琛和尚語
12. Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益, *Da Fayan Wenyi Chanshi yu* 大法眼文益禪師語

Six of the twelve (Mazu, Huihai, Dada Wuye, Nanquan Puyuan, Zhaozhou, and Linji) are connected with the Mazu lineage, indicating the importance of Mazu's descendants for the development of this genre. Of the remaining six, two (Huizhong and Shenhui) pre-date Mazu and Shitou, the alleged progenitors of Chan's multilineage exuberance, three (Xuansha Shibei, Tanzhou Guichen, and Fayan Wenyi) are associated with the Fayan lineage, with the other (Yaoshan Weiyan) being a descendent of Shitou. The dominance displayed by the Mazu and Fayan lineages is hardly a surprise given the influence that these two Chan factions wielded in the early Song. The compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan, was a member of the Fayan lineage, and the chief editor, the prominent Song literatus Yang Yi, had former links to the Fayan lineage but had recently converted to Linji Chan. Yang Yi's associate, Li Wei, was also an advocate of Linji Chan.[89]

The Appearance of *Yulu* Texts

When *yulu* texts are said to first appear depends on how one defines *yulu*. For those who conflate *yulu* with all of Chan literature, *yulu* begins with the earliest Chan texts, the records of Bodhidharma's teaching, the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts relating to Chan, and so on. Others would restrict *yulu* to Chan sermons and dialogues appearing in the wake of Shenhui's "platform talks" and Huineng's alleged "platform scripture," including such famous Chan texts as Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essential Teachings on the Transmission of Mind) and *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄 (Wanling Record), Huihai's *Dunwu yaomen* 頓悟要門 (Essential Gateway to Sudden Awakening), Baizhang Huaihai's *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄 (Extensive Record of Baizhang), Nanquan Puyuan's *Nanquan yuyao* 南泉語要 (Essential Sayings of Nanquan), and Layman Pang's *Pang Jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Record of Sayings of Layman Pang).

There are problems in assigning the *yulu* designation to any of these texts. No one would deny that these texts made a major contribution to the *yulu* genre, but the problem is that they acquired their *yulu* status after the fact (i.e., after *yulu* became a recognized genre). In this regard, the best that can be said of them is that they represent aspects of *yulu* before *yulu* became recognized as such. This becomes clear through a review of the textual history of these works.

The text of the *Baizhang guanglu*, for example, currently exists as a compilation of Baizhang's teachings scattered through other sources, reassembled by an unknown editor in the Ming dynasty. Fascicles one and two of the three-fascicle work are drawn from the record of Baizhang's teachings in *Guzun su*

yulu 古尊宿語錄 (Records of Sayings of Ancient Worthies).[90] The expanded forty-eight-fascicle *Guzun su yulu*, the Ming edition of the text published in 1617 currently known to us, was issued at the beginning of the Yuan in 1271.[91] It was based on an earlier compilation by the Linji master Shouze 守賾 (d.u.), issued in the *shaoxing* 紹興 era (1131–1162), the *Fuzhou Gushan si Gusun su yuyao* 福州鼓山寺古尊宿語要 (Essential Sayings of Ancient Worthies [compiled at] Mount Gu Monastery in Fuzhou).[92] The existing *Guzun su yulu* text clearly represents a Song rendition of Baizhang's teachings. Fascicle three is drawn from Baizhang's record in the *Sijia yulu*, a Song dynasty compilation dating from the eleventh century (discussed below) but now existing in only a Ming edition.[93] This does not mean that a record of Baizhang's teachings did not exist in an even earlier form. As noted above, the stele inscription composed by Chen Xu mentions how students of Baizhang, Shenxing, and Fanyun compiled a Book of Sayings (*yuben*) of Baizhang's teachings. Also, Enchin's catalogues mention the *Baizhang heshang yaojue* 百丈和尚要決 (Essential Pronouncements of Reverend Baizhang), another indication that a record of Baizhang's teachings existed during the Tang dynasty.[94] What we have access to, however, are only records compiled from the Song during the heyday of Chan *yulu* production. This is not to suggest that portions of Baizhang's record are not authentic, only that it is dubious to project the *yulu* genre onto such material before the *yulu* designation existed.[95]

Likewise, the *Nanquan yulu* purports to be Nanquan Puyuan's own compilation, but it was only issued during the Song, also during the *shaoxing* era (1131–1162). It is currently incorporated in the *Guzun su yulu*.[96]

A similar situation prevails for the Records of Sayings of Layman Pang. The *Pang Jushi yulu* was issued only in the Song and survives in a Ming edition issued in 1637.[97] An earlier text attributed to Layman Pang, the *Pang Jushi jiesong ji* (Collection of Verses by Layman Pang), is recorded in Enchin's catalogues, but it is no longer extant.[98] The record of Layman Pang's teachings preserved in the *Pang Jushi yulu* comprises three fascicles. The first fascicle is a record of Layman Pang's dialogues and conversations, while fascicles two and three are devoted to Layman Pang's poems and verses. Judging from the title recorded in Enchin's catalogue, the work brought to Japan (i.e., the Tang dynasty work) was restricted to a collection of Layman Pang's verses. Layman Pang's record was accorded the *yulu* designation only after the Song.

As a *yulu* of Huihai's teachings, the *Dunwu yaomen*, sometimes referred to in more *yulu*-friendly terms as the *Dazhu Chanshi yulu* 大珠禪師語錄 (Record of Sayings of Chan Master Dazhu [Huihai]), is also fraught with difficulty. The current two-fascicle text was issued in the sixth year of *hongwu* 洪武 (1373) in the Ming dynasty.[99] The first fascicle, entitled *Dunwu rudao*

yaomen lun 頓悟入道要門論 (Treatise on the Essential Gateway for Entering the Way of Sudden Awakening), purports to be compiled by Huihai himself.[100] The second fascicle, entitled *Zhufang menren canwen yulu* 諸方門人參問語錄 (Record of Sayings from Questions of Students from Various Quarters), purports to record Huihai's responses to students' questions, as the title indicates. It was compiled from Huihai's records contained in the *Chuandeng lu*.[101] Even if we allow the material in fascicle one as authentic, as a self-composed "treatise," it could hardly qualify as *yulu*, except in the expanded definition that is frequently invoked by the tradition to include virtually all Chan writings. The material in fascicle two, while consisting of questions and answers more deserving to be called *yulu*, is gleaned from a *denglu* document, a collection of *yulu*-style materials assembled before *yulu* proper were openly championed. Huihai is another case, then, where the *yulu* format was projected by Song compilers onto presumably preexisting materials.

It is easier to argue for the *yulu* character of Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu*. The *Chuanxin fayao* and parts of the *Wanling lu* originated in the notes taken by the prominent Tang literatus Pei Xiu 裴休, a former confidant of Zongmi 宗密, who had occasion for intimate conversations with Huangbo while stationed as an official in Zhongling 鐘陵 and Wanling 宛陵. In his preface, dated the eighth day of the tenth month of *dazhong* (858), Pei Xiu writes of the circumstances surrounding his compilation of the text:

> In the second year of the *huichang* 會昌 era (842), I was in charge of [the district of] Zhongling. From his mountain abode, I invited the master to the prefectural capital. He stayed at Flourishing Dragon Monastery (*Longxing si* 龍興寺), where I questioned him day and night about the Way. In the second year of the *dazhong* 大中 era (848), I was in charge of [the district of] Wanling. I again invited him ceremoniously to the district headquarters. He stayed at the Kaiyuan Monastery (*Kaiyuan si* 開元寺), where I received his teaching day and night. When we parted, I wrote it down, recording about ten to twenty percent of it. I cherished it as the mind-seal, but had no intention to issue it publicly. Now, fearing that the meaning of the sacred that I had been inducted into would not be known in the future, I decided to publish it. I gave [the manuscript] to his disciples, the monks Taizhou 太舟 and Fajian 法建, to return [with it] to the Monastery for Expanding the Tang (*Guangtang si* 廣唐寺) on the old mountain (Mount Huangbo) and ask the elders and members of the Buddhist assembly there whether it agrees with what they themselves regularly heard [from the master] in former days.[102]

Given Pei Xiu's account, it is easy to assign credibility to these documents. They purport to be a record of Huangbo's teachings as compiled by Pei Xiu in collaboration with Huangbo's former students. Nevertheless, it is quite probable that the current versions of the *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu* were subject to further manipulation.[103] The oldest known editions of these texts are the copies placed at the head of the Song dynasty Eastern Chan monastery (*Dongchan si* 東禪寺) copy of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* published in Fuzhou 福州 in the first month of the third year of *daguan* 大觀 (1109).[104] Moreover, the *Zutang ji* attested to the existence of Huangbo's *xinglu*, and the *Song gaoseng zhuan* affirmed the existence of Huangbo's *yulu*, when Zanning claimed, "the record of his sayings (*yulu*) are in circulation throughout the world."[105]

Given the identification of *yulu* as an anthology of a Chan master's words and deeds, it is surprising that the term was first used in the early Song in a non-Chan text. In addition to the reference to Huangbo's *yulu* in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, Zanning makes a similar claim for the *yulu* of Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897).[106] References to the existence of *yulu* by Zanning are noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place, it makes clear that *yulu* were in existence and identified as such by this time—collections of Chan masters' words and deeds had been compiled and were in circulation. Secondly, it suggests that the term *yulu* was not originally used by Chan monks themselves to refer to prominent masters' teachings but was used by "outsiders" to define a burgeoning trend. While a Buddhist monk, Zanning was highly placed in the Song administration and compiled his works at imperial request. He was on friendly terms with the newly formed Song secular elite who, in many respects, considered him as one of their own. It is thus likely that the term *yulu* originated among literati to define the literature associated with the new trends that Chan represented. Further verification that this may have been the case is provided by the literatus Yang Yi, whose role in editing the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and describing the contents as compiled from selections taken from "the *yulu* of various quarters" was noted above.[107]

While the term *yulu* does not appear in the earliest Chan record to document these trends, the *Zutang ji* (compiled in 952), other terms, reviewed above, make clear that the recording of masters' teachings and activities had become commonplace. For example, we have seen how the admission that the compilers were unable to consult a particular master's "record of conduct" (*xinglu*) appears randomly throughout the *Zutang ji*, indicating that such records were commonly used as source material for the compilation. In addition, terms such as *xingzhuang* (outline of conduct), *bielu* (separate record), and *yanjiao* (oral teachings), also found in the *Zutang ji*, indicate the existence of Chan masters' records under various labels.

As background to this early Song usage, it is important to note the existence of *yulu* in a text by a Tang dynasty Chan master. In the first half of the ninth century, Shenqing 神清 of the Huiyi monastery 慧義寺 in Zizhou 梓州 (Sichuan) wrote the *Beishan sanxuan yulu* 北山三玄語錄 (Dialogue Records by Beishan on the Three Profundities) in ten fascicles.[108] While bearing the label *yulu* in its title, this text is clearly not a *yulu* in the sense that it was used in later convention. While Shenqing is counted in a lineage descended from the fifth Chan patriarch, Hongren 弘忍, and a disciple of Chan master Wuxiang 無相,[109] he was critical of many of the Chan practitioners of his day. The *Song gaoseng zhuan*, as well as Shenqing's own writings, highlight Shenqing's scholastic and syncretic tendencies.[110] The "three profundities" of the *Beishan sanxuan yulu* are the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, which Shenqing praised as embodying a harmonious doctrine (albeit one based on the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness).[111] Zanning counts Shenqing among the ranks of "exegetes" (*yijie* 義解) in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* rather than a "chan practitioner" (*xichan* 習禪), a further blight against his Chan reputation. Yanagida Seizan claims that Shenqing's *yulu* differs from Chan *yulu* in that it was written by Shenqing himself, not a third-person scribe.[112]

How should we regard Shenqing's *Beishan sanxuan yulu*? On the one hand, it is clear that as a self-penned treatise, it does not fit the style characteristic of later *yulu* texts. Perhaps more importantly for writers such as Yanagida, it deviates from the Linji Chan ideology that prevails through *yulu* texts. Nor is it written in the direct, colloquial style said to characterize *yulu*. To allow the *Beishan sanxuan yulu* as Chan *yulu* would be to admit that the writings and teachings of all Chan masters, in effect all Chan literature, are *yulu*. Still, the *Beishan sanxuan yulu* is a reminder that *yulu* need not be seen strictly through the teleological lens of Linji and Rinzai orthodoxy. What came to be known as Chan *yulu* grew out of a broader factional and doctrinal background than the later Linji based orthodoxy is prone to admit. In retrospect, other factional perspectives—doctrinal positions, scholastic tendencies, conventional practices, three teachings syncretisms, and so on—are reduced to deviations from or bridges to a normative definition of Chan based on Linji/Rinzai interpretation.

In spite of this qualification, I agree with Yanagida that the Chan *yulu* genre is specifically characterized by the appearance of *yulu* texts in the early Song.[113] The first Song Chan *yulu* texts to appear were the *Zhaozhou yulu* 趙州語錄 (Record of Sayings of Zhaozhou),[114] the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄 (Record of Sayings of Chan Master Wude of Fenyang),[115] and the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Sayings of Four Masters) 四家語錄.

Zhaozhou Congshen (778–897), a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan, was a leading figure among Mazu's descendants. The *Zhaozhou yulu* was edited by

the Lu shan monk Qixian Chengshi 棲賢澄諟, a disciple of Baizhang Daochang 百丈道常 (?–991) and member of the Fayan lineage who flourished in the early Song. Chengshi's edition was reputedly based on an earlier *xingzhuang* for Zhaozhou compiled in the eleventh year of *baoda* 保大 (953), a reign title of the independent regime of Nan Tang during the Five Dynasties period.[116] It is known to us only through an edition published during the *shaoxing* era 紹興 (1131–1162).

The *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* was edited by Fenyang's disciple, Shishuang (or Ziming) Chuyuan (986–1039) in the early Song, and issued in the first year of *jianzhong jingguo* 建中靖國 (1101). Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (942–1024) was a disciple of Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–993), the founder of the Song Linji faction. Yang Yi wrote a preface for the work.[117] Since Yang Yi passed away in 1020, we can presume that it was issued sometime before that. Shishuang Chuyuan, moreover, had two disciples who founded the leading branches of the Linji lineage in the Song, Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049) and Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069). Huinan edited Shishuang Chuyuan's teachings, the *Shishuang Chuyuan chanshi yulu* 石霜楚圓禪師語錄 (Record of Sayings of Shishuang Chuyuan), for publication.[118] The monk Benyan 本延 of the Meditation Grove Chan monastery (*Dinglin chan si* 定林禪寺) on Mount Zhidu 智度山 wrote a preface, dating the work to the fifth year of *tiansheng* 天聖 (1027).

The *Sijia yulu* documents the "records of sayings" (*yulu*) of "four houses," in this case, actually "four masters" (*sijia*): Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji.[119] The text was most instrumental in solidifying the Song Linji school claim that the founder of their lineage, Linji Yixuan, was the legitimate heir to Mazu's legacy. While the *Sijia yulu* is currently known to us in only a late Ming edition, a portion of a preface by Yang Jie 楊傑 is dated the first day of the eleventh month of *yuanfeng* 元豐 (1085).[120] According to Yang Jie's preface, the person responsible for compiling the *Sijia yulu* was a certain Jicui Laonan 積翠老南, a reference to the prominent Song dynasty Linji Chan master Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069).[121] The name Jicui 積翠 ("abundant green") refers to a hermitage once occupied by Huanglong Huinan on Mount Huangbo and subsequently an honorific title granted to Huanglong Huinan in 1066 by the prefect of Yuzhang 豫章 (Jiangxi), Cheng Gongpi 程公闢.[122] Given the way that Huanglong Huinan is referred to here (as Jicui Laonan), it is reasonable to infer that the *Sijia yulu* was compiled between 1066 and the time of Huinan's death in 1069.

The *Sijia yulu* existed in an even earlier form, however, in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*.[123] While the texts of the four masters embedded in this larger work do not distinguish a separate *Sijia yulu*, the contents of the *Tiansheng*

Guangdeng lu and the later *yulu* of the four masters are virtually identical.[124] This means that the contents of the *Sijia yulu* were already established, in some form, by the time the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was compiled in 1029.[125] As mentioned previously, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was instrumental in establishing the Song Linji faction's supremacy at the Song court. The centerpiece of this claim was the avowed allegiance between the four masters who were the subjects of the *Sijia yulu*. The records of their sayings were arranged in the *Tiansheng Guangdenglu* and affiliated to the records of contemporary Linji masters.[126]

The ascent of Chan *yulu* represents the convergence of three interconnected factors: the dominant position achieved by the Linji school in the early Song; the support given the Linji school by prominent members of the Song literati class; and the association of Chan *yulu* with the new definition of *wen* at the Song court. As I argue elsewhere, Song literati promoted Chan *yulu* as a defining feature of Song literary culture.[127] Under the umbrella of early Song commitment to literary culture (*wen* 文) over martial power (*wu* 武), Buddhism was protected from criticisms that many literati harbored toward it. The early Song emperors, Taizu 太祖 and Taizong 太宗, sponsored encyclopedic compilations aimed at establishing Song literary culture in terms reminiscent of Tang literary achievements. In this context, Taizong commissioned Zanning to compile the *Song gaoseng zhuan* and *Dasong seng shilue* 大宋僧史略 as Buddhist contributions to Song's culture-building enterprise along the lines of other Song literary projects. Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Zanning proposed Buddhism be considered a legitimate component of China's *wen* tradition (i.e., a Chinese as opposed to a foreign tradition), envisioning a Song empire whose three traditions (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) were all recognized as legitimate participants in the imperial ideology, each of which contributed to the success of the imperial mission.[128]

Zanning's goal ended with the death of Taizong. When Zhenzong 真宗 assumed power, authority shifted to the secular literati, and Buddhism was exposed to blunter criticisms. Literati who expounded *guwen* 古文 (ancient or classical) *mores* demanded Buddhism be excluded as anathema to China's traditional values. They criticized Buddhism as an alien, non-Chinese tradition that conflicted with values espoused in China's *guwen* (i.e., Confucian) texts, exposing people to malicious superstitions and undermining China's economic and social well-being. It was out of the question to sanction Buddhism as part of China's *wen* tradition according to these proponents.[129]

Other Song literati held more liberal views regarding *wen*. *Wen* was not restricted to the formal expression found in classical models but promoted the spontaneous expression of an innately free nature.[130] This provided an avenue

for Buddhist inclusion in the Song *wen* agenda but did so on terms that predetermined the outcome. It proscribed the stifling exegetical scholasticism that constituted the bulk of Buddhism's literary legacy in favor of a new Buddhist *wen* that radically reinterpreted how Buddhism was understood. Chan *yulu* emerged from this context as the new Song expression of Buddhist *wen*. Under the influence of leading literati, the Song sought to distinguish itself from Tang *wen* by exhibiting Song *wen*'s unique character. Under Zhenzong and Renzong 仁宗, the Song turned away from the mammoth literary projects that defined early commitment to *wen* in favor of a more innovative approach. Song literati played a key role in defining and shaping Chan *denglu* according to this new literary agenda.

Yang Yi, editor in charge of the *Chuandeng lu*, reconceived Daoyuan's original compilation according to the new literary criteria. In the process, he established parameters through which Chan would come to be understood. In the first place, Yang Yi changed the title of the work from *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) to *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), in effect creating the *denglu* (transmission of the lamp) designation as a standard Chan paradigm. In addition, Yang Yi changed the conception of the work, and in doing so, introduced to Song literati the new way Chan would come to be understood. Rather than a common practice shared by the buddhas and Chan patriarchs, a conception that strongly suggests an inherent compatibility between Chan and the Buddhist tradition at large, Yang Yi championed Chan as a "special practice outside the teaching," a variant of the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching," the designation that served as a standard bearer for the new Chan Dharma, properly understood. Yang Yi championed a unilateral Chan Dharma that reduces all species of Chan to a singular and independent tradition. Chan *yulu* functioned as the receptacle through which this singular and independent tradition was expressed. Yang Yi brought a centralizing, uniform blueprint to Chan and distinguished Chan *yulu* as an innovative literary form, the mark of a uniquely Song expression of *wen*.

Yang Yi's conception of Chan was actualized by Li Zunxu, the compiler of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* unabashedly promotes the cause of the Linji faction, whose members emerged as Chan's most influential representatives at the Song court. Li Zunxu expressly compiled the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* to memorialize the legacy of Linji faction leader Shoushan Shengnian and his disciples for a Song literati audience.[131] A *yulu* text in *denglu* guise, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* confirmed Chan's identification with the new *yulu* literary genre. It also marked a transition in the way Chan was appreciated in the Song. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was still a product

of official Buddhism, compiled and edited under imperial authority. The emergence of *yulu* texts devoted to the interests of single Chan masters exhibits the growing influence of the literati class.[132]

Neo-Confucian *Yulu*

Yulu were not only compiled for Chan masters. During the Song, *yulu* emerged as a new and important literary genre among Neo-Confucians. How did the *yulu* form take shape among Neo-Confucians? What characteristics defined Confucian *yulu*? How do Confucian and Chan *yulu* compare? Before addressing this topic, mention should also be made of the emergence of Daoist *yulu*. During the Song dynasty, Daoists also adopted the *yulu* form, but this seems to be a development completely indebted to Chan collections.[133] The presumption of Chan influence over Neo-Confucian *yulu* is less clear.

Daniel Gardner has commented that "while Chan Buddhists may indeed have adopted the *yulu* form a hundred years or so earlier than Neo-Confucians, the genre did not flourish in their circles until the eleventh and twelfth centuries—at the very time it was gaining popularity among Neo-Confucians; one school's influence on the other cannot be readily assumed."[134] Other evidence (also considered by Gardner) suggests that the Chan proclivity toward oral instruction and face-to-face transmission had a major influence on Confucian adoption of the *yulu* genre.

As early as the ninth century, members of the Confucian community acknowledged the effectiveness of Chan Buddhism's oral instruction and face-to-face transmission of doctrine. The superiority of Chan's instruction techniques was noted by Shen Yazhi 沈亞之 (782?–831?).

> Since Buddhism has come to China, those of our people who study with Buddhist monks have greatly surpassed those who study with Confucians and others. Moreover, their ritual for transmitting [the teaching] between teachers and disciples has been strictly maintained down to the present day. As a result, the Confucian Way has declined and is unable to compete with Buddhism. Their schools even have separate branches. Their teachers gauge the level of their disciples' individual natures and orally pass the teaching on to them (*shoushuo* 授說). It is for this reason they employ such methods as sitting with their eyes closed (*mingzuo* 瞑座) and rude behaviour (*duanxing* 短行), physical austerities (*huixing* 毀刑) and heated discussions (*chitan* 豉談).[135]

In addition to Shen Yazhi, Pi Rixiu 皮日修 (c. 834–c. 883) also acknowledged the effectiveness Chan teachers had in transmitting doctrine and suggested the Confucian teachers emulate Chan practices to rejuvenate Confucianism.[136] There has even been the suggestion, though controversial, that Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) derived his famous concept of the "succession of the Way" (*daotong* 道通), based on the idea of an intuitive understanding of moral truth as a pretext for reviving and passing on Confucian learning, from the Chan notion of the "transmission of the Dharma" (*chuanfa* 傳法).[137] This suggests that Confucians, like their Chan counterparts, had grown weary of stifling scholastic textual exegesis as a means of accessing the truth in favor of a less pretentious and unencumbered style delivered face-to-face that spoke directly to contemporary issues in a straightforward manner. According to Charles Hartman, the *Lunyu bijie* (Random Notes on the Analects), a fragment of commentary attributed to Han Yu and Li Ao 李翱 (774–836), turned this teaching technique into a new principle of textual exegesis and marked the beginning of the reading of the *Analects* as a kind of proto-Chan *yulu*.[138] The way in which Confucius was understood as a teacher was transformed in the process. As an instructor engaged with individuals with different temperaments and levels of understanding, in the context of specific discussions directed toward those individuals, the need for consistency evaporated. Confucius emerged as a new and dynamic instructor; his message was tailored to those with whom he was engaged in discussion. Context determined not only how the message was delivered, but also to some extent the content of the message itself. Truth was no longer simply a function of the moral platitudes that Confucius delivered but the conjunction of moral truth with a specific context. It was not so much that the truth changed but that it had to be applied to circumstances, and this emphasis determined the new role contemporary Confucian teachers would come to assert. Like Confucius before, only they possessed the necessary moral knowledge to apply to contemporary situations. In this way, the authority of Confucian teachers was validated in a manner reminiscent of Chan masters.

The esteem for oral teachings over written texts became a mark of *guwen* proponents.[139] The new emphasis on the role of the teacher and oral transmission among Confucians would eventually lead to the elevation of the *Lunyu* and the *Mengzi* (Book of Mencius) to the status of classical works in the Neo-Confucian canon. As "records of sayings," rather than penned essays, these works represented oral teachings, exemplifying the face-to-face instruction technique that had come to be prized.

How widespread was the use of the *yulu* genre among Neo-Confucians, and which Neo-Confucian masters had *yulu* compiled in their names? Most

Neo-Confucian masters, and virtually all for whom *yulu* were compiled, had once studied Buddhism.[140] A one-fascicle supplement by Zhao Xibian 趙希弁 (dated 1250) to Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 bibliography, the *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushi zhi* 昭德先生郡齋讀書志 (Record of Reading at the Jun Studio by Master Zhaode; preface dated 1151), includes a *yulu* category with thirty-one titles in twenty-five entries (for a listing, see appendix 2.2).[141] The list includes a who's who of Neo-Confucian masters: Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1032–1107) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085), Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050–1103), Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139–1193), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). It is apparent from this list that *yulu* served as an important format for the delivery of the Neo-Confucian message.[142]

How do Chan and Neo-Confucian *yulu* compare? There is no question that there are strong similarities between Chan and Neo-Confucian *yulu*, in style of presentation and innovative use of colloquial language.[143] One of the points made by Gardner in his discussion of Neo-Confucian *yulu* is that unlike the Chan tradition in which *yulu* supplanted the traditional Buddhist scriptures and the scholastic tradition of seeking truth through commentaries on them, Neo-Confucians continued to write commentaries as well as transmit their teachings through *yulu*,[144] and this, for Gardner, constitutes a crucial difference between Chan and Neo-Confucian uses of the *yulu* genre. Gardner also makes an appealing suggestion regarding the attraction of *yulu*-style presentation to Neo-Confucians. The traditional mode of Confucian discourse, commentary, is constrained by its form in that commentators are always respondents who have no say in setting the topics of discussion. *Yulu* allowed thinkers to break free of the authority that their texts imposed over them, to assume a commanding voice independent of, but in dialogue with, the text (what Gardner refers to as "creative exegesis").[145] Neo-Confucians, in other words, continued to accept the authority of the Confucian classics but shared with Buddhists an epistemological assumption of the innate capacity of the mind to discern the truth. This gave them the leverage to assume an independence from the classics, while maintaining an attitude of respect toward them.

While I agree with Gardner's assessment of the different roles assumed by Neo-Confucian and Chan *yulu*, particularly on the continued value (or lack thereof) placed on commentary, I would add some further observations. In its fully developed form, the Chan *yulu* genre superseded scripture commentary as the principal means for disseminating Chan teaching. This was not true of other schools of Buddhism, especially Tiantai, which continued its scholastic tradition of scriptural commentary.[146] As a result, when taken as a whole, Buddhism in the Song may be said to be more like the Neo-Confucian tradition that Gardner describes: continuing to accept the authority of the classics while

exerting independence from them. The difference would be that Neo-Confucians assumed a more consistent approach across their membership, whereas the Buddhist approach differed according to one's affiliation. But even this is not as simple as it appears. It certainly seems true when applied to the Linji Chan faction that assumed dominance in the Song and staked its claim to authority on the *yulu* genre. It is more problematic when applied to other factions, especially Fayan, which might be characterized as a Chan equivalent to the Neo-Confucian approach of valuing both genres.[147]

Concluding Remarks

Chan records of sayings represent a multifaceted development over a broad period. The prevailing view that Chan *yulu* were inspired by Mazu Daoyi and his descedants is the product of a retrospective vision of a Chan "golden age" conceived in the Song dynasty Linji faction. This view emphasizes features of Chan *yulu* that serve to distinguish it from other styles of Buddhist literature. In fact, Chan *yulu* originated in the same way that much of the rest of Chinese Buddhist literature did: in the public lectures delivered by masters in the Dharma-hall. It was not the prerogative of any single faction but reflected the authority and privilege assumed by successful Chan factions everywhere.

Coupled with brief biographical sketches and records of a master's activities, Chan *yulu* assumed a standardized form, and the oral transcriptions of Chan masters' lectures were transformed into a genre representative of Chan's new identity. As Chan emerged as the favored form of Buddhism among literati, it began to take on an identity shaped by literati tastes and ambitions. Through this process, *yulu* became less restricted by the rules governing the conventional sermon and more a form of literature. In a word, *yulu* came to reflect more the art of story telling than that of sermonizing. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the records attributed to the alleged founder of Chan's most prosperous faction, Linji Yixuan. The following chapters are devoted to exploring the process of creating Linji's persona through fictionalized accounts of Linji, through the deliberate editing of story fragments relating to him, and through an investigation of the art of fiction making current at the time when Linji's image was taking shape.

APPENDIX 2.1

Selected *Yulu*-Related Entries in *Zengaku daijiten* 禅学大辞典, "Chronology of Zen History" (*Zenshūshi nenpyō* 禅宗史年表)[148]

YEAR	*YULU*-RELATED TEXT
792	hand-written copy of *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄
806	Beishan Shenqing 北山神清, *Beishan lu* 北山錄
814	compilation of *Baizhang Huaihai Chanshi yulu* 百丈懷海禪師語錄
818	Dunhuang 敦煌 text of *Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經
857	Pei Xiu 裴休 compilation of Huangbo's 黄蘗 *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要
897	*Zhaozhou lu* 趙州錄
949	Shoujian 守堅, *Yunmen guanglu* 雲門廣錄
952	Jing 静 & Yun 筠, *Zutang ji* 祖堂集
967	Huixin 慧欣, reedited *Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經
1004	Daoyuan 道原, *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈録
1027	Benyan 本延 & Huanglong Huinan 黄龍慧南, *Shishuang Chuyuan Chanshi yulu* 石霜楚圓 禪師語錄
1031	Xuedou Zhongxian 雪竇重顯, preface for *Zhimen Zuo Chanshi yulu* 智門作 禪師語錄
1032	Wang Sui 王隨, preface for *Xuefeng yulu* 雪峰語録
1034	Wang Sui 王隨, *Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集
1036	Li Zunxu 李遵勗, *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈録 (note: compiled 1029)
1050	Wen Zheng 文政, preface for *Tanzhou Yungai shan Hui heshang yulu* 潭州雲蓋山會和尚語錄
1056	Qi Song 契嵩, reedited *Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經
1068	Shen Liao 沈遼 & Qiu Jun 丘濬, preface for *Beishan lu* 北山錄
1076	Su Xie 蘇瀣, preface for *Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi yulu* 雲門匡真 禪師語錄
1078	Wang Shao 王韶, abbreviated version of *Huanglong Huitang Xin heshang yulu* 黄龍晦堂心和尚語錄

YEAR	*YULU*-RELATED TEXT
1080	Sun Jue 孫覺, prefaces for *Xuefeng yulu* 雪峰語録 & *Xuansha yulu* 玄沙語録
1084	Yuan Chong 元沖, preface for *Touzi Qing heshang yulu* 投子青和尚語録
1085	Yang Jie 楊傑, preface for *Mazu Baizhang Huangbo Linji Sijia lu* 馬祖百丈 黄蘗臨濟四家録
1088	Yang Jie 楊傑, compiled *Ti Yangqi huilao yulu* 題楊岐會老語録
1096	Zhang Jingxiu 張景修, preface for *Shuzhou Baiyun shan Haihui Yan heshang yulu* 舒州白雲山海會演和尚語録
1101	Foguo Weipo 佛國惟白, *Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈
1101	Shou Zhong 守中, abbreviated version of *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* 汾陽善昭禪師語録
1102	Cheng Gun 程袞, postface for *Baofeng Yun'an Zhenjing Chanshi yulu* 寶峰雲庵真淨禪師語録
1105	Guo Ning 郭凝, preface for *Dasui Kaishan Shenzhao Chanshi yulu* 大隨開山 神照禪師語録
1107	[Xie Yi 謝逸, preface for Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪, *Linjian lu* 林間録]
1116	Cun Zhong 存中, preface to *Shaozhou Caoqi shan Liuzu shi Tanjing* 韶州曹溪山六祖師壇經
1119	Dehong 德洪, *Wuzong lu* 五宗録
1120	Zongyan 宗演, reissue of *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* 臨濟慧照禪師語録
1120	Zongyan 宗演, reissue of *Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡真禪師語録
1125	Feng Ji 馮檝, preface to *Shuzhou Longmen Foyan heshang yulu* 舒州龍門 佛眼和尚語録
1131	Gushan 鼓山, reissue of *Zhaozhou lu* 趙州録
1131	Fu Zhirou 富直柔, preface to *Zhanglu Jue heshang yulu* 長蘆覺和尚語録
1134	Li Gang 李綱, preface to *Xuefeng Zhenliao Chanshi yizhang lu* 雪峰真了禪師一章録
1134	republication of *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈録
1136	*Yuanwu yulu* 圓悟語録
1137	Ping Wenshu 憑溫舒, preface to *Tiantong Jue heshang xiaocan yulu* 天童覺和尚小參語録
1141	Qian Mi 錢密, preface to Jiuding Huiquan 九頂慧泉 (a.k.a. Jixing Huiquan 寂星 慧泉), *Huanglong Sijia lu* 黄龍四家録
1143	Lou Ying 樓穎, recompilation of *Shanhui dashi yulu* 善慧大士語録

YEAR	*YULU*-RELATED TEXT
1144	publication of *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄
1152	Hu Yan 胡燕?, preface to *Chuandeng yuying jielu* 傳燈玉英解錄
1153	reissue of *Ciming Sijia lu* 慈明四家錄
1166	Shou Quan 守詮, compilation of *Ying'an heshang yulu* 應庵和尚語錄
1171	Yun Wen 蘊聞 issues *Dahui Chanshi yulu* 大慧禪師語錄
1177	Yan Duo 顏度, preface to *Fohai Xiatang Chanshi yulu* 佛海瞎堂禪師語錄
1178	Xuefeng Huixi 雪峰慧??, preface to *Xuefeng Huikong Chanshi yulu* 雪峰慧空 禪師語錄
1188	Chong Yue 崇岳, et al., compile *Mi'an Chanshi yulu* 密庵禪師語錄
1197	Lu You 陸游, preface to *Fozhao Chanshi yulu* 佛照禪師語錄
1202	Zhengshou正受, *Jiatai Pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄
1203	Qiao Lingxian譙令憲, preface to *Songyuan Chongyue Chanshi yulu* 松源崇嶽 禪師語錄
1204	Lu You 陸游, *Pudeng lu xu* 普燈錄續
1208	Zhina 智訥 preface to *Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經
1229	Zuquan 祖泉 collated and issued *Rujing Chanshi yulu* 如淨禪師語錄
1229	[Huikai 慧開, *Wumen guan* 無門關]
1238	Gushan Shiming 鼓山師明, *Xu Guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要
1245	Korean publication of *Zutang ji* 祖堂集
1249	Meishan Cheng Gongxu 眉山程公許, preface to Pujing 普敬, *Wumen Huikai Chanshi yulu* 無門慧開禪師語錄
1251	publication of *Fojian Chanshi yulu* 佛鑑禪師語錄
1251	Puji 普濟, preface to *Beijian heshang yulu* 北(石+間)和尚語錄
1252	Puji 普濟, *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元
1260	Liu Zhensun 劉真孫, preface to *Shiqi Xinyue Chanshi yulu* 石溪心月禪師語錄
1267	Daguan 大觀, preface to *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄
1272	Weikang 惟康 (Wuwen 無文), *Wuwen Daocan Chanshi yulu* 無文道燦禪師語錄
1279	reissue of *Wumen Huikai Chanshi yulu* 無門慧開禪師語錄

APPENDIX 2.2

Neo-Confucian *Yulu* in Zhao Xibian's (趙希弁) Supplement to Chao Gongwu's (晁公武) Bibliography, *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushi zhi* (昭德先生郡齋讀書志)

1. *Henan Chengshi yishu* 河南程氏遺書 [25]; *Fulu* 附錄 [1]; *Waishu* 外書 [12]. Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107).
2. *Hengqu xiansheng yulu* 橫渠先生語錄 [3]. Zhang Zai (1020–1077).
3. *Hengqu xiansheng jingxue liku* 橫渠先生經學理窟 [1]. Zhang Zai.
4. *Yuancheng xiansheng yulu* 元城先生語錄 [3]; 譚錄 [1]; 道護錄 [2]. Liu Zhongding.
5. *Guishan xiansheng yulu* 龜山先生語錄 [4]. Yang Wenjing.
6. *Shangcai xiansheng yulu* 上蔡先生語錄 [3].
7. *Yanping xiansheng wenda* 延平先生問答 [1].
8. *Huian xiansheng yulu* 晦庵先生語錄 [43]. Zhu Xi (1130–1200).
9. *Huian xiansheng yu xulu* 晦庵先生語續錄 [46]. Zhu Xi.
10. *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 [20]. Zhu Xi.
11. *Shihui sanjuan fulu* 師誨三卷附錄 [1]. Zhu Xi.
12. *Jinsi lu* 近思錄 [14]. Zhu Xi.
13. *Xu Jinsi lu* 續近思錄 [14]. Zhu Xi.
14. *Wufeng xiansheng zhiyan* 五峰先生知言 [1].
15. *Wugou xiansheng xinchuan lu* 無垢先生心傳錄 [12].
16. *Hengpu rixin* 橫浦日新 [2].
17. *Nanxuan xiansheng wenda* 南軒先生問答 [4].
18. *Zhangzi taiji jie* 張子太極解 [1].
19. *Ershi xiansheng silu jieyi* 二十先生四錄解義 [1].
20. *Wuji taiji bian* 無極太極辨 [1].
21. *Fu lizhai yulu* 復禮齋語錄 [1] (a.k.a. *Guilin yulu* 桂林語錄).

22. *Zongkuo fuzi yanren tu* 總括夫子言仁圖 [1].
23. *Qunjing xinshuo* 群經新說 [12]; *Lun wujing yinan xinshuo* 論五經疑難新說 [3]. Wang Anshi.
24. *Chuandao jingyu* 傳道精語 [30]；*Houji* 後集 [26].
25. *Mianzhai xiansheng jiangyi* 勉齋先生講義 [1].

3

Narration in Action

Early Fragments of Linji's Teachings

Yet he was more original than his originals.
He breathed upon dead bodies and brought them to life.
—Landor, on William Shakespeare

Context and Background to the Study of the *Linji lu* 臨濟録

Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (?–866) is regarded as the leading representative of Chan Buddhism during the Tang dynasty 唐代 (618–906). The record of his teachings, dialogues, and activities, the *Linji lu* (Record of Linji), serves as a primary example of the iconoclastic, antinomian, and unconventional spirit for which Chan and Zen are well known. Linji's name became associated with the leading branch of Chan during the Song dynasty 宋代 (960–1268), when members of the Linji faction headed influential state-supported monasteries and authored works commissioned by imperial edict. In Japan, the Rinzai 臨濟 (Linji) branch of Zen became one of the two leading representatives of Zen Buddhism. In Korea, leading representatives of the Sŏn (Zen) tradition have for centuries traced themselves through the Imjae (Linji) lineage. As Zen Buddhism was transmitted throughout the world during the twentieth century, Linji (Rinzai) became widely known outside of East Asia as a paragon of Zen's independent spirit and incomparable wit. His name is widely acclaimed in Zen circles and invoked as an archetype of "true" Zen.

As the name bearing one of Japan's most prominent Buddhist lineages, Linji has been the focus of much of the Japanese Zen scholarship dealing with this period. This has led to a number of modern translations of Linji's "records of sayings."[1] In addition, the work of Yanagida Seizan, in particular, has provided the most sophisticated understanding of the development of Linji Chan in China and its association with the "lamp records" (*denglu* 燈錄) and masters' "records of sayings" (*yulu* 語錄).[2] More recently, scholarship in the area of Chan and Zen studies has shifted from the Tang to the Song period. Rejecting the "golden age" hypothesis as an ideological construct of the later Chan and Zen school, scholars in the West, while continually indebted to the advances made by Japanese scholars, have begun to challenge some of their leading assumptions. Particularly singled out was the notion of a "pure" Zen, a leading concept in Zen studies until recently that privileged enlightenment as a pure, unadulterated, and unmediated experience of reality, uncompromising in its provocative assertion of a truth that condemned all vestiges of formalism.[3] Even scholars such as Yanagida, whom many regard as the father of modern Zen studies, have not been immune to such ideological presuppositions.[4]

An important distinction of the current study is that between the historical figure of Linji and the text that bears his name. Like many early Chan figures, the life of the historical person Linji is shrouded in legend.[5] The engaging *yulu*-style records attributed to Linji, his sermons, dialogues, and activities in the *Linji lu*, are presented as eye-witness accounts of Linji the man and have led countless interpreters through the ages to read them as such. While they may have indeed been inspired by the actual words and deeds of Linji, some 250 years separate Linji's life (d. 866) and the compilation of the *Linji lu* in its standard form (1120). Even though the *Linji lu* is frequently read as a direct reflection of the words and deeds of Linji the man, the situation was obviously otherwise. Linji wrote nothing himself, but it seems to have been an increasingly common practice at the time for students to keep notebooks recording the content of sermons, conversations, and interactions with masters.

The earliest surviving record of such material is the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Patriarch's Hall Anthology), compiled in 952, based on the *xinglu* 行錄 (record of activities) or *shilu* 實錄 (veritable records) of Chan masters as sources. This collection contains the earliest recorded fragments of Linji's teachings. Shortly after the *Zutang ji*, the scholastic Chan monk Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) issued the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-Mirror) in 961. The *Zongjing lu* was devoted to harmony between Chan and scholastic Buddhism and thus stood in contrast to the *yulu* style of compilation that typified the new Chan literary mode of this era. In spite of this, Yanshou did

manage to record a few "new" Chan materials in his compilation. Among them are some fragments of Linji's teaching.

The classic work of Chan transmission history, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde era Lamp Transmission Record) was issued under imperial sanction with a preface by Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020), as discussed in the previous chapter. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* included not only a record of Linji but also excerpted fragments of Linji's teaching in a special section in a fascicle of the main body of the work.[6] Linji was one of only twelve Chan masters to have his teachings recorded in this way in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng era Expanded Lamp Record) compiled by Li Zunxu 李遵勖, a son-in-law of the emperor, in 1029, confirmed Linji Chan dominance at the Song court. One of the features of this work, as reviewed in the previous chapter, is the inclusion of fascicles devoted to the "records of sayings" (*yulu*) of prominent Chan masters of a lineage culminating with Linji—Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運 (d. ca. 850), and Linji Yixuan—a prototype to the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Records of Sayings of Four Masters).[7] The work of documenting the teachings of these masters at this time is connected directly to Linji faction aims to substantiate and validate their legitimacy as representatives of "true" Chan at the Song court. The version of the *Linji lu* recorded in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* represents the earliest known version of the full contents of the *Linji lu*.[8] The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* version and the "standard" *Linji lu* text compiled in 1120 differ only in the arrangement of their contents, which varies greatly in the two versions, but without any significant difference in the wording itself.

Ultimately, the story of the *Linji lu* is not the story of one man, Linji Yixuan, but the story of the movement he inspired. The success of this movement contains the story of the success of Chan. A look at the various fragments will tell us how the image of Linji was shaped through various records and how the words and teachings attributed to him evolved through the filter of collective memory and imagination. Ultimately, the story of the *Linji lu* is the story of a movement that found its voice and identity through the image and alleged teachings of Linji. What these teachings represent are not the words of one man, which are in any case irretrievable, but the combined aspirations of the movement as a whole, projected onto the persona of Linji as founder.

Linji wrote nothing himself. Our knowledge of his teachings allegedly depends on notes taken by students of his sermons, lectures, dialogues, and other interactions. The names of those who originally kept such notebooks are unknown to us. Eventually, fragments of Linji's teachings were included in

Chan transmission records. These fragments are dateable by the collections in which they appear and constitute our earliest knowledge of Linji's teachings. However, it is important to acknowledge that the fragments themselves, as part of earlier supposed collections of notes on Linji's teachings, cannot be limited entirely by the date of the collection in which they occur.

In addition to documenting the development of teachings associated with Linji, my analysis attempts to connect the presentation of Linji's teachings to the motives of each of the compilations. It is clear that while Linji was a significant enough person to have his legacy documented in the *Zutang ji* and the *Zongjing lu*, he does not really begin to emerge as an important presence in the Chan tradition until the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, where he is included among the prestigious group of twelve masters whose teachings are represented in an appended fascicle, mentioned above. The first complete record of his teachings was issued some thirty years later, in two fascicles of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, allegedly reflecting the contents of the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), issued around the same time. The special regard accorded Linji and his teachings at this time is directly connected to the prestige won by members of the Linji faction at the Song court and reflects their attempt to gain legitimacy and sanction for their interpretation of Chan. The monk responsible for editing the "standard" version of the *Linji lu* into its accepted form, Yuanjue Zongyan 圓覺宗演, was affiliated with the Yunmen lineage 雲門宗 and was summoned to court to preach during the *xuanhe* 宣和 era (1119–1125) of Emperor Huizong 徽宗, where he was awarded an honorific title. Zongyan also issued a reedited version of the *Yunmen lu* 雲門錄 (Record of Yunmen), the founder of the lineage with which he was associated, around the same time.[9]

The relation of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu/ Sijia yulu* to Zongyan's standard edition of the *Linji lu* is considered in the next chapter. My present concern is confined to the earlier fragments of Linji's teachings, namely, those recorded in the *Zutang ji*, *Zongjing lu*, and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. What were the earliest recorded examples of Linji's teachings? What similarities and differences existed among them? How similar or dissimilar was the terminology ascribed to Linji? In other words, how consistent were the teachings themselves, and how uniform was the language used in them? Who recorded them? Why were they recorded? How were they recorded? The answers to these questions, and others like them, are not unique to the figure of Linji and the teachings attributed to him but are common to the Chan movement as a whole, which strove to assert its identity through the *yulu* compilations of individual masters. In this sense, Linji and the *Linji lu* are not unique but are prominent examples of the patriarch-making process that Chan was engaged in, in an attempt to forge its identity in the emerging Song milieu.

The Categorization of Linji's Sayings

The term *yulu*, as suggested previously, was a later designation provided by outsiders to define the new Chan literary genre. Originally, different terms were used to refer to anthologies of Linji's sayings. These terms were in common use before *yulu* became standardized and were not exclusive to Linji but were found throughout references to the records of prominent Chan masters. Prior or in addition to *yulu*, before *yulu* was accepted as the standard designation, terms used to refer to collections of a master's sayings included *yuben* 語本 (Book of Sayings), *yanjiao* 言教 (Oral Teachings), *bielu* 別錄 (Separate Record), *guangyu* 廣語 (Extensive Sayings), *yuyao* 語要 (Essential Sayings), and simply *yu* 語 (Sayings).

According to the *Zutang ji*, some students of Mazu, following his death, recorded interesting events of his life in a Book of Sayings (*yuben*).[10] At the same time, the practice was disparaged as harmful to people who, not seeing that words are a trap, fail to grasp their meaning. They only remember the one saying from Mazu's teaching, "mind is Buddha," and nothing else. They forego real teachers to pursue the footsteps of Mazu.[11] In spite of such warnings, it is apparent that collecting anthologies of masters' sayings was widely practiced. The epitaph written by Chen Xu 陳詡 for Mazu's disciple, Baizhang Huaihai, notes how two of his students, Shenxing 神行 and Fanyun 梵雲, collected brief sayings from Huaihai and edited them into a Book of Sayings (*yuben*).[12] This suggests that Books of Sayings were particularly popular among Mazu's descendants and were a way of commemorating the new style of Buddhism developed in the Mazu lineage.

While there is no mention of a Book of Sayings (*yuben*) for Linji, Zanning 贊寧 notes in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 that Linji's Oral Teachings (*yanjiao*) were extensively available.[13] The term *yanjiao* occurs nine times in the *Zutang ji* and appears prominently in Zhaoqing Wendeng's 招慶文(人+登) (referred to by his honorific title, Jingxiu Chanshi 淨修禪師) preface to the work, apparently as a reference to the name of a book.[14] The fact that the term *yanjiao* was used in book titles is confirmed by the appearance of the *Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (The Oral Teachings of Monk [Hui]zhong of Nanyang) in Enchin's 圓珍 catalogue of works collected in China.[15] Yanshou also uses the term *yanjiao* in the *Zongjing lu* in reference to the oral teachings of the patriarchs and buddhas.

> I now rely on what appears among the oral teachings (*yanjiao* 言教) of the patriarchs and buddhas, summarizing them for contemporary

> students. By referring to the places which [speak of] seeing the mind-nature (*xinxing* 心性) and developing illumination (*faming* 發明), I establish mind (*xin* 心) as the fundamental source (*zong* 宗).[16]

In this way, the oral teachings of Chan masters, the representatives of a new style of Buddhism, were ranked alongside traditional Buddhist scriptures as equally viable revelations of the mind-nature, the fundamental source from which illumination develops.[17]

At the end of Linji's record in the *Zutang ji*, the compilers note: "In addition [to what is recorded here], encounter dialogues (*yingji duida* 應機對答) [involving Linji] appear extensively in a separate record (*bielu*)."[18] "Separate Records," are so designated to contrast them with "Extensive Records" (*guanglu*), a variant of "Extensive Sayings" (*guangyu*). "Extensive Records" were collections of addresses delivered to the assembly, the *shangtang* 上堂 sermons delivered in a more formal setting. "Separate Records," like the one mentioned for Linji here, were collections of encounter dialogues involving interactions between Linji and students or other masters.[19] In addition to Linji, the existence of a "Separate Records" is mentioned in relation to the monk Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齊安 in the *Zutang ji*.[20]

The existence of Linji's "Extensive Sayings" is apparent from the inclusion of portions of it in fascicle 28 of the *Chuandeng lu*.[21] The *Chuandeng lu* is the earliest record of *guangyu* and marks an important development in the recognition of the new *yulu* genre. Linji is one of twelve masters selected for inclusion here. Six of the twelve are connected with the Mazu lineage, indicating the importance of Mazu's descendants for the development of *yulu* literature.[22] As indicated above, "Extensive Sayings" or "Records" were largely composed of addresses delivered by masters to their assemblies, in contrast to "Separate Records" devoted to the interactions between masters and students. Judging from the compiler's note, the material pertaining to Linji in the *Zutang ji* appears to be drawn largely from his "Extensive Record" and not his "Separate Record." Attributions to Linji in the *Zongjing lu* appear to be similarly drawn from his "Extensive Record." Materials connected to Linji in the *Chuandeng lu*, however, are more of a composite. The biographical record appears to include a lot of material from the "Separate Record," while the excerpts contained in fascicle 28 are clearly taken from the "Extensive Record."

With the compilation of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, a complete version of Linji's *yulu* appeared, composed of material from both the "Extensive Record" and "Separate Record." This marked a new stage in the recognition of Linji's status as a major Chan patriarch and recipient of transmission in the

lineage descended from Mazu. This is implicit in the arrangement of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*'s contents, which for the first time recorded the *yulu* of four generations of descendants beginning with Mazu: Mazu → Baizhang → Huangbo → Linji. This was further affirmed in the subsequent compilation of the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), dedicated to the records of sayings of the same four generations of descendants, ending with Linji.

Content Analysis

Linji's Teaching: "The True Man with No-Rank"

There is a fairly high degree of consistency in teachings attributed to Linji among the early fragments. This is probably due to the manner in which Linji's teachings were recorded by students in notebooks and distributed among themselves, a convention in common usage at the time, as described above. It is generally true of the *yulu* of other Chan masters dating from this period. If anything, the Linji fragments exhibit a fluidity that distinguishes them from the others. In other words, while the Linji fragments exhibit a general consistency of themes, their expression is often highly nuanced in individual documents. For example, all sources agree that the notion of "the true man with no-rank" (*wuwei zhenren* 無位真人) is central to Linji's teaching. Yet, note the variance with which it is depicted in different sources.

ZUTANG JI

> On one occasion, the Master (Linji) addressed the assembly: "I, a mountain monk, tell you clearly—within the body-field of the five skandhas there is a true man with no-rank, always present, not even a hair's breadth away. Why don't you recognize him?"
>
> Then, a monk asked: "What is this true man with no rank?"
>
> The Master struck him, and said: "The true man with no-rank—what an impure thing."[23]

> 師有時謂眾云。山僧分明向你道。五陰身田內。有無位真人。堂堂露現。無毫髮許間隔。何不識取。時有僧問。如何是無位真人。師便打之云。無位真人、是什麼不淨之物。

Linji's opening address here ("I, a mountain monk, tell you clearly—within the body-field of the five skandhas there is a true man with no-rank, always present, not even a hair's breadth away. Why don't you recognize him?") is attributed virtually verbatim to Linji in both the *Zongjing lu* and the *guanglu*

section of the *Chuandeng lu*.[24] While there is no way of ascertaining what the original version was, it is interesting to note that both of these versions record only Linji's statement regarding "the true man with no-rank" in his address to the assembly. Neither source mentions the exchange with the monk-questioner that inspires Linji to strike the monk, an important feature of the way Linji's teaching comes to be rendered. In the *Zutang ji*, the accompanying rebuke is depicted rather prosaically with the exclamation "The true man with no-rank—what an impure thing." The phrase "impure thing" (*bu jing zhi wu* 不淨之物) is but one way in which the *Zutang ji* conveys rather delicate images compared to the vivid expressions in the biographical sections of the *Chuandeng lu* versions.[25] Discrepancies between the two versions have been indicated with boldface type in the translations.

SIBU CONGKAN 四部叢刊 ed.	DONGCHAN SI 東禪寺 ed.
One day, Linji entered the [Dharma] Hall and said: "My fellow compatriots, within your lump of red flesh there is a true man with no rank, constantly entering and exiting the openings of your face. **If you do not recognize him, just ask this old monk** (i.e., me)."	One day, Linji entered the [Dharma] Hall and said: "My fellow compatriots, within your lump of red flesh there is a true man with no rank, constantly entering and exiting the openings of your face. **Any of you who haven't figured this out yet, Look! Look!**
At the time, a monk asked: "Who is the true man of no rank?"	At the time, a monk asked: "Who is the true man of no rank?"
	Linji got down off his meditation seat, grabbed the monk and said: "Speak! Speak!"
	The monk tried to say something.
Linji struck him and exclaimed: "The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!"	**Linji let go of him, and said:** "The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!" **He then returned to his quarters.**

Even though the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition is represented by a later publication of the Buddhist canon in the Yuan dynasty 元代 (currently available in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 edition) than the Tōji 東寺 Dongchan si 東禪寺 edition, based on a Song publication, the *Sibu congkan* version of the *Chuandeng lu* is actually closer to the original text issued

by Yang Yi.[26] Both versions exhibit more colorful language than was found in the *Zutang ji*. The "impure thing" (*bujing zhi wu* 不淨之物) becomes Linji's famous "dried lump of shit" (*ganshi jue* 乾屎橛). The "body-field of the five skandhas" (*wuyin shengtian* 五陰身田) becomes the vividly expressed "lump of red flesh" (*chirou tuanshang* 赤肉團上). In both cases, prosaic terms are substituted with lively imagery intended to stimulate the imagination. Moreover, the "true man with no rank" is no longer depicted blandly as merely inhabiting "the body-field of the five skandhas" but is seen dynamically as "entering and exiting the openings of your face." This process of substitution and elaboration is not accidental but is part of a larger design to transform Linji into a new kind of dynamic patriarch. It is closely connected with the creation of Linji's persona as a vigorous spirit, an innovative patriarch championing a revolutionary understanding of Buddhism. What is surprising, however, is that the supposedly rawer Chan text, the *Zutang ji*, contains more polite language and standardized phraseology than the polished and cleaned up text, the *Chuandeng lu*. One would expect the opposite.

Both editions of the *Chuandeng lu* depict the exchange between Linji and the monk-questioner in much more vivid terms. The *Sibu congkan* edition has Linji issue a challenge to the assembly: "**If you do not recognize him** [i.e., the true man with no rank], **just ask this old monk.**" The Tōji Dongchan si edition substitutes the even more provocative: "**Any of you who haven't figured this out yet, Look! Look!**" Following the monk's question, "Who is the true man with no rank?" the Dongchan si edition continues Linji's provocations with "**Linji got down off his meditation seat, grabbed the monk and said: 'Speak! Speak!' The monk tried to say something. Linji let go of him, and said: 'The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!' He then returned to his quarters.**" Not surprisingly, it is this most developed, Dongchan si edition version that becomes standardized in the *Linji lu*.[27] It most closely fits the image of the patriarch that those who shaped it wanted to convey.

Before leaving our discussion of Linji's teaching regarding the "true man with no rank," mention should be made of the comments that this episode inspired in different versions. In the *Zutang ji* version, **Xuefeng, hearing this story, commented: "Linji seems to be quite good at this"** (雪峰聞舉: 臨濟太似好手).[28] Comments by Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 and his disciples are found throughout the *Zutang ji*. The compilers of the *Zutang ji*, disciples of Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人+登), were descended from Xuefeng, and the *Zutang ji* provides a window on the way the records of former masters were used in contemporary Chan circles, particularly among the lineages descended from Xuefeng Yicun.[29] The interesting thing here, however, is that the character for

lin in Linji's name attributed to Xuefeng here is nonstandard. The standard form derives from the place name, Linji 臨濟 (contemporary Shanxi), literally meaning "facing the ford (of a river or stream)," where the people of Zhao 趙 requested Linji take up residence.[30] The character for *lin* 林 attributed to Xuefeng is completely different, meaning "forest" or "grove." It is not unusual to find copyists' errors in medieval Chinese texts, especially one like the *Zutang ji*, which was not subjected to the editorial checking and revising processes that were common to texts issued under official sanction and reflecting standards imposed by the literati class. Nevertheless, the inclusion of such an error indicates that the figure of Linji was not so widely acknowledged at the time when this comment was written down as to preclude the possibility of such an error occurring.

The *Sibu congkan* edition of the *Chuandeng lu* also contains a comment by Xuefeng, but this one is different: **"Later, when Xuefeng heard about this, he commented: 'Linji very much resembles a thief who steals things in broad daylight'"** (後雪峯聞乃曰。臨濟大似白拈賊).[31] Setting aside the difficulty in interpreting the meaning, it is interesting to note the difference in the way Xuefeng's comments were remembered. It is possible that the Fayan 法眼 tradition, to which the original compiler of the *Chuandeng lu* belonged, recalled a different tradition of commentary for Xuefeng.[32] However this may be, it is interesting to note that the Dongchan si edition of the *Chuandeng lu* lacks any trace of Xuefeng's comment,[33] and this is the version that became standardized with the *Linji lu*. As important a figure Xuefeng Yicun was for the spread of Chan in the post-Tang period, the presence of his comments did not fit the aspirations of a growing number of Chan adherents who traced themselves directly through Linji and validated themselves by championing Linji as their patriarch. This is a theme to which we will have occasion to return to later.

Accounts of Linji's Awakening and the Transmission from Huangbo 黄蘗 to Linji

Linji's own lineage affiliation was the subject of some contention according to the early fragments. According to the standardized account of Linji's awakening experience, Linji received dharma-transmission from his teacher Huangbo and belonged to a lineage descended through Mazu Daoyi as follows: Mazu 馬祖 → Baizhang 百丈 → Huangbo → Linji. The famous story confirming Linji's awakening under Huangbo is contained in the *Chuandeng lu*. The account in the two editions is largely the same, except for some alterations and additions in the Dongchan si edition.[34]

SIBU CONGKAN ED.

Initially, [Linji] was associated with the practitioner-attendants in the assembly at Mount Huangbo. While there, the head of the monk's hall persuaded him to put his questions to the master (i.e., Huangbo).

Linji asked: "What is the meaning of the patriarchal master [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?" Huangbo immediately hit him. Linji asked this question three times to Huangbo, and each time was greeted with a blow.

Subsequently, Linji announced to the head monk that he was departing: "Earlier, I received encouragement from you to put questions to the master, and was only granted blows from him. I regret that I am so stupid, and will leave shortly for other locales to practice." The head monk then reported to Huangbo: "Even though Yixuan is young, he is very talented. When he comes to bid farewell, please, master, provide him with further encouragement." The following day, when Linji bade Huangbo farewell, Huangbo suggested he go to [see] Dayu.

Linji, as a result, visited Dayu. Dayu asked: "Where have you come from?"

Linji replied: "I've come from Huangbo."

DONGCHAN SI ED.

Initially, [Linji] was associated with the practitioner-attendants in the assembly at Mount Huangbo. While there, the head of the monk's hall persuaded him to put his questions to the master (i.e., Huangbo).

Linji asked: "What is the meaning of the patriarchal master [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?" Huangbo immediately hit him. Linji asked this question three times to Huangbo, and each time was greeted with a blow.

Subsequently, Linji announced to the head monk that he was departing: "Earlier, I received encouragement from you to put questions to the master, and was only granted blows from him. I regret that I am so stupid, and will leave shortly for other locales to practice." The head monk then reported to Huangbo: "Even though Yixuan is young, he is very talented. When he comes to bid farewell, please, master, provide him with further encouragement." The following day, when Linji bade Huangbo farewell, Huangbo suggested he go to [see] Dayu.

Linji, as a result, visited Dayu. Dayu asked: "Where have you come from?"

Linji replied: "I've come from Huangbo."

Dayu: "What instruction did Huangbo give you?"

Linji: "When I personally asked him the about the meaning of **[Bodhidharma] coming from the west**, I was immediately struck by him. I asked this question to him three times, and each time received a blow. I don't understand where my fault lies."

Dayu: "What a [kindly] old woman Huangbo is! He thoroughly exhausted himself on your behalf, and you still look for (i.e., do not know) where your fault lies."

Linji, **as a result**, experienced great awakening, and stated: "[Huangbo's] Buddha-dharma is not such a big deal **at all**!"

Dayu then **grabbed the collar of Linji's robe** and said to him: "You just finished saying 'I don't understand [Huangbo's teaching],' and now you say it's not such a big deal. **Which is it? Which is it?**"

Linji struck Dayu in the ribs with his fist. Dayu pushed Linji away, and said: "Your teacher is Huangbo. You are of no concern to me."

Linji then returned to Huangbo.

Huangbo asked: "You've come back so soon?"

Dayu: "What instruction did Huangbo give you?"

Linji: "When I personally asked him about the meaning of **the Buddha-Dharma**, I was immediately struck by him. I asked this question to him three times, and each time received a blow. I don't understand where my fault lies."

Dayu: "What a [kindly] old woman Huangbo is! He thoroughly exhausted himself on your behalf, and you still look for (i.e., do not know) where your fault lies."

As soon as these words were uttered, Linji experienced great awakening, and stated: "**Huangbo's** Buddha-dharma is not such a big deal **after all**!"

Dayu **grabbed his staff** and said to him: "**You bed-wetting little devil!** You just finished saying 'I don't understand [Huangbo's teaching],' and now you say **something else**, that **Huangbo's Buddha-Dharma** is not such a big deal. **What principle of the Way (*daoli*) do you see? Speak! Speak!**"

Linji struck Dayu in the ribs **three times** with his fist. Dayu pushed Linji away, and said: "Your teacher is Huangbo. You are of no concern to me."

Linji **took leave of Dayu**, and returned to Huangbo.

Huangbo asked: "You've come back so soon?"

Linji replied: "It's just because of you being such a kindly old woman."	Linji replied: "It's just because of you being such a kindly old woman."
	Then, after he paid respects [to Huangbo], he stood in attendance next to him.
	Huangbo asked: "What words and phrases did Dayu have [for you]?"
	Linji proceeded to relate his former conversation [with Dayu].
Huangbo remarked: "Next time I see that old rascal Dayu, I'll give him a blow."	Huangbo remarked: "Next time I see that old rascal Dayu, I'll give him a blow **straightaway.**"
Linji responded: "Why talk of waiting to see him? I'll give you a blow right now."	Linji responded: "Why talk of waiting to see him? I'll give you a blow right now!"
Linji proceeded to strike Huangbo with his fist.	Linji proceeded to strike Huangbo with his fist.
Huangbo **ha-ha'd a great laugh.**	Huangbo said: **"This crazy fellow has come here to pluck the tiger's beard!"**
	Linji yelled out.
	Huangbo said: "Attendant, take this crazy fellow to the practice hall."

While the two versions are virtually the same throughout, where alterations do occur they confirm the previously noted tendency in the Dongchan si edition to further dramatize the story and render it in more vivid and colorful terms. When Linji finally experiences great awakening in conversation with Dayu 大愚, contending "Huangbo's Buddha-dharma is not such a big deal after all!" in the Dongchan si edition, Dayu begins his challenge by referring to Linji as a "bed-wetting little devil" (*niaochuang guizi* 尿床鬼子). Also, at the conclusion of the story, in the Sibu congkan edition, Huangbo simply "ha-ha'd a great laugh" when Linji went to strike him. In the Dongchan si edition, Huangbo retorts, "This crazy fellow has come here to pluck the tiger's beard!"

The story has Linji as a practitioner in the assembly at Mount Huangbo, where Huangbo is master. At the prompting of the head of the monk's hall,

Linji is persuaded to approach Huangbo and ask, "What is the meaning of the patriarch-master (Bodhidharma) coming from the west?" (如何是祖師西來的的意), a standard question uttered from the mouths of students seeking to engage masters on the true meaning of Chan. On three successive occasions, Linji is said to have put the question to Huangbo, each time being rebuked with a blow. When Linji, apparently dejected, announces his plans for departure, the head monk confides to Huangbo that even though Linji is young, he is very talented, and asks Huangbo to provide some encouragement to him when he comes to bid farewell. (It was the custom for monks, when entering or leaving a monastery, to have a formal meeting with the master in charge.) When Linji bids farewell, Huangbo suggests he go visit Dayu. Upon meeting Dayu, Linji is asked to recount his former rebukes at the hands of Huangbo. When Dayu chastises Linji for not recognizing what a kindly old woman Huangbo is, exhausting himself thoroughly on his behalf, Linji is said to have experienced great awakening, claiming, "Huangbo's Buddha-dharma is not such a big deal after all!" Dayu then challenges Linji, calling him a "bed-wetting little devil" (in the Tōji Dongchan si edition) and forcefully asks him to explain himself. When Linji responds by striking Dayu in the ribs with his fist, Dayu pushes Linji away, proclaiming: "Your teacher is Huangbo. You are of no concern to me." At this point, Linji returns to Huangbo, and when Huangbo asks why he has returned so soon, Linji replies that it is because Huangbo is "such a kindly old woman." After Linji pays customary respects to Huangbo, Huangbo asks Linji to recount what he learned from Dayu. When Linji finishes recounting, Huangbo remarks: "Next time I see that old rascal Dayu, I'll give him a blow." Linji then responds: "Why talk of waiting to see him? I'll give you a blow right now!" and proceeds to strike Huangbo with his fist. In the Sibu congkan edition, Huangbo simply "ha-ha's a great laugh," but in the Dongchan si edition, Huangbo exclaims: "This crazy fellow has come to pluck the tiger's beard!" at which Linji lets out a yell. The episode ends there with Huangbo asking an attendant to "take this crazy fellow off to the practice hall."

Even though this is the principal account affirming dharma-transmission between Huangbo and Linji, it remains ambiguous and open to alternate interpretations given the central role played by Dayu in precipitating Linji's awakening. A more elaborate version of the story appears in the *xinglu* 行錄 (Record of Activities) section of the *Linji lu*, acknowledged as the standard account.[35] The elaborations in the *Linji lu* do nothing to change the basic structure or meaning of the story but are intended to fill in details. As such, they provide a further window into the image-making process by those claiming legitimacy through their connection to Linji. Most notably, details are added to the first part of the story, where Linji resides on Mount Huangbo as a

student and is initially persuaded by the head monk to approach the master with a question. In the *Linji lu*, we are informed that Linji went about his duties in "an earnest and straightforward manner," earning the admiration of the head monk, who remarks how Linji is different from the others, even though he is young. In conversation with Linji, the head monk learns that Linji has been practicing on Mount Huangbo 黃檗山 for three years but has yet to question the master. Leaving the seemingly incredible fact that a head monk would not know one of his charges or how long he had been around aside, the point of such added detail is to enhance Linji's status as Huangbo's student. After Linji's failed encounters with Huangbo (in the *Linji lu* version, the head monk actually provides the question, "What is the real basic meaning of the Buddha-dharma?" for Linji to ask Huangbo), when the head monk confides in Huangbo about Linji's potential, the *Linji lu* version has the head monk predict that Linji will "shape up into a fine big tree that will make cool shade for the people of the world." When Linji subsequently comes to Huangbo to bid farewell, Huangbo virtually orders (rather than suggests) Linji to go visit Dayu, who will explain things for him. These alterations affirm that Linji's destiny was acknowledged before leaving Huangbo and that Linji's visit to Dayu was the result of Huangbo's active direction. The *Linji lu* thus strengthens Linji's association with Huangbo and clarifies that Linji's subsequent dealings with Dayu were part of a strategy initiated by Huangbo himself.

The need to strengthen Linji's association with Huangbo was necessitated by the earlier accounts. In the *Chuandeng lu* versions, Linji appears as little more than an itinerant Chan monk who, after unsuccessful encounters with the master at Huangbo, is ready to move on. His actual awakening experience occurs at the hands of Dayu. When Dayu is made to deny central affiliation with Linji in the *Chuandeng lu* versions, proclaiming: "Your teacher is Huangbo. You are of no concern to me," this is really an acknowledgment of the problem of Linji's primary affiliation, a feeble attempt to certify Huangbo's status as Linji's master and not Dayu.

Most telling evidence of the uncertainty surrounding Linji's affiliation is contained in the brief commentary to the episode included in both the Tōji Dongchan si edition of the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Linji lu*.[36]

> Later on, Guishan raised this story, and asked Yangshan: "At that time, was Linji indebted to Dayu or was he indebted to Huangbo?"[37]
>
> Yangshan replied: "He not only rode on the tiger's head, he also got to pull the tiger's tail.

The fact that the question is retained in standard accounts speaks to its legitimacy. Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853) and Yangshan Huiji 仰山

慧寂 (807–883) were prominent Chan masters, renowned founders of the so-called Guiyang 溈仰 lineage, one of the "five houses" of classical Chan. Guishan was a dharma-heir of Baizhang, a fellow student with Huangbo. Yangshan was Guishan's disciple. They appear as commentators to many episodes in the *Chuandeng lu* records of Linji and in the *Linji lu* itself. The feasibility and significance of Guishan and Yangshan's comments, as members of a rival lineage, will be discussed later on. The comments here only serve to underscore how legitimate it was to consider Linji as Dayu's disciple, as well as Huangbo's.

The basis for this legitimacy is very clearly drawn in the account of Linji's awakening recorded in the *Zutang ji*.[38]

ZUTANG JI

Reverend Huangbo told the assembly: "In the past, I had a friend called Dayu with whom I practiced together when I was with Daji 大寂 (i.e., Mazu). This fellow has practiced Chan (literally, traveled on foot) at various places; he discerns clearly with his Dharma-eye (*fayan* 法眼). Currently, he lives at Gaoan 高安. He does not like to live in the company of others, so he lives alone in a hut on the mountain. When we parted from each other, he firmly requested: 'Choose one among your future spiritually gifted students, and have them come visit me.' "

At the time, Linji was in [Huangbo's] assembly. As soon as he heard this, he left to go visit [Dayu]. As soon as he arrived at his place, he related in detail the above story. Through the night, he explained the *Treatise on Yoga* (*Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論) and expounded on the [*Treatise on*] *Consciousness-Only* (*Weishi* [*lun*] 唯識[論]) in Dayu's presence, and moreover, asked difficult questions [pertaining to them]. Throughout the night, Dayu remained silent, and did not reply.

The following morning, he said to Linji: "This old monk lives alone in a hut on the mountain. I thank you for coming so far, and simply extended a night's lodging to you. Why did you shamelessly spew impurities in my presence during the night?"

As soon as [Dayu] finished speaking, he thrust his staff several times [at Linji], shoving him out the door and slamming it shut.

Linji returned to Huangbo, and retold to him the above story. After Huangbo heard it, he performed a full prostration, touching his head to the ground, and said: "Men of ability crackle like blazing

fire. You had the good fortune to meet such a person. Why did you go there empty-handed?"

Linji then departed, and went back to see Dayu. Dayu said: "Previously, you behaved shamelessly. Why are you back again now?" and [as soon as] he finished speaking, [Dayu] struck him and shoved him out the door.

Linji again returned to Huangbo: "I say to you master, when I come back again next time, I will not return empty-handed."

Huangbo asked: "Why so?"

Linji replied: "With each blow I receive, I enter the realm of the buddhas. Even if I exhausted myself with bone-breaking and back-breaking labor for a hundred aeons, encircling Mount Sumeru with raised hands through innumerable circumambulations, the profound blessings in recompense for this would not suffice [for me to gain entrance]."

When Huangbo heard this, he was extraordinarily happy, saying [to Linji]: "Rest for awhile. Attaining liberation [for you] is a foregone conclusion."[39]

After ten days, Linji again bade farewell of Huangbo, and went to Dayu's place. As soon as Dayu saw him, he tried to strike Linji. Linji grabbed hold of the staff and promptly knocked Dayu over, hitting him on the back several times with his fists.

Dayu proceeded to nod his head vigorously, and say: "I have lived alone in a hut on the mountain, thinking I had spent my life in vain. I did not expect that I would today gain a son."

The *Zutang ji* version clearly favors the role played by Dayu in precipitating Linji's awakening, assigning Huangbo's part to a subsidiary role. This is further confirmed in the commentary included in the *Zutang ji* between Zhaoqing Huileng 招慶慧稜 (854–932) and an attendant.[40]

After the Reverend, the Former Zhaoqing 先招慶 (Zhangqing Huileng),[41] raised this, he then inquired about it to a student who attended the Master's (i.e., Dayu's) lectures (*shiyan daizhe* 師演待者): "[Linji] attained awakening because of Dayu; why did he strike Dayu with his fists?"

The attendant replied: "Until that time, [Linji] turned only to the Buddha for inspiration (*jiaohua* 教化). On that day, he became thoroughly indebted to his Master (i.e., Dayu) (*jun* 君) for his awesome fists."

Setting aside the difficulty in determining the identity of the attendant, the main speaker here, the significance of the commentary lies in its presumption that, in Dayu's circle, Linji is Dayu's disciple. Zhaoqing (or Zhangqing 長慶) Huileng was an important disciple of Xuefeng Yicun. The Zhaoqing temple 招慶寺 was the principal residence of Wendeng and the place where the *Zutang ji* was compiled.[42] The above commentary undoubtedly reflects the opinion regarding Linji's proper lineage affiliation in branches of Chan descended from Xuefeng through Wendeng and its associated members.

As if to correct this bold contradiction regarding Linji's "standard" affiliation as Huangbo's disciple, the *Zutang ji* does a quick about face in a feeble attempt to cover its tracks. Immediately following the above commentary, the narrative of the story about Linji's awakening concludes as follows:[43]

> On account of this, Linji spent over ten years serving Dayu. When Dayu was about to pass away, he instructed Linji: "You surely have not lived your life in vain, and as a result have made my life complete. Go forth into the world and transmit the mind[-Dharma] (*chuanxin*, 傳心), and most importantly, never forget Huangbo."
>
> Afterwards, Linji spread his teaching in Zhenfu 鎮府 (Zhenzhou 鎮州). Even though he succeeded Huangbo, he constantly praised Dayu. With regard to teaching technique, he frequently employed shouts and hits.

The conclusion to the *Zutang ji* version represents nothing more than a tenuous attempt to cover over the details of the account of Linji's awakening under Dayu, as described here, with the demands of a later orthodoxy requiring succession through Huangbo. As Yanagida Seizan has instructively pointed out, the orthodox lineage from Huangbo to Linji was hardly a foregone conclusion, and other orthodoxies were indeed possible.[44] The following is an indication of the leading possibilities for orthodox lineages descended from Mazu:

1. Mazu 馬祖 → Nanquan 南泉 → Zhaozhou 趙州
2. Mazu 馬祖 → Baizhang 百丈 → Guishan 溈山 → Yangshan 仰山
3. Mazu 馬祖 → Baizhang 百丈 → Huangbo 黄蘗 → Linji 臨濟

Added to this is a fourth possible lineage, suggested by Linji's interactions with Dayu:

4. Mazu 馬祖 → Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常[45] → Dayu 大愚 → Linji 臨濟

Apart from his role in precipitating Linji's awakening, Gaoan Dayu 高安大愚 (d.u.) is otherwise unremarkable. Little mention is made of him outside

this context,[46] and he is not provided with the independent recognition of a separate record devoted exclusively to him in either the *Zutang ji* or *Chuandeng lu*. Dayu's relative insignificance clearly made him unsuitable to spawn the founding patriarch of such an important lineage.

Yanagida also points out that the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), a collection of the records of sayings of four generations of masters culminating with Linji (Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, Linji), represents an affirmation of orthodoxy for later masters tracing themselves through Linji.[47] While the *Sijia yulu* is known to us through only a later Ming 明 edition, the preface of Yang Jie 楊傑 dated the eighth year of *yuanfeng* 元豐 (1085) indicates the oldest known publication of the text.[48] Moreover, an earlier version of the *Sijia yulu*'s contents is contained in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, compiled 1029 and issued in 1036, so that the earliest confirmable affirmation of Linji lineage orthodoxy is traceable to this date.[49]

The drive to affirm Linji orthodoxy began even before this, with the rise of the Linji lineage in the early Song. The actual founder of the Linji lineage was Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (925–992), a fifth-generation heir of Linji and disciple of Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973).[50] Shengnian's disciple, Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024), also achieved fame as a prominent Chan master in the early Song, and with the support of notable Song officials and luminaries, the Linji lineage rose to a preeminent position in Song circles. In the previous chapter, we saw how the prominent literati, Yang Yi (974–1020), edited and wrote a preface for Daoyuan's compilation, the *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs), issuing it as the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, and how Li Zunxu, a son-in-law of the emperor, compiled the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. Both Yang Yi and Li Zunxu, you will recall, were disciples of contemporary Linji masters. Yang Yi was closely associated with Guanghui Yuanlian 廣慧元璉 (951–1036), a disciple of the prominent master Shoushan Shengnian and a contemporary of Fenyang Shanzhao.[51] Yang Yi was also closely associated with another disciple of Shengnian, Yuncong of Mount Guyin 谷隱蘊聰 (965–1032).[52] Li Zunxu wrote Yuncong's epitaph. According to it, the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled expressly to document the achievements of Shengnian and his disciples.[53]

With the support of prominent officials such as Yang Yi and Li Zunxu, the descendants of Linji asserted their orthodoxy over Chan. This orthodoxy was predicated on Linji's status as a major Chan patriarch in the lineage descended from Mazu Daoyi. The inspiration for collecting Linji's records of sayings stems from this, as does the need to align Linji as Huangbo's disciple.

Prophecies Regarding Linji

One of the common ways for asserting orthodoxy in the Chan tradition is through prophecy. The prophetic technique purports to describe supernatural foresight to founders and other significant figures in a tradition, through their abibilty to predict the course of future events and their significance. In reality, ascribing prophetic powers to ancestral masters is an artifice conceived by contemporaries to assign authority to themselves through the alleged assertions of their predecessors. In the Chan tradition, prophecies contain predictions about a student's future glory, through whom the fortunes of Chan will be realized. Among numerous examples that could be cited, there is the famous prophecy of the sixth patriarch, Huineng, predicting the future appearance of someone (Shenhui), who will "fix the correct and false in Buddhism, and raise the essentials of the teaching."[54]

A glimpse of predictions regarding Linji was seen above, in the *Linji lu* account of Linji's awakening, when the head monk confided in Huangbo about Linji's potential: "Later I'm sure he'll shape up into a fine big tree that will make cool shade for the people of the world."[55] This is merely a foreshadowing of Linji's presumed greatness, an acknowledgment of it (in effect, a claiming of it) before Linji sets off to visit Dayu. The real prediction motif involving Huangbo and Linji occurs in another story, recorded in both versions of the *Chuandeng lu*.[56]

SIBU CONGKAN ED.	DONGCHAN SI ED.
Linji was planting cedar trees with Huangbo, when Huangbo asked: "Why are we planting so many trees deep in the mountain?"	Linji was planting cedar trees with Huangbo, when Huangbo asked: "Why are we planting so many trees deep in the mountain?"
Linji replied: "They will become a record of the past for people later on," **and then took his grub hoe and struck the ground twice.**	Linji replied: "**First of all,** they will become a record of the past for people later on; **secondly, to make a landmark for the main gate." After he finished speaking, he struck the ground three times with his grub hoe.**
Huangbo picked up his staff, and said: **"You've tasted my stick."**	Huangbo picked up his staff, and said: **"That may be so, but you've already tasted my stick."**

Linji sighed out loud.	Linji **again struck the ground three times with his grub hoe, and** sighed out loud.
Huangbo said: "When my teaching line passes on to you, **what has been prophesied in it will be fulfilled."**	Huangbo said: "When my teaching line passes on to you, **it will prosper greatly in the world."**

As seen previously, although the thrust of the two versions is the same, the Tōji Dongchan si edition contains richer detail, as if it represents the more polished version, closer to the image of Linji that contemporaries wished to project. The planting of cedar trees is a metaphor for establishing a tradition that will go on to flourish far into the future. Huangbo and Linji are figuratively planting the seeds for the future Chan tradition, one that will be preserved through the interpretation of the teaching they establish. The point of the story is to alleviate any doubt concerning Linji as the legitimate representative of Huangbo's teaching. Given the forces at work among Linji's descendants in the early Song, it is hardly surprising to find such a story affirming Linji as Huangbo's legitimate heir. It is merely designed to confirm and confer legitimacy on the presumptions of Linji's descendants. Of further interest is the commentary offered on this story, worded exactly the same in both versions.[57]

> Guishan raised this [story] and asked Yangshan: "Tell me, does Huangbo's final statement only include Linji, or is it intended for others as well?"
>
> Yangshan answered: "It includes both Linji and also predicts others in the future."
>
> Guishan asked: "Who does it refer to in the future?"
>
> Yangshan replied: "It points to someone in the south, spreading the command (*ling* 令) to Wu and Yue 吳越.[58] According to notation by Reverend Nanta 南塔: 'This prediction was first fulfilled by [one] seated alone, trembling in fear.' He also said: 'This prediction will also be fulfilled when a great wind (*dafeng* 大風) is encountered.'"
>
> Guishan replied: "So it is. So it is."

Many questions surround how to read the cryptic comments of Yangshan regarding who the future predictions refer to. Reverend Nanta refers to Nanta Guangyong 南塔光涌 (850–938), a disciple of Yangshan, who also visited Linji. Linji is said to have been so impressed with Nanta Guangyong that he referred to him as a "buddha in the flesh" (*roushenfo* 肉身佛) (i.e., a living buddha).[59]

Guishan, as we have seen, was a fellow disciple with Huangbo of Baizhang Huaihai. Yangshan was Guishan's disciple and Linji's contemporary. In effect, they represented a competing lineage (Mazu → Baizhang → Guishan → Yangshan → Nanta Guangyong) to Linji's, and their comments here may be interpreted as a disingenuous charade by the Linji faction to confer legitimacy upon themselves through sanction of their claims by rivals.

There seems to be consensus in interpreting the "great wind" (*dafeng* 大風) as a reference to Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973), the progenitor of the Linji faction's revival in the early Song. Dafeng (great wind) was the name of the mountain in Ruzhou 汝州 where Fengxue 風穴 (Wind Cave) temple was located.[60] The "pointing to the south" (*zhinan* 指南) is usually read as a reference to Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 (d. ca. 950), Fengxue's teacher, who taught in the south.[61] For Iriya Yoshitaka, it simply refers to an unidentified member of the Linji lineage who spread the teaching of Huangbo and Linji in the south.[62] The reference to Wu and Yue is sometimes read as a reference to the region in south China where Fengxue hailed from.[63] There is no consensus about who the "[one] seated alone, trembling in fear," who first fulfilled the prediction, refers to.

Regardless of the difficulty in deciphering the precise meaning intended in the cryptic comments recorded here, it seems clear that the prediction is intended to validate Fengxue and his descendants, the contemporary proponents of Linji Chan in the early Song. With slight alteration, this tree-planting episode, including an abbreviated version of Yangshan's commentary, was standardized in the *Linji lu*.[64]

The Transmission of Linji's Teaching

The transmission of Linji's dharma to his disciples was no less an issue than the supposed transmission between Huangbo and Linji. The end of the *Chuandeng lu* record contains Linji's transmission verse. The two versions are as follows.

SIBU CONGKAN ED.

Linji announced his passing on the tenth day of the fourth month of the seventh year of the *gantong* era (866), the year *bingshu*.

DONGCHAN SI ED.

Linji announced his passing on the tenth day of the fourth month of the seventh year of the *gantong* era (866), the year *bingshu*. **He ascended the Hall and said: "After my passing, you must not destroy my True Dharma Eye Treasury."**

Sansheng came forward and said: "Who would dare destroy your True Dharma Eye Treasury?"

Linji asked: "If someone later on asks you about it, what would you say to them?"

Sansheng shouted.

Linji said: "Who knew that my True Dharma Eye Treasury would be destroyed by this blind ass!"

He then **delivered a Dharma-transmission** verse:

"On an endlessly flowing stream, you ask what to do? True illumination has no limits, I say to you. Freedom from appearances and names has not been made inherent. Even after the sharpest sword has been used, it must be re-sharpened."

After finishing the verse, he passed away while seated [in meditation]. He was granted the posthumous title: "Great Master of Wisdom-Illumination" (*huizhao dashi* 慧照 大師); his tomb was called: "Pure Spirit" (*chengling* 澄靈).

Then, he **composed** a verse:

"On an endlessly flowing stream, you ask what to do? True illumination has no limits, I say to you. Freedom from appearances and names has not been made inherent. Even after the sharpest sword has been used, it must be re-sharpened."

After finishing the verse, he passed away while seated [in meditation]. He was granted the posthumous title: "Great Master of Wisdom-Illumination" (*huizhao dashi* 慧照 大師); his tomb was called: "Pure Spirit" (*chengling* 澄靈).

The *Zutang ji* makes no mention of a dharma-transmission verse, providing only the date of Linji's passing, his posthumous title, and tomb name (given there as "Pure Vacuity" [*chengxu*] 澄虛).[65] The *Chuandeng lu* is the first record to mention Linji's transmission verse. As can be seen in the above, there is a great discrepancy between the two *Chuandeng lu* versions. The *Sibu congkan* edition is sparse, providing only the date of passing, the dharma-transmission verse, and Linji's posthumous title and tomb name.[66] No mention is made of any disciple's name in connection with the transmission verse. The Dongchan si edition provides significant elaboration in this regard. It includes a supposed final lecture by Linji invoking his students not to destroy his "True Dharma

Eye Treasury" (*zheng fayan zang* 正法眼藏). The "True Dharma Eye Treasury" is a central theme of the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Transmission of the Treasure Grove), an earlier Chan transmission record, compiled in 801, which takes its name from the location of Huineng's 慧能 monastery in Baolin 寶林. A central theme of the *Baolin zhuan* is the transmission verse between patriarchs, which serves as a symbol of the transmission of Śākyamuni's True Dharma Eye Treasury, the essence of Chan, between them. The composition of verses to symbolize dharma-transmission began with the *Platform sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經), and as Yanagida has indicated, the presumption of such a verse here is closely connected to the desire to confer patriarchal status on Linji by his descendants.[67]

Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 (d.u.), the disciple whose name appears in connection with Linji's dharma-transmission verse in the Tōji Dongchan si edition version, was the compiler of the initial version of the *Linji lu*, and his name still appears as the text's compiler.[68] Little is known of his life.[69] The presumption of orthodoxy by compilers of their master's teachings is also seen in the case of Fahai 法海, compiler of Huineng's alleged teachings in the *Platform sūtra*. The interesting thing to note here is that the connection of the dharma-transmission verse with Sansheng's name is an innovation that occurs in the Dongchan si edition but not in the *Sibu congkan* edition. The Dongchan si version is found in the *Guangdeng lu* and was also incorporated in the standard issue *Linji lu* in 1120.[70] It is no coincidence that the *Zutang ji*, which has no transmission verse, retains the awakening story privileging Linji's connection to Dayu over Huangbo. The genesis of the transmission verse motif among Linji's descendants is rooted in the concern over an orthodox lineage tying Linji to Huangbo. The *Zutang ji* bears little evidence of that concern, instead giving weight to Dayu's role in precipitating Linji's awakening, as seen above. In any case, the enlightenment verse and the matter of orthodox transmission reflect the concerns of later generations of Linji's descendants, interested in projecting an image of Linji suitable to their own pursuits. It is probable that in the atmosphere of early Song literati support for the Linji faction, priority would have been given to Huangbo as a result of his strong connection to the official Pei Xiu 裴休. The model of Pei Xiu, compiler of Huangbo's teachings in the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essential Teachings on the Transmission of Mind), loomed large over the likes of Song officials Yang Yi and Li Zunxu, who played instrumental roles in the compilation of early Song Chan records.

Apparently, not everyone in the Linji faction conceded that Sansheng was the principal heir. While the *Chuandeng lu* record of Sansheng acknowledges that Sansheng received sanction (*shoujue* 受訣) from Linji,[71] it appears as if

Sansheng's interpretation of Linji's teachings was disputed by another faction of Linji's descendants. As is well known, Linji's teaching style is associated with strategic shouts and hits, designed to test the veracity of student acts and utterances. These techniques became emblematic of the unique style associated with Linji. According to the Linji tradition, these were techniques inspired by Mazu and developed through Mazu's disciples and their descendants. To the Linji faction, Linji epitomizes this tradition. The formation of the *Linji lu* is a testament to this legacy. According to the dharma-transmission verse episode recorded in the Tōji Dogchan si edition above, when Linji tests Sansheng by asking: "If someone later on asks you about it [i.e., the True Dharma Eye Treasury], what would you say to them?" Sansheng shouted, indicating his understanding of the essence of Linji's teaching in terms of this technique. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (d. 924) of Weifu 魏府, another disciple of Linji, was critical of those who used this technique, chastising his students for their senseless and indiscriminate yelling in the corridors and cloakrooms throughout the monastery.[72] As a result of this, Yanagida suggests that two factions formed among Linji's disciples, a Sansheng faction and a Xinghua faction.[73] Xinghua Cunjiang's name is appended to the end of the *Linji lu*, where he is identified as Linji's dharma-heir and collator (*jiaokan* 校勘) of the *Linji lu* text.[74] This gives credence to Yanagida's hypothesis regarding the existence of a Xinghua and Sansheng faction among Linji's disciples. Although it is difficult to discern the precise influence of either faction over the contents of the *Linji lu*, it suggests that both played a role, however different, in shaping the image of Linji contained in it.

Elsewhere, the *Chuandeng lu* records that Shoushan Shengnian, the progenitor of the Linji revival in the Song, identified the shout as indicative of Linji's style and hitting as representative of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑.[75] Given Shengnian's concern for promoting the Linji lineage, it is hardly surprising to see his championing of factional identity based on sectarian distinctions. This concern is apparent from the question posed to him by a monk at the outset of his record in the *Chuandeng lu*: "On the day [commemorating] the opening of the monastery, a monk asked [Shengnian]: 'Whose house's tune (*jiaqu* 家曲) does the master sing? Whose factional style (*zongfeng* 宗風) do you follow?'"[76] It also suggests that Shengnian sided with Sansheng's interpretation of Linji's teaching style and intimates why the use of shouts plays such a prominent role in the *Linji lu*. While Sansheng and Xinghua may have been responsible for compiling and collating the original record of Linji, one cannot ignore the influence that Shengnian had over the interpretation of Linji's teaching as he promoted the image of Linji and the interests of the Linji faction in the early Song.

Concluding Remarks

The above investigation demonstrates that it is not viable to consider *yulu* as the direct representation of the Chan figure in question. Future studies will need to take into account the complex array of forces that converged to shape these records. There are many unanswerable questions regarding *yulu*, but the examination of the early fragments attributed to Linji attests to the need to approach these materials with greater sophistication and nuance. First of all, readers of *yulu*-style documents need to address questions about who shaped these records and why they took the form they did. While Linji was seized upon by leading Chan advocates to define their factional identity in the early Song, the figure of Linji we have come to love and admire represents a complex admixture of motives and aspirations, more the collective persona of a movement than the example provided by any one individual. As the example of Linji shows, *yulu* materials may be used to expose an array of factors between and among factions that contributed to the way a Chan master might be portrayed, his lineal affiliations, the "color" of his language, the sharpness of his retorts, and so on. In the background of these concerns, one must also remain aware of broader religious, intellectual, and social factors. Not only was Chan, especially at this stage in its development, working out the details of its own collective identity through these documents, it was doing so in a wider public arena. By appealing to the literati, Chan won affirmation that legitimized its increasingly public presence.

While Linji may prove to be something of an extreme case in the identity formation process given his status as the faction's leading patriarch, his example is nonetheless instructive. Rather than static documents, as one might expect to find, the example of Linji suggests that the material in the documents evolved: language was reformulated, materials excised, episodes redrawn, and interpretations altered to meet the needs of changing circumstance. We will never be able to get to the bottom of this reediting and reformulating process, to find out exactly who was responsible for what. It probably matters very little. The important question is why, and to this we can offer some explanation.

What we are dealing with is a number of forces conspiring to carve out a new Buddhist meaning and identity. Texts like the *Platform sūtra* helped to establish new parameters for Chan identity, and it is interesting to note that copies of this text likely became widely available only after the issuance of Huixin's edition of the text in 967.[77] Chan *yulu* carried the legacy of the *Platform sūtra* to its logical conclusion, establishing the new Chan identity both in

terms of style and repertoire and expanding it as the hallmark of every master, the mark of their status as a "living Buddha." Linji epitomizes this process. By the time materials regarding Linji are first recorded, the general contours of his image have been established. What is interesting, however, is that even at this comparatively late date, Linji's name is not so well known so as to preclude the possibility of mistaking it. His lineage affiliation is not so well established so as to preclude the strong suggestion of other possibilities than the transmission lineage established as orthodox. The colorful language for which Linji is so famous appears as the result of editorial tampering. Regardless of who Linji actually was and what kind of behavior he exhibited, our image of him is the result of a carefully drawn formulation at the hands of later story tellers, masters, students, compilers, and editors. Who were these people, and what were their motives?

As discussed above, the people most responsible for shaping Linji's image were those affiliated with the Linji faction in the early Song. The Linji faction master Shoushan Shengnian (925–992) and his disciples were highly influential at the Song court. Yang Yi, the editor of the *Chuandeng lu*, was a close associate of Shengnian's disciple, Guanghui Yuanlin (951–1036). Li Zunxu, as well as Yang Yi, was closely associated with Guyin Yuncong (965–1032), another of Shengnian's disciples. Li Zunxu compiled the *Guangdeng lu* specifically to document the achievements of Shengnian and his disciples. The links formed by Shengnian, his disciples, and members of the secular literati were instrumental in the promotion of Linji faction interpretation as Chan orthodoxy.

Truth is a seductive stimulus to action, and spiritual motives presumably played a large role for the people responsible for forging Linji Chan identity in the early Song. Secular officials attracted to the Dharma often assumed roles as humble spiritual seekers, even if their elevated social status distinguished them sharply from the average rank and file. Evidence presented in the previous chapter suggests Yang Yi sought in Chan *yulu* a new type of literary genre to distinguish Song commitment to *wen* 文 (literary) culture. We can only assume that Li Zunxu and contemporary leaders of the Linji faction concurred with Yang Yi's aim. In this sense, the Chan claim as "a special transmission/practice outside the teaching" was more than a statement of Chan's religious identity but also bore a strong political message. By disassociating itself from "the teaching"—Buddhist scriptures and doctrines—the new Chan genre aligned itself with Song literary preferences. In doing so, it attempted to carve out a niche, of sorts, in the Song intellectual terrain, attracting those interested in the dynamic, interactive style exhibited in Chan *yulu*, distancing itself from the stifling exegetical style of Tang scholasticism, the appeal of which

was falling out of fashion not only among Buddhists but, as seen in the previous chapter, among Confucians as well. Perhaps the most important goal achieved by Chan's distancing itself from the Buddhist tradition that preceded it was its ability to escape, through this distancing, complicity in a Buddhist legacy whose alleged detrimental impact on China's culture and civilization was drawing the increased ire of literati critics.

4

Giving Form to the Formless

The Formation of the Linji lu

The veracity which increases with age is not far from folly.
—François, duc de La Rochefoucauld

Introduction

The *Linji yulu* 臨濟語錄 (J. *Rinzai goroku*), or Records of Sayings of Linji (abbreviated as *Linji lu* 臨濟錄, J. *Rinzai roku*; Record of Linji) is among the most revered works in the Chan and Zen traditions.[1] The most popular version of the text is the one compiled by Yuanjue Zongyan 圓覺宗演 in 1120, over two hundred and fifty years after Linji's passing. It remains common to read the *Record of Linji* transparently, as if it contains records of Linji's actual teachings and activities, eyewitness accounts scribbled down by students and observers, passed down and recorded in a modified form by compilers of later collections of Chan writings. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Linji's reputation as a Chan master, the importance of teachings attributed to him, and the very nature of the teachings themselves suggest that Linji is the product of a collective Chan consciousness.[2]

The first mention of Linji occurs in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, compiled in 952, already eighty-six years after Linji's death in 866. The social and political chaos at the end of the Tang and continuing through the early decades of the tenth century prevented the

collection of cultural records, not to mention their survival, and the memory of Linji and his teachings had passed through three or four generations before being recorded. In their first instance, they are not regarded as especially noteworthy. Linji's reputation is such that he warrants an entry in the *Zutang ji*, no small achievement, but there is otherwise little to distinguish him among the two hundred and fifty plus masters with entries included. While the *Zutang ji* honors the legacy of Mazu 馬祖 and the Hongzhou 洪州 faction as Chan orthodoxy, it champions a faction descended from Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存, not from Linji, as heir to this legacy.[3]

When the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 was compiled over fifty years later in 1004, Linji's reputation was clearly on the rise, but he was still not regarded as the central figure to Chan's self-understanding that he would become. After the consolidation of the empire by the Song dynasty, need was felt to provide a similar consolidation of Chan's regional factions. While the southern-based Fayan 法眼 faction clearly dominated the early Chan scene, by the time the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled, the influence of the Linji faction was clearly felt. Although the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled by a member of the Fayan lineage, the record was issued only after undergoing editorial revision by the leading Song literati figure, Yang Yi 楊億, whose own Chan preferences reflect growing support for the Linji faction at the Song court.[4] While the Fayan faction remains in the position of orthodoxy among the competing lineages documented in the *Chuandeng lu*, the claims of Linji faction members are beginning to emerge. Aside from invoking Linji faction concepts and rhetoric in Yang Yi's preface, the influence of the emerging Linji faction is felt strongly in fascicle 28, a kind of appendix to the main body of the *Chuandeng lu*. Fascicle 28 includes the "Extensive Discourses" (*guangyu* 廣語), allegedly excerpts of sermons of twelve Chan masters deemed prominent by compilers of the *Chuandeng lu*. In one regard, the contents of fascicle 28 are hardly distinguishable from the main body of the work, fascicles 1 through 26, which contain numerous purported sermon extracts among the contents of masters' teachings recorded. What is noteworthy about fascicle 28, in addition to the fact that the contents are exclusively sermon extracts, is the names and affiliations of the masters included. The twelve Chan masters isolated here for special mention suggest an elite corps of teachers.[5] Linji is among them.

The assertion of Linji faction supremacy in the Song appears with the publication of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄. Not only was it compiled by a well-connected member of the imperial family, Li Zunxu 李遵勗, the text also bore the reign title, *tiansheng* 天聖, of the current emperor, Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063), who personally contributed a preface.[6] The *Guangdeng lu* was admitted to the Buddhist canon upon completion, following

the precedent of the *Chuandeng lu* before it. With the *Guangdeng lu*, Linji's reputation takes a further leap. Supported by a cadre of Linji Chan masters active in the early Song, Linji emerges from the pack of elite Chan teachers to serve as a major Chan patriarch, the conduit for orthodox transmission of Chan teaching established by Mazu and the Hongzhou faction. Not only does the record of Linji's teachings appear in the *Guangdeng lu* in complete form for the first time,[7] Linji is also aligned in a sequence of masters positing the transmission of dharma form Mazu to Linji via Baizhang and Huangbo. As discussed earlier, Huangbo was not the only, or even the best, candidate as Linji's Dharma-master. Nor was the route to Linji the only possible choice for Chan orthodoxy.

Confirmation of the arrangement in the *Guangdeng lu* comes with the publication of the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Records of Sayings of Four Masters), allegedly compiled by Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069) and reflecting the rising influence of the Huanglong faction of the Linji lineage in the early Song. The current edition of the text, however, dates from the thirty-fifth year of *wanli* 萬曆 (1607) in the Ming dynasty, with a preface by Yang Jie 楊傑 dated the eighth year of *yuanfeng* 元豐 (1085), reprinted in the Japanese edition dated the first year of *keian* 慶安 (1648). As the order of presentation of Linji's teachings in the *Sijia yulu* is the same as the *Guangdeng lu*, save for very minor variation, the two versions may be treated as essentially identical, at least as currently received.[8] The *Sijia yulu* version also compresses the two fascicles of Linji's teachings in the *Guangdeng lu* into one fascicle. The major innovation of the *Sijia yulu*, however, is the explicit inclusion of Linji and his teachings alongside the major patriarchs of Tang Chan (according to the Song Linji faction): Mazu, Baizhang 百丈, and Huangbo 黃蘗.[9]

Full confirmation of Linji's new status comes with compilation of the *Linji lu*, the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, as an independent text in 1120. The compiler, Yuanjue Zongyan (1074?–1146?), was a member of the Yunmen 雲門 faction and also reissued the Records of Sayings of Yunmen (*Yunmen yulu* 雲門語錄) around the same time.[10] Unfortunately, little is known regarding Yuanjue Zongyan. In this respect, he fits a pattern of some other editors of noted Chan collections like Daoyuan (for the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*) and monks Jing and Yun (for the *Zutang ji*). Zongyan was affiliated with the Yunmen lineage, which enjoyed a revival during the Northern Song period.[11] He hailed from Enzhou 恩州 (Guangdong) and received dharma-transmission from Yuanfeng Qingman 元豐清滿. He taught at two monasteries in Fuzhou 福州, the Gushan si 鼓山寺 and Xuefeng si 雪峰寺.[12]

While the contents of Zongyan's text are, with minor exception, the same as the versions of the *Linji lu* contained in both the *Guangdeng lu* and the *Sijia*

yulu, the sequence of presentation has been substantially changed. The motives behind the alterations contained in Zongyan's version are examined below. More significant is the appearance of the *Linji lu* in separate format. It signals Linji's status as one of Chan's major patriarchs, worthy of an independent record of his teachings. It also reflects the changing nature of Song Chan and the new status accorded *yulu*-genre texts. Ever since the publication of contemporary Chan masters' records of sayings in the early Song, like the *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語録 of Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024), compiled by his disciple Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (987–1040) with a preface by Yang Yi (974–1020),[13] the *yulu* genre began to assume precedence over earlier Chan literary forms (eg. *denglu* 燈録). Linji's elevation to this stature was a de facto presumption of patriarchal status by contemporary Song masters, whose records of sayings were increasingly circulated as independent texts reflecting the new Song orthodoxy. It was only a matter of time before teachings of the lineage's founder, Linji, would acquire similar standing.

In order to understand the Song context behind Linji's rise in status and the appearance of the *Linji lu* as a major text representing Chan orthodoxy, I now turn to examination of the circumstances associated with the compilation of Linji's teachings in the *Guangdeng lu* and *Sijia yulu* and their standardized form as the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu*, or simply *Linji yulu*.

Linji's Records of Sayings in the *Guangdeng lu*: Background Considerations

The *Guangdeng lu* was compiled as a tribute to contemporary Linji Chan masters in the early Song. Compiled twenty-five years after the *Chuandeng lu*, the *Guangdeng lu* was more than just an appendix to the earlier work. It was designed to set the record straight and affirm the true lineage of Chan orthodoxy. Although the *Chuandeng lu* might be said to be leaning in a Linji Chan inspired direction, the thrust of the work clearly affirms the orthodoxy of the Fayan faction.[14] As the Song dynasty gained its footing, literati interest in Chan shifted away from the conciliatory and doctrinally conservative approach suggested by Fayan faction teaching and toward the innovative approach offered by a group of influential Linji faction masters.[15] Linji Chan was virtually created from the ambitions of these early Song Linji masters. Who were they?[16]

While the inspiration for the Linji Chan faction was, of course Linji Yixuan, the real founder of the movement was, as noted previously, Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–993), a fourth-generation descendant. According to an epitaph composed by Lin Zunxu for one of Shengnian's prominent disciples,

Guyin Yuncong 谷隱蘊聰 (965–1032), the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled specifically to authenticate the success of Shengnian and his disciples.[17] While each of the *denglu* records compiled in the Five Dynasties and early Song—the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Guangdeng lu*—exhibit the influence of the *yulu* literary genre in Chan circles, contrary to the esteem accorded to the former, the *Guangdeng lu* is most noteworthy in this regard. The *Guangdeng lu* may rightly be regarded as a *yulu*-style text in the guise of a *denglu* and records much material associated with leading Chan masters' teachings for the first time. Above all, it tended to assume the *yulu* style as the special (though not exclusive) preserve of Linji affiliated masters. It also asserted that orthodox Chan transmission passed via Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, and Huangbo Xiyun to Linji Yixuan, thus turning Linji into a major Chan patriarch and endorsing the claims of Shengnian and his students.

Li Zunxu's eminence cannot be overstated. His personal connections to three generations of Song emperors—Taizong 太宗, Zhenzong 真宗, and Renzong 仁宗—have already been noted. Not only was the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* imperially sanctioned, it was also personally compiled by a member of the imperial family who was an intimate devotee of the aforementioned Linji faction Chan master, Guyin Yuncong.

Shengnian was the disciple of Fengxue Yanzhao 汾陽善昭 (896–973); he hailed from Laizhou 萊州 (Shandong) and received his initial Buddhist training at the local Nanchan (Southern Chan) Monastery 南禪寺. His first two appointments were at brand new institutions, at the Shoushan Monastery 首山寺 in Ruzhou 汝州 and the Guangjiao (Spread the Teaching) Monastery 廣教寺 on Mount Baoan (Precious Peace) 寶安山, where Shengnian served as founding abbot.[18] Comments attributed to Shengnian at the opening of Shoushan Monastery commend the support of the local elite for perpetuating the Buddha-dharma passed down through Mahākaśyāpa.[19] It is safe to assume that the purveyors of the true Dharma preserved here are members of the Linji lineage, currently represented by Shengnian himself.

Fengxue Yanzhao was also a prominent master in Ruzhou. When Ruzhou was besieged, Fengxue fled to Yingzhou 郢州 (Hubei); he was befriended by Li Shijun 李史君, who housed him in the district office (*yanei* 衙內). The Prefectural Head (*zhouzhu* 州主) and Controller-general (*tongpan* 通判) in Yingzhou attended his lectures and engaged him in conversation.[20] Later, Grand Preceptor Song Hou 宋候 converted his residence in Ruzhou into a temple and invited Fengxue to live in it.[21] Court officials also reportedly attended his lectures in Ruzhou, where Fengxue addressed the issue of Buddhist-secular relations openly, inferring that Chan monks spread their teachings openly, unimpeded by the presence of secular authority.[22]

Other noteworthy support for Fengxue came from Vice Director (*shilang* 侍郎) Ouyang Hui 歐陽迴 (896–971) of the kingdom of Western Shu 西蜀 (934–965). After the Western Shu kingdom recapitulated to Song authority, Ouyang Hui served in Song Taizu's 宋太祖 bureaucracy and was appointed to the Hanlin Academy 翰林院. Ouyang Hui's prominence at the newly formed Song court suggests how the prestige attained by the Linji lineage in Ruzhou found representation at the Song court.[23]

Shengnian's students built on the prestige thus far achieved and succeeded in establishing Linji Chan as the new orthodoxy.[24] Their success was predicated on support from the secular establishment. Fenyang Shanzhao had unparalleled access to the Song elite. He achieved fame for his teaching at the Taizi (Imperial Prince) Cloister 太子院 in the Dazhong (Great Center) Monastery 大中寺 in Fenzhou 汾州 (Shanxi), a monastery named for a reign era title of emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022). The Taizi Cloister itself was named in honor of the future emperor Renzong (r. 1023–1063). In effect, Shanzhao imparted an imperially sanctioned teaching from the seat of a similarly sponsored institution. When Li Zunxu invited Shanzhao to preach at Chengtian (Accepting Heaven) Chan Cloister 承天禪院 in Luzhou 潞州, the officials and people of the region reportedly thronged to hear him.[25] Shanzhao's Records of Sayings (*yulu*) were compiled by his student, Chuyuan; the illustrious Song literatus Yang Yi contributed a preface.[26] This is the first instance of the publication of a contemporary master's *yulu* in the Song. It established a precedent for the flood of independent *yulu* texts that followed. The status of *yulu* texts as representative of the teachings of a living Buddha derived from the authority assumed by masters like Shanzhao. During Shanzhao's life, he was honored with a purple robe. After death, he was granted the posthumous title *Wude Chanshi* 無德禪師 (Chan Master Beyond Virtue).[27]

Guyin Yuncong was also feted among the Song elite. His early appointments to Mount Shimen (Stone Gate) 石門山 in Xiangzhou 襄州 (1006) and the Taiping xingguo (Promoting a Country of Great Peace) Chan Monastery 太平興國禪寺 on Mount Guyin 谷隱山 (1020) came from the requests of local prefects, Cha Dao 查道 (955–1018) and Xia Song 夏竦 (985–1051), respectively.[28] The name Taiping xingguo is taken from a reign title of emperor Taizong (r. 976–997) and bears the mark of imperial sanction. Cha Dao, the man who first brought Yuncong to public attention, was a devout Buddhist. In his youth, he is reported to have copied Buddhist scriptures using his own blood as an act of merit-generating devotion in an attempt to seek a cure for his ailing mother. When his mother died, he gave up his ambition to become an official and traveled to the sacred Mount Wutai 五台山 with the intention of shaving his hair and becoming a monk. When he displayed calm in the face of violent

earthquakes and thunder, the monks of the temple all urged him to serve as an official.[29] After serving as Minister of Public Works in the Southern Tang 南唐, he later went on to distinguish himself by attaining the *jinshi* 進士 degree (988) and working on the defining Song literary project, the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (1008).[30]

Xia Song, the prefect who commissioned Yuncong to assume his tenure at Taiping xingguo Monastery, was also a major literary figure of this period. Unlike Yang Yi and Liu Yun 劉筠 (see below), who championed a refined literary style that continued to emulate Tang precedents, Xia Song epitomized the use of literary skill for political ends rather than artful embellishment. The purpose of literary writing, he contended, was to serve the interests of the court in securing a civil order (or, as Xia himself put it, "the emperor is expecting transformation through the *wen* 文 of man").[31] His studies ranged over a broad spectrum of topics, focusing primarily on "orthodox" works (classics, histories, the writings of the "hundred schools," writings on *yin* 隱 and *yang* 陽, legal works, and almanacs) but also extending to Buddhist and Daoist writings.[32] For the likes of Xia Song, the champion of a renewed literary tradition that held the promise of political transformation, Buddhism could only be adapted to the extent that it fit this larger agenda.

Yuncong also maintained close relations with Hanlin academicians Yang Yi and Liu Yun, important officials of the central government and key figures in the Song *wen* revival.[33] Yang Yi and Liu Yun are credited with initiating the Song literary style, albeit one that was later rejected by Neo-Confucians as too ornate.[34] Liu Yun also played a formative role in initiating the revival of Confucianism. At emperor Zhenzong's request, Liu Yun collected the literary works of various Confucian authors, and this collection served as the "canon" for Confucian studies for the generation of Liu's contemporaries. Emperor Zhenzong is said to have enjoyed Liu's poems, odes, and songs. Liu Yun was also a contributor in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui*, the encyclopedic project mentioned above in connection with Cha Dao and for which Yang Yi served as a chief editor.[35] Yuncong was also friendly with Li Zunxu, who composed his epitaph.[36] He was granted the posthumous title *Cizhao* 慈照 (Merciful Illumination) Chan Master.

Shengnian's student Zhenhui 真惠 (or Guanghui 廣慧) Yuanlian 元璉 (951–1036) was considered Yang Yi's master, responsible for Yang Yi's "conversion" from the Fayan to the Linji lineage. Yuanlian hailed from the Pujiang 普江 district of Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian). He left home at age fifteen, entering the Baoqu Cloister 報劬院. He is said to have visited over fifty teachers in the Min 閩 region before attaining awakening under Shengnian. From the first year of the *jingde* 景德 era (1004), Yuanlian lived at the Guanghui (Expanding

Wisdom) Monastery 廣慧寺 in Ruzhou (Henan), where he received visits from officials like Yang Yi. He was granted the posthumous title *Zhenhui Chanshi* 真慧禪師 (Chan Master of True Wisdom).[37]

Another student of Shengnian, Guangjiao Guisheng 廣教歸省 (d.u.), hailed from Jizhou 吉州 (Hebei), left home, and became ordained at the Baoshou (Preserve Longevity) Cloister 保壽院 in Yizhou 易州. Later, he traveled south, where he met Chan master Shengnian in Ruzhou and experienced awakening.[38] Subsequently, he began his teaching career at Guangjiao Cloister 廣教院 in Yexuan 葉縣, Ruzhou. He achieved considerable renown and was the recipient of a prestigious purple robe honor awarded by the central government. Other than these meager details, we know nothing of Guisheng's life. The record of his teaching, however, provides important insight into the way Linji faction teaching was being represented in the early decades of the tenth century. In one recorded sermon, Guisheng reportedly states: "Each and every one of you possess the flash [of enlightenment] (*guang* 光). All the more reason to take the meaning of [Bodhidharma's] coming from the west to be 'a separate transmission outside the teaching' (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳). When the Way [that one practices] tacitly agrees with this single phrase, you will act freely in every situation."[39]

The meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west appears as a frequent topic of discussion in "lamp records" like the *Guangdeng lu*. It appears most often as a question posed by students to a master, as an apparent way of gauging a master's teaching and assessing his effectiveness. According to the records, various responses were proffered, from the ubiquitous hitting and yelling, to pithy nonsequiturs like "the planet Venus revolves" or "while the white moon burns, the earth sleeps; while flames engulf the night, the earth reclines."[40] During the Tang, Bodhidharma's teaching was commonly associated with the slogans "directly point to the human mind; see one's nature and become a buddha." In the early Song, the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west increasingly came to be understood in terms of "a separate transmission outside the teaching." A variant of this phrase, "a separate practice outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biexing* 教外別行), was the distinguishing feature of Chan teaching for Yang Yi and Li Zunxu in the *Chuandeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*.[41] Ultimately, "a separate practice outside the teaching" became a catchphrase of the Song Linji faction and a crowning definition of Linji Chan identity.

The phrase "a separate transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*) also appears prominently in a sermon by another contemporary Linji faction master, Nanyuan 南園 (or Shishuang 石霜) Chuyuan 楚圓 (987–1040).[42] Chuyuan consciously connected the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from

the west and his directive to "directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become a buddha" with "a separate transmission outside the teaching." Moreover, it was through Chuyuan's influence that the Linji Chan legacy flourished. Chuyuan was the teacher of both Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992–1049) and Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), the heads of the two branches of the Linji faction that became dominant in the Song and beyond.

A Comparison of the Contents of the *Linji lu*: *Guangdeng lu* (GDL 10 and 11) and *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (LJYL)

As mentioned previously, the first complete edition of the *Linji lu* was not the standard version, *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu*,[43] but the version included in fascicles 10 and 11 of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*.[44] While there are few differences in the actual contents recorded between the two versions, there are substantial differences in the order that the contents are recorded. (For a comparison of the *Guangdeng lu* version with that of the *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu*, see appendix 4.1.)

What do the different orders of the contents of the *Linji lu* tell us about the motives of their compilers? Whereas the LJYL is divided by subheadings into sections, Dharma Hall Sermons (*shangtang* 上堂), Instructing the Assembly (*shizhong* 示眾), Investigating and Assessing (*kanbian* 勘辨), and Record of Activities (*xinglu* 行錄), no explicit sections are provided in the GDL.[45] One of the most striking differences in the ordering of the contents is the way each version begins. Following brief biographical details, the GDL version begins with a series of episodes involving Linji's relationship with Huangbo Xiyun, whereas the LJYL version opens with lectures given by Linji at the request of the Prefect Governor (*fuzhu* 府主) and other officials. In the LJYL, biographical details regarding Linji—his origins in the city of Nanhua 南華 in Caozhou 曹州, his family name Xing 邢, his exceptional brilliance as a child, and so on—appear at the end of the text in a greatly expanded fashion (discussed below).

The alternate arrangement of the text's contents is instructive. By placing episodes detailing Linji's relationship with Huangbo first, especially the critical episode at the outset determining Linji's primary allegiance of Huangbo over Dayu, the GDL is weighing in on Linji's Dharma affiliation. Making Huangbo Linji's primary teacher was the claim of Linji faction affiliates in the early Song dynasty. It was done so to strengthen their claim to authority as the orthodox

interpretation of Chan by linking Linji to the most illustrious representatives of the so-called Hongzhou faction: Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海, and Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運. The assertion of this claim is implicit in the GDL ordering of the records of these four masters in sequential order: fascicle 8 (Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo), fascicle 9 (Baizhang), fascicles 10 and 11 (Linji).[46] The implicit claim of the GDL is rendered explicitly in the *Sijia yulu* (Dialogue Records of Four Masters), compiled by Linji faction master Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069). The GDL and *Sijia yulu* claims rendered the Song dynasty Linji faction as true heirs to the legacy of Chan orthodoxy inspired by Mazu and the Tang dynasty Hongzhou faction. By placing Linji's crucial episodes with Huangbo in the final *xinglu* section of the text, the LJYL reflects a lessened concern in Chan circles over Linji's lineage affiliation.

When the LJYL was issued later in the Song, Linji's reputation as the founder of Chan's major faction was assured. Linji stood as a major Chan figure, the founder of an illustrious lineage, and did not need to remain in the protective shadow cast by Mazu. The LJYL is a testament to this stature. Issued as an independent record, the LJYL stood on its own as a major statement of orthodox Chan teaching, without linkage to any other Chan figures. Its implicit message was that the Linji faction had indeed arrived as the preeminent interpretation of Chan. It is hardly surprising in this context that Linji's associations with literati officials would take precedence. No longer preoccupied with internal debates over transmission, Linji Chan was now in a position to suggest the role of the Chan master as teacher and spiritual advisor to secular authorities. Episodes where Linji is seen to fulfill this function are now brought front and center in the LJYL arrangement of the text's contents.

The *Sijia yulu* Text of the *Linji lu*

As mentioned above, the current edition of the *Sijia yulu* dates from the thirty-fifth year of *wanli* (1607) in the Ming dynasty. A preface by Yang Jie, reprinted in a Japanese edition dated the first year of *keian* (1648), dates from the eighth year of *yuanfeng* (1085). The order of presentation of Linji's teachings in the *Sijia yulu* is the same as the *Guangdeng lu*, save for very minor variation, and the two versions may be treated as essentially identical. What the *Sijia yulu* does accomplish, however, is a clear aligning of Linji alongside his major Chan forbears—Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo—to serve as a major standard bearer of Chan orthodoxy. From this pedestal, Linji came to represent the innovative vigor of a distinctive Chan tradition and a focal point of Song Chan identity.

The point of the *Sijia yulu* was to link Linji to the Mazu, Hongzhou Chan legacy. Mazu and the Hongzhou lineage came to dominate Tang Chan. Linkage to Mazu became essential to any claims to orthodoxy, in a way not dissimilar to the position that Huineng came to occupy in the wake of controversies surrounding the determination of the sixth patriarch.[47] As stipulated earlier, according to Yang Jie's preface, the person responsible for compiling the *Sijia yulu* was a certain Jicui Laonan 積翠老南, another name for the prominent Song dynasty Linji Chan master Huanglong Huinan.[48]

It is clear that Chan orthodoxy was still contested territory at the time Huanglong Huinan compiled his *Sijia yulu*. Another text, the *Deshan Sijia lu* 德山四家錄, appeared around the same time, suggesting that Chan factions other than Linji lineage descendants had similar ambitions.[49] Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780–865) was a contemporary of Linji descended from the sixth patriarch via a different lineage that included (in order of succession): Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思, Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷, Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟, and Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信. On the assumption that Deshan Xuanjian's discourse record was the first one in the collection, it has been suggested that the *Deshan Sijia lu* included the additional records of sayings of Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全豁 (828–887), Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908), and Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835–908).[50] In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Deshan's descendants expanded through different branches. One of the branches in particular, made prominent by Xuefeng Yicun, created a strong legacy in the Song, including both the Yunmen and Fayan lineages.

Moreover, Chan *yulu* collections that included a series of masters became an important literary phenomenon during the Song. In the wake of these initial *Sijia yulu* collections, others were compiled in an attempt to further later claims to orthodoxy. In addition to the *Sijia yulu* (also known as the *Mazu Sijia yulu* 馬祖四家錄 to distinguish it from others) and the *Deshan Sijia lu* 德山四家錄, another collection, the *Huanglong Sijia lu* 黃龍四家錄 was compiled in 1141, and the *Ciming Sijia lu* 慈明四家錄 was compiled in 1153. The *Huanglong Sijia lu* was compiled by a fourth-generation descendant of Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南, Jixing Huiquan 寂星慧泉, and was dedicated to furthering Huanglong lineage claims to Linji faction orthodoxy. In addition to the records of sayings of Huanglong Huinan, it also included those of Baojue (or Huitang Zuxin 晦堂祖心 (1025–1100), Sixin Wuxin 死心悟新 (1044–1115), and Chaozong Huifang 超宗慧方 (1073–1129), stretching to the teacher of contemporary Huanglong faction masters (Chaozong Huifang was a dharma-brother of the compiler, Jixing Huiquan).[51] The *Ciming Sijia lu* included the records of sayings of four other Linji masters, Ciming 慈明 (or Shishuang 石霜)

Chuyuan 楚圓 (986–1039), Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992–1049), Baiyun Shouduan 白雲守端 (1025–1072), and Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?–1104), factional rivals for the mantle of Linji Chan orthodoxy.[52] In addition, there is the *Hou* (Later) *Sijia yulu* 後四家錄, which includes the records of sayings of Tiantong 天童 (Hongzhi 宏智) Zhengjue 正覺 (1091–1157), Xuedou 雪竇 (Wen'an 聞庵) Sizong 嗣宗 (1085–1152), Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 (1032–1083), and Danxia Zichun 丹霞子淳 (1064–1117).[53] The *Hou Sijia lu* was apparently intended to suggest Chan orthodoxy for a reemergent Caodong faction during the Song, as its rivals had for different Linji Chan factions.[54]

Much later, in the Ming Dynasty, an assembled compilation of a slightly different sort, the *Wujia yulu* 五家語錄, appeared as a validation of the so-called "five houses" (*wujia* 五家) of the Chan school.[55] At first glance, the *Wujia yulu* appears to be ecumenically rather than factionally driven. Following the *Linji zongzhi* 臨濟宗旨 compiled by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪, the *Wujia yulu* contains the records of sayings of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (Yuanjue Zonyan's "standardized" version) (one fascicle); Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 and Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (one fascicle combined); Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (one fascicle combined); Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (one fascicle); and Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (one fascicle).[56] A closer look reveals the work's true purpose. The opening page of the text contains a chart, the *Wuzong yuanliu tu* 五宗原流圖 (Chart of the Origins and Descent of the Five Houses), with accompanying explanation, clearly designed to marginalize the Caodong faction by asserting it as the only one of the five not descended through Mazu Daoyi.[57] This "ecumenically" driven retrospective is thus the product of rivalry between the Linji and Caodong faction, used as a tool to assert Linji faction dominance. The compilers of the *Wujia yulu* also seem to be declaring a share of orthodoxy for the Yunmen faction. Not only is Yunmen's lineage included as descended through Mazu, as described above, Yunmen's *yulu* is placed at the end of the *Wujia yulu* text, making it the culmination, and Yunmen's discourse record takes up over 40 percent of the entire text.

As a result, it is clear that *Sijia* (and *Wujia*) *yulu* compilations were conceived in a context of intra- and interfactional rivalries. During the Song dynasty, as Chan emerged as the major Buddhist denomination bolstered by support from powerful patrons, it became ripe territory for such rivalries. In addition to augmenting factional claims through the compilation of associated records of sayings like the various *Sijia yulu* anthologies, Chan proponents promoted the records of sayings of individual masters issued as independent texts. As the alleged founder of Song Chan's most illustrious faction, it was inevitable that Linji's discourse record would be issued independently.

TABLE 4.1. Sections of the *Wujia yulu* text, the alleged compiler and editor, the page numbers covered, and the number of columns of text (four columns/page) devoted to each section

Title	Compiler/Editor	Page Numbers	Columns of Text
Wuzong yuanliu tu 五宗原流圖	Unclear	77a–b	2
Linji zongzhi 臨濟宗旨	Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪	78a–82a	17
Linji 臨濟	Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 Guoning 郭凝	83a–102d	80
Guishan & Yangshan 溈山&仰山	Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 Guoning 郭凝	103a–123b	80
Dongshan & Caoshan 洞山&曹山	Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 Guoning 郭凝	124a–144d	84
Fayan 法眼	Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 Guoning 郭凝	145a–156c	47
Yunmen 雲門	Mingshi Shoujian 明識守堅 Guoning 郭凝	157a–212a	212

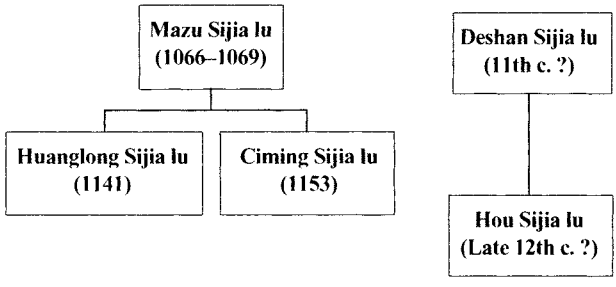

FIGURE 4.1. Contested Orthodoxies: *Sijia yulu* Compilations during the Song Dynasty.

Yuanjue Zongyan's Revised Edition of the *Linji yulu*

In the year 1120 (the second year of the *xuanhe* era), a new and revised edition of the *Linji lu* was issued, the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (The Records of Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou). This became the standard text of the *Linji yulu* and has remained the primary source for knowledge of Linji's teachings down to the present day. Its impact is such that hardly anyone remembers earlier editions of Linji's teachings. The contents of the text, as mentioned previously, differ little from the earliest known complete versions of Linji's teachings recorded in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* and *Mazu Sijia lu* but for two things that distinguish Yuanjue Zongyan's edition of the *Linji lu*: the rearrangement of the text's contents and the addition of a preface

and memorial inscription. In both cases, the alterations can be linked to Chan *yulu* production in the Song context.

Zongyan's edition of the *Linji lu* displaced the priority given the *xinglu* (Record of Activities) section materials in the GDL and *Sijia yulu* editions in favor of *shangtang*, or Dharma Hall sermons. Zongyan's new arrangement of the *Linji yulu* divided the text into four sections, in the following order: Dharma Hall Sermons (*shangtang* 上堂), Instructing the Assembly (*shizhong* 示眾), Investigating and Assessing (*kanbian* 勘辨), and Record of Activities (*xinglu* 行錄), plus a preface (*xu* 序) and memorial inscription (*taming* 塔銘).[58] This arrangement reflects the standard Song arrangement for Chan *yulu* texts.[59] Another *yulu* text edited and issued by Zongyan at the same time, the *Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡真禪師語錄, follows the same general format.[60] This is the general pattern found for all Chan *yulu* issued in the Song.

Yanagida Seizan implies that Song reformulations of *yulu* represent deviations from presumably original arrangements, but it is more accurate to characterize prior arrangements of the texts as earlier, rather than original.[61] Japanese Rinzai scholarship in general considers that teachings attributed to Linji are considered fairly reliable, if repackaged, renditions. This is in keeping with the prevalent view that *yulu* origins rest with student transcriptions, not only of sermons but also of oral exchanges from the "back rooms," the abbot's quarters and other private areas.[62] In the previous chapter, I suggested an alternate origin for encounter dialogues, not as transcriptions of actual events but as creations designed to meet contemporary concerns and to bolster the new Chan identity. I elaborate further on this theme in the following chapter.

Mature Song *yulu* were no longer designed with questions of internal sectarian identity in mind. Earlier questions regarding correct lineage and orthodox principles had been resolved by Zongyan's time. The issue for Zongyan was the appeal Chan held for Song literati and officials. For this reason, it was best to present Chan masters primarily as public prelates, dispensing sermons in the lecture hall before congregations including lay disciples. Most especially, it was useful to illustrate how Chan teachings in the lecture hall were delivered at the bequest of local overlords and officials. Hence, Zongyan's arrangement of the *Linji yulu* begins with the stipulation that Linji delivered his sermon at the bequest of the prefectural head, by the name of Wang, and various officials.[63] Rather than an innovation, the stipulation that Chan masters' sermons be delivered at the request of local overlords, officials, etc., is traceable at least as far back as the *Platform Scripture*, where Huineng allegedly spoke at the request of the prefect of Shaozhou 韶州, Wei Qu 韋璩,

some thirty officials, and thirty Confucian scholars.[64] Rather than any presumed historical accuracy, this stipulation is best viewed as a set piece of the Chan drama. A Chan sermon presided over by officials implies official sanction and support, enhancing the Chan cause. The fact that officials would request and listen to Chan sermons in such fashion suggests approval of the Chan master delivering the sermon, support for the institution that the master presides over, and sanction for the teaching delivered.

The delivery of sermons in this manner also represents the institutional reality of Chan monasteries in the Song. With the success of Chan in the Song, monasteries thrived on official support. Public lectures delivered at the request of official invitation became a regular feature of monastic life, and *shangtang* sermons were frequent and regularly scheduled events on the monastic calendar.

Other innovations first found in Zongyan's edition of the *Linji yulu* text are the addition of a preface and memorial inscription. Other sources, the *Zutang ji*, *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, and *Chuandeng lu*, all note the existence of Linji's stūpa.[65] There is no independent mention of a stūpa inscription, but the fact of its occurrence is not unusual, as it was customary practice that such an inscription would be composed. In most cases, inscriptions of deceased monks were composed by literati figures. In the case of Linji, the inscription is attributed to a dharma-heir, Yanzhao 延沼 of Baoshou 保壽 monastery in Zhenzhou 鎮州.[66] Yanzhao is usually identified as Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼, a fourth-generation descendent (Linji → Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 → Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 → Fengxue Yanzhao), who lived roughly one hundred years after Linji. It was not actually identified as a memorial inscription (*taji* 塔記) until the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (Records of Sayings of Ancient Worthies), a late Song compilation that currently exists only in a Ming edition.[67] As such, it hardly qualifies as a memorial inscription, since it was not etched in stone and erected as a memorial at Linji's death but composed as a tribute to a factional founder by a devoted follower.[68] It was compiled, presumably, to make up for the actual absence of a memorial inscription, unbefitting of the stature that Linji had assumed. Yanzhao's inscription was written to fill this gap.[69]

Yanagida Seizan, however, claims that the identity of Yanzhao is uncertain and that "from the wording [of the inscription] he would seem to be a direct disciple of Linji."[70] In my view, this places far too much trust in the *Linji lu* (and by extension the inscription) as an accurate record of Linji's actual words. The content of the "inscription" reflects the circumstances and concerns of the later time in which Fengxue Yanzhao lived, and quite possibly later. As I see it, there are three possibilities regarding the "inscription": (a) that it was actually

written by Fengxue Yanzhao, as suggested above; (b) that it was written by a disciple or descendant of Fengxue Yanzhao and attributed back to him; or (c) that it was written by a Linji faction proponent and attributed to some conveniently unknown disciple of Linji, Baoshou Yanzhao. In any of these cases, the inscription becomes, in fact, a composition reflecting the concerns and aspirations of the Song dynasty Linji faction. The circumstances suggesting the inscription as a Song compilation can be described as follows.

The first is the role ascribed in the inscription to Dayu. While Dayu's influence is mentioned, the inscription clearly maintains that Linji received the dharma-seal from Huangbo, suggesting that the issue of Linji's dharma inheritance had already been settled. From the *Zutang ji* (discussed in a previous chapter), it is easy to infer that it was not.[71]

More revealing is the way the inscription suggests close ties between Linji and local overlords. It claims that Defender-in-Chief (*taiwei* 太尉) Mo Junhe 默君和 relinquished his own house to serve as Linji's temple when fighting forced Linji to abandon his residence outside the city walls. There is, in fact, no possible linkage between Linji and Mo Junhe, who was born around the year of Linji's death.[72] As Yanagida suggests, the most likely explanation for associating Linji with Mo Junhe, a famous local hero in the Zhenzhou region, was "with the deliberate intent of enhancing the prestige of the Linji School in Hebei . . . and thus, by implication, with that of his powerful patron, the King of Zhao."[73] Although it is unclear when Mo Junhe passed away, it is clear that his reputation was established only in the last decade of the ninth century, making it impossible to invoke a linkage to Linji with any reasonable degree of credibility until well into the tenth.

The inscription also mentions how Prefectural Head Wang welcomed Linji and treated him as his teacher, when Linji returned south, to He prefecture (Henan), where Linji originally hailed from. It is inconceivable, however, that Linji would be meeting Wang here in Henan for the first time when Wang has already been introduced as the official who sponsored his lectures while in Zhenzhou.[74] Regardless of the dubious historical merit of such claims, they contribute to the inscription's purpose to bolster Linji's reputation as the recipient of official favor and recognition. The attempt in the inscription to link Linji with Prefectural Head Wang concurs with Zongyan's rearrangement of the *Linji lu*, which highlights Linji's sermons delivered at Wang's request as the most significant episodes of his teaching career. In this way, the inscription reflects Song realities and aspirations regarding the associations of Chan masters with literati and officials projected back on to the image of Linji.

Finally, and perhaps most telling, is the use of the phrase "a special transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biechuan*) in the inscription for Linji.

It describes how Linji initially studied the vinaya assiduously and read widely and diligently from the scriptures and treatises, before abruptly turning to Chan.

> He suddenly sighed and said, "These are prescriptions for saving the world. They do not point to *a special transmission outside the scriptures.*" He subsequently changed his robes and set off to journey elsewhere.[75]

The earliest datable usage of the term *jiaowai biechuan* appears in the *Zutangji*, in the record of Shishuang Qingzhu (807–888);[76] Shishuang Qingzhu seems to dispute this characterization.[77] The phrase *jiaowai biechuan* also appears in the *Chuandeng lu*, in the record of Yunmen Wenyan (864–949),[78] and it appears to have had some currency among Yunmen faction members in the early Song.[79] It received its largest boost, however, from Linji faction proponents, including prominent literati figures responsible for editing and compiling influential Song Chan transmission records, the *Chuandeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*. "A special transmission outside the scriptures" and variant phrasings served as leading slogans of Linji Chan identity in the early Song, promoted by the actual founder of the Linji faction, Shoushan Shengnian (926–993), and his students.[80] These slogans were featured as trademarks of Linji Chan identity by Yang Yi and Li Zunxu in the above mentioned transmission records.[81] In terms of Linji's alleged memorial inscription, the point is that there is no verifiable usage of the term *jiaowai biechuan* until well after the end of the Tang dynasty, and it did not achieve common status until the Song. It clearly represents a retrospective attribution by Song Linji faction proponents on to their alleged founding patriarch, used as a device to affirm contemporary factional identity.

The preface added to Zongyan's edition of the *Linji yulu* is also intended to confirm literati support for Linji Chan during the Song. The author, Ma Fang 馬防, bears a long list of illustrious titles but is otherwise unknown.[82] It is curious that one otherwise so impressive is unrecognized elsewhere. Adding to suspicion is the fact that most of the phrases appearing in the preface are drawn directly from the text itself. While these factors do not preclude that the preface is an authentic work, it makes one wary of accepting the preface at face value. In any case, the intention of the preface is clear—to recommend the *Linji lu* to an audience that included people that Ma Fang himself represented, literati and officials. No self-respecting work purporting to represent the teachings of one of Chan's illustrious champions could appear without such recommendation.

Concluding Remarks

None of the versions of the *Linji lu* are intended to present Linji's career chronologically. The arrangement of the text's contents was subject to the concerns of those who compiled it. What is highlighted in each case is that which is deemed most important, and that which is deemed as most important is a function of the time and circumstances under which the compilation took place.

The *Guangdeng lu* text of the *Linji lu* begins with episodes involving Linji's relationship with Huangbo and highlight the latter's role in precipitating Linji's awakening. This arrangement confirms Linji as a disciple and dharma-heir of Huangbo. This resolved lineage issues clearly in Song Linji faction favor. It asserted that the Chan orthodoxy reserved for the Tang Mazu lineage had passed to them via their factional founder, Linji. The *Sijia yulu* edition, the Records of Sayings of the Four Masters—Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji—preserves this contention.

The reissue of the *Linji lu* by Zongyan in 1120 became the standard edition of the text. While the contents remained the same, their order of presentation was altered. Prominence was ceded to those portions of the texts where Linji allegedly delivered sermons at the request of prominent local officials. This arrangement underscored Linji's role as official prelate of the Zhenzhou region and sanctioned his teachings with official recognition. The addition of a preface by a prominent but otherwise unknown official, Ma Fang, also served to maintain the importance that Linji's teachings had for contemporary officials. An alleged memorial inscription by a certain Yanzhao of Baoshou monastery in Zhenzhou, appearing in Zongyan's reissue of the *Linji lu* for the first time, provided a necessary, but hitherto lacking, aspect to the Linji legacy. No one of the stature that Linji had assumed by the Song could be seen to be without such an inscription marking the event of the passing of one deemed so important.

In the chapter that follows, I return to the broader question of the forces that shaped the production of what many consider the defining feature of Chan *yulu*, the encounter dialogues between masters and disciples, using a review of episodes from the *Linji lu*, considered previously, as an example.

APPENDIX 4.1

A Comparison of the Contents of the Two Versions of the *Linji lu*

This chart compares the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (abbreviated as GDL) 10 and 11 [X 78.464b22–474c21] and *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (abbreviated as LJYL) [T 47.496b11–506c28], following the order of the GDL, with corresponding place in the LJYL and section of the Burton Watson translation, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi*, noted.

DESCRIPTION	GDL 10	LJYL	WATSON
1. Biographical information	464b24–c1 (brief notice)	506c8–25 (longer epitaph 塔銘)	No. 69
2. Huangbo 黃蘗 → Linji 臨濟 transmission story	464c1–465a10	504b28–505a4 (beg. of *xinglu* 行錄 section)	No. 48
3. Huangbo-Linji "planting pines" episode	465a11–18	505a5–13	No. 49
4. Huangbo-Linji "leaning on his hoe" episode	465a19–b1	505a16–23	No. 51
5. Huangbo-Linji "meditation hall" episode	465b2–6	505a23–28	No. 52
6. Huangbo-Linji "sleeping in the monk's hall" episode	465b7–12	505a29–b6	No. 53
7. Huangbo-Linji "working in the fields" episode	465b13–20	505b7–14	No. 54
8. Huangbo-Linji episode re. Huangbo's conversation with the monk in charge of rice-cooking	465b21–c7	503a17–28 (beg. of Testing and Rating 勘辨 section	No. 24

DESCRIPTION	GDL 10	LJYL	WATSON
9. Linji leaves Huangbo for Weishan 溈山	465c8–14	505b15–26	No. 55
—Linji leaves Weishan	465c15–17		
—Linji goes to Zhenzhou 鎮州	465c18–19		
10. Linji leaves Huangbo	465c20–466a7	505c2–506a6	No. 56, beg. part way in
11. Lump of Red Flesh sermon	466a8–11	496c10–14	No. 3
12. Encounter dialogues: Linji and student; Linji and monks	466a12–14	503a29–b2	No. 25
13. Sermon with encounter dialogue	466a15–20	496c15–22	No. 4
14. Episodes with Puhua 普化 re. meals with lay believers	466a21–b2	503b3–9	No. 26
15. Episode with Puhua, "mortal or sage"?	466b3–8	503b10–16	No. 27
16. Episode with Puhua braying like a donkey	466b9–10	503b17–19	No. 28
17. Episode with Puhua ringing a bell	466b10–15	503b20–24	No. 29
18. Episode with Puhua begging	466b16–23	504b18–26	No. 47
19.a. Episode with elderly monk	466b24–c2	503b25–27	No. 30
19.b. Episode with head monk	466c3–6	503b28–c2	
20. Linji's method: the person vs. the environment	466c7–13	497a22–29	No. 10
21. Linji enters army camp	466c14–16	503c3–5	No. 31
22. Episode with Temple Director	466c17–21	503c6. . .→	No. 32
23. Episode with Study Director	466c22–467a5	→. . .503c18	No. 33

DESCRIPTION	GDL 10	LJYL	WATSON
24. Lopu 樂普 and Deshan 德山	467a6–11	503c19–25	No. 34
25. Linji goes to Heyang 河陽 & dialogues with Prefecture Head	467a12–16	NA	NA
26. Dialogue with Heyang Prefecture Head	467a17–21	NA	NA
27. Dialogue with Heyang Prefecture Head	467a22–b3	496b11. . .→	No. 1
28. Question about Huangbo beating (continuation of 27)	467b4–6	→. . .496b20. . .→	. . .No. 1. . .
29. Dialogue with Study Director (continuation of 27)	467b7–14	→. . .496c3	. . .No. 1
30. Visit to Bodhidharma's stūpa	467b15–17	506a7–9	No. 57
31. Questions about the meaning of Buddhism	467b18–20	496c23–26. . .	No. 5. . .
32. Sermon re. Huangbo	467b21–24	496c26–497a1. . .	. . .No. 5
33. Q & A	467c1–3	497a2–4. . . (see 38)	No. 6. . .
34. Linji and Xingshan 杏山	467c4–5	504a3–4	No. 36
35. Linji and Zhaozhou 趙州	467c6–8	504a15–18	No. 40
36. Linji and Longya 龍牙	467c9–15	504b3–10	No. 45
37. Jingshan 徑山, Linji, and Huangbo	467c16–21	504b11–17	No. 46
38. Sermon	467c22–468a1	. . . 497a4–8 (follows 33)	. . . No. 6
39. Sermon	468a2–4	497a9–11	No. 7
40. Sermon	468a5–6	497a12–14	No. 8
41. Dialogue with a monk	468a7–8	504a8–9	No. 38
42. Death sermon and information	468a9–16 (includes death gatha)	506c3–7 (minus death gatha)	No. 68

DESCRIPTION	GDL II	LJYL	WATSON
43. Long sermon	468a23–c20	497a29–c25	No. 11
44. Sermon	468c20–468b12	496c26–498a15	No. 12
45. Sermon	469a13–24	498a16–b1	No. 13
46. Long Q & A	469b1–19	498b2–24	No. 14
47. Long Q & A	469b20–c14	498b25–c17	No. 15
48. Long Q & A	469c15–470a3	498c18–499a3	No. 16
49. Sermon	470a4–23	499a4–27	No. 17
50. Long Q & A	470a24–c12	499a28–c13	No. 18
51. Long Q & A	470c13–473a5	499c14–501c27	No. 19
52. Q & A	473a6–12	501c28–502a7	No. 20
53. Q & A	473a12–b5	502a8–27	No. 21
54. Q & A	473b6–18	502a28–b13	No. 22
55. Long Q & A	473b19–474a21	502b14–503a15	No. 23
56. Linji and Longguang 龍光	474a22–24	506a10–13	No. 58
57. Linji and Sanfeng Ping 三峯平	474b1–7	506a14–20	No. 59
58. Linji and Daci 大慈	474b8–11	506a21–24	No. 60
59. Linji visits Huayan yuan 華嚴院 in Xiangzhou 襄州	474b12–14	506a25–28	No. 61
60. Linji and Nun	474b15–16 [at end of SJYL]	504b1–2	No. 44
61. Linji visits Cuifeng 翠峯	474b17–20	506a29–b3	No. 62
62. Linji visits Xiangtian 象田	474b21–22	506b4–6	No. 63
63. Linji visits Minghua 明化	474b23–24	506b7–9	No. 64
64. Linji meets old woman on way to Fenglin 鳳林	474c1–3	506b10–12	No. 65
65. Linji goes to Fenglin 鳳林	474c4–14	506b13–24	No. 66
66. Linji visits Jinniu 金牛	474c15–21	506b25–c2	No. 67

5

Strange Brew

The Fictional Background to Yulu *Encounter Dialogues*

What we search for in fiction is not so much reality as the epiphany of truth.

—Azar Nafisi

Introduction: Reflections on the Emergence of *Yulu*

How and why did *yulu* 語錄 originate? The emergence of any new literary genre is rooted in complicated historical, social, and political circumstances. *Yulu* emerged, for reasons I have suggested, as a defining Song literary form with wide appeal to the literati class. The origins of *yulu* are complex and obscure, shrouded by a variety of terminological categories that preceded and whose contents contributed to it. Future research may shed light on these categories, what they represented, how they related to each other, and what they actually contributed to the *yulu* genre. My comments here are confined to the role that *yanjiao* 言教, or oral teachings, appeared to have played in *yulu* formation.

The fact that Chan masters' teachings were transcribed by students is hardly surprising given the context. As abbots, Chan masters regularly addressed members of their congregations, either in formal Lecture Hall sermons (*shangtang* 上堂) or in less formal contexts in a master's hermitage or private cloister (*xiaocan* 小參). The Chan institution provided for such occasions at regular

intervals, and this served as a major feature of Chan instruction.[1] Presumably, *yanjiao* were just such a transcription of a master's oral teachings, delivered in lecture/sermon format. These served as a major component of *yulu*.

When encounter dialogues developed is the subject of dispute. Some argue for a Song provenance. According to Mario Poceski, for example, "No source from the Tang period indicates that there was even an awareness of the existence of the encounter-dialogue format."[2] The radicalized images of Tang Chan masters did not appear until the middle of the tenth century, when they proved "a potent tool for legitimizing the Chan school in the religious world of the Song China."[3] Others, like Jinhua Jia, are convinced that encounter dialogues can be traced to Tang sources. Jia sees the development of encounter dialogue as a three-stage process: (1) antecedents of encounter dialogue in the early Chan phase; (2) formal encounter dialogue in the mid-Tang, as seen through two forms: witty, paradoxical phrases, and fictionalized accounts of enlightenment dialogues; and (3) fully mature encounter dialogue with multiple forms, including the familiar iconoclastic behavior, illogical utterances, beating, and shouting.[4] The evidence that Jia draws from is taken from brief exchanges included in the epitaphs of Chan masters written by contemporary literati. It is unlikely that encounter dialogue emerged in full bloom in the middle of the tenth century, and Jia reveals how the seeds of encounter dialogue were germinating from the mid-Tang. While this shows a growing penchant in Chan circles for encounter-type dialogue, no evidence, other than circumstantial, is provided for Jia's claim that these dialogues stemmed for some type of new performance practice. It does indicate a fondness for a new style of communication, couched in a question-and-answer format, but this format itself is hardly unusual, and there is no evidence for any novel practice associated with it.

During this process of *yulu* formation, a new consciousness was also developing regarding the special nature of Chan teaching. This consciousness coalesced around a well-known slogan that affirmed Chan as "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳). While the slogan occurs in an isolated instance in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, it does not become a defining feature of Chan until its appearance (in variant form, "a special practice outside the teaching," *jiaowai biexing* 教外別行) in Yang Yi's 楊億 preface to the *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈録. Shortly after, the genesis of the special transmission is affirmed in an apocryphal scripture that tells, for the first time, the famous story of mind-to-mind transmission between Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼 and Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 using the specific terminology of "a special transmission outside the teaching."[5] Around the same time, Li Zunxu 李遵勗, compiler of the *Guangdeng lu* 廣燈録, associated the special transmission primarily with the *yulu* collections of the dominant Linji 臨濟 faction.

This redefinition of Chan as "a special transmission outside the teaching" inspired alterations to Chan masters' "oral teachings" that have caused confusion regarding the way these teachings have been understood down to the present day. No longer simply the transcriptions of a sermonizing abbot, a Chan master's discourse took on a new meaning as the words of an active, living Buddha. One of the requirements of Chan discourse was that it had, by definition, to be unique in comparison to other Buddhist discourse to fit the new requirements of Chan's self-definition. The result is the *denglu*-燈録 and *yulu*-style documents whereby Chan masters' teachings were shaped to fit the new criteria.

Among other things, this hypothesis helps to explain major discrepancies between the Chan writings of, say, someone like Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 and his characterization in the *Chuandeng lu*. Moreover, the teachings attributed to Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, rather than the dynamic utterances of an enlightened Chan master, have been shown to be nothing more than citations from different scriptures without the attribution of their source,[6] suggesting how a conventional Dharma-talk might be transposed into a dynamic Chan discourse, in accordance with the new criteria.

The Emergence of *Yulu*: A Hypothesis Based on the Linji Fragments

The fragments associated with Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 epitomize the process of *yulu* formation from oral sermonizing, or *yanjiao*, to interactive discourse. While there is a high degree of consistency in teachings attributed to Linji among the early fragments, the Linji fragments exhibit fluidity in their contents. For example, all sources agree that the notion of "the true man with no-rank" (*wuwei zhenren* 無位真人) is central to Linji's teaching. Yet, the variance with which it is depicted in different sources suggests a four-stage development.

Stage one is represented by the sermon extracts attributed to Linji recorded in the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡録 and the *guanglu* 廣録 section of the *Chuandeng lu*.[7] An extensive extract of Linji's teaching is recorded in both sources, culminating with Linji's teaching regarding "the true man with no-rank." For the sake of brevity, I cite here only the passage that explicitly refers to "the true man with no-rank" and omit the portions of the sermon that precede it.[8]

> 所以山僧向汝道。五蘊身田內有無位真人。堂堂顯露無絲髮許間隔。何不識取。心法無形通貫十方。在眼曰見。在耳曰聞。在手執捉。在足運奔。心若不在隨處解脫。山僧見處坐斷報化佛頂。十地滿心猶如客作兒。等妙二覺如擔枷帶鎖。羅漢辟支猶如糞土。菩提

> 涅槃繫驢馬橛。何以如斯。蓋為不達三祇劫空有此障隔。若是真道流盡不如此。如今略為諸人大約話破。自看遠近。時光可惜各自努力。珍重。
>
> Therefore I, a mountain monk, tell you clearly—within the body-field of the five skandhas there is a true man with no-rank, always present, not even a hair's breadth away. Why don't you recognize him?
>
> This thing called mind has no form; it pervades the ten directions. In the eye we call it sight; in the ear we call it hearing; in the hand it grasps; in the feet it rushes along. If mind does not exist, wherever you are, you are liberated.
>
> In this mountain monk's point of view, [you should] sever the heads off the Bliss and Transformation [bodies of the] Buddha. Those who have satisfied the ten stages [of bodhisattva practice] are like hired hands; those who have attained the enlightenment of the fifty-first and fifty-second stage are like shackled and bound prisoners; arhats and pratyeka-buddhas are like excrement filth; bodhi and nirvāna are like posts for hitching donkeys and horses to. Why are they like this? It is undoubtedly because you fail to realize that the [notion that it takes] three asamkhya kalpas [of assiduous effort to attain nirvāna] is baseless that you form such obstacles. If you are true followers of the Way, you will never be like this. I have now outlined the main ideas and extracted out episodes [of Chan teaching] for everyone. Look and evaluate for yourself. Time is precious. Each of you must make your own effort. Take Care.

This appears in the context of a straightforward transcription of an excerpt from a Dharma-talk. This is not to suggest that it be read as such. The memory of Linji's sermon had already passed through three or four generation before being recorded here. The fact that different versions of the sermon exist is evidence that the memory of Linji's teachings had yet to achieve a stable consensus. Regardless that this is not an actual transcription, it still abides by the sermon format in its presentation. While the contents typify a Chan approach that undermines conventional interpretations of Buddhist teachings, they are delivered in a customary format that is hardly unique.

In stage two, the *Zutang ji*, Linji's extract regarding the "true man with no-rank" is extracted in abbreviated form and given a place of prominence as the leading aspect of Linji's teaching.[9]

> 師有時謂眾云。山僧分明向你道。五陰身田內。有無位真人。堂堂露現。無毫髮許間隔。何不識取。時有僧問。如何是無位真人。師便打之云。無位真人，是什麼不淨之物。

On one occasion, the Master (Linji) addressed the assembly: "I, a mountain monk, tell you clearly—within the body-field of the five skandhas there is a true man with no-rank, always present, not even a hair's breadth away. Why don't you recognize him?"

Then, a monk asked: "What is this true man with no rank?"

The Master struck him, and said: "The true man with no-rank—what an impure thing."

This opening address in the *Zutang ji* is attributed virtually verbatim to Linji in both the *Zongjing lu* and the *guanglu* section of the *Chuandeng lu*,[10] as seen above, but it is interesting to note that both of these versions record only Linji's statement regarding "the true man with no-rank" in his address to the assembly. Neither source mentions an exchange with a monk-questioner that inspires Linji to strike the monk, an important feature of the way Linji's teaching style came to be represented. In the *Zutang ji*, the accompanying rebuke is depicted rather prosaically with the exclamation "The true man with no-rank—what an impure thing." The phrase "impure thing" (*bujing zhi wu* 不淨之物) is but one way in which the *Zutang ji* conveys rather delicate images compared to the vivid expressions in the *Chuandeng lu* versions.

Stage three is represented by two different versions of the *Chuandeng lu*. Discrepancies between the two versions have been indicated with boldface type in the translations.[11]

SIBU CONGKAN 四部叢刊 ed.

一日上堂曰。汝等諸人。赤肉團上有一無位真人。常向諸人面門出入。汝若不識但問老僧。時有僧問。如何是無位真人。師便打云。無位真人是什麼乾屎橛。

One day, Linji entered the [Dharma] Hall and said: "My fellow compatriots, within your lump of red flesh there is a true man with no rank, constantly entering and exiting the openings of your face. **If you do not recognize him, just ask this old monk** (i.e., me)."

DONGCHAN SI 東禪寺 ed.

一日上堂曰。汝等諸人。赤肉團上有一無位真人。常向汝諸人面門出入。未證處者看看。時有僧問。如何是無位真人。師下禪床把住云。道道。僧擬議。師托開云。無位真人是什麼乾屎橛。便歸方丈。

One day, Linji entered the [Dharma] Hall and said: "My fellow compatriots, within your lump of red flesh there is a true man with no rank, constantly entering and exiting the openings of your face. **Any of you who haven't figured this out yet, Look! Look!**

At the time, a monk asked: "Who is the true man of no rank?"	At the time, a monk asked: "Who is the true man of no rank?"
	Linji got down off his meditation seat, grabbed the monk and said: "Speak! Speak!"
Linji struck him and exclaimed: "The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!"	**The monk tried to say something. Linji let go of him, and said: "The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!" He then returned to his quarters.**

Even though the *Sibu congkan* edition is represented by a later publication of the Buddhist canon in the Yuan dynasty (currently available in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* edition) than the *Dongchan si* edition, based on a Song publication, the *Sibu congkan* version of the *Chuandeng lu* is actually closer to the original text issued by Yang Yi.[12] Both versions exhibit more colorful language than was found in the *Zutang ji*. The "impure thing" (*bujing zhi wu* 不淨之物) becomes Linji's famous "dried lump of shit" (*ganshi jue* 乾屎橛).[13] The "body-field of the five skandhas" (*wuyin shentian* 五陰身田) becomes the vividly expressed "lump of red flesh" (*chirou tuanshang* 赤肉團上). In both cases, prosaic terms are substituted with lively imagery intended to stimulate the imagination. Moreover, the "true man with no rank" is no longer depicted blandly as merely inhabiting "the body-field of the five skandhas" but is seen dynamically as "entering and exiting the openings of your face." This process of substitution and elaboration is not accidental but is part of a larger design to transform Linji into a new kind of dynamic patriarch. It is closely connected with the creation of Linji's persona as a vigorous spirit, an innovative patriarch championing a revolutionary understanding of Buddhism.

Both editions of the *Chuandeng lu* depict the exchange between Linji and the monk-questioner in more vivid terms. The *Sibu congkan* edition has Linji issue a challenge to the assembly: "If you do not recognize him (i.e., the true man with no rank), just ask this old monk." The Dongchan si edition substitutes the even more provocative: "Any of you who haven't figured this out yet, Look! Look!" Following the monk's question: "Who is the true man with no rank?" the Dongchan si edition continues Linji's provocations with "Linji got down off his meditation seat, grabbed the monk and said: "Speak! Speak!" The monk tried to say something. Linji let go of him, and said: "The true man with no rank—what a dried lump of shit!" He then returned to his quarters." Not surprisingly, it is this most developed, Dongchan si edition version that

becomes standardized in the *Linji lu* 臨濟録.[14] It most closely fits the image of the patriarch that those who shaped it wanted to convey.

The fourth stage concerns the commentarial tradition that episodes involving illustrious Chan masters like Linji inspired. While these are not part of *yulu* proper, they provide a window into why *yulu* became important, how they functioned, and what forces shaped them. The *Zutang ji* includes a total of one hundred ninety-four comments by later masters on the activities of their predecessors.[15] These comments are widely believed to be a precursor to the *gong'an* 公案 style technique that later became popular. At the very least, the comments may be seen as a Chan tradition coming to terms with (actually forming) its legacy and shaping the way it would be interpreted. This shaping and interpreting process determined both the type of episodes that would be isolated for consideration and the way that Chan masters, as idealized types conforming to this newly minted legacy, would come to be represented—as dynamic, enigmatic, or iconoclastic action figures. In this regard, it is not so much the comments themselves that are important as their very existence. In short, it is the people who are involved in this fourth stage who are responsible for the material that we have for the earlier stages. Using Linji as the example, this explains how and why the short extract regarding the true man with no rank was selected from the longer sermon passage and placed in a position of prominence in the *Zutang ji* in the first place, and how and why it was shaped into a dynamic Chan-style discourse complete with shocking, colorful language in the *Chuandeng lu* versions.

In effect, then, Chan *yulu* originated rather prosaically in the sermons of abbots delivered before the congregations they headed. Far from being novel, sermon recordings form a typical genre of Buddhist teaching in China. What changed more than anything, with the advent of printing, was the ability to copy and mass produce such teachings. The changing nature of the Song literati seems to have provided an audience with an appetite for what Chan had to offer. These oral teachings, or *yanjiao*, were not the preserve of any particular lineage, although the material circumstances of some lineages provided greater opportunity for recording and dissemination.

The new emphasis on Chan as a "special transmission" put pressure on the traditional sermon, or oral teachings, format to develop in new and hitherto unforeseen ways. Eventually, oral teachings were shaped to forge new style "encounter dialogues" that became Chan's defining feature. These encounter dialogues were further refined to reflect the dynamism that became a cardinal feature of Chan teaching in the Song. These encounter dialogues further served as sources of investigation and commentary among Song Chan practitioners, who tested and rated each other's understanding on the basis of their

respective interpretations of key episodes. In outline form, the chronological developments in Chan *yulu* may be depicted as follows (for a full discussion, see the next chapter):

1. Sermons (oral teachings as *shangtang* lectures)
2. Encounter Dialogues (hypothetical exchanges derived from *shangtang* extracts)
3. Refined Encounter Dialogues (employing more colorful and striking imagery)
4. Rating and Testing the understanding of Encounter Dialogues (forerunner to *gong'an*)

While this process explains how Chan *yulu* encounter dialogues came into being, they provide little by way of explaining how this occurred. I now turn to an exploration of the fictional background that influenced how Chan encounter dialogues developed.

The Fictional Background to *Yulu* Encounter Dialogues

The accounts of the legendary masters of Chan's "golden age" contain many peculiar features. Episodes involving Chan masters from this period are filled with supernatural elements. In spite of a seemingly systematic effort at forgetting the mythological background of Chan episodes, the significance of many episodes is steeped in magical themes involving such things as anomalous spirits and shapeshifting animals and bizarre accounts of self-mutilation and death.[16] One of the anomalous features that I would like to isolate for attention here is the depiction of Chan masters with striking physical features. Huangbo 黄蘗, for example, was said to have a pearl-like protuberance from the middle of his forehead and to be seven feet tall.[17] Mazu was also noted for his striking demeanor and appearance. It is said that he moved like an ox and glared like a tiger, could touch his nose with his tongue, and had wheel insignias on the soles of his feet.[18] No modern scholar would accept these descriptions as literally accurate. The purpose of such descriptions is to call attention to the Chan master as a new kind of figure, a hero (or antihero) whose physical attributes are an indication of the novel style they represent. In this sense, the way that Chan masters are depicted is as caricature figures, as new kinds of champions who expose the boundaries of previous limitations and suggest ways to break through to a new kind of existence, a new way of living. Their idiosyncratic, even grotesque appearance, like their behavior, defies these limitations. This is not a new phenomenon in Buddhism. The depiction of a

Buddha as possessing certain kinds of physical marks and features is a precursor to this. The Chan master as a new kind of Buddha exhibits marked characteristics, some of which (forehead protuberance and wheel insignias on the soles of the feet) are directly borrowed from established precedent. Others, however, seem distinctly designed to suggest the Chan master as a novel Buddhist hero. This tendency became especially prominent in certain styles of Chan painting, where Chan masters are often depicted with bulging eyes and mirthful dispositions. In many cases, the artist plays with proportions to exhibit the unique style of Chan through an unconventional appearance. Again, such depictions clearly belong to the realm of caricature. They invite the viewer to look at the individual self and the world we inhabit in a new and different way.

In a similar way, written sources suggest that the novel behavior of the Chan master was exhibited through a unique teaching style, involving famous antics such as shouting, slapping, hitting, and otherwise abrupt retorts. Linji came to epitomize the Chan style represented through these antics. While no scholar would suggest that the bizarre descriptions of Chan masters, either in print or portraiture, are accurate, many cling to the notion that these depictions of Linji (and other Chan masters) are essentially accurate, that Linji came to epitomize a new and radical technique that came to be associated with the classical Chan style. Why should any more accuracy be accorded to the antics exhibited through Chan's vaunted encounter dialogues than to the depictions of Chan masters' physical demeanor? Encounter dialogues, too, are little more than representations of Chan masters as their caricature makers would like them to appear. If the caricatures themselves reveal little about their subjects, they do tell us something interesting about those who devised them.

Before entering this territory, however, a distinction needs to be drawn among Chan texts bearing the name *yulu*. The *yulu* of masters from the Song, generally speaking, are bereft of the eccentric depictions that characterized their forbears. Gone are the kicking, hitting, screaming, and acerbic comments. The outlandish statements attributed to the classic Tang masters are, generally speaking, toned down in their Song counterparts. In place of rude spontaneity, Song masters generally exhibit a refined manner and sophistication characteristic of Song literati culture. Coming from well-known abbots of large congregations, their words were often transcribed during the course of their monastic routine (sermons, dialogues, etc.), posthumously collected and edited as *yulu* soon after the master's death. Although the transcribing and editing process left room for alteration and emendation, as it always does, there was usually a close correlation between a master's utterances and the received text. A different process governed the formation of *yulu* for masters who lived

prior to the Song. A wide temporal gap separated Tang masters from when their *yulu* were issued. In the case of Linji, the first fragments of his teaching did not appear until the *Zutang ji*, some eighty-six years after his passing. And while the first full version of Linji's *yulu* appeared in the *Guangdeng lu*, over one hundred and fifty years after his death, the standard version of the *Linji lu* was not issued until over two hundred and fifty years after. In this gap, the intentions and motives of compilers came to play a more significant role. Linji the historical actor was transformed in this process into the image and likeness of its creators. Most of these "creators" are shadowy figures, largely unknown to us. Those who do emerge are the collectors and compilers of the Chan anthologies like the *denglu* texts (*Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Guangdeng lu*), *yulu* collections like the *Sijia yulu* 四家語録, and individual texts devoted to the *yulu* of single masters like the *Linji lu*.

But what of the celebration of the grotesque, comical, and mundane that figures among the signature features of these collections? An earlier study by Edward H. Schafer called attention to the fascination for exotica among Tang literati, not only exhibited in fantastic tales of marvels and wonders but also revealed through such things as "astonishingly rugged and awe-inspiring landscape paintings," and foreign-imported exotica.[19] How do we account for this penchant for the strange, foreign, and bizarre as expressions of the compilers' aspirations and ideals? As Sing-chen Lydia Chiang argues in her account of Qing dynasty collections of strange tales, the impulse for assembling collections of anomalies lay in the identity crises among contemporary literati, the need to define the self at a time when what constituted "normative" had been called into question.[20] The period covering the breakdown of social and political order from the mid-Tang dynasty (the rebellion of An Lushan 安禄山) until the reestablishment of a robust and durable central authority in the Song dynasty took over two hundred years. The new Song order transformed China in a number of profound ways, establishing in the opinion of many the world's first modern society.[21] It is beyond the scope of the present work to describe this transformation and its effects.[22] I simply note that the stresses on literati culture during this period were, likewise, immense and entailed a massive reassessment of the nature and character of literati identity.[23]

As mentioned above, one of the ways literati sought to deal with identity issues was through collecting. The act of collecting extends across a broad spectrum of artifacts, from physical objects of various sorts to works of art and manuscripts, but also includes compilations of written works across a particular theme or genre. The process of selecting that lies at the heart of a collection is not simple—it involves "both a view of inherited social ideas of the value which should (or should not) be attached to a particular object," derived from

contemporary narratives, "and impulses which lie at the deepest level of individual personality."[24] Although collectors and compilers do not produce the works themselves, they may be said to create a "private system of signification—a personal discourse, so to speak—through the collecting process of selecting, naming, ordering, and display."[25] In this way, a collection allows the compiler to express their own aspirations and ideals through the assembled pieces and their contents. While these later compilers may not be responsible for the contents themselves, they share in their creators' views, validating them through the collecting and compilation process.

Particularly interesting in the present context is the use of collections or compilations of strange and anomalous tales in defining literati identity. As Susan M. Pearce comments in her study of museum collecting, "One way of discovering what a past age believed to be normal is to look in art and literature at what it considered to be freakish, since normal and abnormal exist together, defining each other."[26] There is ample evidence of literati interest in such tales during the period of transition from the mid-Tang through the Song. The collection of Chan *yulu* is informed through a broad look at literati interest in strange and anomalous tales (*chuanqi* 傳奇) dating from the latter part of the Tang dynasty.

Chuanqi (literally, "transmission of the remarkable," or "marvelous") are short fictional tales (or "short stories") composed in classical Chinese.[27] They are regarded as having a unique place in the history of Chinese fiction, as the first fiction consciously created and as inspiration for many later literary genres.[28] In terms of subject matter, *chuanqi* tales resemble their antecedent *zhiguai* 志怪 ("records of anomalies") in their shared preoccupation with the strange and extraordinary.[29] In addition, biography is an important component in both genres; the narrative framework in both cases may be likened to historical biographies found in sources like the dynastic histories. Another common feature is the presumed motives of their creators. *Zhiguai* tales originated in the long period of disunity following the end of the Han dynasty, especially during the Eastern Jin (317–420). Literati during this period were displaced from their traditional cultural moorings and retreated into *zhiguai* tales as a means to come to terms with their new and strange surroundings, to express their curiosity and ease their anxieties.[30] Composing and collecting *zhiguai* tales were thus means used by a disenfranchised literati class to forge an identity that reflected their new and unusual circumstances.

While the compulsion to collect *chuanqi* stems from the crisis in literati identity in the late Tang through Song dynasties, they are generally believed to have originated in the practice of presenting "scroll presentations" (*xingjuan* 行卷) or "scroll warming" (*wenjuan* 溫卷)—otherwise known as "practice

compositions" and "representations"—by civil service examination candidates to prospective examiners.[31] This is a practice believed to have developed during the *zhenyuan* 貞元 (785–805) and *yuanhe* 元和 (806–820) eras of the Tang dynasty. Through scroll presentations, candidates attempted to influence the outcome of subsequent examinations by impressing examiners with their literary talents.

The development of *chuanqi* is a direct result of the Tang civil service examination system, where candidates were expected to demonstrate skill in three essential areas: *fu* 賦, a skill closely associated with poetry composition; *pan* 判, rendering official verdicts in judicial cases; and *zhuan* 傳, biography written in a historical style, involving the ability to select important features of a subject's life and organize them in a meaningful way.[32] In the Tang system, these skills were demonstrated through two different examinations. Those who succeeded in the prestigious *jinshi* 進士 examination administered by the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) were not awarded official appointments immediately but had to pass another post-*jinshi* test specially administered by the Ministry of Personnel (*libu* 吏部) before being eligible for assignment.[33] Whereas the Ministry of Rites *jinshi* examination focused on skill in poetic compositions and expository essays on government and ethics, the Ministry of Personnel post-*jinshi* examination focused on skill in historical writing, usually demonstrated through the writing of *zhuan*-style biographies. As a kind of warm up to the Ministry of Personnel examination, and, more important, to exhibit skill and impress judges in an area of expected competency, candidates composed *chuanqi* to demonstrate their talent. Indeed, records show that important officials of the time received numerous *chuanqi* tales from aspiring candidates.[34] It is useful to acknowledge that the literary skills required of examination candidates—poetry composition, the ability to render verdicts, and incisively describing a subject's life—are evident in Chan biographical writing as well. Generally speaking, biographies contained in Chan transmission records can be regarded as the application of skills expected of literati to the Chan context.

As short fictional pieces replaced poetry and essays as preferred presentation pieces, so did the requisites for successful presentation. Candidates strove to exhibit the qualities needed to succeed in a bureaucratic post—"the ability to observe, comment, and compose with the discipline of a historian, besides presenting themselves as scholars of good taste through poetry."[35] This placed candidates in something of a dilemma. Given the disdain with which Confucians traditionally dismissed fiction as unorthodox (stemming from Confucius's well-known rejection of ghosts and spirits and anything to do with the strange or supernatural), aspiring scholars had to walk a thin line, balancing

the need to exhibit their talent in an entertaining yet exemplary manner, while avoiding rebuke by dabbling in what was considered an unseemly activity. By expressing their narratives "as historically true and ethically exemplary," they strove to pass their stories off as factual reports that achieved the desired effect without suffering ill consequences.[36] The appeal of *chuanqi* tales during this period was such that even *guwen* 古文 advocates like Han Yu 韓愈, who otherwise espoused a return to fundamental Confucian virtues that prohibited such amusements, reveled in the enjoyments that *chuanqi* tales afforded and even composed some himself.[37] Not only *guwen* literati, but even Buddhist monks can be seen to have been trying their hand at composing fiction in this vein.[38]

While *chuanqi* tales originated in the *zhenyuan* (785–805) and *yuanhe* (806–820) of the late Tang,[39] their popularity continued into the Song dynasty. Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–987) made large-scale literary compilations a mark of the Song dynasty's devotion to *wen* 文 (letters or literature). According to Johannes L. Kurz, the aim of Taizong's literary projects was to promote Song political and cultural hegemony and to consolidate the empire through the incorporation of southern scholarship into the imperial agencies charged with producing the various works.[40] In this way, southern literati, largely disenfranchised from the corridors of power in the new regime, were included through recognition of their scholarly abilities. Among the compilations is included the most extensive imperial compendium of strange tales in Chinese history, the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping era). Other massive literary collections commissioned by Taizong were the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopedia of the Taiping era) and *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers in the Garden of Letters).[41] While ostensibly commissioned for dynastic political motives, these collections also served as a means for a newly emerging literati class to redefine their identity in the wake of the preceding chaos and accompanying social dislocation. Seen from this perspective, the compilation projects were as much an opportunity for Song literati to manage the new forces shaping the literary imagination of the world they inhabited as they were to promote Song political and cultural hegemony.

What developed is a tradition of what might be termed "believable fiction," fantasy parading as history. What counted was not historical accuracy but the ability to present something as true. Y. W. Ma, in his analysis of fact and fantasy in Tang fiction, marks a useful distinction between fact as historical actuality and as verifiable data.

> Fact includes but is not limited to historical actualities or probabilities as represented in realistic literature. Indeed, fact in fiction

> should embrace ascertainable items of information, items whose actuality can be determined in reference to its immediate context. Historical actualities or probabilities may be taken as extrinsic or literal truth, whereas verifiable data can be considered facts of intrinsic or figurative truth. In other words, the difference between these two types of facts is the distinction between a realism of substance and a realism of treatment. In defining fact in fiction, the emphasis is not on whether the event has actually occurred or whether it meets the expectations of a real experience. Rather, it is on whether the matters can be accepted as factual and verifiable in the scale of reality as envisioned by the storyteller. Hence, fact in fiction, in the interest of establishing a stable frame of reference, does not necessarily tally with mundane reality; it must only be consistent and coherent with its context.[42]

What is required of fact in fiction, as a consequence, is that it be believable but not necessarily real in a substantial sense. Fantasy, another prominent feature of Tang *chuanqi* tales, represents a kind of wish fulfillment stemming from a desire to imagine needs not gratified in the real world.[43] While fantasy, by its nature, involves the creation of alternate, imaginary worlds that invoke a sense of wonder, successful fantasy tales "must have an independent viability and stability of their own and must be able to establish a rational internal logic with persuasive clarity."[44] One of the attractive features of fantasy is its ability to transcend limitations normally imposed upon existence and to realize new dimensions, hitherto unimaginable, of human experience. Internal coherence, the quality that makes fantasy believable, is the key.

Chuanqi tale writers used several strategies to suggest that they were records of actual happenings rather than fictional fabrications. One strategy was to provide the story with a clear and unequivocal time frame, complete with ascertainable geographical locations and references to verifiable historical events and individuals.[45] While characters and episodes appearing in the narrative may be fictitious, their appearance in clear time frames alongside verifiable events and individuals operating in recognizable geographic locales lends a strong air of authenticity to the proceedings, producing the illusion of real experience. Dressed in a detailed and precise historical framework, fantasy assumes the authenticity of fact. Indeed, the authors and compilers of these tales did not admit to producing fantasy, an acknowledgment tantamount to a declaration of gross impropriety. They wanted their stories to be recognized as historical documents.[46] This was the mark of their success.

One feature of Tang fiction that provided an atmosphere of authenticity to tales was the biographical-historical structure of the narrative, which may be divided into nine basic components: (1) names, (2) ancestral home, (3) ancestry, (4) education, (5) deeds and words, including such things as official acts, titles, anecdotes, and documents, (6) retirement, (7) posthumous titles, (8) name(s) of son (children), and (9) authorial comment in the form of an epilogue.[47] This is the general structure of biographical writing in China found in dynastic histories. By adopting this framework, writers of fictionalized biographies imitated "real" history and so lent an air of genuineness to their accounts.

With slight modification, this framework also became the standard structure of Buddhist biographical writing in China. Chan *yulu*-style anthologies, like those contained in *denglu* collections, are also reminiscent of this form. Typically, the structure of Chan biographies in *denglu* collections can be described using the same nine categories. Using Linji's biography in the *Chuandeng lu* as an example, the structure of Chan biographies can be described as follows: (1) Buddhist name: Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄; family name: Xing 邢, noted; (2) Buddhist home: Zhenzhou 鎮州 (Hebei 河北); ancestral home: Nanhua 南華 in Caozhou 曹州 (Shandong 山東); (3) Buddhist ancestry: tutelage under Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運; (4) education: no mention (it is not uncommon to indicate literati training through Confucian education and Buddhist studies, particularly as part of vinaya training); (5) deeds and words: filled with anecdotes, including sermon extracts and encounter dialogues, following a loose chronology, (in many cases, information about official appointments is included here); (6) retirement: no mention (in some cases, monks return to a secluded hermitage); in Buddhist biographies, retirement is replaced with a death account: Linji announces his imminent *nirvāna*, comments on the preservation of his teaching, composes a final poem, and passes away assuming a seated posture; (7) posthumous title: Great Master Huizhao 慧照大師; stupa title: Chengling 澄靈; (8) names of descendants: not provided in the biography itself, but the biographies of his Buddhist progeny (i.e., disciples) are contained in subsequent entries; (9) authorial comment: not included, but this appears as a feature in other collections, not necessarily placed at the end of the biography but as commentary on select episodes as they occur.

Chan biographies in *denglu* collections, as a result, may be regarded as variations of the Chinese biography genre, whether fictional or historical. The distinctive feature of Chan biographies is the content and style of the "deeds and words" section, especially the encounter dialogues that account for the unique feature of the Chan *yulu* genre. Typically, this section of a Chan biography constitutes an overwhelmingly large proportion of its total contents.

Other features of Tang (and also Song) fiction, aside from structure, include narration style and literary mode.[48] As with ideas regarding structure, the prevailing use of narration styles and literary modes in contemporary fiction helps to inform the context for similar styles employed in Chan biographical collections. As regards narration style, Nienhauser posits three types in his study of biographies of the *juan* section of the *Wenyuan yinghua* (included in *juan* 792–796): researcher, witness, and reporter.[49] All three have a bearing on narration styles assumed in Chan biographies. The researcher relates to the role of those who compiled *denglu* collections. They typically have no direct contact with the subject, who is deceased. The narrative is determined through an examination of written records, in this case hand-written manuscripts—allegedly transcriptions of the master's words and deeds. Thus, the master narrator assumes the role of "researcher," who forms his narration on the basis of existing documents. As Neinhauser characterizes this style, "Though the narrator may appear to vary his distance from the subject somewhat, often coming closer to record conversations, . . . his authentication is always to a written source (although it is sometimes only implied by the use of dynastic-history *juan*)."[50] The witness narration style, whereby the thoughts, emotions, and reactions of the subject are recorded as if by eyewitness account, is inherent in the *yulu* manuscript style, which presumes to be composed by those with immediate access to and direct experience of the words and deeds recorded. The third narration style, the "reporter," assumes authority not on the basis of written sources or proximity to the subject, but through an oral transmission of the account that is being retold, or reported. This corresponds to the presumption associated with *denglu* accounts of Chan masters, in particular, that they represent orally transmitted reports that were subsequently committed to writing.

Regarding literary mode, Nienhauser in his analysis proposes four different categories in a descending scale: high mimetic (exemplary), history (realistic), low mimetic (comic and pathetic), and irony (inferior).[51] Nienhauser found nearly half of his samples fit into the high mimetic, or exemplary, category. This is hardly surprising given that virtually all biographies in standard histories are contained in groupings of exemplary figures (e.g., loyal ministers, virtuous women, model literati, and so on).[52] By definition, monks isolated for inclusion in Chan *denglu* anthologies are regarded as exemplary models.

It would be misleading, however, to try to push the congruence between *chuanqi* tales, fictionalized biographies, and Chan *yulu* too far. The relationship between the two genres may best be described as coincidental, the product of the shared intellectual milieu of the late Tang through early Song, rather than

analogous, having similar themes and subjects. *Chuanqi* tales range across a broad spectrum of themes—categorized by one scholar into four types: (1) biographies, (2) stories of knights-errant, (3) love stories, and (4) stories of the uncanny—most of which would fall widely beyond the scope of themes covered in Chan *yulu*.[53] Yet, *yulu* are not so far removed from *chuanqi* as to escape thematic influences as well. The famous story of Baizhang's wild fox 百丈野狐 found in the *Wumen guan* 無門關, where it was extracted from the *Baizhang yulu* 百丈語錄, is one prominent example.[54] Tales involving fox-spirits constituted a well-known category of *chuanqi* stories.[55]

In spite of the historical realism that accentuates both genres, and the occasional overlap in theme, there are important differences between how and why they were compiled. Regardless how realistic *chuanqi* tales appear, they are truly fictitious in nature—consciously created by their authors as fiction. Whatever fictional elements adorn Chan *yulu*, the process by which they were imagined is more nuanced and layered, as the above discussion of multiple narration styles comprising typical Chan biographies suggests. Rather than fictionalized history—imagined characters and episodes fit into a realistic time frame—Chan *yulu* encounter dialogues are better understood as historical fiction, imagined episodes about real historical actors.

It also bears noting that the ideal model presumed in *chuanqi* tales and fictional biographies differs, generally speaking, from Chan *yulu* tales. The former were mostly written by and for Confucian literati and presume literati values. As didactic morality tales, they often uphold the moral principles—loyalty, filial piety, and honesty—of Confucian culture. Chan *yulu* tales belong to a different hermeneutical framework, one in dialogue more with Chinese Buddhist rather than Confucian culture. When Confucians appear in *yulu* records, it is usually as supporters and allies assisting Chan in their capacity as well-placed officials. When non-Chan, typically doctrinal Buddhists of one persuasion or another appear, it is as scapegoats for an anachronistic and dim-witted understanding of Buddhism that Chan aims to supplant.

What I find persuasive about the congruence between *chuanqi* tales and *yulu* records is the motivations that compelled compilers to collect them. In both cases, compilers assembled their collections as a means to acknowledge the power implicit in unorthodox material. This material alternately prompted apprehension while illuminating new realities and experiences in the world that surrounded them. I mentioned previously how literati, in times when their cultural identity is threatened, collect anomalies as a means to confront, almost literally, their demons and to forge their identity in the face of these new and strange forces. To this end, the purpose of literati collections can be understood in different ways.

One response was to use compilations of anomalies to understand and control the strange by setting it off against the normative order. This appears to have been a defining purpose, for example, of the massive collection of strange tales in the *Taiping guangji*. Once compiled, its contents were not widely circulated lest it be seen as encouraging or promoting the anomalies it recorded. This points to the slippery character of collections of anomalies like the *Taiping guangji*. Though intended as an exercise in imperial control and dominance over materials perceived as dangerous, they possess the potential to disrupt and threaten social norms.[56] On the other hand, the function of such compilations was not necessarily to bolster the compiler's sense of normalcy. They also provided a means to dispute established cultural norms, confined by ritual and convention, and create alternate notions of the individual as autonomous actor. In this case, the celebration of the grotesque, comical, and mundane serves as a mechanism for valorizing the individual against the oppressive forces of normalization. One can certainly detect parallels here between Qing collections of strange tales and early Song collections of Chan *yulu* texts. As Chiang notes, the concept of an autonomous self is always a mythic construct, in spite of the strident convictions of individuals and societies; it can only be constructed through cultural discourses and artistic means, in other words, through artifice.[57] This brings us to the creation of Chan figures like Linji as autonomous individuals, acting freely and spontaneously in defiance of cultural norms.

The identity crisis of the late Tang and early Song was not confined to Confucian literati. It extended to Buddhist literati as well. One might argue that Buddhists were even more adversely affected. Not only did they experience the same disruptions, political and social upheavals and transformations, of other groups, but they also suffered major persecutions that seriously curtailed their presence. They were attacked with increasing voracity by *guwen* advocates as a pernicious blight on Chinese culture—their very right to exist in China was being seriously undermined. However slow the progress of Confucians in reestablishing their cultural agenda, their star was on the rise. No matter how influential the residual effects of Buddhism's centuries-old presence in Chinese society continued to be, a tide was turning, and Buddhist intellectuals were forced to defend themselves against Confucian-inspired apprehensions and attacks. The new image of the Chan master, at once the defiant iconoclastic acting out against any and all artificially imposed strictures, championing a new way of understanding the individual and his relation to the world, totally free and uninhibited, was one response of Buddhist literati to the problems they faced. This new Chan monk represented a heroic champion, a figure more familiar to the pages of romantic fiction than the real life inhabitants of Chan monasteries.

In Chan biographies, the life of the Chan master is depicted in heroic fashion, albeit one translated to the idiom of soteriology. The tales follow the master on a journey or quest for true awakening, battling his own inhibitions and false presuppositions, engaging in jousting and banter with worthy champions, until the moment of his own spiritual breakthrough. Once achieved, he is able to display an array of features that positively distinguish him as a Chan hero: brazen, stoic confidence; rash bordering on crude (but supposedly profound), behavior; a poetic sensibility that revels in nonsensical witticisms; and so on. He is now possessed of the power to martial his spiritual resources, to exhibit his enlightened nature and to evoke it from others. In this way, the Chan master mimics the classic pattern of the hero: the journey into a world of supernatural wonder, the encounter with powerful forces ending with a crucial victory, and a return to share the fruits of his victory with others.[58]

Chan heroes might also be considered the product of what Curtis P. Adkins called a kind of "class literature," written by and for a particular audience sharing similar social, economic, and educational backgrounds.[59] Heroes portrayed in this manner represent the aspirations of the class for whom they were written and tend to conform to categorical types rather than distinct individuals.[60] As a result, the Chan hero, regardless of how brash, unconventional, and idiosyncratic his behavior may appear, is highly interchangeable. It matters little what Chan master is performing; his words and deeds are drawn from carefully scripted models that exhibit how he belongs to a particular class.

As Adkins also points out, there are two kinds of heroic models depicted in Tang fiction: the heroism of *wen*, or "cultivated elegance," and the heroism of *wu*, or "martial power."[61] The first prefers to exercise power and control through the use of the literary skills and virtues associated with Confucians. In this patterns, foes are overcome through moral force as an extension of one's inner being. Words, when combined with ritual, often function as magical spells that invoke insurmountable powers.[62] As noted above, *chuanqi* fiction casts its heroes largely in terms of a Confucian agenda, as loyal subjects, honorable friends, upright women, filial sons, and so on. As a result, it favors the heroism of "cultivated elegance" rather than "martial power." Chan mythic heroes, I would argue, challenge the ideal of cultivated elegance, whether dressed in Confucian or Buddhist garb, favoring instead a highly stylized martial power. In this way, they are more reminiscent in style of the type of literature that came after *chuanqi* than the *chuanqi* literature itself.

From around the middle of the ninth century, a bifurcation arose between the "neo-classical" *guwen* and "new-critical" approaches to the classics.[63] The former approach is associated with Han Yu and parallels, in many respects,

the development of *chuanqi* literature.[64] As mentioned above, this literature validated a Confucian agenda, espousing a revival of classical virtues, albeit in a new style. The "new-critical" approach, on the other hand, offers a radical critique of this tradition. Its origins have been traced to the works of Han Yu's contemporary, Liu Zongyuan, whose works foreshadow the numerous works that call the classics and their traditional interpretation into question.[65] The difference in approaches has been characterized variously in terms of two wings of the *guwen* movement: those who emphasize doctrine (*dao*) and those who emphasize rhetoric (*wen*).[66] Nienhauser distinguishes the two groups between those who value "transmission" (*shu* 述) and those who value "creation," or "innovation" (*zuo* 作).[67] The former base their mission on the well-known phrase attributed to Confucius, "I transmit but do not innovate."[68] But other Confucian classics, such as the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) appear to value innovation over transmission.

> 故知禮樂之情者，能作。識禮樂之文，能述。作者之謂聖，述者之謂明。明聖者，述作之謂也。
>
> As a result, those who know the [internal] sentiments of rites and music are able to innovate; [those who] know the [outward] form of rites and music are able to transmit. The innovators are regarded as sages; the transmitters as intelligent. Intelligence and sageliness are names for transmitting and innovating.[69]

Regardless of how the difference is characterized, it has important implications for the way in which classical sources were interpreted. The "new-critical" approach of the innovators seriously undermined traditional interpretations of the classics and the Confucian agendas espoused in them. The way that this challenge was mounted involved fictionalized retellings of episodes appearing in traditional sources, new renditions of classical accounts that offered radically different interpretations critical of Confucian principles.

In part, the challenges launched against the Tang regime's traditional Confucian social and moral agenda were a function of a decline of imperial authority in the late Tang. Deprived of imperial patronage and even, at times, a stable court milieu, literati during the late Tang and extending through the Five Dynasties period operated from provincial bases. In the absence of bureaucratic mechanisms to provide a centralizing and homogenizing orthodoxy over literary styles, local elites arose; hitherto little known players on the national scene, they were free, and sometimes even encouraged, to promote new forms and unorthodox viewpoints. The members of this group—whether as aspirants in an emerging social group, recluses, or social critics—were all marginalized

from identification with mainstream tradition. They used nontraditional literary forms—*dui* 對 (reply), *shuo* 說 (persuasions), and *yan* 言 (a speech or dissertation on a theme)—to espouse their views.[70]

The "innovators" produced new versions of classical accounts in highly inventive ways. Typical is the way in which Luo Yin 羅隱 transforms the account of the suicide of a former wife of the Han official Zhu Maichen 硃買臣.[71] The traditional account in the *Han shu* 漢書 reads:

> 硃買臣字翁子，吳人也。家貧，好讀書，不治產業，常艾薪樵，賣以給食，擔束薪，行且誦書。
>
> 其妻亦負戴相隨，數止買臣毋歌嘔道中。買臣愈益疾歌，妻羞之，求去。買臣笑曰：「我年五十當富貴，今已四十餘矣。女苦日久，待我富貴報女功。」妻恚怒曰：「如公等，終餓死溝中耳，何能富貴！」買臣不能留，即聽去。
>
> 其後，買臣獨行歌道中，負薪墓間。故妻與夫傢俱上塚，見買臣饑寒，呼飯飲之。...
>
> 會稽聞太守且至，發民除道，縣長吏並送迎，車百餘乘。入吳界，見其故妻、妻夫治道。買臣駐車，呼令後車載其夫妻，到太守舍，置園中，給食之。居一月，妻自經死，買臣乞其夫錢，令葬。

Zhu Maichen, whose style was Wengzi, was a native of Wu. His family was poor and he was fond of reading books. He did not manage an estate (i.e., was without resources); he regularly cut firewood and sold it to provide himself with food. He recited books aloud while walking along carrying bundles of wood.

His wife accompanied him, also carrying [wood] on her back. She frequently tried to prevent Maichen from reciting aloud on the road. Maichen recited faster. His wife was ashamed of this and asked to leave him. Maichen smiled and said, "I will achieve wealth and rank at the age of fifty. I am now already over forty. [Although] you have long suffered, wait until I achieve wealth and rank and I will repay you for your services." His wife, in anger, replied, "People such as yourself in the end starve to death in a ditch. How can you [achieve] wealth and rank!" Maichen could not detain her and let her go.

After that Maichen walked and recited alone on the road. While he was carrying wood among the graves, [he met] his former wife and her [new] husband and family, offering a sacrifice at the [family] tomb. Seeing that Maichen was hungry and in need, they invited him for food and drink. . . .

[Later on, Maichen became a successful official, and the emperor appointed him governor of Kuaiji 會稽 Commandery].

> When they heard that the Governor was about to arrive, the Commandery [officials] sent people out to clear the road. The District Magistrate and officials all rushed out to welcome him, riding in over one hundred carriages. When he entered the territory of Wu, he saw his former wife and her husband repairing the road. Maichen stopped his carriage and ordered the carriage following his to carry the couple to the Governor's residence. He put them up in the garden and provided them with food. One month later, the wife killed herself by hanging. Maichen gave her husband money and had him bury her.[72]

It is not hard to understand how the story of Zhu Maichen found its way into the *Han shu*. In spite of poverty and deprivation, Zhu remains steadfast and committed to his studies and eventually achieves success. Zhu's wife, on the other hand, is disgraced by her former husband's success and her own lack of faith in him. Luo Yin's treatment of the story, entitled "A Speech by the Wife from Yue" (*Yuefu yan* 越婦言), provides a radically different perspective.

> 買臣之貴也，不忍其去妻，筑室以居之，分衣食以活之，亦仁者之用心也。
>
> 一旦，去妻言于買臣之近侍曰："吾秉箕帚于翁子左右者，有年矣。每年飢寒勤苦時節，見翁子之志，何嘗不言通達后以匡國致君為己任，以安民濟物為心期。而吾不幸離翁子左右者，亦有年矣，翁子果通達矣。天子疏爵以命之，衣錦以晝之，斯亦極矣。而向所言者，蔑然無聞。豈四方無事使之然耶？豈急于富貴未假度者耶？以吾觀之，矜于一婦人，則可矣，其他未之見也。又安可食其食！"乃閉气而死。
>
> When [Zhu] Maichen met with fortune, he did not begrudge his former wife. He built a house for her to live in, and provided food and clothing to sustain her. Indeed, this is how the humane person applies his mind [to do good].
>
> One morning, the former wife spoke to [Zhu] Maichen's personal attendant: "I held dustpan and broom for [i.e., was married to] Wengzi for years. Every year, in times of hunger and privation, toil and hardship, I saw Wengzi's ambition. Did he not speak of his personal responsibility to advise his lord to rectify the world after he achieved success? And of his heartfelt intention to pacify the people and aid other beings? Yet, unfortunately, I left Wengzi some years back, and Wengzi did achieve success after all. The emperor

appointed him to a noble rank and displayed him in brocade robes. This was most favorable treatment indeed! Yet, I have not heard that he has done any of the things he formerly said he would. Is it that there are no problems in the four quarters to deal with? Is it that he is so preoccupied with his wealth and rank that he has no time to think about anything else? As I see it, he could only boast to a woman. I haven't seen him do any of those other things [he said he would]. How on earth can I eat his food!"

Thereupon, she died by suffocating herself.[73]

In Luo Yin's version, the focus has shifted from the wife's inability to unconditionally support her husband and endure hardship to the husband's failure to live up to his ideals. Sympathy shifts to the wife, who has to endure her husband's fraudulent claims to virtue. In Luo Yin's version it is the wife, ironically, who comes across as morally superior and genuinely concerned for the sufferings that people endure. Inherent in her rhetorical accusations against her husband is a not so veiled critique of the Confucian scholar, who champions altruistic ideals as a validation for his authority but whose actions reveal a selfish concern for his own well-being. The fact that Luo Yin mouths his critique through the words of a woman reveals his contempt toward Confucian authority. Moreover, we can assume that the *Han shu* account was well known to the point of general familiarity. By suggesting that the *Han shu* account missed the point, Luo Yin is also undermining the credibility of traditional sources of Confucian authority, like the dynastic histories.

While the implicit critique of traditional sources of authority invites comparison with similar critiques in Chan *yulu* tales of the Buddhist tradition, the aspect of Luo Yin's account that I would like to most draw attention to is the fictional re-creation of a private discourse delivered by Zhu's wife. This is reminiscent of backroom encounter dialogues in *yulu* stories. In both cases, crucial subject matter is delivered behind closed doors, in private communication that is eventually revealed by the narrator as overheard speech. As readers, we are allowed what appear to be private thoughts, conveyed through direct speech and action. This narrative proximity displaces the authority of traditional, classical sources.

Concluding Remarks: Chan *Yulu* and the Nature of Narrative

I am not trying to suggest a direct line of influence between fictional innovations of classical sources and the development of Chan encounter dialogues.

How the standard Buddhist public sermon (*shangtang*) mode of discourse was transformed in the Chan tradition into the private encounter is hidden from our view. We can only witness its occurrence, as with the fragments relating to Linji analyzed above. I am convinced, however, that the fictional climate of the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods was a strong contributing factor to the development of Chan encounter dialogues. The intellectual climate produced an appetite for sagely innovation (as opposed to authoritative transmission) and radical "new-critical" approaches. This revealed new perspectives that challenged wisdoms regarding fundamental questions about the nature of authority and how it was constituted. As an already obscure line between fiction and reality blurred even further, it was easy for a literati class in crisis to accept new truths that fictions sanctioned. Fictional discourses suggested intimate proximity to the real nature of human motivations, to the heart of human character itself. Human behavior and motivation was no longer simply reported on, it was witnessed as if first hand, directly by the reader. The backroom private encounter in *yulu* stories is also a product of this milieu. The Chan encounter dialogue is a literary artifice born of the identity crisis facing Buddhism. As Chan reinvented itself as a special, secret transmission outside the teachings of conventional Buddhism, the encounter dialogue was created to provide access to the private world that inspired Chan truth. The success of this strategy continues in the personae that Chan and Zen project down to the present day.

Given the context, the admission of fiction into Chan narrative should come as no surprise. Ever since the prototypical work of Chinese history, the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian) by Sima Qian 司馬遷, traditional Chinese biography was receptive to legendary, fictional, and even fantastic elements. During the late Tang, the rising popularity of *chuanqi* tales made fiction fashionable, albeit in the guise of history. Critics of conventional interpretations of history challenged the received renditions contained in classic texts by imagining private discourses delivered beyond the purview of official chroniclers. The secret dialogue emerged as an effective weapon against conventional orthodoxy. It found favor among literati who easily overlooked any reservations they may have harbored in favor of the pleasures and profundities the new insights afforded.

What drove *yulu* stories, in the end, is the same thing that drives all good story telling: the power to entertain and to persuade. If a function of all narrative is to amuse, to give "a new twist to familiar situations,"[74] then Chan *yulu* stories obviously qualify. They take the remote and forbidden setting of the monastery, with its austere and restrictive conventions, and turn them into a fun house for those with the power to transform mundane existence into an

imaginary realm of enlightened freedom. In doing so, Chan *yulu* attracted the interest of literati imagining their own escape from the binding restrictions of social convention.

If the pleasure of narrative is aligned with desire, what animates it is *epistemophilia*, the desire to know—to reveal what is confidential, to know what is essential, to find the truth.[75] But what is it that drives this quest in Chan *yulu*? If the Chan master is the alter ego of literati, he represents a new kind of authority figure, whose power rests with his own personality and insight, independent of reliance upon traditional supports. It is as if the institution of the monastery, like the magisterial office, is still intact, but its function has been radically transformed by circumstances around it. The abbot still rules over the monastic congregation, but he does so not through his knowledge of traditional sources and the precedents afforded him, but by virtue of his own personality and the power of his emotions. In the exercise of his authority, he is subject to outbursts, at times violent ones, but these are characterized as a function of his enlightened temperament.

It is probably not outside the realm of reason to consider this image of the Chan master in terms of literati fulfillment in the chaos that accompanied the fading years of the Tang and the Five Dynasties periods. With social cohesion in jeopardy, aspiring magistrates may have found some comfort in the image of the Chan master as moral renegade, preserving order amidst chaos, determined to forge a new tradition while undermining the old. In an era where military commissioners (*jiedu shi* 節度使) were dominant, the rough, direct style exhibited by the Chan master resonated well with the new elite. The fragility of that authority was also evident in the challenges that Chan masters faced. Anyone (in theory) could approach the Chan master and challenge his authority with a claim of their own. Nothing stood between the master and his challenger but the master's own insight and the force of his personality. These, in effect, replaced the old institutionally sanctioned system of authority based on textual precedents with the new authority based on the personality and character of the Chan master himself. The situation imagined in private Chan discourses reflected the broader world of political uncertainty. Authority, deprived of its traditional supports, was subject to hostile challenges.

In this way, Chan narrative helped teach literati important things about the nature of the world they inhabited. By seeing the world through others' vantage points and understanding others' motives, they learned things about themselves and their relationship with the world around them. This is one of the enduring attractions that fiction has; it allows us to see clearly in others what we are only dimly aware of in ourselves. By offering us a better understanding of the world we live in, fictional depictions suggest better ways to

manage that world and allow us "an illusion of perspicacity and of power."[76] Rather than idle fantasies, fictional narratives thus have the power to shape our reality and to regulate our thoughts but also to tame our ambitions and adjust our desires to social reality. As unrestricted as the Chan master's behavior appears in *yulu* sources, it is still tethered to an institutional reality and inspired by a genuine desire for mastery born of true awakening. While the *yulu* narrative offers a vehicle for social criticism, it is also a device for the internalization of Chan identity. In the end, Chan stories are about this identity, and as a result, *yulu* conform to the age-old function of narrative to meet our noblest aspirations and expose the pitfalls of whatever prevents us from achieving them.

Thus, much of the appeal of Chan narrative is what enlivens narrative anywhere—its power to amuse, to dismay, to enlighten. As such, Chan narrative invites us to ask the same basic question of it that occurs within the study of literary theory: is Chan narrative "a fundamental form of knowledge" that helps us make sense of the world, or "is it a rhetorical structure that distorts as much as it reveals?"[77] In other words, is it a source of knowledge or of illusion? To answer this question would require us to assume the authority of another narrative separate from the one at hand. Lest we fall victim to our own new illusion, we are bound to repeat the cycle of questioning about narrative as a source of knowledge or illusion, ad infinitum. In the end, we must be content to shuffle between the two: acknowledging the illusion of perspicacity that the rhetorical structure of narrative produces, while recognizing the power of narrative as a principal means for shaping a meaningful understanding of who we are and the world we live in.

Toward a Conclusion

The Linji lu *and the Process of* Yulu *Formation*

The Process of *Yulu* Formation

In the current work, I have attempted to shed light on the process of *yulu* formation in the Chan tradition, using the *Linji lu* as representative.[1] Along with *gong'an*, *yulu* represent Chan's most distinctive literary form and are recognized as Chan's unique contribution to Chinese, East Asian, and world literature. Rather than a unique creation *ex nihilo*, my investigation has shown that *yulu* are an extension of existing monastic practice and literary convention, coupled with contemporary exigencies. My contention is that *yulu* are best read as a kind of historical fiction, an observation that is not without precedent,[2] and that by reading them in this way we are able to gain access to the Chan literary imagination and the influences that inspired it. In doing so, I have attempted to provide greater clarity to the *yulu* fictionalizing process, both in terms of the cultural background that contributed to uninhibited imaginings of backroom and other personal encounters and to the editorial conditions through which *yulu* came into being. While *yulu* are essentially composed of three parts—biographical and historical background information, sketchily drawn; sermons delivered in the lecture hall; and encounter dialogues—it is the last component to which the uniqueness of Chan *yulu* is typically attributed. Encounter dialogues are also the most highly fictionalized component of Chan *yulu*.

Yulu originated in the sermons and lectures delivered by abbots of Chan monasteries to their congregations. Rather than spontaneous events, *shangtang* 上堂 sermons were regularly scheduled features of the monastic calendar, occurring with great frequency. And rather than being delivered *ad hominim*, appearing as impromptu comments with little forethought or preparation, these sermons were constructed compositions, exposing the abbot's vast canonical knowledge and highly nuanced interpretive abilities. Whether by accident or by design (likely the case), the transcriptions of these lectures we currently possess have omitted the names of the scriptural sources from which the abbots' words derive.[3] This makes the Chan masters appear to be speaking without supports, making claims that are entirely their own, when in point of fact, they are actually mining their deep repository of scriptural knowledge, whether from their own memories or from private notes.

The fact that transcriptions of abbots' sermons were made is indisputable. The *yulu* we currently possess contain large sections of these transcriptions, however they have been adapted, revised, and refined through the editorial process. Not infrequently, *yulu* contain stern warnings against the practice of note taking, a sure sign that it took place. The *Linji lu*, for example, chastised students who took notes and regarded them as something precious.

> Students today don't get it. How futilely they seize upon words and letters (*wenzi* 名字) for their understanding! They transcribe some dead old guy's words in a big notebook, wrap it up in three or five layers of cloth and don't let anyone else see it. They refer to it as the "profound meaning" (*xuanzhi* 玄旨) [of Chan], and guard it with their life. What blunderous blind idiots they are! What sort of juice (i.e., spiritual nourishment) do they expect from dried up old bones?[4]

Another example appears in the *Records of Yunmen*:

> Don't futilely wander around the prefectures, scouring the districts on the off chance of gaining access to idle talk, waiting for some old monk's mouth to move! When the opportunity occurs, you ask about Chan and the Way, about how to make or not make progress, "how about . . . ," and "what if . . . ," transcribing [the words] down in some big tome, stuff them into your own bags of skin, conjuring and speculating [over their meaning] at every opportunity. When three or five of you are grouped beside the fire, you bring them up for comment, muttering: "This is an eloquent statement [suitable for] public discussion (?) (*gong caiyu* 公才語). This statement really

> hits the mark. This statement is based on actual events and gets at the heart of the Truth (*daodi* 道底). This statement is the essence." [Your comments] represent the master and mistress of your own house. After having devoured them, you proclaim authoritatively, speaking as if in a trance, "I have understood Buddhist Teaching." You should realize that you'll never find what you're looking for through this kind of traveling around.[5]

Even though the perceived problem with note taking is indicative of its existence, we know little of who was doing the note taking and how the process occurred.[6] In the case of the *Linji lu*, there is the presumed role of Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然, a student of Linji credited with compiling Linji's *Records of Sayings*. Even taken at face value, this claim has to be balanced against the role assumed by Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎, Linji's alleged dharma-heir, in editing and collating the text.[7] And even if we accept the roles claimed for Sansheng Huiran and Xinghua Cunjiang in bringing the *Linji lu* into existence, there is no assurance that currently exisiting versions are a fair representation of their efforts. The text passed through other hands before it was issued in any of the forms that we currently know it by, whose and how many is difficult to say. The fact that existing Linji fragments recorded in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, and *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄 have variations, sometimes significant ones, means that all these renditions are edited versions of a presumably earlier copy. The correspondences in the *Zutang ji*, *Zongjing lu*, and *Chuandeng lu* Linji fragments suggest an older version that each of the three works drew from. Of course, there is also no way of knowing how accurate and faithful the versions that Sansheng and Xinghua may have produced were in the first place. Note taking, by nature, is a highly idiosyncratic enterprise, influencing not only what is recorded but how it is interpreted on the page. Did they get what Linji intended? Surely, their own predilections predisposed them to emphasize what they themselves had a fondness for.

By its own assertion, the *Linji lu* suggests that Sansheng was the "original" compiler and that Xinghua reworked Sansheng's compilation in some fashion. Yet we have no idea what that might mean and little beyond the obvious to suggest where Sansheng's text leaves off and Xinghua's redrawn version begins. Passages in the text reviewed in a previous chapter ("Narration in Action") suggest that intrafactional disputation led to Xinghua's reworking the text, and at the very least it is probably safe to assume that the version we have before us represents the usurpation by the Xinghua faction over the Sansheng faction. Xinghua was initially a student of Sansheng but was later employed under Weifu Dajue 魏府大覺, another disciple of Linji, as Temple Director

(*yuanzhu* 院主). Eventually, Xinghua left Dajue to visit Linji, where he is said to have achieved awakening.[8] What is perhaps the most important aspect of Xinghua's assumption of authority over the Linji faction, however, is his alleged association with Emperor Zhuangzong 莊宗 of the Latter Tang dynasty (923–936), whom according to sources, Xinghua greatly impressed.[9]

Conceivably, the sermons delivered by abbots like Linji at Chan monasteries may have been accompanied by questions. Not only is it natural for teachers to encourage student questions as part of the pedagogical process, other factors associated with the situation at the end of the Tang and during the Five Dynasties periods make it likely. With the collapse of authority and the social institutions that buttress it, the right to challenge those in positions of power is easily assumed. In this sense, questions of an apparently innocent nature can easily be turned into projectiles launched at the armour shielding those who presume power. While the recorded encounters between students and masters in Chan *yulu* are mere caricature, they do dramatize the atmosphere of intense disregard for authority and, at the same time, the need for authority to assert itself.

After the sermon and question and answer session has concluded, there is the memory and discussion of the event among participants. Eventually, in certain cases, the memory and the discussion of the event may extend beyond the immediate circle of participants to include a wider audience. The writing down of the event, including questions and answers, facilitates this broader participation and invites still further involvement and comment. In some cases, the later comments were deemed worthy of inclusion as well, suggesting a process in which the "original" root episode spawned a series of interpretive responses. Among other things, the comments shed light on the importance of the activities of certain "golden age" masters for defining a contemporary Chan tradition of a later period. The need to get at the meaning of these episodes suggests a broader need to come to terms with golden age masters like Linji as a means of inscribing their own Chan identity, and it goes without saying that the understanding of Linji arrived at is highly reflective of their own contemporary aspirations and aims.

As episodes were told and retold in different contexts, they began to take on new life. The narrative process began to assume priority, and story telling that matched the didactic purpose of the context was prized. As stories were tailored to this new criterion, fictionalization served as handmaiden to Chan truth. Given the role that fiction had long assumed in historical narrative in the Chinese tradition, and especially given the new importance it assumed in "biographical" writing as test compositions (i.e., "scroll warming") for those wishing to impress examiners in the imperial examinations in the late Tang,

it comes as no surprise that these literati habits would find their way into the writing of biographies of Chan monks.

Ironically, the critique of note taking by Chan masters, reviewed above, may have actually encouraged, inadvertently, the fictionalization process by inhibiting a more transparent procedure of transcribing sermons. Under such criticism, note taking could hardly be an open process but was forced to take place away from the master's watchful eye. If a backroom process did exist, it probably manifested itself in the secret activities of students writing down and discussing what they witnessed in the lecture hall and, by extension, on other occasions when something a master said or did attracted their attention. This activity surely occurred behind closed doors, away from public detection.

In terms of the process of *yulu* formation, the case of the *Linji lu* thus suggests a four-stage process.[10] In the first place, there is the activity of note taking, a process removed from our view but known to us through the criticisms it generated. This is followed by the compilation and editing of the notes, assumed in the *Linji lu* to be the product of Sansheng Huiran and Xinghua Cunjiang. This stage presumably included the incorporation of different versions, or versions of notes assembled by different hands. The third stage, the first stage for which we have concrete evidence, involves the publication of excerpts or extracts of the edited compilations into *denglu* 燈錄 collections. Rather than a stable form, as one might expect, the "narrative process" indicates continued fermentation and "refinement" (actually vulgarization in this case, for example, from the "impure thing" to the "lump of dried shit") of the narrative at this stage. This suggests that Linji represented a rather charged presence in the Five Dynasties and early Song. As Linji faction advocates tried to assert their authority over Chan interpretation at the Song court, they shaped Linji into a figure in their own image and likeness, and the Linji fragments reflect this process. The fourth and final stage is the formation of the *Linji lu* proper, a comprehensive *yulu* either as incorporated in the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 or as in Yuanjue Zongyan's 圓覺宗演 reedited, standardized version.

The importance of the editor in the process of *yulu* formation cannot be underestimated. Unfortunately, none of the editors of Linji manuscripts left any information regarding their activities. Of the four prefaces currently attached to the *Linji lu* text, none are penned by compilers, and are laudatory in nature. They were presumably written for the issuing of subsequent editions.[11] While we have no statement regarding editorial motive in the case of the *Linji lu*, there is a preface by Su Xie 蘇澥, editor of the *Yunmen lu*, which sheds light on editorial intent. Written in 1076, it is roughly contemporary with the *Sijia yulu* and some forty to fifty years prior to Zongyan's edition of the

Linji lu. Su Xie is motivated to amend errors and fix differences that have crept into the text, to issue a new corrected edition. Without these corrections, Su Xie contends, one will never meet the real Yunmen and experience true awakening.[12] While we have no way of knowing the effect that such motivations had, it goes without saying that issues of interpretation and orthodoxy are never far from the editorial task.

Orthodoxy and *Yulu*: Oral Transmission as Literary Trope

Oral transmission, as the name implies, signifies the passing down of knowledge without recourse to written communication. Oral transmission is often associated with preliterate cultures that rely on verbal rather than written communication as the only recourse to passing on traditional lore.[13] But what of the use of oral transmission by literate cultures, not as the only means available, but as a conscious preference based on other grounds? What of oral transmission, in other words, not as an outgrowth of a preliterate tradition, but as a created artifice, a literary trope? Here I examine the implications of an oral tradition that is invoked not out of necessity, but as an expression of ideological preference.

One of the well-known features associated with Chan's preference for oral over written instruction involves the change in authoritorial structure, the change from textual authority to the authority of oral transmission. The change is often characterized as that from dead words, to borrow a Chan analogy, to living memory. In effect, the Chan master displaces the classical Buddhist texts, the scriptures and treatises, as the prime arbiter of Buddhist wisdom. The teaching of past buddhas is displaced by that of present Chan patriarchs; Chan oral transmission privileges the living tradition over the received record (i.e., past tradition).

The Chan masters themselves were highly literate figures, trained in classical sources to a degree similar to their secular counterparts assigned to official government posts.[14] While representing different traditions, Chan masters and secular officials were both steeped in the values and habits of a common literati culture. Literati values were especially instilled in those assuming the task of producing Chan *yulu*. However Chan encounter dialogues were concocted, the compilers of *yulu* were hardly predisposed to question their veracity. While literati values had long inclined toward blurring lines between "fact" and "fiction," the practice of "scroll warming" and the penchant for collecting strange tales only enhanced their validity. The distinction between fact and fiction prized in modern historiography, in any case, was never strictly adhered

to in traditional Chinese historiography, where the literary imagination was always ready to intervene in order to enhance the story.

It will never be clear whether the encounter dialogues in Chan *yulu* are the product of story telling or of literary embellishment. Did practitioners recounting the tales around the fire, or in some other venue, produce them, or were they the product of the literary imagination of those who wrote them down? It is likely that both played a role, and it is perhaps best to consider these as two aspects of a continuum that coproduced the encounter dialoges as they appear to us today. Whoever was responsible, all involved were keen to create a new, uniquely Chan interpretation of Buddhism. The past (i.e., Buddhist scriptures and doctrines) was no longer an encumbrance that dictated the terms with which present reality was understood. The imagination intervened to create a new sense of the past, and this creation was transcribed through *yulu* as the accepted version. Living memory, as it were, trumped received wisdom. In this process, fictionalization was not seen as the falsification of events but as the verification of truth.

In this sense, the dynamic quality of the oral transmission trope, especially as seen in Chan encounter dialogues, provided a new sense of what it meant to be Buddhist. This identity was inscribed in *yulu*, where it became the basis of a new Chan orthodoxy that endures to the present day. The *Linji lu* epitomizes this orthodoxy and illustrates the process through which it came into being.

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Abbreviations Used in the Notes

CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
CDL	*Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈録
GDL	*Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈録
JWS	*Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史
QTW	*Quan Tangwen* 全唐文
SGZ	*Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳
SS	*Song shi* 宋史
T	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (CBETA edition)
X	Revised edition of *Xu Zangjing* 卍新纂續藏經 (CBETA edition)
XZJ	*Xu Zangjing* 續藏經 (Taiwan reprint of *Dainihon Zokuzōkyō*)
ZBK	*Zen bunka kenkyūjo* 禅文化研究所
ZJL	*Zongjing lu* 宗鏡録
ZTJ	*Zutang jing* 祖堂集

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Bernard Faure, "Chan and Zen Studies: The State of the Field(s)," in Bernard Faure, ed., *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 6, has noted the anomaly regarding lack of study of Linji in English.

2. The merits of this approach are intimated by Urs App, "The Making of a Chan Record: Reflections on the History of the *Records of Yunmen* 雲門廣錄," *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 禅文化研究所紀要 17 (1991): 60. In contrast to the *Records of Yunmen*, which were printed less than a century after the master's death, App writes, "With other texts, particularly texts of "sectarian" interest such as the *Records of Linji* . . . , the role of Song and even later editors acquires an ever greater weight." App also aptly points out in his introduction (p. 5) the need for studying the development of Chan *yulu* texts when he states: "Since most of what we know of classical Chan masters stems from 'primary' source texts with their particular histories, the study of the creation and growth of such texts ought to inform scholarly attempts at analysis of the teaching of such masters." Christian Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus: Die Entwicklung vom 8.–11. Jahrhundert am Biespiel des 28. Kapitels des* Jingde chuandenglu *(1004)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 109, also suggests that sectarian influences may have had a particularly strong role in the editorial alterations made in the *Linji lu* when compared with other *yulu*.

3. For information on these sources, see the "Translations of the *Linji lu*" section in the bibliography.

4. According to John McRae, "Chan Studies in Contemporary Japan: A Report on Developments of the Last Decade," paper delivered for the American Academy of Religion Zen Seminar (Washington, D.C., 2006), Yanagida attempted no fewer than five translations of the *Linji lu* throughout his career, attesting to his ongoing interest in this work.

5. Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 110.

6. T. Griffith Foulk, "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987.

7. See works by Foulk listed in the bibliography.

8. See works by these authors listed in the bibliography.

9. Ishii Shūdō 石井修道. *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū* 宋代禅宗史の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987); Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄. *Sōgenhan Zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禅籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993).

10. Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

11. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, trans. *The Eastern Buddhist: New Series* 2 (1972): 70–94.

12. The only possible exception to this would be the high-level support provided by Empress Wu Zetian at the Tang court—to Chan monks like Shenxiu—around the beginning of the eighth century, when Chan first received official acknowledgment.

13. Yanagida Seizan, trans., *Rinzai roku*, (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1978), p. 14–17.

14. In this regard, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the earlier study of *yulu* formation by Christian Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus.*

CHAPTER I

1. T. Griffith Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), p. 221, states: "The controversies that simmered in the Song over the status of the Ch'an lineage as a "separate transmission," . . . were more about securing prestige, patronage, and special privileges within the Buddhist order than about practical matters of monkish training or spiritual cultivation. The "separate transmission" slogan was used successfully by proponents of Ch'an to argue that members of their lineage, having inherited the enlightenment of the Buddha in a direct line of "mind-to-mind transmission," were the monks most qualified for positions of leadership within the existing Buddhist monastic institution."

2. Regarding Christian creeds, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). In simplest form, Pelikan (p. 2) follows *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*'s definition of creed as "a brief authoritative formula of religious belief."

3. According to *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, S.V. "Apostles' Creed," "This legend dates back to the sixth century, and it is foreshadowed still earlier in a sermon attributed to St. Ambrose, which takes notice that the Creed was 'pieced together by twelve separate workmen.'"

4. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II: 1:9; cited from *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1.

5. From the *Preface* of the *Roman Catechism*; cited from *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13. The *Catechism* comprised four parts: 1) the Apostles' Creed; 2) the

Sacraments; 3) the Decalogue (or Ten Commandments); and 4) Prayer, especially the Lord's Prayer.

6. For an analysis of these slogans and their historical development within the Chan tradition, see my article, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition," in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 75–109.

7. As Robert Gimello ("Mārga and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch'an," in Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992], p. 374) has noted, "Perhaps there is no feature of Ch'an Buddhism better known, or more commonly regarded as definitive, than its claim to be 'a special transmission outside of the theoretical teachings, which does not establish or depend on words and letters." . . . Not so well appreciated, however, are the many different interpretations to which this self-characterization has been subjected over the course of Ch'an history. Nor are we sufficiently aware of how frequently it has incited serious controversy within Ch'an as well as between Ch'an and other traditions, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist."

8. One should acknowledge here that the theocratic character of many regimes, as in the medieval West, precludes the possibility of a secular establishment determining religious matters.

9. See especially Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in Donald S. Lopez, ed., *Curators of the Buddha* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 107–160 (revised version of an article that appeared by the same title in *History of Religions* 33, no. 1 (1993): 1–43); and Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, chapter 2: "The Rise of Zen Orientalism," pp. 52–88.

10. The impact of Suzuki is aptly summarized by Judith Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 259: "His work provided the basis of what the West knows of Japanese Buddhism at both popular and scholarly levels, and contributed substantially to the by now popularly accepted equation of Zen with Eastern Buddhism, and the attribution of it to the culture and civilization of Japan."

11. See, for example, the influence of Zen teaching on Buddhadāsa's modern interpretation of Theravāda Buddhist doctrine, discussed by Peter A. Jackson, *Buddhadāsa: Theravada Buddhism and Modernist Reform in Thailand* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003; first published 1987), pp. 177–200.

12. Sharf, "Zen of Japanese Nationalism," "Postscript," pp. 144–145.

13. Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West*, pp. 260–265.

14. The term derives from Gregory Schopen, "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism," *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), pp. 1–22 (originally published in *History of Religions* 31 [1991]: 1–23).

15. As examples, see Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*; and James Heisig and John C. Maraldo, *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*.

16. My analysis here summarizes portions of a study by Norman Havens, "The Changing Face of Japanese Folk Beliefs," http://www2.kokugakuin.ac/ijcc/wp/cpjr/folkbeliefs/havens.html (Kokugakuin University, Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1994): 1–16; esp. pp. 3–7. See also Ronald A Morse, *Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement: The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctiveness* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), especially ch. 4, "The Sources of Yanagita's 'New National Learning'" (pp. 121–154). The work is a reprint of Morse's Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1974).

17. Havens, "Changing Face of Japanese Folk Beliefs," pp. 4–5, citing Fujii Masao 藤井正雄, "Kisō to shite no minkan shinkō" 基層としての民間信仰 (Folk religion as deep religiosity), in Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎, ed., *Nihon minzokugaku kōza 3: Shinkō denshō* 日本民俗学講座 3: 信仰伝承 (Tokyo: Asakura shoten 朝倉書店, 1976), p. 7.

18. Havens, "Changing Face of Japanese Folk Beliefs," pp. 13–14, n. 17.

19. Takakawa Morifumi 高川もりふみ(?), "Kenkyū hōhōron" 研究方法論 (Methodology), in Ueno Kazuo 上野和男, *Minzoku kenkyū handobukku* 民俗研究ハンドブック (publisher not listed, 1978), pp. 8–9; as cited in Havens, "Changing Face of Japanese Folk Beliefs," pp. 6–7.

20. Havens, "Changing Face of Japanese Folk Beliefs," p. 4.

21. For a convenient statement of Suzuki's position, see his *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), especially chapter 2, "What is Zen?"

22. On the influence of Paul Carus's monist philosophy on Suzuki, see Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism in the West*; and Sharf, "Zen of Japanese Nationalism."

23. Suzuki, *Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, p. 39.

24. Ibid., pp. 40–41.

25. Ibid., p. 45.

26. Ibid., pp. 45 and 46.

27. Suzuki, *Nihonteki reisei* 日本的霊性 (Japan's Unique Spiritual Nature), (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972; originally published 1944), p. 22; translated by Norman Waddell as *Japanese Spirituality* (Japan: Ministry of Education, 1972).

28. From Mootori Norinaga 本居宣長, *Tamakushige* 玉くしげ; *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 本居宣長全集 vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 308–324, as translated in Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 15 (with minor changes).

29. Mootori Norinaga, *Tamakushige* 玉くしげ (*Motoori Norinaga Zenshū* 8, p. 311), as translated in Tsunoda, de Bary, Keene, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2, p. 18 (with minor changes).

30. According to Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, eds., *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 290, *mono no aware* indicates the pathos of things, "the deep feelings inherent in, or felt from, the world and experience of it."

31. Mootori Norinaga 本居宣長, *Genji monogatari Tama no ogushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛, ch. 1 (*Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 本居宣長全集 4, pp. 173–200), as translated in Tsunoda, de Bary, Keene, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2, p. 28.

32. Shigeru Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga 1730–1801*.

33. Mootori Norinaga, *Isonokami Sasamegoto* (a.k.a. *Sekijō shishukugen*) 石上私淑言 (Murmurings of Things Long Past), *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū* 2, pp. 87–189, as translated in Tsunoda, de Bary, Keene, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2, p. 32.

34. Suzuki, *Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, pp. 58 and 59.

35. D. T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (published in Japan in 1938, revised and issued in English, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 16–17.

36. A view made explicit in Suzuki's *Zen and Japanese Culture*, which includes discussions on Zen and swordsmanship, Haiku, the art of tea, and the love of nature in general.

37. Ibid., p. 27.

38. Ibid., pp. 23 and 24.

39. Watsuji, for example, adopted the notion of the nonduality of self and other, specifically connecting it to the Zen kōan that asks what one's face looked like before the birth of one's parents (Yamamoto Seisaku and Robert E. Carter's translation, *Watsuji Tetsurō's* Rinrigaku: *Ethics in Japan* [Albany: State University of New York, 1996], p. 187). He also used the term *satori ningen* for a realized human being, with obvious Zen implications (see Carter's "Interpretive Essay: Strands of Influence," p. 338). Watsuji is most famous in this context for his "rescue" of Dōgen from the sectarian fetters of the Sōtō order in his essay "Shamon Dōgen," contained in *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* 日本精神史研究 (Studies in the History of Japanese Spirituality) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1942; revised edition), pp. 251–404. Nishida is famous for his employment of concepts like *junsui taiken* 純粋体験 (pure experience), where the word *junsui* 純粋 ("pure") is taken to signify a condition of true experience itself without any overlay of thought or reflection. "Pure experience is synonymous with 'direct experience' (*chokusetsu keiken* 直接経験), where there is neither subject nor object, and knowledge and its object are completely united" Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎, *Zen no kenkyū* 善の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1979; originally published 1950), p. 13.

40. Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 21.

41. Philip Yampolsky, tran., *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), sec. 34, pp. 155–156, with minor changes.

42. Shenhui 神會, *Puti damo Nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 (Treatise on Determining Right from Wrong in Bodhidharma's Southern School), in Hu Shi 胡適, ed., *Shenhui heshang yiji* 神會和尚遺集 (Shanghai, 1930), p. 160.

43. See Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 25–38, for a more detailed description, including Shenxiu's role.

44. See Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 32–36, 89–90. Faure notes the irony that while Puji's disciples held misgivings at participating in such a politicized

endeavor, Shenhui had no qualms at doing so and seized the opportunity. Shenhui subsequently assumed a prominent religious role under Suzong until Shenhui's death in 758. For a recent assessment of Shenhui, see John McRae, "Shenhui as Evangelist: Re-envisioning the Identity of a Chinese Buddhist Monk," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 30 (2002): 123–148.

45. The parade of masters here is headed by the sixth patriarch Huineng, Hongzhou school masters Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, and Huangbo Xiyun, and the supposed inheritors of the Hongzhou school dharma, Linji Yixuan and his followers.

46. It remains to be seen how much effect, if any, the findings of recent critical approaches will have on established Zen orthodoxy. In this regard, it will be interesting to gauge the impact of a recent work like John R. McRae's *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, which originated in presentations for various Chan and Zen communities of practitioners.

47. Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, p. 110.

48. The *Xu Baolin zhuan* 續寶林傳 is mentioned in Nanyue Weijing's 南嶽惟勁 biographical record (CDL 20:360b13–16, along with another text compiled by Weijing, the *Nanyue Gaoseng zhuan* 南嶽高僧傳), where it is said to enjoy wide circulation.

49. Stein ms. no. 1635; T 85.1320c–1322c.

50. T 85.1320c18.

51. For example, Baoci Wensui 報慈文遂 was designated "Guiding Preceptor of State" in Nan Tang, Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 was made "Preceptor of State" in Wuyue, and Daofeng Hiuju 道峰慧炬 was made "Preceptor of State" in Gaoli (Korea).

52. The summary is based on comments in Fayan's preface to his *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (Treatise on Ten Guidelines for the Chan School) XZJ 110: 877a16–b5.

53. The following discussion is taken from Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, chapter 5: "Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the *Jingde [Era] Transmission of the Lamp*."

54. Recorded in CDL 25: T 51.407c10–23.

55. Recorded in CDL 5 (T 51.235c3–7).

56. Case 29; T 48.296c17–26.

57. T 51.407c23–25.

58. T 48.292c–293a; italics added.

59. A reference to "availing oneself of the eyes of a snake" is found in the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (*Śūrangama sūtra*; T 19.138c28), but there appears to be no connection to the passage cited here.

60. ZJL 1; T 48.418a13–18.

61. ZJL 1; T 48.418a18–b2 (the quote is taken from T 48.418b1–2).

62. My discussion here is based on the two extant sources where Zanning talks directly about Chan, the *Chuan changuan fa* 傳禪觀法 ("The transmission of meditation and contemplation techniques [to China]") section of the *DaSong Sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (Outline History of the Sangha compiled in the Great Song dynasty), including the appended section *Bieli chanju* 別立禪居 ("The separate establishment

of Chan dwellings"), T 54.240a–b; and the *xichan* 習禪 commentary in the *Song Gaoseng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biography of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Dynasty), T 50.789b–790a. Fuller discussions of Zanning and his position on Chan are contained in my other studies of him listed in the bibliography.

63. See CDL 27.

64. Daoyuan's preface is contained in the collected works of Yang Yi, the *Wuyi xinji* 武夷新集 (Literary Collection of Yang Yi), fascicle 7:24a–26b., in *Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 8.

65. See Yang Yi's letter to Li Wei 李維, recorded in GDL 18; X 78.511c5–512a1.

66. A copy of the epitaph is appended to the end of Yuncong's record in the GDL (X 78.501a9–b20; see especially 501b16–17).

67. See Daoyuan's preface, *op. cit.*, where he acknowledges *yulu* compilations prior to Zongmi, and Yang Yi's preface, where he explicitly claims the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled Daoyuan, who assembled the text by collecting the *yulu* of the various directions (T 51.196c2).

68. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, chapter 6: "Literati Influences on the Compilation of Chan Records."

69. I have treated this elsewhere, in Albert Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition."

70. This is implied by Yanshou's comments in ZJL 1; T 48.418a23–24.

71. XZJ 136.440b–441a.

CHAPTER 2

1. A position adopted by Ishii Shūdō, *Daijō butten, Chūgoku Nihon hen 12: Zen no goroku* 大乘仏典, 中國日本編 12: 禅の語録 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1992), pp. 403–409.

2. Judith Berling, "Bringing the Buddha Down to Earth: Notes on the Emergence of *Yü-lu* as a Buddhist Genre" *History of Religions* 27, no. 1 (1987): 56–88.

3. A position implicit in the selection of materials for inclusion in the well-known Japanese *Zen no goroku* series published by Chikuma shobo (Tokyo), under the direction of Yanagida Seizan.

4. The position of Jan Yun-hua, "Ch'an *yü-lu*," William H. Nienhauser, Jr. ed., *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), pp. 201–203.

5. A position espoused in the definition of *goroku* (C. *yulu*) in the major Japanese encyclopedic dictionary on Zen, *Zengaku daijiten* (p. 362c), "the meaning with which the term *yulu* is currently used is particularly in reference to the *yulu* of Mazu and his descendants."

6. Morten Schlütter, "The *Record of Hongzhi*," in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 183, which Schlütter describes as "*yulu* proper."

7. A subject raised by Daniel Gardner, "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung: Some Thoughts on the Yu-lu ('Recorded Conversations') Texts," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50–3 (1991): 574–603.

8. Ishii, *Daijō butten, Chūgoku Nihon hen 12: Zen goroku* 大乗仏典、中国日本編 12: 禅語録, pp. 403–409.

9. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi: Zen bunken no seiritsushiteki kenkyū " 語録の歴史—禅文献の成立史的研究, pp. 391–392. Shenhui's "*yulu*" records are *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliaoxing tanyu* and *Nanyang heshang wenta zazheng yi* 南陽和上頓教解脱 禪門直了性壇語. Regarding these records, see Yang Cengwen 楊曾文, *Shenhui heshang Chan hualu* 神會和尚禪話録 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996). The seminal Chan work, the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 (Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch), was based on Shenhui's "platform talks" (*tanyu* 壇語).

10. This and the following comments are based on Yanagida's discussion in "Goroku no rekishi: Zen bunken no seiritsushiteki kenkyū " 語録の歴史—禅文献の成立史的研究, ch. 4, "Goroku no teigi" 語録の定義 (The Definition of *yulu*), pp. 226–229.

11. As Yanagida points out, it is ironic that *yulu* were massively produced in spite of masters' warnings against students relying on them. Examples are found in the *Linji yulu* (T 47.501c14–17), records of Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (ZTJ 18/CDL 11), and the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 entry on Yunmen's fourth-generation heir, Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 (1032–1098) (X 79.550c9–551c22). Criticism of student note-taking is also found in the *Yunmen lu* (T 47.552a7–15); App, "The Making of a Chan Record," p. 15.

12. Yanagida Seizan, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), p. 186; translation by John R. McRae of "Zenshū goroku no keisei" 禅宗語録の形成, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 18, no. 1 (1969).

13. Yanagida Seizan, ibid., p. 186.

14. The series contains twenty volumes, published by the Chikuma shobo publication company in Tokyo. For a listing, see Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition," in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 109, n. 110.

15. Jan Yun-hua has also expressed criticism of the *Zen no goroku* series for including works not in the *yulu* style. (See Jan's entry "*Ch'an yu-lu*," in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986], pp. 201–203). Although Jan does not specify which ones, it can be deduced that works like the Poems of Hanshan (*Hanshan shi* 寒山詩), the Letters of Dahui (*Dahui shu* 大慧書), and the Ten Oxherding Pictures (*Shiniu tu* 十牛圖) are included. For Jan, *yulu* are characterized by their "conversational" style and include "collections of sayings and anecdotes of an individual or group of Chan masters." *Yulu* are defined in terms of three categories: (1) the sayings of an individual, (2) the sayings of a group of Chan masters, and (3) dialogical histories of various branches within Chan. They include the sayings of Shenhui and the Platform Sūtra—although not called *yulu*, they qualify because dialogue forms their core—and classic examples of the genre like the Record of Sayings of Layman Pang (*Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語録), the Record of Sayings of Linji (*Linji yulu* 臨濟語

錄), and the Record of Sayings of Dongshan (*Dongshan yulu* 東山語錄). (Jan notes that the bulk of Chan *yulu* are of a Chan master who founded a "sect," and regarded as authoritative by followers; they are filed under *bieji* 別集 [special collections] in Buddhist catalogues.) Jan agrees with Yanagida in including early compilations of "dialogical histories" discovered at Dunhuang: the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀, *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, and *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記, incorporating them alongside later classic transmission records (*denglu*), the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu* (described as "a dialogical history of Chan Buddhism that has had a long-lasting influence"), etc., works that "constitute the orthodox history of Chan." Jan also describes the contributions Chan *yulu* made to Chinese literature in general: (1) relying on personal experience and personal efforts became the center of religious life and made the literature often autobiographical, full of life and deep in sentiment; (2) *yulu* retained the vernacular of Tang and Song China, a forerunner of vernacular literature of the Song and Ming; (3) personal encounters recorded are often dramatic and humourous with a high degree of unpredictability, owing to the doctrine of sudden enlightenment; (4) use of hymns to explain doctrine, which gradually developed into a purely poetic form in later *gong'an* literature, resulting in a blend of words and instructions written in concentrated style; this combination has been followed in Chinese vernacular stories.

16. Note Yang Yi's comment in his preface to the *Chuandeng lu*, where he stipulates that the compiler, Daoyuan, assembled the text from the *yulu* of the various directions (T 51.196c2).

17. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 186. The contrast between Chan and the literature of doctrinal Buddhism (*jiao* 教) was noted by Zongmi (T 48.399a; Yanagida Seizan, trans., pp. 188–189): "Doctrinal Buddhism consists of the sūtras and śastras left to us by the buddhas and bodhisattvas, while Chan refers to the sayings and gathas of our own spiritual compatriots. In contrast to doctrinal Buddhism which covers all the living beings in the entire universe, the gathas of Chan are very concise and effective in teaching one sort of person (in China)."

18. ZTJ 14 (X 78.33.1–44.1) and CDL 6 (T 51.245c–246c); for the earliest recorded form of his "record of sayings," see CDL 28 (T 51.440a3–b19). According to Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 187, the spirit of Mazu's words were carried on in Dazhu Huihai's *Dunwu yaomen* 頓悟要門 (The Essential Teachings of Sudden Enlightenment) and Baizhang Huaihai's (720–814) *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄 (The Extended Record of Baizhang).

19. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 187. While the practice of taking notes and creating anthologies was apparently widespread, it was not always encouraged. In the *Linji lu*, Linji criticizes students who "revere the words of some decrepit old man as being 'the profound truth' writing them down in a big notebook, which they then wrap up in numerous covers and not let anyone else see" (T 47.501c; Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 188). Meanwhile, Linji respected his own seniors in the Mazu lineage (Magu 麻谷, Danxia 丹霞, Daoyi 道一, Lushan 廬山, Shigong 石鞏, et al.), and Yanagida concludes that each of their teachings "must have been in wide circulation at the time, perhaps only in brief sayings, phrases, or poems," and that "various teachers of Chinese Chan Buddhism referred

to such material out of their own interests and used it in elucidation of their own teachings by means of quotation, comment, and criticism" (T 47.501b; Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 188).

20. *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus: Die Entwicklung vom 8.–11. Jahrhundert am Biespiel des 28. Kapitels des* Jingde chuandenglu *(1004)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 72–73.

21. A fact noted by Stanley Weinstien, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 49; cited by Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*, p. 124, n. 125.

22. Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*, p. 73.

23. See my essay, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile."

24. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 189. As Yanagida indicates, this new approach is exemplified in the *Baolin zhuan*, which begins with passages from the *Sūtra in Forty-Two Sections*, i.e., the oral teaching of the Buddha.

25. This is found in Yuanwu Keqin's 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) sermon to Long Zhizang 隆知藏 (1077–1136) (*Yuanwu yulu* 圓悟語錄 14; T 47.777a); see Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 191. Stories demonstrating this direct practical demonstration by Indian patriarchs originated in the Chinese Chan school with or after the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳.

26. T 51.400a8–11.

27. T 51.196c2.

28. The twelve masters with *yulu* segments in fascicle 28 of the *Chuandeng lu* are Nanyang Huizhong, Shenhui, Mazu, Weiyan, Huihai, Wuye, Nanquan Puyuan, Zhaozhou, Linji, Xuansha Shibei, Guichen, and Fayan (discussed later in this chapter). Fascicle 28 is the subject of a book by Christian Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*.

29. The *yulu* of Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji are found in GDL 8, 9, 10 & 11 (X 78.448b20–474c22).

30. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 198.

31. Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*, pp. 108–109. The term "written vernacular" was coined by Victor Mair, "Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages." *Journal of Asian Studies* 53–3 (1986): 707–751.

32. According to Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 200, Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 in the *Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪 (Chan of Words and Letters Chan from the Stone Gate) specifically affirms that a great number of Tang Chan masters' oral records were edited and republished in the early Song.

33. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 199. As Yanagida points out, while the present text was reedited in the Ming, at the end of each of its three fascicles is a claim that the text was thoroughly checked by "the monk of Chengshi, the chief monk of Qixian baojue chanyuan on Lu shan, who has received transmission of the teaching and a bequest of the purple robe."

34. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 200.

35. T 47.594ff and X 119.83ff. Over a century earlier, the teachings of Huangbo were issued by the government official and student of Huangbo, Pei Xiu, as the

Chuanxin fayao. As noted previously, the first recorded usage of the term *yulu* was by Zanning in the SGZ in connection with records associated with Huangbo and Zhaozhou.

36. *Zenseki mokuroku* 禅籍目録, as cited by Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 200.

37. GDL preface (X 78.426a13–18).

38. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," pp. 200–201.

39. In point of fact, the records of Shenhui and Huineng are vastly different in character. Shenhui was a historical figure whose sermons and dialogues were ostensibly recorded directly by disciples. Huineng, by contrast, is a semi-legendary figure. The sermons, dialogues, and anecdotes recorded were composed in the wake of Shenhui's influence, after the creation of the notion of Huineng as the sixth patriarch and progenitor of the southern school. Huineng's record, as a result, was fashioned to bolster the Chan identity of Huineng's alleged descendants, and have little to do with Huineng's own life and circumstances. This contrast, in general, reflects the tension that exists between actual circumstance and the imagined events that animate Chan *yulu.*

40. Gardner, "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung," p. 574, concurs: "the *Analects* of Confucius . . . can perhaps be called the first *yu-lu.*"

41. A famous example in the *Lunyu* is when Confucius asks his disciples what they would do in the event that someone did appreciate their abilities (i.e., employed them), and each in their turn gives reply. See the *Lunyu* Book XI.26 (D. C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects* [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979], pp. 110–111).

42. The notion of knee-slapping and hopping like a sparrow appears in the "Zaiyou" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* (see Burton Watson, trans., *Chuang-tzu* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1968], p. 121).

43. ZTJ 10: 406.8–14.

44. The defining character of *yulu* as "conversational" or "dialogical" is emphasized by Jan Yun-hua, as noted above (see Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature,* pp. 201–203).

45. CDL 3: T 51.219b27–c5. For an interesting discussion of this story, how it was understood by Zongmi, and how it was altered to fit the criteria of "a special teaching outside the scriptures" ideology, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshū shi no kenkyū* 宋代禅宗史の研究, pp. 105–122. It is also interesting to note how Chan *yulu* techniques influenced Neo-Confucian interpretation of the *Lunyu,* a topic raised below.

46. Rudolf Wagner, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator: Wang Bi on the Laozi* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), p. 130. Wagner's "realm of specific entities" refers to the realm of existing things (*you*) as opposed to "negativity," the realm of non- or preexisting things (*wu*).

47. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, pp. 234–235. The reference in Enchin's catalogue is found in T 55.1106c. Huizhong's records in the ZTJ (ZTJ 3:111.6–128.2), the CDL (CDL 5: T 51.244a7–245a14), and perhaps especially the *guangyu* in fascicle 28 (T 51.437c17–439b19) are probably the closest we can get to this original *yanjiao.*

48. Among the surviving information on Huizhong, there is considerable discrepancy over his factional affiliation. According to the *Qianfo song* 千佛頌, the Dunhuang manuscript attributed to Wendeng, Huizhong was the disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (referred to as Si Heshang 思和尚) (see Stein ms. no. 1635; *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國訳一切経, Shiden bu 史傳部 14, p. 145, n. 27). In the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, he is considered a disciple of Hongren 弘忍 (referred to as Shuangfeng 雙峰); see SGZ 9: T 50.763a10–12. It is only with later transmission records, the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*, that Huizhong becomes regarded as an heir of the sixth patriarch.

49. ZJL 1: T 48.417b27.

50. ZTJ 1.6–7

51. ZTJ 4:148.1

52. ZTJ 7: 271.5–6.

53. ZTJ 7: 274.8–10

54. ZTJ 10: 406.3–4.

55. ZTJ 10: 406.14–407.1.

56. ZTJ 11: 416.6–7.

57. ZTJ 11:440.3.

58. ZTJ 14:545.12; the same statement is recorded in the CDL (see below).

59. CDL 4: T 51.234b12–13.

60. CDL 6: T 51.250c9–10. The same statement was attributed to Baizhang 百丈 in the ZTJ (see above).

61. CDL 7: T 51.252b4–8. Also of interest is the conversation between Xitang 西堂 and Huizhong 慧忠 regarding Mazu's teaching (T 51.252a16–20).

62. CDL 7: T 51.253a28–29. This question is interesting in light of Huizhong's critical view of Mazu's teaching.

63. CDL 12: T 51.290a27.

64. CDL 15: T 51.318a5, in an inter-liner note.

65. CDL 16: T 51.328b8, in an inter-liner note.

66. CDL 24: T 51.404b4.

67. CDL 25: T 51.409c20–22. There is one more usage of *yanjiao* in 409c23.

68. CDL 25: T 51.414c2. Dafeng Huiju was from Korea.

69. CDL 26: T 51.422a14–15.

70. CDL 27: T 51.432b15–16.

71. CDL 28: T 51.438a2–4.

72. The list of Chan monks' records in the ZTJ said to be lacking *xinglu* 行錄, with the number of lines the entry covers in brackets [ ]: Changzi 長髭 (ZTJ 5:185.7)[29], Shushan Kuangren 疎山匡仁 (ZTJ 8:328.2)[40], Xiaoyao Heshang 逍遙和尚 (ZTJ 9:345.14)[12], Xian Dongan Heshang 先洞安和尚 (ZTJ 9:346.12)[4], Feitian Fu Chanshi 肥田伏禪師 (ZTJ 9:351.10)[9], Baogai Heshang 寶蓋和尚 (ZTJ 9:364.4)[7], Nioayan Shiyan 鳥巖師彥 (ZTJ 9:365.2)[11], Cuiyan Lingcan 翠巖令參 (ZTJ 10:391.13)[12], Baizhang Zheng Heshang 百丈政和尚 (ZTJ 14:528.12)[5], Mingqi Heshang 茗溪和尚 (ZTJ 14:530.12)[13], Gaocheng Fazang 高城法藏 (ZTJ 14:548.10)[30], Datong Guangcheng 大同廣澄 (ZTJ 15.581.4)[3], Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (ZTJ 16:617.6, at end of record)[85], Puhua Heshang 普化和尚 (ZTJ

17:635.7)[23], Tianlong Heshang 天龍和尚 (ZTJ 17:639.6)[1], Yaoshan Heshang 嶢山和尚 (ZTJ 19:727.8)[3], Juzi Heshang 俱胝和尚 (ZTJ 19:728.9)[12], Mi Heshang 米和尚 (ZTJ 20:755.5)[13], Baoshou Heshang 寶壽和尚 (ZTJ 20:756.5)[9], Guanqi Zhixian 灌溪志閑 (ZTJ 20:756.14)[14], and Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (ZTJ 20:757.14–758.1)[11].

73. The list of Chan monks' records in the ZTJ said to be lacking *shilu* 實錄, with the number of lines the entry covers in brackets [ ]: Jianyan Zhongxing 漸源仲興 (ZTJ 6:252.11)[10], Youqi Heshang 幽棲和尚 (ZTJ 8:335.1)[5], Shaoshan Huanpu 韶山寰普 (ZTJ 9:348.2)[13], Yungai Yuanchan 雲蓋源禪 (ZTJ 9:354.7)[6], Ehu Zhifu 鵝湖智孚 (ZTJ 10:380.4)[13], Ziyu Daotong 紫玉道通 (ZTJ 14:534.4–5)[19], Funiu Zizai 伏牛自在 (ZTJ 15:556.10–11)[12], Cen Heshang 岑和尚 (ZTJ 17:641.2)[175], Baima Tanzhao 白馬曇照 (ZTJ 17:653.9)[5], and Zihu Heshang 紫胡和尚 (ZTJ 18:667.5)[14].

74. The list of Chan monks' records in the ZTJ said to be lacking *xingzhuang* 行狀, with the number of lines the entry covers in brackets [ ]: Helin Masu 鶴林馬素 (ZTJ 3:104.1)[6], Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (ZTJ 4:153.2)[18], Qinshan Wensui 欽山文邃 (ZTJ 8:306.6)[16], and Zhongshan Daoquan 中山道全 (ZTJ 8:307.8–9)[11].

75. See, for example, the *xinglu* section of the *Linji lu* (T 47.504b28–505c9).

76. The entries for Cen Heshang covering 175 lines, and for Huangbo Xiyun covering 85 lines.

77. ZTJ 15:561.5.

78. ZTJ 17:653.8.

79. ZTJ 19:721.5–6.

80. CDL 26: T 51.426a3–13.

81. CDL 26: T 51.426a12–13.

82. Another apparently associated term, *biejiao* 別教 (separate teaching), appears in the *Chuandeng lu*. The term *biejiao* is a technical term in Tiantai teaching and appears in this connection in the *Chuandeng lu*, in a record of Tiantai master Zhiyi's teaching included in one of the appended fascicles at the end of the work (CDL 27: T 51.432b3, and in interliner notes at 432b19, 21, 25, and 28). In Tiantai doctrine, *biejiao* is the third of the four teachings, intended for bodhisattvas alone, as opposed to the Hinayana doctrine and the Common doctrine aimed at Hinayana practitioners and inferior bodhisattvas, and the Perfect doctrine, the ultimate Tiantai teaching, the middle path of mutual identification where all dharmas (phenomena) are implicit in each dharma.

83. ZTJ 14: 569.3–4, record of Dongsi Heshang 東寺和尚 (East Temple Monk); Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 231.

84. ZTJ 14: 569.4–5.

85. *Tang Hongzhou Baizhang shangu Huaihai Chanshi taming bingxu* 唐洪州百丈山故懷海禪師塔銘(QTW 466; also attached to *Chixiu Baizhang qinggu* 勅修百丈清規 8 [T 48.1156b]); Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 232.

86. SGZ 12 (T 50.779b4).

87. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 237. Yanagida also suggests that the term *yuyao* 語要 (Essential Sayings) is another name for *yanjiao*, and that *yuyao* were formed by extracting important sections from *guangyu* 廣語 (Extensive Sayings).

88. CDL 28 (T 51.437c–449a).

89. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 115–160.

90. XZJ 118.157a–835b, covering forty-eight fascicles. For Baizhang's record, see *Guzun su yulu* 古尊宿語録 1 & 2: XZJ 118.161b12–180a17. The *guanglu* portion of Baizhang's teaching is designated in fascicle one (XZJ 118.164b4–171b7).

91. For an English translation of the portions relating to Baizhang, see Thomas Cleary, *Sayings and Doings of Pai-chang: Ch'an Master of Great Wisdom* (Los Angeles: Center Publications, 1978).

92. The text included the records of twenty masters in four fascicles (see the table of contents in XZJ 119.190a–b). Shouze was also known as Ze Zangzhu 賾藏主, "Tripitaka Director Ze," as a result of the role he played at Mount Gu.

93. *Sijia yulu* 3. The date of the *Sijia yulu* is based on information in the preface by Yang Jie 楊傑, a portion of which is preserved in the Ming edition of the text. The preface is dated the first day of the eleventh month of *yuanfeng* 元豐 (1085). Yang Jie also claims the text was edited by the Linji master Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069).

94. T 55.1095a27, 1101a6 and 1106c1.

95. Mario Poceski believes, for example, that the *Baizhang guanglu* represents transcripts of Baizhang's conversations with his students, compiled shortly after his death (see "*Mazu yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings," in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2004], p. 56).

96. *Guzun su yulu* 古尊宿語録 11: XZJ 118.290a14–299b15; with an appended section by Yuanwu Keqin (1063–1135), 299b16–300a7. According to the table of contents to the *Fuzhou Gushan si Gusun su yuyao* 福州鼓山寺古尊宿語要 (XZJ 119.190a3), Nanquan's record was also contained in fascicle 1 of this work.

97. XZJ 120.55a–82a. For an English translation, see Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang* (New York: Weatherhill, 1971).

98. T 55.1095a, 1101a and 1106c.

99. X 110.840a–865a (for the date, see 865a8–9).

100. For an English translation, see John Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Hui Hai on Sudden Illumination* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1972).

101. The biographical record in fascicle 6 and the *guangyu* in fascicle 28.

102. T 48.379c5–12.

103. On the development of the *Chuanxin fayao* and *Wanling lu*, see Yanagida's comments in Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., *Denshin hōyō, Enryō roku* 伝心法要, 宛陵録 (*Zen no goroku* 禅の語録 8 [Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969]), pp. 172–176.

104. Shiina Kōyū , *Sōgenhan Zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禅籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), p. 220. A copy of the text is published inYanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōzō ichin: Hōrinden, Dentō gyokuei shū* , *Tenshō kōtōroku* 宋藏遺珍: 寶林傳, 傳燈玉英集, 天聖廣燈録 (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983), pp. 341a–354a. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was first compiled in the seventh year of *tiansheng* (1029) and issued in the third year of *jingyou* (1036).

105. In ZTJ 16:617.6, the compilers claimed they were unable to consult Huangbo's *xinglu* (in spite of the existence of an extensive record in the ZTJ). For Zanning's claim, see SGZ 20 (T 50.842c).

106. SGZ 11 (T 50.775c17–18): "His *yulu*, which circulated widely in the world, were highly esteemed."

107. Yang Yi's description is found in T.51.196c2.

108. More commonly referred to as the *Beishan lu* 北山録 (T 52–2113). The oldest existing edition is one possessed by the Beijing Library, published in the Song period (see Shiina, *Sōgenhan zenseki no kenkyū* , p. 377).

109. Wuxiang is mentioned by Zongmi as a leader of the Sichuan Chan faction; see *Yuanjue jing dashu chao* 圓覚經大疏鈔 (XZJ 14.277c8–280a4).

110. Shenqing's biography is recorded in SGZ 6 (T 50.740c17–741a24).

111. A characterization is based on the description in *Zengaku daijiten* 禅学大辞典 (pp. 1147d–1148a).

112. Yanagida, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 185. As seen above, one of Yanagida's requirements for *yulu* texts is that they are third-person transcriptions of a master's words, not the master's own words.

113. Where I disagree with Yanagida is over the inclusion of *denglu* texts, especially those compiled before the *Zutang ji*. As important as the Chan *denglu* texts discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts are for our understanding of early Chan history, the importance of the text itself does not qualify it as *yulu*, except perhaps in the view of modern Rinzai orthodoxy.

114. *Guzun su yulu* 13 & 14: XZJ 118.304a13–334b6.

115. T 47–1992.

116. The copy of the text in *Guzun su yulu* is missing the reference to Zhaozhou's *xingzhuang*. My information is based on *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 554c. Chengshi Qixian's record is found in GDL 27: X 78.560a18–562a11. Regarding the southern provenance of the text, Yanagida speculates, "We may easily imagine that Zhaozhou's disciples moved South to escape the war and strife going on in the North and that Chengshi checked over their compilation of their master's teachings because of some problems with the text" ("The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts," p. 200).

117. T 47.595a2–b7.

118. XZJ 120.81a–93.5. According to Shiina, *Sōgenhan zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禅籍の研究, p. 367, the XZJ edition of the text was based on a Song original.

119. The existing *Sijia yulu* text comprises six fascicles: (1) *Mazu Daoyi chanshi yulu* 馬祖道一禅師語録, (2) *Baizhang Huaihai chanshi yulu* 百丈懐海禅師語録, (3) *Baizhang Huaihai chanshi guanglu* 百丈懐海禅師廣録, (4) *Huangbo chanshi Chuanxin fayao* 黄蘗禅師傳心法要, (5) *Huangbo Xiyun chanshi Wanling lu* 黄蘗希運禅師宛陵録, and (6) *Linji Yixuan chanshi yulu* 臨濟義玄禅師語録.

120. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 474.

121. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shike goroku, Goke goroku* 四家録, 五家録 (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983), p. 1b17.

122. X 79 n. 1560, p.535a23–24; Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 281. Huinan retreated to Mount Huangbo following blame and imprisonment he incurred for a fire that destroyed the main hall at Guizong 歸宗 monastery (p. 535a21–23).

123. GDL 8–11: X 78.448b20–474c21.

124. The editing of the later *yulu* texts, however, was sometimes subjected to editorial rearranging of contents, especially in the case of the *Linji yulu*.

125. The existence of the *Sijia yulu* version of the *Linji lu* in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* often escapes the notice of scholars. See, for example, Yang Cengwen's 杨曾文 entry on the *Linji lu* in *Tang Wudai Chanzong shi* 唐五代禅宗史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 359–360.

126. Regarding the compilation of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, how the Song Linji faction promoted their claim to legitimacy through the *yulu* genre, and the role Song literati played in defining it, see my recently published book, *Monks, Rulers and Literati*.

127. See ibid., chapter 7, "Literati Interpretations of Chan Buddhism in Early Song China."

128. Albert Welter, "A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over *Wen* in the Early Sung," in Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung* pp. 21–61.

129. Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, chapter 5, "Civil Policy and Literary Culture: The Beginnings of Sung Intellectual Culture" (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 148–175.

130. While full enumeration of the Song literati supporters of Chan is impossible, the *Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu* 大中祥符法寶錄 (Record of the Dharma Treasure compiled in the Dazhong xiangfu era) and *Jingyou xinxiu Fabao lu* 景祐新修法寶錄 (Re-edited Record of the Dharma Treasury compiled in the Jingyou era) mention the names of fifteen literati of the period who supported Chan: Zhang Ji 張洎, Tang Yue 湯悅, Yang Li 楊礪, Zhu Ang 朱昂, Liang Zhouhan 梁周翰, Zhao Anren 趙安仁, Chao Hui 晁迥, Yang Yi 楊億, Ding Wei 丁謂, Li Wei 李維, Wang Qinruo 王欽若, Xia Song 夏竦, Wang Shu 王曙, Lu Yijian 呂夷簡, and Song Shou 宋綬 (Zheng Suwen, "Sōdai no zenshū no kiesha" 宋代の禅宗の帰依者, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 47-1 [1998]: 24). Zheng also notes the presence of additional literati among the editors and compilers of early Song Chan *yulu* and *denglu*, Li Zunxu, Liu Yun, Hui Gongliang, Fu Bi, and so on.

131. See the copy of the epitaph appended to the end of Yuncong's record in the GDL (X 78.501a9–b20; see especially 501b16–17).

132. Following Yanagida Seizan, "Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūzō" 大蔵経と禅録の入蔵, p. 730a–b, who characterizes the shift from "official Buddhism" to "gentry Buddhism."

133. Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the* Daozang, *Volume 2, The Modern Period* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 924–925, where it is noted that "until the advent of the monastic organization of the Quanzhen 全真 order, there seems to have been no counterpart to the collective teaching sessions that took place in the Chan monasteries and from which most of the famous Chan logia derived their materials."

134. Gardner, "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung," p. 575, changing Wade-Giles romanizations to *pinyin*. My characterization of Neo-Confucian *yulu* here is indebted to Gardner's article.

135. *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Zhonghua shudian, 1994), 735.15b17–16a2; also contained in *Shen Xiaxian ji* 沈下賢集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 51a6–10. The term *duan* in *duanxing*, translated here as "rude behavior," has a primary meaning of "short" as opposed to "long," but also includes connotations like "insufficient," or "lacking" (see, for example, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, which also contains an entry for *duanxing* [Vol. 8, 291c] to this effect). As a result, I understand the term in this context to refer to behavior that is lacking (from a Confucian perspective). For alternate translations of this passage, see Charles Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 165; and Gardner, "Modes of thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung," p. 592, n. 21.

136. Gardner, ibid.

137. Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity*, p. 160, citing Chen Yinke, "Lun Han Yu" (*Lishi yanjiu*, no. 2 [1954]: 105–114). Han Yu introduced his concept of *daotong* in his essay *Yuan Dao* ("Essentials of the Moral Way"). Hartman notes, "The key point of similarity between the two concepts, despite contemporary claims or later definitions, was that in both cases the positing of a linage based on intuitive understanding of an ancient master's teaching was used to circumvent the perceived decay of that teaching through doctrinal fragmentation and proliferation of commentary."

138. Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity*, p. 184.

139. On *guwen* prizing oral teaching over written text, see Ronald Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 12–29.

140. Hartman, *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity*, p. 184.

141. *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai: Shangmu yinshuguan, 1935). Chao Gongwu's bibliography categorizes works in four sections: Classics (*jing bu* 經部, fascicles 1 and 2), Histories (*shi bu* 史部, fascicle 2), Philosophers (*zi bu* 子部, fascicle 3), and Belles-lettres (*ji bu* 集部, fascicle 4). Each section is further subdivided: Classics are treated in 10 subdivisions; Histories in 13 subdivisions; Philosophers in 16 subdivisions; Belles-lettres in 3 subdivisions. Zhao Xibian's supplement is contained in fascicles 5 and 6. In addition to the works in the *yulu* category (listed in appendix 2.2), Zhao Xibian's supplement also contains two works designated by their titles as *yulu* in works classed as Geographies (*dili* 地理) (a subsection of the History section): *Fu Wenzhong ruguo yulu* and *Zhang Zhonglin fengshi jinguo yulu*. While the nature of these works appears to be quite different from either Chan or Neo-Confucian *yulu*, they remind us of the possibility of a larger category of "Records of Sayings" (*yulu*) outside the religious and philosophical context. It is also worth noting that Zhao Xibian makes no mention of Chan or Buddhist *yulu* in his supplement, even though Chao Gongwu's original bibliography did mention 32 titles under Buddhist Books (*shi shu* 釋書) in his Philosophers section, including some Chan *yulu* style works: *Liuzu tanjing*, *Pang jushi yulu*, *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*.

142. In addition, *yulu* were also compiled by Daoists of the Song period, especially among members of the Quanzhen lineage, the Daoist monastic

organization modeled after Chan and initiated by Wang Che 王徹 (1112–1170); Judith Magee Boltz, "Taoist Literature: Five Dynasties to the Ming," in Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, pp. 152–174.

143. Gardner, "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung," p. 575. Boltz, "Taoist Literature," p. 162, also notes that *yulu* were a "popular instrument of didactic persuasion" among Daoists, and "as showcases of favored parables, such treatises [referring to *yulu*] gave reign to levels of narrative inventiveness that any professional storyteller would be proud to claim."

144. Gardner, "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung," p. 576.

145. Ibid., pp. 577–579 and 583.

146. For a discussion of how commentary played a vital role in Tiantai polemics during the Song, see Chi-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960–1028) and the Crises of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung," in Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 409–441.

147. The Nan Tang and Wuyue based Fayan faction, the dominant Chan lineage at the outset of the Song, was eventually eclipsed by literati support for the Linji faction at the Song court and faded into obscurity.

148. *Zengaku daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 51–101, esp. pp. 54–67.

CHAPTER 3

1. Japanese annotated translations of the *Linji lu* (all titled *Rinzai roku*) include those by Asahina Sōgen (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1981; originally published 1935), Akizuki Ryū min (Tokyo: Tsukuba shobō, 1972) in the *Zen no goroku* series, no. 10, Yanagida Seizan (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1978), and Iriya Yoshitaka (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991). Foreign language translations include Paul Demiéville's *Entretiens de Lin-tsi* (Paris: Fayard, 1972), Ruth Fuller Sasaki's *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture* (Kyoto: Institute for Zen Studies, 1975), and Burton Watson's *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi* (Boston: Shambala, 1993). In addition, Urs App, in conjunction with the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University, has published the *Concordance to the Record of Linji (Rinzai)* (1993).

2. Among Yanagida's important studies are "Zenshū goroku no keisei" 禅宗語録の形成 (The Formation of Chan Records of Sayings), *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16–1 (1967), pp. 39–47; "Daizōkyō to zenroku no nyūzō" 大蔵経と禅録の入蔵 (The Admission of Chan Records into the Buddhist Canon) (addendum to *Keitoku dentōroku*, pp. 724–731; originally published in *Indogaku bukkyōgaky kenkyū* 20–1 [1971]); "Shinzoku tōshi no keifu" 新続灯史の系譜 (The Genealogy of Lamp Histories, new continued), *Zengaku kenkyū* 59 (1978): 1–39; and "Goroku no rekishi: Zenbunken no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū" 語録の歴史:禅文献の成立史的研究 (A Historical Survey of the Records of Sayings of Chan Masters in View of the Formation of Chan Literature), *Tōhō gakuhō* [*Journal of Oriental Studies*] 57 (1985), pp. 211–663. An English translation of one of Yanagida's works, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," is also available" (trans. by John R. McRae of

"*Zenshū goroku no keisei*" 禅宗語録の形成, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18-1 [1969]), in Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 188–189. Specifically relating to the *Linji lu*, there is also Yanagida's *Rinzai roku nōto* 臨済録ノート (Notes on the *Linji lu*) (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1972).

3. The signal of a changing approach to Chan and Zen's classical figures was first sounded by T. Griffith Foulk in his study of Baizhang Huaihai and the Chan Monastic Institution, "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Michigan, 1987). Following this, Foulk has published groundbreaking studies challenging perceived notions of Chan institutional practices and ideas, including "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism" (Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993], pp. 147–208), and "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an" (Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 220–294). A number of important works on the development of Ch'an and Zen continue to appear, freer of the ideological tinge that suffused much of Chan and Zen scholarship. Among them are articles relating to Song Chan by Peter Gregory, Morten Schlütter, Ding-hwa Hsieh, Miriam Levering, T. Griffith Foulk, and Chi-chiang Huang in Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung*.

4. Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, p. 110.

5. The relevant details of Linji's life have been ably interpreted by Yanagida Seizan in his article "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Eastern Buddhist: New Series* 2 (1972): 70–94.

6. See CDL 28 (T 51. 446c9–447a10).

7. The inclusion of full versions of these masters' sayings in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈録 suggests to Yanagida Seizan (*Rinzai roku*, pp. 14–17) that these fascicles represent the contents of the *Sijia yulu* 四家語録 (Records of Sayings of the Four Houses), compiled some time early in the eleventh century but available to us in only a seventeenth-century version.

8. Linji's *yulu* is contained in GDL 10 & 11 (X 78.464b–474c).

9. The *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi yulu* 雲門匡真禪師語録 (T 47–1988).

10. ZTJ 14 (*Zen bunka kenkyūjo* 禅文化研究所 ed. [hereafter abbreviated as ZBK]: 569.3–4), record of Dongsi Heshang 東寺和尚 (East Temple Monk); Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 231.

11. ZTJ 14: 569.4–5.

12. *Tang Hongzhou Baizhang shangu Huaihai Chanshi taming bingxu* 唐洪州百丈山故懐海禅師塔銘 (QTW 466; also attached to *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 8 [T 48.1156b; for the term *yuben* 語本, see 1157a6]); Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 232.

13. SGZ 12 (T 50.779b4).

14. ZTJ preface (ZBK 1.6); Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, pp. 234–235.

15. *Zhizheng dashi qinglai mulu* 智證大師請來目録 (T 55.1106c21).

16. ZJL 1 (T 48.417b27–28).

17. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 237, suggests an evolution in the use of terms from *yuben* to *yanjiao*. He also suggests that the term *yuyao*

(Essential Sayings) is another name for *yanjiao* and that *yuyao* were formed by extracting important sections from *guangyu* (Extensive Sayings).

18. ZTJ 19 (ZBK 721.5–6).

19. See Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, pp. 237–243.

20. ZTJ 15 (ZBK 560.5).

21. CDL 28 (T 48.446c9–447a10).

22. As listed previously, CDL 28 (T 51.437c–449a) contains the following *guangyu*: *Nanyang Huizhong guoshi yu, Luojing Heze Shenhui dashi yu, Jiangxi Daji Daoyi Chanshi yu, Lizhou Yaoshan Weiyan heshang yu, Yuezhou Dazhu Huihai heshang yu, Fenzhou Dade Wuye guoshi yu, Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan heshang yu, Zhaozhou Congshen heshang yu, Zhenzhou Linji Yixuan heshang yu, Xuansha Zongyi Shibei dashi yu, Zhangzhou Luohan Guichen heshang yu, Da Fayan Wenyi Chanshi yu.* Of the twelve masters appearing here, two (Huizhong and Shenhui) pre-date Mazu, six are connected to the Mazu lineage, and three are associated with the Fayan lineage, with the other being a member of the Shitou lineage.

23. ZTJ 19 (ZBK 717.13–718.3).

24. ZJL 98 (T 48.943c18–20).

25. The translations are based on a comparison between the *Taishō* version of the *Chuandeng lu* (= *Sibu congkan* ed.; T 51.290c18–22) and the Dongchan si edition. Differences were first noted in Nishiguchi Yoshiō, "Sakuin" 索引, *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* (1993): 13b–16b. For information on these two editions, see the following note. Prior to this, the evolution of the sayings attributed to Linji was noted by Yanagida Seizan, "Kaisetsu" 解説, in Iriya Yoshitaka, *Denshin hōyō, enryōroku* 伝心法要, 宛陵録, Zen no goroku 禅の語録 8 (Tokyo: Tsukuma shobō, 1969), pp. 151–184.

26. See Nishiguchi Yoshiō, "Tōzenji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai" 東禅寺版『景德伝灯録』解題, *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* (1990): 3–13; "Sakuin" 索引, 1–43. The Dongchan si edition refers to the Song publication issued from Dongchan si, "East Chan Temple," in Fuzhou in the third year of *yuanli* (1080), in the possession of Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. It represents the oldest complete version of the *Chuandeng lu* in current existence. Even though the *Sibu congkan* edition is represented by a later version of the *Chuandeng lu*, issued in the third year of *yanyou* (1316), in the Yuan dynasty, its contents are closer to the original (see Nishiguchi, esp. p. 6a). This version is the basis of the *Chuandeng lu* text contained in the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* edition of the Buddhist canon (T 51–2076). Nishiguchi's contention is based on a comparison of the contents of both editions against the *Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集, an abridged version of the *Chuandeng lu* issued by Wang Sui 王随 in 1034, showing the closer similarity between it and the Yuan edition than that of the Song.

27. T 47.496c10–14 (Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi* [#3], p. 13).

28. ZTJ 19 (ZBK 717.3–4).

29. Yanagida Seizan, "*Sodōshū* no shiryō katchi" 祖堂集の資料価値, pp. 68–71, provides a list of 48 masters who participated in such *gong'an* style commentary in the *Zutang ji*, with a total of 194 such comments. As Yanagida points out (p. 72), nearly half of these (23) are attributed to direct disciples of Xuefeng Yicun. The lineage from Xuefeng to the *Zutang ji* is as follows: Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存→

Baofu Congzhan 保福從展→ Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人+登)→ Monks Jing 静 and Yun 筠 (compilers of the *Zutang ji*).

30. CDL 12 (T 51.290c17–18).

31. CDL 12 (T 51.290c22).

32. The lineage from Xuefeng to the *Chuandeng lu* is as follows: Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存→ Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備→ Tanzhou Guichen 潭州桂琛→ Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益→ Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶→ Daoyuan 道原 (compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*).

33. See Nishiguchi, "Sakuin," p. 16a.

34. CDL 12 (T 51.290a20–b8); Nishiguchi, "Sakuin," pp. 13b–14b.

35. T 47.504b28–505a4; Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi* (#48), pp. 104–107.

36. Nishiguchi, "Sakuin," p. 14b5–6; T 47. 505a2–4.

37. For the reading of *deli* 得力 (in *de Dayu li, de Huangbo li* 得大愚力, 得黄蘗力), see Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzai roku*, note on p. 236.

38. ZTJ 19 (ZBK 718.12–720.4); I have also consulted Yanagida's translations of this passage in *Rinzai roku*, pp. 238–239, as well as in "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, pp. 560–561.

39. See Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko, eds., *Zengo jiten* 禅語辞典 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1991), p. 205b, for the translation of the term *chushen* 出身.

40. ZTJ 19 (ZKJ 720.4–6).

41. In the *Zutang ji*, the designation "Former Zhaoqing" is used to distinguish Zhaoqing Huileng 招慶慧稜 from Zhaoqing Wendeng.

42. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 660, n. 790, suggests that two traditions circulated regarding Linji's awakening, a southern tradition that valued his connection to Dayu, recorded in the *Zutang ji*, and a northern version that gave precedence to Huangbo.

43. ZTJ 19 (ZKJ 720.6–10).

44. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 479.

45. Guizong Zhichang's record is contained in CDL 8 (T 51.255c24–256b19).

46. Aside from his role in Linji's records, Dayu is mentioned only in passing in the record of Feitian Fu 肥田伏 in ZTJ 9 (ZKJ 351.11–12 and 14), and as one of the heirs of Guizong Zhichang (as Damei Fachang 大梅法常) without a record included in CDL 10 (T 51.373c27).

47. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," pp. 474–481.

48. Regarding Yang Jie's preface, see Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 635, n. 580.

49. The location of the *yulu* of these four masters in the GDL was noted above.

50. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 568.

51. Yuanlian's biography is contained in GDL 17 (X 76.502a–b). Yang Yi discusses his associations with various Chan masters, including Yuanlian and Yuncong, in a letter to his colleague Li Wei 李維 recorded in his biography in GDL 18 (X 78.511c5–512a1).

52. Yuncong's biography is contained in GDL 17 (X 76.499a–501c).

53. A copy of the epitaph is appended to the end of Yuncong's record in the GDL (X 78.501a9–b20; see especially 501b16–17).

54. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 176 (section 49).

55. T 47.504c12–13; Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi*, p. 105.

56. CDL 12 (T 51.290b27–c2); Nishiguchi, "Sakuin," p. 15a–b.

57. CDL 12 (T 51.290c2–4).

58. The reading of this sentence is problematic and subject to different interpretations.

59. There is a brief record of Nanta Guangyong in CDL 12 (T 51.294b2–7); the story of Linji referring to him as a living Buddha is recorded in several sources, including the *Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 仰山慧寂禪師語録 (T 47.584b15–22).

60. Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, pp. 85–86, n. 212.

61. See Iriya Yoshitaka, tr., *Rinzai roku* (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1989), pp. 186–187, n. 2. This interpretation is also followed by Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi*, p. 108, n. 1.

62. Iriya Yoshitaka, tr., *Keitoku dentōroku* 景德伝灯録, vol. 4, p. 343, n. 10. As Iriya points out, some sources, like the *Biyan lu* 碧巖録 and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈録, propose that it refers to Fengxue; others (the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要) claim it refers to Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲.

63. Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, pp. 85–86, n. 212.

64. T 47.505a5–13; Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi* (#49), pp. 107–108.

65. ZTJ 19 (ZBK 721.6–7). SGZ 12 (T 50.779b) also gives "Pure Vacuity" (*chengxu* 澄虛) as the name of his tomb.

66. According to Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 660, n. 789, Linji's posthumous name was awarded by the Army Commander (*chengde jun* 成德軍) of Zhenzhou 鎮州.

67. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 572. Yanagida also notes that this is the first such presumption since the time of Mazu.

68. T 47.496b10. The *Linji lu* text is currently known to us only through the edition published in 1120. However, the content and arrangement of Linji's *yulu* materials in the GDL (compiled 1029) may bring us closer to Sansheng's original compilation.

69. Sansheng Huiran's record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.294c28–295a14); it contains little "biographical" data.

70. GDL 10 (X 78.468a9–16); *Linji lu* (T 47.506c3–7). While the story is recorded, the transmission verse is not found in the *Linji lu* version.

71. CDL 12 (T 51.294c28).

72. CDL 12 (T 51.295b4–5).

73. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 575.

74. T 47.506c27.

75. CDL 13 (T 51.304b2–3). The assertion actually occurs in a question put to Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念, but there is no doubt that he adhered to it. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 569, claims that assumptions regarding sectarian style associated with this distinction originated with Shoushan.

76. CDL 13 (T 51.304a13–14).

77. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 104. Yampolsky speculates that the *Daijōji* version of the text, filled with various lacunae, represented the transmitted text within Chan lineages, while the more polished *Kōshōji* version circulated among Song literati.

CHAPTER 4

1. The full title is *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟義慧照禪師語錄 (*Records of Sayings of Chan Master Huizhao of Linji in Zhenzhou*). The only serious rivals to the *Linji lu* as paradigmatic Chan/Zen are, perhaps, the *Platform Sūtra* attributed to the sixth patriarch Huineng and *gong'an* 公案 (kōan) collections like the *Wumen guan* 無門關 (J. *Mumonkan*).

2. In this regard, Linji's reputation and teachings might be compared instructively to other major figures in the Chan tradition like Bodhidharma and Huineng. On Bodhidharma, see especially, Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25–3 (1986): 187–198; on Huineng, see John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

3. Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, chapter 4: "Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* (*Zutang ji*)," pp. 59–113.

4. Ibid., chapter 5: "Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the *Jingde [Era] Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuandeng lu*)," pp. 115–160.

5. The twelve are: Nanyang Huizhong, Heze Shenhui, Mazu Daoyi, Yaoshan Weiyan, Dazhu Huihai, Dade Wuye, Nanquan Puyuan, Zhaozhou Congshen, Linji Yixuan, Xuansha Shibei, Zhangzhou Guichen, and Fayan Wenyi (see chapter 2). Christian Wittern, in his study of fascicle 28 of the CDL (*Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*, esp. pp. 111–159), notes a marked shift in priorities and styles when the records are considered chronologically. For example, Wittern notes that interest in the sūtras declines dramatically over the course of the fascicle, as does interest in Buddha nature (*foxing* 佛性). In contrast, more attention is paid over time to such terms as *wuxin* 無心 and *wunian* 無念.

6. On Renzong's preface, including a translation, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 186–188.

7. The close connection between the *Guangdeng lu* and the emerging *yulu* genre is typified by the case of Linji.

8. Two variations exist between the GDL and SJYL texts. The SJYL lacks the death gatha (as does the LJYL) that is contained in the GDL (468a9–16; compare SJYL: 58b19–59a3). The episode involving Linji and a nun in the GDL (474b15–16) is moved to the very end of the SJYL text (70b16–17).

9. In the case of the *yulu* of Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo, the records in the GDL are much shorter (roughly half the size) for Mazu and Huangbo than their counterparts in the SJYL. Only Baizhang's record is of comparable size in the two versions. Like the case of Linji, the sequence of the first fascicle of Baizhang's record is different in the two versions (GDL 8 [450b2–451c19] and SJYL 2). The

second fascicle, *Baizhang Guanglu* 百丈廣録 (GDL 9 and SJYL 3), is a virtually exact match.

10. The dates for Yuanjue Zongyan are based on Shiina Kōyū, "*Ummon kōroku* to sono shōrokubon no keitō" (『雲門廣録』とその抄録本の系統), *Shūgaku kenkyū* 宗学研究 24 (1982): 90. While Yanagida Seizan ("Goroku no rekishi," p. 576) suggests for an editorial date 1120 for Zongyan's edition of the *Yunmen lu* on the basis of similarities in the arrangement between it and the *Linji lu*, Shiina argues that Zongyan edited the text between 1143 and 1145, shortly before he died.

11. The most extensive treatment of the Yunmen faction in the Northern Song is by Yang Cengwen 杨曾文, *Song Yuan Chanzong shi* 宋元禅宗史 (History of Chan in the Song and Yuan Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 86–218; regarding Zongyan, see p. 129.

12. Yuanjue Zongyan has a brief record, almost completely bereft of biographical data, in *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈録 9 (X 79.343b19–c6).

13. Renditions are found in the *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語録 (T 47–1992.594b–629c; for Yang Yi's preface, see 595a6–595b21), and *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* 汾陽善昭禪師語録 (XZJ 120.83a–160a; for Yang Yi's preface, see 84a–85a).

14. Albert Welter, "Lineage and Context in the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* and the *Transmission of the Lamp*," in Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 137–179.

15. As I have suggested elsewhere (Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, chapter 7, "Literati Interpretations of Chan Buddhism in Early Song China," pp. 209–219), the changing Chan preferences among literati reflect current aims to create an innovative literary form, a uniquely Song expression of *wen*. The new Chan *yulu*-style genre was seen as contributing to this mission.

16. What follows is treated more fully in Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 186–207.

17. A copy of the epitaph is appended to Yuncong's 蘊聰 record in the GDL (X 78.501a9–b20; esp. 501b16–17).

18. He ended his career as the third-generation head of the Baoying (Treasure Receiving) 寶應 Monastery. For Shengnian's appointments, see CDL 13 (T 51.304a11–13 and 304c24–26); GDL 16 (X 78.493c20–22).

19. GDL 16 (X 78.493a21–23); the same address, with slightly variant phrasing, is contained in CDL 13 (T 51.304a16–19). It is interesting to note that while the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* provide essentially the same information regarding Shengnian's address, it has been arranged so that it commands the most prominent place at the outset of Shengnian's remarks in the *Guangdeng lu*.

20. X 78.489c6–14. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles* (no. 7497), the *tongpan* was "a central government official delegated to serve as resident overseer of the work of the Prefect. . . ."

21. ZJT 112c.

22. Based on Fengxue's remarks in X 78.490a21–22; also recorded in CDL 13 (T 51.303a5–8).

When the master (Fengxue) stayed in the imperial office in Ruzhou, he entered the [Lecture] Hall. A monk asked: "What happens when the ruler of people and the ruler of Dharma meet each other?"

Fengxue responded: "[Even though] they dance grandly in circles around the spring in the trees, there is no joy or sorrow in the world."

The monk continued: "What will they discuss together?"

Fengxue responded: "[Even while] tigers and leopards sit boldly and contentedly in front of the cliff, peregrine falcons spread the true teaching (*zhenzong*) in broad daylight."

23. *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 52.777.

24. For Shengnian's students, see GDL 16 and 17 (X 78.495a24–502c8).

25. X 78.499a1–2.

26. *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* (T 47–1992.594b–629c; for Yang Yi's preface, see 595a6–595b21), and *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* (XZJ 120.83a–160a; for Yang Yi's preface, see 84a–85a).

27. ZJT 690d–691a.

28. GDL 17 (X 78. 499a12–b17).

29. SS 296.9878.

30. SS 296.9877–9879.

31. Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, p. 162 (the quote is taken from Xia Song's *jinshi* degree examination of 1007, *Wenzhuang ji* 12.1a).

32. SS 283.9571.

33. X 78.501b3–4.

34. See Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, p. 29.

35. SS 305.10088–89.

36. X 78.500c18–20 and 501a8–b20. A version of Yuncong's "Dialogue Records" is contained in *Shimen shan Cizhao Chanshi Fengyan ji* 石門山慈照禪師風巖集, recorded in fascicle 9 of the *Guzunsu yulu* (XZJ 118.257a–269a).

37. ZJT 300b.

38. X 78.495b6–8.

39. See the sermon recorded at X 78.496a23–b3.

40. Responses by Yuanlian Zhenhui 元璉真慧 (X 78.502b4) and Dongchan 東禪 (or Xingjiao 興教) Shouzhi 守芝 (X 503c17–18), respectively.

41. T 51.196b and X 78.426b9.

42. GDL 18 (X 78.504c7–10). Chuyuan was also on friendly terms with Li Zunxu 李遵勗, as he reportedly composed verses for Li Zunxu as death approached (SS 464.13569).

43. T no. 1985, v. 47: 495a–506c.

44. X no. 1553, v. 78: 464b22–474c21.

45. Only the *kanbian* and *xinglu* sections are explicitly demarcated in the LJYL text; *shangtang* and *shizong* sections are implicit in the text's arrangement. The *shangtang* section covers pp. 496b11–497a21, the *shizong* section pp. 497a22–503a15, the *kanbian* section pp. 503a16–504b25, and the *xinglu* section

pp. 504b26–506c7. In addition, the LJYL has a brief "biographical" account, pp. 506c8–25.

46. For Mazu's record, see pp. 448b20–450b1; for Baizhang, see pp. 450b2–451c19 and 456b6–464b16; for Huangbo, see pp. 451c20–456a23; for Linji, see pp. 464b24–474c20.

47. Strong evidence for this claim is provided by the *Zutang ji*. While Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文(人+登) is clearly descended from a lineage distinct from Mazu's (Wendeng descended from Huineng's alleged disciple Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 via Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 and Xufeng Yicun 雪峰義存; Mazu was the disciple of another of Huineng's students, Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓), it is just as clear that Wendeng invoked Mazu's Chan teaching to legitimize his own. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 65–70.

48. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shike goroku, Goke goroku* (Kyoto: Chū bun shuppansha, 1983), p. 1b17.

49. The *Deshan Sijia lu* is no longer extant but is mentioned in the *Linjian lu* 林間錄 (X 87. 256a11).

50. Yanagida, "Goroku no rekishi" 語録の歴史, p. 384.

51. An extant version of the *Huanglong Sijia lu* is found in the XZJ collection.

52. The *Ciming Sijia lu* itself is nonextant, but with the exception of Baiyun Shoudan, the masters' teachings in question survive in other collections. It was compiled by Zheng Tangbian; the preface by Zhang Zong (dated 1153) survives. For a discussion, see Shiina Kōyū , "Sō han *Jimyō Shike roku* to sono shūhen," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 13 (1982): 150–172; also see references to the *Ciming Sijia lu* in Shiina, *Sō Gen han Zenseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), pp. 95 and 564.

53. Shiina, *Sō Gen han Zenseki no kenkyū* 宋元版禅籍の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), pp. 483 and 485; there is also an article by Shiina, "Gen han *Shike roku* to sono jiryō" 元版四家録とその資料, *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 10 (1979): 227–256.

54. On the reemergence of Caodong in the Song, see Morten Schlütter, "Silent Illumination, Kung-an Introspection, and the Competition for Lay Patronage in Sung Dynasty Ch'an," in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 109–147; and Yang Cuiwen, *Song Yuan Chanzong shi* 宋元禅宗史, pp. 467–513.

55. The *Wujia yulu* text, with accompanying prefaces (by Zhen[?]mi Fazang 珍[?]密法藏 [undated] and Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 [dated 1630]) and other forematter, is contained in Yanagida, *Shike goroku, Goke goroku*, pp. 71–212.

56. In Yanagida Seizan's opinion, the *Wujia yulu*, even though existing in a late edition, represents an "original" depiction of the records of sayings in question; see Yanagida, "*Shike roku* to *Wuke roku*" 四家録と五家録, in Yanagida, *Zen bunken no kenkyū (jō)*, pp. 578–608. I take up this question in more detail below.

57. This is accomplished by substituting the name of Tianwang Daowu 天王道悟 as a disciple of Mazu Daoyi, for Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟,a disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi. Most observers agree that, in spite of efforts to promte Tianwang

Daowu as Mazu's heir, no such person actually existed. Regarding the two Daowu's controversy, see Jiang Wu, Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of *Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, Forthcoming).

58. As noted above, the *shangtang* section covers pp. 496b11–497a21, the *shizong* section pp. 497a22–503a15, the *kanbian* section pp. 503a16–504b25, and the *xinglu* section pp. 504b26–506c7. In addition, the LJYL has a brief "biographical" account, pp. 506c8–25. Both Yanagida (*Rinzai roku*, p. 16 ff.) and Paul Demiéville (*Les entretiens de Lin-tsi*, p. 12) concur that it was likely Zongyan who divided the text in this way. However, in the case of the *Yunmen lu*, Urs App maintains that Zongyan's role in the editing process is far from clear and that we cannot say with certainty whether changes and additions that appear in the text are the result of Zongyan or some earlier editor ("The Making of a Chan Record," p. 55).

59. While stipulating that more scrutiny is needed, Urs App thinks it probable that the Su Xie 蘇瓣 edition of the *Yunmen lu*, and perhaps others, functioned as models for the editorial work done by Zongyan on the *Linji lu* (see App, "The Making of a Chan Record," p. 52).

60. T 47–1988. While there are more and sometimes different headings, the similarity of format is unmistakable.

61. See Yanagida's comments in such works as "*Goroku no rekishi*" 語録の歴史 and the "Kaidai" 解題 section of his annotated translation, *Rinzai roku*.

62. See John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 98–100. To be fair, although McRae subscribes to the "backroom theory," he is also quite aware of the power of subsequent literary imagination to shape the stories as currently received.

63. T 47.496b11. Yanagida tentatively identifies the prefectural head with Wang Shaoyi, military governor (*jiedu shi*) of Chengde prefecture from 857 to 866; "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," pp. 79–80.

64. Yampolsky, *The Platorm Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 125–126.

65. ZTJ 19: 721.7; SGZ 12 (T 50.779b3–4); CDL 12 (T 51.291a). The ZTJ and SGZ claim the stū pa was called Chengxu 澄虛 (Pure Void); the CDL says it was called Chengling 澄靈 (Pure Spirit).

66. T 47.506c24–25. While it is not specifically designated here as a memorial inscription (*taming* 塔銘), the style, form, and content are unmistakable.

67. Yanagida, *Rinzai roku*, p. 275 note. Yanagida believes that the information here identified as Linji's memorial inscription was originally part of Linji's *xinglu*. See also Yanagida, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 71. On the authenticity of the memorial inscription, see Yanagida, "Kōke Zonshō no shiden to sono goroku" 興化存奬の史伝とその語録, *Zengaku kenkyū* 48 (1958): 54–92.

68. Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rinzai roku*, p. 215, n. 2.

69. This is not to suggest that there was not an earlier inscription of some sort, as information contained in the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Song Gaoseng zhuan* was presumably based in part on some sort of information like this. The *Zutang ji* mentions the existence of a *Guang lu* for Linji (ZTJ 19: 721.6), and the *Song Gaoseng*

zhuan (T 50.779b4) mentions the circulation of Linji's *Yanjiao*. The inscription attributed to Yanzhao makes reference to Linji's *Xinglu* (T 47.506c12). Either the sources for this information were not contained in the form of an inscription (quite likely), or if they were, were lost, or the information contained was deemed unworthy for someone of Linji's current stature.

70. Yanagida, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 86, n. 37.

71. The "inscription" also clearly links Linji to a monk by the name of Puhua 普化 (d. 861?), the disciple of Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積 (720?–814?). Regarding Puhua, see ZTJ 17 (635.7–637.1), CDL 10 (T 51.280b–c), SGZ 20 (T 50.837b), and relevant sections of the LJYL. Very little biographical information can be gleaned from these sources. He is regarded as the founder of the Puhua faction (*Puhua zong* 普化宗). Panshan Baoji was a dharma-heir of Mazu Daoyi; see ZTJ 15 (557.8–559.11) and CDL 7 (T 51.253b–c). Puhua figures prominently in some episodes in the *Linji lu*, and his mention in the inscription is clearly indebted to these. They suggest how Linji succeeded Puhua as resident master in Zhenzhou, shortly before Puhua's passing.

72. Regarding the possible identity of Mo Junhe as the Mo Junhe, mentioned in *Taiping Guangji* 192, and the problems with such identification, see Yanagida, *Rinzai roku*, p. 277 note, and "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 82.

73. "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 83; Wade-Giles romanization converted to pinyin. The "King of Zhao" refers to Wang Rong 王(火+容) (874–921), the Ruler of Zhenzhou, who Mo Junhe rescued in 893 (see JWS 54).

74. As indicated by Yanagida Seizan, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 88f., it is inconceivable that Linji would be meeting Wang here for the first time when Wang has already been introduced as the official who sponsored his lectures while in Zhenzhou. Yanagida speculates that Chiang Shen, who became Regional Commander of Hezhongfu in 861, is intended here.

75. T 47.506c10–11, emphasis mine.

76. ZTJ 6: 76.12–13. It occurs when an unidentified monk relays a statement by Xuefeng Yicun (822–908) that the three vehicles had been totally obliterated by the special transmission outside the teaching taught by Chan masters ("old monks") from various regions. I have written elsewhere about the use of this phrase in Chan circles and its significance, most recently in *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, especially pp. 201–203; for a survey of its usage throughout Chan literature, see also T. Griffith Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 220–294.

77. ZTJ 6: 76.14ff.

78. Yunmen's record is contained in CDL 19 (T 51.356b–359a).

79. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 202–203.

80. Ibid., pp. 197–204.

81. On the significance of this, see ibid., pp. 209–219.

82. Ma Fang's titles are listed as: "Scholar of the Yankang Hall, Gold and Purple Guanglu Official, Peace-Keeping Envoy of Zhendingfu Region, General Supervisor of Cavalry and Infantry Forces, Director of Chengde Military Prefecture" (Watson, *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi*, p. 1; converting Wade-Giles to *pinyin*).

CHAPTER 5

1. In this regard, it should be noted, the Chan institution was not very unique but mimicked the structure of other Buddhist monasteries that placed high value on teaching. Many of the treatises of Chinese Buddhist scholastics are recorded by their students (e.g., Guanding's 灌頂 recording of works by Zhiyi 智顗).

2. Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind Is the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 11.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-Century China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 47–52. Jia's stage 1 follows John R. McRae, "The Antecedents of Encounter Dialogue in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 46–74.

5. *Da fantian wang wen fo jueyi jing* 大梵天王問佛決疑經 (The Scripture in Which Brahman Asks Buddha to Resolve His Doubts), X 1.442a.

6. Mario Poceski, "Attitudes toward Canonicity and Religious Authority in Tang China," paper presented at the American Academy of Religion, Zen Seminar (Toronto, 2002). See also Poceski's discussion in *Ordinary Mind Is the Way*, chapter 4, section5, "Canonicity and Attitudes toward Scriptural Authority," and section 6, "Use of Scriptures."

7. ZJL 98 (T 48.943c8–22); CDL 28 (T 51.446c9–447a10).

8. There are some discrepancies between the *Zongjing lu* and *Chuandeng lu* versions; I follow the *Chuandeng lu* here. For the sake of consistency, in the translations of Linji's material here, and below, I follow closely the rendering in the corresponding sections of Burton Watson's translation, *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993).

9. ZTJ 19 (ZBK ed.: 717.13–718.3).

10. For the corresponding lines attributed to Linji in the ZJL, see ZJL 98 (T 48.943c18–20).

11. The translations are based on the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏経 version of the *Chuandeng lu* (= *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 ed.; T 51.290c18–22) and the Dongchan si 東禪寺 ed. For information on these two editions, see the following note.

12. See Nishiguchi Yoshiō 西口芳男, "Tōzenji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai" 東禅寺版『景德伝灯録』解題, in *Keitoku dentōroku* 景德傳燈録, ed. Yoshizawa Masahiro 芳澤勝弘 and Onishi Shirō 小西司郎, et al. (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjō; Kibun tenseki sōkan, 1993), pp. 3–13; "Sakuin," pp. 1–43. The Dongchan si edition refers to the Song publication issued from Dongchan si, "East Chan Temple," in Fuzhou 福州 in the third year of *yuanfeng* 元豐 (1080), in the possession of Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. It represents the oldest complete version of the *Chuandeng lu* in current existence. Even though the *Sibu congkan* edition is represented by a later version of the *Chuandeng lu*, issued in the third year of *yanyou* 延祐 (1316), in the Yuan dynasty, its contents are closer to the original (see esp. p. 6a). This version is the basis of the

Chuandeng lu text contained in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* edition of the Buddhist canon (T 51–2076). Nishiguchi's contention is based on a comparison of the contents of both editions against the *Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集, an abridged version of the *Chuandeng lu* issued by Wang Sui 王隨 in 1034), showing the closer similarity between it and the Yuan edition than that of the Song.

13. My translation of *ganshi jue* 乾屎橛 as "dried lump of shit" rather than "dried shit stick" follows the explanation provided by Iriya and Koga, *Zengo jiten* 禅語辞典, p. 66a.

14. T 47.496c10–14 (Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi* (#3): 13).

15. Yanagida, "*Sodōshū* no shiryō katchi," pp. 68–71, provides a list of 48 masters who participated in such *gong'an* style commentary in the *Zutang ji*, with a total of 194 such comments. As Yanagida points out (p. 72), nearly half of these (23) are attributed to direct disciples of Xuefeng Yicun.

16. Steven Heine, *Opening a Mountain: Kōans of the Zen Masters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6–9. Heine's work presents numerous examples of episodes involving Chan masters' dealing with the supernatural.

17. CDL 9 (T 51.266a4 and b5).

18. CDL 6 (T 51 245c24).

19. Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), see esp. 33–35.

20. Sing-chen Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self: Body and Identity in Strange Tale Collections of Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), see esp. 1–12.

21. The case for the Song dynasty as the world's first "modern" culture was initially espoused by the Japanese Sinologist Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎. For a summary of his position, see Hisayuki Miyakawa, "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and Its Effect on Japanese Studies of China," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14 (1954–55): 533–552.

22. In describing the Tang-Song transition, beginning in the middle Tang dynasty and "clearly lasting well into the Sung," Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 15, outlines the following:

> The development of new staple and commercial crops, rice and tea among them; a vast increase in population . . . ; the collapse of the old T'ang system of government markets under the weight of rapidly increasing trade . . . ; an extraordinary expansion in the use of money, which came to include government-issued paper currency for the first time in world history. . . . Technological innovation spawned vast new industries in iron and steel and in porcelain. Gunpowder was used extensively in warfare by the middle Sung. The compass helped to support the vast south-sea trade of the period, which brought Chinese goods to the Indian Ocean world and even to the east coast of Africa. Printing . . . gave new opportunities for education and so . . . expanded the educated, office-seeking, and largely wealthy elite who found their way into the system of civil service examinations . . . greatly expanded in the Sung.

23. According to Steven Heine, *Opening a Mountain: Kōans of the Zen Masters*, pp. 7–8, kōan-style encounter dialogues originated as a form of surreptitious communication in an atmosphere of government suppression. "The success of Zen in the period of conflict between Buddhism and the state," Heine contends, "was due to the ability of kōan literature to convey an independent, creative message free of controversial connections to other schools and styles of religious practice." My own view is that government suppression played very little part in the creation of kōan-style communication. Chan encounter dialogues arose in an atmosphere of disenchantment with government authority, combining a spirit of experimentation and inventiveness with a spirit of protest and dispute.

24. Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1993), 7.

25. Sing-chen Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self*, 5–6. Chiang's comments derive, in part, from her reading of Susan M. Pearce on the motives behind museum collecting contained in *Museums, Objects and Collections*, and *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995).

26. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 57.

27. *Chuanqi* 傳奇 should not be confused with the romance dramas of the same name composed in the Ming and Qing periods. The common name stems from the fact that many of the plots of the later plays were based on earlier *chuanqi* stories. Otherwise, they belong to a distinct genre; see Cyril Birch, "*Ch'uan-ch'i*," in Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 353b–356b.

28. Curtis P. Adkins, "The Hero in T'ang *Ch'uan-ch'i* Tales," in *Critical Essays in Chinese Fiction*, Winston L. Y. Yang and Curtis P. Adkins, eds. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1980), 17–18.

29. Regarding *zhiguai* 志怪, see Kenneth Dewoskin, "*Chih-kuai*," in Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 280a–284a; and "The Six Dynasties *Chih-kuai* and the Birth of Fiction," in Andrew H. Plaks, ed., *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977): 21–52. According to H. C. Chang, *Chinese Literature 3: Tales of the Supernatural* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 12–14, "The early supernatural tale is seriously deficient in narrative art. The characters are shadowy, the events wanting in verisimulitude. The story is often thin, and only the bare bones are given, and that not always clearly, . . . [in comparison] the T'ang writers were intent on telling a tale, on enlivening it with characters in a setting with some semblance of actuality, on adorning it with ingenious and elegant phrases, and on projecting their own ideals into the course of the action, thereby identifying themselves with hero and heroine and their adventures and exploits."

30. Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self*, 14.

31. Y. W. Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)*, 2, no. 2 (1980): 179–180. Note that Ma translates *xingjuan* as "practice compositions" and *wenjuan* as "representations"; I prefer Lydia Chiang's more literal renderings (see *Collecting the Self*, pp. 19–20, n. 40). My discussion here

follows Ma's. According to Ma, the most comprehensive and detailed study of Tang fiction, specifically *chuanqi* is Wu Gengshun 吳庚舜, "Guanyu Tangdai chuanqi fanrong de yuanyin" 關於唐代傳奇繁榮的原因 (The Reasons for the Prosperity of Tang *Chuanqi* Tales), *Wenxue yanjiu jikan* 文學研究集刊 (New Series) 1 (1964): 79–100. The relationship between "practice compositions" and the growth of Tang fiction was first noted by Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Han Yu and the T'ang Novel," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1 (1936): 39–43. On *chuanqi* in the Tang, see Hou Zhongyi 候忠义, *Sui Tang Wudai xiaoshuo shi* 隋唐五代小说史 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1997). On Buddhism and the colloquial novel in the Tang and Five Dyansties, see Yu Xiaohong 俞晓红, *Fojiao yu Tang Wudai baihua xiaoshuo yanjiu* 佛教与唐五代白话小说研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006).

32. Kam Tak Him, "The Rise of T'ang Ch'uan Ch'i and Its Narrative Art," (Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation, 1979), p. 14; based on comments from an undated letter by Bo Juyi (772–846) to Yuan Zhen (in *Bo Xiangshan ji* 白香山集 28): "Occasionally I also hear from relatives and friends when the Ministry of Personnel selects its candidates . . . most of them are tested on *fu, pan,* and *zhuan*" (with minor changes).

33. For a discussion of the Tang examination system, see Kam Tak Him, "The Rise of T'ang Ch'uan Ch'i and Its Narrative Art," 21–25. By contrast, successful *jinshi* examination candidates in the Song were rewarded with immediate position and salary.

34. *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 12; as discussed in Liu Kairong, *Tangdai xiaoshuo yanjiu* 唐代小說研究 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu, 1997), p. 34.

35. Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," 180. Kam Tak Him, "The Rise of T'ang Ch'uan Ch'i and Its Narrative Art," pp. 4–5, provides a slightly different background for the development of *chuanqi*. According to Him, *chuanqi* writers sent their stories to influential persons in the hope of obtaining official position *after* they had passed the *jinshi* examination. The *jinshi* examination was designed to test the candiate's skill in poetry and expositiory writing; the post-*jinshi* examination tested his skill in historical writing, specifically through writing biographically oriented stories (i.e., *chuanqi*) to demonstrate the author's ability at "convincing characterization."

36. Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," p. 180.

37. On the relation between Han Yu's *guwen* and *chuanqi*, and criticisms of Han Yu for his preoccupation with *chuanqi*, see Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Han Yu and the T'ang Novel," and Y. W. Ma, "Prose Writings of Han Yu and *Ch'uan-ch'i* Literature," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 7, no. 2 (1969): 195–223.

38. A work of the Buddhist monk Jiaoran 釋皎然, *Qiang jushi juan* 強居士傳 ("Biography of Layman Qiang"), for example, is included in *juan* 796 of the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華; see William H. Nienhauser, Jr., "A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yuan ying-hua*," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 3 (1977): 445, n. 21 and appendix, p. 455, no. 27.

39. According to Sarah Yim, "*Ch'uan-ch'i*" (entry in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion to Chinese Literature*, p. 358), the development of *chuanqi* literature in the Tang falls into two periods: pre-830 (characterized by experimentation) and post-830 (standardization). Examples of Tang dynasty *Chuanqi* collections include: *Chuanqi*

傳奇 by Pei Xing 裴鉶, *Xuanguai lu* 玄怪錄 by Niu Sengru 牛僧孺, *Xu Xuanguai lu* 續玄怪錄 by Li Fuyan 李復言, *Jiwen* 紀聞 by Niu Su 牛肅, *Jiyi ji* 集異記 by Xue Yongruo 薛用弱, *Ganze yao* 甘澤謠 by Yuan Jiao 袁郊, *Sanshui xiaodu* 三水小牘 by Huangfu Mei 皇甫枚, *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 by Duan Chengshi 段成式, *Xuanshi zhi* 宣室志 by Zhang Du 張讀, *Duyang zabian* 杜陽雜編 by Su E 蘇鶚, and *Yunchi youyi* 雲溪友議 by Fan Shu 范攄. The list is taken from Y. W. Ma, "Prose Writings of Han Yu and *Ch'uan-ch'i* Literature," p. 205, n. 37.

40. Johannes L. Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project" *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001): 302.

41. Later in the Song, private collections of strange tales appeared. One such collection, the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (The Listener's Record) by Hong Mai 洪邁, became the largest private collection of strange tales in Chinese history, said to rival the *Taiping guang ji*; see Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self*, p. 23.

42. Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," p. 168. John C. Y. Wang, "Early Chinese Narrative: The *Tso-chuan* as Example," in Andrew H. Plaks, ed. *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 3–20, also discusses the employment of narrative themes in Chinese "historical" works, like the *Zuojuan*.

43. According to Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self*, p. 8, "if we must speak of an 'authorial intent' in strange tale collecting, it may best be understood as desire fulfillment, which may not always be overtly rational or coherent."

44. Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," p. 168.

45. Ibid., pp. 175–178.

46. Ibid., pp. 177–178. As Laura Hua Wu notes in her discussion of Hu Yinglin's 胡應麟 study of fiction (*xiaoshuo* 小說) in the late Ming ("From *Xiaoshuo* to Fiction: Hu Yinglin's Genre Study of *Xiaoshuo*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55, no. 2 (1995): 339–371), fictionalization was a time-honored and legitimate practice in China. According to Hu, "there is no need to examine whether events and allusions in poetry [or literary works] are true to fact or merely made-up" (362). The key to good fiction rests in its having solid foundations, based on "a prior text passed down from a former era" (365).

47. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., "A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yuan ying-hua*," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 3 (1977): 451; based on Peter Olbricht, "Die Biographie in China," *Saeculum* 8 (1957): 224–235.

48. As with my discussion of structure, above, I am following Nienhauser's analysis of *juan* in the *Wenyuan yinghua* using the categories of narration, mode, style, structure, and meaning ("A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yuan ying-hua*," pp. 445–454). I have omitted any comparison with style and meaning as best left to experts in Chinese literature.

49. Ibid., p. 446.

50. Ibid., changing Wade-Giles romanization to *pinyin*.

51. Ibid., p. 448. Nienhauser's scale is adopted from Robert Scholes, *Structuralism in Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 117–141.

52. Ibid.

53. This classification was made by Shionoya On 塩谷温, *Chū goku bungaku gairon* 中國文學概論 (Tokyo: Kodansha reprint edition, 1983). For a critique of

Shionoya and other classification systems of *chuanqi*, see Han-liang Chang, "Towards a Stuctural Generic Theory of T'ang *Chuan-chi*," in John J. Deeney, ed., *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature Theory and Strategy* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1980), pp. 25–49.

54. T 48.293a15–b9; for a treatment of this story, see Heine, *Opening a Mountain: Kōans of the Zen Masters*, pp. 129–133.

55. Fox tales cover *juan* 447–455 of the *Taiping guangji*, for example. For a description of these tales and an example translation of one of them, "Miss Ren," see H. C. Chang, *Chinese Literature 3: Tales of the Supernatural* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 41–61.

56. Lydia Chiang, *Collecting the Self*, pp. 22–23.

57. Ibid., pp. 4–5.

58. This, for example, follows the pattern of the hero described by Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), esp. pp. vii–viii.

59. Borrowing a term used by Adkins, "The Hero in T'ang *Ch'uan-ch'i* Tales," p. 21; Adkins uses the term in relation to the authors and audience for *chuanqi* literature, noting their conscious elitism and shared aspirations realized through a rigorous examination system that presumed specialized knowledge and abilities.

60. As W. L. Idema ("Story-telling and the Short Story in China," *T'oung Pao* 59 [1973]: 1–67; cited in Adkins, "The Hero in T'ang *Ch'uan-ch'i* Tales," 21) notes, the distinction between "individuals" and "types" tends to be a function of a difference between modern and traditional fiction, whether in China or the West.

61. Adkins, "The Hero in T'ang *Ch'uan-ch'i* Tales," p. 22.

62. Ibid., p. 23.

63. For the distinction between "neo-classical" and "new-critical" approaches, see E. G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755–805," in Arthur F. Wright, *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 112–113.

64. Ma, "Prose Writings of Han Yu and *Ch'uan-ch'i* Literature," pp. 200–201.

65. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., "Some Preliminary Remarks on Fiction, the Classical Tradition and Society in Late Ninth-Century China," in *Critical Essays in Chinese Fiction*, Winston L. Y. Yang and Curtis P. Adkins, eds. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1980), pp. 2–3.

66. Guo Shaoyu (Kuo Shao-yu) 郭紹虞, *Zhongguo gudian wenxue lilun pipingshi* 中國古典文學理論批評史 (Beijing: Renming wenxue chubanshe, 1959), p. 229ff.; cited from Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks," p. 3. The first group includes people like Li Ao 李翺, Pi Rixiu 皮日休, and Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙; the second group, Huangfu Shi 皇甫湜 and Sun Qiao 孫樵.

67. Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks," p. 3.

68. *Lunyu* VII-1: "子曰: 述而不作."

69. *Juan* 11, section 19, 10b (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition); cited in Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks," p. 1.

70. Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks," pp. 4–5 (the translation of the terms follows Nienhauser). Nienhauser also compares the development of Chinese

fiction in the *guwen* milieu to the rise of fiction in the West in the very strict Calvinist milieu in the early enlightenment period, citing Herbert Schoffler, *Protestantismus and Literatur* (Gottingham: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958).

71. This example is taken from Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks on Fiction, the Classical Tradition and Society in Late Ninth-Century China," 7–9. Other examples are provided there as well. Regarding Luo Yin, there is Jan de Meyer, "Confucianism and Daoism in the Political Thought of Luo Yin," *T'ang Studies* 10–11 (1992–93), pp. 67–80; and Lin Qihong 林启洪, *Luo Yin sheng ping ji qi zuo pin yan jiu* 羅隱生平及其作品研究 (Aomen: Dong Ya gong kai xue yuan, 1986).

72. *Han shu*, vol. 6, *juan* 64A, 2791–2793; translation follows Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Han Social Structure* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), pp. 276–277.

73. Zhu Dongjun 朱東潤, ed., *Zhongguo lidai wenxue zuopin xuan* 中國歷代文學作品選 (Hong Kong: Wenxue yanjiu she, n.d.), vol. 2A, 497–498; translation follows Nienhauser, "Some Preliminary Remarks on Fiction, the Classical Tradition and Society in Late Ninth-Century China," pp. 7–8.

74. Jonathon Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 91; my discussion here follows Culler's comments about the nature of narrative, pp. 91–93.

75. Culler, *Literary Theory*, p. 91.

76. E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (New York: Harcourt, 1927), 64; as cited in Culler, *Literary Theory*, pp. 91–92.

77. Culler, *Literary Theory*, p. 92.

TOWARD A CONCLUSION

1. The extent to which the *Linji lu* is representative of the *yulu* formation process will have to await further investigations. Accordingly, my comments here must be read as tentative and somewhat speculative, to be affirmed or countered by more exhaustive work involving a broader range of sources.

2. Yanagida, "Shinzoku tōshi no keifu" 新続灯史の系譜, p. 5.

3. For an examination of this phenomena in the case of teachings attributed to Mazu Daoyi, see Mario Poceski, "Attitudes toward Canonicity and Religious Authority in Tang China," and "*Mazu yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings," Heine and Wright, *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, pp. 53–79.

4. T 47.501c14–17; for alternate translations, see Watson, *The Zen Teaching of Master Lin-chi*, p. 61; and Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, p. 31.

5. T 47.552a7–15 (translation tentative in places); for an alternate rendering of this passage, see App, "The Making of a Chan Record," p. 15.

6. For a discussion of note taking in the *Yunmen lu*, including the identification of possible note takers, see App, "The Making of a Chan Record," esp. pp. 16–18.

7. In addition to Xinghua Cunjiang's appearance by name, he is also often identified as the director of Temple Business (*yuanzhu* 院主) in the *Linji lu* (see T 47.5036–11); on other aspects of Xinghua's identity, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 194–197.

8. X 78.477a6–7.

9. See GDL (X 78.477c12–20). On the reliability of this encounter having occurred, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 196–197.

10. The four-stage process here is reminiscent of a similar three-stage process in the case of the *Yunmen lu* posited by Urs App, "The Making of a Chan Record" (see esp. pp. 58–63). App's three stages are: note taking, early compilation, and the formation of comprehensive records. The issuing of the *Yunmen lu* was less complex, perhaps, owing to the later period of his life (864–949) and its closer proximity to the *yulu* compilation phenomenon.

11. The four prefaces were written by: (1) Linquan Conglun 林泉從倫, abbot of Baoen Chan Monastery 報恩禪寺 in Dadu 大都, dated the second year of *yuanzhen* 元貞 (1296) during the Yuan dynasty; (2) Guo Tiantin 郭天錫, Supervisor of Imperial History 監察御史, dated the second year of *dade* 大德 (1298), also in the Yuan; (3) Wufeng Puxiu 五峰普秀, undated but claimed to be 18 generations descended from Linji; and (4) Ma Fang 馬防, appended to the Zongyan's 1120 edition but of dubioius authenticity.

12. App, "The Making of a Chan Record," pp. 46–48.

13. On the relation between orality and literacy, see Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982); and Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Ong and Goody contend that literacy acquisition results in major shifts away from oral customs for recording and using information. Other works, like Michael Clancy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), suggest that the distinction between oral and literary culture is not so sharp and needs to be situated in the specific historical and social context in which the transformation occurs. In the Asian context, Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literature in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), discusses the uses of literacy in the Qing context. Shawn McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism, and Buddhism in the Making of Modern Vietnam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), discusses the impact of print culture and literacy in debates regarding the nature and character of modern Vietnam. I am grateful to McHale's work for bringing to my attention other works regarding orality and literacy.

14. While this may not be true of the rank and file Chan monk, it is almost certainly true of masters who held leading positions at Chan monasteries.

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