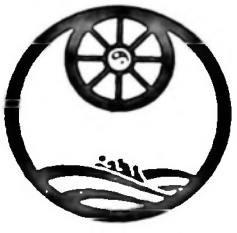
Early Ch'an in China and Tibet

Edited by Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster



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The "Recorded Sayings" Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism

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1. THE WORD YÜ-LU OR "RECORDED SAYINGS"

The use of the word *yü-lu* 語錄 ("recorded sayings") as a general name for the literature of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism is relatively new. The first appearance of the term is at the end of the biography of Huang-po Hsi-yün 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850) in the ***Sung kao seng chuan*** 宋高僧傳 ("Biographies of Eminent Monks [compiled during the] Sung Dynasty"), fascicle 20, which says that Huang-po's "recorded sayings were in circulation throughout the world" (i.e., China).[1] The same statement is made about Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen 趙州從諗 (778–897) in another section of the same work.[2] In the *Tsu-t'ang chi* 祖堂集 ("Collection of the Patriarchal Hall"), which is older than the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (952 versus 967), we find the words *hsing-lu* 行錄 ("record of actions"), *hsing-chuang* 行狀 ("outline of actions"), and *pieh-lu* 別錄 ("separate record"), but not the word *yü-lu* itself. Thus the earliest Ch'an texts belonging to the "recorded sayings" genre were not actually called recorded sayings, but had other slightly different titles. Examples of such works will occur in the pages that follow.

Paradoxically, the word "recorded sayings" does occur in the title of an early text that does not belong to this genre of Ch'an literature. This is the ***Pei shan san hsüan yü lu*** 北山參玄語錄 ("Recorded Sayings of Pei-shan on the Three Mysteries"), a text of ten fascicles in length written by Shen-ch'ing 神清 of Hui-i Temple in Tzu-chou 梓州慧義寺 in modern Szechuan. This work, still extant under the shorter name ***Pei shan lu*** 北山錄 ("Records of Pei-shan"), is said to have been favored reading material of Confucian scholars, Buddhist monks, and Taoist priests because of its comprehensive treatment of the three religious philosophies of China.[3] However, it is different in form from the recorded sayings of the Ch'an School in that it was written by Shen-ch'ing himself (Shen-ch'ing's total literary output is reported to have been over 100 fascicles) rather than by some third-person scribe.

Shen-ch'ing did have contact with the Chinese Ch'an School, having studied it in Chien-nan 劍南, Szechuan during the latter half of the eighth century. At the time students of the Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (601–674) flourished there, one of whom (Wu-chu 無住, 714–774, author of the ***Li tai fa pao chi*** 歷代法寶記, or "Record of the [transmission of the] Dharma-treasure throughout the Generations") was the target of criticism in Shen-ch'ing's book. However, all this came before the formation of the "recorded sayings" genre of Ch'an texts.

Finally, there is one other text often listed as a forerunner of the "recorded sayings" texts. This is the ***Sung-ch'i yü-lu*** 宋齊語錄 ("Recorded Sayings of the Sung and Ch'i [Dynasties]"), a text in one fascicle by K'ou Szu-shang 孔思尚. The title of this book is known from the ***T'ang shu i wen chih*** 唐書藝文志 ("Annals of Art and Literature in the [New] Documents of the T'ang Dynasty"). Nothing is known of its contents.[4]

2. THE TEACHING OF MA-TSU TAO-I AND THE "RECORDED SAYINGS" GENRE

A "recorded sayings" text in Ch'an literature is typically an anthology of the words and deeds of a given Ch'an Master. It consists of dialogues between the Master and his students, which generally develop out of the students' individual problems and questions about their own practice of Buddhist spiritual training. In addition, these texts contain a special style of oral teaching prefaced by the formula that the Master had "entered the hall" (*shang-t'ang* 上堂) to give a lecture. Finally, poetry or short essays written by the Master or his students may also be included, with or without criticism. The contents of these "recorded sayings" all display a characteristic similarity in style and content that can only be appreciated by reading widely in the texts themselves.

The emergence of this genre of literature is an event that occurred only after the life of Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (709–788) and that bears a very close relationship to the subsequent development of Ma-tsu's lineage.[5] In fact, the "recorded sayings" texts—a sizeable number of which appeared at about the same time—developed only because the members of Ma-tsu's lineage broke with previous Buddhist tradition and entered directly in among the people. Their teachings could not be held within the confines of traditional Buddhist literary form, but demanded a new method of expression to match their new content. Let us then examine the teachings of Ma-tsu's school.

Tsung-mi 宗密 (780–841) defines the teachings of the Hung-chou

School 洪州宗 (as he calls it) which started with Ma-tsu as holding that all human mental and physical activity—even those so inconsequential as pointing a finger or moving an eye—are functions of the Buddha-nature, that aspect of all living beings which is inherently enlightened. Conversely, that within human beings which is able to speak and act is none other than the Buddha-nature. Ma-tsu did in fact say "If you wish to understand the mind, (then realize that) that which talks *is* your mind. This mind is called Buddha, it is called the true *dharmakāya* form of the Buddha, it is called *Tao* 道 (the Way or Enlightenment)."[6]

To Ma-tsu, the *Tao* is not some far-off ideal. Our very words are its activities, its functioning. He says that the *Tao* does not need to be cultivated, but that one should just refrain from sullying it. The spirit of these words is carried on in Ta-chu Hui-hai's 大珠慧海 ***Tun wu yao men*** 頓悟要門 ("The Essential Teachings of Sudden Enlightenment") and Po-jang Huai-hai's 百丈懷海 (720–814) ***Po jang kuang lu*** 百丈廣錄 ("The Extended Record of Po-jang").

Ma-tsu's position is that the ordinary mind is the *Tao*. This position precludes any attachment to the traditional Buddhist religious practices of meditation and scriptural exegesis. Rather than a pre-conceived course of mental exercises and study, what is needed is some kind of effort directly related to the words and actions of daily life. The student must understand that the day-in and day-out activities of the ordinary mind are the activities of a Buddha. In this quest he is guided by the Ch'an Master, whose behavior exemplifies the functioning of mind as Buddha. In such a milieu each of the individual actions and utterances of a great teacher constitute an expression of Truth and become considered important models of behavior by his students.

This attention to the Master's actions as the models of enlightened behavior led directly to the development of the "recorded sayings" genre. The process was as follows: The greater the number of disciples that surrounded a great teacher became, the smaller each student's opportunities for individual instruction. Hence moments of direct contact with the teacher became prized experiences for the disciples involved, some of whom soon began making secret notes of the events. Eventually certain monks prone to such activity started making anthologies of the teacher's words and actions based on what they heard from other students in addition to their own experience. This was a perfectly natural development.

This practice soon led to criticism from the Ch'an Masters themselves.

Lin-chi I-hsuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867), the "founder" of the Lin-chi (Rinzai in Japanese pronunciation) School, heartily disparaged 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."[7] This criticism may be viewed as a warning against isolating the words of Ch'an Masters from the situations in which they were uttered and the individual students (with their individual problems) to whom they were addressed. It is a criticism against taking those words as generalized, ossified truths.

We should note, however, that although Lin-chi uses the pejorative term "decrepit old man" (*ssu-lau han* 死老漢) he obviously respects several men as his religious seniors: Ma-ku 麻谷, T'an-hsia 丹霞 (738–823), Tao-i, Lu-shan 廬山, Shih-kung 石鞏, et al. It is noteworthy that *all* of these men are in the lineage of Ma-tsu Tao-i. Each of their teachings—while not necessarily contained in a complete recorded sayings text of its own—must have been in wide circulation at the time, perhaps only in the form of brief sayings, phrases, or poems (*chieh* 偈, Sanskrit: *gatha*). For example, Lin-chi's "Someone (Huai-jang) has said 'If you say it's like any single thing then you're off the mark'" is in itself a nuclear or fragmentary form of Huai-jang's recorded sayings.[8] Hence even in spite of a critical attitude towards some of the compilers of the "recorded sayings" texts, the various teachers of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism referred to such material out of their own interests and used it in the elucidation of their own teachings by means of quotation, comment, and criticism.

The activities of students and masters alike soon led to the creation of a considerable body of literature written in the Ch'an style. The difference between this material and the works of traditional Buddhism was not lost upon the contemporary Chinese. For example, take the following comments by Tsung-mi on the important distinction between "doctrinal Buddhism" (*chiao* 敎) and Ch'an. These are found in his ***Ch'an yuan chu ch'uan chi tu hsü*** 禪源諸詮集都序 ("General Introduction to a Compendium of the Interpretations of the Fundamentals of Ch'an"):

> "Doctrinal Buddhism" consists of the *sūtras* and *śastras* left to us by the *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*, while "Ch'an" 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 Ch'an are very concise and effective in teaching one sort of person in (China).[9]

For example, the ***Hsü kao seng chuan*** 續高僧傳 ("Extended Biographies of Eminent Monks") reports the existence of a record of Bodhidharma's teachings.[10] Such a record would have been valued, not as a repository of generalized religious statements, but as a record of oral instructions uttered in different specific situations. Such a record would constitute a "handle" by which its readers could grasp the truth.

3. A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

After Ma-tsu, Chinese Ch'an departed from the bibliographic study of Buddhist scriptures and focused upon the words and actions of daily human activities. As a result, the records of those words and actions assumed the status of scripture. Or rather, there occurred a change in the very conception of the scriptures themselves. Rather than the recorded sayings texts of Chinese teachers being granted a status equal to that of the translations of Indian *sūtras*, the *sūtras* came to be regarded as the Buddha's "recorded sayings." The famous motto "Do not rely on words!" (*pu li wen-tzu* 不立文字) is not a blanket renunciation of the scriptures, but implies a methodological distinction between Ch'an and the traditional emphasis on written commentaries. Bodhidharma, of course, had described his own position as "becoming enlightened to the truth on the basis of the teaching."[11] However, this is not a reference to the "doctrinal Buddhism" described above, but to Bodhidharma's innovative conception of the Buddha's scriptures as the transcripts of oral instruction. This new approach to the scriptures is further exemplified by the ***Pao lin chuan*** 寶林傳 ("The Transmission of Pao-lin [Temple]"), which includes the entire text of the ***Ssu shih erh chang ching*** 四十二章經 ("*Sūtra* in Forty-two Sections") at its beginning. A *sūtra* (albeit one of Chinese origin) thus plays the part of the oral teachings of the Buddha.[12]

The attitude which led to this reverence for the oral records of one's predecessors is one which favors individual facts or incidents over abstract generalities. The earliest genre of Ch'an literature—a group of works known as the "transmission of the lamp" histories (*ch'uan-teng shih* 傳燈史 or, more simply, *teng-shih* 燈史)—generally consists of the biographies of the earlier Patriarchs and successive Masters. This is fully in accordance with the predisposition toward personalized, "incidental" expressions of the truth, the concrete rather than the abstract. Earlier,

during the Six Dynasties Period, Chinese scholars attempted to systematize Buddhist doctrine by means of a comprehensive analysis of the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures. Motivated by Chinese intellectual needs, this analytic endeavor (known as "dividing the doctrine," or *p'an-chiao* 判教) eventually resulted in the categorization of the entire range of Buddhist thought along inductive and deductive lines. The biographical emphasis of the "transmission of the lamp" histories and the contents of the various "recorded sayings" texts belie a profound disinterest in the ideological emphasis of such earlier doctrinal systems.

Of course, even in the *p'an-chiao* literature there are systems which emphasize the differing abilities of Buddhist trainees to respond to different doctrines rather than upon the doctrines themselves. Nevertheless, since there are a multitude of differences in human ability, it soon becomes necessary to consider concrete examples of Buddhist teaching in reference to different individuals. In harmony with the proclivity of the Chinese people for things down-to-earth, Chinese Buddhism moved from an emphasis on the abstract to an emphasis on the particular. This eventually resulted in an unlimited acceptance of innumerable individual, particular events as representative of something inexpressable in abstract terms.

A great number of passages in the "recorded sayings" texts are prefaced by the words "someone in the past has said" (*ku-jen yün* 古人云) or "a past worthy has said" (*ku-ten yün* 古德云). This indicates the general interest shared by these texts in the sayings of earlier masters as precedents or examples, rather than as the logical basis for some religious position. This is the intellectual background of the development from traditional Buddhist scriptures to the "recorded sayings" of Ch'an.

The dialogues of Ch'an did not take place for the purpose of making statements of religious doctrine, but as a means of addressing the very real and immediate problems of Buddhist spiritual practice as they occurred within the lives of the trainees. The relationship between doctrinal understanding and true insight is a frequent topic in the annals of Ch'an. Take, for example, the treatment of the "head monk" or "lecture master" (*tso-chu* 座主), a character that appears quite frequently. Sometimes the head monk appears only as a foil for the Ch'an Master, but more often he is the symbol of someone who has become paralyzed and religiously impotent by his dependence on some pre-determined religious position.

Another example may be found in the sermons of Yuan-Wu K'o-chin

圜悟克勤(1063–1135) to Lung Chih-tsang 隆知藏 (also known as Hu-ch'iu Shao-lung 虎丘紹隆, 1077–1136), in which Yuan-wu says that in the twenty-eight generations of Patriarchs from Mahākaśyapa to Bodhidharma the amount of doctrinal instruction was much greater than that of Ch'an-style interaction and dialogue. Nevertheless, Yuan-wu emphasizes that in every single case, the final transmission of the teaching depended on a direct practical demonstration.[13] Examples of these include Mahākaśyapa's making Ānanda knock down the temple banner-pole, Nagārjuna throwing a bowl in front of Kāṇadeva, or making the shape of a circle, or engaging in dialogue while holding a red flag (which indicates the victor of a debate in Indian custom).[14] Each of these stories originated in the Chinese Ch'an School with or after the ***Pao lin chuan*** (801). The distinction Yuan-wu makes between doctrinal and Ch'an-style instruction is very significant, especially in that the latter is held to be absolutely necessary for complete enlightenment. The "recorded sayings" texts developed as the annals of this idiosyncratically demonstrative methodology of Ch'an.

4. ON SOME OF THE EARLY PRODUCTS OF MA-TSU'S LINEAGE

I have mentioned elsewhere that the act of compiling Ma-tsu's sayings by some of his disciples was criticized by some of his other disciples. Nevertheless, the literarily motivated group left a massive record of their master's teachings. It is also very significant that so many of Ma-tsu's disciples left behind their own "recorded sayings." These include Ta-chu Hui-hai's ***Tun wu yao men,*** Po-jang Huai-hai's ***Po jang kuang lu*** (also known as the ***Po jang yao chueh*** 百丈要決 "The Essential Oral Teaching of Po-jang"), Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan's 南泉普願 (745–834) ***Nan ch'uan yü yao*** 南泉語要 ("The Essential Sayings of Nan-ch'uan"), and Layman P'ang's ***P'ang chü shih chieh sung chi*** 龐居士偈頌集 ("A Collection of Verses by Layman P'ang").[15]

There is evidence that corroborates the early provenance of these works. A part of Nan-ch'uan's "Essential Sayings" may be found in fascicle twenty-eight of the *Ch'uan-teng lu* 傳燈錄 ("Records of the Transmission of the Lamp").[16] The present text goes back as far as the ***Ku tsun su yü yao*** 古尊宿語要 ("Essential Sayings of Ancient Worthies")[17] of the Southern Sung Dynasty, but its origins are presumably much older. Po-jang's work is listed in Enchin's 丹珍 (814–891) catalogues of material brought back to Japan from China as the ***Po jang ho shang yao chueh*** 百丈和尙要決 ("The Essential Oral Teachings of the Monk

Po-jang").[18] Ennin's 丹仁 (792–862) similar catalogue lists an additional title of an undoubtedly similar work, the ***Kan ch'uan ho shang yü pen*** 甘泉和尙語本 ("The Book of Sayings of the Monk Kan-ch'uan").[19] It was very unusual for such material from Ma-tsu's lineage to have been brought back to Japan from China at the beginning of the ninth century.

Finally, in the possession of the Kanazawa Bunko 金澤文庫 is a work known as the ***Ming chou ta mei shan fa ch'ang ch'an shih yü lu*** 明州大梅山法常禪師語錄 ("Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Fa-ch'ang of Ta-mei Mountain in Ming-chou"), previously introduced by SEKI Kiyoshi 關靖.[20] Although this text has not yet been studied in detail, it seems to be the oldest of the extant "recorded sayings" texts of the Ma-tsu lineage. I will comment briefly on it below.

At this point it may be convenient to mention that the Kanazawa Bunko also possesses copies of various other Ch'an works from the T'ang Dynasty. These include a great deal of material from outside the Ma-tsu lineage, such as the ***Wu hsing lun*** 悟性論 ("Treatise on Becoming Enlightened to the [Buddha-] nature"), the ***Kuan hsin lun*** 觀心論 ("Treatise on the Contemplation of Mind"), the ***Liu tsu t'an ching*** 六祖坦經 ("The Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch"), and the ***Hsieh mo lun*** 血脈論 ("Treatise on Genealogies").[21] Another work, the ***Hsiang yen sung ch'i shih shou*** 香嚴頌七十首 ("Seventy Verses by Hsiang-yen"), which has not previously been introduced to the academic community, would seem to come directly from Ma-tsu's school. Hsiang-yen's verses are mentioned along with those of another disciple of Ma-tsu's, Layman P'ang, in the ***T'ang shu i wen chih.***[22] Hsiang-yen is often lauded along with T'ung-shan 洞山 (807–862) as one of the "two Bodhisattvas of Pai-ya 白崖 and Hsin-feng 新豐"[23] His works certainly deserve further study. The value of the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript is increased by the fact that it contains some material not found in such works as the ***Tsu t'ang chi, the Tsung-ching lu*** 宗鏡錄 ("Records of the Mirror of Truth"),[24] and the ***Ch'uan teng lu.***

5. THE CH'AN "ENCOUNTER"

In all likelihood the very concept of recording the words of an "encounter" (*chi-yuan* 機緣)[25] between master and disciple started with Ma-tsu. Who were the disciples who inherited this legacy? Ma-tsu's epitaph lists the following eleven disciples: Hui-hai, Chih-tsang 智藏, Hao-ying 鎬英, Chih-hsien 志賢, Chin-t'ung 智通, Tao-wu 道悟, Huai-

hui 懷暉, Wei-k'uan 惟寬, Chih-kuang 智廣, Ch'ung-t'ai 崇泰, and Hui-yun 惠雲.[26] Po-jang and Nan-ch'uan are conspicuously absent from this list, although the epitaph for the former tries to explain away his omission.[27] In addition, the biographical inscriptions for Yen-kuan Ch'i-an 鹽官齊安 (d. 842) and O-hu Ta-i 鵝湖大義 (d. 818) claim that these men were also Ma-tsu's disciples.[28] Hence the list of eleven disciples found in Ma-tsu's epitaph is not complete. On the contrary, all those men who left some kind of oral record or are remembered in some classic Ch'an may be said to represent a new development that starts with Ma-tsu. In this sense, they are all Ma-tsu's disciples.

These encounters display a great degree of fluidity within the literature of Ch'an. For example, the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** depicts Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang 西堂智藏 and Po-jang Huai-hai as Ma-tsu's two most able disciples. However, the Sung and Ming editions of the text differ in content, the latter adding Nan-ch'uan to the equation. The Ming text depicts Nan-ch'uan as the most able of the three by means of the famous encounter known as "Ma-tsu playing with the moon" (*Ma-tsu wan-yueh* 馬祖翫月).[29] In fact, Hsi-t'ang was originally a student of Ching-shan Fa-ch'in 徑山法欽 (714–792) of the Niu-t'ou (Oxhead) School 牛頭宗. His name Hsi-t'ang (meaning "Western Hall") implies outsider treatment, but he was apparently considered a representative of Ma-tsu's school from a very early time. The great poet Li Shang-yin's 李尙隱 (812?–858?) ***T'ang tzu chou hui i ching she nan ch'an yuan ssu cheng t'ang pei ming*** 唐梓州慧義精舍南禪院四證堂碑銘 ("Inscription for the 'Four Likenesses Hall' at Nan-ch'an-yuan of Hui-i Temple in Tzu-chou, China") reports that the building in question enshrined paintings of the Great Masters Wu-hsiang of Ching-(chung Temple) in I-chou 益州靜(衆寺)無相 (684–762), Wu-chu of Pao-t'ang (Temple) 保唐(寺)無住(714–774), (Ma-tsu) Tao-i of Hung-chou, and Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang.[30] Here Hsi-t'ang is treated as an equal of Ma-tsu and two other men of great historical significance. For the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** to treat him as a student of Ma-tsu's implies a deliberate assault upon his status within Ch'an. The addition of Nan-ch'uan and his favorable treatment by the Yuan version of the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** is an even later development.

By comparing different versions of the same encounter we can, of course, strive for historical judgments concerning the people and events involved. For example, what was the relationship between Ma-tsu and Hsi-t'ang? How about Nan-ch'uan? It is more important, however, that we understand the fundamental reality of the "encounter" itself, which

is defined by its very fluidity. The "encounter" originated in the "transmission of the lamp" texts' collective interest in biographical events, but soon outgrew its origins to become an important medium of religious teaching and dialogue. The fluid treatment of "encounters" within the "recorded sayings" literature points to a state of religious vitality, a policy of constant reappraisal of the meaning of Buddhism that typified the Ch'an School of the day. This attitude of the "recorded sayings" texts is not just an extension of the biographical emphasis of the "transmission of the lamp" texts, but one that is, in fact, completely new. The survival of the various "encounters" and "recorded sayings" of Ma-tsu's students reveals the vigorous, innovative nature of Ch'an Buddhism practiced by this school.

In the pages below I would like to consider certain aspects of form pertaining to some of the major "recorded sayings" texts of the Ma-tsu lineage.

6. THE ESSENTIAL TEACHING OF SUDDEN ENLIGHTENMENT

The first text to take under consideration is Ta-chu Hui-hai's ***Tun wu yao men*** 頓悟要門 ("The Essential Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment"), which was first published by a monk named Miao-hsieh 妙叶 in the year 1374. This text is in two parts: the first fascicle was discovered by Miao-hsieh, while the second is a composite of material taken by him from the ***Ch'uan teng lu.***[31] Miao-hsieh tells us nothing about the origins of the manuscript he found. It is unquestionably the older part of the text; an interesting variant form of its opening passage will be introduced below. The second fascicle, though taken directly from the ***Ch'uan teng lu,*** consists of material also found in the ***Tsu t'ang chi*** and the ***Tsung ching lu*** and thus of an early provenance. As I have pointed out in an earlier paper, there are passages attributed to Hui-hai in the ***Tsung ching lu*** that do not coincide with anything in the ***Tun wu yao men.***[32] Hence there must have been several versions of Hui-hai's "recorded sayings" extant at the beginning of the Sung.

According to the account contained in the ***Tun wu yao men*** Hui-hai studied under Ma-tsu for six years and then returned to his ancestral home to care for his aged preceptor. During this time he concealed his identity by acting as if he were an imbecile, but did go to the effort of writing the ***Tun wu ju tao yao men lun*** 頓悟入道要門論 ("Treatise on the Essential Teaching of Suddenly Entering into Enlightenment") in one

fascicle. This received Ma-tsu's praise when it was shown to him by one Shih-chih Hsuan-yen 師姪玄晏. Since this account is found in the early Sung Dynasty version of the ***Ch'uan teng lu,*** we know that some treatise or oral record of Hui-hai's was in circulation at that time. Actually, the same name occurs at the end of Po-jang's recorded sayings, when a student asks "What is the Mahāyāna teaching of suddenly entering into enlightenment?"[33] Apparently this was a theme of general interest among the members of Ma-tsu's following.

In considering this text we dare not overlook the existence of a variant manuscript in the possession of the Kanazawa Bunko. The beginning of this manuscript differs considerably from the usual version by the addition of the following preface:

Treatise of the Essential Teaching of Suddenly Entering into Enlightenment
Printed at Chien-an 建安[34] by Wei-hsin 魏信
Written by the T'ang Dynasty Monk Hui-hai

Those who undertake Buddhist spiritual training must realize that the functions of meditation and wisdom constitute the essential principle of transcending this world. Those who do not train vigorously in these are truly fools. How could the wonderful Way (i.e., enlightenment) have many gates (i.e., teachings)? If you realize the one, a thousand follow. If you are mistaken as to the one, then you (suffer) ten thousand delusions. What could be better than the teaching of sudden enlightenment in transcending the three worlds? I will tell you only that form is the same as non-substantiality (*k'ung* 空, *śunyatā*), that ordinary people are the same as sages. When I say "non-substantiality" I am not postulating some "non-substantiality" that I call "non-substantiality." When I say "sage" I am not postulating some "sage" that I call "sage." The experience of meditation (*ting* 定, *samādhi*) and the realizaton of purity are to be considered in the same way. All of these are based upon the principle of non-duality, but then there is no such "non-duality."

In my opinion, most Buddhists today have fallen into dualistic misconceptions, cannot distinguish right from wrong, and consequently are trapped in the never-ending cycle of birth and death.

I have compiled this treatise in order to bring about the salvation

of those who are ready for it, to have those with attachments develop the desire to dedicate themselves to others, and to make those with false views take refuge in the truths of Buddhism.

This treatise is not to be distributed among the unfaithful. It should be transmitted only to persons of definite promise. This is not because of any reluctance to spread Buddhism, but due to the fear that if those of shallow wisdom heard this teaching they would commit a transgression by defaming it. This selectivity must prevail—do not become lax. If a person is not ready for this teaching, then do not transmit it even for a thousand gold coins, or even if he is your own flesh and blood! If the person is ready, then transmit it immediately! This (text) must be explained orally by a teacher so that there are no mistakes. [Here occur five illegible characters]. . .then it will be useless. If there is the slightest error, then it is equivalent to a miss of a thousand *li*. These words are not false.

頓悟入道要門論　　建安魏信刊

唐沙門　慧海撰

夫學道者(原作者道)，須知用定慧是出世要宗．而不勤修，是眞塵俗．只如妙道，豈有多門．但解一而千從．若迷一而萬惑．欲求超三界，豈越頓悟之門，直示即色即空，唯論卽凡即聖．吾說空者，即不以空爲空．吾說聖者，不以聖爲聖，及至見定證淨等亦然也．皆說(原作說皆)以無二性而成，理亦無無二性也．竊見世間學者，多墮二迷，不能了達是非．遂乃長淪生死．今集此論，以度有緣，今執滯者發廻向心，使邪見者卽歸正見．此論不傳無信，唯傳決定之人，非是慳法傳，恐淺智聞之，招謗法之咎．必須擇人，不可概耳．若是不相應者，千金不示，父子不傳．若有相應者，助立而付．要須從師口訣，不便可錯解(五字不可解)，用之無功．若差之豪釐，即失之千里，此非謬言也．

This preface is attributed to Hui-hai himself, probably spuriously. As is well known, the ***Tun wu yao men*** begins with an excellent laudatory verse which makes the above preface superfluous. In particular, the part starting with the words "I have compiled this treatise in order to bring about the salvation. . ." is clearly a circuitous addition made by some unknown later person. However, after Hui-hai's death such a treatise, preface included, was probably considered to be entirely of his authorship and "wrapped up in several layers of covers and cared for secretly."

According to NŌTOMI Jōten 納富常天 of the Kanazawa Bunko, all the Ch'an texts owned by that archives were in the hand of Ken'a Shōnin 劍阿上人 (1261–1338), the second abbot of Shōmyōji 稱名寺 in Kana-

zawa.[35] Hence the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript is older than that discovered and published in China by Miao-hsieh. The words "published by Wei-hsin in Chien-an" on the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript indicate that the text had been published at least once before Miao-hsieh undertook the task. Although there are missing pages in the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript, its length (thirty-seven sheets of fourteen lines, seventeen characters to a line) generally corresponds to the first fascicle of Miao-hsieh's text. It is virtually certain that the text Miao-hsieh discovered and eventually published was none other than the edition that formed the basis for the Kanazawa Bunko text as well, the printed edition published by Wei-hsin.

Even though the ***Tun wu yao men*** comes to us through relatively late sources, the content of the text is quite old. It may appropriately be considered the teaching of one of Ma-tsu's disciples. Much of the text discusses themes common to the Northern School of Ch'an (*pei-tsung* 北宗) and its opponent Shen-hui 神會 (670–762), themes that antedate the ***Ma tsu yü lu*** 馬祖語錄 ("The Recorded Sayings of Ma-tsu") in the ***Ssu chia yü lu*** 四家語錄 ("The Recorded Sayings of the Four Teachers").[36] Of particular interest is the fact that, while being in question and answer form, the ***Tun wu yao men*** is obviously a literary creation that treats its material extremely logically, rather than a spontaneous oral record. It is quite noteworthy that this, the first written product of Ma-tsu's school, has been preserved for us to read today.

7. THE RECORDED SAYING OF FA-CH'ANG

The ***Ming cho ta mei shan fa ch'ang ch'an shih yü lu*** was compiled by Fa-ch'ang's student Hui-pao 慧寶. Fa-ch'ang was born into the Cheng 鄭 family of Hsiang-yang 襄陽. While studying under Ma-tsu in Chiang-hsi 江西 he became enlightened upon hearing the words "the mind is the Buddha" (*chi hsin chi fo* 即心即佛). He subsequently became a hermit at a former residence of Mei Tzu-chen 梅子眞 in K'uai-chi 會稽, where he spent the rest of his life. After several dialogues with students of Ma-tsu's who came to visit him (also found in the ***Tsu t'ang chi*** and the ***Ch'uan teng lu***)[37] come five rather long sermons (*shang-t'ang*). At the end of the text is the famous story of his death, a last verse, and a eulogy by Ch'an Master Chih-chueh 智覺禪師, also known as Yen-shou 延壽 (904–975). The most significant part of the text is obviously the section containing the five sermons, which are unknown elsewhere except for one quote in Yen-shou's ***Tsung ching lu***.[38] It is clear from Yen-shou's

eulogy and inclusion of the sermon in the ***Tsung ching lu*** that he was very deeply impressed with Fa-ch'ang. There is no doubt that this impression was gained through reading the elder figure's "recorded sayings." Since they constitute a valid indicator of the religious philosophy of Ma-tsu's lineage, Fa-ch'ang's "recorded sayings" are eminently worthy of further study.

8. FROM PRIVATE NOTES TO PRINTED CLASSICS

Fundamentally, the teachings and encounters which make up the content of the "recorded sayings" text are not just written records. Their vitality lies in their being repeatedly discussed and criticized by practicing Buddhists. Gradually, as such living material circulates as part of an oral tradition the opinions of the participants in that oral tradition are added on. In spite of the words "wrapped up in several layers of covers, showing to no one else," in the last analysis these anecdotes and sayings were written down with other people in mind. Those in possession of such records would inevitably speak of them, distributing transcripts of the words of the various teachers for all the world to read and evaluate. Eventually the evaluation would creep into the original text, so that the "recorded sayings" genre constantly underwent a fluid process of development. At the same time as the genre developed fluidly, the very breadth of its dissemination—aided by the inception of woodblock printing—caused it to become fixed as classical literature. These two processes, fluid change through constant reappraisal and the assumption of classical status, were both the function of the popularity of this new brand of Buddhism and were not mutually contradictory.

In general, the T'ang Dynasty Ch'an texts available today were edited during the Five Dynasties Period and the early Sung Dynasty. As was mentioned above, the very word "recorded saying" (*yü-lu* 語錄) appeared for the first time in a Sung Dynasty work, the ***Sung kao seng chuan.*** The fact that these texts were being edited (not only read and re-copied) at this time implies that Chinese Ch'an Buddhism had developed a new and wider perspective. That is, rather than focusing narrowly on individual encounters and verses, the followers of Ch'an were able to contemplate the special characteristics of this body of material as a whole. To those with such a broad viewpoint, the annals of the earlier masters of Ch'an assumed the status of classical literature. It was in just this milieu that the ***Tsu t'ang chi, Ch'uan teng lu, Tsung ching lu,*** and ***Sung kao seng chuan*** all appeared. Although a bit different, the ***I ch'u liu t'ieh***

義楚六帖 ("The 'Six Documents' of I-ch'u") may be added to this list.[39] I-ch'u makes very frequent reference to the ***Pao lin chuan,*** not only because he considered it rare, but because of the appeal of this new style of Buddhism. The ***Tsung ching lu*** in particular pays great attention to the relationship between Buddhist doctrine and the "encounter" in Ch'an, but all of the above works devote their attentions to the question of how to evaluate the new kind of Buddhism that grew up after Matsu.

The impulse to contemplate the newly-established Ch'an tradition was strongest just at the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, when the turmoil of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties Periods had ended. Significantly, the movement to re-edit and re-publish the T'ang "recorded sayings" texts started in the area of Chiang-nan 江南, which had survived this chaotic time in relative peace. Due to the relative peace of the Wu-yueh 吳越 and Southern T'ang 南唐 regimes, this area was able to preserve much of its Buddhism unaltered and became the breeding ground for the Buddhist revival of the early Sung. The nucleus of this movement was the Fa-yen School 法眼宗, the efforts of which are symbolized by Yen-shou's ***Tsung ching lu*** and Tao-yuan's 道原 ***Ch'uan teng lu.*** The earlier ***Tsu t'ang chi*** also came from a splinter group within this School.

One of the Fa-yen School's well-known accomplishments was the restoration of T'ien-t'ai-shan 天台山, but its activities on Lu-shan 廬山 were perhaps even more important. The origins of the ***Chao chou yü lu,*** the wide circulation of which is mentioned in the ***Sung kao seng chuan,*** are closely tied to the activities on Lu-shan. The present text (in three fascicles) was re-edited in the Ming Dynasty, but at the end of each fascicle we find the statement that the text had been thoroughly checked by "the monk Ch'eng-shih, the chief monk of Hsi-hsien pao-chueh ch'an-yuan 栖賢寶覺禪院 on Lu-shan, who has received transmission of the teaching and a bequest of the purple robe."[40] Hsi-hsien Ch'eng-shih 栖賢澄諟 (?–991–?) was a contemporary of Yen-shou and Tao-yuan. He was a disciple of Po-jang Tao-ch'ang 百丈道常, who was in turn a disciple of Fa-yen Wen-i 法眼文益 (885–958), after whom the Fa-yen School is named. The statement that Ch'eng-shih had "received transmission of the law and a bequest of the purple robe" indicates the prestigious nature of the Fa-yen School during the early Sung.

Although we do not know the specific reason for which Ch'eng-shin proofread the ***Chao chou yü lu,*** we do know that he was a very well-read monk. One source says that later in life he read the entire Buddhist canon three times. Not only this—considering it disrespectful to read the

scriptures sitting down, he intoned them all while standing up! We may note that the highlights of Chao-chou's life are given at the beginning of his "recorded sayings" using the dating system of the Southern T'ang Dynasty. We may easily imagine that Chao-chou's disciples moved South to escape the war and strife going on in the North and that Ch'eng-shih checked over their compilation of their master's teachings because of some problems with the text.

Ch'eng-shih was also the first teacher of Huang-lung Hui-nan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), after whom the Huang-lung School is named. The emergence of the Huang-lung School was directly related to the success of the earlier Fa-yen School. Huang-lung himself resided at Kuei-tsung ssu 歸宗寺 on Lu-shan for a time, and it is noteworthy that this famous mountain—formerly a center of the Fa-yen School—was the center of his School's development. In terms of the present study, it is especially significant that Huang-lung was personally involved in the compilation of the ***Ssu chia yü lu.***

We have mentioned above that the dissemination of the ***Chao chou yü-lu*** was closely tied to the activities on Lu-shan. Another such work was the ***Fen yang wu teh ch'an shih yü lu*** 汾陽無德禪師語錄 ("The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Wu-teh of Fen-yang").[41] This was first written and published about the same time as the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** (which was published in 1002). The same person, Yang-i 楊億, wrote prefaces for both works. In fact, Wu-teh's "recorded sayings" contains a sermon in which he expresses his joy at having earlier sayings of his included in the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** during his own lifetime. The book of Wu-teh's teachings was reissued at K'ai-yuan ssu in Hung-chou in the year 1101 under the textual supervision of one Yuan-chi 丹璣, who is described as the chief monk of a Ch'an temple on Lu-shan. He is said to have "received transmission of the teaching," probably in the Fa-yen or perhaps the Huang-lung School.[42] Just as the ***Chao chou yü lu,*** the ***Fen yang wu teh ch'an shih yü lu*** was probably brought to Lu-shan in the flight from the turmoil and strife going on in North China prior to the establishment of the Sung Dynasty.

It is clear that a great number of the oral records of T'ang Dynasty Ch'an Masters were edited and republished during the early part of the Sung Dynasty. A contemporary work, Chueh-fan Hui-hung's 覺範慧洪 (1071–1158) ***Shih men wen tzu ch'an*** 石門文字禪 ("Ch'an Words from the Stone Gate"), specifically affirms that this was the case.[43]

Many of the men involved in these re-publication efforts were men of

the Huang-lung School. No doubt spurred on by the efforts of Yen-shou and Tao-yuan of the Fa-yen School, these men were responsible for the dissemination and wide establishment of a new genre of religious literature. Because they were qualitatively different from the "transmission of the lamp" histories, the emergence of these "recorded sayings" texts as a fully matured literary genre signals a new point of development in the history of Ch'an. No longer content to be circumscribed by the narrow limits of individual "encounters" as found in the "transmission of the lamp" histories, Ch'an thus enters the dawn of the age of the *kung-an* 公案 or "precedent" anthologies. The ***Fen yang yü lu*** had in fact contained a set of three hundred such "precedents of former sages" that formed the vanguard of the works that were to come. The study of these anthologies—the ***Wu men kuan*** 無門關 ("The Barrier-gate of Wu-men"), the ***Pi yen lu*** 碧巖錄 ("The Blue Cliff Records"), etc.—must be left for another occasion.

NOTES

Translator's note: The Japanese original of this article appeared in *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 (IBK) 18:1, Dec., 1969, under the title "*Zenshū goroku no keisei*" 禪宗語錄の形成. The text has been rearranged and supplemented with a substantial amount of explanatory material deemed necessary for presentation in English. The translator has attempted to state Professor Yanagida's ideas without alteration or addition, but the reader should be aware that many of the concluding statements found in the Enlish version are only implied, rather than expressly stated, in the Japanese. Almost all the notes have been added by the translator, a few having been taken from the body of the Japanese text. The translator would like to thank Carl Bielefeldt, who was in Japan at the time of this project, for conferring with Professor Yanagida on several critical matters and for making various helpful suggestions of his own.

[1] T50.842c.

[2] T50.775c. This reads "His 'recorded sayings' received wide circulation and an honored reputation." This is in fascicle 11.

[3] T50.741a. This is in fascicle 6. Shen-ch'ing took the name Pei-shan or "North Mountain" from his place of residence on Ch'ang-p'ing-shan 長平山 to the north of Ch'i-ch'eng 郪城 in Szechuan.

[4] K'ou Szu-shang's biography is unknown. Professor Yanagida referred to the ***T'ang shu ching chi i wen ho chih*** 唐書經籍藝文合志, p. 83b of the historical material in the second section (*I-pu shih-lu, tsa-shih lei* 乙部史錄, 雜史類).

[5] See Professor Yanagida's article on Ma-tsu, "Basozen no shomondai" 馬祖禪の諸問題, IBK 17:1 (Dec., 1968).

[6] Quoted in the ***Tsung ching lu*** 宗鏡錄, fascicle 14, T48.492a. For Tsung-mi's in-

terpretation of the Hung-chou School, see his ***Chung hua ch'uan hsin ti ch'an men shih tz'u ch'eng hsi t'u*** 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 ("Diagram of the Lineages of Teachers and Disciples Who Transmit the 'mind-ground' of Chinese Ch'an"), ZZK 2, 15, 5. The reader may wish to refer to the very useful Japanese edition by KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, ***Zengen shosenshū tojo*** 禪源諸詮集都序, Zen no goroku 禪の語錄, 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971). pp, 282ff.

[7] T47.501c. See also Professor Yanagida's second edition of the ***Lin chi lu,*** which is annotated in an extremely helpful and authoritative manner, *Rinzairoku* 臨濟錄. *Butten kōza* 佛典講座, 30 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1972), pp. 158–9.

[8] The list of Lin-chi's religious seniors occurs at T47.501b and Yanagida, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–4. The quotation ascribed to Huai-jang is at T47.503a and Yanagida, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[9] T48.399a.

[10] T50.551c.

[11] Also T50.551c. The Chinese is *chieh-chiao wu-tsung* 藉敎悟宗. See Professor Yanagida's ***Daruma no goroku*** [*ninyū shigyō ron*], 達摩の語錄 [二入四行論], Zen no goroku, 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), p. 31.

[12] The ***Pao-lin chuan*** was compiled in 801 by Chih-chü 智炬 (also known as Hui-chü 慧炬). Of its original 10 fascicles, only 1–6 and 8 are still extant. It has been published in 1935 in China and 1959 by Hanazono College (under Professor Yanagida's direction) in Kyoto, Japan, but these editions have become very rare. The ***Pao lin chuan*** set the tone for all the "transmission of the lamp" histories to follow. See Professor Yanagida's *"Zenseki kaidai"* 禪籍解題, no. 92, in NISHITANI Keiji and YANAGIDA Seizan, eds., ***Zenke goroku*** 禪家語錄, II, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū 世界古典文學全集, 36b (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976), p. 469.

[13] See the ***Yuan wu yu lu*** 圓悟語錄, fascicle 14, T47.777a.

[14] While these stories are referred to briefly at T47.777a, they are obviously known from other sources as well. The section on Kāṇadeva (*Chia-no-t'i-po*; 迦那提婆) in the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** has Nāgārjuna throwing a needle into a water-filled bowl in front of Kāṇadeva, stepping up to him, and then "manifesting" an image of the moon. (T51.211b). The other stories mentioned by Yuan-wu do not occur in what would seem to be their obvious places in the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** nor in the later ***Ch'uan fa cheng tsung chi*** 傳法正宗記 ("Records of the Transmission of the *Dharma* in the Orthodox School") by Fo-jih Ch'i-sung 佛月契嵩 (1007–1072). The latter has the Kāṇadeva stories at T51.727c.

[15] The ***Tun wu yao men*** occurs at ZZK 2, 15, 5. Also see HIRANO Shūjō's 平野宗淨 ***Tongo yōmon*** 頓悟要門, Zen no goroku, 6 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1970). The ***Po jang kuang-lu*** may be found at ZZK 2, 24, 5, while the ***Nan ch'uan yü yao*** is at ZZK, 2, 23, 2. Layman P'ang's collection of poetry comprises fascicles 2 and 3 of the ***P'ang chü shih yu lu*** 龐居士語錄 ("The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang"), ZZK 2, 25, 1. Also consult the authoritative Japanese translation by Professor IRIYA Yoshitaka 入矢義高, ***Hōkoji goroku*** 龐居士語錄, Zen no goroku, 7 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1973).

[16] T51.445a–446b.

[17] A Ming Dynasty recension of the anthology mentioned here may be found in the extended canon, ZZK 2, 23, under the title ***Ku tsun su yü lu*** 古尊宿語錄 ("Re-

corded Sayings of Ancient Worthies''). It is convenient to use the more readable reprint in the ***Ch'an tsung chi ch'eng*** 禪宗集成 (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan yin-hang, 1968), vol. 11–12. A better edition of the text, edited by the great Muchaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744), has been published under Professor Yanagida's direction under the original title, ***Ku tsun su yü yao,*** (Kyoto: Chung-wen ch'u-pan she, 1973).

[18] See T55.1095a, T55.1101a, and T55.1106c. The titles of these catalogues are omitted in the interest of brevity.

[19] T55.1084b.

[20] Reference unavailable at present.

[21] The ***Wu hsing lun*** is attributed to Bodhidharma and contained in the ***Shao shih liu men*** 少室六門 (''The Six Works of Shao-shih,'' *Shao-shih* referring to Sung-shan 嵩山, the site of Bodhidharma's legendary residence, Shao-lin ssu 少林寺), T48.370c–373b. Its true author is unknown, but was probably a member of the Northern School of some related mid-T'ang group. The ***Kuan hsin lun*** is also contained in the ***Shao shih liu-men*** under the title ***P'o hsiang lun*** 破性論 (''Treatise on the Destruction of Characteristics''), T48.366c–369c. However, it was written by Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606?–706), the preeminent figure of the Northern School. The ***Liu tsu t'an ching*** is so well-known that it needs no introduction here. The reader is urged to refer to Professor Yampolsky's masterful translation and study, ***The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). The ***Hsieh mo lun*** also occurs in the ***Shao shih liu men,*** T48. 373b–376b, but is thought to be a product of the Niu-t'ou 牛頭 (''Oxhead'') School. See Professor Yanagida's comments on this work in his monumental ***Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*** 初期禪宗史書の研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 143, 173, and 181.

[22] See the listing of the ***Chih hsien chieh sung i chuan*** 智閑偈頌一卷 (''Verses by Chih-hsien in One Fascicle'') in the ***T'ang shu ching chi i wen ho chih*** section on Buddhism (*Tao-chia* [*shih-chia*] *lei, fa-chia lei* 道家 (釈家) 類, 法家類), p. 208.

[23] See the preface by Ch'i-shih 齊己 to the verses by Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁 in the ***Ch'an men chu tsu shih chieh sung*** 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (''Poetry of the Masters of Ch'an''), ZZK 2, 21, 5, or ***Ch'an tsung chi ch'eng***, vol. 9, p. 6089a.

[24] ***The Tsu-t'ang chi*** was compiled in 952 by two disciples of Ching-hsiu Wen-teng 淨修文僜 named Ching 靜 and Chün 均. Being 52 years older than the ***Ch'uan teng lu*** and containing a great deal of material not found in that work, the ***Tsu t'ang chi*** is an extremely valuable text. Knowledge of it is unattested in Chinese literature after the twelfth century, but it has been preserved in Korea, where it is known under the pronunciation *Chôdangjip*. It contains sections on several Korean monks and has been considered by some to have been compiled in Korea, but Professor Yanagida feels it is of Chinese origin. It has been reprinted under his direction (Kyoto: Chung-wen ch'u-pan she, 1972). See his *Zenseki kaidai*, no. 292, pp. 507–8. The ***Tsung ching lu*** (Japanese pronunciation: *Sugyōroku*) is a massive collection of quotations from Ch'an Masters compiled in 961 by Yung-ming Yen-shou 永明延壽 (904–976), an important figure in the Fa-yen School 法眼宗 of Ch'an who was also known for his T'ien-t'ai 天台 and Pure Land 淨土 studies and practices. Yen-shou wanted to document the identity of Ch'an and doctrinal Buddhism (*chiao-ch'an i-chih* 教禪一致), a goal which fortunately led to the preservation of a great deal of contemporary material. T48.415ff.

[25] The usage of the word *chi-yuan* in the Ch'an School is defined as the teacher's activity of responding to the needs (*yuan*, "conditions") of the student (*chi*) (according to Ui's ***Bukkyō jiten***), or more simply the perfect meeting of teacher and student (according to the ***Zengaku jiten***). Professor Yanagida's reaction to the choice of "encounter" as an English equivalent was said to be positive.

[26] See the ***T'ang ku hung chou k'ai yuan ssu shih men tao i ch'an shih t'a ming*** 唐古洪州開元寺石門道一禪師塔銘 (***Ch'uan t'ang wen*** 全唐文 501) by Ch'uan Teh-yü 權德輿 (759–818).

[27] See the ***Hung chou po jang shan ku huai hai ch'an shih t'a ming*** 洪州百丈山故懷海禪師塔銘 (***Ch'uang t'ang wen*** 466) by Ch'en Hsü 陳詡.

[28] References unavailable at this time.

[29] T51.249b-c.

[30] ***Ch'uan t'ang wen***, fascicle 780.

[31] That is, the entry on Hui-hai in fascicle 6, T51.249b–250c, and his oral teachings in fascicle 28, the ***Yueh chou ta chu hui hai ho shang yü*** 越州大珠慧海和尚語, T.51 440c–444b.

[32] References unavailable at present.

[33] ZZK 2, 24, 5 or ***Ch'an tsung chi ch'eng***, vol. 13, p. 8971a.

[34] This place-name corresponds to either Ou-hsien 甌県 in Fukkien (according to T'ang Dynasty usage) or I-ch'eng-hsien 儀徵県 in Kiangsu (according to early Sung usage).

[35] Reference unavailable at this time.

[36] The ***Ssu chia yü lu*** contains the oral teachings of Ma-tsu, Po-jang, Huang-po Hsi-yun, and Lin-chi. It was published in China some time during the early seventeenth century and in Japan in 1648. The present text (ZZK 2, 24) thus dates from the seventeenth century, but it is known from other sources that Huang-lung Hui-nan edited the text in the early Sung. (This fact is discussed below.) See Professor Yanagida's ***Zenseki kaidai***, no. 14, p. 447, as well as the modern edition done under his direction (Kyoto: Chung-wen ch'u-pan she, 1974).

[37] See T51.254c (***Ch'uan t'ang lu***) and p. 286 in the ***Tsu t'ang chi***.

[38] Reference unavailable at this time.

[39] The Japanese article misprints the last character of this title. The text is unavailable in any modern edition of the canon. It is twenty-four fascicles in length, being an explanation of Buddhist doctrines, traditions, etc., organized according to fifty major and forty minor subject headings. The title is based on that of an earlier work by the poet Po-Chü-i 白居易 (772–846) which was devoted to the explanation of a great number of current sayings and poetic usages. It has been translated loosely as "six documents," but this does not refer to any hexapartite division in the text itself. The title is apparently based upon a type of question in the T'ang civil service examination in which one was supposed to fill in three blank characters in a single line of a classical text. See the ***Tz'u hai*** entry on ***Po k'ou liu t'ieh*** 白孔六帖 (vol. 2, p. 2010).

[40] The ***Chao chou yü lu***, or ***Chao chou lu*** as it is often called, may be found at ZZK 2, 23. Ch'eng-shih's text was reprinted sometime between 1131 and 1162. For the reference to him quoted in this article see, for example, AKIZUKI Ryūmin 秋月竜珉, ***Jōshūroku*** 趙州錄, Zen no goroku 11 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971), p. 190.

[41] See T47.594ff, ZZK 2,25, 1, or the ***Ch'an tsung chi ch'eng,*** vol. 14, p. 9241ff.

[42] The ***Zenseki mokuroku*** 禅籍目錄 published by Komazawa University (Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōkai, 1962) lists Tzu-ming Ch'u-yuan 慈明楚円 as the editor of this text. Judging from the terms used, Yuan-chi was in charge of textual accuracy and Ch'u-yuan was in charge of the project as a whole. Yuan-chi held the post of *hsiao-k'an* 校勘 and is referred to as *Lu-shan yuan-t'ung ch'ung-sheng ch'an-yuan chu-ch'ih ch'uan-fa pi-ch'iu yuan-chi* 廬山円通崇勝禅院住持傳法比丘円璣 ("The *bhikṣu* Yuan-chi, who has received transmission of the Dharma and is the resident monk of Yuan-t'ung ch'ung-sheng ch'an-yuan on Lu-shan"). His biography is unknown. Ch'u-yuan (987–1040) was a disciple of Wu-teh's and the teacher of Huang-lung Hui-nan and Yang-chih Fang-hui 楊岐方會 (996–1049), who stand at the head of the two most important lineages in the later Ch'an School.

[43] This is in the Ming Dynasty extended canon (***Ta-ming hsu t'sang ching*** 大明續藏經) 57.1–6. The specific reference is unavailable at present.