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Kung-an Ch'an and the Tsong-men t'ung-yao chi

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(TRANSLATED FROM THE JAPANESE

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Kung-an Ch'an as a Unique Feature of Sung Dynasty Ch'an

T'ang dynasty Ch'an and Sung dynasty Ch'an are very different in character. Expressed in doctrinal terms, T'ang Ch'an represents "intrinsic enlightenment" (C. *pen-chüeh men*, J. *hongakumon*) and Sung Ch'an represents "acquired (or experiential) enlightenment" (C. *shih-chüeh-men*, J. *shigakumon*). In the case of "acquired enlightenment," the practitioner cultivates enlightenment after awakening from delusion to the true nature of reality. This form of cultivation, unique to Sung Ch'an, is referred to as *k'an-hua Ch'an* (J. *kanna Zen*) or *kung-an Ch'an* (J. *kōan Zen*).¹ When we ask the question "What is a *kōan*?" the document commonly referred to for an explanation is the first *chuan* of the *Shan-fang yeh-hua* (*Night Talks in the Mountain Hut*), compiled by a Yüan dynasty representative of the Yang-ch'i branch of the Lin-chi lineage, Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263–1323).²

According to Chung-feng, *kung-an* was originally a legal term referring to judgments rendered by public courts of law. When Ch'an practitioners sought enlightenment, *kung-an* referred to as "enlightenment stories" served as models in their search. Accordingly, the association of the term *kung-an* by Ch'an practitioners with the circumstances surrounding the enlightenment of the Buddhas and patriarchs was already established at the time of Chung-feng.

As a result, Ch'an practice that seeks enlightenment through the use of *kōan* is referred to as *k'ung-an Ch'an* (J. *kōan-Zen*) or *k'an-hua Ch'an* ("kōan introspection Ch'an"). The *k'an-hua* method refers to a form of cultivation

intensely focused on enlightenment through the use of kung-an by referencing “enlightenment stories” in terms of the “crucial phrase” (*hua-t'ou*). *K'an-hua ch'an* is not a method of cultivation that dates from the early period of Ch'an development. There is no evidence at all of its existence during the T'ang dynasty. The *k'an-hua ch'an* technique was systematized by Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163), a master of the Lin-chi lineage during the Sung dynasty. Moreover, the kung-an technique of Ta-hui Tsung-kao originated in the “*Wu*” kung-an (*mu kōan*) involving Chao-chou. The *wu kung-an* of Chao-chou is the first kung-an in the *Wu-men kuan* (J. *Mumonkan*), the representative collection of 48 kung-an by Wu-men Hui-k'ai (1183–1260).³ [Translator's note: The text of the *Wu-men kuan* is available in T 48, no. 2005. The *kōan* involving Chao-chou translated here appears on pp. 292c–293a.]

[KŌAN] A monk asked Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen: “Does a dog also have the Buddha-nature?” Chao-chou answered: “*Wu!*” [J. *Mu*].

[COMMENTARY BY WU-MEN] In studying Ch'an, one must pass through the barrier set up by the patriarchs. To attain inconceivable enlightenment [*miao-wu*], one must completely eliminate mental activity. Those who have not passed through the barrier of the patriarchs and not 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!*” [*Mu*] spoken by Chao-chou here. This is the first barrier of the Ch'an school [*tsung-men*].⁴ As a result, I have titled this work “The Gateless Barrier of the Ch'an School” [*Ch'an-tsung Wu-men kuan*]. Those who are able to pass through this barrier not only will meet with Chao-chou as a close friend, they will further 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!

Now, is there anyone who wants to pass through this barrier? If so, then with your 360 bones and 84,000 pores, you will produce one irresolvable doubt throughout your entire body—concentrate on what this word “*wu*” is, and absorb yourself day and night with this problem. Do not misunderstand the word *wu* either in terms of Taoist “nihilism” [*hsü-wu*] or as “nonexistence” conceived dualistically in terms of “existence” and “nonexistence” [*yu-wu*]. 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. When suddenly the doubt is resolved (i.e., you break through the barrier), this event will astonish the heavens and shake the earth. It is as if you have snatched the great sword away from General Kuan-yü, met the Buddha and killed the Buddha, met the patriarchs and killed the patriarchs. Living in the world of birth and death [*samsāra*] you have attained

complete freedom. Continually experiencing life according to the four modes of life on the six transmigratory paths, you wander joyfully in *samādhi*.

What then should one do to exert oneself with this word “*wu*”?

Exhausting all your spiritual energy in this constant pursuit, you must absorb this word “*wu*.” If you succeed, without wavering for a moment, it will seem as if the light of the Dharma suddenly ignited in your mind.

[VERSE] Does a dog have the Buddha-nature?
 The Buddhas and patriarchs have completely resolved
 this doubt.
 Whether you answer “yes” or “no,”
 Your fate is sealed.

In this way, Wu-men Hui-k'ai commented on the *wu kung-an* involving Chao-chou: “Those who are able to pass through this barrier not only will meet with Chao-chou as a close friend, they will further 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.” Accordingly, he claims that if one is able to solve this one kung-an, one can become the same as the Buddhas and patriarchs. The same kind of explanation for this kung-an appears in a “Dharma Lecture” (*fa-yü*) by Ta-hui, “Dharma Lecture Given to Officer Wang T'ung-p'an,” as follows.⁵

[LECTURE TO OFFICER WANG T'UNG-P'AN]

The Officer's study of Buddhism does not extend beyond two intersecting paths. One refers to “forgetting feelings” [unconsciousness]; the other to “attachment to thought” [agitation]. “Attachment to thought” referred to here is what the elder of Tu-chuan called *kuan-tai* [“spiritual concentration”]. “Forgetting feelings” is what he called *mo-chao* [“silent illumination”]. If you can eliminate the two diseases of “spiritual concentration” and “silent illumination,” you will be able to escape birth and death. The “birth and death” referred to here is originally without form. If people who study Buddhism do not break free of birth and death, they will be subject to rebirth in the cycle of transmigration. If the mind of birth and death is destroyed, the transmigrating original nature [*pen-hsing*] will achieve liberation just as it is. Transmigration and liberation are nothing more than provisional names and do not possess any substantial form. If you can constantly observe your everyday activity in this manner, as time passes you will surely make progress.

In the past, Bodhidharma told the second patriarch. “if you put an end to mental activity aimed at external objects, internally the mind will not become exhausted. If the mind becomes firm like a wall, one can enter the Way just as one is.” The second patriarch spoke of nature [*hsing*] in terms of various types of mindfulness and explained it in reference to words and letters. He did not match Bodhidharma's intentions at all. He affirmed the aforementioned notions of “forgetting feelings” and “attachment to thought” as correct. When one does not

affirm the concept of "attachment to thought," one puts an end to mental activity aimed at external objects. When one does not affirm the concept of "forgetting feelings," internally the mind becomes firm. When the mind becomes firm, it naturally becomes like a wall. Moreover, when one stops conjecturing with the mind, one will eventually become firm like a wall. As a result, one should try to practice correctly in order to eliminate uncertainty. But under no circumstances during one's practice should one hold that enlightenment is making the mind active. Holding that enlightenment is making the mind active has no bearing at all [on the matter].

When the mind of birth and death has not yet been destroyed, the self is completely seized with uncertainty. The following "crucial phrase" [*hua-t'ou*] case shows the uncertainty existing in the recesses of consciousness.

A monk asked Chao-chou: "Does a dog have the Buddha-nature?"

Chao-chou: "Wu!" [*Mu*].

Do not neglect this word "No!" during any activity, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down. When deluded thoughts arise, do not use the mind to restrain them, just grapple with the "crucial phrase." Even when one sits quietly [*ching-tso*], whenever the mind becomes despondent, one takes up this phrase to revive one's spirits. Doubts are eliminated as quickly as eyebrows and lashes are singed by fire, as quickly as the time it takes an old blind woman to blow out a flame. When one reaches this understanding, both "forgetting feelings" [unconsciousness] and "attachment to thought" [agitation] are valid, both quiet and noise are accepted. Even though completely confined to the cycle of transmigration, one is not subject to rebirth. Moreover, one can use transmigration as an opportunity for enjoying oneself just as one is. When one has reached this stage of understanding, one's mind is naturally sharp in a way that it is always perfectly focused. Furthermore, one can read about this throughout the three teachings which the sages have taught from the beginning. They taught it according to their own unique situations without adding or deleting a single word. If one does not follow this path, even though one spends an eternity cultivating austerities in anticipation of realizing "this great event of enlightenment," it will simply be wasted effort, plummeting one [into further rebirths]. [The methods of] "forgetting feelings" and "attachment to thought" will both pass you by [to no avail]. But what would it mean if you "forget feelings" and were not "attached to thought"? [Shout] YAH! What on earth is this? Officer Wang T'ung-p'an, you should simply study the meaning of this word. There is nothing that matters other than this.

It goes without saying that Ta-hui's references to kung-an were not confined to Chao-chou's word *wu*, but he did make frequent reference to it. As a representative kung-an of *k'an-hua Ch'an*, it exerted great influence on him.

When was *k'an-hua Ch'an* established? In Ta-hui's case, it was formed during his criticism of "silent illumination" (*mo-chao*) Ch'an while he was in Fuchien province in the fourth year of the Shao-hsing era (1134).⁶ As a result, Ta-hui's frequent references to Chao-chou's word *wu* occurred after this. The

interpretation of kung-an that developed after this is contained in the explanation of Chung-feng Ming-pen cited above.

What kind of kung-an did Ta-hui refer to besides Chao-chou's *wu kung-an*? Ta-hui Tsung-kao, compiled the *Cheng-fa-yen tsang*, (*Treasury of the True Dharma Eye*; J. *Shōbōgenzō*), a collection of 668 kung-an believed to have been completed in the seventeenth year of the Shao-hsing era (1147). Regarding the purpose of this compilation, Ta-hui himself commented on it following the first kung-an involving Lang-yeh Hui-chüeh.⁷

When I lived at Heng-yang in Ho-nan province, limited by the legacy of my sinfulness, other than shutting the door to repeatedly examine myself, I passed the days without worries. During the days spent living this way, Ch'an practitioners frequently appeared requesting instruction. Without fail, I answered their questions for them. Among the Ch'an practitioners there was one called Ch'ung-mi Hui-jan. In response to his questions, I took extracts [from Ch'an records] and over the days and months, through this process, I compiled a large text [of these extracts]. Ch'ung-mi and others brought it to me and asked that I give it a title. Thinking that it would preserve the treasury of the true dharma eye passed down between the buddhas and patriarchs to future generations of practitioners, I named it the *Cheng fa-yen tsang* [Treasury of the True Dharma Eye]. In other words, even though a story involving Lang-yeh Hui-chüeh happens to begin the collection, the order of the Ch'an teachers and distinctions regarding their lineages, etc., have no bearing at all on the fundamental position of the work. What they requested was simply to experience thoroughly the wonders of enlightenment, to be liberated from the bonds of confusion which rendered practitioners immobile, and to be furnished with eyes to see true enlightenment.

In this way, kung-an were, in effect, individual *hua-t'ou* or "crucial phrases" that were compiled and collected so that practitioners could be released from delusion and could experience enlightenment and be furnished with eyes to see what constituted the enlightenment of the buddhas and patriarchs.

In this regard, this chapter addresses a number of questions regarding the formation of the kung-an tradition. It seeks to clarify the process through which kung-an collections were compiled. In particular, it focuses on the important but overlooked role played by the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* (J. *Shūmon tōyōshū*) in the compilation of kung-an. Finally, it considers the central status the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* occupies among Ch'an sources. First it will review how the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* has been overlooked by Ch'an scholars.

The Scholarly Neglect of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*

The study of Ch'an history advanced rapidly with the discovery of the Tun-huang manuscripts at the beginning of this century.⁸ The study of early Ch'an

history has been made clear through the Tun-huang sources and will continue to be clarified in more comprehensive ways in the future. However, there are historical limitations to the information that the Tun-huang sources provide. For example, it is impossible to understand the Ch'an community descended from Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788), the master who exerted the greatest influence on the development of later generations of the Ch'an community, by studying Tun-huang sources. The Tun-huang manuscripts are likewise of no use as sources for studying Sung dynasty Ch'an. The period that the Tun-huang manuscripts are suitable for in the study of Ch'an is up until the rebellion of An Lu-shan in the middle of the eighth century. The greatest accomplishment in Ch'an research based on the Tun-huang manuscripts has been in clarifying the role played by Shen-hui (684-758) in Ch'an history.⁹

The sources used to conduct research on Ch'an history prior to the discovery of the Tun-huang manuscripts were the twin jewels of Ch'an transmission history texts issued in the Sung dynasty, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (J. *Keitoku dentōroku*, issued in 1004) and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (J. *Gotō egen*, issued in 1252). The reason these two texts were used is that they concern the formation and development of Ch'an during the most interesting phase of its history. This rationale regarding their importance for the study of Ch'an is still applicable today. There are no better texts than these for the study of Ch'an history during this period. As was noted earlier, the history of Ch'an prior to the An Lu-shan rebellion was completely rewritten after the discovery of the Tun-huang manuscripts. In spite of this, the Sung transmission of the lamp records (*ch'uan-teng lu*) remains as important as ever for the study of Ch'an history after An Lu-shan.

As a source for the study of Ch'an from its formation until the development of the "five houses," the earliest of the transmission of the lamp records, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, contains nearly all of the representative figures of Chinese Ch'an. In addition, it was included in the Chinese Buddhist canon by imperial order, a fact that shows it was an authoritative work. Its popularity was enhanced by the developments in printing technology in China around this time.

The other text, the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, was compiled by the monk Hui-ming from the five previous Sung transmission histories, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, and the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*. It is an extremely useful text containing the biographies and statements of Ch'an monks from the initial formation of Ch'an through the thirteenth century. The *Wu-teng hui-yüan* is representative of the Ch'an manuscripts consulted by philologists who investigated Ch'an in the Ch'ing dynasty. Zen adherents in Edo period Japan also began their investigations of Zen history by consulting the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*. As a source for the study of Ch'an, it has even been consulted by

compilers of modern dictionaries of Buddhist terms and Chinese language dictionaries (in recent years it has been supplemented by materials found in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* issued in 952, discovered unexpectedly this century).

One of the problems that has plagued the study of Ch'an has been a reliance on easily available, later editions of Ch'an texts rather than on earlier, more original editions. In addition to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, many Ch'an records are contained in the Ming edition of the Buddhist canon. The Ming edition also served as the standard for modern editions of the Buddhist canon, *Taishō daizōkyō* and *Zoku zōkyō*. No effort was made to select earlier versions of Ch'an texts contained in Sung editions, the Japanese Gozan or "Five Mountains" editions, or assorted other manuscript versions. Professor Yanagida Seizan, an authority on the study of Ch'an history, has commented on this situation as follows.¹⁰

Generally speaking, the inclusion of sectarian materials in *Taishō daizōkyō*, as in the case of Pure Land texts, shows the great potential impact that the old editions of the Buddhist canon may have. However, the full potential of older edition materials was not realized. In the case of Ch'an, Gozan edition materials were only used to supplement Ming edition texts which were used as if they were originals. No effort was made to put the true value of the older Gozan edition texts to practical use. This tendency prevails through all modern collections of the Buddhist canon, the *Shukusatsu zōkyō*, the *Zoku zōkyō*, and so on. It would be better to rely on Ch'an texts that survive in Sung or Gozan editions.

This is a very important observation, and one that must be heeded. It means that modern scholars who rely on *Taishō daizōkyō*, *Zoku zōkyō*, and so on, to carry out research on Ch'an continue this work without the aid of the most authentic versions of Ch'an texts available.

The subject of investigation here is the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* (issued in 1093), known to most through the expanded text contained in the Ming canon, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* (*Shūmon tōyō zokushū*, issued in 1324).¹¹ The way the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* illustrate the problem associated with the proper use of sources for the study of Ch'an described above is as follows. Excerpts from the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* were used in the 108 chapter *Sōden haiin*, a useful index of biographies of monks compiled by Taiso Gyōjo in the Edo period. However, the version of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* that Taiso Gyōjo used for his index was a Yüan edition by Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao (1262–1329), a version that added new fragments composed after the original *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. The relation between the Sung text, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, and the Ming edition version, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi*, is illustrated in table 4.1.¹²

As the table makes clear, what the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* added to the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* notes was insignificant. It appended three chapters to the end of the work; the additions are for the most part confined to this ex-

Table 4.1 Contents of *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi*

Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi	Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü chi	→ Contents
ch. 1	ch. 1	S'äkyamuni
	ch. 2	Sages and worthies of India
ch. 2	ch. 3	4th–6th patriarchs
ch. 3	ch. 4	Nan-yüeh
		Nan-yüeh 1st–2nd generations
	ch. 5	Nan-yüeh 2nd generation
ch. 4	ch. 6	Nan-yüeh 3rd generation
	ch. 7	Nan-yüeh 3rd generation
ch. 5	ch. 8	Nan-yüeh 4th generation
	ch. 9	Nan-yüeh 4th generation
ch. 6	ch. 10	Nan-yüeh 5th generation
	ch. 11	Nan-yüeh 6th–11th generations
ch. 7	ch. 12	Ch'ing-yüan
		Ch'ing-yüan 1st–2nd generations
	ch. 13	Ch'ing-yüan 2nd–3rd generations
	ch. 14	Ch'ing-yüan 4th generation
ch. 8	ch. 15	Ch'ing-yüan 5th generation
	ch. 16	Ch'ing-yüan 5th generation
ch. 9	ch. 17	Ch'ing-yüan 6th generation
	ch. 18	Ch'ing-yüan 6th generation
ch. 10	ch. 19	Ch'ing-yüan 7th generation
	ch. 20	Ch'ing-yüan 8th–10th generations
	ch. 21	Nan-yüeh 12th–14th generations
	ch. 22	Nan-yüeh 15th–18th generations
	ch. 23	Ch'ing-yüan 11th–14th generations

panded framework. Concerning the descendants of the Nan-yüeh lineage added, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* notes as follows in ch. 22:¹³

From the 12th generation through the 18th generation descendants of Nan-yüeh, there are altogether 286 people whose encounters appear in the records, in over 212 cases.

Concerning the descendants of the Ch'ing-yüan lineage added, there is the following statement at the end of ch. 22.¹⁴

From the 11th generation through the 14th generation descendants of Ch'ing-yüan, there are altogether 120 people whose encounters appear in the records, in 47 cases. The descendants of the two lineages of Nan-yüeh and Ch'ing-yüan from the additional two chapters presented here, totals 406 people. . . . the en-

counters which appear in the records are contained in a total 259 cases, not counting any that have been unwittingly omitted.

According to the edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained in the library of the Tōyō bunko, the text originally contained 265 people from the Ch'ing-yüan lineage in 554 cases, and 249 people from the Nan-yüeh lineage in over 559 cases. Counting everyone mentioned from Śākyamuni onward, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained 614 people of the 859 total appearing in the 1,323 cases that form the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi*. Since the text is from the same era as the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, the structure of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* presents no major changes.

Consequently, one can hardly claim that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is an unknown text, since its contents have become familiar to us through the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi*. Yet it is impossible to treat the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as a Sung dynasty Ch'an source when one's knowledge of it comes through the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi*. The reason is that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* has not been transmitted down to us in a single standardized form, and the version of the text in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* cannot be regarded as such. Consequently, even though we try to use the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* for the study of Sung Ch'an, it cannot be easily used for such purposes. Had a Sung edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* been included in *Taishō daizōkyō*, legitimate research on the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* would presumably have progressed further than it has.

The Importance of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* for the Study of Sung Ch'an

A recognition of the importance of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* for the study of Sung Ch'an developed gradually throughout my career. My initial recognition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi's* importance for the understanding of Sung Ch'an came about during Professor Yanagida Seizan's investigation of Sung Ch'an sources in the Kantō region around Tokyo. In 1973 Professor Yanagida published "A Report on Investigations of Sung Editions of Ch'an Sources," in which he addressed the topic of the Sung edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained in the library of the Tōyō Bunko institute. In his report Professor Yanagida pointed out that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* had been cited in chapter 10 of the *Ta-tsang i-lan chi* compiled by Ch'en-shih, thereby exerting influence on the *Kōzen gokoku ron* by Eisai (*Yōsai*).¹⁵

I originally began to study the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* out of other interests. My graduate supervisor, Professor Kagamishima Genryū, completed a study on the sources cited by Zen Master Dōgen.¹⁶ The effect of his research was epoch making for the history of Dōgen studies. Following Dr. Kagamishi-

ma's lead, I conducted research on sources cited in Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō* and published an article based on this research.¹⁷ I knew at that time that citations from Ch'an sources in Dōgen's works were overwhelmingly taken from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. I also knew that Dōgen cited frequently from the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, a text with strong associations with the Ch'an lineage of Ta-hui. At this stage Dr. Kagamishima had concluded that there was no direct connection between Dōgen and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. Because of this conclusion, I did not at that time consider the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as a source from which Dōgen might have cited.

Assisted to some extent by Professor Yanagida's investigation of Ch'an sources published in the Sung, I obtained copies of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained in the library of the Tōyō Bunko Institute. My research on the connection between the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, which was published after the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, made clear the close connection between the two works. The same year Professor Yanagida published his report, I published the results of my research in a study of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.¹⁸ The following year I published an article on the connection between the sources cited by Ta-hui in the *Cheng fa-yen tsang* (J. *Shōbōgenzō*) and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*.¹⁹ In it, I pointed out that Ta-hui Tsung-kaō frequently cited from the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* in his *Cheng fa-yen tsang* and that Ta-hui's *Cheng fa-yen tsang* exerted influence on the compilation of the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*. That same year, I published an article continuing my research on the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, comparing terminology used in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.²⁰ It made clear that most of the citations in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* were from the *Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* by Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980–1052) of the Yün-men lineage. Through these studies I noticed that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* were different in character than the Ch'an transmission histories, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, and the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu*. The transmission histories documented the order of transmission of the dharma from generation to generation. The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* were kung-an collections compiled for the purpose of establishing individual conversations between Ch'an practitioners as "cases for public examination" (kung-an). These kung-an were considered somehow to have meaning for practitioners independent of the context in which they appeared in the transmission histories, and it is evident that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was the earliest such collection of kung-an.

In my *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (*Studies in the History of the Zen School in the Sung Dynasty*) I treated the problem of the origins of kung-an in Ch'an records, focusing on ch. 27 of the *Ching-te chuan-teng lu*. The thesis formed about this topic became the basic starting point for my research; it completely

transformed my dissertation as a graduate student.²¹ I was greatly influenced in my research by Professor Yanagida's study "The *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s Value as Source Material."²²

From the beginning, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, discovered at the beginning of this century from Haein-sa Monastery in a rendition of the Korean Tripitaka, proved a valuable document for the study of Ch'an. Advances in research on the *Tsu-t'ang chi* have come largely as a result of the work of Professor Yanagida. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* conveyed the unique charm of T'ang Ch'an in a way that the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, hitherto relied on by researchers, did not. Professor Yanagida serialized stories from the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in the journal *Zen bunka*.²³ Subsequently Professor Yanagida also published an abbreviated translation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*,²⁴ and more recently he has published several works of stories from the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.²⁵ In 1984 a three-volume *Index to the Tsu-t'ang chi* was published, edited by Professor Yanagida.²⁶ Professor Yanagida's work on the *Tsu-t'ang chi* serves as a valuable contribution to research in the field of Ch'an and Zen studies.

In the original text of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the date of completion is given as "the tenth year of the Pao-ta era of the Southern T'ang" (952), a designation that has great significance. The compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was completed by two Ch'an masters known as Ching and Yün of the Chao-ch'ing monastery in Ch'üan-chou, currently in Fukien, province. The chief priest of the monastery at that time was Ch'an Master of Pure Cultivation Sheng-t'eng (884-972), who also wrote a preface for the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. It is also plausible to assert that Master Sheng-t'eng was in a position to act as supervisor for the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Chao-ch'ing Sheng-t'eng was a disciple of Pao-fu Tsung-chan (?-928), a member of the lineage of Hsüeh-feng I-tsun (822-908). Ch'üan-chou, where the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled, had belonged to the country of Min, one of the ten kingdoms during the period of the so-called "Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms," prior to being subordinated to the Southern T'ang. Min was governed by the Wang family—the rulers of Wu-yüeh to the north (present day Hang-chou in Che-chiang province), including King Chung-I (also known as Wang Shen-chih, 862-925)—a family that had great admiration for Buddhism. Among the Ch'an groups that Wang Shen-chih protected most was the group descended from Hsüeh-feng I-tsun. Understanding the Hsüeh-feng branch is an important problem for the history of Ch'an at the end of the T'ang and during the Five Dynasties, and many of the sources for studying the Hsüeh-feng lineage are contained in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. In this context, it is useful to analyze carefully Professor Yanagida's article "The *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s Value as Source Material," mentioned earlier.

From the close connection between the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the Hsüeh-feng branch indicated by Professor Yanagida's research, I postulated that a similar case could be made for a connection between the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the Fa-yen branch. In the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, a particular person's comments are

recorded in response to certain topics. The types of comments vary, ranging from selecting certain aspects for comment (*chu*), making inquiries (*cheng*), offering critical remarks (*nien*), giving the commentator's own understanding of a monk's silence (*tai*), and describing how a matter may be otherwise understood (*pieh*). The purpose of the comments is to provide clarification and guidance. Commenting in this way reveals the preferred style of the commentator, and the favored way of acting in a Ch'an-like manner in the commentator's opinion. When Professor Yanagida analyzed these comments, he concluded that nearly all were made by people from the Hsüeh-feng lineage. Using the same method, I analyzed the comments in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, completed in 1004, and determined that the comments were made by people belonging to the Fa-yen lineage. Because the compiler of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, Tao-yüan, was a member of the lineage descended from Fa-yen Wen-i (885–958), this result could be anticipated, and the results of the analysis bore it out. The Fa-yen order developed in Wu-yüeh, receiving the support of the Ch'ien family, who held hegemony over the region. Facts and incidents relating to Wu-yüeh are frequently found in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* as a result.²⁷

A problem remained, however, regarding Yanagida's research on the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Although Professor Yanagida had argued in detail for the relationship between the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the Min kingdom, he had not investigated the relationship between the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the Southern T'ang kingdom. This I set out to rectify in a study of the newly discovered monastery record of the K'ai-yüan monastery in Ch'üan-chou (*Ch'üan-chou k'ai-yüan ssu-chih*), using as my lead the biography of Chao-ch'ing Sheng-t'eng.²⁸ The conclusion of this article made clear the close connection between the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the Prefect of Ch'üan-chou, Liu Tsung-hsiao, and the numerous references to the Southern T'ang in ch. 12 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

Regarding the basic character of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as a kung-an compilation referred to above, we can look at the example of Yen-t'ou Ch'üan-huo (828–887) of E-chou.²⁹ By comparing the 27 cases pertaining to him in ch. 16 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the 9 cases in ch. 8 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* (abbreviated below as *t'ung-yao*), the 19 cases in ch. 21 of the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* (abbreviated below as *hui-yao*), and the 33 cases of ch. 7 of the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (abbreviated below as *hui-yüan*), we can begin to see the great influence the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* exerted over Sung Ch'an. To begin, we will look at the connection between the 27 cases in ch. 16 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* in connection to the other works. (The numbers assigned in brackets to respective texts represent the order in which the case appears in that text.)

Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu Cases on Yen-t'ou Ch'üan-huo:

1. The story of Yen-t'ou's visit to Yang-shan → *hui-yüan* (1)
2. The story of Yen-t'ou's first visit to Te-shan → *hui-yao* (1), *hui-yüan* (2)

3. The story of Yen-t'ou stepping through the gate and asking: "Is it a common person, or a sage?" → *t'ung-yao* (1), *hui-yao* (2), *hui-yüan* (3)
4. The story of Yen-t'ou's affirmation following Te-shan's utterance → *hui-yüan* (4)
5. The story concerning the water and the moon involving Yen-t'ou, Hsüeh-feng, and Ch'in-shan → *t'ung-yao* (7), *hui-yao* (9), *hui-yüan* (5)
6. The story of Yen-t'ou and Hsüeh-feng leaving Te-shan → *hui-yüan* (6)
7. The dialogue concerning whether enlightenment is attainable without a teacher → *hui-yao* (18), *hui-yüan* (8)
8. The story of how rivals should be treated → *hui-yüan* (9)
9. The reason why Bodhidharma came from the West → *hui-yao* (14), *hui-yüan* (24)
10. The story of Yen-t'ou comparing the character for three dots with the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* → *t'ung-yao* (6), *hui-yao* (5), *hui-yüan* (10)
11. The story of a monk visiting Shih-hsiang and Yen-t'ou at the foot of Chia-shan → *hui-yüan* (11)
12. The story of Lo-shan questioning Yen-t'ou's criticism of Tung-shan → *hui-yüan* (12)
13. The dialogue concerning who can cut with a sword → *hui-yao* (19), *hui-yüan* (13)
14. The dialogue concerning whether there are cases that extend to the past and present → *hui-yüan* (14)
15. The story where Yen-t'ou asks: "Who picked up the sword after Huang-ch'ao left?" → *t'ung-yao* (2), *hui-yao* (6), *hui-yüan* (15)
16. The dialogue concerning which of two dragons snatched the pearl → *hui-yüan* (16)
17. What kind of thing is it when a monk sees his self-nature? → *hui-yüan* (17)
18. Who is master of the triple realm? → *hui-yüan* (18)
19. The story of Tuan-yen asking if Yen-t'ou is the teacher of Vairocana Buddha → *hui-yüan* (21)
20. What kind of master can be recognized within delusion? → *hui-yao* (16), *hui-yüan* ch. 7 [Pao-fu biography]
21. Question as to whether the arrow is useless when the bow is broken → *hui-yüan* (22)
22. What is the clear message in a cave? → *hui-yüan* (23)
23. What is the Way? → *hui-yüan* (28)
24. How can a staff reach to the bottom of a deep well? → *hui-yüan* (29)
25. The question whether to hoist the old sail → *hui-yüan* (30)
26. Yen-t'ou answers with a shout when asked about the Buddha, the Dharma, the Way, and Ch'an Practitioners → *hui-yüan* (32)

27. Yen-t'ou cries out once in a loud voice at the end of his life → *hui-yüan* (33)

When we compare the cases in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* with the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, the main thing we notice is the similarity between the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, which presents the cases in essentially the same order. In comparison, only 4 of the 27 cases in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* appear in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, and only 9 of the 27 cases appear in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*. The order of presentation of the cases in these works is different than in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu* as well. Moreover, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* include cases not recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng-lu*. Even with these, the total number of cases in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is only one-third of the total in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*; the total in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* is only one-half the number of cases in the *Ching-te chuan-teng lu*. The significance of these numbers will become apparent from an examination of the contents of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. The increased number of cases in the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, or additions not contained in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, have been taken from the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*. However, cases 7, 19, and 20 were clearly taken from the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, demonstrating the influence of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* on the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*.³⁰ This is a point that will also be raised later.

In contrast to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, what about the section on Yen-t'ou in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*? A comparison of the nine cases regarding Yen-t'ou in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* with the same works as earlier, adding the *Ming-chüeh lu* and Ta-hui's *Cheng-fa-yen tsang* (Ta-hui) to the comparison, follows.

Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi Cases on Yen-t'ou Ch'üan-huo:

1. The story of Yen-t'ou stepping through the gate and asking: "Is it a common person, or a sage?" → *ch'uan-teng lu* (3), *Ming-chüeh lu* (ch. 3), *hui-yao* (2), *hui-yüan* (3)
2. The story where Yen-t'ou asks: "Who picked up the sword after Huang-ch'ao left?" → *ch'uan-teng lu* (15), *hui-yao* (6), *hui-yüan* (15)
3. The story where Yen-t'ou became Ch'üan-t'ou(?) → *hui-yao* (7), *hui-yüan* (7)
4. The story where Yen-t'ou tests two monks while holding an axe → *hui-yao* (8), *hui-yüan* (19)
5. The story where Yen-t'ou asks Jui-yen about the principle of permanence → *ch'uan-teng lu* (ch. 17) [Jui-yen section] *hui-yao* (ch. 23) [Jui-yen section] *hui-yüan* (ch. 7) [Jui-yen section]

6. The story of Yen-t'ou comparing the character for three dots with the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* → *ch'uan-teng lu* (10), *Ta-hui, hui-yao* (5), *hui-yüan* (10)
7. The story concerning the water and the moon involving Yen-t'ou, Hsüeh-feng, and Ch'in-shan → *ch'uan-teng lu* (5), *hui-yao* (9), *hui-yüan* (5)
8. The story of Yen-t'ou testing a monk who draws shapes of circles → *hui-yao* (10), *hui-yüan* (20)
9. The story of Hsüeh-feng attaining enlightenment on Mount Ao → *Ta-hui, hui-yao* (ch. 21) [Hsüeh-feng section], *hui-yüan* (ch. 7) [Hsüeh-feng section]

The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* begins differently than the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*. It does not touch on Yen-t'ou's travels as a practitioner but starts right out in the first case with his stepping through the gate and asking: "Is it a common person, or a sage?" This story also appears in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, but with the difference that in these latter works the comments of Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien are added. The activities of Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980–1052) postdated the compilation of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. Naturally, Hsüeh-tou's comments would not be recorded there. As a result, it follows that the first case in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is taken from an extract of ch. 3 of the *Ming-chüeh lu*.

What follows in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is also found in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*. They both have the second case, where Yen-t'ou asks: "Who picked up the sword after Huang-ch'ao left?" This case is also found in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, but both the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* have Ta-kuei Mu-che's (?–1095) commentary. Ta-kuei Mu-che was active later than Hsüeh-tou and exerted a great influence on the compilation of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.³¹ This commentary appears to have also been in the *Ta-kuei che ch'an-shih yü-lu*, but unfortunately this text is no longer extant. This suggests that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* probably includes fragments of Ta-kuei Mu-che's lost record. The case as it appears in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* also includes Ta-kuei Mu-che's comments.

The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* also includes cases 3, 4, 8, and 9, which are not contained in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* also includes these cases. The *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* clearly records the number of cases recorded therein as "about 14," but when it is compared with other works, 19 can be counted. Among these, the cases appearing independently in the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* and not contained in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* appear to be from two nonextant works, the *Hsüeh-feng lu* and the *Yen-t'ou lu* (according to the postscript in ch. 21). Moreover, it is clear that

the source for the long sermon to the assembly in case 4 is from Ta-hui's *Cheng-fa-yen tsang*.

As a result, the cases appearing in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* were subjects for kung-an used by many Ch'an practitioners at that time. The Ch'an records that served as sources for these kung-an included surviving works like the *Ming-chüeh lu* as well as nonextant species of "recorded sayings" such as the *Ta-kuei che yü-lu*.

The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as an Important Ch'an Record

My interest in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was delayed for a time until 1981, when I had an opportunity to study at Kyoto University under the direction of Professor Yanagida. I participated in a seminar at the Institute for the Study of Zen Culture conducting research on Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō*. I discovered that several kōan cited in the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* were actually taken from the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, even though it was believed that Dōgen had not had direct access to this work. For example, case 102 of the 305-case *Mana Shōbōgenzō* is the famous "Pai-chang and the Fox," sometimes called "To Pai-chang, the Law of Cause and Effect Is Obvious."

Whenever the Ch'an Master of Great Enlightenment Huai-hai of Mount Pai-chang delivered a sermon, an old man always accompanied the monks to listen to him. When the monks left, the old man also left. One day, as it happened, he did not leave. Pai-chang asked: "Who are you, standing here before me?" The old man responded: "I am not a human being. In the past, at the time of Kaśyāpa Buddha, I lived on this mountain. When a student asked me, 'After someone masters great cultivation [i.e., attains enlightenment], will they again be subject to [the law of] cause and effect [i.e., karma], I answered, 'No, they will be not subject to [the law of] cause and effect.' Since then I have been born five hundred times as a fox. Now, I beg you to give the transforming words to release me from being a fox." The old man then asked: "After someone masters great cultivation [i.e., attains enlightenment], will they again be subject to [the law of] cause and effect?" Pai-chang answered: "The [the law of] cause and effect is obvious."

As soon as the old man heard this he experienced a great awakening. He paid his respects to Pai-chang and said: "I have been emancipated from being a fox. My fox corpse can be found lying behind the temple. I have a favor to ask you. Please bury me as if I were a deceased monk."

Pai-chang ordered the director of monks to strike the gavel and inform the assembly of monks, "There will be a funeral service for a deceased monk following the midday meal." The monks wondered about this, saying, "Everyone is healthy. There is also no one sick in the Nirvāṇa Hall [i.e., Infirmary]. What is going on?"

After the midday meal, Pai-chang led the assembly of monks to the foot of a crag behind the temple. With his staff he he pointed out the body of a dead fox.

He then had the body cremated according to the rites for deceased monks. That evening Pai-chang gave a sermon in the [Dharma] Hall, telling the monks the story that preceded the day's events. Huang-po then asked: "Long ago, because the old man gave a wrong answer, he had to be reborn five hundred times as a fox. Suppose he had given the right answer. What would have happened to him then?" Pai-chang said: "Come here in front of me, and I will tell you." Huang-po came in front of Pai-chang and gave him a blow. Pai-chang clapped his hands and laughed: "I was thinking that the barbarian's beard was red, and lo and behold, here is the red-bearded barbarian!"

This story also appears in ch. 8 of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the *Pai-chang yü-lu*, and ch. 4 of the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, but when the use of terminology in these works is compared, it is apparent that the source of the story cited in the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* is ch. 3 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.

As a result of discovering a connection between the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, I reinvestigated all the kōan in the *Mana Shōbōgenzō* for their possible connection to the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. The surprising result was that out of the 305 kōan in Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō*, 129 were directly connected to the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. After more than ten years of study on this subject, I published an article, "The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the *Mana Shōbōgenzō*," completely revising our view of the sources cited in Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō*.³² The consequences of this pointed not only to a need to reexamine the sources Dōgen relied on in his works, but also to reconsider the importance of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as a Ch'an source. This has been especially true for contemporary Dōgen scholars, who have had to take into account the influence of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* on Dōgen in their research.³³

As is mentioned above, there are Sung editions of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained in the library of Tōyō Bunko. Professor Shiina Kōyū of Komazawa University published a study, "A Bibliographic Study of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*," introducing other Sung editions of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* in the library of Eizan Bunko, and a Yüan dynasty edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* in the National Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko).³⁴ The evidence assembled by Shiina Koyu suggested that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was published no fewer than seven times in the Sung dynasty; his study clarifies the circumstances surrounding the publications and the connection between various editions. Shiina Kōyū pointed out what had been indicated by Professor Yanagida, that the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* issued in Ming-chou (Che-chiang province) in the twelfth century were the twin jewels among Ch'an sources, and the most important texts for Ch'an adherents at that time. After it was first published at the end of the eleventh century, the influence that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* exerted on the formation of *k'an-hua Ch'an* during its formative period in the Northern and Southern Sung is incalculable.

In spite of the importance of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as a source for the study of Ch'an, scholars have thus far overlooked prominent aspects of the text's significance.³⁵ The famous collection of kung-an, the *Wu-men kuan*, was compiled by Wu-men Hui-k'ai in the first year of the Shao-ting era (1228). This is a well-known collection, particularly in Japan, where numerous translations and commentaries have been published. Among the works investigating the sources from which the kung-an in the *Wu-men kuan* are drawn, there are annotated translations by Furuta Shōkin, Hirai Kōshi, and Nishimura Eshin.³⁶ These works particularly focus on the connection between the *Wu-men kuan* and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*. However, since the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* was compiled after the *Wu-men kuan*, it is impossible to consider it as a source for the contents contained in the *Wu-men kuan*. The possibility that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* might be a source for the kung-an contained in the *Wu-men kuan* had not even been considered.

The second case in the *Wu-men kuan* is the same case introduced above, "Pai-chang and the Fox," also case 102 of the *Mana Shōbōgenzō*. Noticing that the terminology used in this story was almost exactly the same in both the *Wu-men kuan* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, I compared these versions with versions of the story contained in other works: the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* ch. 8, the *Pai-chang yü-lu*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yüan* ch. 4, and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* ch. 3. I determined from this comparison that the source of the second case, "Pai-chang and the Fox," in the *Wu-men kuan* was the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. I also compared case 28 in the *Wu-men kuan*, "Long Admired Lung-t'an" (or "Lung-t'an Blows Out a Candle"), with versions of the story in *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* ch. 15, Ta-hui's *Cheng-fa-yen tsang*, *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao* ch. 20, and *Wu-teng hui-yüan* ch. 7. This research confirmed that the source for this story in the *Wu-men kuan* was also the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. When all of 48 kung-an in the *Wu-men kuan* are compared in this way, the source for approximately half of them is found to be the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. Something else of great interest that has not been pointed out until now is that the appearance of these two stories ("Pai-chang and the Fox" and "Long Admired Lung-t'an") in the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* is also based on the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. As was stated earlier, it is generally agreed on that the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* was formed by Hui-ming Shou-tso from the five Ch'an transmission histories: the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the *Chien-chung ch'ing-kuo hsü-teng lu*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, and the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*. Wang-yüing's preface to the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* written in the first year of the Pao-yu era (1253) gives the same explanation regarding the origins of the name for the work, which refers to integrating five lamp records (*wu-teng*). In his preface there is no indication that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was used as a source in its compilation. However, careful investigation clearly shows that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was used in the compilation of the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, based on the same style of the investigation as used with regard

to the stories concerning Yen-t'ou Ch'üan-huo. In this way, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* exerted influence on both the *Wu-men kuan* compiled in 1228 and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* compiled in 1253. This makes clear that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was very popular among contemporary Ch'an groups in the thirteenth century. The details concerning the sources for the *Wu-men kuan* were published in my review of Nishimura Eshin's recent annotated translation of the *Wu-men kuan*.³⁷ Essential points made there are as follows.

The previously mentioned study by Shiina Kōyū, "A Bibliographic Study of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*," introduced other Sung editions of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* in the library of Eizan Bunko, and so on. Especially noteworthy among the results of that study was that the compilation of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was far earlier than anticipated. From my investigations of the Sung edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* in the Tōyō Bunko, I had learned of a preface by Keng Yen-hsi written in the third year of the Shao-hsing era (1133). Shiina's study found a preface by Yao-tzu written 40 years earlier, making it clear that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* had been compiled sometime prior to the eighth year of the Yüan-yu era (1093). This meant that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was compiled before the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu* transmission history, which was compiled in 1101 by a monk of the Yün-men lineage, Fo-kuo Wei-po. The fact that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was compiled more than 40 years earlier than previously thought suggests the possibility that it was composed around the period of the *Blue Cliff Record* (C. *Pi-yen lu*, J. *Hekiganroku*), a work influential in the earliest period of kung-an development.³⁸

The *Blue Cliff Record* is one of the basic scriptures of Rinzai Zen (C. Lin-chi Ch'an). If the influence of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* as one of the earliest Ch'an kung-an texts can be ascertained, the importance of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* will clearly be even greater than previously thought.

As is well known, the *Blue Cliff Record* is a work consisting of 100 kung-an compiled by Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980–1052) of the Yün-men branch, with attached commentary by Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in (1063–1135) of the Lin-chi lineage. It goes without saying, therefore, that the fundamental source for Yüan-wu's comments was the work by Hsüeh-tou. As was noted previously, the sources used most in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* were the works of Hsüeh-tou, so the works of Hsüeh-tou were commonly used by both Yüan-wu and the compiler of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. However, it is now clear that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was compiled prior to the period when Yüan-wu was active. This fact raises the question of whether there is any connection between Yüan-wu and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.

Yüan-wu lived first at the monastery of the Sixth Patriarch (*liu-tsu yüan*) in Ch'eng-tu. His whereabouts in the years following this are unclear. The next place he lived was the Chao-chüeh monastery. In the *Yüan-wu yü-lu* it is recorded that the name of the Chao-chüeh monastery was changed to the Ch'ung-ning wan-shou monastery. Since this change took place in the second

year of the Ch'ung-ning era (1103), it is clear that Yüan-wu took up residence there from the first year of the Ch'ung-ning era (1102). The term "blue cliff" (*pi-yen*) from the *Blue Cliff Record* originated from the line of a poem by Chia-shan Shan-hui (805–881): "A monkey, embracing its son, returns home to its green peak; a bird, with a flower in its beak, drops it in front of the blue cliff." Yüan-wu also lived at the Ling-ch'üan monastery on Mount Chia, but that was after his period at T'ien-ning wan-shou monastery. The structure of the *Yüan-wu yü-lu* suggests that this was probably in the first year of the Cheng-ho era (1111). Following this, Yüan-wu moved to the Tao-lin monastery in Ch'ang-sha. Therefore, Yüan-wu certainly had an opportunity to be familiar with the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.

An investigation of the connection between the *Blue Cliff Record* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* shows clearly that the source for case 5 in the *Blue Cliff Record*, with critical comments adopted to the story "Hsüeh-feng's Grain of Rice," is the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. In other words, the lines of influence showing a connection between Yüan-wu and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* may be reconstructed as follows. The *Hsüeh-tou sung-ku* quotes stories from the *Yün-men kuang-lu*. Yüan-wu adopted the commentaries of Yün-feng Wen-yüeh (998–1062) and Ta-kuei Mu-che (?–1095). That is undoubtedly the reason why all of their comments are recorded in the Hsüeh-feng I-tsun section, ch. 8, of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. Moreover, Yüan-wu adopted the story about Ch'ang Wen (?) when Hsüeh-feng attained enlightenment on Mount Ao. The story contained in case 5 of the *Blue Cliff Record* is related in more detail in case 22. The story was discussed above, in connection with the nine cases in the Yen-t'ou section, ch. 8, of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. Anyone who does a comparative analysis of the pertinent sources will acknowledge that the source for the story in the *Blue Cliff Record* is the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.

The connection between Yüan-wu and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* may also be verified from another perspective. The biography of Yüan-wu made reference to two of his influential disciples, Hu-ch'iu Shao-lung and Ta-hui Tsung-kao but the details of this biographical record are unknown.³⁹ In addition, the *Yüan-wu yü-lu* has no record of his final years when he returned to his native home in Ssu-ch'üan province. It includes nine temples where he served as chief priest, listed in the order in which he served at them: the monastery of the Sixth Patriarch (*liu-tsu yüan*) in Ch'eng-tu, Chao-chüeh (Ch'ung-ning wan-shou) monastery in Ch'eng-tu, Ling-ch'üan monastery on Mount Chia in Li-chou, Tao-lin monastery in Ch'ang-sha, T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo monastery on Mount Chiang in Chien-k'ang, T'ien-ning wan-shou monastery in T'ung-ching, Lung-yu monastery on Mount Chin in Chen-chiang, Yün-chu chen-ju monastery in Nan-k'ang, and again at the Chao-chüeh (Ch'ung-ning wan-shou) monastery in Ch'eng-tu.

Yüan-wu's 100 kung-an cases, the *Yüan-wu nien-ku*, are contained in ch. 16, 17, and 18 of the 20-chapter *Yüan-wu yü-lu*. The locations where Yüan-wu used these while serving as chief priest are known from his own self-designated

titles. Other than cases 53 and 100, where the location is given as Mount Chin (Lung-yu monastery), almost all of them date from before his tenure as chief priest at T'ien-ning wan-shou monastery in T'ung-ching. The first 50 cases can be said to be from the Ch'ung-ning wan-shou monastery period. The latter 50 cases are centered at the Tao-lin monastery in Ch'ang-sha. Case 70 is labeled as originating at "Blue Cliff," which is a term for Mount Chia (Ling-ch'üan monastery). As was noted earlier, the *Yüan-wu yü-lu* records that Yüan-wu served twice as chief priest at Chao-chüeh monastery in Ch'eng-tu. This is where the central figure connected with compiling the *Yüan-wu yü-lu*, Hu-ch'iu Shao-lung, who died the year following the passing of Yüan-wu, came to be associated with Yüan-wu. The preface to the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* by Keng Yen-hsi was written two years before Yüan-wu's passing in 1135; the preface by Ch'ang-chun was written one year before. Yüan-wu's retirement lecture from Yün-chu chen-ju monastery is recorded at the end of the "Lectures" (*shang-t'ang*) section in ch. 8 of the *Yüan-wu yü-lu*. This further confirms that the kung-an cases date from before this period, also verified by the fact that no lectures are recorded from his second period of tenure as chief priest of Ch'ung-ning wan-shou monastery.

The first kung-an case in the *Yüan-wu nien-ku* recorded in the *Yüan-wu yü-lu*, "Pai-chang Goes Deaf for Three Days," is as follows.⁴⁰

Pai-chang Huai-hai again visited Ma-tsu. Ma-tsu, seeing Pai-chang coming, stood his whisk up on end. Pai-chang asked: "Are you in the use of it, or apart from the use of it?" Ma-tsu returned the whisk to its former position. Pai-chang stood for awhile off to the side. Ma-tsu said: "What kind of instruction will you give henceforth with those two lips of yours?" Pai-chang took the whisk and stood it straight up. Ma-tsu said: "Are you in the use of it, or apart from the use of it?" Pai-chang returned the whisk to its former position. Suddenly Ma-tsu shouted "WAH!" At that moment, Pai-chang attained great enlightenment. Later Pai-chang told the story to Huang-po: "When Ma-tsu shouted at me on that occasion, I couldn't hear anything for the next three days."

This story is also contained in Pai-chang's biography in ch. 6 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, but the story that Yüan-wu cites here includes the comments by Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980–1052), Fen-chou Shan-chao (947–1024), and Shih-men Yün-yen (965–1032). The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* contains none of their comments. The *Ming-chüeh lu*, ch. 3, has only the comments by Hsüeh-tou. The only other place where the comments of all three are preserved seems to be the biography of Pai-chang in ch. 3 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. While the dating of the composition of the *Yüan-wu nien-ku* is unclear, the structure of the work suggests that it was done during Yüan-wu's tenure as chief priest at Ch'ung-ning wan-shou monastery.

On the face of it, it is possible that case 19 in the *Yüan-wu yü-lu*, "Hsüeh-feng Does Not Transcend Birth and Death," came from ch. 30 of the *Ming-chüeh-lu*, but the word order in the respective stories suggests that the source

is the biography of Hsüeh-feng in ch. 8 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*.⁴¹ As said above, many passages from Hsüeh-feng's biography in ch. 8 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* are cited in case 5 of the *Blue Cliff Record*. Yüan-wu himself referring to "Ch'ung-ning" in case 19 of the *Yüan-wu yü-lu* affirms that he already made use of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* during his tenure as chief priest of the Chao-chüeh ch'ung-ning monastery in Ssu-ch'uan province. As a result, the connection between the *Blue Cliff Record* and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is corroborated.

As was suggested in the foregoing investigation, Yüan-wu already made use of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* before his tenure on Mount Chia (*Pi-yen*, or "Blue Cliff") at the Ling-ch'üan monastery. It is clear that Yüan-wu made use of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* soon after it was compiled in 1093. This fact suggests that the influence of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* extended over an extremely wide area, very early on in the development of kung-an collection literature.

There are still many uncertainties regarding the process by which the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was formed. The details surrounding the compiler, Tsung-yüing, are also unclear. According to the research of Shiina Kōyū, Tsung-yüing compiled the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* at the Ta-yüan hermitage on Mount Kuei. He also indicates that according to the postface by Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao, Tsung-yüing acted as editor-in-chief. Furthermore he makes the comment that the chief priest at the time was Ta-kuei Mu-che. Ta-kuei Mu-che is known from his appearance in the *Yüan-wu yü-lu*. The preface to his no longer extant *yü-lu* collection has been preserved.⁴² It is contained in ch. 16 of the "Collection of Prefaces" (*Hsü-ch'ang chi*) by Huang Ting-chien (1045-105). The title of the preface, "Preface to the Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Ta-kuei Mu-che" (*Ta-kuei che ch'an-shih yü-lu hsü*), suggests that it did not include events relating to Mu-che's tenure as chief priest of Chih-hai Ch'an temple at Ta hsiang-kuo monastery in his later years. We can also imagine a connection on Mount Ta-kuei between Tsung-yüing, compiler of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, and the compilation of the *Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Ta-kuei Mu-che*, since the two works were compiled at almost the same time. It is also probable that the *Ta-kuei che yü-lu* (*The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Ta-kuei Mu-che*) was in great use around the time when Tsung-yüing compiled the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. This means that although Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien's *Ming-chüeh lu* was the most important Ch'an source used for the compilation of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, it is possible to imagine that the no longer extant *Ta-kuei che yü-lu* followed it in importance.

Conclusions

Regarding the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and its significance for Sung Ch'an, this study suggests two hitherto unexplored aspects that need to be addressed

in a more systematic fashion. The first is the influence that it exerted. The second concerns the sources that it is based on.

Regarding the first aspect, the evidence that has been presented here suggests the large influence the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* had on Ch'an during the Sung. The most important characteristic of Sung Ch'an is the development of the kung-an tradition. This tradition was established by Ta-hui Tsung-kao. At the time that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* was formulated, the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu*, the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*, and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* did not exist. Along with the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is one of the important sources for the study of the early Sung Ch'an kung-an tradition. I indicated that Ta-hui cited kung-an from the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* in my translation of the "Dharma talks" (*fa-yü*) of Ta-hui Tsung-kao.⁴³ As a result, the other "recorded sayings" (*yü-lu*) of Ta-hui need to be investigated to determine the extent of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*'s influence on them. In the same way comprehensive studies need to be done on other Ch'an sources compiled after the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* (compiled in the eighth year of the Yüan-yu era, 1093) to determine the possible influence on them of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*. Among these, studies need to be conducted to examine its influence on the *Blue Cliff Record* and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, as suggested above.

Comprehensive studies are also necessary regarding the second aspect, the sources on which the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is based. Since stories that the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* shares with the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* use very different terminology, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* is not a likely source. Instead the versions of stories contained in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* are drawn from the various recorded sayings (*yü-lu*) of individual Ch'an masters. One of the works recording the sayings of individual Ch'an masters on which the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is based, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, is of particular interest. It was initially thought that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* text had ceased to exist in China shortly after its compilation and that it was completely unknown in China during the Sung. However, recent research has made clear that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was known in the Northern Sung.⁴⁴ Therefore the possibility of a close connection between the two works must be considered. As examples of this connection, there is the story of Hsüeh-feng I-tsun's enlightenment in ch. 8 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the corresponding story in ch. 7 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*,⁴⁵ the story about the transmission of the Dharma from Yün-yen T'an-sheng to Yao-shan Wei-yen in ch. 7 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the corresponding story in ch. 16 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*,⁴⁶ and the story about the meeting between Ch'üan-tzu Te-ch'eng and Chia-shan Shan-hui in ch. 7 of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the corresponding story in ch. 5 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.⁴⁷ Through extensive investigations like these, it will be possible to determine the place the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* occupies in the history of Sung Ch'an.

The characteristics associated with Ch'an during the most important period of its development in the Sung, the end of the Northern Sung and beginning of the Southern Sung will become clear only through further, detailed research into the topics presented here. Regardless of the conclusions this research brings with respect to the influence of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* and the sources on which it is based, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* will now undoubtedly continue to be an important work for researching Sung Ch'an. The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, largely overlooked in scholarship thus far, must be added to the list of important sources for the study of Sung Ch'an. When this is done, the true character of Sung Ch'an can be ascertained in ways that have previously been lacking.

NOTES

1. Ishii Shūdō, "Wanshi roku to Dōgen zen" (The *Hung-chih lu* and Dōgen Zen), in *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū—Chūgoku Sōtōshū to Dōgen zen (Studies in the History of the Zen School in the Sung Dynasty—the Sōtō Lineage in China and Dōgen Zen)*, (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), and Ishii, *Dōgen zen no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū (A Historical Study of the Development of Dōgen Zen)* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1991), pp. 742 ff.

2. Ishii, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, p. 93.

3. Yanagida Seizan, "Mūji no atosaki—sono tekisuto wo sakanoboru," in *Zen to nihon bunka (Zen and Japanese Culture)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko, 1985); Ishii, "Mūji no sekiken," in *Zen goroku* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron, 1992).

4. Translator's note: Although recent scholarship (T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *The Pacific World*, no. 8 (1992): 18–31) questions the translation of *tsung* as "school" (as opposed to "lineage") in the case of Ch'an, I have retained it here because it represents the well-developed self-understanding of Ch'an in the late Sung and seems to convey the intended sense here better than the alternative term "lineage."

5. In the fourth *chuan* of the four *chuan* edition of the *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*. Ishii, trans., "Yakuchū Daie fukaku Zenshi hōgo, zoku, ue" (*An Annotated Translation of the Ta-hui p'u-chüeh ch'an-shih* (continued), pt. 1), *Komazawa daigaku zen kenkyūjō nenpō*, no. 4 (1993): 29ff.

6. The process of Ta-hui's formation of *k'an-hua ch'an* is a conclusion I arrived at in earlier studies. See Ishii, "Daie sōkō to sono deshitachi—Shinketsu seiryō to no kankei wo megutte," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* vol. 23, no. 1 (1974); and "Daie goroku no kisōteki kenkyū (shita)—Daieden kenkyū no sai kentō," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 33 (1975).

7. Ishii, "Shōbōgenzō to wa nanika," contained in *Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa—Mana Shōbōgenzō ni manabu*, (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1988). [Translator's note: See HTC 118, *Cheng-fa-yen tsang*, ch. 1, 2c.]

8. Among the spectacular results in this field is Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967).

9. Representative of these accomplishments is Ōgawa Takeshi, "Kazawa jin'e no hito to shisō," *Zengaku kenkyū*, no. 69 (1991).

10. Yanagida, "Kozunsu goroku kō," *Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 2 (1971).
11. [Translator's note: Available in ZZ 31.1–2.]
12. Ishii, "Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (jō)," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 4 (1973).
13. *Chung-hua tai-tsang-ching* (J. *Chūka daizōkyō*) 19a; appearing after the later descendants of Nan-yüeh in ch. 22, beginning with Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yüeh (1132–1202).
14. *Ibid.*, 28a.
15. Yanagida, "Sōhan zenseki chōsa hōkoku," *Zen bunka kenkyūjō kiyō*, no. 5 (1973). Other important studies of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* include the following:
 1. Nagai Masashi, "Setto no goroku no seiritsu ni kansuru hitotsu kōsatsu," *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō*, no. 6 (1969).
 2. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Kanazawa bunkobon *Myō shū daibaisan jōzenji goroku ni tsuite*," *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō*, no. 6 (1969).
 3. Yanagida, "Sōhan zenseki chōsa hōkoku," *Zen bunka kenkyūjō kiyō*, no. 5 (1973).
 4. Ishii, "Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (jō)," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 4 (1973).
 5. ———, "Dai-e goroku no kisoteki kenkyū (chū)—*Shōbōgenzō* no shutten to *Rentō kaiyō* to no kankei," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 32 (1974).
 6. ———, "Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (ka)—*tōyō* to *kaiyō* no chogo no hikaku to shutten," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 5 (1974).
 7. Shiina Kōyū, "Sōgenhan zenseki kenkyū (5)—*Shūmon tōyōshū*," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, no. 30–2 (1982).
 8. ———, "Shūmon tōyōshū no shoshiteki kenkyū," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 18 (1987).
 9. ———, *Sōgenhan zenseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993).
 10. ———, "Daizō ichiranshū," *ibid.*, p. 130ff.
 11. ———, "Meikaku zenji goroku shobon no keitō," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 26 (1995).
 12. Ishii, "The *Zongmen tongyao ji* and the Distinctive Character of Song Chan Buddhism" (trans. Albert Welter), *Komazawa daigaku zenkenkyūjō nenpō*, no. 7 (1996).
 13. ———, "Shohyō Nishimura Eshin ju *Mumonkan*," *Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 28 (1996).
 14. ———, "Shūmon tōyōshū to *Hekiganroku*," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (1997).
16. Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen zenji to in'yō kyoten goroku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1965).
17. Ishii, "Mana *Shōbōgenzō* no motozuku shiryō ni tsuite," *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō*, no. 3 (1971).
18. Ishii, "Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (jō)."
19. Ishii, "Daie goroku no kisoteki kenkyū (chū)—*Shōbōgenzō* no shutten to *Rentō kaiyō* to no kankei," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 32 (1974).
20. Ishii, "Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (ka)—*tōyō* to *kaiyō* no chogo no hikaku to shutten," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 5 (1974).
21. Ishii, "Keitoku *dentōroku* no rekishiteki seikaku (jō) (ka)," *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō*, nos. 4 and 5 (1970 and 1971).

22. Yanagida, "Sodōshū no shiryō kachi (I)—toki zenseki no hihanteki sochi ni kansuru hitotsu no kokoromi," *Zengaku kenkyū*, no. 44 (October 1953). Later Yanagida Seizan published an annotated translation, "Sodōshū no honbun kenkyū (I)" (A Study of the Text of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*), *Zengaku kenkyū*, no. 54 (1964).

23. Yanagida, "Sodōshū monogatari," *Zen bunka* 51–82 (1969–1976).

24. Yanagida, *Zen goroku* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1974).

25. Yanagida, *Junzen no jidai—Sodōshū no monogatari* (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjo, 1984); *Zoku Junzen no jidai—Sodōshū no monogatari* (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1985); *Zen no sanga* (Zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1986); and *Sodōshū (Tsu-t'ang chi)*, contained in *Daijo butten: Chūgoku, Nihon hen* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1990).

26. Yanagida, *Sodōshū sakuin*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, 1980–1984).

27. An article on this subject written during my doctoral course work, "The Historical Characteristics of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*" (*Keitoku dentōroku no rekishiteki seikaku*), was greatly influenced by Yanagida's work. It subsequently became the basis for the first chapter of my book *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*.

28. Ishii, "Senshū fukusaki shokei-in no joshū zenji shoto to *Sodōshū*" (Ch'an Master of Pure Cultivation Sheng-t'eng of the Chao-ch'ing Monastery of Ch'üan-chou and the *Tsu-t'ang chi*), *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 44 (1986).

29. Initially I investigated the case of Hsüeh-feng I-tsun, but because of the great number of stories relating to him, 44 in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and 42 in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi*, I chose his contemporary Yen-t'ou Ch'üan-huo to avoid complications. The conclusions would be the same in the case of Hsüeh-feng I-tsun, since they are in no way limited to any single disciple of Te-shan Hsüan-chien.

30. Ishii, "Shuka Nishimura Eshin yakuchū *Mumonkan*" (Book Review of Nishimura Eshin's Annotated Translation of the *Wu-men kuan*), *Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 28 (1996).

31. As indicated in Ishii, "*Shūmon tōyōshū ni suite (jō)*," the number of comments in the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is as follows: Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien 213, Ta-kuei Muche 79, Yün-men Wen-i 47, Ts'ui-yen Shou-chih 47, Wu-tsu Shih-chieh 41, and Lang-yeh Hui-chüeh 36.

32. Ishii, "*Shūmon tōyōshū to Mana Shōbōgenzō—Mana Shōbōgenzō no shutten no zenmenteki hōsei*," *Shūgaku kenkyū*, no. 27 (1985).

33. Important studies on Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō* following the discovery of the connection between it and the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* are as follows:

1. Ishii Shūdō, "*Giun ōshō goroku no inyō shusseki ni suite—enbun ninen hon to Mana Shōbōgenzō to no kankei wo chūshin toshite*," contained in *Giun zenji kenkyū*, Sozan kasamatsu kai (1984); later included in Ishii, Dōgen zen no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū, op.cit.

2. ———, "*Shūmon tōyōshū to Mana Shōbōgenzō—Mana Shōbōgenzō no shutten no zenmenteki hōsei*," *ibid.*; later included in Ishii, *Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa*, op.cit.

3. Kawamura Kōdō, *Shōbōgenzō no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1987).

4. Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen zenji no in'yō tōshi, goroku ichiran hyō," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 17 (1986), later included in the *Sōtōshū shūgaku kenkyūjō* volume, Kagamishima, ed. in chief, *Dōgen in'yō goroku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1995).

5. ———, “Dōgen zenji no in’yō tōshi, goroku ni tsuite—*Mana Shōbōgenzō* wo shiten to shite,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, no. 45 (1987).
6. Ishii, “*Mana Shōbōgenzō* no meo wo ou,” *Chugai nippō* (June 24–July 3, 1987 issue); later included in Ishii, *Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa*, op.cit.
7. ———, *Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa—Mana Shōbōgenzō ni manabu*.
8. Kagamishima, “*Mana Shōbōgenzō* wo meguru shomondai,” *Matsugaoka bunkō kenkyū nenpō*, no. 4 (1990); later included in Kagamishima, *Dōgen zenji to sono shūfu* (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1994).
9. Tsunoda Tairyū, “*Kana Shōbōgenzō* to *Mana Shōbōgenzō*,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 24 (1993); later included in Kagamishima Genryū, ed., *Dōgen in’yō goroku no kenkyū*.
10. Mizuno Yaoko, “Tenkyo kara mita *Shōbōgenzō*—toku ni tōshi to mana sambyaku soku ni tsuite,” *Matsugaoka bunkō kenkyū nenpō*, no. 8 (1994).
11. Ishii Kiyozumi, “*Mana Shōbōgenzō* no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi shiken—*ihēi shōko*, *Kōshōji goroku* to no naiyō tairitsu wo chūshin to shite,” *Sōtōshū shūgaku kenkyūjō kiyō*, no. 8 (1994).
12. ———, “*Mana Shōbōgenzō* no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi shiken,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 43, no. 1 (1994).
13. Kagamishima, ed., *Sōtōshū shūgaku kenkyūjō*, Kagamishima, ed. in chief, *Dōgen in’yō goroku no kenkyū*.
14. ———, “Saishu kōgi’ kongo no Dōgen zenji kenkyū wo tenbō shite,” *Sōtōshū shūgaku kenkyūjō kiyō*, no. 9 (1995).
34. Shiina, “*Shūmon tōyōshū* no shoshiteki kenkyū,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 18 (1987).
35. A point first made in my presentation on the *Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi* at the annual conference of the American Academy of Religion (Philadelphia, 1995).
36. Furuta Shōkin, *Mumonkan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa bunko, 1956); Hirata Koshi, *Mumonkan* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969); Nishimura Eshin, *Mumonkan* (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1994).
37. Ibid.
38. Concerning this, I presented a paper at the 1997 conference, *Indogaku bukkyō gakkai*.
39. Ishii, “Kokyū Shōryū to Daie Shūko,” *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* vol. 23, no. 1 (1982).
40. T 47.788c–789a.
41. The *Ming-chüeh*, ch. 3 (T 47.690c); *Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi*, ch. 8, Hsüeh-feng biography (Sung edition, 28b).
42. I have introduced the preface to his missing works in “Sōdai zenseki issho jobatsu kō (2),” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, no. 9 (1978).
43. Ishii, *Zen goroku in Daijō butten: Chūgoku, Nihon hen*, vol. 12.
44. Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū* kadai,” *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3.
45. *Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi* 8.41–42, and *Tsu-t’ang chi* 7.11:92–93.
46. *Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi* 7.19–20, and *Tsu-t’ang chi* 16. IV: 119–122.
47. *Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi* 7.24–25, and *Tsu-t’ang chi* 5.11:19–21.