Kung-an Ch’an and the Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi

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(translated from the Japanese by ALBERT WELTER)

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. Mumonkai), 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 [miào-wù], 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” [hstî-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 Tahu-i, “Dharma Lecture Given to Officer 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: “Wul” [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 Fu-chien province in the fourth year of the Shao-hsing era (1134). 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-yan 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. 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, Taishö daizókyō and Zoku zókyō. 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.\(^\text{10}\)

Generally speaking, the inclusion of sectarian materials in Taishö daizókyō, 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 zókyō, the Zoku zókyō, 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 Taishö daizókyō, Zoku zókyō, 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).\(^\text{11}\) 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.\(^\text{12}\)

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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi</th>
<th>Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch. 1</td>
<td>ch. 1</td>
<td>S'akyamuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 2</td>
<td>ch. 2</td>
<td>Sages and worthies of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 3</td>
<td>ch. 3</td>
<td>4th–6th patriarchs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 4</td>
<td>ch. 4</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 5</td>
<td>ch. 5</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh 1st–2nd generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 6</td>
<td>ch. 6</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh 2nd generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 7</td>
<td>ch. 7</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh 3rd generation</td>
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<td>Nan-yüeh 4th generation</td>
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<td>Nan-yüeh 5th generation</td>
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<td>ch. 11</td>
<td>ch. 11</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh 6th–11th generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 12</td>
<td>ch. 12</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 13</td>
<td>ch. 13</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan 1st–2nd generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 14</td>
<td>ch. 14</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan 2nd–3rd generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 15</td>
<td>ch. 15</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan 4th generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch. 16</td>
<td>ch. 16</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan 5th generation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch. 17</td>
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<td>Ch'ing-yüan 5th generation</td>
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<td>ch. 18</td>
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<td>Ch'ing-yüan 7th generation</td>
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<td>ch. 20</td>
<td>Ch'ing-yüan 8th–10th generations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch. 21</td>
<td>ch. 21</td>
<td>Nan-yüeh 12th–14th generations</td>
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<td>ch. 22</td>
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<td>Nan-yüeh 15th–18th generations</td>
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<td>Ch'ing-yüan 11th–14th generations</td>
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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...
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 Sākyamuni 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.\(^1\) 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*.\(^2\) The following year I published an article on the connection between the sources cited by Ta-hui in the *Cheng fa-yen tsang* (J. *Shobogenzo*) and the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*.\(^3\) In it, I pointed out that Ta-hui Tsung-kao 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*.\(^4\) 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. I was greatly influenced in my research by Professor Yanagida's study "The Tsu-t'ang chi's Value as Source Material." 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. Subsequently Professor Yanagida also published an abbreviated translation of the Tsu-t'ang chi, and more recently he has published several works of stories from the Tsu-t'ang chi. In 1984 a three-volume Index to the Tsu-t'ang chi was published, edited by Professor Yanagida. 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.  

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'iian-chou k'ai-yuan ssu-chih), using as my lead the biography of Chao-ch'ing Sheng-t'eng.  

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'iian-huo (828–887) of E-chou. 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'iian-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.* 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’üan-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’üan-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’üan-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’üan-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’üan-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’üan-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 Hsieh-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’ien-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’üan-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
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 Kaśyapa 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 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*. 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.

As is mentioned above, there are Sung editions of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* contained in the library of Tōyō Bunko. Professor Shina 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 Yuan dynasty edition of the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao hsü-chi* in the National Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko). The evidence assembled by Shina Koyū 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. Shina 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. 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. These works particularly focus on the connection between the Wu-men kuan and the Wu-teng hui-yu'an. However, since the Wu-teng hui-yu'an 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 li'en-teng hui-yu'an ch. 4, and the Wu-teng hui-yu'an 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 li'en-teng hui-yao ch. 20, and Wu-teng hui-yu'an 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-yu'an 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-yu'an 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 li'en-teng hui-yao, and the Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu. Wang-yüng's preface to the Wu-teng hui-yu'an 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-yu'an, 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. Essential points made there are as follows.

The previously mentioned study by Shiina Köyū, “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.

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 Hsieh-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 Hsieh-tou. As was noted previously, the sources used most in the Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi were the works of Hsieh-tou, so the works of Hsieh-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-hu it is recorded that the name of the Chao-chüeh monastery was changed to the Ch’üng-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 Yüen-men kuang-lu. Yüan-wu adopted the commentaries of Yün-feng Wenyüeh (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-ch’ing. 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-ch’üeh 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 Kung 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’üan-teng lu, but the story that Yüan-wu cites here includes the comments by Hsieh-tou Ch’ung-hsien (980–1052), Fen-chou Shan-chao (947–1024), and Shin-men Yun-yen (965–1032). The Ching-te ch’üan-teng lu contains none of their comments. The Ming-chüeh lu, ch. 3, has only the comments by Hsieh-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
KUNG-AN CH’AN AND THE TSUNG-MEN T’UNG-YAO CHI

is the biography of Hsiieh-feng in ch. 8 of the Tsung-men t’ung-yao chi. As said above, many passages from Hsiieh-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-yüng, are also unclear. According to the research of Shina Köyū, Tsung-yüng 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-yüng 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. It is contained in ch. 16 of the “Collection of Prefaces” (Hsi-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-yüng, 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-yüng 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 *Ch’ing-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 terminolgy, 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


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


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."


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 sokō to sono deshitachi—Shinketsu seiryō to no kankei wo megutte," Indogaku bukkōgaku kenkyū vol. 23, no. 1 (1974); and "Daie goroku no kōsōteki kenkyū (shita)—Daiede n kenkyū no sai kōntō," Komazawa daigaku bukkōgakubu kenkyū kiyō, no. 33 (1975).


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).
11. [Translator’s note: Available in ZZ 31.1–2.]
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).
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:

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).

17. Ishii, “Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (jō).”
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 Zenshīshi no kenkyū.
28. Ishii, “Senshū fukusaki shōkei-in no joshū zenji shoto to Sōdōshū” (Ch'an Master of Pure Cultivation Sheng-t'eng of the Chao-ch'iing Monastery of Ch'üan-chou and the Tsu-t'ang chi), Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyūjo, no. 44 (1986).
29. Initially I investigated the case of Hessieh-feng I-ts'un, but because of the great number of stories relating to him, 44 in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu and 42 in the Tsun 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 Hessieh-feng I-ts'un, since they are in no way limited to any single disciple of Te-shan Hsiian-chien.
31. As indicated in Ishii, “Shūmon tōyōshū ni tsuite (jō),” the number of comments in the Tsun men t'ung-yao chi is as follows: Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien 213, Ta-kuei Mu-che 79, Yün-men Wen-i 47, Ts'ui-yen Shou-chih 47, Wu-tsu Shih-chieh 41, and Lang-yeh Hui-chueh 36.
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 tsuite—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 hosei,” ibid.; later included in Ishii, Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa, op.cit.
7. ———, Chūgoku Zenshū shiwa—Mana Shōbōgenzō ni manabu.

37. Ibid.
38. Concerning this, I presented a paper at the 1997 conference, Indogaku bukkyō gakukai.
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 jōbatsu kō (2),” Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū, no. 9 (1978).