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Lineage and Context in the *Patriarch's Hall Collection* and the *Transmission of the Lamp*

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The development of transmission of the lamp records dedicated to the activities of famous masters constitutes one of the unique contributions of Ch'an to Chinese and world literature. The main purpose of these *teng-lu* (literally "Lamp [or flame] records") is usually depicted in terms of documenting the lineal relations among Ch'an masters to show where individual masters belong in the Ch'an "clan," tracing itself back to the "grand ancestor," Śākyamuni Buddha. One transmission record, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (Ching-te era record of the transmission of the lamp), hereafter referred to as the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, is regarded as the prototype for the way in which the multibranching Ch'an tradition came to be regarded. It served as a model both for the way in which its contents were organized and for the style of the contents themselves. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Patriarch's hall collection) is similarly organized, and its contents are also comparably styled, but it was quickly overshadowed by the *Ch'uan-teng lu* and exerted little detectable influence. As a result, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* served as the acknowledged model for further developments in the production of the Ch'an *teng-lu* genre.¹

It is hard to overestimate the influence that the contents of both the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* had over subsequent Ch'an history. The origins of both *kung-an* (J. *kōan*) and *yü-lu* (J. *goroku*) may be traced to these texts. Considering the role that *kung-an* collections and *yü-lu* compilations came to assert, any discussion of Ch'an without taking the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* into account will be found lacking. But why has scholarship on these texts progressed so slowly? The modern study of Ch'an, through much of its history,

has been understandably consumed by the discovery of the Tun-huang documents and the effect that these have had in reforming our understanding of early Ch'an.² Yet, for all their importance, the Tun-huang manuscripts reveal almost nothing of Ch'an developments after the T'ang dynasty (618–906). All of our information regarding the so-called "golden age" of Zen comes from post-T'ang sources, beginning with the contents of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*.

In the following discussion, I review current scholarly opinion regarding the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*, before discussing what I consider as salient regarding the orientation of the documents themselves: what lineages were they compiled to promote, and what circumstances governed their compilation. Although the basic orientation of the documents is clear enough, recent scholarship suggests that the compilation process associated with each text was a complicated one, involving factors that are not transparent. Despite the reasonably straightforward intentions of the original compilers, evidence suggests that both texts were subject to further editing before being issued in their currently known forms. This implies that both texts represent multiple voices: the voices of the original compilers and the factional interests that they represented, as well as later voices representing other factional perspectives. If the voices of the multitude of students whose observances, anecdotes, musings, imaginings, and so forth, were committed to notebooks are added, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* contents reflect a cacophony of opinions about the nature of Ch'an, its essential message, style, and so on.

At this stage, it is not clear where one voice ends and another begins, even in the case of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, where the compiler and editor's identities are clearly known. We do, however, know something of the basic orientation of some of the main speakers involved. My comments are simply an attempt to show where the different voices may be at work, and how these may have affected the arrangement of contents. The contents of both the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* suggest that by the early Sung dynasty the various factions of the Ch'an movement were moving toward a consensus regarding its teachings and techniques (at least as represented in written form). Further speculation regarding this Ch'an consensus and how it shaped the contents of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* is included in my concluding remarks. Because of the nature of our current knowledge of the two texts and pending the outcome of ongoing investigations, the reader is advised to take many of the points raised here as tentative ones awaiting further validation or correction. Before the detailed discussion of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*, I offer a few preliminary comments as a way of approaching these texts.

One of the noteworthy features of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* is that they were the first Ch'an records to be compiled around a multilineal framework. This served as a convenient structure for diffusing the interfac-

tional struggles that characterized earlier Ch'an transmission records, predicated on notions of a single orthodox transmission between a master and one disciple. The former unilineal model of transmission presupposed that each generation had only one recipient of the "true Dharma." Struggles ensued between factions to determine where true orthodoxy lay.³ For Ch'an to thrive as a movement, it clearly needed a basis for wider recognition of legitimate transmission. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* provide this basis, documenting the spread of Ch'an through several lines of transmission, later codified as the "five houses" (or clans) of classical Ch'an.⁴

As instrumental as the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* were in the formation of Ch'an identity, it is important to remember that they are documents of a tradition in transition. They emerged from a dark period of Chinese history, seeking acknowledgment and recognition at a time when the Buddhist presence in China faced unprecedented challenges. The compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* represent significant steps in the process of winning an established place for Ch'an within Chinese culture. An important reminder of this can be seen in the way that transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa is explained in these two sources. While acknowledging that Śākyamuni is not the actual progenitor of the Ch'an Dharma, but the bearer of a transmission that originated long before in the so-called seven buddhas of the past, the texts credit Śākyamuni with a crucial role in bringing the transmission into this world, where it is preserved through the unique line of Ch'an succession. Because of Śākyamuni's reputed role in instigating the transmission to Mahākāśyapa, this episode occupies an important place in Ch'an lore as the prototype for the silent, special transmission associated with the Ch'an Dharma. This story became one of the most famous *kung-an* in the Ch'an tradition. It relates how the Buddha's disciple, Mahākāśyapa, broke into a smile when the Buddha held up a flower to an assembly of the saṅgha on Vulture Peak. The classic formulation of the story is recorded in the *Wu-men kuan* (comp. 1228) as follows: "The World Honored One long ago instructed the assembly on Vulture Peak by holding up a flower. At that time everyone in the assembly remained silent; only Mahākāśyapa broke into a smile. The World Honored One stated, 'I possess the treasury of the true Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of nirvana, the subtle Dharma-gate born of the formlessness of true form, not established on words and letters, a special transmission outside the teaching. I bequeath it to Mahākāśyapa.'⁵

This episode affirmed the cardinal feature of the Ch'an tradition, that is, the silent transmission between master and disciple as "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*/ J. *kyōge betsudēn*). Regardless of its importance, it was a late development, devised by members of the Lin-chi lineage to bolster Lin-chi faction claims at the Sung court.⁶ This explanation of the initial transmission between Śākyamuni and Mahākāśyapa, the cornerstone of all Ch'an lineages, is rendered quite differently in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*

and *Ch'uan-teng lu*. Although both acknowledge the transmission from Śākyamuni to Mahākāśyapa of “the pure Dharma eye, the wondrous mind of nirvana,” there is no mention of Mahākāśyapa at the assembly when the Buddha holds up his famous flower.⁷ The issue of the simultaneous dissemination of the public dharma (the word of the Buddha as reflected in Buddhist scriptures) and the secret spread of the private dharma (the mind of the Buddha as represented by Ch'an transmission) was not resolved until the story of Śākyamuni's encounter with Mahākāśyapa at the famed assembly involving the flower emerged. It does not appear in Ch'an transmission records until the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, compiled in 1036.⁸ The appearance of the story is closely connected with the rise of Lin-chi factional supremacy at the Sung court and the attempt to legitimize factional claims as true representatives of Ch'an's “special transmission outside the teachings.” At the time of the compilation of both the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the influence of the Lin-chi faction was keenly felt, but it had yet to gain unquestioned supremacy. The “classic” Ch'an perspective associated with this faction was in the process of formation and was exerting tremendous influence over Ch'an's emerging identity, but its dominance was far from monolithic. Other Ch'an factions claim supremacy in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*.

Another factor to reconsider before proceeding to the examination of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* is the alleged Ch'an and Zen aloofness from political entanglements. A staple of Ch'an's mystique is the text's enshrinement in legends, such as Bodhidharma's famous encounter with Emperor Wu of Liang, and Hui-neng's refusal to appear when summoned to the court of Empress Wu. This device is used to show where disavowal of political reality enhances spiritual character. Although this may suffice for the Ch'an master of legend, the reality is that Ch'an success was predicated on political patronage. This patronage was forged through carefully cultivated relations between Ch'an monks and ruling officials, in what amounted to mutually beneficial associations. The story told in Ch'an *teng-lu* is of the lineages formed through master-disciple relations, the circumstances through which they were forged, and the unique Ch'an style engendered through them. This story is well known to all familiar with the contents of Ch'an *teng-lu*, through the standardized lineage charts that provide the framework for Ch'an lineage transmission. These lineage charts are the principal means by which individual masters are identified and regarded in the Ch'an tradition. Everyone familiar with Ch'an lineages is familiar with the formula: Master B is the disciple of Master A and the teacher of Master C; the three masters are part of lineage Y, x generations descended from Patriarch Z. This is the lineage framework that Ch'an *teng-lu* created, or at least consolidated.

This is an important aspect of my discussion of Ch'an *teng-lu* below, but I am also interested in examining another, often neglected aspect of the Ch'an story dealing with the patronage associations between ruling officials and

Ch'an monks. In addition to determining where particular lineages flourished, I am particularly interested in the patterns of political patronage that allowed Ch'an to flourish in those regions. In short, who built the temples and appointed the Ch'an monks to head them? This aspect of the story is little known and has often been ignored. My hypothesis here is that such relations were not simply material ones, but that the circumstances associated with the patterns of political patronage were determining influences upon the manner in which the classic Ch'an style was presented in *teng-lu* documents. In addition to recording master-disciple and other important Dharma relationships, *teng-lu* document the leading temples with which individual masters were associated and their relationships with government representatives. Thus, in addition to the master's Dharma lineage, *teng-lu* record the political associations of its most prominent masters: Master A was appointed to Temple/Monastery Y by official X, or Official X built Temple/Monastery Y and summoned Master A to head it.

The broader aim of *teng-lu* is to define Ch'an orthodoxy. The notion of orthodoxy is determined by the specific contexts of the documents themselves, by the individuals and circumstances that forged them. Ch'an *teng-lu* texts were retrospective in nature. They looked to the past as a means to justify the present. How they depict and shape the past must be viewed contextually, considering the concerns present during the period of compilation. Because *teng-lu* were forged and shaped to assert revisionist claims regarding Ch'an orthodoxy, they are best treated as historical fiction rather than truly biographical records.⁹ Although they are constructed around historical circumstances, the records themselves are layered recollections of how the Ch'an tradition wished to remember their own champions. As such, they represent the constructed memory of Ch'an tradition expressing its most cherished aspirations. The biographical framework became the means to reveal the hallowed principles of a unique Ch'an identity. What is recorded using this framework are not so much the life stories of individual monks as the hallowed principles of this identity. The need to affirm these principles drove the interpretation of monks' lives. Through the filtered memory of successive generations and the exigencies associated with Ch'an's rising prominence, recollections of Ch'an's famed masters began to take on a life and character of their own. Less important than the facts of a Ch'an master's life was the way that the image of the master could be shaped according to the requisites of Ch'an's newfound identity and independence. As a result, Ch'an *teng-lu* serve the didactic purposes of Ch'an's own special version of hagiography, rather than anything approaching actual biography.

As indicated above, in Ch'an records compiled during the T'ang dynasty (*Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Pao-lin chuan*), transmission was predicated on a unilineal basis from a master to a single disciple. The nature of the transmission was of a variously conceived immaterial Ch'an

essence, eventually reaching classic formulation as the “treasury of the true Dharma-eye” (*cheng fa-yen tsang*, J. *shōbōgenzō*).¹⁰ The profusion of Ch’an lineages depended on a new, decentralized model. In order to understand how this model emerged, it is useful to review how Ch’an evolved through the T’ang and into the Five Dynasties and early Sung, in conjunction with the changing political climate.

The multilineal model provided by the *Tsu-t’ang chi* and *Ch’uan-teng lu* reflected new demands stemming from the deterioration of T’ang dynastic authority. Following the decentralization of Chinese authority in the wake of the An Lu-shan rebellion (755–763) and the decimation of the Buddhist establishment following the Hui-ch’ang suppression (c. 841–846), Ch’an proliferated in regional movements predicated on the support of local authorities. One pivotal result of the An Lu-shan rebellion was the increase in number of military commissioners (*chieh-tu shih*) and the autonomy with which they ruled. Originally, the title was given to T’ang military officers in charge of frontier defenses, appearing in records as a common variant to area commanders (*tu-tu*).¹¹ Prior to the An Lu-shan rebellion, the title began to be assumed by some prefects (*tz’u-shih*) not associated with frontier security, though this was still not common. Before An Lu-shan’s insurgence, there were ten such commanders or prefects with the title of Military Commissioner. After An Lu-shan, their numbers increased greatly. During the *chen-yuan* era (785–805), the number grew to thirty. By the *yuan-ho* era (806–820), there were forty-seven.¹² The nature of Buddhism in China, usually aligned with and sanctioned by imperial authority, changed substantially through this process. Local Ch’an movements proliferated from these diverse bases of regional authority, relying on the support of local officials.

The suppression of Buddhism that followed during the Hui-ch’ang era served to augment the significance of the local Ch’an movements. On the one hand, imperial actions were aimed primarily at restricting the activities of Buddhist institutions related to the established schools like Hua-yen and T’ien-t’ai, which had assumed large public and economic roles in T’ang society. In addition, the sympathetic military commissioners protected Ch’an monks and monasteries from imperial sanction. Together, these factors contributed to the importance that Ch’an assumed as the leading representative of Chinese Buddhism, and as the major force for the spread of Buddhism throughout Chinese society. Against this was a growing wariness by members of the Chinese elite of the benefits that Buddhism in any form brought to China. The fall of the T’ang in 906 further exacerbated all these tendencies. The so-called Five Dynasties that rose and fell in rapid succession in the north in the short span of fifty-two years enacted varied policies toward Buddhism according to aims of individual rulers; imperial policy was generally unsympathetic toward Buddhism, and culminated in another suppression by Emperor Shih-tsung of the Latter Chou in 955.¹³ The so-called Ten Kingdoms that prevailed throughout

the rest of China, mainly in the south, functioned with a high degree of autonomy as de facto independent countries. Three became especially well known for their support of Buddhism: Nan (or Southern) T'ang, Min, and Wu-yüeh. These regions, relatively peaceful and prosperous, served as havens for Buddhist monks fleeing the harsh conditions of the north. As a result of the catastrophe that befell the T'ang and the continued havoc that raged throughout the Five Dynasties, rulers in these areas sought the revival of a vanishing civilization in their support of Buddhist monks and institutions.

The "five houses" of classical Ch'an, in effect, represent the profusion of Ch'an factions throughout a decentralized China during this period. Without the decentralization and eventual demise of T'ang authority, this profusion might never have occurred, and certainly would have taken a different form. Chinese imperial governments typically sought direct control over the Buddhist clergy and institutions, erecting the parameters for legitimate activity within its realm. They imposed imperial standards through which religious movements were legitimized. This pattern of imperial control was reasserted throughout China with the reunification of China by the Sung emperors. As Ch'an emerged as the major representative of Chinese Buddhism during the period of disunion, one of the first Buddhist-related matters for the new government to attend to was a systematic organization of regional Ch'an proliferation. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* was the officially sanctioned interpretation of the Ch'an movement. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, as we shall see below, was compiled not through Sung auspices but under the sponsorship of one of the strong, independent regions in the south, a fact that may have hastened its disappearance once Sung authority was established.

As alluded to above, historical accuracy was not a major motivating factor in the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*. Lineal associations were creatively forged in order to maintain the cardinal principle of Dharma transmission. Similarly, the antics and enigmatic utterances of the Ch'an masters recorded in these transmission histories conformed to a predetermined style of appropriate "Ch'an-like" behavior. As a result, the records represent fictionalized accounts of a unique Ch'an persona. The persona itself is the affirmation of a uniform Ch'an style, constructed to meet the demands of a new orthodoxy. From the perspective of the Sung, regional Ch'an movements had developed virtually unchecked by the imperial government for nearly two hundred years. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* was the first opportunity to organize and systemize a burgeoning Ch'an movement.

Although various Ch'an movements are judiciously recognized in these records, if one probes beneath the surface of each record's generally harmonious transmission claims, one finds a preference for particular factions. These preferences are closely tied to the compilers of individual records and the lineages they are associated with—the regions where these individual lineages dominated and the patronage provided by the rulers of these regions. In the

following, attention is turned toward these associations, especially as they reflect the motives and aspirations inherent in the records under review, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ching-te Ch'uan-teng lu*.

The Patriarch's Hall Collection

Factors Associated with the Compilation of the Tsu-t'ang chi

The discovery of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Patriarch's hall collection) in the Korean monastery Haein-sa in the 1930s has had a large impact on the study of Chinese Ch'an. Prior to this, the text was believed to be nonexistent, and no one had any idea of its contents. The rediscovery of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* underscores the power and aspirations of regional Ch'an movements during the Five Dynasties period. The text has clear parallels with the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. Although the information contained in the two texts is not necessarily the same, both texts drew from similar sources of information. They share many of the features of classical Ch'an: pithy dialogues, enlightenment verses, whimsical behavior, and so forth. Because the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was not subjected to the same kind of editorial standardization process as the *Ch'uan-teng lu* and later Ch'an transmission records, it contains an even greater wealth of idiomatic prose characteristic of the period. For reasons that are not entirely clear, knowledge of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was quickly lost in China. It appears that because of the much greater scope and comprehensiveness of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, not to mention the status of the *Ch'uan-teng lu* as an imperially sanctioned compilation involving the efforts of China's leading scholar-officials (see below), the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was largely overshadowed by it and was quickly forgotten.¹⁴

The most important research on the *Tsu-t'ang chin* to date has been that conducted by Yanagida Seizan.¹⁵ Following information contained in the text of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* identifying the "present" as the tenth year of the *pao-ta* era of the Southern T'ang (952),¹⁶ Yanagida determined this year as the date for the compilation as a whole. The preface by Sheng (or Wen)-teng of Chao-ch'ing temple in Ch'uan-chou, the master for whom the collection was compiled (see below), confirms that the text was gathered for use by Sheng-teng and his students. On the basis of this, it was assumed that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was issued in a fairly complete form in 952, and subject to little alteration. The text discovered at Haein-sa was presumed to contain virtually unaltered materials from this original 952 compilation.

The identity of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s compilers, Ching and Yün, are otherwise unknown. In his preface, Sheng-teng identifies them simply as two virtuous Ch'an practitioners (*ch'an-te*), residents at Chao-ch'ing Temple.¹⁷ Attempts have been made to affirm their identity.¹⁸ Ishii Mitsuō attempted to identify Yün as T'a-kuan Ch'ih-yün (906–969), the Dharma heir of Fa-yen Wen-i.¹⁹ Mizuno Kōgen identified Ching as Ku-yin Ch'ih-ching, Dharma heir of Lu-men Ch'u-

chen, and Yün as Shih-men Yün, Dharma heir of Shih-men Hui-ch'e.²⁰ Because of the important role that Korean monks play in the *Tsu-t'ang chi's* contents, Yanagida Seizan suggests that Ching and Yün were Korean émigré monks.²¹ Shiina Kōyū attributes the ongoing significance of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in Korea to the important role the Korean monks play in the text.²² Shiina has also demonstrated the important connection of Korean monks who appear in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* to the founders of the "Nine Mountains" of Korean Son.²³

The connection of the *Tsu-t'ang chi's* contents with the Korean context, and the fact that it was preserved in Korea and not elsewhere figure prominently in a new theory regarding the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. A recent hypothesis proposed by Kinugawa Kenji challenges the perceived assumptions regarding how and when the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled.²⁴ Kinugawa's theory suggests that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* originated as a slender compilation of a single fascicle in 952, the date hitherto associated with the compilation of the entire twenty-fascicle text. The rationale for Kinugawa's reassessment is in part based on the preface by Sheng-teng, mentioned above, stipulating that the *Collection* compiled by Ching and Yün consisted of a single fascicle (*chuan*). A second preface, presumably added by the Korean editor (whose name in Chinese is pronounced K'uang Chün) when the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was reissued in Korea in 1245, stipulates that the single fascicle text received in Korea was divided into twenty fascicles (*chuan*) for distribution in the new edition.²⁵ This is the twenty-fascicle text of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* known to us today. Although clearly puzzled by this, Yanagida surmises that the "received" Korean text was subjected to little alteration, and represented virtually the same text initially compiled by Ching and Yün in 952.

According to Kinugawa, it makes little sense to equate the initial one-fascicle compilation of Ching and Yün with the twenty-fascicle edition issued in Korea in 1245. From a reexamination of the original Haein-sa manuscript edition of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Kinugawa has concluded that in the second preface (attributed to K'uang Chün), the second character for "one" (in Chinese, a single horizontal line: —) should be read as "ten" (a single horizontal line plus a single vertical line: +).²⁶ On the basis of this, Kinugawa concludes that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* text developed over three stages: first, an original compilation in one fascicle; second, an enlarged ten-fascicle text completed by the early Sung dynasty; and third, the division of the ten-fascicle text into twenty fascicles in the 1245 Korean reissue.

Although final conclusions regarding this hypothesis await further research, it is worth noting that Kinugawa's proposal is also based on linguistic criteria, by examining the colloquial style of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* against the background of contemporary counterparts. The basis for Kinugawa's reevaluation based on linguistic criteria includes the appearance of terminology in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* clearly used only after the Sung assumed power.²⁷ Kinugawa's hypothesis would make Ching and Yün's compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* a one-fascicle text, or outline, which was enlarged in the early Sung to ten fascicles.

This version was brought to Korea, where it was divided into the currently available twenty-fascicle edition. Significantly, Kinugawa suggests that the contents of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* were, for the most part, completed sometime in the presumed early Sung, ten-fascicle version. If proven correct, this would make the *Tsu-t'ang chi* roughly contemporary with its more famous counterpart, the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, or at least narrow the fifty-odd-year gap separating their compilation that has hitherto been assumed. At any rate, there are too many questions surrounding the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* to assert any position with complete confidence. The following description is offered provisionally on the basis of what, until recently, was assumed to be the case.

According to Yanagida, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled at the Chao-ch'ing Monastery in Ch'uan-chou (Fujian Province) in 952 by two Ch'an monks, Ching and Yün, disciples of Ch'an master Sheng (or Wen)-teng. Sheng-teng (884–972) was a major regional Ch'an figure during the Five Dynasties period.²⁸ According to the *Patriarch's Hall Collection*, Sheng-teng belonged in a lineage derived from Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822–908), a leading figure responsible for establishing Ch'an in the Min region.²⁹ Hsüeh-feng flourished under the support of the Min founder, Wang Shen-chih, and Hsüeh-feng's descendants continued to prosper under Wang family patronage. The Chao-ch'ing Monastery where the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was reputedly compiled was founded in 906 through the support of the Min ruler Wang Yen-pin for a follower of Hsüeh-feng, Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng (854–932). Following Hui-leng, Sheng-teng assumed control over the monastery. Although Sheng-teng is not regarded as Hui-leng's disciple in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Sheng-teng's master Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (?–928) was also a direct heir of Hsüeh-feng, making Hui-leng a "Dharma-uncle." The *Tsu-t'ang chi* was conceived in the context of support provided to the descendants of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un by the Min government. According to Yanagida, it was compiled expressly at the request of Li Ching (considered below, in the context of his support for Fa-yen Wen-i), the Southern T'ang ruler who assumed control of much of Min territory at its demise in 945.³⁰

Sheng-teng was an unabashed supporter of the "new style" Ch'an attributed to Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788). A Tun-huang manuscript attributed to Sheng-teng, the *Ch'uan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsün-chu-chuo tsu-shih sung*, commemorates the Ch'an patriarchs in verse form, covering the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese patriarchs through Hui-neng, and the three generations of masters from the sixth patriarch to Ma-tsu.³¹ The document infers that Sheng-teng (referred to here by his honorific title "Ch'an Master Ching-hsiu [Pure cultivator]") is the heir to the legacy of Ma-tsu's teaching. These verses have been incorporated into the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, indicating a close link between the two texts. As an example, Sheng-teng's verse commemorating Ma-tsu in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* reads as follows:

Ma-tsu Tao-i, his practice as hard as a diamond,
 Awakened to the root and in a state of transcendence, strove
 assiduously in search of the branches.
 With body and mind ever in meditation, he at once sacrificed all;
 He converted widely in Nan-chang; [he stands like] a thousand foot
 pine tree in winter.³²

Based on Sheng-teng's tributes, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* may be read as homage to the enlightened patriarchs and masters who preceded Sheng-teng in the Ch'an legacy. As a result, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* follows the *Pao-lin chuan*, linking itself to the view of Ch'an orthodoxy championed there through the claim that Nan-yüeh Huai-jang and Ma-tsu Tao-i represent the true heirs of the sixth patriarch. The legitimization of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un's Ch'an faction through its supposed connection to the legacy of Ma-tsu Tao-i's Hang-chou faction seems odd, given that Hsüeh-feng and his descendants belonged to a transmission lineage traced to the sixth patriarch through a different route of transmission (Ch'ing-yuan Hsing-ssu and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien) than Ma-tsu Tao-i. This suggests that lineage was not exclusively construed, and in any case need not be considered as demarcating a specific ideology unique to a particular lineage. Ch'an ideology was a common possession open to all who were legitimate recipients of the transmitted Dharma.

The notion of *tsung*, or lineage, is not necessarily a determinant of ideology in *teng-lu* texts, as if one lineage was committed to an exclusive interpretation of Ch'an that excluded all others. It is true, as we shall see, that some regional Ch'an movements did develop unique Ch'an interpretive schemes that contrasted and sometimes contradicted others. However, the affirmation of a multilineal tradition that Sung Ch'an *teng-lu* celebrate presupposes a common Ch'an style and common propositions. I would suggest that agreement across lineages, given Ch'an's bases in regionally defined movements, was not always as free of rancor as *teng-lu* texts suggest. One of the main purposes of early *teng-lu* collections is to present a harmonious picture of a fragmentary movement, a kind of "common front" or outward face that was easily understood and accepted as Ch'an's public persona. Lineage affiliation thus is not intended as a statement of a similar doctrinal affiliation; *teng-lu* assert that Ch'an has a uniform heritage cutting across factional lines.

Nevertheless, the assimilation of the "Ma-tsu perspective" on Ch'an by Sheng-teng in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is noteworthy and merits our attention. By the "Ma-tsu perspective," I am referring to a style and interpretation of Ch'an attributed to the Ma-tsu lineage, including Ma-tsu and his more immediate descendants. More than any other Ch'an group, this contingent of masters is regarded in Ch'an lore as the instigators of the "classic" Ch'an style and perspective, which becomes the common property of Ch'an masters in Ch'an *teng-*

lu, including the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*. This common style and perspective represents the standardization of Ch'an as a uniform tradition dedicated to common goals and principles. Although factional differences may still have the potential to erupt into controversy, the standardization of the Ch'an message and persona tended to mask ideological differences. The standardization of Ch'an also provided the pretext for the Ch'an orthodoxy to be no longer the sole property of a distinct lineage. This marked a departure from the perspective adopted in previous Ch'an transmission records. Tied exclusively to the promotion of a particular lineage, earlier Ch'an records championed one lineage at the expense of all others.

In this atmosphere, orthodoxy was a war waged across strictly determined factional lines, whether real or not. It became a tricky proposition when one lineage was forced to usurp the orthodox claims of another. This is witnessed in the various machinations surrounding the possession of the robe as symbol of orthodox transmission in early Ch'an history.³³ The new structure proposed that Ch'an represented a common heritage. This common heritage, which takes the form of a tree-trunk-and-branches motif, is actually a façade imposed upon an entangled and by no means uniform snarl of vines.³⁴ The important point in the present context is that the presupposed common heritage allows descendants of other lineages to claim orthodoxy straightforwardly without resorting to convoluted intrigues for asserting how orthodoxy passed their way. Thus Sheng-teng is able to lay claim to Ma-tsu's legacy, even though he is not a descendant of Ma-tsu's lineage.³⁵

Sheng-teng and his students were not alone in connecting the Hsüeh-feng lineage to the *Pao-lin chuan* heritage of Ma-tsu. Another student of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, a monk by the name of Wei-ching (dates unknown), compiled a work entitled *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* (Continued transmission of the treasure grove) sometime during the *k'ai-p'ing* era of the Later Liang (907–911), as a direct successor of the *Pao-lin chuan*. Wei-ching also compiled a work entitled *Nan-yüeh kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of eminent monks of Nan-yüeh), a successor to the Biographies of Eminent Monks (*kao-seng chuan*) series. Neither of these works survives. However, our knowledge of their existence shows that members of the Hsüeh-feng lineage consciously linked themselves to the Ch'an tradition of the *Pao-lin chuan*, and attempted to legitimize themselves in terms of the "eminent monks" tradition of Chinese Buddhism, as well.³⁶ More than anything, these developments indicate a sense of experimentation in the face of uncertainty within Ch'an and Chinese Buddhism following the collapse of the Buddhist establishment after the Hui-ch'ang suppression. Ch'an had yet to achieve legitimacy, while regional movements searched for alternate forms of justification with an eye toward past precedents. Similar attempts were made by monks connected with the Fa-yen faction in Wu-yüeh: Yan-shou with the *Tsung-ching lu* (Records of the source-mirror), Tsan-ning (though not a member of the Fa-yen lineage) with the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of eminent

monks compiled in the Sung) and the *Ta-Sung seng shih-lüeh* (Historical digest of the Buddhist order compiled in the Great Sung), and Tao-yüan with the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. What is interesting is that in both the Min and Wu-yüeh regions, monks experimented with traditional forms in addition to the innovative strategies adopted in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*.

Brief Analysis of the Tsu-t'ang chi's Contents

Fascicles one and two of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* contain the records of the seven buddhas of the past ending with Śākyamuni, the Indian Ch'an patriarchs ending with Bodhidharma, and the six Chinese patriarchs ending with Hui-neng. With the beginning of fascicle three, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* begins to document the separate lineages of Ch'an, taking into account regional and factional diversity, and acknowledging lineages other than those derived from the sixth patriarch Hui-neng. These include lineages stemming from Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, an alleged descendant of the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin, and lineages descended through three other disciples of the fifth patriarch (besides Hui-neng): Shen-hsiu, Preceptor of State Lao-an, and Tao (Hui)-ming.³⁷ Although these lineages generally do not receive much attention, they do acknowledge the situation in Ch'an prior to Shen-hui's successful assault. In the aftermath of Shen-hui, Ch'an factions increasingly legitimized themselves through lineages traced back to Hui-neng. This became the standard presumption of the surviving post-T'ang lineages documented in both the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu*.

Fascicle three of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* concludes with records for eight of Hui-neng's disciples, beginning with Ch'ing-chu Hsing-ssu and ending with Nan-yüeh Huai-jiang (the two masters credited with descendants surviving the T'ang and responsible for the profusion of Ch'an codified in the "five houses"). The entry for Ch'ing-chu (a.k.a. Ch'ing-yüan) Hsing-ssu (d. 740) is meager, given his role in transmitting one of only two Ch'an lineages to survive the T'ang.³⁸ Moreover, this is the first recorded information that we have of this obscure figure. He is not mentioned among the list of Hui-neng's disciples in the *Platform Sutra*.³⁹ We have here the case of an influential Ch'an master, one on whom much of the future tradition rests, "exhumed from obscurity."⁴⁰ The information in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* records that after receiving Hui-neng's secret teachings, Hsing-ssu returned to his native Lu-ling (Chiang-hsi) and taught a large congregation. The *Sung kao-seng chuan*, compiled by Tsan-ning in 988, also contains a brief notice for Hsing-ssu, acknowledging Hui-neng's role in leading Hsing-ssu to "understand original mind" (*liao pen-hsin*).⁴¹ In the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, a conversation between Hsing-ssu and Shen-hui is also recorded, but there is no independent verification for this, and it is not, in any case, very revealing.

What is more revealing is the verse by Sheng-teng (Ch'an Master Ching-hsiu) commemorating Hsing-ssu, which points directly to contemporary in-

terest in Hsing-ssu's legacy.⁴² This interest is also confirmed in the granting of a posthumous title to Hsing-ssu by emperor Hsi-tsung (r. 873–888) nearly one hundred and fifty years after Hsing-ssu's death.⁴³ The *Sung kao-seng chuan* also confirms a revival of interest in Hsing-ssu's legacy, by stipulating that Hsing-ssu's tomb was destroyed during the Hui-ch'ang era and reestablished by his later Dharma heirs.⁴⁴ From this it would appear that Hsing-ssu was an obscure figure to whom late-ninth-century Ch'an practitioners were drawn. Later Ch'an factions affirmed their own identity through linkage to the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng. Hsing-ssu served as a convenient link for this purpose. In terms of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the legitimacy of Sheng-teng's place in the lineage descended from Hsüeh-feng I-t'ün was predicated on Dharma transmission between Hui-neng and Hsing-ssu.

The disciple of Hui-neng with the last listed entry in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677–744), the initiator of the other faction whose lineage survived the T'ang dynasty.⁴⁵ Several factors helped determine why the faction that descended from Huai-jang is less obscure: the prominence of Ma-tsu Tao-i and his disciples in the late eighth and early ninth centuries; the writings of Tsung-mi; and the missing fascicles of the *Pao-lin chuan* that presumably documented this lineage.⁴⁶ Still, Huai-jang has no presence in the *Platform Sutra*, and the inscription written for him by Chang Cheng-fu was probably written some fifty years after his death, during the heyday of Ma-tsu's disciples.⁴⁷ The *Tsu-t'ang chi* record of Huai-jang documents a legendary tale, common for important Ch'an figures with shadowy pasts. At the time of his birth, for example, a white vapor (or *pneuma*) (*qi*) was perceived throughout the six realms of sentient beings.⁴⁸ On the eighth day of the fourth month (commonly associated with the birth of Śākyamuni, and thus an important Buddhist memorial day), emperor Kao-tsung was made aware of this omen and sent an emissary to investigate. When the emissary returned, the emperor asked about it, and was informed: "It is the Dharma-treasure (*fa-pao*) of the empire (referring to Huai-jang), uncontaminated by vulgarity or high rank."⁴⁹

Not only does this mark Huai-jang's auspicious beginnings, it does so under the sanction of imperial approval, and with the designation as "Dharma-treasure," the term for the secret essence of Ch'an transmitted in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. According to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Huai-jang was initially a student of Lao-an and attained enlightenment under him. Afterward, he is said to have linked up with Hui-neng, who predicts the proliferation of his teaching in the future with the activity of Ma-tsu. The whole tone of Huai-jang's record in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* smacks of legends concocted to lend credence to an ambiguous yet important figure. From this it is clear that Huai-jang's record was conceived through fabrication in an attempt to legitimize the contemporary motivations of Ma-tsu and his disciples.

The records of Hui-neng's disciples in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* provided important links to the world of Ch'an contemporary with the *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s compilers in

the mid-tenth century. Primarily, it established lines of succession to the sixth patriarch for contemporary lineages descended from Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu and Nan-yüeh Huai-jang. Also, it furthered the debate in Ch'an over the true nature of the teaching, between the accommodating, syncretic style that recognized strong links with Buddhist scholasticism and the scriptural tradition (represented by Tsung-mi and the *Leng-chia shi-tsu chi*), and the exclusive, antinomian approach that renounced Buddhist conventions as impediments to enlightenment (represented by Ma-tsu's Hung-chou-style Ch'an, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, and its successors, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Pao-lin chuan*).⁵⁰ Among Hui-neng's disciples reviewed above, Hui-chung was regarded as a strong advocate of the former position, whereas Pen-ching and his insistence on the teaching of "no-mind" provided a link to the latter. Through these linkages to Hsing-ssu and Huai-jang on the one hand, and Hui-chung and Pen-ching on the other, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* maintained its balance between the different yet complimentary poles supporting Ch'an lineage and ideology.

Starting with fascicle 4, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is divided into the two great Ch'an branches descended from Hsing-ssu and Huai-jang, the lineage of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (fascicles 4-13) and the lineage of Chiang-hsi Tao-i (Ma-tsu) (fascicles 14-20). Shih-t'ou and Ma-tsu were regarded as the two great pillars of contemporary Ch'an, and it is to the legacy of their descendants that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is devoted. Subsequent transmission records championed Ch'an as practiced by contemporary branches of lineages descended from Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou.

A special feature of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is the place it reserves for Sheng-teng and his contemporaries. No lineage is documented through the eighth generations of heirs from Hui-neng except for the generation of masters that Sheng-teng belongs to, descended from Shih-t'ou through his student T'ien-huang Tao-wu. For example, Sheng-teng's own lineage history as a descendent of the sixth patriarch may be represented as follows (with generation indicated in brackets).

Hui-neng

- (1) Hsing-ssu
- (2) Shih-t'ou
- (3) T'ien-huang Tao-wu
- (4) Lung-t'an Ch'ung-hsing
- (5) Te-shan Hsüan-chien
- (6) Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un
- (7) Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan
- (8) Chao-ch'ing Sheng-teng

Only branch lineages stemming from Hsüeh-feng's other students, and lineages descended from Hsüeh-feng's colleague, Yen-t'ou Ch'uan-chou, carry the transmission through eight generations. None of the other disciples of Shih-

t'ou, including the illustrious lineages of Tung-shan and Ts'ao-shan, Chia-shan, and Shih-shuang Ch'ing-chu, derived through Shih-t'ou's disciple Yao-shan Wei-yen, carry the transmission this far in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Records for masters of these other lineages are recorded through seven generations, but not beyond. A similar situation prevails for the second main branch of lineages recorded in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the descendants of the sixth patriarch with lineages traced through Huai-jang and his student, the Chiang-hsi master, Ma-tsu Tao-i.

The final seven fascicles (14–20) of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* are devoted to Ma-tsu and his descendants. As numerous as Ma-tsu's students were according to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, and as illustrious as lineages derived from Ma-tsu became, their lives are recorded through only seven generations as well (and the seventh generation is only poorly represented). Overall, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* clearly favors Ch'an lineages derived through Shih-t'ou [see accompanying Table 5.1]. Of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s entries, 104 are of Shih-t'ou lineage masters (including Shih-t'ou), compared to 84 for Ch'an masters in Chiang-hsi (Ma-tsu) lineages (including Ma-tsu). Even though the *Tsu-t'ang chi* clearly honors Ma-tsu's influence, it depicts the lineage's prowess as an impermanent phenomenon. Of the 84 (83 without Ma-tsu) Ma-tsu lineage records, 33 (just under 40 percent) are dedicated to Ma-tsu and his immediate disciples. From the 245 total records

TABLE 5.1. Ch'an Records in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Patriarch's Hall Collection)

1. <i>Records of Ch'an Masters Prior to the Transmission to China</i>		
7		Buddhas of the past
<u>27</u>		Indian Ch'an patriarchs (excluding Bodhidharma)
34		Total
2. <i>Chinese Ch'an Records Prior to Shih-t'ou and Jiangxi (Ma-tsu) Lines</i>		
14		Chinese Ch'an records through the sixth patriarch
8		Disciples of the sixth patriarch (first-generation descendants)
<u>3</u>		Second-generation descendants of the sixth patriarch
25		Total
3. <i>Records of the Shih-t'ou and Chiang-hsi (Ma-tsu) Lines</i>		
7	32	Third-generation descendants
8	27	Fourth-generation descendants
8	14	Fifth-generation descendants
27	6	Sixth-generation descendants
42	4	Seventh-generation descendants
<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	Eighth-generation descendants
103	83	Totals

in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, 211 pertain to Chinese Ch'an masters (excluding the records for the 7 buddhas of the past and the 27 Indian Ch'an patriarchs prior to Bodhidharma). Ma-tsu and his disciples thus account for a remarkable 16 percent of the total number of the records of Chinese Ch'an masters in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Another 27 records (13 percent) are devoted to the students of Ma-tsu's various disciples. By contrast, the latter generations of Ma-tsu's descendants are depicted as dwindling into relative obscurity.

The depiction of Ch'an lineages derived through Shih-t'ou represent the opposite trend. From rather meager representation in the first generations, Shih-t'ou's line is depicted as blossoming in later ones. This is attributed to the activities of various masters, including Tung-shan (10 disciples), Shih-shuang (9 disciples), and Chia-shan (6 disciples). The most prominent member of the Shih-t'ou line represented in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, however, is Te-shan's disciple Hsüeh-feng, who alone accounts for 21 disciples (10 percent), the second greatest number of disciples for a single master next to Ma-tsu. This forms the underlying criterion for the claim that Hsüeh-feng and his descendants constitute the current representatives of the Ch'an legacy championed by Ma-tsu and his disciples. The last three generations of descendants from the sixth patriarch descended through Shih-t'ou (the sixth through eighth generations) and account for 80 records in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (38 percent of the total number of Chinese Ch'an records). In contrast, the three generations descended immediately from Ma-tsu (the third through sixth generations), the period where Ma-tsu's lineage is represented as flourishing, account for 74 records (35 percent). Viewed comprehensively, this reveals the basic intent of the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*: Hsüeh-feng, his contemporaries, and their descendants, are the true heirs of the Ch'an legacy derived from the sixth patriarch.

Although the generational representation in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* clearly shows Ma-tsu's lineage as a passing phenomena eclipsed by the wake of Hsüeh-feng's influence, some might consider it odd that the lineages that descended from Shih-t'ou (including Hsüeh-feng's) are listed before lineages that descended from Chiang-hsi (Ma-tsu). As will be seen below, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* reserved the final fascicles of its record for the lineage that its compiler, Tao-yüan, wanted most to promote. However, this pattern is not followed in all Ch'an multilineage transmission records. The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* follows the pattern of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in including records associated with Lin-chi lineage masters, which the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was clearly designed to promote, before those of other lineages.⁵¹

Because of China's political deterioration and the destructive nature of the times, the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* did not have full access to available resources. This is openly acknowledged by the compilers, when they frequently note that a particular master's record (either *hsing-lu* "record of activities," or

shih-lu “veritable records”) were unavailable for consultation.⁵² This presumes the existence of such records, on the one hand, and also helps account for the great disparity in the number of Ch’an figures acknowledged in the *Tsu-t’ang chi* as compared with the more comprehensive *Ch’uan-teng lu*, which had greater access to current records.

As a result, the *Tsu-t’ang chi*, although it generously and judiciously acknowledges the contributions of numerous Ch’an lineages, may be read as ultimately representing the partisan claims of a flourishing regional phenomenon. The compilers of the *Tsu-t’ang chi* reserved special status for Sheng-teng and his contemporaries as Ch’an’s true representatives, the current heirs of the “treasury of the true Dharma eye.”⁵³ This is the image that the *Tsu-t’ang chi* consciously projects. Sheng-teng, in his preface to the *Tsu-t’ang chi*, openly affirms Ching and Yün’s compilation.⁵⁴

As noted previously, Sheng-teng viewed himself as heir to the “new style” Ch’an attributed to Ma-tsu, as evidenced in the *Ch’uan-chou Ch’ien-fo hsin-ch’u-chuo tsu-shih sung*, the Tun-huang manuscript Sheng-teng reputedly authored, in which Sheng-teng consciously links himself to Ma-tsu’s legacy. According to the *Tsu-t’ang chi*, many of the masters of the Shih-t’ou branches engaged in antics and tactics, such as shouting and beating, reminiscent of those attributed to masters in Ma-tsu branches. The records of masters from these two main branches of Ch’an, as it turns out, are virtually indistinguishable in style and substance. As projected in the *Tsu-t’ang chi*, the profile of the Ch’an master supposedly developed in Ma-tsu lineages became the standard against which all Ch’an masters and their students measured themselves. This represents the underlying presumption governing the development of Ch’an identity in the *Tsu-t’ang chi*. This presumption is shared by future transmission records, including the two records compiled shortly after the *Tsu-t’ang chi* in the early Sung, the *Ch’uan-teng lu* and the *T’ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*.

Finally, one of the most important contributions of the *Tsu-t’ang chi* is the inclusion of comments on the enigmatic pronouncements and activities of the Ch’an masters that are recorded. Of the forty-eight masters to whom these comments are attributed, the vast majority are either from Hsüeh-feng’s disciples and their students or from monks of other lineages (especially Tung-shan and Ts’ao-shan lineages) with whom Hsüeh-feng’s disciples had close relationships.⁵⁵ Few of the comments derive from Ma-tsu’s disciples. The comments are in the form of questions and answers relating to specific recorded incidents. In content, style, and substance, they are a clear forerunner to the *kung-an* collections compiled in the Sung, and may be regarded as representative of the *kung-an* tradition in action as recorded in one particular branch of the Ch’an tradition.

The Ching-te Era Transmission of the Lamp

Factors Associated with the Compilation of the Ch'uan-teng lu

The *Ching-te Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*) is regarded as the classic text in the Ch'an transmission history genre.⁵⁶ It was the first Ch'an record to be accepted in official circles, marking the acceptance of Ch'an into the Sung establishment. In defining Ch'an identity, it set standards that all other subsequent Ch'an transmission records would follow, and helped establish a number of well-known Ch'an conventions: "great awakening" (*ta-wu*), the enlightenment experience as the culmination of Ch'an practice; confirmation of one's realization by a recognized master as the legitimate criterion for succession; the transmission verse as a poetic account of one's experience; the dialogical style of interaction between Ch'an practitioners; the witty, nonsensical remark as revelatory of the enlightened state; an appreciation of the "sacred" significance of the mundane or trivial, and so forth. Many incidents involving Ch'an masters, later memorialized in *kung-an* collections, were first recorded in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.⁵⁷ Some of the earliest versions of Ch'an *yü-lu* (recorded sayings) texts were also first published in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.⁵⁸ (Many of these same features are also attributable to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, but as indicated above, because the *Tsu-t'ang chi* quickly became unavailable and forgotten in Ch'an circles, the officially acknowledged, more comprehensive, and finely edited *Ch'uan-teng lu* became the standard for future Ch'an transmission records.)

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled by Tao-yüan (fl. ca. 1000), a descendent in the Fa-yen lineage, and probably a direct disciple of T'ien-t'ai Te-shao (891–972). During the tenth century, the Fa-yen lineage flourished in the Wu-yüeh region, the most prosperous area of China at this time. The revival of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh became a defining feature of the Wu-yüeh state, and monks associated with the Fa-yen lineage headed the leading temples and monasteries in the Wu-yüeh kingdom. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* documents the spread of Ch'an in China with a comprehensiveness unknown in previous records. The 256 Ch'an figures acknowledged in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* pales in comparison to the over 1,750 names in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. The compilers (in addition to Tao-yüan, Sung academicians reworked the *Ch'uan-teng lu* before it was issued—see below) of the *Ch'uan-teng lu* had certain advantages over their counterparts in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. They presumably had the advantages of a stable, united empire in which to do their work. This, along with the advantage of imperial sponsorship, gave them greater access to records and information. The region of the Wu-yüeh from where Tao-yüan hailed was also the most stable and prosperous area of China throughout the turmoil that plagued China during the tenth century.

Defining Ch'an became a preoccupation of Sung government officials.

After Tao-yüan compiled the *Ch'uan-teng lu* in 1004, his work was edited by leading members of the Sung literati, headed by Yang I (974–1020), before being officially issued in 1011. Aside from the information left to us in his preface, we know little about how Yang I's editorial supervision altered the contents of Tao-yüan's work. In addition to changing confusing word order and removing coarse language to ensure that the work was of "imperial quality," and checking titles, names, and dates, Yang I stipulates that they intentionally appended material to enhance it.⁵⁹ How this affected the contents of the *Ch'uan-teng lu* remains a mystery, since we have no copy of Tao-yüan's original compilation. We do know that Tao-yüan and Yang I had different interpretations of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. Tao-yüan's original title, *Fo-tzu t'ung-tsan chi* (Collection of the common practice of the buddhas and patriarchs), suggests harmony between Ch'an and the larger Buddhist tradition. Moreover, Tao-yüan's preface does survive, and further indicates that he understood Ch'an teaching as compatible with conventional Buddhist practice, where "myriad practices (*wan-hsing*) are employed according to differences among practitioners."⁶⁰ This stands in marked contrast to the way that Yang I interpreted the work.

According to Yang I, the record compiled by Tao-yüan went beyond the ordinary recounting of interactions and dealings of individual masters associated with monk's histories like the Biographies of Eminent Monks collections and Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan chi*. Tao-yüan's work exposed the innermost meaning of abstruse wisdom and revealed the true mind, which is miraculously brilliant. By analogy, Yang I refers to it as being in tacit agreement with the transmission of the lamp (*ch'uan-teng*).⁶¹ With this designation, Yang I marked the novel character of the work as a *Ch'uan-teng lu* (Record of the transmission of the lamp), distinguishing it from its more prosaic predecessors. In the process, Yang I was not merely championing Ch'an as the new style of Buddhism favored by the Sung establishment but also celebrating its break from conventional Buddhist approaches. This new departure was also confirmed in Yang I's exaltation of Ch'an as "a special practice outside the teaching (*chiao-wai pieh-hsing*), beyond rational comprehension."⁶²

Brief Analysis of the Ch'uan-teng lu's Contents

The easiest way to survey the *Ch'uan-teng lu's* contents is to contrast them with the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. As with the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* asserts that lineages descended from Nan-yüeh Huai-jang and Ma-tsu Tao-i dominated Ch'an circles in the generations immediately following the sixth patriarch. (Unlike the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, which documents descendants in generations from the sixth patriarch, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* records names of descendants in generations from Huai-jang and Ch'ing-yüan. As a result, the first-generation heirs of Huai-jang and Ch'ing-yüan in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* equal second-generation heirs of the

sixth patriarch, and so on.) As with the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* reveals a sharp upsurge in numbers with the second generation (138 heirs). Of these, 75 are attributed to Ma-tsu, extending over three fascicles (6–8) of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.⁶³ Included among these are many of the most famous names in the Ch'an tradition: Pai-chang Huai-hai, Ta-chu Hui-hai, Fen-chou Wu-yeh, Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang, Nan-ch'uan P'u-yüan, and so on. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* claims that activity in this lineage extended over the third (117 heirs) and fourth (101 heirs) generations, before the number of representatives began to taper off. (see Table 5.2).

Among third-generation successors, Pai-chang Huai-hai is credited with 30 Dharma heirs (including Kuei-shan Ling-yü and Huang-po Hsi-yün), and Nan-ch'uan P'u-yüan is credited with 17 Dharma heirs (including Ch'ang-sha Ching-ts'en and Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen). In the fourth generation, Kuei-shan Ling-yü is claimed to have had 43 heirs (including Yang-shan Hui-chi), Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen had 13 heirs, and Huang-po Hsi-yün had 12 (most notably Lin-chi I-hsüan).

TABLE 5.2. Ch'an Records in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* (Transmission of the Lamp)

1. *Ch'an Masters prior to Transmission to China*

7	Buddhas of the past
<u>27</u>	Indian Ch'an patriarchs
34	Total

2. *Chinese Ch'an Masters Excluding Shih-t'ou and Chiang-hsi (Ma-tsu) Lines*

298	Chinese Ch'an records through the sixth patriarch (including collateral lineages descended from Tao-hsin and Hung-jen)
43	Disciples of the sixth patriarch (first generation)
<u>59</u>	Descendants of the sixth patriarch from the second generation (excluding Shih-t'ou and Chiang-hsi [Ma-tsu] lines)
400	Total

3. *Ch'ing-yüan/Shih-t'ou and Huai-jang/Chiang-hsi (Ma-tsu) Lineage Masters*

1	9	First generation
21	138	Second generation
23	117	Third generation
17	101	Fourth generation
112	51	Fifth generation
205	19	Sixth generation
278	11	Seventh generation
74	6	Eighth generation
75	1	Ninth generation
75	0	Tenth generation
<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	Eleventh generation
886	453	Totals

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the numbers of heirs descended from Huai-jiang began to decline somewhat in the fifth generation (51 heirs), and ceased to be much of a factor in Ch'an circles by the eighth generation (6 heirs). Although Yang-shan Hui-chi produced 10 Dharma heirs and Lin-chi I-hsüan produced 22 heirs in the fifth generation, still indicating strong vitality, only 19 heirs in total are mentioned in the sixth generation. As low as this number is, considering the vigor of previous generations, it is not matched in the next three generations combined (11 names are mentioned in connection with the seventh generation, 6 names for the eighth, and only 1 name for the ninth).

As a result, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* suggests that the lineages descended from the sixth patriarch through Huai-jiang, after spectacular success, gradually lapsed into obscurity. Although beyond the scope of the current investigation, it is important to note that the main purpose of the *T'ien-sheng Era Expanded Lamp Record (T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu)*, issued some twenty-five years after the *Ch'uan-teng lu* in 1036, is to counter this claim in the face of the rising influence of Lin-chi Ch'an factions at the Sung court.

In contrast, lineages descended through Ch'ing-yüan and Shih-t'ou reveal an opposite trend, showing strength just at the time Huai-jiang and Ma-tsu lineages begin to wane. Although Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu is credited with only a single heir, Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien, Shih-t'ou is credited with 21 Dharma heirs (including T'ien-huang Tao-wu and Yao-shan Wei-yen). Among third-generation descendants, Yao-shan is credited with 10 Dharma heirs. The fourth-generation heirs (17) are spread over several masters, with the most (five) credited to Ts'ui-wei Wu-hsüeh. According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, it is only in the fifth generation (112 heirs) that the fortunes of the Ch'ing-yüan/Shih-t'ou line begin to take a dramatic turn for the better. T'ou-tzu Ta-t'ung is credited with 13 heirs. Te-shan Hsüan-chien is credited with 9, including, most notably in this context, Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un. In addition, Shih-shuang Ch'ing-chu is said to have 41 Dharma heirs, Chia-shan Shan-hui 22 heirs, and Tung-shan Liang-chieh 26 heirs. In large part, this change in fortune is attributable to the end of the T'ang dynasty. With the decline and collapse of T'ang authority toward the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries, the future of Buddhism in China fell into the hands of southern military commissioners. The refuge and support they provided for monks at this time within a context of relative peace and prosperity formed the context for the rising popularity of new Ch'an factions that traced their lineages through Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien.

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the spread of Ch'ing-yüan/Shih-t'ou line influence advanced even further in the next (sixth) generation (205 heirs). Yen-t'ou Ch'uan-huo is credited with 9 heirs, Ta-kuang Chu-hui with 13 heirs, Chiu-feng Tao-ch'ien with 10 heirs, Yün-chu Tao-ying with 28 heirs, Ts'ao-shan Pen-

chi with 14 heirs, Shu-shan K'uang-jen with 20 heirs, and Lo-p'u Yüan-an with 10 heirs. Most remarkable, however, is the number of heirs (56) attributed to Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, ranking him among the most influential masters in the Ch'an tradition. This parallels the significance afforded him in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (previously treated in this work) where half of the 42 seventh-generation descendants of the sixth patriarch through the Shih-t'ou line were deemed to be students of Hsüeh-feng.

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the most prominent Ch'an master of the next (seventh) generation (278 heirs) was Hsüeh-feng's disciple Yün-men Wen-yen (864–949), who is credited with 61 Dharma-heirs, 51 of whom have records included.⁶⁴ This stands in contrast to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, which included the record of Yün-men, but no heirs. Since the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was initially compiled only three years after Yün-men's death, the absence of any mention of heirs there is not surprising. According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, Yün-men Wen-yen hailed from Chia-hsing (Zhejiang), and studied Buddhism initially under Mu-chou Tao-tsung (a.k.a. Ch'en Tsun-su, 780–877), a disciple of Huang-po Hsi-yün, before receiving the Dharma from Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un.⁶⁵ He studied the *Tsu-t'ang chi* notes as a novice at the Emptiness King Monastery (K'ung-wang ssu) in Chia-hsing under Vinaya Ch'an master (*lu-ch'an-shih*) Chih-ch'eng, and then studied the Vinaya in four divisions and the texts of the three vehicles after receiving full ordination at age twenty. Afterwards, Yün-men assumed his Ch'an studies leading to inheriting the Dharma from Hsüeh-feng.⁶⁶

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* version, excising all non-Ch'an-related content relating to Yün-men, tells of how Yün-men concealed his talent after receiving Hsüeh-feng's Dharma, mingling unnoticed among the assembly, a claim that parallels the legendary account of the sixth patriarch, who concealed his identity after receiving affirmation as the fifth patriarch Hung-jen's heir. After leaving Hsüeh-feng, Yün-men traveled widely, visiting numerous Ch'an masters. He paid a visit to the sixth patriarch's stupa in Ts'ao-hsi (Kuang-tung), then assumed the top position in the assembly of Ling-shu Ju-min (date unknown).⁶⁷ Just before Ling-shu Ju-min passed away in 918, he sent a letter to Kuang-chou regional head Liu Yen, requesting Yün-men be made his successor. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* is quick to point out that Yün-men did not forget that Hsüeh-feng was his true teacher, a statement obviously intended to keep Yün-men's genealogical record clear.⁶⁸ In spite of this, one cannot help but look at Yün-men as an example of the arbitrariness in which genealogical affiliations were sometimes assigned in an attempt to establish a preferred lineal pattern.

Liu Yen was the younger brother of Liu Yin, a loyalist who distinguished himself during the rebellion of Huang Chao toward the end of the T'ang. As a reward, Liu Yin was made overlord of the Kuang-chou region, which he ruled with increasing autonomy through the waning years of the T'ang and the beginning of the Five Dynasties period. His younger brother Liu Yen Hsi as-

sumed his role when he died in 911. By 915, Liu Yen dispensed with all former pretenses, and officially named himself as Emperor Kao-tsu of Southern Han (initially known as Ta Yüeh, or Great Yüeh). Yün-men's success in the region was fostered through Liu Yen's support. Liu Yen (as Emperor Kao-tsu) bestowed a purple robe on Yün-men and an honorific title "Great Master of Correct Truth" (*Kuang-chen ta-shih*). Five years later, in 923, construction was begun on Liu Yen's orders for a Ch'an temple on Mount Yün-men. In 927, it was given the honorific title Ch'an Monastery of Enlightened Tranquility (*Kuang-t'ai ch'an-yüan*). This temple became Yün-men's teaching center for the remainder of his life, attracting a large congregation of monks.⁶⁹

In addition to Yün-men, other prominent masters of this generation included Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (credited with 13 heirs), Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng (26 heirs), Ku-shan Shen-yen (11 heirs), Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (25 heirs), Le-shan Tao-hsien (19 heirs), and Pai-chao Chih-yüan (13 heirs).

Although Ch'ing-yüan/Shih-t'ou lineages continued to flourish in the eighth generation (74 heirs), the number of Dharma heirs dropped precipitously from the previous generation, and no master dominated in the number of Dharma heirs produced. In terms of maintaining the lineage to Fa-yen Wen-i, Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (835-908) and his disciple Chang-chou Lo-han Kuei-ch'en (867-928) assume important positions in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. Hsüan-sha Shih-pei was the Dharma heir of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, whose importance as the teacher of Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (from whom Chao-ch'ing Sheng-teng inherited the Dharma), was noted in connection with the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. The connection between the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu* may be thus represented by tracing their lineal filiation as in the accompanying chart.

LINEAL FILIATION OF COMPILERS OF THE *TSU-T'ANG CHI* and
CH'UAN-TENG LU

	Hui-neng (sixth Patriarch)	
	(1) Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu	
	(2) Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien	
	(3) T'ien-huang Tao-wu	
	(4) Lung-t'an Ch'ung-hsing	
	(5) Te-shan Hsüan-chien	
	(6) Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un	
(7) Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan		(7) Hsüan-sha Shih-pei
(8) Chao-ch'ing Sheng-teng		(8) Chang-chou Kuei-ch'en
		(9) Fa-yen Wen-i
Monks Ching and Yün		(10) T'ien-t'ai Te-shao
<i>Tsu-t'ang chi</i> (comp. 952)		
	Tao-yüan	
	<i>Ch'uan-teng lu</i> (comp. 1004)	

According to the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, over 700 students obtained Hsüan-sha Shih-pei's Dharma, but Lo-han Kuei-ch'en (867–928) of Chang-chou (a.k.a. T'an-chou Kuei-ch'en) was his spiritual heir.⁷⁰ The *Ch'uan-teng lu* lists 13 Dharma heirs of Hsüan-sha; the first one mentioned is Kuei-ch'en.⁷¹ Both Tsan-ning, compiler of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, and Tao-yüan, compiler of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, spent their careers in the Wu-yüeh kingdom under the influence of Fa-yen faction dominance. It was easy for them to find favor in Fa-yen's teacher Kuei-ch'en.

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, of the 74 eighth-generation heirs in the line from Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu, only 7 were students of Kuei-ch'en. However, no master dominated this generation in terms of number of Dharma heirs produced, and Kuei-ch'en, at the head of the list in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, definitely assumes the position of importance among them.⁷² The most prominent of Kuei-ch'en's disciples, according to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, was Fa-yen Wen-i (885–958), whose name tops the list. In addition, Fa-yen's students dominated the next (ninth) generation (75 heirs) in the line descended from Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu. Of the 75 names listed, Fa-yen's disciples account for 63 heirs, projecting him as one of the most important and influential masters of the Ch'an tradition.

Fa-yen Wen-i hailed from Yü-hang (Chekiang). He entered the Buddhist order at the age of seven, studying under Ch'an master Ch'uan-wei of the Chih-t'ung (Wisdom-comprehensive) Monastery in Hsin-ting.⁷³ He received full ordination at a young age, at the K'ai-yüan Temple in Yüeh-chou (Chekiang). According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, Fa-yen was a diligent student. He frequently went to hear Vinaya expert Master Hsi-chüeh, who taught at the Aśoka (Yü-wang) Temple on Mount Mei in Ming-chou, and investigated thoroughly the intricacies of his teaching. In addition to Vinaya teaching, Fa-yen studied Confucian writings and frequented literary circles, to the extent that Master Hsi-chüeh styled Fa-yen as the equivalent of Tzu-yü and Tzu-hsia, prominent disciples of Confucius known for their learning.⁷⁴ As such, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* identifies Fa-yen as a key figure in the spread of an alternate style of Ch'an, one that favors the study of both Buddhism and Confucianism, and the cultivation of literary refinement. Fa-yen stands as a predecessor to the so-called "Confucian monks," Buddhist monks who were experts in Confucian teachings and were well-known for their literary skills.⁷⁵

Up until this point in Fa-yen's career, his Ch'an proclivities were not strong. Other than his initiation to the Buddhist order as a child under Ch'an master Ch'uan-wei, no mention is made of Ch'an associations. But both the *Ch'uan-teng lu* and the *Sung kao-seng chuan* assert that at some unidentified point, Fa-yen developed a deep spiritual affinity with Ch'an.⁷⁶ He dispensed with all of his endeavors and went wandering south, landing in the assembly of Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng (854–932), the disciple of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (see above), in Fu-chou. Everyone in the congregation is said to have thought highly

of him, even though he had yet to put an end to mental entanglements (*yüan-hsin*). Eventually, Fa-yen decided to set out again, heading off with a group of fellow monks. Before making much progress, they encountered a heavy rain-storm that made travel impossible. As a result, they were detained awhile at the Ti-ts'ang (Earth store [bodhisattva]) Temple to the west of Fu-chou, where Fa-yen had the opportunity to visit Kuei-ch'en. Fa-yen suddenly achieved awakening during the course of a conversation about "traveling on foot," the itinerant wandering of Ch'an monks in search of the Dharma. When asked what "traveling on foot" is, Fa-yen responded that he did not know. To this, Kuei-ch'en said, "Not knowing most closely approaches the truth." According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the awakening that Kuei-ch'en's response sparked in Fa-yen led to "a thorough, tacit understanding," and a prediction of future buddhahood for Fa-yen.⁷⁷

After attaining enlightenment and receiving transmission from Kuei-ch'en, Fa-yen wanted to erect a hermitage on Kan-che Island, but was persuaded by his traveling companions to continue on with their original plan to visit the famous monasteries south of the Yangtze River instead. When they arrived in Lin-chuan (Jiangxi), the prefectural governor invited Fa-yen to take up residence at Ch'ung-shou (Respect longevity) Monastery. According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, this marked Fa-yen's beginning as a Ch'an teacher. From this point on, the record of his teaching displays the jocular style of the Ch'an master. At his opening sermon at Ch'ung-shou Monastery, Fa-yen refuses to say much of anything or answer any questions, likening it the expedient methods used by his Ch'an predecessors. This marks a shift in approach from the way Fa-yen was depicted in his early career as a studious monk interested in Confucianism and literary refinements. There is no way of telling how accurate a depiction this is of Fa-yen and his teaching. The treatise attributed to Fa-yen, the *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun* (Treatise on the ten guidelines for the gateway to the source), suggests a conventional approach to Buddhist teaching, contrasting sharply with the more radical Ch'an style of his teaching in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.⁷⁸ This dichotomy is also apparent between the writings of Yung-ming Yen-shou, a descendant of T'ien-t'ai Te-shao and heir to the Fa-yen lineage, and the way he is depicted in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* (see below).

As a result of Fa-yen's success as a teacher, monks from various areas flocked to study with him, and his assembly of students regularly numbered a thousand.⁷⁹ Fa-yen's fame eventually reached the ears of Li Ching, the leader of the kingdom of Southern T'ang. Li Ching is said to have held Fa-yen in high esteem, installing him in the Pao-en (Repaying gratitude) Ch'an Cloister outside of Chin-ling (Nanking), and granting him the honorific title Pure and Wise Ch'an Master (*Ching-hui ch'an-shih*).⁸⁰ He was later transferred to Ch'ing-liang Monastery, where he preached his message from morning to night. His influence was such that the monasteries of various regions followed Fa-yen's style of instruction, and monks traveled great distances to be near him. As a

result of Fa-yen's efforts, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* asserts that the correct lineage (*cheng-tsung*) of Hsüan-sha flourished south of the Yang-tse River.⁸¹ When he became ill, the ruler of the Southern T'ang kingdom came personally to visit him. When he passed away, the representatives from the temples and monasteries pulled his casket through the city, and officials and ministers from mentor of the heir apparent Li Chien-hsun on down donned mourning clothes to accompany Fa-yen to his tomb. He was granted the posthumous title Ch'an Master of the Great Dharma Eye (*Ta Fa-yen ch'an-shih*); his tomb was named Freedom from Form (*wu-hsiang*).⁸²

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the influence of Fa-yen Wen-i spread far and wide through the efforts of his immediate disciples. Fourteen were said to have achieved great prominence, and were honored and esteemed by rulers and nobles. Three are listed by name: T'ien-t'ai Te-shao (891-972), the national preceptor (*kuo-shih*) of the kingdom of Wu-yüeh; Pao-tz'u Wen-sui (dates unknown), the national guiding preceptor (*kuo-tao-shih*) [of the Southern T'ang kingdom]; and Tao-feng Hui-chu (dates unknown), the national preceptor of Korea.⁸³ In addition, another forty-nine disciples of Fa-yen are claimed to have had influence in their respective locales. Of these forty-nine, only two are mentioned by name: Lung-kuang (dates unknown) and Ch'ing-liang T'ai-ch'in (d. 974).⁸⁴ The total number of nationally and regionally prominent disciples here (sixty-three) presumably refers to the same number of names of Fa-yen's disciples listed in fascicles 25 and 26 of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.⁸⁵ The *Ch'uan-teng lu* also maintains that, owing to the practices and teachings of Fa-yen promulgated by his disciples, Fa-yen was awarded two posthumous titles: Master Who Guides Others to Profound Enlightenment (*Hsüan-chüeh tao-shih*) and Great Guiding Master through the Canon/Storehouse of Great Wisdom (*Ta-chih-tsang ta-tao-shih*). It also specifies that students collected and copied the sermons given by Fa-yen, as well as hymns, eulogies, inscriptions, annotations, etc., written by him, and disseminated them throughout the empire.⁸⁶

The extent of influence achieved by Fa-yen's disciples is unquestionable. In addition to T'ien-t'ai Te-shao (see below), named national preceptor of Wu-yüeh in 948, many of Fa-yen's disciples assumed prominent positions in Wu-yüeh. During the *ch'ien-yü* era (948-950) of the Latter Han dynasty, the Wu-yüeh ruler Chung-i, the same ruler who appointed Te-shao national preceptor, commissioned Pao-en Hui-ming (884/9-954/9) to take up residence at Chi-ch'ung (Assisting reverence) Monastery. Later on, Chung-i erected Pao-en (Returning gratitude) Temple and appointed Hui-ming to head it, granting him the honorific title Perfectly Penetrating, Universally Brilliant Ch'an Master (*Yüan-t'ung p'u-chao ch'an-shih*).⁸⁷ Chung-i commissioned another prominent disciple of Fa-yen, Yung-ming Tao-ch'ien (d. 961), to the capital in order to administer the bodhisattva precepts; Chung-i subsequently built a large monastic complex, Yung-ming (Eternal brilliance) Temple for Tao-ch'ien to head, honoring him as Merciful Transformer, Meditation and Wisdom Ch'an

Master (*Tz'u-hua ting-hui ch'an-shih*).⁸⁸ Similarly feted was Fa-yen's disciple Ling-yin Ch'ing-sung (dates unknown), whom Chung-i commissioned to preach at two unspecified places in Lin-an (Hang-chou). He later resided at Ling-yin (Concealed souls) Temple outside the city, and was granted the title Knowing and Enlightened Ch'an Master (*Liao-hui ch'an-shih*).⁸⁹ In addition, there was Pao-t'a Shao-yen (899–971), who was also commissioned by Chung-i to preach in Wu-yüeh, and who was honored by him as Emptiness Comprehending, Great Wisdom, Permanently Illuminating Ch'an Master (*Liao-k'ung ta-chih ch'ang-chao ch'an-shih*).⁹⁰ These examples are representative of the way Wu-yüeh rulers patronized Fa-yen's disciples, and the influence they had in the region.⁹¹

Besides the Wu-yüeh region, Fa-yen's disciples were influential in the kingdom of Southern T'ang, the region where Fa-yen himself had risen to prominence through the patronage of the ruling Li family. As mentioned above, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* record of Fa-yen makes specific note of Pao-tz'u Wen-sui (dates unknown) in this regard.⁹² After the Southern T'ang ruler Li Yü (r. 961–975) took control of the region of Chi-chou (Jiangxi), where Wen-sui lived in 964, Wen-sui was appointed to a series of prestigious temples: the Chang-ch'ing temple (Fujian), "the Ch'ing-liang temple in Chin-ling (Nanking) which Fa-yen Wen-i and Ch'ing-liang T'ai-ch'in had previously headed," and finally, the Pao-tz'u temple in Chin-ling. He was also granted the honorific title Great Guiding Master, Sound of Thunder, Sea of Enlightenment (*Lei-yin chüeh-hai ta-tao-shih*).⁹³ In 965, Li Yü also extended an invitation for Fa-yen's disciple Ch'ing-te Chih-yün (906–969) to preach in Southern T'ang, erecting a large practice hall called Pure Virtue (*ching-te*) in the north garden of the palace for Chih-yün to inhabit.⁹⁴ The Southern T'ang ruler also commissioned a disciple of Fa-yen, Pao-en K'uang-i (dates unknown), to the Upper Cloister (*shang-yüan*) of the Pao-en Temple (?) outside of Chin-ling, and granted the honorific title Ch'an Master Who Determines Esoteric [Meanings] (*Ning-mi ch'an-shih*).⁹⁵ Another of Fa-yen's disciples, Fa-an (d. 968/76), was also invited to head the Pao-en Temple by the ruler of Southern T'ang, marking it as an institution with strong Fa-yen lineage associations.⁹⁶

According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, of the seventy-five tenth-generation heirs descended through Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien, forty-nine were disciples of T'ien-t'ai Te-shao (891–972). As we have noted, Te-shao became the national preceptor of the Wu-yüeh kingdom, and the prominence of the Fa-yen lineage reached new heights there through the efforts of Te-shao and his disciples.

When Fa-yen was informed of Te-shao's enlightenment, Fa-yen reportedly predicted, "Later on you will become preceptor for the ruler of a kingdom, and achieve even greater glory for the way of the patriarchs than I have."⁹⁷ The statement serves as a perfect example of why these records cannot be taken literally. It is unfathomable that Fa-yen himself would make such a grandiose

and self-serving remark, even should we grant him the power of foreknowledge. It is perfectly understandable how such a remark could be placed in Fa-yen's mouth by his (and Te-shao's) self-serving descendants, as an attempt to justify Fa-yen faction Ch'an interpretation as politically supported orthodoxy. As such, the statement is best read as revealing the motives of Tao-yüan and Fa-yen faction supporters in the early Sung when the *Ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled.

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* proceeds to document how Fa-yen's prediction for Te-shao came about. It claims that after leaving Fa-yen, Te-shao won extraordinary renown in various (unspecified) regions for his enlightened activity. Eventually, Te-shao made his way to Mount T'ien-t'ai, where he received inspiration from gazing upon the remains of T'ien-t'ai master (but here identified as Ch'an master) Chih-i. Because Te-shao had the same surname as Chih-i (Ch'en), he was referred to as Chih-i's incarnation. Initially, Te-shao stayed at Pai-sha (White sands) Temple. At the time, a prince of Wu-yüeh, the future ruler Chung-i, took command of T'ai-chou, the prefecture where Mount T'ien-t'ai is located. When the prince heard of Te-shao's reputation, he extended an invitation to Te-shao to question him about his teaching. No details of their conversation are given, other than the prediction that Te-shao reportedly made of Chung-I, "In the future, you will become ruler. Do not forget the gratitude [you owe] to Buddhism."⁹⁸

Lying behind this "prediction" are crucial political events in the course of Wu-yüeh history. Shortly after the prediction was supposedly made, the ruler of Wu-yüeh, Chung-hsien (r. 941-947), passed away at the young age of nineteen. Uncertainty surrounded the designation of a successor. The position was initially filled by Chung-hsien's brother Chung-hsun (r. 947-948), but he lasted less than a year on the throne. In 948, nineteen-year-old Chung-i (r. 948-978) lay claim to rulership of Wu-yüeh, supported by Te-shao, his fifty-seven-year-old advisor. Chung-i's successful acquisition marked the beginning of a thirty-year reign and the flowering of culture in the region. After Chung-i assumed power, he sent an emissary to fetch Te-shao and appointed him as preceptor of the Wu-yüeh state (*kuo-shih*), the position Te-shao served in for the rest of his life. Given this background, how should we interpret Te-shao's "prediction" regarding Chung-i, while the latter was commander of T'ai-chou? To take it literally would confuse *Ch'uan-teng lu* anecdotes for historical detail without taking into account the role played by subsequent parties in shaping Te-shao's biographical image.

Implicit in Te-shao's statement to Chung-i is a guarantee of support for Chung-i's claim to the throne. Considering the related prediction Fa-yen is said to have made concerning Te-shao, it is safe to assume that Te-shao was esteemed as a key figure behind the success of Chung-i's claim. This developed into the "prediction motif" that became a key feature of the way in which Te-shao was remembered. What is interesting about it here is the way it functions

as a substitute for the enlightenment prediction motifs, common in biographies of Buddhist monks, and a supplement to the enlightenment experience motif common in records of Ch'an practitioners. In both cases, what is unique about the Te-shao prediction episodes is their political orientation. What really transpired between Te-shao and Chung-i in T'ai-chou remains hidden from the historical record; it is clear that a relationship developed between them that helped inspire Chung-i to stake his claim as Wu-yüeh leader. The relationship between Te-shao and Chung-i would serve as the basis, in both practical and symbolic terms, for the relationship between Buddhism and government in Wu-yüeh. The Wu-yüeh Buddhist model of religious and government partnership was eventually championed at the Sung court in a tempered form by the Wu-yüeh scholar-monk Tsan-ning (919-1001).⁹⁹

The only record of Te-shao's teaching are the fragments contained in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*. This record is longer than most, hardly surprising given Te-shao's influence on the compilation of the work. Like other records of monks in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, the record of Te-shao is composed of excerpts from his lectures and anecdotes of exchanges that consist of questions by students and Te-shao's responses, all framed within a biographical outline of his life. Given Te-shao's influence over Wu-yüeh Ch'an and the compilation of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, and given that the *Ch'uan-teng lu* account of his teachings is the only one we possess, the record of Te-shao it contains assumes great significance. In addition to the "biographical" material relating to Te-shao's life, his birth, early career as a Buddhist, major Ch'an influences, enlightenment experience, and so on (reviewed above), the *Ch'uan-teng lu* record of Te-shao provides a series of statements and conversations reportedly taken from Te-shao's lectures and reports to his congregation. This material may be divided roughly into two sections. The first includes a (relatively longer) sermon and three brief statements to the congregation at unspecified locations. The last of the three brief statements consists simply of a four-line poem delivered to the congregation, without any accompanying comment. The second section comprises excerpts from a series of twelve sermons, individually identified, delivered at the opening of the Prajñā temple (on Mount T'ien-t'ai). The first recorded sermon extract in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* serves as a suitable introduction to the teaching attributed to Te-shao.

The expedient means of the sacred ones of old were as numerous of the sands of a river. When the patriarch said, "It is not the wind or the banner that moves; it is your mind that moves," it was nothing more than a Dharma-method of the unsurpassable mind-seal. My colleagues who are students of the disciple of this patriarch, how should we understand what the patriarch meant [when he said this]? You know that the wind and the banner do not move, the error is that your mind moves. You know that without fanning the wind and

the banner [with the mind], the wind and the banner move freely. Do you know what moves the wind and the banner? Some say that mind is revealed through concrete things, but you must not concede things [as real]. Some say that forms themselves are empty. Some say that [to know the meaning of] “it is not the wind or the banner that moves” requires miraculous understanding. What connection does this have with the meaning that the patriarch intended? You should not understand it in this way. You senior monks must know that when one gets to the bottom of the matter here and experiences awakening, what Dharma-method is there that does not enlighten? The expedient means of the hundred thousand buddhas are completely understood in an instant. What expedient means are you uncertain about? That is why the ancients said, “when one thing is understood, everything is clear; when confused about one thing, everything is muddled.” Senior monks, how can a principle understood today not also be understood tomorrow? Does it not make sense that what is hard for those of superior abilities to understand is not understood by average people of inferior abilities? Even if you pass through innumerable aeons understanding [the patriarch’s meaning] in this way, you will simply exhaust your spirit and not fully fathom it, but not know what [moves the wind and the banner].¹⁰⁰

The words attributed to Te-shao here take the form of a commentary on a famous exchange reported between the sixth patriarch and two monks debating over whether the wind or a banner was moving.¹⁰¹ The episode was later memorialized in the *Wu-men kuan*, the kōan collection compiled by Wu-men Hui-k’ai (1183–1260) in 1229.¹⁰² Rather than using the episode to illustrate the ineffability of Ch’an truth, Te-shao uses it as a pretext for discussing the Dharma-method of expedient means. To more “radical” Ch’an practitioners, following the lead of the Hang-chou and Lin-chi factions, an emphasis on expedient means was anathema, an unconscionable compromise of Ch’an truth, a “slippery slope” leading to rationalized explanations of truth, doctrinal formulations, liturgical practices, patterned rituals, and so forth. The first question following Te-shao’s reported sermon raises precisely this issue.

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

Te-shao responded: “No matter the circumstance, you always ask the same question.”

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

Te-shao: "This is awakening experienced in a dream (i.e., it has no relationship with reality)."¹⁰³

In other words, the questioner asks Te-shao what can he do to help others realize enlightenment. Te-shao's answer is not just directed at the specific question but at the whole species of similarly phrased critiques. The experience of awakening that does not partake of verbal explanations, and so on, is a dream-like phantom. The "enlightened" mute lives an unreal existence, deluded by his own fantasy.

The emphasis on expedient means is developed further in Te-shao's chief heir according to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, Yung-ming Yen-shou (904–975). It is beyond the scope of the current study to enter into the intricacies of Yen-shou's Ch'an teaching. He represents the pinnacle of Ch'an teaching and Buddhist scholarship in Wu-yüeh, and became one of the enduring figures of Chinese Buddhism.

The record of Yen-shou's life also served as inspiration to a wide variety of Buddhist practitioners.¹⁰⁴ According to the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, Yen-shou hailed from Yü-hang (Zhejiang), just west of present day Hangzhou. He was reportedly a devout Buddhist in his youth. By the time he reached adulthood, he restricted himself to one meal a day, the strict dietary regimen of a *śramana*. He reportedly was particularly devoted to the *Lotus Sutra*, reading it seven lines at a time, and was able to recite it from memory after only sixty days. His recitation is reported to have inspired a flock of sheep to kneel down and listen.¹⁰⁵

By the time the *Ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled, roughly a quarter century after Yen-shou's death in 975, Yen-shou was already being cast as a major figure of devotional Buddhism. Yen-shou's purported ability to pacify creatures of the natural order indicates a belief in his supernatural abilities. Like a Chinese St. Francis, the sanctity of Yen-shou's personage extended to an ability to defy the regular norms of the natural order. Legendary materials had long played a major role in the creation of the image of figures central to the Ch'an tradition, but the image of Yen-shou as a devotional, *Lotus Sutra*-chanting Buddhist marks a sharp departure from the Ch'an norm. Yen-shou's reputed devotional proclivities would propel him to the center of controversy in Ch'an circles long after his death.¹⁰⁶

After Yen-shou had spend time on Mount Hsüeh-t'ou in Ming-chou, where he is said to have attracted a large following, Chung-i requested him to take up residence at one of the main Buddhist institutions in Wu-yüeh, the rebuilt temple on Mount Ling-yin located outside the capital. The following year (961), Chung-i requested Yen-shou to move to the recently completed Yung-ming Temple to succeed Fa-yen's disciple Tao-ch'ien as second-generation abbot.¹⁰⁷ Yen-shou spent the rest of his career at this prominent Wu-yüeh temple. It is clear that his activities extended beyond the range of the "typical" Ch'an monk.

In his role as a leader of the Wu-yüeh Buddhist establishment, Yen-shou participated in an array of liturgical rites aimed at ministering to the Buddhist faithful.

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* maintains that Yen-shou ordained seventeen hundred disciples over the course of his fifteen years at Yung-ming temple, and that he regularly administered the bodhisattva precepts, rites typically aimed at lay practitioners, to the Buddhist faithful. In addition, he is reported to have offered food to ghosts and spirits, spread flowers as part of a daily ritual exercise, and chanted the *Lotus Sutra* constantly, for an estimated total of thirteen thousand times throughout his life. In what must have been a massive promotion of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh, Yen-shou is said to have administered precept rites to over ten thousand people on Mount T'ien-t'ai in 974. Besides the *Tsung-ching lu* (Records of the source-mirror), he is said to have written numerous poems and *gatha*, songs and hymns of praise. From his position in Wu-yüeh, Yen-shou's influence spread far. The king of Korea, upon reading Yen-shou's works, despatched an envoy bearing gifts, and thirty-six monks from Korea were provided with stamped documentation by Yen-shou verifying their realization. Each of them, it is said, returned to Korea to spread Yen-shou's teaching in their respective homelands.¹⁰⁸ As a result, Yen-shou's teaching has continued to have great influence on Korean Son.¹⁰⁹

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* record of Ch'an transmission in the Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu lineage effectively ends with the tenth-generation descendants. Only five names are listed in the eleventh generation, two of which (Ch'an Master Fu-yang Tzu-meng and Ch'an Master Ts'e of Chao-ming Cloister) are reputed disciples of Yung-ming Yen-shou. Only one of the five, Ch'ang-shou Fa-ch'i (912–1000), has a record included in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*.¹¹⁰

The *Ch'uan-teng lu* reflected the complex array of forces that contributed to Ch'an identity through the tenth century. From its inception, Ch'an was driven by regionally based movements. These movements depended on local support. The circumstances of this support not only contributed to the movements economically but also helped determine the shape of Ch'an teaching in their respective regions. In general, Ch'an ideology swung between two poles in relation to the larger Buddhist tradition that spawned it, alternately characterized as radical and conventional, independent and harmonious, subitist and gradualistic, antinomian and ethical, and so on. In style and substance, Ch'an transmission records came to epitomize the principles associated with Ch'an as a radical, independent force within Chinese Buddhism, and to typify a uniquely Ch'an identity. The *Ch'uan-teng lu* is often hailed, with justification, as exemplifying "classical" Ch'an, with its records of the unconventional behavior and antics of famous Ch'an masters and patriarchs. Rather than historical accounts, the entries in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* are best read as fictionalized projections that conform to the model of Ch'an supposedly pioneered by Matsuo and his descendants. In effect, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* sanctions the principles

espoused in Ch'an rhetoric as "a special transmission outside the scriptures," even while promoting the interests of the Ch'an faction initiated by Fa-yen which championed a decidedly conventional and accommodating approach to the Buddhist tradition.

As a product of the Wu-yüeh Buddhist revival and the retrospective, conservative orientation of the Fa-yen lineage masters, Te-shao, Yen-shou, and so on, who dominated the region, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled against the background of a more conservative and conventional approach to Ch'an as harmonious with Buddhist teachings, reminiscent of Tsung-mi's attempt to characterize the Ch'an in similar terms.¹¹¹ The style and substance of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, however, clearly favors the interpretation of Ch'an forged through Ma-tsu and his descendants. Although it is unclear where Tao-yüan's compilation ends and Yang I's editing begins, it is clear that something of both tendencies remains in the *Ch'uan-teng lu* in spite of the preference accorded to the Ch'an style associated with the Ma-tsu faction. In this regard, the *Ch'uan-teng lu* might be compared with Tsung-mi's attempt to categorize the disparate regional Ch'an movements of his own day. Tsung-mi reserved the highest place in his schema for the interpretation of Ch'an provided by his own Ho-tse faction, placing the Ma-tsu, Hung-chou Ch'an interpretation just beneath it. In like manner, Tao-yüan appears to have reserved the highest place for Fa-yen Ch'an, while also reserving high regard for other Ch'an factions, especially one identifying with Ma-tsu's descendant, Lin-chi I-hsüan.

Conclusion

No understanding of Ch'an is complete without assessing the contributions of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu* to Ch'an identity. Knowledge of these contributions is essential to any understanding of Ch'an, how it came to be defined, the principles that guided it, and so on. While their role is generally acknowledged in determining Ch'an's religious self-definition, less attention has been paid toward the social and political factors that contributed to their compilation.

Unmistakably, Ch'an transmission records were manufactured to illustrate Ch'an orthodoxy. Above all, it was necessary to substantiate a lineal connection through Dharma transmission, even (or especially) when such connections were lacking. In addition, considerable emphasis was placed on exhibiting a Ch'an persona, a unique Ch'an style characterized by enigmatic dialogue and unconventional behavior, to the extent that masters who otherwise displayed a conventional approach to Buddhist teachings in their own writings were made to conform to a standardized Ch'an image. The increasingly powerful government officials who came to champion it illustrate the success of the Ch'an

drive for orthodoxy. With the support of government leaders in Min, Nan T'ang, and Wu-yüeh, we saw how different factions of Ch'an aspired to orthodox status in their own regions and beyond.

Records like the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, rather than presenting unbiased accounts of the Ch'an movement in its diversity, attempted to codify views of Ch'an orthodoxy predicated on factional biases. The claims of Sheng-teng and his disciples in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* went unheeded and were forgotten. The claims of Te-shao and his disciples for the prominence of the Fa-yen faction were mitigated by the rising tide of support for the Lin-chi faction at the Sung court. Lin-chi faction supremacy was officially acknowledged in the next transmission of the lamp record, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*. With this, official interpretation turned in a decidedly Lin-chi faction direction; this interpretation dominated Ch'an circles throughout the Sung, and beyond.

Among the points to be considered when evaluating the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* are the following:

- The *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu* both reflect circumstances prevailing throughout China with the decentralizing forces that accompanied the decline of the T'ang and the emergence of the Five Dynasties. Both texts champion lineages descended from a single master, Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, who became a major figure in the southern kingdom of Min, a refuge for Buddhists escaping the travails of the north.
- The claims of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* are predicated on the patronage of local rulers. In the absence of effective central administration, local authorities in many regions had complete autonomy over the affairs within their domains, including religion. The temples they built and supported, and the Ch'an monks they appointed to head them, provided the institutional framework through which local Ch'an factions thrived.
- The *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu* were compiled to promote the claims for legitimacy of two regionally based Ch'an movements: in the case of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Chao-ch'ing Sheng-teng and his disciples (first in Min, and then Southern T'ang); in the case of the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, T'ien-t'ai Te-shao and his disciples (Wu-yüeh).
- In both texts, legitimacy is substantiated through master-disciple transmissions, manufactured and enhanced where necessary, in order to maintain the credibility of factional claims to orthodoxy.
- Both texts provide for a "typical" Ch'an style through recorded dialogues and activities, and so on. All masters with records included in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ch'uan-teng lu* conform to this stylistic prerequisite. As this style served as a defining feature of a unique Ch'an identity, distinguishing Ch'an from other forms of Buddhism, it should be

read primarily as a literary device confirming a master's Ch'an identity, and not a reflection of actual behavior. This style became the new face of Ch'an orthodoxy.

NOTES

1. Following the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, 30 fasc. (1004), the Ch'an records organized and styled after it in the Sung dynasty were: the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, 30 fasc. (1036); the *Chien-chung Ch-ing-kuo hsü-teng lu*, 30 fasc. (1101); the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*, 30 fasc. (1183); the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*, 30 fasc. (1202); and the *Wu-teng hui-yuan*, 20 fasc. (1252).
2. Examples of the effect that Tun-huang manuscripts have had over understanding early Ch'an are represented in such works as Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 1986); and Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997 (translated by Phyllis Brooks, from *La volonté d'orthodoxie dans le bouddhisme chinois* [Éditions du CNRS, 1988], and *Le bouddhisme Ch'an en mal d'histoire* [École Française d' Extrême-Orient, 1989])). Among works in Japanese, too numerous to list, are the works of Yanagida Seizan, especially *Shoki zenshū shisō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), and Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983). In Chinese (and English), there are the works of Hu Shih.
3. The most famous of these Ch'an struggles involved Shen-hui's claims, recorded in the *Ting shih-fei lun* (Treatise determining the true and the false), contained in Hu Shih, *Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi* ([1930] Taipei: Hu Shih chi-nien kuan, 1970), pp. 258–319, that his master, Hui-neng, was the true recipient of sixth patriarch's mantle, not P'u-chi's master, Shen-hsiu. These claims were later dramatically restated in the *Platform Sutra*; see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. However, struggles between competing Ch'an factions are implicit in all early Ch'an transmission records: the *Leng-chia shih-tzu-chi* (Record of the masters and students of the *Laṅkāvatāra*), *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (Annals of the transmission of the Dharma treasure), *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (Records of the Dharma treasure through the ages), and *Pao-lin chuan* (Transmission of the Pao-lin [Temple]). Regarding these records, see Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, and John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*.
4. The "five houses" refer to the Lin-chi (Rinzai), Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō), Fa-yen (Hōgen), Kuei-yang (Igyō), and Yün-men (Unmon) lineages.
5. T 48.293c; Hirata Takashi, ed. *Mumonkan, Zen no goroku 18* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 37–41.
6. The development of the Śākyamuni-Mahākāśyapa story and the context surrounding its invention have been investigated in the author's "Mahākāśyapa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition," in Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 75–109.

7. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Tsu-t'ang chi, Sōdōshū sakuin* 3 (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, Meibun Shain, 1984) (cited hereafter as TTC), I:24.1-5; and *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51.196b-467a) (cited hereafter as CTL), 1 (T51.205b 26-28).

8. Ishii Shūdō, "Dai Bontennō monbutsu ketsugi kyō wo megutte," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshu* 31 (2000): 217b-220b (n. 4), has documented the various sources containing renditions of this story. It is also discussed in connection with the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, and other sources by T. Griffith Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 1999), pp. 220-294.

9. The notion that Ch'an records should be read as fiction was proposed by Yanagida Seizan; see, for example, "Shinzoku tōshi no keifu," *Zengaku kenkyū* 59 (1978): 5.

10. Alternately rendered as "eye treasury of the true Dharma."

11. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 144, note 777.

12. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Bassō kyōdan no tenkai to sono shijishatachi" (The development of the Ma-tsu order and its supporters), *Komazawa Daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshu* 2 (1971): 160.

13. Regarding the situation of Buddhism during the Five Dynasties, and particularly the suppression of Buddhism mounted by Emperor Shih-tsung, see Makita Tairyō, *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heiraku-ji shoten, 1971).

14. The meager evidence for knowledge about the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in Sung China is considered by Yanagida Seizan, "Sōdōshū kaidai," in *Sōdōshū sakuin (ge)* (Kyoto: Meibun shain, 1984), pp. 159iff.

15. From a scholarly standpoint, the most important studies by Yanagida are: "Sōdōshū no shiryō katchi (ichi)" [under the name Yokoi Shūzan], *Zengaku kenkyū* 44 (1953); "Sōdōshū no honbun kenkyū (ichi)," *Zengaku kenkyū* 54 (1964); and *Sōdōshū sakuin (jō) (chū) (ge)* (Kyoto: Meibun shain, Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, 1980, 1982, and 1984). For a comprehensive review of studies on the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, see Ishii Shūdō, "Chūsen zenshisō ni taisuru kenkyū," *Kankoku bukkyōgaku Seminar* 2000, vol. 8, pp. 127-161.

16. This date is found in various places in the TTC, in connection with calculating the years that have elapsed since the passing of Śākyamuni and Chinese Ch'an patriarchs from Bodhidharma through Hui-neng (minus Tao-hsin) (see TTC I: 26.14; I: 77.2-3; I: 80.11; I: 81.12; I: 89.7-8, and I: 99.9-10). Yanagida's discussion of it is in "Sōdōshū no shiryō katchi," pp. 35-36.

17. TTC I: 1.8.

18. See Ishii Shūdō's review of research on the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in "Chūsen zenshisō ni taisuru kenkyū," esp. pp. 140-149. My own review here is indebted to Professor Ishii's account.

19. Ishii Mitsuō, "Zen to tenseki," in *Zen no sho* (Tokyo: Shunyōdō shoten, 1952). T'a-kuan Ch'ih-yün's record is contained in CTL 25.

20. Mizuno Kōgen, "Denpōge no seiritsu ni tsuite," *Shugaku kenkyū* 2 (1960). Ku-yin Ch'ih-ching's record is contained in CTL 23; Shih-men Yün's record is found

in *T'ien-sheng Kuang-teng lu* ZZ 76, 420a–574b; HTC 135. 595a–902b (hereafter KTL), 24.

21. Yanagida Seizan, “*Sōdōshū no honbun kenkyū (ichi)*,” *Zengaku kenkyū* 54 (1964): 16.

22. Shiina Kōyū, “*Sōdōshū no hensei*,” *Shūgaku kenkyū* 21 (1979): 66–72.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

24. Kinugawa Kenji, “*Sōdōshū satsuki*,” *Zen bunka kenkyūjō kiyō* 24 (1998): 113–128.

25. TTC I: 1.13–2.1. The second preface is discussed by Yangida, “*Sōdōshū no honbun kenkyū*,” pp. 18–21.

26. TTC I: 1.13. The evidence that faulty printing is the cause for the number 10 in Chinese to be read as 1 is clearer in the *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* edition of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (1.13). Further support for this reading comes from I: 1.18, where enumeration for the number 23 (indicated in Chinese by the combination of 2–10–3 [as in $2 \times 10 + 3$]) also contains a similarly faulty 10. In the latter case, there can be no other explanation than faulty printing, as the combination 2–1–3 has no meaning.

It should be noted here that the printed manuscript of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is highly corrupt and virtually unreadable in places. Kinugawa's method involved the use of a mirror to reflect the inverted form of marred characters from the backside of the “leaves” (as Chinese folded pages are referred to) they are printed on. In this way, he was able to determine the correct form of many marred characters, the results of which are contained in the *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* edition.

27. In this regard, Kinugawa follows the lead suggested earlier by Arthur Waley, “A Sung Colloquial Story from the *Tsu-t'ang chi*,” in “Two Posthumous Articles by Arthur Waley,” *Asia Major* 14 no. 2 (1968), where Waley points out that the term *kuang-nan* used in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* came into use only after the Sung.

The *Tsu-t'ang chi* is currently the subject of an ongoing seminar investigation involving a number of Japanese scholars from disciplines ranging from Chinese literature, history, and Buddhism, meeting monthly at the Institute of Far Eastern Culture (Tōyō bunka) of the University of Tokyo. The group is lead by Okayama Hajime of the University of Tokyo, Ogawa Takeshi of Komazawa University, and Kinugawa Kenji of Hanazono University. As of this writing, three research reports, “*Sōdōshū kenkyūkai hōkoku no ichi (ni) (san)*,” of carefully annotated translations into Japanese of sections from the *Tsu-t'ang chi* have been issued by the seminar in *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjō kiyō* 139, 140, and 141 (1999, 2000, and 2001). Successive issues will presumably continue to carry further such research reports.

28. In addition to Yanagida Seizan's articles cited above, work on Sheng-teng has been carried out by Ishii Shūdō, “*Senshū fukusen Shūkei-in no Jōshu zenji Shūtū to Sōdōshū*,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 44 (1986): 155–197; and “*Senshū Kaigen-ji shi no Shūkei Shōtō no den ni tsuite*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34 (1985): 270–277. The dates for Sheng-teng's life are based on Ishii's reconstruction.

29. Chao-ch'ing Sheng-teng's record is contained in TTC 13 (IV: 21.14–29.10); there are also records in the *Ch'uan-chou K'ai-yuan ssu chih* (see Ishii articles cited in the previous note), and CTL 22 (T 51.382a20–b27). Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un's record is contained in TTC 7 (II: 99.1–115.6) and in CTL 16 (T 51.327a11–328b13).

30. Yanagida, "Sōdōshū kaidai," p. 1589.

31. The *Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu-chuo tsu-shih sung* is recorded in *Sōdōshū* (Kuoto: zen bunka kenkyūjō, 1994) (hereafter SDS), 1,635, a copy of which is found in T 85.1320c-1322c; see Yanagida, "Sōdōshū kaidai," pp. 1,585-1,586.

32. TTC 14 (IV: 43.13-44.1).

33. This is particularly evident in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, where the robe, the symbol of transmission, is reputedly sent to court by Hui-neng, only to have it awarded by Empress Wu to Chih-hsien, who carts it off to Ssu-ch'uan, where it served as the pretext for orthodoxy by Chih-hsien's descendants.

34. Following the metaphor to describe the Ch'an "tradition" suggested by Bernard Faure (and others). See Faure, *Ch'an Insights and Oversights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 120.

35. Given Kinugawa's suggestion that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was actually an early Sung compilation, it may very well prove to be that much of its contents were shaped by forces beyond Min and the Southern T'ang, and that Lin-chi influences had a more direct bearing on the shaping of its contents than previously supposed.

36. The three *kao-seng chuan* works are the *Kao-seng chuan* (T no. 2059, compiled ca. 520), the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (T no. 2060, compiled 667), and the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (T no. 2061, compiled 988).

37. TTC 3 (I:101.2-111.8).

38. TTC 3 (I:111.9-112.4; ten lines total, two of which are a commemorative verse by Sheng-teng).

39. For the list of Hui-neng's disciples in the *Platform Sutra*, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 170.

40. Borrowing Hu Shih's characterization of Hsing-ssu and Huai-jiang in "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," *Philosophy East and West*, 3 no.1 (1953): 12.

41. *Sung kao-seng chuan* T 50.709a-900a (hereafter SKSC), 9 (T 50.760c1-8; appended to the entry for I-fu), where Hui-neng is referred to by the posthumous title Ta-chien (great mirror), awarded by Emperor Hsien-tsung.

42. TTC 3 (I:112.2-4).

43. CTL 5 (T 51.240c).

44. SKSC 9 (T 50.760c7-8).

45. TTC 3 (I:142.2-145.7). There are also records in SKSC 9 (T 50.761a-b), CTL 5 (T 51.240c7-241a26), and KTL 8 (ZZ 78, 447c6-448b19). A Ming edition of Huai-jiang's "recorded sayings," the *Nan-yüeh ta-hui Ch'an-shih yü-lu*, is located in *Ku-tsun-su yü-lu*.

46. For an accessible discussion of the *Pao-lin chuan*, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 47-55. A partial copy of the *Pao-lin chuan* was discovered in the 1930s. Unknown for centuries, three crucial fascicles of its ten chapters (7, 9, and 10) are still unknown, leaving many question marks regarding the exact nature of its contents. It was compiled in 801 by an otherwise unknown monk by the name of Chih (or Hui)-chü. The title of the work alone indicates some of its principal presuppositions. The name *Pao-lin chuan* (Transmission of the treasure grove) derives from Hui-neng's temple, the Pao-lin ssu, in Shao-chou (Kuang-tung), and indicates an acceptance of Shen-hui's depiction of Hui-neng as the sixth patriarch. There is

considerable speculation regarding the contents of chapters 9 and 10, crucial for our understanding of the work. It is generally accepted that the work reflects the rising importance of Ma-tsu and his students in Chan circles. Presumably, chapters 9 and 10 were compiled in accordance with this perspective. There is general consensus that they contained the records of Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, and Hui-neng, at the least, and possibly the record of Nan-yüeh Huai-jiang, the master through whom Ma-tsu's lineage is traced to the sixth patriarch, and that of Ma-tsu Tao-i himself. Shiina Kōyū, however, speculates that chapters 9 and 10 also contained records of Hui-neng's disciples Huai-jiang, Hsing-ssu, Pao-chüeh, Pen-ching, Ling-yü, Hui-chung, and Shen-hui, plus those of Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien; see his "Hōrinden itsubun no kenkyū," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshu* 11 (1981): 234–257.

47. Heng-chou P'an-jo ssu Kuan-yin ta-shih pei-ming Ch'uan T'ang-wen (Taipei: 1961) hereafter CTW) 619.7935–7936); Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 53 n. 190. This interpretation is confirmed by the mention of Ma-tsu's disciples (*Tao-i zhi men-jen*) in the opening lines of the inscription.

48. These are the realms of possible transmigration: rebirth in hell, as a hungry spirit, animal, *asura*, human, or in heaven.

49. TTC 3 (I:142.2–5).

50. On the characterization of early Ch'an records according to these two types, see Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*.

51. See the table of Contents of the KTL (ZZ 78, 420a–425c), also contained in HTC 135.595a–606a.

52. As expected, where notation is made that information was unavailable, the master's record is generally short; see, for example, the records of T'ien-huang Tao-wu TTC 5 (I:156.2–14) and Chien-yüan Ch'ung-t'ien TTC 6 (II:71.11–72.6). It would be interesting to compare the TTC records where this notation is made against the records of the same masters in the CTL to see what kind of differences emerge, but I have not had time to undertake this task for the present study.

53. Among Sheng-teng's contemporaries, special note should be reserved for Chao-ch'ing Tao-k'uang (dates unknown), the disciple of Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng. According to the *Tsu-t'ang chi* TTC 13 (IV:1.3–4), after his enlightenment, Tao-k'uang was invited by Army Chief(?) (*t'ai-i*) Wang of Ch'uan-chou to preach at the Chao-ch'ing yüan. The Min ruler subsequently granted him a purple robe the honorific title "Great Master upon Whom the Dharma Depends" (*Fa-yin ta-shih*).

54. TTC preface (I:1.8–12). A treatment of Hsüeh-feng and his descendants, leading to the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, is included in a manuscript, "Ch'an Transmission and Factional Motives in the Patriarch's Hall Collection," which I hope to publish in the future.

55. Shūzan Yokoi (a.k.a. Yanagida Seizan), "Sōdōshū no shiryō kachi (ichi)" (Value, as research material, of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*), *Zengaku kenkyū* 44 (1953): 31–80 (esp. pp. 67–72).

56. The position of the *Ch'uan-teng lu* among Ch'an transmission records is universally acknowledged; see, for example, Jan Yün-hua's entry, "Ch'an yü-lu" in William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 202.

57. Of the forty-eight cases in the *Wu-men kuan*, for example, twenty-five are

found in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*; see the chart by Ishii Shūdō in his review of Nishimura Eshin's translation of the *Mumonkan* in *Hanazono Daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 28 (1996): 125-135.

58. Collected in CTL 28 (T 51.437c-449a).

59. Yang I's preface is found in T 51.196b-197a. I have used the version reproduced in Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyō* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), pp. 21-23; see especially p. 23b, lines 2-5 and line 10.

60. Tao-yüan's preface to the *Fo-tzu t'ung-tsan chi* is found in the collected works of Yang I, the *Wu-i hsin-chi* (Literary collection of Yang I), contained in *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu chen-pen* 8, vol. 7.24a-26b; reference here is to Ishii Shūdō's reproduction of the preface in *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 21-23. For the line in question see p. 22a.

61. Ishii 23b5-7; Japanese translation on p. 10.

62. Ishii 21b4. I have explored Yang I and Tao-yüan's prefaces more thoroughly in a manuscript being prepared for publication, "The Role of Secular Officials in Lin-chi Faction Ascendancy at the Sung Court."

63. T 51.246c-263c.

64. T 51.384b-391b.

65. T 51.356b. Mu-chou Tao-tsung's record is contained in CTL 12 (T 51.291a-292b), under the name of Ch'en Tsun-su. There is also a record of his teachings in *Ku-tsun-su yü-lu* 6.

66. TTC 11 (III:92.1-5).

67. Ling-shu Ju-min's record is contained in CTL 11 (T 51.286b-c) and TTC 19 (V:107.12-108.7).

68. T 51.356b29-c2.

69. Urs App, *Master Yunmen: From the Record of the Chan Master "Gate of the Clouds"* (Tokyo: Koda usha International, 1994), pp. 24-26, based on information contained in two inscriptions composed about Yün-men shortly after his death: *Ta-han shao-chou Yün-men shan ta-chüeh ch'an-ssu ta-tz'u-yün k'uang-shen hung-ming ta-shih pei-ming* (964) by Ch'en Shou-chung, and *Ta-han shao-chou Yün-men shan kuang-t'ai ch'an-yüan k'uang-chen ta-shih shih-hsing-pei* (959) by Lei Yüeh, both contained in Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina bukkyō shiseki kinenshō* (Tokyo: Bukkyō shiseki kenkūkai, 1931), pp. 110-121.

70. T 50.786a4-5.

71. CTL 21 (T 51.371a-374a; for Kuei-ch'en's record, see 371a-372a).

72. See CTL 24 (T 51.398b-407a).

73. Located in the western part of Sui-an Prefecture, Zhejiang Province.

74. CTL 24 (T 51.398b4-6).

75. The term "Confucian monk" (*ju-seng*) is used by Makita Tairyō in connection with Tsan-ning in "Sannei to sono jidai," *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyō kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heira-kuji shoten, 1957). In this connection, also see my chapter, "A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning's Notion of *Wen* in the Early Sung," in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 21-61; and Peter K. Bol, "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 148-175.

76. CTL 24 (T 51.398b7); SKSC 13 (T 50.788a25).

77. CTL 24 (T 51.398b8-13).

78. The *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun* is contained in ZZ 110, 877–882. Note, for example, the stipulation given in Fa-yen’s preface: “Thus, even though Ch’an truth (*li*) consists in sudden awakening (*tun-ming*), in fact (*shih*) it must be gradually realized (*chien-cheng*). While numerous techniques have been established in each individual Ch’an lineage (*men-t’ing*), . . . they are all based in (*kuei*) the same source. In cases where one has no experience with doctrinal teachings (*chiao-lun*), it is difficult to destroy deluded understanding (*shih-ch’ing*)” (877a17–877b1).

79. T 51.398c1. The numbers of students given in records such as these should not be taken literally, but simply as an indication that a master had many students.

80. T 51.398c26–27.

81. T 51.399c24–27.

82. T 51.399c29–400a6.

83. For their records, see CTL 25 (T 51.407b6–410b12, 411c6–412a9, and 414b26–c3, respectively).

84. Lung-kuang is otherwise unknown; for the record of Ch’ing-liang T’ai-ch’in, see CTL 25 (T 51.414c4–415b18). The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, citing the *Leng-chia jen-fa chih*, distinguished between nationally and regionally prominent disciples of the fifth patriarch (T 85.1289c).

85. T 51.407b6–420c11. This assumption is questionable, however, given the absence of Lung-kuang’s name from the list here. In the CTL record of Fa-yen, Lung-kuang is mentioned as one of Fa-yen’s regionally prominent disciples (T 51.4007–4008).

86. T 51.400a8–11.

87. T 51.410c1–2 and SKSC 23 (T 50.859c4–6).

88. T 51.412b29–c1 and SKSC 13 (T 50.788c24–26).

89. T 51.413a14–15.

90. T 51.415b23–24; according to SKSC 23 (T 50.860b22–23), a special cloister, the Shang-fang ching yüan, was erected for Shao-yen at P’an-t’a Temple.

91. For a look at the broader influence of Buddhism in Wu-yüeh, see Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, revised edition (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1986), pp. 123–210. For a more recent assessment, see Ishii Shūdō, “Senshū Fukusen Shūkei-in no Jōshu zenji Shōtō to Sōdōshū,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkūō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 44 1986: 183b–190b.

92. T 51.400a6.

93. T 51.411c15–17.

94. T 51.414b6–7.

95. T 51.411b16.

96. T 51.415c28–29.

97. T 51.407b26–27.

98. T 51.407b27–c4. The term for “ruler” (*bazhu*) implies a “hegemon” (*ba*) in contrast to a “true king” (*wang*), an important distinction in Chinese history between rulers considered legitimate by Heaven and the people for their commitment to peace and benevolent rule, and those who usurped power illegitimately through force. The designation here probably reflects the perspective of the *Ch’uan-teng lu*’s Sung compilers, who officially looked upon nonimperial claims to authority as illegitimate.

99. On Tsan-ning and his promotion of Buddhism at the Song court, see my

previous work on Tsan-ning, "A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival," and "Tsan-ning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 23 (1995): 105–140; see also Makita Tairyō, "Sannei to sono jidai."

100. T 51.407C10–23.

101. Recorded in CTL 5 (T 51.235C3–7).

102. Case 29; T 48.296C17–26.

103. T 51.407C23–25.

104. The study of the records of Yen-shou's life were a principal aim of my doctoral research on Yen-shou, published as *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the "Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi"* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); esp. pp. 39–99. A translation of select records is found in pp. 193–203. Shih Heng-ching accepts the more conventional interpretation of Yen-shou in her *The Ch'an-Pure Land Synthesis in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

105. T 51.421C8–11.

106. See *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*.

107. T 51.421C19–25.

108. T 51.422A9–17.

109. See Robert E. Buswell, *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983).

110. T 51.429b–c.

111. On Tsung-mi, see Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, and Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972): 1–54.