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Yongming Yanshou: Scholastic as Chan Master

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Western discourses on Zen, highly influenced by the Japanese Rinzaï tradition, rarely mention Yongming Yanshou (904–975). Where Yanshou's name is mentioned, it is often used pejoratively as the antithesis of a “real” Zen master. Given Rinzaï's propensity for idealized Zen masters as convention-defying iconoclasts, this comes as no surprise. Yanshou's reputation as a scholastic and his renown for syncretism, whether between Zen and Pure Land or between Zen and doctrinal teaching, brand him in the eyes of many as unworthy of the Zen title, prompting some to question whether he even deserves to be included among the ranks of Zen masters.

In the history of Zen, Yanshou is usually dismissed as the harbinger of decline, the architect of an impure Zen that modern Zen purists have relegated to a decidedly inferior status. The Zen traditions of China, Korea, and Vietnam, however, tend to look upon Yanshou quite differently. Rather than being marginalized, Yanshou emerges in these traditions as a central figure through which indigenous Chan, Sŏn, and Thiên teachings and practices are validated. How does one come to terms with these disparate images of Yanshou? Should he be included as a Zen master? If so, what meaning does this designation carry?

Any inclusion of Yanshou among the ranks of Zen masters, as this chapter argues, forces a reevaluation of the very meaning of the term Zen and how it has been commonly (mis)represented in contemporary discourse. An examination of Yanshou's Zen identity

compels us to rethink the notion of what Zen is, and to come to terms with living Zen traditions that value Yanshou as the founding patriarch of the traditions they represent. If, indeed, Yanshou is the “typical” Zen master rather than a marginalized figure; if his teaching represents “true” Zen rather than some scholiast’s aberration—in other words, if Zen syncretism rather than some hypothetical pure Zen represents “true” Zen—then Yanshou emerges as a central figure in the mainstream Zen tradition, and so-called “radical” Zen is marginalized as the ill-conceived aberration. This chapter considers the struggle to appropriate Yanshou as a Zen master who is indicative of contradictions that lie at the heart of Zen.

Included in the discussion will be a description of the textual images of Yanshou, how these textual images compare with the style of Zen promoted in his own writings, and how textual images of Yanshou evolved over time according to the forces that shaped them. The evolution of Yanshou’s identity is reviewed in three phases: as “promoter of blessings,” as Chan master, and as Pure Land advocate. Finally, I propose another image of Yanshou, drawn from his own writings, as advocate of bodhisattva practice. Before beginning this review, I open with a discussion of the problems associated with addressing Yanshou’s identity.

The Problem of Yanshou’s Identity, Past and Present

The Buddhist identity of Yongming Yanshou has long been problematic. Yanshou’s devotion to Buddhism has never been questioned, nor his commitment to Buddhist teaching. Difficulties frequently arose, however, in trying to determine what type of Buddhist Yanshou was. Questions concerning Yanshou’s identity are rooted in the original records of Yanshou’s life. They are reiterated during the centuries following his death in the attempts to construct an image of Yanshou relevant to contemporary Buddhist practitioners. These questions continue down to the present day, when Yanshou is highly regarded in some Buddhist circles while virtually ignored or denigrated in others.¹ Why has the image of Yanshou, a popular figure of immense importance in Chinese Buddhist history, continued to be so controversial? The present study is an attempt to reflect on circumstances contributing to the problem that Yanshou’s image represents in Buddhist circles.²

Generally speaking, the difficulty in assigning identity to Yanshou is rooted in historical changes occurring within Chinese Buddhism. As a product of the revival and promotion of Buddhism in the quasi-independent principality of Wuyue during the Five Dynasties period (907–959), Yanshou sought to preserve the Buddhist legacy of the Tang dynasty. As a harbinger of change,

Yanshou tried to integrate the elements of past Buddhist teaching into a comprehensive system that reflected challenges Buddhism faced in China. In this sense, Yanshou was rooted in the traditions of Tang Buddhist scholasticism, but provided the framework and impetus from which Song and subsequent Buddhist developments grew. Thus, the root problem in determining Yanshou's identity is that he is the product of the scholastic Buddhism of the Tang, although he attempted to shape it in new ways, but his identity was determined by Buddhists in the Song who defined themselves outside of parameters established by their Tang forebears. It is somewhat surprising, given this circumstance, that Yanshou continued to be honored as a central figure in a tradition that developed in ways largely unanticipated by Yanshou himself. It is not surprising, however, that Yanshou's image began to resemble less the man of history and more the figure of legend. It took a remarkably long time, one might add, for the figure of legend to settle into an established form. The activity surrounding the legend-making process attests to the potency of Yanshou's image through the ages.

It is also hardly surprising to find Yanshou's image manipulated in this way. Figures throughout history, regardless of period or culture, have often acquired characteristics that reflect the time and place of the people who honor them. In this, Yanshou is no exception. As he became a leading figure within Song Buddhist circles, his image began to take on the shape of the communities that honored him. As these communities changed, so did the image of Yanshou.

During the Song, two interpretations of Buddhism came to dominate: Chan and Pure Land.³ Yanshou became closely connected to both groups. In Chan circles, Yanshou was cast as a paradigmatic Chan monk, composing enlightenment verses and responding to questions from students with enigmatic replies. Among Pure Land practitioners, as interpreted through the writings of Tiantai monks who were promoting the Pure Land movement, Yanshou became the consummate advocate of Pure Land teaching and practice. Throughout these developments, Yanshou's identity provoked considerable, sometimes heated debate. The content of these debates exposes two things about Yanshou's identity. First, it shows that Yanshou did not easily fit the sectarian categories that came to dominate Buddhism in the Song; second, the controversy over Yanshou's image in Song Buddhist circles suggests his overwhelming importance. However contentious Yanshou's identity became, he could not be ignored.

Yanshou as "Promoter of Blessings" (*xingfu*)

The earliest known biography of Yanshou was compiled by Zanning (919–1001) in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks), compiled in

988, a mere thirteen years after Yanshou's passing.⁴ In addition to being written shortly after Yanshou's own life, other factors attest to its reliability. Like Yanshou, Zanning hailed from the Wuyue region and initially achieved fame for his activities there. Like Yanshou, he was a product of the Wuyue Buddhist revival, and had intimate knowledge of Yanshou and the circumstances and events of his life.⁵ In spite of these compelling factors that favor its reliability, however the information contained here must be viewed critically in light of the conventions governing biographies compiled in the *gaoseng zhuan* (biographies of eminent monks) format. A source used for many of the biographies in these collections was the tomb-inscription (*taming*) compiled as a kind of eulogy memorializing the memory of deceased Buddhist masters.⁶ Although the content of Yanshou's tomb-inscription is unknown, one can assume that it was a source for Zanning's biography of Yanshou in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, especially given that Zanning makes specific reference to its existence at the end of the biography.⁷

Buddhist biographies followed both general conventions governing Chinese biographies such as place of birth and family background and other conventions specifically related to the monks' careers as Buddhists. In Yanshou's case, these include the circumstances through which he became a monk, the Buddhist teachings and scriptures he was most devoted to, the masters who served as his teachers, the temples with which he was associated throughout his career, episodes in his life that reflect key aspects of his character, his major written works, and the account of his death. I have dealt with these details of Yanshou's life elsewhere.⁸ Here I will focus on aspects relating to how individual compilers identified Yanshou, the image of Yanshou that individual biographies project.

Unlike future biographies of Yanshou that identified Yanshou in terms of his sectarian affiliation, Zanning identifies Yanshou as simply "Song dynasty [monk] Yanshou of Yongming Monastery in Qiantang."⁹ Even this apparently innocent appellation, however, suggests that the circumstances of Yanshou's life had already begun to be extracted from their original context to serve the needs of the compilation in question and the circumstances under which it was being written. Yanshou was not really a Song dynasty monk. He lived and died in an independent Wuyue kingdom, received the patronage of a series of monarchs provided by the Qian family, the ruling warlords (*jiedu shi*) of the region. There is no evidence that Yanshou had any interactions with the Song court. Wuyue was among the last of the autonomous kingdoms during the so-called "Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms" period to be absorbed into the new Song hegemony in 978, three years after Yanshou's death. Zanning, on the other hand, served as Wuyue ambassador, personally accompanying Prince Zhongyi

(Qian Chu) to the Song court during the tense negotiations that officially relinquished control of the region. While Yanshou did not live to see these developments, they were an important factor in Zanning's career. Zanning became the highest ranking member of the Buddhist clergy at the Song court, and was personally acquainted with the Song emperor and leading members of the imperial bureaucracy.¹⁰ Not only did it serve Zanning's interests in promoting Buddhism at the Song court to include Yanshou among the ranks of prominent Song Buddhists but it was also impossible to ignore the official beginning of the Song dynasty in the year 960. To suggest otherwise would be viewed not only as presumptuous but also offensive to the sensibilities of the new dynasty.

The power and prestige of Wuyue was considerable during Yanshou's lifetime. Qiantang, the capital city of Wuyue, became a thriving commercial and cultural center at this time, the hub of an economic transformation that propelled the lower Yangtze Valley area into the most dynamic region in China during the Song. Under the name Hangzhou, Qiantang served as the capital of China during the Southern Song (1127–1279), after the north was abandoned. As a center of Chinese culture, it exerted considerable influence over the entire East Asian region. Monasteries revived through Wuyue patronage on Mount Tiantai, the principle sacred mountain of the region, and other Buddhist centers throughout Wuyue, became leading institutions for the study of Buddhism during the Song.¹¹ Monks from Japan such as Eisai (a.k.a. Yōsai) and Dōgen who studied at these monasteries became founders of the Japanese Zen movement. Even in Yanshou's day, the king of the major Korean kingdom of Koryo (or Goryeo, C. Gaoli) sent a delegation of monks to study under Yanshou. The fame of Buddhist institutions in Wuyue was widespread, both within China and outside its borders. Appointed to head prestigious monasteries in Qiantang, Yanshou stood at the pinnacle of the Wuyue Buddhist establishment.

Zanning's identification of Yanshou was based on criteria specific to the *gaoseng zhuan* genre. *Gaoseng zhuan* works commemorated the contributions of Buddhist monks in ten categories, on the basis of nonsectarian criteria. In the first of these works, the *Gaoseng zhuan* compiled c. 520 by Huijiao, these were: translators (*yijing*), exegetes (*yijie*), miracle workers (*shenyi*), meditation practitioners (*xichan*), elucidators of discipline (*minglu*), self-immolators (*wangshen*), cantors (*songjing*), promoters of blessings (*xingfu*), hymnodists (*jingshi*), and sermonists (*changdao*).¹² The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (compiled in 667 by Taoxuan) and *Song Gaoseng zhuan* altered the order and names of the categories slightly, but retained the nonsectarian spirit of the genre.¹³ Under these circumstances, Buddhist monks were not identified according to sectarian

affiliation, but categorized according to the area of expertise within Buddhism through which they achieved eminence. As such, a monk is noted for his achievements as a *xichan* (meditation) practitioner, for example, not for his membership in a Chan school lineage. The categories themselves are free of sectarian bias.

As is the case with *Song gaoseng zhuan* biographies generally, the actual account of Yanshou's life is sparse. The strongest impression left by the account is of Yanshou's affinity for reciting the *Lotus Sutra*, intensive meditation practice, and performing meritorious deeds. He was noted as a prolific writer.¹⁴ He is distinguished by his austere and frugal lifestyle; sincerity and honesty of character; connections to the Qian family rulers of Wuyue as well as his Buddhist mentors, Cuiyan and Deshao; and the honors bestowed upon him by the Korean king.

Yanshou's association with *Lotus Sutra* recitation, with meditation, and with the performance of meritorious deeds suggests the basis for the three ways in which Yanshou came to be identified in biographical records: as Pure Land master, as Chan practitioner, and as "promoter of blessings" (*xingfu*). Of these three, Zanning chose promoter of blessing as most appropriate for designating Yanshou's identity. What evidence exists in Yanshou's own writings to support Zanning's designation?

The best evidence in support of Zanning's characterization is contained in Yanshou's work promoting the practice of myriad good deeds, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (Anthology on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds).¹⁵ It is interesting to note that in Zanning's biography, this work is mentioned prior to Yanshou's other major work, the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror), a much larger work containing Yanshou's anthology of Chan sources. The order in which Zanning mentions them in his biography seems intentional. Tradition suggests that Yanshou compiled the *Zongjing lu* prior to the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, while living in relative obscurity, first as a student of Cuiyan at Longce Monastery (from 937), then as a student of Deshao on Mount Tiantai (until 952), and finally as a teacher in his own right on Mount Xuedou (a.k.a. Mount Siming) (952–960), where he is said to have attracted students in large numbers. This implies that the *Zongjing lu* was completed during Yanshou's tenure on Mount Xuedou, and his appointment as abbot of the newly rebuilt Lingyin Monastery in Qiantang by Prince Zhongyi in 960 was made, in part, as a recognition of Yanshou's achievement. The Lingyin Monastery is generally regarded as a Chan monastery, however defined. The following year, Yanshou was appointed as abbot of Yongming Monastery. The Yongming Monastery was conceived of as having a broader mission to promote Buddhism among lay patrons in Wuyue. One can imagine the different congregations served at the

two establishments. Lingyin Monastery, located at the outskirts of the city, was primarily an urban center for monastic training. Yongming Monastery, located in the city proper on the shores of the famed West Lake, focused on ministering to the needs of the Wuyue state and lay public. Following this line of speculation, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* was compiled by Yanshou during his tenure at Yongming Monastery, in response to the broader role Buddhism was playing in Wuyue.

On the basis of available evidence, there is no way to confirm or deny this speculation. What is undeniable is the endorsement the *Wanshan tonggui ji* provides for Zanning's characterization of Yanshou as a promoter of blessings. In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, Yanshou supports a broad range of Buddhist activities, free of sectarian concerns. The list of activities promoted includes the following:¹⁶

- adorning, worshiping, and engaging in the adoration of Buddhas and bodhisattvas;
- preaching the Dharma, promoting Dharma assemblies (*fahui*), and a whole range of activities in support of the Dharma;
- reading, memorizing, and chanting sutras, especially the *Lotus Sutra*;
- constructing and maintaining stupas;
- supporting the precepts and practicing repentance, especially the *Fahua* (Lotus) *samadhi* repentance of the Tiantai school;
- following a wide range of standard Buddhist practices drawn from scriptural accounts, including the *paramitas*, the eightfold path, and so on;
- adopting a wide range of meditation techniques, including breath control, *zuochan* (seated meditation), *chanding* (*samadhi*), contemplating images of the Buddha, techniques associated with Tiantai *zhiguan* (cessation and contemplation) practice, and so on;
- invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*) for rebirth in the Pure Land, usually in conjunction with
- stupa worship, sutra chanting, circumambulatory meditation practice, and contemplation;
- self-immolation, or surrendering one's body, or a portion thereof, as the supreme act of almsgiving;
- building and maintaining temples;
- pursuing public works projects, such as clearing and repairing roadways; building bridges and ferries; planting flowers and trees and constructing hills for parks; digging wells and latrines for public use; and providing clothing, medicine, and shelter for the less fortunate;

- conducting altruistic activities inspired by Buddhist teaching: setting fish and birds free; refraining from activities like hunting or fishing; avoiding harm to sentient beings; freeing prisoners; releasing people facing the death penalty by purchasing their freedom; providing refuge to those escaping tax burdens or military conscription;
- abiding by Confucian-inspired virtues, such as loyalty and filial piety, to aid and reform the kingdom and to order and protect the household.

Zanning's characterization of Yanshou gives priority to the *Wanshan tonggui ji* as representative of Yanshou's identity as a Buddhist free of sectarian identity and as a promoter of blessings broadly conceived. This depiction later proved problematic in light of the strong sectarian character of Song Buddhism. To later members of the Chan community, Zanning's choice amounted to an unpardonable oversight. Contesting Zanning's depiction, Chan advocates rallied to rehabilitate Yanshou and claim priority for his identity as a Chan master.

Yanshou as Chan Master (*Chanshi*)

Less than twenty years after Zanning compiled Yanshou's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the Chan monk Daoyuan claimed Yanshou as a member of the Chan school. The *Jingde chuandeng lu*, compiled in the fourth year of the *Jingde* era (1004) and issued under imperial sanction in 1011, marks a major advance in official recognition of Chan lineages in China. Unlike the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was compiled on strict sectarian lines to promote the independent identity of Chan lineages within Song Buddhism. The style and content of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* implicitly distinguished Chan from its scholastic forbears in several ways. It did not focus on abstract doctrine or textual exegesis, but rather placed emphasis on the concrete experiences of Chan monks. As a result, Chan biography and hagiography, as a record of these experiences, took on enhanced meaning.¹⁷ Dialogue and encounters between masters and disciples became a central feature of the biographies. Poetic utterances, enlightenment verses, and enigmatic remarks became the hallmark of Chan monks who disdained logical analysis and wordy explanations as mistaking the true nature of words and the inherent limitations on their utility.

Chan lineage records also acknowledged kinship ties as a fundamental motif of Chinese culture and society. Leaving one's natural home to enter a Buddhist monastery had long been legally acknowledged in China as a kind of adoption, whereby the official registration of the person in question was transferred from their family roster and added to the roster of the monastery in

question. In effect, one legally became a member of a new Buddhist “family.” Chan took this process in new directions, by making lineage the organizing framework of its membership.¹⁸ Thus, not only were individual temples maintained through a succession of abbots but Chan lineages were also maintained through a succession of patriarchs independent of individual temple affiliation. In this way, Chan came to represent a series of lineages, branches, and sub-branches, in affiliation with, but not directly dependent on, an existing temple-institution structure.

It is interesting to note how this new arrangement fits the circumstances of increasing government control over abbacy appointments. Although further investigation is required, it suggests that temple lineage alone was inadequate for acknowledging monks of national prominence. Temples are by nature local, and generally have no influence beyond their particular region. Temple abbots would be similarly restricted. Chan lineages, on the other hand, assume a Chan influence transcending regional limitations.¹⁹

The *Jingde chuandeng lu* was not the first record to assert the universal history of Buddhism from a Chan perspective. It was compiled to counter the claims of the *Zutang ji*, a multilineal Chan transmission record compiled in 952.²⁰ Both works openly acknowledged each other’s lineages. The issue was not legitimacy, but one of primacy in understanding Chan teaching.

Little is known of Daoyuan, compiler of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.²¹ He also hailed from the Wuyue region and is presumed to have been, like Yanshou, a student of Deshao, indicating a strong likelihood of personal contact between them.²² The compilation of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is clouded by the role of Yang Yi (974–1020), a powerful Song official, in bringing the work to publication.²³ Yang Yi’s preface indicates that Daoyuan’s original text was reedited by leading scholar-officials at the Song court, under the direction of Yang Yi.²⁴ Lacking Daoyuan’s original compilation, it is impossible to tell what effect Yang Yi’s editorial work had on the text’s contents. We do know that Yang Yi was heavily influenced by Linji Chan masters and played an active role in promoting that school at the Song court. We also know that his conception of Chan as a “separate *practice* outside [Buddhist] teaching” (*jiaowai biexiu*) was consistent with the emerging Song Chan self-definition as “a separate *transmission* outside [Buddhist] teaching” (*jiaowai biechuan*), especially as conceived of by members of the Linji lineage.²⁵ Daoyuan’s own preface suggests that he conceived his work in different terms. His original title, *Fozu tongcan ji* (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs), indicates commonality between the practice of the buddhas and Chan patriarchs. Chan, in other words, was not conceived as unique or separate from Buddhist teaching and practice, but in fundamental accord with it. The question emerging from the two prefaces

was not over the status of Chan as the preeminent teaching of Buddhism, but the kind of Chan promoted.

Yanshou was destined to become a controversial figure in the debate over the nature of Chan teaching. The questions regarding Yanshou's Buddhist identity in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are twofold. In the first place, there is the question of Yanshou's status as a Chan master, which the *Jingde chuandeng lu* claims unequivocally. The second question concerns the true or orthodox nature of Chan teaching. In the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Yanshou's image is cast in typically Chan terms, befitting the emerging identity of Chan orthodoxy at the Song court. In the *Jingde chaundeng lu*, Yanshou is presented as a Chan master in the fashion that this text helped standardize. His experience as a Buddhist practitioner is punctuated by sudden insight accompanied by poetic reflection, and by critical encounters with students, through which the essence of his insight into the nature of Chan is made evident.

The *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography acknowledges Yanshou as third patriarch in the Fayen lineage, one of the "five houses" (*wujia*) of medieval Chan. The title of the biography claims Yanshou as "the tenth generation heir of Chan master Xingsi," a disciple of the famed sixth patriarch Huineng and "the Dharma-heir of former National Preceptor (*guoshi*) Deshao of Mount Tiantai."²⁶ Earlier in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan claimed that Deshao was the ninth-generation heir of Xingsi, and Dharma-heir of Fayen Wenyi (885–958).²⁷ The titles themselves reveal the new way Yanshou's life was cast as a prominent member of a leading lineage in the Chan movement. In his own writings, Yanshou pays little regard for Chan lineage as a mark of Buddhist identity and makes no mention of any Fayen factional identity. Nor is any special role assigned to Tiantai Deshao, the master from whom the *Jingde chuandeng lu* suggests Yanshou received a special mind-to-mind transmission and upon whom his identity as a Chan master rests.

Like the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography of Yanshou emphasizes his devout nature, frugal character, fondness for chanting the *Lotus Sutra*, and so on. These characteristics point to areas of overlap in the depiction of Yanshou in the two sources, which is attributable to the familiarity both compilers had with Yanshou's life and their temporal proximity to the events in question. In spite of this commonality, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was conceived of for different purposes than the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, and this changed the way Yanshou was identified. The overwhelming impression left by the *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography is of Yanshou as a Chan master. After taking up residence as a teacher at Mount Xuedou, for example, Yanshou reportedly addressed his followers in typically Chan style: "Here on Mount Xuedou, where the water of a dashing waterfall plunges thousands of feet, even the tiniest chestnut has

nowhere to rest. On the awesome crag ten thousand feet high, there is no place for you to stand. I ask each and every one of you, where are you going?"²⁸

Later on, after assuming the abbacy of Yongming Monastery, a monk reportedly asked: "What is the subtle essence of your teaching here at Yongming Monastery?" Yanshou responded, "Put more incense on the burner." Following the exchange, Yanshou composed a poem:

If you want to know the teaching at Yongming:
In front of the gate there lies a lake;
When the sun shines, bright light is reflected off it;
When the wind blows, waves arise.²⁹

As in examples like this, Yanshou's teaching bears the typical mark of an enigmatic Chan master who employs the unexpected and seemingly trite example or turn of phrase to reveal the profound nature of his understanding.

The problem with this characterization is that it bears no resemblance to the Chan teaching Yanshou displays in his writings. Yanshou's compilations are known for the extensive use of materials drawn from classic Buddhist sources, but as a Chan master, it is odd that Yanshou makes such sparse mention of prominent Chan figures. In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, for example, Bodhidharma is not mentioned. Huineng is mentioned but once, as are Nanquan Puyuan, Baizhang Huaihai, and Layman Pang. Niutou Farong is mentioned twice. There is no mention at all of Yanshou's supposed lineal forbears, Tiantai Deshao and Fayan Wenyi. Zongmi, on the other hand, is mentioned five times. To help put these figures in perspective, Tiantai master Zhiyi is mentioned seven times. Yanshou's mention of Chan or other prominent Buddhist figures pales in comparison to his references to classic Buddhist scriptures: the *Huayan Sutra* is cited fifty-one times, and the *Lotus Sutra* is cited twenty-nine times. Chan figures and sources, as currently defined, are noticeable by their absence and seem to have exerted little influence on Yanshou.³⁰

One might expect the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's compilation of "Chan" sources, to reveal a different picture. Yet this is not the case. While Yanshou does refer to Chan lineage masters more frequently and more prominently in the *Zongjing lu*, their presence is still greatly overshadowed by his reliance on traditional scriptural sources. For example, on the one hand, the *Huayan Sutra* and commentaries on it are cited over 360 times, the *Lotus Sutra* and commentaries on it are cited over 130 times, and the *Nirvana Sutra* and commentaries on it cited over 140 times. On the other hand, there are only seven references to the sixth patriarch, Huineng, seven references to Bodhidharma, and six references to Mazu and Huangbo. In contrast, there are nine references to Zhuangzi.³¹ To be fair, Chan *yulu* texts, the major sources of the Chan school,

were not yet published in Yanshou's day, and Chan lineage masters had not achieved the status and credibility that they would later enjoy.³² Nevertheless, it is clear that Yanshou favored an understanding of Chan as an integral part of the Buddhist scriptural and doctrinal tradition. In fact, the evidence suggests that Yanshou was highly critical of the style of Chan that many classic Chan figures are said to represent.

In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, Yanshou responds critically to those who base their understanding of Buddhism on common Chan sayings. For example, when a questioner cites a famous saying attributed to Huineng in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, "When things are not considered in terms of good and evil, one naturally gains entrance into the essence of the mind (*xinti*),"³³ Yanshou chides him for his partial understanding of Buddhism and biased understanding of Chan.³⁴ In another instance, a questioner cites the Chan saying, "Everything that comes into contact with one's eye is in the state of *bodhi*, whatever comes into contact with one's feet is the Way (*dao*)" as a basis for criticizing Yanshou's more formal and conventional approach to Buddhist practice.³⁵ Yanshou's response to exclusive reliance on such an approach to Chan is unequivocal, "You should not, because of some idiosyncratic interpretation of the void (*xu*), obliterate virtue and destroy good deeds [only] to be haphazardly reborn in some evil transmigration, or deny existence and cling to emptiness [only] to become haplessly implicated in a net of evil."³⁶ The position of so-called Southern Chan, which came to represent an orthodox Chan position, held otherwise. In the *Platform Sutra*, Huineng claims: "Building temples, giving alms, and making offerings are merely the practice of seeking after blessings. One cannot make merit with blessings. Merit is in the Dharma-body, not in the field of blessings . . . Merit is created from the mind; blessings and merit are different."³⁷

Yanshou's aim in the *Zongjing lu* makes clear his belief in the authority of Buddhist scripture. In the preface to this work, Yanshou states explicitly his goal of establishing true, or correct, *zong*.³⁸ The term *zong* is problematic, owing to its different meanings. It can refer to a doctrinal interpretation, particularly the underlying theme or essential doctrine of a text, or to a "school," which in Chinese Buddhism refers to a tradition tracing its origin back to its founder.³⁹ In this case, Yanshou is closer to the first meaning, suggesting a unified underlying theme or essential doctrine of Buddhist teaching as a whole, and is clearly countering narrower interpretations favored by sectarian lineages. The means to accomplish this aim are also made clear: using the question-and-answer method to dispel doubts, and citing writings that make explicit true principle, in other words, the central, unifying source (*zhengzong*) of Buddhist teaching. The suggestion that such a unifying

doctrine underlies all Buddhist teaching is essentially antithetical to sectarian concerns.

According to Yanshou, the citation of authoritative scriptures, the teachings of the buddhas and patriarchs, makes clear that the one, all-encompassing, universal mind (*yixin*) is the *zong*, the central, unifying source of Buddhist teaching. The myriad dharmas of phenomenal existence (*wanfa*) are the mirror, or reflections (*jing*) of the mind.⁴⁰ Hence the title of the work, *Zong jing lu*, refers to a record (*lu*) of sources which reflect or mirror (*jing*) the essential, underlying doctrine of Buddhist teaching (*zong*).

Although the aim of Yanshou's work is to provide comprehensive unity and harmony for Buddhist teaching, it is also important to read it as a reaction to divisive sectarian tendencies in Chinese Buddhism. In this sense, it may be suggested that Yanshou's choice of the term *zong* for inclusion in the title of his work was not simply a bland assertion of the obvious, but rather a polemical counter to sectarian developments as antithetical to true Buddhist aims.

Yanshou's conception of Chan is heavily indebted to Huayan teaching.⁴¹ He speaks of Buddhist practice as being dependent on the natural interplay between *li* and *shi*, noumena and phenomena. Enlightenment, the truth, and so forth, must be actualized and performed. Only Buddhist practice makes this possible. As a result, Yanshou is disdainful of claims to enlightenment based on the renunciation of Buddhist teaching and practice. The appropriate role of Chan is to foster the actualization process by encouraging Buddhist practices. The response by Yanshou to the following question illustrates this point:

Question: . . . The still waters of meditation (*dingshui*) would become pure if people would abruptly stop becoming entangled in vexing circumstances. Of what use are assorted good deeds? Dashing about to confront external [circumstances] and turning one's back on true cultivation only causes exhaustion and worry.

Answer: The tranquil manifestation of "no-mind" (*wuxin*)—this is the criterion for realization. Solemn, adorning practices (*zhuangyan*) for the accumulation of blessings and virtues (*fude*) are necessary on account of the nature of conditioned arising (*yuanki*). Equipped with both ["no-mind" and adorning practices] functioning as a pair, the essence of Buddhahood (*foti*) is complete. None of the scriptures of the greater vehicle fail to record this in detail.⁴²

The biography of Yanshou in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* and the approach to Buddhism in his writings created a major discrepancy between the image of Yanshou as Chan master and his actual Chan teaching. Dealing with this

discrepancy resulted in major rifts in the Chan community. The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, compiled shortly after the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in 1036, responded by passing over Yanshou in its roster of Chan masters. This is remarkable, given that the Fayan lineage is acknowledged, but without acknowledging Yanshou's association with it.⁴³ This called into question the identity of Yanshou as a Chan master by a compiler who represented the interests of Chan lineages and who acknowledged the legitimacy of the Fayan faction. The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* was compiled under the influence of Linji Chan at the Song court, and is particularly noteworthy for documenting previously unpublished teachings of masters in the Linji lineage.⁴⁴ The teachings of these Linji masters would eventually dominate Chan, and continue to define notions of the Chan school down to the present day.

Others continued to champion the cause of Yanshou as Chan master. Yanshou is included as a master in the Fayan lineage by Qisong, compiler of the *Chuanfa zheng zong ji* in 1061.⁴⁵ Qisong, a well known proponent of Chan-Buddhist syncretism, had close affinities with Yanshou's interpretation of Chan. Another proponent of scholastic (*wenzi*) Chan, Huihong, openly challenged those who questioned Yanshou's Chan identity by criticizing Zanning's classification of him as a promoter of blessings:

Zanning compiled the extensive *Song gaoseng zhuan*, utilizing ten categories for the purpose of classification. He placed "exegetes" at the top [of the list]. This is laughable. Moreover, he presented Chan master Yendou Huo as a "practitioner of asceticism," and Chan master Zhijue [i.e., Yanshou] as a "promoter of blessings." The great master Yunmen is chief among monks. He was a contemporary of these people, but astonishingly [Zanning] did not even mention him.⁴⁶

In addition, Huihong compiled a biography of Yanshou, recorded in both the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* and the *Lingyin sizhi*.⁴⁷ This biography affirms Yanshou's Chan identity by asserting his association with the famous Chan temple, the *Lingyin si*, where he briefly served as abbot. This was the culmination of the "Chan phase" of Yanshou's career. Subsequently, he was reassigned to the Yongming Monastery where, according to speculation, he began to interpret Buddhism for a wider audience. Huihong's biography also features materials from the *Zongjing lu*, the work most closely associated with Yanshou's Chan teaching. It demonstrates Yanshou's conception of Chan as based on the essential harmony between Chan and scholastic Buddhist teaching. The style of the presentation substitutes the staid question-and-answer format typical of Chinese Buddhist scholastic discourse, taken from Yanshou's actual writings, for

the emotionally charged exchanges attributed to Yanshou in the *Jingde chuan-deng lu*.

Yanshou as Pure Land Master

Huihong's biography apparently settled the issue of Yanshou's identity in favor of Yanshou as a Chan scholastic who integrated Chan with the larger tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. New developments associated with key events in Yanshou's life, however, made the issue of Yanshou's identity even more complicated. Less than forty years after Huihong published Yanshou's biography in the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* (1123), a new image of Yanshou as Pure Land practitioner was projected in the *Longshu jingtu wen* (1160). Over the next century, this new image of Yanshou became predominant in Chinese Buddhist circles. It persists as the dominant image of Yanshou down to the present day.

Two factors made Yanshou an attractive model for these new developments. Zanning had already indicated Yanshou's strong propensity for *Lotus Sutra* recitation, and identified him as a promoter of blessings. Even given Yanshou's strong Chan credentials, his style of Chan included performing myriad good deeds, activities he viewed as an inherent part of being Buddhist. Theory and practice fit together for Yanshou as two necessary parts of an integrated and harmonious approach to Buddhism. While meditation was an integral part of Yanshou's practice, and "Chan" was the moniker through which he touted his brand of Buddhism, there is no denying the broad array of practices—worship, recitation, invoking of Buddha names, mystical chants, adornments, and so forth—that characterized Yanshou's approach.

The second factor that made Yanshou an attractive candidate as a model Pure Land practitioner was the emergence of the Pure Land movement in the Song. During the Southern Song (1127–1279), the Pure Land movement was formally recognized and organized by historians of the Tiantai school, with which the movement was closely associated. Biographies of Pure Land masters were compiled by Tiantai historians, and a lineage of Pure Land patriarchs was established.⁴⁸ A significant portion of Yanshou's career was spent on Mount Tiantai as a student under Tiantai Deshao, a monk who played a major role in the revival of Mount Tiantai and of Buddhism generally in Wuyue. Yanshou's own writings were heavily influenced by the *Lotus Sutra* and Tiantai scholasticism. As Tiantai historians began promoting the Pure Land, it is easy to see how Yanshou emerged as a prime candidate for inspiration.

The elevation of Yanshou to Pure Land status was prompted by new accounts of Yanshou's life. In this sense, the *Longshu jingtu wen* represents a

major departure in how the story of Yanshou's life had come to be regarded. It is the first source to document the new Pure Land tendencies that came to dominate the characterization of Yanshou's life. As a work designed to promote Pure Land doctrine and faith, the *Longshu jingtu wen* was critical of both Chan practitioners who promoted "Mind-Only" (*weixin*) Pure Land, and Pure Land practitioners who emphasized salvation in an afterlife to the neglect of performing meritorious works in the present world.⁴⁹ "Mind-Only" Pure Land followed the principles of the Consciousness-Only (*weishi*) school of Buddhism, which posited that all of reality, including the notion of the Pure Land, is simply a product of one's own mind and therefore devoid of substantial reality. Pure Land practitioners who neglected meritorious deeds in the belief that salvation could be won by invocation alone ran the risk of running into moral jeopardy without a prescribed routine of activities to guide them.

Yanshou's biography in the *Longshu jingtu wen* appears in a fascicle entitled "Records of Miraculous Communications" (*ganying shiji*), implying divine communications beneficial for those seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. Two noteworthy aspects characterize the *Longshu jingtu wen* record of Yanshou; both involve events predicated on miraculous communication. One is the assertion that Yanshou had a vision of Guanyin at a crucial juncture in his career, shortly after leaving his official duties and becoming a monk. In the vision, Guanyin sprinkles Yanshou's mouth with "sweet dew," in what amounts to an anointment of Yanshou. As a result, Yanshou is said to have obtained the eloquence of Guanyin.

Guanyin, of course, is a major figure in the Pure Land cult, appearing prominently in the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Wuliang shoujing* (*Sukhāvatāvūha sūtra*).⁵⁰ In effect, Yanshou's vision connects his career to the divine assistance provided by the compassionate Guanyin, a major premise of Pure Land thought. The *Wanshan tonggui ji* and the *Zongjing lu* are both mentioned in the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography, so that one of the functions of this episode is to provide an integrated sense of Yanshou that accounts for both his Chan and Pure Land personae, albeit within a Tiantai/Pure Land framework. But even though an aspect of Yanshou as Chan practitioner is incorporated in the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography, the type of *chan* meditation that Yanshou engages in here is Pure Land *chan*, the purpose of which is to produce miraculous visions, not the awakening experience common to works dedicated to Chan factional lineages. The effect of the episode is to claim Yanshou unequivocally as a model Buddhist for Pure Land practitioners.

The second noteworthy aspect of the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography is the evidence it provides for a cult associated with the worship of Yanshou's stupa. The story related here is about a monk who daily worshiped the stupa of

Yanshou. When asked his reason for doing so, the monk replied that when he was consigned to the underworld in a previous life, he noticed the image of a monk in the corner of the palace King Yama, the king of the underworld. He also observed King Yama himself come before the image and prostrate himself before it. His curiosity was aroused by this strange sequence of events: a monk in the palace of the king of hell, who the king himself worshiped! The monk (in his previous incarnation as a denizen of hell) asked the caretaker of the palace about the identity of this monk that even King Yama worshiped. The caretaker informed him that this was none other than the Chan master Yanshou of Yongming Monastery. The caretaker also added that while normally people have to pass through the palace (to be judged) after they die, Yanshou was able to directly attain a most favorable rebirth in the Pure Land, without subjection to King Yama's judgment and wrath. The episode concludes with a statement to the effect that striving for the Pure Land is deemed valuable even in the underworld. In other words, salvation in the Pure Land remains possible for all, even those in the most dire of circumstances. Yanshou is the emissary of this salvation.

This episode provides the rationale for Yanshou's high status among Pure Land aspirants. Because of his special affinity with the Pure Land, Yanshou became the object of a cult that worshiped his stupa. In this capacity, Yanshou not only is honored as an object of admiration but also assumes the role of recipient of the supplications of others striving for rebirth in the Pure Land. The above story demonstrates that Yanshou's value to the Buddhist community at some point began to transcend the events, real or imagined, associated with his life on earth. Yanshou came to be regarded as a sacred presence, with qualities normally associated with Buddhist deities who serve as intermediaries on behalf of the petitions of others to help them gain rebirth in the Pure Land.⁵¹

Later Pure Land-inspired biographies continued to develop the story of Yanshou's life in ways that reflected the aspirations of the Pure Land faithful. The *Lebang wenlei*, compiled in 1200 by Zongxiao, included a number of miraculous episodes suggesting that Yanshou's entire career developed around incidents involving divine intervention.⁵² The point of these stories is essentially the same as was seen with the *Longshu jingtu wen*—to connect Yanshou's life with the miraculous intercession of Buddhist deities and to present Yanshou as a model for emulation to those seeking such salutary effects.

One episode from the *Lebang wenlei* is particularly illustrative of the way divine intercession is used to explain key points of transition in Yanshou's career, particularly for affirming Yanshou's reputation as a Pure Land devotee. According to the episode, while he was circumambulating an image of

Samantabhadra (Puxian) during the night, a lotus flower that had been offered to the image suddenly appeared in Yanshou's hand. This prompted Yanshou to recall two vows he had made regarding the practice of Buddhism. The first was to recite the *Lotus Sutra* throughout his life. The second was to devote his life to saving sentient beings. The *Lebang wenlei* claims Yanshou yearned to carry out these two vows, but was prevented from doing so because he also enjoyed the tranquility of meditation (*chan*). This resulted in uncertainty in Yanshou's practice, and he could not resolve which course to follow: the one suggested by the two vows, the other based on devoting himself to *chan* meditation. The suggestion that such a tension was in need of resolution is the result of rising sectarian identities within Buddhism, particularly between Chan and Tiantai/Pure Land. In order to resolve this dilemma, Yanshou went to the meditation hall of Zhiyi (Zhizhe *chanyuan*) and wrote out two divination lots: "practice *chan-ting* (*chan samadhi*) exclusively" or "recite sutras, perform myriad good deeds, and solemnly adorn the Pure Land." If one of these two options was to be followed, Yanshou determined, it would be drawn seven times in succession. According to the story, Yanshou prayed to the buddhas and patriarchs for assistance, and then drew the second lot, "recite sutras, perform myriad good deeds, and solemnly adorn the Pure Land," the required seven times. This was interpreted as a clear indication of divine will. Yanshou's prayers had been answered and his dilemma resolved. Accordingly, Yanshou reportedly carried out the practices suggested by the second lot for the rest of his life. In the context of Chan and Pure Land sectarian dominance over Chinese Buddhism, this episode clarified Yanshou's allegiance in favor of Pure Land. The remaining episodes associated with Yanshou's life in the *Lebang wenlei* provide a decidedly Pure Land interpretation to his career.

In the meantime, Chan biographies of Yanshou continued to appear, but these records too followed the new image of Yanshou that Pure Land devotees had established. The *Rentian baojian*, compiled in 1230 by Tanxiu, acknowledged the new developments in Yanshou's life stemming from Pure Land sources.⁵³ Amid these changes, the *Rentian baojian* record reflects an attempt to reestablish Yanshou's Chan identity while conceding that divine intervention played a major role in Yanshou's life. It attempted to portray Yanshou as harmonizer of disputes, a task that Yanshou is eminently qualified for, given the character of his own thought, but one that did little to restore his tarnished image as a Chan master. It also recorded the miraculous story involving Samantabhadra referred to above. In the *Rentian baojian* version, we are simply told that as a result of the flower suddenly appearing in Yanshou's hand, he decided to scatter flowers as an offering to Samantabhadra throughout his life. This version avoids the decisive climax that affirmed Yanshou's Pure Land identity in

the *Lebang wenlei* account, but does little to redeem an image of Yanshou as Chan master in the classic style.

In the end, the *Rentian baojian* did little more than concede that the battle over Yanshou's Buddhist identity has been decided in favor of the Pure Land. This is confirmed with the appearance of the *Shimen zhengtong* in 1237 and the *Fozu tongji* in 1269.⁵⁴ In the former, Yanshou is designated a "Dharma protector" (*hufa*). His biography is presented in the most systematic and comprehensive manner to date, indicating that it is beginning to achieve a standard form. Any remaining Chan proclivities are successfully expunged from his image. Episodes are added to Yanshou's life on Mount Xuedou, hitherto associated with the "Chan phase" of his career, presenting him as a Pure Land practitioner. In the *Fozu tongji*, Yanshou is designated a Pure Land patriarch, the crowning achievement in the transformation of his image by Pure Land devotees.

Many impulses contributed to Yanshou's elevation in Pure Land circles. Pure Land practices do play a role in Yanshou's own thought, as we have seen, but not to the degree suggested by Yanshou's Pure Land image makers. An examination of *Wanshan tonggui ji*, the text most often cited by Pure Land advocates as the source for Yanshou's Pure Land thought, clarifies the role that Pure Land plays, which is not as great as is usually suggested.⁵⁵

This brings us to the question of what kind of *nianfo* (Buddha-invocation) practice Yanshou actually advocated.⁵⁶ Formal *nianfo* practice for Yanshou is based on the teaching of the fourfold *samadhi* in the Tiantai school.⁵⁷ This teaching makes provisions for the practice of *nianfo* either while sitting in meditation (*zuochan*) or while circumambulating the image of the Buddha. In addition, there is good indication that Yanshou intended *nianfo* recitation and contemplation to be used as an integral part of the *Fahua* repentance ritual. In the text of the *Fahua* repentance, cited by Yanshou, it is stated that there are two kinds of cultivation: "cultivation amid phenomena (*shi*)," which involves worshiping (*li*) and invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*) while circumambulating (*xingdao*), and "cultivation amid noumena (*li*)," contemplation which recognizes the nonduality of mind and nature and shows that everything is an aspect of the mind.⁵⁸

In the same manner that Tiantai teaching includes *nianfo* in its teaching of the fourfold *samadhi* as a practice harmonious with the aims of contemplation and meditation, Yanshou views *nianfo* as compatible with the aims of *chanding*. For Yanshou, the aims of *chanding* are understood in terms of Buddhist ideational theory, which claims that all realms of existence are creations of mind-only (*weixin*). *Nianfo* is analogous to what mind-only creates; the Pure Land of mind-only (*weixin jingtu*) is the creation of the storehouse-consciousness. Thus, what is created through the cultivation of Pure Land practice is

analogous to any existence that mind-only creates, including this world that we inhabit.

In this way, capitalizing on the creative capacity of the mind according to *weixin* theory, Yanshou is able to emphasize the positive function of the mind which, of its own nature, is able to create provisional existence. Though provisional and ultimately unreal, a Pure Land thus created is of positive value in the quest for enlightenment. As a state of existence, it is neither more nor less real than the external condition of the physical world, which according to *weixin* theory is ultimately a reflection of the same creative processes of our mental capacities. As such, the mind can be utilized in a similar manner to further Buddhist aims. This is not to suggest, however, that the existence of the Pure Land be taken literally. Yanshou is quite explicit in stating that in reference to the fundamental absolute, one should never suggest that buddhas and buddha lands actually exist, much less talk about arriving there.⁵⁹ By the same token, Buddhist ideational theory would never suggest that the existence of the physical world be taken literally, either. The Pure Land, as a provisional existence for the assistance of sentient beings in their quest for enlightenment, represents a skillful means. Understood in its broadest sense, the Pure Land may be seen as a function of *wanshan* practice in the *Wanshan tonggui ji* as a whole.

Mind cultivation, or mediation practice (*chanding*, *zuochan*, *zhiguan*, *guanxin*, etc.), constitutes the cornerstone of traditional Buddhist practice. It aims at attaining enlightenment in this life through the realization that all objects are but manifestations of the mind. With this realization, the practitioner aims at curbing, or extinguishing, the mind's manifesting power, thus emptying it of mind-objects, and nullifying the causes and conditions which life and death (that is, *samsara*) depend on. It is the cultivation of this realization that breeds enlightenment, wisdom, and eventually, Buddhahood.

For Yanshou, the cultivation of *wanshan* operates within the same set of assumptions utilized in different, somewhat contrary ways. *Nianfo* practice represents a concrete expression of *wanshan* cultivation. Instead of suppressing the manifesting power of the mind, the practitioner is encouraged to utilize it to create those causes and conditions which will result in favorable circumstances (that is, the Pure Land or some other buddha land) in their next incarnation. These circumstances are designed to assure one's salvation in the next life. The Pure Land, then, is none other than the favorable circumstances created by the manifesting power of one's own mind in this life.

By stressing the positive function of the mind rather than curbing its manifesting power, Yanshou is able to supply a structure that supports the

activity of the myriad good deeds and validates practice designed for attaining birth in the Pure Land. In doing so, he tends to regard existence in a positive and meaningful way despite its essentially provisional nature. The theoretical basis for the relationship between *chanding*, on the one hand, and *nianfo* and sutra recitation, on the other, is described by Yanshou in various terms: the silence of meditation and the sound of recitation, tranquility (*jing*) and motion (*dong*), silence and words.⁶⁰ The point here is again the same as for the relationship between *chanding* and *wanshan*. These do not represent duality; they are complimentary aspects of the same reality. Conditioned activities in the realm of *shi* are complimentary and harmonious with the unconditioned realm of *li*. The sound of recitation and the silence of mediation, the activity of *wanshan* and the tranquility of *chanding*, when cultivated together with equal emphasis, reflect the harmony and equilibrium of these two realms.

In the final analysis, Yanshou conceived *nianfo* within the parameters of *wanshan*, and not the other way around. Nor did he conceive of *nianfo* as in any way the focal point of *wanshan*. As a result, it is inappropriate to isolate Yanshou's Pure Land practice, as has traditionally been done, as indicative of his Buddhist sectarian affiliation. This assumption stems from the Buddhism of a later age, and is insupportable on the basis of Yanshou's own writings.

Yanshou as Advocate of Bodhisattva Practice

It is clear that a more accurate view of Yanshou is needed. This is evident, for example, from the way that modern textbooks on Chinese Buddhism treat Yanshou.⁶¹ Textbook accounts of Yanshou leave students with a number of erroneous impressions. In the first place, Yanshou is marginalized as a peripheral figure, even in cases that suggest his important contributions. Yanshou has received little attention in recent scholarship, in part because his contributions came during an "age of decline," based on the assumption that the Tang dynasty represented the "golden age" of Buddhism in China and that subsequent periods represent a fall from this pinnacle.

Within the assumptions that cast him as a marginal figure, Yanshou is typically regarded in one of two ways. The first regards Yanshou as a Chan syncretist, and in this capacity he is often cast as exemplifying the decline of Chan in China on the presumption of a "pure" and uncompromising form of Chan orthodoxy. The other way Yanshou is frequently regarded is to highlight Chan and Pure Land practice as the specific focus of Yanshou's syncretism.⁶² These images are deeply indebted to the way Yanshou has been cast in traditional sources. As reviewed above, the development of this image of Yanshou is

quite late, and bears little resemblance to the style of Buddhism projected through his own writings.

How should we regard Yanshou? The above analysis suggests that the common ways of understanding Yanshou, whether as “promoter of blessings,” or as “Chan master,” or as “Pure Land devotee,” however justifiable, fail to capture the comprehensive vision of Buddhism Yanshou promoted in his own writings. At the risk of further complicating an already complicated picture, I would like to suggest another image of Yanshou, drawn from his writings, that does more justice to his comprehensive Buddhist vision: to reclaim Yanshou as an “advocate of bodhisattva practice.” This appellation has the merit of presenting Yanshou as a devout, trans-sectarian Buddhist, whose main interest was promoting Mahayana Buddhism, free of sectarian intent. It is not meant to deny the other images drawn of Yanshou, but rather to suggest that the prevailing images are limited and do not do full justice to the comprehensive way Yanshou understood Buddhism. The image of Yanshou as advocate of bodhisattva practice has the advantage of overcoming these limitations while at the same time incorporating the prevailing views of Yanshou into a larger, more comprehensive framework.

The model of the bodhisattva suggests a Buddhist practitioner free of sectarian bias, one who fully understands scriptural and doctrinal teachings, and applies this understanding in the actual circumstances provided through conventional Buddhist ritual practice. The impulse here is to encourage all to participate as their capacities allow, rather than to discourage an activity as misguided based on the presumption of superior insight. Evidence suggests that Yanshou intended his promotion of individual Buddhist practices to be understood in this way. For example, in the case of Yanshou’s promotion of the Pure Land, he writes: “When contemplation is shallow and the mind wanders, sense-objects are overpowering and the force of habit is oppressive, one needs to be reborn in the Pure Land. By relying on the excellent circumstances there, the power of endurance is easily attained, and one quickly practices the way of bodhisattvas.”⁶³

Elsewhere, as a warning to Chan practitioners who assume that insight alleviates the need for conventional Buddhist practice, Yanshou asserts:

Myriad good deeds (*wanshan*) are the provisions with which bodhisattvas enter sainthood; the assorted practices are gradual steps with which buddhas assist [people] on the way [to enlightenment]. If one has eyes but no feet, how can one reach the pure, refreshing pond [i.e., nirvana]? If one obtains the truth but forgets expedients, how can one soar to the spontaneous, free land? On account of this,

skillful means and *prajna*-wisdom always assist each other; true emptiness and wondrous existence always complement each other. In the *Lotus Sutra*, the three vehicles are joined and unified with the one vehicle, just as the myriad good deeds all propel one toward enlightenment.⁶⁴

In support of this view, I would like to draw attention to a lesser known work by Yanshou, a “Preface to the Teaching on Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts” (*Shou pusa jiefa bingxu*).⁶⁵ The text itself is no longer extant, and only the preface remains. The compilation of the original text appears to have been based on the *Brahmajala Sutra* (*Fanwang jing*), an influential work concerning the bodhisattva precepts.⁶⁶ The preface is divided into nine sections, an introduction and eight brief questions followed by responses varying in length. The style of the preface is reminiscent of that used by Yanshou in his other major works: an introductory section setting forth the main principles, followed by question-and-answer sections in which doubts are resolved with responses based in scriptural sources. One of the functions of this method is to illustrate the authoritative nature of Buddhist scripture as the record of the teachings of the buddhas and learned Buddhist sages.

The preface suggests that “bodhisattva practice” was a centralizing motif in Yanshou’s thought. We know that administering the bodhisattva precepts was a major activity for Yanshou. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* notes how Yanshou regularly administered the bodhisattva precepts to the Buddhist faithful, specifically to over ten thousand people on Mount Tiantai in the seventh year of the *Kaibao* era (974).⁶⁷ The introduction to the preface begins: “The various bodhisattva precepts establish stages [of progress] for the thousand sages, produce the foundation for the myriad good deeds (*wanshan*), open the gateway to nirvāṇa⁶⁸ and set [practitioners] on the path to bodhi. The *Brahmajala Sutra* says, ‘When sentient beings are inducted into the Buddhist [i.e., bodhisattva] precepts, they enter the ranks of the Buddhas.’”⁶⁹ Yanshou comments:

[The *sutra*] wants us to understand that the Buddhist precepts are none other than the mind of sentient beings; there is no Buddhist teaching separate from them. Because they awaken one’s mind, they are called the “Buddha.” Because they make it possible to follow and support [Buddhism], they are known as the “Dharma.” Because they make the mind inherently harmonious [toward others] and nondivisive, they are known as the “Sangha.” Because of the mind’s inherent perfection and purity, they are known as the “precepts.” Because they [foster] tranquility and wisdom, they are known as “*prajna*.” Because they make the mind fundamentally quiet and tranquil, they are

known as “nirvana.” The bodhisattva precepts are the supreme vehicle of the tathagata, and the reason why the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the west.⁷⁰

This makes clear the priority of bodhisattva precept practice for Yanshou. They are the basis for sagely practice and the foundation for the myriad good deeds, setting practitioners on the path toward enlightenment. In this capacity, the bodhisattva precepts function as the framework from which Yanshou was traditionally regarded as a “promoter of blessings,” as they “produce the foundation for the myriad good deeds.”

In addition, the emphasis on understanding the precepts as “the mind of sentient beings” suggests that they serve as Yanshou’s framework for understanding Chan. The precepts are responsible for awakening one’s mind (Buddha), making it possible to follow Buddhist teaching (Dharma), and for making the mind harmonious and nondivisive (Sangha). In like fashion, the precepts are linked to moral cultivation via precept observance, *prajna*-wisdom, and nirvana. They are “the supreme vehicle of the tathagata,” suggesting a link to Buddhist doctrine as revealed in the sutra-teachings of the Buddha, and “the reason why Bodhidharma came from the west,” suggesting a linkage to the Chan lineage. This parallel treatment of the Buddha and Bodhidharma affirms Yanshou’s interpretation of Chan as viewed in the *Zongjing lu*, to the effect that Chan patriarchs revealed the principles of Chan (*chanli*), transmitting the true, underlying doctrine of Buddhism (*zhengzong*) tacitly to one another in secret, while Buddhas made explicit doctrinal teachings (*jiaomen*), establishing the main points through written texts. A similar parallel is struck elsewhere in Yanshou’s preface, again in connection with the *Brahmajala Sutra*.

According to the *Brahmajala Sutra*: “Anything possessing mind has no choice but to uphold the Buddhist precepts.”⁷¹ Of those born in human form, who does not have mind? When common people attain Buddhahood they always manifest it from the mind. As a result, Sakyamuni appeared in the world to open the minds of sentient beings to the knowledge and insight of a Buddha. Bodhidharma came from the west, pointed directly to the human mind, to see one’s nature and become a Buddha. On account of this, a patriarch said: “Mind is Buddha; Buddha is mind. There is no mind apart from Buddha; there is no Buddha apart from mind.”⁷² As a result, all physical and mental forms, whether they pertain to the emotions or to the mind, are without exception included in the bodhisattva precepts (*foxing jie*).⁷³ The mind of sentient beings and the mind of Buddha-nature (i.e., the bodhisattva) are both inherent

in the Buddha-mind precepts (*foxin jie*). How different the bodhisattva precepts, which cherish saving others, are from the rules of the lesser vehicle, which bind one to external circumstances! As a result of this [difference], bodhisattvas provide numerous blessings [for others].⁷⁴

The content of these passages indicate how the bodhisattva precepts function as a framework for incorporating Chan with the promotion of blessings stemming from the practice of myriad good deeds. Can the image of Yanshou as promoter of bodhisattva practices also be made to incorporate his image as a Pure Land practitioner? This is a topic raised in the last question-and-answer section of the preface.⁷⁵

The thrust of Yanshou's message in this section is that the practice of *nianfo* is efficacious for attaining rebirth in the Pure Land, but exclusive reliance on this practice alone is not advisable. Transferring merit gained from invoking the Buddha enables one to be reborn in the Pure Land, but only at the lowest ranks.⁷⁶ Only after twelve kalpas will such practitioners begin to develop awareness; even then they will not have developed sufficiently to actually meet the Buddha (a precondition according to Pure Land teachings for attaining enlightenment oneself). In other words, rebirth in the Pure Land, according to Yanshou, does not preclude the necessity of progressing through the ascending stages of Buddhist teaching and practice. Gradually, practitioners advance through lesser vehicle teachings and practices. Those who are inducted into the bodhisattva precepts have distinct advantages over practitioners who are not. Having conceived of supreme enlightenment as defined by the teachings of the greater vehicle, they follow a set of practices and regulations designed to foster their progress while curbing the effects of evil karma. In short, the practice of invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*), like confession of sins (*chanhui*) and assisting living beings (*zhusheng*), functions as an aid to help one from violating the precepts. The point is that the bodhisattva precepts are cast by Yanshou as the central program of Buddhist practice; invoking the Buddha, confessing sins, and assisting living beings function as auxiliary practices augmenting the bodhisattva precepts. Rebirth in the upper ranks of the Pure Land, moreover, can only be achieved through following the bodhisattva precepts and practicing myriad good deeds, including *chanding*. The implication of this section and the preface as a whole is that while great variety exists among sentient beings to understand and advance on the path to enlightenment, and while Buddhist teaching employs a multitude of opportunities for advancement in accordance with the notion of expediences, the bodhisattva precepts function as a centralizing framework around which various Buddhist practices derive their meaning and purpose.

Concluding Remarks

Returning to questions asked at the outset of this inquiry—is Yanshou a Zen master? if so, what kind of Zen master is he?—I offer the following reflections. The attempt to define the parameters of Zen identity, especially with sectarian motives in mind, is always rooted in claims to orthodoxy. The exclusion of Yanshou from the Chan and Zen ranks is predicated on the rhetorical claims of Linji and Rinzai orthodoxy as “a special transmission outside the teaching.” Yet this claim, as we have seen, need not be as exclusive as it is often interpreted. Another, lesser known interpretation of this phrase is to couple the secret, esoteric transmission allegedly stemming from Sakyamuni’s initiation of the Chan patriarchy with his public, exoteric preaching, documented through the canon of Buddhist scriptures. Iconographically, this is represented in the Buddhist triad of Sakyamuni flanked by Mahakasyapa, the successor to the Chan patriarchy on one side, and Ananda, the deliverer of the Buddha’s oral teachings, on the other. This is not an image normally seen in Japan, but is common in other parts of East Asia. If Chan exclusivity is a function of Linji and Rinzai factional rhetoric with limited applicability “on the ground” to the actual conduct that constitutes the everyday reality of Chan, Sōn, and Zen practice, how should Chan, Sōn, and Zen be understood? The marriage of Chan factionalism, exhibited through lineage construction, and Mahayana orthodoxy, represented through the array of conventional Buddhist practices, is a nuptial over which Yanshou presided. Whenever a divorce occurred, Yanshou’s reputation suffered. The legacy of Yanshou’s identity as Chan master and a practicing Mahayanist is caught between these polarities.

NOTES

1. In addition to the general neglect of Yanshou, the attitude toward Yanshou in Rinzai circles is indicated in a conversation that I had with Nishiguchi Yoshio of the Institute for the Study of Zen Culture at Hanazono University in Kyoto, Japan, a scholar whose work I otherwise admire greatly. When asked why so little scholarly work was done on Yanshou by Zen scholars in Japan, I was told, matter-of-factly, that it was because Yanshou was not a Zen master.

2. For my previous work on Yanshou’s biography, see Albert Welter, “The Life of Yung-ming Yanshou: The Making of a Ch’an and Pure Land Patriarch,” in *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yenshou and the Wan-shan t’ung-kuei chi* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 37–108; and “The Contextual Study of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: The Example of Yung-ming Yanshou (904–975),” in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia* (Oakville, Ont.: Mosaic Press, 1988), pp. 247–268. Shih Heng-ching, “The

Ch'an-Pure Land Synthesis in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1984) (subsequently published as *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*, New York: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 132ff., reconstructs Yanshou's life following the literal reading of traditional sources, without sufficient regard for the circumstances and motivations of the documents in question.

3. This is not to deny the power wielded by a revived Tiantai school, which was also indebted to Yanshou. Ikeda Rōsan, in "Eimei enju no *Kishinron kenkyū*," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 47/1 (1998): 201–204, argues for the need to reevaluate Yanshou's underestimated and ignored influence over Song Tiantai figures such as Zixuan and Zhili. Song Tiantai scholars were also responsible for creating the Pure Land "school," attesting to the close identification of both during this period. On this, see Daniel Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 477–523.

4. T. 50.887a–b. For a translation of Zanning's biography of Yanshou, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 193–194.

5. See Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō—toku ni tendai tokushō to sono shi eimei enju ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 2/1 (1953): 322.

6. On the use of tomb-inscriptions as sources for Chinese Buddhist biographies, see Koichi Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stūpa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories," in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, pp. 119–228.

7. T. 50.887b15–16. Arthur F. Wright, in his study of Huijiao and the *Gaoseng zhuan*, drew the same conclusion: "We are perhaps safe in assuming that as a general rule, when he mentions the existence of a memorial inscription as a biographical fact, he had access to the data it contained"; "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks," in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjō* (Kyoto, 1954), p. 427.

8. Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 37–108.

9. T. 50.887a29.

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

11. Regarding the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū: seiji shakai teki kosatsu*, revised edition (Tokyo: Seishin shobō, 1987), pp. 125–210.

12. T. 50–2059.

13. T. 50–2060 and 2061. The ten categories here are: translators (*yijing*), exegetes (*yijie*), meditation practitioners (*xichan*), elucidators of discipline (*minglu*), protectors of the Dharma (*hufa*), miracle workers (*gantong*), self-immolations (*yishen*), hymnists (*dusong*), promoters of blessings (*xingfu*), and miscellaneous invokers of virtue (*zake shengde*).

14. For the list of sixty-one works attributed to Yanshou and the eleven extant ones, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 113–118.

15. T. 48(2061).958a–993c.

16. The summary here is based on *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 132–137.

17. This is not to suggest that the materials recorded in these biographies are in any way factual. In the guise of actual events, Chan biographies are actually highly dramatized portrayals of fictional episodes, set against the background of historical circumstances. Yanagida Seizan has suggested that Buddhist “historical” records such as Chan transmission records are unlike other historical sources in that they are connected to literature in their composition, more akin to narrative stories in what amounts to a kind of historical fiction, in “Shinzoku toshi no keifu,” *Zengaku kenkyū* 59 (1978): 5.

18. John Jorgensen, “The ‘Imperial’ Lineage of Ch’an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Chan’s Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T’ang Dynasty,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35 (1987): 89–133, demonstrates how the original formation of Chan lineages is connected to the Confucian-inspired ancestral lineages of Tang emperors.

19. Koichi Shinohara, “From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of Sung T’ien-t’ai Lineage,” in Gregory and Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 524–576, shows a similar process at work in the formation of Tiantai lineages in the Song, where local records tied to specific temples were transformed into universal genealogical histories of Buddhism based on the idea of Dharma transmission.

20. The *Zutang ji* survives only in a Korean edition (*Chodang chip*), published by Yanagida Seizan in an edited and punctuated format, with concordances, *Sodōshū sakuin*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Meibun shain, 1984), and by the Zenbunka kenkyūjō: Yoshizawa Masahiro and Onishi Shirō, et al., eds., *Sodōshū* (Kyoto: Kibun tenseki sōkan, 1994).

21. For a review of what is known of Daoyuan, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1987), pp. 26–44.

22. Ishii Shūdō, “Eimei enju den—toku ni hōgenshū sansō to rensha shichi den,” *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkyōgaku kenkyūjō nenpō* 3 (1969): 78.

23. This is discussed in Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 172–186.

24. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* was officially adopted in 1011 after being edited and abbreviated by leading Song scholar-bureaucrats Yang Yi, Li Wei (*jīnshī* 985), and Wang Shu (963–1034). Both Daoyuan’s original preface and Yang Yi’s preface to the edited text are contained in Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 21–23.

25. Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, and “Mahākāśyapa’s Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition,” in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 75–109.

26. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography is found in ch. 26 (T. 51.421c6–422a20). English translations are found in Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 194–198; and Chang Chung-yuan, *Original Teachings of Ch’an Buddhism* (New York: Pantheon, 1969), pp. 250–253.

27. T. 51.407b5–6.

28. T. 51.421c20–21.

29. T. 51.421c25–29.

30. On the sources cited by Yanshou in the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 121–127 (referred to as the *Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*). An appendix (pp. 177–189) traces the sources cited.

31. The number of citations in the *Zongjing lu* is based on Ishii Shūdō's unpublished manuscript, "Eimei enju no chōsaku no kōsei to inyō kyōten," completed as part of his graduate work at Komazawa University (n.d.).

32. Published Chan sources were cited with slightly more frequency, such as the "Inscription on Believing Mind" (*Xinxin ming*; 13 times), "Song of Realization" (*Chengdao ke*; 10 times), and the poems of Hanshan (10 times).

33. With slight variation, these lines appear in the context of a discussion between Huineng and Xue Jian, a palace attendant dispatched by the emperor to invite Huineng to the palace to discourse on Chan. As a result of Huineng's statement, Xue Jian is said to have achieved awakening (T. 51.236a). Freedom from conceptualizing things in terms of good and evil (i.e., in moral terms) is a common theme among Chan masters; see, for example, the teaching attributed to Huangbo. See, as an example, Iriya Yoshitaka, *Zen no goroku* 8: *Denshin hōyō & Enryōroku, Zen no goroku*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 85 and 133.

34. T. 48.958c4ff.; Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 208–211.

35. T. 48.961a25–26; Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, p. 213. The first line of this saying, "everything that comes into contact with one's eyes," is cited in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, in a conversation recorded in the biography of Chan master Fuqing Zuanna (flourished in the tenth century) (T. 51.356b19–20). The same line also came to be associated with the awakening of Chan master Shixiang Qingzhu (807–888), occurring in the context of a conversation with his master Daowu, also cited in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 51.356b11).

36. T. 48.961b25–26.

37. Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 156–157.

38. T. 48.417a19–21.

39. See Stanley Weinstein, "The Schools of Chinese Buddhism," in Joseph Kitagawa and Mark Cummings, eds., *Buddhism and Asian History: Religion, History, and Culture: Selections from the Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 257–265.

40. T. 48.417b20–21.

41. Especially noteworthy is the influence of Huayan master Chengguan's (738–839) subcommentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Yenyi chao* (T. 36–1737) over the contents of the *Zongjing lu*; see Ishii Shūdō, "Sugyōroku ni oyoboshita chōkan no chōsaku no eikyō ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 17/2. On Chengguan and his conception of Chan, see Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 63–68, 147–148; and Yoshizu Yoshihide, *Kegonzen no shisōshiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1985).

42. T. 48.960b27–c2.

43. The Dharma-heirs of Tiantai Deshao are acknowledged in fascicle 27, but Yanshou is not mentioned.

44. This is the subject of Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*.

45. T. 51.762c14.

46. *Linjian lu* (XZJ 148.294b).

47. XZJ 137.239–341, and *Lingyin sizhi* 6A.11–16.

48. See the previously mentioned study by Daniel Getz, “T’ien-t’ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate.”

49. Takao Giken, *Sōdai bukkōshi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1975), p. 169.

50. Fascicle 25 of the *Lotus sūtra* (T. 9–262), and the *Sukhāvātāvūha sūtra* (T. 12–360).

51. My account here is adapted from Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 80–81.

52. XZJ 148.71a–c.

53. XZJ 148.71a–c.

54. T. 49.264b–265a and XZJ 130.449–450.

55. See Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, esp. pp. 121–127.

56. The following discussion is adapted from Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 149–154.

57. T. 48.963b–964a. The four kinds of samadhi in the Tiantai school are: 1) sitting in meditation for a period of ninety days without engaging in any other religious exercise; 2) invoking the name of Amitābha for ninety days; 3) practicing seated and ambulatory meditation for a specified period to remove bad karma; and 4) practicing meditation based on the three contemplations in which one views phenomena from three standpoints (as specified in Tiantai teaching): as empty and ultimately devoid of reality, as existing temporarily and provisionally, and as the mean (i.e., the true state of suchness).

58. T. 48.964a.

59. T. 48.968b.

60. T. 48.962a.

61. Textbooks accounts of Yanshou include: John C. H. Wu, *The Golden Age of Zen* (Bloomington, Ind.: World Wisdom, 2004; originally published by Yangmingshan, Taipei: National War College in cooperation with the Committee on the Compilation of the Chinese Library, 1967), pp. 180–181; Kenneth Ch’an, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 404–405; Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, India and China* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 235 and 285–286; and D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, second series (New York: Simon Weiser, 1933 and numerous reprints), pp. 150–151, and *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, third series (York Beach, Maine: Simon Weiser, 1934 and numerous reprints), p. 20. A perusal of current Japanese texts on Chinese Buddhism confirms the same impression.

62. The image of Yanshou as Chan–Pure Land syncretist has been given lengthy treatment by Shih, “The Ch’an–Pure Land Synthesis in China”; With Special

Reference to Yung-ming Yanshou (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1984), subsequently published as *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

63. T. 48.966c6–8.

64. T. 48.958c13–17.

65. ZZ–1088.365b–368b.

66. On the *Shou pusa jiefa bingxu*, see the comments by Tajima Tokuo, in Ono Gemmyō, ed., *Bukkyō kaisatsu daijiten* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1932–1936), vol. 5, p. 103b. Many questions surround the compilation of the text, its title, and content. The title given at the end of the preface, *Fanwang pusa jieyi*, for example, is different from that given in either the table of contents or at the beginning of the preface.

67. T. 51.422a10–11.

68. Literally, “entering the gate of sweet dew.” My translation follows the explanation of Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Tokyo: Tokyo shoseki, 1975), p. 186a.

69. The citation from the *Fanwang jing* is found in a line in a gatha (T. 24.1004a20).

70. ZZ–1088.365b9–15.

71. For this line, see T. 24.1004a19.

72. This is commonly attributed to Mazu Daoyi.

73. Literally, “the Buddha-nature precepts,” referring to the precepts as restricting agents that prevent one from errors, thus allowing one to manifest the inherent purity of one’s nature (i.e., Buddha-nature); see Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 1194a.

74. ZZ–1088.365c5–11.

75. ZZ–1088.367c–368a.

76. Chinese Buddhist doctrine determined three ascending levels of rebirth in the Pure Land, with each level composed of three stages or ranks, comprising nine stages in total. The lowest ranks refer to the three stages of the lowest level.