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ARTICLE



Where Linji Chan and the *Huayan jing* meet: on the *Huayan jing* in the essential points of the Linji [Chan] lineage

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ABSTRACT

Juefan Huihong's 覺範惠洪 (1071–1128) *Linji zongzhi* shows that eminent statesmen and contemporary Chan monastics during the twelfth century in China interpreted the core teaching strategies of several Linji Chan patriarchs – especially Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866) and Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (980–1024) – through the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經, T nos. 278–279), and with special consideration for Mañjuśrī and *ṛsī* (seera) in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品) chapter, Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa 毗目仙人. Huihong was certainly influenced by the writings of the highly admired 'Two Shuis' – Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (964–1038) and Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 (1011–1088) – and by his close confidant, Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1122), who visited Mount Wutai circa 1088 and recorded his journey in *Xu Qingliang zhuan* 續清涼傳 (Further Record of Mt. 'Chill Clarity,' T. 2100). In this article I reconsider the central role the *Huayan jing* and the cult of Mañjuśrī play in the core teachings of the Linji Chan lineage with particular attention to how current Song dynasty, rather than late Tang (618–907) era, readings and uses of the *Huayan jing* underscore the enduring significance of this seminal Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture and Mount Wutai as a sacred space in the history of Chinese Chan Buddhism.

KEYWORDS

Chinese Buddhism; Chan Buddhism; Mount Wutai; Mañjuśrī; *Linji zongzhi*; Juefan Huihong; *Huayan jing*; *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; Zhang Shangying; Changshui Zixuan; Jinshui Jingyuan

The title of this article – Where Linji Chan and the *Huayan jing* Meet – is both misleading and straightforward because, on the one hand, the notion that the teachings of Chan Buddhism are unique or separate from those expressed in several seminal Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures is ahistorical nonsense. On the other hand, Chan texts appear to propose, again and again, precisely the opposite assumption, usually echoing a maxim which self-referentially distinguishes this tradition from others: Chan is a 'separate transmission [of the buddhadharma] outside the Teachings' (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) that 'does not set up the written word' (*buli wenzi* 不立文字), 'directly points to the human mind' (*zhizhi renxin* 直指人心), and causes students of the Way to 'see their nature and become buddhas' (*jianxing chengfo* 見性成佛).¹ Dalton and van Schaik's essay 'Where Chan and Tantra Meet' (2004) is a comparatively judicious undertaking because it seems reasonable to imagine an encounter at the small Three Realms temple (Sanjie si 三界寺) near Dunhuang during the tenth century between a Chinese Chan master with an Indian, Khotanese, or Tibetan *guru* who had been initiated into various

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Tantric rituals.² Perhaps this imaginary Chan master could have shared a copy of the *Liuzu tan jing* 六祖壇經 (Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch, T no. 2008), while the *guru* could have shared a rare Sanskrit edition of the [Ārya-] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (translated into Chinese by *Devaśanti [Tianxizai 天息災, a.k.a. *Dharmabhadra [Faxian 法賢], d. 1000] as *Da fangguang pusazang Wenshushili genben yigui jing* 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經, T no. 1191)? After the eighth century in China or Chinese central Asia, however, it is nearly impossible to imagine almost any Chan master, Tantric adept, or Buddhist monastic for that matter, who did not know of either the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* or the final chapter in Chinese translations, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品). How much more so the case when it comes to on the ground connections between Mañjuśrī, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and Mount Wutai?

We do not need to imagine either when or who associated the teachings of the Linji Chan lineage with the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, or Mañjuśrī: evidence of a close-knit network of Chan teachers in south China, exegetical monastic Buddhist lecturers, and eminent statesmen who revered the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is provided by Juefan Huihong in a short text he wrote called *Linji zongzhi* 臨濟宗旨 (Linji's Essential Points, X no. 1234), which seems to have had an especially profound effect upon later Chan Buddhists in China and Zen masters in Japan, even among those who seem not to have necessarily shared his inclusive assessment of Chan doctrines and teachings. The *Linji zongzhi* recounts dialogues about the relationship between specific teaching strategies advocated by key Chan patriarchs and a few scriptures between Huihong and several literati, including Zhang Shangying 張商英 (alt. Zhang Wujin 張無盡, 1043–1122) and Zhu Yan 朱彥 (alt. Zhu Shiyong 朱世英, *jinshi* 進士 1076), as well as a fellow monk and apparent interlocutor, Shanglan Jujin 上藍居晉 (d.u.), who was a disciple of Chan master Letan Xiaoyue 泐潭曉月 (d.u.). Xiaoyue also studied under Chan master Langya Huijue 瑯琊慧覺 (d.u.); both were close confidants of Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (964–1038), the highest authority on the Chinese [pseudo] *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經, T no. 945) and a leading expert about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.³ Langya Huijue was an immediate disciple of Fenyang Shanzhao, the Linji lineage Chan patriarch who Huihong seems to have been most interested in promoting in the *Linji zongzhi*. Changshui Zixuan and Jinshui Jingyuan (1011–1088) – known as the ‘Two Shuis’ – are among the most famous Northern Song dynasty exegetical monks who favored the teachings of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and whose influence is evident throughout Huihong's voluminous oeuvre as well as in the writings of those who praised him and memorialized his approach to Chan and the teachings in Chan and Zen temples in China and Japan.⁴

In this article I reconsider the central role the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and the cult of Mañjuśrī play in the core teachings of the Linji Chan lineage with particular attention to how current Song dynasty, rather than late Tang (618–907) era, readings and uses of the *Huayan jing* underscore the enduring significance of this seminal Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture and Mount Wutai as a sacred space in the history of Chinese Chan – and Japanese Zen – Buddhism. To accomplish these goals, I investigate the *Linji zongzhi*, discuss the transmission of this seminal text in China and Japan, and demonstrate that even though the teachings of Chan are surely novel, not because they disdain the teachings of the scriptures, but because they teach that the words can and ought to be expressed and cultivated everywhere in actual time, place, and space. Aside from an

obvious focus on confirmation of transmission of the mind-seal (*xinyin* 心印) from master to disciple to produce Chan masters (*chanshi* 禪師) who reside in uniquely laid out temples and monasteries who follow Pure Rules (*qinggui* 清規) [in addition the monastic precepts of either the *śrāmaṇera* (*śrāmaṇerika*) or *bhikṣu* (*bhikṣuṇī*)] to ritually esteem the central role of the Chan abbot, all of which was instigated during the Northern Song dynasty, Chan Buddhists write expressions or allusions to the scriptures – and Chan masters’ pithy or enigmatic sayings – upon the landscape.⁵ The *Linji zongzhi* makes an explicit reference to the most famous and legendary Chan poets, Hanshan 寒山 and Shide 拾得, who are said to have written poems on ‘bamboo bark, trees, and walls of houses in neighboring villages, as well as a 49 lined poem by Shide written on the wall of an Earth God temple.’⁶ This practice of inscribing the landscape – perhaps not literally – follows Chinese literati who have done this with their poems or verses since at least the Tang era. Huihong called this literary, lettered, or scholastic Chan (*wenzi* Chan 文字禪), which is probably why his explanations about how to connect the composition of poetry and prose with attainment of various states of *samādhi* through reading or contemplating the scriptures and other celebrated Chinese books has had such an enduring influence upon the history of Chan Buddhism in China and Zen Buddhism in Japan.

The Lion Roars everywhere

Confirmation that Chinese Chan masters inscribe the landscape with words to be read, not necessarily to be spoken out loud, and constantly on the mind can be found at perhaps the best preserved example of seventeenth-century Chinese Chan monasticism: Manpukuji 萬福寺, in the city of Uji 宇治, southeast of Kyoto, Japan. The characters *Dai’ichi Gi* (*diyi yi*) 第一義 were written above the *sōmon* 総門, or general front gate, by the fifth abbot of Manpukuji, Gaoquan Xingdun/Kōsen Shōton 高泉性澈 (1633–1695), who, like the temple’s founder, Yinyuan Longqi/Ingen Ryūki 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673), was from Fujian, China. Proceeding to the Founder’s Hall (Kaisandō 開山堂), one encounters very large calligraphy that reads *Katsurogan* (*xialü yan*) 瞎驢眼. This rather clumsy looking calligraphy was written by Feiyin Tongrong/Hi’in Tsūyō 費隱通容 (1593–1661), the second abbot of Wanfu monastery 萬福寺 on Mount Huangbo 黃檗山 in Fujian, the namesake of Manpukuji in China. Feiyin is also credited with writing the calligraphy *Shin Kū* (*zhenru*) 真空 above the Great Hero’s Hall (Daiōhōden 大雄寶殿), as well as *Shishi ku* (*shizi hou*) 師子吼 above the topmost, Dharma Hall (Hattō 法堂).⁷ Restricting our gaze to only these four examples at Manpukuji – *Dai’ichi gi* (The First Principle), *Katsurogan* (Eyes of a Blind Mule), *Shin Kū* (True Void or *Śūnyatā*), and *Shishi Ku* (The Lion Roars) – we see that a series of Buddhist teachings, or lessons, are provided to anyone who can read them, merely by walking front to back through the monastic compound.

Two of these four plaques are easy to read by anyone familiar with two books extolled by members of the Linji Chan lineage in China or the Rinzai and Ōbakushū 黃檗宗 lineages in Japan: the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 ([Discourse] Record of [Master] Linji, T no. 1985) and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. *Katsurogan* or ‘Eyes of a Blind Mule’ refers to what Linji Yixuan says in dialogue twenty-one on his deathbed:

When the aster was about to pass away, he seated himself and said, ‘After I am extinguished, do not let my True Dharma Eye be extinguished.’ Sansheng came forward and said, ‘How could I let your True Dharma Eye not be extinguished!’

‘Later on, when somebody asks you about it, what will you say to him?’ asked the master. Sansheng gave a shout.

‘Who would have thought that my True Dharma Eye would be extinguished upon reaching this blind ass!’ asked the master. Having spoken these words, sitting erect, the master revealed his nirvāṇa.⁸

Legend has it that Feiyin Tongrong, who never went to Japan, sent this calligraphy to Yinyuan Longqi to express something like, ‘You’re my top disciple, but is this knowledge really safe with you?’⁹ Above the Hattō, conversely, *Shishi ku* – The Lion Roars – surges out above the rooftops from the highest point of the monastery, and refers to Mañjuśrī’s mount. Manpukuji is by no means the only old Zen temple in Kyoto where Mañjuśrī is explicitly commended: when a second story was added to the main gate – or *sanmon* 山門 – at Daitokuji 大徳寺, sponsored by renowned tea master (茶の湯) Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522–1591), he had it inscribed with the characters *Kin Mo Kaku (Jinmao ge)* 金毛閣 – Golden Hair Pavilion – to tell those who enter this gate that the massive complex with many sub-temples is devoted to Mañjuśrī, who rides the golden haired mount.¹⁰

The other two plaques that read *Dai’ichi Gi* (The First Principle) and *Shin Kū* (True Void or *Śūnyatā*) are less easily decipherable because they point to core teachings that straddle the imaginary line that separates Chan texts from Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures. It is my contention that *Shin Kū* probably points to one of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, where the doctrine of *śūnyatā* is arguably most clear in the *Diamond (Jin’gang jing, Vajracchedikā-sūtra, T no. 235)* or the first – and longest – scripture in any East Asian Buddhist canon before the modern period: the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (Da bore boluomiduo jing 大般若波羅蜜多經, Z no. 1, T no. 220)*.¹¹ *Dai’ichi gi* (The First Principle) may also be a reference to a litany of scriptures including *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, and so forth, translating Sanskrit terms meaning supreme or ultimate truth (*pāramārthika*) or going forth (*niṣpanna*).¹² It seems far more likely, however, that *Dai’ichi gi* at Manpukuji either points to the first or seventy-ninth cases in *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Record, T no. 2003), a well-known collection of ‘Public Cases’ (*gong’an* 公案) collected by the Chinese Chan monk Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) and taken to Japan, or something Huihong wrote in the *Linji zongzhi*. The famous first case says:

Emperor Liang Wudi (r. 502–549) asked Bodhidharma, ‘What is the ultimate meaning of the holy truth?’ Bodhidharma replied, ‘Vast and void, no holiness.’ The emperor said, ‘Who are you facing me?’ Bodhidharma said, ‘I don’t know.’ The emperor did not understand. Finally, Bodhidharma crossed the Yangtze River and came to the Kingdom of Wei. Later the emperor asked Zhigong about it. Zhigong said, ‘Does your Majesty know who that man is?’ The emperor said, ‘I don’t know.’ Zhigong said, ‘He is the Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara transmitting the Seal of the Buddha’s mind.’ The emperor regretted what had happened and wanted to send an emissary to invite Bodhidharma back. Zhigong said, ‘Your Majesty, don’t try to send an emissary to fetch him back. Even if all the people in the land were to go after him, he would not return.’¹³

And the seventy-ninth case says:

A monk asked Touzi Datong 投子大同 (819–914), ‘It is said, “All voices are the voices of the Buddha.” Is it true or not?’ Touzi said, ‘It is true.’ The monk said, ‘Master, don’t fart around

so loudly.’ Thereupon, Touzi hit him. He asked again, ‘It is said, “Rough words and gentle phrases return to the first principle.” Is this true or not?’ Touzi said, ‘It is true.’ The monk said, ‘May I call you, Master, a donkey?’ So Touzi hit him.¹⁴

For reasons that have to do with reception and transmission of the *Linji zongzhi* in China and Japan, discussed below, it is more likely that Gaoquan Xingdun read *Dai’ichi gi* (The First Principle) as either *Dai’ichi gen* (*diyi xuan*) 第一玄 (The First Mystery) or *Daiichi ku* (*diyi ju*) 第一句 (The Single Phrase), thereby pointing to Linji lineage teaching techniques which capture the spirit of the scriptures in pithy, poetic expressions.

The *Linji zongzhi* and *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* in China and Japan

If Feiyin Tongrong and Gaoquan Xingdun had these teachings in mind when they composed the calligraphy for these plaques that are now preserved at Manpukiji, they almost certainly would have known of a text called the *Wujia yulu* 五家語錄 (Discourse Records of the Five Houses) that circulated widely during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Preceded by a chart, *Wujia yuanliu tu* 五家源流圖 (Chart of the Origins and Descent of the Five Houses), in a 1630 Chinese edition of *Wujia yulu*, the *Linji zongzhi* accompanies the recorded sayings of the five houses of Chinese Chan.¹⁵ *Wuzong yulu* is a somewhat mysterious compilation which claims to have been compiled by Guo Ningzhi 郭凝之 with five (there are actually seven) discourse records of the five lineage-patriarchs (five houses, *wujia*): Linji Yixuan, Guishan Lingyou 澗山靈佑 (771–853) and his disciple Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883), Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869) and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901), Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949) and Qingliang Fayan Wenyi 清涼法眼文益 (885–958).¹⁶ Albert Welter observes:

This ‘ecumenically’ driven retrospective is thus the product of rivalry between the Linji and Caodong faction, used as a tool to assert Linji faction dominance. The compilers of the *Wujia yulu* also seem to be declaring a share of orthodoxy for the Yunmen faction. Not only is Yunmen’s lineage included as descended through Mazu [Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788)], as described above, Yunmen’s *yulu* is placed at the end of the *Wujia yulu* text, making it the culmination, and Yunmen’s discourse record takes up over 40 percent of the entire text.¹⁷

The extant prefaces we have to the *Wujia yulu* tell us that Yinyuan Longqi’s other teacher in China, Miyun Yuanwu 密雲円悟 (Mitsuun Engo, 1566–1642), was closely connected to the publication of the *Wujia yulu*. It stands to reason, therefore, that if Feiyin Tongrong, Yinyuan Longqi, or even Gaoquan Xingdun had the *Linji lu* in mind when they wrote the calligraphy for the plaques at Manpukuji, they almost certainly had the *Linji zongzhi* in mind as well.

Miyun Yuanwu and Feiyin Tongrong provoked a revival of so-called ‘Tang style’ Chan that took place during the seventeenth century in China, and spread to Japan in the teachings of Yinyuan Longqi and the tradition of Zen Buddhism known as the Ōbakushū today. Wu Jiang’s two books on this subject highlight two points worth taking into account with respect to the *Linji zongzhi*. First, it was Feiyin Tongrong’s *Wudeng yantong* (Strict Transmission of Five Chan Lamps, *Gotō gentō* 五燈嚴統, 1657 ed., X no. 1567) which defined and promoted a ‘reinvented tradition’ on Mount Huangbo as a Dharma Transmission monastery (*Chuanfa conglin*, *Denbō Sōrin* 傳法叢林) where neither

‘transmission by proxy’ (*daifu* 代付) nor ‘remote inheritance’ (*yaosi* 遙嗣) were tolerated that has defined the discourse of authoritative, lineage assertions within Chinese Chan Buddhism. Second, legendary Chan teaching techniques ascribed to Tang dynasty Chan masters – including employing shouts (*he*, *katsu* 喝) and blows (*bang*, *bō* 棒) – were reenacted and subsequently recorded in the distinctive Chan Buddhist genre of discourse records, or recorded sayings, newly compiled to underscore the Chan Buddhist lineage meticulously redefined according to *Wudeng yantong*.¹⁸

It would be a gross oversimplification to suggest that the single motivation behind the seventeenth-century ‘ecumenical’ and perhaps even nostalgic *Wujia yulu* and the ‘reinvented tradition’ on Mount Huangbo under the direction of Feiyin Tongrong was Huihong’s *Linji zongzhi*. Yet there are reasons that suggest how Huihong’s writings may have informed Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chan monastics from the *Linji* and *Caodong* lineages. A copy of the *Linji zongzhi* has been preserved in Japan appended to a copy of Huihong’s *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Chronicles of the Saṃgha Jewel in the Chan Groves, X no. 1560), in 30 rolls. This edition of the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* is held by the Oriental Library (Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫), and has been dated to Einin 永仁 3 (1295). It is a Gozan text, which was brought to Japan by Jingtang Jueyuan 鏡堂覺圓 (Kyōdō Kakuen, 1244–1306), a Yangqi 楊岐派 *Linji* lineage monk, originally from Sichuan in China, who arrived in Japan by 1279, where he lodged at Engakuji 円覺寺 and Kenchōji 建長寺 in Kamakura, before settling at Kenninji 建仁寺 in Kyoto by 1300. This edition of the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* has two prefaces, the first by Zhang Hongjing 張宏敬 (d.u.) dated Baoqing 寶慶 3 (1227), the second by the poet-scholar Hou Yanqing 侯延慶 (d.u.) dated Xuanhe 宣和 6 (1124). It also includes Jingtang Jueyuan’s remarks on copying, and two colophons by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189–1263) of Lingyin monastery 靈隱寺 in Hangzhou, and Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269), the teacher of the Japanese Rinzai monk-pilgrim Nanpō Jōmin 南浦紹明 (1235–1309).¹⁹ It seems likely that if the *Linji zongzhi* was appended to a copy of the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* in China during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) that was brought to and preserved in Japan ca. 1295, it must have been rather widely read by Chan and Zen monastics – and secular patrons – with an interest in what the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* has to tell us about the hagiography of the Chan lineage during the Northern Song dynasty. Furthermore, if we consider that the *Linji zongzhi* was included in the *Wujia yulu* ca. 1630, perhaps it is reasonable to conclude that if the *Linji zongzhi* and the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* have similar things to say about the [legendary] history of the Chan lineage during the tenth through early twelfth centuries, then this may have inspired Feiyin Tongrong, Gaoquan Xingdun, and other Chinese Chan masters whose teachings became particularly important in China and later in Japan during the Edo period (1603–1868).²⁰

Chanlin sengbao zhuan was almost certainly compiled in part to draw attention to Huihong’s transmission family and, in particular, the accomplishments in the Jiangxi-Hunan region of Zhenjing Kewen 真淨克文 (1025–1102), his teacher, and Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069), his transmission grandfather. But the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* neither begins with nor awards most attention to the Huanglong lineage of the *Linji* Chan transmission family during the eleventh century. The organization and content of Huihong’s lamp history recognizes correspondence between masters from four transmission families. Although we know that Huanglong Huinan had apparently

collected four discourse records of Linji family masters, *Mazu sijia lu* 馬祖四家錄, perhaps to contest an earlier compilation, *Deshan sijia lu* 德山四家錄, Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* emphasizes a regional network of Chan teachers that includes eminent masters from both collections. Discourse records of Mazu, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850) and Linji Yixuan were collected in *Sijia lu*; *Deshan sijia lu* had the records of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (d. 865), Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全竈 (828–887), Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908) and Xuansha Shibe 玄沙師備 (835–908).²¹ It is worth mentioning that the first printing of one version of Huangbo Xiyun's discourse record, *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials of the Transmission of the Mind-Dharma, T no. 2012A), is attributed to Huihong.²²

The first eight of 81 biographies in *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* show that Huihong compiled this work to promote masters from across the four lineages who were active in the Jiangxi-Hunan region, and to advance the claims of his own teachers. Caoshan Benji and Yunmen Wenyan each receive a full fascicle, one and two, respectively. Fascicle three, which covers Fenyang Shanzhao and his lineage with Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973) and his disciple, Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–993), who was Fenyang's teacher, addresses the reputation of Northern Song Linji family teachers. Fascicle four covers Xuansha Shibe, an otherwise unknown Luohan Guichen 羅漢桂琛 (897–928), and Fayan Wenyi, whose students must have promoted the aforementioned *Deshan sijia lu*, Huihong's teacher's teacher, Huanglong Huinan, offset with the *Sijia lu*. In terms of the appointment of abbots at public monasteries during the early twelfth century, the Fayan transmission family was influential in the south (Fujian and Guangdong); the Yunmen and Linji families were prominent in the north. In the Jiangxi-Hunan region, however, disciples of Deshan Xuanjian and Huihong's own Linji family were still influential to the extent that these two competing compilations of four discourse records circulated.

Apart from presenting a regional, rather than a sectarian or factional account of prominent Chan masters and their disciples, there are two reasons why Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* – and his shorter *Linjian lu*, which was written 16 years earlier – is an exceptional source with which to investigate the history of Song Chan. Because we have his collected works, *Shimen wenzi Chan* 石門文字禪 (Stone Gate's Chan of Words and Letters, J no. B135), we know when Huihong lived and where, who he corresponded with (lay and monastic friends and acquaintances), and why he moved around as much as he did: we can reconstruct Huihong's motivations for compiling the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* and what sources – textual and epigraphical – were available to him. Reading Fayan Wenyi's *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (Treatise on the Ten Regulations of the Chan School) and Dagan Tanying's 達觀曇穎 (985–1060) treatise on the transmission of five Chan lineages (*Wujia zongpai* 五家宗派 or *Wujia gangyao* 五家綱要), written sometime between 1056–1063, Huihong tells us that during the first several decades of the twelfth century, the five lineages that would be venerated in later lamp histories and discourse records, with special attention to the Linji family, had yet to be resolved.²³ Huihong is credited with promoting the notion in his *Linjian lu*, which had apparently been suggested by Dagan Tanying, that one figure, Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (748–807), was, in fact, a descendant of Mazu, rather than Shitou, with the result that all four – or five – transmission families share the same genealogy.²⁴

Reading *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* and Huihong's *Linjian lu* 林間錄 (Anecdotes from the Groves of Chan, ca. 1107, X no. 1624) closely, Morten Schlütter has made a convincing case not only for a 'reinvention' of the Caodong transmission family during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, but also that the legendary critique by Linji lineage master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) – architect of investigation of the critical phrase (*kanhua Chan* 看話禪) of the *gong'an* – of Caodong master Hongzhi Zhengjue's 宏智正覺 (1091–1157) 'silent-illumination' Chan (*mozhao Chan* 默照禪) cannot be read back before the fall of Bianjing 汴京 in 1127. Schlütter recognizes how Huihong fashioned the transmission narrative to promote the lineage of Furong Daokai 芙蓉道楷 (alt. Tianning Daokai 天寧道楷, 1043–1118), a prominent abbot in Luoyang by 1108. According to Huihong's account in *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, Furong Daokai's teacher, Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 (1032–1083), received Caodong lineage transmission by proxy from Linji lineage master Fushan 浮山 Yuanjian Fayuan 圓鑒法遠 (991–1067), who had held it for Caodong lineage master Dayang Jingxuan 大陽警玄 (943–1027).²⁵ Huihong has received considerable attention by Japanese scholars of Sōtō Zen because his works are the earliest records we have regarding the transmission family of Hongzhi Zhengjue and other influential Southern Song dynasty Caodong Chan masters. It is Huihong's reading of Northern Song Chan history that almost certainly attracted later authors who wished to portray a single, nearly unified 'trunk' of the proverbial lineage tree that represents the legendarily unbroken Chan lineage, as in the *Wujia yulu* with the *Linji zongzhi* and the *Wudeng yantong*.

On inscribing the landscape

Despite the legacy Juefan Huihong left in terms of his role as a historiographer with the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, *Linjian lu*, and *Linji zongzhi*, he was first and foremost a poet and a man of letters. His works contain first-hand information about the fascinating period in the history of China when Huihong lived and thrived as an eminent poet-monk: the reign of emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125). Not only was this a formative time when Chan Buddhist monastics responded to the emperor's policies to closely regulate the selection of abbots – and daily life – at state-sponsored public monasteries (*shifang conglin* 十方叢林), in contradistinction to tonsure families at private monasteries, but Chan masters learned the skills to compose sophisticated poetry and refined prose in order to secure patronage from literati at all levels of administration.²⁶ Concurrently, Huizong's policies to promote Daoist masters with novel rituals as what amounted to the state-cult, while at the same time proscribing the literary works by conservative officials who opposed many of his new policies (modeled on those proposed by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and endorsed by his father, emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085), mean that many of Huihong's powerful friends were, in fact, some of the most respected men of letters China would ever produce. For centuries, scholars of Chinese poetry have been well aware of Huihong's adoration for the most celebrated Song poet and literatus, Su Shi 蘇軾 (alt. Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101), whom Huihong cites more than 1100 times in *Shimen wenzi Chan*.²⁷ Huihong's close connection to Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), with whom he exchanged poems, and other Jiangxi poets – including Xie Yi 謝逸 (1063–1113) who wrote a preface to *Linjian lu* on 1107.11.1 and Han Ju 韓駒 (1080–1135), who wrote Huihong's *stūpa* epitaph – means that *Shimen wenzi Chan* has been studied by contemporary Chinese

scholars of Song literature and history to reveal how intimately connected poet-monks and eminent literati were with respect to creation of the genre of poetic criticism. Most notably in Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (ca. 1200–1270) *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 (Canglang's Remarks on Poetry) the notion that China's greatest poets lived and wrote during the High Tang 盛唐 (ca. 713–766) period was canonized, and that Chan and exemplary poetry possess the same source was given special attention: 'Singular liberation is the necessary course, as is grasping the original color' (*bense* 本色).²⁸ Yan Yu memorialized poetry by High Tang masters, especially Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), whom Huihong cites more than 350 times in his own poetry in *Shimen wenzi Chan* – and a group of poets who were particularly active in Jiangxi, led by Huang Tingjian. In other words, Huihong was perhaps the most famous and celebrated poet-monk in the Chan/Zen Buddhist tradition. Therefore, while Huihong was not the first to celebrate the practice of writing poetry as a Chan master, he is certainly remembered as one who could write expressions or allusions to the scriptures – and Chan masters' pithy or enigmatic sayings – upon the landscape with confidence.

The *Linji zongzhi* on Fenyang's Chan and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

Transmission of the Chan lineage from master to disciples and especially the position of the abbot remained a matter of paramount importance in China and Japan until the twentieth century. A skill Chan – and Zen – masters had to learn was how to compose sophisticated poetry and refined prose in order to secure patronage from aristocrats, literati, or other wealthy donors at all levels of administration. This is where the substance of the *Linji zongzhi* may have been most useful. To begin with, the *Linji zongzhi* was probably written sometime between 1102–1115. Zhu Yan had appointed Huihong abbot of Jingde monastery 景德寺 in Linchuan 臨川 (alt. Fuzhou 撫州) in 1102; Zhang Shangying had him appointed abbot of Qingliang monastery 清涼寺 in Yunzhou 筠州 (alt. Duanzhou 端州) a region of the northwestern Jiangxi province. It is a short text that recounts dialogues about the relationship between specific teaching strategies advocated by key Chan patriarchs and the scriptures between Huihong and Zhang Shangying, Zhu Shiyong, and Shanglan Jujin. The main focus seems to be promoting the teachings of Song Chan master, whose teachings Huihong considered to be penultimate; second only to Linji Yixuan.

Fenyang was Shoushan Shengnian's pupil at the Taizi cloister 太子院 in Fenzhou 汾陽, in Shanxi province in the north, who had fled to the south during the turbulent times in which he and other north Chinese lived. He had many disciples from the south, chief among whom were Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (986–1039) and Langya Huijue. Chuyuan was from Guangxi province in the extreme south, and spent most of his life living and teaching on Mount Nanyuan 南源山 in Jiangxi, after which he moved to Tanzhou 潭州 (Hunan), where he stayed on Mount Daowu 道吾山, Mount Shishuang 石霜山, and Mount Nanyue 南岳山. He finally went to live at Xinghua monastery 興化寺 in the city of Tanzhou (present-day Changsha 長沙), where he met Huanglong Huinan and Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992–1049). Huinan was from Jiangxi. He brought Chuyuan's teachings to the famous Guizong monastery on Mount Lu 廬山 and, of course, Mount Huanglong 黃龍山 also in Jiangxi. Huinan's disciples, Huitang Zuxin 晦堂祖心 (1025–1100), Letan Hongying 泐潭洪英 (1012–1070) [Ying Shaowu 英邵武], Zhaojue Changzong 昭覺常總 (1025–1091), Yunju Yuanyou 雲居元祐 (1027–

1092), and Zhenjing Kewen, Huihong's teacher, all came to Jiangxi to receive instructions from him. Yangqi Fanghui also received his teachings from Shishuang Chuyuan. Like Huinan, Yangqi was also from Jiangxi. Disciples in both collateral lineages remained largely in the area between Mount Lu and Mount Heng 衡山, and include Baiyun Shouduan 白雲守端 (1025–1072), Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (d. 1104), and Yuanwu Keqin, who compiled the *Biyan lu*; this is the first *gong'an* collection.

In the *Linji zongzhi* Huihong raises Fenyang's three mysteries and three essentials (*sanxuan sanyao* 三玄三要), which ought to be expressed in pithy lines of verse as follows:

Chan master Fenyang Shanzhao instructed the assembly saying, 'The former sage [Linji Yixuan] once said, "One utterance of language must be replete with the three mysteries (*sanxuan men* 三玄門), and within one mystery there must be the three essentials (*sanyao men* 三要門)."²⁹ What are the founding principles of the three mysteries and three essentials?³⁰ Quickly assemble yourselves to grasp the significance of it. Each of you consider [the three essentials and three mysteries], have you been able to understand the point of it yet or not?³¹ Prior to embarking on peregrinations, ancient worthies would listen to a discussion on the causes and conditions of ignorance,³² so that in their actions they would eat and drink without tasting [their food], sleep and lie down without resting, and eliminate consternation; how can these be considered trivial matters?³³ Therefore the great awakened master manifested in the world for the sake of preaching on the great matter of causes and conditions,³⁴ so that when one ponders and considers those who have previously gone on peregrinations, they did do so in order to wander in the mountains or enjoy the waters, nor sightsee to appreciate the extravagant flowers in the provinces. Instead, they wore tattered robes and ate small bites of food, all in order to cultivate the sagely mind they had not yet penetrated. Therefore, with expediency they embarked on peregrinations, considered the deep and profound, which were transmitted orally and spread throughout the land, asked profound questions about former knowledge, and befriended those with high virtue. They did all of these things on behalf of supplementing the flame of the buddha-mind, in order to perpetuate the [lineage of] the various buddhas and patriarchs, [and cause] the various sages to flourish, to be extracted for later opportunities, for self-benefit and the benefit of others, so as to not forget the traces of the ancients. Today, what are the issues which need consideration? If there are any, they should be brought out in the open for everyone to consider.'³⁵

A monk asked, 'How does one extract the "initial opportunity" of these sentences [on the three mysteries and three essentials]?'

'You are a traveling monk (*xingjiao seng* 行腳僧),' replied Master Fenyang.

The monk then asked, 'How do you distinguish between the words of the [different] patch-robed monks (*naseng* 衲僧)?'

The Master replied, 'The sun rises in the west between five and seven in the morning.'³⁶

'What are the words which will foster correct and appropriate behavior?', the monk asked.

The Master replied, 'Follow them along for a thousand *li* 里 in order to get an old face.'

The monk then asked, 'How does one establish these utterances in the world?'

'In the north at Luzhou 廬州 they eat long grain rice, while they eat they are without anger and are also without joy,'³⁷ replied the Master. The Master then added, 'If you employ these four turning phrases (*sizhuan yu* 四轉語) to examine all the patch-robed monks of the world, start by looking at your own situation and you will be able to judge theirs.'³⁸

The monk then asked, 'What place should novice monks make an effort to assess?'

The Master replied, 'In Jiazhou 嘉州 people strike the great image.'³⁹

'In what direction should we go?' asked the monk.

The Master replied, 'In Shanfu 陝府 people pour water into an iron ox.'⁴⁰

The monk then asked, 'With what places should we novices be familiar?'

‘In Xihe 西河 the children play with lions.’⁴¹ replied the Master. The master then said, ‘If someone understands these three sentences, then they already discern the three mysteries as well as grasp the meaning of the words of the three essentials. One must be able to discern extraordinary advice in order to decide what [teachings] to take.’⁴²

For the great assembly the Master spoke the following *gāthā*:

The matters of the three mysteries and the three essentials are difficult to discern, One who is able to get the meaning and forget the words is easily intimate with words/path.⁴³

This one sentence brightly illuminates all the myriad forms:

On the ninth day of *chongyang* 重陽 the chrysanthemum blossoms are new.⁴⁴

Four turning phrases results in four seven-line *gāthā* verses, which, in turn, are the result of odd, six-line regulated verse (*lǜshī* 律詩) poems that inscribe an unseen landscape that probably surrounded Huihong and his cohorts in the famous land of the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang (*Xiaoxiang bajing* 瀟湘八景).

In Mahāyāna scriptures and above all the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the whole universe is taught to be the perfect environment for realizing the First Principle, *nirvāna*, or enlightenment. Fenyang connects the words of the scriptures with poetry as put into practice by Chan adepts:

A monk then asked, ‘Since I have not investigated this before, how can one go about their own business by emulating the great eighteen [arhats 羅漢]?’

The Master replied, ‘Two pairs of water-buffaloes, with two pairs of horns with boundless nose-rings.’⁴⁵ The Master added, ‘If one wants to understand this wisdom, then immediately one must grasp the import of the point of the three mysteries. First, experience the state of being unhindered, and of your own will, and by your own effort, you will be peaceful and happy. The Great men of Han (202 BCE–220 CE) were like this! They did not teach from their shortcomings by touching things without understanding them first. I have made the following explanation for your collective benefit:

“The first mystery is the boundless *dharmadhātu*, encompassing the ten-thousand manifestations of Yama, which, combined together, form the round perfection of a mirror.⁴⁶ The second mystery is when the Buddha Śākyamuni told Ānanda 阿難 that if one responds [to questions] according to their broad knowledge, then their begging bowl will remain round.⁴⁷ The third mystery, which arose before the ancient emperors, is to remain outside the four sentences and hundred fallacies that Lüshi asked Fenggan about.”⁴⁸

That the *dharmadhātu* – encompassing the realms of life and death (*samsāra*) – is all encompassing and needs to be comprehended to maintain one’s purity as a monastic are not especially surprising scriptural references, almost certainly to the teachings of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Yet the third reference is especially interesting because it refers to the two most famous, legendary Chan poet-monks: Hanshan and Shide. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp [or flame], T. 2076, ca. 1004) contains a discussion between a minor official posted to Taizhou 臺州, Lüqiu Yin 閻丘胤, and Fenggan, who lives in a dilapidated cloister behind the Sūtra Storehouse (*jingzang* 經藏) at Guoqing monastery 國清寺 on Mount Tiantai 天台山, were Hanshan and Shide are also purported to have lived. Even though Lüqiu Yin says that Hanshan eats the leftovers his friend Shide the indigent cook

prepares, Fenggan says that Hanshan and Shide are manifestations of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, respectively. If Hanshan and Shide were to make a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, how would veneration of two Mañjuśrīs be possible?⁴⁹ There is even a description of an encounter between Lüqin Yin and the two poet-monks – and apparent bodhisattvas – in the kitchen of the monastery:

Once, when Lüqiu Yin found Hanshan and Shide in the kitchen of the monastery, he respectfully bowed to them. In sight of this, the two laughed and said ‘Fenggan has a long tongue. You did not recognize Maitreya at first sight, why are you bowing to us now?’ As Hanshan and Shide left hand in hand, the monks were stunned to see such a high official bowing to two poor scholars. Lüqiu Yin asked the monks if the two were ever to return, and prepared two clean suits and expedience to be sent to them. Lüqiu Yin learned that the two hadn’t returned to the monastery and had the presents delivered to their dwellings on Tiantai Mountain. When Hanshan saw these delivery men, he cried ‘Thieves! Thieves!’ and retreated to a cave entrance and exclaimed ‘Each of you should exert himself to the utmost’ and withdrew into the cave, which closed itself behind him. With this, Hanshan and Shide were never seen again at Guoqing temple; Lüqiu Yin had all of the writings left behind by the two. Hanshan had written on bamboo bark, trees, and walls of houses in neighboring villages as well as a 49 lined poem by Shide written on the wall of an Earth God temple.⁵⁰

The *Linji zongzhi* continues with citations to more *gāthās* by Fenyang and other revered masters, including Linji, Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973), Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (665–713), eventually Dongshan Liangjie, and dialogues between Zhang Shangying and Huihong about the teachings of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. One of these dialogues addresses how to conceptualize what Sudhana experiences as he enters Maitreya’s tower when he meets him in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* to see the adornments – including dharma banners – that commemorate the ultimate, supreme awareness of true reality he experiences there.⁵¹ Like the omnipresent danger of the parable of the poison painted drum in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T no. 374), true, unexcelled enlightenment is all-encompassing and everywhere, inscribed in all places in all times for the people who are trapped in an ocean of suffering.

Scholar Wujin (Zhang Shangying) once asked Huihong the following question, ‘Fenyang was a fifth generation son of Linji, and all novices looked up to him. They observed his essential points, chattered amongst themselves [about them], and only discussed the three mysteries and the three essentials. Nowadays, in their dharma lectures teachers all talk about the three mysteries and the three essentials. They all set up these words without contributing to the path, yet their various teachings do not produce different observations. Was it the intentions of the patriarchs to be ordinary? Is what I’m saying correct?’

Huihong replied, ‘I certainly possess doubts about this, so I have not yet figured it out.’ Huihong added, ‘Nevertheless, one should set up the three mysteries and three essentials.’

As for comments about the one sentence being replete with the three mysteries, as well as the one mystery being replete with the three essentials, those who possess the mysteries and the essentials include anyone who possesses the cool and clear silent annihilation dharma banner of the ocean of *paritāpa* (torments) endured by all beings. As for explaining this dharma banner, it is like the parable of the poison-painted drum: when it is struck, those who hear it will die, and those who only hear it from afar will perish later.⁵² There are some who, even though they hear its noise, they will not perish in an untimely death. Linji was without sickness, and when he heard the poison-painted drum

he prospered. However, the three sages Baoshou 保壽 Dingshang 定上 and Zuobei 座輩 listened to it and died. Now, more than 100 years later, there are some who have become awakened by this reference, and some who have perished from it. Yet, concerning the various dharma teachers who speak of the immeasurable path, still they are some who have not suffered an untimely death. As for the point of this reference and its relevance for the patriarchal lineage, it was set up at the infinitesimal level, yet, still there are some disciples who fear it and go on happily practicing the easy and smooth path: this is the cause of the decline of the buddhadharma. It is just like those who wear the cap and gown being called disciples of Confucius and destroying the *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes) and the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Words), with three-foot high children laughing at them.⁵³

The analogy Huihong provides between so-called Confucian scholars who disdain the *Yijing* or the *Xici* and Chan practitioners who ignore the profundity of these scriptures, which certainly means the penultimate *Gaṇḍavyūha* within the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, is telling. On the one hand, it cements the close relationship Chan monks like Huihong have with their literati friends and patrons who, after all, selected the abbots at public monasteries during eleventh and twelfth centuries. On the other hand, this may very well be a veiled reference to political enemies at a time when factionalism under emperor Huizong's policies became personally dangerous for Huihong; he was exiled to Hainan island because of his connections to Zhang Shangying in 1112. Huihong arrived in Qiongzhou 瓊州 on 1112.2.25; it was not until 1112.5.7 when Huihong arrived in south Hainan in the military prefecture of Zhuya 朱崖. He was pardoned on 1113.5.25. It took nearly a year to make his way back to Junzhou.⁵⁴

In the final section of the *Linji zongzhi*, Huihong is criticized by Shanglan Jujin for his skill with poetry composition, but not necessarily his proficiency as an enlightened Chan teacher. His friend and apparent student, the layman Zhu Yan Shiyong, defends Huihong, drawing oblique parallels between the Buddhist-poetry Huihong composes with examples from Fenyang. Fenyang's 'small-calf *gāthā*,' in particular, seems to be the seal that Huihong wants to leave the reader with to demonstrate that he, too, can express enlightened poetry. But what stands out in this section is how Huihong and Zhu Yan discuss what happens when the eighth *ṛṣi* Sudhana visits in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa, takes his hand and lets go. Huihong explains that what really happens is that when Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa let go of Sudhana's hand, at that point Sudhana emerged from *samādhi*; Sudhana then possessed eternal understanding of what he had seen when he held Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa's hand, which was when he attained enlightenment. Corroborating *Linji* Chan teachings, Huihong says, 'in a single thought one is changed.' There is also one final direct reference to the persistent role Mañjuśrī plays in Huihong's imagination of what constitutes the essential teachings of the *Linji* lineage, when he retells the story of Mañjuśrī visiting Śīlabhadra – Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600–664) teacher in India – in a dream to restate how the bodhisattva of wisdom is as important for Chan adepts as he very well may have been for exegetical teachers and even Tantric *gurus*.

Once while I was living in Linchuan, happily traveling around together with Zhu Shiyong, suddenly the elder Shanglan Jujin arrived.⁵⁵

Shanglan asked Shiyong, 'I heard that Juefan Huihong is good at composing poetry, yet as for Chan, your master is especially wrong, still what's worse is that you're his disciple!'

Shiyong laughed, 'Are you able to examine him?'

Shanglan said, 'I pledge [to do so].'

They stayed there a day, and together wandered in unfamiliar mountains, ate meals at the inn, and upon one occasion Shanglan used his hand to make an argument saying to Huihong, ‘What the sūtras pivot upon must be taken as words, what is the meaning of this?’ Huihong responded by drawing a circle with a line through it, and said, ‘This is the meaning.’

Shanglan was dumbfounded. Huihong then composed a gāthā:

With words one cannot produce the eight falsehoods,
The sleeping *dharmakāya* is not covered nor shut up.
Towards the patch-robed monks I do not know fame,
Yet the hundred followers in front [of me] cry out but cannot wake them.

Shanglan turned away, and raised his hand to Shiyong. Then Shiyong clapped his hands saying, ‘Who is the poet-monk who is able to understand the meaning of words?’ This is the same as looking at Fenyang’s calf-ox *gāthā* which says:

It has a head without horns, this truly makes me sigh,
It is difficult to flee for a hundred *kalpas* and yet I make my home here.
The ordinary sages are unable to obtain complete understanding,
The mutual appearances manifesting in front of you are few.
Now Huihong said to Shiyong, ‘This *gāthā* also explains my meaning of words.’

Then Shiyong asked Huihong about the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* where it says, ‘Sudhana asked, “What is the scope of enlightening liberation called unsurpassed banner like?” Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa stretched forth his right hand and took Sudhana by the right hand. At that moment Sudhana saw in his own body in ten directions ten buddha-fields (*bud-dhakṣetra*) as many buddha-fields as grains of dust in the world, within each of the ten buddha-fields was a buddha, and each buddha-field with a buddha had an assembly. He was able to see the innumerable features that adorned each buddha and assembly in each buddha-field ... these hundreds of billions of buddha-fields existed *kalpas* as numerable as grains of dust ... Then, Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa let go of Sudhana’s hand, and he found himself standing in the original place [in front of Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa].’⁵⁶

As for the meaning of this part, what is your understanding of it?’

Huihong replied, ‘This is all an image. When Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa took Sudhana’s hand, at that point Sudhana entered into a state of samādhi. He saw self and others unobstructed in every hair, and from beginning to end he was unchanged with equal thoughts. Then, when Bhīṣmōttaranirghoṣa let go of Sudhana’s hand, at that point Sudhana emerged from samādhi. Sudhana then possessed eternal understanding of this, realized the immovable position, and was clear about the near and far of dharmas; in a single thought one is changed, just like your time of extending the guard. In fact, the Tathāgata used the lotus as a parable, [which] you (Shiyong) know something about, and I (Huihong) know about as well. When the lotus opens its blossom, inside there is already a seed, and inside that seed there is a secret, and inside the seed there is the fruit, and inside the fruit there is a seed; the three ages and present are also like this. When its seed can be separated and displayed, only then can you understand this truth, now we should together supplement our knowledge without breaking then ten directions which are unobstructed.’

[Shiyong] also asked about when the *Lotus Sūtra* says, ‘The Tathāgata was in front of the assembly when he displayed his great supernatural powers, stuck out his long, broad tongue which reached upward to the Brahmā world.’⁵⁷ There was extreme confusion amongst the assembled group, yet there were those who comprehended it and said, ‘The

Buddha's voice is profound and marvelous, each in his own place is able to hear [it], and [it] transcends the sages and ordinary people, such that his broad long tongue reached high to the Brahmā world.'

Huihong replied, 'This is dangerous [because] what it speaks about accords with language and produces understanding; this is not the Tathāgata, World-honored One's, meaning. Guishan Lingyou 滄山靈祐 (771–853) once said, "Ordinary sages are entirely [absorbed with] feelings, the essence of dew is permanent, principle and phenomena are not separate, this is the such-ness of the Buddha."⁵⁸ Yet novices are unable to deeply penetrate the taste of these words, barely recognizing the meaning of crossing [over] and that's all. The parable is like the a group of blind people [unable] to feel about for an image, yet considering themselves to have read that which they are able to follow. Therefore the image produced is biased as a tail, or the waist, or the teeth, so that the complete image remains hidden. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* says, "As for the duality which cannot be divided by duality, the non-separation indeed cannot be broken."⁵⁹ This is permanent. Do not fixate on the one thing which cannot be fixated upon, which is the constancy of no wickedness. When the [Buddha's] tongue reached up to the Brahmā world [in the *Lotus Sūtra*, T no. 262], was it able to search for feelings?'

When the Tang monk Xuanzang arrived in Western India he met with the exegete Śīlabhadra (Jiexian 戒賢, 529–645). Śīlabhadra was already 106-years-old, and the assembly considered him their ancestor. So he was appropriately called a *trepitaka*. Xuanzang tried to become his student many times, until finally, when Śīlabhadra asked him to take a seat, and asked him, 'From where have you come?'

Xuanzang replied, 'I have come from the country of China, desiring to study the commentaries of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論, T nos. 1579–1580) class.'

Śīlabhadra pointed to one of his disciples by the name of Juexian 覺賢, and said, 'What did I previously have a dream about?' The disciple laughingly said, 'Master, three years ago when you were very ill, as if a man had taken a knife and sliced your belly, you wanted to die because you could not eat. One evening in a dream, you dreamt that a man with a golden body [visited you], and said, "You must not loathe your body, for in the past, you made wealth a priority, and committed many injuries to others, so you should repent your sins. At the end of your life, what will be the benefit? There is a Chinese monk who is coming here to study the dharma, who is already on his way, and will take three long years to arrive. Grant Buddhist benevolence towards him so that again he can penetrate [the dharma] and transmit [the dharma], and your sins are your own to extinguish. It is I, Mañjuśrī, who has come to explain this for you. This monk's sickness has damaged him for three years already, and the fruit of the *upādhyāya*'s labors has arrived; that was my previous dream, which turned out to be an omen.'"

Having forded through the difficulties of the many worlds and suffered through real and inborn hindrances, when I heard these words of Mañjuśrī, who benefits people with his Buddhist benevolence, that Śīlabhadra's sickness was caused by his own karma, I decided to write down these accounts of the meaning of the secrets of the points of the Buddhas and patriarchs, and hope that they will be used to benefit people, to extinguish the self and inborn hindrances, so that others do not have to search outside themselves for liberation.⁶⁰

The association with Xuanzang and his legendary quest to learn the *Yogācārabhūmi* commentaries in India may not necessarily resonate with what we expect to read in a text written by Huihong and transmitted as the essential teachings of the Linji Chan lineage. Yet

it seems that both the central role Mañjuśrī played in establishing the karmic connection Śīlabhadra ostensibly had with Xuanzang and his zeal to correctly apprehend the *buddhadharma* may have been precisely what Huihong wished to convey to his readers and to posterity. It may not be farfetched to suggest that Huihong viewed Fenyang as his Śīlabhadra, perhaps because he was simply too young to have met him. It also may appear that Zhu Yan was overly impressed – or confused – by the supernatural powers of the Buddha in the *Lotus Sūtra* and of Bhiṣmōttaranirghoṣa in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

Remapping Wutaishan and Mañjuśrī: Northern Song dynasty *Huayan jing* studies

Huihong was an erudite Chan monastic hagiographer, poet, and commentarial exegete. Whether or not he considered himself to be an enlightened, proper, Linji Chan monk is a matter of debate among modern scholars. Jason Protass, for example, argues that he wrote as much poetry as he did because he was in doubt.⁶¹ Surely the tone of the *Linji zonghi* demonstrates in places that he was well aware of those who criticized his adulation for writing poetry and books. He also composed a slightly longer text than the *Linji zongzhi*, the *Zhizheng zhuan* 智證傳 (Record of Knowledge and Realizations, X no. 1235), the title of which implies that he needed a record to show that he possessed the knowledge and realizations – or proof – to be a legitimate Chan master. In *Zhizheng zhuan* Huihong quotes from many of the same scriptures he mentions in the *Linji zongzhi*, with one glaring omission: surprisingly, Huihong does not seem to mention the scripture he is most notable for promoting: the Chinese *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*. Huihong's expulsion to Hainan seems to have stimulated a particular interest in scriptural literature because, when he checked in upon his arrival at Kaiyuan monastery 開元寺 in Qiongzhou, he claims to have found a copy of the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* in a ruined niche. Prior to his exile to Qiongzhou in 1112, Huihong had probably finished writing commentaries to or observations about several Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures, including the *Lotus*, *Mahāparinirvāna-*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka-*, *Vajracchedīka-* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經, T no. 235), and perhaps even the [*Mahā-*] *Ratnakūta* (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, T no. 310) *sūtras*, as well as the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (Book of Consummate Enlightenment, T no. 842) and *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñā-pāramitôpadeśa-sāstra*, T no. 1509).⁶² Only one of these survives, probably completed with Zhang Shangying in 1110–1111, which is a commentary to the *Lotus*, *Fahua jing helun* 法華經合論 (Combined Discussions on the *Lotus Sūtra*, X no. 603), in seven rolls. This commentary appears to be the model Huihong followed when he began to write his commentary to the *Śūraṃgamasūtra* while in exile: *Zunding falun* 尊頂法論 (Dharma Talk on the Venerable [One's] Crown), in 10 rolls, included today within *Lengyan jing helun* 楞嚴經合論 (Combined Discussions on the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, X no. 272), compiled by Leian Zhengshou 雷庵正受 (1147–1209) in 1203.1.⁶³ Huihong completed it sometime between 1112–1116; there is an interesting postface by Peng Yiming 彭以明 dated 1147.1.

Because so many of Huihong's works survive, we can find within Huihong's commentary to the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* evidence of a cohesive network of Chan teachers in south China, exegetical monastic Buddhist lecturers, and eminent statesmen who revered the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. I have already mentioned the most important commentary to the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* written during the Song dynasty, written by Changshui Zixuan.

His friend Jinshui Jingyuan completed his in 1071, and is called the *Lengyan jing tanchang xiuzheng yi* 楞嚴經壇場修證儀 (Manual for Cultivation of the Realization of the Altar from the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, X no. 1477), in one scroll, and represents the ritual dimensions of the *Śūramgama-sūtra* in Northern Song Buddhism.⁶⁴ In the Tiantai exegetical tradition, Gushan Zhiyuan 孤山智圓 (960–1022) of the Home Mountain (*shanjiapai* 山家派) faction, wrote a commentary that is preserved in Beifeng Zongyin's 北峰宗印 (1138–1213) *Shoulengyan jing shiti* 首楞嚴經釋題 (Explanation of the Topics in the **Śūramgama-sūtra*), which is in Sitan's 思坦 *Lengyan jing jizhu* 楞嚴經集註 (Collected Commentaries to the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, X no. 268-A). Jingjue Renyue 淨覺仁岳 (922–1064), of the Off the Mountain (*shanwaipai* 山外派) faction of Song Tiantai, wrote six works on the *Śūramgama*, two of which are particularly noteworthy: the *Lengyan jing xunwen ji* 楞嚴經熏聞記 Smelling the Perfume of the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, X no. 269) and the *Lengyan jing lisong yi* 楞嚴經禮誦儀 (Manual for the Rituals and Recitation of the **Śūramgama-sūtra*), which is now lost. We know that Zixuan worked closely with another Off the Mountain Tiantai faction monk named Hongmin 洪敏 of Lingguang monastery 靈光寺, as well as with his fellow Huayan monk Jingyuan and the Chan monk Langya Huijue. Together, they may have been responsible for the spread of the *Śūramgama-sūtra* in learned Song circles.

What connects the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-* and *Śūramgama-sūtras*? It is well beyond the scope of this article to judiciously explore the context within which teachers from the exegetical traditions, Huayan and Tiantai, and Chan masters shared notions about how to effectively and expeditiously access tools to obtain awakening. What I can say for certain, however, is that ritual dimensions of Mahāyāna sūtras were utilized by the Chan tradition, and especially the cultivation of practices to affect blessings or benefits for monastics and lay practitioners either from the sūtras and/or certain spell scriptures that contain short, usually meaningless or highly esoteric, spells called mantras (*zhenyan* 真言). Longer spells that typically make some grammatical sense called *dhāraṇī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼), or simply spells (*zhou* 呪), which resemble indigenous Chinese (or Japanese) spell techniques (*zhoushu* 呪術) became particularly significant during the Northern Song dynasty in China. The importation of these spells and accompanying rituals into Chan and Zen practice is closely tied to developments within the Song Tiantai and Huayan traditions, which, in turn, borrowed practices from Tang dynasty Buddhists, who apparently combined the teachings and ritual cosmology of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals translated during the eighth century, specifically at the monastic complex of Mount Wutai in northern Shanxi province.⁶⁵ We must bear in mind that while Song Buddhist exegetes – including Chan masters like Huihong – innovated in southern China, Chinese in the north continued to adapt.

Two scholars writing in English, Daniel Stevenson and Richard McBride, have examined the ritual context within which the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and scriptures with a long, efficacious *dhāraṇī* like the one in roll seven of the *Śūramgama-sūtra* (or state-protection scriptures like the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* [alt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*] [*Jin'guangming zui-shengwang jing*, 金光明最勝王經, T no. 665, Z no. 158]) were promoted in innovative ways by students of Changshui Zixuan and Jinshui Jingyuan in particular.⁶⁶ We can also find in the archives of Zen Buddhism in Japan an encyclopedia compiled by Mujaku Dōchū's 無著道忠 (1653–1745), *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋

(Notes on Images and Implements from the Groves of Zen), which says that an obscure Niutou 牛頭宗 lineage Chan monk named Chonghui 崇惠 (d.779) recited the spell from the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* to engender produce victory on the battlefield for Emperor Daizong 代宗 (727–779, r. 762–779) in 774 (Dali 9), for which he was awarded a purple robe and the title of Trepitaka who Protects the Nation (*huguo sanzang* 護國三藏).⁶⁷

Mujaku also suggests that another source for the same *dhāraṇī* is the *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* 密咒圓因往生集 (Collection of Secret Spells on the Perfect Cause [of Obtaining] Rebirth, T no. 1956), compiled by the śramaṇeras Ganquan Zhiguang 甘泉沙門智廣 and Huizhen of Qingliang monastery on Mount Wutai 北五臺山清涼寺沙門慧真 in 1200 under the Great Xia (Xi Xia 西夏) dynasty (1038–1237). The *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* contains thirty-three esoteric spells – probably mantras, rather than *dhāraṇī* – culled from a range of Chinese sources. Mujaku points us to a Chinese transcription whose source I have been unable to find. It appears to transliterate the Sanskrit *Namaḥ satata-sugatāyārḥate samyaksambubuddhasya* from the beginning of the spell from the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, and *Tadyathā Oṃ anale viśade vira-vajra-dhare bandha-bandhani Vajrapāṇi Phaṭ Oṃ Drūṃ (Trūṃ) Phaṭ Svāhā* from the final eight lines.⁶⁸ What makes this citation by Mujaku all the more intriguing is that contained within this compilation of esoteric spells (mantras) to obtain rebirth in the pure lands, are at least two spells which refer to the deity that emanates from the Buddha's crown. Because these two spells come from quite different Buddhist spell traditions – one esoteric or Tantric – it is significant that the compilers turned to the Chinese *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* for instructions for performing the *dhāraṇī*.⁶⁹ The *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* is similar to another compilation studied by Robert Gimello, the *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* 密圓通成佛心要集 (Collection of Essentials for Realization of Buddhahood in the Perfect Penetration of the Exoteric and Secret Teachings, T no. 1955), because both include the famous six-syllable mantra (*Guanzizai pusa liuzi daming xinzhou* 觀自在菩薩六字大明心咒) to Avalokiteśvara from the Chinese translation of *Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ* from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (*Dasheng zhengyan baowang jing* 大乘莊嚴寶王經, T no. 1050), translated by the Kāśmīri *Devaśānti (Tianxizai 天息災, d. 1000), that presents the Chinese *an mani bami hong* 唵嘛呢叭咪吽 (or *an moni boneming hong* 唵麼呢鉢訥銘吽).⁷⁰

The inclusion of the *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* by Mujaku as an alternate source for the same spell in the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* suggests that he may have been influenced by a tradition of continental Buddhism which appears to have flourished under patronage by the rulers of northern China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under the Khitan Liao, Tangut Xi Xia, and Jurchen Jin dynasties. Gimello has suggested that the forms of Buddhism preferred by these kingdoms 'had enjoyed particular prestige in the Tang but that were in decline under the Song in southern China.' These forms favored the ritual practices introduced into China under the rubric of what Gimello calls the occult (Mijiao 密教), but most other scholars have termed either esoteric or Tantric Buddhism. Gimello's research has uncovered the application of many of the Tang esoteric Buddhist rites under a doctrinal umbrella of Huayan scholasticism in the writings of Daozhen 道殿 (d.u.), who composed his *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* sometime in the 1080 s, to develop a synthesis between the exoteric teachings of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and the esoteric rituals from manuals to achieve empowerment from powerful deities to attain liberation in a single lifetime while generating myriad

worldly blessings.⁷¹ Daozhen's text additionally incorporates several of the esoteric Buddhist translations made during the Northern Song dynasty, including the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* mentioned above, as well as the [Ārya-] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. What remains intriguing to me is that Mujaku appears to have been well aware of developments in north and southern China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet I think that six Chinese Buddhist scholiasts who instigated a revival for the Tiantai and Huayan traditions in the Jiangnan region of southern China during the early Northern Song period are directly responsible for bringing *dhāraṇī* practice and special attention to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*: Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (964–1032) and Jingjue Renyue from the Home Mountain faction (*shanjia*), together with Gushan Zhiyuan and Linguangsi Hongmin of the Off Mountain (*shanwai*) branch, bridged the doctrinal and intuitional chasm in Song Tiantai, and, together with Huayan monks Changshui Zixuan and Jinshui Jingyuan, spread the application of spells to lay societies, most notably including the Great Compassion Spell (*Dabei zhou* 大悲呪) and the spell from the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, which became the two most accepted spells for Zen Buddhists in China and Japan.

Conclusion

I began this article with a question: Where do Linji Chan and the *Huayan jing* meet? I said that this question is both misleading because the teachings of Chan Buddhism are neither unique nor separate from those expressed in seminal Mahāyāna Buddhist, and especially the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Many Chan texts appear to propose an opposite conclusion, which I hope the case of Huihong's *Linji zongzhi* has tackled. What I have failed to mention up to this point is that Huihong only seems to have cited the 80-roll translation, completed under the direction of Śikṣānanda (Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) and the legendary Fazang 法藏 (643–712).⁷² It certainly seems plausible that this edition may have either influenced his thinking about how to connect Linji Yixuan's and Fenyang Shanzhao's Chan teachings with nearly all other renowned patriarchs from other lineages or, perhaps, it may have influenced his vision of how to integrate putting into practice the content of scriptures with effective teachings such as *dhāraṇīs*. What I am certain of is that Huihong's *Linji zongzhi* was widely read and some of its teachings were realized in Ming – and perhaps even Qing – Chinese Chan monasteries and in Japan. Intriguing connections between the plaques at Manpukuji and the references to legendary Tang poets who literally inscribed the landscape in the *Linji zongzhi* motivate me to explore further how and why poetry became the principle means to express the teachings in scriptures like the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, even to the extent that *Shishi Ku* can point to the gist of an entire scripture with only three characters.

Notes

1. Three of the four phrases—excluding the 'separate transmission outside the Teachings'—predate the compilation of the *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 (Chrestomathy from the Patriarchs' Hall, comp. 1108), in which the complete slogan was included, by perhaps as much as 200 years. This motto has generally been understood as characterizing the fundamental teachings of the Chan/Sōn/Zen school from its beginnings through at least the year 1100. This slogan comes from the *Zuting shiyuan*, by Muan Shanqing 陸庵善卿 5, XZJ no.

- 1261.64.377a21-b8. Teachings refers to the scholastic schools or traditions of Chinese Buddhism as opposed to the teaching of the Chan patriarchs. It is almost certainly relevant to note that the section in the *Zuting shiyuan* is called *juyang bore* 舉揚般若 (raising the matter of *prajñā*). See Buswell and Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation*, 412 n. 2, 21 n. 50; Foulk, “Sung Controversies”; Welter, “Mahākāśyapa’s Smile.” See also Gimello, “Mārga and Culture,” 412; and Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School,’” 164–255; idem, “The Spread of Chan (Zen) Buddhism,” 447. On the assumptions behind Chan (and Japanese Rinzai) orthodoxy, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, 209–11. See also Heine, *Zen Skin, Zen Marrow*, 6–30, where he explores the tensions between Zen studies according to the “Traditional Zen Narrative (TZN)” versus the “Historical and Cultural Criticism (HCC).”
2. Dalton & van Schaik, “Where Chan and Tantra Meet”; Rong, “The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave,” which highlights the role of a monk named Daozhen 道真 who seems to have supplemented the cache/canon with various sūtras, Chan texts, Tantric ritual manuals (*kalpa* or *vidhi*; *yigui* 儀軌), and other material expunged from the canon by the Chinese state during the eighth century.
 3. Zixuan’s commentary, which he completed in 1030, is called the *Lengyan jing yishujing* 楞嚴經義疏注經 [Commentary on the Meaning of the **Sūraṃgama-sūtra*], has 10 rolls, and became the foundation for nearly all other commentaries thereafter: T no. 1799, 39: 823b–967c. Ch’oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō No Kenkyū*, 204, citing the *Dafoding shoulengyan jing shu jiemeng chao* 大佛頂首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 1, XZJ no. 287.13846b17-c2.
 4. Scholarship on these five Song exegetes is primarily in Japanese and focuses on the reception and propagation of the **Sūraṃgama-sūtra* in Chinese Buddhism: see Ōmatsu, “Sōdai Tendaigaku to Shuryōgonkyō”; idem, “Shuryōgonkyō No Kenkyū”; idem, “Sōdai Ni Okeru Shuryōgonkyō Juyō No Mondaiten”; Yoshida, “Hoku Sōdai Ni Okeru Kegon Kōryū No Kei”; idem, “Sōdai Ni Okeru Kegon Reisan Giki No Seiritsu”; Yoshizu, “Kegon Kyōgaku No Ateta Shūdai Zenshū Heno Eikyō”; Okimoto, “Sōdai Zenshisō No Taikeika”; Ōno, “Tendaishū Sankeha to Zenshū Tono Kōshō”. These figures have been briefly mentioned in Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 199n.50. and Tomoaki, “Mind and Reality” in English as well.
 5. We know that the model used to establish Sōn Buddhist monasteries in Korea and Zen cloisters in Japan, in particular, comes from the rules and regulations for Chan monastics known as the *Pure Regulations of the Chan Gardens* (*Chanyuan qinggui*, *Zen’en shingi* 禪苑清規, T no. 2025). The extant version of the *Pure Rules* we have today was compiled in the mid-fourteenth century (1335–1336) during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). The *Rules of Purity Compiled by Baizhang and Disposed by the Sovereign* (*Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規) is attributed to an eighth century Chinese abbot—Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814). These halls are known variously as the Dharma Hall (*fatang*, *hattō*), Buddha Hall (*fodian* or *daxiong dian*, *butsuden* 佛殿 or *daiōden* 大雄殿), Patriarchs Hall (*zushi tang kaishan tang*, *soshidō* 祖師堂 or *kaisandō* 開山堂), Abbots Chamber (lit. “three square meters”: *fangzhang*, *hōjō* 方丈), and intriguingly, the Earth Deity or Tutelary Gods Hall (*tudishen tang*, *tochishindō* 土地神堂). Steven Heine has conducted perhaps the most comprehensible recent survey in English of these halls and their deep significance within the Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen monastic traditions: Heine, *Zen Skin, Zen Marrow*, ch.3 esp. 82–86. Of particular note in the case of Japanese Zen monastic compounds with transparent examples of these halls are Kenchōji 建長寺 in Kamakura (eastern Japan, just south of Tokyo); and Kenninji 建仁寺, Tōfukuji 東福寺, and Manpukuji, all in the ancient capital of Kyoto, Japan.
 6. Wu, “A Study of Han-Shan,” 414–15.
 7. Kerr and Sokol, *Another Kyoto*, 206–11.
 8. *Linji lu*, T. 1985.47.506, c3–7, trans. in Sasaki and Kirchner, *The Record of Linji*, 340. The Chinese reads: “師臨遷化時據坐云:‘吾滅後不得滅却吾正法眼藏。’三聖出云:‘爭敢滅却和尚正法眼藏?’師云:‘已後有人問爾,向他道什麼?’三聖便喝。師云:‘誰知吾正法眼藏向這瞎驢邊滅却。’言訖端然示寂。”
 9. Kerr and Sokol, *Another Kyoto*, 207.

10. Ibid., 199–200.
11. The most insightful and succinct account of Chinese Buddhist canons and catalogs is in Sueki, Shimoda, and Horiuchi, eds., *Bukkyō No Jiten*, 44–46. See also the essays in Wu and Chia, eds., *Spreading Budha's Word in East Asia*.
12. Muller, Hodge, “diyi yi 第一義” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E7%AC%AC%E4%B8%80%E7%BE%A9>, accessed on 12 June 2017.
13. *Biyān lu* 1, T no. 2003.48.140a17–27. The Chinese reads: 舉梁武帝問達磨大師。如何是聖諦第一義。磨云。廓然無聖。帝曰。對朕者誰。磨云。不識。帝不契。達磨遂渡江至魏。帝後舉問志公。志公云。陛下還識此人否。帝云。不識。志公云。此是觀音大士。傳佛心印。帝悔。遂遣使去請。志公云。莫道陛下發使去取。闔國人去。他亦不回。
14. *Biyān lu* 8, T no. 2003.48.205b28–c8. The Chinese reads: 舉。僧問投子。一切聲是佛聲是。否。投子云。是。僧云。和尚莫 [1] □沸碗鳴聲。投子便打。又問。龐言及細語皆歸第一義。是否。投子云。是。僧云。喚和尚作一頭驢得麼。投子便打。
15. Yanagida, ed. *Shike Goroku*, 72a–82a.
16. Japanese sources explain the Caodong or Sōtō lineage in terms of the transmission from Dongshan Liangjie to (1) Yunju Daoyong and (835–902) that Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) inherited and (2) Caoshan Benji. Therefore, the name Caodong or Sōtō refers to Caoxi Huineng 曹溪慧能 (638–713) and Dongshan Liangjie. Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School,’” 45. See Welter, *The Linji Lu*, 120–21.
Only the prefaces and a chart of the *Wujia yulu*, compiled by Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 and Guo Ningzhi 郭凝之, survives today; see X no. 1326.69.21a5–23a8. The text was printed in 1630 and 1665. In the modern editions of the Buddhist canons, the *Linji zongzhi* is separated from the *Wujia yulu*. See Yanagida, “Shike Goroku to Goke Goroku”.
17. Welter, *The Linji Lu*, 120–21.
18. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, esp. on this text in seventeenth-century Chinese Chan. Idem, *Leaving for the Rising Sun* (27, 51) succinctly repeats many points from his earlier book, and explains their transmission of this text in Japan through the Ōbakushū network.
19. Kakumon, ed. *Chū Sekimon Mojizen*, vol. 5, 851–54 and Yanagida, *Zenrin Sōbōden Yakuchū*, 35–66. This edition was then printed during the early Edo period by the Tsurugaya Kyūbee 敦賀屋久兵衛 publishing house in Kyoto in 1644. The *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* was also published in the *Jiaxing* era Buddhist canon in 1579, which was published in the *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 大日本讀藏經 between 1905 and 1912.
20. Kakumon, *Chū Sekimon Mojizen*, vol. 5, 845–50 and Yanagida, *Zenrin Sōbōden Yakuchū*, 35–66 discuss that Huihong’s collected works, *Shimen wenzi chan* (J no. B135), in 30 rolls, also exists in several editions. There is a complete commentary compiled by the Sōtō monk-scholar Kakumon Kantetsu 廓門貫徹 (d. 1730), called the *Chū Sekimon mojizen* 註石門文字禪. Kakumon Kantetsu’s edition includes three prefaces: those by the Ming dynasty Chan master Dagan Zhenke 達觀真可 (1543–1603), and two Sōtō Zen scholars, Manzan Dōhaku 卍山道白 (1635–1715) and Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1652–1744). Dagan’s preface is dated Wanli 萬曆 25 (1597), with both Manzan’s and Mujaku’s dated Hōei 寶永 7 (1710). Kakumon included his own colophon, which is also dated 1710. There is an additional selection praising the *Shimen wenzi chan* by the Ōbaku monk Gettan Dōchō 月潭道澄 (1636–1713). See “‘Study Effortless Action’ Rethinking Northern Song Chan Buddhism in Edo Japan,” which highlights the reception of Huihong’s writings within the Edo-era Sōtō Zen school and especially the role Shin’etsu Kōchū 心越興儔 (alt. Donggao Xinyue, Tōkō Shin’etsu 東臯心越, 1639–1696) played in disseminating Huihong’s books in eastern Japan.
21. *Zenrin Sōbōden Yakuchū*, 21–22 & 89–92 and Welter, *The Linji Lu*, 118–20.
22. *Shimen wenzi Chan* 25, J. B135.23.700c2–26 and Ibuki, *Zen No Rekishi*, 117.
23. Yanagida, *Zenrin Sōbōden Yakuchū*, 87–89 and Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 23–24.
24. *Linjian lu*, XZJ 1624.87.48b24–c17. *Linjian lu*, XZJ 1624.87.4.
25. Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 78–94.

26. McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, 115; Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, chap. 7; Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 34–54 & chap.3.
27. Shi Huihong et al., eds., *Zhu Shimen Wenzichan*, 22–29.
28. Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 402 and He, “Lidai Shihua,” 2: 686.
29. The three mysterious gates and the three essentials are teaching methods employed by Linji Yixuan, who is presumably the former sage he speaks of here. The three mysteries are described as follows: (1) mystery in the essence (*ti zhong xuan* 題中玄); (2) mystery in words (*ju zhong xuan* 句中玄; and (3) mystery in mystery (*xuan zhong xuan* 玄中玄). The three essentials can also be described by this list: (1) the use of words in language that display a non-discriminating factor; (2) use of words in language with the profoundness of a thousand sages; and (3) use of words in language that break the path. See also the *Linji lu* T no. 1985, 47: 496a15–20, translated in Sasaki and Kirchner, 147 where Linji says, “Each statement must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries, and the gate of each mystery must comprise the three essentials. These are temporary expedients, and there is functioning.” Additionally, the Preface to the *Linji yulu*, T no. 1985, 47: 495b12, says: “With his Three States and Three Fundamentals, he forged and tempered black-robles monks,” translated in *ibid.*, 54.
- This technique has an interesting pedigree within the Linji lineage. Initially Linji preached it, second Fenyang spoke of it in several places, including T no. 1992, 47: 595b10; 598c17; 600a11; 603b1–19; 621b24–25; and 628b618. Additionally, the patriarch of Huihong’s collateral lineage, Huanglong Huinan, spoke of this in his record on T no. 1993, 47: 633b20–24. Members of the opposing side of the lineage lectured on this topic as well, including Yuanwu Keqin and Dahui Zonggao, in T no. 1997, 47: 734a16 and T no. 1998, 47: 841c19–20; 842c24–25 respectively.
30. Throughout this text, Huihong seems to quote from the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄. In this case, Huihong apparently lifted the selection from a Dharma-talk already underway. In the preceding section, T no. 1992, 47: 597a7–12, Fenyang likens the mysterious path to the bird-path. The bird-path (*niaodao* 鳥道) is a common phrase in Chan texts referring to Chan path or *mārga*. When the bird flies in the sky it severs its traces, it does not fall, and all that it sees is from a non-deluded and awakened point of view. If one attains the state of no-traces, then one breaks and extinguishes life, and one arrives at the meaning of the empty and still place. See also the *Dongshan yulu* 洞山語錄, T no. 1986B, 47: 524 and the *Zuting shiyuan*, XZJ no. 1261.64.362c1.
31. A closer reading to the text would be: Each of you consider [the point], have you successfully harvested the point (*wen* 穩) of it yet or not?
32. Here the text says *yige yinyuan weiming* 一箇因緣未明, which presumably refers to the first of the twelve *nidānas*, or links of the range of existence, specifically that of *avidyā* or ignorance. This also could refer to the general issue of causes and conditions, or *hetupratyaya*. Perhaps this is also a reference to the “great matter of causes and conditions” (*yi dashi yinyuan* 一大事因緣) raised in the Chinese [pseudo] *Śūramgama-sūtra*.
33. The text of the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu*, T no. 1992, 47: 597a16–17, reads: *huoji jueze jiangmo wei xiaoshi* 火急決擇將[莫]為小事; while Huihong’s *Linji zongzhi*, XZJ 111:86a8–9, says: *huoji jueze qi jiang wei xiaoshi* 火急決擇豈將為小事.
34. *Hetupratyaya*.
35. *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu*: T no. 1992, 47: 597a12–23. The *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* was completed prior to Huihong’s writing of the *Linji zongzhi*.
36. This trope is found primarily within Fenyang’s record.
37. This is a misquotation by Huihong of Fenyang’s words. The *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* reads, ‘In the north at Luzhou there are those who eat long-grain rice, they are without desire as well as without anger.’ Moreover, the two texts, the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* and the *Linji zongzhi*, read as following with the former saying: *changjingmi shizhe wutan yi wuchen* 長粳米食者無貪亦無嗔; while the latter says: *changjingmi shizhe wuchen yi wuxi* 長粳米食者無嗔亦無喜. See T no. 1992, 47: 597a24–28. *Zengaku daijiten* references the *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目, T no. 2006, 48: 300a–336a, where it accords with Huihong’s

- version. Due to the later compilation of that work, 1188, it probably follows Huihong's work. Luzhou in the region of present-day Jiangxi province where Lushan is located.
38. *Sizhuan yu* refers to the four responses he just gave to the pupil's questions: see Wu Limin, ed. *Chanzong Zongpai Yuanliu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), 225. This is also related to the four propositions used in Indian logic for delusive thinking: one (same); different; existing; non-existing. See also Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, 269–70. and explanation in Buswell, *The Korean Approach to Zen*, 404. The relationship to Indian logic is possibly, though it seems less likely given that Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897) used a similar phrase called 'three turning phrases' (*sanzhuan yu* 三轉語) in *Biyuan lu* 10, case #96, T no. 2003, 48: 219a, translated in Cleary and Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 525.
39. See also *Rentian yanmu*, T no. 2006, 48: 306a.
40. This trope possibly alludes to case number 38 of the *Biyuan lu* concerning Fengxue's workings of the Iron Ox; *Biyuan lu* 4, T no. 2003, 48: 175c–177b; see Cleary and Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 231. According to Cleary and Cleary, the iron ox was apparently built by the legendary king Yu 禹 to stem the floods of the Yellow river with the head in Henan and tail in Hebei.
41. See also *Xutang yulu* 虛堂語錄 (Record of Xutang) 3, T no. 2000, 47: 1007a28.
42. *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu*, T no. 1992, 47: 597a23–b7.
43. This is an allusion to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 26, where it says, "The fish-trap exists because of the fish; once you have gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you've gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of the meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words." Cf. Guo, ed. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4/26/943–44. and Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu*, 302.
44. This is either an allusion to one of Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (d. 427) poems on the ninth day of the ninth month or a cliché. If it is an allusion to Tao Qian, then it probably refers to a poem like *Jiuri Xianju* 九日閑居 (Living in Retirement on the Ninth Day) and (2) *Jiyou sui jiuyue jiuri* 己酉歲九月九日 (The Ninth Day of the Ninth Month of the Year Jiyou) and go as follows:

己酉歲九月九日 (The Ninth Day of the Ninth Month of the Year Jiyou)

靡靡秋已夕 Slowly the autumn has come to its close;

淒淒風露交 Chilly, the wind and dew mingle.

蔓草不復榮 The creeping plants no longer flower;

園木空自凋 The garden trees, bare, have lost their leaves.

清氣澄餘滓 The clean air is cleansed of the last murkiness;

杳然天界高 Dimly seen, the bounds of heaven are high.

衰蟬無留響 Of the sad cicada, there is no lingering sound,

叢雁鳴雲霄 But flocking geese cry among the clouds.

萬化相尋進 Ten thousand transformations follow one another;

人生豈不勞 Man's life, how should it not be laborious?

從古皆有沒 From of old all have had to die:

念之中心焦 When I think of it, my heart within me burns.

何以稱我情 How shall I accord with my feelings?

濁酒且自陶 With cloudy wine let me gladden myself.

千載非所知 A thousand years, I shall not know;

聊以永今朝 Let me with it prolong this morning.

Liu, ed., *Tao Yuanming ji*, 83; Davis (trans.), *T'ao Yüan-Ming*, 92.

Linji zongzhi XZJ no. 1234.63.167c9-168a5. The Chinese reads: 汾陽昭禪師示眾曰。先聖云。一句語須具三玄。一玄中須具三要。阿那箇是三玄三要底句。快會取好。各自思量。還得穩當也未。古德 [已] 前行脚。聞一箇因緣未明。中間直下飲食無味睡臥不安。火急決擇。豈將為小事。所以大覺老人為一大事因緣出現於世。想計他從上來行脚。不為游山翫水。看州府奢華。片衣口食皆為聖心未通。所以驅馳行脚。決擇深奧。傳唱敷揚。博問先知。親近高德。蓋為續佛心燈。紹隆佛種。興崇聖種。接引後機。自利利他。不忘先迹。如今還有商量者麼。有即出來大家商量。僧問如何是接初機底句。答曰汝是行脚僧。又問如何是辨衲僧底句。答曰西方日出卯。又問如何是正令行底句。答曰千

里 [1] 持來呈舊面。又問如何是立乾坤底句。答曰。北俱盧州長粳米。食者無嗔亦無喜。師曰。只將此四轉語驗天下衲僧。纔見汝出來驗得了也。僧問如何是學人著力處。答曰嘉州打大像。問如何是學人轉身處。答曰 [陝> 陝] 府灌鐵牛。問如何是學人親切處。答曰西河弄師子。師曰。若人會此三句。[已> 已] 辨三玄。更有三要語在。切在薦取。不是等閑。與大眾頌出曰。三玄三要事難分。得意忘言道易親。一句明明該萬象。重陽九日菊花新。

45. A *quan* 捲 is a cow nose-ring. See the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, D.C. Lau, ed. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhuzi Suoyin*, vol. 23, 103/3/20.
46. Here the *Linji zongzhi* says: *di yi xuan fajie guang wubian senluo ji manxiang zongzai jing zhong yuan* 第一玄法界廣無邊森羅及萬象總在鏡中圓, while the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu* says: *di yi xuan fajie guang wubian canluo ji manxiang zongzai jing zhong yuan* 第一玄法界廣無邊參羅及萬象總在鏡中圓. I have chosen to use the *Linji zongzhi*'s terminology here since *canluo* makes no sense here.
47. A *pātra* is a begging bowl. This appears to refer to a discussion between the Buddha and Ānanda in the Chinese [pseudo] *Sūramgama-sūtra*, T no. 945, 9: 106c, however, more likely than not, it is simply a reference to a discussion between Ānanda and the Buddha commonly referred to by Chan masters rather than a *sūtra* reference.
48. T no. 1992, 47: 597b27-8c and XZJ no. 1234.63.168a5-16. The Chinese reads: 僧便問。古人十八上解作活計。未審作箇什麼活計。答曰。兩隻水牯牛。雙角無 [欄- 呂 + 貝] 捲。復云。若要於此明得去。直須得三玄旨趣。始得受用無礙。自家慶快。以暢平生。大丈夫漢莫教自辜。觸事不通。彼無利濟。與汝一切頌出曰。第一玄。法界廣無邊。森羅及萬象。總在鏡中圓。第二玄。釋尊問阿難。多聞隨事答。應器量方圓。第三玄。直出古皇前。四句百非外。問氏問豐干。
Sudhana is the prominent interlocutor of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Traversing the path in a single lifetime refers to Sudana's journey in the *Gaṇḍhavyūha* section, in which he meets fifty-three teachers and realizes enlightenment with the assistance of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩. Cf. Nakamura Hajime, *Iwanami Bukkyō Jiten*, ed. Nakamura Hajime, et al., 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002), 499. The Dragon King's daughter is from the Devadatta (Tipodaduo 提婆達多) chapter of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經) 4 [12], T no. 262, 9: 35c, who, even though only eight years old, according to Mañjuśrī, had already attained a *dhāraṇī* to become a buddha.
49. *Jingde chuandeng lu* 27, T no. 2076, 51: 433b11-c15.
50. Part of this encounter is in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 27, T no. 2076, 51: 433c15-24, the remainder comes from the preface to Hanshan's poems by Lüqiu Yin trans. in Wu, "A Study of Han-Shan," 414-15. According to Henricks (*Poetry of Han-Shan*, 3-7), not only is it nearly impossible to date the life of Hanshan, Shide, nor Fenggan, because any mention of the encounter between the three does not surface until the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks, Compiled under the Song) 22, T no. 2061, 50: 831b-c, which suggests that the encounter took place in the early Tang.
51. *Huayan jing* (80) 79, T no. 279, 10: 434c29-439a25, cf. trans. in Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, 1: 1488-500.
52. The poison-painted drum is a reference to a parable in the *Da boniepan jing* T no. 374, 12: 420a8, in which there is a drum painted with poison on the surface of the drum. When the drum is struck, its vibrations cause poison dust to fly up into the air and whoever is touched by the dust dies. This is of special relevance to the Chan school because this concept was used by various Chan masters to cause their pupils to lose or "kill" their minds, extinguish their greed, anger, or confusion about the pivotal words which catalyze liberation in a single phrase or sentence. There is another famous saying by Yantou Quanhua in *Chuandeng lu* 16, T no. 2076, 51: 326b, where he says, 'The meaning of our teaching is just like the poison-painted drum, and when the sound is made by striking the drum once, those who hear it near and far all die [from the dust].'
53. *Linji zongzhi* XZJ no. 1234.63.168b11-b24. The Chinese reads: 無盡居士謂予曰。汾陽臨濟五世之嫡孫。天下學者宗仰。觀其提綱渠渠。唯論三玄三要。今其法派皆以謂三玄三要一期建立之語無益於道。但於諸法不生異見。一切平常即長祖意。其說是否。予曰。居士聞其

說曉然了解。寧復疑汾陽提綱乎。曰吾固疑而未決也。予曰。此其三玄三要之所以設也。所言一句中具三玄。一玄中具三要。有玄有要者。一切眾生熱惱海中清涼寂滅法幢也。此幢之建。譬如塗毒之鼓過之。則聞者皆死。唯遠聞者後死。若不橫死者。雖聞不死。臨濟無恙時。興化三聖保壽定上座輩聞而死者。今百餘年猶有悟其旨者。即後死者也。而諸法派謂無益於道者。即不橫死者也。祖宗門風壁立萬仞。而子孫畏之。喜行平易坦塗。此所謂法道陵夷也。譬如衣冠。稱孔門弟子而毀易繫辭。三尺童子笑之。

The *Xici* is the most important early commentary on the *Yijing*.

54. *Jiyin xixu* 寂音自序, *Shimen wenzi Chan* 24, J no. B135.23.696a25-b29.
55. Shanglan was another monk of the Huanglong sub-lineage of the Song Linji lineage. See *Xu chuandeng lu*, T. 2077.51.571c; *Xudeng lu* 10, XZJ 78: 81b8-17; and the *Wudeng huiyuan*, XZJ 138: 346c-d or Su Yuanlei and et. al, eds., *Wudeng Huiyuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1176. Shanglan also studied under Letan Xiaoyue (d.u.), the disciple of Langya Huijue, who was, in turn, a student of Fenyang Shanzhao.
56. *Huayan jing* (80) 64, T no. 279, 10: 345c18-24; 346a4-5; 346a12-13. See also translation in Cleary, 1215-16.
57. *Fahua jing* 21, T no. 262, 9: 51c13-15; trans. in Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom*, 286.
58. *Ruru* 如如 is translated as Tathatā, or suchness.
59. *Da bore jing* 1, T no. 220, 6: 1a7.
60. The Chinese reads: 予嘗至臨川與朱世英游相好。俄上藍長老者至上蓋。謂世英曰。覺範圍工詩耳。禪則其師。猶錯矧弟子耶。世英咲曰。師能勘驗之乎。上藍曰諾。居一日。同游疎山。飯于逆族。上藍以手畫案謂余曰。經軸之上必題以字。是何義。予亦畫圓相橫一畫曰。是此義也。上藍愕然。予為作偈曰。以字不成八不是。法身睡著無遮[2]閑。衲僧對面不知名。百眾人前呼不起。上藍歸舉似世英。世英拊手曰。孰為詩僧。亦能識字義乎。因同看汾陽作犢牛偈曰。有頭無角實堪嗟。百劫難逃這作家。凡聖不能明得盡。現前相□有些些。予謂世英曰。此偈又予字義之訓誥也。世英問余。華嚴經曰。毗目仙人執善財手。即時善財自見其身住十佛刹微塵數世界。中到十佛刹微塵數諸佛所見彼佛刹及其眾會。諸佛相好種種莊嚴。乃至或經百千億不可說佛刹微塵數劫。乃至時彼仙人放善財童子手。即時自見其身還在本處。此一段義何以明之。予曰。皆象也。方執其手。即入觀法之時。見自他不隔於毫端。始終不移於當念。及其放手。即是出定之時。永明曰。是知不動本位。遠近之刹歷然。一念靡移。延促之時宛爾。世尊蓋以蓮為譬。而世莫有知者。予特知之。夫蓮方開華時。中[已>已]有子。子中[已>已]有莖。因中有果。果中有因。三世一時也。其子分布又曾屬焉。相續不斷十方不隔也。又問。法華經曰。世尊於一切眾前現大神力。出廣長舌相。上至梵世。極難和會。而解者曰。佛音深妙觸處皆聞。超越聖凡。則其舌廣長高出梵世。此說如何。予曰。此殆所謂隨語生解。非如來世尊之意。為山曰。凡聖情盡。體露真常。理事不二。即如如佛。而學者不能深味此語。苟認意度而[已>已]。譬如眾盲摸象。隨其所得為是。故象偏為尾為蹄為腰為牙而全象隱矣。般若經曰。無二無二分無別無斷故者真常也。非凝然一物卓然不變壞之真常也。舌相之至梵世。其可以情求哉。唐僧玄奘至西竺見戒賢論師。賢時[已>已]一百六歲。眾所宗向。號正法藏。并修敬。訖賢使坐。問從何來。對曰從支那國來。欲學瑜伽等論。於是賢流涕呼弟子。覺賢指以謂曰。我前所夢何如弟子。謂奘曰。和尚三年前得疾危甚。如人以刀割其腹。欲不食而死。夜夢男子身金色曰。汝勿自厭其身。汝昔作貴。近多害物。命當自悔責。自盡何益。有支那國僧來此學法。[已>已]在塗矣。三年當至。以法惠彼。彼復流通。汝罪自滅。我曼殊室利也。故來曉汝耳。和尚疾損[已>已]三年。而闍梨果至。前夢有徵也。子涉世多艱。蓋其夙障。聞曼殊室利之言以法惠人。則罪自滅。故有撰述佛祖旨訣之意。欲以惠人而自滅夙障耳。非有他求也。
61. Protass, "Buddhist Monks and Chinese Poems."
62. Chen, *Shi Huihong yanjiu*, 120-21.
63. XZJ no. 272-A.12.1a2-95c2.
64. This text is also known by the name *Lengyan jing daochang xiuzheng yi* 楞嚴經道場修證儀 (Manual for Cultivation of the Realization of the *Bodhimaṇḍa* from the *Sūramgama-sūtra*).
65. Yanagida, "Kōsei No Zenmyaku," 107.
66. Stevenson, "Buddhist Ritual in the Song"; McBride, *Doctrine and Practice in Medieval Korean Buddhism*.
67. Yanagida, ed. *Zenrin Shōkisen Kattō Gosen Zenrin Kushū Benbyō*, 601.

68. *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji*, T no. 1956, 46: 1008c10-13 cited in *ibid.*, 1:601. For the Sanskrit reconstruction, see Kimura and Takenaka, *Zenshū No Darani*, 5-6. Kimura, *Ryōgonshu*, 13 and Noguchi, *Zenmon Darani No Sekai*, 128-31 and note 23. The Chinese mantra from the *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* is: 捺麻廡但(二合)達(引)須遏怛(引)也啊囉訶(二合)訶薩滅三莫 [口 + 捺] 薛怛涅達(引)唵[口 + 捺] 令覓折寧[口 + 捺]囉末唧囉(二合)嚩唎末(舌齒) [口 + 捺] 末(舌齒)嚩彌末唧囉(二合)鉢(引)彌[口 + 捺]發(怛)咩 [口 + 能][口 + (隆- 一)] (二合引)發(怛)莎(引)訶。
69. T no. 1956, 46: 1008c14-1009b8.
70. *Dasheng zhengyan baowang jing* 4, T. 1050, 20: 62c24. Cf. Tucci, “Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja”. The six-syllable mantra can be found in T no. 1955, 46: 994b8-c7 and 1956, 46: 1010c19-1011a11.
71. Gimello, “Icon and Incantation,” 235–38.
72. On these translators and their projects, see Forte, “Manicintana,” and Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician*, ch.11.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Abbreviations

J. *Mingban Jiaxing da zangjing: Jingshan zangban* 明版嘉興大藏經: 徑山藏版 [Ming dynasty printed Jiaxing Chinese Buddhist Canon; Mount Jing edition], 1579-1707, 40 vols., rpt. Taipei, 1987. Digital version: Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association, *CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Collection*, Taipei, CBETA, 1998-2016.

T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled under the Taishō Era], 100 vols., eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et al., Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1932. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripitaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998-2014 or the SAT Daizōkyō Database: <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en>; accessed May, 2016.

XZJ Rpt. Ed. *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Supplement to the Japanese Buddhist canon], 150 vols., eds. Nakano Tatsue, et al., Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905-1912. *Xinbian wanzi xu zangjing* 新編卍字續藏經, Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1968-1978. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripitaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998–2016.

Z. *Zhengyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Zhengyuan-era, T. 2157], comp. 799 or 800 by Yuanzhao 圓照 (d.u.). Nos. follow the Nanatsudera MS in Miyabayashi Akihiko 宮林昭彦 and Ochiai Toshinori, “Zhengyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu Juandi 29 30,” in *Chūgoku Nihon Kyōten Shōsho Mokuroku*, ed. Makita Tairyō, et al., Nanatsudera Koitsu Kyōten Kenkyū Sōsho (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1998). and Gakujuitsu Furontia jikkō iinkai, ed. *Nihon Genson Hasshu Issaikyō Taishō Mokuroku Tsuke Tonkō Bukkyō Bunken* (Tokyo: Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku, 2006)., rather than T. 2157.

Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in the Taishō canon follow Paul Demiéville et al., *Répertoire Du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais, Édition De Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō): [Fascicule Annexe Du Hōbōgirin]*, Éd. rev. et augm. ed. (Paris: Librairie d’Amerique et d’Orient, 1978). Lewis R. Lancaster and Sung-bae Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979). also provides translation and reconstructions for Sanskrit titles.

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