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ARTICLE



How the Mount Wutai cult stimulated the development of Chinese Chan in southern China at Qingliang monasteries

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ABSTRACT

Despite the legendary role ascribed to Shaolin monastery 少林寺 it is probably not an exaggeration to say that it has been considered sacrosanct within Chinese Chan Buddhist discourse [since at least] the mid-8th century that legitimacy comes from the south, and not the north. Since the tenth century, the rhetoric of the so-called 'five schools' has perpetuated peculiarly southern lineages; in practice, both the Linji and Caodong lineages (in China and beyond) propagate stories of celebrated patriarchs against a distinctively southern Chinese backdrop. What are we to make of Chan monasteries or cloisters in Ningbo, Fuzhou Jiangning, and of course, Hongzhou, apparently named to reflect the enduring significance of Mount Wutai 五臺山, a notably northern sacred site? In the first part of this article I outline the less than marginal – or peripheral – role Mount Wutai appears to have played in 'core' Chinese Chan Buddhist sources. Then I proceed to explain how four Qingliang monasteries 清涼寺 in southern China attest to the preservation and dissemination of a lineage of masters who supported what looks like a 'Qingliang cult,' with a set of distinctive teachings and practices that appears to collapse several longstanding assumptions about what separates Chan from the Teachings in Chinese Buddhism.

KEYWORDS

Chinese Buddhism; Chan Buddhism; Qingliang monasteries; Juefan Huihong; Southern Chinese Chan

It is probably no coincidence that the golden relic hall 舍利殿 of Rokuonji 鹿苑時 in Kyoto, Japan, is more commonly known as the Temple of the Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji 金閣寺), which seems like a less than veiled reference to a famous temple built on Mount Wutai in 766 by Tang emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779) for one of the disciples of one of three most famous translators of esoteric Mahāyāna Buddhist texts during the eighth century, Amoghavajra (Bukong jin'gang 不空金剛三藏, 705–774). The fact that Rokuonji/Kinkakuji is operated by Shōkokuji 相国寺, the last of Kyoto's Five Mountain (Gozan 五山) temples to be constructed at the end of the fourteenth century (1382), makes this temple and garden complex perhaps the most famous reduplication of a Wutaishan temple by a Zen institution in East Asia. It is also well known that Zen was first brought to Japan by Tendai 天台宗 pilgrims (e.g., Saichō 最澄 [767–822], Enchin 円

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Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in the Taishō canon follow Demiéville et al., *Répertoire Du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais*; Lancaster and Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon* also provides translation and reconstructions for Sanskrit titles.

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珍 [814–891: in China 853–858], Chōnen 齋然 [983–1016: in China 983–986], Nichien 日延 [d.u., in China 953–957], Jakushō 寂照 [alt. 寂昭, 962–1034, in China 1000–death], and Jōjin 成尋 [1011–1081]) who had certainly established both Wutaishan and Mount Tiantai 天台山 as the most important sites in China where scholasticism thrived alongside ritual experts who had access to massive libraries with numerous rolls of sacred Buddhist literature.¹ While it is undeniable that certain aspects of the history of Buddhism in Japan can shed light on the history and development of Buddhism in China, China is not Japan.

Among Chan temples, cloisters, and institutions in China, there are surprisingly few references to Mount Wutaishan *per se*, and, as many of the speakers and students at this conference know well, the patriarch of the Linji lineage 臨濟宗, Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866?), appears to have specifically denigrated Wutaishan and Mañjuśrī veneration in the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 ([Discourse] Record of [Master] Linji, T. 1985). And, from the perspective of Chan texts and historiographical literature, it is not until the sixteenth century that Wutaishan can be considered a prominent site where Chan teachers thrived. One of the most famous late Ming (1368–1644) period Chan monastics, Dagua Zhenke 達觀真可 (1543–1603), not only spent time on Mount Wutai, but he also played a key role in compiling a new Chinese Buddhist canon with a supplement, which contains 36 Chan texts that had never previously been included in any canon. This canon was printed on Mount Wutai in 1579 (Wanli 萬曆 7). Five hundred rolls were engraved over a period of four years. But due to the long and severe winters that prevented carving woodblocks, after 1592 the project was moved south to Xingsheng Wanshou Chan monastery 興聖萬壽禪寺 on Mount Jing 徑山, in Jiaying county 嘉興縣, in today's Zhejiang province. Concerns over humidity rotting the woodblocks precipitated transferring them north, before they were returned to the south, once again.² In subsequent centuries, Mount Wutai, alternatively known as Mount Clear and Cool (Qingliangshan 清涼山), would undoubtedly serve as a site where lay and monastic Buddhists from across China, Central and East Asia would visit to venerate the bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, or, perhaps, to read precious scriptures there, just as Dagua Zhenke and Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623) did.³

When Dagua ventured to Wutaishan in the sixteenth century, like Tiantaishan in the south, both were already notorious sacred Chinese Buddhist sites for members of the Chan tradition. Both he and Hanshan Deqing were members of the Linji lineage of Chinese Chan, and were almost certainly aware of Linji Yixuan's remarks about Wutaishan in the *Linji lu*. In this article I present both Linji's disparagement of Wutaishan and Dagua's praise for it as a point of departure for investigation into a topic rather far removed from most of the papers presented at this conference. Yet I hope the key questions I respond to will be relevant to the group, nonetheless. First and foremost, I am interested in what amounts to a paradox in the history of what we might call indigenous Chinese religions: despite its foundational role as perhaps China's most sacred Buddhist site, the Chan Buddhist tradition has little to say about Wutaishan until the sixteenth century when Dagua Zhenke and Hanshan Deqing were active there. It is, of course, sacred sites located in southern China proper (e.g., Guangdong, Fujian, and the Jiangnan 江南 region [Hunan, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang]) where the literature of the Chinese Chan tradition sets the story of the development and spread of this lineage – rather than scripture – orientated tradition of

Chinese Buddhism. In the first part of this article I present two opposing perceptions of Wutaishan from Chan texts: Linji Yixuan's apparent criticism in the *Linji lu* and Dakuan Zhenke's positive assessment from a preface he wrote to one of the 36 Chan texts he had printed in the Jingshan canon. Then I trace the source of Dakuan's remarks to two earlier and well known Chan abbots at prominent Qingliang monasteries in the south, Qingliang Fayan Wenyi 清涼法眼文益 (885–958) and Juefan Huihong 覺範惠洪 (1071–1128), for whom Wutaishan stood for a pivotal place where scriptures – in general, and perhaps more specifically apocryphal books with ritual elements such as *dhāraṇīs* 陀羅尼 – are or were [seriously] studied and preserved. By the time the Jingshan canon was printed during the late sixteenth century, the writings of abbots and Chan masters who had thrived at the Qingliang monasteries in the south centuries earlier allowed Dakuan Zhenke and others to support the reestablishment of Wutaishan as a principal Chinese Buddhist sacred site. Next, I explore how Qingliang monasteries 清涼寺 (or cloisters 院) in southern China attest to the preservation and dissemination of a lineage of masters who supported what looks like a 'Qingliang cult' with a set of distinctive teachings and practices that appears to collapse several longstanding assumptions about what separates Chan 禪 from the Teachings 教 – or scriptures – in Chinese Buddhism. These Qingliang monasteries were established during the period when a distinct tradition of Chan monasticism was still very much in development, ca. 900–1100; there are no examples from the legendary Tang (618–907) era. Finally, I briefly address the implications of a Chan Buddhist 'Qingliang cult' within the context of the broader history of Wutaishan after the site had become a destination where Tibetans, Tanguts, Mongolians, Manchurians, Koreans, and southern Chinese pilgrims sustained veneration of Mañjuśrī – or Mañjuḥoṣa – and aspired to experience miracles.

South versus North; lineage versus scriptures

My interest here is not to become ensnared within the intricate discourse of lineage and lineage transmission narratives – from masters to disciples, restricted to encounter dialogues (*yulu* 語錄) or public case collections (*gong'an* 公案) – looking for elements of a Wutaishan cult. That task was undertaken by Steven Heine.⁴ Instead, when contrasted with two key elements of the internal narrative of the history of the Chinese Chan tradition, these Qingliang monasteries represent key sites where Chan seems to intersect with – rather than bisect – broader issues in the history of Chinese Buddhism, which can be scrutinized by historians of religion. On the one hand, these Qingliang monasteries bolster the claim that Chan is a product of southern Chinese culture. As John Jorgensen demonstrated in his massive monograph, *Inventing Hui-neng, The Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an*, so-called 'proto Chan' narratives propagated by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762) or the famous *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 (Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch, T no. 2008) invented the figure of the Huineng 惠能 (trad. 638–713) out of 'a factual vacuum' as a 'constructed saint' in order to usurp the legacy of Bodhidharma from Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706) and other disparate early Chan factions to form an orthodox line of transmission through the *Southern Chan School*.⁵ Just two seminal Chan texts that are considered foundational for the establishment of a separate Chan institution sometime during the ninth and tenth centuries, Baizhang Huaihai's 百丈懷海 (749–814) 'Pure Rules' (*Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式) and the *Jingde chuandeng lu*

景德傳燈錄 (Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp [or flame], T no. 2076, ca. 1004), demonstrate that the setting for Chan is southern China.⁶ The lives and sayings of legendary patriarchs celebrated in discourse records, flame or lamp histories (*dengshi* 燈史), and public case collections, are almost entirely set against the backdrop of southern China until the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the Chinese Chan – and Korean Sōn and Japanese Zen – tradition(s) proclaim to adhere to a maxim which distinguishes this tradition from other types of Buddhism: the Chan tradition comprises 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).⁷ Non-reliance upon scriptures exchanged for authoritative transmission through southern Chinese lineages establishes the real and imagined boundaries for the Chinese Chan tradition.

It stands to reason that because the central theme of this study is a consideration of Qingliang monasteries in Chinese Chan Buddhism I must define what I mean by ‘Chan.’ For the purposes of this article, I follow T. Griffith Foulk’s definition of the Chinese Chan school as a ‘group of people – monks, nuns, and lay followers – who were united by a shared belief in a multi-branched Chan lineage, conceived as an extended spiritual clan that was founded by a first ancestor named Bodhidharma.’ In his recent monograph on Chan Buddhism during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (ca. 897–979), Ben Brose further elaborates: ‘This school or movement consisted of men and women connected only informally through their devotion to texts documenting the history of an exclusive spiritual genealogy and their dedication to monks who were heir to that lineage.’⁸ In other words, although Chan texts like the flame or lamp histories, which cannot be dated to earlier than the tenth century, or modern Japanese, Chinese, and Korean language dictionaries of Chan/Sōn/Zen, present this tradition through strict lines of transmission from master(s) to disciple(s), let us bear John McRae’s second ‘Rule of Zen Studies’ very much in mind: ‘Lineage assertions are as wrong as they are strong.’⁹

China’s Buddhist ultima Thule versus the South

Of the Chinese Chan patriarchs who are understood to have lived and thrived in the south when this nascent tradition of Chan monasticism was patronized by local aristocrats none is more important for the later history of the tradition across East Asian than Linji Yixuan. His discourse record, the *Linji lu* (ca. 1120), is perhaps the most influential, well known, and quintessential [Chinese] Chan [Korean Sōn, Japanese Zen] text. Master Linji famously speaks about Mañjuśrī and Mount Wutai in the *Linji lu* as follows:

Followers of the Way, the *you* who right now is listening to my discourse is not the four elements; this *you* makes use of the four elements. If you can fully understand this, you are free to go or stay [as you please]. From my point of view, there is not a thing to be disliked. If you love the ‘sacred,’ what is sacred is no more than the name ‘sacred.’

There’s a bunch of students who seek Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai. Wrong from the start! There’s no Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai. Do you want to know Mañjuśrī? Your activity right now, never changing, nowhere faltering – this is the living Mañjuśrī.

Your single thought's nondifferentiating light – this indeed is the true Samantabhadra. Your single thought that frees itself from bondage and brings emancipation everywhere – this is the Avalokiteśvara samādhi. Since these three [alternatively] take the position of master and attendants, when they appear at one and the same time, one in three, three in one. Gain understanding such as this, and you can read the sūtras.¹⁰

Linji is, of course, understood to be one of the most infamous Chinese Chan masters who censured traditional Buddhist practices and doctrines. If we take into account that the *Linji lu* is almost certainly not a Tang dynasty [or even tenth century] chronicle of Linji's sayings, but it is instead a highly edited compilation produced during the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, probably by Chan adepts in south China, then we might read this passage as an admonition about how to properly approach three of China's most famous Buddhist sacred sites: Mount Wutai (Mañjuśrī 文殊師利菩薩); Mount Emei 峨眉山 (Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩); and Mount Putuo 普陀山 (Avalokiteśvara 觀世音菩薩). Perhaps just as important is the connection between these three Mahāyāna bodhisattvas and the recognition that scriptures may be read, if understood correctly. It is precisely this connection between veneration of Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Avalokiteśvara and the pivotal matter of reading scriptures which might go a long way toward redressing this tradition's history in the south.

Given the abundant recognition Chan monastics received for their Chan monasteries by the state and local donors over the past millennium, I think it is safe to presume that had Chinese Buddhists – or their Korean and Japanese co-religionists, for that matter – taken either the four-part slogan cited earlier or Linji's admonition literally, then after extravagant support from the Tang ruling house ceased in the ninth century, Mount Wutai could not have continued to thrive as perhaps the single most famous Buddhist sacred site in China. Yet, we must bear in mind that narratives about the history and development of Chinese Chan contained within so-called 'core' Chan texts have remarkably few references to sites almost anywhere in north China.

When the *Linji lu* and almost all other discourse records were actually compiled and circulated, which corresponds to the last decades of eleventh century and the first 20 years of the twelfth, we have an account of a journey to Wutaishan studied by Robert Gimello, some years ago. In his study of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) literatus Zhang Shangying's 張商英 (1043–1122) diary of his visit to Wutaishan, circa 1088, recorded in *Xu Qingliang zhuan* 續清涼傳 (Further Record of Mt. 'Chill Clarity,' T no. 2100), Robert Gimello defines the overarching context within which I think one must consider Wutaishan from the perspective of the Chinese Chan tradition, in particular:

Situated not far south of a stretch of the Great Wall, it marked the boundary between the civilized world of China proper and China's ultima Thule, the vacant expanse now known as Mongolia. Wu-t'ai, therefore, must be seen as a kind of spiritual rampart of the empire. To travel to Wu-t'ai – particularly in earlier times – was to go to the very edge of China's cultural world, there to risk awesome encounters with things genuinely, if not totally, 'other.'¹¹

Not only does Gimello deftly define Mount Wutai's status as a penultimate northern Chinese sacred site, but his interest in Zhang Shangying is striking because Zhang was either friends with or knew some of the most influential figures in the history of Chan/Sōn/Zen Buddhism. It is worth noting here that Zhang served as prime minister (or grand councilor, *zaixiang* 宰相) in the early twelfth century and wrote an influential

treatise defending Buddhism from nascent Confucian critiques (*Hufa lun* 護法論 [Essay in defense of the dharma, T no. 2114]).¹²

It is not my intention here to retrace Gimello's study of the *Xu Qingliang zhuan* and Zhang Shangying. Rather, my investigation of Chill Clarity, Clear and Cool – or Qingliang – Chan monasteries in south China prompted me to recall Gimello's characterization of Wutaishan as a site on the edge of China's ultima Thule, almost as far as one can imagine from where almost everything we can reasonably associate with the historical development of the Chan lineage in China probably transpired. In other words, the Chan 'school' or tradition is, by almost any stretch of the imagination, like most aspects of post-Han dynasty (221 BCE–206 CE) Chinese religion, a product of southern Chinese culture.¹³ I will leave the question of why a sacred site was established and maintained so far north to panelists much more knowledgeable on this subject than me.

By the sixteenth century when Dagan Zhenke was active on Wutaishan it was still apparently imperative to qualify Linji's statements about Wutaishan and the famous four-part Chan slogan – or motto – which suggests Chan is a tradition apart from the teachings. Here is what Dagan had to say about both in a colophon he wrote for a collection (*Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪) of poetry, prose, and other writings by a Northern Song Chan master, which was included in the Supplement to the Jingshan canon:

Ever since the early days of Buddhism in China, those studying the [Buddhist] path have struggled over the matter of 'gold dust concealing the eyes.'¹⁴ Yet when the first patriarch [Bodhidharma] came east, he brought the medicine to respond to this ailment: 'directly point to the human mind (*zhizhi renxin*); [with] no dependence on words and letters (*buli wenzi*).' Only in later generations did the argument arise that emptiness is connected to sound. Those that are jealous and unfamiliar with [Bodhidharma's] medicine are satisfied that everything is as lofty as a wall constructed beyond the range of words and letters in Chan. From this, they divide into borders and arrange boundaries to decide the [public] case of emptiness. Those that study Chan do not devote themselves to refined meaning; while those that study words and letters do not devote themselves to settling the mind. Meaning that is unrefined results in a settled mind, but one that is neither brilliant nor extensive. Therefore, refined meaning does not settle the mind; and, in the end, words and letters do not render one into a god. Consequently, precious enlightenment lies in making use of learning without study (*wuxue zhi xue* 無學之學). . . . In fact, Chan is like spring, and words and letters are like flower blossoms. Flowers blossom in springtime; full blossoms mean it is spring. If flowers blossom in spring, then when flowers blossom spring is complete. So I say Chan and words and letters possess these two [qualities]. When Deshan [Xuanjian] 德山宣鑑 (782–865) and Linji [Yixuan] overcame one another with blows (*bang* 棒) and shouts (*he* 喝), this was [using] words and letters.¹⁵ It is the same as when [the exegetes] of Mount Qingliang 清涼 [Wutaishan] or Mount Tiantai 天台山 penetrate the sūtras and compose commentaries; this is also the same as Chan. . . . If captured in recent years, [Chan and words and letters] laugh together and are not oppositional like water and fire. Jiyin Zunzhe 寂音尊者 (Juefan Huihong) worried about this, which is why he called his composition Chan of Words and Letters.¹⁶

Dagan not only read and had Juefan Huihong's *Shimen wenzi Chan* printed. He was also familiar with the monastic history *cum* [Chan] flame or lamp history Huihong compiled called the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Chronicles of the Saṃgha Jewel within the Forests of Chan).¹⁷ In numerous poems and prose pieces, as well as in the selected biographies in the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, Huihong presents a hagiographical lineage of Chan teachers many of whom, like himself, were abbots at Qingliang monasteries in the south and

advocated for an approach to Chan which included study and ritual use of scriptures intimately tied to both Wutaishan and Tiantaishan. Despite the fact that the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* contains several of the earliest extant biographies for masters conventionally tied to the Fayan 法眼宗 and Caodong 曹洞宗 lineages, as well as the Huanglong 黃龍派 and Yangqi 楊岐派 sub-lineages of the Linji lineage, it has been largely overlooked precisely because its structure does not reify orthodox transmission narratives propagated in printed, widely distributed lamp or flame histories.¹⁸ But the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* includes monks who can be closely tied to the southern Chinese Chan Qingliang monasteries.

Qingliang Chan monasteries in South China

Qingliang monasteries were established in four sites in southern China (see Table 1 and Map 1):¹⁹ (1) Hangzhou 洪州, northwest Jiangxi province 江西省, the proverbial heartland of Mazu Daoyi's 馬祖道一 (709–788) disciples during the Tang and the Linji lineage 臨濟宗 during the Song; (2) Fuzhou 福州, Fujian province 福建省, and (3) Ningbo 寧波, Zhejiang province 浙江省, where local patrons and rulers supported teachers from the comparatively less well known Fayan lineage 法眼宗派; and finally, (4) Jiangning 江寧, one of the 11 districts of Nanjing 南京 (in Jiangsu province 江蘇省), today. Records survive in what looks like great abundance for the Clear and Cool monasteries in Hongzhou (Duanzhou) and Nanjing (Jiangning).

Ben Brose's recent study of Chan, *Patrons and Patriarchs: Regional Rulers and Chan Monks during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*, covers the topic of Chan Buddhist history under the Min 閩 ([892] 909–946), Southern Tang, and Wuyue 吳越 ([895] 907–978) dynasties, when and where the Chan tradition 'matured' – to use the fashionable, Chan studies *mot du jour* – into what would become the Chan institution during the

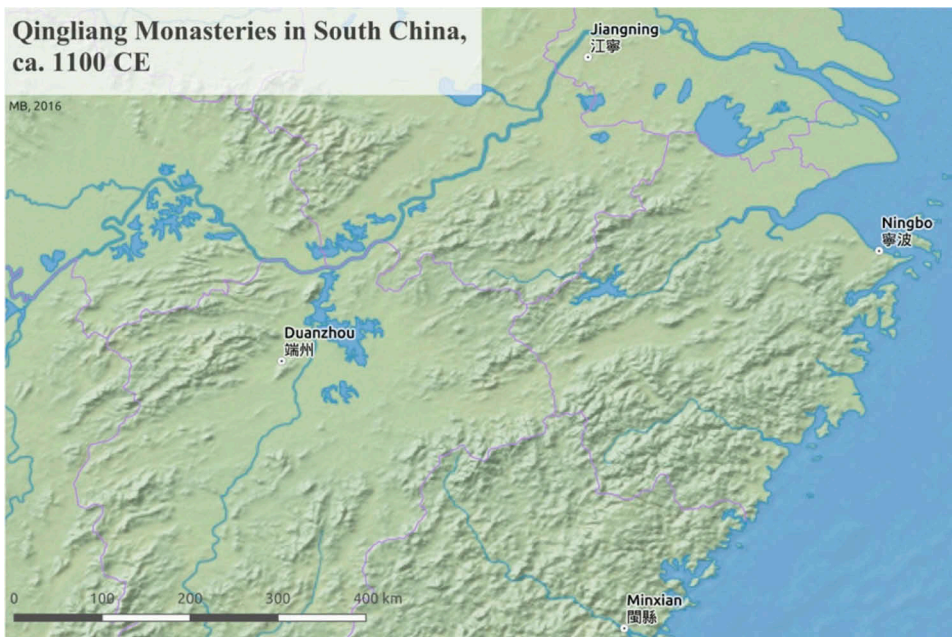


Table 1. Four Qingliang Chan monasteries in Southern China.²⁰

Name	Location	Date(s) Established & Relevant Facts	Source(s)
1 Qingliang 清涼寺	Duanzhou 端州, Xinchang county 新昌縣, Jiangxi province 江西省	(a) ca. 860–874 (Xiantong period) as Shitai si 石台寺; (b) 1064–1067 named changed to Baoen chansi 報恩禪寺 by Zhang Shangying	<i>Jiangxi tongzhi</i> 江西通志; <i>Shimen wenzi chan</i> 石門文字禪; <i>Shishi jigulüe</i> 釋氏稽古略; <i>Fozu lidai tongzai</i> 佛祖歷代通載; <i>Sanshan zhi</i> 三山志;
2 Qingliang yuan 清涼院	Fuzhou, Houguan county 侯官縣 (alt. Min 閩 or Huaian 懷安縣), Fujian province	(a) 898 (Guangqi 光啟 1) (b) 940 (Tianfu 天福 5) 964 (Xiantong 咸通 5) sponsored	<i>Baoqing siming zhi</i> 寶慶四明志;
3 Qingliang yuan 清涼院	Ningbo 寧波, Zhejiang province 浙江省	908 (Kaiping 開平 2) Wuyue 吳越 Qian clan 錢氏	<i>Baoqing siming zhi</i> 寶慶四明志;
4 Qingliang guanghui chansi 清涼廣惠禪寺 (alt. Qingliang si)	Jiangning 江寧, Jiangsu province 江蘇省	(a) 921–926 by Shun Yizhong 順義中 within Xingjiao si 興教寺; (b) 937 (Shengyuan 昇元 1) est. as Shitou Qingliang da dao-chang 石頭清涼大道場; (c) Fayan Wenyi was active (and abbot) here; (d) 980 (Taiping xingguo 太平興國 5) connected with Deqing hall 德慶堂	<i>Jingde chuandeng lu</i> 景德傳燈錄; <i>Liuchao shiji bianlei</i> 六朝事迹編類; <i>Wudeng huiyuan</i> 五燈會元; <i>Zhizheng Jinling xinzi</i> 至正金陵新志; <i>Zhi daquan Jinling xinzi</i> 知大金陵新志; <i>Jingding Jiankang zhi</i> 景定建康志

Song. In Fujian, ‘dharma-descendants’ – another rather anachronistic term, it seems to me – of two teachers, Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908) and Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835–908), the most notable of whom were Fayan Wenyi, Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 (891–972), and Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), received considerable patronage to promote a different approach to Chan practice than the one typically ascribed to members of the Linji lineage.²¹ Because he became abbot of Qingliang monastery in Jiangning in 951, Fayan Wenyi is also known as Qingliang Wenyi.²² Keeping John McRae’s second Rule of Zen Studies very much in mind, I still say it is through lineage connections to Fayan Wenyi that it appears a network of Chan Qingliang monasteries developed in south China. The tradition of Chan Buddhism promoted by teachers within this network of Qingliang monasteries, rather than through the authoritative, yet historically inaccurate lineage maps produced from the genre of legendary flame histories, influenced almost all aspects of Chan Buddhist discourse and practice in China until the seventeenth century when, not coincidentally, two Chan masters and their most

illustrious disciple, Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673), left Fujian for Japan, where he established the Ōbakushū 黃檗宗 – or ‘Huangbo lineage’ of Zen Buddhism. It is, therefore, my assertion that a network of Chan Qingliang monasteries in south China supported teachers who promoted – or ‘transmitted,’ to use another Chan studies term – an approach to Chan which was, in fact, very much aligned toward association with the two seats of conventional, scholastic, Buddhist learning in medieval and early modern China: Mount Tiantai and Mount Wutai.

As Yanagida Seizan (1922–2006), Ishii Shūdō, Jennifer Jia Jinhua, Albert Welter, and Ben Brose have argued, the Chan adepts who played the most prominent role in developing what would become Chan dialogs, discourse records, flame and or lamp histories, and public case collections were tied to teachers who were active at Qingliang monasteries in southern China during the tenth, eleventh, and early twelfth centuries.²³ And, as Albert Welter suggested, their biographies were either edited or elided in later collections in which the aforementioned Chan four-part motto was applied by editors to recut or reshape the mold(s) from which Chan masters could then teach their students (and disciples) about the legendary patriarchal lineage. The only extant source we have that seems to preserve what looks like unedited – or less carefully edited, as the case may be – biographical information about the figures Chan/Sōn/Zen scholars agree developed distinctive Chan literature is Juefan Huihong’s *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, which covers precisely these figures: Xuefeng Yicun; Xuansha Shibe; Fayan Wenyi; and Tiantai Deshao.

What these masters who were noticeably active at Qingliang monasteries in southern China taught was that Chan cultivation and reading certain scriptures go hand in hand. Xuefeng, Xuansha, Fayan, and Tiantai Deshao were especially fond of citing Mahāyāna scriptures like the *Nirvāṇa* (*Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T no. 374), *Lotus* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Fahua jing* 法華經, T. nos. 262, 264), apocryphal pseudo-*Śūraṅgama* (T no. 945) and *Book of Consummate Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經, T no. 842), and, of course, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經, T. nos. 278–279).²⁴ What is far less well known or given much attention by scholars of Chan Buddhism is the fact that scriptures may very well have been harder than we think to come by in the south. One of the central tenets Albert Welter, who paid the lion’s share of his attention to Yongming Yanshou, and Ben Brose suggest is that the Chan teachers in the so-called Fayan lineage who prospered during the tenth century in Fujian and the Jiangnan region sought to preserve, curate, and foster the study of scriptures within Chan practice. It is precisely this preservation of scriptural knowledge that is represented by what I call a Qingliang ‘cult,’ which lasted into the twelfth century and was revitalized in the sixteenth century.

According to Yanagida Seizan and Suzuki Tetsuo, two of the most influential Japanese scholars of Chinese Chan, the place where Chan literature was most likely produced was on Mount Lu 廬山, in Jiangxi, at Guizong monastery 歸宗寺.²⁵ It is no coincidence that Fayan Wenyi’s disciples were active here during the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is also most likely one of these disciples who must have convinced local officials to authorize a name change for a nearby monastery in Duanzhou to Qingliang monastery, sometime after 1070. Juefan Huihong became abbot of this Qingliang monastery in 1105. It was almost certainly here, at this Qingliang monastery where he compiled a chronicle of anecdotes about Chan monasteries called the *Linjian lu* 林間錄 (Anecdotes from the

Groves of Chan, ca. 1107). The *Linjian lu* contains information which cannot be corroborated against any other extant sources about Chan monastics in this region of China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as stories about eminent Chan monastics elsewhere, even in the capital.

Whereas Fayan Wenyi was abbot of a large and apparently famous Qingliang monastery in Jiangning, Jiangsu province, Huihong was abbot of what must have been a relatively small complex in Duanzhou. I am afraid I must leave out many details of Huihong's life and times which are connected to his time as abbot, including the fact that because he was imprisoned and charged with several crimes due to his friendship with prominent officials, one of whom was Zhang Shangying, mentioned above. What is pertinent to this investigation of Chan Qingliang monasteries is the fact that Qingliang monastery in Jiangsu connected to Fayan Wenyi is well represented both in later, Buddhist historiographical chronicles, as well as contemporaneous gazetteers compiled by literati. In other words, the Jiangning Qingliang monastery could be and was celebrated because of the story of Fayan Wenyi. Huihong's case is quite different. The Duanzhou Qingliang monastery he wrote about in his own works is not celebrated as a site where a great Chan master lived – until the sixteenth century, when Daguan Zhenke and his contemporaries appear to have rehabilitated Huihong and his legacy.

The first element of what Huihong has to say about Qingliang monastery in Duanzhou is that it functioned as a sub-temple of sorts of Guizong monastery on nearby Mount Lu. This is significant because Huihong combines the network of disciples who studied with Fayan Wenyi with his own teachers at Guizong monastery to form the central narrative of the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*. Because the lineages of different – not necessarily competitive – masters and disciples were written down in official and unofficial compilations during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, an obvious example of the former is the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, the picture of masters Huihong considered to be heirs to the Qingliang lineage of Fayan Wenyi looks rather complicated. The narrative surrounds a central figure by the name of Fenyang Shanzhao's 汾陽善昭 (947–1024), whose teachings Huihong considered to be penultimate. He reads the Linji tradition of Song Chan teachings through the lens of Fenyang Shanzhao – and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* – in a text called *Linji zongzhi* 臨濟宗旨 (Linji's Essential Points), which circulated in the *Wujia yulu* 五家語錄 (Discourse Records of the Five Houses) during the Ming dynasty with five sets (there are actually seven) of the biographies of Linji, Guishan Lingyou 澱山靈佑 (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 Wenyuan 雲門文偃 (864–949) and Fayan Wenyi.²⁶

Fenyang was Shoushan Shengnian's 首山省念 (926–993) pupil at the Taizi cloister 太子院 in Fenzhou 汾陽, in Shanxi province in the north, who 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 瑯琊慧覺. 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 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069) and Yangqi Fanghui 楊歧方會 (992–1049).

Huinan was from Jiangxi. He brought Chuyuan's teachings to the famous Guizong monastery on Mount Lu 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 真淨克文 (1025–1102), 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 Fayen 五祖法演 (d. 1104), and Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135), who compiled the *Biyān lù* 碧巖錄 (Blue Grotto Records, T no. 2003); this is the first *gong'an* collection.

Chan & the teachings, Chan & Tiantaishan and Wutaishan

Almost all of these masters are virtually unknown in the Chan literature that still circulates widely even today. Albert Welter proposed that the teachings of southeastern monks including Fayen Wenyi, Tiantai Deshao, and Yongming Yanshou as well as many of the masters covered by Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* represent 'an alternative Chan future, based on the notion of assimilation with doctrinal Buddhism rather than independence from it.' He goes on to suggest a schism developed between the Fayen faction's 'harmony between Chan and the teachings' (*chanjiao heyi* 禪教合一) and the Linji faction's 'separate tradition outside the teachings' (*jiaowai biechuan*).²⁷ Yet what Welter and Brose characterize as a characteristically southeastern, Fayen lineage approach to Chan vis à vis the scriptures we find ascribed to none other than one of the Yangqi collateral Linji lineage teachers raised by Huihong in his writings. The following dialogue comes from a text Welter, and others, would assign to the anti-scriptural Linji tradition, the prescriptive *Chanlin baoxun* 禪林寶訓 (Precious Admonitions of the Forests of Chan, [comp. 1174–1189], T no. 2022), a Southern Song (1127–1279) chronicle:

Baiyun Shouduan once said, 'Many times I have seen patch-robed monks who have never studied the classics and yet could conceive of the vastness of awakening. I fear that today's Chan community is declining and shallow. Former master Yangqi often spoke of this. All around there are thieves; how significantly they cause calamity to our Dharma teachings. I once surreptitiously spent some time in the study hall of Guizong monastery on Mount Lu, where I perused and read not less than several hundred volumes of the classics and histories. Each time I investigated a text, the fraud would increase. Yet with each fascicle of every text begun, there were new points to be grasped. I thought about this and determined that study never fails a person in this way.'²⁸

Reading and learning from scriptures (and Chinese classics) is precisely what Master Linji Yixuan and other Linji Chan masters are often understood to have criticized, rather than approved of. If Welter and Brose are correct in their assumptions about the value of scriptural learning within southeastern Chinese Chan communities which are most notable tied to Fayen Wenyi during the tenth century, then what are we to make of his connection to a grand Qingliang monastery and what this might tell us about the role Wutaishan played in such an important phase of the development of the Chinese Chan

tradition? The answer to this question may very well be more apparent to scholars of Wutaishan or the history of the transmission of Buddhist scriptures – or canons (*yiqie jing* 一切經 or *da zangjing* 大藏經) than to those of use for whom Baiyun Shouduan, Huanglong Huinan, or Tiantai Deshao are familiar names. The first part of the answer lies within Huihong's *Linji zongzhi*, which was, we should recall, published alongside prominent Chan masters' discourse records during the Ming dynasty.

Huihong's *Linji zongzhi* outlines how and why enigmatic expressions designed to confuse, or perhaps perplex Chan disciples emulate poetic language to express the true – read correct, or orthodox – meaning of Chan practice. Huihong praises Fenyang Shanzhao's utterances above all others, but he also takes examples from earlier editions of the records of Dongshan Liangjie and Yunmen Wenyan. But it is Fenyang's three mysteries and three essentials (*sanxuan sanyao* 三玄三要) where Huihong makes perhaps the most palpable remarks about not only how Chan and the scriptures are harmonious but why one cannot understand Chan without reading the scriptures that lead us directly to Mount Wutai. Huihong summarizes the three mysteries when he quotes Fenyang:

The first mystery is the boundless *dharmadhātu*, encompassing the ten-thousand manifestations to Yama 森羅, which, combined together, form the roundness perfection of a mirror. The second mystery is when the Buddha Śākyamuni told Ānanda that if one responds [to questions] according to their wide knowledge, then their *pātra* (begging bowl) will remain round. The third mystery, which arose before the ancient emperors, is to remain outside the four sentences and hundred fallacies that Lüshi 閻氏 asked Fenggan 豐干 about.²⁹

The *dharmadhātu* is almost certainly a reference to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* or, more probably, the story of Sudhana 善財 in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* who traversed the path in a single lifetime or perhaps even the Dragon King's daughter, who at only eight years old, became a buddha.³⁰ The *Jingde chuandeng lu* explains that Fenggan was an associate of Hanshan 寒山 and Shede 拾得 who lived at Guoqing monastery 國清寺 on Mount Tiantai. Lüshi was a local official from Chang'an 長安 who received religious instructions from Fenggan when he had come to visit Hanshan and Shede during an earlier visit to Mount Tiantai. At that time, Hanshan and Shede were circumambulating a grill while laughing and chatting. When Lüshi acted with sincere reverence and bowed to them, the two men made fun of him, and Hanshan pulled up Lüshi by the hand, smiled, and said, 'Fenggan has a big tongue!' In another section, not included in the *Linji zongzhi*, but in Fenyang's discourse record, he explains the three essentials as follows:

The first essential is when one has completely forgotten their original state and severed the signs [of existence]; when mountains crumble and the oceans dry up, and the pure water blows away the *kleśas*; so that one's greed turns to cold ashes, and one first achieved the [state of being] wondrous. The second essential is when one investigates and differentiates things using a hook and awl, revealing the skillful and wonderful; if you proceed from this point, then you will bow to the great thunderous opportunity, and you will penetrate the box with the seven bright stars of lustrous jade. The third essential is to not use the hook to grasp the lower hook, imitate a tune of a song from the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu) so when you hear it you will extinguish the teachings and reverse the radiance (*fanzhao* 返照).³¹

Fenyang's three mysteries and three essentials correspond to other Chan masters' terminology, including Linji Yixuan. Linji Yixuan is credited with coining the phrase

in the first place, which Linji expressed in response to a monk's questions in the following dialogue:

The master took the high seat in the hall.

A monk asked, 'What about the first statement?' The Master said:

The Seal of the Three Essentials being lifted, the vermilion impression is sharp;

With no room for speculation, host and guest are clear and distinct.

'What about the second statement?' The master said:

How could Miaojie 妙解 (Marvelous Discernment) permit Wuzhuo's 無著 (Lack of Expression) questioning!³²

How could expedient means go against the activity that cuts through the stream?³³

'What about the third statement?' The master said:

Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage!

Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the person behind.

The master further said, 'Each Statement must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries, and the gate of each Mystery must comprise the Three Essentials.

There are expedients and there is functioning. How do all of you understand this?'

The Master then stepped down.³⁴

As before with Linji's obtuse remarks about where he slanders Mount Wutai and Mañjuśrī, it is almost equally difficult to determine exactly what Linji may have disapproved of about Wutaishan, which, apparently required Huihong's clarification – or Cliff Notes – in later centuries.

It is not my accident that we find both Wutaishan and Tiantaishan mentioned in these dialogues. Both were pivotal sites where scriptures were studied and cared for during the ninth and tenth centuries. But which scriptures were important for Chan masters like Baiyun Shouduan, Huihong, Yunmen Wenyan, and, of course, Fayuan Wenyi, famous abbot of the Jiangning Qingliang monastery? Once again, let Huihong show us the way. If Huihong's *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* is Huihong's most famous work, and the *Linji zongzhi* his most popular in later ages, then the *Zhizheng zhuan* 智證傳 (Record of Knowledge and Realizations) must be the most obscure, though informative, treatise he wrote on Buddhism. The *Zhizheng zhuan* is not a work of commentary. Rather, it is an essay-like text with passages from texts that inspired him and, as the title suggests, what he learned from those specific scriptures. The *Zhizheng zhuan* is only one fascicle in length. The text begins with the following discussion by Chan master Yantou Quanhua 巖頭全叢 (828–887) about the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T no. 374):

Chan master Yantou Quanhua once said, 'In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* it discusses the three divisions of principle, which is similar to [discussions] in the Chan school. If one says they are the same, then they do not understand the essential teachings of the Chan school. As for the essential teaching of the Chan school, although writing and language cannot allow one to see [one's true nature], how can it also be so that forsaking writing and language will

allow one to see it? It is for this reason that Linji said, “Each statement must include the three mysteries and each mystery must include the three essentials.”³⁵ An example of this is [in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* where it says] “There is the sound of the poison-painted drum.”³⁶ Linji died two hundred years ago, yet when he heard the drum he prospered.

Huihong also equates Linji and Fenyang’s essential teachings to Vimalakīrti’s (*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, *Weimo suoshuo jing* 維摩所說經, T nos. 474–475) silence:

Chan master Fenyang Wude made a song of a single word. This can be explained by saying that all buddhas were not able to preach the dharma. [That is why] Fenyang expressed himself in a single word and did not write essays on paper with ink. For those who have not learned of Vimalakīrti’s silence, I would like to say that Venerable Kāśyapa’s comprehension was the same as Vimalakīrti’s. When he winked his eye respectfully and made the correct response, truly his leaking outflows (*lou* 漏, *āsravas*) [became] the style of our school ...³⁷

Equating Fenyang to Vimalakīrti, and then to Mahākāśyapa, the first Chan disciple, speaks volumes about the relationship between the scriptures and the ‘essential’ Chan teachings. The *Zhizheng zhuan* also includes references to canonical Buddhist materials that do not often appear in the writings of Chan monks. Arguably the most intriguing is to the *Dafaju tuoluoni jing* 大法炬陀羅尼經 (Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Lamp of the Great Dharma, T no. 1340) and states:

The *Dafaju tuoluoni jing* says, “You should then respond by observing the form that is without characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) and ponder this. Why do I say you should observe the form that is without characteristics and ponder it? Because then you will correctly understand that form is produced and extinguished by unstoppable aimless thoughts. Viśākha (Pishequ 毘舍佉), it is like form that cannot be perceived with the eyes or by sight. You should realize that these are the objects of the mind consciousness. Consciousness is only what one knows. Therefore this cannot be gained through seeing with the eyes.”³⁸

The *Dafaju tuoluoni jing*, like all *dhāraṇī-sūtras*, ultimately offers a ritual solution to these doctrinal dilemmas, which, as we have seen in several examples, ultimately takes us back to the sacred medieval sites of Mount Wutai and Tiantaishan, where monastics who promoted what may be a Qingliang ‘cult’ of compliance with certain Mahāyāna scriptures looked for inspiration during difficult times.

Safeguarding the scriptures

When Daguan Zhenke initiated the project to have a new Buddhist canon printed on Wutaishan in the late sixteenth century this was not the first time libraries on Wutaishan were utilized for compiling a Buddhist canon or catalog. In his celebrated study of Buddhism and Daoism during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (897–979), Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 tells us that the Southern Tang 南唐 (937–976) emperor Li Bian 李昇 (alt. Xu Bian 徐昇, Liezu 烈祖, r. 937–943) had a Chan master by the name of Heng’an 恒安 (n.d.) compile a catalog of Buddhist scriptures called *Xu xinyi zhengyuan Shijiao lu* 續新譯貞元釋教錄 (Supplement of Newly Translated Buddhist scriptures [since] the Zhengyuan-era Catalog) in 945 (946).³⁹ Heng’an first traveled to Wutaishan to acquire a copy of the last and most complete Tang-era (618–907) catalog, the *Zhengyuan xinding Shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教錄 (Newly Revised Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled During the Zhengyuan Era, ca. 799 or 800, Z. 1184, T. 2157), which

had apparently already been lost in the south, before he collected scriptures from the Jiangnan 江南 region for Li Bian.

The *Zhenyuan lu* catalog was sponsored by Tang emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805) and affirms the patronage he and other eighth-century Tang emperors – such as his predecessor, Daizong – had lavished on certain Buddhist translators and ritual experts who transformed Wutaishan into the sacred ritual space – or *bodhimāṇḍa* (*daochang* 道場) – of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī. Given the role Wutaishan played as a major site where Buddhist scriptures had apparently been safeguarded in the north, but lost in the south, from the middle of the tenth century, when Heng’an traveled to Wutaishan to acquire a copy of the *Zhengyuan lu*, and the end of the sixteenth, when Dagan Zhenke and his collaborators utilized the libraries on Wutaishan to collect scriptures for the Jiangshan Buddhist canon, it appears that southeastern Chinese Chan masters whom Welter refers to as those who advocated for ‘harmony between Chan and the teachings,’ and Gimello called ‘conservative,’ may have been figures who safeguarded scriptures in the south. If this is the case, then what are we to make of Linji Yixuan’s derogatory remarks about Wutaishan and Mañjuśrī in the *Linji lu*? If we read Huihong’s *Linji zongzhi*, as Dagan and his contemporaries almost certainly did, to explain the *Linji lu* alongside the records of masters who are far better known as advocates for ‘harmony between Chan and the teachings,’ then it would appear that there may have been less disharmony between the Chan faction and the Teachings faction than so-called ‘insider’ Chan texts suggest.

There is one more text written by Huihong that might tell us even more about why Dagan could have wished to encourage his contemporaries to pay more attention to Juefan Huihong and his alternative narrative of the history of Chinese Chan. Huihong recounts the encounter between the first abbot of an official Chan monastery in Song era Kaifeng 開封 (alt. Bianjing 汴京), Dajue Huailian 大覺懷璉 (1010–1090), who was from Fujian, but had been in Jiangxi near Huihong’s home area prior to his summons, in his *Linjian lu* 林間錄 (Anecdotes from the Groves of Chan, ca. 1107).⁴⁰ On 3 February 1051 (Huangyou 皇祐 2.12.19), emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063) summoned Huailian to a rear garden (in the palace) where together they ate vegetarian food in the Huacheng hall 化成殿. After the meal, Huailian was summoned (by the emperor) to perform the opening ceremonies in the style of southern Chan temples. Great master Ciyun 慈雲大師, who held the rank of Associate Supervisor of the Buddhist Registry for Teachings Monasteries situated Along the Avenues of Left in the Capital, was aroused by the performance (or rituals) and expressed sincere gratitude to Huailian. Everyone in the imperial household, on the two capital avenues, and in the audience was delighted. Huailian was asked to ascend the high seat and said, ‘In ancient Buddha halls, there were no different views. In the teachings that circulate, [however] there are many different expressions. Those who get this always have a marvelous function. Those who miss it are immediately mired in the mud.’⁴¹

The terms Huihong uses to express the ‘southern style of Chan temples’ is actually *nanfang Chanlin yifan* 南方禪林儀範. As I mentioned at the outset, Chan is a tradition of southern Chinese culture. Even the terms *yifan* seem more reminiscent of the *Hongfan* 洪範 (Great Plan) chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) than the terms one might expect in a Buddhist text from the early twelfth century: either *yigui* 儀軌 (*kalpa* or *vidhi*, ritual manuals) or *qinggui* (pure rules). Whether or not Huailian was as

learned as Huihong almost certainly was we do not know. The portrait of Chan Huihong paints of other teachers whom he thought shared his perspective of Chan and the scriptures – as well as pure, southern, Chinese erudition – and are discussed in *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* suggests two points for further consideration. First, if, as the cases of Heng’an and Daguang Zhenke suggest, scriptures had been lost in the south, then had probably been replaced by Chan texts, which circulated in print form but did not contain what we might call a ‘canon.’ Together with Chan texts and selected scriptures – or passages from select scriptures – monastics probably had access to the myriad books literati – who paid the bills to support the monasteries and monastics – read, including books on poetry, the Classics, and other literary arts. Second, because knowledge of the vast libraries of Buddhist scriptures preserved at sites including, but not necessarily limited to Wutaishan and Tiantaishan was well known by Japanese pilgrims during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, it stands to reason that Chinese monastics may very well have been as interested in preserving book learning, too. Tendai manuscripts brought ‘back’ to China are an example worth consideration from this perspective.

The fact that Chan Qingliang monasteries existed at all in the south suggests one of two conclusions. Either I am on track that there was a network – rather than a lineage – of masters who promoted a Qingliang ‘cult’ of learning (and probably ritual knowledge) in these southern monasteries or it seems plausible to suggest that the institutional memory of eighth century Chinese Buddhist scholasticism and translation projects lived on in the south, very far away from where emperors Daizong and Dezong once had patronized Buddhists. I would be remiss if I did not also acknowledge that Qingliang may simply be a not to veiled reference to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, rather than to Wutaishan. Given the importance of sacred sites within medieval Chinese religion, I’d like to think it’s not that simple.

Conclusion: it’s a Ming thing

The is one remaining question to respond to: what happened during the Ming that might have motivated Daguang or Hanshan Deqing to venture to Wutaishan or (re-)read Song or Five Dynasties Ten Kingdoms period Chan masters’ writing in the first place? It is well beyond the scope of this study to outline the patronage Buddhist monks from China, Central and East Asia received from rulers who would probably not have appreciated Huihong’s use of the term *yifan* to refer to Chan style. Tanguts, Mongols, Manchurians, Tibetans, Nepalese, Koreans, and Japanese, not to mention north Chinese and a few pilgrims from India reached Wutaishan and contributed to the maintenance and promotion of a pan-Asian Mañjuśrī (or Mañjuḥoṣa) cult prior to the sixteenth century. It is also beyond the scope of this article to say very much at all about either Yinyuan Longqi and the Ōbakushū in Japan, nor his two putative teachers: Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (Mitsuun Engo, 1566–1642) and Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (Hiin Tsūyō, 1593–1661), the first and second abbots of Huangbo monastery in Fuqing county 福清縣, Fujian province, where a revival of so-called ‘Tang style’ – rather than southern style – Chan took place during the seventeenth century. Wu Jiang’s two books on this subject highlight two points worth taking into account. First, it was Feiyin Tongrong’s *Wudeng yantong* (Strict Transmission of Five Chan Lamps, J. Gotō gentō 五灯嚴統, 1657 ed.) 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*) and blows (*bang*, *bō*) – 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*.⁴²

Perhaps as we learn more about the history of preservation of the manuscripts that circulated on Wutaishan [and Tiantaishan] during the late eighth century we will also learn more about what Chinese – and East Asians – read, used, and safeguarded in the decades which followed, when northern, governmental support evaporated (almost certainly not because of any Huichang 會昌 (841–846) era suppression). I hope this study of southern Chinese Chan Qingliang monasteries will, at the very least, remind scholars that the Chan tradition must not be overlooked when it comes to the transmission of scriptural knowledge in China, even if this tradition’s rhetoric suggests otherwise.

Notes

1. Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in the Taishō canon follow Demiéville et al., *Répertoire Du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais*; Lancaster and Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon* also provides translation and reconstructions for Sanskrit titles. I have left out Kan'en 寬延, who entered China in 938, cf. Benjamin Brose, “Crossing Thousands of Li of Waves,” 53. Enchin’s diary, which is now lost, is the *Gyōrekishō* 行歷抄 (Travel Fragments). For a detailed study of Japanese Tendai pilgrims to China, see Saitō, *Tendai Nittō nissōsō no jiseki kenkyū* and Yoritomi, *Nicchū o Musunda Bukkyōsō: Hatō o koete kesshi no tokai*.
2. In the north, the blocks were transferred to Huacheng monastery 化成寺 for storage in 1610. Eventually, the blocks for over 9,500 fascicles were transferred to Lengyan monastery 楞嚴寺 (Zhejiang), where they were used to print and distribute this canon known as the edition of Jingshan, Jiaxing, Lengyan, or Square-Format (*Fangceben* 方冊本). The edition held today by the Tochigi Prefecture Bureau of Cultural Properties (Tochigiken shitei bunkazai 栃木県指定文化財), once held at Daiōji 大雄寺, has 4,500 rolls. See Florin Deleanu, “The Transmission of Xuanzang’s Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in East Asia,” 625/8. See also Kurasawa, *Kurobanesan Daiōji shodōhaikan*, 22.
3. Ibuki, *Zen No Rekishi*, 160–70.
4. Steven Heine, “Visions, Divisions, Revisions.”
5. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*. On “proto Chan,” see McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, xx.
6. On Pure Rules in China and Japan from a comparative perspective, see Foulk, “The Zen Institution in Modern Japan”; “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism”; “*Chanyuan Qinggui* and Other ‘Rules of Purity’ in Chinese Buddhism”; and “Ritual in Japanese Zen Buddhism.” On the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.
7. 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 睦庵善卿, 5, XZJ no. 1261, 64: 377b05-6. Teachings refers to the scholastic schools or traditions of Chinese

- Buddhism as opposed to the teaching of the Chan patriarchs. See Buswell and Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation*, 412 n.2, 21 n.50; Foulk, “Sung Controversies Concerning the ‘Separate Transmission’ of Ch’an”; Welter, “Mahākāśyapa’s Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition,” 77–82. See also Gimello, “Mārga and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch’an,” 412. and Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School’ and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition,” 164–255; and “The Spread of Chan (Zen) Buddhism,” 447. On the assumptions behind Chan (and Japanese Rinzai) orthodoxy, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, 209–211.
8. Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 2, where Brose quotes Foulk.
 9. McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, xix. McRae’s third rule may be equally significant, here: “Precision implies inaccuracy. Numbers, dates, and other details lend an air of verisimilitude to a story, but the more they accumulate, the more we should recognize them as literary tropes. Especially in Zen studies, greater detail is an artefact of temporal distance, and the vagueness of earlier accounts should be comforting in its integrity. While we should avoid joining a misguided quest for origins, we should also be quick to distinguish between “good data” and ornamental fluff. Even as we ponder the vectors of medieval polemics.” An excellent example of a modern Zen dictionary with numerous helpful lineage charts is *Zengaku Daijiten* 禅学大辞典 [Dictionary of Zen Studies].
 10. T no. 1985, 47: 498c23-499a3; trans. Sasaki and Kirchner, *The Record of Linji*, 201–4. The Chinese text reads as follows: 《鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄》卷 1: 問: 「如何是四種無相境?」師云: 「爾一念心疑, 被地來礙; 爾一念心愛, 被水來濁; 爾一念心嗔, 被火來燒; 爾一念心喜, 被風來飄。若能如是辨得, 不被境轉, 處處用境, 東涌西沒、南涌北沒、中涌邊沒、邊涌中沒, 履水如地、履地如水。緣何如此? 為達四大如夢如幻故。道流! 爾祇今聽法者, 不是爾四大能用。爾四大若能如是見得, 便乃去住自由。約山僧見處, 勿嫌底法。爾若愛聖, 聖者聖之名, 有一般學人向五臺山裏求文殊, 早錯了也, 五臺山無文殊。爾欲識文殊麼? 祇爾目前用處, 始終不異, 處處不疑, 此箇是活文殊。爾一念心無差別光, 處處總是真普賢。爾一念心自能解縛, 隨處解脫, 此是觀音。三昧法互為主伴, 出則一時出, 一即三、三即一, 如是解得, 始好看教。The four elements are earth, water, fire and wind; these are experienced by sentient beings through the four stages of living: birth, being, decay, and death. See Kirchner’s excellent synopsis in *ibid.*, 200. For the date of the *Linji lu*, see “Rinzai roku,” available online at http://iriz.hanazono.ac.jp/frame/data_f00a.html, accessed on 7 June, 2016.
 11. Gimello, “Chang Shang-Ying on Wu-T’ai Shan,” 99.
 12. *Ibid.*, 94–95.
 13. Despite numerous studies which correct the misnomer Chan “school,” such as the groundbreaking studies by Foulk, “The Ch’an *Tsung* in Medieval China”; “The ‘Ch’an School,’” echoed by McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, throughout, a note still seems necessary.
 14. The text actually reads: the Jin 晉 (265–420), [Liu 劉] Song 宋 (420–479), Qi 齊 (South: 479–502, North: 550–577), and Liang 梁 (502–557) dynasties... which I have omitted here for sake of brevity. ‘Gold dust concealing the eyes’ refers to a Chinese proverb discussed in Welter, *Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing Lu*, 303 n.20: “Even though gold dust is valuable, if it falls into the eye it becomes an affliction” 金屑雖貴, 落眼成翳.
 15. For information on Deshan’s blows and Linji’s shouts, see *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (ca. 1252) 4, XZJ no. 1564, 80: 1a6-8 or *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (ca. 1004) 15: T no. 2076, 51: 318a. In addition, for information on Deshan Xuanjian see *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 5: 2/ 31/14-35/12; *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (ca. 988) 12: T no. 2061, 50: 778b22-c12.
 16. Kakumon Kantetsu, ed. *Chū Sekimon Mojizen*, 95–96 and *Zibo zunzhe quanji* 紫柏尊者全集 2 (Sage of Purple Cypress Tree’s collected works) [1621], XZJ 1452, vol. 73: 262b. The Chinese from the Jingshan or *Jiaxing* supplement to the canon [J 23: 577a2–24] reads: 《石門文字禪》: 蓋禪如春也文字則花也春在於花全花是春花在於春全春是花而曰禪與文字有二乎哉故德山臨濟棒喝交馳未嘗非文字也清涼天台疏經造論未嘗非禪也而曰禪與文字有二乎哉逮於晚近更相笑而更相非嚴於水火矣 宋 寂音尊者憂之因名其所著曰文字禪夫 齊 秦構難而按以周天子之命合遂投戈臥鼓而順於大化則文字禪之為也蓋此老子向春臺擷眾芳諦知春花之際無地寄眼故橫心所見橫口所言門千紅萬紫於三寸枯

- 管之下於此把住水泄不通即於此放行波瀾浩渺乃至逗物而吟逢緣而詠並入編中夫何所謂禪與文字者夫是之謂文字禪而禪與文字有二乎哉噫此一枝花自瞿曇拈後數千餘年擲在糞掃堆頭而寂音再一拈似即今流布疏影撩人暗香浮鼻其誰為破顏者。明萬曆丁酉八月望日釋達觀撰。
17. See *Zenseki kaidai* “Zenrin sōbōden,” http://iriz.hanazono.ac.jp/frame/data_f00a.html, accessed 7 June, 2016.
 18. Daoyuan’s 道原 *Jingde chuandeng lu* (1004); Li Zunxu’s 李遵勗 *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng era Extensive Record of the Transmission of the Flame, 1036); Foguo Weibo’s 佛國惟白 *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄 (Jianzhong Jingguo era Supplemental Record of the Transmission of the Flame, 1101); Wuming 悟明 and his *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 (The Collated Essentials of the Records of the Transmission of the Flame, 1183); Zhengshou’s 正受 (1146–1208) *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (Jiatai era Inclusive Record of the Transmission of the Flame, 1204); and finally Puji’s 普濟 (1179–1253) *Wudeng huiyuan* (1252).
 19. I would like to express sincere gratitude to Marcus Bingenheimer for producing this map.
 20. Preliminary survey with Seiryō monasteries in Suzuki Tetsuo, *Chūgoku Zenshū Jimei Sanmei Jiten* (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 2006). Other sources cross checked include Nianchang’s 念常 *Fozu lidai tongzai Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 [Annalist Documents of Buddhas and Patriarchs in Successive Generations, T no. 2036] comp. 1341; Jue’an’s 覺岸 *Shishi jigulüe* 釋氏稽古略 [Outline of the Investigation of the Buddhist Past, T no. 2037] comp. 1354; *Baoqing siming zhi* 寶慶四明志, comp. Luo Jun 羅濬 ca. 1226–1228; Ming dynasty *Jiangxi tongzhi* 江西通志; *Zhi daquan Jinling xinzhi* 至大全金陵新志, comp. Zhang Xuan 張鉉, Ming; *Liuchao shiji bianlei* 六朝事跡編類, comp. Zhang Dunyi 張敦頤 Southern Song, ca. 1160: unless otherwise noted (as in T.) these texts are in Ji Yun 紀昀 and Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊, eds., *Yingyin Wenyuan Ge Siku Quanshu* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–1986). It should be noted that we have no contemporary, extant sources.
 21. Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 2; Ibuki, *Zen No Rekishi*, 81.
 22. Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 79.
 23. See *ibid.*, 82–83 and n. 51, 56.
 24. *Ibid.*, 83–113. It should be noted that even though Brose offers significant new insights, he closely follows Welter, *Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing Lu; Monks, Rulers, and Literati; The Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*. Kagamishima, *Dōgen Zenji to in’yō kyōten-goroku no kenkyū* provides an excellent example of how often scriptures are cited by [Chan] Zen masters who claim to strictly adhere to maxims against the practice; this index covers Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253).
 25. Yanagida, *Sōzōichin Hōrinden, Dentōgyokuei Shū, Tenshō Kōtōroku*, 199–200 and Suzuki, *Tō Godai no zenshū*, 280–285.
 26. 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 inherited and (2) Caoshan Benji. Therefore, the name Caodong or Sōtō refers to Caoxi Huineng 曹溪慧能 (638–713) and Dongshan Liangjie. See Foulk, “The ‘Ch’an School,’” 45; Welter, *The Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, 120–121. *Linji zongzhi*, XZJ no. 1234, 63: 167c06–170a11.
 27. “Yongming Yanshou: Scholastic as Chan Master”; Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 115.
 28. *Chanlin baoxun* 1, T no. 2022, 48: 1019c25–1020a1; cf. Yü, “Ch’an Education in the Sung: Ideals and Procedures,” 86. The Chinese text reads: 「白雲曰。多見衲子未嘗經及遠大之計。予恐叢林自此衰薄矣。楊岐先師每言。上下偷安最為法門大患。予昔隱居歸宗書堂。披閱經史不啻數百過。目其簡編弊故極矣。然每開卷。必有新獲之意。予以是思之。學不負人如此(白雲實錄)。」
 29. XZJ no. 1234, 63: 168a14. The Chinese text reads: 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。

30. Sudhana is the prominent interlocutor of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Traversing the path in a single lifetime refers to Sudhana’s journey in the *Gaṇḍhavyūha* (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品) section, in which he meets fifty-three teachers and realizes enlightenment with the assistance of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩. Cf. Nakamura, *Iwanami Bukkyō Jiten*, 499. The Dragon King’s daughter is from the Devadatta (Tipodaduo 提婆達多) chapter of *Lotus Sūtra* 4 [12], T no. 262, 9: 35c, who, even though only eight-years-old, according to Mañjuśrī, had already attained the *dhāraṇī* discussed in this chapter, and become a buddha.
31. *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu*, T no. 1992, 47: 628b13–18. The Chinese text reads: 三玄三要 頌 第一玄。照用一時全。七星常燦爛。萬里絕塵煙。第二玄。鉤錐利似尖。擬擬穿腮過。裂面倚雙肩。第三玄。妙用且方圓。隨機明事理。萬法體中全。第一要。根境俱亡絕朕兆。山崩海竭洒颯塵。蕩盡寒灰始為妙。第二要。鉤錐察辨呈巧妙。縱去奪來掣電機。透匣七星光晃耀。第三要。不用垂鉤不下鉤。臨機一曲楚歌聲。聞了盡皆悉返照。
32. According to Sasaki and Kirchner, *The Record of Linji*, 145–46, Miaoju is a reference to Mañjuśrī and Wuzhuo/Wuzhao is the monk who met Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai in 767.
33. *Ibid.*, 147, says that “the activity that cuts through a stream” is a metaphor for wisdom that severs the flow of discrimination.
34. T no. 1985, 47: 497a15–21 and translated in *ibid.*, 144–49. This passage is also translated in Cleary and Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 238, however, Cleary and Cleary’s translation is riddled with errors—including not noticing that Miaoju and Wuzhuo are names instead of terms. The Chinese text reads: 上堂。僧問。如何是第一句。師云。三要印開朱點側。未容擬議主賓分。問如何是第二句。師云。妙解豈容無著問。漚和爭負載流機。問如何是第三句。師云。看取棚頭弄傀儡。抽牽都來裏有人。師又云。一句語須具三玄門。一玄門須具三要。有權有用。汝等諸人。作麼生會。下座。
35. *Zhizheng zhuan*, XZJ no. 1235, 63: 170c23–171a09. For Linji’s comment, see *Linji yulu*, T no. 1985, 47: 496a15–20. See also Sasaki and Kirchner, *The Record of Linji*, 148. The Chinese text reads: 巖頭巖禪師嘗曰。涅槃經此三段義。略似宗門。夫言似則非宗門旨要明矣。然宗門旨要。雖即文字語言不可見。離文字語言。亦安能見哉。臨濟曰。大凡舉唱。須一句中具三玄。一玄中具三要。有玄有要。此塗毒鼓聲也。臨濟歿二百年。尚有聞而死者。夫分賓主。如並存照用。如別立君臣。如從慈明曰。一句分賓主。照用一時行。若會箇中意。日午打三更。同安曰。賓主穆時全是妄。君臣合處正中邪。還鄉曲調如何唱。明月堂前枯樹花。如前語句。皆非一代時教之所管攝。摩醯首羅面上豎亞一目。非常目也。
36. The poison-painted drum is a reference to a parable in the *Daban niepan 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 in CDL 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].”
37. *Zhizheng zhuan*, XZJ no. 1235, 63: 171b22–c01. The Chinese text reads: 汾陽無德禪師作一字歌。其略曰。諸佛不曾說法。汾陽略宣一字。亦非紙墨文章。不學維摩默地。又曰。飲光尊者同明證。瞬目欽恭行正令。真漏泄家風也。
38. *Zhizheng zhuan*, XZJ no. 1235, 63: 1183c20–23. For this passage, see *Dafaju tuoluoni jing* T no. 1340, 21: 686c16–19. The *Dafaju tuoluoni jing* was translated by Jñānagupta in 594. The Inexhaustible lamp (*akṣayapradīpa*) is a famous allegory, see “Chōmyōtō 長明燈” in *Hōbōgirin* 4: 360–366. See also, *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, T no. 475, 14: 543b and Lamotte, *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, 105–06. The Chinese reads: 大法炬陀羅尼經曰。復次應觀是色作無相想。云何觀色作無相想。當知此色生滅輪轉。念念不停。毗舍佉。如是色相。不可眼見。當知彼是意識境界。唯意所知。是故不可以眼得見。
39. Makita, ed. *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū*, 94, 96 and Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 81.
40. *Linjian lu* 2: XZJ 1624, 87: 260a11–18. The Chinese text reads: 「大覺禪師。皇祐二年十二月十九日 仁宗皇帝詔至後苑。齋於化成殿。齋畢。傳宣効南方禪林儀範開堂演法。又

宣左街副僧錄慈雲大師清滿啟白。滿謝恩畢。倡曰。帝苑春回。皇家會啟。萬乘既臨於舜殿。兩街獲奉於堯眉。爰當和煦之辰。正是闡[揚>揚]之日。宜談祖道。上副宸衷。謹白。璉遂陞座。問答罷。乃曰。古佛堂中。曾無異說。流通句內。誠有多談。得之者。妙用無虧。失之者。觸途成滯。

41. Trans. in Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 141.
42. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, esp. on this text in seventeenth century Chinese Chan. See also *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 27, 51, which succinctly repeats many points from his earlier book, and explains their transmission of this text in Japan through the Ōbakushū network.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Abbreviations

T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. See Bibliography B.
 XZJ *Xu zangjing*. See Bibliography B.

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