

## Beyond Lineage Orthodoxy: Yongming Yanshou's Model of Chan as Bodhisattva Cultivation\*

Albert Welter

Professor and Head of the Department of East Asian Studies  
University of Arizona

### Abstract

As is well-known, lineage has played a fundamental role in determining Chan identity. The Chan slogan "a separate transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) enshrined lineage as the *sine qua non* of true dharma transmission. Lineage emerged as a fundamental concern early on in the Chan tradition, a concern that was solidified in the "lamp records" (*denglu* 燈錄) compiled in the early Song dynasty to document the profusion of Chan movements in the mid- to late Tang dynasty, of which the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp; compiled 1004) became the classic formulation. While lineage appears as an identifying feature in many religious traditions, including Buddhism, and is an aspect in non-religious contexts as well, its uniqueness in Chan bears on the role lineage plays in the determination of Chan orthodoxy. This presentation explores notions of Chan lineage in the works of the prominent Chinese Buddhist master Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975), a proponent of scholastic Chan who disputed Chan's separate identity and its notion of lineage as the *sine qua non* of true dharma transmission. Instead, I argue that Yanshou advocated an alternative vision for "Chan as bodhisattva cultivation" (*pusa xing chan* 菩薩行禪) that transcended notions of Chan lineage orthodoxy.

### Keywords:

Yongming Yanshou, bodhisattva cultivation, Chan, lineage

---

\* The present article is based on the author's previously published work, *Yongming Yanshou's Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu: A Special Transmission Within the Scriptures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), with a newly developed perspective emphasizing Yanshou's dedication to a pan-Mahāyāna bodhisattva cultivation and its implications for his notion of the role of lineage in Chan.

## 超越法脈傳承之正統性 ——永明延壽所提倡的「菩薩行之禪風」範例

魏雅博

亞利桑那大學東亞研究系教授暨系主任

### 摘要

正如眾所周知，宗傳體系是禪宗獨特的定位。而禪宗「教外別傳」的口號，使法脈傳承成為傳法的必要條件。初期禪宗發展的關鍵點即是傳承法系的問題，這個關懷在宋初編撰的《燈錄》文獻中更被強化。其中以《景德傳燈錄》為代表之作，記錄了中唐至晚唐時期禪宗的盛況。當然，法脈傳承在許多宗教傳統中皆是識別要素，也存在於非宗教領域，它在禪宗的獨特性，在於判斷宗傳是否正統。本文探討永明延壽（904-975）的著作中，有關禪宗法脈傳承的觀點。延壽是一位著名的學問禪僧，他質疑禪宗教外別傳的定位與法脈傳承為唯一傳法之要素。本文提出延壽提倡「菩薩行之禪風」來代替正統宗傳的禪宗定位。

**關鍵詞：**永明延壽、菩薩行、禪、法脈傳承

## Classic Chan Formulations of Lineage

Who would dispute that lineage is central to Chan identity, that dharma transmission is the *sine qua non* of Chan tradition? The framework of classic Chan texts, built around a series of biographical entries predicated on networks of master-disciple transmissions, underscores the centrality of lineage identity in the Chan tradition. Without lineage identity—without a relational network of surrogate fathers, uncles, brothers and sons—one quite literally does not exist in a Chan framework. Or, so it would seem.

There is good reason for this. All of the classical Chan texts—from the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* 六祖壇經, the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀, *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記, *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, down to the multi-lineal Chan transmission records, such as the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄, and so on—affirm this. According to these sources, the story of lineage identity orthodoxy is beyond question. One's place in the Chan world is predicated on inclusion in the lineage network. The only thing in dispute is how lineage orthodoxy is constructed, who is included and the circumstances defining inclusion and exclusion—not the primacy of lineage itself, without which Chan would cease to be Chan. The only thing in dispute, in other words, is who tells the story and to what ends the narratives are formed.<sup>1</sup>

The quest to establish a Chan identity was borne of factional Chan identity politics—the need to validate one's status by recourse to the past, or at least one's version of it. As is now well known, the process of forming a Chan lineage was by no means as seamless and straightforward as later tradition would have us believe. Consensus came only over time, and even then it was seldom exempted from possible revision. Reconstructing history in one's image and likeness was a literati sport in China, and Chan history was certainly not immune. As factions won favour at the courts of emperors, rulers, and literati, the Chan story was recast to shed light on their particular lineage. Even as many lineages came to be acknowledged, some factions, with the support of their court benefactors, claimed most favoured status. With this status came privileges, and the function of transmission records in the Chan tradition became as much about delineating hierarchy among factions as declaring legitimacy. Thus, the apparent magnanimity of inclusiveness

---

<sup>1</sup> On lineage narrative formation in Chan *denglu* 燈錄 (lamp records), see Welter (2006), upon which the review that follows is based.

characteristic of multi-lineal Chan transmission records is coupled with covert messages of the superiority of some factional lineages over others. While all transmissions are valid, the records seem to be saying, some transmissions are more valid than others. In this regard, the spirit of Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), whose magnanimous inclusion of rival Chan factions is mitigated by the presumptive superiority of his own Heze 荷澤 faction, may be said to infiltrate these transmission records. Using a different framework, Zongmi first proposed that numerous Chan factions be recognized, while at the same time declaring that all factions were not created equal and that some factions were clearly superior to others. Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (*Chan Preface*)<sup>2</sup> documented seven different Chan factions, evaluating them in terms of their respective perspectives, and equating them with established Buddhist doctrinal schools. In this way, Zongmi was able to construct an inclusive hierarchy that legitimized each of the Chan factions by providing them with a quasi-doctrinal rationale, while at the same time distinguishing them qualitatively in terms of their reputed understanding of an alleged notion of true Chan. Of the seven factions mentioned by Zongmi, five merit special attention: the Oxhead faction 牛頭宗, the Northern faction 北宗, the Southern faction 南宗, the Heze faction, and the Hongzhou faction 洪州宗. The first three—the Oxhead, Northern, and Southern factions—were all regarded as descending from Bodhidharma, but according to Zongmi only the Southern faction represented the correct interpretation of Chan. In Zongmi's day, the Heze and Hongzhou factions represented differing interpretations of Southern school teaching. In his writings, Zongmi argued for the superiority of Heze Chan (Welter 2006, 34-7). I consider Zongmi's proposal for an inclusive hierarchy of Chan factions in more detail below, contrasting it with Yongming Yanshou's position, the main subject of this paper.

Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975) is a major figure in post-Tang Buddhism whose writings and example have been inspirational throughout East Asian Buddhism down to the present day. Yanshou assumed the role of spiritual leader in the quasi-independent kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 during the Five Dynasties period. Yanshou's career culminated as abbot at the Yongming Monastery 永明寺, a newly established institution in the Wuyue capital Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou) that symbolized the central role of Buddhism in the region.

Generally speaking, the Buddhist revival in Wuyue was a reaction against the chaos of the late Tang and Five Dynasties. In addition to its strictly

---

2 T 2015.

spiritual role, Buddhism in Wuyue was linked to social and political stability. Through the promotion of Buddhism, Wuyue rulers envisioned a revival of the old glory of the Tang, where Buddhism served as a central feature in the definition of civilization and culture. Of all the regions of the south during the Five Dynasties period, Wuyue was economically and politically the strongest. Wuyue also provided the strongest support for Buddhism, and Buddhism served as the cornerstone of Wuyue cultural policy. Wuyue support for Buddhism was driven by conservative forces, which sought in Buddhism the recovery of a former glory. While Wuyue Buddhism was embodied largely through support for Chan masters and institutions, it sought to weld these to precedents founded in the doctrinal traditions of Buddhist scholasticism. As a result, although the Wuyue Buddhist revival was carried out largely under the Chan banner, Chan in Wuyue had its own distinct character. Wuyue Chan identified with older Tang Buddhist traditions, and this identification with the larger Buddhist tradition became a standard feature of Wuyue Chan. The major protagonist of Wuyue Chan was Yongming Yanshou, whose Chan syncretism redefined the contributions of the doctrinal schools of Buddhism and their textual traditions in terms of Chan principles. Yanshou's notion of *zong* 宗 is articulated extensively in his major work on Chan scholasticism, the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-Mirror).

Owing to Chan sectarian distinctions and Pure Land devotional attributions, Yanshou's thought has been inadequately understood. The triumph of the Linji faction's interpretation of Chan as "a separate transmission outside the scriptures" (*jaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) relegated Yanshou's scripture-laden interpretation of Chan as anachronistic, especially in Chinese Linji and Japanese Rinzai circles. The development of a Pure Land-focused devotionalism in the Song dynasty inspired devotees to re-envision Yanshou as a master dedicated exclusively to rebirth in the Pure Land. Both of these developments serve to obscure Yanshou's actual aim: one by excluding him from the ranks of "true" Chan/Zen; the other by misconstruing an aspect of Yanshou's Buddhist cultivation—Pure Land practice—as a leading indicator, at the expense of his other interests. Instead, I locate Yanshou's model of "Chan as bodhisattva cultivation" (*pusa xing chan* 菩薩行禪) as the center of his thought and postulate it as the model of Chan that he advocated, moving beyond the dichotomies of Japanese Zen and Pure Land sectarianism, and a simplistic Chinese Pure Land devotionalism.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> While Yanshou himself never actually used the designation *pusa xing chan* 菩薩行禪, his devotion to bodhisattva cultivation is apparent from his writings,

## The *Zongjing lu*, Chronology and Inclusion: What Came First, Who Gets Counted?

One of the vexing questions plaguing Chan and Zen studies is chronology—who wrote what when? On the surface, the answer is straightforward. All of our texts are dateable by year of compilation and publication. Yet, this simple straightforwardness is marred by the nature of the materials included. We often lack solid information regarding the origins of materials included in our compilations. We know, or at least assume, that many of these materials circulated in oral and/or manuscript form, but we have little indication of what these earlier materials consisted of and how they might have been altered by editors and compilers as they were committed to published form. While an older generation of scholars tended to read Chan sources rather uncritically, accepting the information contained in them literally as depictions of the times they wrote of, this is no longer the case. The materials contained in later transmission record compilations are now treated as filtered and layered versions. While it is not always easy to unpack the layers, the overlaying filter is generally dateable to the time of compilation. Three transmission records, in particular, have been regarded as holding the key to our earliest sources of Chan teachings: the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Patriarch's Hall Collection; compiled in 952), *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp; compiled 1004, issued 1011), and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng era Supplementary Lamp Record; compiled 1029, issued 1036). Until recently, Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* (compiled 961) was exempted from consideration, on the grounds that it was not a "lamp record" and therefore had nothing to contribute to "true" Chan teaching as conceived in terms of orthodox lineage identity.<sup>4</sup>

Recent questions regarding the dating of the *Zutang ji*, the "earliest" Chan multi-lineal lamp record, have contributed to viewing the *Zongjing lu* in a new light. Since its earlier discovery among the wood-block editions of the Buddhist canon retained at the Korean monastery, Haein-sa, questions have been raised regarding its true provenance. Yanagida Seizan called attention to

---

especially his "Preface to the Teaching on Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts" (*Shou pusa jiefa bingxu* 受菩薩戒法并序; X 1088, 365b-368b), a text I examined in an unpublished paper "Between Zen and the Pure Land: Locating Yongming Yanshou's Model of Chan as Bodhisattva Cultivation."

<sup>4</sup> For a refutation of the marginalization of Yanshou and the argument for placing Yanshou and the *Zongjing lu* at the center of contemporary Chan debates, see Welter (2011).

the problematic nature of the *Zutang ji*, the earliest multi-lineal Chan text that not only disappeared from China, but failed to warrant much mention in later Chinese records (Yanagida Seizan 1984, 1567-1606). While many, including Yanagida, rationalized its disappearance through the popularity and credibility that the subsequent, officially authorized classic transmission record, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, afforded the Chan movement, questions remained. Years earlier, Arthur Waley noted linguistic discrepancies of a Five Dynasties era text employing place name terminology that only gained currency after the Song dynasty (Waley 1968, 242-46).<sup>5</sup> Kinugawa Kenji, following Waley's lead, hypothesized that the *Zutang ji* was formed in stages, beginning with a short two-fascicle work dating from 952, and expanded sometime later in Korea into its current twenty-fascicle form (1998, 113-28; 2003, 127-51). Shiina Kōyū also noted the preponderance of Korean Chan masters in the *Zutang ji* (1979, 66-72). While the appearance of Korean masters in Chinese Buddhist historical records is hardly unusual, the degree to which they figure in the *Zutang ji* distinguishes it as unique. Finally, John Jorgenson has also recently joined the chorus of those questioning the provenance of the *Zutang ji* as a work primarily compiled in China during the Five Dynasties, suggesting the existing text is layered in three tiers: an original layer of two fascicles completed in 952; a large scale expansion in the early Song bringing it to ten fascicles; and a Korean expansion to twenty fascicles (2005, 729-52; esp. 739). Based on internal assessments of the language used in the *Zutang ji*, Christoph Anderl and recent studies by the Chinese scholar Liang Tianxi reach similar conclusions (Anderl 2004, 30-9).<sup>6</sup> Given the chorus of suspicions raised by prominent scholars, it seems prudent to retract the certainty with which the *Zutang ji* has been regarded as Chan's first multi-lineal record until either more solid evidence emerges that might redeem it, or more likely, the suspicions surrounding it and the layers it comprises are more convincingly proven.

The obvious conclusion to reach from this is to elevate the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* to the status as the first unequivocal, multi-lineal Chan record,<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Waley noted that the geographical term for Lingnan 嶺南—Guangnan 廣南—was only introduced in the Song dynasty in 997. He also noted the appearance of a character used in place of a Song dynasty taboo, indicating a Song provenance for the text. On language usage in the *Zutang ji*, see Anderl (2004).

<sup>6</sup> Liang concludes that approximately ninety percent of the *Zutang ji* consists of material added in Korea (see Anderl 2004, 32, citing Liang Tianxi 梁天錫 2000, 903-8).

<sup>7</sup> T 2076.

a status that it enjoyed for centuries until the discovery of the *Zutang ji* at Haein-sa.<sup>8</sup> The importance of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* for the formation of a classic Chan identity has long been acknowledged. Its attribution of Chan lineages as “separate transmissions outside the scriptures” became the *sine qua non* of Chan identity, and it served as the template for transmission records compiled throughout the Song dynasty: *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*,<sup>9</sup> *Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄 (Jianzhong jingguo era Continued Lamp Record; compiled 1101),<sup>10</sup> *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要 (Essential Materials of the Chan School’s Successive Lamp Records; compiled 1183),<sup>11</sup> and *Jiatai Pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (Jiatai era Comprehensive Lamp Record; compiled 1204).<sup>12</sup> The elevation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* to the place of primacy, however, is premature, given the existence of the *Zongjing lu* as a text devoted to an alternate vision for the Chan tradition—not as the “separate transmission outside the scriptures,” but a tradition conceived as a part of and a fulfillment of the scriptures.

In spite of the overwhelming emphasis on scriptural and commentarial citations in the *Zongjing lu*, it is a major source for fragments of the teachings of Chan masters.<sup>13</sup> And in spite of its dedication to a notion of *zong* as an underlying principle or inherent truth that derives from the Chinese Buddhist doctrinal tradition, it has distinct views about *zong* as lineage, specifically as Chan lineage.<sup>14</sup> While the *Zongjing lu* has typically been cast aside as anachronistic, based on the tired clichés of a fading tradition, these aspects of the work deserve closer attention for a better understanding of the contemporary Chan scene. Given the complex issues associated with the dating of various layers in the *Zutang ji*, reviewed above, the *Zongjing lu*, compiled in 961, emerges as the earliest reliably clear collection of Chan teaching fragments. Yanshou’s rendition of Chan lineages likewise holds a primary place in the debate about the Chan *zong* in the early Song dynasty.

---

8 While this fails to take into account that each of these texts is multi-layered, and the complex process involved in untangling various textual layers, my point here is that we can determine the closing layer of these texts, and that in the case of the *Zutang ji* the closing layer is not as early as supposed.

9 X 1553.

10 X 1556.

11 X 1557.

12 X 1559.

13 See Welter (2011, 137-202).

14 See Welter (2011, 97-136).



## Chan Lineages in the *Zongjing lu*

The *Zongjing lu* contains an implicit affirmation of Chan lineages. This is contained toward the end of the work, in the order of arrangement of the teachings of Chan masters in fascicles ninety-seven and ninety-eight.<sup>15</sup> There are few surprises. Yanshou accepted, for example, the seven buddhas of the past, the list of Indian patriarchs, and the alleged Chinese transmission from Bodhidharma through the sixth patriarch, Huineng 慧能 (638-713), standardized in Chan circles since the publication of the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 in 801. He also implicitly acknowledged the two branches of Chan descended from Huineng's students, Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677-744) and Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660-740). In this regard, the *Zongjing lu* concurs with the standard arrangement found in other "lamp records," the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

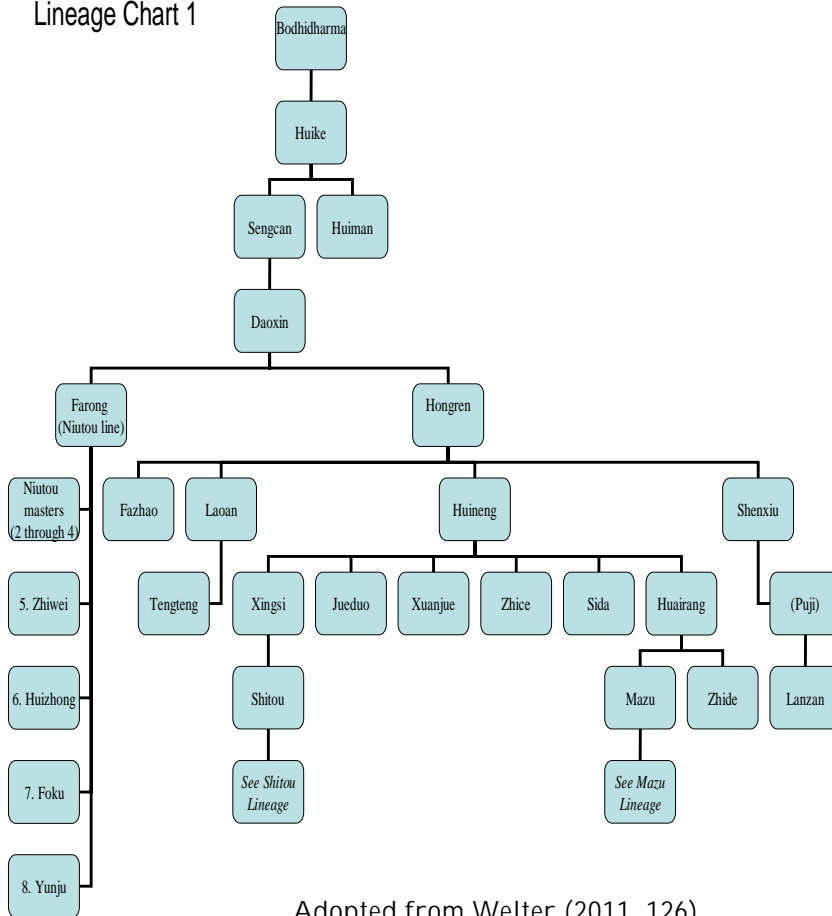
Aside from the standard lineages featured in the *Zongjing lu*, it is worth noting Yanshou's recognition of other lineages, like the Niutou 牛頭 and Northern School 北宗 lineages (see Lineage Chart 1). Yanshou's recognition of the Niutou lineage stems from the activity of the seventh- and eighth-generation descendants, Foku 佛窟 (d.u.) and Yunju 雲居 (d.u.), both of whom were based on Mt. Tiantai 天台山, a prominent spiritual center in Yanshou's native Wuyue region. While Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706) became *persona non grata* in later Chan tradition, he and his Northern School lineage descendant Lanzan 懶瓚 (d.u.), the student of Shenxiu's disciple Puji 普寂 (651-739), are acknowledged in the *Zongjing lu*. Yanshou's acknowledgment of the Northern School is part of his recognition of the contributions of disciples of Hongren 弘忍 (601-674) other than Huineng. In addition to Shenxiu, Yanshou recognized both Hongren's disciple Lao'an 老安 (Songshan Hui'an 嵩山慧安; ca. 584-708) and Lao'an's student Tengteng 騰騰 (d.u.), as well as another disciple of Hongren, Fazhao 法照 (d.u.).<sup>16</sup> Although not appearing in either fascicle ninety-seven or ninety-eight, mention should also be made of another alleged disciple of Hongren, the otherwise unknown Zhuangyan 莊嚴 (d.u.), who played a prominent role in Yanshou's depiction of Chan in fascicle one. Together with the acknowledgement of the Niutou lineage, Yanshou's inclusiveness of a range of the fifth patriarch's disciples places the subsequent dominance of lineages

<sup>15</sup> Information here is adapted from Welter (2011, 119-31).

<sup>16</sup> If the Fazhao here can be identified as Chan master Fazhao of Shuzhou 舒州法照禪師, which seems plausible.

descended through Huineng in a broader context. This strategy was also followed in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the transmission record that also emanated from Wuyue region Chan master Daoyuan 道原 (d.u.), reflecting the inclusive approach adopted in Wuyue Chan circles.

Lineage Chart 1

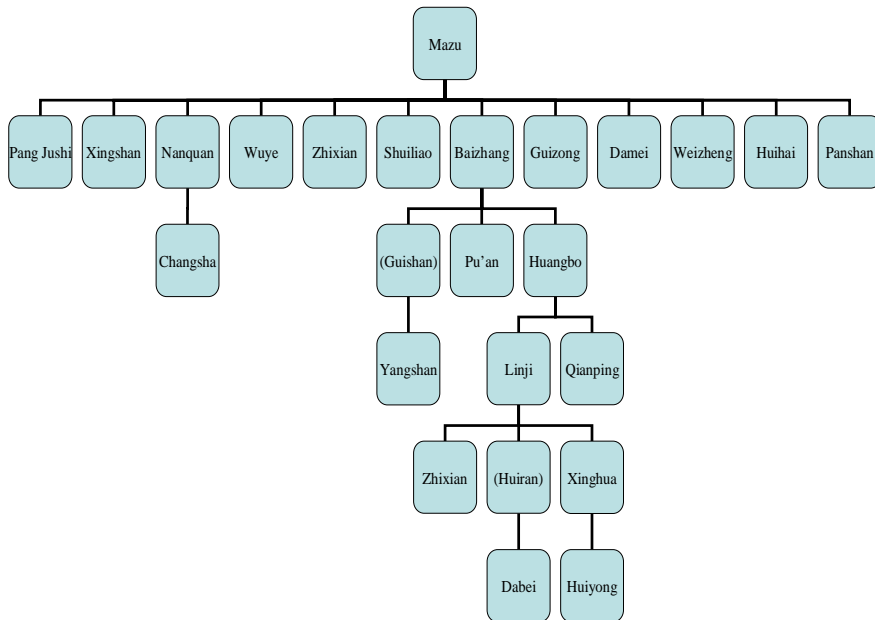


Adopted from Welter (2011, 126)

In spite of the recognition of collateral developments and their contribution to the Chan message, prominence in the *Zongjing lu* is given to “standard” lineages descended through Qingyuan Xingsi’s disciple Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700-790) and Nanyue Huirang’s disciple Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788), reflecting how emerging Chan factions traced their lineages from the sixth patriarch. Mazu’s twelve disciples represent a far greater number than anyone else. Through Mazu’s successor, Baizhang

Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720-814), two prominent Chan lineages allegedly developed: one through Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807-883), who would later be regarded as a founder of the Guiyang faction 滬仰宗; the other through Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運 (?-850), who allegedly fostered the Linji faction. The Linji faction is represented through three lines in the *Zongjing lu*: through Guanxi Zhixian 灌溪志閑 (?-898); through Dabei 大悲 (d.u.), the successor of Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 (d.u.) and the reputed compiler of the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄; and through Linji Yixuan's 臨濟義玄 (?-866) student Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (830-924) and Xinghua's successor, Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顛 (860-950) (see Mazu Lineage chart below).

Mazu Lineage

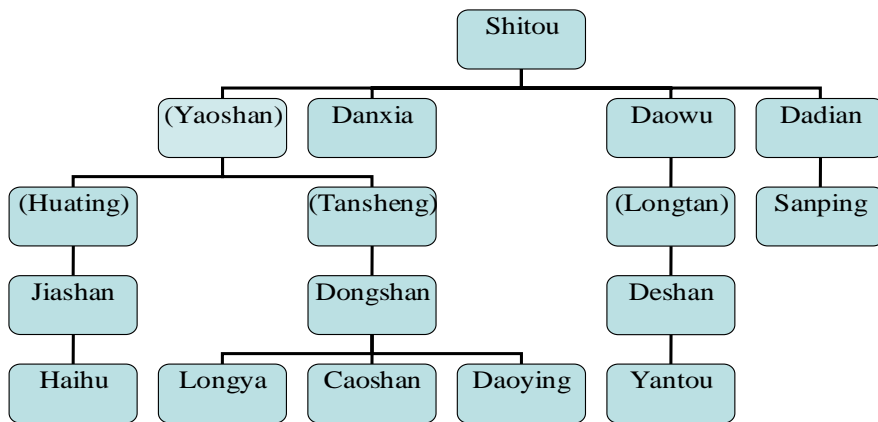


Adopted from Welter (2011, 127)

In comparison, only four disciples of Shitou Xiqian are acknowledged. Yaoshan [Weiyao] 藥山惟儼 (751-834) is not mentioned explicitly but his presence is implicit by virtue of the inclusion of two lines of his disciples: Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會 (805-881) and Taiyuan Haihu 太原海湖 (d.u.), and Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807-869) and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840-901). The latter would eventually be acknowledged as founders of the

Caodong 曹洞 faction. In addition to Caoshan, Dongshan's disciples are represented by Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (835-923) and Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (?-902). Moreover, another of Shitou's disciples, Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (748-807), is also acknowledged for fostering a line including the prominent masters Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780-865) and Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全豁 (828-887) (see Shitou Lineage chart below).

Shitou Lineage



Adopted from Welter (2011, 126)

If we look at the lineage charts in light of future determinations regarding Chan lineages, it is noteworthy that whereas three of what would later be known as the Five Houses (Guiyang, Linji, and Caodong) of classical Chan are acknowledged, two (Yunmen 雲門 and Fayan 法眼) are not. The failure to acknowledge Yunmen (who passed away in 949) can easily be explained on the basis that the faction had yet to achieve the momentum that gave rise to its reputation within Chan circles. The same could not be true, however, for the Fayan faction, of which Yanshou would be counted as a member in later sources, especially the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Almost equally surprising is the failure to mention Deshan Xuanjian's successor, Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822-908) or any master descended from him. Xuefeng Yicun is credited with stimulating a massive Chan movement throughout southern China in the tenth century, extending through three main lines: Baofu Congzhan 保福從展 (?-928); the prominent Min 閩 region master Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文僊 (884-972) (or Shengdeng 省僊), whose students were responsible for

compiling the *Zutang ji*; Zhangqing Huileng 長慶慧稜 (854-932), another prominent Min region master who produced many disciples; and through Xuansha Shibeī 玄沙師備 (835-908), Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885-958), and Wenyi's illustrious descendants (such as Tiantai Deshao 天台德紹 (891-972) and Deshao's heir, Yongming Yanshou), who dominated Buddhist developments in the Wuyue region. Moreover, Xuefeng was a fellow disciple of Deshan with Yantou. While Deshan and Yantou are acknowledged (as noted above), Xuefeng is not.

While the reasons for the omissions noted here are hard to fathom, they cannot have been unintentional. What might the rationale be for Yanshou's magnanimous viewpoint and willingness to include otherwise marginalized and disparaged factions on the one hand and failure to acknowledge his own faction on the other? Before considering this question, I look further at determining Yanshou's attitude toward Chan lineage, specifically in contrast to that of Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841), with whose position Yanshou's is most often equated.

## Yanshou and Zongmi on the Nature of *Zong*

Yongming Yanshou, following Guifeng Zongmi, posits that textual and non-textual (i.e., mind-to-mind) transmissions represent two aspects of the same phenomenon: the public and private dissemination of a single truth. Moreover, both forms of transmission are complementary to each other, and cannot be conceived of independently. Yanshou was highly dependent on Zongmi, whom he cited directly in support of this position:

...the first patriarch of the various schools was Śākyamuni. Scriptures are the word of the Buddha (*foyu* 佛語). Chan is the thought of the Buddha (*foyi* 佛意). What the Buddhas [think] with their mind and [utter] with their mouth is not in any way different. What the patriarchs receive from each other is fundamentally [the same as] what the Buddha personally bequeathed to them. When bodhisattvas composed treatises, from first to last they simply expanded on the Buddha's scriptures. How can it be otherwise since the patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta, in addition to expanding Chan transmission, were also tripitaka masters? In addition, Aśvaghosa and Nāgārjuna both were Chan patriarchs. They wrote treatises explaining the scriptures, amounting to thousands upon ten-thousands of verses. They

spread the teaching in accordance with actual circumstances, free of any restriction.<sup>17</sup>

.....諸宗始祖，即是釋迦。經是佛語，禪是佛意。諸佛心口必不相違，諸祖相承根本是佛親付，菩薩造論始末唯弘佛經。況迦葉乃至耆多弘傳皆兼三藏。及馬鳴、龍樹，悉是祖師，造論釋經數十萬偈，觀風化物，無定事儀。

Yet, while Yanshou consciously pursued Zongmi's lead, there are conspicuous differences between them as well. Zongmi's view of Chan was predicated on verifying Shenhui's 神會 (670-762) teaching as the true interpretation of the sixth patriarch Huineng in the face of mounting competition from other factions. Nurtured in the harmonious atmosphere of magnanimous Buddhist altruism in the self-avowed Buddhist kingdom of Wuyue, Yanshou's conception of Chan is not driven by such divisions—he sees the entire Chan school in all its manifestations as a single faction encompassing the entirety of Buddhist teaching based on the principle of *zong*. For Zongmi Chan, *zong* is still factionally divisive; for Yanshou, the notion of *zong* is not about Chan's factional identities, but about an idea of a Buddhist truth that transcends factional divisions.

One of the ways to approach the distinction between Yanshou and Zongmi is through the conceptual framework of adoption versus adaptation. Many people regard Zongmi and Yanshou as conceptually indistinct, holding to a single, unified position, and reduce Yanshou to little more than an imitator of Zongmi. Some who maintain this position even go so far as to claim that Yanshou's massive compilation on the sources of Chan, the *Zongjing lu*, is essentially a copy of Zongmi's lost work on the sources of Chan, the *Chanyuan zhuquanji* 禪源諸詮集 (Collected Writings on the Source of Chan), for which only the preface remains.<sup>18</sup> Against this characterization, scholars who study Yanshou tend to regard his thought as an adaptation of Zongmi's,

---

<sup>17</sup> *Zongjing lu* (hereafter referred to as ZJL), T 2016, 48: 418b5-10. The citation is taken from Zongmi's *Chan Preface*; *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (T 2015, 48: 400b10-16); see Kamata Shigeo, trans., *Zengen shosenshū tojo* (1971, 44).

<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey Broughton (2009, 24-6) discusses Yanshou's indebtedness to Zongmi, considering the *Zongjing lu* as essentially a restatement of Zongmi's Chan teaching for a Song audience.

conceding that even while Yanshou was indebted to Zongmi, historical circumstances dictated a changed perspective.<sup>19</sup>

Zongmi's analysis of Chan factions dates from the late Tang, when Chan was struggling for acceptance within the scholastic and doctrinal Buddhist establishment. In the *Chan Preface*, Zongmi introduces three types of Mahāyāna teachings, identifying each with particular factions of Chan. One of Zongmi's strategies for winning acceptance for Chan within Chinese Buddhism was to substantiate the Mahāyāna doctrinal foundations of Chan teachings. In this conception, the teachings of Northern School Chan suggest a basis in the Yogācāra (Chinese: Faxiang 法相) concept of validating phenomenal appearances (*shuoxiang* 說相). Oxhead School Chan teaching is based in the Mādhyamika (Chinese: Sanlun 三論) concept of negating phenomenal appearances (*poxiang* 破相). Both teachings are incomplete in comparison to the Chan of the Heze and Hongzhou factions based in the *Awakening of Faith* (*Dacheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) and Huayan 華嚴 teachings, which allegedly reveal that true-mind is nature (*xianshi zhenxin jixing* 現示真心即性).

By the time Zongmi wrote, the Northern and Oxhead factions had ceased to be vital, and the real debate consisted of the challenge posed by the rising influence of the Hongzhou faction to Zongmi's own Heze faction. Seen in this way, Zongmi's analysis of Chan contains a polemical dimension. On the one hand, he purports to offer an objective assessment of Chan movements informed by a Mahāyāna doctrinal backdrop. On the other hand, his assessment is purposely judgmental and divisive, in an attempt to preserve the superiority of the Heze faction's Chan interpretation. Yet, it would be misleading to dismiss Zongmi's polemic simply as a naked bid for power. Zongmi's dismissal of Hongzhou's Chan interpretation is not, in the final analysis, politically motivated, but instead stems from serious moral reservations about Hongzhou Chan teaching.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Wang Cuiling 王翠玲 (1998, 204) characterizes Yanshou's approach to *zong* as *wakai* 和解 (conciliatory) and Zongmi's as *kankai* 勘解 (judgmental). Zongmi aimed to distinguish among Chan factions in order to establish the legitimacy of the Heze faction; Yanshou treated all of Chan as one faction. Both Dong Chun (2005, 67-72) and Song Daofa 宋道发 (2005, 296-307) also argue that Yanshou's approach to harmonization between Chan and Buddhist teaching represents a development from Zongmi rather than a mere adoption of Zongmi's position.

<sup>20</sup> Zongmi believed that the Hongzhou teaching derived from its founder, Mazu Daoyi—that "everything is true" 一切皆真 utterly and completely as it is—

In the roughly 130 years separating Zongmi and Yanshou, many things changed in the Chinese Buddhist world. The Tang dynasty fell, along with the aristocratic support that Buddhist scholasticism depended on. Once fledgling Chan movements that had flourished on the periphery entered the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. Zongmi's model for acknowledging disparate Chan factions also found ready support, but it was not from Yanshou. The notion of *zong* as clan ancestor connected to lineal descendants played a major role in shaping Chan identity. As the Chan tradition developed, it found favor in the notion of lineage as its organizing principle. The framework for acknowledging multiple lineages while, at the same time, postulating a hierarchical privileging of one faction over others, became the organizing principle for the classic works of Chan identity—the transmission histories or “lamp records” (*denglu* 燈錄)—compiled in the tenth and early eleventh centuries: the *Zutang ji*, *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, and so on. While the “teaching” (*jiao* 教) may be denigrated in these works in ways that Zongmi would have disagreed with and ultimately rejected as validating the very antinomianism that he sought to combat, the understanding of *zong* in terms of factional identity within the larger context of the “Chan family” derives implicitly from Zongmi.

As inheritor of the Buddhist scholastic tradition, Yanshou was influenced by other criteria and these assumed overriding importance in Yanshou's understanding of Chan and its relation to the Buddhist tradition at large. The point of convergence, as well as the point of divergence, between Yanshou's interpretation of Chan and those interpretations stressing lineage formation was the term *zong*.<sup>21</sup> Like lineage-based understandings of Chan, this term

---

denied moral efficacy. Without an evaluative scale to guide one's actions, Zongmi believed, Hongzhou teaching led to a radical nondualism that postulated that all actions, good or bad, expressed essential Buddha-nature, and denied the need for spiritual cultivation and moral discipline. This was a dangerously antinomian view, as it eliminated all moral distinctions and validated any actions as expressions of the essence of Buddha-nature. While Zongmi acknowledged that the essence of Buddha-nature and its functioning in the day-to-day world are but different aspects of the same reality, he insisted that there is a difference. To avoid the dualism he saw in the Northern faction and the radical nondualism and antinomianism of Hongzhou Chan, Zongmi's paradigm preserved “an ethically critical duality within a larger ontological unity” (Gregory 1991, 239), an ontology he saw lacking in Hongzhou Chan.

<sup>21</sup> Yanshou's use of the term *zong* derives primarily from its more abstract and theoretical meaning, common to the Buddhist scholastic tradition. Following this tradition, Yanshou's primary meaning for *zong* is as an underlying theme or message, as the underlying doctrine or principle of all Buddhist teaching and the



also served as the organizing principle for Yanshou, but his understanding of it differs, and it is easy to read into Yanshou's use of the term *zong* a rebuke of Chan groups who limit its meaning to "lineage" or "faction," and make claims to orthodoxy based on these lineage and factional associations.<sup>22</sup> An important marker in this regard is Yanshou's treatment of the Hongzhou faction in the *Zongjing lu*.

One of the interesting things that Yanshou does in the *Zongjing lu* is dispute that Hongzhou Chan teaching was anti-scripture. Given that Hongzhou Chan served as a rallying point for the anti-textual, antinomian tendencies of Song Chan rhetoric, especially as promoted by the Linji faction in the early Song dynasty, Yanshou's counter interpretation is of great import. While the traditional interpretation upholding Hongzhou Chan in terms of Song Linji Chan orthodoxy has long held sway, Yanshou's alternate interpretation significantly changes the Chan landscape. For now, I simply point to an apparent discrepancy between Zongmi and Yanshou regarding Hongzhou Chan. Even though Yanshou relies on Zongmi to substantiate his position regarding the essential correspondence between the scripture based schools and Chan, a thorough reading of Zongmi suggests that he acknowledged the radical, antinomian character of Hongzhou Chan, yet tried to harness it by subordinating it to what he considered a superior understanding of Chan, that of his own Heze Chan faction.

Yanshou's strategy appears quite different. Instead of acknowledging Hongzhou as a radical, anti-textual movement, Yanshou disputes the very character of Hongzhou Chan in terms such as these, and subsumes Hongzhou Chan under the greater umbrella of "true" Chan—Chan that understands the implicit truth, or *zong*, in reference to scriptural teaching. In a word, Yanshou

---

primary indicator of the penultimate Buddhist teaching or school. It is also worth noting that one meaning of *zong*—the provisional articulation of inexpressible truth—is particularly appropriate for Yanshou, as Yanshou considered his compilation of the ZJL as an expedient means for accessing a truth that is ultimately beyond verbal articulation. See Nakamura Hajime (1975, 645a-b). Nakamura gives seven meanings for *zong*: 1) a chief teaching or fundamental purport, truth, standpoint, or attitude; 2) ancestor or progenitor (of the myriad things); 3) the principle of the scripture(s); 4) the provisional articulation of the inexpressible truth (especially used in Chan/Zen); 5) in Buddhist theory, the main proposition (of a position); 6) a perspective on Buddhism characteristic of a particular sect; and 7) a faction.

<sup>22</sup> It is important to acknowledge that Yanshou's scholastic notion of *zong* did not preclude the recognition of Chan lineages, as seen above. How Yanshou managed the notion of *zong* as "lineage" and as "implicit truth" is taken up below.

disputes Hongzhou Chan teaching as anti-scripture and antinomian, and he casts Mazu Daoyi and Hongzhou masters as typical scripture exegetes.

The Great Master, Patriarch Ma of Hongzhou said: "When the great master Bodhidharma came from southern India, he exclusively transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind (*yixin* 一心). He impressed the *Lankavatāra sūtra* on the minds of sentient beings, fearing that they would not believe this teaching on universal mind. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind which the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth (*zong* 宗); 'gatelessness' (*wumen* 無門) is the dharma-gate."<sup>23</sup>

洪州馬祖大師云：「達磨大師從南天竺國來，唯傳大乘一心之法。以《楞伽經》印眾生心，恐不信此一心之法。《楞伽經》云：『佛語心為宗，無門為法門。』」

By implication, Yanshou seems to be criticizing his contemporaries for misunderstanding and misrepresenting Hongzhou faction teaching when he says:

Some separate themselves from this [teaching] and practice independently (*biexiu* 別修), following the erroneous explanations of others. It is like pulling on horns to get milk, or climbing trees in search of fish. Even if one does so for three aeons, one will never obtain any results.<sup>24</sup>

或離此別修，隨他妄解，如搆角取乳、緣木求魚，徒歷三祇，終無一得。

The notion of practicing or cultivating independently (*biexiu* 別修) was a point of contention in Chan circles. The term also appears in the preface to the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* by the literatus Yang Yi (974-1020). Therein the phrase *jiaowai biexiu* 教外別修, indicating an independent or separate practice outside the teaching is used synonymously with what would become the more famous phrase, *jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳—an independent or separate transmission outside the teaching. This second phrase was prominently used by Linji faction advocates in the early Song. Yanshou's position is diametrically opposed to the Linji Chan rhetoric that criticizes conventional

<sup>23</sup> ZJL, T 2016, 48: 418b13-16. The same statement is recorded in the *Mazu yulu*; see Iriya (*Baso no goroku* 1984, 19-21).

<sup>24</sup> ZJL, T 2016, 48: 417a2-3.

practice in precisely the same terms. In Linji faction usage, *biexiu* 別修 or *biechuan* 別傳 signalled assent to a truth that transcended the limitations of text and doctrine. For Yanshou, such independent practice is misguided and futile.

While independent practitioners represented the antithesis of Yanshou's vision for Chan, Yanshou, like Zongmi before him, actually accommodated Mazu's Chan teaching when correctly understood as validating scriptural explanations rather than repudiating them. For Yanshou, Mazu was committed to the mind teaching of Bodhidharma, who "exclusively transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind" (唯傳大乘一心之法) based in the Buddha's mind teaching of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*.<sup>25</sup> In Yanshou's view, all Chan masters, regardless of lineal affiliation, ultimately base their teachings on the words of the Buddha and the scriptures and commentaries designed to illustrate their meaning. The "words and letters" of the Buddhist tradition are the necessary framework within which Chan was originally conceived, and continue to be necessary for correctly understanding it. The words of the Buddha (scriptural teachings) remain the true measure of Chan teaching. Mazu and the Hongzhou faction are but an illustration of this principle.

### Beyond Lineage Orthodoxy: Yongming Yanshou's Model of Chan as Bodhisattva Cultivation

Yanshou's reassignment of *zong* from lineage identity to *zong* as implicit truth revealed through universal mind parallels his disavowal of Chan teaching as independent of (much less superior to) Buddhist scriptural authority. The type of Chan advocated by Yanshou, what he alleges as "true" Chan, transcends the predispositions on which factional, regionally-based Chan movements are based. While the Fayen faction may also be defined in these terms, it is clear that Yanshou did not see it in this way. This does not mean that lineage networks were not operative in Wuyue during Yanshou's time. Clearly they were, and Yanshou's participation in these networks was conducive to the kinds of lineage associations typical of other factions. Yet, Chan promoted in Wuyue through Yanshou and his associates was not conceived in regional terms, but as universal Buddhism espoused under a Chan banner. And while other regional Buddhist movements may also have harbored such aspirations,

---

<sup>25</sup> See ZJL, T 2016, 48: 418c5-8.

state support for Buddhism in Wuyue crystallized in Yanshou's conception of Chan as a universalizing Buddhist *zong*.

The four decades separating the compilation of the *Zongjing lu* and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* revealed significant differences in the conceptions of Chan implicit in each work. By the time of the compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the Buddhist universalism espoused by the Wuyue kingdom was a fading memory. Wuyue Chan was but one regional Chan movement among many, and Song dynasty authorities were eager for a formula to harness regional Chan movements into a harmonious force. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was created to give voice to Wuyue Chan as a Fayan faction, with the presumption that this faction possessed a superior understanding of Chan teaching. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, in other words, successfully reduced Yanshou's understanding of Chan in the *Zongjing lu* to factional terms. What the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* did was take normal lineage associations common to the region and translate these into the idiom of Chan lineage orthodoxy. The *Zongjing lu*, while acknowledging the validity of Chan lineages, refrained from defining Chan orthodoxy in such terms.

One way to understand the dynamics at work is to look at Yanshou in a new light. In my previous work, I reviewed various attempts to come to terms with Yanshou's identity given the complexities of his Buddhist associations.<sup>26</sup> While these crystallized in images of Yanshou as a "promoter of blessings" (*xingfu* 興福),<sup>27</sup> Chan patriarch,<sup>28</sup> and Pure Land Patriarch,<sup>29</sup> I argue that Yanshou is more accurately portrayed as an advocate of Bodhisattva practice (Welter 2011, 33-8). Since Yanshou was himself a self-avowed Chan master—authorship of his works is acknowledged under his posthumous name "Chan Master Wisdom-Enlightened" (*zhijue chanshi* 智覺禪師)—it would be best to regard him as an advocate of Chan as bodhisattva cultivation (*pusa xing chan* 菩薩行禪).

There is no doubt that Yanshou's Buddhism was predicated on the primacy of practice, and that this is a constant theme throughout his work. The first record of Yanshou's life contained in *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 was compiled just thirteen years after Yanshou's death by Zanning,<sup>30</sup> a

<sup>26</sup> Most recently in Welter (2011, 11-43).

<sup>27</sup> Zanning 贊寧, *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T 2061, 50: 887a29-b16.

<sup>28</sup> Specifically as the third patriarch of the Fayan lineage; See Daoyuan 道原, *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, T 2076, 51: 421c6-422a20.

<sup>29</sup> Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T 2035, 49: 264b28-265a7.

<sup>30</sup> *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T 2061, 50: 887a29-b16.

Wuyue native and Buddhist colleague. This record, presumably based on Yanshou's tomb inscription (*taming* 塔銘),<sup>31</sup> notes his affinity for reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經),<sup>32</sup> intensive meditation practice (*xiding* 習定),<sup>33</sup> and devotion to performing myriad meritorious deeds (*wanshan* 萬善).<sup>34</sup> The application of Yanshou's devotion to Buddhist practice is documented in the *Zhijue Chanshi zixing lu* 智覺禪師自行錄 (Record of the Self-Practices of Chan Master Wisdom-Enlightened),<sup>35</sup> a record of the 108 practices he allegedly carried out throughout his life. Yanshou also explains the necessity of concrete demonstration of theoretical understanding in his *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集 (Anthology on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds), whereby the realization of one's *tonggui* 同歸—ultimate destiny or “common end,” *nirvāna*—is predicated on the performance of *wanshan*—myriad meritorious deeds. In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, this is explained theoretically through the mutual interpenetration of abstract principle and concrete reality, through concepts like *li* 理 (principle or noumena) and *shi* 事 (activity or phenomena), *ti* 體 (essence) and *yong* 用 (attribute), with *li* and *ti* equated with *tonggui*, and *shi* and *yong* paired with *wanshan*.<sup>36</sup> This theoretical basis for the performance of myriad good deeds is the prerequisite for bodhisattva practice.

Myriad good deeds (*wanshan*) are the provisions with which bodhisattvas enter sagehood; the assorted practices are gradual steps

---

<sup>31</sup> Especially since Zanning makes explicit reference to Yanshou's tomb-inscription at the end of his biography.

<sup>32</sup> It is alleged that he recited the *Lotus Sūtra* over 13,000 times during his life.

<sup>33</sup> To the extent that birds the size of quails nested in the folds of his robes during a ninety day intensive meditation session on Tianzhu Peak 天柱峯 of the Tiantai mountain chain 台嶺.

<sup>34</sup> While Zanning does not make specific reference to Yanshou's performance of meritorious deeds per se, it is implicitly alluded to through mention of Yanshou's major work, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集, which is devoted to explaining the rationale for performing myriad good deeds (*wanshan* 萬善). The *Wanshan tonggui ji* is one of two of Yanshou's major works that is explicitly named in Zanning's text, the other being the *Zongjing lu*.

<sup>35</sup> X 1232, 158c2-165c7. The *Zixing lu* draws on a number of predominantly devotionally-based Buddhist activities: chanting of sūtras, invoking of buddhas, recitation of *dharāni* invocations, performance of worship services and rituals, offerings and services dedicated to buddhas and bodhisattvas, circumambulation of Buddha images, worship of Śākyamuni's *śarīra*, performance of repentance rituals, and so on.

<sup>36</sup> For a fuller explication, see Welter (1993, 131-43).

with which Buddhas assist [sentient beings] on the way [to enlightenment]. If one has eyes but no feet, how can one reach the pure, refreshing pond (i.e., *nirvāṇa*). If one obtains the truth but forgets expedients, how can one soar to the spontaneous, free land? On account of this, skilful means and *prajñā*-wisdom always assist each other; true emptiness and wondrous existence always complement each other. In the *Lotus sūtra*, the three [vehicles] revert to the one [vehicle], and the myriad good deeds all incline toward *bodhi*; ...<sup>37</sup>

夫萬善是菩薩入聖之資糧；眾行乃諸佛助道之階漸。若有目而無足，豈到清涼之池？得實而忘權，奚昇自在之域！是以方便、般若，常相輔翼；真空、妙有，恒共成持。《法華》會三歸一，萬善悉向菩提；……

This notion of performing *wanshan* as a requisite of bodhisattva practice is a major theme running through Yanshou's thought. In the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* it is noted that Yanshou regularly administered the bodhisattva precepts to the Buddhist faithful, specifically detailing how the precepts were administered to over 10,000 people on Mt. Tiantai in the seventh year of the Kaibao 開寶 era (974).<sup>38</sup> In this connection, there is a lesser known work attributed to Yanshou, the *Shou pusa jiefa* 受菩薩戒法 (On the Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts), of which only the preface, the *Shou pusa jiefa bingxu* 受菩薩戒法并序 remains.<sup>39</sup> The preface begins:

The various bodhisattva precepts establish the basis<sup>40</sup> for the thousand sages, produce the foundation for the myriad good deeds (*wanshan*), open the gateway to the realm of sweet dew (i.e., *nirvāṇa*) and set [practitioners] on the path to bodhi. The *Brahmajāla sūtra* says:

<sup>37</sup> From *Wanshan tonggui ji*, T 2017, 48: 958c14-18.

<sup>38</sup> T 2076, 51: 422a10-11.

<sup>39</sup> On the *Shou pusa jiefa bingxu* 受菩薩戒法并序, see the comments by Tajima Tokuon (1933-36, 103b). Many questions surround the compilation of the text, its title, and its content. The title given at the end of the preface, *Fanwang pusa jieyi* 梵網菩薩戒儀 (Rules and Etiquette for [receiving] the Brahma's Net Bodhisattva Precepts), for example, is different from that given in either the table of contents or at the beginning of the preface.

<sup>40</sup> Literally "ground" (*di* 地).

“When sentient beings are inducted into the Buddhist (i.e., bodhisattva) precepts, they enter the ranks of the Buddhas.”<sup>41</sup>

I want you to know that the Buddhist precepts are none other than the mind of sentient beings; there is no Buddhist teaching separate from them. Because they awaken one’s mind, they are called the “Buddha.” Because they make it possible to follow and support [Buddhism], they are known as the “Dharma.” Because they make the mind inherently harmonious and nondivisive, they are known as the “Sangha.” Because of the mind’s inherent perfection and purity, they are known as the “precepts.” Because they [foster] tranquility and wisdom, they are known as “*prajñā*.” Because they make the mind fundamentally quiet and tranquil, they are known as “*nirvāṇa*.” The bodhisattva precepts are the supreme vehicle of the Tathāgata, and the reason why the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the West.<sup>42</sup>

詳夫菩薩戒者，建千聖之地，生萬善之基，開甘露門，入菩提路。《梵網經》云：「眾生受佛戒，即入諸佛位。」欲知佛戒者，但是眾生心，更無別法。以覺自心，故名為佛；以可軌持，故名為法；以心性和合不二，故名為僧；以心性圓淨，故名為戒；以寂而照，故名為般若；以心本寂滅，故名為涅槃。此是如來最上之乘，祖師西來之意。<sup>43</sup>

This paeon to the bodhisattva precepts as specified in the *Brahmajāla* (Brahma Net) *sūtra* defines Yanshou’s approach to Buddhism and Chan practice.<sup>44</sup> Not only are the bodhisattva precepts “the basis for the thousand

41 The citation from the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 is taken from a *gāthā* in fascicle two (T 1484, 24: 1004a20). On the *Fanwang jing*, see C. Mueller and E. Cho’s 2012 entry in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*.

42 *Shou pusa jiefa bingxu*, X 1088, 365b9-15. Because the CBETA default edition of Shinsan Dainihon zokuzōkyō 新纂大日本續藏經 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1975-1989) does not designate line numbers, I follow the line numbers in the Xinwenfeng 1975 reprint edition, Wan xuzang jing 卍續藏經 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi).

43 Both the CBETA and Xinwenfeng reprint editions are unpunctuated; the punctuation provided is my own.

44 The bodhisattva precepts in the *Brahmajāla sūtra* refer to the ten major precepts 十重罪 and forty-eight minor precepts 四十八輕戒 aimed specifically at lay practitioners rather than monks and nuns, which are to be distinguished from the ten basic precepts for the *Hīnayāna sangha* 十戒, and from the ten precepts for laypersons 十善業 transmitted from the early Buddhist tradition. The ten major

sages" and "the foundation for the myriad good deeds (*wanshan*)," opening the gateway to nirvāṇa and setting one on the path to bodhi, induction into them is requisite for entering the ranks of the buddhas. They are the basis for the three treasures, the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, as well as for the realization of *prajñā* and nirvāṇa. But most importantly, in terms of Yanshou's understanding of Chan, "[t]he bodhisattva precepts are the supreme vehicle of the Tathāgata, and the reason why the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the West." This is the fundamental proposition of Yanshou's Chan as bodhisattva cultivation, and stands in stark contrast to an alleged "separate transmission outside the teaching" and the allied notion of Chan lineage as the *sine qua non* of true dharma transmission.

Elsewhere in the preface to the *Shou pusa jiefu*, Yanshou addresses the relation of bodhisattva precept cultivation as specified in the *Brahmajāla sūtra* to the notion of mind (*xin* 心) in Buddhism and the Chan school.

According to the *Brahmajāla sūtra*: "Anything possessing mind has no choice but to maintain the Buddhist precepts."<sup>45</sup> Of those born as human beings, who does not have mind? When common people become Buddhas, they inevitably reveal [their awakening] through their minds. As a result, when Śākyamuni appeared in the world, he revealed the Buddha knowledge and insight inherent in the minds of sentient beings; and when Bodhidharma came from the west, he "pointed directly to the human mind, to see one's nature and become a Buddha." That is why a patriarch-master [Mazu Daoyi] said: "Mind is Buddha; Buddha is mind. There is no mind apart from Buddha; there is

---

precepts are: (1) prohibition of taking pleasure in killing 快意殺生戒; (2) prohibition of stealing the property of others 劫盜人物戒; (3) prohibition of the heartless pursuit of lust 無慈行欲戒; (4) prohibition of intentional lying 故心妄語戒; (5) prohibition of the sale of alcohol 酤酒生罪戒; (6) prohibition of speaking of the faults of others 談他過失戒; (7) prohibition of praising oneself and disparaging others 自讚毀他戒; (8) prohibition of stinginess and abuse of others 慳生毀辱戒; (9) prohibition of holding resentments and not accepting apologies 瞋不受謝戒; and (10) prohibition of denigrating the three treasures 毀謗三寶戒. For the forty-eight minor precepts, see C. Mueller, DDB (Digital Dictionary of Buddhism), *Sishiba qingjie* 四十八輕戒, [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?56.xml+id\('b56db-5341-516b-8f15-6212'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?56.xml+id('b56db-5341-516b-8f15-6212')), updated 2011-12-29.

<sup>45</sup> From a *gāthā* verse in fascicle two of the *Fanwang jing* (T 1484, 24: 1004a19).



no Buddha apart from mind.”<sup>46</sup> As a result, all material and immaterial [phenomena], whether emotional or mental, are without exception inherent in the Buddha-nature precepts (*foxing jie* 佛性戒; i.e., the bodhisattva precepts), that is to say, the mind of sentient beings and [the mind of] Buddha-nature are both endowed with the Buddha-mind precepts (*foxin jie* 佛心戒; i.e., the bodhisattva precepts).<sup>47</sup>

以《梵網經》云：「一切有心者，皆應攝佛戒。」且稟人者，誰不有心？凡成佛者，皆從心現。所以釋迦出世，開眾生心中，佛之知見；達磨西來，直指人心，見性成佛。故祖師云：「即心是佛，即佛是心；離心非佛，離佛非心。」所以一切色心，是情是心，皆入佛性戒中。即眾生佛性之心，具佛心戒矣。<sup>48</sup>

This discussion connects bodhisattva cultivation with Yanshou’s understanding of Chan as an exemplification of the cardinal teaching of Buddhism as the “mind school.” Following Yanshou’s discussion here, the Buddhist precepts—specifically the bodhisattva precepts discussed in the *Brahmajāla sūtra*—are implicitly endowed in the minds of all sentient beings (i.e., “anything possessing mind” 一切有心者). According to Yanshou, mind is the *axis mundi* of Buddhist practice, through which the transformation from common understanding to Buddha-awakening occurs. The bodhisattva precepts are the natural endowment of the mind that makes this transformation possible. Śākyamuni revealed that Buddha knowledge and insight is inherent in the minds of sentient beings. Bodhidharma affirmed Śākyamuni’s revelation, and “pointed directly to the human mind, to see one’s nature and become a Buddha” (直指人心，見性成佛), to cite a well known couplet attributed to him. The Buddha-mind and the mind of sentient beings are inseparable, and both are endowed with the Buddha-mind precepts and the capacity to become a Buddha. As a result, one needs only to cultivate the bodhisattva precepts, which are one’s natural endowment, to actualize the Buddha-nature that one inherently possesses.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄 (X 1321, 2b18 & 2b22-23). On the assertion “mind is Buddha” in Mazu and the Hongzhou faction, see Mario Poceski (2007, 168-72).

<sup>47</sup> X 1088, 365c5-10 (following 1975 reprinted Xinwenfeng line numbers).

<sup>48</sup> The punctuation provided is my own.

## Concluding Remarks

From the above, it would seem that our understanding of contemporary Chan at the time of Yanshou is in need of reassessment, that lineage is not necessarily the *sine qua non* of Chan orthodoxy that we have understood it to be. To repeat a point made above, I am not saying that lineage arrangements were not important, or unnecessary, to Chan as it developed in and around Yanshou's Wuyue region. To say that the connections between and among Buddhist masters and their secular overlords was insignificant would be a distortion of the facts, as the advance of masters to positions of significance in the wake of Xuefeng Yicun's and Fayuan Wenyi's influence throughout the region attests. Yet, masters from these lineages shared a notable devotion to the expedient practices that the larger tradition of Buddhism thrived on, and were reluctant to advocate for Chan as a unique and separate transmission in any significant way. Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* represents the culmination of this position.

Many would argue that even though this be the case, as the Chan tradition developed in the Song dynasty, it took on a decidedly Linji faction interpretation. This interpretation stipulated Chan as "a separate transmission outside the teachings," and mandated that lineage orthodoxy as the *sine qua non* of dharma transmission. Under this pressure, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled, asserting a Fayuan lineage and a prime place for Yanshou in it. Yanshou did not anticipate these developments, or at least was disinclined to acknowledge them. Conventional wisdom, based on considerable documentation, has it that Song dynasty Chan continued to be driven by the Linji faction's interpretation, especially through *yulu* 語錄 and *gong'an* 公案 collections, and the *huatou* 話頭 method. Yanshou's Chan was so out of step with these developments that it was largely shunned by the Chan world, to be "rescued" by Tiantai prelates like Zunshi 遵式 and Zhili 知禮,<sup>49</sup> and Yanshou's image was eventually redeemed as an advocate of rebirth in the Pure Land.<sup>50</sup>

As accurate as this portrayal is, it may not go far enough toward redeeming Yanshou and his influence. Consider, for example, the echo of Yanshou's position in Dōgen's 道元 (1200-1253) *Hōkyōki* 寶慶記, where

---

<sup>49</sup> Zunshi's liturgical program for lay people, as outlined by Daniel Stevenson (1999, 340-408), seems especially indebted to Yanshou's promotion of the bodhisattva precepts. On Zunshi and Zhili, see also Daniel Getz (1999, 477-523).

<sup>50</sup> See Welter (2011, 27-33).

Dōgen asks his master Rujing 如淨 (1162-1228) about the meaning of “a separate transmission outside the teachings,” and Rujing explains: “Why concern yourself over whether the great Way of the Buddhas and patriarchs is [transmitted] inside or outside [the teachings]? ... the phrase ‘a separate transmission outside the teachings’ simply refers to what was transmitted in addition to [the scriptures] .... The world cannot have two Buddha-Dharmas.”<sup>51</sup> As problematic as Dōgen’s depiction of Rujing’s teaching may be, something of Yanshou’s vision of a Chan teaching that is united to bodhisattva cultivation and transcends lineage orthodoxy is captured in Dōgen’s experience of Song Chan. While Yanshou acknowledges that lineage affiliation is an accepted component of Chan identity, it is not the ultimate or decisive determinant of true Buddhist allegiance. True Chan is a practice devoted to cultivation of the bodhisattva path, and includes the doctrines, rituals, and assertions of faith incumbent upon its fulfillment. True lineage was fostered through the teachings of Śākyamuni and encompassed the whole of the Buddhist tradition. Factions of Buddhism that failed to acknowledge this were not real Buddhism.

---

<sup>51</sup> I consulted the Japanese translations of Ikeda Rosan 池田魯参 (*Hōkyōki: Dōgen no nyūsō kyūhō nōto* 宝慶記：道元の入宋求法ノート [1989] 2004, 8-9); and Itō Shūken and Azuma Ryūshin (*Hōkyōki* 宝慶記 2003, 5-6). For an alternate translation, see Takashi James Kodera (1980, 118). The original text of the *Hōkyōki* is provided in both Ikeda’s translation (*Hōkyōki: Dōgen no nyūsō kyūhō nōto* 宝慶記：道元の入宋求法ノート [1989] 2004, 147-81) and in Itō and Azuma’s translation (*Hōkyōki* 宝慶記 2003, 87-101). For a fuller exploration of Dōgen’s indebtedness to Yanshou, see Welter (2012, 167-92, 256-62); the quote included here is excerpted from a longer passage in the *Hōkyōki* translated in Welter (2012, 171-72).

## References

### Primary Sources: Collections

*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1824-1932. Cited as T, followed by text number, volume and page.

CBETA digital version of *Shinsan Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, edited by Nishi, Giyū 西義雄, Kōshirō Tamaki 玉城康四郎, and Kōshō Kawamura 河村孝照. 90 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1975-1989. Cited as X, followed by text number and page.

### Primary Sources: Texts

*Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳. In Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Hōrinden yakuchū* 宝林伝訳注 (An Annotated Translation of the *Baolin zhuan*). Tokyo: Uchiyama shoten, 2003.

*Baso no goroku* 馬祖の語録. Translated by Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高. Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūjo, 1984.

*Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序. Zongmi 宗密. T 2015.

*Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀. Du Fei 杜朏. T 2838. In Yanagida Zeizan 柳田聖山, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* 初期の禪史 1. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971.

*Fanwang jing* 梵網經. Translation attributed to Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kumārajīva). T 1484.

*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀. Zhipan 志磐. T 2035.

*Hōkyōki* 宝慶記. Dōgen 道元. In Vol. 16 of *Genbun taishō gendaigoyaku Dōgen Zenji zenshū* 原文対照現代語訳道元禅師全集. Translated by Itō Shūken and Azuma Ryūshin. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2003.

*Hōkyōki: Dōgen no nyūsō kyūhō nōto* 宝慶記：道元の入宋求法ノート. Translated by Ikeda Rosan 池田魯参. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, [1989] 2004.

*Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄. Weibai 惟白. X 1556.

*Jiatai Pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄. Zhengshou 正受. X 1559.

*Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄. Daoyuan 道原. T 2076.

*Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記. Jingjue 淨覺. T 2837.

*Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記. T 2075.

*Mazu Daoyi chanshi yulu* 馬祖道一禪師語錄. X 1321.

- Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* 六祖壇經. In Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Shou pusa jiefa bingxu* 受菩薩戒法并序. Yanshou 延壽. X 1088.
- Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. Zanning 贊寧. T 2061.
- Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄. Li Zunxu 李遵勗. X 1553.
- Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集. Yanshou 延壽. T 2017.
- Zengen shosenshū tojo* 禪源諸詮集都序. Translated by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄. Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971.
- Zhijue Chanshi zixing lu* 智覺禪師自行錄. Compiled by Wenzhong 文冲. X 1232.
- Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄. Yanshou 延壽. T 2016.
- Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要. Wuming 悟明. X 1557.
- Zutang ji* 祖堂集. Korean: *Chodang chip*. Jing 靜 and Yun 筠. Comp. 952. In *Sodōshū* 祖堂集, ed. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山. Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1974.

## Secondary Sources

- Anderl, Christoph. 2004. *Studies in the Language of the Zu-tang ji*. Ph.D. dissertation. Faculty of Arts, University of Oslo.
- Broughton, Jeffrey. 2009. *Zongmi on Chan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dong Chun 董群. 2005. Yanshou dui Zongmi chanjiao ronghelun sixiangde jicheng he fazhan 延寿对宗密禅教融合论思想的继承和发展 [Yanshou's Continuation and Development of Zongmi's Chan-Jiao Syncretism]. In *Yongming Yanshou dashi yanjiu* 永明延寿大师研究, edited by Hangzhou Foxue yuan 杭州佛学院. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe.
- Getz, Daniel. 1999. T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Pure Land Patriarchate. In *Buddhism in the Sung*, edited by Peter N. Gregory and Daniel Getz, Jr. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gregory, Peter N. 1991. *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Jorgenson, John. 2005. Korea and the Compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. In *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Kinugawa Kenji 衣川賢次. 1998. Sodōshū satsuki 「祖堂集」札記. *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 禅文化研究紀要 24: 113-28.

- . 2003. *Sodōshū no kōri* 「祖堂集」の校理. *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化 83: 127-51.
- Kodera, Takashi James. 1980. *Dogen's Formative Years in China: an Annotated Translation of the Hōkyō-ki*. London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Liang Tianxi 梁天錫. 2000. *Zutang ji fenkao*: Songdai Liseng bubian fojiao chanzong zaoqi denglu yanjiu zhi er 《祖堂集》分考：宋代麗僧補編佛教禪宗早期燈錄研究之二. In Vol. 2 of *Song Xuxuan jiaoshou bashi rongshou lunwenji* 宋旭軒教授八十榮壽論文集. Taiwan: Taipei.
- Mueller, Charles, and E. Cho. 2012, April 4. *Fanwang jing* 梵網經. In *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* [database online], edited by Charles A. Mueller. <http://www.buddhism-dict.net>.
- Nakamura Hajime 中村元. 1975. *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辭典, Tokyo: Tōkyō shoseki.
- Poceski, Mario. 2007. *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄. 1979. *Sodōshū no hensei* 「祖堂集」の編成. *Shūgaku kenkyū* 宗學研究 21: 66-72.
- Song Daofa 宋道发. 2005. Cong Zongmide chanjiao yizhilun dao Yanshoude chanjiao ronghelun 从宗密的禪教一致论到延寿的禪教融合论 [From Zongmi's View of Identity between Chan and the Teachings to Yanshou's View of Harmony between Chan and the Teachings]. In *Yongming Yanshou dashi yanjiu* 永明延寿大师研究, edited by Hangzhou Foxue yuan 杭州佛学院. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe.
- Stevenson, Daniel. 1999. Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yün Tsun-shih (963-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung. In *Buddhism in the Sung*, edited by Peter N. Gregory and Daniel Getz, Jr. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Tajima Tokuo 田島德音. 1933-36. Ju bosakkai hō 受菩薩戒法. In vol. 5 of *Bussho kaisatsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典, edited by Ono Gemmyō 小野玄妙. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha.
- Waley, Arthur. 1968. Two Posthumous Articles. (I) A Sung Colloquial Story from the Tsu-T'ang Chi. *Asia Major* New Series 14: 242-46.
- Wang Cuiling 王翠玲. 1998. Eimei Enju no zenshūkan ni tsuite 永明延寿の禪宗觀について [On Yongming Yanshou's View of Zen]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 47: 201-04.
- Welter, Albert. 1993. *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yungming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*. New York: Peter Lang.
- . 2006. *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- . 2011. *Yongming Yanshou's Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu: A Special Transmission Within the Scriptures*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2012. Zen Syncretism: An Examination of Dōgen's Zen Thought in Light of Yongming Yanshou's Chan Teaching in the *Zongjing lu*. In *Dōgen: Historical and Textual Studies*, edited by Steven Heine. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山. 1984. Sodōshū kaidai 「祖堂集」解題. In *Sodōshū sakuin* 「祖堂集」索引 3, edited by Yanagida Seizan. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo.