

## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

Albert Welter

Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## Title Pages

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**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

2006

**(p.iv)** **OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further  
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Oxford New York

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Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.

198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

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Library of Congress Cataloging-In-Publication Data

Welter, Albert, 1952-

Monks, rulers, and literati: the political ascendancy of Chan Buddhism/Albert Welter.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13 978-0-19-517521-9

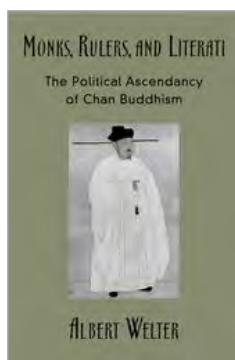
1. Zen Buddhism—China—History. 2. Buddhism and state—Zen Buddhism—History. 3. Zen Buddhism—Political aspects—China—History. I. Title.

BQ9262.5.W45 2005

294.3'927'0951—dc22 2005040454

Printed in the United States of America  
on acid-free paper

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### (p.v) Preface

When people first learn of my subject area, they often ask how I became interested in *that*. Much like the question, “Where are you from?” I am at a loss for the answer. I, of course, know the answers to these questions, but struggle to find a palatable formula, an explanation that does justice to my own experience and meets the understanding of others. People in my line of work often live very hybrid lives and form transnational identities. We live and work in cultures other than our own, trying to adapt to the circumstances we encounter. Although we share our experiences with many expatriates, we have interests in the cultures we study beyond what are considered usual ones. As a consequence, our experiences often diverge. I remember, for example, changing trains at Akasaka-mitsuke, one of Tokyo's notoriously busy subway stations, during evening rush hour. As I crossed the platform in a mad rush to catch my connection, my glance met that of two visiting businessmen, probably staying at one of the posh hotels in the area. At first, they smiled in recognition, but quickly turned aghast as they observed me squeeze myself forcefully into my train, as most natives have long been accustomed to doing, as the station master's whistle blew its warning of imminent departure. Eccentricities dissolve into the commonplace, and become part of normal experience. Having lived in a number of places, the notion of where we are from becomes a blur of these experiences from different places. Many nomads cling, understandably, to their place of origin, but after awhile this, too, may become a faint memory of a time past. As I embarked on the present study, I was often reminded of the disjuncture that occurs between one's experience and the struggle to represent it.

**(p.vi)** Work on this volume began somewhat modestly, as an effort to clarify for myself what I naively presumed was already well-tilled terrain. Surely, I thought, the primary sources for the study of Chan and Zen, the vaunted transmission records that were openly paraded at every turn, had been thoroughly

investigated. I soon discovered that this was not the case, and I subsequently launched into a series of investigations that are comprised in the present volume. While the studies began as independent projects, the relative proximity in time and place of the texts and figures treated lends itself to comprehensive treatment. I beg the reader's indulgence for any unnecessary repetition that remains.

I have long been interested in the role of Buddhism in the Five Dynasties and early Song periods. My curiosity was spurred by earlier studies on Yanshou and Zanning, two Buddhist prelates whose presence looms large over this and subsequent periods. Still, these figures represented only one side of Buddhism during this period, a regional manifestation, and one quite different from the Chan orthodoxy that ultimately prevailed in the Song. No matter how important and influential their scholastic and learned writings were, they represented a far cry from the direct style and rough and ready techniques represented in generic Chan sources. It behooved me to become familiar with this other side of Chan, which established the parameters of normative Chan for many down to the present day. What I discovered was a complex story of well-placed elites, both religious and secular, who quite literally changed the face of Chan history and established Chan as we know it.

The road to this place was not simple. This work represents a culmination of sorts, of interests I developed over the years, starting with the study of politics and leading fortuitously to Chinese history, language, and culture. I became aware of Chan (Japanese Zen) as a product of these interests, rather than the other way around, and this is probably a determining aspect of the approach to the subject I am most comfortable with. An understanding of Chan, or any other religious or intellectual phenomenon for that matter, never made sense to me apart from the context and circumstances that produced it. As compelling and inspirational as Zen literature is, I find it foolhardy to divorce it from these circumstances. And while I realize that my own context similarly conditions the work I produce, it remains important to me to situate the texts and figures I study in their own milieus, as representations and representatives of Chan in dialogue with each other.

I would not have arrived at this place were it not for the support and encouragement of others. In a work where lineage and support play such a crucial role, I would be remiss if I did not mention those whose contributions over the years helped to make this volume possible. As an undergraduate, Glenn Dealy first made me aware of the importance of religion for shaping social and political values. Leonard Adolf awakened my interest in Chinese and East Asian history. Hee-jin Kim first introduced me to the study of Buddhism, Zen, and East Asian intellectual history. His lectures provoked my interest in Asian religions and my decision to choose the study of them as a career. As a graduate student, I had the great fortune to be guided by Koichi Shinohara, **(p.vii)** who instilled

standards of scholarship in me that have continued to guide me and to which I still aspire. The mark of his subtle guidance is still reflected in these pages. To Jan Yün-hua I owe my interest in Yanshou and, by extension, the whole Five Dynasties and early Song period. I have also had the good fortune to study with leading academics in Japan, most especially, Ishii Shūdō of Komazawa University, who has been an unfailing source of support and guidance. He and his late wife, Emi, have extended to me gracious hospitality over the years I can never begin to repay. Tanaka Ryōshō, recently retired from Komazawa, also showered me with attention and kindness during my early years in Japan. I hope that this work might, in some small way, serve as compensation for all the academic debts incurred. In addition, I am indebted to the two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript who offered valuable suggestions for improving the contents and avoiding unnecessary errors. I remain, however, solely responsible for any errors or oversights that remain.

More recently, I have been assisted by Okayama Hajime of the Tōyō bunko, Tokyo University, who arranged my stay and generously assisted me in gaining access to the collections there. I also had the opportunity to meet and discuss my work with Nishiguchi Yoshio of Hanazono University, and to access materials housed in the Hanazono University library. In addition to library resources already mentioned, I have been able to use the East Asian collections at the University of Chicago, University of Toronto, and the University of British Columbia. I am grateful for the assistance by staff at these institutions in facilitating my access to their collections, especially Eleanor Yuen, head of the Asian Library at UBC, who generously granted me office space during my stay there. A number of colleagues have offered encouragement in various ways over the years. In this regard, I would like to thank especially John McRae, the late David Chappell, Merry Levering, Peter Gregory, Dan Getz, Evelyn Ding-hwa Hsieh, Steven Heine, Dale Wright, Morten Schlütter, and Mario Poceski. Very special thanks go to Yasuhiro Miyakawa, who spent precious time assisting me in the preparation of the character glossary and bibliography. Thanks also to Cynthia Read and Theo Calderara of Oxford University Press for their assistance in bringing the manuscript to publication, and especially to Gwen Colvin, production editor, and Rene Leath, copyeditor, who ensured that mistakes in the text were far fewer than they would have been. I am also very grateful to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their generous support of my research over the years. I am truly privileged to live in a country that places value on idle scholarly pursuits, even those remotely connected to contemporary social and cultural agendas. Like the Chan monks I write about, my opportunities would be far fewer without this support.

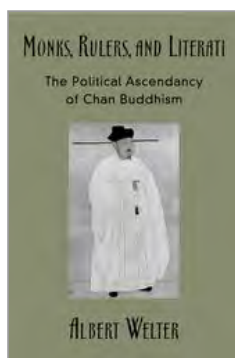
Some of this work has been presented in earlier contexts. Most of the chapters emerged from presentations at learned societies, most notably at annual meetings of the American Academy of Religion and the Association of Asian Studies. Earlier versions of chapters 4 and 5, on Chan Transmission and

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Factional Motives in the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* and the *Transmission of the (p.viii) Lamp* appeared in a study prepared for *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Elizabeth, and daughter, Maeve, who persevere through the intricacies of medieval China with me, and offer pleasant diversions from it.

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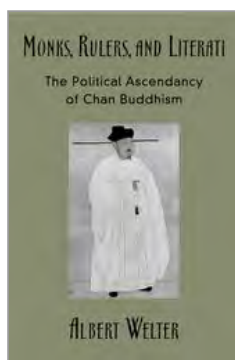
## (p.xi) A Note on the Transcription of Chinese Terms and Names

Regarding the transcription of Chinese, I have used *pinyin* throughout, except in cases where a name was otherwise more familiar (eg., Yangtze River). When citing other's works Wade-Giles has sometimes been retained (especially in titles). Cases where Wade-Giles romanization has been converted to *pinyin* have been noted.

Regarding nomenclature for members of the Chinese Buddhist clergy, the reader should be aware of the following. Buddhist monks' names in China are complicated by the fact that individual monks may have several names: a birth (or lay) name; an ordination (or clerical) name; a name associated with their primary place of residence, usually the name of a monastery or the monastery's locale; one or more honorific names bestowed upon them by secular leaders; a posthumous honorific name. The more illustrious the career of a monk, the more likely he will be granted honorific titles, a situation that applies frequently to the monks under discussion. The birth or lay name, when noted, normally ceases to appear in Buddhist records, which typically refer to a monk by his clerical name and/or monastery name or locale (eg., Yongming Yanshou = Yanshou of Yongming monastery). This is the style of appellation I have also followed, normally giving the full name (monastery name/locale plus ordination name) on first instance and then using the clerical name, except in cases where a monk is more familiarly known by his monastery name/locale (eg. Linji Yixuan as Linji). Not infrequently, monks are referred to in Buddhist records by an honorific name. In these cases I have normally reverted to the conventional style of appellation, except in cases where the honorific name assumed conventional status (eg. Fayen Wenyi for Jinling Wenyi). **(p.xii)**

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# The Historical and Geographical Context of Chan's Official Acceptance

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0001

## Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the geographical and historical context of the official acceptance of Chan Buddhism in China. It examines the role rulers and officials played in recognizing Chan and the role of literati in sanctioning the interpretation of Chan that became a hallmark of its public persona as a special transmission outside the teaching. It also investigates that functions that regional Chan movements played in forging a collective Chan identity while reserving the privilege of supreme orthodoxy for their own lineages.

*Keywords:* Chan Buddhism, religious acceptance, China, religious identity, literati

In the second half of the seventh century, an obscure religious community gathered around a Buddhist monk of the East Mountain (in present-day Hubei province) by the name of Hongren (600–74).<sup>1</sup> As the movement gained prominence, it strove to distinguish itself among the Buddhist schools and communities that dominated the contemporary Tang dynasty religious milieu. Organized around a framework of lineages dominated by powerful patriarchs and enigmatic masters renowned for their spiritual acumen, Chan emerged as a memorable and uniquely Chinese style of Buddhism. Well after the fact, later generations of Chan adherents designated Hongren as the fifth patriarch in the transmission of Chan in China and made his teacher Daoxin (580–651) the fourth patriarch. An obscure student of Hongren, Huineng (638–713), eventually became confirmed as the sixth patriarch.<sup>2</sup> All future Chan generations traced themselves through this lineage. The classic Chan style forged by illustrious

masters of the Tang, retrospectively known as the “five houses” (*wujia*), followed in their wake.

The story of Chan, its rise from an obscure movement to an officially recognized and dominant form of Buddhism in China and throughout East Asia, has inspired spiritual seekers and fascinated audiences for centuries. Its stories and legends are widely recounted. During the last century, these same stories and legends have crossed previous cultural divides and are now becoming familiar internationally, inspiring both converts and the intellectually curious in lands and cultures far removed in time and place from those who figure prominently in the stories themselves.

**(p.4)** The story of Chan's emergence as one of the most prominent forms of Chinese and East Asian Buddhism has not been fully told. More correctly, it has been told only from a particular vantage point. Zen propagandists and apologists in the twentieth century sold the world on the story of Zen as a transcendental spiritualism untainted by political and institutional involvements. The world, even the academic world ensconced in a tradition of skeptical inquiry, often reveled in this clever artifice. Enthralled with the Orientalist fantasy of a suprarational, mystic wisdom that transcended the supposedly mundane, superficial logic of Western dualism, Zen came to represent a true spiritual purity, untempered by the passage of time and the vagaries of place. Chan, especially the “golden age” of hallowed Tang masters, represented the crucible of this Zen legacy. Following these assumptions, an idea of “true” or “pure” Zen emerged that privileged the accomplishments of legendary Chan heroes in the Tang dynasty.<sup>3</sup> The masters were mostly connected to the Linji lineage derived by descendants of Mazu Daoyi. They formed the framework around which later generations claimed orthodoxy, and it is no surprise members of the Rinzai (Linji) lineage in Japan fostered a revival of Zen predicated on this orthodoxy.

Stimulated by the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts, there have been prodigious accomplishments in our understanding of Tang Chan. As a result, the early history of the Chan movement has been rewritten.<sup>4</sup> The Chan (and Zen) tradition, from its outset, has emphasized dharma-transmission between master and disciple as a cardinal feature of its identity and orthodoxy. While the tradition itself highlights the often contested nature of this transmission, Tang scholarship has revealed both a wider cast of contestants and a vastly more complicated story surrounding the early development of Chan factions than the one traditionally assumed. Traditional accounts can no longer be taken at face value, but must be read in conjunction with the motives of those sponsoring them. The notion of Zen transcendence, a “pure” Zen immune from the strictures of time and place, has been challenged as but another ideological construct formed to serve the interests of institutions and their patrons.<sup>5</sup>

As scholarship has successfully clarified and contextualized the Tang Chan tradition and the contested role of orthodoxy, attention has begun to shift to the Song period.<sup>6</sup> Often neglected as unimportant for either Buddhist or Chan developments,<sup>7</sup> the Song has emerged as a critical period in the formation of Chinese and East Asian Buddhism.<sup>8</sup> The most important assertion this shift portends for the study of Chan is that the vaunted Chan identity associated with Tang “golden age” masters was actually conceived in the Song. The story of Song Chan, especially early Song Chan, thus forms an indispensable chapter in the creation of the Chan tradition. Without knowledge of how Chan tradition was shaped in the early Song—who shaped it and why—the full story of Chan cannot be known.

The shift in emphasis from Tang to Song is, in part, a function of how Chan texts have come to be read and appreciated. Classic texts for the study of Chan identity, the *denglu* (transmission records) contain our earliest information on the formation of Chan as an integrated tradition, and have long been (p.5) known to scholars. These records are arranged as a series of interconnected descriptions of illustrious Chan practitioners according to lineages of masters and disciples. Thinking of these sources as essentially biographies, readers tended to treat these records as reliable accounts and used them to reconstruct the lives and actual teachings of individual masters living during the Tang period. This has proved to be a faulty approach.<sup>9</sup> Yanagida Seizan, the doyenne of critical Chan and Zen scholarship in Japan, has suggested Buddhist “historical” records such as Chan *denglu* are unlike other historical sources in that they are connected to literature in their composition, more akin to narrative stories in what amounts to a kind of historical fiction.<sup>10</sup> This blend of history and fiction forms a brocade of intersecting plots, dramas, and data rich in texture. Too often, the records have been read as representing only “historical” content, an approach that diminishes our understanding and reduces Chan to the linear facade the tradition celebrates. While hard historical facts—dates of birth, ordination, monastic appointments, dates of death, and so forth—form the framework around which the “biographical” records were constructed and are important for considering a master's achievements, many have interpreted the slippery and elusive content of a master's sermons and dialogues as equally trustworthy. Moreover, to highlight the reputations of “golden age” masters celebrated in *denglu*, priority has often been given to the sermons and dialogues (*yulu* style materials) attributed to them as a mark of their true Chan identity, and little attention given to historical data. In the present study, I have reversed the priority normally ceded to *yulu* style materials in *denglu* compilations in favor of the historical detail provided regarding associations between Chan monks and secular rulers and literati officials, appointments of Chan monks to different monasteries, the honors bestowed on them, and so on.

Yanagida also suggested the appropriate way to interpret Chan transmission records was to situate them according to the times when they were written and the religious intentions of their compilers.<sup>11</sup> In other words, Chan transmission records should be treated as literary collections, compiled with the needs and interests of certain groups and their sponsors in mind. In addition, attention must be given to the effect compilers' motives and interests had on the shape given to the collections of biographies themselves and how masters' lives came to be projected in them. The texts in question were compiled from roughly the early Song period onward. Focus shifts from the lives of the "golden age" Chan masters of the Tang to the story of Chan ascendancy in the Song, when monks and secular officials first created this notion of a Tang "golden age."

Much has been written about the classic Chan style based on the sermons and antics recorded in them as if they contained trustworthy accounts of actual events. The real story of Chan lies not so much in the account of a master's teachings, which must in any event be viewed as a highly stylized projection of the interests of later groups and the sponsors of the collections in which they are recorded, as in the worldly success the master achieved. In spite of the mythology of the ascetic monk dwelling in peaceful solitude, unconcerned with the trappings of worldly achievement, successful Chan masters headed **(p.6)** flourishing congregations. They were appointed to prestigious monasteries, granted honorific titles and awards, and were provided support by illustrious rulers and officials. This shift in emphasis from a master's religious teachings to his political connections constitutes a marked shift in orientation, revealing the circumstances behind Chan's success.

Chan's success could not have occurred without political support. In spite of the myth of Chan aloofness from political entanglements, the success of Chan was predicated on precisely these entanglements. While Chan rhetoric has emphasized its distinctness from organized religion and claimed a unique approach to Buddhism that alleviated the need to forge political alliances, the ascendancy of Chan resulted from the same strategy employed by other religious groups throughout history: winning the support of well-placed people. Chan prosperity was based on the people it attracted. Successful Chan masters won the admiration and support of influential rulers and public officials. These rulers and public officials appointed Chan masters to prestigious monasteries in their jurisdictions as part of the duties of their office.<sup>12</sup> Depending on the religious persuasions of the rulers and officials in question, some became lay students of a particular master and sought to attain recognition as a dharma-transmission heir themselves. Under the aura of Chan, illustrious literati, some of whom were among the highest representatives of the government, sought to further the interests of Chan by promoting its teachings as an instrument of state ideology.

Chan transmission records, the literary collections documenting the Chan movement and its aspirations, were forged to champion certain Chan factions and their political supporters. The Chan story, as traditionally constructed, supposed a meaningful and purposeful progression of figures and events representing the unfolding of incipient Chan truths. The idea of lineage transmission, so crucial to Chan identity, fosters this claim. Incorporated into the idea of Chan transmission is the notion of an essential Chan truth (conceived as a “non-essential essence”) passed from master to disciple, from the seven Buddhas of antiquity, through Śākyamuni and the Indian patriarchs, to Bodhidharma and into China, where it flourished through a series of Chinese masters and lineages. While the transmitted Chan essence was variously conceived—as “dharma-jewel” (*fabao*), “eye-treasure of the true dharma” (*zhengfa yenzang*), the “mind-ground” (*xindi*), and so on—what was important was not so much the formulation as the supposition of a transmitted essence itself. Recourse to this essence provided the Chan community with access to a Chan semblance of eternal truth. Like spiritual traditions before and after, truth assumed a design, revealed through a purposeful progression of events. In other words, retelling the Chan story served as handmaiden of Chan universality. The Chan historical record became a function of Chan truth. According to how this truth was understood, certain aspects of the Chan story were emphasized, expanded, and augmented. Other aspects were devalued, marginalized, and excised. All was done in the name of Chan's true essence, through which different versions of Chan orthodoxy were promoted. The result was a story worthy of Chan truth, compelling and meaningful.

**(p.7)** The story of Chan success involves a complex array of factors involving national and local political developments, social trends, regional tendencies, and policies toward religion. In order to understand these forces, it is useful to review briefly the course of Buddhist history in the Tang dynasty and some of the major political events of the time.<sup>13</sup>

After the fall of the Han (206 BCE–220 CE), and centuries of disunion, China achieved reunification in the Sui (581–617) and Tang (618–906). With reunification a more systematic approach to policy was developed, including the treatment of the Buddhist religion. Unlike the Sui dynasty, which gave strong support to Buddhism, particularly to the interpretation of Tiantai doctrine forged by Zhiyi (538–97), the approach to Buddhism in the early Tang was ambivalent.<sup>14</sup> The first Tang emperor, Gaozu (r. 618–26), while acknowledging Buddhist influence over Chinese society and the powerful support it enjoyed, enacted policies to restrict Buddhism and place it under government control. Gaozu's successor, Taizong (r. 626–49), insisted the Tang imperial family was descended from the Daoist sage, Laozi, on the basis that both had the same surname, Li. As a result, he granted Daoists positions of priority at all state-sponsored ceremonies, a clear reflection of his policy directives concerning the two religions. As a practical measure, however, Taizong's policies also

encouraged support for Buddhism. He had stūpas and shrines constructed on battlefields to offer memorials to fallen soldiers. He enlisted monks' participation in sūtra recitation ceremonies at Buddhist monasteries to pray for good harvests, and held memorial services at monasteries to celebrate the birthdays and anniversaries of living and dead emperors. Toward the end of his reign, he feted the renowned Buddhist pilgrim, Xuanzang (602–64), and formed a close personal relationship with Xuanzang in his later years. During the reign of Taizong's successor, Gaozong (r. 649–83), Buddhist and Daoist temples were established for the expressed purpose of national welfare and prosperity and to exhibit the emperor's virtue.

The culmination of pro-Buddhist Tang policy was reached during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705).<sup>15</sup> Viewed from the perspective of official Chinese history, Empress Wu is regarded as an illegitimate ruler who usurped power from the legitimate emperor, Zhongzong, and attempted to create a new dynasty, called Zhou. While the proposed policies of Empress Wu did not indicate any substantial deviation from those of the Tang, her use of religious imagery marked a radical departure from previous use. Inspired by passages in a Buddhist scripture, the *Dayun jing* (Great Cloud Scripture), predicting the appearance of a future female monarch, Empress Wu was persuaded to assume power as the earthly incarnation of Maitreya.<sup>16</sup> She decreed that Great Cloud monasteries (*dayun si*), which were to symbolically spread the Buddha dharma as clouds confer rain, be erected throughout the realm to disseminate the message of the *Dayun jing*. In addition, Empress Wu reversed the imperial policy of favoring Daoists on official occasions, by giving priority of place to Buddhist monks. Empress Wu was also responsible for initiating official recognition of Chan, as we shall see in chapter 2.

**(p.8)** When Empress Wu's influence over the court ended, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) imposed restrictions on the size and construction of Buddhist monasteries and estates, and stricter requirements for entrance to the Buddhist clergy. However, while Xuanzong reinstituted Daoism as the favored religion of the Tang dynasty, he was shrewd enough politically to recognize the great influence Buddhism held over the populace. To this end, he established a new set of national Buddhist monasteries, after the manner of Empress Wu's Great Cloud monasteries,<sup>17</sup> bearing the name of his reign title, *kaiyuan*, so as to associate them directly to the imperial mission. Thus, even with Xuanzong's curtailment policies, Buddhism continued to thrive through popular support and official patronage during his reign. All of this came to an abrupt halt following the rebellion of An Lushan, driving the emperor and his court into exile. Although imperial power was subsequently restored, the Tang dynasty would never be the same. Politically, the authority of the central government was weakened, as power shifted to regional commanders (*jiedu shi*). Economically, the government suffered fiscal setbacks when it failed to balance its budget. Intellectually, a new and virulent form of Confucian nationalism arose, viewing

Buddhism as anti-Chinese, an economic parasite draining China's valuable resources, and a sanctuary of superstitious beliefs and outlandish customs.

Chan's rise to prominence coincides with important events instrumental to the direction Buddhism in China would take. The late Tang saw further deterioration of an already weak government, culminating in the demise of central government authority. Rebels and bandit leaders roamed the country, usurping power, controlling outright large territories and causing untold chaos in others. Following the characterization of Robert M. Somers, the decline of Tang authority may be characterized in the following stages: (1) the rebellion of An Lushan and its immediate aftermath [755–80]; (2) campaigns to restore dynastic unity, resulting in increasing tax burdens for the peasantry [780–820]; (3) emergence of a growing patterns of disorder and local banditry [820–60]; (4) broadly supported garrison insurrections [860–75]; (5) a popular rebellion of immense proportions [875–84]; and (6) Tang government abandonment of large areas of its domain [884–907].<sup>18</sup>

This gradual and irreversible decline of Tang authority resulted in the geographical division of China. As students of Chinese history are aware, the lack of central authority and division into regional enclaves in China is traditionally viewed as an aberration. The ideal Chinese state is always represented as a unified one, governed by an emperor who wields power through an imperial bureaucracy of scholar-officials responsible for establishing and administering government policy. While there may be, and often was, room for ample regional autonomy within the parameters of imperial authority, regional governance was harmonized with imperial policy. National concerns were given priority, when necessary, over regional ones.<sup>19</sup> The conventions of dynastic history writing in China affirm this model. Imperial authority is assumed to prevail unless evidence to the contrary is so overwhelming so as to preclude its denial. As a result, while the Tang retained nominal authority until the **(p.9)** beginning of the tenth century, its actual ability to successfully wield power and control events within its borders was effectively compromised much earlier. It came to represent a situation not unlike that of the Zhou in ancient China, which retained the symbols of imperial authority even while real power was wielded elsewhere in defiance of Zhou's position. As Tang power eroded and China succumbed to banditry and warlordism, the situation resembled that of China's ancient "warring states period," where all pretense of imperial rule was effectively shattered and China succumbed to full-scale civil war. During the "Five Dynasties" period, the pretense of dynastic succession, as the name implies, was maintained. The reality was far different. Lien-sheng Yang, for example, highlighted the significance of this period in Chinese history when he distinguished between two patterns of rule in China: (1) the "feudal system" (*fengjian*), when the empire is united and the position of state ruler is hereditary; and (2) the "prefectural system" (*junxian*), when the empire is divided into prefectures and districts ruled by prefects and magistrates

appointed by the central government. According to Yang, pattern (1) was effectively curtailed in China from the Han dynasty on, “except toward the end of the Tang when regional commanders wielded power in a manner reminiscent of feudal states in ancient China.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, the end of the Tang and Five Dynasties period may be viewed as China's second “warring states” period, with many of the same implications for the magnitude of impact its innovations would have on China's future.

The turmoil of the tenth century was not isolated to China alone, but extended throughout East Asia. The expression “internal disorder and external calamity” (*nailuan waihuan*) characterized the domestic and international situation of the era, particularly on the mainland, where Korea suffered the breakdown of the Silla kingdom and the rise of the state of Koryō, the Khitan founded the Liao dynasty beyond the Great Wall, and the Jurchens in northern Manchuria and the Tangut Xi Xia tribes on the northwest frontier grew in power and influence.<sup>21</sup> If anything characterized the Chinese situation, it was the persisting length of the turmoil. Given the fluidity of the situation, the precarious nature of political authority during the period, and the ineffectiveness of central control, China devolved into a multistate system in which all acted autonomously to one degree or another.<sup>22</sup>

During this period of disunion, many candidates for the throne, north and south, adopted imperial pretensions in the hopes their aspirations might become reality. Later on convention determined that correct imperial succession passed through a string of northern dynastic pretenders, as seen above. At the same time, the deteriorating situation of Tang rule had an immense impact on the course of Buddhism in China. The suppression of Buddhism during the *Huichang era* (841–46) of Wuzong's reign, for example, was instigated in part by the government's fiscal problems, whereupon the existence of large landed estates in the hands of Buddhist clergy was deemed unsustainable.<sup>23</sup> While everyone agrees this event changed the face of Buddhism in China, depriving the established schools of their position of privilege and jeopardizing their very institutional existence, few, until recently, have seen **(p.10)** this event in terms of the transformation it precipitated, preferring instead to characterize it as beginning a long, inevitable process of Buddhist decline.<sup>24</sup> This characterization, based on notions of the Tang as the apogee of Buddhism in China, tells only half of the story. The glory of Tang Buddhism did, in fact, come to an inevitable end with the demise of the Tang social order. And just as China as a whole faced a precarious future, Buddhism too struggled to regain footing in the new social landscape. Buddhism did reemerge, however, as did Chinese society, in a renewed and vigorous form. The story of this Buddhist resurgence is, in large part, the story of Chan.



Two patterns represent this period of division. On the one hand, there is the assumed continuation of dynastic authority in the north, mentioned above. This pattern stipulates the rise and fall, in quick succession, of five dynasties, the names of which reveal repeated attempts to secure legitimacy through association with successful dynasties of the past.

Latter Liang (907–23)

Latter Tang (923–36)

Latter Jin (936–46)

Latter Han (947–50)

Latter Zhou (951–59)

The story of Buddhist resurgence, however, is closely connected to regional prosperity and independence, especially in the south. This represents the second pattern of the period of division. Ten separate and independent domains came to characterize this pattern.<sup>25</sup>

Wu (892–937)

Nan [Southern] Tang (937–75)

Former Shu (907–25)

Latter Shu (934–65)

Nan [Southern] Han (917–71)

Chu (896–951)

Wuyue (895–978)

Min (909–45)

Jingnan (907–63)

Bei [Northern] Han (951–79)

All but the last two regimes listed, Jingnan and Bei (Northern) Han, were located in southern China. The Former and Latter Shu regimes were based in southwest China, in present-day Sichuan province. The remaining six regimes—Wu, Nan (Southern) Tang, Nan (Southern) Han, Chu, Wuyue, and Min—were located in southern and southeastern China, extending over present-day Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangxi and Hunan provinces.<sup>26</sup>

The succession of warlords with dynastic pretensions dominated political affairs in the north.<sup>27</sup> As indicated above, these were not the only regimes with dynastic pretensions. The relative longevity and prosperity of southern regimes **(p.11)** provided better qualification for the assumption of dynastic power, and it is clear some of the southern regimes harbored such ambitions. Many of these regimes were economically powerful and conducted foreign affairs and international trade belying their status as independent domains.<sup>28</sup> Whatever aspirations Wu, Min, and Chu had to form their own dynasties were dashed by the encroachments of Nan Tang, to whom they eventually succumbed, making it one of the major powers in the south.<sup>29</sup> Another region with dynastic pretensions was Wuyue, a region of relative peace and prosperity during these otherwise troubled times.<sup>30</sup> Wuyue was largely sheltered from the rest of China by its

position along the coast, buffered by the powerful state of Nan Tang.<sup>31</sup> Nan Han, located far to the southeast, was also largely insulated from the problems prevailing throughout China, and harbored dreams of an independent dynasty.

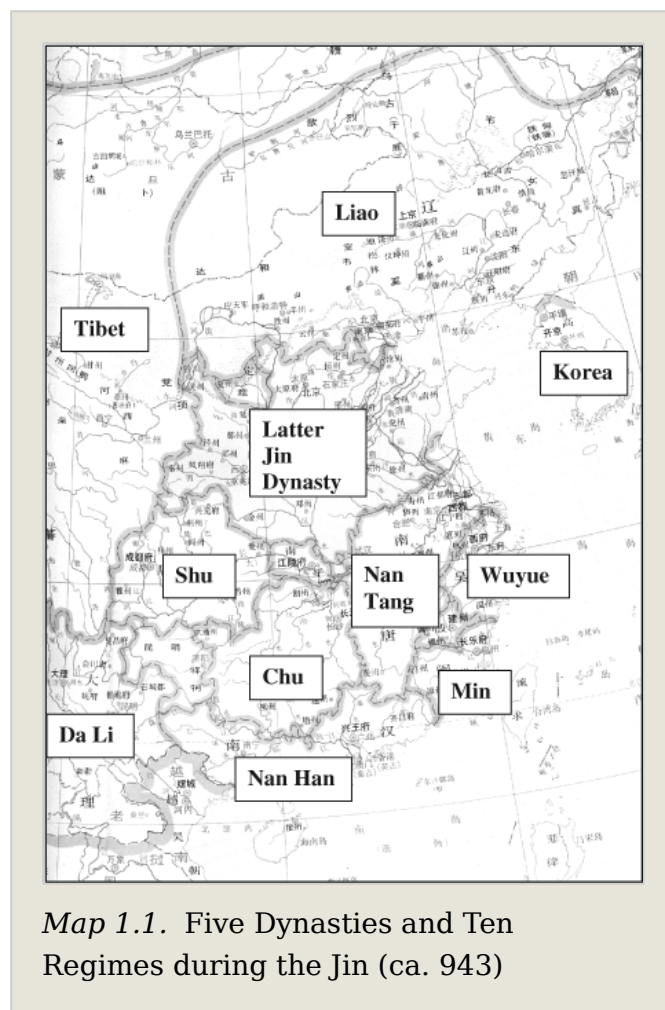
Southern regimes were also the main carriers of culture during the Tang-Song interregnum. One measure of this is the superior literary legacy left by the men of the ten regimes compared to their northern dynastic impersonators. The one-hundred-fascicle work devoted to poetry during the Five Dynasties period, the *Quan wudai shi* (Complete Poems of the Five Dynasties), compiled in the Qing dynasty by Li Tiaoyuan (1734–1803), suggests the overwhelming predominance of literati from the ten regimes.<sup>32</sup> Of the one hundred fascicles, eighty-three are devoted to literati poetry from the ten regimes; the poetry of the five northern dynasties covers a mere seventeen fascicles.<sup>33</sup>

The dominance of southern literati was also an issue at the Song court after the regimes of the south were integrated into the new dynasty. The first Song emperor, Taizu, had strong reservations toward southern officials and relied almost exclusively on scholars from the north.<sup>34</sup> The consolidation of the empire was completed early in the reign of the second Song emperor, Taizong (r. 976–97), and the task of integrating southern literati into the new regime fell to him. One of the aims of Taizong's promotion of literary projects was the incorporation of southern literati and their knowledge into the Song fold.<sup>35</sup> This points to the political dimension of literary compilations, a theme that also emerges in imperial decisions to commission collections of Buddhist and Chan works discussed in later chapters. The need to deal with the Buddhist question was spurred in large part by the popularity it enjoyed in southern regimes.

Buddhism, especially Chan, emerged as a leading force in Min, Nan Han, Nan Tang, and Wuyue (see map 1.1).<sup>36</sup> As subsequent chapters will show, the development of regional Chan movements during this period was predicated on the close associations between Chan masters and members of local ruling elites. Local patrons erected new monasteries and designated which Chan masters would serve at major Buddhist establishments in their domains. Buddhism (particularly Chan) figured prominently in the lives of many rulers and administrators in these areas. The Buddhist presence in these regions continued well into the Song dynasty. Throughout the Song, for example, half of China's monks hailed from Zhejiang and Fujian. Four prefectures in southeast China—Taizhou, Mingzhou, Yuezhou, and Hangzhou—had a high density of **(p.12)** Buddhist monasteries and formed the center for Buddhism in the Lower Yangtze region.<sup>37</sup> The dominance exhibited by Buddhist institutions in the Song was based on the pattern established by southern regimes during the Five Dynasties period. The following table (1.1) points briefly to the ruling family of each of these regimes, and the leading Chan master(s) who figured prominently in each of them. We will later see how Chan texts compiled during this period, and many

of the figures portrayed in them, were closely connected to these regimes and the patterns of patronage that prevailed in them.

(p.13)



**Table 1.1. Patterns of Chan Patronage in Southern Kingdoms during the 10th Century**

Kingdom	Ruling Family	Chan Master
Min	Wang Family	Xuefeng Yicun (822–908)
		Zhaoqing Wendeng (884–972; until 945)
Nan Han	Liu Family	Yunmen Wenyan (864–949)
Nan Tang	Li Family	Fayan Wenyi (885–958)
		Zhaoqing Wendeng (884–972; after 945)
Wuyue	Qian Family	Tiantai Deshao (891–972)
		Yongming Yanshou (904–975)

With the assumption of Song authority in 960, the continuation of other independent regimes became unsustainable. Starting with Jingnan in 963, formerly self-governing regions throughout China were subdued by the Song. The Latter Shu followed in 965, and in 971, Nan Han too was forced to return to Song control. China slowly but steadily reverted to the centralizing forces of Song administrative control. When the Nan Tang regime fell in 975, encompassing former territories held by the Wu, Min, and Chu regimes, any hopes for preserving territorial independence in China evaporated. Wuyue negotiated a tense settlement shortly thereafter, ceding control over its territory to the Song in 978. The northern regime of Bei Han, which had formed as late as 951, succumbed the following year in 979. All of China was once again consolidated under imperial authority. The dreams held by other states of independent domains passed into memory.

The Song dynasty brought more than a reconsolidation of central authority to China.<sup>38</sup> The Song spurred the creation of a new sense of China itself. The new China inspired by Song visionaries is well beyond the current focus. What evolved in China at this time was nothing less than a new paradigm for Chinese society, a total reorientation involving fundamental changes in class structure, technological innovations, increased agricultural productivity, rising literacy, expanding commercial enterprise, and large-scale urbanization. It also precipitated a newfound confidence in China's native intellectual traditions, especially Confucianism.<sup>39</sup>

The importance of the late Tang through early Song periods for transforming China was first acknowledged by the Japanese Sinologist Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934), whose insights have long been celebrated by those championing the Song dynasty's importance as a major turning point in history. Naitō argued that “modern times” in China began during this period when the social system changed, and not with the arrival of foreigners in the Ming and Qing periods.<sup>40</sup> For Naitō, the seeds of modern social structure were sown during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods when the respect for pedigree that had characterized the Tang aristocracy was swept away and military leaders arose from the common soldiery. According to Naitō, the transition from Tang to Song was characterized by features such as: (1) a decay of the aristocracy (**p.14**) and the rise of despotism; (2) the establishment of the independent position of the emperor; (3) an increase in the mobility and freedom of commoners; (4) a change in the examination system to appoint people on the basis of merit rather than pedigree; (5) a change in the nature of political cliques from affiliations governed by kinship groups to affiliations governed by policy initiatives; (6) changes in the economy (e.g., introduction of paper currency, urbanization, and technological innovations, especially printing); and (7) changes in culture to reflect the tastes of the people as a whole rather than the “refined” styles of aristocrats.<sup>41</sup>

The broad features that transformed Chinese society and culture from the late Tang through the early Song also had a wide-ranging impact on Buddhism in China. While the Naitō hypothesis regarding the Tang-Song transition and its impact on Chinese society has become something of a cliché, it is hard to overestimate the revolution that occurred and the effect that it had on Buddhism. The demise of the aristocracy deprived Buddhism of its primary source of support. The establishment of an independent imperial institution increased Buddhist dependence on the offices and policies of the imperial government. The formation of a new class of scholar-officials made them significant patrons of a “new” Buddhism established to meet their needs. All in all, these changes amounted to the creation of a new Chinese Buddhism that reflected the religious longings and newly emerged sense of identity among the Chinese elite.<sup>42</sup> Chan was one of Buddhism's responses to these forces. As it strove to demarcate itself clearly from the aristocratic Buddhism that preceded it, Chan developed a new religious style with readily accessible public appeal. This style culminated in the famed Chan literary forms, the *gong'an* (J. *kōan*) and *yulu* (J. *goroku*; “recorded sayings”), representing Chan's unique contributions to Chinese and world literature. These, in turn, are rooted in Chan *denglu* (transmission records) and the attempt by Chan to construct a sacred history of patriarchs and masters dedicated to ongoing perpetuation of Chan's legacy. By establishing a legacy, Chan came to define and represent what it stood for. Through this process, Chan established itself as the “new” Buddhism, reflecting the emerging religious identity of an important segment of the Chinese people.

The recent history of imperial China by F. W. Mote, covering the period from 900 to 1800, serves to underscore the importance of events in the tenth century for the creation of the new sense of imperial identity that prevailed for subsequent centuries.<sup>43</sup> Yet Mote, like many Sinologists, devotes precious little attention to Buddhism or the role it played among China's literati elite. This is in large part due to the way Buddhist influences were effectively erased from the historical record in officially sanctioned secular histories. Peter Bol, in his masterful work on Tang and Song literati, notes the need to treat Buddhism more seriously and with a more sophisticated approach that doesn't reduce identity to exclusive ideological categories.<sup>44</sup>

Recent work by Mark Halperin, based on a study of dedicatory inscriptions written by scholar-officials to commemorate the reconstruction of monasteries and images, reveals a clearer picture of how literati viewed Buddhism in the (p. 15) Song.<sup>45</sup> According to Halperin, “Buddhism...occupied a constitutive role in Song literary life,” ranging from large national “issues of empire” to local and family concerns, and “a full appreciation of Song learned culture requires that Buddhism's influence be taken into account.”<sup>46</sup> As a general corrective to the virtual neglect of Buddhism often encountered in Chinese historians, these suggestions are welcome. The story of Chan's ascendancy in the early Song entails a careful look at the Chan sources generated at this time and the figures

responsible for compiling them. Literati, as we shall see, played an instrumental role in Chan's redefinition.

The revival of interest in Buddhism during the early Song was not simply due to the rise of interest in Chan. Even as early as Taizu's reign, the Song exhibited renewed interest in promoting the Buddha-dharma, distinguishing it from the anti-Buddhist policies of the last northern dynasty, the Latter Zhou.<sup>47</sup> Emperor Taizu's pro-Buddhist policies were not generated from any kind of Buddhist-inspired altruism, but motivated by political and diplomatic concerns.<sup>48</sup> The translation projects initiated by Taizu to render new Buddhist scriptures into Chinese became an important aspect of early Song imperial policy, spanning the administrations of Taizong, Zhenzong, and Renzong.<sup>49</sup> Early Song emperors invested heavily in the translation and publication of Buddhist texts as an integral part of the literary learning that they strove to establish. According to Tansen Sen, Emperor Taizong revived the translation projects essentially for three reasons: "to promote the image of the state as a provider of literary learning and shaper of a civil society"; to fulfill diplomatic goals, "especially in enhancing Song China's image as the disseminator of high culture among neighboring steppe kingdoms"; and "from his general interest in literary learning and his recognition that the doctrine could be employed in both the internal and external affairs of the state."<sup>50</sup> The early Song dynasty Buddhist historian Zanning underscored the significance of resuming Buddhist translation bureaus under imperial sponsorship, noting that no translations of Buddhist texts had been completed in China for one hundred sixty years.<sup>51</sup> As significant as these translation bureaus were symbolically, they had little impact on the actual course of Buddhism in China. Indigenous movements, practices, and scriptures in China rendered the need to understand Buddhism according to the scholastic agenda presumed by translation bureaus obsolete and irrelevant in the face of the trajectory Chinese Buddhism had taken since the mid-Tang.<sup>52</sup> Unlike Taizong, emperors Zhenzong and Renzong, perhaps confident of the literary record established by their predecessors, sought to enhance the Song regime's reputation by promoting new literary genres. Proponents of Chan *yulu* ("recorded sayings") style dialogues rooted in Chan *denglu* ("transmission records"), mentioned above, saw these materials as suitable enhancements and a distinguishing characteristic of Song literary culture, reflecting that very trajectory Chinese Buddhism had taken since the mid-Tang.

In asserting that Chan became a dominant form of Buddhism in China and East Asia during the Song dynasty, I do not mean to suggest that its rise to prominence was exclusive, and that other forms of Buddhism did not also **(p.16)** thrive. Contemporary scholarship on Buddhism has only begun to explore the vast body of sacred and secular literature from this era. What is being discovered by this scholarship is that post-Tang Buddhism, instead of being the simplistic story of the demise of traditional Buddhist schools that were replaced by a Chan tradition supported exclusively by Song literati, was, instead,

characterized by a surprising diversity of institutions, beliefs, and practices that manifested vitality in many different areas. Chan monks were not alone in receiving official sanction. The Tiantai tradition and the Pure Land movement it spawned, in particular, were similarly supported by rulers and officials, and assumed a major role in the Song Buddhist context. The Vinaya tradition also played a significant institutional role in Song Buddhism. Even Esoteric Buddhism, long considered defunct in China after the Tang, had textual, artistic, and liturgical manifestations during the Song period. Moreover, all of these various forms of Buddhism—not just Chan—received official sanction and support, and many of the Song officials discussed in later chapters in connection with their support for Chan (Yang Yi, Li Zunxu, Wang Qinro) were also supporters of the Tiantai school. They accepted Tiantai works into the canon, nominated and supported Tiantai figures for honors, and sometimes carried on extensive correspondence with Tiantai monks. Their communications with these monks reveal not only an acquaintance with Tiantai teachings but also sometimes an identification with Tiantai perspective.<sup>53</sup>

While the emphasis on Chan as the dominant form of Buddhism in the Song has often been championed to the extent of ignoring the role other forms of Buddhism—particularly Tiantai and Pure Land but also the Vinaya school—played, (as described above), there is no escaping the great influence Chan came to wield in this period. The claim of Chan supremacy is built on the simplistic notion that the great Tang “schools” and traditional forms of Buddhism were so adversely affected by governmental suppression and societal chaos at the end of the Tang that they were permanently disenfranchised and unable to recover. Chan alone emerged unscathed from this process, according to this rendition, to become the only viable and vital representative of Chinese Buddhism. The truth is that Chan did come into its own during the Song, but it did so in dynamic interaction with other forms of Buddhism. The resurgence of Song Tiantai and the growth of Pure Land societies, as mentioned above, also occurred through literati patronage. Through the support of Wang Qinro (962–1025), for example, the Tiantai prelate Zunshi (964–1032) achieved his goal of securing establishment of the Tiantai order—the Tiantai canon of scriptures was given imperial sanction and public monasteries dedicated to disseminating Tiantai teachings were permanently established.<sup>54</sup> Both Zunshi and Shengchang (959–1020) were instrumental in forming Tiantai Pure Land societies that attracted eminent literati of their day, while Zhili (960–1028) developed a new type of Pure Land assembly that included people from all socioeconomic strata.<sup>55</sup> And as Koichi Shinohara has shown, the creation of Tiantai universal histories during the late Song, the *Shimen zhengtong* (Orthodox Lineage of the Buddhist Tradition) compiled by Zongjian in 1237, and the *Fozu tongji* (Comprehensive History of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs) compiled (p.17) by Zhipan between 1258 and 1269, were a reflection of local Tiantai dynamism during the Song period cast as universal history.<sup>56</sup> Professor Shinohara's study also reveals that

not only was Chan preoccupied with lineage construction during the Song period but that Tiantai also used lineage as a central defining concept. Moreover, it should be noted that the development of the Tang-Chan lineage of Indian patriarchs occurred through similar attempts by members of the Tiantai school to trace their heritage back to Śākyamuni through lineage construction, and that Tang dynasty lineage construction by Tiantai masters paralleled that of Chan.<sup>57</sup> In spite of the dynamism reflected throughout the Buddhist tradition, current research suggests that Chan dominated the Song Buddhist terrain. Even in Hangzhou, one of the few places in the Song where Buddhist schools other than Chan were present, the majority of monasteries were affiliated with the Chan lineage.<sup>58</sup> While there is clearly dynamism exhibited by other branches of Buddhism, there is also no denying the important role that Chan came to play in the Song Buddhist milieu.

It would also be wrong to suppose that religious revival in the Song period was restricted to Buddhism. The Daoist “renaissance” had its origins in the Northern Song, benefiting greatly from imperial patronage, especially from Emperor Zhenzong.<sup>59</sup> Zhenzong claimed a Daoist deity as ancestor, promoted the likes of Wang Jie (980–1020), producer of alchemical gold, honored Daoists with official rank, and created a laboratory in the Hanlin Academy for alchemical production. Daoist texts were collected, lost texts retrieved, and efforts were made to establish an authoritative canon, issued in 1019 (during the reign of Zhenzong) under imperial order.<sup>60</sup> Like Buddhism, Daoism underwent significant transitions in the Five Dynasties and Northern Song.<sup>61</sup> The most significant Daoist resurgence movement of the Song was known as “interior alchemy” (*neidan*), characterized by synthesizing tendencies that incorporated Buddhist speculations and Chan, specifically *gong'an*, techniques.<sup>62</sup>

All Song movements, regardless of inspiration, were ultimately framed by the Confucian resurgence. Even though Confucianism during the Tang was not as moribund as once supposed, the revival of interest it enjoyed in the Song was such that it came to form a new species of Confucian ideology.<sup>63</sup> While much of the story of Confucian renewal, however characterized, lies further into the Song, after the period of concern in this book, there is no denying the pull that it exerts on the literati of the age. Just as we must resist the urge to define the Buddhist revival solely in terms of Chan, we must also refuse to submit to the common notion that the Song represents Confucian renaissance and Buddhist decline. In particular we must refrain from viewing the Confucian revival simplistically, in terms of a straight and uncontested path leading to Zhu Xi and Neo-Confucian orthodoxy.<sup>64</sup> The intellectual and spiritual terrain of the early Song was exciting in its uncertainty and in its possibility. The complex pattern of phenomena exhibited spoke not only to the contested nature of interactions between the three traditions—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism—but also of



the contested nature of interpretation within each tradition, their search for meaning, and the way to determine orthodoxy.

**(p.18)** The present study reveals how Chan came to form a cohesive movement. How did the Chan story, as a systemic explanation of Chan Truth, come into existence? Who established it, and why? What were the circumstances behind its creation? What, in effect, is the story behind the creation of Chan's enduring myth, its abiding sense of identity? Who were the historical figures responsible for establishing Chan? What influences shaped its development? This work is concerned with the Chan tradition's self-definition during an important period of development. It is the subject of the following chapters, which approach the topic from a variety of perspectives. An array of figures are introduced, ranging from Chan monks to secular officials, emperors and members of the imperial family, all participants in establishing the Chan tradition in China. My approach encompasses certain themes: the role rulers and officials played in recognizing Chan; the role of literati in sanctioning the interpretation of Chan that became a hallmark of its public persona as a “special transmission outside the teaching”; and the function regional Chan movements played in forging a collective Chan identity while reserving the privilege of supreme orthodoxy for their own lineages.

The issue of Chan's alleged “separate transmission outside the scriptures” has been ably reviewed by T. Griffith Foulk, and Foulk's contention serves as background to the premise upon which the current study is built.

The controversies that simmered in the Song over the status of the Chan lineage as a “separate transmission,”...were more about securing prestige, patronage, and special privileges within the Buddhist order than about practical matters of monkish training or spiritual cultivation. The “separate transmission” slogan was used successfully by proponents of Chan to argue that members of their lineage, having inherited the enlightenment of the Buddha in a direct line of “mind-to-mind transmission,” were the monks most qualified for positions of leadership within the existing Buddhist monastic institution.<sup>65</sup>

The fact that “separate transmission” controversies were not about actual training and cultivation, however, does not diminish their importance. On the contrary, the struggles to secure prestige, patronage, and special privileges among different Chan factions, and the role played by secular officials and rulers in sanctioning, defining, and helping realize this ambition, are central to the Chan story. One might even go so far as to say that there would be no Chan story without them. Not only did Chan monks seek validation through secular sanction, rulers and officials also sought to enhance their positions by aligning themselves with Chan. Establishing Chan tradition was thus a complex process involving public, political patronage, and the struggle to define religious and

intellectual orthodoxy. While the latter struggle is primarily about competitions among Chan factions to obtain positions of leadership, literati also framed Chan orthodoxy in ways that coincided with their own motives and agendas. Winning public support had tangible benefits for Chan adherents. Aside from the prestige that public recognition brings, political (p.19) patronage brought enhanced institutional status to members of Chan factions as well as honorary titles and robes as indicators of increased status. In effect, it made Chan monks honored members of an elite circle who fraternized with rulers, members of ruling families, and the leading officials and literati of the day. It also brought the opportunity to define and represent Chan tradition, a task that literati students of Chan teaching were often complicit in. This suggests that the struggle to define Chan orthodoxy, while not reducible to political dynamics, cannot be understood apart from them.

While it is true that the slogan regarding a “separate transmission” did not produce “any schismatic attempt to establish independent Chan monasteries that were sectarian in the technical sense of splitting off from the ecclesiastical mainstream,” the notion did create controversy and division in Chan circles.<sup>66</sup> The differences espoused by Chan adherents on this issue in the early Song have as much to do with how Buddhism was conceived within particular institutional agendas generated from regional circumstances as with factional preference for a particular position. Rather than schisms or sectarian divisions, the differences represented more the approach preferred by various religious orders sharing a common heritage and assuming similar principles.<sup>67</sup> As much as Chan accommodated rival groups within a systematic structure, it remained committed to the cause of universality and acquiescence to a universal Chan identity, regardless of factional persuasion. Much like a kaleidoscope, orientations often changed quickly to incorporate newly sanctioned positions. Secular rulers and officials, as we shall see, played a leading role in defining and redefining the parameters that oriented Chan tradition.

Fundamentally, the approach adopted here is based on the examination and systematic analysis of Chan documents, the lamp (or flame) records (*denglu*) responsible for creating classic Chan identity and establishing Chan tradition. These records play a remarkably significant role in Chan, not only for the classic identity affirmed within them but also for spawning other, uniquely Chan genres (as mentioned above): *yulu* (recorded sayings) and *gong'an* (Jpn. *kōan*). In this sense, three of the four literary genres identified with Chan are associated with *denglu* (the one not associated is Chan *qinggui*, monastic codes). Given the importance of the study of *denglu* for understanding Chan, I would be remiss in not pointing out the provisional quality of my work. What is said here is not intended as the final word. In spite of their importance, these texts have been subjected to little systematic analysis.<sup>68</sup> The aim of the current work is to shed

light on important features associated with the compilation of these texts, and to provide a basis from which further, more specialized research might proceed.

While the contemporary aim to understand what Chan monks were actually doing (“practical matters of monkish training or spiritual cultivation”) is a laudable one, the majority of the sources available to us reveal little information regarding this. It was once supposed that *denglu* and *yulu* texts contained trustworthy depictions of Chan monastic training.<sup>69</sup> While the value of *denglu* for describing activities associated with Chan institutions has been undermined, the importance of the *denglu* texts themselves remains. What is needed **(p.20)** is a new basis for understanding and appreciating *denglu*, one more in keeping with the motives for which they were conceived and informed by how motive helped to shape their contents.

Three transmission records, in particular, play an important role in telling the story of Chan's official acceptance in the Song. These are the subject of lengthy and detailed analysis in the later chapters that make up the substance of the book. As a prelude to the later discussion, they may be introduced briefly here. The three transmission records are the *Zutang ji* (Patriarch's Hall Anthology, compiled 952), the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (Jingde-era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp, compiled 1004), and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (Tiansheng-era Expanded Lamp Record, compiled 1029). The first work, the *Zutang ji* (considered in chapter 4), is the oldest surviving Chan transmission record conceived in a multilineal format. This format allowed for broader recognition of Chan as a multifaceted phenomena thriving in several regional contexts. While the compilers, disciples of the Min-based Chan Master Zhaoqing Wendeng (884–972), promoted the lineage of their master above all, they also recognized the legitimacy of Chan lineages in other jurisdictions. Wendeng rose to prominence through the patronage provided by Min regional overlords, members of the ruling Wang family. The *locus classicus* of Chan transmission records, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (considered in chapters 5 and 6), has a more complicated background. It was initially conceived by the Fayan-faction monk Daoyuan to promote the fortunes of this Chan lineage. Like its predecessor, it also acknowledged the legitimacy of other Chan lineages. Fayan's heirs achieved particular prominence in the Wuyue regime. Fayan Wenyi's disciple, Tiantai Deshao (891–972), became Preceptor of State (*guoshi*) of the Wuyue regime and major advisor to the Qian family overlords who made the revival of Buddhism an emblem of regional prosperity. Daoyuan's compilation was later edited by leading literati at the Song court, headed by Yang Yi (974–1020), and issued under imperial authority. Bearing the reign title, *jingde*, of the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), it was the first of a series of Chan transmission records to receive imperial sanction. The subsequent transmission record, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (considered in chapter 6), compiled under the authority of Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–63) in the *tiansheng* era, also bore this stamp. In addition, the compiler of the work, Li Zunxu (988–1038), was the son-in-law of

Emperor Taizong (r. 976–97), brother-in-law of Zhenzong, and an elder relative of Renzong. Not only was the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* imperially sanctioned, it was personally compiled by a member of the imperial family who was an intimate devotee of a prominent Linji-faction Chan master, Guyin Yuncong (965–1032).<sup>70</sup> The story of Chan as an imagined tradition is the story surrounding the compilation of these works and the political support given them.

Prior to entering into this discussion, two chapters are devoted to reviewing the Chan legacy in the Tang dynasty, in terms of the official recognition received by Chan in the Tang (chapter 2), and the role played by factional motives in the compilation of Tang dynasty transmission records (chapter 3). Following a general historical format, the *Zutang ji* is discussed in chapter 4, **(p.21)** the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* in chapter 5, and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* considered in chapter 6.

Establishing Chan tradition concerns the construction of Chan narrative. This narrative formed the sacred history of Chan that all Chan students, even those with passing interest, are aware of. It is one of the distinctive features of Chan tradition, and remains an important feature of Chan and Chan-inspired traditions, Japanese Zen and Korean Son down to the present day. While traditional religious narratives themselves are often simple, they conceal a complex legacy. One way to characterize the complexity of the narrative process (in simple terms) is as follows. If life may be said to consist of self-experience in some sense, however defined and understood, as soon as this experience is related to others, it becomes narrative. As narrative is related, it is shaped by the narrator according to an array of factors: self-understanding, personality, audience, place where the narration occurs, the occasion it is given, the purpose it is given for, and so on. Each time it is retold, whether by the original storyteller or by those who retell it to others, the story may be adapted to its new set of circumstances. Far from simply recapitulating past experience, storytellers reevaluate and reconstruct remembered experience according to their own context and environment.<sup>71</sup> As the story is related more widely, extending historically from one generation to the next, it is subject to social and political circumstances that continue to shape it in unforeseen and unintended ways. Like a chameleon, it takes on the colors of the environments it finds itself in. While previously related stories may and often do possess persistent factors, according to Neil S. Norrick, “the exigencies of real-time verbalization for an active conversational audience usually render the actual performance discontinuous and polyphonic.”<sup>72</sup> While Chan teaching frequently appeals to the unmediated aspect of experience as “true,” “pure,” or “authentic,” and chastises those who indulge in narrative descriptions of this experience, it is also clear that Chan found narrative formation indispensable as a means to represent itself in the public domain. To win support, Chan had to represent itself in narrative form (even when the narrative itself explored the pitfalls of narrative formation),

to demonstrate what it stood for and against, to stake its claim in the competitive intellectual terrain of the time.

Narratives thus take on the character of representations, and the *denglu* texts studied here have been examined with this quality in mind. In the New Historicism, as defined by people like Louis Montrose, texts are viewed as discourses—"Representations of the world in written discourse participate in the construction of the world: They are engaged in shaping the modalities of social reality and in accommodating their writers, performers, readers, and audiences to multiple and shifting positions within the world that they themselves both constitute and inhabit."<sup>73</sup> While presenting an external reality, texts, in fact, are representations—"verbal formulations which are the 'ideological products' or 'cultural constructs' of the historical conditions specific to an era." As cultural and ideological representations, texts serve to reproduce, confirm, and propagate assumed structures of authority.<sup>74</sup> Rather than a linear progression based on teleological assumptions that privilege the enfranchised, history (p. 22) becomes, in the words of Lynn White, "an ongoing tension between stories that have been told and stories that might be told."<sup>75</sup>

My aim here is to understand the narrative representation process in the case of Chan during the roughly one-hundred-year period from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century. This was a crucial period in Chan's development, a period when many of its principles, many of its famous stories, were established in written form. Who created this narrative, and why was it created? Whose ends did it serve? In shedding light on the Chan narrative construction process, I have, in effect, provided an alternate narrative of the Chan story, highlighting a different set of players and their motives. I have attempted to reconstruct it in a way that adds texture and context, providing insight into the motives and agendas of those who shaped it.<sup>76</sup>

Chan narratives were first introduced in the modern world through Zen proselytizers. Knowledge of the Chinese Chan context could not be presumed, and in any case, would hardly speak to modern spiritual concerns. Since it was impossible to graft Zen concepts onto a *tabula rasa*, what filled the vacuum were ideas and concepts taken from the Western intellectual tradition. Even in Japan, intellectual interest in Zen was conceptualized as a response to the mediated reality introduced through Western intellectual dualism. My own perspective on the construction of Chan narratives attempts to provide another context for considering their contents. Whatever merits the modern intellectual approach to Chan and Zen discourse may have, it is decidedly far removed in time and place from the context that produced it. Given the hermeneutical barriers that exist in appropriating any texts as temporally and culturally distant as Chan *denglu*, it would be naive to suggest that I have discovered a way to understand *denglu* in a new and unproblematic way. What I do suggest is that the approach to *denglu* adopted here brings us closer to the Chinese context, the environment *denglu*

were conceived in, and the aims they strove to fulfill. The first task for anyone hoping to appropriate the meanings imbedded in Chan discourse is to clarify the context in which this discourse was conceived and to demonstrate how it represented this context.

It is also important to note issues the present study does not address. I have not taken it upon myself to investigate the geographical extent, institutional structure, or the internal organization and activity of Chan monasteries during the periods in question. These are all worthy topics, but are somewhat removed from the *denglu* texts themselves, their compilation, and aims. The material culture of Chan monasteries—their economic activities and social functions—are also topics not addressed.<sup>77</sup> By staying with a strictly textual approach, I have restricted my investigation to the elite tradition. In doing this, I do not mean to suggest that this elite tradition represented all of Chan Buddhism.<sup>78</sup> I do maintain, however, that the privileged position that this elite tradition occupied was instrumental to the interpretation and definition of Chan. The representation of Chan identity forged in *denglu* texts became the crucible of Chan and Zen's public identity that continues down to the present day.

**(p.23)** Before embarking on my discussion of the texts and contexts through which Chan identity achieved recognition, I would prevail upon the reader to review the following based on my comments above. While I am suggesting that the Five Dynasties and early Song periods were important for the formation of Chan and its identity, I am by no means claiming any exclusivity in this regard. There were many periods and numerous movements in Chan history that might vie for the honor, even if we allowed that it was worthy to bestow. I am clearly not adverse to forming a narrative, even a master narrative, to explain Chan's emergence and development. I am contending, along with others, that the narrative we have been using has ceased to serve us well, and that it no longer coincides with the “facts” (if I may be allowed to invoke this term) even the tradition itself deemed worthy to record. Whatever distractions averted us from seeing what, in many cases, has always been there, we no longer labor under. What new distractions preoccupy and divert us remain for our successors to point out. Our eyes are now sensitive to the importance that Song sources had in shaping our understanding of Chan in the Tang and beyond. My hope is that what I have written here will further sensitize the reader to the contexts and motives that shaped these sources. While Chan masters continue to figure prominently here, my account focuses on the narratives themselves, placing the masters and their alleged activities in the context of the allegiances that shaped them. In the process, precedence has been ceded to the Chan transmission records over the activities of the masters they describe. This recognition alone indicates the importance I have granted to the development of Chan in the periods in question, the Five Dynasties and early Song dynasty. **(p.24)**

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## Notes:

(1.) According to the *Lidai Fabao ji* (T 51.182a16–18; Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zenshūshi II*, [Tokoyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1976], 92); “After obtaining the robe of dharma-transmission, [Hongren] resided at Mt. Pingmao. It was not far between there and Mt. Shuangfeng. People of the time referred to [Hongren's teaching] as the teaching of the East Mountain (*dongshan famen*), in other words the teaching of Mt. Pingmao.”

Various dates are given for Hongren. *Zengaku daijiten* gives 688 through 761; I follow John R. McRae (*The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986]), Kamata Shigeo (*Chōgoku bukkyōshi jiten*), and 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]) in stipulating 600 through 674 as the most probable dates. For a discussion, see Osabe Kazuo, “Tōdai zenshū kōsō no shisho kyōka ni tsuite,” *Haneda hakushi shōju ki'nen tōyōshi ronso*, (Kyoto, 1950), 297–98.

(2.) This story is well known in Western scholarship through works such as Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, and Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

(3.) This is an approach that characterized an earlier generation of scholarship, in works such as those by D. T. Suzuki, Heinrich Dumoulin's *History of Zen Buddhism* (2 vols.; *Vol. 1: India and China*, and *Vol. 2: Japan* [New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1988 and 1990]), and John C. H. Wu, *The Golden Age of Zen*. This approach continues to inform the vast majority of popular works on Chan and Zen, too numerous to mention here. This approach also continues to be a mainstay of textbooks introducing Chan in college and university curriculums (see, for example, Patrick S. Bresnan, “Chan: The Origin of Zen Buddhism in China,” in *Awakening: An Introduction to Eastern Thought*, 336–75 [Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003]), which tend to follow the popular approach. As pointed out by Bernard Faure [*Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 110)], even the giants of modern critical scholarship on Zen like Yanagida Seizan have not been immune from such tendencies. The modern Zen canon comprises chiefly works attributed to the exploits and teachings of these masters, neglecting works by other Chan masters not supporting this orthodox view. General works on Chinese Zen in Japanese also follow this tendency (see, for example, Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku no zen* [Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980] and Yanagida Seizan, *Zen shisō* [Tokyo: Chūkō koronsha, 1975]). For a discussion of this issue as it relates to the treatment of the Chan (Zen) teaching of Yongming Yanshou, see Albert F. Welte, “The Problem with Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism:

Yongming Yanshou's Notion of *zong* in the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror)." For a treatment of Chinese Chan that avoids the usual clichés associated with Chan's "golden age" or "pure" Zen legacy, see John R. McRae's new work, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

(4.) Among the numerous important works in this regard are those by Hu Shi (Shih), especially his reappraisal of the role of Shenhui, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, (Shanghai, 1930); Yanagida Seizan, especially *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū* (Research on the Documents of Early Zen History); Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkōzenshū bunken no kenkyū* (Research of Dunhuang Zen Manuscripts, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1983). The works by Yampolsky (*The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*), McRae (*The Northern School and the Formation of Early Chan Buddhism*), and Faure (*The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*) brought the reevaluations precipitated by the Dunhuang manuscripts into Western scholarship. For an overview of Japanese scholarship, see Tanaka Ryōshō, "A Historical Outline of Japanese Research on the Chinese Chan Writings from Dunhuang," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2 (1989), 141–69.

(5.) The first step in unraveling the Chan/Zen mystique came with the contextualization of modern Zen ideology formation in Japan. Important in this regard are Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, especially chapter 2, "The Rise of Zen Orientalism" (52–88); and Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," (History of Religions 33–1 (1992): 1–43), which examine the circumstances associated with Suzuki's Zen, Nishida, and the Kyoto School.

(6.) The beginning of this shift can be seen in Ishii Shūdō's *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Research on the History of the Song Dynasty Zen Tradition, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1987), and T. Griffith Foulk's "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1987). For additional works relating to Song Chan, see bibliography entries by Morten Schlütter, Ding-hwa E. Hsieh, Miriam Levering, T. Griffith Foulk, and Albert F. Welter.

(7.) The view of Song Buddhist stagnation and decline was accepted almost unconditionally until recently and is typical of virtually every textbook representation of Song Buddhism; see, for example, Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism, A History, Vol. 1: India and China* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1988).

(8.) This coincides with recent reevaluations of the importance of the Song as a period of Buddhist vitality as opposed to the traditional view of Song Buddhist



decline; see, for example, Peter N. Gregory, "The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," as well as the other articles in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

(9.) For an example of the difference between the literal and contextual reading of a Buddhist biography, see Albert F. Welter, "The Contextual Study of Chinese Buddhist Biography: The Example of Yung-ming Yen-shou," in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1988), 247–68.

(10.) Yanagida, "Shinzoku toshi no keifu," *Zenga ku Kenkyū* 59 (1978) 5.

(11.) Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 419f. A similar approach is advocated by Bernard Faure "Bodhidharma As Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25–3 [1986], 187–98), who claims (190) that "Buddhist historiographers should perhaps stop searching for 'eminent monks' and writing their 'biographies.' The biographies that exist have literary but not historical value."

(12.) Morten Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960–1279)," in *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, ed. William M. Bodford (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 136–60.

(13.) For reviews of Buddhism during the Tang, the reader may consult Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, and Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism in the T'ang*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For a review of the political and historical events of the same period, see *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 3, Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

(14.) The situation is summarized by Weinstein, *Buddhism in the T'ang*, 5, "Unlike the rulers of preceding dynasties, the T'ang emperors for the most part did not exhibit much enthusiasm for Buddhism. Although the first two T'ang emperors tended to view the Buddhist religion with disdain, they were sufficiently shrewd to recognize it had a devoted following on all levels of society and hence could not be totally ignored by the state, much less suppressed, without stirring up great opposition...." Thus, the emperors, on the one hand, adopted conciliatory policies to appease the Buddhist masses, and on the other hand, "sought to extend state controls over the Buddhist church and reduce its material power."

(15.) On Empress Wu, see C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Empress Wu*; R. W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China*; and Antonino Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock: The Tower, Statue and Armillary Sphere Constructed by Empress Wu*. Jinhua Chen

("Śarīra and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, 33-150) emphasizes Empress Wu's complicated relationship with Buddhism, focusing on her political motives. Other important studies relating to Empress Wu's Buddhist ties are noted by Chen, 34n2.

(16.) It was a common tactic for rulers inspired by Buddhism to justify their reigns by resorting to one of two models: as great bodhisattvas whose efforts would precipitate the arrival of the future Buddha, Maitreya, and usher in an enlightened new age of Buddhist righteousness; or to assume the identity, as Empress Wu did, of Maitreya himself.

(17.) In the brief reign immediately following Empress Wu, Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-10) established Zhongxing (Mid-dynasty Restoration) monasteries, later renamed Longxing (Dragon Restoration) monasteries. In some instances, Emperor Xuanzong's Kaiyuan monasteries were simply former Longxing monasteries with converted names.

(18.) Robert M. Somers, "The End of the T'ang," in *The Cambridge History of China*. Volume 3, *Sui and T'ang China, 589-906* Part I, ed. Denis Twitchett, 682. In addition, Somers writes, "It was only after 884, at the very end of the dynasty, that the T'ang dynastic house finally abandoned its attempt to control all of China proper, and until then it never really lost its sovereignty over any part, however little actual authority it has in some areas."

(19.) For a review of how this bureaucratic pattern of central control coupled with local administration was devised during the Song, see the introduction to *The Enlightened Judgments, Ch'ing-ming Chi, The Sung Dynasty Collection*, trans. Brian E. McKnight and James T. C. Liu (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 1-28.

(20.) Lien-sheng Yang, "Ming Local Administration," in *Chinese Government in Ming Times*, ed. Charles O. Hucker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 1-2.

(21.) Edmund H. Worthy Jr., "Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907-978," in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 17.

(22.) Ibid., 17-18.

(23.) On the *huichang* suppression, see Kenneth Ch'en, "The Economic Background of the Hui-ch'ang Suppression," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 19 (1956), 67-105.

(24.) Reflective of this is the division of contents in Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* into the sections "Introduction," "Growth and Domestication," "Maturity and Acceptance," and "Decline," in which the Tang dynasty is regarded as "the apogee" of Buddhism in China, while the Song is seen as the beginning of its decline. An exception to this trend is the recent volume edited by Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung* containing several studies showing the dynamic and innovative qualities of Buddhism in the Song period.

(25.) Following the chronological table in SGCQ 110.1541–53. Note the chronological table presumes Tang authority prevailed throughout China through 906, making the earliest possible commencement dates for the ten regimes (or principalities) 907. Since the origins of some of these regimes clearly predated the formal end of Tang rule, I have followed *Tōyōshi jiten* (compiled by Researchers on East Asian History of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University), 645–47, for the dates of the ten regimes here, as more accurately representing the actual tenure of these regimes' independent authority. For a description of the Five Dynasties and ten regimes, see F. W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900–1800* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3–30. The situation of alien regimes, the Liao (Khitan) and Xi Xia (Tangut), during this period is featured in *The Cambridge History of China 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

(26.) Understanding where each regime was centered can be gleaned from the location of their capital cities. The capital of Wu was Jiangdu (Yangzhou). After Wu was overtaken by Nan Tang in 937, it became the Eastern Capital, with Jinling (Shengzhou, contemporary Nanjing) as the Western Capital, and Nan Chang (Hongzhou) as the Southern Capital. Chengdu was the capital of the Former and Latter Shu. Xingwang (Guangzhou) was the capital of Nan Han. The capital of Chu was Changsha (Tanzhou). Qiantang (Hangzhou) was the Western Capital of Wuyue, Yuezhou was the Eastern Capital. Changle (Fuzhou) was the Min capital until Min was subdued by Nan Tang around 943. Jiangling (Jingzhou) was the capital of Jingnan, and Taiyuan (Bingzhou) was the capital of Bei Han. Information on the capitals of the various regimes here is based on SGCQ 111.1571–85.

(27.) Regarding the situation in the north during the Five Dynasties period, see Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967). On Buddhism in the Nan Tang, see Tsukamoto Shungo, "Godai Nantōno ōshitsu to bukkō (Monarchy and Buddhism in the Southern Tang regime during the Five Dynasties)".

(28.) Sources that discuss the economic prosperity and international trade conducted by southern regimes include Edmund H. Worthy Jr., "Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907-78," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi, 17-44; and Angela Schottenhammer, "Local Politico-Economic Particulars of the Quanzhou Region during the Tenth Century," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 29 (1999), 1-41; see also Hugh R. Clark, "Quanzhou (Fujian) during the Tang-Song Interregnum, 879-978," *T'oung Pao* 67 (1982), 132-49.

(29.) On the Min, see Edward H. Shafer, *The Empire of Min* (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo, 1954); see also Hugh R. Clark, "Quanzhou (Fujian) during the Tang-Song Interregnum, 879-978," *T'oung Pao* 67 (1982), 132-49.

(30.) According to Edmund H. Worthy Jr., "Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907-978," the reason for Wuyue longevity and prosperity during the Tang-Song interregnum is best explained by the skillful diplomacy of its rulers. He also explains that the Wuyue strategy for survival entailed nominal recognition of dynastic authority and the paying of large amounts of tribute to other states. According to Worthy (20), "Northern states... enhanced their legitimacy by bestowing ranks and honors only a dynasty could bestow," while Wuyue "gained legitimacy vis-à-vis the other contending states of the time." Citing the *Zizhi tongjian* commentator Hu Sanxing (275.8879-98), Worthy (25) alleges that the first Wuyue ruler, Qian Liu, assumed all the trappings of an emperor except the title, even assuming his own reign title. In 925, he was even granted a jade patent of investiture as *Wuyue guowang*, symbols of authority belonging only to a Chinese emperor or bestowed upon a ruler of a foreign state.

(31.) Regarding Wuyue, in addition to Edmund H. Worthy Jr., "Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907-978," see Edouard Chavannes, "Le Royaume de Wou et de Yue," which contains translations of the biographies of Wuyue rulers found in dynastic histories. The general political history of Wuyue is surveyed by Sakurai Haruko, "Godai jūkoku no Goetsu ni tsuite," *Nara shien* (February 1967), 11-24; and Watanabe Michio, "Goetsu koku no shihai kōzō," *Shikan* 76 (October 1967), 33-51. The history of Buddhism in Wuyue is discussed by Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Research on History of the Zen School in China), Tokyo: Seishin Shebō, 1987, chapter 2, "Godai ni okeru zenshūshi: Goetsu no shūkyō seisakujo yori mita zenshū (The History of Zen in the Five Dynasties: Zen Viewed from the Perspective of Wuyue Religious Policy)", 123-210; Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō-toku ni tendai tokushō to sono shi eimei enju ni tsuite (Wuyue Buddhism—Focusing on Tiantai Dasaho and His Heir Yongming Yanshou)," *Otani Daigaku kenkyū nenpō* (1954), 305-65.; and Albert Welte, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of*

*Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), chapter 2, "The Five Dynasties Period and Wu Yüeh Buddhism," 23–35.

(32.) Li Tiaoyuan, *Quan wudai shi*, (The Complete Poems of the Five Dynasties) 3 vols., in *Guoxue mingzhuo zhenben huikan*, ed. Yang Jialuo- (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1968).

(33.) The *Quan wudai shi* fascicles dedicated to the Five Dynasties and Ten Regimes are as follows:

Five Dynasties	Ten Regimes
Liang—fascicles 1–8 (8)	Wu—fascicles 18–23 (6)
Tang—fascicles 9–10 (2)	Nan Tang—fascicles 24–39 (16)
Jin—fascicles 11–12 (2)	Former Shu—fascicles 40–56 (17)
Han—fascicles 13–14 (2)	Latter Shu—fascicles 57–60 (4)
Zhou—fascicles 15–17 (3)	Nan Han—fascicle 61 (1)
	Chu—fascicles 62–65 (4)
	Wuyue—fascicles 66–74 (9)
	Min—fascicles 75–87 (13)
	Jingnan—fascicles 88–99 (12)
	Bei Han—fascicle 100 (1)

(34.) Johannes L. Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project," *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001), 293. In note 15, Kurz points out (citing *Daoshan qinghua* [*Congshu jicheng*], 14) that Taizu decreed southerners should never serve as chancellors, and that this restriction remained until Wang Anshi's times.

(35.) *Ibid.*, 302.

(36.) This map is based on Tan Qixiang, editor-in-chief, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (*The Historical Atlas of China*), Vol. 5, (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe), 1982, 82–83.

(37.) Liu Xinru, "Buddhist Institutions in the Lower Yangtse Region during the Sung Dynasty," *The Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 21 (1989), 31–51; see esp. 32 and 45.

(38.) For a detailed analysis of the men responsible for the assumption of authority by Zhao Kuangyin (Song Taizu), see Peter Lorge, "The Entrance and Exit of the Song Founders," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 29 (1999), 43–62.

(39.) One work that delves into the specifics of Song prosperity and the issues it engendered is *Crises and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John Winthrop Haeger (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).

(40.) Opposing views on this issue are represented in the "Problems in Asian Civilization" booklet, *Change in Sung China: Innovation or Renovation*, ed. James T. C. Liu and Peter J. Golas (Lexington, Mass: Heath, 1969).

(41.) Based on the characterization of the hypothesis by Naitō's student, Hisayuki Miyakawa, "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and its Effect on Japanese Studies of China," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14 (1954–55), 533–52. Two of Miyakawa's eight points have been combined here to make my list of seven. For assessments of Naitō and his hypothesis, see Chiba Saburo, *Naitō Konan to sono jidai* [Naitō Konan and His Times, (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1986)]; and Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984. A broad characterization of the Naitō hypothesis and its anticipation by such figures as Francis Bacon, who unwittingly championed Song innovations when he argued that modernity was predicated on inventions like gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the printed book, see Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 14–15.

(42.) It goes without saying that comparable shifts in China's religiosity were likely occurring among the general populace. While sources for the early Song period on this subject are scant and information sketchy, a clearer picture of Chinese religiosity begins to appear later in the Song period. See, for example, two articles by Barend ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options: Aspects of Lay Religious Life in the Lower Yangzi from 1100 until 1340," *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001), 92–152; and "Local Society and the Organization of Cults in Early Modern China: A Preliminary Study," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995), 1–43.

(43.) F. W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900–1800* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1999).

(44.) Peter Bol, in *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Palo Alto, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1992, 19), mentions the "need to ask what elite scholars who followed Buddhist teachings were learning and why they thought it was important. So too should we ask why some clergy schooled themselves in ju-hsueh and wen-hsueh."

(45.) Mark Robert Halperin, *Pieties and Responsibilities: Buddhism and Chinese Literati, 780–1280* (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 1997).

(46.) *Ibid.*, 399, changing Wade-Giles romanization to pinyin.

(47.) For a review of Buddhist policies under the first Song emperors, see Huang Chi-chiang, "Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung" in *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Imperial China* ed. Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-Chieh Huang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 144–87.

(48.) Tansen Sen, in "The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations During the Song Dynasty" (*T'oung Pao* 88 [2002, 32], claims that Taizu's support for monk pilgrimages to India may have stemmed from political considerations. More generally, Ruth W. Dunnell (*The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh Century Xia* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996. 31] notes that Buddhist exchanges became by the end of the first millennium "an instrument of diplomacy and spying as well as an important element in international protocol and the discourse of imperial legitimacy for all parties to the East Asian order."

(49.) An institute for the printing of the Buddhist canon was erected in Kaifeng during the *taiping xingguo* era (976–84). While it was not officially abolished until the fourth year of *xining* (1071), its performance had become lackluster much earlier. Afterward, private institutions began issuing the canon, starting with the Dongchan Monastery in 1080 and the Kaiyuan Monastery from the late Northern Song (960–1126) through the early Southern Song (1127–1279).

(50.) Tansen Sen, "The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations During the Song Dynasty," 73–74.

(51.) *Da Song Seng shilue* (T 54.240b19–21).

(52.) Tansen Sen, "The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations During the Song Dynasty," 74.

(53.) I am heavily indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers of the current manuscript for the characterization of the situation here.

(54.) Daniel B. Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Ts'u-yün Tsun-shih (964–1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 340–408 (see esp. 347–39). For an extensive treatment of the development of Tiantai-Pure Land in the Song, see Fukushima Kosai, *Sodai Tendai Jōdō no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Ben'ei dō, 1995).

(55.) Daniel A. Getz Jr., "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 477–523 (see esp. 487, 490, and 497).

(56.) Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 524–76.

(57.) On the Tiantai construction of Indian patriarchs in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* and its influence on Chan, see, for example, Philip Yamplolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 6–9; on the Tiantai construction of lineage in the Tang, see Jinhua Chen, *Making and Remaking History: A Study of Tiantai Sectarian Historiography* (Tokyo: The International Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1991). I have not had a chance to review Linda Penkower's forthcoming work on the mid-Tang Tiantai patriarch Zhanran, but I am advised that it is also relevant in this regard.

(58.) Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Song Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interests," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 295–339 (see esp. 298).

(59.) Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Palo Alto, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997), 212; Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 27. Both writers credit two Northern Song emperors. Zhenzong and Huizong, for the Daoist resurgence. Attention to the Daoist "renaissance" was first made by Michael Strickmann ("The Taoist Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," [paper presented at the Third International Conference of Taoist Studies, Unterägeri, Switzerland, 1979]), cited in Hymes, *Way and Byway*, 27.

(60.) Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism*, 212–13. On the compilation of the Daoist canon, also see Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987). According to Boltz (5), Song emperors, like their Tang predecessors, viewed their mandate as "the reflection of a larger Daoist dispensation." Taizong issued a decree in 990 calling for the collection and collation of Daoist texts. The project was continued by Zhenzong, who entrusted the task of forming a catalogue to Wang Qinro. An assistant draftsman, Zhang Junfang, was dispatched to Hangzhou to supervise the collation of Daoist manuscripts by a staff of Daoist masters. This resulted in the printing of the definitive canon in 1019 following the organization adopted in Wang's catalogue.

(61.) A detailed description (in Japanese) of Five Dynasties and Northern Song Daoist developments is found in Kubo Noritada, *Dōkyōshi*, *Sekai shūkyōshi sōsho* 9 (Tokyo: Sansen shuppansha, 1977), 245–87.

(62.) Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism*, 217; for a description of Interior Alchemy under the Song, see 212–56.

(63.) Denis Twitchett, in *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), demonstrates clearly the activity of the imperial bureaucratic apparatus during the Tang period.



(64.) A useful antidote to the standard, prosaic presentation of the development of Neo-Confucianism is provided by Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

(65.) T. Griffith Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 221. Wade-Giles romanization of Chinese has been converted to pinyin.

(66.) Ibid., 221.

(67.) The model that comes to mind here is that of the different monastic orders in Roman Catholicism: Benedictine, Franciscan, Jesuit, and so forth. While the place of doctrine in defining orthodoxy is clearly different than in the Chan tradition, the model of Catholic monastic orders suggests the existence of different styles and orientations within a broader set of commonly held assumptions.

(68.) Of studies in Japanese, readers may consult the works of such scholars as Yanagida Seizan, Ishii Shūdō, Nishiguchi Yoshio, and Shiina Kōyū. In German, there is a work by Christian Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*.

(69.) An egregious example of this tendency is seen in D. T. Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (Kyoto: Eastern Buddhist Society, 1934, and numerous reprinted editions).

(70.) These two works established the pattern for imperial sanction of other Chan transmission histories compiled in the Song, the *Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu* (compiled 1101) and the *Jiatai pudeng lu* (compiled 1204), which also bore the reign designation of the current emperors, *jianzhong jingguo* and *jiatai*, in their titles.

(71.) Neil S. Norrick, *Conversational Narrative: Storytelling in Everyday Talk*. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, series IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2000), 2.

(72.) Ibid., 3.

(73.) Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), "Prologue: Texts and Histories," 2–3. While sympathetic to the aims of New Historicism, the term is elusive and I make no claim to be a practitioner. My general sympathy lies in the attempt to reclaim historical context as meaningful to the discussion of texts while incorporating advances in recent literary and cultural theory. The literature on the subject is vast and growing, and beyond the present scope. For a succinct overview, however, I would

recommend the essay by Jeffrey Cox and Larry Reynolds, "The Historicist Enterprise," in *New Historical Literary Study*, ed. Cox and Reynolds (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3–38. A seminal volume on the New Historicist approach is H. Aram Veesser, *The New Historicism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989). For an instructive appraisal of New Historicist applications for Biblical Studies, see the monograph by Gina Hens-Piazza in *Guides to Biblical Scholarship*, Old Testament Series, entitled *The New Historicism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002). See especially Hens-Piazza's critical comments of Veesser's dismissal of Biblical Studies' attempt to appropriate New Historicist approaches in chapter 6, 69–76.

(74.) See M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Boston: Heinle and Heinle, 1999), entry on "New Historicism," 182–90 ("representation" is discussed specifically on 183–84).

(75.) Lynn White, "History as Gesture; or, The Scandal of History," in *Consequences of Theory: Selected Papers from the English Institute, 1987–88*, ed. Jonathon Arac and Barbara Johnson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 103, cited from Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing*, 4.

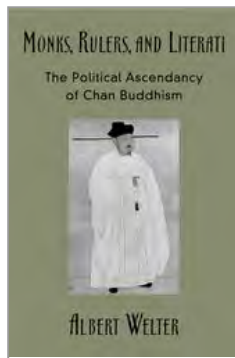
(76.) I am aware that this endeavor is fraught with pitfalls. In reconstructing Chan narrative as a represented tradition imagined and reimagined through later retelling, in shifting the narrative from the actors to the directors, if you will, some will charge that I have merely tinkered with the meta-narrative of Chan and Zen myth, creating a substitute narrative in the process. To this charge I have no adequate rebuttal, other than to admit that the tendency to eschew the construction of narrative as inherently faulty is not in evidence here. It is as human (perhaps more human) to construct narrative as it is to critique it, and narrative construction is an ongoing human process. The critique of narrative, whether to reconstruct or deconstruct, is part of this process. And it is important to remember that what is at stake in this process is not restricted to meaning and interpretation but extends to issues of power and prestige associated with who gets to determine how narrative is shaped and why. Scholarship, my own included, is not immune from this process, but is intricately involved in the issues at stake. While I do not intend to replace the Chan narrative, but only to provide perspective regarding its formation, I must admit that my own motivation is intricately bound up in its own complex web of protocols, far removed from Chan narrative in time and place. I leave to others, more articulate and insightful on this issue than I, to clarify these dynamics. On this subject, see Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology and Scholarship* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), especially the epilogue, "Scholarship as Myth," 207–9. I am also indebted to the discussion of this issue in a Buddhist context by Joseph Parker, in an unpublished paper, "Writing Cultural Struggle Past and Present: Orthodoxy and Literary Practice in the Transmission of Sung Chinese Ch'an Buddhism to Japan" (presented at the

conference “Medieval Ch’an/Zen in Cross-Cultural Perspective,” Hsi Lai Temple, Los Angeles, 1992). On the way historical understanding is presupposed in traditional Chan transmission narratives, juxtaposed against modern Western historiographic practice, see Dale S. Wright, “Historical Understanding: The Ch’an Buddhist Transmission Narratives and Modern Historiography,” *History and Theory* 31, no. 1 (1992): 37–46.

(77.) For a general view of material culture, see John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* [Princeton, N.J., and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003, (281)], who observes: “The sheer wealth of data relevant for the study of the impact of Buddhism on Chinese material culture threatens to overwhelm us in an avalanche of numbing detail that raises as many questions as it answers.” On the economic aspects of Buddhism in Chinese society, see Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. from French by Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). Neither of these works, however, is particularly relevant for understanding the specific role played by Chan monasteries in the periods under review here.

(78.) Our sources do not reveal much information regarding religious practices among the nonelite in China until later periods. An interesting exception, examining the social life of monks and nuns in Dunhuang in the late Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song periods, is Hao Chunwen, *Tang houqi Wudai Songchu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo* (The Social Life of Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Dunhuang during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Early Song) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998).

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

# Official Recognition of Chan Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0002

## Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the history of the official recognition of Chan Buddhism in China during the Tang Dynasty, or the period from 618 to 906. It reviews two partisan debates related to the Chan struggle for recognition in order to show the role played by government officials and secular literati in the development of Chan. It suggests that the debate associated with the struggle between rival Chan factions in the early Song Dynasty was instrumental in defining the principles that came to characterize Chan, and served as the foundation for the acceptance of Chan as a leading school of Chinese Buddhism in the Song.

**Keywords:** Chan Buddhism, Tang Dynasty, religious acceptance, partisan debates, government recognition, Song Dynasty, China

According to Chan tradition, independence from political concerns is a hallowed principle first established by none other than Bodhidharma, the Chan hero who reputedly established Chan as an independent movement in China. In Chan legend, Bodhidharma dismissed Emperor Wu of Liang when he was asked to comment on the emperor's efforts at gaining merit through conventional means such as building temples, giving alms, and making offerings, indicating an aloofness from temporal religious concerns to the representative of the government most able to lend support. In the *Platform Sūtra* account of this story, Prefect (*cishi*) Wei Qu comments to the sixth patriarch, Huineng:

I have heard that, when Bodhidharma was converting Emperor Wu of Liang, the emperor asked Bodhidharma: "I have spent my whole life up to now building temples, giving alms, and making offerings. Have I gained merit or not?" and that Bodhidharma answered saying: "No merit." The emperor was greatly disappointed and proceeded to banish Bodhidharma across the border. I don't understand this story and beg you to explain it.

The Sixth Patriarch said: "Indeed he gained no merit. Do not doubt the words of the great master Bodhidharma. The emperor was attached to a heterodox way and did not know the true Dharma."<sup>1</sup>

**(p.26)** Huineng goes on to explain to the prefect that true merit rests in the *Dharmakāya* and is not something sought through activities such as building temples, giving alms, and making offerings. "Merit is created from the mind," according to Huineng, not through egocentric activities with ulterior motives. The "true dharma" here remains pure and unsullied by the social and political contingencies of institutional reality.

This aloofness is also apparent in the legends associated with Huineng himself, who retreated to south China following the critical episode in Chan legend when he was designated as Sixth Patriarch. Various sources claim that Huineng was invited to court by the emperor (variously named as Empress Wu, Emperor Zhongzong, or Emperor Gaozong), but declined pleading ill health.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Huineng is said to have been honored by the court with gifts and titles. These episodes helped to establish the popular image of the Chan master who refuses to court political favor and patronage, remaining aloof and detached from worldly concerns, yet who is the recipient of the favors and patronage declined. As a result, figures like Huineng and texts like the *Platform Sūtra* have figured prominently in romanticized interpretations of a "pure" Chan and Zen whose truth transcends social and historical contingencies.

Associations between solitary ascetics and bureaucratic elites are not as odd as they first appear. The interplay between political and religious authority is inevitable whenever the implicit influence of religious functionaries and the explicit power of secular officials is recognized. Detachment from the world and mastery over liminal realms of unseen forces helped to reinforce the image of the Chan master as a locus of spiritual power, making him either an attractive accomplice or dreaded adversary to members of the political and religious establishment. In spite of the image of Chan masters enshrined in legend as "pure" recipients of declined favors, the reality is one of Chan masters accepting official honors. With rare exception, legitimacy and respect in the Chinese context inevitably entailed accepting invitations and appointments from officials to positions at government-sanctioned institutions. In the final analysis it was not the motive of the Chan master, "pure" or otherwise, but the official

recognition that provided Chan with the base of support that allowed it to flourish.

In spite of claims of being aloof from the concerns of secular authority and beyond the reach of the political establishment, it is impossible to consider the success of the Chan movement in China apart from the official patronage it received and the close relations that developed between Chan monks and government officials. The Chan struggle for official recognition often erupted in partisan debates resulting in definitive principles that came to characterize Chan. In the current chapter, I review two instances of these partisan debates in the Tang dynasty (618–906) that are already well known to students of Chan. My focus here accentuates the role played by government officials and secular literati in the development of Chan, thus shedding new light on the meaning of these debates.

The two Tang dynasty debates discussed here represent the familiar struggle for Chan supremacy in the eighth century associated with polemics (p.27) between the so-called Northern and Southern “school” factions, and the debate over Chan orthodoxy in the ninth century associated with the writings of Zongmi—the representative of Heze Chan—in opposition to the rising popularity of the Hongzhou Chan faction represented by Mazu Daoyi and his descendants, particularly Huangbo Xiyun. Other scholars have already investigated the relevant materials concerning these debates in detail, and I do not intend to reiterate all of the minutia in the short amount of space allotted me here.<sup>3</sup> Relying on this scholarship, I will try to point out some salient aspects pertaining to the importance of official recognition for the development of Chan.

The discussion of the two Tang debates serves as a prelude to the role played by local rulers, officials, and literati in the promotion of Chan during the Five Dynasties (907–59) and early Northern Song (960–1126), a focus of the volume examined in later chapters. The lesser-known but equally significant struggle for official recognition that originated in regional Chan factions in the Five Dynasties culminated in the early Song with official recognition for Linji Chan lineages. The debate associated with this struggle between rival Chan factions in the early Song was instrumental in defining the principles that came to characterize Chan, and served as the foundation for the acceptance of Chan as a leading school of Chinese Buddhism in the Song.

A study of these episodes shows that in spite of rhetorical claims of independence from political authority, the success of Chan within the Chinese cultural setting was predicated on close political ties and the official recognition and support that these provided. Regardless of the rhetorical strategies employed by Chan monks in their bid to win supremacy for their cause, these monks relied heavily on official support and recognition for success.

### The Northern vs. Southern “School” Context: Chan Success in Receiving Official Recognition

Rather than a doctrinal struggle involving the Northern and Southern factions, and the rivalry between their two protagonists, Shenxiu and Huineng, the larger story here is really about the political triumph of Chan in gaining support and recognition by the government and members of the cultural elite. The dynamic of Chan success here is determined more by the external circumstances of official acceptance and support for Chan than by the hotly contested nature of true Chan teaching.

Let us begin by looking at Chan Master Shenxiu, who the *Platform Sūtra* portrays in a most unfavorable light as the antithesis of the true Chan master, still entangled in the vagaries of dualism, toiling strenuously to achieve the unachievable, practicing *chan* meditation in the conventional manner characteristic of the dreaded doctrinal schools of Buddhism. In spite of the rhetorical posture that Huineng is portrayed as taking in the *Platform Sūtra* as representative of the “true” Chan of sudden enlightenment in opposition to the partial and faulty understanding of Shenxiu, Shenxiu is the one who first established **(p.28)** Chan in China as a mainstream movement with official recognition. It was Shenxiu who was invited to the capital, Luoyang, in 700 by Empress Wu (r. 690–705), lavishly welcomed, and granted imperial support.<sup>4</sup> Various sources provide testimony to the high esteem with which Shenxiu was regarded. According to the *Chuan Fabao ji*, everyone throughout the empire who aspired to study Buddhism wished to do so under Shenxiu; students did not consider ten thousand *li* too far a distance to come, an allusion to the opening lines of the *Lunyu* (Analects) of Confucius.<sup>5</sup> The *Jiu Tangshu* (Old Tang History) confirms that Shenxiu was a popular preacher, and that thousands strove daily to prostrate themselves before him.<sup>6</sup> According to the *Tang yuquan si datong chanshi bei* (The Tang Stela Inscription of the Chan Master Datong of Yuquan) written three years after Shenxiu's death by the influential scholar-statesman Zhang Yue (667–730) in 709, Shenxiu was given the rank of “Dharma-master of the two capitals” and made “Preceptor of State” (*guoshi*) by Empress Wu and her two sons, emperors Zhongzong and Ruizong.<sup>7</sup> According to the *Lengqie shizi ji* (Records of the Teachers and Disciples of the Lankā[vatāra]), Shenxiu regularly accompanied Empress Wu on her journeys between Luoyang and Chang'an.<sup>8</sup> Shenxiu's hermitage on Mount Dangyang (known as the Yuquan Monastery) was granted official status as the Dumen Monastery, and his family home in Weishi was officially designated the Bao'en Monastery.<sup>9</sup> The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song) reports that all the princes, including Li Longji, the future emperor Xuanzong, visited to consult with Shenxiu.<sup>10</sup> When Shenxiu petitioned to return to the solace of his monastery in 705, an imperial decree was issued rejecting his wish, attesting to the importance that was attached to Shenxiu's presence at court.<sup>11</sup>

According to Zhang Yue, lavish praise and honor continued to be bestowed upon Shenxiu after his death in 706, prompting one scholar to comment that Shenxiu's "death was marked by funeral ceremonies on a scale unprecedented for a Buddhist priest."<sup>12</sup> When Shenxiu's final remains were transported to Dumen Monastery in preparation for placement in a stūpa built on a hill in back of the monastery, Lu Zhengquan, an attendant of the heir apparent, was ordered to supervise the transfer.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Shenxiu was granted the posthumous title "Chan master Datong" (*Datong chanshi*). According to Zanning in the *Dasong Seng shilue* (The Great Song Outline History of the *Sangha*), Shenxiu was the first Buddhist monk during the Tang to be accorded such a title, and the first monk to be so honored since the Northern Zhou dynasty (556–81).<sup>14</sup> This act itself typifies the contribution that Shenxiu made in winning official recognition for the Chan movement in China. Not only did he follow in the wake of his Buddhist predecessors by being granted titles and positions while alive, but he was also associated with establishing precedents for the acceptance of Chan in official circles after his death. Following this precedent, posthumous titles were eventually granted to previous Chan patriarchs. Similar titles were conferred on the third patriarch Sengcan by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56), on Bodhidharma, on Daoxin and Hongren by Emperor Daizong (r. 762–79), on Huike by Emperor Dezong (r. 779–805), and finally on Huineng in 816 by Emperor Xianzong (r. 805–20). It will come as a surprise to most (p.29) that the honors subsequently granted to Bodhidharma, Huineng, and other well-known Chan patriarchs were predicated on the efforts and successes of Shenxiu, who was admonished in the *Platform Sūtra* for his lack of understanding of true Chan. The fictional narrative of the later Chan tradition successfully effaced Shenxiu's accomplishment, replacing it with a story of its own version of Chan's true champions. As a mark of Shenxiu's prestige in Buddhist and official circles, it is noteworthy that a text attributed to Shenxiu, the *Guanxin lun* (Treatise on Contemplating Mind), was the first Chan work admitted to the Buddhist canon.<sup>15</sup>

It is apparent from this brief sketch that Shenxiu's success was achieved through substantial support from important backers. Among the list of Shenxiu's official supporters were two reigning rulers, Empress Wu and Emperor Zhongzong, and two future emperors, Emperor Ruizong and Emperor Xuanzong. Other members of the imperial family closely associated with Shenxiu were Li Fan, the fourth son of emperor Ruizong and half-brother of Emperor Xuanzong, and the monk Jingjue, brother of Empress Wei (Wei furen), the consort of Emperor Zhongzong. Numerous high-ranking officials were also among Shenxiu's government supporters.<sup>16</sup>

Shenxiu's reputation in official circles continued after his death through the preservation of his legacy in written records. Foremost among these is the Stela Inscription by Zhang Yue, referred to above. The epitaph identified Shenxiu as the heir to the East Mountain Chan teaching of Hongren, honoring him as the legitimate heir of Chan teaching.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the aforementioned Li Fan wrote



an epitaph in Shenxiu's honor that has not survived.<sup>18</sup> Early biographies of Shenxiu were written by Du Fei (dates unknown, hereafter abbreviated as “d.u.”), also an influential scholar-bureaucrat, and recorded in the *Chuan Fabao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma-Jewel) in the first decade of the eighth century.<sup>19</sup> This biography identifies Shenxiu as the seventh patriarch, following Faru, the heir to Hongren's teaching. The other record of Shenxiu compiled shortly after his death was done by Jingjue (683–ca. 750), the aforementioned brother of Empress Wei and a prominent monk at the Da'an guo Monastery in Chang'an, and recorded in his *Lengqie shizi ji*, the early chronicle of biographies of the patriarchs of the Chan school compiled sometime in the *kaiyuan* era (713–41).<sup>20</sup> It designated Shenxiu as the seventh patriarch, following Hongren, and Gunabhadra, the translator of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, as the first patriarch, making Bodhidharma the second.

Regarding the motives surrounding the imperial patronage accorded Shenxiu, Bernard Faure suggests that Empress Wu's support of Shenxiu (and Fazang) helped to legitimize and consolidate “the revolution of the great Zhou,” the reign title chosen to advertise Empress Wu's agenda for the nation, and that Buddhists, for their part, were eager to curry imperial favor after years of subordination to Daoism. Faure stresses that the period from 695–705, after the scandal and execution of Wu's favorite monk Xue Huaiyi, was “characterized by an intense desire for orthodoxy on the part of the empress and her supporters.”<sup>21</sup> In addition, I would note that it is not unusual for rulers embarking on “revolution” to elevate new ideologies without association to previous (p.30) administrations to national prominence as their guiding spiritual authority. The need to transcend the traditional strictures of Chinese morality, particularly injunctions against public exhibition of female authority, was an important factor that drew Empress Wu to Buddhism in the first place. The fact that Chan school acceptance in official circles was unprecedented only served to make it more attractive. It is amply clear that Empress Wu did not favor Chan exclusively. Quite the contrary, her patronage toward Chan was but an extension of her promotion of Buddhism generally.<sup>22</sup> For the Chan side, official recognition was part of a natural trajectory for the Dongshan, or East Mountain disciples of Daoxin and Hongren, whose reputation was growing in prestige, capturing national attention. The real issue was who among them should stand as their true heirs. Shenxiu's undisputed prominence during his own lifetime settled the issue for his generation, or so it would seem. Following Shenxiu, the issue of legitimacy among followers erupted into partisan disputation.

Shenxiu's death resulted in a crisis among his followers regarding which of them should be viewed as Shenxiu's successor. The *Lengqie shizi ji* mentions four disciples, Puji, Jingxian, Yifu, and Huifu. All are regarded as Shenxiu's heirs with no apparent preference accorded any of them, with the possible exception that Puji's name is listed first.<sup>23</sup> Except for Huifu, who is otherwise completely

unknown, these disciples of Shenxiu enjoyed great prestige. Puji (651–739) and Yifu (661–736) were both honored as Preceptors of State (*guoshi*) and accorded exceptional patronage, becoming major Buddhist figures of their day. Jingxian's (660–723) reputation caught the attention of Emperor Zhongzong, who invited him to court, but where he stayed only a short while.<sup>24</sup>

There appears to have been no consensus over who the seventh patriarch, Shenxiu's successor, should be. This lack of consensus was the immediate cause for the formation of a patriarchal lineage. Lineage formation served as a mechanism for legitimizing succession among the current generation of heirs descended from Hongren. The first mention of a Chinese Chan patriarchal line appeared in an epitaph for the monk Faru (d. 689).<sup>25</sup> Faru's name appears in the list of ten principal disciples of Hongren in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, and although he became an obscure figure in the Chan tradition, he was apparently a prominent figure in his day. The epitaph posited Faru as the sixth patriarch and Hongren's heir, and made Shenxiu the seventh patriarch. This became the basis for the lineage asserted by Du Fei in the *Chuan Fabao ji*, compiled shortly thereafter.

Zhang Yue, in his stela inscription of Shenxiu, dropped Faru's name, placing Shenxiu as the sixth patriarch. Jingjue, in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, as mentioned above, places Gunabhadra first and Bodhidharma second, making Shenxiu seventh, with his successors constituting the next, or eighth generation. Li Yong's epitaph for Puji assumes Bodhidharma as the first patriarch, Shenxiu the sixth, and claims Puji to be the seventh.<sup>26</sup> The following table (2.1) summarizes these tendencies.

The idea of seven patriarchs was likely drawn from the practice of honoring imperial ancestors in Confucian court rituals through seven generations.<sup>27</sup> The title of seventh patriarch was also assumed by Yifu, whose name is listed (p.31) along with his colleague Puji, in Yifu's stela inscription.<sup>28</sup> The honor is also claimed for Jingxian, whose name is listed alongside Puji, Yifu, and others, in Jingxian's stela inscription.<sup>29</sup> Complicating the picture even further were the claims of the followers of Huian, a disciple of Hongren, that they were the seventh patriarch and Huian was the sixth.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 2.1. Transmission According to Early Chan Transmission Records and Epitaphs**

Faru Epitaph and Chuan Fabao ji	Zhang Yue Stela for Shenxiu	Jingjue, Lengqie shizi ji	Li Yong Epitaph for Puji
(1) Bodhidharma	(1) Bodhidharma	(1) Gunabhadra	(1) Bodhidharma
(2) Huike	(2) Huike	(2) Bodhidharma	(2) Huike
(3) Sengcan	(3) Sengcan	(3) Huike	(3) Sengcan

Faru Epitaph and Chuan Fabao ji	Zhang Yue Stela for Shenxiu	Jingjue, Lengqie shizi ji	Li Yong Epitaph for Puji
(4) Daoxin	(4) Daoxin	(4) Sengcan	(4) Daoxin
(5) Hongren	(5) Hongren	(5) Daoxin	(5) Hongren
(6) Faru	(6) Shenxiu	(6) Hongren	(6) Shenxiu
(7) Shenxiu		(7) Shenxiu	(7) Puji

It was in this context that Shenhui (684–758) entered the scene, launching an attack against Puji, who had apparently erected a Hall of the Seven Patriarchs to bolster his own claim.<sup>31</sup> The attack occurred at a meeting at the Dayun Monastery in Huatai in 732. An account of the meeting, the *Ding shifei lun* (Treatise Ascertaining the True and the False) was recorded by Shenhui's disciple, Dugu Pei.<sup>32</sup> Shenhui's attack included the well-known claim that his own teacher Huineng, rather than Shenxiu, was the true heir of Hongren, and that the true teaching of Chan, “sudden awakening” (*dunwu*), was passed on to Shenhui himself through the instruction he received from Huineng. Shenhui insisted that Huineng was the true sixth patriarch; Shenxiu had been an imposter (see table 2.2).

Shenhui's attacks had little effect until Puji's death in 739, after which they began to attract the interest of high-ranking officials. Most of Shenhui's supporters were literati who had risen through the exam system during the reign of Empress Wu and played an important role in helping Xuanzong's assumption of power; they were interested in Shenhui's protest movement as a cause through which to gain power.<sup>33</sup> In 745, Shenhui was invited to Luoyang by Song Ding, president of the Ministry of War.<sup>34</sup> Influenced by the power of Shenhui's charisma and by his rising status as a leading Chan representative, many Chan adepts began to heed Shenhui's call and switch their allegiance.<sup>35</sup> The “Northern School,” as it now became known as a result of Shenhui's efforts to disassociate it from the “true” Chan of the “Southern School,” continued to have its supporters among high-ranking officials. One of these, the Imperial Censor Lu Yi, accused Shenhui of causing disturbance and had him sent into exile in 753.<sup>36</sup> Had events not taken the turn that they eventually did, Shenhui might have easily passed his remaining years in disgrace. The rebellion of An Lushan changed the fortunes of many at the time.<sup>37</sup> It resulted in **(p.32)** Lu Yi's death and the recall of Shenhui to the capital in 757 to assist the new emperor, Suzong (r. 756–64), in raising funds for his government by selling ordination certificates, a practice that had been forbidden by the former emperor, Xuanzong.<sup>38</sup> Faure notes the irony that while Puji's disciples held misgivings at participating in such a politicized endeavor, Shenhui had no qualms at doing so and seized the opportunity.<sup>39</sup> Shenhui subsequently assumed a prominent religious role under Suzong, and Shenhui's influence continued after his death in 768. In 772, Shenhui was honored with the posthumous title, “Great Master

Zhenzong" (*zhenzong dashi*) following the aforementioned precedent established with Shenxiu. According to Zongmi, Shenhui was officially acknowledged as the seventh patriarch by the emperor Dezong (r. 779–804) in 796, effectively usurping the efforts at gaining official recognition for the Chan movement by Shenxiu nearly a century earlier.<sup>40</sup> This would eventually consign Shenxiu to the role of unsuccessful protagonist and charlatan in the contest for the Chan patriarchy, and relegate the so-called "Northern School" to the ranks of Chan unorthodoxy.

**Table 2.2. Chan Transmission According to Shenhui**

(1) Bodhidharma
(2) Huike
(3) Sengcan
(4) Daoxin
(5) Hongren
(6) Huineng
(7) Shenhui

In traditional accounts of Chan history, the "Northern School" became forever tainted with an unpardonable association with the charges of "gradualism," the sanctioning of conventional religious practices and observances, and unworthy of serious consideration as representative of "true" Chan or Zen teaching. In fact, Northern School Chan remained strong and its teachings continued to exert considerable influence in Chan circles. The influence of Shenxiu and the Northern School also continued to be acknowledged in official circles. An official history of the Tang dynasty, the *Jiu Tangshu* compiled in 945, included the biographies of Shenxiu, and his two leading disciples, Puji and Yifu. The only other Chan biographies included are those of Bodhidharma, Hongren, and Huineng. Since all of the Chan biographies presented in the *Jiu Tangshu* are subordinate to Shenxiu's biography, it is clear that he was regarded by the compilers as the official representative of Chan and its sixth patriarch.<sup>41</sup> The influence of Shenhui's Heze faction, the "winners" in the contest of defining Chan orthodoxy according to the *Platform sūtra*, was short lived, ceasing to produce representatives past the ninth century. No mention is made of Shenhui in the *Jiu Tangshu*. The compilers of official history in the tenth century clearly looked to Shenxiu as the leading heir to the Chan tradition of Hongren.

A major factor in the eclipse of the Heze faction was the effect of the An Lushan rebellion. Although central power was restored following the (p.33) rebellion (Shenhui, as we have seen, played a role in assisting the cause of Suzong), the long-term effects of the rebellion were to shift power away from the central

administration to regional centers of power led by military warlord governors (*jiedu shi*). The Heze faction, like Shenxiu and the Northern School that preceded it, achieved success through the official recognition of the imperial government and its officials. Future Chan developments would be closely associated with the regional military governors.

A prime example of this are the circumstances leading to the writing of the early Chan chronicle, the *Lidai Fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages), which was produced in Sichuan between 774–81.<sup>42</sup> The work was compiled by a disciple of Wuzhu (714–74), who taught a branch of Chan proclaimed to be “outside of, and older than, the division of Chan into the Northern and Southern schools.”<sup>43</sup> The *Lidai Fabao ji* was the product of a highly politicized atmosphere in the region following the rebellion of An Lushan. Buddhism was promoted in the region through the efforts of two pro-Buddhist politicians, Du Hongjian (706–69) and Zhangqiu Jianqiong (d.u.), both of whom are mentioned in the *Lidai Fabao ji*.<sup>44</sup> Du Hongjian gained his reputation by maintaining order in Sichuan after the An Lushan rebellion, and established himself as a prominent and rising political figure on the national scene.<sup>45</sup> Zhangqiu Jianqiong distinguished himself in struggles with the Tibetans, and assisted Emperor Xuanzong in settling in Sichuan following the An Lushan rebellion.<sup>46</sup> Zhangqiu Jianqiong invited Wuzhu to preach at the Jing-zhong Monastery, where Wuzhu resided for over twenty years. Without doubt, the prominence of Wuzhu and his disciples was largely the result of the promotions of the pro-Buddhist politicians Zhangqiu Jianqiong and Du Hongjian. Yanagida Seizan even goes so far as to assert that “Wuzhu was a brazen cleric who, like many of his contemporaries in Sichuan, was ready to take advantage of anything that might serve his ends.”<sup>47</sup> A recent study by Wendi Adamek attempts to situate Wuzhu and the *Lidai Fabao ji* in a more suggestive context and with a less dismissive tone, proposing the text reflects a complex web of intersecting motives and ambitions. These range from the appropriation of Shenhui's “Southern School” rhetoric and the *Vajrasamādhi sūtra*'s “robe of the *tathāgatas*,” to Empress Wu Zetian's own fascination with the robe as an emblem of political investiture.<sup>48</sup>

Even with the decentralization of power that accompanied the *jiedu shi* system of administration, the imperial government continued to assume many of its traditional authorizing functions. In this context, Chan continued to receive recognition in official circles. Nanyang Huizhong (?–775) was named “Preceptor of State” (*guoshi*) by Emperor Daizong (r. 765–79), a title first awarded to Chan Master Shenxiu by Empress Wu.<sup>49</sup> Huizhong was first invited to the capital by Imperial Commissioner Sun Chaojin in 761, after Emperor Suzong (r. 756–64) heard of his reputation. Both emperors treated Huizhong with great warmth. Regarded as a disciple of Huineng, Huizhong followed in the footsteps of Shenxiu and Shenhui as the representative of Chan in the capital.

**(p.34)** The Heze/Hongzhou Context: The Political Implications of Chan Success

The next context reviewed is the rivalry between the Heze and Hongzhou factions for Chan supremacy in the ninth century. The rivalry was made explicit in the writings of Heze faction representative Zongmi (780–841), who served as a leading Buddhist in the capital and among official circles. According to Zongmi's *Chan Chart*, for example, the Chan tradition was divisible into five factions: the Oxhead faction, the Northern faction, the Southern faction, the Heze faction, and the Hongzhou faction.<sup>50</sup> 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. Zongmi, in his writings, argued for the superiority of Heze Chan.<sup>51</sup>

Zongmi's understanding of Chan exerted a large influence over future generations. In spite of this, Yanagida Seizan is probably correct in suggesting that even as Zongmi wrote, the glory of Heze Chan was already on the wane and in the process of being supplanted by the rising status of Hongzhou Chan; Zongmi was hoping to revive Heze by claiming it as true Chan interpretation.<sup>52</sup>

The Hongzhou faction was the product of the rising importance of regional centers, referred to above. The name “Hongzhou” itself is taken from one of the regional centers of the movement located in Jiangxi province. The real progenitor of the Hongzhou faction was Mazu Daoyi (709–88), who had already passed away by the time Zongmi wrote. He was succeeded by Baizhang Huaihai (749–814), and then by Baizhang's two disciples, Guishan Lingyu (771–853) and Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850). It is from the latter's residence on Mount Huangbo in Gaoan near Hongzhou that the name of the faction is derived. By designating it in such a way, Zongmi clearly perceived Huangbo Xiyun as the current faction leader.<sup>53</sup>

It is ironic that Zongmi, who inherited the leadership of Shenhui's Heze faction, would be cast in a role more akin to that of Shenxiu, as representative of “orthodox” Chan at the imperial court and defender of this interpretation against the rising tide of a regional Chan movement. While the competition between Heze and Hongzhou Chan was by no means as bellicose as was the case with members of the so-called Northern and Southern factions, the rivalry must have been equally as keen.

Zongmi, it should be noted, was also critical of the teaching of Wuzhu, the leader of a Chan faction in Sichuan whose claims were represented in the *Lidai Fabao ji*, discussed above. Generally speaking, Zongmi's criticism of Wuzhu's teaching parallels his critique of the Hongzhou faction. According to Zongmi, Wuzhu did not follow the observances of the Buddhist tradition, and rejected worship and

repentance, reading scriptures, painting images, copying sūtras, and so forth, as deluded ideas.<sup>54</sup>

**(p.35)** By training and inclination, Zongmi was a natural ally of the members of the literati. Prior to his conversion to Buddhism, Zongmi received the basic Confucian education common to members of the literati class. His early training in Buddhism was in the rich and philosophically sophisticated teaching of Huayan, many of whose teachers dominated Tang intellectual life.<sup>55</sup> Zongmi was invited to court through an edict issued in 828, and was granted a purple robe and the honorific title “great worthy” (*dade*) by Emperor Wenzong (r. 827–40).<sup>56</sup> This invitation propelled Zongmi into the role of leading spokesperson for Buddhism at the court and among the literati. As a result, one sees a change in Zongmi's writings from primarily exegetical works aimed at Buddhist scholars to works of a broader intellectual scope aimed at influencing the literati and members of court, including his two works on Chan, the *Chan Chart* and *Chan Preface*, and his essay *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity*.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the *Daosu chouda wenji*, a collection of short works, mostly responses to questions by lay and clerical followers compiled by Zongmi's disciples after his death, is a reflection of the broader intellectual scope to which Zongmi's interests turned.<sup>58</sup>

Peter Gregory has discussed in detail Zongmi's connections with leading literati and scholar officials.<sup>59</sup> There is no need to repeat the details here, but I would like to review briefly some of the noteworthy aspects of these connections. The most prominent literary figure with whom Zongmi was associated was the famous poet Bai (or Bo) Juyi (772–846).<sup>60</sup> In addition to his celebrated poetry, Bai held important positions at court,<sup>61</sup> and it was in this capacity that the two probably made their initial acquaintance. In 833, Bai composed a poem for Zongmi:

The way of my master and the Buddha correspond perfectly:

Successive thoughts being unconditioned, each thing is able [to reveal the dharma].

The mouth treasury spreads the twelve divisions [of the canon] abroad;

The mind tower lights thousands of lamps.

Utterly abandoning the written word is not the middle way;

Forever abiding in empty vacuity is [the practice of] the lesser vehicle.

Rare indeed is one who understands the practice of the bodhisattva;

In the world he alone is to be esteemed as an eminent monk.<sup>62</sup>

The sentiment expressed by Bai Juyi in this poem amounts to a show of support for Zongmi's interpretation of Chan in which the "mouth treasury," the Buddhist canonical tradition, and the "mind tower," the Chan transmission passed on from generation to generation likened to lighting one lamp from another, represent two facets of a single tradition.<sup>63</sup> Bai's critique of those who "[abandon] the written word," and "forever [abide] in empty vacuity," likewise parallels Zongmi's criticism of Hongzhou Chan. As was seen in the case of the debate between the Northern and Southern factions above, literati and government officials played prominent roles in determining which interpretation of Chan was accepted in official circles.

**(p.36)** Zongmi's closest associate among the scholar-officials at the court was clearly Pei Xiu (787?-860).<sup>64</sup> Pei Xiu held a number of positions within the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng*), the branch of the administration generally having broad policy-formulating responsibilities, charged with promulgating imperial orders.<sup>65</sup> Pei Xiu wrote prefaces to many of Zongmi's works, as well as Zongmi's epitaph in 853.<sup>66</sup> The *Chan Chart*, Zongmi's strongest critique of Hongzhou Chan, was written at Pei Xiu's request (original title *Pei Xiu shiyi wen*), indicating further the strong interest literati had in determining the correct interpretation of Chan.

It was around this same time that some of the leading literati in China were beginning to question the position that Buddhism had gained in China. The most prominent was Han Yu (768-824), the famed initiator of the Confucian revival. Han Yu's "Memorial on the Bone of the Buddha," issued in 819, presented a fierce challenge to free China of the pernicious presence of Buddhist superstitions and their undermining effect on Confucian values. It is generally thought that Zongmi's *Yuanren lun* (*Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity*) was written in part as a response to Han Yu's attack,<sup>67</sup> demonstrating even further the implications Buddhist monks' and secular officials' views held for each other.

Ultimately, Zongmi left a complicated legacy for Chan. On the one hand, he brought recognition for Chan to new levels in official circles by achieving a reputation among literati and scholar-officials that few Buddhists in China ever matched. On the other hand, this same success brought Buddhism and Zongmi to the center of public debate. Zongmi defended Buddhism publicly and argued for the superiority of Buddhist teaching over Confucianism and Taoism in the context of heated rivalry among the three teachings. In the contentious decades of the ninth century leading up to the Huichang suppression, where economic and political crises challenged the status quo and questioned Buddhism's role in Chinese society, Zongmi's brand of Chan teaching was open to anti-Buddhist wrath. At the same time, Zongmi became personally implicated in a major government scandal when he offered protection for the powerful literatus Li Xun (d. 835), who was involved in an attempt to oust the eunuchs from power in what is known as the "Sweet Dew Incident."<sup>68</sup> Zongmi demonstrates how far the



realities of patronage and political associations may lead Chan monks from the rhetorical claims of the Chan tradition to be aloof from the concerns of secular authority and beyond the reach of the establishment.<sup>69</sup>

While Han Yu's proposals had no immediate effect, they did contribute to rising anti-Buddhist sentiments at court, culminating in the Huichang proscription of Buddhism in the early 840's. This had a devastating impact on metropolitan Buddhist centers and effectively curtailed imperial support and recognition for Buddhism until the Song dynasty. For the next hundred years and beyond, the story of Buddhism in China moved to regional centers. Not all regions were hospitable, but where Buddhism found support, Chan was often the primary beneficiary.

Early indication of the impact these events would have was provided by Pei Xiu, the close associate of Zongmi. During the Huichang era (841–46), **(p.37)** Pei was transferred to a series of provincial posts. In this capacity, he had the opportunity to meet Huangbo Xiyun, Zongmi's adversary in the Hongzhou faction, first in 842 while serving in Zhongling, and again in 848 while serving in Wanling.<sup>70</sup> As a result of these meetings, Pei Xiu converted to Huangbo's Hongzhou Chan teaching. Pei Xiu's record of Huangbo's teachings on these occasions is generally regarded as an early example (the earliest?) of the *yulu* (recorded sayings) genre associated with the new style of Chan emanating from the Hongzhou faction.<sup>71</sup> Pei Xiu's conversion represented a trend among officials toward support for a style of Chan Buddhism unimplicated in the events and circumstances leading to the Huichang suppression.

Even initiators of the Confucian revival supported this new style of Chan. The epitaph for Mazu was written by Vice Director of the Left Quan Deyu (with a preface by Pei Xiu),<sup>72</sup> a forerunner of the Neo-Confucian movement. (Quan Deyu's own epitaph was written by none other than Han Yu.) Not even Han Yu was immune from Chan influences. Depressed over the death of his daughter, Han Yu recovered his spirit through the teachings of Chan Master Dadian Baotong (732–824).<sup>73</sup> Dadian was a colleague of Yaoshan Weiyan (745–828); the two of them studied together under Shitou (700–790), who, like Mazu, was counted in Chan circles as a third-generation descendant of Huineng.<sup>74</sup> Yaoshan himself was a recluse who became known through his dialogues with another famous figure in the Confucian revival, Li Ao, who, along with Quan Deyu and Han Yu, was counted among the famous precursors of the Neo-Confucian movement.<sup>75</sup> In addition, Li Ao practiced with students of Mazu, Xitang (735–814), and Dayi (745–818).<sup>76</sup> Xitang was granted the posthumous title “Great Enlightened Chan Master” (*dajue chanshi*), and honored with an official epitaph.<sup>77</sup> Dayi was the first of Mazu's disciples to be invited to court, arriving at the capital ca. 804 through the invitation of Emperor Dezong (r. 779–804); he also administered his teachings for Emperor Shunzong (r. 805). He was granted the posthumous title “Great Master of Wisdom and Enlightenment” (*huijue*

*dashi*). His epitaph was written by Wei Chuhou.<sup>78</sup> From this evidence, a definite connection was established between the Confucian revival initiated by Han Yu and Li Ao and the new Chan movements traced to Mazu and Shitou.

### Conclusion

Imperial support and official recognition were crucial for the success of the Chan movement in China. Throughout the rise and fall of Chan factions, all sides, regardless of strategy, depended heavily on official support and recognition for success. In contrast to Chan myth that characterizes the master as aloof from political and secular concerns, the history of Chan is in fact predicated on the relations between clerics and officials. While Chan transmission records were forging a mythological Chan identity through the construction of lineages dating back to Śākyamuni, and recording the supposed conversations, verses, and pronouncements of Chan masters, the very same (p. 38) records were documenting the connections between Chan masters and emperors and officials, recording honors received, titles awarded, and so on. As such, imperial support and official connections were as crucial to many Chan masters' identities as were the records of their lineage, teachings, and conversations, even in Chan's own records.

It makes sense, in this context, that secular officials would play a determining role in shaping the style of Chan that would be granted official acceptance. This is exhibited in numerous ways: in the honors and awards granted to Chan monks, in the official appointment of Chan monks to specific monasteries, in the role played by pro-Buddhist officials in compiling and editing Chan records, in the composition of epitaphs by leading officials for Chan monks, through the encounters between officials and monks, and through secular leaders assuming the status of student in the dharma assemblies of Chan masters.

### Notes:

(1.) In addition to the *Platform Sūtra* version cited here (Yampolsky, trans., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, sec. 34, 155–6, with minor changes), this story also appears in the work of Shenhui, the *Puti damo Nanzong ding shifei lun* (Hu Shih, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, 160), and in the record of Bodhidharma contained in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (T 51.219a). John McRae (*The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, 15) notes that Emperor Wu of the Liang (r. 502–49) “was one of the most famous imperial supporters of Buddhism in all Chinese history, a ruler who sponsored the construction of numerous temples and images, personally studied Buddhist scriptures, and scrupulously observed Buddhist religious injunctions.” For a summary of Emperor Wu's support for Buddhism, see K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, 124–28.

(2.) Among the sources recounting this story are: (a) the work of Shenhui, *Puti damo Nanzong ding shifei lun* (Shenhui heshang yiji, 291–92), where the offer is attributed to Empress Wu; (b) an inscription in the *Quan Tangwen* (QTW 17: 1, 241), where the offer is attributed to Emperor Zhongzong; and (c) the *Caoqi dashi biechuan* (XZJ 146.965a–975b), where it is attributed to Emperor Gaozong. On the problems associated with the historical validity of this story, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 31.

(3.) Prominent studies in Western languages relating to the development of Chan that take into account the role of political connection and official recognition include: John McRae, *The Northern School*; Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*, a new version of material previously published in two works in French, *La volonté d'orthodoxie dans le bouddhisme chinois* (Editions du CNRS, 1988) and *Le bouddhisme Chan en mal d'histoire* (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1989); Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*; Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); John Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Chan's Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T'ang Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History* (1987), 89–133; and studies by T. Griffith Foulk, including his PhD dissertation, "*The 'Chan School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition*." The studies in Japanese are too numerous to list. Most prominent among them are those by Yanagida Seizan for developments especially relating to Tang Chan, and to Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, and Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū: seiji shakai shiteki kōsatsu*, for developments relating to Song Chan.

(4.) See the *Chuan Fabao ji* (CFJ), Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 403. In the words of Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy* (21), the imperial support received by Shenxiu from Empress Wu Zetian "sealed the destiny of the young Chan school," transforming it "into a triumphant orthodoxy—in peril of turning into a court religion, a courtly doctrine."

(5.) CFJ (ed. Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971, 396).

(6.) *Jiu Tangshu* (JTS) 191.5110.4.

(7.) *Quan Tangwen* (QTW) 231.2953–54. An annotated critical edition of Zhang Yue's epitaph is contained in the appendix of Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 497–516; see 499.6–7 for the assertion mentioned here. For Zhang Yue's biography, see JTS 97.3049 and *Xin Tangshu* (XTS) 125.4404.

(8.) See the *Lengqie shizi ji* (LSJ), Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 298.

(9.) QTW 231 (ed. Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 499.11); see also LSJ (T 85.1290b; *Shoki no zenshi I*, 302).

(10.) T 50.835c.

(11.) The imperial decree states: “The wish [expressed] yesterday by the Chan master to return to his home prefecture is to no avail. I hope that he will respond to my ardent expectation rather than persist in this attachment to the elms [of his monastery].” Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 302; Faure, trans., *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 23.

(12.) QTW 231 (ed. Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 499–500); Faure, trans., *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 23.

(13.) LSJ (ed. Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 307).

(14.) T 54.252c8–9.

(15.) Yanagida Seizan, “Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūzō,” 725a.

(16.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 32–36.

(17.) Yanagida, ed., *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 498.

(18.) On Li Fan, see JTS 95, 9:3016 and XTS 81, 12:3601; Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 191n64.

(19.) Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 396–407. On the dating of the text, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 5.

(20.) Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 295–320. On the dating of the text, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 19n48.

(21.) Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 32–33.

(22.) As amply indicated by Jinhua Chan, “Śarīra and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25 (2002), 33–150.

(23.) Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi I*, 320–21.

(24.) Jingxian's stele inscription was written by Yang Yu, contained in QTW 362.4649–50. For an account, see Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 207n33. The dates provided for these figures follow McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*.

(25.) Faru's epitaph is recorded anonymously in the *Jinshi xubian* 6.5b–7a. For an annotated edition, see Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 487–96. The epitaph is translated into English by McRae, *The Northern School*, 85–86.

(26.) QTW 262.3362a.

(27.) John Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Chan's Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T'ang Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History* (1987), 89–133.

(28.) QTW 280.3597b.

(29.) QTW 362.4650a.

(30.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 96.

(31.) As Wendi L. Adamek ("Robes Purple and Gold: Transmission of the Robe in the *Lidai fabao ji* [Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages]," *History of Religions* [2000], 63n15) points out, the dates for Shenhui are based on a stele discovered dating from 765, reported on by Takeuchi Kōdō, "Shinshutsu no Katakū Jinne tōmei ni tsuite," *Shūgaku kinkō* 27 (1985): 313–25.

(32.) The *Ding shifei lun* is recorded in Hu Shih, *Shenhui heshang yiji*, 258–318.

(33.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 90. Faure mentions officials like Wang Ju (657–746), JTS 106.3248 and XTS 121.4331; Cui Riyong (673–722), JTS 99.3087 and XTS 121.4329; and Su Jin (676–734), JTS 100.3116 and XTS 128.4458, as examples.

(34.) There is no biographical record of Song Ding, but he is mentioned in JTS 197.5275 (in the record of Dong Xieman).

(35.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 89–90.

(36.) Ibid., 82, 90. McRae (*The Northern School*, 241) claims Shenhui's banishment came "at the instigation of an unknown official." Lu Yi's biography is found in JTS 187B.4893–95 and XTS 191.5526. For Lu Yi's prejudice in favor of Northern Chan, see the SGSZ, T 50.756c25.

(37.) For a description of the background and effects of the An Lushan rebellion, see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955); Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755–805," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. Arthur F. Wright, (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960), 77–111; David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China*; and Peter Bol, "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, 108–47; in Japanese, see Yo Kih, *An Rokuzan* (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1985).

(38.) For a review of Xuanzong's policies toward Buddhism, see Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 76–78.

(39.) Ibid., 90.

(40.) Ibid.

(41.) JTS 191.5109–11. The Chan masters' biographies are contained under the heading of "practitioners of thaumaturgic arts" (*fangji*). Bodhidharma's and Hongren's biographies are not mentioned in the contents, but are embedded in Shenxiu's biography. Huineng, Puji, and Yifu's biographies are also listed as sub-biographies under Shenxiu. The only other Buddhist masters with biographies recorded in the JTS are Xuanzang and Yixing.

(42.) Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 279. The *Lidai fabao ji* text and annotated Japanese translation are contained in Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi II* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976). For a discussion of the *Lidai fabao ji* in English, see Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Chan Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," trans. John R. McRae, in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster (Berkeley, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 13–49; and the Ph.D. dissertation by Wendi Adamek, "Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission As Seen through the *Lidai Fabao Ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Ages)," Stanford University Press, 1997.

(43.) Yanagida, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*," 21. According to Yanagida, "the author of the LTFPC accepts this division [between the Northern and Southern schools] and clearly accepts the superiority of the Southern school, but he does not identify Wuzhu with that branch of Chan. Rather, he traces his lineage back to Zhishen of Jiannan (609–702) who, along with Huineng, was one of the ten great disciples of the Fifth Patriarch Hongren." (Note that the above citation abbreviated LFJ [*Lidai Fabao ji*] as LTFPC).

For the record of Wuzhu, see the LFJ (Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi II*, 154–56, 163–64, 168–72) and CDL 4 (T 51.234b–35a).

(44.) For the mention of Zhangqiu Jianqiong, see Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi II*, 142; for Du Hongjian, 189ff.

(45.) On Du Hongjian, see Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi II*, note on 197; JTS 108.3282–85 and XTS 126.4422–24.

(46.) On Zhangqiu Jianqiong, see Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 282–83; JTS 196A.5234 and XTS 216A.6086.

(47.) Yanagida, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*," 25.

(48.) Wendi L. Adamek, "Robes Purple and Gold," 58–81. Among other things, Adamek points out (60–61) how the *Lidai Fabao ji* and the Bao Tang faction it celebrates represent "a more accurate reflection of the Buddhist world of the eighth and ninth centuries, the so-called golden age of Chan, than the authoritative eleventh-and twelfth-century accounts," and that "the canonical accounts may be no more truthful than the *Lidai fabao ji*, merely more successful."

(49.) The record of Nanyang Huizhong is contained in ZTJ 3 (113.6–130.1), CDL 5 (T 51.244a–45a), and SGSZ 9 (T 50.762b–63b).

(50.) *Zhonghua chuanxindi Chanmen shizi chengxi tu*, XZJ 110.866a–68a.

(51.) On Zongmi and his interpretation of Chan, see Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, especially 224–52; Jan Yün-hua, “Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Chan Buddhism,” *T’oung Pao* 58 (1972), 1–54; and Kamata Shigeo, *Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisō teki kenkyū*.

(52.) Yanagida Seizan, “Kaisetsu,” in *Denshin hōyō, enryō roku*, trans. Iriya Yoshitaka (Zen no goroku 8), 156.

(53.) Yanagida “Kaisetsu,” 157.

(54.) On Zongmi's criticism of Wuzhu, see Yanagida, “The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*,” 31–33; and Kamata Shigeo's note in *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, 301.

(55.) According to Yanagida (“Kaisetsu,” 157), Zongmi did not understand the new style of Chan in the Hongzhou faction on account of his close attachment to past tradition and authority, namely Confucianism and Huayan philosophy.

(56.) Kamata, *Shūmitsu*, 51.

(57.) Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 72–73. The *Chan Chart* refers to the *Zhonghua chuan xindi Chanmen shizi chengxi tu*, mentioned above; the *Chan Preface* refers to the *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu*, T 48, no. 2015 (*Zengen shosenshū tojo*, trans. Kamata Shigeo [Zen no goroku 9]); and the *Inquiry into the Origins of Humanity* refers to the *Yuanren lun*, T. 45, no. 1886 (Peter Gregory, *Inquiry into the Origins of Humanity: An Annotated Translation of Tsung-mi's “Yuan jen lun” with a Modern Commentary*).

(58.) Although the *Daosu chouda wenji* is no longer extant, it is known to have included a number of works that have survived independently, such as the *Chan Chart* and *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity*. For a full list, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 324n27.

(59.) Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 73–85.

(60.) Bai Juyi's biography is contained in JTS 166.4340–58 and XTS 119.4300–4305.

(61.) Positions that Bai Juyi held were President of the Palace Library, and Vice-minister of the Ministry of Justice.

(62.) The poem is entitled “Zeng Caotang Zongmi shangren,” in Bai (or Bo)shi *changqingji* 64.7b–8a; referred to by Kenneth Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, 220.

(63.) As Gregory (*Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 79) points out, Bai's utterance here reminds one of Zongmi's statement in the *Chan Preface* that "the scriptures are the Buddha's words, and Chan is the Buddha's intent. The minds and mouths of the Buddha certainly cannot contradict one another."

(64.) Pei Xiu's biography is contained in JTS 177.4592 and XTS 182.5371. Zongmi's connection with Pei Xiu is discussed in Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 73–77.

(65.) The positions held by Pei Xiu included investigating censor, rectifier of omissions of the right, and senior compiler of the Historiography Institute.

(66.) Examples of prefaces written by Pei Xiu for Zongmi's works are those for the *Chan Chart*, the abridged commentary to the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing lueshu chao*, XZJ 15), commentary to the *Fajie guanmen* (*Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen*, T 45, no. 1884), and the *Daosu chouda wenji*. All four prefaces are found in QTW 743. For Pei Xiu's epitaph of Zongmi, see Kamata, *Shūmitsu*, 49–52 (originally recorded in QTW 743). The intimate nature of the relationship between Zongmi and Pei Xiu is revealed in the epitaph (Kamata, *Shūmitsu*, 51): "We were brothers in the dharma and close friends in righteousness, I was indebted to him as my spiritual guide, and we were protectors of the teaching from within and without. I can therefore talk about him in detail in a way that others cannot" (Gregory, trans., *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 74).

(67.) Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 83. In particular, Gregory notes that Han Yu wrote a series of five essays beginning with *yuan* ("inquiry into the origin of"), in which criticism of Buddhism played a part (particularly in *Yuan dao*, *Inquiry into the Origin of the Way*). Tsung-mi's appropriation of Han Yu's style of titling his essays suggests that it was written, in part, as a response.

(68.) *Ibid.*, 85–88.

(69.) Zongmi's political associations did not go uncriticized. Zanning, in his record of Zongmi in SGSZ (T 50.743a), openly acknowledges that some found fault with Zongmi for associating with nobles and officials and paying frequent visits to the emperor, but goes on to defend him. For a translation, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 88.

(70.) See Pei Xiu's "preface" to the *Chuanxin fayao*, *Denshin hōyō*, *enryō roku*, trans. Iriya Yoshitaka, 3.

(71.) In his "introduction" to the *Critical Sermons of the Zen Tradition: Hisamatsu's Talks on Linji* (ed. Christopher Ives and Tokiwa Gishin [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002]; xxxii, xxxv), Yanagida Seizan suggests that



the compilation of the *Chuanxin fayao* actually postdates the *Linji lu*, which would move back its compilation date nearly three hundred years. Unfortunately, Yanagida gives only sparse reasoning for this suggestion, based on his belief that the *Chuanxin fayao* amounts to a commentary on the *Linji lu*. Without further evidence, there is no way to assess Yanagida's claim, and I continue to follow the traditional dating for the compilation of the *Chuaxin fayao*.

(72.) ZTJ 14.44. A copy of the epitaph is contained in QTW 501.6466–67. See also the critical edition with Japanese translation in Iriya Yoshitaka, *Basō no goroku*, 210–14.

(73.) I am indebted for this and what follows to Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū kaidai*,” in *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3, 1592–93. (Note: all references to the ZTJ are to Yanagida's edition). Dadian Baotong's record is contained in ZTJ 5.1–4. For the ZTJ conversation between Dadian and Han Yu, see 1–3. Qisong discusses this meeting in the *Fujiao bian* (Araki Kengo, *Hōkyō hen*, 67–68), and Yanagida counts this as one of the pieces of evidence that the ZTJ was not lost and unknown in the Song, as is frequently supposed.

(74.) Yaoshan Weiyan's record is contained in ZTJ 4 (168.4–84.14) and CDL 14 (T 51.311b–12c).

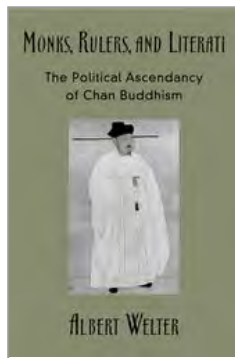
(75.) Chan style master-disciple conversations between Weiyan and Li Ao are recorded in ZTJ 4 (169.9–70.2) and CDL 14 (T 51.312b9–27).

(76.) Xitang's record is contained in ZTJ 15 (73.2–74.9) and CDL 7 (T 51.252a–b), where Li Ao is quoted as asking Xitang about Mazu's teaching. Dayi's record is in ZTJ 15 (74.10–76.9) and CDL 7 (T 51.253a), where conversations with Li Ao are recorded. On Li Ao, see T. H. Barrett, *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

(77.) Xitang's epitaph is recorded in *Gongzhou fuzhi* 16.

(78.) See QTW 715.9311–13. The emperor who invites Dayi to court is listed as “Xiaowen Huangdi” (9312a.4). Since there is no emperor by the name Xiaowen at this time, I interpret it as “filial and learned emperor,” in reference to Dezong.

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

# Chan Transmission Records and Factional Motives in the Tang Dynasty

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0003

## Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the factional motives in the Chan Buddhism in China during the Tang Dynasty using transmission records. It reviews early Chan transmission records that exposes the rise of factionalism in Chan just as these factions are beginning to forge a successful identity in Chinese Buddhism. It analyzes the factional nature of the claims of the three full-blown multilineal transmission records compiled around the beginning of the Song Dynasty including the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology*, *Jingde Record Lamp*, and the *Tiansheng Extended Transmission of the Lamp*.

**Keywords:** Chan Buddhism, religious factions, transmission records, Tang Dynasty, Song Dynasty, China, Patriarch's Hall Anthology, Jingde Record Lamp

## Prelude: Chan Transmission Records as a Literary Genre

The development of transmission records dedicated to the activities of famous masters constitutes one of the unique contributions of Chan to Chinese and world literature. As a Chinese literary genre, Chan *denglu*—literally “Lamp (or Flame) Records”—were inspired by the system of honoring illustrious and notable contributors to Chinese tradition and culture in official dynastic histories under the category of *liezhuan* (“Exemplary Biographies” or “Biographies of Exemplary Individuals”).<sup>1</sup> Traditional biographies in China, generally speaking, relied on two elements to reconstruct an individual's life. The first was a chronology of significant, usually historically based, events pertaining to the subject's career. The second element comprised legendary materials, remembered or fabricated episodes purporting to capture relevant aspects of

the subject's essential character. Rather than representing historical fact, the stories that circulated about an individual frequently expressed the essential values of community and society, in a highly stylized, concrete, and symbolic form.<sup>2</sup>

For political reasons and because of the anti-Buddhist biases of imperial historians, the biographies of Buddhists in China were not well documented in official sources and were, with rare exception, omitted. To counter this, Buddhist scholars devised their own system of honoring illustrious and notable Buddhists based on official models. This, in itself, went far in Sinicizing Buddhism. By adapting the biographical format common to Chinese dynastic histories, the Buddhist tradition grafted itself onto Sinitic models and the underlying assumptions they were based on. A substantial (p.42) portion of source material pertaining to Chinese Buddhism, as a result, is written in the form of biographies of Buddhist monks, most notably the *gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) collections. *Gaoseng zhuan* works commemorated the contributions of Buddhist monks in ten categories, on the basis of nonsectarian criteria. In the first of these works, the *Gaoseng zhuan*, compiled ca. 520 by Huijiao, these were: Translators (*yijing*), Exegetes (*yijie*), Miracle Workers (*shenji*), Meditation Practitioners (*xichan*), Elucidators of Discipline (*minglu*), Self-Immolators (*wangshen*), Cantors (*songjing*), Promoters of Works of Merit (*xingfu*), Hymnodists (*jingshi*), and Sermonists (*changdao*).<sup>3</sup> A total of 499 monks are mentioned in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. A tabulation of the names of the monks associated with each category reveals the overwhelming importance accorded the work of translation (sixty-three) and interpretation (exegesis; 269) in the early centuries of Buddhist history in China, accounting for just shy of 67 percent of the names of all Buddhists mentioned (53.9 percent for Exegetes; 12.6 percent for Translators). None of the other categories exhibit anything near the kind of activity associated with these two. The next closest categories are for Cantors (thirty-three), Meditation Practitioners (thirty-two), and Miracle Workers (thirty), but all remaining categories pale in significance to Translators and Exegetes during this period.<sup>4</sup> These numbers reflect the significance ceded to translation and exegetical scholarship during the early reception of Buddhism, when the Chinese were eager to acquire basic knowledge of the new religion through scriptural sources and their interpretation.

The *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks, Continued; compiled in 667 by Daoxuan) altered the order and names of the categories slightly, but retained the nonsectarian spirit of the *Gaoseng zhuan* genre.<sup>5</sup> Daoxuan also retained the preference Huijiao had accorded to Translators and Exegetes by retaining them at the top of the list.<sup>6</sup> Of the 705 names of monks mentioned in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, Translators and Exegetes remained most significant. Combined, these two accounted for 42 percent of the names listed (246 or 34.9 percent for Exegetes; 49 or 7 percent for Translators). Other categories, however, began to assume importance. Meditation (or *chan*) Practitioners (134)

and Miracle Workers (135) each accounted for 19 percent and became noteworthy categories for achieving eminence during this period. Both categories far exceeded the comparable numbers associated with Translators alone. This suggests the rising importance of Buddhist meditation practice and supernatural power in the Buddhist community.

The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks, compiled in 988 by Zanning) follows the categories established by Daoxuan in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*.<sup>7</sup> The tabulation of data from this work indicates further the decline in importance of translation and exegesis, and continues to affirm meditation practice and miracle-working as major pretexts for achieving eminence. In general, the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* reveals that the means of gaining eminence changed sharply from scholarly disciplines to those emphasizing practice, faith, and earning merit. Of 656 names mentioned, Translators accounted for only forty-four (6.7 percent) and Exegetes ninety-four (14.3 **(p.43)** percent). Together, they account for only 21 percent of eminent monks for the period in question. This is hardly surprising given the one-hundred-sixty-year suspension of Buddhist translation activities noted previously. In contrast to this, Meditation Practitioners (132) alone accounted for 20.1 percent, the single largest category for achieving eminence. Miracle Workers (112) accounted for 17.1 percent. Other categories, previously of little significance in terms of their total numbers, began to show their presence. Elucidators of Discipline (sixty-eight or 10.4 percent), Promoters of Works of Merit (fifty-six or 8.5 percent), and Cantors (fifty or 7.6 percent), all show greater activity, for example, than Translators, as does the category Various Invokers of Virtue (fifty-seven or 8.7 percent).

This trend is further exhibited through the tabulation of eminent monks in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* drawn specifically from the tenth century, after the demise of the Tang dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Translators, not surprisingly given the halting of such activity, cease utterly to be a category for achieving eminence. Exegetes (twenty-three or 18.7 percent) remain important, however, as do Meditation Practitioners (twenty or 16.3 percent), Miracle Workers (eighteen or 14.6 percent), Promoters of Works of Merit (seventeen or 13.9 percent), and Self-Immolators (thirteen or 10.6 percent). The dispersion of eminence across categories reflects, among other things, the growing regionalization of China, allowing for the unprecedented acceptance of large numbers of monks in previously unremarkable categories. Rapid changes were affecting Chinese society, including political upheaval, regional independence, the nature and character of elite society, and so on. These changes also affected the style of Buddhism practiced in China and paved the way for a new kind of Buddhist elite.

As important as the *gaoseng zhuan* works were for documenting the contributions of Buddhist monks in China, the nonsectarian approach and literary preferences of these works conflicted with the changing situation of Buddhism in the post-Tang period. As scholastic models gave way to practice-

based concerns, Buddhist sectarian movements proliferated. As Chan prestige grew, members of the movement began to devise their own system of honoring the achievements of notable Chan practitioners based on lineage affiliation rather than prowess in a certain category of Buddhist activity. In addition, Chan *denglu* purported to capture their subject according to new criteria. Instead of eminent monks as exemplary figures renowned for meritorious accomplishments, Chan masters were represented in dynamic progress, working out and exhibiting the process of enlightenment itself. As awakened masters, their words and activities were deemed as paradigms of enlightened behavior. No longer cast in the shadow of the Buddha, Chan masters were viewed as living buddhas themselves. The *denglu* entries thus became regarded as the words and deeds of living buddhas.

One of the most significant differences between Buddhist *gaoseng zhuan* and Chan *denglu* biographical records is the emphasis given to the two elements mentioned above. *Gaoseng zhuan* records tend to emphasize chronology and historically based events. Chan *denglu* placed more emphasis on **(p.44)** legendary materials, stories filtered through memory, or fabricated events purporting to capture relevant aspects of the subject's essential enlightened character.<sup>9</sup> Nowhere is this clearer than in the comparison of biographies of individual masters recorded in both genres.<sup>10</sup>

In their fullest development, the records of individual Chan masters became known as *yulu*, or “Recorded Sayings.” Chan *yulu* are thus closely associated with *denglu* in style and substance. Just as principles of Chan identity are embedded in the contents of this new genre, the new genre itself expresses Chan's unique literary identity.

Chan *denglu* texts document the lineal relations among Chan masters, the monasteries with which masters were associated, their relations with government representatives, as well as purporting to record aspects of their teachings and dialogues. Taken at face value, these transmission records may be read as the seamless progression of Chan masters, extending their influence without pause or confrontation, like the expanding branches of a luxuriant tree trunk. Indeed, the traditional reading of Chan transmission records lends itself to this interpretation, except in unusual circumstances where some defender of “true” Chan arose to denounce the presumptions of would-be pretenders. In the early records,<sup>11</sup> transmission is predicated on the supposed passing on of secret Chan principles, conceived variously according to the text, eventually reaching classic formulation as the “treasury of the true dharma-eye” (*zheng fayan zang*/ Jpn. *shōbōgenzō*). By the late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song periods, Chan transmission had proliferated into several factions, giving rise to multilineal branches that eventually became codified as the “five houses” of classical Chan. Probing beneath the surface of each record's generally harmonious claim to

represent the Chan world and its lineages, however, one finds clear preferences for a particular faction closely connected to the record's compilation.<sup>12</sup>

Like all historical documents, Chan records have their own particular provenance. The picture of multifactional harmony presented in the transmission records under discussion conceals the factional motives that prompted the compilation of each work. My discussion here begins with a review of early Chan transmission records that exposes the rise of factionalism in Chan just as these factions are beginning to forge a successful identity in Chinese Buddhism. The focus, however, is on the factional nature of the claims of the three full-blown multilineal transmission records compiled around the beginning of the Song dynasty—the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* (*Zutang ji*), *Jingde [era] Record Lamp* (*Jingde Chuandeng lu*), and *Tiansheng [era] Extended Transmission of the Lamp* (*Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*)—and the struggle to claim the mantle to truly represent the Chan tradition. While other important transmission records were compiled after them, these three records provided the basis for classical Chan identity, both in terms of literary style and in the expression of “typical” Chan principles.

This aim to represent the “true” Chan tradition did not originate with these three records, but has been a leading motive in the compilation of patriarch and master's records from the start. Many of the assumptions in the three **(p.45)** records under discussion were adopted from earlier Chan transmission records compiled in the Tang dynasty. Before examining the three texts in question, my focus in this chapter is on the factional motives surrounding the formation of previous Chan transmission records compiled in the Tang dynasty. The information provided represents a general summary of what is currently known, focusing on the seminal Chan transmission records compiled during the Tang, the *Chuan Fabao ji*, *Lengqie shizi ji*, *Lidai Fabao ji*, and *Baolin zhuan*.

### Searching for Legitimacy: Factional Motives behind the Formation of the *Chuan Fabao ji* and the *Lengqie shizi ji*

To understand the factional motives operating in the compilation of early Chan transmission histories, I review some points from the previous discussion in chapter 2 in more detail here in order to highlight their importance in the current context. The earliest presumption of a Chan lineage for Chinese patriarchs currently known to us is the list of names drawn in Faru's epitaph (*mingta*), considered in the previous chapter. The tally of Faru's Chan forebears was listed there as follows: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, and Hongren.<sup>13</sup> The epitaph also provides the earliest Chan statement of an Indian transmission lineage, from Śākyamuni through Ānanda, Madhyāntika, and Śānavāsa, based on Huiyuan's preface to Buddhahadra's *Damoduoluo Chanjing*.<sup>14</sup> Although the name of the inscription's author is unknown, it is presumed to be written shortly after Faru's death in 689. The inscription identified Faru as Hongren's heir, thus making him sixth on the list of Chan

masters in China. Although the names are not numbered and the appellation “patriarch” is not applied, an implicit assumption of lineage can be inferred from the document, especially since the appellation is used earlier in the document with Hongren.<sup>15</sup> The five masters linked as Faru's forebears assume unquestioned status as patriarchs in all Chan transmission records.

The status accorded Faru as the sixth master on this list and dharma-heir of Hongren provoked strong partisan debate. The success of Hongren's teachings attracted large numbers of students, some of whom became leading religious figures at the imperial court. The prominence of Hongren's disciples and their descendants at court, surrounded by the charged atmosphere of official honors and promotion, resulted in open and fierce competition for acknowledgment as the true heir to Chan transmission. What emerged was factional rivalry born of success publicly sanctioned by official power. The rivalry manifested itself in attempts to record the official “history” of the Chan movement thus far, detailing the lives of Chan patriarchs. Two things emerge as important in understanding the perspective these public pronouncements take: what masters are included in the lineage of patriarchs, particularly the heirs following from Hongren; and how the Chan tradition justifies its existence within the context of the Buddhist tradition. The earliest such records currently known to us are the *Chuan Fabao ji* and the *Lengqie shizi ji*.

**(p.46)** Both the *Chuan Fabao ji* and the *Lengqie shizi ji* were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts unearthed in the early years of the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> Although the exact compilation date of each work is unknown, they were produced in close proximity to each other historically, around the beginning of the *kaiyuan* era (713–41).<sup>17</sup> Du Fei (d.u.), the compiler of the *Chuan Fabao ji*, is an obscure figure, and one learns little through an investigation of him.<sup>18</sup> His assumptions, however, are implicit in his work, especially in the lineage he sponsored.

Du Fei follows the suggestion made in Faru's epitaph that Faru was Hongren's heir, but it also stipulates that Shenxiu assumed this role after Faru passed away in 689. According to the *Chuan Fabao ji*, Faru told his students to go study with Shenxiu after his death, and Shenxiu admitted at Hongren's death that there was a previous transmission.<sup>19</sup> This is what appears to have prompted Kamata Shigeo to assert two lineages in the *Chuan Fabao ji*, one from Hongren to Shenxiu, the other from Hongren to Faru and Du Fei.<sup>20</sup> Regardless, the intent of the *Chuan Fabao ji* is clear: to establish the seven patriarchs of the Chinese Chan tradition by presenting (in order) records for Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Faru, and Shenxiu. The *Chuan Fabao ji*, again following the lead established in Faru's epitaph, suggests the beginnings of an Indian lineage of Chan masters, mentioning three successors of Śākyamuni: Ānanda, Madhyāntika, and Śānavāsa, and the stipulation that the teaching continued to be transmitted and maintained by the appropriate persons.<sup>21</sup> The records of the

first five Chinese Chan masters in the *Chuan Fabao ji* provide simply drawn portraits, based for the most part on information recorded by Daoxuan in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks, Continued), except for the cases of Sengcan and Hongren where the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* has little to say.<sup>22</sup> The notion of Chan patriarchal transmission, implicit in the *Chuan Fabao ji*'s title and evident throughout, is totally absent in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*.<sup>23</sup> Much of the abbreviated nature of Du Fei's records is attributable to his professed claim, in the preface, to reject legendary materials, a major element in Daoxuan's portraits. In this regard, it is interesting to note how Daoxuan and the Buddhist tradition appreciated those destined to become Chan patriarchs in terms of miraculous potency. It is also interesting to note that Du Fei is not immune from such tendencies, in spite of his professed disavowal of them. For example, he contests the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* account of how Huike lost his arm through an encounter with bandits,<sup>24</sup> replacing it with the pious account of Huike severing his own arm to attest to his sincerity and determination in seeking the Chan dharma.<sup>25</sup> More fantastically, he documents how Bodhidharma was spotted after his death on route to India by the well-known Chinese explorer of the "western regions," Song Yun, and how Bodhidharma's tomb was eventually found to be empty upon Song Yun's return to China and report of his encounter with Bodhidharma.<sup>26</sup>

The *Chuan Fabao ji* attempted to legitimize the Chan movement by positing a personal, rather than textual, transmission of Buddhist truth. This was accomplished through a series of patriarchs reaching back to Bodhidharma, (p. 47) who brought Chan teaching to China intact. It was also suggested how this legacy originated with none other than Śākyamuni, who initiated the transmission in India. All of this serves to explain the conception of the work, indicated in its title as a "Record of the Transmission of the dharma-jewel," with the implication that the "dharma-jewel" (*fabao*) is the essential Chan teaching personally transmitted between patriarchs. In spite of this innovative approach, the *Chuan Fabao ji* was not immune from resorting to more conventional means to assert its legitimacy. This included a propensity to refer to and quote from Buddhist scriptures, most prominently the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, a text that played a central role in the attempt to legitimize Chan in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, "Record of the Masters and Disciples of the *Lankavatāra*." The discrepancy reflected in the titles of these two works over the true nature of Chan transmission, whether it is personal or textual, animates many of the disputes in the Chan tradition. It is traceable to assertions in the epitaphs of Faru and Shenxiu, respectively. In Faru's inscription we find the assertion that "in India transmission took place without any reliance on writing and those who entered through this gate transmitted only the mind"; contrast this with the statement in Shenxiu's inscription that Shenxiu "saw the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and its transmission as the spiritual essence."<sup>27</sup>



The *Lengqie shizi ji* drew a different picture of Chan patriarchal transmission in the early eighth century. The work was compiled by Jingjue, a disciple of Xuanze (?–ca. 718).<sup>28</sup> Throughout the *Lengqie shizi ji*, Jingjue cites a no longer extant work compiled by Xuanze, the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, “Record of the Men and the Dharma of the *Lankavatāra*,” whose title betrays a similar conception of Chan. It is given as the source for a list of Hongren’s ten principal disciples:<sup>29</sup> Shenxiu (the feted representative of Chan at Empress Wu’s court), Zhishen (sometimes written as Zhixian, founder of a faction in Sichuan), assistant magistrate Liu (otherwise unknown), Huizang (otherwise unknown), Xuanyue (virtually unknown),<sup>30</sup> Lao (Hui) An (invited to court by Empress Wu and honored on a par with Shenxiu; had disciples who were also honored), Faru (compiler of the *Chuan Fabao ji*), Huineng (famed subject of the *Platform sūtra*), Zhide (unknown), and Yifang (unknown). To this list might be added (as Yampolsky does) the name of Xuanze himself, making eleven disciples in total.<sup>31</sup>

The *Lengqie renfa zhi* asserts that Hongren taught all his students, monks, and laypeople alike, the meaning of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* insisting that true knowledge of the scripture was realized with the mind, not through verbal explanations. Shenxiu is the disciple identified by Hongren as having penetrated the fundamental principle of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*. Zhishen and assistant magistrate Liu are said to both have “refined natures.” Huizang and Xuanyue are remembered, but seem to no longer have close association with Hongren. Lao An is said by Hongren to be a serious practitioner of the Way. Faru, Huineng, and Zhide are acknowledged as teachers, but of only local prominence. Yifang, it is said, will continue to lecture. Hongren tells Xuanze to continue his “combined practice,” adding “after my passing, you and Shenxiu will have to make the Buddha-sun shine again and return its brilliance to the mind-lamp.”<sup>32</sup>

**(p.48)** The aim of the *Lengqie shizi ji* is obviously to exalt Shenxiu and Jingjue’s teacher, Xuanze, as the true heirs to Hongren’s dharma-transmission. In a later section, it also elevates Lao An to the ranks of Hongren’s worthy heirs, along with Shenxiu and Xuanze. The three are all deemed teachers of national stature (*guoshi*, “preceptors of state”) and the recipients of dharma-transmission from Hongren.<sup>33</sup> Of the three, only the record of Shenxiu is included, marking his special status among them. It is also interesting to note that Huineng, later championed by Shenhui as the “true” sixth patriarch, and Faru, the compiler of the *Chuan Fabao ji*, a rival interpretation of Chan and its transmission lineage, are both dismissed as peripheral figures—no record is provided for either. Rather than “transmitting the dharma-jewel” (*chuan fabao*), Chan masters in the *Lengqie shizi ji* are conceived in terms of their association with the *Lankavatāra sūtra*. Such association is reminiscent of other Chinese Buddhist schools prominent during the Tang, the Tiantai school’s association with the *Lotus sūtra*, and the Huayan school’s association with the *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka sūtra*),

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for example. To this end, the supposed study and transmission of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* becomes the *Lengqie shizi ji*'s central motif.

The *Lengqie shizi ji* is also the first work to actually enumerate the patriarchs: (1) Gunabhadra, (2) Bodhidharma, (3) Huike, (4) Sengcan, (5) Daoxin, (6) Hongren, (7) Shenxiu (Xuanze and Lao An are also mentioned, but without records), and (8) Puji, Jingxian, Yifu, and Huifu (considered all together, with no distinct records).<sup>34</sup> There is no mention of an Indian patriarchy. Stress is placed on the Indian master and translator of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, Gunabhadra, with the implication that the transmission of this text to China established the Chan lineage there.<sup>35</sup> As indicated above, however, the role of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in establishing Chan in China did not originate with the *Lengqie shizi ji*. It is based on the claim of the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* that Bodhidharma transmitted Gunabhadra's translation of the *Lankavatāra* to Huike.<sup>36</sup>

The first to connect the *Lankavatāra* to Chan seems to have been Faru and his disciples.<sup>37</sup> This connection became a prominent feature of the *Chuan Fabao ji*, compiled by Faru's disciple Du Fei. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* is prominent in Du Fei's preface, figuring prominently in the conception of the work. The opening lines of the preface, "The True *Dharmakāya* [that is within all of] us is something that is perceived by the *Dharma[kāya]* Buddha and transcends the oral and written teachings of the *Nirmāna[kāya]* Buddhas," are adapted from the *Lankavatāra sūtra*.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the *Lankavatāra sūtra* concept of "penetration of the teaching" (*zongtong*) is given as the basis for transcending false thoughts stemming from verbal and written explanations of Buddhist teaching. In this way, the *Lankavatāra* serves as the text that allows Chan practitioners to transcend textual limitations. This fits well the *Chuan Fabao ji*'s notion of "transmitting the Dharma-Treasure." As a result, the *Chuan Fabao ji* informs us that "after searching for textual corroboration [...], Bodhidharma] gave [Huike] the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and said: 'According to my observation of the teaching of Buddhism [here] in China, this sūtra is the only one that is appropriate.' "<sup>39</sup> True to the *Chuan Fabao ji*'s conception, resorting to textual corroboration is deemed a concession, understandable given the scholastic (p.49) assumptions of contemporary Chinese Buddhism. In an interline note, Du Fei warns the reader that another text referring to "wall contemplation" (*biguan*) and the "four practices" (*sixing*) is a partial, provisional teaching recorded by Bodhidharma's followers, and not his ultimate teaching.<sup>40</sup> This is an obvious attempt by Du Fei to distance Chan from the prosaic approach ascribed to Bodhidharma in the *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices). The *Chuan Fabao ji* also maintains that Huike transmitted the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to Sengcan when designating him as dharma-heir, with the prediction that four generations hence, the scripture would become quite superficial. This prediction is then "validated" in the concluding commentary in the text, following Shenxiu's record, in a sharp critique of the practices engaged in by contemporary Chan students.

Students nowadays say questionable things to make their ignorance out to be understanding and their spiritual experience to be accomplishment. They mix up different methods of practice (*fangbian*, lit., “expedient means”) of the remembrance of the Buddha (*nianfo*) and purification of the mind (*jingxin*), so how can they have even the vaguest idea as to the ultimate [teaching] of Suchness and the *Dharmakāya*? It is really lamentable! How can they possibly understand the operation of thought (*nian*) [when they do not understand that] thought itself is nonsubstantial? [Or, since] the Pure Nature is already tranquil, why should we [strive to] purify the mind? [In truth,] when “thoughts” and “purity” are both forgotten, [the mind] will illuminate [all things] fully of its own accord. Sengke (=Huikē) once said: “After four generations, [the study of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] will become superficial.” Ah, how true!<sup>41</sup>

The question is who the “fourth generation” mentioned here refers to. Since the prediction originally occurred in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, it has been identified as an interpolation contemporary with the compilation of the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (645–67).<sup>42</sup> The *Chuan Fabao ji*, however, is clearly stretching this interpolation to the contemporary Chan scene at the beginning of the eighth century. Whether intended as a direct counter to the *Lengqie shizi ji* or not, it certainly runs counter to those Chan practitioners who rely on some supposedly prosaic interpretation of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*.

For Xuanze, Jingjue, and their compatriots, theirs was not a prosaic understanding of the *Lankavatāra*. Following the lead of the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* record on Huikē, they regarded Gunabhadra's translation of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* as the mind-essence (*xinti*).<sup>43</sup> The transmission of this *sūtra* among members of the Chan lineage represented the transmission of the mind-essence itself, the fundamental Chan truth. The *Lengqie shizi ji* did, however, place great authority in Bodhidharma's teaching as recorded in the *Erru sixing lun*, the same text that Du Fei castigated in the *Chuan Fabao ji* as a partial and provisional understanding of Bodhidharma's message, and not his ultimate teaching (see above). In addition to citing the *Erru sixing lun* in its entirety, the *Lengqie shizi ji* also asserts that Bodhidharma explained the essential meaning of the *Lankavatāra* (p.50) *sūtra* (*Lengqie yaoyi*) for communities engaged in sitting-meditation, and that a text of this teaching circulates under the title “Treatise of Bodhidharma” (*Damo lun*).<sup>44</sup> Clearly, the *Lengqie shizi ji* gives high marks to an understanding of Bodhidharma's teaching that the *Chuan Fabao ji* regards as partial and provisional.

In addition to placing Gunabhadra at the head of the list of Chan patriarchs, the *Lengqie shizi ji* ignores Faru and posits others in addition to Shenxiu as Hongren's chief disciples, and carries the transmission a generation further than the *Chuan Fabao ji*. In addition to Shenxiu, who is given priority by virtue of being the first listed and the only one provided with a biographical account,

Xuanze and Lao An are named as Hongren's chief disciples. As Jingjue's teacher, it is easy to understand the inclusion of Xuanze as an attempt to raise his stature. Lao An, as we have seen, was a figure of no small importance. He and his disciples were prominent figures in the capital, rivaling the status attained by Shenxiu and his followers. The next generation (eighth in the text, but seventh with the exclusion of Buddhabhadra) includes Puji, Jingxian, Yifu, and Huifu.<sup>45</sup> All were disciples of Shenxiu, fixing him as Hongren's main heir in the *Lengqie shizi ji*. Yet by treating all of them en masse, and stipulating them as equal heirs to Shenxiu, the *Lengqie shizi ji* deviates from the model of unilineal transmission it is often cited as upholding. There is some question, however, regarding the legitimacy of this whole final section. Bernard Faure regards it as “highly suspect” and “a late interpolation by certain adherents to the Northern school who derive from a line of thought different from that of Jingjue.”<sup>46</sup> Such acceptance would not mitigate, however, the apparent acceptance of multilinear transmission in Chan around this time. Jingjue did not, as Shenhui would later, expressly stipulate the necessity of a unilineal transmission, and the generally compromising tone of the work would seem to invite inclusiveness.<sup>47</sup>

Neither the *Chuan Fabao ji* nor the *Lengqie shizi ji* came to represent the standard lineage for Chan at this time. The accepted lineage for Shenxiu's faction was incorporated in Zhang Yue's epitaph for Shenxiu, reviewed previously: (1) Bodhidharma, (2) Huike, (3) Sengcan, (4) Daoxin, (5) Hongren, and (6) Shenxiu.<sup>48</sup> The same lineage was given in inscriptions by Li Yong, who extended it to a seventh generation with the inclusion of Puji.<sup>49</sup> It was also affirmed in the inscription by Yan Tingzhi for Yifu, which claimed that Puji and Yifu were both “in the seventh generation.”<sup>50</sup>

### Regional Factions and Southern Chan Orthodoxy: The *Lidai Fabao ji* and the *Baolin zhuan*

Against the consensus view of Shenxiu as the sixth and Puji the seventh patriarch, Shenhui launched his famous attack in 732. The “consensus,” Shenhui was quick to point out, was really nothing more than a view of Chan transmission determined by Shenxiu and his supporters in the capital. With rhetorical flourish, Shenhui referred to Puji and Shenxiu's followers as deluded pursuers of gradual methods, essentially frauds who knew nothing of true Chan teaching, **(p.51)** and branded them the “Northern faction” (*beizong*, more commonly translated “Northern School”). Against them, he raised his own “Southern faction” (*nanzong*, “Southern School”), claiming for it the true Chan teaching of “sudden awakening” (*dunwu*). He disputed the designation of Shenxiu as sixth patriarch, charging that the claims of Shenxiu's disciples, especially Puji's claim of being seventh patriarch, were entirely without merit. In Shenxiu's place, Shenhui raised the banner of an obscure monk named Huineng, whom Shenhui claimed was Hongren's true heir. Nothing is known of the historical Huineng, apart from the mention of his name as one of the ten principal disciples of Hongren in the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, cited in the *Lengqie shizi*

*ji*, mentioned above. Here, we will recall, Huineng was relegated to a place of lesser importance as a teacher of regional prominence only, and not of the stature of other disciples, especially Shenxiu. We, of course, should not accept this accounting of Hongren's disciples as necessarily correct, framed as it was in the context of the *Lengqie shizi ji*'s attempt to define Chan orthodoxy. It is, however, the only information we have regarding Huineng prior to Shenhui's attack. The circumstances and effects of Shenhui's attack are already well-known and do not bear repeating here.<sup>51</sup> The culmination of Shenhui's "revolution" was the text of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, with its vivid portrayal of Huineng and his teachings.<sup>52</sup> The earliest sections of this text are believed to date from 780–800, when the struggle between Northern and Southern factions was still in progress.<sup>53</sup>

In spite of the ultimate impact of Shenhui's claims, they were not immediately adopted as universally valid. An inscription by Li Hua for the Tiantai monk Zuoqi Xuanlang (673–754), presumably written shortly after his death, mentions several schools of meditation, including four that may be classified as belonging to Chan.<sup>54</sup> These are:

1. Northern Chan, handed down through twenty-nine Indian patriarchs (not mentioned by name) to Bodhidharma, who transmitted the *Lankavatāra* through eight generations in China to Chan Master Hongzheng.
2. "One fountainhead of Northern Chan" acknowledging Shenxiu (Chan Master Datong) as sixth patriarch, Yifu (Chan Master Dazhi) as seventh, and Chan Master Rong (unknown) of the Shanbei Monastery in Chang'an as eighth.
3. Southern Chan descended from Bodhidharma to Huineng, through the fifth patriarch Sengcan (an error for Hongren).
4. Niutou (Oxhead) Chan transmitted from Bodhidharma to Daoxin, then to Farong (fifth patriarch) and Chan Master Jingshan (sixth patriarch).

It is interesting to note here, again, the acceptance of plurality in Chan transmission (although not from an internal Chan document), a principle that would reach full fruition in the classic Chan transmission records of the tenth and eleventh centuries. At this juncture, Shenhui appears to have won a place for his Southern Chan faction in the mid-eighth century Chan landscape, but has yet to have his claims accepted as the consensus view. A step in this **(p.52)** direction, however, is apparent in Li Hua's adoption of the distinction between "Northern" and "Southern" Chan factions, a differentiation introduced by Shenhui in his attack on what he referred to as "northern" Chan. It is also interesting to note, in passing, the continued prevalence of *Lankavatāra sūtra* transmission as emblematic of passing on essential Chan teaching, and the

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reference to twenty-nine Indian patriarchs (including Bodhidharma) as the accepted view of transmission in India.

The *Lidai Fabao ji* (Record of [the Transmission of] the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages), compiled between 774 and 781, reflects a continuation of presuppositions put forth in its predecessor, the *Chuan Fabao ji*, coupled with an acceptance of Shenhui's claims regarding the Southern faction.<sup>55</sup> The compiler was a disciple of a monk named Wuzhu (d. 774), the proponent of a regional Chan movement in Sichuan known as the Baotang faction, after the name of the monastery where Wuzhu resided. The interpretation of Chan found in the *Lidai Fabao ji* is closely connected to the motivation and aims of Wuzhu and his Baotang group.

The work begins with a list of twenty-nine Indian patriarchs, essentially a verification of the list of patriarchs mentioned, but not named, in Lu Hua's inscription. This represents the first fully articulated list of Indian patriarchs in a Chan document. The names of the first twenty-four patriarchs (Mahākāśyāpa through Simha bhikṣu) basically follow the list of twenty-three patriarchs provided in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan*, with the addition of the name of Madhyāntika (suggested by the *Damo duoluo chanjing* and *Chuan Fabao ji*), as the third patriarch.<sup>56</sup> For patriarchs number twenty-five through twenty-nine, the *Lidai Fabao ji* essentially follows a list suggested by Shenhui.

Regarding the lineage of Chinese patriarchs, the *Lidai Fabao ji* chastises the *Lengqie shizi ji* for making Gunabhadra the first Chan patriarch in China. Gunabhadra, it claims, was one of several translators of the *Lankavatāra*, none of whom were Chan masters. Moreover, the *Lankavatāra* represents the transmission of a written teaching, whereas Bodhidharma did not use a single word in handing down the dharma, for his was a “silent transmission of the seal of the mind.”<sup>57</sup>

The *Lidai Fabao ji* accepts Shenhui's contention that Huineng is the sixth patriarch and Hongren's heir. Shenhui's imprint is clear elsewhere throughout the *Lidai Fabao ji* text. The text clearly relies on Shenhui's views as its authority. It also adapts the story of robe-transmission, a prominent feature in Shenhui's claim that Huineng was Hongren's intended heir. Jingjue's preface to the *Lengqie shizi ji* contains the first recorded mention of the passing down of a robe as a symbol of transmission in Chan.<sup>58</sup> While it is not clear where this idea originated from, it was Shenhui who exploited it by claiming that Hongren had secretly given the robe to Huineng as a symbol of transmission of the “dharma of sudden enlightenment,” thus making Huineng the sixth patriarch, not Shenxiu.<sup>59</sup>

In a seemingly bizarre series of events, the *Lidai Fabao ji*, in turn, manipulates the robe-transmission presumption for its own ends. It relates how **(p.53)** Huineng declined an invitation from Empress Wu in 692 to appear at court,

pleading illness, but was persuaded to send the robe in 696 instead of going himself. The following year, Zhishen of Sichuan was invited to court, as was Shenxiu, Xuanze, and Xuanyue a few years later, in 700. Of these Chan representatives, the *Lidai Fabao ji* claims that Zhishen distinguished himself through his conversation and knowledge of the dharma. Eventually, Zhishen became ill and requested permission to return home, later maintaining that Empress Wu gave him the robe to take back with him. (Empress Wu is said to have substituted a special robe and five hundred bolts of silk for Huineng.)<sup>60</sup>

The first thing to note about this strange episode is how closely it parallels yet subverts the Shenhui faction's own rendition of events as recorded in the *Platform sūtra*. Instead of Hongren secretly passing the robe to Huineng and slighting Shenxiu, in the *Lidai Fabao ji* we see Empress Wu surreptitiously passing the robe to Zhishen, effectively slighting Shenhui. The *Lidai Fabao ji* attempts to sanction this by twisting some of Shenhui's own recorded statements, what might nowadays be referred to as "taking one's remarks out of context." For example, when someone asks Shenhui who has inherited Huineng's dharma, Shenhui responds modestly: "Who that person is will be known later."<sup>61</sup> According to the *Lidai Fabao ji*, however, Shenhui responded that the robe was not in his possession but in someone else's, and the true dharma would emerge when that person began to preach.<sup>62</sup> According to the *Lidai Fabao ji*, Shenhui also asserts that later someone else will preach the dharma and when this happens, Shenhui himself will no longer need to preach, inferring that Shenhui will defer to Zhishen. The text then proceeds to affirm that Hongren's disciple Zhishen is the actual possessor of Huineng's robe, fulfilling the inference.<sup>63</sup> Shenhui's own teachings actually record him saying that no one has truly understood Bodhidharma's teachings, but if there were such a person, he (Shenhui) would not have to preach.<sup>64</sup>

The *Lidai Fabao ji*, thus, in effect posits two lines of transmission from the fifth patriarch, Hongren: the lineage asserted by Shenhui from Hongren to Huineng, and the lineage from Hongren to Zhishen.<sup>65</sup> The latter lineage, the *Lidai Fabao ji* maintains, constitutes the main line of transmission by virtue of possessing the actual robe. The *Lidai Fabao ji* carries the transmission onward through members of the Sichuan-based Baotang faction. Zhishen transmits the robe to Chuji (664/5–732).<sup>66</sup> Chuji then transmits the robe to Wuxiang (683/4–762), a monk of Korean origin.<sup>67</sup> Wuxiang, in turn, transmits the robe to Wuzhu (714–74), whose student compiled the *Lidai Fabao ji* in an attempt to substantiate the claims of the Baotang faction.

In spite of Wuzhu's claim to be Wuxiang's heir, another source counts Wuxiang and Wuzhu as leaders of separate factions.<sup>68</sup> Even according to the *Lidai Fabao ji*, Wuzhu's ancestry is complex. It claims Wuzhu was originally a lay disciple of Chen Chu-zhang (d.u.), who was in turn a lay disciple of Lao An. Chen is said to have been an advocate of the "sudden teaching." Subsequently, Wuzhu is said to

have heard of three disciples of the sixth patriarch spreading the sudden teaching: Ming at Mt. Daoci in Fanyang, **(p.54)** Shenhui in Dongjing, and Zizai in Taiyuan. We are told that Wuzhu first went to Zizai, where he became ordained as a monk.<sup>69</sup> The text claims he abandoned the idea of visiting Ming and Shenhui; he understood their doctrines from what he heard of their teachings. Finally, he is said to have moved to Sichuan, where he inherited the dharma of Wuxiang even though the two never actually met. The text claims Wuxiang sent the robe to Wuzhu through an emissary, one of his followers, at the time of his death.<sup>70</sup> Thus, according to the *Lidai Fabao ji*, Wuzhu actually had three separate lineages to which he belonged (see chart 3.1).

We need not dwell here on the poisonous atmosphere that infiltrated Chan factionalism.<sup>71</sup> It is hardly the first time, and certainly not the last, that supposedly pristine spiritual ideals have been sacrificed before the altar of power and prestige. In fact, compromise to social and political exigencies is customary, even necessary, for the survival of any religion in the real world. Still, one is sometimes taken aback at the expedients to which some will resort in an attempt to further their cherished ideals. This is particularly evident in Chan in the wake of Shenhui's radical claims for reform and the usurpation of Shenhui's techniques by Wuzhu, and the tremendous impact that each man had on notions of lineage transmission.

The *Lidai Fabao ji* signaled the regional dynamism that had come to dominate Chan factionalism. The rebellion of An Lushan (ca. 755) initiated a slow, steady erosion of central authority. Chan factions dependent on court patronage suffered substantially under these circumstances. The future of Chan came to rely increasingly on regional support. When the Buddhist scholar and Chan Master Zongmi outlined the Chan factions current at the time, writing in the early ninth century, regional Chan movements made up the greatest number on the list. The seven Chan factions according to Zongmi, as well as their locations, main representatives, and lines of transmission, were:<sup>72</sup>

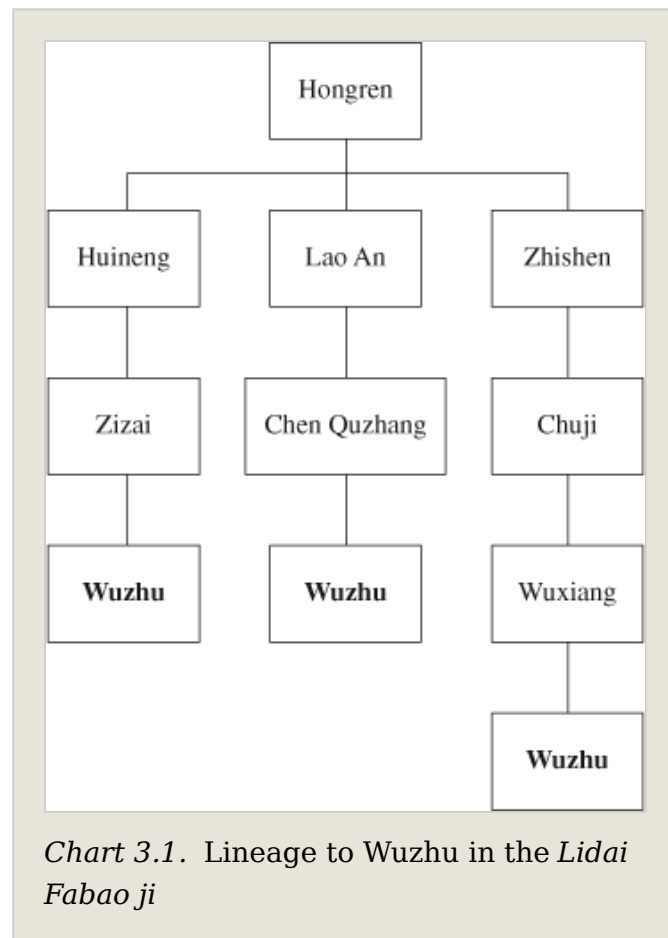
1. Northern faction of Shenxiu and Puji, located in the capital, derived from Hongren.
2. Sichuan faction founded by Zhishen, continued by Chuji and Wuxiang, derived from Hongren.
3. Lao An (aka Baotang) faction, continued in Sichuan by Chen Chuzhang and Wuzhu, derived from Hongren.
4. Hongzhou faction, derived from Nanyue Huairang, a student of Huineng, led by Mazu Daoyi (709–88) in Jiangxi and Hunan (who, according to Zongmi, first studied under Wuxiang).
5. Niutou faction, centered at Mount Niutou in Jiangsu, traced from Daoxin, with heirs listed through the eighth-generation representative, Faqin (714–92).
6. Xuanshi faction, located in Sichuan, traced from Hongren.



7. Southern faction, located in the capital, derived from Shenhui, whom Zongmi names as the seventh patriarch following Huineng, and among which Zongmi counts himself.

**(p.55)**

Only two of the seven factions listed by Zongmi—the Northern and Southern factions made famous by Shenhui who defined them as such—were active in the capital. Three of the five regional factions—the Sichuan faction represented by Wuxiang, the Lao An faction represented by Wuzhu, and the obscure Xuanshi faction—were active in Sichuan, suggesting that Chan activity in that region alone rivaled and surpassed that of the capital. The *Lidai Fabao ji* is a testament to that activity. The two other factions listed by Zongmi—the Hongzhou faction represented by Mazu Daoyi and the Niutou faction represented by Faqin—point to two other strong regional centers of the contemporary Chan movement. Interestingly, Zongmi makes no mention of the Qingyuan Xingsi faction tracing itself from Huineng, which, along with the faction descended from Nanyue Huairang, was one of only two factions influential past the Tang.



The faction on Zongmi's list that would become most influential was centered neither in the capital nor in the Sichuan hotbed of Chan activity. Zongmi's main Chan rival was the faction represented by Mazu Daoyi and Mazu's students, especially Baizhang Huaihai and Huangbo Xiyun. This group, also known as the Hongzhou faction, had a commanding presence among the Chan movements of Zongmi's day, forcing Zongmi to argue **(p.56)** strongly yet carefully for the superiority of Chan interpretation represented by his own Heze faction.

It is beyond the scope of the current investigation to delve deeply into Zongmi's interpretation of the Chan factions of his day.<sup>73</sup> Essentially, Zongmi was a Buddhist scholar who developed an interest in Chan well into his career. He

understood the positions that different Chan factions represented as analogous to doctrinal differences separating the classic schools of Buddhism. In this way, he sought to legitimize the Chan movement by wedding it to the larger Buddhist tradition. The strongest opposition to Zongmi came from Hongzhou Chan.

The Hongzhou faction interpreted sudden awakening as an unmediated, direct experience. Recourse to scriptures and to conventional expressions of religiosity, such as offerings, invocations, and chanting, were deemed not only unnecessary but counterproductive to direct, enlightened experience. Even meditation, the hallmark practice from which Chan derives its name, was articulated in terms of being beyond the conceptual dualities separating spiritual endeavor (i.e., meditation) from spiritual experience (i.e., awakening). As such, meditation was deemed an unmediated, dynamic activity, free of the mitigating structures imposed by the mind. This is the genesis of Mazu's famous dictums "no mind" (*wuxin*) and "no Buddha" (*wufo*). These slogans were proffered to warn students of the deleterious effect of engaging the thought processes of the mind, forming mental constructs as a substitute for direct experience, and conceiving the goal of Buddhahood as external to one's own lived reality. Other sayings attributed to Mazu's Hongzhou faction—"everything that one has contact with is the Way," and "let the mind be free"—reflect the radical approach of Hongzhou Chan to enlightenment, free of standard Buddhist doctrinal methods.<sup>74</sup> It would be erroneous, however, to ascribe Chan iconoclasm and anticonventional attitudes to the Hongzhou faction alone. As Hu Shih noted long ago, four of the seven Chan factions described by Zongmi were radical and iconoclastic in their orientation: Baotang, Southern, Niutou, and Hongzhou.<sup>75</sup>

A partial copy of a Chan record, the *Baolin zhuan*, championing the Hongzhou faction and its interpretation of Chan, was discovered in the 1930s.<sup>76</sup> The majority of this work was unknown for centuries, and three of its ten fascicles (chaps. 7, 9, and 10) are still unknown, leaving many question marks regarding the exact nature of its contents. It was compiled in 801 by an otherwise unknown monk by the name of Zhi (or Hui) ju. The title of the work alone indicates some of its principal presuppositions. The name *Baolin zhuan* (Transmission of the Treasure Grove) derives from Huineng's monastery, the Baolin si, in Shaozhou (Guangdong), and indicates an acceptance of Shenhui's depiction of Huineng as the sixth patriarch. The full title, *Datang Shaozhou Shuangfeng shan Caoqi Baolin zhuan* (The Great Tang Transmission of the Treasure Grove of Caoqi on Mount Shuangfeng in Shaozhou), indicates fully the pretensions of the work to represent dynastic preferences. There is nothing to indicate that dynastic officials shared in this enthusiasm for the *Baolin zhuan*. It is interesting to note the close associations formed between influential literati and (p.57) members of the Hongzhou faction, but our current knowledge of these would indicate that such associations postdate the compilation of the *Baolin zhuan*.<sup>77</sup> There is no indication of such associations in the *Baolin zhuan* itself, although the sections indicating the possibility of them are unfortunately

missing. It is interesting to note, however, that the Tang government, through the decree of Emperor Dezong, posthumously and officially acknowledged Shenhui as the seventh patriarch in 796. The same honor was bestowed on Huineng as sixth patriarch in 816. The first disciple of Mazu to be invited to court was the associate of Li Ao, Dayi (745–818), summoned by Emperor Dezong in about 804. Given the past history of imperial favor accorded Shenxiu and his followers, Shenhui, and other representatives of the Chan movement, the presumptions of the *Baolin zhuan* may not be as far out of line as they first appear.

In terms of its contributions to Chan self-perceptions, the *Baolin zhuan* reflects the standard list of patriarchal transmission accepted in all future transmission histories. It begins with the seven Buddhas of the past, but does not begin the numbered list of patriarchs with them.<sup>78</sup> Fascicles 1 through 6 contain the records of Indian Chan patriarchs from Śākyamuni to the twenty-sixth patriarch, Punyamitra. It provided, for the first time, substantial information on the Indian patriarchs, including quotations from their teachings; details of their lives, including their years of death; and a “transmission verse” for each. The *Baolin zhuan* thus does much to identify the Indian Chan patriarchs as real, flesh-and-blood personalities, rather than obscure figures on a list of names. The nonextant fascicle 7 presumably contained information on the twenty-seventh patriarch, Prajñātāra, and the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch, Bodhidharma. Fascicle 8 picks up in the middle of the record of Bodhidharma, and contains the records of Huike and Sengcan. There is considerable speculation regarding the contents of fascicles 9 and 10, crucial for our understanding of the work. It is generally accepted that the work reflects the rising importance of Mazu and his students in Chan circles.<sup>79</sup> Presumably, fascicles 9 and 10 were compiled in accordance with this perspective. There is general consensus that they contained the records of Daoxin, Hongren, and Huineng, at the least, and possibly the record of Nanyue Huairang, the master through whom Mazu's lineage is traced to the sixth patriarch, and that of Mazu Daoyi himself.<sup>80</sup> Shiina Kōyū, however, speculates that fascicles 9 and 10 also contained records of Huineng's disciples Huairang, Xingsi, Baojue, Benjing, Lingyu, Huizhong, and Shenhui, plus those of Mazu Daoyi and Shitou Xiqian.<sup>81</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

It is impossible to understand Chan apart from the factional motives associated with the compilation of its records. While espousing timeless truths that defy verbal categories, Chan proponents relied on formal written documents to present their understanding. In the diverse factional environment that Chan represented, these documents became competing statements on the nature of **(p.58)** Chan tradition and identity. In lieu of the doctrinal debates through which more conventional Buddhist groups sorted out important issues regarding their tradition of beliefs and practices, Chan factions engaged in debates regarding legitimate transmission and the nature of the truth transmitted. The

vehicle for voicing these debates among Chan protagonists was the transmission record (*denglu*), purporting to reveal the activities and teachings of illustrious masters.

Chan transmission records in the Tang were the product of factional motives. Two factors contributed to factional claims. The first was historical: each generation of Chan students created its own narrative of the past, verifying its own claim regarding lineage transmission, and projecting its own definition of Chan. The second was geographical: different Chan lineages thrived in distinct regions. As Tang authority subsided, regional support for Chan proliferated. From these regional bases of support, Chan factions vied to express the spirit of Chan independence in ways that validated the claims of their own lineage.

Notes:

(1.) For an introduction to the conventions governing Chinese biographical writing, see D. C. Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing," in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. Beasley and Pulleyblank, 95–114.

(2.) Regarding the study of biographical images, Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (ed., *The Biographical Process [Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion]*, 28), assert that...

many of those who have studied biographical images have taken some account of the fact that such images have both a mythic and an historic aspect. And many who have concentrated on the study of individual lives have recognized that these lives have been constituted by an intricate interweaving of mythic, paradigmatic, and historical elements. However, without denying that the more sensitive scholars on each side of the division have been concerned with both myth and history, it is clear that those who have been concerned with biographic images have been primarily oriented toward myth, whereas those who have been basically engaged in the study of individual lives have been oriented toward history.

(3.) T 50 no. 2059.

(4.) For a table charting data relating to monks mentioned in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*, 9.

(5.) T 50 no. 2060. For the table charting data relating to monks mentioned in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, see *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 11.

(6.) In his preface, Huijiao comments,

...it would seem that the flow of Buddhism into China was due to the meritorious works of translators. Some went through the perils of desert wastes; others were tossed about on tempestuous seas. All were forgetful of self in their devotion to religion, heedless of their lives in the propagation of Dharma. The enlightenment of China was wholly dependent on them. Such merit being worthy of deep respect, I have placed them at the beginning of the book. ("Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*," in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun kagaku kenkyusho*, trans. A. F. Wright, 406.)

(7.) T 50 no. 2061. For the table charting data relating to monks mentioned in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 12.

(8.) For the table charting data relating to monks mentioned in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* relating to the Five Dynasties period, see *ibid.*, 14. Charting data from this period was suggested by Makita Tairyō, *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū*., 161–62.

(9.) This generalization may be contradicted in individual cases, as with Du Fei's (compiler of the *Chuan Fabao ji*) expressed aim to reject legendary materials associated with early Chan patriarchs as portrayed in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, discussed below.

(10.) There are numerous examples that could be drawn from here, but one of the best is presented by the figure of Yongming Yanshou (904–75) whose life is recorded in both the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. For a comparison of these two biographies, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 193–98. Yanshou also figures prominently in the discussion of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* in chapter 5, below.

(11.) The extant early Chan transmission records are the *Chuan Fabao ji*, *Lengqie shizi ji*, *Lidai Fabao ji*, and *Baolin zhuan*, regarding which, see below.

(12.) Dale S. Wright ("Historical Understanding: The Ch'an Buddhist Transmission Narratives and Modern Historiography," *History and Theory* 31, no. 1 [1992], 38) notes how the historical intention of transmission records can be gleaned from their titles, as "records" (*lu*) of "transmission" (*chuan*) as seen from the perspective of a particular historical era. He states in relation to the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* what is generally true of all Chan transmission records: "The overall narrative structure of the text...is a story of the origins and dissemination of 'enlightened mind' beginning with the ancient Buddhas and continuing through Indian and Chinese patriarchs up to current recipients of transmission. Temporal, chronological structure—earliest to most recent—maintained throughout the text. Within this overarching historical framework,

the actual content of the text employed to tell the story of mind transmission is religious biography.”

(13.) Faru's epitaph is recorded in the *Jinshi xubian* 6.5b–7a. For an annotated edition, see Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 487–96. The epitaph is translated in part by McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, 85–86. Faru's name is also mentioned in an inscription commemorating Yifu by Yan Tingzhi (*Dazhi chanshi beiming bingxu*, QTW 280.3596b12–13), and in an inscription honoring Puji by Li Yong (*Dazhao chanshi taming*, QTW 262.3360b17).

(14.) For a discussion of the influence of Huiyuan's preface on Chan, see McRae, *The Northern School*, 80ff.

(15.) See Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 488.

(16.) Our knowledge of the *Chuan Fabao ji* is based on three manuscripts in the Peliot (P) collection: the fragment in P 2634 (reproduced in T 85.1291); P 3559 (reproduced in printed form in Shiraishi Horu, *Zoku Zenshū hennen shi*, 972–77, based on the facsimile copy reproduced by Kanda Kiichirō, “Dembō hōki no kanchitsu ni tsuite,” *Sekisui sensei kakōju ki'nen ronsan*, 145–52); and P 3858. The text of the *Chuan Fabao ji* has been reproduced in an annotated edition by Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshushisho*, 497–516, and translated into Japanese by Yanagida in *Shoki no zenshi 1*; for an English translation, see John McRae, *The Northern School*, 255–69.

The *Lengqie shizi ji* was discovered among Dunhuang manuscripts in both the Peliot and Stein (S) collections: S 2054, S 4272, P 3294, P 3436, P 3537, P 3703, P 4564. A version has been reproduced in T 85.1283–90; for a modern edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi 1*; for an English translation, see J. C. Cleary, *Zen Dawn: Early Texts from Tun Huang*, 19–78. For a discussion of the background to the *Lengqie shizu ji* text, see Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 160–76. There is also a partial Tibetan translation (*Linkahi mkhan pho dan slob mahi mdo*/Sūtra of the masters and disciples of Linka) [S Tib. 710(2)], which ends abruptly in the middle of the section on Daoxin; Ueyama Daishun (“Chibetto yaku Ryōga shijiki ni tsuite,” *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25–26 [1968], 191–209) has suggested Jingjue is not the author, since his name is not mentioned in the Tibetan translation (considered by Faure, 167–72). The Tibetan translation has neither preface nor author's name, and fails to include dialogues appended to records of Gunabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Shenxiu, which are one of the text's major innovations.

(17.) Yampolsky (*The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 5) dates the *Chuan Fabao ji* to the first decade of the eighth century on the basis that it contains the record of Shenxiu (d. 706), but no successor. Kamata Shigeo (*Chūgoku bukkyō jiten*, 269b–c gives the compilation date as the beginning of *kaiyuan* (713);

McRae (*The Northern School*, 33) dates it around 712; and Faure (*The Will to Orthodoxy*, 14) around 713.

Yampolsky (19) dates the compilation of the *Lengqie shizu ji* to the *kaiyuan* era (712–41), with the stipulation that it “contains much material that can be dated to the first decade of the eighth century” (see n 48, for an account of different scholarly assessments on the dating of the text). Kamata (400b–c) places the compilation around *kaiyuan* 4 (716). McRae (89) gives 713–16, and Faure (167) stipulates “the first part of the *kaiyuan* era.” For a recent assessment, see T. H. Barrett, “The Date of the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, 1, 2 (1991), 255–59.

(18.) The *Chuan Fabao ji* gives Du Fei's personal name as Fangming. In an inscription by Yan Tingzhi, *Dazhi chanshi beiming bingxu* (QW 280.3596b10), he is referred to as “Dharma-master Fei,” leading to speculation that he was a monk that later returned to lay life. For what is known of Du Fei, see McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, 87.

(19.) See Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, 390, 396. See also, Morton Schlütter, “Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China (960–1279): The Rise of the Caodong Tradition and the Formation of the Chan School,” PhD diss, Yale University, 1998, 45n30.

(20.) *Chūgoku bukkyō jiten*, 269b–c.

(21.) *Chuan fabao ji* (all references are to *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, ed. Yanagida Seizan), 561.7–8; citing Huiyuan's preface to Buddhahadra's *Damoduoluo Chanjing* (T 15.300a).

(22.) References in the *Chuan Fabao ji* are as follows: Bodhidharma (563.11–64.10), Huike (564.11–65.6), Sengcan (565.7–13), Daoxin (565.14–6.14), Hongren (566.15–67.7). The *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* records are as follows: Bodhidharma (T 50.551b27–c26), Huike (T 50.551c27–52c24), and Daoxin (T 50.606b2–c14). For a description of the contents of the individual records, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 7–16.

(23.) Yampolsky (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 11), on the basis of this, suggests that “unless Daoxuan completely ignored it, it is probable that the concept of patriarchal succession developed in the late seventh century, and had become generally accepted in the first decade of the eighth century, when the *Chuan fabao ji* was compiled,” changing Wade-Giles Romanization to pinyin.

(24.) T 50.552b22ff

(25.) *Chuan Fabao ji* 564.13–14.

(26.) *Ibid.*, 564.7–10.

- (27.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 28, based on Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 487, 498.
- (28.) Regarding Jingjue, see the tomb inscription by Wang Wei, *Datang Da'anguo si gu dade Jingjue shi taming* (QTW 327.4193-94).
- (29.) *Lengqie Shizi ji* (T 85.1289c10-15).
- (30.) In the *Lidai Fabao ji* (T 51.184b5) Xuanye's name is mentioned in connection with Empress Wu.
- (31.) *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 16-17; see 16-19 for Yampolsky's discussion of the names on this list.
- (32.) Yanagida, *Shoki zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, 273.
- (33.) T 85.1290a19-23.
- (34.) An identical list is given in the preface to Jingjue's commentary on the Heart Sūtra (see Chikusa Masaaki, "Jōkaku katchū 'Hannya haramitsu shingyō' ni tsuite," *Bukkyō shigaku* VII no. 3 [Oct. 1958], 65), cited from Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 20n49.
- (35.) Gunabhādra's translation is contained in T 16.480a-514b.
- (36.) T 50.552b20-21.
- (37.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 155.
- (38.) McRae, *The Northern School*, 255. The line is adopted from T 16.507a.
- (39.) *Chuan Fabao ji* 564.1-2; McRae, *The Northern School*, 259
- (40.) *Chuan Fabao ji* 564.3; McRae, *The Northern School*, 259.
- (41.) *Chuan Fabao ji* 571.1-5; McRae, *The Northern School*, 261, 269.
- (42.) *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 16 (T50.552b29-c1); Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 150.
- (43.) See the preface to *Lengqie shizi ji* (T 85.1283a).
- (44.) T 85.1285b16-19. It is not clear which, if any, of the current texts attributed to Bodhidharma is being referred to here. It should not be confused with the Dunhuang manuscript of the same title (discussed by Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, 49-81, and transcribed on 463-68; regarding this, see McRae, *The Northern School*, 118, 308n28), as there is no mention of the *Lankavatāra* in it.



(45.) For Puji, there is an epitaph by Li Yong, *Dazhao chanshi taming* (QTW 262.3360–63), a record in JTS 191.14b, and in SGSZ (T 50.760c9–61a10), but only his name appears in the CDL (T 51.224b2). For Jingxian, there is an epitaph by Yang Yu, *Songshan Huishanshan si gu Jingxian tashi shenta shiji* (QTW 362.4649–50), but no record in either the SGSZ or CDL. For Yifu, there is an epitaph by Du Yu, *Dazhi chanshi Yifu taming* (*Jinshi xubian* 7.17b–19a), records in JTS 191.14b–15a, and SGSZ (T 50.760b7–c8), but his name alone appears in the CDL (T 51.461b15–c8). Huifu is otherwise unknown.

(46.) Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 173.

(47.) Faure (*The Will to Orthodoxy*, 173) notes how the *Lengqie shizi ji* prefigures many leading notions of later Chan: primacy of *zuochan*, use of *gong'an* (prefigured in the *Lengqie shizu ji* technique of “soliciting things,” questioning concrete reality to find its deeper meaning), special transmission outside the scriptures, harmony between doctrine and meditation. He also believes (173) that its insistence on the joint practice of doctrinal study and *chan* (in spite of apparent contradictions with the above), and attempt at compromise of the disparate tendencies in Chan was *Lengqie shizu ji*'s major weakness and “explains in part its rapid descent into oblivion.”

(48.) *Tang Yuquansi Datong chanshi beiming bingxu* (QTW 231.2953).

(49.) *Songyue si bei* (QTW 263.3380), and *Dazhao chanshi taming* (QTW 262.3362).

(50.) *Dazhi chanshi beiming bingxu* (QTW 280.3597).

(51.) Shenhui's revolutionary role in Chan history was first brought to light by Hu Shi, *Shenhui heshang yiji* (Shanghai, 1930), and “The Development of Zen Buddhism in China,” *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XV no. 4 (Jan. 1932), 475–505. More recently, there is John McRae, “Shen-hui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Ch'an Buddhism,” in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter Gregory. There is also McRae's *Zen Evangelist: Shenhui (684–758), Sudden Enlightenment, and the Southern School of Chan Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming).

(52.) The background, circumstances, and effects, particularly on the formation of legends surrounding Huineng and the *Platform sūtra*, are discussed by Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*. From Japanese scholarship, there is the comprehensive treatment by the Zen research group at Komazawa University, *Enō kenkyū*, and the more accessible *Enō* by one of its leading members, Tanaka Ryōshō, from a list of works too numerous to mention.

(53.) Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 45. See also the recent review of the development of the *Platform Sutra* text as delineated in different versions by Morten Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sutra*,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2 (1989), 53–114.

(54.) *Gu Zuoqi dashi bei* (QTW 320.4101–2), following the characterization by Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 38–39.

(55.) Various versions of the *Lidai Fabao ji* were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts: S 516, S 1611, S 1776, S 5916, P 2125, P 3717, and the “Ishii” text. A copy is reproduced in T 51.179a–96b. It is also reproduced along with Japanese translation and annotation by Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no zenshi II* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976). On the dating of the text, see Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, 223, 279.

(56.) T 50.297a–322b. According to Mochizuki (*Bukkyō daijiten* V.4493–94), the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* is likely of Chinese origin. This work was also the basis for the patriarchal lineage followed in the work from the Tiantai school, *Mohe zhiguan*; see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 40. For the list of patriarchs compared with those of other works, see Yampolsky's table on 8–9.

(57.) T 51.180c; Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 175. To underscore this point, the Bodhidharma “Flesh, Bone, Marrow Story” appears here for the first time.

(58.) T 85.1283a8.

(59.) Vividly illustrated in *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*; see Yampolsky, sec. 9, 133.

(60.) Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi II*, 129–30. T 51.184b25–c1.

(61.) *Ibid.*, 160.

(62.) *Ibid.*, 155.

(63.) *Ibid.*

(64.) *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (Hu Shih, *Shenhui heshang yiji*), 162.

(65.) This agrees with Kamata, *Chūgoku bukkyō jiten*, 405b.

(66.) Also known as Tang heshang (Monk Tang). The dates for his life are taken from the *Lidai Fabao ji*; for other possibilities, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 43n153. Chuji's disciples included the prominent Pure Land teacher Chengyuan (712–802).

(67.) Wuxiang is also known as Jin heshang. His teachings also exhibited Pure Land influences, especially in his use of invocation practice.

(68.) Zongmi, *Yuanjue jing dashu chao* (XZJ 14.278b15–c18). Zongmi claimed that Wuxiang belonged to a Sichuan faction founded by Zhishen and derived from Hongren, continued by Chuji and Wuxiang, but Wuzhu belonged to the Lao An faction derived from Hongren, continued by Chen Chuzhang and Wuzhu. Zongmi also notes that there were considerable discrepancies between Wuxiang and Wuzhu's teachings. See Jan, "Tsong-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," 42–45. The relationship between Wuxiang and Wuzhu has been investigated in detail by Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," trans. Carl Bielefeldt, in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, 13–49.

(69.) Yanagida (ibid., 23) notes that the connection of Zizai to Huineng is suspicious, and regards it as a bogus attempt to link Wuzhu to the sixth patriarch, and so enhance Wuzhu's status. Zongmi lists Zizai as a disciple of Lao An.

(70.) *Lidai Fabao ji* (T 51.187b14–26).

(71.) On this, see comments by Yanagida Seizan regarding Wuzhu in "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," 23. For a more sympathetic view of Wuzhu's motives, see Wendi Adamek, "Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission As Seen through the *Lidai Fabao Ji*," PhD diss., Stanford University, 1997.

(72.) *Yuanjue jing dashu chao* (XZJ 14.277c8–280a4, compiled between 821 and 823 [see Kamata, *Chūgoku bukkyō jiten*, 28c]).

(73.) On this, see Peter Gregory, *Tsong-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 224–52; Jan Yun-hua, "Tsong-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972), 1–54; and Kamata Shigeo, *Shūumitsu kyōgaku no shisō teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigakushuppansha, 1975).

(74.) These phrases are attributed to Hongzhou Chan by Zongmi in the *Yuanjue jing dashu chao* (XZJ 14.279a2–3).

(75.) Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," *Philosophy East And West* 3 (1953), 16.

(76.) A manuscript copy of fascicle 6 was discovered by Tokiwa Daijō at the Shōren-ji in Kyoto in 1932, and a copy containing fascicles 1 through 5 and fascicle 8 was contained in a set of the Jin tripitaka found at the Guangsheng Monastery in Shansi in 1933. These have been published in *Sō zō ichin Horinden, Dentō gyokuei shū*, ed. Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983). The initial research report on the *Baolin zhuan* was made by Tokiwa Daijō,

*Hōrinden no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kokusho kangyōkai, 1973; repr. of the original 1934 edition).

(77.) See chapter 2, “Official Recognition of Chan Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty.”

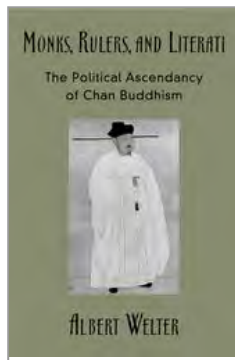
(78.) The details regarding the seven Buddhas of the past are lacking because the first few pages of fascicle 1 are missing from the text.

(79.) Kamata Shigeo, ed., *Chūgoku bukkyōshi jiten*, 355c.

(80.) The view reflected in Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 50. For Yampolsky's review of the contents, see 47–51.

(81.) Shiina Kōyū, “*Hōrinden* itsubun no kenkyū,” *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshu* no. 11 (Nov. 1981), 234–57.

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the Patriarch's Hall Anthology (Zutang ji)

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0004

### Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the history of Chan Buddhism in terms of transmission records and factional motives contained in the *Zutang ji* or the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology*. The rediscovery of the *Zutang ji* underscores the power and aspirations of regional Chan movements during the Five Dynasties period because its text is a clear forerunner to the *Chuandeng lu*, and anticipates many of the features of classical Chan. This chapter discusses a hypothesis related to the development of the *Zutang ji* in three stages.

**Keywords:** Chen Buddhism, Zutang ji, Chan movements, Chuandeng Lu, religious literature

Following the decentralization of Chinese authority in the wake of the An Lushan rebellion (755–63) and the decimation of the Buddhist establishment following the Huichang suppression (ca. 841–46), Chan proliferated in regional movements predicated on the support of local authorities. One pivotal result of the An Lushan rebellion was the increase in number of Military Commissioners (*jiedu shi*) and the autonomy with which they ruled. Originally, the title was given to Tang military officers in charge of frontier defenses, appearing in records as a common variant to Area Commanders (*dudu*).<sup>1</sup> Prior to the An Lushan rebellion, the title began to be assumed by some Prefects (*cishi*) not associated with frontier security, though this was not yet common. Before An Lushan's insurgence, there were ten such commanders or prefects with the title of Military Commissioner. After An Lushan, their numbers increased greatly. During the *zhenyuan* era (785–805), the number grew to thirty. By the *yuanhe*

era (806–20), there were forty-seven.<sup>2</sup> Local Chan movements proliferated from these diverse bases of regional authority, depending on the support of local officials.

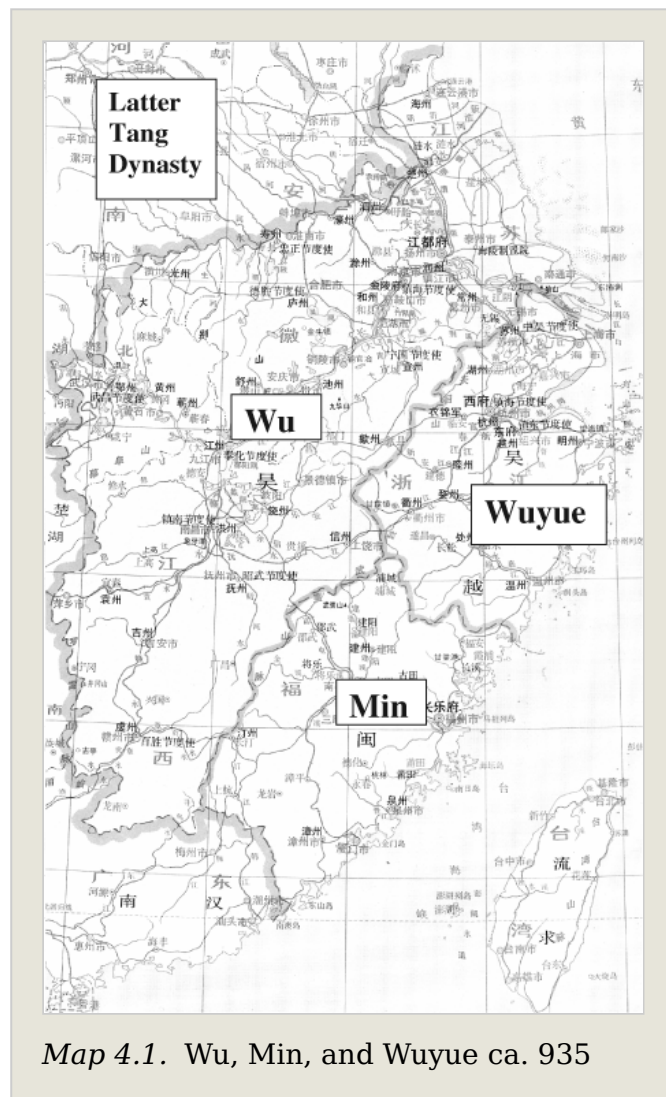
The suppression of Buddhism during the Huichang era served to augment the significance of the local Chan movements. Primarily, **(p.60)** imperial actions were aimed at restricting the activities of Buddhist institutions associated with established schools like Huayan and Tiantai, which had assumed large public and economic roles in Tang society. In addition, the autonomy that local Military Commissioners wielded could protect Chan monks and monasteries from imperial wrath. Together, these factors contributed to the importance that Chan assumed as a leading representative of Chinese Buddhism, and as a major force for the spread of Buddhism throughout Chinese society. Against this was a growing wariness by members of the Chinese elite of the benefits that Buddhism in any form brought to China. With the collapse of Tang authority at the beginning of the tenth century, the central government lost all pretense of unity and the fate of Chan rested completely with regional movements. Support for Buddhism in the series of dynasties that succeeded one another in the north was ambivalent, at best. For the most part, northern dynastic administrations were either suspicious of or hostile toward Buddhism, and sought for means to keep it in check. In large part, northern administrations continued the policies of the late Tang, which vacillated between outright persecution, as witnessed in the Huichang suppression, and attempts to harness Buddhist influence to the imperial cause.<sup>3</sup> When the Tang dynasty fell, many, particularly those among the literati class, blamed Buddhist moral and economic excesses. During the Five Dynasties period, hostility toward Buddhism culminated in the policies of Emperor Shizong of the Latter Zhou dynasty, who mounted another massive campaign to suppress Buddhism in 955. The following excerpt from the dynastic histories reveals the corrupt state of the Buddhist clergy according to official interpretation.

Buddhism is the true religion, and the miraculous way of sages. In assisting the world and encouraging good, its benefits are extremely abundant. From former eras it continuously maintained a coherent system, but recently [the Buddhist clergy] has corrupted the social order with alarming frequency. According to a report received from a recent investigation of the various provinces, monks are continuously violating the law. If they are not punished and prohibited from doing so, it will turn into a serious matter. Privately ordained monks and nuns daily increase to confusing proportions. The temples and monasteries that they have built to practice in have gradually become widespread. Among the villages and towns, their improprieties have become profuse. There are rogues who engage in licentious practices or commit robberies and conceal their evils by conspiring with abbots. When one tries to make the teachings of the law prosper, one must distinguish good from evil. Appropriately, and in

accordance with former precedents, we undertake to rectify the improprieties mentioned in the above.<sup>4</sup>

**(p.61)**

The situation was much better for Buddhism in the regimes to the south. Three of these regimes, in particular, were staunch supporters of Buddhism and became havens for Buddhist monks during this period: the Southern Tang, which absorbed territory controlled by Wu, led by members of the Li family; Min, headed by rulers from the Wang family; and Wuyue, ruled by members of the Qian family.<sup>5</sup> These three regimes covered a large geographical area of southeast China, covering roughly the modern-day provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Fujian (see map 4.1).<sup>6</sup> During the tenth century, **(p.62)** the region flourished both economically and culturally. Religious teachings were supported as a matter of cultural policy. Trade links with neighboring countries were established. The king of Korea sent official envoys and monks to study at Buddhist centers supported by the rulers of these regimes.<sup>7</sup>



From the late Tang, the region had become associated with such leading Chan figures as Baizhang Huaihai, Huangbo Xiyun, Guishan Lingyu, Yangshan Huiji, Yaoshan Weiyang, Dongshan Liangjie, Caoshan Benji, Xuefeng Yicun, and Xuansha Shibei. These names include masters either associated with the founders of the so-called “five houses” (Guiyang from Guishan and Yangshan, and Caodong from Caoshan and Dongshan), or their teachers (Huangbo for Linji Yixuan; Xuefeng for Yunmen Wenyan; Xuansha for Fayuan Wenyi). During the Five Dynasties period in the tenth century, the descendants of Xuefeng Yicun (822–908) dominated the region, including students of Baofu Congzhan (?–928) and Fayuan Wenyi (885–958). As noted briefly in chapter 1, monks from two lineages

prominent in the regimes of southeastern China were responsible for producing the first fully developed, multilinear “lamp records” (*denglu*), or Chan transmission histories: the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* (*Zutang ji*) and the *Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuandeng lu*). As is well known, these “lamp records” helped to establish many of the fundamental principles of the Chan movement, including such things as the importance of “encounter dialogues” between master and disciple for initiating understanding and the experience of “sudden awakening” (*dunwu*), and the composition of transmission verses as an indication of one's uniquely Chan-enlightened understanding.

The flourishing Chan factions in the region gave rise to the construction of multilinear branches that eventually became codified as the “five houses” (*wujia*) of classical Chan. The “five houses” came to represent the flourishing profusion of Chan throughout China during this period. Without the decentralization and eventual demise of Tang authority, it is unlikely that this profusion would have occurred without some kind of systematic, government-directed intervention. With Song reunification, the imperial government reasserted its control over the Buddhist clergy, including Chan. The “five houses” model served as retrospective acknowledgment of regional Chan movements, organized along lines sanctioned through government approval. The transmission records compiled from the Five Dynasties and Song periods document this legacy. It is my contention that the need for a comprehensive and systematic accounting of this emerging force within Chinese Buddhism helped determine the form that Chan transmission records took. Historical accuracy was not a major motivating factor. Lineal associations were creatively forged in order to maintain the cardinal principle of dharma-transmission. Similarly, the antics and enigmatic utterances of the Chan masters recorded in these transmission histories conformed to a predetermined style of appropriate “Chan-like” behavior. As a result, the records represent fictionalized accounts of a unique Chan persona. While various Chan movements are judiciously recognized in these records, if one probes beneath the surface of each record's generally harmonious transmission claims, one finds preference for particular **(p.63)** factions. These preferences are closely tied to the compilers of individual records and the lineages they are associated with, the regions where these individual lineages dominated, and the political support provided by respective rulers.

#### *The Patriarch's Hall Anthology: Affirming the Chan Legacy*

The discovery of the *Zutang ji* in the Korean monastery Haein-sa in the 1930s has had a large impact on the study of Chinese Chan.<sup>8</sup> Prior to this, the text was believed to be nonexistent, and no one had any idea of its contents. The rediscovery of the *Zutang ji* underscores the power and aspirations of regional Chan movements during the Five Dynasties period. The text is a clear forerunner to the *Chuandeng lu*, and anticipates many of the features of classical Chan: pithy dialogues, enlightenment verses, whimsical behavior, and so forth. Because



the *Zutang ji* was not subjected to the same kind of editorial standardization process as the *Chuandeng lu* and later Chan records, it contains an even greater wealth of idiomatic prose characteristic of the period.<sup>9</sup> For reasons that are not at all clear, knowledge of the *Zutang ji* was quickly lost in China. Because of the much greater scope and comprehensiveness of the *Chuandeng lu*, not to mention the status of the *Chuandeng lu* as an imperially sanctioned compilation involving the efforts of China's leading scholar-officials, the *Zutang ji* was largely overshadowed by it and appears to have been quickly forgotten.<sup>10</sup>

The most important research on the *Zutang ji* to date has been that conducted by Yanagida Seizan.<sup>11</sup> Following information contained in the text of the *Zutang ji* identifying the “present” as the tenth year of the *baoda* era (952), a reign title for Li Jing (as Emperor Yuan Zongjing) of the Southern Tang, Yanagida determined this year as the date for the compilation of the work as a whole.<sup>12</sup> The preface by Wen (or Sheng) deng of Zhaoqing monastery in Quanzhou (Fujian province), the master for whom the collection was compiled, confirms that the text was gathered for use by Wendeng and his students. On the basis of this, it was assumed that the *Zutang ji* was issued in a fairly complete form in 952, and subject to little alteration. The text discovered at Haein-sa was presumed to contain virtually unaltered materials from this original 952 compilation.

The identity of the *Zutang ji*'s compilers, Jing and Yun, are otherwise unknown. In his preface, Wendeng identifies them simply as two virtuous Chan practitioners (*chande*) resident at Zhaoqing monastery.<sup>13</sup> Attempts have been made to affirm their identity.<sup>14</sup> Ishii Mitsuo attempted to identify Yun as Daguan Zhiyun (906–69), the Dharma heir of Fayuan Wenyi.<sup>15</sup> Mizuno Kōgen identified Jing as Guyin Zhijing (d.u.), Dharma heir of Lumen Chuzhen, and Yun as Shimen Yun (d.u.), Dharma heir of Shimen Huiche.<sup>16</sup> Because of the important role that Korean monks play in the *Zutang ji*'s contents, Yanagida Seizan has suggested that Jing and Yun were Korean émigré monks.<sup>17</sup> Shiina Kōyū attributes the ongoing significance of the *Zutang ji* in Korea to the importance of Korean monks in the *Zutang ji* for its ongoing significance in the **(p.64)** Korean context, suggesting this as a reason for why it was preserved there.<sup>18</sup> The connection of the *Zutang ji*'s contents with the Korean context, and the fact that it was preserved in Korea and not elsewhere, figure prominently in a new theory regarding the *Zutang ji* by Kinugawa Kenji.<sup>19</sup> Kinugawa's hypothesis challenges the perceived assumptions regarding how and when the *Zutang ji* was compiled. Kinugawa's theory suggests that the *Zutang ji* originated as a slender compilation of a single fascicle in 952, the date hitherto associated with the compilation of the entire twenty-fascicle text. The rationale for Kinugawa's reassessment is in part based on the preface by Wendeng, mentioned above, stipulating that the *Anthology* compiled by Jing and Yun consisted of a single fascicle.<sup>20</sup> A second preface, presumably added by the Korean editor when the *Zutang ji* was reissued in Korea in 1245, stipulates that the single fascicle text received in Korea was divided into twenty fascicles for distribution in the new

edition.<sup>21</sup> This, according to Kinugawa, is the twenty-fascicle text of the *Zutang ji* known to us today. Although clearly puzzled by this same information, Yanagida surmises that the “received” Korean text was subjected to little alteration, and represented virtually the same text initially compiled by Jing and Yun in 952.

According to Kinugawa, it makes little sense to equate the initial one fascicle compilation of Jing and Yun with the twenty-fascicle edition issued in Korea in 1245. From a reexamination of the original Haein-sa manuscript edition of the *Zutang ji*, Kinugawa has concluded that in the second preface (to the Korean edition), the second character for “one” (in Chinese, a single horizontal line:–) should be read as “ten” (a single horizontal line plus a single vertical line: +).<sup>22</sup> On the basis of this, Kinugawa concludes that the *Zutang ji* text developed over three stages: first, an original compilation in one fascicle; second, an enlarged ten-fascicle text completed by the early Song dynasty; and third, the division of the ten-fascicle text into twenty fascicles in the 1245 Korean reissue.

Although final conclusions regarding this hypothesis await further research, it is worth noting that Kinugawa's proposal is also based on linguistic criteria, by examining the colloquial style of the *Zutang ji* against the background of usage in contemporary counterparts. The basis for Kinugawa's reevaluation based on linguistic criteria includes the appearance of terminology in the *Zutang ji* clearly used only after the assumption of Song power.<sup>23</sup> Kinugawa's hypothesis would make Jing and Yun's compilation of the *Zutang ji* a one fascicle text, or outline, which was enlarged in the early Sung to ten fascicles. This version was brought to Korea, where it was divided into the currently available twenty-fascicle edition. Significantly, Kinugawa suggests that the contents of the *Zutang ji* were, for the most part, completed sometime in the presumed early Song, ten-fascicle version. If proven correct, this would make the *Zutang ji* roughly contemporary with its more famous counterpart, the *Chuandeng lu*, or at least narrow the fifty-odd-year gap separating their compilation that has hitherto been assumed. At any rate, there are too many questions surrounding the compilation of the *Zutang ji* to assert any position with complete confidence.

**(p.65)** As intriguing as Kinugawa's hypothesis is, I continue to follow Yanagida Seizan's explanation regarding the origins of the *Zutang ji*, even though it may eventually prove to be faulty.<sup>24</sup> What is currently believed about the compilation of the *Zutang ji* may be described as follows. The *Zutang ji* was compiled at the Zhaoqing Monastery in Quanzhou (Fujian) in 952 by two Chan monks, Jing and Yun, who were disciples of Chan Master Wen (or Sheng) deng.<sup>25</sup> Zhaoqing Wendeng (884–972) was a major regional Chan figure during the Five Dynasties period.<sup>26</sup> According to the *Zutang ji*, Wendeng belonged in a lineage derived from Xuefeng Yicun. Xuefeng flourished under the support of the Min founder, Wang Shenzhi, and Xuefeng's descendants continued to prosper under Wang family patronage.<sup>27</sup> The Zhaoqing Monastery where the *Zutang ji* was compiled was founded in 906 through the support of the Min ruler Wang Yanhan for a

follower of Xuefeng, Zhangqing Huileng (854–932).<sup>28</sup> Huileng moved to the area at Wang Yanhan's invitation, indicating the power held by secular leaders over appointments at leading monasteries under their control. Following Huileng, Wendeng assumed control over the monastery.<sup>29</sup> While Wendeng is not regarded as Huileng's disciple in the *Zutang ji*, Wendeng's master, Baofu Congzhan (?–928), was also a direct heir of Xuefeng. The *Zutang ji* was conceived in the context of support provided to the descendants of Xuefeng Yicun by the Min government. It was compiled expressly at the request of Li Jing, the Southern Tang ruler who assumed control over Min territory at its demise in 945.<sup>30</sup>

The *Zutang ji* is the earliest known transmission record to document the multilineal profusion of Chan factions, applying a syncretic model to the burgeoning Chan movement. While the *Zutang ji* is devoted exclusively to Chan, it does not champion one line of transmission to the exclusion of others, but incorporates different lineages or branches in an inclusive manner. In this way, it facilitates the expansion of lineages predicated on regional Chan developments. It can be regarded as heir to both the early Chan preoccupation with lineage formation and Zongmi's ecumenical approach to disparate strands within the Chan movement. It is also the earliest Chan transmission record to survive following the Huichang suppression.

The *Zutang ji* begins with the biographies of the seven Buddhas of the past, Śākyamuni Buddha being the seventh, linking the Chan heritage to the mythological origins of Buddhism. The *Zutang ji* then records the biographies of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs and the six patriarchs in China, before proceeding to record the biographies of masters from what would become several Chan lineages. The order of the biographies is not random, but follows a general historical framework grouped around clusters of masters. It definitely favors the descendants of Mazu Daoyi by placing their biographies in the final fascicles, giving the impression that the Chan legacy culminates in their activities. As discussed below, Wendeng viewed himself as the heir to this legacy.

At stake was the right to claim the Chan orthodoxy as the “treasury of the true dharma-eye” (*zhengfayan zang*; Jpn. *Shōbōgenzō*), established in the *Baolin zhuan* (Transmission of the Treasure Grove), compiled ca. 800.<sup>31</sup> The *Baolin zhuan* represented the new Chan that had risen in Hunan and Jiangxi through **(p.66)** the efforts of Mazu Daoyi and his disciples. The *Zutang ji*, in effect, attempted to usurp the claim to be the “treasury of the true dharma-eye” for the disciples of Xuefeng Yicun, including Wendeng. Another successor of Xuefeng, a monk by the name of Weijing (d.u.), compiled a no longer extant work entitled *Xu Baolin zhuan*, a successor of the *Baolin zhuan*, sometime during the *kaiping* era of the Later Liang (907–11).<sup>32</sup> This clearly indicates the attempt by Xuefeng's successors to link themselves with the *Baolin zhuan* and its traditions.

Wendeng was an unabashed supporter of the “new style” Chan attributed to Mazu. A Dunhuang manuscript attributed to Wendeng, the *Quanzhou Qianfo xinzhū zhū zūshi sòng* (Newly Composed Praises for Various Patriarchal Masters, [compiled at] Qianfo Monastery in Quanzhou, hereafter referred to as *Qianfo sòng*), commemorates the Chan patriarchs in verse form, covering the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese patriarchs through Huineng, and the three generations of masters from the sixth patriarch to Mazu (see chart 4.1).<sup>33</sup> The preface by Huiguan (d.u.) refers specifically to “the patriarchs of the treasure grove” (*baolin zu*), a seemingly explicit reference to the *Baolin zhuan*, the text to which the *Qianfo sòng* is closely linked in its conception of patriarchal transmission.<sup>34</sup> The transmission following the sixth patriarch Huineng in the *Qianfo sòng* can be depicted as follows:

As the verse commemorating Mazu is the last one recorded, the *Qianfo sòng* infers that Chan transmission passed through him and that Wendeng is the heir to the legacy of Mazu's teaching. Wendeng's attempt to link himself with Mazu is also evident in the record of Mazu in the *Zutang ji*, which concludes with the verse by Wendeng (as Chan Master Jingxiu) recorded in the *Qianfo sòng* in Mazu's honor.

Mazu Daoyi, his practice as firm as a diamond, Awakened to the root and in a state of transcendence, strove assiduously in search of the branches.

With body and mind ever in meditation, he at once sacrificed all; He converted widely in Nanchang; [he stands like] a thousand foot pine-tree in winter.<sup>35</sup>

The verses commemorating the patriarchs were incorporated into the *Zutang ji* by Wendeng's students, Jing and Yun. The *Zutang ji* may be read as a tribute to these patriarchs and masters who preceded Wendeng in this legacy. As a result, the *Zutang ji* follows the *Baolin zhuan*, linking itself to the view of Chan orthodoxy championed there through the claim that Nanyue Huairang and Mazu Daoyi represent the true heirs of the sixth patriarch. What we know of the contents of the missing fascicle 7 of the *Baolin zhuan* are four one-line transmission verses cited in the record of Bodhidharma in the *Zutang ji*, said to have been given by Prajñātāra to Bodhidharma.

Even though the territory of Tang is vast, there is no other path; It is essential that those to whom the truth has been provisionally transmitted trod in the footsteps [of their forbears].

**(p.67)**

When the Golden Bird releases the bridle [restricting] One Rice Clump, He will give his support to the monk from Luohan Monastery in the ten districts [of Hanzhou].<sup>36</sup>

Annotation in the *Zutang ji* text of the last two verses unambiguously interprets them as referring to Nanyue Huairang's ("Golden Bird") designation of Mazu Daoyi ("One Rice Clump"), "the monk from Luohan Monastery in the ten districts," as his Chan heir.

The first verse is also quoted in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, citing the *Baolin zhuan* and another text, the *Shengzhou ji*, as sources.<sup>37</sup> It is not clear whether the annotations pointing to Nanyue and Mazu were cited from the *Baolin zhuan*, or were added by the compilers of the *Zutang ji*. What is clear is that a regional Chan faction descended from Xuefeng Yicun legitimized itself through connection to the legacy of Mazu Daoyi's Hongzhou faction. This is odd given that Xuefeng and his descendants belonged to a transmission lineage traced to the sixth patriarch through Qingyuan Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian, a route of transmission different from Mazu Daoyi's lineal descendants who traced themselves to the sixth patriarch through Nanyue Huairang (see chart 4.2). This suggests that lineage was not the sole criteria through which Chan associations were established. Ideological considerations, the advance of "true" Chan that cut across formal lineage boundaries, also figured in the formation of Chan linkages.<sup>38</sup>

(p.68)

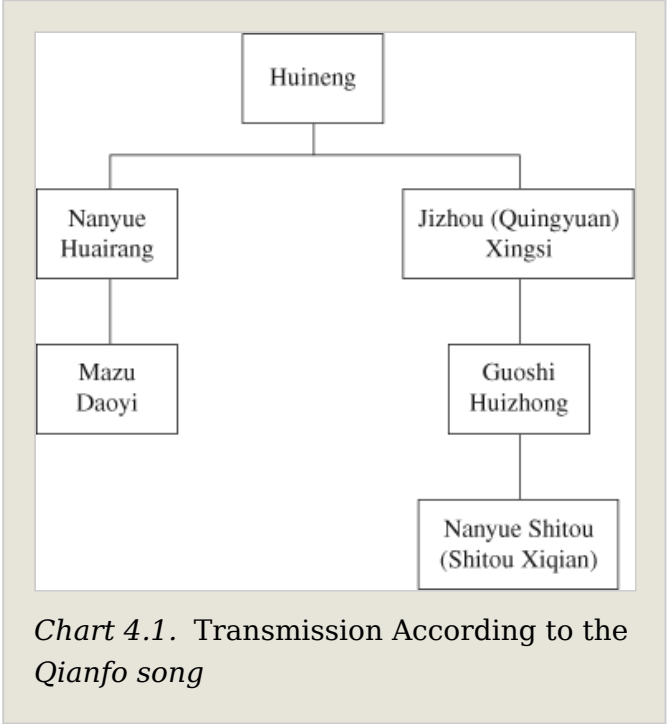


Chart 4.1. Transmission According to the *Qianfo song*

As has been pointed out, the notion of *zong*, or lineage, is not necessarily a determinant of ideology in *denglu* texts, as if one lineage was committed to one interpretation of Chan while other lineages were committed to others.<sup>39</sup> It is true, as we shall see, that some regional Chan movements did develop unique Chan interpretive schemes that contrasted with or even contradicted others. However, the affirmation of a multilineal tradition that Chan *denglu* celebrate presupposes a common Chan style and common propositions. Given Chan's bases in regionally defined movements, agreement across lineages was not always as free of rancor as *denglu* texts suggest. One of the main purposes of early *denglu* collections is to present a harmonious picture of a fragmentary movement, a kind of “common front” or outward face that was easily understood and accepted as Chan's public persona. Thus, lineage affiliation is not intended as a statement of a similar doctrinal affiliation, but *denglu* records, (p.69) taken as a whole, are compiled on assumptions suggesting Chan has a uniform doctrine cutting across factional lines.

Nevertheless, the assimilation of the “Mazu perspective” on Chan by Wendeng in the *Zutang ji* is noteworthy and merits our attention. When the robe was accepted as the symbol of legitimate transmission in Chan rhetoric, unusual artifices were concocted, as in the *Platform sūtra* and the *Lidai fabao ji*, to manipulate the transmission in a preferred direction. As the symbolism of the robe receded, so did the need for artifice. Wendeng could simply assert his affinity to Mazu, whose legitimacy as a Chan patriarch was presumably established in the *Baolin zhuan*. In much the same way that Chan factions established themselves through linkage to Huineng following the successful assault by Shenhui, Wendeng links himself to Mazu's legacy. However, there is



Chart 4.2. Main Chan Lineages in the Zutang ji From Mazu Daoyi and Shitou Xiqian through Linji Yixuan and Xuefeng Yicun

something artificial about the linkage owing to the lack of any direct lineal association. It suggests that Mazu's legacy was too powerful to deny on the one hand, and that Wendeng could not successfully draw a lineal connection to Mazu, on the other.

By the “Mazu perspective,” I am referring to a style and interpretation of Chan attributed to the Mazu lineage, including Mazu and his more immediate descendants. More than any other Chan group, this contingent of masters is regarded in Chan lore as the instigators of the “classic” Chan style and perspective, memorialized in terms of a reputed Chan “golden age.” It is this style and perspective that became the common property of Chan masters in *denglu* texts, beginning with the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*. This common style and perspective represents the standardization of Chan as a uniform tradition dedicated to common goals and principles. While factional differences may still have the potential to erupt into controversy, the standardization of the Chan message and persona tended to mask ideological disagreements. The standardization of Chan also provided the pretext for a Chan orthodoxy that was no longer the sole property of a distinct lineage. This marked a departure from the perspective adopted in previous Chan transmission records. Tied exclusively to the promotion of a particular lineage, earlier Chan records championed one lineage at the expense of all others. In this atmosphere, orthodoxy was a war waged across strictly determined—whether real or not—factional lines. This was a tricky proposition when one lineage was forced to usurp the orthodox claims of another, as is witnessed in the various machinations surrounding the possession of the robe as symbol of orthodox transmission in early Chan history.<sup>40</sup> The new structure proposed that Chan represented a common heritage. This common heritage, which takes the form of a tree trunk and branches motif, is actually a facade imposed upon an entangled and by no means uniform snarl of vines.<sup>41</sup> The important point in the present context is that the presupposed common heritage allows descendants of other lineages to claim orthodoxy straightforwardly, without resorting to convoluted intrigues for asserting how orthodoxy passed their way. Following this example, Wendeng is hypothetically able to lay claim to Mazu's legacy even though he is not a descendant of Mazu's lineage.

**(p.70)** Wendeng and his students were not alone in connecting the Xuefeng lineage to the *Baolin zhuan* heritage of Mazu. As mentioned above, another student of Xuefeng Yicun, a monk by the name of Weijing (d.u.), had compiled a work in four fascicles entitled *Xu Baolin zhuan* (Transmission of the Treasure Grove, Continued), a direct successor of the *Baolin zhuan*, sometime during the *kaiping* era of the Later Liang (907–11). Unfortunately, nothing is known of this work except for its title.<sup>42</sup> It does confirm, however, the desire by members of this faction to link themselves to the *Baolin zhuan* tradition. However, this was not the only tradition that Xuefeng and his descendants attempted to link themselves to. Weijing also compiled a work, also lost, entitled *Nanyue Gaoseng*

*zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks of Nanyue), a successor of the Biographies of Eminent Monks (*gaoseng zhuan*) series. In addition to linking themselves to the Chan tradition as conceived in the *Baolin zhuan*, members of the Xuefeng lineage evidently legitimized themselves in terms of the “eminent monks” tradition of Chinese Buddhism, while at the same time making special note of their special legacy as descendants from Nanyue Huairang. Perhaps more than anything, these developments indicate a sense of fluidity and experimentation within Chinese Buddhism. Discredited following the Huichang suppression, regional Buddhist movements sought to reestablish legitimacy and experimented in various ways, with an eye toward past precedents.

The Seven Buddhas of the Past: Indian and Chinese Patriarchs  
The *Zutang ji* begins with the records of the seven buddhas of the past (numbered), ending with Śākyamuni, connecting the Chan lineage to the lineage of former Buddhas.

1. Vipassin
2. Sikhin
3. Vessabhū
4. Kondañña
5. Konāgamana
6. Kāśyapa
7. Śākyamuni

The *Zutang ji* was not the first Chan record to make such a linkage. It was asserted in the *Baolin zhuan*, as well as the *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>43</sup> The records of the former Buddhas here are extremely brief, consisting of only a few lines, but are distinguished by the four-line enlightenment verse that accompanies each record. The records are remarkably uniform, following a specific formula: the number and name of the Buddha in question, his family name, caste, father's name, mother's name, name of the country ruled, and the verse indicating his teaching. The first three buddhas—Vipassin, Sikhin, and Vessabhū—are **(p.71)** regarded as buddhas of the past *kalpa*, the next four—Kondañña, Konāgamana, Kāśyapa, and Śākyamuni—are regarded as buddhas of the current *kalpa*.<sup>44</sup> The verses attributed to them were presumably standard in the Chan tradition; the same verses are recorded in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Since the opening sections of the *Baolin zhuan* are currently unknown and the *Platform Sūtra* makes only collective reference to “the seven buddhas [of the past]” and provides no individual information on them, the *Zutang ji* is the earliest Chan record with extant sections on the seven buddhas. What is noteworthy is that the verses attributed to the seven buddhas of the past in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* are different from the ones attributed to them in traditional sources. The discrepancy between the traditional verses of the seven buddhas



and the Chan versions is discussed further in the following chapter in the context of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

The entry on Śākyamuni is quite extensive compared with those of his six predecessors. This is understandable given Śākyamuni's role as the current progenitor of Chan transmission. The first fascicle concludes with the records of Indian patriarch number one (Mahākāśyapa) through number sixteen (Rāhulata). The records of Indian patriarchs continue in fascicle 2 with number seventeen (Sanghānandi) through number twenty-eight (Bodhidharma).

1. Mahākāśyapa
2. Ānanda
3. Śānavāsa
4. Upagupta
5. Dhrtaka
6. Miccaka
7. Vasumitra
8. Buddhanandi
9. Buddhamitra
10. Pārśva
11. Punyayśas
12. Aśvaghosa
13. Kapimala
14. Nāgārjuna
15. Kānadeva
16. Rāhulata
17. Sanghānandi
18. Gayaśāta
19. Kumārata
20. Jayata
21. Vasubandhu
22. Manothita
23. Haklenayaśas
24. Simha bhikṣu
25. Basiasita
- (p.72)** 26. Punyamitra
27. Prajñātāra
28. Bodhidharma

Fascicle 2 concludes with the records of the Chinese patriarchs through the sixth patriarch. The Chinese patriarchs are numbered as extensions of the Indian list, numbers twenty-eight through thirty-three. From Sengcan on, the enumeration of Chinese patriarchs is also noted, leading to the sixth Chinese

patriarch, Huineng. Except for the separate enumeration of Chinese patriarchs, the *Zutang ji* follows the tradition of the *Baolin zhuan* in all of these conventions.

28. Bodhidharma
29. Huike
30. Sengcan [Third Chinese Patriarch]
31. Daoxin [Fourth Chinese Patriarch]
32. Hongren [Fifth Chinese Patriarch]
33. Huineng [Sixth Chinese Patriarch]

#### Chan Lineages in the *Zutang ji* through the Disciples of Huineng

With the beginning of fascicle 3, the *Zutang ji* begins to document the separate lineages of Chan, taking into account regional and factional diversity. It does this by following the historical pattern of transmission in Chan lineages. Fascicle 3 begins with the record of Niutou Farong (594–657), a disciple of the fourth patriarch, Daoxin. The existence of the Niutou faction had been noted by Zongmi, as seen above.<sup>45</sup> The *Zutang ji* documents its existence by recording an entry for Helin Masu (668–752), whom it lists as the disciple of Niutou Zhiwei (646–722), the fifth-generation Niutou master in the Niutou lineage.<sup>46</sup> One of Helin Masu's disciples, Fahai, was the compiler of the *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>47</sup> Following Helin Masu, the *Zutang ji* continues to document succession in the Niutou lineage with entries for Jingshan Dao (or Fa)qin (714–92), and Niaohe Guoyi (d.u.).<sup>48</sup> The *Zutang ji* thus documents Niutou-faction transmission one generation beyond Zongmi, who stopped with the contemporary representative, Faqin.

The *Zutang ji* continues its multilineal, syncretic approach (still in fascicle 3) by explicitly acknowledging lineages other than that derived from the sixth patriarch Huineng, descended from the fifth patriarch Hongren through three masters: Shenxiu, Preceptor of State Lao An, and Dao (or Hui)ming.<sup>49</sup> Of these three, however, only the Lao An faction receives much attention. Shenxiu himself is ignored. The only record of a member descended from Shenxiu's lineage is that of Ze (Ming)zan (d.u.), noted as a disciple of Puji.<sup>50</sup> The tendency of the *Zutang ji* compilers is to ignore the northern Chan faction as much as possible, following the lead initiated by Shenhui and incorporated in subsequent **(p.73)** Chan transmission records. Zekan, however, seems too significant a figure to be ignored. He became a close associate of the official Li Mi, who subsequently became Grand Councilor (*zaixiang*).<sup>51</sup> Ze (Ming)zan was awarded the posthumous title “Great Luminous Chan Master” (*daming chanshi*).

Dao (Hui)ming (d.u.) and the lineage descended from him are otherwise undocumented in the *Zutang ji*, except for a story regarding him in the record of Hongren.<sup>52</sup> The inclusion of Daoming's name probably stems from the fact that he was an acknowledged descendant of emperor Xuan (r. 569–82) of the Chen dynasty.<sup>53</sup> In other records, most notably the *Platform Sūtra*, Daoming's name is

given as Huiming, the former military general who followed Huineng to Dayuling, ostensibly in pursuit of Huineng's robe, but who actually went to seek the dharma.<sup>54</sup> According to the *Platform Sūtra* account, Daoming was among several hundred men intent on killing Huineng and stealing the robe and dharma after discovering that they had been transmitted to him. After threatening Huineng and being given the robe, Daoming announced his true intentions to seek the dharma. After hearing Huineng's teaching, Daoming was enlightened at once. A version of this story is also contained in the *Zutang ji* record of Hongren, noted above. As a result of this encounter, according to some sources, Daoming changed his name to Huiming, acknowledging the role played by Huineng in precipitating his awakening.<sup>55</sup> The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* follows the *Zutang ji*, however, in stipulating Daoming an heir of the fifth patriarch, Hongren. Regardless of the questions regarding Dao (Hui)ming's Chan status, his name was etched in the memory of Chan students as a result of the story about his fierce encounter with Huineng being included in the prominent Song dynasty collection of Chan *gong'an* (*kōan*), the *Wumen guan* (The Gateless Barrier).<sup>56</sup> In this rendition of the story, Huineng's famous question: "Not thinking of good, not thinking of evil, just at this moment, what is your original face before your mother and father were born?" results in Dao (Hui)ming's awakening.

The other lineage derived from Hongren (besides Huineng's) acknowledged in the *Zutang ji* is that of Lao An, who was also mentioned in several previous records (see chapter 3). Lao An's own record is brief, as are those of two disciples with records included, Tengteng Heshang (aka Fuxian Renjian) (d.u.) and Pozaoduo (d.u., fl. during *kaiyuan* era, 723–41).<sup>57</sup> Following the record of Pozaoduo, the text contains brief annotation that the above records belong to the Northern faction, which seems to indicate here less legitimate lineages not derived from Hongren's principal heir, the sixth patriarch Huineng.

Fascicle 3 of the *Zutang ji* concludes with records for eight of Huineng's disciples: Qingzhu Xingsi, Heze Shenhui, Preceptor of State Huizhong, Tripitaka Master Jueduo, Monk Zhice, Sigong Benjing, Yisu Xuanjue, and Nanyue Huairang. Thus, the various lineages represented in the *Zutang ji* from Bodhidharma through the disciples of the sixth patriarch may be depicted as follows (see chart 4.3).

**(p.74)**

The entry for Qingzhu (aka Qingyuan) Xingsi (d. 740) is meager given his role in transmitting one of only two Chan lineages to survive the Tang.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, this is the first recorded information that we have of this obscure figure.<sup>59</sup> He is not mentioned in the *Platform sūtra*. The circumstances surrounding Xingsi's sudden emergence as an influential Chan master, one on whom much of the future tradition rests, led to Hu Shih's famous proclamation that Xingsi, as well as Huairang, were figures “exhumed from obscurity.”<sup>60</sup> The information in the *Zutang ji* records that Xingsi returned to his native Luling (Jiangxi) and taught a large congregation after receiving

Huineng's secret teachings. A conversation between Xingsi and Shenhui is also recorded, but there is no independent verification for this, and it is not, in any case, very revealing. What is more revealing is the verse by Wendeng (Chan Master Jingxiu) commemo-rating (p.75) Xingsi.<sup>61</sup> This points directly to the importance of Xingsi's legacy to the compilers of the *Zutang ji*. This importance is also confirmed in the granting of a posthumous title to Xingsi by Emperor Xizong (r. 873–88) nearly one hundred fifty years after Xingsi's death.<sup>62</sup> The legitimacy of Wendeng's place in the lineage descended from Xuefeng Yicun, Wendeng's very claim as a Chan master—not to mention the claims of his disciples—was predicated on the dharma-transmission between Huineng and Xingsi. It comes as no surprise, given the stakes, that Xingsi emerged as a major Chan figure at just the instant when his presence was needed to justify his alleged descendants' claims. One advantage of Chan's alleged “secret transmission” is that in the absence of public witnesses, lineage affiliations could be more freely imagined.

The disciple of Huineng with the last listed entry in the *Zutang ji* is Nanyue Huairang (677–744), the initiator of the other faction whose lineage survived the Tang dynasty.<sup>63</sup> The faction that descended from Huairang is less obscure. Because of the prominence of Mazu Daoyi and his disciples in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Zongmi's writings and, presumably, the missing

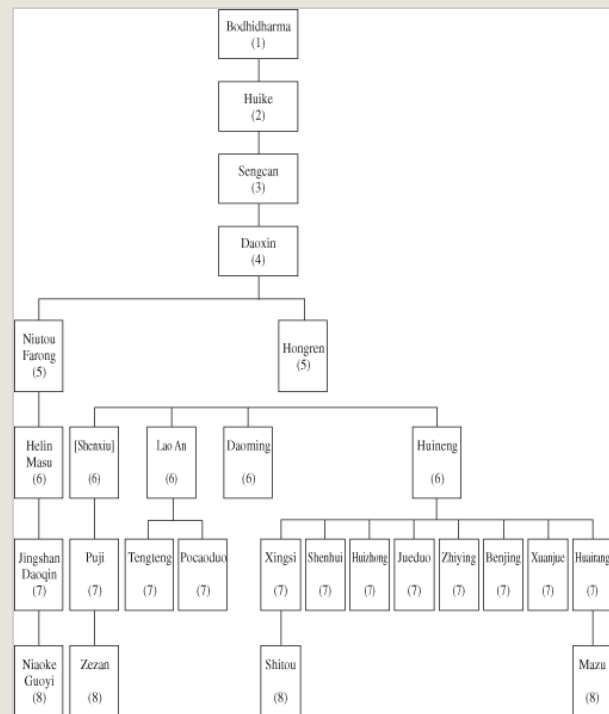


Chart 4.3. Chan Lineages in the *Zutang ji* Bodhidharma through the 8th Generation (generation number listed in brackets)

fascicles of the *Baolin zhuan* documented this lineage. Still, Huairang has no presence in the *Platform sūtra*, and the inscription written for him by Zhang Zhengfu was probably written some fifty years after his death, during the heyday of Mazu's disciples.<sup>64</sup> The *Zutang ji* record of Huairang documents legendary tales common among important Chan figures with shadowy pasts.<sup>65</sup> At the time of his birth, for example, a white vapor (or *pneuma*?) (*qi*) was perceived throughout the six realms of sentient beings.<sup>66</sup> On the eighth day of the fourth month (a day commonly associated with the birth of Śākyamuni), Emperor Gaozong was made aware of this omen and sent an emissary to investigate. When the emissary returned, the emperor asked about it, and was informed: "He (referring to Huairang) is the dharma-jewel (*fabao*) of the empire, uncontaminated by vulgarity or high rank."<sup>67</sup> Not only does this mark Huairang's auspicious beginnings, it does so under the sanction of imperial approval with designation as "dharma-jewel" (*fabao*), the term for the secret essence of Chan transmission in the *Chuan Fabao ji* and *Lidai Fabao ji*. According to the *Zutang ji*, Huairang was initially a student of Lao An and attained enlightenment under him. Afterward, he is said to have linked up with Huineng, who predicts the proliferation of his teaching in the future with the activity of Mazu. The whole tone of the record smacks of legends concocted to lend credence to an ambiguous yet important figure. Like Xingsi, Huairang's rise from obscurity is intricately connected with the contemporary claims of his alleged descendants, Mazu and his disciples.

Relatively little attention is given to Shenhui (684–758) in the *Zutang ji*,<sup>68</sup> especially given his role in establishing Huineng as the sixth patriarch and the championing of him by Zongmi. Is this a case of the cause (Huineng and the Southern School) being victorious, to the neglect of the victor (Shenhui)? Shenhui's faction, dependent as it was on imperial favor, suffered immensely during the Huichang suppression and was never able to recover, ceasing to be a force by the end of the ninth century. By the time the *Zutang ji* was compiled, the fate of Shenhui's lineage was clear. It is also possible that Shenhui remained **(p. 76)** a controversial figure in spite of his success. His reputation may not have improved with the controversy surrounding Zongmi, the professed heir to Shenhui's lineage, leaving Shenhui with a tainted image in official circles.<sup>69</sup> Such an interpretation is confirmed by the official history of the Tang dynasty, the *Jiu Tang shu* (Old History of the Tang), compiled in 945 around the same time as the *Zutang ji*. It includes biographies of Shenxiu and his two disciples, Puji and Yifu, and entries for Bodhidharma and Huineng, but no mention whatsoever of Shenhui.<sup>70</sup> In this way, the *Zutang ji* treatment of Shenhui may reflect widely held perceptions. While the cause and positions Shenhui championed became accepted without question in Chan circles, his own image fell into neglect. The root cause of this indifference is that the Shenhui's Southern School suffered a fate similar to other Buddhist schools (including the Northern School of Chan) dependent on imperial support during the Tang period. Regardless of the

influence that Shenhui's Southern School agenda had on all future Chan movements ideologically and symbolically, the actual institutional basis of the school was decimated by the Huichang suppression. In any case, Chan was rapidly acquiring new adherents operating away from the capital who were less dependent on imperial favor. While new Chan movements were required to acknowledge linkage to the Southern School through lineal transmission, there was no such requirement to link to the institutional presence forged by either Shenxiu or Shenhui in the capital.

Tripitaka Master Jueduo, Monk Zhice, and Yisu Xuanjue are other disciples of Huineng who receive relatively little attention in the *Zutang ji*. Jueduo (d.u.) hailed from India and had a reputation for knowledge of Buddhist scriptures. The account of Jueduo in the *Zutang ji* is dedicated to demonstrating the superiority of Huineng's teaching over that of Shenxiu, reflecting the depiction of the difference between northern and southern teaching following the interpretation of Shenhui. Typical of the exchange recorded is a depiction of an unnamed follower of Shenxiu engaged in "contemplating mind" (*guanxin*) practice by "observing purity" (*ganjing*). Jueduo responds, "Why don't you observe yourself? Why don't you purify yourself?" eventually sending the student to Huineng who confirms Jueduo's message and precipitates the student's awakening.<sup>71</sup>

The entry on Monk Zhice (aka Xuance) (ca. 665/67–ca. 760/62) is similarly constructed. According to the *Zutang ji*, Zhice tacitly agreed with the sixth patriarch's secret message of his own accord, and was a staunch supporter of the sixth patriarch's teaching. In an encounter with a student of the fifth patriarch, Chan Master Zhihuang,<sup>72</sup> Zhice informs him that his technique for "entering emptiness" (*ru kong*) constitutes "ordinary samādhi" (*chang ding*), and instructs him how to make his "mind like an empty void." Subsequently, Zhihuang went to the sixth patriarch and related his encounter with Zhice. As soon as he uttered the story of his encounter, Zhihuang is said to have experienced great awakening.<sup>73</sup>

Yisu Xuanjue (aka Yongjia Xuanjue) (675–713) studied under Huineng as a result of instruction from Zhice (identified here as Shenrong).<sup>74</sup> According to the *Zutang ji*, Zhice recognized Xuanjue's distinctive character and robust (p.77) spirit, and instructed him, "Even though you have understood the Buddha's principles (*foli*), you have yet to obtain a master's certification (*shiyin*)." Zhice proceeded to tell Xuanjue about the Chan transmission lineage, and that "in the south there is a great sage, Chan master Huineng." Eventually, Xuanjue proceeds to study with Huineng, who precipitates his awakening. His tomb was posthumously honored as "Great Master Without Form" (*wuxiang dashi*) and his tomb named "Tomb of Pure Radiance" (*jingguang zhi ta*).<sup>75</sup>

The students of Huineng with by far the longest entries in the *Zutang ji* are Preceptor of State Huizhong (675?–775) and Sigong Benjing (667–761). Even though it is an admittedly crude measure, the fact that Huizhong's entry in the *Zutang ji* takes up space (nearly seventeen of roughly thirty-three pages) roughly equal to the remaining seven disciples of the sixth patriarch, is nevertheless telling.<sup>76</sup> Why did the compilers of the *Zutang ji* think Huizhong was so important? His presence is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that there was no previous mention of him by Zongmi or in any earlier Chan work (with the exception of the *Qianfo song*, considered below, and the possible exception of the missing fascicle 10 of the *Baolin zhuan*). What are we to make of the fact that he is so highly regarded in the *Zutang ji*, prior to which he was seemingly ignored? His absence from earlier works may generally be attributed to factional biases. In the attempt to substantiate the claims of their own faction, previous transmission records typically slighted or ignored Chan rivals, or usurped rivals' claims for their own ends (most egregiously in the *Lidai Fabao ji*, considered previously). Among the surviving information on Huizhong, there is considerable discrepancy over his factional affiliation. According to the *Qianfo song*, the Dunhuang manuscript attributed to Wendeng, Huizhong was the disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi.<sup>77</sup> In the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, he is considered a disciple of Hongren (referred to as Shuangfeng).<sup>78</sup> It is only with later transmission records, the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*, that Huizhong becomes regarded as an heir of the sixth patriarch. Moreover, Huizhong himself left few heirs, and only one, Danyuan, significant enough to have a documented record of his activities.<sup>79</sup> The different ways Huizhong's lineage affiliation was represented can be depicted as follows:

Xingsi	→	Huizhong ( <i>Wendeng, Qianfo song</i> )
Hongren	→	Huizhong ( <i>Song Gaoseng zhuan</i> )
Huineng	→	Huizhong ( <i>Zutang ji</i> and <i>Chuandeng lu</i> )

Why was the memory of Huizhong retrieved for glorification in the *Zutang ji*? The immediate reason that comes to mind is the high regard accorded Huizhong by Wendeng. This is evident from the mention of him in the *Qianfo song*, as well as the verse praising Huizhong by Wendeng (Chan Master Jingxiu) recorded at the end of Huizhong's entry in the *Zutang ji*.<sup>80</sup> Comparable praise for Huizhong is evident in the *Zongjing lu*, written slightly later in 961 by Yongming Yanshou (904–75).<sup>81</sup> From this it is evident that the high prestige accorded Huizhong in Chan circles was not limited to Wendeng and his students. Huizhong was a highly regarded Chan master in his day. He was personally acquainted with Emperors Suzong (r. 756–64) and Daizong (**p.78**) (r. 765–79), and served as “Preceptor of State” (*guoshi*), the highest honor bestowed on religious figures in China, for both. According to the *Zutang ji*,

Huizhong lived in the White Cliff mountains of Nanyang (Henan), cultivating practices there for over forty years. On the sixteenth day of the first month of the second year of *qianyuan* (759),<sup>82</sup> Emperor Suzong (r. 756–64) summoned him to go to the capital by imperial order. He was installed in the Western Chan Cloister (Xichan yuan) of the Thousand Blessings Monastery (Qianfu si). Later, he went to the House of Light Monastery (Guangzhai si). The two emperors who succeeded each other, Suzong and Daizong (r. 765–79), both personally received the Bodhisattva precepts from him, and honored him as “Preceptor of State” (*guoshi*).<sup>83</sup>

In addition, Huizhong maintained close associations with numerous high-ranking government officials.<sup>84</sup> He was noted for his nonsectarian and ecumenical approach to Chan as a movement within the larger tradition of Chinese Buddhism. On this evidence, Huizhong represented a loyal, nonpartisan advocate of Chan with strong Buddhist credentials who was particularly successful in winning government support. Reasons such as these may have suggested Huizhong as a suitable model for emulation.<sup>85</sup> One of the aims of Chan transmission records like the *Zutang ji* was to assure rulers that Chan was compatible with their own interests. One way of doing this was to highlight the past associations between Chan masters and rulers.

Sigong Benjing (667–761) was similarly feted.<sup>86</sup> According to the *Zutang ji*, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) dispatched an emissary, Yang Guangting, to investigate Benjing at his monastery on Mount Sigong (Anhui) in 744. In conversation about seeking Buddha and inquiring about the Way, Benjing responded to Yang Guangting, “If you want to be a Buddha, mind itself is Buddha. If you want to inquire about the Way, no-mind is the Way.”<sup>87</sup> When Yang returned to court and reported his conversation, the emperor at once sent him back to invite Benjing to the capital. On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the same year, Benjing took up residence at the White Lotus Monastery (Bailian si) at the emperor's request. The following year, Benjing distinguished himself in a debate with leading Buddhist representatives in the capital. Much of the material in Benjing's *Zutang ji* entry appears to be a record of that debate, focusing on his teaching of “no-mind” (*wuxin*). After his death, Benjing was honored with the posthumous title “Chan Master of Great Understanding” (*daxiao chanshi*). While the teaching regarding “no-mind” is generally regarded as the innovation of Mazu Daoyi in the Chan tradition, the evidence presented here alleges that Sigong Benjing espoused this doctrine prior to Mazu. Given that the *Zutang ji* accepts the interpretation of Chan provided by Mazu's Hongzhou faction as orthodox, this may have contributed to the high regard accorded to Benjing, who represented a version of this same orthodox teaching. Like Huizhong, Benjing was also attractive on account of the strong state support he won for Chan.



**(p.79)** The records of Huineng's alleged disciples in the *Zutang ji* were designed to establish important links to the world of Chan contemporary with the *Zutang ji*'s compilers in the tenth century. The *Zutang ji* established lines of succession to the sixth patriarch for contemporary lineages descended from Qingyuan Xingsi and Nanyue Huairang. It also furthered the debate in Chan over the true nature of its teaching, between the accommodating, syncretic style that recognized strong links with Buddhist scholasticism and the scriptural tradition (represented by Zongmi and the *Lengqie shizi ji*), and the exclusive, individualistic approach that renounced Buddhist conventions as impediments to enlightenment (represented by Mazu's Hongzhou style Chan, the *Chuan Fabao ji*, and its successors, the *Lidai Fabao ji* and *Baolin zhuan*). Among Huineng's alleged disciples reviewed above, Huizhong was a strong advocate of the former position, while Benjing and his insistence on the teaching of "no-mind" provided a link to the latter. Through these linkages to Xingsi and Huairang on the one hand, and Huizhong and Benjing on the other, the *Zutang ji* maintained its balance between the different yet complimentary poles supporting Chan lineage and ideology.

Starting with fascicle 4, the *Zutang ji* is divided into the two great Chan branches descended from Xingsi and Huairang, the lineage of Shitou Xiqian (fascicles 4 through 13) and the lineage of Zhiangsi Daoyi (Mazu) (fascicles 14 through 20). Shitou and Mazu were regarded as the two great pillars of contemporary Chan, and it is to the legacy of their descendants that the *Zutang ji* is devoted. In practical terms, the work is intended to champion Chan as depicted by contemporary representatives of these factions.

#### Shitou Xiqian

Fascicle 4 of the *Zutang ji* begins with the thread connecting the flourishing Chan factions of the ninth and tenth centuries descended from Qingyuan Xingsi. Shitou Xiqian (700–790) is the lone disciple of Xingsi with a record in the *Zutang ji*.<sup>88</sup> The significant features of his record may be summarized as follows. His birth was accompanied by unusual events. When he was born, a bright light is said to have filled the room. Thinking it strange, Shitou's parents consulted with a sorcerer (*wushu*) who informed them that this was an auspicious omen. As a child, Shitou differed from other children. He had striking physical features, including large ears. When his mother took him to a Buddhist temple, he marveled at the image of the Buddha and how its features differed from ordinary people (notably his elongated earlobes). Identifying with this image, Shitou is said to have announced, "If this is a Buddha, I should become one."<sup>89</sup> Shortly thereafter, Shitou became a student of the sixth patriarch. Huineng is said to have been overjoyed as soon as he met the young Shitou. The record thus incorporates legendary elements suggesting that Shitou's destiny was manifest from early on. Shitou's unusual appearance marks him as unique, in the way that a Buddha with his extraordinary **(p.80)** physical marks is also unique. Unusual appearance became an attribute of great Chan patriarchs. Note the description

of the famous patriarch Mazu Daoyi, Shitou's contemporary: "His appearance was strange. He moved like a cow and stared like a tiger. When he stuck out his tongue, it reached his nose. He had the insignia of a wheel on the sole of each foot."<sup>90</sup> The intent of such descriptions is clearly to suggest the Chan master as a living Buddha, with the same kind of striking physical attributes that Buddhas possess. The *Zutang ji* account of Shitou also connects his life story with the living personality of Huineng, who had become one of Chan's cardinal figures.

The record jumps next to the year 728 (*kaiyuan* 16), with Shitou on Mount Lofu making a general investigation of Buddhist monastic rules. As a result of this investigation, Shitou is said to have pronounced, "Self-nature is pure. [The monastic rules] are stipulations for restraining the body. None of the buddhas abide by them. How did they come to be? I myself am not currently detained by the minor rules, and do not esteem words and letters (*bu shang wenzi*)."<sup>91</sup> He continues by citing lines from an essay by Sengzhao, "Nirvana has no Name" (*niepan wuming lun*), impressed by its characterization of the enigma of existence, which mysteriously presents itself while being fundamentally devoid of reality.<sup>92</sup> This episode suggests how Shitou's understanding was shaped around typically Chan reactions (e.g., "do not esteem words and letters") to the restrictive nature of Buddhist teachings and doctrines. It also makes special note of the influence of the notion of Buddhist emptiness on Shitou's understanding.

Since Huineng passed away when Shitou was only twelve or thirteen years of age, Shitou did not receive transmission directly from the sixth patriarch. The record resorts to another strategy to link Shitou to Huineng. It tells of a dream that Shitou has in which he appears with the sixth patriarch riding a tortoise, said to symbolize spiritual wisdom (*lingzhi*). In the dream, the sixth patriarch tells Shitou that they are both riding through the sea of life on the same spiritual wisdom. When Shitou asks whom he should rely on after the sixth patriarch has passed away, the sixth patriarch tells him to go seek out Xingsi. The record then turns to Shitou's experience while studying under Jingju (Qingyuan) Xingsi on Mount Qingliang.<sup>93</sup> In this way, the record of Shitou in the *Zutang ji* mixes legends and dream events with historical facts to draw a picture of Shitou's character and link it to the memory of the sixth patriarch. It suggests that Xingsi's reputation was not strong enough to substantiate Shitou's link to Chan on its own, and that Huineng's presence was needed to bolster Shitou's claim to a Chan heritage.

Shitou's initial meeting with Xingsi is reported to have involved a conversation regarding Huineng's robe. When Xingsi ascertains that Shitou has just come from Caoqi (home of the sixth patriarch), Xingsi asks whether Huineng's robe is still there. Shitou replies that not only does it not exist there it also does not exist in India. When Xingsi asks if Shitou has actually been to India, Shitou responds that if he went, the robe would be there.<sup>94</sup> The sequence of Shitou's meeting with Xingsi does not make practical sense given the intervening episode

on Mount Lofu related above. My own speculation in this regard would **(p.81)** be to read the episode on Mount Lofu as historically based, and the episodes involving the sixth patriarch as interpolations to lend credibility to Shitou's status. In any case, the intention of the exchange between Xingsi and Shitou about the robe establishes two points: (1) the actual existence of the robe is superfluous to transmission; and (2) seeing the robe merely as symbolic of transmission (but not literally transmitted), Shitou understands himself to be the bearer of the Chan tradition. Given the stories about the robe and its role in patriarchal transmission that circulated in Chan circles, inscribed in earlier records, this is an important passage in the *Zutang ji*. With the negation of the robe as the literal symbol of Chan transmission, the way is opened for the multibranched tradition that the *Zutang ji* documents. At the same time, Shitou's assertion to be the bearer of the Chan tradition lends credence to the claim that Wendeng and his disciples, whose own affirmations are predicated on Shitou's credibility, are the current representatives of Chan orthodoxy.

As the conversation continues between Xingsi and Shitou, the question of Xingsi's status as Huineng's heir is raised. Given the meager information on Xingsi and the slender thread he provides for linking earlier and later lineages, this is important acknowledgment of the issue it raises regarding the legitimacy of his descendants. The issue is broached when Shitou asks Xingsi whether he brought anything with him from Caoqi, inferring the attainment of awakening and dharma-transmission from Huineng. Xingsi replies that he did not lack anything (presumably inferring to his original, enlightened nature), even before he went to Caoqi. Shitou then asks Xingsi whether he (Xingsi) had been acknowledged (as dharma-heir) when he was with Huineng in Caoqi. With the question of Xingsi's legitimacy openly raised, Xingsi challenges Shitou, "Do you, at this very moment, acknowledge me [as Huineng's heir]?" to which Shitou retorts, "Even if I acknowledge you, how can this qualify you to be acknowledged?" Following this is continued conversation regarding how long Xingsi has been at his current residence in Xijia since leaving Huineng's place in Lingnan (the location of Caoqi), and when Shitou left Caoqi. The conversation concludes mysteriously (but predictably) with Shitou acknowledging Xingsi's greatness (but without specific mention of his status as Huineng's heir) and Xingsi acknowledging Shitou's extraordinary qualities. As a result, Shitou is said to have settled in Xijia, staying at Xingsi's side day and night.<sup>95</sup> Eventually, just prior to Xingsi's death, Xingsi bestows the dharma on Shitou with the words: "As for my teaching, the former sages transmitted it, passing it on in succession from one to another, not allowing it to be cut off. The sixth patriarch predicted that it would be transmitted to you. You must protect and uphold it."<sup>96</sup> Even to the end, Shitou's accession to dharma-transmission is legitimized by his association with Huineng. The role assigned Xingsi is simply to confirm the decision of Huineng communicated to Shitou in a dream.<sup>97</sup> The murky implication behind this whole exchange is that Xingsi did not actually have any

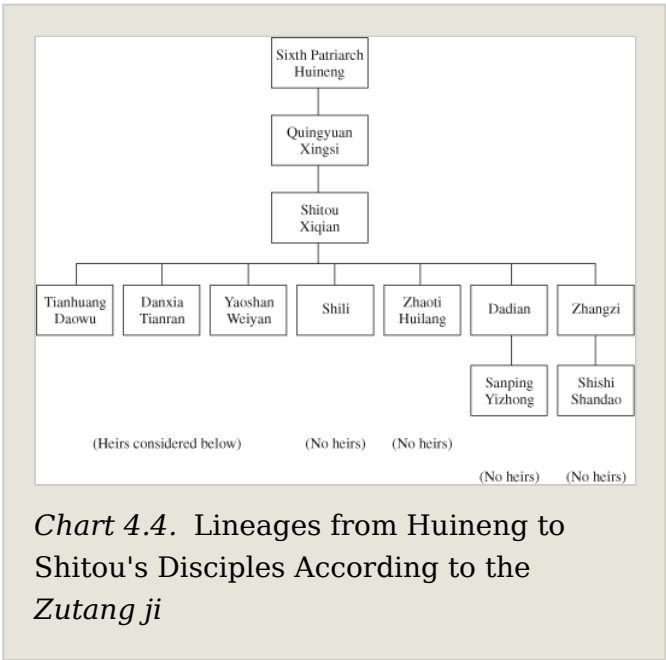
claim to transmission except through the understanding created between Xingsi and Shitou. Xingsi and particularly Shitou were the founders of the movement that followed in their wake.

**(p.82) Danxia Tianran**

Except for a brief entry for Huizhong's disciple Danyuan,<sup>98</sup> the remainder of fascicle 4 is dedicated to five of Shitou's students (Tianhuang Daowu, Shili, Danxia Tianran, Zhaoti Huilang, and Yaoshan Weiyan), with entries for two more students at the beginning of fascicle 5 (Dadian and Zhangzi). According to the *Zutang ji*, of these seven students, only three—Tianhuang Daowu (748–807), Danxia Tianran (739–824), and Yaoshan Weiyan (745–828)—produced heirs beyond three generations from Shitou. Of the remaining four students, Shili and Zhaoti Huilang produced no heirs. Dadian and Zhangzi each produced one heir (Sanping Yizhong and Shishi Shandao, respectively), but neither of them produced a descendant. Thus, a full account of the lineages leading to Shitou's seven students can be depicted as follows (see chart 4.4).

Of the three students of Shitou who produced significant legacies, Tianhuang Daowu and Yaoshan Weiyan were instrumental in propagating the lineal descendants of Shitou that continued to thrive into the tenth century, when the *Zutang ji* was compiled. Tianhuang Daowu, Yaoshan Weiyan, and their heirs will be considered in more detail below.

**(p.83)**



The lineage descended from Danxia Tianran ceased to be significant within a few generations. Tianran produced one heir, Cuiwei Wuxue, who in turn had two students, Touzi Datong and Caotang (although no teacher is listed for him, judging from the context, Cuiwei Wuxue was his master), but the line died with them according to the *Zutang ji*. The lineage can be depicted as follows (see chart 4.5).

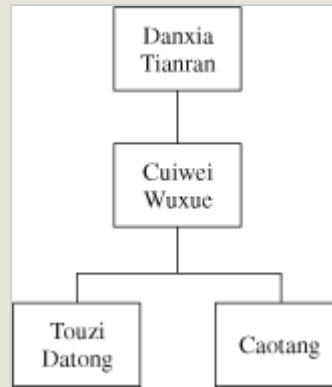


Chart 4.5. Lineage Descended from Danxia Tianran

Danxia was, nonetheless, a significant figure in his day. Among Shitou's students, Danxia's activities are among the most well-documented in the *Zutang ji*.<sup>99</sup> A fellow student with Layman Pang (Pang Yun), Danxia studied Confucianism in his youth and aspired to a career as an official. While studying in Chang'an, he is said to have conversed from time to time with a Chan monk, eventually deciding to forego an official career for Buddhism. He was directed to go and visit Mazu, and passed back and forth between Mazu and Shitou's congregations. After spending three years at Huading peak on Mount Tiantai, he is said to have studied for a time under Jingshan Daoqin (714–92), a descendant in the Niutou (Oxhead) lineage.<sup>100</sup> When he experienced cold weather at the Huilin Monastery in Dongjing, he is said to have burned the main Buddha image for warmth. After taking up residence in a hermitage on Mount Danxia, he is said to have attracted over three hundred students, necessitating the building of a large monastery. Upon his death, he was honored with the posthumous title “Chan Master, Penetrator of Wisdom” (*zhitong chanshi*).

### Yaoshan Weiyan

Yaoshan Weiyan's activities are also well-documented with a long entry in the *Zutang ji*.<sup>101</sup> He entered the order at age seventeen, serving under Chan Master Huizhao of Xishan in Chaozhou (Guangdong), and received full ordination from Xicao of the Hengyue Monastery in the eighth year of the *dali* era (773) at the age of twenty-nine.<sup>102</sup> While Yaoshan is identified as Shitou's heir, the association between them is passed over very quickly in the *Zutang ji*, with the acknowledgment that Shitou attested to Yaoshan's awakening and receiving of the mind-dharma. Other sources, however, maintain that Yaoshan spent thirteen years serving under Shitou.<sup>103</sup> As a teacher, Yaoshan is said to have begun very humbly, converting a small shed used to house oxen into a monk's hall **(p.84)** (*sengtang*). Before long, Yaoshan began attracting students, gradually numbering between forty and fifty. Among those attracted to his teachings, according to the *Zutang ji*, was Minister Duke (*xianggong*) Li Ao, the famed

precursor to the Confucian revival in the Song.<sup>104</sup> Li Ao was allegedly impressed with Yaoshan's teaching style, and composed verses in Yaoshan's honor.<sup>105</sup> In a conversation recorded in the *Zutang ji*, Yaoshan is quick to distance himself from the forms associated with the older, doctrinal-oriented Buddhism. When Li Ao asks, "What are morality, meditation, and wisdom (*śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*)?"—a reference to the three traditional pillars of the Buddhist path—Yaoshan replies, "I don't have such old implements as these lying around."<sup>106</sup>

Another important aspect of the *Zutang ji* that is demonstrated in the entry on Yaoshan Weiyan is the propensity by later Chan masters to comment on episodes recorded in the *Zutang ji*. Occasionally recorded after an episode are comments by later masters, usually (but not always) descendants of Xuefeng Yicun, closely associated with the Chan faction responsible for compiling the *Zutang ji*. These comments are important indications of how such episodes functioned in Chan instruction, and why they were recorded. They offer a glimpse into an aspect of the Chan tradition that would eventually become formalized in *gong'an*-style instruction, complete with set compilations of episodes (or "cases") designed specifically for instructional purposes.

In one case, in a dialogue recorded between Shitou and Yaoshan, Shitou states, "Speaking and acting have nothing to do with it (Chan truth?)," and Yaoshan responds, "Not speaking or not acting have nothing to do with it." Shitou then says, "This is a needle not thrust in," to which Yaoshan retorts, "This is like planting flowers on stone." Following this exchange, we are told that someone once raised the episode with Baofu Congzhan (identified here as Zhangnan), the disciple of Xuefeng and teacher of Wendeng, asking about the meaning of "planting flowers on stone." When the questioner fails to understand, Baofu castigates him with the remark, "You are like a leper feeding on pork."<sup>107</sup> This is but one of many examples of how contemporary Chan practitioners commented on the recorded dialogues of former masters in the *Zutang ji*. In this regard, the *Zutang ji* provides a window on the way the records of former masters were used in contemporary Chan circles, particularly among the lineages descended from Xuefeng Yicun.<sup>108</sup>

Numerous episodes recorded in Yaoshan's *Zutang ji* entry involve two of his principle students, the alleged brothers Yunyan Tansheng (782–841) and Daowu Yuanzhi (769–835) (not to be confused with Tianhuang Daowu). Yunyan studied for twenty years under Baizhang Huaihai before turning to Yaoshan and becoming his heir. Yunyan's elder brother, Daowu, did not enter the Buddhist order until the age of forty-six. He first studied with Yunyan under Baizhang, but left after a year to study with Yaoshan. Daowu's departure from Baizhang and encouragement to Yunyan to do likewise exhibits something of the tension that existed between the Shitou and Jiangxi (i.e., Mazu) factions. After achieving awakening under Yaoshan, Daowu wrote a letter to Yunyan stating, "Shitou's shop accepts [only] pure gold; Jiangxi's shop accepts various kinds of currency.

What are you doing willing away your talents in such (p.85) a place? I would be much obliged if you would come here at once.”<sup>109</sup> After much consternation, Yunyan was persuaded to follow his brother and study under Yaoshan. Yaoshan's legacy was passed on by Yunyan and Daowu to their respective heirs, Dongshan Liangjie and Shishuang Qingzhu. Through Dongshan and Shishuang, Shitou lineage descendants continued to prosper, representing thriving Chan factions into the tenth century. This legacy of Yaoshan can be depicted as follows (see chart 4.6).

#### Tianhuang Daowu

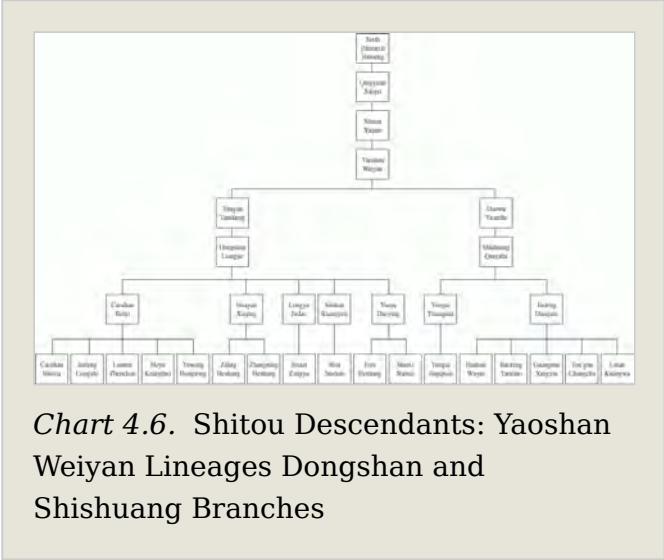
The other student of Shitou responsible for producing heirs who thrived into the tenth century was Tianhuang Daowu.<sup>110</sup> Daowu's heirs are particularly important for the compilation of the *Zutang ji*, since a branch of the line from Daowu leads to Wendeng. Given this, it is peculiar that his notice in the *Zutang ji* is so brief. The brevity of his record is made even odder by the existence of an epitaph.<sup>111</sup> This would lead us to assume that information regarding Daowu was readily available. The paucity of information in the *Zutang ji* is explained by the compilers with an admission that they had not had the opportunity to view Daowu's “activities and behavior” (*xingzhuang*), a standard reference for a collection of sayings, dialogues, travels, interactions, and so forth, pertaining to a particular master—presumable sources from which *denglū* and *yulu* (recorded sayings) were compiled. This admission is found with relative frequency throughout the *Zutang ji*, often referred to as *xinglu* (record of activities) rather than *xingzhuang*. It suggests that such records of masters’ teachings and activities were typically available, and were a primary source material upon which the information provided in the *Zutang ji* was based. This substantiates the hypothesis that the formation of Chan *yulu* originated with the custom among Chan students to keep notebooks recording the content of individual master's sermons, conversations, and interactions with others.<sup>112</sup> The *Zutang ji* is the earliest surviving record of such material. The lack of information concerning figures like Tianhuang Daowu is often attributed to the general conditions prevailing throughout China in the decades preceding the compilation of the *Zutang ji*. At the time of the *Zutang ji*'s compilation, China had been racked with warfare for several decades and the state of literary collections was generally weak, particularly for a tradition that had yet to establish anything resembling a canon of literary works. The compilers of the *Zutang ji* were understandably helpless against the whims of fate, and only able to document information available to them. Still, it is puzzling that so little information was available to the *Zutang ji*'s compilers regarding one who was so important to them. Tianhuang Daowu represents the beginning of a line of masters leading to the flourishing group of Wendeng and his contemporaries, the living heirs of the Chan tradition that the *Zutang ji* celebrates.

(p.86)

Later sources provide ample information regarding Daowu's activities.<sup>113</sup> According to them, he formed the aspiration to leave home and become a monk at age fourteen. He became a novice under Dade in Mingzhou, and at (p.87) age twenty-five was ordained by him at the Zhulin (Bamboo Grove) Monastery in Hangzhou (Zhejiang). Thereafter, he is said to have devoted himself to practicing austerities. One day, he roamed to Yuhang, on the

outskirts of Hangzhou, to visit Chan Master Guoyi at Jingshan, and ended up staying to practice there for five years. In the eleventh year of *dali* (776), he retreated to Damei (Great Plum) Mountain, but by the beginning of *jianzhong* (780–83), he was practicing under Mazu Daoyi in Zhongling (Jiangxi). After two years, he quit Mazu's congregation and went to practice with Shitou Xiqian; he is said to have experienced sudden awakening in conversation with Shitou. After this, Daowu commenced teaching on Mount Chaizi in Dangyang, in Xingzhou (Hubei), where he is said to have attracted many students.<sup>114</sup> Eventually, he moved to the Tianhuang (Emperor of Heaven) Monastery in Chengdong (or Chengjun), Xingzhou, the affiliation through which he became most well-known. Daowu's epitaph also mentions the support accorded him by the Jiangling (Jianxi and Hunan) Administrator of the Right, Vice Director Pei, who was a promoter of Shitou's teaching. The prosperity of Daowu's teachings is said to have been initiated by this support.<sup>115</sup> The irony in the case of Daowu is that Daowu's formal affiliation with Shitou was affirmed through Jiangling Administrator and Vice Director Pei's agency. The role of secular officials in the promotion of Chan masters was hardly new in itself. The creation of Chan factions, in fact, is based on regional Chan developments that typically center around a prominent master who has won the support of local officials, closely connected to the ruling family of the region. These local officials were instrumental in promoting certain factions and masters through selection for appointment to the monasteries under their jurisdiction. As noted previously, this is a pattern that became more evident as Tang power waned and regional authorities asserted their independence.

What is interesting about Daowu's account is that he studied under both Shitou and Mazu, the two prominent Chan masters through which all surviving Chan lineages are said to have passed. The reputed existence of another Chan monk named Daowu, associated with Tianwang (King of Heaven) Monastery,





complicates the picture of Daowu's role as Shitou's heir. Tianwang Daowu is claimed to be a disciple of Mazu, having achieved awakening under Mazu after practicing first with Shitou, and then with Preceptor of State Huizhong.<sup>116</sup> In this way, Tianwang Daowu represents a movement between these masters opposite to Tianhuang Daowu, who is said to have been awakened by Shitou after being unsuccessful with Mazu. On the basis of this, later Chan historians like Juefan Huihong (1071–1128) posited the existence of two Daowus, one the heir of Shitou, the other of Mazu.<sup>117</sup> There was, in fact, no Tianwang Daowu. His existence was manufactured by later Chan descendants who wished to claim that all of the five lineages of classical Chan, except Caodong, derived from the sixth patriarch's disciple, Nanyue Huairang, and through Mazu Daoyi.<sup>118</sup> More than anything, this reveals the competitive nature of Chan sectarianism, and the lengths that faction members might go to in order to best their rivals. The fact that Daowu was claimed as Shitou's heir obviously irritated Mazu's descendants, who struck back by inventing their own Daowu. While the **(p.88)** Daowu case can be exposed as a blatant example of forgery, it should serve to remind us of the nature of the records that we are dealing with and the motivations that shaped the stories contained in them. Lineage transmission represented the essential link that validated one's status as a Chan master, and the manipulation of lineage had been a proven technique to bolster lineage claims in Chan circles since Shenhui's successful charges against the disciples of Shenxiu, making Huineng the sixth patriarch.

The assertion of Tianhuang Daowu as Shitou's heir provided an important link to Tianhuang's only acknowledged successor in the *Zutang ji*, Longtan Chongxin, and in turn to Longtan's sole successor, Deshan Xuanjian. The lineage through Tianhuang to Longtan and Deshan is thus depicted in the *Zutang ji* as a single thread (see chart 4.7).

Longtan Chongxin and Deshan Xuanjian  
According to the *Zutang ji*,  
Tianhuang Daowu's only  
successor was Longtan  
Chongxin (d.u.), about whom  
little information is recorded.<sup>119</sup>  
He reportedly started his life as  
a rice-cake chef (*bingshi*) living  
in the village next to the gates  
of Tianhuang Monastery, where  
Tianhuang Daowu lived. Daowu  
is here characterized as living  
alone, having no students, and  
spending much of his time  
locked in his room silently  
meditating. Chongxin daily  
delivered rice-gruel cakes to  
Daowu at mealtime, performing  
this task for several years. One  
day, (p.89) Chongxin struck up  
a conversation with Daowu, and  
as a result, became Daowu's



Chart 4.7. Lineage through Tianhuang Daowu to Longtan and Deshan

student and was given the name Chongxin. Eventually, Chongxin is said to have experienced a sudden awakening through Daowu's guidance. The story involving Chongxin's interaction with Daowu is reminiscent of another famous Chan legend involving a student of humble beginnings who rises to become patriarch, that of Huineng in the *Platform sūtra*. Afterward, Chongxin traveled to meet Longtan in Fengyang, Fengzhou (Hunan), and erected a small hermitage from which he taught. Among the conversations of Longtan recorded in the *Chuandeng lu* is an exchange with the prominent official Li Ao.<sup>120</sup>

Longtan Chongxin, in turn, also had only one successor according to the *Zutang ji*, Deshan Xuanjian (780–865).<sup>121</sup> An avid student, Deshan concentrated on the teaching of the Mind-only (*weixin*) school before hearing of Longtan and going to study with him. The *Chuandeng lu* claims that Deshan was expert in the *Diamond sūtra*, and that it was through disputes with Chan masters over the interpretation of this text that he became a Chan convert.<sup>122</sup> Deshan also reportedly sought instruction from Guishan Lingyu (771–853), a student of Baizhang Huaihai in the Jiangxi (Mazu) lineage.<sup>123</sup> According to the *Zutang ji*, Deshan had a tendency to beat his students when they behaved inappropriately,<sup>124</sup> a technique commonly associated with Chan mentioned earlier. While the technique is most commonly associated with the descendants of Mazu, and is particularly prominent among Linji and his associates, Chan records like the *Zutang ji* assume that it is a more generally accepted practice,

not necessarily confined to a particular lineage or faction. The *Zutang ji* claims that beating (and yelling) were techniques employed in lineages derived from Shitou, in addition to those derived from Mazu. This claim points to important connections (at least in collective Chan memory) between masters from otherwise distinct lineages, assuming a common Chan style irrespective of factional affiliation. This connection is especially significant given that the *Zutang ji* draws on the legacy of Mazu despite his being the product of a lineage descended from Shitou. The assumption of a common Chan practice validates all lineages while maintaining factional identity.

After spending over thirty years in Fengyang in Fengzhou (Hunan), Deshan received an offer from Xue Yanwang, the Prefect (*taishou*) of Wuling (Hunan), to establish a base from which to spread his teachings. Deshan reportedly attracted students in great throngs (an assembly regularly numbering five hundred according to the *Zutang ji*), many coming from far away. This large number indicates Chan's appeal to those wishing to revive Buddhism after the suppression that occurred during the reign of Wuzong in the Huichang era. The dates of Xue Yanwang's offer to Deshan vary. The *Zutang ji* stipulates it as occurring in the first year of *gantong* (860); other sources make it the first year of *dazhong* (847), which seems more likely.<sup>125</sup> Wendeng's own fondness for Deshan is apparent from his verse in honor of Deshan that concludes the *Zutang ji* entry.<sup>126</sup>

According to the *Zutang ji*, Deshan had two heirs, Yantou Quanhao (829–89) and Xuefeng Yicun (822–908). As we have seen, Xuefeng is particularly important in this context, as it is through him that a line leads to Wendeng (through Baofu Congzhan, Xuefeng's student and Wendeng's teacher).

**(p.90)** Xuefeng is also important for the descendants and lineages associated with Fayen Wenyi. A member of this lineage, Daoyuan, compiled the *Chuandeng lu*. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Fayen Wenyi's teacher was Tanzhou Guichen, a disciple of Xuansha Shibei, a student of Xuefeng. As a result, descendants of Xuefeng are responsible for producing both of the known Chan transmission records from this era. In addition to the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*, Xuefeng's disciple Nanyue Weijing compiled a successor to the *Baolin zhuan*, the aforementioned *Xu Baolin zhuan*, which unfortunately has not survived (see chart 4.8). Another member of the Fayen lineage, Yongming Yanshou, compiled the *Zongjing lu*, a work dedicated to preserving an older, Tang definition of Chan as compatible with Buddhist scriptures and the doctrinal teachings of Chinese Buddhist schools, reminiscent of Zongmi, which we will have occasion to discuss in future chapters.

#### Xuefeng Yicun

Though seldom acknowledged in contemporary sources, the influence of Xuefeng Yicun is unusually large in the Chan tradition. A preponderance of Chan

records from this period were compiled by members of lineages descended from Xuefeng Yicun. As chart 4.8 shows, both the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* were compiled by his descendants. In addition to these are included the *Zongjing lu* by Yongming Yanshou and Wendeng's aforementioned *Qianfo song*, with verses commemorating Chan patriarchs. Though nonextant, the *Xu Baolin zhuan* by Xuefeng's student, Nanyue Weijing, also belongs on this list. In terms of this literary output, one could argue that Xuefeng's influence on the Chan tradition rivals such figures as Mazu Daoyi.

Xuefeng's rise to prominence coincides with important events that were instrumental to the direction that Chan was to take. As noted in chapter 1, Tang government power in the wake of the An Lushan rebellion (ca. 755) continually deteriorated until it finally collapsed in 906. The decades leading to collapse saw the emergence of disorder and local banditry (820–60); broadly supported garrison insurrections (860–75); a popular rebellion that, for a time, succeeded in capturing the capital (875–84); and the surrender of control by the government over large areas under its domain (884–906).<sup>127</sup> With the suppression of Buddhism by Wuzong (841–46), Buddhism effectively lost its privileged position within society and was forced to seek a renewed basis for its existence. The story of this resurgence is the story of Chan. The legacy of Buddhism's transformation and Chan's ascendancy is recorded in the documents compiled in the wake of Xuefeng and his descendants. Xuefeng played an important role in establishing the primacy of Chan as a regionally based movement in the wake of Tang's demise.

**(p.91)**

Given this situation, it comes as no surprise that the teachings and activities of Xuefeng Yicun are generally well documented, and that Xuefeng has an extensive record in the *Zutang ji*. Both the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* portray Xuefeng as a kind of Buddhist prodigy.<sup>128</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* claims (p.92) that he hailed from a family in the Nan'an district of Quanzhou (Fujian) who had been faithful Buddhists for generations. As a young child, he was impressed by the sound of temple bells and the display of banners, flowers, and Buddhist images, and left his father at age twelve to become a student of Vinaya master Qingxuan of the Yujian (Jade Valley) Monastery (Fujian).<sup>129</sup> According to the *Zutang ji*, Xuefeng was forced to resume lay life during the suppression of Buddhism mounted by Emperor Wuzong during the Huichang era, but managed to resume his training under master Yuanzhao (aka

Changzhao) of Mount Furong (Hunan).<sup>130</sup> According to the *Chuandeng lu*, it was Changzhao who first recognized Xuefeng's talent.<sup>131</sup> Following the restoration of Buddhism by Emperor Xuanzong at the outset of the *dazhong* era (847), Xuefeng wandered through various regions in the north, receiving full ordination at the Baocha Monastery in Youzhou (Hebei) in 850. From this point on, the *Zutang ji* informs us that Xuefeng was no longer interested in learning about Vinaya and turned exclusively to Chan teachers (*zongshi*) for instruction.<sup>132</sup> It is difficult to assess the precise impact of the Huichang suppression on Xuefeng. At the very least, his official ordination into the Buddhist clergy was postponed. The fact that Xuefeng chose not to continue his Vinaya study is hardly surprising. Only those monks interested in the activities and administrative functions associated with Vinaya experts chose this path.

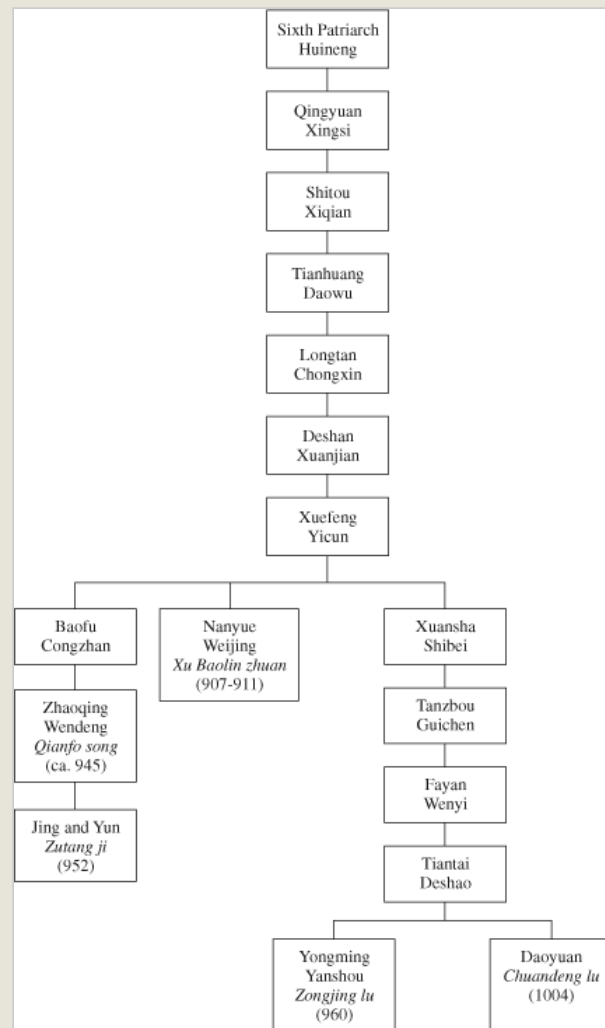


Chart 4.8. Lineages to the Compilers of the *Xu Baolin Zhuan*, *Qianfo song*, *Zutang ji*, *Zongjing lu* and *Chuandeng lu*

In any case, Chan records often characterize shifts like Xuefeng's from Vinaya studies to Chan in terms of an alleged shift in Chinese Buddhism from traditional Buddhist subjects—most affected by government efforts to curtail the activities of the doctrinally based schools—toward Chan and its regionally based centers. It is also true that many masters prior to the Huichang era are reported to have converted to Chan after studying more traditional subjects and doctrines, as was noted above in the case of Xuefeng's teacher, Deshan, above. Yet, the Chan rejection of doctrinal teachings so vaunted in records like the *Zutang ji* may simply represent the reality that the institutions on which such doctrinal teachings depended lacked credibility in the wake of the Huichang suppression and the resources to continue functioning as before. In effect, the decisions made by masters in favor of Chan in records like the one under review may represent the diminished options available amidst the general depreciation of the doctrinal schools immediately after the Huichang suppression. More research needs to be done in this area. However, it is worth noting that even in Wuyue, the principality during the Five Dynasties period where Buddhism was interpreted in ways that incorporated former doctrinal teachings, the Chan name was promoted, as elsewhere, to sanction the amalgamation of Buddhist teachings promoted there (rather than the other way around). Mount Tiantai, the spiritual center of the region and the former headquarters of the Tiantai school, was reestablished as a center of Chan study and practice, even though the study of Tiantai doctrine reputedly continued to take place.<sup>133</sup>

After his ordination, Xuefeng reportedly traveled to various places seeking out Chan teachers, eventually meeting Deshan in Wuling (Hunan). According to the *Zutang ji*, Xuefeng's question to Deshan, “Should I make distinctions **(p.93)** among Chan vehicles (*zongcheng*), or not?” was greeted with a blow and the retort, “What are you talking about?” causing Xuefeng to suddenly understand the essential message of Chan.<sup>134</sup> Xuefeng's enlightenment experience at the hands of Deshan thus replicates an archetypal style of Chan common to records like the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandenglü*, where masters provoke students with physical blows and violent outbursts that are said to precipitate Chan awakening. One of the most famous of such encounters, numerous throughout Chan lore, is Linji's awakening through similar techniques used by Huangbo and Dayu.

When Linji asked Huangbo, “What is the meaning of the patriarch [Bodhidharma] coming from the west?” Huangbo immediately hit him. Linji is said to have put the question three times to Huangbo, and each time was greeted with a blow. Frustrated by his lack of progress, Linji visited Dayu at Huangbo's suggestion. When asked what kind of instruction he had been receiving from Dayu, Linji recounted how Huangbo struck him each time he asked his question about the meaning of the Buddha-dharma, and confessed that he did not understand how he was remiss in his understanding. Dayu then replied, “Huangbo exerted the utmost concern on your behalf, like some kind of

motherly old woman, and you still look for (i.e., do not know) where your fault lies." Linji, as a result, experienced great awakening, and stated, "Huangbo's Buddhism is not such a big deal after all!" Dayu then grabbed hold of Linji and said to him, "You little bed-wetting demon! You just finished saying that you didn't understand it, but now you say Huangbo's Buddhism is no big deal. What principle do you see in it? Speak up! Speak up!" Linji then struck Dayu in the ribs three times, and subsequently returned to Huangbo.<sup>135</sup>

The *Chuandeng lu* treats the encounter with Deshan cryptically, simply stating that Xuefeng's affinities matched Deshan's perfectly, suggesting Xuefeng's awakening at Deshan's hands.<sup>136</sup> Xuefeng's epitaph also mentions the initial meeting with Deshan, that Deshan regarded Xuefeng as someone "beyond compare," but there is no mention of the blow and retort that supposedly provoked Xuefeng's awakening in the *Zutang ji*.<sup>137</sup> This is a common distinction found in accounts of Chan interactions recorded in Chan sources as opposed to non-Chan sources. Chan sources, understandably, make much of these alleged antics, where non-Chan sources are silent. However one evaluates the validity of Chan interactions, at the very least it is clear that the nature of the source in question determines and shapes the content contained in it. Another account of Xuefeng contends that his awakening occurred while traveling with fellow students Yantou Quanhao, Deshan's other dharma-heir, and Qinshan Wensui (d.u.), the disciple of Dongshan, and that his enlightenment was eventually confirmed by Deshan.<sup>138</sup> These accounts cause one to treat Xuefeng's association with Deshan as suspicious, and owing more to the motivations of the compilers of the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* to substantiate their own lineages than to any record of actual events. Particularly suspicious is the *Zutang ji* account involving the blow and retort. The validity of this account is dubious at best, owing more to the art of storytelling than to actual events.

**(p.94)** According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Xuefeng returned to his former monastery on Mount Furong in the Min region during the *gantong* era (860–74) and erected a monastery at Xuefeng (Snow Peak) on Mount Xianggu (Elephant Tusk), where he attracted many students (more than one thousand according to the *Zutang ji*).<sup>139</sup> According to the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, the monastery on Xuefeng was erected at the bidding of a monk named Xingshi.<sup>140</sup> During the *qianfu* era (874–78), the monastery received official designation and Xuefeng was honored with a purple robe and special title. This was the direct result of the clientele that Xuefeng attracted. His teachings gained the support and interest of numerous officials during this period, most notably Surveillance Commissioner (*guancha shi*) Wei Chubin, a delegate of the central government who effectively served as governor of the Min region.<sup>141</sup> Xuefeng's reputation also reached the attention of the imperial palace. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* and Xuefeng's epitaph claim that palace officials (*neiguan*) summoned Xuefeng to the capital to present his teachings, but that it was difficult for Xuefeng to come. When Emperor Xizong (r. 873–88) heard of this, he dispatched a member of the

Hanlin Academy to pay a visit to Minister of Works Chen Yanxiao, a native of Min, to substantiate Xuefeng's worthiness. As a result of this investigation, Xuefeng was honored with a purple robe and granted the title *Zhenjue Dashi* (Truly Enlightened, Great Master). These sources further suggest that although Xuefeng accepted these honors, they had no effect on him: "Even though he accepted them, it was as if he had not. Even though he wore [the robe], it was as if he didn't."<sup>142</sup> This caveat is made in recognition of the model set in the story about Huineng, who reputedly declined court invitations and honors.<sup>143</sup> This creatively allows Xuefeng to fit the contours of a model Chan master, as established in legend, while acting as the preferred prelate of powerful officials. It owes much to the art of creative storytelling on the part of those who shaped accounts of Xuefeng's life.

After several years at Xuefeng peak on Mount Xianggu, Xuefeng commenced on a protracted period of travel in the second year of *dashun* (891). Initially, he reportedly went to Danqiu (Hebei) and Siming (Zhejiang), but the following year found him among the attendants of the ruler of the newly established regime of Wu (Jiangsu), Yang Xingmi, cleansing soldiers with dharma-rain and performing ceremonies at Chan monasteries.<sup>144</sup> This solidified Xuefeng's reputation in the region as a major Buddhist prelate who administered to the needs of local rulers. Two years later, in 894, Xuefeng reportedly returned to Min from Wu, where his teaching was promoted by the Min ruler, Wang Chao.<sup>145</sup>

As stated previously, the end of Tang was an era of great turmoil and uncertainty. Banditry was rampant and rebel leaders controlled large portions of territory. The authority of the central government increasingly deteriorated and was largely ineffective, and control over local affairs fell upon regional overlords. The first ruler of Min, Wang Chao (d. 897), usurped power in the region following the death of Chen Yan, who served as Surveillance Commissioner and independent governor of the Min region between 884 and 891.<sup>146</sup>

**(p.95)** It was in the aftermath of the chaos ending with Wang Chao's assumption of power that Xuefeng emerged as the region's major religious figure. Xuefeng returned to Min no longer simply the respected abbot of a leading monastery, but a state prelate charged with the task of spreading his influence throughout an entire region.

After Wang Chao's death, his brother Wang Shenzhi (862–925) assumed control. Wang Shenzhi's reign heralded a new era of stability and prosperity for the Min region, initiating an independent domain.<sup>147</sup> The Wang family's rise to power in the Min region is indicative of the times. It is instructive to briefly chart the course that they followed to success. Apparent commoners whose family had been farmers for generations, Wang Shenzhi and his elder brothers Wang Chao and Wang Shengui (?–903) assumed power in the wake of the Huang Chao



uprising (875–84), when the authority of the Tang had all but disintegrated. The Wang brothers fit a profile that emerged among the new class of rulers at this time, where military talent and ambition replaced pedigree and learning as the principal means to acquire power.<sup>148</sup> Wang Chao and Wang Shenzhi first attracted the attention of Wang Xu (no relation), the bandit leader and self-styled army general who appointed Wang Chao to a position of army lieutenant. In an attempt to increase the size of the forces to combat the Huang Chao rebels, police officer Qin Zongquan appointed Wang Xu prefect (*cishi*) of Guangzhou (Fujian). When Wang Xu dithered and withheld his support, Zongquan attacked Wang Xu. Wang Xu and his army fled south, robbing and plundering along the way. Because of his jealous nature, Wang Xu incurred the wrath of many of his troop commanders. They plotted against him, eventually forcing him to commit suicide. In the aftermath, Wang Chao was proclaimed leader. Shortly thereafter, Wang Chao assumed control over Quanzhou after defeating the prefect there, the tyrant Liao Yanruo, at the request of the people and members of the army who suffered bitterly under Liao Yanruo's rule. In addition, Wang Chao subdued the bandit leader Xue Yun. In the second year of *guangqi* (886), the Surveillance Commissioner of Fujian and governor of the region, Chen Yan, appointed Wang Chao prefect of Quanzhou, designating his remarkable rise from commoner cum bandit leader to official appointee. When Chen Yan passed away, his son-in-law declared his intention to succeed his father-in-law. Wang Chao sent his brother Shenzhi to lead an army against him. They surrounded the city, and by the following year the city's food supply was exhausted. The son-in-law was executed and Wang Chao assumed full control over the region. Though the region was independent, Emperor Zhaozong (r. 888–904) nominally sanctioned Wang Chao's position by designating him Military Commissioner and Fujian Surveillance Officer. Shenzhi was designated Vice Commissioner. When Wang Chao passed away in 897, Wang Shenzhi took the reins of power in the region, establishing a program of policies that endured for several decades, lasting beyond his own death.<sup>149</sup> Like leaders before and after, the Wangs looked to religious authority to assuage the blood that they had shed, to help create a climate of tolerance and peace in place of the discord and instability that they had waded through in their rise to power.

**(p.96) Succession of Rulers in Min (891–946)**

1. Wang Xu (r. 891–97)
2. Wang Shenzhi (r. 897–925)  
[Taizu, Zhaowu di (Illustrious Martial Emperor)]
3. Wang Yanhan (r. 925–26)
4. Huidi Lin (r. 926–35) [Taizong]
5. Kang Zongchang (r. 935–39)
6. Jing Zongyi (r. 939–44)
- Zhu Wenjin and Huang Shaopo led coup (r. 944)  
—quelled by Liu Congxiao

7. Wang Yanzheng (r. 944–46)

In this context, it is hard to imagine that Xuefeng's return was coincidental, especially given the degree to which Min rulers patronized Xuefeng's teaching. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* and Xuefeng's epitaph report that they erected buildings, images, and bells to adorn Xuefeng's monastery, amply supplying the needs of the congregation there. Wang Shenzhi was particularly instrumental in this regard. It was during Shenzhi's reign that Buddhism became established in the Min region, and Shenzhi and Xuefeng were particularly close. When Xuefeng became ill, Wang Shenzhi rushed a doctor to him to administer medicine.<sup>150</sup> Xuefeng's *Chronology* specifically stipulates that in the second year of *qianning* (895) the Grand Mentor (*taifu*) of Quanzhou, Wang Yanhan, erected monasteries for Xuefeng to reside in and perform rituals at, and that Wang Shenzhi accepted Xuefeng's teaching and arranged for Xuefeng to deliver dharma lectures.<sup>151</sup> Wang Shenzhi clearly treated Xuefeng as a cornerstone of his policy to revive Buddhism in Min, where patronizing eminent monks, erecting monasteries and monuments, and even printing an edition of the Buddhist canon were part of government policy.<sup>152</sup>

Xuefeng and his students, especially Xuansha Shibe (835–908), reportedly spent long periods at Wang Shenzhi's residence discussing the “Buddha mind-seal” (*foxinyin*). A record of the conversations was kept, the *Runei lun fo xinyin lu* (Record of Discussions in the Palace regarding the Buddha Mind-Seal).<sup>153</sup> The record is interesting for the way it depicts the alleged roles of Xuefeng and Wang Shenzhi in fostering Buddhism in the Min regime.

THE GREAT KING

(*dawang*) [Wang Shenzhi] asked: “Chan masters, I beseech you to speak truthfully about the mind-seal secretly transmitted by the buddhas and Bodhidharma. Moreover, how should I cultivate to attain the Buddhahood previously realized by the patriarchs and buddhas?”<sup>154</sup>  
XUEFENG

Replied: “You must see nature (*jianxing*) in order to attain Buddhahood.”  
KING

“What is seeing nature?”  
XUEFENG

“Seeing one's original nature (*zi benxing*).”  
KING

“Does it have form?”  
**(p.97) XUEFENG**

"When one sees one's original nature, there is nothing one can see. This is a teaching (*fa*) difficult to believe in. It is the same [teaching] attained by hundreds of thousands of buddhas."

KING

"Can I attain it?"

XUEFENG

"[Even] if you promote this matter by proclaiming it throughout the whole land, you will not be successful. [But] if Bodhidharma simply transmitted in person this one teaching, transforming at once everyone into sages, it would be no trivial matter. Awakening occurs in an instant, [clearing away?] eons upon eons<sup>155</sup> of dust [accumulated from] the unawakened [state]. Your Great Majesty, all of the scriptures and treatises contained in the great corpus of Buddhist teaching...are simply universal mind (*yixin*). The patriarchs transmitted universal mind to each other. I am simply relating this matter for you, Great Majesty. It cannot be constructed in stages; one indicates true nature by pointing to it. Your Great Majesty has an affinity to this matter. We mountain monks each have congregations of over a thousand people and have been secretly employing this matter for twenty or thirty years, yet not even one or two among them have managed to attain awakening. How can this dharma-gate, which in the past the buddhas transmitted exclusively from one to another, now make you, Great Majesty, into a sage-emperor (*sheng tianzi*)? You regularly pass judgement on the world's phenomena<sup>156</sup> [as if such distinctions were real] for your myriad subjects, exhibiting a confused state of mind. How can you attain this matter, the true dharma-gate? I implore you, Great Majesty, to become the Lord (*zhuzai*) of the Buddha-dharma, and with the nub of your pen promulgate [policies] to save and protect the souls of the living (*shengling*). This would surely be a good thing."

When the king heard this, he appeared encouraged. This in turn gave rise to delight and joy. He asked further: "Masters, I currently build monasteries to cultivate blessings, and provide support to assist monks. I do not create evil, I promulgate good.<sup>157</sup> Having done this, will I then attain Buddhahood?"

XUEFENG

replied: "You will not attain Buddhahood. This is only exhibiting a mind engaged in activity. It is completely [subject to] transmigration."

KING

"What recompense will I attain?"

XUEFENG

"You will attain rebirth in Heaven and the blessing of longevity as recompense."

KING

"Ultimately, what will happen to me?"

XUEFENG

"When the blessings run out, you will descend [to another rebirth]."

KING

"Where will I descend to?"

**(p.98)** XUEFENG

"Buddhist scriptures are filled with explanations about what happens when the blessing of longevity runs out."

The king remained silent for awhile. Then Xuefeng said to the king: "Mind is Buddha; seeing nature is Buddha."

KING

"How can I talk about it? What can I do to cultivate it?"

XUEFENG

"In the scriptures it says that the sea of all the karmic obstacles arises from false discriminations (*wangxiang*). Anyone who wishes to repent [past misdeeds] begins by sitting and contemplating (*zuonian*) the true form [of all phenomena] (*shixiang*). I beseech you, Great Majesty, to acknowledge true form, and become a Buddha naturally."

The king arose and performed bows to both masters, and said: "You have assisted in alleviating the matter of birth and death."<sup>158</sup>

While the *Record* purports to be a compilation written by three of Wang Shenzhi's top ministers (*shangshu*) in attendance, no mention of their names is preserved.<sup>159</sup> This may indeed account for how the *Record* originated, but it would be erroneous to accept this at face value given the various editions and compilations that the current version of the *Xuefeng yulu*, where the *Record* appears, passed through.<sup>160</sup> The preface by Wang Sui, dated 1032, indicates that it was one of the first Chan *yulu* dedicated to an individual master issued in the Song.<sup>161</sup> Given its compilation history, and the fact that over one hundred twenty years lie between Xuefeng and any record of publication of his teachings, it would be wise to consider the *Record* the way material in other Chan *yulu* deserves to be regarded, as historical fiction.<sup>162</sup> Materials like what is recorded here are not bereft of fact, meaning that they are indeed based in historical circumstance and do retain a strong sense of the actual context that inspired them. However, they were never intended as plain exposés of events—a quality that is often underappreciated—but as interpretations of a reality they attest to. Although the precise methods of this process and the actors who enjoyed it are lost to us and probably shall always remain so, the reality they attempted to forge remains as a testament to their intentions. Above all else, this is the accepted Chan version of events. The king's version, if one existed, would presumably tell a somewhat different story.

Whoever the author(s) of the *Record* may be, the teaching is highly reminiscent of earlier Chan precedents, particularly Bodhidharma's renunciation of the Liang emperor Wu recorded in the *Platform sūtra*. In conversation with Bodhidharma, Emperor Wu proclaimed his meritorious effort in promoting Buddhism by building temples, giving alms, and making offerings throughout his life. Bodhidharma discredited Emperor Wu, brusquely announcing that his efforts had earned no merit. Huineng goes on to comment that such activities "are merely the practice of seeking after blessings," invoking a classic Chan distinction between merit (*de*) and blessings (*fu*). According to the *Platform sūtra*, merit resides in the dharma-body, the dharma-nature, and straightforward mind. It is the product of seeing one's original nature. It is not created by performing meritorious deeds.<sup>163</sup>

**(p.99)** Regardless of whatever words actually passed between Wang Shenzhi and the two monks Xuefeng and Xuansha, it seems clear that their conversations came to be understood in terms of truths formerly affirmed in Chan tradition. The accepted interpretation of their conversation served as an affirmation of the Chan principle that Bodhidharma was believed to have first enunciated in his conversation with Emperor Wu, and confirmed through the interpretation supposedly provided by Huineng. Whoever Bodhidharma and Huineng might have been, the images we associate with them are certainly the stuff of legend. Bodhidharma's conversation with Emperor Wu certainly did not occur, and Huineng's reputed interpretation of this event owes nothing to Huineng. Yet the interpretation of Chan forged through the myths surrounding these events became the prime motif for interpreting the alleged conversations between Wang Shenzhi, Xuefeng, and Xuansha. This points to the important function of myth as a paradigm-bearing structure setting the parameters of interpretation, if not the interpretation itself.

In comparison with the purely mythological versions, the monks' conversation with the ruler Wang Shenzhi is less dismissive and more accommodating, even if the message remains essentially the same. Rather than blatantly pronouncing that Wang had earned no merit, Xuefeng and Xuansha concede that merit indeed has been obtained, but that this in no way entitles Wang to enlightenment. Wang is told that he actually has earned a good reward, relatively speaking, of rebirth in heaven, but that this is ultimately meaningless as he will be subject to further rebirth when this blessing runs its course. Awakening occurs only through seeing one's original nature. This is qualitatively different from creating merit through meritorious actions, as Bodhidharma had intimated and Huineng articulated.

Following conventional interpretation of the role exerted by Mazu Daoyi over Chan teaching, Mazu's presence looms large over the dialogue between Wang Shenzhi, Xuefeng, and Xuansha that appears in the *Record*. The affirmation "Mind is Buddha" (*ji xin shi fo*) was allegedly introduced into Chan circles in the

teaching attributed to Mazu Daoyi. In an address to the assembly, Mazu proclaimed that Chan practitioners should realize that “your own mind is Buddha, this mind is Buddha-mind,” asserting that this was the very message Bodhidharma had come from India to transmit.<sup>164</sup> The message was further promulgated through the teachings of Mazu's disciple Huangbo Xiyun in the *Chuanxin fayao*, where mind is used interchangeably with “universal mind” (*yixin*), a term that also appears prominently in the *Record* here.<sup>165</sup> What is interesting, however, is that although Mazu and his disciples are universally credited with this teaching in Chan circles, the phrase “Mind is Buddha” (*ji xin ji fo*) was also attributed to Shitou Xiqian (700–790), a contemporary of Mazu.<sup>166</sup> This is interesting because Mazu and Shitou are the two masters through whom Chan lineages that survived the Tang were believed to have passed. The “mind is Buddha” affirmation becomes part of the common heritage of Chan teaching attributed to both. Xuefeng and Xuansha are descended from Shitou, not Mazu, but this is of little matter since both represent a common interpretation of Chan truth. This **(p.100)** common teaching served as the frame for Xuefeng's message to Wang Shenzhi in the *Record*.

Regardless of how Xuefeng and Xuansha's teaching to Wang Shenzhi was characterized, or who was responsible for its characterization, the inescapable truth is that the two masters were highly valued presences at the Min court. Xuansha had been invited to dwell at the Anguo (Pacifying the Country) Chan Cloister in Fuzhou by Wang Shenzhi at the beginning of the *guanghua* era (898–901), when Xuansha was fifty-three and Wang thirty-six.<sup>167</sup> The age difference between Xuefeng and Wang Shenzhi was even greater, with forty years separating them. Xuansha's cloister served as an important meeting place for secular officials and members of the Buddhist clergy. From the Anguo Cloister, Xuansha instructed the Defender-in-Chief (*taiwei*, referring to Wang Shenzhi?) and government officials (*guanliao*) on Buddhist matters pertaining to rulers, instructing them on the proper understanding of Chan. Throughout the *Xuansha guanglu*, the Min ruler is frequently found engaged with Xuansha in typical Chan-style dialogues.<sup>168</sup> Together with Xuefeng, Xuansha was instrumental in forging the policy of Buddhist rule in Min.

Wang Shenzhi, despite his humble background, reputedly sought out learned advisors. Wang Dan, son of the Tang minister Wang Pu; Yang Yi, younger brother of the Tang minister Yang She; and Xu Yan, the famous Tang academician (*jinshi*) all served Wang Shenzhi as ministers. Moreover, Wang built an academy to teach talented students in Min.<sup>169</sup> The relatively youthful Wang Shenzhi clearly sought the counsel of learned elders in his attempt to build a strong basis for the Min state. This was a pattern followed by other successful rebel leaders as well. Wuyue leaders, as we shall see later, carved out a stable and prosperous regime built on the counsel of learned and experienced monks and officials. Not only Buddhist monks fled the chaos in the north; the Min state and other successful southern regimes received flocks of fleeing ministers and literati whose

existence in the north had grown increasingly precarious and who, in any case, had little outlet for their services there. As a mark of Min's independence and Wang's ambition, Wang was proclaimed as Emperor Taizu. As brazen as it sounds, such declarations were not unusual at the time. Leaders in the states of Wu, Shu, Nan Han, and Wuyue made similar declarations. Given this context, it may be best to regard Xuefeng as the spiritual advisor of the Min state, though no title was granted to this effect in the way that Tiantai Deshao was designated Preceptor of State (*guoshi*) in Wuyue. What this suggests is that the compilation of the *Zutang ji* owes much to Min's imperial ambitions. Just as the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* represented the stamp of approval and control over the organization of Chan lineages by the new Song rulers, the *Zutang ji* was probably inspired by similar motives on the part of Min rulers and the Min Buddhist establishment.

The *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Song Gaoseng zhuan* all attest to the numbers of eminent monks who flocked to the Min region—and the south in general—in the wake of the turmoil that gripped north China from the late Tang through the Five Dynasties.<sup>170</sup> While Min was one of the regions where monks sought haven, Chinese secular sources are reluctant to acknowledge **(p.101)** any positive role for the Buddhist clergy. Buddhist monks are rarely included among a dynasty's important contributors. While the official histories of the period, the *Jiu Wudai shi* (Old History of the Five Dynasties) and *Xin Wudai shi* (New History of the Five Dynasties), abide by this pattern, another source, the *Shiguo Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn of the Ten Regimes), deviates from it in its treatment of the southern regimes of Min, Nan Tang, and Wuyue. Buddhist monks' biographies appear among the significant personages of these regimes in unusually large numbers. According to this source, twenty-four of eighty-seven (28 percent) Min personalities are members of the Buddhist clergy; twenty-four of ninety-six (25 percent) in the case of Wuyue; and eighteen of two hundred four (9 percent) in Nan Tang.<sup>171</sup> To give some context to these figures, the *Jiu Tang shu* (Old History of the Tang) includes few biographies of Buddhist monks, even though the Tang covered nearly three hundred years and Buddhism, in the opinion of many, reached its acme of influence in China during the Tang period. Moreover, this total cannot be attributed to some kind of bias toward Buddhism on the part of the *Shiguo Chunqiu*'s compilers. Other regimes documented in the *Shiguo Chunqiu* include only meager numbers, if any, of Buddhist monks' biographies.

### Xuefeng's Disciples

Many of Xuefeng's disciples emerged as prominent Chan masters in Min. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* records that his congregation numbered no less than fifteen hundred students, regardless of the time of year. Xuefeng's circle of followers disseminated his teachings widely, throughout Min society. Especially prominent were the aforementioned Xuansha Shibei, along with Dongyan Kexiu, Ehu Zhifu, Zhaoqing (or Zhangqing) Huileng, and Zhaoqing (or Gushan) Shenyang.<sup>172</sup> In addition, the names of Yunmen Wenyan and Baofu Congzhan,

who were also regarded as Xuefeng's students, should be added. The *Zutang ji* entry on Xuefeng is devoted to dialogues between Xuefeng and many of these disciples. The *Zutang ji* also reveals the extent to which Xuefeng's conversations with disciples were the subject of comment among his students and other Chan masters.<sup>173</sup> As mentioned previously, these comments reveal early documented evidence of *gong'an*-style instruction in the *Zutang ji*.

The *Zutang ji* documents a veritable explosion of Chan activity among Xuefeng's disciples. Of the forty-two seventh-generation descendants of the sixth patriarch through Shitou documented in the *Zutang ji*, half are students of Xuefeng. A full list is indicated below (the names of particularly noteworthy disciples are marked with an asterisk).

*List of Xuefeng's Disciples in the Zutang ji*<sup>174</sup>

Xuansha Shibei*	Zhangqing Huileng*
Zhangsheng Jiaoran	Baofu Congzhan*
Ehu Zhifu*	Yunmen Yanchan (=Wenyan)*
Dapu Xuanton	Jiyun Lingzhao
Jingqing Daofu	Yongfu Congyan
Cuiyan Lingcan	Fuqing Xuan'na
Bao'en Huaiyue	Hushan Yanzong
Huadu Shiye	Weijing Chanshi
Gushan Shenyan*	Yueshan Jianzhen
Xiangshou Shaoxiang	Shuolong Daopu
Anguo Hongtao	

**(p.102)** As a record intended to champion the lineage of Wendeng, the *Zutang ji*'s bias toward Xuefeng and his students comes as no surprise. Of the twenty-one disciples listed, four would be credited with a commanding legacy over Chan tradition: Xuansha Shibei, Zhangqing Huileng, Baofu Congzhan, and Yunmen Wenyan.

Baofu Congzhan (?–928) was Wendeng's teacher. Xuansha Shibei taught Tanzhou Guichen (867–928), the master of Fayen Wenyi, progenitor of a separate lineage bearing his name. Yunmen Wenyan (864–949) also initiated his own lineage. Xuefeng's students clearly dominated Chan circles south of the Yangtze River following the fall of the Tang dynasty. His descendants would occupy a dominating position over Chan's future. In what would prove to be one of Chan history's many ironies, the lineages of the so-called “five houses” of classic Chan include the Fayen and Yunmen factions, but not the descendants of Baofu and



Wendeng. The *Zutang ji*, while clearly formed in the wake of developments that would eventually culminate in the characterization of a classic Chan with five recognized factions, was compiled before this conceptualization took shape. The *Zutang ji* makes no mention of Yunmen Wenyan's heirs, nor does it mention the lineage leading to Fayuan Wenyi through Xuansha Shibei's student, Tanzhou Guichen. It is not surprising that neither Yunmen nor Fayuan were mentioned, since the *Zutang ji* was compiled just shortly after Yunmen's death and while Fayuan was still alive, before their reputations and those of their students might be regarded as factions warranting independent recognition. The sole heir of Xuansha mentioned in the *Zutang ji* is Zhongta Huiqiu. The thrust of attention in the *Zutang ji* granted toward Xuefeng's disciples is clearly toward Zhangqing Huileng and Congzhan Baofu and their respective heirs.

The information regarding Zhangqing Huileng (854–932) may be summarized as follows. According to the *Zutang ji*, Huileng hailed from Haiyan in Hongzhou (Zhejiang).<sup>175</sup> The *Zutang ji* claims that when he left home at the age of thirteen, he studied straightaway with Xuefeng. The *Chuandeng lu* claims that Huileng was receptive to Buddhism by nature from an early age and became a monk at age thirteen at the Tongxuan Monastery in Suzhou, where he was initially exposed to Chan practice. Later on, in 878, when Huileng was about twenty-five years old, he is said to have left Suzhou for Min (Fujian), where he first visited Lingyun at Xiyuan (Western Cloister). Unable to resolve his doubts, Huileng is said to have gone to visit Xuefeng, where he attained **(p.103)** clarity.<sup>176</sup> It is instructive to note here again that one so important to the claims of the *Zutang ji* as Huileng is so poorly documented. Whether the omissions of the *Zutang ji* are intentional or not, they do serve to strengthen Huileng's connection to Xuefeng by suggesting that he was completely shaped under Xuefeng's direction.

The bulk of the *Zutang ji* record is taken up with conversations between Huileng and Xuefeng, and Huileng and various students and contemporaries. From the *Chuandeng lu* we learn that Huileng spent twenty-nine years going back and forth from Xuefeng's, and received an invitation in the third year of *tianyou* (906) from Wang Yanhan (?–929), the Regional Chief (*cishi*) in Quanzhou (Fujian), to commence teaching at the Zhaoqing Monastery.<sup>177</sup> The Zhaoqing Monastery was specifically created for Huileng by Wang Yanhan at the direction of his father, Wang Shengui (?–903), to serve as a place where the Min elite would be welcomed.<sup>178</sup> On the basis of this, it has been suggested that the Zhaoqing Monastery served as a major gathering place for the congregation of Xuefeng's followers, several hundred strong, Wang Shenzhi's array of ministers, and the elite of Min.<sup>179</sup> As I mentioned earlier, Wang Shengui was a brother of Wang Chao and Wang Shenzhi, making him and his son prominent members of the Min ruling family. The invitation to Huileng took place around the time of the final collapse of the Tang, when regional authorities could exercise increased autonomy over local affairs.

The Zhaoqing Monastery is important in the present context as the site where the *Zutang ji* was compiled. Following Huileng, Huileng's disciple Daokuang (d.u.) became abbot at Zhaoqing Monastery. After Daokuang, the abbotship was inherited by Wendeng, whose students Jing and Yun compiled the *Zutang ji*. As mentioned above, the connection between the Min ruling elite and the leaders of the Min Buddhist establishment accounts for the inspiration behind the *Zutang ji*'s compilation.

After residing there for several years at Zhaoqing Monastery, Huileng moved to take up residence at the Western Cloister in the district of Zhangle (Fuzhou), the regional palace of the Min rulers, at the invitation of Wang Shenzhi.<sup>180</sup> From his position at the Zhaoqing Monastery, Huileng had interactions with prominent officials, in keeping with the rationale for its creation. The name was later changed to Zhangqing Monastery, and Huileng was honored with the title “Great Master of Transcendent Awakening” (*chaojue dashi*).<sup>181</sup> He is said to have taught in the Min and Yue regions for twenty-seven years, to students numbering as many as fifteen hundred at a time. After his death, members of the ruling Wang family erected his tomb.<sup>182</sup> The high regard with which Huileng was held by the compilers of the *Zutang ji* is indicated by Wendeng's verse honoring Huileng at the conclusion of the record, which comes as no surprise given their lineal associations.<sup>183</sup>

The historical information regarding Wendeng's teacher, Baofu Congzhan, is also meager in the *Zutang ji*. We are told that he hailed from the Futang district of Fuzhou (Fujian), leaving home to study under Xuefeng at the age of fifteen, and receiving ordination at age eighteen at the Dazhong Monastery in the city of Taizhou, located in Zhangzhou (Fujian). After traveling **(p.104)** for a time between the regions of Wu (Jiangsu and part of Zhejiang) and Chu (Hubei, Hunan, and parts of Zhejiang and Henan), he is said to have returned to receive instruction from Xuefeng.<sup>184</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* states that Congzhan became the founding abbot of the Baofu Cloister in 918 at the invitation of the Regional Chief of Zhangzhou, Duke Wang.<sup>185</sup> Congzhan reportedly had over seven hundred students on a regular basis.<sup>186</sup> What seems odd about the *Zutang ji* account is its failure to record an honorary verse by Wendeng, especially since Wendeng honored other students of Xuefeng in this way.<sup>187</sup> Otherwise, it is full of colorful tales typical of the genre about Congzhan, his students, and a wide array of contemporaries, well-known Chan masters in their own right (or destined to become so).<sup>188</sup>

### Zhaoqing Wendeng

A special feature of the *Zutang ji* is the place it reserves for Wendeng and his contemporaries. No lineage is documented through the eighth generation of heirs from Huineng except for the generation of masters that Wendeng belongs to, descended from Shitou through his student Tianhuang Daowu. Only branch lineages stemming from Xuefeng's other students, and lineages descended from

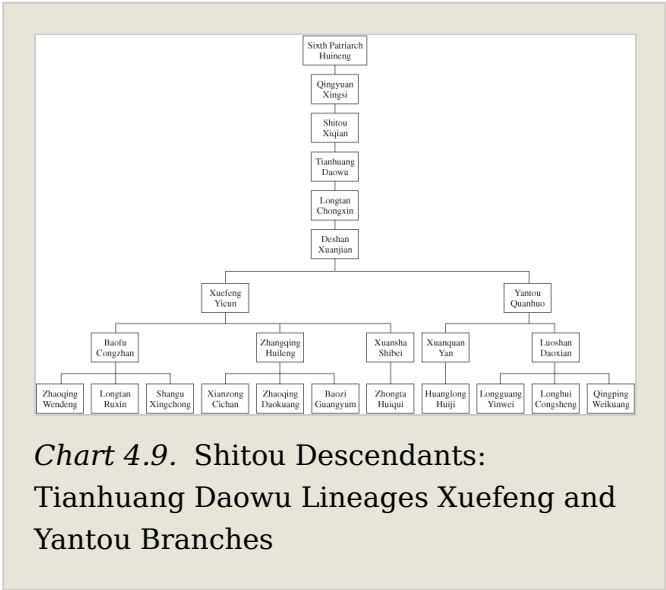
Xuefeng's colleague, Yantou Quanhao, carry the transmission through eight generations. Shitou's descendants tracing themselves through Tianhuang Daowu (the Xuefeng Yicun and Yantou Quanhao branches) are delineated below (see chart 4.9).

None of the other disciples of Shitou, including the otherwise illustrious lineages of Dongshan and Caoshan (the Caodong faction), Jiashan Shanhui, and Shishuang Qingzhu—all of which derived through Shitou's disciple Yaoshan Weiyan—carry the transmission this far in the *Zutang ji*. Records for masters of these other lineages are recorded through seven generations but not beyond. Shitou's descendants tracing themselves through Yaoshan (the Dongshan Liangjie and Shishuang Qingzhu branches) are depicted above. The descendants of Jiashan Shanhui, linked to Yaoshan through Huating Decheng, are represented in the *Zutang ji* through six generations. Huating Decheng (d.u.) reputedly served Yaoshan for thirty years.<sup>189</sup> Jiashan Shanhui (805–81) hailed from Xianting in Hanguang (Henan). He entered the priesthood in his youth on Mount Longya (Dragon Tooth) in Tanzhou (Hunan). At the urging of Daowu Yuezhi, a disciple of Yaoshan, Jiashan Shanhui became a ship's captain on the Wu River in Huating (Jiangsu) where he met Decheng and inherited his dharma.<sup>190</sup> The *Zutang ji* suggests that Jiashan actively promoted Chan teaching, attracting a number of qualified students (see chart 4.10).

A similar situation prevails for the second main branch of lineages recorded in the *Zutang ji*, the descendants of the sixth patriarch with lineages traced through Huairang and his student, the Jiangxi master Mazu Daoyi, as we shall see below.

(p.105)

(p.106)



According to the *Zutang ji*, Wendeng (884–972) hailed from the district of Xianyou in Quanzhou (Fujian), born into the Yuan family. He became a monk at the Bodhi Cloister of Longhua Monastery in Quanzhou, initially devoting himself to the study of Vinaya.<sup>191</sup> The Longhua Monastery was originally constructed during the Min regime by Wang Shenzhi to serve as his royal chapel.<sup>192</sup> Wendeng eventually realized the shortcomings of his study, and having heard that Chan

teaching (*chanzong*) was supreme, he set off to seek out its masters. He visited three places in Fuzhou—Gushan, Zhangqing, and Anguo—but failed to encounter any opportunity to precipitate his awakening. The three monasteries associated with these locales were all headed by descendants of Xuefeng, and it is probable that Wendeng directly encountered them during his visits.<sup>193</sup> The *Chuangdeng lu* stipulates that Xuefeng's disciple, Gushan Shenyan, was summoned by the Min ruler to commence preaching at Gushan following Xuefeng's death in 908.<sup>194</sup> Around this time, another disciple of Xuefeng, Zhangqing Huileng moved from Zhaoqing in Quanzhou to Zhangqing in Fuzhou. The monastery in Anguo was initially built for Xuansha Shibe by Wang Shenzhi at the beginning of *guanghua* (898), and Xuansha presumably resided there until his death in 908. Following Xuansha's death, the monastery in Anguo was headed by Xuansha's disciple, Zhongta (or Anguo) Huiqiu. It is unclear when Wendeng visited these locations, or which of these masters he may have encountered, but it is probable that he met some, if not all of them.<sup>195</sup>

Eventually, Wendeng reached Baofu's congregation where he abruptly stopped his wandering and devoted his efforts.<sup>196</sup> Baofu had been invited to **(p.107)** take up residence at the Baofu Cloister in Zhangzhou (Fujian) in the third year of *zhenming* (917), after it was erected by Regional Chief (*cishi*) Wang,<sup>197</sup> so Wendeng's visit there presumably occurred after this date. According to the *Zutang ji*, one day Baofu entered the Buddha Hall unexpectedly and looked at the image of the Buddha lying on his side (the image of the Buddha's passing) and raised his hand. When Wendeng asked him what this meant, Baofu raised his hand and slapped Wendeng, and then challenged him: “You tell me what I meant by it.” Wendeng responded that Baofu too was lying on his side (like a dead Buddha). When Baofu takes a stake and threatens to run himself through

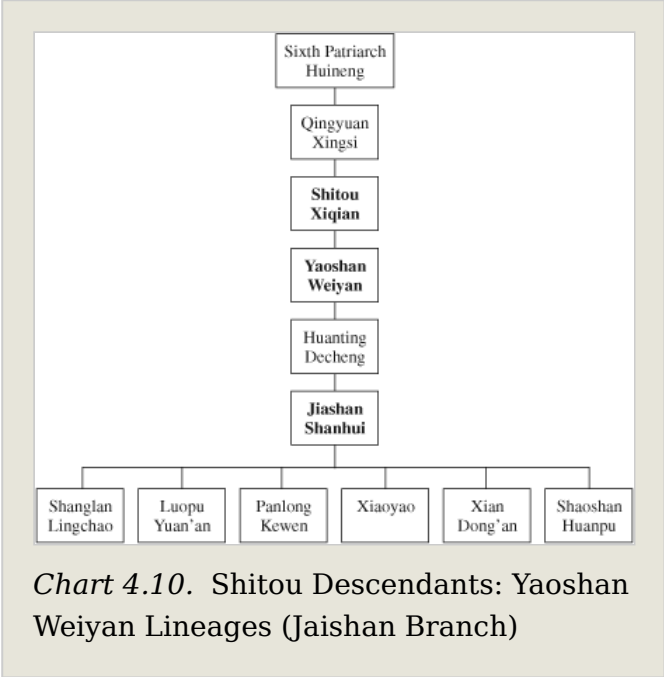


Chart 4.10. Shitou Descendants: Yaoshan Weiyan Lineages (Jaishan Branch)

with it, Wendeng concedes that Baofu is not simply lying on his side like a dead Buddha. The incident concludes with the claim that Baofu was deeply impressed by Wendeng's behavior.<sup>198</sup> No mention is made of Wendeng's awakening, though Wendeng's behavior here is clearly intended as a display of his enlightened nature. This is the event in the *Zutang ji* that dharma-transmission is predicated on. The *Zutang ji* also alludes to the fact that Wendeng's dharma-lineage may have been disputed in some circles. Wendeng subsequently traveled to the regions of Wu and Chu (the areas of contemporary Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Hubei, Hunan, and Henan provinces bordering the Yangtze River). The *Zutang ji* claims that even though Wendeng returned to Zhaoqing at this time, he secretly held firmly to Baofu's teaching (referring to it in terms of the location of Baofu's cloister in Longqi).<sup>199</sup> It seems clear from this that some question developed over Wendeng's principal allegiance, and that the *Zutang ji* is "setting the record straight" to avoid possible confusion. In doing so, it reveals that puzzlement over lineage was, more often than not, the order of the day. This is hardly surprising given the propensity for Chan students to travel from place to place in search of opportune conditions, combined with pressures on later descendants—not to mention compilers of records like the *Zutang ji*—to verify their own credibility through association with past Chan luminaries.

Afterward, the *Zutang ji* claims Wendeng won the esteem of the Prefectural Commissioner (*junshi*) Wang Yanhan, a member of the Min ruling family, and was asked to "turn the dharma-wheel," a euphemistic phrase for spreading Buddhist teaching throughout the realm. He was granted a purple robe, and the honorific title "Jingxiu Chanshi" (Purity Cultivating Chan Master).<sup>200</sup> This indicates Wendeng's succession to head the Zhaoqing Monastery, one of the principal monasteries of the Min regime and a key base for the projection of state-supported Buddhism throughout the region. At least, this is the story told in the *Zutang ji*.

Although there is no extant epitaph for Wendeng, there is a brief account of his life contained in a monastery record, the *Quanzhou Kaiyuan si zhi* (hereafter referred to as the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record*).<sup>201</sup> Although the monastery record itself appeared quite a few years later, compiled by Yongjue Yuanxian (1578–1657) in the sixteenth year of *chongzhen* (1643), its contents are generally earlier or are based on earlier materials. Moreover, the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* account of Wendeng is quite likely based on the epitaph mentioned at the end of the account (see below). Our interest here is not in the historical (p.108) viability of the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* account, but for the alternate version of Wendeng's career that it represents. According to the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record*, Wendeng's encounter with Baofu was somewhat more prosaic. While the dialogue between them is the same, there is no indication that Baofu slapped Wendeng. In other words, the Chan-style dialogue remains, without the typically aggressive behavior that is often associated with the interactions between enlightened masters. What actually happened between

Wendeng and Baofu is, of course, beyond our knowing. What is significant is that different renditions of the same incident have been passed down. The Chan record, the *Zutang ji*, not surprisingly affirms the aggressive Chan style, while the institutionally based *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* makes no mention of it.<sup>202</sup>

The *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* also offers a different and more detailed account of Wendeng's career progression. The following summary serves as a prelude to a discussion of Wendeng's career and the role of secular officials in patronizing his teaching.

The *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* maintains that Prefectural Commissioner Wang Yanhan built the Qianfo (Thousand Buddhas) Monastery in the *tiancheng* era (926–30), and had Wendeng take up residence there. Wendeng remained there for over ten years, until Huang Shaopo took control of the government at the beginning of the *kaiyun* era (944–46), when Wendeng moved to become head of the Zhaoqing Monastery. The Min official Zhu Wenjin conferred an honorific title on Wendeng at this time, “Master Mingjue” (Luminous Awakening). Not long after, the region was gripped by turmoil, and Zhaoqing Monastery was burned to the ground by soldiers. The Prefect (*junshou*) of Quanzhou, the Southern Tang (and former Min) official Liu Congxiao, erected a makeshift accommodation in a field near the Qingyuan Monastery, giving it the name Nan Chan (Southern Chan) Monastery. He invited Wendeng to assume the role of abbot and revive the work of the Zhaoqing Monastery there. Wendeng attracted prominent students and established a renowned Buddhist center. With the rise of the Song, the region fell under the protection of the Song administrator Xu Xuan (917–92) who petitioned the throne on Wendeng's behalf.<sup>203</sup> The Song emperor Taizu congratulated Wendeng, honoring him with the title “Master Zhenjue” (Truly Awakened). Wendeng passed away in the fifth year of *kaibao* (972); his epitaph was called “Ruiguang” (Auspicious Light).<sup>204</sup>

In total, Wendeng was granted three honorific titles during his career: “Jingxiu” by Wang Yanhan (recorded in the *Zutang ji*), “Mingjue” by Zhu Wenjin, and “Zhenjue” by Emperor Taizu, through the recommendation of Xu Xuan. (Incidentally, Wendeng uses the name “Mingjue” in the *Qianfo song*, indicating its composition during this period.) The fact that Wendeng was granted three different names is not an indication of Wendeng's extraordinary eminence so much as it is a reminder of the vicissitudes of the times. During the span of Wendeng's career, three different regimes controlled the Min region. First was the state of Min, followed by the state of Southern Tang, and finally the Song dynasty. Each honored Wendeng as a major Buddhist prelate in its realm.

**(p.109)** Wang Yanhan, the son of Wang Shengui and nephew of Wang Shenzhi, is well known to us from previous contexts, particularly in relation to his support for Xuefeng and Xuefeng's disciple Zhangqing Huileng. He was one of the leading figures among the Min ruling clan who figures prominently in the rise of

Xuefeng faction members in the region. After the death of Jing Zongyi (r. 939–44) at the hands of Zhu Wenjin and his associates, Huang Shaopo became Regional Chief of Quanzhou. It was Huang who summoned Wendeng to head the Zhaoqing Monastery. Zhu Wenjin assumed the position of Min ruler, conferring an honorific title on Wendeng. Zhu's reign was short lived. Before the year was out, Liu Congxiao came forth to reclaim rule for the Wang family. He successfully killed Huang Shaopo and Zhu Wenjin, eliminating their attempted coup. In the process, Zhaoqing Monastery was burned to the ground. Wendeng had headed the monastery for a mere nine months.<sup>205</sup>

Liu Congxiao's efforts to revive Wang family rule in the Min region were not to be realized. When the Quanzhou region fell under the control of the state of Southern Tang in 946, Liu Congxiao was appointed Prefect of Quanzhou. Liu erected a makeshift temple for Wendeng that served as the base to revive Zhaoqing Monastery. This second incarnation of the Zhaoqing Monastery, rather than the initial Zhaoqing Monastery built for Huileng, is where the *Zutang ji* was compiled.<sup>206</sup> As the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* makes clear, the *Zutang ji* may be viewed as a memorial to the Chan legacy that flourished in the Min region, first through the support accorded Xuefeng and his disciples by Wang Yanhan, and then through Liu Congxiao's support for Wendeng and his followers. (For a list of the years that Min rulers reigned, see chart, above.)

The state of Southern Tang arose in 937, when the ruler of the state of Wu, a man by the name of Li Sheng (r. 937–43), assumed rank as emperor.<sup>207</sup> Just as the Wang family ruled Min and another family named Wang controlled Wuyue, Southern Tang was governed by the Li family. Li's eldest son, Li Jing (r. 943–61), succeeded as ruler of Southern Tang.<sup>208</sup> When Wang family rule in Min collapsed in 946, Li Jing supervised the takeover of large areas controlled by the former Min state. Four of its five provinces (Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Jianzhou, and Tingzhou) were amalgamated with the state of Southern Tang (see map 4.2).<sup>209</sup> The other province (Fuzhou) came under the control of the state of Wuyue.<sup>210</sup> The former Min official, Liu Congxiao, was appointed Prefect of Quanzhou by Li Jing. From his base of power in Quanzhou, Liu Congxiao was able to perpetuate the support that Wendeng had previously enjoyed under Min patronage. The state of Southern Tang, too, was favorably disposed toward Buddhism, granting refuge and support for numerous Buddhist monks.<sup>211</sup> Noteworthy among them was the Chan Master Fayan Wenyi, who forged a close connection with Li Jing. After Southern Tang reverted to Song control, the Song emperor Taizu relied on Xu Xuan, a native of the Southern Tang region, to administer the area.<sup>212</sup> It was through these circumstances and Xu Xuan's agency that notice of Wendeng reached the emperor, who awarded Wendeng an honorific title.

**(p.110) Succession of Southern Tang Rulers (937–75)**

1. Li Sheng (937–43)
2. Yuan Zongjing, a.k.a. Li Jing (943–61)

### 3. Hou Zhuyu (961–75)

Wendeng enjoyed remarkable success throughout his career, weathering the vicissitudes of the times to win the support of a succession of rulers and officials. It is clear from the account of Wendeng's career in the *Kaiyuan Monastery Record* that Wendeng could not have enjoyed such success without the patronage of these rulers and officials. They built the monasteries that he headed, and installed him in positions of leadership in their regions. One wonders why these political leaders and secular officials granted such authority to a Buddhist prelate, but the reasons are probably not hard to fathom. In large part, rulers looked to Buddhism as a pacifying force in their realms amidst an age otherwise so characterized by chaos and disruption. Prelates like Wendeng were invested with positions of authority and invited to “turn the dharma-wheel,” to usher in an age of peace and prosperity noticeably absent in China from recent experience and memory.

An Overview of Chan Monks and Lineages Documented in the *Zutang ji*  
As reviewed above, fascicles 4 through 13 of the *Zutang ji* include the records of the descendants of the sixth patriarch by way of Qingyuan Xingsi through Shitou Xiqian. The final seven fascicles (14 through 20) of the *Zutang ji* are devoted to Mazu and his descendants. As numerous as Mazu's students were according to the *Zutang ji*, and as illustrious as lineages derived from Mazu became, their records are recorded through only seven generations (and the seventh generation is only poorly represented). Overall, the *Zutang ji* clearly favors Chan lineages derived through Shitou (see accompanying table). Of the *Zutang ji*'s entries, 104 are of Shitou lineage masters (including Shitou), compared to 84 for Chan masters in Jiangxi (Mazu) lineages (including Mazu). Even though the *Zutang ji* clearly honors Mazu's influence, it depicts the lineage's prowess as a passing phenomena. Of the 84 records recorded (83 without Mazu), 33 are for Mazu and his immediate disciples. Of the 245 total records in the *Zutang ji*, 211 pertain to Chinese Chan masters (excluding the records for the 7 Buddhas of the past and the 27 Indian Chan patriarchs prior to Bodhidharma). Mazu and his disciples thus account for a remarkable 16 percent of the total number of the records of Chinese Chan masters in the *Zutang ji*. Another 27 records (13 percent) are devoted to the students of Mazu's various disciples. By contrast, the latter generations of Mazu's descendants are depicted as dwindling into relative obscurity.

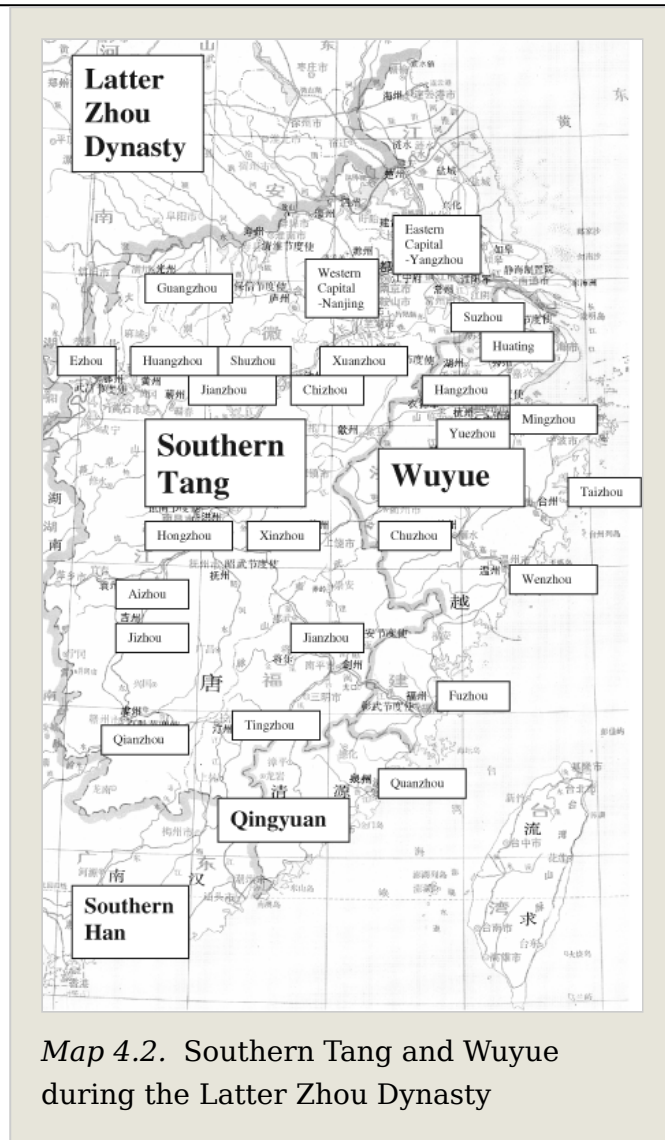
The depiction of Chan lineages derived through Shitou represents the opposite trend. From rather meager representation in the first generations,

**(p.111)**



Shitou's line blossoms in later generations. This is attributed to the activities of various masters, including Dongshan (ten disciples), Shishuang (nine disciples), and Jiashan (six disciples). The most prominent member of the Shitou line represented in the *Zutang ji*, however, is Deshan's disciple Xuefeng, who (p.112) alone accounts for twenty-one disciples (10 percent), the greatest number of disciples for a single master aside from Mazu. Herein lies the underlying basis for the claim that the *Zutang ji* portrays Xuefeng and his descendants as the current representatives of the Chan legacy championed by Mazu and his disciples. The last three generations of descendants from the sixth patriarch descended through Shitou (the sixth through eighth generations) account for eighty records in the *Zutang ji* (38 percent of the total number of Chinese Chan records). In contrast, the three generations descended immediately from Mazu (the third through fifth generations) account for seventy-three records (35 percent). Viewed comprehensively, this reveals the basic intent of the compilers of the *Zutang ji* to cast Xuefeng, his contemporaries, and their descendants as the true heirs of the Chan legacy. Their lineage, descended through Shitou, begins its dramatic ascent just when the lineage descended from Mazu starts its precipitous decline (see table 4.1).

It is quite probable that given China's political deterioration and the destructive nature of the times that information regarding other Chan contemporaries was simply unavailable to the compilers of the *Zutang ji*, and that the *Zutang ji* represents in its pages little more than a flourishing regional phenomenon. Be this as it may, the compilers of the *Zutang ji*, following the lead of their master Wendeng, reserved special status for Wendeng and his contemporaries as Chan's



Map 4.2. Southern Tang and Wuyue during the Latter Zhou Dynasty

true representatives, the current heirs of the “treasury of the true dharma eye.”<sup>213</sup> This is the image that the *Zutang ji* projects.<sup>214</sup>

**Table 4.1. A Tabulation of Chan Records in the *Zutang ji***

<b>1. Records of Chan Masters prior to the Transmission to China</b>		
7		Buddhas of the past
<u>27</u>		Indian Chan Patriarchs (excluding Bodhidharma)
34		Total
<b>2. Chinese Chan Records prior to Shitou and Jiangxi (Mazu)</b>		
<b>Lines</b>		
14		Chinese Chan Records through the Sixth Patriarch
8		Disciples of the Sixth Patriarch (1st Generation Descendants)
<u>3</u>		2nd Generation Descendants of the Sixth Patriarch
25		Total
<b>3. Records of the Shitou and Jiangxi (Mazu) Lines</b>		
7	32	3rd Generation Descendants
8	27	4th Generation Descendants
8	14	5th Generation Descendants
27	6	6th Generation Descendants
42	4	7th Generation Descendants
<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	8th Generation Descendants
103	83	Totals

As noted previously, Wendeng viewed himself as heir to the “new style” Chan attributed to Mazu, as evidenced in the *Qianfo song*, the Dunhuang manuscript Wendeng supposedly authored, in which Wendeng links himself (**p.113**) to Mazu's legacy. According to the *Zutang ji*, many of the masters of the Shitou branches engaged in antics and tactics, shouting, beating, and so forth, reminiscent of those attributed to masters in Mazu branches. The records of masters from these two main branches of Chan, as it turns out, are virtually indistinguishable in style and substance. As projected by Wendeng's students, Jing and Yun, who compiled the *Zutang ji*, the profile of the Chan master supposedly developed in Mazu lineages was the standard against which all Chan masters and their students measured themselves. The question is with whom did this style actually begin? Rinzai scholars have long presumed that this was a special preserve of Mazu-derived lineages, particularly as demonstrated in the

teachings attributed to Linji Yixuan, his dharma relatives, and disciples. But since the earliest record to affirm such behavior is the *Zutang ji*, where does the assertion that they were prone to behave like this actually begin? What the *Zutang ji* affirms is that it was a typical if not standard type of behavior characteristic associated with many Chan masters. It was not the prerogative of a particular lineage, but an accepted pattern of behavior (at least as depicted in literature) that crossed factional lines. This represents the underlying presumption governing the development of Chan identity in the *Zutang ji*, a presumption shared by future transmission records, the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu*. (p.114)

Notes:

(1.) Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 144, no. 777.

(2.) Ishikawa Rikizan, “Bassōkyōdan no tenkai to sono shijishatachi (The Development of the Mazu Order and its Supporters),” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshu*, no. 2 (1971), 160.

(3.) Evidence for this is interspersed throughout the documentation collected by Makita Tairyō, *Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū* (A Study of the Religious History of the Five Dynasties).

(4.) JWDS 115:1529; Makita Tairyō, *ibid.*, 176. The provisions of the Shizong suppression are recorded in WDHY 12 and 16, JWDS 115, and XWDS 12.

(5.) Nantang was led by Li Sheng, Li Jing and Li Yu (SGCQ 15–17); Min by Wang Shenzhi, Wang Yanhan, and others (SGCQ 90–92); and Wuyue by Qian Liu, Qian Yuanguan, Qian Zuo and Qian Chu (SGCQ 77–82).

(6.) Based on Tan Qixiang, editor-in-chief, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* (The Historical Atlas of China) vol. 5, 89.

(7.) On the conditions in these areas, see Edmund H. Worthy Jr., “Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907–78,” in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi, 17–44; Angela Schottenhammer, “Local Politico-Economic Particulars of the Quan-zhou Region During the Tenth Century,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 29 (1999), 1–41; Hugh R. Clark, “Quanzhou (Fujian) during the Tang-Song Interregnum, 879–978,” *T'oung Pao* 67 (1982), 132–49; and Edward H. Shafer, *The Empire of Min* (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo, 1954).

(8.) Two reprinted copies of the original Korean text of the *Zutang ji* (Kor. *Chōdong jip*) have been issued: *Sodoshu*, ed. Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1972); and *Sodōshū* issued by the editorial staff of Zen bunka kenkyūjo, Yoshizawa Masahiro, Onishi Shirō, et al. (Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjo;

Kibun tenseki sōkan, 1994). Perhaps the most useful copy of the text is that with Chinese punctuation issued by Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, in *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3, ed. Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto: Meibun shain, 1984), 1735–1607 (*sic*). My references are to Yanagida's Chinese-punctuated text. The 1994 Zenbunka kenkyūjo text is also useful for its annotation and clarification of some of the obscure portions and the usage of nonstandard characters in the *Zutang ji*. There are also two modern Chinese editions of the text: *Zutang ji*, ed. Wu Fuyang and Gu Zhichuan, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1996); and an edition in simplified Chinese, *Zhongguo chanzong dianji congkan, Zutang ji*, ed. Tang Cengwen, Huang Xianian, and Song Lidao (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2001).

For a list of the numerous studies on the *Zutang ji* in Japanese and a review of their impact, see Ishii Shudo, “Chōsen zen shisōni okeru kenkyū,” *Kankoku bukkyōgaku Seminar* 8 (2000), 127–61.

(9.) The *Zutang ji* is currently the subject of an ongoing seminar investigation involving a number of Japanese scholars from disciplines ranging from Chinese literature, history, and Buddhism, who meet monthly at the Institute of Far Eastern Culture (Tōyō bunko) of the University of Tokyo. The group is lead by Okayama Hajime of the University of Tokyo, Ogawa Takashi of Komazawa University, and Kinugawa Kenji of Hanazono University.

(10.) The evidence for its survival in China and the reasons for its subsequent disappearance are considered by Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū kaidai*,” in *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3, 1567–1606.

(11.) From a scholarly standpoint, the most important studies by Yanagida are: “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi (ichi)*” (under the name Yokoi Seizan), *Zengaku kenkyū* 44 (1953); “*Sodōshū no honbun kenkyū (ichi)*,” *Zengaku kenkyū* 54 (1964); and *Sodōshū sakuin*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Meibun shain, Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, 1980, 1982, and 1984).

(12.) This date is mentioned specifically at ZTJ 1 (26.14) ZTJ 2 (80.11; 81.12; 89.7–8; and 99.9–10). Yanagida's discussion of it is in “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 35–6.

(13.) ZTJ 1 (1.8).

(14.) See Ishii Shudō's review of research on the *Zutang ji*, “Chūsen zenshisō ni taisuru kenkyū,” *Kankoku bukkyōgaku Seminar* 8 (2000): 127–61, esp. 140–49. My own review here is indebted to Professor Ishii's account.

(15.) Ishii Mitsuo, “Zen to tenseki,” in *Zen no sho* (Tokyo: Shunyōdō shoten, 1952). Daguan Zhiyun's record is contained in CDL 25 under the name Qingde Zhiyun (T 51.414a–b).

(16.) Mizuno Kogen, "Denpōge no seiritsu ni tsuite," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 2 (1960). Guyin Zhijing's record is contained in CDL 23 (T 51.395b); Shimen Yun's (Shimen shan Shiyun Shouzuo) record is found in GDL 24 (ZZ 76.546b-c).

(17.) Because of the numerous entries in fascicle 4 relating to Yaoshan and Dong-shan, Yanagida Seizan ("Sodōshū honbun kenkyū (pt. I)," *Zengaku kenkyū* 54 (1964)), has proposed that they were Korean monks familiar with the lineages of Yunyan Dunsheng (782-841), the disciple of Yaoshan Weiyan, and Dongshan Liangjie (807-69).

(18.) Shiina Kōyō, "Sodōshū no hensei," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 21 (1979), 66-72. Shiina has also demonstrated the important connection of Korean monks who appear in the *Zutang ji* to the founders of the "Nine Mountains" of Korean Sōn.

(19.) Kinugawa Kenji, "Sodōshū satsuki," *Zenbunka kenkyūjō kiyō* 24 (1998), 113-28.

(20.) ZTJ preface (1.9).

(21.) ZTJ 1 (1.13-2.1). The second preface is discussed by Yangida, "Sodōshū no honbun kenkyū," 18-21.

(22.) ZTJ 1 (1.13). The evidence that faulty printing is the cause for the number ten (+) in Chinese to be mistakenly read as one (-) is further evident in the printed character for the number ten at ZTJ 1 (18.5), where the number combination leaves no doubt of the intended reading.

It should be noted here that the printed manuscript of the *Zutang ji* is highly corrupt and virtually unreadable in places. Kinugawa's method involved the use of a mirror to reflect the inverted form of marred characters from the backside of the "leaves" they are printed on. In this way, he was able to determine the correct form of many marred characters, the results of which are noted in the *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* edition.

(23.) In this regard, Kinugawa follows the lead suggested earlier by Arthur Waley ("A Sung Colloquial Story from the *Tsu-t'ang chi*," in "Two Posthumous Articles by Arthur Waley" [Asia Major 14-2, 1968]), where Waley points out that the geographical term *guangnan* in the *Zutang ji* came to be used only during the Song.

More generally, Tang vernacular usage in Chan *yulu* is the subject of a study by Isabella S. Gurevich, "On the Historical Grammar of the Colloquial Chinese Language of the Tang Dynasty (based on the Chan-Buddhist *yulu*)," *Zenbunka kenkyūjō kiyō* 20 (1996), 1-43.

(24.) Yanagida Seizan, "Sodoshu kaidai," in *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3, 1567-1606.

(25.) In the preface to the *Zutang ji* his name is stipulated as Wendeng, Chan Master of Pure Cultivation (*jingxiu*), Chief of Zhaoqing Monastery in Quanzhou (ZTJ 1 [1.1]). Elsewhere, he is frequently referred to as Wendeng. On the different renderings of Wen (Sheng)deng's name, see Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 45b.

(26.) See Wendeng's record in CDL 22 (T 51.382a–b). For a discussion, including consideration of biographies of Wendeng in the *Quanzhou Kaiyuan si zhi* and the *Quanzhou fuzhi*, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi*, 62ff. The dates for Wendeng's life are based on Ishii, 63.

(27.) See Tokiwa Daijō, “Bukkyō shijōni okeru futari no Chūiō,” *Zoku Shina bukkyō no kenkyū*; and Suzuki Tetsuō, *Tōgodai zenshūshi*, 72–73.

(28.) CDL 18 (T 51.347c12–13). For Zhangqing Huileng's record, see ZTJ 10.65–76, CDL 18 (T 51.347b–48b), and SGSZ 13 (T 50.787a).

(29.) Yanagida, “*Sodōshū kaidai*,” 1584–85.

(30.) *Ibid.*, 1589.

(31.) Regarding the *Baolin zhuan*, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra*, 47–53.

(32.) Weijing's biographical record is found in ZTJ 11 (104.3–6.1), CDL 19 (T 51.260b), and SGSZ 17 (T 50.818b–c). Information on Weijing's compilation of the *Xu Baolin zhuan* is found in the SGSZ (T 50.818c7–9), where it is also mentioned that he compiled a work entitled *Nanyue gaoseng zhuan*, a successor of the “Biographies of Eminent Monks” (*Gaoseng zhuan*) series. Yanagida (“*Sodōshū kaidai*,” 1586) hypothesizes that these were sources for the ZTJ.

(33.) The *Qianfo song* is recorded in the Stein collection of Dunhuang manuscripts, no. 1635. A copy is recorded in T 85.1320c–22c. Yanagida discusses it in “*Sodōshū kaidai*” (1585–86), noting that it is the only Dunhuang manuscript that mentions the name of Mazu.

(34.) T 85.1320c18. Huiguan is otherwise unknown, as is the identity of the alleged recorder of the verses of Daozhen, whose name is appended to the end of the document (T 85.1322c5).

(35.) ZTJ 14 (43.13–44.1); *Qianfo song* (T 85.1322c2–4).

(36.) ZTJ 2 (65.11–66.1); Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 51.

(37.) T 51.217a. The *Shengzhou ji*, also lost but for a fragment (S 4478), was compiled between 898 and 901; see Yanagida Seizan, “Gemmon *Shōchū shū ni tsuite*,” *Bukkyō shigaku* VII, no. 3 (Oct. 1958), 44–57. For a recent assessment,

see Tanaka Ryōshō, “*Shōchū shū no rekishiteki seikaku—Tanpō gisoku bon Shōchū shū to Hōrinden bon Shōch ū shū,*” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū ū kiyō* 60 (2003), 31–52.

(38.) This, of course, assumes that the compilation of the text was completed in 952 by Wendeng's students. If the compilation process is proved to be more complex, the text's contents could reflect contradictory motivations.

(39.) T. Griffith Foulk, “The Ch’an Tsung in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?” *The Pacific World* 8 (New Series: Fall 1992), 18–31.

(40.) The most egregious example of this is the reputed claims of the *Lidai fabao ji*, discussed in the previous chapter.

(41.) Following a change of metaphors to describe the Chan “tradition” suggested by Bernard Faure (and others). See Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 120.

(42.) The *Xu Baolin zhuan* and *Nanyue Gaoseng zhuan* (mentioned below) are both noted in Weijing's biography (CDL 20:360b13–16), where both are said to enjoy wide circulation.

(43.) See Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 48 and section 51 (179) of the text that claims: “The first transmission was from the seven buddhas [of the past], and Śākyamuni was the seventh.”

(44.) According to Buddhist theory, each *kalpa* of the past, present, and future produces a thousand buddhas. The seven buddhas of the past refer to buddhas who have appeared in this world during the past and present *kalpas*. Maitreya is the first anticipated buddha in this world during the future *kalpa*.

(45.) XZJ 14.279b9–c8.

(46.) In addition to records in SGSZ 9 and CDL 9, there is an inscription for Masu Helin, *Junzhou Helinsi gu Jingshan Dashi beiming*, by Li Hua (QTW 320.4106–8).

(47.) On the basis of this association, Yanagida Seizan (*Shoki zenshu shisho*, 181–209) argues for the influence of the Niutou faction over the contents of the *Platform Sūtra*. This is also discussed in John R. McRae, “The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch’an to the Golden Age” in *Studies in Ch’an and Hua-yen*, *Studies in East Asian Buddhism*, no. 1, ed. R. M. Gimello and Peter Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 189–91.

(48.) Niaoke Guoyi is otherwise unknown.

(49.) ZTJ 3 (108.6–8).

(50.) ZTJ 3 (108.8–10.1). Mingzan also has a record in SGSZ 19 (T 50.834a8–b17) and CDL 30 (T 51.461b15–c8).

(51.) Li Mi's biography is found in JTS 130.3620–23 and XTS 139.4631–38.

(52.) Huiming is mentioned in Hongren's record in ZTJ 2 (87.2ff).

(53.) See Dao(Hui)ming's records in SGSZ 8 (T 50.756b19–c6) and CDL 4 (T 51.232a1–24). The first line of each record notes Dao(Hui)ming's connection to emperor Xuan.

(54.) Yampolsky, trans., *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, sec. 11, 134. A version of this story is also recorded in the *Chuanxin fayao* (T 48.383c26ff) and Dao(Hui)ming's record in CDL 8 (T 51.756b22ff).

(55.) SGSZ 8 (T 50.756b28–29), which follows the assertion of the epitaph by Qingzhou, *Tang Huzhou Fochuansi gu dashi taming* (QTW 917.12062–63); the inscription identifies Huiming as Fang Yan. Interestingly, the ZTJ version of this story (ZTJ 2 [87.1–14]) does not seem to end with Huiming's enlightenment.

(56.) T 48.295c22–296a11.

(57.) ZTJ 3 (110.2–11.8). A record for Fuxian Renjian is also contained in CDL 4 (T 51.232c15–21); for Pozaoduo in SGSZ 19 (T 50.828b7–22) and CDL 4 (T 51.232c2–33b6).

(58.) ZTJ 3 (111.9–12.4) (10 lines total, 2 of which are a commemorative verse by Wendeng; see below).

(59.) There is also a brief note about him in the SGSZ 9 (T 50.760b29–c8), attached to the record of Yifu.

(60.) Hu Shih, “Ch’an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method,” *Philosophy East and West* III, no. 1 (April 1953), 12.

(61.) ZTJ 3 (112.2–4).

(62.) CDL 5 (T 51.240c5–6).

(63.) ZTJ 3 (142.2–45.7). There are also records in SGSZ 9 (T 50.761a11–b12), CDL 5 (T 51.240c6–41a26), and GDL 8 (ZZ 78.447c4–48b19). A Ming edition of Huairang's “recorded sayings,” the *Nanyue Dhanshi yulu*, is located in *Guzunsu yulu* 1 (XZJ 118.158a–59b).

(64.) *Hengzhou Banrosi Guanyin dashi beiming* (QTW 619.7935–36); Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 53n190. This interpretation is



confirmed by the mention of Mazu's disciples (*Daoyi zhi menren*) in the opening lines of the inscription.

(65.) See, for example, Yampolsky's discussion of the third Chan patriarch Sengcan (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 12–13.)

(66.) These are the realms of hell-dwelling demons, hungry ghosts, animals, humans, titans, and heavenly deities. For a description of these, see Akira Sadakata, *Buddhist Cosmology: Philosophy and Its Origins*, (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1997), 41–70.

(67.) ZTJ 3 (142.2–5).

(68.) ZTJ 3 (112.5–13.5) (fifteen lines).

(69.) On the “Sweet Dew Incident” and Zongmi's association with it, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 85–88. The fact that some found fault with Zongmi is openly acknowledged in Zanning's defense of Zongmi in SGSZ (T 50.742c29–43a17), translated and cited by Gregory, 88.

(70.) JTS 191.5109–11.

(71.) ZTJ 3 (130.2–13). Records for Jueduo are also found in ZJL 97 (T 48.940c17–29) and CDL 5 (T 51.237a13–24).

(72.) An entry on Zhihuang (?–711) is included in the CDL 5 (T 51.237c13–20).

(73.) ZTJ 3 (130.14–32.1). The story concludes with a dragon spirit reporting that Chan Master Zhihuang attained enlightenment that evening, pointing again to the conventional mythological influences incorporated into Chan transmission-record documents. A record of Xuance is also found in CDL 5 (T 51.243c14–29). He is also mentioned in the ZJL (T 48.940c) and the *Caoqi dashi biechuan* (see Ishii Shodo, trans., *Daijo butten* 12, *Zen goroku*, 33), as Daying.

(74.) There is, however, some confusion on this point. Shenrong is said here to be more than sixty years of age, which doesn't make sense given the dates for Zhice in his entry.

(75.) ZJT 3:139.1–42.1 (see esp. 139.14–40.2). Records for Xuanjue are also found in SGSZ 8 (T 50.758a10–b21) and CDL 5 (T 51.241a27–42b18).

(76.) For Huizhong's entry, see ZTJ 3 (113.6–30.1). For other records of him, see SGSZ 9 (T 50.762b11–763b21) and CDL 5 (T 51.244a7–245a14).

(77.) T 85.1322b22.

(78.) SGSZ 9 (T 50.763a10–12).

(79.) Huizhong had one heir (Danyuan) according to the ZTJ (ZTJ 4 [155.10–56.1]), five according to the CDL (names listed in CDL 13 [T 51.301a23–27])—only one (Danyuan Zhenying) with an entry (T 51.305b1–17).

(80.) ZTJ 3 (129.13–30.1).

(81.) ZJL 1 (T 48.418a29 and 418c10–19a2).

(82.) The text has been amended here to refer to the *qianyuan* rather than the *shangyuan* era. The *shangyuan* era occurred well before Huizhong's life, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (r. 656–83).

(83.) ZTJ 3 (115.9–13). See also the Chan style dialogues between Huizhong and emperors Suzong (e.g., ZTJ 3 [116.7–10]) and Daizong (e.g., ZTJ 3 [119.11–20.12]).

(84.) According to the ZTJ, in addition to conversations with Emperor Suzong and Daizong, Huizhong entered into dialogues with Army Inspector Yu (ZTJ 3 [117.2–5]), Zhang Fen of Nanyang (ZTJ 3 [117.5–12]), Palace Attendant Lin (ZTJ 3 [118.8–12]), Wang Yong (ZTJ 3 [118.13–19.2]), and Wang Yong's disciple (ZTJ 3 [119.3–11]).

(85.) Regarding Huizhong's interpretation of Chan, particularly his critique of the Southern School, see Ishii Shōdō, “Nanyō Echū no nanpō shūshi no hihan ni tsuite,” *Kamada Shigeo hakushi enreki kinen ronshu: Chūgoku no Bukkyō to Bunka* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1988), 315–44.

(86.) ZTJ 3 (130.2–36.14). Benjing also has a record in CDL 5 (T 51.242b19–43c13).

(87.) ZTJ 3 (132.9–10).

(88.) ZTJ 4 (147.2–55.9).

(89.) ZTJ 4 (147.8).

(90.) CDL 6 (T 51.245c23–24).

(91.) ZTJ 4 (148.2–3).

(92.) Sengzhao's essay is recorded in the *Zhao lun* (T 45.157a12–b26).

(93.) ZTJ 4 (148.7–12).

(94.) ZTJ 4 (148.12–49.1).

(95.) ZTJ 4 (149.3–11).

(96.) ZTJ 4 (151.5–7).

(97.) The rest of Shitou's entry in the *Zutang ji* documents his varied experiences, including interactions with other leading Chan figures of the day. Included are visits to Nanyue Huairang, the other pillar through which Shitou's contemporaries were linked to the early Chan heritage, and exchanges with Huairang's disciple Mazu (ZTJ 4 [150.6ff., 151.11ff., and 153.12ff]).

(98.) ZTJ 4 (155.10–56.1) (six lines total). It is interesting to note that Danyuan was a disciple of Mazu before switching to Huizhong.

(99.) ZTJ 4 (157.6–67.8). Danxia Tianran has the second-longest entry, following that of Yaoshan Weiyan. Danxia also has records in SGSZ 11 (T 50.773b18–c6) and CDL 14 (T 51.310b22–11a27).

(100.) ZTJ 3 (106.7–14).

(101.) ZTJ 4 (168.4–84.14). Weiyan also has entries in SGSZ 17 (T 50.816a19–c6), and CDL 14 (T 51.311b16–312c2). There is also an epitaph, *Fengzhou Yaoshan gu Weiyan dashi beiming bingxu* (QTW 536).

(102.) Huizhao is probably the same person as Chaozhou Shenzhao, a disciple of Nanyue Huairang. Daguan and Baizhang also left home to become monks under Shenzhao. Regarding Vinaya Master Xicao, see the epitaph by Liu Zongyuan, *Hengshan zhongyuan dalushih taming* (QTW 591.7590a10–b6).

(103.) CDL 14 (T 51.411b17ff); *Zengaku daijiten*, 22d.

(104.) Yaoshan is frequently mentioned in connection with Li Ao's conversion to Buddhism. On the viability of Li Ao's Buddhist associations and his reputed conversations with Chan masters, including Weiyan, see T. H. Barrett, *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian?*, 33–57.

(105.) See ZTJ 4 (169.14–170.1 and 170.5–7).

(106.) ZTJ 4 (170.7–8). Barrett (*Li Ao*, 46–47) claims stories such as these deriving from *yulu* records were constructed artifices, and should in no way be read literally.

(107.) ZTJ 4 (170.12–71.3).

(108.) Yanagida (“*Sodōshū no shiryo katchi*,” 68–71) provides a list of forty-eight masters who participated in such *gongan*-style commentary in the *Zutang ji*, with a total of 194 such comments. As Yanagida points out (72), nearly half of these (twenty-three) are attributed to direct disciples of Xuefeng Yicun.

(109.) ZTJ 4 (176.9–11). It is not clear that Yunyan Tansheng and Daowu Yuanzhi were actual brothers. According to ZTJ they were, but CDL does not report this

(see Yanagida Seizan, *Junzen no jidai*, 53, and Koichi Shinohara, "The Evolution of Chan Biographies," 309).

(110.) ZTJ 4 (156.2-14).

(111.) Actually, there are two inscriptions regarding monks by the name of Daowu from this period, the *Xingzhou Chengdong Tianhuang si Daowu chanshi bei* (QTW 691.8973a3-13) and the *Tianwang Daowu chanshi bei* (QTW 713.9274a9-b8). Historically, the Chan tradition held that there were actually two monks named Daowu, one a disciple of Shitou, the other of Mazu Daoyi. Modern scholars consider the latter inscription a forgery, written in order to promote Daowu as an heir of Mazu Daoyi. The subject of the two "Daowus" is considered further, below.

(112.) Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* DEL 16-1 (1969), 39-47.

(113.) In addition to the aforementioned epitaph, Tianhuang Daowu has records in SGSZ 10 (T 50.769a15-70a23) and CDL 14 (T 51.309c17-10b18). The following account represents a summary of the details of Daowu's life taken from these sources.

(114.) According to Tianhuang Daowu's epitaph, *Jingzhou Chengdong Tianhuang si Daowu chanshi bei* (QTW 691.8973a6-7), Daowu concealed himself on Mount Ziling (in Dangyang) following his awakening by Shitou. My account here follows the CDL version (T 51.310a5-6).

(115.) *Xingzhou Chengdong Tianhuang si Daowu chanshi bei* (QTW 691.8973a8-10).

(116.) *Tianwang Daowu chanshi bei* (QTW 713.9274a11-14).

(117.) *Linjian lu*, 1. The theory of two Daowus is said to derive from Taguan Yunying (*Wujia Zongpai*), who cited Jiu Yuansu's epitaph, *Tianwang Daowu chanshi bei*, as evidence for the existence of Tianwang Daowu in addition to Tianhuang Daowu.

(118.) *Zengaku daijiten* 900c (*tennō-ji*) and 918a (*dōgo*).

(119.) ZTJ 5 (6.8-8.12). Longtan also has records in SGSZ 10 (under the entry of Tianhuang Daowu; T 50.770a9-23) and CDL 14 (T 51.313b10-c5).

(120.) CDL 14 (T 51.313c1-3). According to SGSZ 10 (T 50.770a), Longtan Chongxin's rise to prominence as a Chan master was due to Li Ao's patronage. According to Barrett (*Li Ao*, 49), it is unlikely that Chongxin and Li Ao ever met.

The conversations recorded between them in the CDL “look very like an invention of the second half of the tenth century.”

(121.) ZTJ 5 (31.14–36.2). Deshan also has records in SGSZ 12 (T 50.778b21–c12) and CDL 15 (T 51.317b13–18a28).

(122.) T 51.317b15–18.

(123.) On Guishan Lingyu, see ZTJ 16 (264b–66a), CDL 9 (T 51.264b15–66a2), and SGSZ 11 (T 50.777b17–c11); an epitaph, the *Tanzhou Daguishan Tongai si Dayuan chanshi beiming*, is contained in QTW 820 (10894a3–96a8).

(124.) ZTJ 5 (33.13, 35.2).

(125.) ZTJ 5 (33.2); SGSZ T 50.778c3–4; CDL T 51.317c5–6.

(126.) ZTJ 5 (35.13–36.2).

(127.) Robert M. Somers, “The End of the T’ang,” 682. In addition, Somers comments cited in chapter 1, note 18.

(128.) ZTJ 7 (99.1–115.6); CDL 16 (T 51.327a11–28b13); in addition there is a record of Xuefeng in SGSZ 12 (T 50.781c27–82c8). There also exists a Ming edition of a collection of his sayings and activities, *Xuefeng Zhenjue chanshi yulu* (2 fascicles) (XZJ 118.944a–74a; plus appended material 974a–93b); and an epitaph by Huang Tao, *Fuzhou Xuefeng shan gu Zhenjue dashi beiming* (QTW 826.10967a7–69a7). The epitaph appears to be the basis for biographical information regarding Xuefeng in other sources.

(129.) CDL 16 (T 51.327a11–14).

(130.) ZTJ 7 (99.4–5). The master's name is variously rendered according to the source it appears in.

(131.) CDL 16 (T 51.327a15–16).

(132.) ZTJ 7 (99.6–7).

(133.) On the revival of Tiantai as a Chan center, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 29–30. Two further points should be noted here regarding Tiantai. First, the sectarian difference between Chan and Tiantai was not strictly adhered to. Tiantai and Chan alike were frequently regarded as representatives of the development of Chan in China, as related species of the same movement (see Welter, “Zanning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China,” based on Zanning's views of Chan in the *Seng shilue* [T 54.240a–b], and his commentary on Chan practitioners in the SGSZ [T 50.789b–90a]). Second, a revival of Tiantai teaching is also traceable from this period, manifesting itself as a full-fledged movement in the Song [(see Daniel B.

Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yun Tsun-shih (964–1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung"; Chih-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960–1028) and the Crises of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung"; Daniel A. Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate"; and Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage," all contained in Getz and Gregory, ed., *Buddhism in the Sung*].

(134.) ZTJ 7 (99.8–10). According to *Xuefeng Zhenjue chanshi yulu* (XZJ 118.944a17ff.), Xuefeng held tenure as kitchen chief in the congregation of Dongshan Liangjie, and visited Deshan at Dongshan's instruction.

(135.) This exchange is recorded in CDL 12 (T 51.290a20–b5), but I follow the Northern Song Dong si (East Temple) edition published by *Zenbunka kinkyū jō* (1990) and incorporated by Iriya Yoshitaka in his *Keitoku dentōroku* 4, 333. In the case of Linji's record, there are quite a few variations from the *Taishō* text. On the history of the versions of the *Chuandeng lu* and a list of the variations between the *Taishō* and East Temple editions, see Nishiguchi Yoshio, "Tōzen ji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai," *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* (1990); "Sakuin" (1993).

(136.) CDL 16 (T 50.327a16–17).

(137.) *Fuzhou Xuefeng shan gu Zhenjue dashi beiming* (QTW 826.10967a18–b1).

(138.) This account is given in *Zengaku daijiten*, 202a, but I have not been able to determine the source this is based on. The SGSZ (T 50.782a10–12) also notes the special regard with which Xuefeng was viewed by Deshan.

(139.) CDL 16 (T 50.17–18); SGSZ 12 (T 50.782a12) claims that his return to Mt. Furong occurred in the sixth year of *gantong* (865).

(140.) While the SGSZ 12 (T 50.782a15–29) contains an elaborate explanation of Xingshi's role in Xuefeng's decision to erect a monastery on Mount Xuefeng, he is otherwise little known. The only other information I have been able to find is found in the Yuan dynasty chronology of Xuefeng's life, the *Xuefeng Zhenjue dashi nianpu*, which records an epitaph that Xuefeng allegedly wrote for Xingshi (XZJ 118.978b11–17). Xuefeng's epitaph also records the same information regarding Xingshi's role in persuading Xuefeng to establish his monastery on Mount Xuefeng (QTW 826.10967b3–14).

(141.) SGSZ 12 (T 50.782b3–4). In addition to Surveillance Commissioner Wei, the name of a Minister of Works Chen is also mentioned in connection with Xuefeng during the *zhonghe* era (881–85). Both are also mentioned in Xuefeng's epitaph (QTW 826.10967b16–17).

(142.) SGSZ 12 (T 50.782b5–10). According to SGSZ, the honors were conveyed through Chen Yanxiao. The same information is given in Xuefeng's epitaph (QTW

826.10967b18–19968a3). Other sources (CDL T 51.327a18) attribute it directly to Emperor Xizong.

(143.) On Huineng's refusal to appear at court, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 65–66.

(144.) SGSZ 12 (T 50.782b10–14); Xuefeng's epitaph (QTW 826.10968a3–6). The SGSZ claims that Xuefeng served the ruler of Minyue (Fujian); I have followed the QTW account. The state of Wu is counted among the “ten regimes” of this period. It lasted for forty-six years, founded by Yang Xingmi in 892, and continuing through four generations of rulers until 937.

(145.) QTW 826.10968a6–7.

(146.) XWDS 68.845–46. For other biographies of Wang Chao, see JWDS 134.1791 and SGCQ 90.1297–1300.

(147.) See E. H. Shafer, *The Empire of Min*.

(148.) While confined to the situation in the north, the analysis of the new class of rulers during this period by Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties*, is nonetheless informative.

(149.) XWDS 68.845–46 and JWDS 134.1791–92; see also Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū no shiryō kachi*,” *Zengaku kenkyū* 44, 37a–b.

(150.) SGSZ 12 (T 50.782b15–22); Epitaph (QTW 826.10968a7–12).

(151.) *Xuefeng Zhenjue dashi nianpu* (XZJ 118.979b4–8).

(152.) On this, see Tokiwa Daijō, “*Futari no Ch ūi-ō*,” in *Zoku Shina Bukkyō kenkyū*.

(153.) Full title: *Dawang qing Shi* (Xuefeng) *yu Xuansha runei lun foxinyin lu*, recorded in *Xuefeng yulu* 2 (XZJ 119.958a–60b); also recorded in *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* 3 (XZJ 126.396a15–99a9).

(154.) Literally, “What causes and conditions should I cultivate....?”

(155.) Literally, “eons [as numerous as] grains of sand....”

(156.) Literally, “distinguish mountains and rivers....”

(157.) Lines taken from the verse of admonition attributed commonly to the seven buddhas of the past: “To not create evil, to promulgate good, and to purify your own thoughts is the teaching of the buddhas.”

(158.) XZJ 119.958a3–b8.

(159.) XZJ 119.960b14. The version of the *Record* here was compiled by Miaode, otherwise unknown (see 958a1).

(160.) While prefaces exist for editions published as early as 1032 and 1080, the current edition dates from 1639, in the Ming era (see *Zengaku daijiten*, 668a–b).

(161.) Wang Sui's preface is recorded in *Xuefeng yulu* 2 (XZJ 119.982a12–83a8). Wang Sui is mentioned below in relation to his role in issuing an abridged version of the CDL, the *Chuandeng yuying ji*. Prior to the *Xuefeng yulu*, the *Shishuang Chuyuan yulu* was issued in 1027, and the *Zhimen Zuo Chanshi yulu* was issued in 1031. The *Yunmen guanglu* was reportedly compiled in 949 (see *Zengaku daijiten*, supplementary volume, “Zenshūshi nenpyō,” 57b–58a).

(162.) Truth be told, there is more reason to trust the *Record* than many other Chan sources from this period, since it at least bears some evidence of how it was originally compiled. In this regard it might be comparable to Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao*, compiled by the Tang official Pei Xiu ca. 850, while our earliest record of it dates from much later sources, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, compiled in 1004.

(163.) Yampolsky, trans., *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 155–56.

(164.) CDL 6 (T 51.246a4–7).

(165.) CDL 9 (T 51.270b25–26): “Only this universal mind is Buddha”; (270b28–29): “This mind is Buddha.”

(166.) CDL 14 (T 51.309b14).

(167.) According to the epitaph for Xuansha, the *Tang Fuzhou Anguo chanyuan xiankaishan Zongyi dashi beiwen bingxu*, cited in Yanagida, “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 38b. Yanagida claims that Xuansha was sixty-one and Wang Shenzhi thirty-four at this time, but this appears to be a miscalculation.

(168.) *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* (XZJ 126.351a–405a); see especially the sermon delivered to officials (the *taiwei* and *guanliao*) recorded in fascicle 2 (XZJ 126.382b11–84b11), and following (384b–85a).

(169.) XWDS 68.846.

(170.) As evidence of this, see the chart by Yamazaki Hiroshi, *Shina Chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, 432.

(171.) See the contents to the *Shiguo Chunqiu* (SGCQ 1.6b–15b and 36b–49a).

(172.) SGSZ 12 (T 50.782b29–c8). It further notes that all were recipients of purple robes, and that Xuansha was honored with the title “Zongyi Dashi.”



(173.) According to Yanagida (*"Sodōshū no shiryō katchi,"* 68–71), Xuefeng's exchanges were the subject of commentary fourteen times. This appears to be the greatest number recorded for any single master in the *Zutang ji*, which is not surprising if one considers the importance of Xuefeng for the lineage represented by Wendeng and his disciples.

(174.) Listed in the order of appearance (see ZTJ 10 and 11). Note that Dongyan Kexiu, who was mentioned as a prominent disciple in the SGSZ, is absent from the list.

(175.) Huileng's record is found in ZTJ 10 (65.14–66.1); CDL 18 (T 51.347b16–48c2); and SGSZ 13 (T 50.787a5–17). The CDL refers to Haiyan as Yanguan (T 51.347b16).

(176.) CDL 18 (T 51.347b17–18).

(177.) CDL 18 (T 51.347c11–13).

(178.) *Xin Tang shu* 190 (entry on Wang Shengui). Wang Shengui also has a biography in SGCQ 94.1362–63.

(179.) Yanagida, *"Sodōshū no shiryō katchi,"* 43a.

(180.) The term *Zhangle* (Eternal Happiness) was used by the Han Emperor Gaozu as a designation for the imperial palace.

(181.) CDL 18 (T 51.347c12–17).

(182.) CDL 18 (T 51.348b22–24).

(183.) ZTJ 10 (76.4–5).

(184.) ZTJ 11 (2–6). CDL 19 (T 51.354b23–24) contains the same information.

(185.) CDL 19 (T 51.354c15–16).

(186.) CDL 19 (T 51.355b27–28).

(187.) In addition to the verse honoring Zhangqing Huileng mentioned previously, Wendeng composed a verse in honor of Xuansha Shibe (ZTJ 10 [43.1–3]).

(188.) Chan masters names appearing in Congzhan's record in the ZTJ include Dongshan, Deshan, Yantou, Fayen, Nanquan, Caoshan, and Gushan.

(189.) For his record, see ZTJ 5 and CDL 14.

(190.) Jiashan Shanhui's record is found in ZTJ 7 and CDL 15.

(191.) Wendeng's record is contained in ZTJ 13 (21.14–29.10) and CDL 22 (T 51.382a20–b27). The CDL record provides little in the way of biographical detail. See also Wendeng's preface to the ZTJ 1 (1–12). I am also indebted to Yanagida's discussion of Wendeng (“Jōshu Zenji ni tsuite”) in “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 44–54, and Ishii Shūdō's “Senshū Fuku sen Shōkei-in no Jōshu Zenji Shōtō to *Sodōshū*” (hereafter abbreviated as “Shōtō to *Sodōshū*”).

(192.) Yanagida Seizan, “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 44b. Yanagida also suggests (79a, n14) that the Quanzhou Longhua Monastery be distinguished from the Fuzhou Longhua Monastery.

(193.) Ibid., 44–45, for which I am indebted for what follows.

(194.) CDL 18 (T 51.351a16–17).

(195.) Xuansha's recorded sayings mention a brief exchange between Xuansha and Wendeng (as Wendeng) (*Xuansha guanglu* 1 [XZJ 126.358a6–7]).

(196.) ZTJ 13 (22.5–6).

(197.) CDL 19 (T 51.35c15–16). The date given here is actually the fourth year of *zhenming* (918), but as Yanagida points out (“*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 45b), this is likely in error.

(198.) ZTJ 13 (22.6–10).

(199.) ZTJ 13 (22.10–11). Yanagida (“*Sodoshu no shiryo katchi*,” 46a) suggests that the reference to Zhaoqing Monastery is not necessarily limited to the Zhaoqing si, but to any number of monasteries in the region patronized by Wang Yanhan and headed by descendants of Xuefeng.

(200.) ZTJ 13 (22.12–13).

(201.) The *Quanzhou Kaiyuan si zhi* is contained in the collection of Chinese Buddhist monastery records, the *Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan*, series 2, vol. 8 (Mingwen shuju yinhang, 1980); Wendeng (Shengdeng)'s record is found on 65–66. I am using the reproduction of this record by Ishii Shūdō (“Shōtō to *Sodōshū*,” 169b), with Japanese *kundoku* reading following on 170a–b. On the same pages, Ishii also provides the contrasting record of Wendeng contained in the *Zutang ji*.

(202.) It would be interesting to speculate on the contextual reasons for the *Kaiyuan Monastery Records* neglecting to mention Baofu's slap. It may be that institutions like the Kaiyuan Monastery were disinclined to promote such behavior, for obvious reasons. In any case, it would be interesting to determine

whether other cases with similar contrast can be found between temple record and *denglu* accounts.

(203.) Xu Xuan, a champion of literary learning, was “the greatest Five Dynasties scholar to find a place at the Song court and gain the attention of Taizong” (Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, 156; names in quote converted to *pinyin*).

(204.) Ishii, “Shōtū to *Sodōshū*,” 169–70.

(205.) Ishii Shūdō, “*Senshū Kaigen jishi no Shōkei Shōtō no den ni tsuite*,” 276a–b. For Liu Congxiao's biography, see SGCQ 93.1349–51.

(206.) Ishii, *ibid.*, 276b–77a. On the connection between Wendeng and Liu Congxiao, see Ishii, “Shōtū to *Sodōshū*,” 178b–83b.

(207.) SGCQ 15.187. The original name for the Southern Tang state was Da Qi.

(208.) For Li Jing's biography, see JWS 134.1787–90, XWS 62.769–77, and SGCQ 16.205–37.

(209.) Based on Tan Qixiang, editor-in-chief, *Zhoungguo lishi ditu ji* (The Historical Atlas of China) vol. 5, 90.

(210.) Yanagida, “*Sodōshū no shiryō katchi*,” 47b.

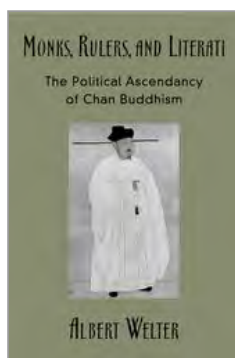
(211.) SGCQ 33.465–72 includes the names of eighteen Buddhist monks who were prominent figures in Southern Tang.

(212.) Xu Xuan's biography is found in SS 441 and SGCQ 28.400–403. Taizu relied on Xu Xuan in spite of the fact that Taizu had strong reservations toward southern officials and almost exclusively employed scholars born in the north (Johannes L. Kurz, “The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project,” *T'oung Pao* 87 [2001], 293).

(213.) Among Wendeng's contemporaries, special note should be reserved for Zhaoqing Daokuang (d.u.), the disciple of Zhangqing Huileng. According to the *Zutang ji*, after his enlightenment, Daokuang was invited by Army Chief (*taiwei*) Wang of Quanzhou to preach at Zhaoqing Cloister. The Min ruler subsequently granted him a purple robe and the honorific title “Great Master upon Whom the Dharma Depends” (*fayin dashi*) (ZTJ 13 [1.2–3]).

(214.) Mention should be made here also of Wendeng's preface to the *Zutang ji* (ZTJ 1 [1.1ff.; esp. line 8]), which clearly indicates Wendeng's approval of Jing and Yun's compilation.

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the Jingde [Era] Transmission of the Lamp (Jingde Chuandeng lu)

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0005

### Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines the history of Chan Buddhism in relation to transmission records and factional motives contained in the *Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* or the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. It suggests that the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was a major landmark for the Chan movement because prior to it Chan transmission records were primarily regional documents compiled under the auspices of local authorities. It contends that the inspiration for its text began in the revival of Buddhism in the Wuyue region mounted under the Chan banner and its real story concerns how the Wuyue-based Chan movement became integrated with the larger aims of the Song and developing Song policy toward Chan.

**Keywords:** Chan Buddhism, Jingde Chuandeng lu, Chan movement, Wuyue, religious literature, religious history

The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was a major landmark for the Chan movement. Prior Chan transmission records were primarily regional documents compiled under the auspices of local authorities. As such, they bear the unmistakable imprint of local conditions. As determined in chapter 4, even the *Zutang ji*, the first known record to account for the broad spectrum of lineages that characterized Chan in the ninth and tenth centuries, in the end amounted to a limited document promoting the regionally based lineage of Zhaoqing Wendeng. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, compiled some fifty years after the *Zutang ji*, represents the Chan response to new circumstances. The success of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, its

more comprehensive and polished style, rendered the *Zutang ji* obsolete.<sup>1</sup> Much had changed in the fifty-odd years since the *Zutang ji*'s compilation, namely, the reunification of China under Song authority. While several attempts at reunification had occurred since the fall of the Tang, the presumption of dynastic authority proved ephemeral. In northern China, where this presumption was perpetuated, five dynasties rose and fell in quick succession over the span of fifty-three years. Only two were able to survive past a single decade before succumbing.<sup>2</sup> Initiated in 960 by Zhao Kuangyin (Emperor Taizu, r. 960–76), and continued by his successors Zhao Kuangyi (Emperor Taizong, r. 976–97), the Song had endured for over four decades by the time that the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled during the reign of Zhao Heng (Emperor Zhenzong, r. 997–1022), exhibiting signs of increased stability and prosperity. Any domestic opposition to Song authority had long since been nullified.

**(p.116)** However, it would be wrong to think of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* as a document compiled without regional sympathies, devoted simply to extolling the virtues of a pan-factional Song Chan. The inspiration for the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* began earlier, in the revival of Buddhism in the Wuyue region mounted under the Chan banner. The real story of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* concerns how the Wuyue-based Chan movement became integrated with the larger aims of the Song and developing Song policy toward Chan. This is a subject explored in more detail in the next chapter, which looks at the role played by secular officials in the debate over Chan orthodoxy at the Song court. However, before considering the Wuyue background to the compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, I turn briefly to a discussion of some salient aspects of known editions of the *Chuandeng lu* text.

#### Editions of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*

Until recently, it was widely assumed that there were few variations among the editions of the *Chuandeng lu*, and that any such variations that did exist were insignificant—copyist errors, variant readings of characters with the same or similar meanings, and so forth. This assumption no longer holds true. While different editions of the *Chuandeng lu* agree on the vast majority of their contents, differences can be far more than the casual variations suggested above, and may include additions, deletions, and different wordings and versions of similar events and episodes.<sup>3</sup>

There are no existing versions of either the original compilation or the original edition of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled by Daoyuan in 1004 under a different title, *Fozu tongcan ji*, comprising twenty fascicles. It was edited by Song literati under the supervision of Yang Yi and issued in thirty fascicles in 1009 under the title by which it is currently known.<sup>4</sup> Since the *Fozu tongcan ji* has not survived, save for Daoyuan's preface, it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which it differs from Yang Yi's edited

version, which established the name of the text as *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. (Daoyuan's intention for the work is compared with Yang Yi's in chapter 6.)

The main editions of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* are the Tōji edition and the Sibū congkan (The Four Branches of Literature Collection) edition.<sup>5</sup> The Tōji edition refers to the Northern Song publication of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* issued from the Dongchan (East Chan) Monastery in Fuzhou in the third year of *yuanli* (1080), in the possession of Tōji in Kyoto.<sup>6</sup> It represents the oldest complete version of the *Chuandeng lu* currently known. The oldest extant version of the Sibū congkan edition of the *Chuandeng lu* was issued in the third year of *yanyou* (1316), in the Yuan dynasty. This version is the basis of the *Chuandeng lu* text contained in the Taishō shinshū daizōkyō Japanese edition of the Buddhist canon issued between 1914 and 1922, the standard source cited in modern scholarship.<sup>7</sup> The Sibū congkan text represents a composite edition drawn from various sources. The majority of its contents (twenty-four of the thirty fascicles) is based on the Sijian woodblock edition of the **(p.117)** *Chuandeng lu* printed in the fourth year of *shaoxing* (1134),<sup>8</sup> with the remaining fascicles coming from editions also issued early in the Southern Song. The relationship between the editions in question can be diagrammed as follows (see chart 5.1).<sup>9</sup>

Neither the Dongchan nor Sibū congkan edition is a faithful rendition of the oldest edition issued by Yang Yi.<sup>10</sup> While the particulars remain unknown, we know from Yang Yi's own comments that his compilation originally included the names of 1,760 people associated with Chan, of which 1,169 had entries recorded. Both the Dongchan and Sibū congkan editions include the names of 1,709 people, 966 with entries. This means that Yang Yi's compilation included 51 more people in total and, of even greater significance, 203 more with entries.<sup>11</sup> While we do not know the names of those expunged from the record, we do know the fascicles from which the eradications took place. The implications of where the alterations to the *Chuandeng lu* occurred will be discussed below. The point to remember is that not only was Daoyuan's compilation altered through Yang Yi's editorial work, Yang Yi's original edition of the *Chuandeng lu* was also subject to revision, and none of the editions in current existence represent faithful transmissions of Yang Yi's original published version. The fact that the text was reworked by later hands attests to the contested nature of Chan in the early Song.

The closest window on the *Chuandeng lu*'s original contents is probably the *Chuandeng yuying ji* (Anthology of Outstanding Treasures in the **(p.118)** Transmission of the Lamp), an abridged version of the *Chuandeng lu* issued by Wang Sui in 1034.<sup>12</sup> Surprisingly, even though the Sibū congkan edition was issued much later, in 1316, its contents are probably closer to the original. The reason for this contention is based on a comparison of the contents of both the Dongchan and Sibū congkan editions against those of the *Chuandeng yuying ji*. The comparison reveals a closer similarity between the *Chuandeng yuying ji* and

the Yuan dynasty Sibu congkan edition issued in the *yanyou* era (1316) than the Dongchan edition issued in 1080. This is in spite of the fact that the Dongchan edition was issued only seventy years after the original publication of the *Chuandeng lu*, as opposed to over three hundred years separating the *Chuandeng lu* from surviving copies of the Sibu congkan edition. Though the *Sibu congkan* represents a later edition, it incorporates earlier renditions of the text's contents. As stated above, the contents of the *Chuandeng lu* were not stable, as once supposed, but were subject to continued editing after Yang Yi. This is evident through a comparison between the Sibu congkan and Dongchan edition contents.<sup>13</sup> The alterations are revealing in some cases, clearly suggesting that the Dongchan edition represents elaborated and refined versions of the same stories recorded in the Sibu congkan edition.<sup>14</sup>

The rising influence of the Linji faction had a major impact on Chan and how it was conceived. Linking itself to Mazu Daoyi, the Linji faction came to assert a dominant position among the different Chan groups. The *Chuandeng lu*, however, was not originally compiled to advance the aims of this faction, but those of another Chan lineage named after Fayan Wenyi, whose students assumed a powerful presence in the state of Wuyue.

The Wuyue Background to the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*  
Monks active in the Wuyue region claimed affiliation to

Fayan Wenyi (885–958), who, like Zhaoqing Wendeng, belonged in a lineage also descended from Xuefeng Yicun, through Xuefeng's student, Xuansha Shibe (835–908).<sup>15</sup> Wenyi was befriended by the Southern Tang ruler, Li Jing, who invited him to the Bao'en Chan Cloister in the capital, Jinling, and bestowed the honorific title “Chan Master of Pure Wisdom” (*jinghui chanshi*) upon him. Prior to his enlightenment under Luohan Guichen (867–928), Wenyi had studied in the congregation of Zhangqing Huileng, mentioned previously in the context of the compilation of the *Zutang ji*. Wenyi's disciples prospered throughout the region, as noted previously, especially in the regimes of Min and Wuyue.<sup>16</sup>

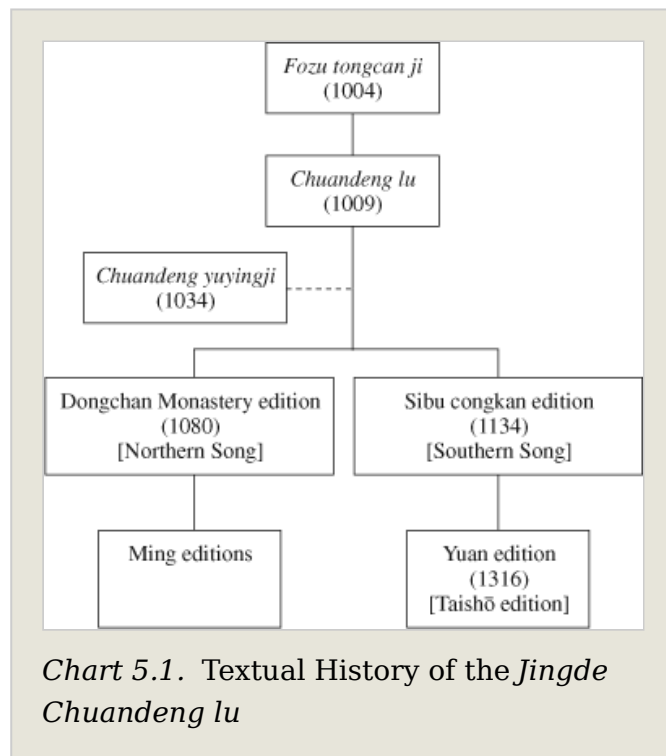


Chart 5.1. Textual History of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*



Tiantai Deshao (891–972) had a particularly profound influence in Wuyue, where he was instrumental in supporting the nineteen-year-old regional commander Qian Chu's bid for control of Wuyue following the sudden and unexpected death of the previous ruler.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the passing of the Qian family's elder generation of advisors, many of whom had helped establish Qian Liu's control over the region at the end of the Tang, made the political situation in Wuyue even more acute.<sup>18</sup> Deshao's support helped to stabilize the region. Qian Chu (Prince Zhongyi) went on to rule Wuyue for thirty years, until it **(p.119)** was finally amalgamated with the Song in 978, one of the last territories to be absorbed. In his official capacity as “State Preceptor” (*guoshi*), Deshao served as the spiritual advisor of Wuyue until his death in 974.

*Succession of Wuyue Rulers (893–978)*

1. Qian Liu (r. 893–932) [Taizu]
2. Qian Yuanguan (r. 932–41) [Shizong]
3. Qian Zuo (r. 941–47)
4. Qian Zong (r. 947)
5. Qian Chu (r. 948–78)

Under Deshao's influence and through the support of Qian Chu, the revival of Buddhism became a major preoccupation in Wuyue. Support for Buddhism in Wuyue had been evident almost from the beginning of Qian family rule in the region. Indeed, by the time that Qian Chu took control in 948, Buddhism had already been the acknowledged teaching of the Wuyue state for decades. Soon after the founder of Wuyue, Qian Liu (Prince Wusu), took official control of the region in 907,<sup>19</sup> he showed his support for Buddhism by beginning a campaign to construct monasteries throughout the region, including the Songfu Monastery, the Taiping Monastery for housing Zhiyi's remains, the Huiji Monastery, and the Jiuming Monastery on Mount Tiantai.<sup>20</sup> Monks from various regions sought refuge under the protection of the Buddhist monasteries that Qian Liu supported, including representatives of Northern- and Southern-faction Chan.<sup>21</sup>

A key spiritual center of the Wuyue region was undoubtedly Mount Tiantai, the cradle of the Tiantai School founded by Zhiyi (538–97). After the death of Zhiyi and his disciple Guanding (561–632), Tiantai was absorbed into the Buddhism of the capital, Chang'an, and lost its independent status and vitality. It was revived for a time in the eighth century by the sixth patriarch of the school, Zhanran (711–82), but fell into decline after his death.<sup>22</sup> Through the support of Wuyue rulers, the school was revived. Zanning (919–1002) claimed that Haorui (889–961)—whom the Wuyue ruler Qian Chu (Prince Zhongyi) honored with a purple robe and named “Great Virtuous Exaltor of Dharma” (*dade songfa*)—was the successor of the tenth Tiantai patriarch Xuanzhu.<sup>23</sup>

The campaign to revive Buddhism in Wuyue culminated in the personal connection and political fortunes of Deshao and Qian Chu. Nearly forty years Deshao's junior, Qian Chu naturally relied on Deshao for advice, practicing Buddhism under him in a manner more akin to a master-disciple relationship than the natural pattern pertaining between a ruler and his spiritual advisor. Deshao's stature in the region was such that he was praised as the reembodiment of Zhiyi.<sup>24</sup> His influence over Qian Chu resulted in favored treatment for Deshao's students in Wuyue, many of whom studied alongside Qian Chu in Deshao's congregation.<sup>25</sup> Most prominent among them were Zanning (discussed in the following chapter), who succeeded Deshao in the role of Wuyue political advisor, and Yongming Yanshou (904–75), who **(p.120)** assumed the role of spiritual leader in Wuyue. Yanshou's career culminated as abbot at the Yongming Monastery, a newly established institution in the Wuyue capital Qiantang (Hangzhou) that symbolized the central role of Buddhism in the region.<sup>26</sup>

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 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, Wuyue was economically and politically the strongest during the Five Dynasties period. 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* is articulated extensively in his major work on Chan scholasticism, the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source-Mirror).

The legacy of Wuyue Chan is documented in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (CDL). While little is known of the compiler, Daoyuan (d.u.), it is certain that he was a descendant in the Fayen lineage, probably a student of Tiantai Deshao, and a representative of the Chan that prevailed throughout the Wuyue region.<sup>27</sup> The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* challenges the *Zutang ji* claim that the descendants of Xuefeng, namely Wendeng, represented the legacy of “the treasury of the true dharma eye.” Instead, it posits the descendants of Fayen Wenyi, Deshao and his

disciples, as the truest heirs of this Chan legacy. The final fascicles of this work that are devoted to the biographies of Chan masters, fascicles 25 and 26, are dedicated to Wenyi and his descendants.<sup>28</sup>

The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* reflects a complex array of forces that shaped Chan identity during the tenth century. Since its inception, Chan had been driven by regionally based movements dependent on local support. The circumstances of this support contributed to the movements not only economically but also helped determine the shape of Chan teaching in their respective regions. Regional rulers and officials built the leading monasteries in their realms and invited prominent monks to head them. They engaged in debate and discussion with Chan monks and encouraged others to do likewise. With the reunification of China in the Song came the impetus to shape a uniform understanding of Chan to coincide with the aims of a united empire. Just as **(p.121)** former political divisions were eliminated to make way for the overarching rule of the new dynasty, former regional manifestations of Chan became integrated into a unified Chan position. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* is the record of Song Chan integration.

In general, Chan ideology swung between two poles in relation to the larger Buddhist tradition that spawned it, alternately characterized as “radical” (albeit rhetorically) and “syncretic,” independent and harmonious, subitist and gradualist, antinomian and ethical, and so on. It has, for good reason, become passé to reduce Chan dynamism to such simplistic polarities, and I do not intend to reintroduce these polarities here. Yet, no one would deny that polarities such as these animated much of Chan's rhetoric. Few would also deny that the rhetoric had little if any bearing on the reality of Chan practice.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, it would be erroneous to suggest that these rhetorical strategies were meaningless or trivial. My point here is that these polarities need to be examined against the background for which they were intended, as rhetorical strategies for marking intellectual terrain. I address these strategies here not as literal descriptions of Chan realities, but in terms of Chan's quest to carve out its own identity in the rapidly evolving Song intellectual milieu. The *Chuandeng lu* occupies a contested and somewhat contradictory place in this regard.

In the modern context, the spread of Chan (usually as Zen) beyond Asia since the twentieth century has tended to emphasize the radical, antinomian rhetoric of Chan at the expense of its more prosaic character. The *Chuandeng lu* would appear to pose something of a dilemma in this regard. It is often hailed, with justification, as epitomizing “classical” Chan, with its accounts of the unconventional behavior and antics of famous Chan masters and patriarchs. The circumstances associated with the compilation of the *Chuandeng lu*, however, are far more complex than this simple characterization allows. As a product of the Wuyue Buddhist revival and the retrospective, conservative orientation of the Fayen lineage masters Deshao, Yanshou, and others who dominated the

region, the *Chuandeng lu* in fact represents both poles of Chan ideology. In this sense, it is reminiscent of Zongmi's attempt to characterize the so-called seven factions of middle Chan, especially the two leading factions of his day, his own Heze faction and the Hongzhou faction spawned by Mazu Daoyi.<sup>30</sup> However, rather than presenting a scheme like Zongmi's that incorporates while sharply delineating differences, the *Chuandeng lu* combines the differences, maintaining but obscuring them in the process; in this regard, the distinction noted between Zongmi's and Yanshou's approach to Chan is applicable to the *Chuandeng lu* as well. Zongmi used a judgmental approach to distinguish among Chan factions in order to establish the legitimacy of the Heze lineage above others, particularly the Hongzhou faction, whereas Yanshou treated all of Chan as one faction.<sup>31</sup> While something of this tendency is true of the *Chuandeng lu* in that it presents Chan as a unified teaching with multiple branches, it is also true that it shows clear preference for the Fayan faction. As a prelude to discussing the way Chan is depicted in the *Chuandeng lu*, I turn briefly to a review of Yanshou's conception of Chan.

**(p.122) Yanshou's Notion of Zong and Wuyue Chan Identity**

As a leading proponent of Wuyue Chan, Yanshou's writings came to epitomize the Wuyue Chan approach. Yanshou's compilations are well known for the extensive use of materials drawn from classic Buddhist sources, the scriptures and commentaries of the scholastic tradition. Given Yanshou's self-proclaimed Chan affiliation, it is odd that Yanshou makes such sparse mention of prominent Chan figures. In one of his major works, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (Anthology [of Sources] on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds), Bodhidharma is not even mentioned. Huineng is mentioned only once, as are Nanquan Puyuan, Baizhang Huaihai, and Layman Pang. Niutou Farong is mentioned twice. There is no mention at all of Yanshou's supposed lineal forebears, Tiantai Deshao and Fayan Wenyi. Zongmi, on the other hand, is mentioned five times. To help put these figures in perspective, the Tiantai master Zhiyi is mentioned seven times, the *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka sūtra*) is cited fifty-one times, and the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*) is cited twenty-nine times. Chan figures and sources, as subsequently defined, are noticeable by their absence and seem to have exerted little influence on Yanshou.<sup>32</sup> One would expect the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's compilation of Chan sources, to reveal a different picture. Yet, this is not the case. While Yanshou does refer to Chan lineage masters more frequently and more prominently in the *Zongjing lu*, their presence is still greatly overshadowed by Yanshou's reliance on traditional Buddhist sources. For example, the *Huayan jing* and commentaries on it are cited over 360 times, the *Fahua jing* and commentaries on it are cited over 130 times, and the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* and commentaries on it are cited over 140 times. However, there are only seven references to the sixth patriarch, Huineng, seven references to Bodhidharma, and six references each to Mazu and Huangbo. To contrast, there are nine references to Zhuangzi.<sup>33</sup> To be fair, Chan *yulu* texts, the major sources of the

Chan school, were not yet published in Yanshou's day (although they presumably circulated in notebook form), and Chan lineage masters had not achieved the status and credibility that they would later enjoy.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that Yanshou favored an understanding of Chan as part and parcel of the Buddhist scriptural and doctrinal tradition. In fact, the evidence suggests that Yanshou was highly critical of the style of Chan that many classic Chan figures are said to represent.

In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, Yanshou responds critically to those who base their understanding of Buddhism on common sayings attributed to Chan. For example, when a questioner cites a famous saying attributed to Huineng, "When things are not considered in terms of good and evil, one naturally gains entrance into the essence of the mind (*xinti*),"<sup>35</sup> Yanshou chides him for his partial understanding of Buddhism and biased understanding of Chan.<sup>36</sup> In another instance, a questioner cites the Chan saying, "Everything that comes into contact with one's eye is in the state of *bodhi*; whatever comes into contact with one's feet is the Way (*dao*)" as a basis for criticizing Yanshou's more formal and conventional approach to Buddhist practice.<sup>37</sup> The first part of this **(p.123)** saying, "everything that comes into contact with one's eyes," is cited in the *Chuandeng lu*, in a conversation recorded in the biography of Chan Master Fuqing Xuanna (fl. tenth century).<sup>38</sup> The same line also came to be associated with the awakening of Chan Master Shishuang Qingzhu (807–88), occurring in the context of a conversation with his master Daowu, also cited in the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>39</sup> Yanshou's response to exclusive reliance on such an approach to Chan is unequivocal: "You should not, because of some idiosyncratic interpretation of the void (*xu*) obliterate virtue and destroy good deeds [only] to be haphazardly reborn in some evil transmigration, or deny existence and cling to emptiness [only] to become haplessly implicated in a net of evil."<sup>40</sup> The position of so-called "Southern Chan," which came to represent an orthodox Chan position, held otherwise. As mentioned previously, Huineng in the *Platform sūtra* is said to deny the efficacy of seeking blessings through good deeds.<sup>41</sup>

Yanshou's aim in the *Zongjing lu* makes clear his belief in the authority of Buddhist scripture. In the preface to this work, Yanshou states explicitly his goal of establishing true, or correct, *zong*.<sup>42</sup> The term *zong* is problematic owing to its different meanings. It can refer to a doctrinal interpretation, particularly the underlying theme or essential doctrine of a text, or to a "school," which in Chinese Buddhism refers to a tradition tracing its origin back to its founder.<sup>43</sup> In this case, Yanshou's beliefs are clearly closer to the first meaning, suggesting a unified underlying theme or essential doctrine of Buddhist teaching as a whole, and clearly countering narrower interpretations favored by sectarian lineage. The means to accomplish this aim are also made clear: using the question-and-answer method to dispel doubts, and citing writings that make explicit true principle, in other words, the central, unifying source (*zhengzong*) of Buddhist

teaching. The suggestion that such a unifying doctrine underlies all Buddhist teaching is essentially antithetical to sectarian concerns.

According to Yanshou, the citation of authoritative scriptures and the teachings of the buddhas and patriarchs make clear that the one, all-encompassing, universal mind (*yixin*) is the *zong*, the central, unifying source of Buddhist teaching. The myriad dharmas of phenomenal existence (*wanfa*) are the mirror, or reflections (*jing*), of the mind.<sup>44</sup> Hence, the title of the work, *Zongjing lu*, refers to a record (*lu*) of sources that reflect or mirror (*jing*) the essential, underlying doctrine of Buddhist teaching (*zong*).

As alluded to above, the term *zong* allows for a variety of connotations and nuances, both within and outside the Chan context. It is useful to review the context out of which the concept *zong* emerged, to understand it in both senses with which it is employed. The term originally referred to an ancestral hall, where the one's clan ancestors were honored.<sup>45</sup> It appears frequently in the posthumous titles for Chinese emperors (e.g., *gaozong*, “High Ancestor”; *taizong*, “Great Ancestor”). This derives from one of *zong*'s primary meanings in ancient China as the progenitor of a specific clan. In this context, *zong* took on concrete meaning as clan guardian or protector, and was the object of ritual veneration by clan descendants. The living clan head was responsible for decisions affecting clan welfare and prosperity, for the preservation of clan identity, and the preservation of its legacy. The authority of the clan head was **(p.124)** symbolically linked to the clan progenitor. Chinese emperors naturally seized upon this symbolism, promoting their own deceased (as well as themselves) as ancestors and protectors of the Chinese people, responsible for the welfare and prosperity of the country as a whole. In this sense, the imperial family represented the “grand clan” of the Chinese people, the focal point of collective as opposed to specific clan identity.

The notion of *zong* as clan ancestor connected to lineal descendants played a major role in shaping Chan identity. The use of lineage to legitimize a teaching of tradition in Buddhism by tracing it back to India is by no means exclusive to Chan. All forms of Chinese Buddhism, in principle, were based on the notion of lineage, as all members of the Buddhist clergy, upon admission, were officially required to change their clan affiliation from their natal clan to their adopted Buddhist (*Shi* or *Śākya*) clan. By acknowledging several branches, Chan was able to capitalize on its clan identity as an extended family. However, what distinguished the Chan notion of lineage was its reliance on Chinese Confucian and imperial precedents.<sup>46</sup>

As the Chan tradition developed, it found favor in the notion of lineage as its organizing principle. Ultimately, Chan came to designate not so much a set of doctrines, practices, and principles as the framework of an extended clan based on common ancestors and lineal connections. This framework served as the

organizing principle for the classic works of Chan identity, the transmission histories or “lamp records” (*denglu*), under discussion. As an organizing principle, these works share the belief in a common series of Chan ancestors, or patriarchs, extending from Śākyamuni Buddha in India, to Mahākāśyāpa down through a series of Indian patriarchs conventionally fixed at twenty-eight, as seen previously. Chan transmission records are principally concerned with documenting this profusion of Chan masters following the sixth patriarch, organizing them according to lineage. The genesis of the so-called five houses (or five clans) of Chan Buddhism is found in these records. Organized in this fashion, the master-disciple relation serves as a surrogate father-son relationship, linking practitioners to the larger tradition of Chan ancestors and providing identity based on specific lineages. In this way Chan came to mirror the Chinese clan system, organized around common ancestors, patrilineal-style relationships, factional branch lineages, and so on.

Yanshou's approach to the Chan *zong* is markedly different from that proposed in Chan transmission records like the *Chuandeng lu*. Yanshou's notion of *zong* as “source” (as in the source of all things, from which all things emerge and to which all things return—the substratum or “truth” of phenomenal activity) contrasts with the idea of *zong* in “lamp records” (*denglu*) predicated on lineage transmission between master and disciple.<sup>47</sup> The former is a vision of *zong* as paradigm that casts and orchestrates phenomenal activity, imbuing it with ultimate meaning. The latter subsumes *zong* under the notion of clan solidarity, using it to systematically arrange individual masters within a coherent structure reminiscent of an extended family that traces itself back to common ancestors. Above all, this shift reflects a movement away from a strictly Buddhist understanding of *zong* toward a Sinitic model predicated on clan identity.

**(p.125)** In relation to the *Chuandeng lu*, the question is how the Wuyue-based Fayen lineage and its conventional approach to the Buddhist tradition came to be represented in the style of the unconventional assumptions characteristic of a Chan transmission record. To be sure, the two conceptions of *zong* alluded to above need not be mutually exclusive. While one may clearly dominate in terms of organizational structure, both may be implicitly understood as features of the Chan tradition as a whole. Leaving aside for the moment the role that Yang Yi might have played in influencing the final form that the *Chuandeng lu* took, the circumstances under which Daoyuan conceived Chan in the *Chuandeng lu* were clearly different from Yanshou's in the *Zongjing lu*. For Yanshou, writing when Wuyue power and prestige was at its peak (the *Zongjing lu*, following traditional accounts, was issued in 961), Chan was defined in terms of the agenda animating the Wuyue Buddhist revival. Chan in Wuyue became the crucible into which the “new” Buddhism of Wuyue integrated the leading features of the entire Buddhist tradition, including both the scriptural canon and the scholastic commentaries that were the mainstay of Buddhist doctrine. The teachings of Chan masters, as they would come to be defined by Chan transmission records,

play a relatively minor role in Yanshou's writings. His mission was not to promote Chan as an independent and separate entity, but to demonstrate how Chan was the natural culmination of a tradition that it absorbed. The world of Chinese Buddhism centered in Wuyue provided Yanshou with a position of great authority. With the strong support of Wuyue rulers for Buddhism, Yanshou promoted Wuyue Chan as a model for others to follow.

For Daoyuan, writing some forty years later, Wuyue strength was a fading memory. The Wuyue regime was forced to capitulate to Song authority in 978, two years after Yanshou's death. While Wuyue was still a strong region within the Song, the circumstances had clearly changed. Whatever the strengths of Wuyue Chan, it was now necessary to adhere to new criteria to redefine Wuyue Chan's character. The role of Chan (and Buddhism generally)—how it was defined and what it represented—was increasingly determined by the Song situation. While the precise influence of Yang Yi over the *Chuandeng lu* remains obscure, it is clear that powerful new external forces in the early Song combined to give Daoyuan's work the shape that it did. In this context, defining Chan became a national rather than regional concern. The way that Chan was viewed and understood was determined by Song authorities seeking to harmonize regional Chan movements in a comprehensive fashion. While multilineal Chan transmission records were ideally suited for this, they simply provided a structure for Chan inclusiveness. What remained was the question of orthodoxy: What ideology, what correct principles would Chan properly represent? In this way, the struggle for supremacy among Chan factions continued, and the compilation of the *Chuandeng lu* became an important text through which this struggle was waged.

The *Chuandeng lu* is regarded as the *locus classicus* of the transmission history genre. It was the first Chan record to be accepted in official circles, marking the acceptance of Chan into the Song establishment. In defining Chan (p.126) identity, it set standards that all subsequent Chan transmission records would follow, and helped establish a number of well-known Chan conventions: “great awakening” (*dawu*); the enlightenment experience as the culmination of Chan practice; confirmation of one's realization by a recognized master as the legitimate criteria for succession; the transmission verse as a poetic account of one's experience; the dialogical style of interaction between Chan practitioners; the witty, nonsensical remark as revelatory of the enlightened state; an appreciation of the “sacred” significance of the mundane or trivial; and so on. Many incidents involving Chan masters later memorialized in *gong'an* (Jpn. *kōan*) collections were first recorded in the *Chuandeng lu*. Some of the earliest versions of Chan *yulu* (Recorded Sayings) texts were first published in the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>48</sup>



What follows is a summary of significant aspects of the *Chuandeng lu*, with an aim toward revealing the way in which this contested Chan orthodoxy is represented.

#### The Seven Buddhas of the Past

The first two fascicles of the *Chuandeng lu* are devoted to the records of the past buddhas and Indian patriarchs, the same general arrangement as is found in the *Zutang ji*. As with the *Zutang ji*, the inclusion of the seven buddhas of the past connects the tradition of past buddhas to the Chan patriarchal tradition. Such inclusion presumes agreement between the larger Buddhist tradition founded on the message delivered by the buddhas, and the Chan tradition transmitted from the buddhas through the series of Chan patriarchs. The extension of the Chan lineage to include the seven buddhas of the past was suggested in the *Platform sūtra* and the *Baolin zhuan*.<sup>49</sup> However, the *Platform sūtra* provides only a collective reference to them and does not even mention them by name. Since the opening sections of the *Baolin zhuan* containing their records are missing, no information is available for them there. As a result, the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu* are the earliest Chan records with extant sections on the seven buddhas of the past, and our first view regarding how they were incorporated into the Chan tradition.

The records of the seven buddhas in the *Chuandeng lu* are constructed in the same fashion as the *Zutang ji*. The records are composed of two parts: a four-line enlightenment verse and a brief biographical introduction. The enlightenment verses for the seven buddhas in the *Chuandeng lu* are the same as those attributed to them in the *Zutang ji*, except for minor variations.<sup>50</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* is distinguished by further information on each buddha, consisting of a few lines cited from the *Dirghagāma-sūtra* (Pali, *Dīgha-nikāya sutta*). This seemingly insignificant feature of the *Chuandeng lu* is actually quite important. It serves to connect the enlightenment transmission tradition of Chan, signified by the enlightenment verses, with the textual tradition of Buddhism, represented by the *Dirghagāma-sūtra*. From the outset, the *Chuandeng lu* makes quite clear that the enlightenment experiences of the seven buddhas are consistent with Chan tradition, and that the latter is predicated on the former.

#### (p.127)

In the past, buddhas appeared in the world continuously and incessantly, to the extent that it is impossible to know or tally all of them. As a result, even though there will be a thousand thus-come (i.e., buddhas) ones in the span of the present kalpa alone, up until Śākyamuni only seven buddhas have been documented.<sup>51</sup> According to the *Dirghagāma-sūtra*, “The seven buddhas, through the exercise of their power, emitted light and dispelled darkness. Each of them attained awakening while seated beneath a tree.” Furthermore, Manjuśrī was the patriarch-teacher (*zushi*) of the seven

buddhas, and when the Mahāsattva Jinhua Shanhui climbed to the top of Mt. Song to practice the Way, he realized the seven buddhas impelled him forward and Vimalākīrti supported him from the rear.<sup>52</sup>

Mahāsattva Jinhua Shanhui, also known as Fu *dashi* or Māhāsattva Fu (497–569), was an associate of Bodhidharma, renowned in Chan circles along with Baozhi (418–514) as a model for how *chan* practice may lead to the acquisition of supernatural powers.<sup>53</sup> Mention of his name here serves to tie Chan origins in China with the sacred legacy of Buddhism and the seven buddhas of the past. His name also reminds us of the close connection of Chan monks with the miraculous powers of the thaumaturge. The thrust here is to associate Chan with the legacy of the seven buddhas of the past and leading bodhisattvas of the Buddhist tradition like Mañjuśrī and Vimalākīrti.

The verses exemplifying the enlightenment of the seven buddhas of the past are also significant for their contrast with the common teachings of the seven buddhas in traditional accounts. According to Buddhist tradition, the seven buddhas of the past held a common teaching, considered as the source from which all subsequent Buddhist teachings sprang. The verse representing this common teaching attributed to the seven buddhas is as follows:

Do not commit any evil,  
Perform various good deeds;  
Purify your thoughts of your own accord,  
This is the teaching of all the buddhas.<sup>54</sup>

In contrast, the enlightenment verses attributed to the seven buddhas in the *Chuandeng lu* emphasize characteristically Chan themes. The following verse, attributed to Kāśyapa Buddha, is typical in this regard.

The nature of all sentient beings is pure;  
From the outset, nothing is born, nothing can be destroyed.  
As such, this body and mind appear as apparitions;  
No sins or blessings [are created] in the transformations that  
apparitions undergo.<sup>55</sup>

The verse attributed to the seven buddhas in traditional accounts characterizes Buddhist teaching in terms of its ethical concerns, avoiding evil and **(p.128)** doing good, with the aim of self-purification. The Chan rendition of Kāśyapa's teaching rejects the ethical basis for practice, the attempt to avoid sin and obtain blessings, as inherently deluded about the inherent purity of self-nature. As such, the difference between the teachings reflected in the two verses parallels the famous distinction between Northern and Southern School teachings as represented in the well-known verses attributed to Shenxiu and Huineng in the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*. In his bid to win the mantle

of the sixth patriarch from the fifth patriarch Hongren, Shenxiu composed the verse:

The body is the Bodhi tree,  
The mind is like a clear mirror.  
At all times we must strive to polish it,  
And must not let the dust collect.

In response, Huineng countered:

Bodhi originally has no tree,  
The mirror also has no stand.  
Buddha nature is always clear and pure;  
Where is there room for dust?<sup>56</sup>

Thus, while the *Chuandeng lu* conceives itself in terms of the legacy inherited from the Buddhist tradition stemming from the teachings of the seven buddhas of the past, it characterizes the teaching inherited in typically Chan terms.

As stated above, each of the records of the seven buddhas of the past in the *Chuandeng lu* is composed of two parts: the enlightenment verse and biographical details. As an example of the way the biographical information for the seven buddhas of the past (excluding Śākyamuni) is given in the *Chuandeng lu*, the biographical material following Kāśyapa's enlightenment verse in the *Chuandeng lu* is as follows.

The *Dirghagāma-sūtra* says: “In the age when people lived to be 20,000 years old, this buddha (Kāśyapa) appeared in the world. He was a member of the brahman caste, and his name was Kāśyapa. His father was a virtuous brahman king, his mother a wealthy donor. He lived in the city of Varansi, and sat beneath the *nyagrodha* tree [where he attained enlightenment]. He saved two-thousand people each time he preached the dharma. Two deities assisted him. The first was Tishe, the second Bharabha. His attendants were good friends, and his followers constituted an army.”<sup>57</sup>

This is the standard format followed in the *Chuandeng lu* to introduce the buddhas of the past (Vipaśyin, Sikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa) leading up to Śākyamuni. All of them begin with an enlightenment verse, followed by material cited from the *Dirghagāma-sūtra* in the precise format given above.

**(p.129)** From Śākyamuni through the Sixth Patriarch  
With the seventh buddha of the past, Śākyamuni, the records become understandably more elaborate.<sup>58</sup> The remainder of fascicles 1 and 2 in the *Chuandeng lu* are devoted to the Indian patriarchs. Fascicle 1 covers from the first Indian patriarch, Mahakāśyapa, through the fourteenth Indian patriarch Nāgārjuna. Fascicle 2 includes the records of the fifteenth patriarch, Kanadeva,

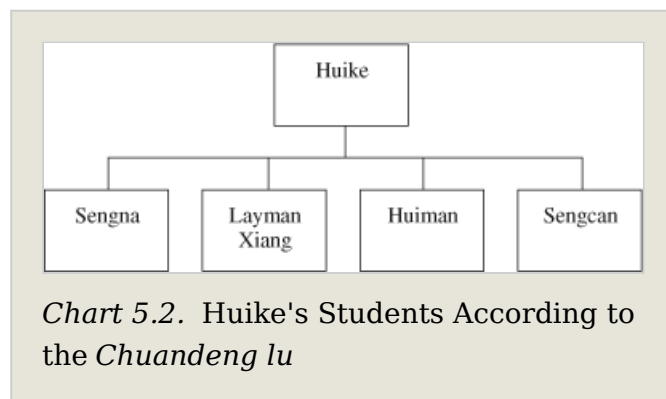
through the twenty-seventh, Prajñātārā. In this regard, the *Chuandeng lu*, like the *Zutang ji*, follows the *Baolin zhuan* in its enumeration of Indian patriarchs, as mentioned above. (For the list, see chapter 4.)

The transmission in the *Chuandeng lu* of the Chan lineage in China assumes standard form from Bodhidharma through the sixth patriarch Huineng. The patriarchs are not numbered one through six, in the common way that they have become known to highlight the origins of Chan transmission in China, but are numbered twenty-eight through thirty-three, to emphasize the continuation of the line of transmission that originated in India from Śākyamuni. In addition to affirming the established line of transmission from Bodhidharma through, successively, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, and Huineng, the *Chuandeng lu* also includes the records of other prominent masters and collateral lineages. For example, fascicle 3 includes records for Huike's students Sengna, Layman Xiang, and Huiman, in addition to Sengcan (see chart 5.2).<sup>59</sup>

More prominently, fascicle 4 of the *Chuandeng lu* devotes considerable attention to the collateral Niutou (Oxhead) lineage descended from Daoxin. The Niutou lineage is charted through six generations: Niutou Farong, Zhiyan, Huifang, Fachi, Zhiwei, and Huizhong (see chart 5.3).

In total, the names of seventy-six masters are mentioned in association with the Niutou faction, seventeen with records included.<sup>60</sup> Fascicle 4 also includes the records of collateral lineages descended from the fifth Chinese patriarch Hongren. In addition to the “main line” of Chan transmission through Huineng, a total of one hundred seven names are listed as descendants of Hongren through thirteen disciples other than Huineng.

**(p.130)**



*Hongren's Disciples in the Chuandeng lu*



Chart 5.3. The Niutou Lineage in the *Chuandeng lu*

Shenxiu	
Preceptor of State Huian	Fazhao
Daoming	Yifang
Tanguang	Daojun
Chanzao	Xuanze
Fachi	Sengda
Zhishen	Liu Zhubu
Huineng	

Of these thirteen, three have records in the *Chuandeng lu*, Shenxiu, Preceptor of State Huian, and Daoming.<sup>61</sup> The most prolific lineage documented is Shenxiu's "Northern School." Shenxiu is credited with nineteen heirs. The **(p.131)** only

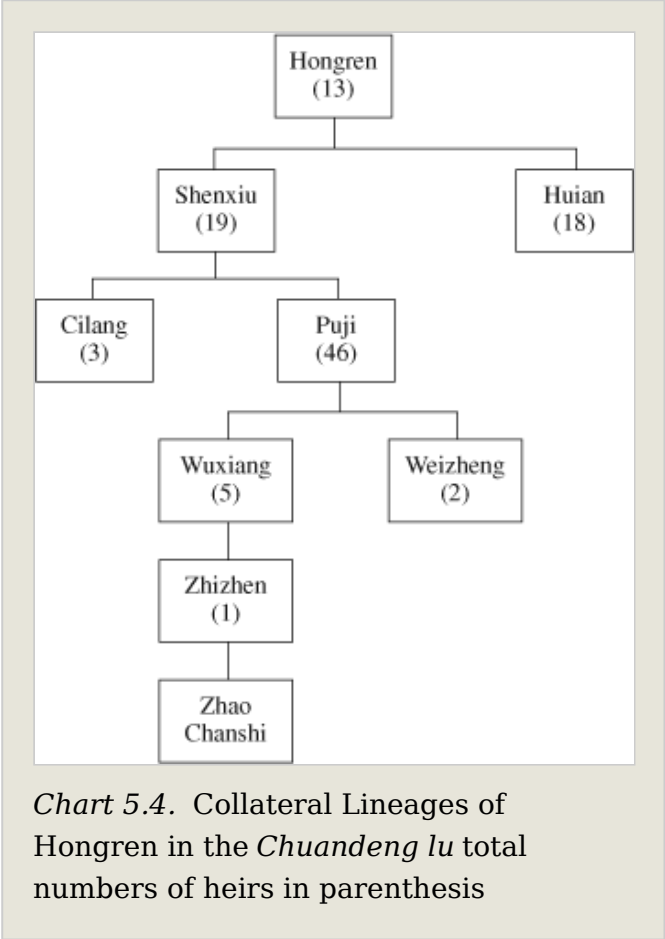
other disciple of Hongren credited with heirs is Huian with eighteen. Shenxiu's disciple, Puji, is credited with forty-six heirs in the third generation. In total, the collateral lineages of Hongren listed in the *Chuandeng lu* are documented through five generations, with one hundred seven names mentioned. Roughly 70 percent of these are connected with the “Northern School” (see chart 5.4).

In sum, fascicle 4 exhibits the *Chuandeng lu*'s dedication to inclusiveness. In spite of Shenhui's victory in winning recognition for Huineng as the sixth patriarch, the *Chuandeng lu* remains committed to acknowledging the accomplishments of masters in collateral lineages, even while accepting the legitimacy of Chan established through “Southern School” masters.

Of the one hundred seven names mentioned, only twelve have records.<sup>62</sup> There is good reason to believe that this was not originally the case. Fascicles 3 and 4 (discussed collectively) are one area of the *Chuandeng lu* where a discrepancy is found between the total number of people Yang Yi claims he listed in his original publication and the numbers given in existing editions.<sup>63</sup> According to Yang Yi, fascicles 3 and 4 mentioned thirteen more names than those listed in existing editions (221, as opposed to 208). More significantly, however, is the discrepancy in the number of records associated with the people listed (**p.132**) in these fascicles. According to Yang Yi, fascicles 3 and 4 contained the records of 204 people, a whopping 168 more than the 36 records contained in existing editions. Since fascicle 3 concerns the records of the standard, if obscure, early Chinese Chan patriarchs (Bodhidharma through Hongren), this is not likely to be a major source for the discrepancies. It accounts for only 8 of the 208 names mentioned in fascicles 3 and 4 in existing editions. Fascicle 4, which documents the collateral Niutou and Northern School lineages, rivals to the claim of orthodoxy otherwise reserved for the Southern School, would appear to be the likely place where some names and numerous records were deleted. If this is indeed the case, the *Chuandeng lu* was even more devoted to the principle of inclusiveness than existing editions of the text reveal. Moreover, the deletion of names and records from the *Chuandeng lu* speaks again to the contested nature of Chan orthodoxy in the early Song, where the Linji faction insisted on shaping an interpretation of Chan that increasingly marginalized rival views.

Fascicle 5 of the *Chuandeng lu* is devoted to the record of the sixth patriarch, the thirty-third patriarch counting from the list of Indian patriarchs, Huineng, and his disciples. The complete list of Huineng's disciples given here includes forty-three names, nineteen of whom have records.<sup>64</sup>

*List of Huineng's Disciples in the Chuandeng lu (\*indicates those names with records included)*



Jueduo (Gupta)*	Xuance*	Zizai
Fahai*	Lingtao*	Xiankong
Zhicheng*	Huizhong*	Taixiang
Xiaoliao*	Shenhui*	Fajing
Zhihuang*	Zhituo	Biancai
Fada*	Jing'an	Wu Toutuo
Zhitong*	Xun Chanshi	Daoying
Zhiche*	Dingzhen	Zhiben
Zhichang*	Jiangu	Fazhen
Zhidao*	Daojin	Xuankai
Yinzong*	Shankuai	Tancui
Xingsi*	Yuansu	Prefect Wei Qu
Huairang*	Zongyi	Yixing Sun
Xuanjue*	Shanxian	

Benjing\*

Fanxing

The eight disciples of Huineng recorded in the *Zutang ji* (Xingsi, Huairang, Xuanjue, Benjing, Xuance, Tripitaka Master Jueduo, Huizhong, and Shenhui) are also included among those with records in the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>65</sup> The inclusion of records for eleven more disciples, and the mention of twenty-four additional disciples' names, emphasizes how Huineng's reputation as a major Chan patriarch was continually enhanced by an increasing list of alleged disciples.

**(p.133)** *Chuandeng lu* Lineages Descended from the Sixth Patriarch

From fascicle 6 on, the *Chuandeng lu* is devoted to documenting Chan lineages from the sixth patriarch, Huineng. Two lineages dominate: one leading through Huineng's disciple Nanyue Huairang, the other through the disciple Qingyuan Xingsi.<sup>66</sup> According to the *Chuandeng lu*, these two masters provide the threads through which Chan flourished into the ninth and tenth centuries and beyond. While each lineage is suitably documented, the *Chuandeng lu* exhibits clear preference for lineages descended through Xingsi, both through the placement of the records and the number of masters descended from each lineage. In the *Chuandeng lu*, the descendants of Huairang are treated first, in eight fascicles (6 through 13) mentioning 453 names. The descendants of Xingsi follow, treated in thirteen fascicles (14 through 26) mentioning 886 names. The implicit claim of the *Chuandeng lu* is that following the period in which masters descended through Huairang and Mazu Daoyi—Hongzhou and Linji lineage heirs—dominated Chan, they were superceded by the activities of descendants of Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian, chiefly monks associated with the lineage of Fayan Wenyi.

The compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan, was himself a descendant of the Fayan lineage, and the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled to demonstrate the supremacy of Fayan lineage masters in the world of contemporary Chan. In this regard, the *Chuandeng lu* has clear affinity with the *Zutang ji*. Both records agree that Chan after the sixth patriarch was dominated by two lineages, one descended through Huairang and Mazu, the other through Xingsi and Shitou. They both suggest the eclipse of the once-flourishing Jiangxi (Mazu) lineages by the current activity of lineages descended from Shitou. The *Chuandeng lu* and *Zutang ji* differ, however, in their assertions as to which lineage descended from Shitou dominates the contemporary Chan scene. The *Zutang ji* emphasized that the principal line of Chan transmission was carried through Shitou's disciple Tianhuang Daowu, successively through Longtan Chongxin, Deshan Xuanjuan, down to Xuefeng Yicun. To this point (the succession through Xuefeng Yicun), the two records concur. From Xuefeng, however, each record emphasizes the lineage that dominated Chan in their respective regions. The *Zutang ji* maintains, as we have seen, that contemporary Chan was represented in the activities surrounding the students of Zhaoqing Wendeng, the descendant of Xuefeng's student, Baofu Congzhan. The *Chuandeng lu* asserts that the most representative line of contemporary Chan passed through another of Xuefeng's

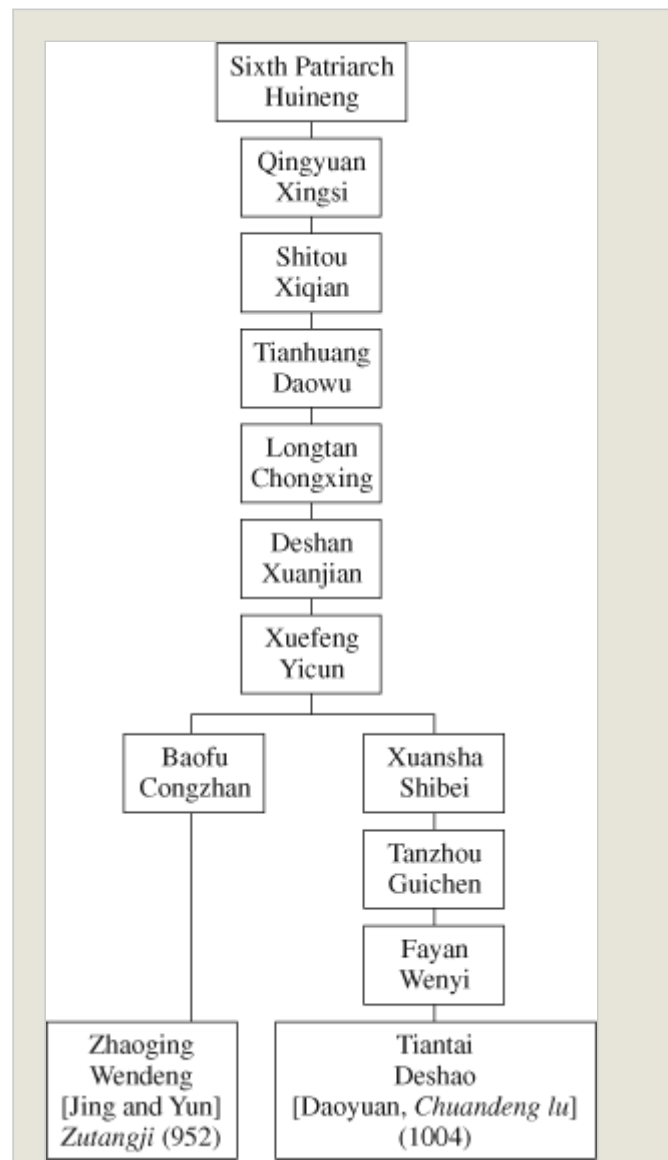


students, Xuansha Shibei, on to Guichen and then Fayan Wenyi, whose descendants flourished in the Wuyue region (see chart 5.5).

As with the *Zutang ji*, the *Chuandeng lu* asserts that lineages descended from Nanyue Huairang and Mazu Daoyi dominated Chan circles in the generations immediately following the sixth patriarch. (Unlike the *Zutang ji*, which documents descendants in generations from the sixth patriarch, the *Chuandeng lu* records names of descendants in generations from Huairang and Qingyuan. As a result, the first-generation heirs of Huairang and Qingyuan in the *Chuandeng lu* equal second-generation heirs of the sixth patriarch in the *Zutang ji*, and so on.) Mazu's dharma-heirs (second generation) alone are claimed to number 138. Of these, an astonishing seventy-five have records in the *Chuandeng lu*, extending over three fascicles (6 through 8).<sup>67</sup>

**(p.134)**

Included here are many of the most famous names in the Chan tradition: Baizhang Huaihai, Dazhu Huihai, Fenzhou Wuye, Xitang Zhizang, Nanquan Puyuan, and so on. The *Chuandeng lu* also documents the activity extending over the next few generations after Mazu. Among third-generation successors, Baizhang Huaihai is credited with thirty dharma-heirs, including Guishan Lingyu and Huangbo Xiyun. Nanquan Puyuan is credited with seventeen dharma-heirs, including Changsha Jingcen and Zhaozhou Congshen. In the fourth generation, Guishan Lingyu is claimed to have had forty-three heirs, **(p.135)** including Yangshan Huiji. Zhaozhou Congshen had thirteen heirs. Huangbo Xiyun had twelve, most notably Linji Yixuan. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the numbers of heirs descended from Huairang begin to decline somewhat in the fifth generation, and would cease to be much



of a factor in Chan circles by the eighth generation. While Yangshan Huiji produced ten dharma-heirs and Linji Yixuan

Chart 5.5. Lineages to Compilers of the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*

produced twenty-two heirs in the fifth generation, still indicating strong vitality, only nineteen heirs in total are mentioned in the sixth generation. As low as this number is considering the vigor of previous generations, it is not matched in the next three generations combined (eleven names are mentioned in connection with the seventh generation, six names for the eighth, and only one name for the ninth). According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the lineages descended from the sixth patriarch through Huairang gradually lapsed into obscurity. The last Huairang lineage descendant mentioned in the *Chuandeng lu* is the lone ninth-generation heir Fenzhou (or Fenyang) Shanzhao (947–1024), who was still alive when the record was compiled (see table 5.1).<sup>68</sup>

In contrast, Qingyuan and Shitou's lineages begin to show strength just at the time Huairang and Mazu's lineages begin to wane. While Qingyuan Xingsi is credited with only a single heir, Shitou Xiqian, Shitou is credited with twenty-one dharma-heirs, including Tianhuang Daowu and Yaoshan Weiyan. Among third-generation descendants, Yaoshan is credited with ten dharma-heirs. The seventeen heirs of the fourth generation are spread over several masters, with the most (five) credited to Cuiwei Wuxue. According to the (p.136) *Chuandeng lu*, it is only in the fifth generation that the fortunes of the Qingyuan/Shitou line begin to take a dramatic turn for the better. Touzi Datong is credited with thirteen heirs. Deshan Xuanjian is credited with nine, including most notably in this context Xuefeng Yicun. In addition, Shishuang Qingzhu is said to have forty-one dharma-heirs, Jiashan Shanhui twenty-two heirs, and Dongshan Liangjie twenty-six heirs. The spread of Qingyuan/Shitou line influence advances even further in the next (sixth) generation. Yantou Quanhua is credited with nine heirs, Daguang Zhuhui with thirteen heirs, Jiufeng Daoqian with ten heirs, Yunzhu Daoying with twenty-eight heirs, Caoshan Benji with fourteen heirs, Shushan Kuangren with twenty heirs, and Luopu Yuanan with ten heirs. Most remarkable, however, is the number of heirs (fifty-six) attributed to Xuefeng Yicun, ranking him among the most influential masters in the Chan tradition. This parallels the significance accorded him in the *Zutang ji*, treated previously, where half of the forty-two seventh-generation descendants of the sixth patriarch through the Shitou line were deemed to be students of Xuefeng.

Table 5.1. Chan Records in the *Chuandeng lu*

1. Chan Masters prior to Transmission to China
7 Buddhas of the Past
27 Indian Chan Patriarchs

<b>1. Chan Masters prior to Transmission to China</b>	
34	Total
<b>2. Chinese Chan Masters Excluding Shitou and Jiangxi (Mazu) Lines</b>	
298	Chinese Chan Records through the Sixth Patriarch (including collateral lineages descended from Daoxin and Hongren)
43	Disciples of the Sixth Patriarch (1st Generation)
59	Descendants of the Sixth Patriarch from the 2nd Generation, Excluding _ Shitou and Jiangxi (Mazu) Lines
400	Total
<b>3. Qingyuan/Shitou and Huairang/Jiangxi (Mazu) Lineage Masters</b>	
1	9 1st Generation (Qingyuan and Huairang heirs)
21	138 2nd Generation
23	117 3rd Generation
17	101 4th Generation
112	51 5th Generation
205	19 6th Generation
278	11 7th Generation
74	6 8th Generation
75	1 9th Generation
75	0 10th Generation
5	0 11th Generation
886	453 Totals

What these figures attest to, more than anything, is that the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* were regionally based documents, and that despite their inclusiveness, they promoted the interests of Chan lineages that dominated the regions they represented. Given the context in which Chan lineages flourished under regional patronage, it comes as no surprise that records documenting Chan's growing prosperity reflect regional rivalries among Chan factions.

Yunmen Wenyan

According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the most prominent Chan master of the next (seventh) generation was Xuefeng's disciple Yunmen Wenyan (864–949), who is credited with sixty-one dharma-heirs, fifty-one of whom have records included.<sup>69</sup>

The full documentation of Yunmen's students in the *Chuandeng lu* stands in sharp contrast to the *Zutang ji*, which included the record of Yunmen, but no heirs. Since the *Zutang ji* was initially compiled only three years after Yunmen's death, the absence of any mention of heirs there is not surprising. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Yunmen Wenyan hailed from Jiaxing (Zhejiang), and studied Buddhism initially under Chen Zunsu (780–877) of Muzhou, a disciple of Huangbo Xiyun, before receiving the dharma from Xuefeng Yicun.<sup>70</sup> The *Zutang ji* notes that Yunmen studied as a novice at the Emptiness King Monastery (Kongwang si) in Jiaxing under Vinaya Chan Master (*luchanshi*) Zhicheng, and studied the Vinaya in four divisions and the texts of the three vehicles after receiving full ordination at age twenty. Afterward, Yunmen assumed his Chan studies that led to his inheriting the dharma from Xuefeng.<sup>71</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* version, excising all non-Chan-related content relating to Yunmen, tells of how Yunmen concealed his talent after receiving Xuefeng's dharma, mingling unnoticed among the assembly, a claim that parallels the legendary account of the sixth patriarch, who concealed his **(p.137)** identity after receiving affirmation as the fifth patriarch Hongren's heir. After leaving Xuefeng, Yunmen traveled widely, visiting numerous Chan masters. After paying a visit to the sixth patriarch's stūpa in Caoqi (Guangdong), Yunmen assumed the top position in Lingshu Rumin's (d.u.) assembly.<sup>72</sup> Just before Lingshu Rumin passed away in 918, he sent a letter to prefectural head of Guangzhou (*guangzhu*) Liu Yan, requesting that Liu Yan make Yunmen his successor. The *Chuandeng lu* is quick to point out that Yunmen did not forget Xuefeng was his true teacher, a statement obviously intended to keep Yunmen's genealogical record clear.<sup>73</sup> In spite of this, one cannot help looking at Yunmen as an example of the arbitrariness in which genealogical records were sometimes assigned in an attempt to establish a preferred pattern of lineage associations in the Chan order.

Liu Yan was the younger brother of Liu Yin, a loyalist who distinguished himself during the rebellion of Huang Chao toward the end of the Tang. As a reward, Liu Yin was made overlord of the Guangzhou region, which he ruled with increasing autonomy through the waning years of the Tang and the beginning of the Five Dynasties period. Liu Yin's role was assumed by his younger brother, Liu Yan, upon Liu Yin's death in 911. By 915, Liu Yan dispensed with all pretenses of allegiance to the central government and officially named himself Emperor Gaozu of Southern Han (initially known as Great Yue).<sup>74</sup> Yunmen's success in the region was fostered through Liu Yan's support. Liu Yan (as Emperor Gaozu) bestowed a purple robe on Yunmen and an honorific title “Great Master of Correct Truth” (*kuangzhen dashi*). Five years later, in 923, construction was begun, on Liu Yan's orders, on a Chan monastery on Mount Yunmen. In 927, it was given the honorific title “Chan Cloister of Enlightened Tranquility” (*guangtai chanyuan*). This monastery became Yunmen's teaching

center for the remainder of his life, where he attracted a large congregation of monks.<sup>75</sup>

#### Succession of Southern Han Rulers (907–71)

1. Liu Yin (r. 907–11)
2. Liu Yan (r. 911–42)
3. Liu Fen (r. 942–43)
4. Liu Sheng (r. 943–58)
5. Liu Chang (r. 958–71)

In addition to Yunmen, other prominent masters of this generation included Xuansha Shibei (thirteen heirs),<sup>76</sup> Zhangqing Huileng (twenty-six heirs),<sup>77</sup> Gushan Shenyan (eleven heirs),<sup>78</sup> Baofu Congzhan (twenty-five heirs),<sup>79</sup> Luoshan Daoxian (nineteen heirs),<sup>80</sup> and Baizhao Zhiyuan (thirteen heirs).<sup>81</sup>

#### Xuansha Shibei and Tanzhou Guichen

Although Qingyuan/Shitou lineages continued to flourish in the eighth generation, the number of dharma-heirs dropped precipitously from the previous **(p.138)** generation, and no master dominated in the number of dharma-heirs produced. In terms of maintaining the lineage to Fayan Wenyi, Xuansha Shibei (835–908) and his disciple Tanzhou Guichen (867–928) assume important positions in the *Chuandeng lu*. Xuansha Shibei was the dharma-heir of Xuefeng Yicun, whose importance as the teacher of Baofu Congzhan (from whom Zhaoqing Wendeng inherited the dharma) was noted in connection with the compilation of the *Zutang ji*. The connection between the compilers of the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu* is represented by tracing their lineal filiation, as noted previously.

Xuansha Shibei hailed from the district of Min in Fuzhou (Fujian). According to the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, he liked to fish when he was young, but had a sudden change of heart in 860 and decided to leave home and study under Chan Master Lingxun on Mount Furong (Lotus Mountain).<sup>82</sup> Subsequently, in 864 he received full ordination from Vinaya master Daoxuan of the Kaiyuan Monastery in Yuzhang. Afterward, he returned to study with Lingxun and in 866 commenced study with Lingxun's teacher, Xuefeng Yicun, from whom he is credited with receiving transmission. Xuansha became renowned for sitting in meditation for long periods of time and for his practice of austerities. He first taught at Mount Puying, then at Xuansha Monastery. Xuansha's fame attracted the attention of hundreds of students and the patronage of the Min ruling establishment. In 898, the ruler of Min, Wang Shenzhi, requested Xuansha take up residence at Anguo (Pacifying the Country) Monastery. He honored Xuansha with a purple robe and honorific title “Great Master, Paramount in the Chan Lineage” (*zongyi dashi*).<sup>83</sup> For his part, Xuansha advocated following civil law. When confronted by a questioner with the comment: “The four modes of proper behavior (*si weiyi*) are superfluous. Why

pay homage to the ruler?" Xuansha replied, "You are a violator of civil law (*wangfa*). How can you ask such a thing?"<sup>84</sup> When Xuansha passed away in 908, the Min ruler erected a stūpa in his honor.<sup>85</sup>

According to the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, over seven hundred students obtained Xuansha Shibe's dharma, but Tanzhou Guichen (867–928) was his spiritual heir.<sup>86</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* lists thirteen dharma-heirs of Xuansha; the first one mentioned is Guichen.<sup>87</sup> Both Zanning, compiler of the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, and Daoyuan, compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*, spent their early careers in the Wuyue kingdom under the influence of Fayen-faction dominance. It was easy for them to find favor in Fayen's teacher Guichen. Guichen hailed from Mount Chang (Zhejiang). As soon as he went through the "capping ceremony" initiation into adulthood (at age twenty), he took leave of his parents to study Vinaya with master Wuxiang of Wansui Monastery on Mount Chang. Later, he studied with Xuefeng Yicun, but is said to have received dharma-transmission from Xuefeng's student, Xuansha Shibe. Guichen benefited from the support of powerful rulers of his day. The high-ranking regional head of Zhangzhou (Hunan), named Cheng, erected a Lotus Pavilion on Stone Mountain, west of the city of Min (Fujian), for Guichen to reside at. Guichen is said to have attracted crowds of two hundred during the (p.139) year and a half he stayed there. Later on, after Long Xi became vice-military chief in the region, he invited Guichen to preach to the masses at the Arhat Monastery (Luohan si).<sup>88</sup>

According to the *Chuandeng lu*, of the seventy-four eighth-generation heirs in the line from Qingyuan Xingsi, only seven were students of Tanzhou Guichen.<sup>89</sup> However, no master dominated this generation in terms of number of dharma-heirs produced, and Guichen's heirs, at the head of the list of the eighth-generation descendants in the *Chuandeng lu*, assume positions of priority. The most prominent of Guichen's seven disciples, according to the *Chuandeng lu*, was Fayen Wenyi (885–958), whose name appears first. In addition, Fayen's students dominated the next (ninth) generation of heirs in the line descended from Qingyuan Xingsi. Of the seventy-five names listed, Fayen's disciples account for sixty-three heirs.<sup>90</sup>

#### Fayen Wenyi

Fayen Wenyi hailed from Yuhang (Zhejiang). He entered the Buddhist order at the age of seven, studying under Chan Master Quanwei of the Zhitong (Wisdom-Comprehensive) Cloister in Xinding.<sup>91</sup> He received full ordination at a young age, at the Kaiyuan Monastery in Yuezhou (Zhejiang). According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Fayen was a diligent student. He frequently went to hear Vinaya expert Master Xijue, who taught at the As'oka (Yuwang) Monastery on Mount Mao in Mingzhou, and investigated thoroughly the intricacies of his teaching. In addition to Vinaya teaching, Fayen studied Confucian writings and frequented literary circles, to the extent that Master Xijue styled Fayen as the equivalent of Ziyu and Zixia, prominent disciples of Confucius known for their learning.<sup>92</sup> As

such, the *Chuandeng lu* identifies Fayan as a key figure in the spread of an alternate style of Chan, one that favors the study of both Buddhism and Confucianism, and the cultivation of literary refinement. Fayan stands as a predecessor to the so-called “Confucian monks,” Buddhist monks who were experts in Confucian teachings and were well known for their literary talents.<sup>93</sup> These monks became important leaders in the rapprochement between Buddhism and Confucianism in the early Song. Many of these monks hailed from the Wuyue region where the Fayan lineage dominated, suggesting that Fayan's emphasis on literary learning became a marked feature of this faction's legacy.

Up until this point in Fayan's career, his Chan proclivities were not strong. Other than his initiation to the Buddhist order as a child under Chan Master Quanwei, no mention is made of Chan associations. At some unidentified point, both the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* assert that Fayan developed a deep spiritual affinity with Chan.<sup>94</sup> He dispensed with all of his endeavors and went wandering south, landing in the assembly of Zhangqing Huileng (854–932), the disciple of Xuefeng Yicun, in Fuzhou.<sup>95</sup> Everyone in the congregation is said to have thought highly of him, even though he had yet to put an end to mental entanglements (*yuanxin*). Eventually, Fayan decided **(p.140)** to set out again, heading off with a group of fellow monks. Before making much progress, they encountered a heavy rainstorm that made travel impossible. As a result, they were detained for a while at the Dicang (Earth Store [Bodhisattva]) Monastery to the west of Fuzhou, where Fayan had the opportunity to visit Guichen. Fayan suddenly achieved awakening during the course of a conversation about “traveling on foot” (*xingjiao*), a phrase used for the itinerant wandering of Chan monks in search of the dharma. When asked what “traveling on foot” is, Fayan responded that he did not know. To this, Guichen said, “Not knowing most closely approaches the truth.” According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the awakening that Guichen's response sparked in Fayan led to “a thorough, tacit understanding,” and a prediction of future Buddhahood for Fayan and his three traveling companions.<sup>96</sup> Along with Fayan, the three companions are said to have become prominent teachers in their regions. The three were: Qingqi Hongjin, Xiufu Wukong, and Longji Shaoxiu.<sup>97</sup>

After attaining enlightenment and receiving transmission from Guichen, Fayan wanted to erect a hermitage on Ganzhe Island, but was persuaded by his traveling companions to continue on with their original plan to visit the famous monasteries south of the Yangtze River instead. When they arrived in Linchuan (Jiangxi), the prefectural governor invited Fayan to take up residence at Chongshou (Respect-Longevity) Cloister.<sup>98</sup> According to the *Chuandeng lu*, this marked Fayan's beginning as a Chan teacher. From this point on, the record of his teaching displays the jocular style of the Chan master. At his opening sermon at Chongshou Monastery, Fayan refuses to say much of anything or answer any questions, likening his sermon to the expedient methods used by his Chan predecessors. This marks a shift in approach from the way Fayan was depicted

in his early career as a studious monk interested in Confucianism and literary refinements. There is no way of telling how accurate this depiction is of Fayán and his teaching, but Fayán's own writings suggest otherwise. The treatise attributed to Fayán, the *Zongmen shigui lun* (Treatise on Ten Guidelines for the Chan School), suggests a conventional approach to Buddhist teaching, contrasting sharply with the more unconventional Chan style typical of his teaching in the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>99</sup> Fayán's preface to the *Zongmen shigui lun* reveals his traditional attitude toward Buddhism and criticism of certain interpretations of Chan.

In my youth, I cast off the cage of entanglements and grew up listening to the essential teachings of Buddhism, and traveled around visiting teachers for nearly thirty years. Even though the lineage of patriarchs has mushroomed beyond imagination, flourishing particularly in the south, few are the people who are accomplished. Thus, even though [Chan] in principle (*li*) consists in sudden lucidity (*dunming*), in practice (*shi*) it makes use of gradual attainment (*jian-zheng*). Each [master] has numerous methods for converting [students] to his group (*menting*)<sup>100</sup>—as enticements for benefitting beings, their endpoint (*gui*) is considered the same. If, however, they have no experience with teachings and doctrines (*jiaolun*), it is **(p.141)** difficult to destroy discriminative thinking and feelings of attachment (*shiqing*). Hurrying correct views over erroneous paths, mixing heresies with important doctrines, they impede the progress of students and impulsively enter the cycle of transmigration. I have considered [these matters] very seriously, and endeavored to expose the frauds and detain them.... Instead of rejecting words (*wuyan*), I insist on expressing myself verbally. Instead of rejecting Buddhist teaching (*wufa*), I insist on relying on it. To indicate the illnesses in the Chan school (*zongmen*), I briefly discuss ten topics. I use words for explaining various errors, in order to rescue [people] from the depravity of the times.<sup>101</sup>

In contrast to Fayán's words recorded here, the *Chuandeng lu* portrays Fayán as the very fraud he wishes to expose.

Wényi entered the Lecture Hall. After the members of the great assembly had stood for awhile, Wényi said to them: "What if I just sent you off now, would this still constitute Buddhist teaching or not? I challenge you to tell me! If it is not, then why did you come here? If it is, there are other gatherings in the city. Why did you come to this one?"

"All of you have read for yourselves *Contemplations on Returning to the Source*, the *Meaning of a Hundred Methods*, the *Treatise on the Huayan scripture*, the *Nirvāna sūtra*, and several other texts. Where do you find the singular, crucial moment in any of these teachings? If you find it, I challenge you to point it out to me! There are no such words [indicating



the crucial moment] in any of these scriptures. How can these [scriptures] contain this crucial moment? What connection do they have with it? Consequently, subtle words lodged in the mind become the cause for anxiety and worry; true reality existing in front of your eyes is misunderstood as an objective reality comprised of forms that can be designated. Why should this misunderstanding occur? If it does indeed occur, how can one rectify the situation? Do you understand? You mustn't simply read the scriptures like that. What is the use in doing that?"<sup>102</sup>

This dichotomy is also apparent between the writings of Yongming Yanshou, a descendent of Tiantai Deshao and heir to the Fayen lineage, and the way he is depicted in the *Chuandeng lu*. The dichotomy suggests a disjuncture between the scholarly, literary personality that Fayen exhibits in his own writings, as opposed to the diffident, combative personality exhibited in the *Chuandeng lu*. What should we make of this disjuncture? More will be said regarding this below in the context of Yanshou, but something needs to be said of it here as well. While Fayen, like anyone, might be expected to exhibit different aspects of his personality on different occasions, there is something else at work here. My own suspicions regarding the disjuncture in the way (p.142) Fayen is depicted lead to the motives involved in the compilation of the *Chuandeng lu*. By the time the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled, the shape of the Chan persona was clear. The rationale behind the *Chuandeng lu* involved projecting the unique Chan identity throughout Song society. This involved shaping a Chan persona immediately distinguishable from other types of Buddhists, especially from the pious or the scholastic. In short, the Chan literary persona demanded that all its figures exhibit certain, readily identifiable traits deemed requisite of "true" Chan masters. The mythological image of the Chan persona shaped the way all Chan masters came to be represented.

As a result of Fayen's success as a teacher, monks from various areas flocked to study with him, and his assembly of students is said to have regularly numbered a thousand.<sup>103</sup> Fayen's fame eventually reached the ears of Li Jing, the leader of the regime of Southern Tang. Li Jing is said to have held Fayen in high esteem, installing him in the Bao'en (Repaying Gratitude) Chan Cloister outside of Jinling (Nanjing), and granting him the honorific title "Pure and Wise Chan Master" (*jinghui chanshi*).<sup>104</sup> Fayen was later transferred to Qingliang Monastery, where he preached his message from morning to night. His influence was such that the monasteries of various regions followed Fayen's style of instruction, and monks traveled great distances to be near him. As a result of Fayen's efforts, the *Chuandeng lu* asserts that the correct Chan lineage (*zhongzong*) of Xuansha flourished south of the Yangtze River.<sup>105</sup> When Fayen became ill, the ruler of Southern Tang came personally to visit him. When he passed away, representatives from the temples and monasteries of the area pulled his casket through the city, and officials and ministers all the way from Mentor of the Heir Apparent, Li Jianxun,<sup>106</sup> on down donned mourning clothes to

accompany Fayan to his tomb. He was granted the posthumous title “Chan Master of the Great Dharma Eye” (*da fayan chanshi*); his tomb was named “Freedom from Form” (*wuxiang*).<sup>107</sup> It is important to note that Wenyi's posthumous title “Fayan” (Dharma Eye) may be read as an abbreviation of *zheng fayan zang* (“treasury of the true dharma-eye”), the expression indicating the secret essence of the patriarchs. This itself suggests the presumption to orthodox Chan interpretation to which the Fayan lineage aspired, a presumption to which the *Chuandeng lu* is expressly dedicated.

According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the influence of Fayan Wenyi spread far and wide through the efforts of his immediate disciples. Fourteen are said to have achieved great prominence, and were honored and esteemed by rulers and nobles. Three are listed by name: Tiantai Deshao (891–972), the Preceptor of State (*guoshi*) of Wuyue; Baoci Wensui (d.u.), the Guiding Preceptor of the State (*guodaoshi*) of Southern Tang; and Daofeng Huizhu (d.u.), the Preceptor of State of Korea.<sup>108</sup> In addition, another forty-nine disciples of Fayan are claimed to have had influence in their respective locales. Of these forty-nine, only two are mentioned by name: Longguang (d.u.) and Qingliang Taiqin (d. 974).<sup>109</sup> The total number of nationally and regionally prominent disciples here (sixty-three) presumably refers to the same number of names of Fayan's disciples listed in fascicles 25 and 26 of the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>110</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* also maintains that, owing to the practices and teachings of Fayan promulgated (**p.143**) by his disciples, Fayan was awarded two posthumous titles: “Master Who Guides Others to Profound Awakening” (*xuanjue daoshi*) and “Great Guide through the Canon/ Storehouse of Great Wisdom” (*dazhizang dadaoshi*). It also stipulates that students collected and copied the sermons given by Fayan, as well as hymns, eulogies, inscriptions, annotations, and other materials written by him, and disseminated them throughout the empire.<sup>111</sup>

The extent of influence achieved by Fayan's disciples is unquestionable. In addition to Tiantai Deshao (see below), named Preceptor of State of Wuyue in 948, many of Fayan's disciples assumed prominent positions in Wuyue. During the *qianyou* era (948–50) of the Latter Han dynasty, the Wuyue ruler Prince Zhongyi (Qian Chu),<sup>112</sup> the same ruler who appointed Deshao Preceptor of State, commissioned Bao'en Huiming (884/9–954/9) to take up residence at Zichong (Assisting Reverence) Monastery. Later on, Zhongyi erected Bao'en (Returning Gratitude) Monastery and appointed Huiming to head it, granting him the honorific title “Perfectly Penetrating, Universally Brilliant Chan Master” (*yuantong puzhao chanshi*).<sup>113</sup> Zhongyi commissioned another prominent disciple of Fayan, Yongming Daoqian (d. 961), to the capital in order to administer the bodhisattva precepts, and subsequently built a large monastic complex, Yongming (Eternal Brilliance) Monastery for him to head, honoring him as “Merciful Transformer, Meditation and Wisdom Chan Master” (*cihua dinghui chanshi*).<sup>114</sup> Similarly feted was Fayan's disciple Lingyin Qingsong (d.u.), whom Zhongyi commissioned to preach at two unspecified places in Lin'an (Hangzhou).

Lingyin later resided at Lingyin (Concealed Souls) Monastery outside the city, and was granted the title “Knowing and Enlightened Chan Master” (*liaowu chanshi*).<sup>115</sup> In addition, there was Baota Shaoyan (899–971), who was also commissioned by Zhongyi to preach in Wuyue, and honored by him as “Emptiness Comprehending, Great Wisdom, Permanently Illuminating Chan Master” (*liaokong dazhi changzhao chanshi*).<sup>116</sup>

Besides the Wuyue region, Fayan's disciples were influential in Southern Tang, the region where Fayan himself had risen to prominence through the patronage of the ruling Li family. The *Chuandeng lu* record of Fayan makes specific note of Baoci Wensui's (d.u.) role as “guiding preceptor (*daoshi*) of the nation of Jiangnan (i.e., Southern Tang).”<sup>117</sup> After the Southern Tang ruler Li Yu (aka Hou Zhuyu; r. 961–75) took control of the region of Jizhou (Jiangxi) where Wensui lived in 964, Wensui was appointed to a series of prestigious monasteries: the Zhangqing Monastery (Fujian), the Qingliang Monastery in Jinling (Nanjing) that Fayan Wenyi and Qingliang Taiqin had previously headed, and finally, the Baoci Monastery in Jinling. He was also granted the honorific title “Great Guiding Master, Sound of Thunder, Sea of Enlightenment” (*leiyin juehai dadaoshi*).<sup>118</sup> In 965, Li Yu also extended an invitation for Fayan's disciple Jingde Zhiyun (906–69) to preach in Southern Tang, erecting a large practice hall called “Pure Virtue” (*jingde*) in the north garden of the palace for Zhiyun to live at, honoring him with the title “Great Chan Master” (*da chanshi*).<sup>119</sup> The Southern Tang ruler also commissioned a disciple of Fayan, Bao'en Guangyi (d.u.), to the Upper Cloister (*shangyuan*) of the Bao'en Monastery outside of Jinling, and granted him the honorific title “Chan Master who Determines Esoteric (p.144) [Meanings]” (*ningmi chanshi*).<sup>120</sup> Another of Fayan's disciples, Fa'an (d. 968/76), was also invited to head the Bao'en Monastery by the ruler of Southern Tang, marking it as an institution with strong Fayan lineage associations.<sup>121</sup>

#### Tiantai Deshao

According to the *Chuandeng lu*, of the seventy-five tenth-generation heirs descended through Qingyuan Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian (eleventh generation from the sixth patriarch), forty-nine were disciples of Tiantai Deshao (891–972).<sup>122</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* record of Chan transmission in the Qingyuan Xingsi lineage effectively ends with the tenth generation descendants. Only five names are listed in the eleventh generation, two of which (Chan Master Fuyang Zimeng and Chan Master Jin of Zhaoming Cloister) are reputed disciples of Yongming Yanshou. Only one of the five, Changshou Faqi (912–1000), has a record included in the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>123</sup> The flourishing Fayan lineage extends only up to this point. While the compilation date of the *Chuandeng lu* (1004) prevented any further documentation of this lineage, it is germane to suggest that the fate of the Fayan lineage was sealed with the demise of the Wuyue regime, from whence it derived its support.

As we have noted, Deshao became the Preceptor of State of the Wuyue kingdom, and the prominence of the Fayan lineage reached new heights there through the efforts of Deshao and his disciples. Deshao hailed from the Longquan (Dragon Spring) area of Chuzhou (Zhejiang). According to legend, his mother became pregnant with him after dreaming that a white light struck her body, and many (unspecified) strange occurrences accompanied his birth. He was persuaded to leave home and enter the Buddhist order by an unidentified Indian monk at the age of fifteen. At age seventeen, he underwent training at the Longgui (Dragon Returning) Monastery in Chuzhou. He received full ordination at the Kaiyuan Monastery in Xinzhou at age eighteen. After this, he wandered around to various places, meeting Chan Master Datong of Mount Touzi (819–914), through whom it is said he began his Chan development, and Longya Zhudun (835–923), with whom intense Chan-style interchanges are recorded.<sup>124</sup> Datong was a disciple of Cuiwei Wuxue (d.u.). Longya was a dharma-heir of Dongshan Liangjie (808–69), one of the reputed founders of the Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō) faction.<sup>125</sup> All are lineal descendants of Qingyuan Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Deshao had extensive experience in this way, and is claimed to have visited an astonishing total of fifty-four masters. This claim for Deshao is an indication of how prevalent the practice of “wandering on foot” had become by this time.

In spite of such efforts, Deshao's experiences are not said to have yielded results until he encountered Fayan (Chan Master Jinghui). Although Fayan is said to have recognized Deshao's abilities at once, it wasn't until a while later that Deshao experienced awakening. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, this occurred one day when Fayan was lecturing, and an unidentified monk asked, “What is the ultimate source of the sixth patriarch's teaching?” to which Fayan **(p.145)** responded simply, “The ultimate source of the sixth patriarch's teaching.”<sup>126</sup> The monk who asked the question is said to have retreated, dumbfounded, but Deshao, sitting off to the side, experienced awakening. All the obstacles of everyday life are said to have dissipated, like melting ice. When Fayan was informed of Deshao's enlightenment, Fayan reportedly predicted, “Later on you will become preceptor for the ruler of a regime, and achieve incomparable glory for the way of the patriarchs.”<sup>127</sup> The statement exemplifies why these records cannot be taken literally. Fayan himself would hardly make such a grandiose and self-serving remark, even should we grant him the power of foreknowledge. It is perfectly understandable how such a remark could be placed in Fayan's mouth by his (and Deshao's) self-serving descendants, as an attempt to justify Fayan-faction Chan interpretation as naturally fated to become politically supported orthodoxy. As such, the statement must be understood in the context of the motives of Fayan-faction supporters in the early Song, when the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled.

The *Chuandeng lu* proceeds to document how Fayan's prediction for Deshao came about. It claims that after leaving Fayan, Deshao won extraordinary renown in various (unspecified) regions for his enlightened activity. It is said that

he lived his life “with the key to profundity (*xuanjian*) for the past as well as the present, he made definite decisions without leaving the slightest trace of his actions.”<sup>128</sup> (This is perhaps a subtle reference to Deshao's role in persuading Zhongyi to usurp power in Wuyue, described below.) Eventually, Deshao made his way to Mount Tiantai, where he received inspiration from gazing upon the remains of Tiantai Master (but here identified as Chan Master) Zhiyi. It was common and understandable for monks from Wuyue, the region where Mount Tiantai was located, to think of Tiantai as a species of Chan. Tiantai and Chan teaching became easily intermingled in Wuyue, where Mount Tiantai was reconstructed. Through the support of Wuyue's rulers, it became a major spiritual center in the region. Though it was officially reborn as a Chan center, it retained strong ties to Tiantai teaching.<sup>129</sup> Because Deshao had the same surname as Zhiyi (Chen), he was referred to as Zhiyi's incarnation.

Initially, Deshao stayed at Baisha (White Sands) Monastery on Mount Tiantai. At the time, a Wuyue prince, the future ruler Zhongyi, took command of Taizhou, the prefecture where Mount Tiantai was located. When the prince heard of Deshao's reputation, he extended an invitation to Deshao to question him about his teaching. No details of their conversation are given, other than the prediction that Deshao reportedly made of Zhongyi: “In future, you will become ruler. Do not forget [your] debt to Buddhism.”<sup>130</sup>

Lying behind this “prediction” are crucial political events in the course of Wuyue history. Shortly after the prediction was supposedly made, the ruler of Wuyue, Zhongxian (r. 941–47), passed away at the young age of nineteen. Uncertainty surrounded the designation of a successor. The position was initially filled by Zhongxian's brother Zhongxun (r. 947–48), who lasted less than a year on the throne. In 948, the nineteen-year-old Zhongyi (r. 948–78) lay claim to the throne of Wuyue with the support of Deshao, his fifty-seven-year-old advisor. Zhongyi's successful accession marked the beginning of a **(p.146)** thirty-year reign and the flowering of culture in the region.<sup>131</sup> After Zhongyi assumed power, he sent an emissary to fetch Deshao and appointed him Preceptor of the Wuyue state (*guoshi*), the position in which Deshao served for the rest of his life. Given this background, how should we interpret Deshao's “prediction” regarding Zhongyi while the latter was commander of Taizhou? To take it literally would confuse *Chuandeng lu* anecdotes for historical detail, without taking into account the role played by subsequent parties in shaping Deshao's biographical image. Implicit in Deshao's statement to Zhongyi is a guarantee of support for Zhongyi's claim to the throne. From the somewhat distant remove of Taizhou, Zhongyi, with Deshao's support, mounted a successful claim to the throne and ended the leadership crisis in Wuyue. While Deshao was already a leader in the regions's Buddhist establishment, Zhongyi's success propelled him to the position of Wuyue's undisputed spiritual guide. The bond forged between Deshao and

Zhongyi became the pillar of the Wuyue state, which based its mandate on unabashed support for Buddhism.

This bond raises an interesting point regarding Deshao's prediction concerning Zhongyi. Considering the related prediction Fayan is said to have made concerning Deshao, Deshao was regarded as a key figure behind the success of Zhongyi's claim. This developed into the "prediction motif" that became a key feature of the way in which Deshao was remembered. What is interesting about it here is the way it functions as a substitute for the enlightenment prediction motifs common in biographies of Buddhist monks generally, and a supplement to the awakening experience motif common in records of Chan practitioners and presumed in Chan lineage claims. In both cases, what is unique about the Deshao prediction episodes is their political orientation. What really transpired between Deshao and Zhongyi in Taizhou remains hidden from the historical record, but it is clear that a relationship developed between them that would (at least) inspire Zhongyi to stake his claim as Wuyue leader. The relationship between Deshao and Zhongyi would serve as the basis, in both practical and symbolic terms, for the relationship between Buddhism and government in Wuyue.

Through the religious leadership of Deshao and the political support of Zhongyi, the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue reached unprecedented heights. The revival of Mount Tiantai as a Buddhist religious center became a major priority. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, the Tiantai monk Huiji (919–87) persuaded Deshao of the need to revive Tiantai teaching, which had fallen into decline over the years and whose texts had become lost in China. At Deshao's request, Zhongyi despatched envoys to Silla (Korea) to retrieve the missing Tiantai texts, helping in the revival of Tiantai teaching in China.<sup>132</sup> At the same time, Deshao and Zhongyi mounted vigorous construction programs on Mount Tiantai in an attempt to revitalize the Buddhist center to its former glory.<sup>133</sup> The relationship between Deshao and Zhongyi paralleled the similar relationship between Zhiyi and the Sui emperor Yangdi (r. 605–17), whose combined efforts were responsible for establishing Mount Tiantai as a Buddhist spiritual center centuries earlier.<sup>134</sup> Although Mount Tiantai again became a major **(p.147)** spiritual hub, the mountain center's prominence was rather short lived. The revival of Tiantai teaching in the Song was mounted through the efforts of such leading Tiantai figures as Zhili (960–1028) and Zunshi (964–1032).<sup>135</sup> Both Zhili and Zunshi studied under Baoyun Yitong in Mingzhou. While Zunshi became an abbot on Mount Tiantai, he eventually moved to Hangzhou, which became the real center of his lineage. Mount Tiantai subsequently faded in intellectual and institutional significance as the Song progressed. The center of the school's activity shifted north to Mingzhou and Hangzhou.

The only record of Deshao's teaching are the fragments of it contained in the *Chuandeng lu*. Deshao's record in the *Chuandeng lu* is longer than most, hardly surprising given his influence on the compilation of the work. Like other records of monks in the *Chuandeng lu*, the record of Deshao comprises excerpts from his lectures and anecdotes of exchanges consisting of questions by students and Deshao's responses, all framed within a biographical outline of his life. Given Deshao's influence over Wuyue Chan and the compilation of the *Chuandeng lu*, and given that the *Chuandeng lu* account of his teachings is the only one we possess, the record of Deshao it contains assumes great significance. The *Chuandeng lu* record of Deshao's teachings consists of a series of statements and conversations reportedly taken from Deshao's lectures and reports to his congregation. This material may be divided roughly into two sections. The first includes a (relatively longer) sermon and three brief statements to the congregation at unspecified locations. The last of the three brief statements consists simply of a four-line poem delivered to the congregation, without any accompanying comment. The second section comprises excerpts from a series of twelve sermons, individually identified, delivered at the opening of the Prajñā Monastery (on Mount Tiantai?). The first recorded sermon extract in the *Chuandeng lu* serves as a suitable introduction to the teaching attributed to Deshao.

The expedient means of the sacred ones of old were as numerous as the sands of a river. When the patriarch said “It is not the wind or the banner that moves; it is your mind that moves,” it was nothing more than a dharma-method of the unsurpassable mind-seal. My colleagues, you who are disciples of this patriarch, how do you understand what the patriarch meant [when he said this]? You know that the wind and the banner do not move, the error is that your mind moves. You know that without fanning the wind and the banner [with the mind], the wind and the banner move freely. Do you know what moves the wind and the banner? Some say that mind is revealed through concrete things, but you must not concede things [as real]. Some say that forms themselves are empty. Some say that [to know the meaning of] “it is not the wind or the banner that moves” requires miraculous understanding. What connection does this have with the meaning that the patriarch intended? You should not understand it in this way. You senior monks must know that when one gets to the bottom of the matter here and experiences **(p.148)** awakening, what dharma-method is there that does not enlighten? The expedient means of the hundred-thousand buddhas are completely understood in an instant. What expedient means are you uncertain about? That is why the ancients said “when one thing is understood, everything is clear; when confused about one thing, everything is muddled.” Senior monks, how can something understood today not be understood again tomorrow? Does it not make sense that matters difficult for those of superior abilities to understand will

not be understood by average people of inferior abilities? Even if you pass through innumerable aeons understanding [the patriarch's meaning] in this way, you simply exhaust your spirit in meaningless speculation, as there is no basis for it.<sup>136</sup>

The words attributed to Deshao here take the form of a commentary on a famous exchange reported between the sixth patriarch and two monks debating over whether the wind or a banner was moving.<sup>137</sup> The episode was later memorialized in the *Wumen guan*, the *gong'an* (Jpn. *kōan*) collection compiled by Wumen Huikai (1183–1260) in 1229.<sup>138</sup> Rather than using the episode to illustrate the ineffability of Chan truth, Deshao uses it as a pretext for discussing the dharma-method of expedient means. The emphasis on expedient means highlights compassion as the principle concern of the Chan teacher for Deshao. In Chan rhetoric attributed to the Hongzhou and Linji factions, an emphasis on expedient means was an anathema, an unconscionable compromise of Chan truth, a “slippery slope” leading to rationalized explanations of truth, doctrinal formulations, liturgical practices, patterned rituals, and so forth. The first question following Deshao's reported sermon raises precisely this issue.

A monk asked:

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

Deshao responded:

“No matter the circumstance, you always ask the same question.”

The monk said:

“This is how I completely eliminate words and phrases.”

Deshao:

“This is awakening experienced in a dream (i.e., it has no relationship with reality).”<sup>139</sup>

In other words, the questioner asks Deshao what he can do to help others realize enlightenment. Deshao's answer is not just directed at the specific question, but at the whole species of similarly phrased critiques; an experience of awakening that is not verbalized, etc., is a dreamlike phantom. The enlightened mute lives an unreal existence whose experience is unattested except in his own imagination. Yet, this is precisely what later Linji orthodoxy will posit as the true enlightened state! Note, for example, the claim of Wumen Huikai, whose commentary on the *Wumen guan* (Gateless Barrier) epitomizes this orthodoxy.

**(p.149)**



To attain inconceivable enlightenment (*miaowu*), one must completely eliminate mental activity. Those who have not passed through the barrier of the patriarchs and eliminated mental activity are all ghosts inhabiting plants and trees. Now, tell me, what is the barrier of the patriarchs? It is none other than the one word “Wu!”...Those who are able to pass through this barrier...will be able to walk hand in hand with the patriarchs of history, intimately linked eyebrow to eyebrow. They will see with the same eyes as the patriarchs and hear with the same ears. What a wonderful thing this is!...It is like swallowing a red-hot ball of iron and trying to spit it out, but without success. If you wash away completely the depraved knowledge and perverse theories studied previously, applying yourself earnestly over a long period, distinctions like “inner” and “outer” will naturally be fused together. *Your experience is like a deaf-mute who has a dream. You yourself are the only one who knows about it. You cannot communicate it to anyone else.*<sup>140</sup>

For Deshao, an incommunicable awakening experience is no awakening at all, but the preposterous presumption of a charlatan.

#### Yongming Yanshou

The emphasis on expedient means seen in Deshao is developed even further in Deshao's chief heir in the *Chuandeng lu*, Yongming Yanshou (904–75). Yanshou represents the pinnacle of Chan teaching and Buddhist scholarship in Wuyue; he became one of the enduring figures of Chinese Buddhism. The mark of his teaching remains on the contemporary practice of Buddhism in East Asia, particularly among Chinese and Koreans.<sup>141</sup>

The record of Yanshou's life also served as inspiration to a wide variety of Buddhist practitioners.<sup>142</sup> According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Yanshou hailed from Yuhang (Zhejiang), just west of present-day Hangzhou. He was reportedly a devout Buddhist in his youth. By the time he reached adulthood, he restricted himself to one meal a day, following the strict dietary regimen of a Buddhist s'ramanna. He reportedly held special regard for the *Lotus sūtra*, reading it seven lines at a time, and was able to recite it from memory after only sixty days. His recitation is reported to have inspired a flock of sheep to kneel down and listen.<sup>143</sup> The high regard for the *Lotus sūtra*, and miraculous occurrences stemming from it, strengthen Yanshou's association with the Tiantai school and the magical phenomena inspired by Tiantai faith.

By the time the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled, roughly a quarter century after Yanshou's death in 975, Yanshou was already being cast as a major figure of devotional Buddhism. Yanshou's purported ability to pacify creatures of the natural order indicates a belief in his supernatural abilities. Like a Chinese St. Francis, the sanctity of Yanshou's person extended to the miraculous, the ability to defy the regular norms of the natural order. Legendary materials had **(p.150)**

long played a major role in the creation of the image of figures central to the Chan tradition, but the image of Yanshou as a devotional, *Lotus sūtra*-chanting Buddhist marks a sharp departure from the Chan norm. Yanshou's reputed devotional proclivities would propel him to the center of controversy in Chan circles long after his death.

This was not the only controversy with which Yanshou's name is associated. After noting Yanshou's effect on the *Lotus sūtra*-loving sheep, the *Chuandeng lu* record abruptly informs us that at age twenty-eight, Yanshou served as Garrison Commander in Huating, one of the border regions of Wuyue. The *Chuandeng lu* informs us rather uneventfully that Yanshou became attracted to the teachings of Chan Master Cuiyan Lingcan (d.u.), a disciple of Xuefeng Yicun. Lingcan had recently been summoned by the Wuyue ruler Wenmu (Qian Yuanguan) from his position as head of Cuiyan (Green Crag) Monastery in Mingzhou (Zhejiang), to take up residence at the Longce (Dragon Register) Monastery in Hongzhou. Lingcan was presented by the Wuyue ruler with honorific robe and title, "Great Master of Everlasting Enlightenment" (*yongming dashi*).<sup>144</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* reports somewhat obliquely that Wenmu "became aware of Yanshou's yearning for the Way (i.e., Buddhism) at this time," and that as a result of his aspirations, Yanshou renounced his official obligations to become a disciple of Lingcan.<sup>145</sup>

No mention is made in this account of Yanshou actually receiving sanction for deserting his post, a serious infraction, especially during the war-plagued China of the tenth century. Other sources hint at more grave circumstances surrounding Yanshou's transfer from public service to life as a Chan monk. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, compiled in 988, confirms that Yanshou served as a government official in charge of military provisions, but was compelled to abandon his career (as well as his wife and child) under the influence of Lingcan's teaching. It also claims that Yanshou was in the habit of buying species of living beings and setting them free as an expression of Buddhist altruism and compassion. At this point, the meaning of the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* text becomes unclear, perhaps the victim of some deliberate editing, by suggesting that Yanshou may have been overzealous in this regard, and that "his facial expression was unaffected."<sup>146</sup>

The meaning of the phrase "his facial expression was unaffected" remains obscure in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, but becomes part of a clearer interpretation of events found in a later text, the *Longshu jingtu wen* (Texts of the Pure Land), compiled in 1160 by a Tiantai promoter of the Pure Land, Wang Rixiu. According to the record of Yanshou there, in his capacity as military official, Yanshou frequently dispensed government monies. An official investigation determined that Yanshou used such monies to buy caught fish and set them free (a practice designed to demonstrate compassionate altruism toward other living beings), a laudable aim, perhaps, but a crime punishable by death. Wishing to evaluate the sincerity of Yanshou's act, Wenmu reportedly dispatched an emissary to gauge

Yanshou's reaction when the sentence was announced: if he expressed apprehension, the execution was to stand; if his facial expression was unaffected, the emissary was to report to Wenmu. When his execution was (p. 151) announced, Yanshou's facial expressions did not change and he won release.<sup>147</sup> Another record, the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* (The Transmission of the Monks' Treasure from the Chan Grove) compiled in 1123 by Huihong, claims to provide details of Yanshou's infraction. It states that when returning to Hongzhou by boat, Yanshou witnessed a fishing boat loaded with fish gasping for air in agony. As a result Yanshou is said to have bought the fish and set them free in the river. Moved by the incident, Yanshou decides to abandon his official career, dramatically ripping off his government attire, and goes off to study under Lingcan. The *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* claims that Wenmu respected and approved Yanshou's decision, with no suggestion that tension and conflict may have been involved.<sup>148</sup> By the time that the *Lebang wenlei* (Varieties of Texts on the Happy Land), another Tiantai-inspired Pure Land work, was compiled by Zongxiao in 1200, the account of Yanshou's transition from public official to Buddhist monk became a seamless narrative integrating the above features.

[Yanshou] served in the tax office at a fortress in the north [region of Wuyue], principally in the office of the magistrate. When he saw fish gasping for air in agony, he bought them and set them free. Later on, he stole official money and used it for the purpose of setting fish free. The incident was exposed, and Yanshou was sentenced to death. When he was brought before the officials in charge of execution to receive his sentence, the Qian Prince [Wenmu] sent an emissary to observe him. If Yanshou showed fear, they were to execute him. If he didn't, they were to release him. When Yanshou was observed, there was no change in his expression. As a result, they released him.<sup>149</sup>

This episode became a cornerstone of Yanshou's legacy as a man who was able to circumvent the laws of mortality and cheat death through his devotion to Buddhist compassion. However bona fide this episode is, it is decidedly un-Chan-like (at least in the way Chan is typically understood) in inspiration for the message it conveys regarding the salutary effects of Buddhist compassion. It may be seen, however, as a logical if somewhat extreme extension of the emphasis on compassion seen in Deshao and often noted as a feature of the Fayan-faction interpretation of Chan. While it is beyond the scope of the present investigation, a brief look at the ways in which Yanshou's identity was shaped in later sources reveals the underlying tension that Yanshou represented as Chan master, on the one hand, and symbol of Buddhist compassion, on the other. As a major figure of post-Tang Buddhism, Yanshou had broad appeal. The figure he cast, however, did not easily fit the contours of later Buddhist sectarianism.

The tension between Yanshou's image as Chan master and his image as compassionate interloper on behalf of sentient beings erupted into open controversy during the Song dynasty. The literary Chan monk Huihong criticized Zanning for his failure to acknowledge Yanshou as a “Chan Practitioner” (*xichan*) in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, instead placing him under the category of **(p.152)** “Promoters of Blessings” (*xingfu*).<sup>150</sup> While Yanshou is not listed among the Chan lineages documented in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, his name does appear as a member of the Fayan lineage in Qisong's *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*, (record of orthodox lineages in the Transmission of the Dharma) compiled in 1061.<sup>151</sup> At the same time that this controversy was brewing, other forces were bolstering Yanshou's image as compassionate interloper. These forces took the form of new, hitherto unheard stories about Yanshou, involving incidents of divine intervention. These accounts of miraculous events involving Yanshou were particularly important to the documentation of his image in Tiantai records championing the virtues of the Pure Land.<sup>152</sup> One of these records, the *Lebang wenlei*, acknowledges Yanshou's identity as a Chan master, but regards it as being of little significance and little more than a preliminary phase to his devotion to the Pure Land. Yanshou's career, according to the *Lebang wenlei*, is not about Chan awakening, but concerns his conversion to the Pure Land detailed in a series of episodes involving divine intervention while practicing on Mount Tiantai. Two episodes from the *Lebang wenlei* epitomize the different character of Yanshou's image developed in these sources.

The first involves the appearance of a guardian deity assigned to protect Yanshou as a reward for Yanshou's long accumulation of merit through the performance of good deeds, assuring him of his ultimate salvation through rebirth in the Pure Land. The second episode involves Yanshou's final conversion to Pure Land practice. As a result of a flower miraculously appearing in Yanshou's hand during ritual circumambulation of Samantabhādra's image, Yanshou is prompted to recall his earlier vows to devote his life to reciting the *Lotus sūtra* and benefiting sentient beings. Yanshou is impeded from fulfilling these vows because of his fondness for *chan* meditation, and eventually attempts to solve the dilemma by casting lots in Zhiyi's Meditation Cloister. After invoking the aid of the buddhas and patriarchs, the issue is decisively drawn in favor of reciting the *Lotus* and benefiting sentient beings. Yanshou's conversion to Pure Land practice is complete.<sup>153</sup>

The cause of these new developments in the remaking of Yanshou's image is unmistakable. Appended to the record of Yanshou in the *Longshu jingtu wen* is an account of how Yanshou's stūpa served as an object of pilgrimage for those seeking rebirth in the Pure Land.<sup>154</sup> Yanshou's ability to “cheat death” in life seems to have inspired accounts of Yanshou's ability to circumvent the ordinary fate of humans to appear at death before King Yama for judgment, a commonly held belief, and ascend directly to the Pure Land. Because of this ability to elude death in life and avoid divine judgment in the afterlife, Yanshou became a prime

object for those seeking intercession to be reborn in the Pure Land. In this way, Yanshou's image was transformed from Chan master to Pure Land advocate. The transformation ultimately led to Yanshou's elevation to the rank of Pure Land patriarch in the *Fozu tongji* (Comprehensive History of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs).<sup>155</sup>

While these developments have colored the image of Yanshou down to the present day, and provide a convenient pretext for dismissing Yanshou from the ranks of “true” Chan, they should not deter us from considering Yanshou (p. 153) as a legitimate representative of the Chan movement. How should we understand the reputed “un-Chan” character of Yanshou's Chan? Yanshou serves as a reminder of how complex the process of creating classic Chan identity was. In addition to the iconoclastic tendencies fostered in other Chan lineages and usually associated with Hongzhou and Linji Chan, Yanshou and Fayuan Chan suggest the existence of a conventional approach to Buddhist teaching and practice reminiscent of the teachings attributed to Shenxiu and to Zongmi's interpretation of Chan in terms of a standard Buddhist scriptural and doctrinal framework.<sup>156</sup> The persistence of this conventional approach to Chan teaching is especially justifiable given the nature of Chan in Wuyue. Chan was the banner under which much of the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue was sanctioned. Following the suppression of Buddhism in the ninth century during the Huichang era (841–46) and the gradual demise of Tang authority, the established schools of Tang Buddhism suffered from a lack of support. Incriminated in the economic and social decline of the Tang, Buddhism was subjected to further attacks from officials in the north during the so-called “Five Dynasties” period (907–59). Wuyue, an independent enclave along China's southeastern coast, provided an exception to the anti-Buddhist tenor of the north, and saw in Buddhism a means to revive the foundations of Tang civilization. Shielded from the major brunt of conflict that afflicted China, Wuyue mounted a massive Buddhist revival in an attempt to reestablish leading features of Tang Buddhist civilization, conceived in large part under the umbrella of regional Chan developments. This situation dictated the terms of Wuyue Chan as representative of establishment Buddhism in the region. There was little place for antinomian, anti-establishment Chan antics in this context.

According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Yanshou made his way to Mount Tiantai after leaving Lingcan, where he established his credentials as a serious meditator. (Birds as large as quail were said to have nested in the folds of his robes during an intense, ninety-day meditation session.) When he visited Deshao, Deshao is said to have realized Yanshou's potential immediately, and transmitted the essence of his teaching to him with the prediction, “You have a special affinity with the ruler [of Wuyue], and will extensively promote Buddhist activities in the future.”<sup>157</sup> The prediction motif seen in the records of Fayuan and Deshao is continued here with Yanshou. It is the principal way for the *Chuandeng lu* to commemorate the special status that Fayuan Chan had with the Wuyue

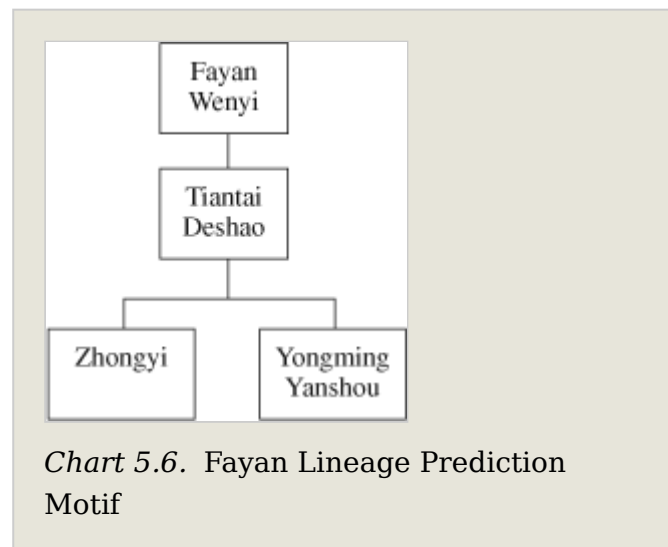
establishment. Given the previous predictions of Fayān for Deshao, and Deshao for the Wuyue ruler Zhongyi, the addition of Deshao's prediction for Yanshou neatly encapsulates the dual political and religious orientation of Wuyue-regime and Fayān-faction hegemony (see chart 5.6).

After spending time on Mount Xuedou in Mingzhou, where Yanshou is said to have attracted a large following, Zhongyi commissioned Yanshou in 960 to take up residence at one of the main Buddhist institutions in Wuyue, the rebuilt monastery at Mount Lingyin, located just outside the capital. The following year, Zhongyi commissioned Yanshou to move to the recently completed Yongming Monastery, to succeed Fayān's disciple Daoqian as the second abbot.<sup>158</sup> Yanshou spent the rest of his career at this prominent Wuyue monastery. It is clear that his activities extended beyond the range of the “typical” Chan monk. As successor to Daoqian, Yanshou assumed many of the duties designated to his predecessor. Daoqian had been commissioned to the capital by Zhongyi to administer the bodhisattva precepts to Zhongyi (and presumably other members of the Wuyue establishment). Zhongyi built Yongming Monastery specifically for Daoqian as a base to carry out his activities. Daoqian is said to regularly have had five hundred people in his congregation, probably including a large lay contingent. He was granted the honorific title “Chan Master of Dhyāna Wisdom Who Mercifully Converts” (*cihua dinghui chanshi*).<sup>159</sup>

**(p.154)**

Following Daoqian in his role as a leader of the Wuyue Buddhist establishment, Yanshou participated in an array of liturgical rites aimed at ministering to the Buddhist faithful. The *Chuandeng lu* maintains that Yanshou ordained seventeen hundred disciples over the course of his fifteen years at Yongming Monastery, and that he regularly administered the bodhisattva precepts—rites

typically aimed at lay practitioners—to the Buddhist faithful. In addition, he is reported to have offered food to ghosts and spirits, spread flowers as part of a daily ritual exercise, and chanted the *Lotus sūtra* constantly, some thirteen thousand times throughout his life. In what must have been a massive promotion of Buddhism in Wuyue, Yanshou is said to have administered precept rites to over ten thousand people on Mount Tiantai in 974. Besides the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror), he is said to have written numerous poems and



*gathas*, songs and hymns of praise. From his position in Wuyue, Yanshou's influence spread far. The king of Korea, upon reading Yanshou's works, dispatched an envoy bearing gifts, and, soon after, thirty-six monks from Korea were provided with stamped documentation by Yanshou verifying their realization. Each of them, it is said, returned to Korea to spread Yanshou's teaching in their respective territories.<sup>160</sup>

As the head of a major Wuyue monastery aimed at administering Buddhism to the public, and as a prolific author, promoter of public worship, and representative of devotional Buddhism, Yanshou, along with his teacher Deshao, exemplified a more conservative, conventional approach to Buddhist (p.155) teaching and doctrine. He also believed, quite plainly, that his brand of Buddhism should be known as Chan. It should not be conceived as part of a movement defining itself in terms of independence from the larger Buddhist tradition, but as the very culmination of that tradition. As an example of Yanshou's attitude, witness the following passage from the *Zongjing lu*, which asserts the authenticity and authoritative quality of the Buddhist textual legacy. The passage begins with a hypothetical question typical of Chan rhetorical positions that privilege the teachings of the patriarchs over that of Śākyamuni.

*Question:*

If you want to clarify the source (*zong*), you should simply promote the message of the patriarchs. What use is there in combining their teachings with citations from the words and teachings of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, taking these as a guide. That is why members of Chan lineages (*zongmen*) claim “by availing oneself of the eyes of a snake, one will not distinguish things for oneself”<sup>161</sup> If one only becomes a sage of words and letters, one will not enter the ranks of the patriarchs.

*Answer:*

The above claim is not intended to prohibit reading the scriptures (*jiao*). My worry is that people will not know well the words of the Buddha (*foyu*). People develop understanding through texts. When people forget about the Buddha's message, one safeguards the minds of beginners on the basis of [texts]. Whoever understands the teaching through the corpus of Buddhist writings will not create a mind and realm of objects in opposition to each other, but will realize the mind of the Buddha directly. What error is there in this?

It is just like Reverend Yaoshan reading the *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra* throughout his life, not letting the volume leave his hand.<sup>162</sup>

At the time, a student asked:

“Reverend Xunchang does not allow students to read scriptures. Reverend, why do you yourself read them?”

The Master [Yaoshan] said:

“He is just making you close your eyes.”

The student asked:

“Should students read [scriptures] or not?”

The Master said:

“If you read them, you will pierce the ox's hide, just like the first patriarch in India.”

[*Yanshou's commentary*]:

This is [a reference to] how the original teacher, Śākyamuni Buddha began the transmission to Mahākāśyapa who became the first patriarch. It was transmitted in succession from patriarch to patriarch, down to the six patriarchs in this land. All of them are disciples of the Buddha. I now cite the words of the original teacher [Śākyamuni] to train and instruct disciples, encouraging their practice (*dao*) by having them follow his statements. If they know the source (*zong*) through reading the dharma, they will not rush around searching for it elsewhere. They will personally realize the Buddha's meaning. When they (**p. 156**) understand the message, they will enter the ranks of the patriarchs. Who will argue about sudden and gradual methods? Whoever sees their nature presents evidence for their perfect comprehension. How can one advocate ranking one patriarch over another? If this were the case, what would the difference be between them? In the case of the twenty-eight patriarchs of former ages in India, the six patriarchs in this land, as well as Great Master Mazu of Hongzhou, and Preceptor of State [Hui]zhong of Nanyang, Chan master Dayi of Ehu, Chan master Benjing of Mount Sikong, etc., all of them perfectly awakened to their own minds through thorough knowledge of the scriptures and treatises. Whenever they preached to their followers, they always referred to real documented evidence. They never speculated beyond what was in their own heart, or expounded on the basis of false presuppositions (*wangyou*). Consequently, even as the years pass uninterrupted, the wind of truth does not abate. Regard the words of the sage (the Buddha) (*shengyan*) as the true measure. Amidst perversity, falsity, calamity, and uncertainty, use the teaching as one's guide. By trusting in it, one has something to rely on.<sup>163</sup>

Yanshou situates the teachings of Chan patriarchs squarely within the parameters established by the Buddha's textual legacy. The twenty-eight patriarchs in India—many of whom, like Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and Vasubandhu, were major figures of Indian Buddhist scholasticism—maintained this legacy. The point for Yanshou is that the mind-to-mind transmission upon which the Chan tradition is predicated, does not represent a distinct teaching from the textual legacy of the Buddhist scriptural tradition. Further, he insists that the message of the Chan patriarchs cannot be properly understood apart from this textual legacy. Chan patriarchs in China, properly understood, perpetuate the true correspondence between their own message and that established in scriptural sources.



Aside from Yanshou's point about the coherence between Chan and Buddhist teachings (*jiao*), two other aspects of Yanshou's position here are noteworthy. The first is Yanshou's inclusion of Mazu Daoyi as one who represents this coherence between *chan* and *jiao*. As founder of the Hongzhou Chan faction, Mazu, as indicated previously, is regarded as the progenitor of the classic Chan style that had a profound influence over later Chan developments. Mazu is generally heralded for maintaining the opposite position emphasizing the independence of Chan and rejecting the importance of Buddhist scriptures.<sup>164</sup> Yanshou also mentions Ehu Dayi (745–818), a disciple of Mazu, as upholding the coherence of *chan* and *jiao*. In this way, Yanshou claims the Hongzhou faction, properly understood, does not represent an independent tradition, but is subsumed within the larger legacy of Buddhism. It is noteworthy that Yanshou selects Dayi for mention in this regard, but ignores those disciples of Mazu who were to become more famous for their views regarding Chan independence and criticism of scripture study. Less (p.157) surprising is Yanshou's mention of Huizhong, the disciple of Huineng who criticized the so-called “Southern School” Chan style that scorned scripture reading.

The second aspect is Yanshou's subtle indication of the close links between Chan and the Chinese state. Aside from Mazu, the Chinese Chan patriarchs mentioned by Yanshou all were major prelates for the Chinese state with close connections to Tang emperors. Huizhong, as seen previously, was a major figure in the early Chan movement who established strong imperial links, being awarded the title “Preceptor of State” by Emperor Daizong (r. 762–79). Sikong Benjing, another disciple of Huineng, had also forged critical links to Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) prior to Huizhong. Benjing preached in the imperial palace, dwelling at the White Lotus (*bailian*) Monastery at Xuanzong's invitation. Mazu's disciple Ehu Dayi also had strong connections to Tang emperors. He delivered sermons in the imperial palace at the invitation of Emperor Xiaowen, and also preached for emperors Dezong (r. 779–805) and Xianzong (r. 805–20).<sup>165</sup> Yanshou's selection of Chan masters with close imperial ties is no accident. As with his own situation in Wuyue, Yanshou is very clear about Chan's fortunes as an institution being intricately bound to political power and those who wield it.

Returning to the main point of the discussion, the *Chuandeng lu* record of Yanshou readily acknowledged his accomplishments as a leader of Wuyue Chan in terms of his conventional approach to Buddhist teaching evident in such works as the *Zongjing lu*. However, the *Chuandeng lu* also stresses Yanshou's role as a Chan teacher in ways typical of the “classic” Chan master.

A monk asked:

“What is the subtle essence of the teaching at Yongming monastery?”

Yanshou replied:

“Put more incense on the burner.”

The monk said:

"Thank you, Master, for revealing it to me."

Yanshou responded:

"Fortunately, I had nothing to do with the matter."...

A questioner asked:

"I am a student who has lived for a long time at Yongming monastery. Why haven't I understood the message of Yongming's teaching?"

Yanshou replied:

"Understanding is apprehended through what you don't understand."

The questioner continued:

"How does one understand through what they don't understand?"

Yanshou replied:

"The wombs of oxen produce elephants. Blue waves produce red dust."...

A questioner [asked]:

"I have heard that your teaching contains the saying that all the Buddhas as well as the teachings of the Buddhas are based on 'this sūtra.' What is 'this sūtra'?"

Yanshou replied:

"It revolves perpetually without ceasing, has no meaning and makes no sound."

**(p.158)** The questioner asked:

"How does one support and uphold it?" Yanshou replied: "Those who want to support and uphold it must listen to it with their eyes."

The questioner continued:

"What is the great mirror of perfection?"

Yanshou replied:

"Broken earthenware."<sup>166</sup>

In addition to being the public prelate of Wuyue whose congregation included the masses, Yanshou is in these examples characterized as the private Chan master instructing his students in a typically Chan style. While Yanshou is not depicted as engaging in the beating, shouting, and iconoclastic behavior ascribed to the more radical Chan style, his Chan persona seems a far cry from his image either as a public prelate or in his own writings.

Although Yanshou's later image is drawn in ways that exaggerate his personal proclivities, the dichotomy that Yanshou represents reflects the different roles that he played as a leading Wuyue prelate. In the first place, Yanshou served at leading centers for Chan training in Wuyue, Mount Xuedou in 952, and the Lingyin Monastery on the outskirts of Qiantang (Hangzhou) in 960. In these

contexts, Yanshou functioned as a Chan master, albeit in the style of the Fayan/Deshao tradition that emphasized a conventional approach to Buddhist practice, devotional exercises, scripture study and recitation, and so on. When Yanshou became the head of Yongming Monastery in 961, his duties were greatly expanded. No longer devoted strictly to Chan study and meditation, Yanshou was charged with administering Buddhism to the broader needs of the Wuyue regime. This involved public rituals and prominent interactions with Wuyue's elite, and open promotion of devotional practices and repentance rituals involving the lay population. In this atmosphere, Yanshou's Buddhism took on an unmistakably Mahāyana quality, emphasizing practices and themes from the *Lotus sūtra* and the larger Buddhist tradition. Judging from Yanshou's writings, it is not necessary to suppose that Yanshou's understanding of Buddhism changed, so much as circumstances dictated different emphases. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Yanshou's depiction in the *Chuandeng lu* fell victim to the emerging persona of the new style Chan master.

#### The Hybrid Character of Chan in the *Chuandeng lu*

Yanshou represents an extreme example of a pattern that characterizes the *Chuandeng lu*: the ascription of seemingly disparate elements to the record of a single Chan master. From the Fayan faction, one can point to similar dichotomies in the records of Fayan Wenyi and Tiantai Deshao, reviewed above. In the case of the Hongzhou faction, from which the most radical elements of Chan teaching stem, the *Chuandeng lu* depicts Mazu Daoyi as verifying his Chan message, radical though it may be, through recourse to scripture.<sup>167</sup> Even though Chan masters may be depicted as being fast and loose with the moral precepts, the *Chuandeng lu* takes care to point out their ordination training and qualifications.

**(p.159)** The dual character of Chan depicted in the *Chuandeng lu* is also revealed in the two prefaces written for the work: one written by the compiler, the Fayan-lineage monk and disciple of Deshao, Daoyuan; the other written by the famous Song scholar-bureaucrat Yang Yi, who served as chief editor when the text was issued in the early Song. I have reviewed the prefaces in other contexts and consider it in detail in the next chapter, but the thrust of their messages bears repeating here. Daoyuan's preface reveals that he envisioned the work in a way that was highly consistent with Wuyue Chan. According to Daoyuan, Chan teaching represents “myriad practices employed according to differences among practitioners” (*wanxing yi zhi chabie*), a message tailored to the establishment Buddhism spawned in Wuyue, in agreement with the emphasis on expedient means seen in Deshao and Yanshou. In contrast to this, Yang Yi's preface cast Chan as “a separate practice outside the teaching” (*jiaowai biexing*), emphasizing Chan's independence from established Buddhist conventions. While both interpretations are justifiable, it would be wrong to view them in isolation from each other. It is more accurate to view the *Chuandeng lu* as a hybrid of these two, and other tendencies. Like any compilation trying to document a tradition, the *Chuandeng lu* absorbed numerous materials relating

to Chan monks and their teachings, accommodating disparate tendencies into a comprehensive framework.

The comprehensive, hybrid nature of the *Chuandeng lu*'s approach to Chan is also apparent in fascicle 27, following the records of Chan masters arranged according to lineage associations.<sup>168</sup> Fascicle 27 contains records of “ten Chan adepts (*chanmen dazhe*) who did not achieve fame at the time.” These range from figures of Chan legend to reputable masters whose names were associated with the Tiantai school. The names of those with records here are: Chan Master Baozhi of Jinling (Nanjing), Layman Shanhui of Wuzhou (Zhejiang), Chan Master Huisi of Nanyue, Chan Master Zhiyi of Tiantai (Zhejiang), Monk Sengqie of Sizhou (Jiangsu), Duke Wanhui Fayun, Chan Master Fenggan of Tiantai, Hanshan of Tiantai, Shide of Tiantai, and Monk Budai of Mingzhou (Zhejiang). The first thing noteworthy about the names on this list is the geographical proximity that many of them have to Wuyue; they are associated with regions either within the boundaries of Wuyue or in close proximity. The second thing is the prominence of Tiantai masters. While the names include legendary Chan figures like Hanshan, Shide, and Budai, they also include the Tiantai school founder Huisi and its famed scholiast Zhiyi. The inclusion of Chan and Tiantai within a broader framework centering on Buddhist meditation traditions was reviewed briefly above, and I would like to comment further on it here.

The incorporation of leading Tiantai masters in a Chan transmission record is at first glance unexpected, even as an “appendix.” In fact, this can be seen as a residual understanding of Chan as a more broadly based Buddhist meditation tradition that included but was not restricted to Chan lineages. In spite of the increasing Chan dominance over the understanding of the meditation tradition in China, evidence from other sources suggests that the residual understanding of Chan meditation that included both Chan and Tiantai traditions contained in the *Chuandeng lu* actually had wide currency. Most **(p.160)** significant here is the explanation of Chan that Zanning, the Wuyue Vinaya master, brought to the Song court. Zanning's writings on Chan clearly credit two Chan traditions in China: the Tiantai tradition of Huisi and Zhiyi, and the Chan tradition instigated by Bodhidharma. In addition, these two streams of Chan tradition are also openly acknowledged in the work of the Japanese Zen pioneer Eisai (Yōsai), in the *Kōzen gokoku ron* (Treatise on Promoting Zen and Protecting the Country).<sup>169</sup> As a reformed Tendai monk who promoted Zen in Japan as a legitimate extension of Tendai teaching, the two streams of Chan had an obvious appeal to Eisai. Nevertheless, his proposal for reform was based in a widely held, if forgotten, understanding of the wider Chan tradition.

The *Chuandeng lu* concludes with fascicles devoted to the “extended speech” (*guangyu*) from various select Chan masters (fascicle 28),<sup>170</sup> poetic compositions by various select Chan masters (fascicle 29), and a miscellanea of Chan inscriptions, records, prohibitions, and hymns (fascicle 30). It is beyond

the scope of this work to characterize the contents of these fascicles in detail. Fascicle 28 represents an important stage in the development of the Chan “recorded sayings” (*yulu*) literature, in which the teachings and activities of Chan masters are isolated as embodying a uniquely Chan style of teaching and behavior. Fascicle 29 represents a comparable regard for the Chan master as poet. Fascicle 30 assembles a brief catalogue of major Chan works, including such classic works as the third patriarch Sengcan's *Xinxin ming* (Inscription on Believing Mind), Bodhidharma's *Rudao sixing* (Four Practices for Entering the Way, aka Two Entrances and Four Practices), and works by Shenhui and Shitou.

The *Chuandeng lu* represents an important stage in the development of Chan transmission records. Our understanding of Chan remains forever indebted to the comprehensive and thorough documenting of Chan lineage masters that it provides. While the *Chuandeng lu* came to be regarded as the classic Chan transmission record, setting standards for future records, it did not represent the final statement or full understanding of Chan identity. This was provided with the full and unequivocal support of Song officials, who increasingly turned away from the dense complexities of Fayen-faction Chan, steeped in doctrine and textual references, to the straightforward apprehensions of Linji-faction masters. In this they were aided by the rise of Linji-lineage masters to positions of power and influence at the Song court.

Notes:

(1.) As described in chapter 4, the fate of the *Zutang ji* was such that it became virtually unknown in China, and was rediscovered in the Korean monastery Haein-sa in the 1930s. Yanagida Seizan (“*Sodōshū kaidai*,” in *Sodōshū sakuin*, vol. 3) considers the evidence for knowledge regarding the *Zutang ji* during the Song dynasty, and contends that the *Zutang ji* was forgotten in the face of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*'s enhanced, more comprehensive, and better-edited presentation

(2.) Regarding the names and dates of the Five Dynasties, see chapter 1.

(3.) My discussion here is based on the research of Nishiguchi Yoshio, “*Tōzenji han Keitoku dentōroku kaidai*,” in *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* 1990, 3–13; “*Sakuin*,” 1993, 1–43.

(4.) Regarding the final completion of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, although it is normally associated with the first year of *jingde* (1004), the *Xu Shiji tongjian changbian* (fascicle 71) claims it was issued on the twenty-fourth day of the first month of the second year of *daizhong xiangfu* (1009); the latest dated entry in the *Chuandeng lu* is for the first year of *dazhong xiangfu* (1008) (CDL 26 record for Ruilu Benxian, T 51.427b15).

(5.) The Sibu congkan is a large collection of the main works of the Chinese scholarly tradition, arranged by the four branches (*sibu*) into which literature in China was traditionally divided: *jing* (classics), *shi* (history), *zi* (philosophers), and *ji* (belles-lettres).

(6.) A copy of this edition has been published by Zenbunka kenkyūjo (Kyoto, n. d.)

(7.) T 51.2076.

(8.) The *Chang Shouqu shi tieqin tongjian louzang* edition, a copy of which was issued by Yanagida Seizan (ed., *Sōhan, Kōribon, Keitoku dentōroku, Zengaku sōsho* no. 6 [Kyoto: Chūbun shuppan sha, 1976], 1–315).

(9.) Chart adapted from Nishiguchi Yoshio, “Tōzenji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai,” *Zenbunka kenkyūjō* (1990), 10a.

(10.) The only fragments of Yang Yi's original edition are contained in the Oldenburg collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, comprising 371 lines mostly from the middle to the end of fascicle 11 (Nishiguchi Yoshio, “Tōzenji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai,” *Zenbunka kinkūjō* [1990], 6a).

(11.) The numbers of people included in Yang Yi's compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* are based on Yang Yi's own fascicle descriptions of the contents in *Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu*, contained in *Songzang yizhen*, a collection of texts from Song editions of the Buddhist canon. My discussion here is based on Nishiguchi's translation, analysis, and discussion of Yang Yi's comments in “Tōzenji han *Keitoku dentōroku* kaidai,” 6a–10b (see esp. the comparative chart on 8a).

Even Yang Yi's own stipulation of the number of names included in his preface to the *Chuandeng lu* is not the same in all versions. The Sibu congkan edition stipulated 1,701, while the Korean edition (Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōhan, Kōribon, Keitoku dentōroku*, 319a18–19) states 1,721. This suggests that not only were the contents of the *Chuandeng lu* altered but Yang Yi's preface was subject to revision as well. It is also possible that the difference resulted from copyist error(s).

(12.) The *Chuandeng yuying ji* covers fifteen (out of thirty) of the *Chuandeng lu*'s fascicles. A copy of the surviving portions of the Song dynasty edition was issued by Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōzōichin Hōrinden, Dentō gyokuei shū* (*Zengaku sōsho* no. 5; Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983). On Wang Sui and the *Chuandeng yuying ji*, see Shinohara Hisaō, “Ōzui no Gyokuei ji santei ni tsuite—Hokusō shitaifu no zen juyō,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 19 (1961), 94–111.

- (13.) For a comparison of relevant sections where contents differ, see the appendix to Nishiguchi Yoshio, *Keitoku dentūroku* (Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūjō, n.d.), 1–43.
- (14.) Among the most revelatory is the case of Linji Yixuan. Given Linji's position as the patriarch for whom the Linji faction is named, the refining of his image became an important task for a significant portion of the Chan community in the early Song.
- (15.) For Fayuan Wenyi's record, see CDL 24 (T 51.398b–400a) and SGSZ 13 (T 50.788a–b).
- (16.) The names of Wenyi's disciples are featured prominently in CDL 25 and 26: forty-three disciples have biographies recorded and an additional twenty have their names mentioned.
- (17.) For Deshao's record, see CDL 25 (T 51.407b–10b) and SGSZ 13 (T 50.789a–b); see also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshūshi*, 74ff. Tiantai Deshao is also featured prominently in Hatanaka Jōen's study of Buddhism in Wuyue, “Goetsu no bukkō —toku ni Tendai Tokusho to sono shi Eimie Enju ni tsuite.”
- (18.) Hatanaka Jōen, *ibid.*, 312–13.
- (19.) Qian Liu became the official ruler of Wuyue with the fall of the Tang in 907, but assumed actual control of the region with his appointment as Military Commissioner (*jiedu shi*) in 893; see the *Jiu Wudai shi* 133.1767. On Qian Liu's attitude toward Buddhism, see Andō Tomonobu, “Goetsu Bushū ōsenryū to bukkō” (*Ōtani gakuhō* 50–4 [1971], 28–46).
- (20.) Hatanaka Jōen, “Goetsu no bukkō,” 309.
- (21.) For a discussion and list of the monks supported by Qian Liu, see Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 129–74.
- (22.) Hatanaka Jōen, “Goetsu no bukkō,” 309.
- (23.) SGSZ 7 (T 50.750c27–51a2).
- (24.) SGCQ 89.4b.
- (25.) For a discussion and list of the monks supported by Qian Chu (Zhongyi), see Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 186–210; a list of the important monks who studied with Qian Chu under Deshao and whose biographies appear in fascicle 26 of the CDL is given by Ishii, *Sōdai zenshūshi*, 82–83.
- (26.) On Yanshou, see Hatanaka Jōen, “Goetsu no bukkō,” 322–59; Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*.

(27.) On Daoyuan, see Ishii Shūdu, *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 26–44. A record of Daoyuan is contained in GDL 27 (ZZ 78.559c2–16), but it contains only brief, Chan-style exchanges and no biographical details.

(28.) Sixty-three masters are listed as disciples of Wenyi (forty-three with biographies, twenty without). Forty-nine masters are listed as disciples of Deshao (thirty with biographies, nineteen without). In addition, fascicle 26 includes miscellaneous related masters (twenty-seven with biographies, fifteen without). Fascicles 27 through 30 of the CDL are devoted to the record of Chan teachings.

(29.) A useful corrective to the overly literal reading of Chan rhetoric is T. Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism,” in *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, 147–208 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

(30.) See Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Chinese Buddhism*, and Jan Yun-hua, “Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch’an Buddhism.”

(31.) Wang Cuiling, “Eimei enju no zenshūkan ni tsuite” (*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 47–1 [1998], 201–4).

(32.) On the sources cited by Yanshou in the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, see *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 121–27. An appendix (177–89) traces the sources cited.

(33.) The number of citations in the *Zongjing lu* is based on Ishii Shūdō, “Eimei enju no chōsaku no kōsei to inyō kyōten,” master’s thesis, Komazawa University, n.d.

(34.) Published Chan sources like the “Inscription on Believing Mind” (*Xinxin ming*; thirteen times), “Song of Realization” (*Chengdao ke*, ten times), and the poems of Hanshan (ten times), were cited with slightly more frequency.

(35.) With slight variation, these lines appear in the CDL in the context of a discussion between Huineng and Xue Jian, a palace attendant dispatched by the emperor to invite Huineng to the palace to discourse on Chan. As a result of Huineng’s statement, Xue Jian is said to have achieved awakening (T 51.236a). Freedom from conceptualizing things in terms of good and evil (i.e., in moral terms) is a common theme among Chan masters (see, e.g., the attribution to Huangbo in *Zen no goroku* 8: *Denshin hōyō*, *Enryōroku*, ed. and trans. Iriya Yoshitaka, 85, 133).

(36.) T 48.958c4ff; *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 208–11.

(37.) T 48.961a25–26; *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 213.



(38.) T 51.356b19-20.

(39.) T 51.356b11.

(40.) T 48.961b25-26.

(41.) Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 156-57.

(42.) T 48.417a19-25.

(43.) See Stanley Weinstein, "The Schools of Chinese Buddhism," in *Buddhism and Asian History*, ed. Joseph Kitagawa and Mark Cummings, 257-65.

(44.) T 48.417b20-21.

(45.) As I have noted elsewhere ("The Problem with Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism," *Studies in Religion* 31, no. 1, 15), the Chinese character for *zong* is composed of two parts, the upper part indicating a roof, and the lower part meaning "a tablet for the deceased." This indicates *zong*'s original meaning as a hall where the tablets of ancestors are kept. According to the *Shuowen* (Lian Zi, ed., *Shuowen jiezi*, "Explanations of Letters and Elucidations of Words" [Beijing: Zhonghua shudian, 1963, 151b], based on the original *Shuowen* compiled by Xu Shen at the beginning of the second century), *zong* referred to the honor or respect (*zun*) paid in the ancestral hall (*zu miao*). Works like the *Ci yuan*, "The Origins of Words" (vol. 2 [Beijing: Shangmu yinshu guan, 1979-83, 812c]), provide several meanings for *zong*, including "ancestral hall" (*zu miao*), "ancestor" (*zuxian*, literally "patriarch-former"), "clan" (*zongzu*), "origin" (*benyuan*), and "honor" or "respect" (*zunchong*). (For the meaning of "ancestor," the *Ci yuan* cites a passage from the *Zuochuan* commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the third year of Duke Cheng.) *Ci hai*, "The Ocean of Words" (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1981, 886), however, fails to include "ancestor" among its several meanings. Modern Chinese dictionaries continue the ambiguity of the meaning of *zong* as "ancestor." The Taiwan-published *Zhongwen da zidian*, "Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Chinese Language" (vol. 3 [Taipei, 1973, 424ff.]), following Morohashi Tetsuji's *Dai kanwa jiten*, "Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sino-Japanese" (vol. 3 [Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1957-60, 3228]), makes no mention of *zong* as "ancestor" among its twenty-four definitions. (Nor does either work cite the *Zuochuan* passage on which the *Ci yuan* based its meaning of *zong* as "ancestor.") The mainland Chinese *Hanyu da cidian*, "Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Han Language" (vol. 2 [Wuhan: Hubei cishu chubanshe and Chengdu: Siquan cishu Publishing Companies, 1986-90 886]), as well as the Hong Kong-issued *Hanyu da cidian* (vol. 3 [Le Zhufeng, ed. (Hong Kong: Sanlian Publishing Company, 1987-94), 1347]), lists "ancestor" (*zuxian*) as the second meaning, after "ancestral hall" (*zu miao*). While an argument might be made for deriving the meaning of *zong* as "ancestor" based on the definitions provided even in those

works where it is not specifically stated as such, I follow those works that acknowledge the *Zuochuan* commentary passage that clearly includes the meaning of *zong* as “ancestor.”

(46.) John Jorgensen, “The ‘Imperial’ Lineage of Ch’an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Chan’s Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T’ang Dynasty,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* (1987), 89–133.

(47.) On Yanshou’s notion of *zong*, see Welter, “The Problem of Orthodoxy in Zen Buddhism, Yongming Yanshou’s Notion of *Zong* in the *Zongjing lu* (Records of the Source Mirror),” in *Studies in Religion, Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 31–1 (2002), 3–18. On the notion of *zong* in Chan lamp records, see T. Griffith Foulk, “The Ch’an Tsung in Medieval China, School, Lineage, or What?” *The Pacific World* 8 (New Series, 1992), 18–31.

(48.) Collected in CDL 28 (T 51.437c–49a). Many of these same features are also attributable to the *Zutang ji*, but the *Zutang ji* quickly became unavailable and forgotten in Chan circles, as discussed previously. The officially acknowledged, more comprehensive, and finely edited *Chuandeng lu* became the standard for future Chan transmission records.

(49.) Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 9, 48, 179. The inclusion of the seven buddhas of the past seems attributable to fascicle 35 of the *Fu fazang pin*; see Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō Bukkyō to Zen*, 138–39.

(50.) For example, the third line of the verse for the first buddha of the past, Vipasyin, ends with the character *wu* (“nonexistence”) in the CDL, rather than *kong* (“emptiness”), as in the ZTJ.

(51.) Technically speaking, the first three of the seven buddhas of the past belong to the previous kalpa, and the last four, up until Śākyamuni, belong in the present kalpa.

(52.) T 51.204b24–29.

(53.) Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, 132. Jinhua Shanhui lived during the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang. On this figure, see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 97, 126. In CDL 27, the record of Shanhui dashi (i.e., Fu Xi) is included as one of ten Chan adepts who achieved fame even though they remained laypeople (T 51.430a24–431a13). His record also appears in XGSZ 25 (T 50.659b24–c16). There is also a record of his sayings, the *Shuanglin si Shanhui dashi yulu*.

(54.) This verse appears in scriptures attributed to the early Buddhist tradition, in both the *Chuyao jing* (T 4.741b24–25), translated 398–99, and the *Faji yaosong jing* (T 4.792a17–18), translated ca. 990–1000. It is identified as the common admonition of the seven buddhas in a Tiantai source, the *Fahua xuanyi* (T 33.695c26–27).

(55.) T 51.205a27–28.

(56.) Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 130, 132.

(57.) T 51.205a29–205b3.

(58.) This was also noted as a feature of the *Zutang ji*. However, the *Zutang ji* record of Śākyamuni is considerably longer than that in the *Chuandeng lu*.

(59.) T 51.221a23–c13. Could this be, in part, because of the obscurity of the figure Sengcan (see for example, Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 12)? On Bodhidharma, see Bernard Faure, “Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm,” *History of Religions* 25–3 (1986), 187–98.

(60.) T 51.226c25–31b10. On Daoxin, see David Chappell, “The Teachings of the Fourth Ch’an Patriarch Tao-hsin (580–651),” in *Early Ch’an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, 89–130.

(61.) T 51.231b12–232a24.

(62.) T 51.231b11–235a7.

(63.) Based on Yang Yi’s summary of the *Chuandeng lu* contained in the *Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu*, discussed above.

(64.) T 51.235a13–45b13.

(65.) See ZTJ 4 (112–45).

(66.) It should also be noted that in addition to lineages descended through Huairang and Xingsi, the *Chuandeng lu* acknowledges other lineages descended from the sixth patriarch in fascicle thirteen. In total, the names of fifty-nine heirs are listed through six generations of descendants. Of these fifty-nine, only four have records included: Danyuan Zhenying (heir of Preceptor of State Huizhong), Dashi Fulin and Mengshan Guangbao (heirs of Shenhui), and Guifeng Zongmi (heir of Suizhou Daoyuan); see T. 51.305b19–8b17.

(67.) T 51.246c7–63c18.

(68.) T 51.305a16–17.

(69.) CDL 22 and 23; T 51.380a14–28 and 387b11–c6 (names listed), T 51.384b24–91b24 (records provided). Many of Wenyan's disciples (sixteen) were active in his own region, Shaozhou.

(70.) T 51.356b28–29. Chen Zunsu's record is contained in CDL 12 (T 51.291a20–92b18). There is also a record of his teachings in *Guzunsu yulu* 6.

(71.) ZTJ 11 (92.1–5).

(72.) Lingshu Rumin's record is contained in CDL 11 (T 51.286b20–c10) and ZTJ 19 (107.12–8.7).

(73.) T 51.356c2.

(74.) For Liu Yin's biography, see XWS 65.809–10 and SGCQ 58.835–38.

(75.) Urs App, *Yunmen*, 24–26, based on information contained in two inscriptions composed about Yunmen shortly after his death: *Dahan shaozhou yunmenshan dajue chansi dacyun kuangshen hongming dashi beiming* (964) by Chen Shouzhong, and *Yunmenshan guangtai chanyuan gu kuangzhen dashi shixingbei* (959) by Lei Yue (both contained in Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina bukkyō shiseki kinenshū* (Tokyo: Bukkō shiseki kenkyūkai, [1931], 110–21).

(76.) CDL 21 (T 51.370b14–23) (names listed), T 51.371a1–74a29 (records). The majority were active in Fuzhou (six), and in the Hangzhou, Tiantai, Quanzhou areas.

(77.) CDL 21 (T 51.370b24–c10) (names), T 51.374b1–77b5 (records). The records indicate that Huileng's disciples were particularly active in Fuzhou (thirteen heirs) and Hangzhou (six heirs).

(78.) CDL 21 (T 51.370c21–28) (names), T 51.378a2–79b26 (records).

(79.) CDL 22 (T 51.379c21–80a9) (names), T 51.382a19–84a21 (records).

(80.) CDL 23 (T 51.387c17–88a1) (names), T 51.392a4–94a11 (records).

(81.) CDL 23 (T 51. 388a2–14) (names), T 51.394a12–b22 (records).

(82.) CDL 18 (T 51.343c28–44a1); SGSZ 13 (T 50.785c19–22). Chan Master Lingxun is otherwise unknown.

(83.) SGSZ 13 (T 50.786a1–2).

(84.) T 51.346a26–27.

(85.) T 50.786a3–4.

(86.) T 50.786a4–5.

- (87.) CDL 21 (T 51.371a1-74a29; for Guichen's record see 371a2-72a20).
- (88.) SGSZ 13 (T 50.786c16-18, 20-21).
- (89.) CDL 24 (T 51.397a26-b1) (names), T 51.398b1-407a7 (records).
- (90.) CDL 25 (T 51.407a14-b4 (names), T 51.407b6-18a25 (records); CDL 26 (T 51.418b6-24) (names), T 51.419b29-20c11 (records).
- (91.) Located in the western part of Suian prefecture, Zhejiang province.
- (92.) CDL 24 (T 51.398b4-6).
- (93.) The term “Confucian monk” (*rusō*) is used by Makita Tairyō, “Sannei to sono jidai,” *Chūgoku kinse bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 105. Makita mentions Guanxiu, Lingche, and Jisi as other examples of “Confucian monks” at this time.
- (94.) CDL 24 (T 51.398b2-7); SGSZ 13 (T 50.788a19-25).
- (95.) On Zhangqing Huileng, see chapter 4.
- (96.) T 51.398b8-13.
- (97.) For their records, see CDL 24 (T 51.400a12-401a25).
- (98.) T 51.398b13-16.
- (99.) The *Zongmen shigui lun* is contained in XZJ 110.877-82. In contrast to the pithy exchanges and pointed sermonizing of *yulu*, the *Zongmen shigui lun* is written in the style of a literate essayist, constructing arguments through measured prose and recourse to meaningful precedents.
- (100.) The image here is of the gateway (*men*) to the courtyard (*ting*) of one's family compound.
- (101.) XZJ 110.877a16-b5.
- (102.) T 51.398c1-11.
- (103.) T 51.398c1.
- (104.) T 51.398c26-27.
- (105.) T 51.399c24-27.
- (106.) Li Jianxun's biography is found in SGCQ 21.301-3.
- (107.) T 51.399c29-400a6.

(108.) For their records, see CDL 25 (T 51.407b6–10b12, 411c6–12a13, and 414b26–c3, respectively).

(109.) Longguang is otherwise unknown; for the record of Qingliang Taiqin, see CDL 25 (T 51.414c4–15b18). The *Lengqie shizi ji*, citing the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, distinguished between nationally and regionally prominent disciples of the fifth patriarch (T 85.1289c).

(110.) T 51.407b6–20c11. This assumption is questionable, however, given the absence of Longguang's name from the list here. In the CDL record of Fayān, Longguang is mentioned as one of Fayān's regionally prominent disciples (T 51.400a7–8).

(111.) T 51.400a8–11.

(112.) On the rulers of Wuyue during this period, focusing on the Wuyue founder King Wusu, see Qian Ji'e, *Wuyue guo Wusu wang jishi*, 3 vols.

(113.) T 51.410c1–2 and SGSZ 23 (T 50.859c4–6).

(114.) T 51.412b29–c1 and SGSZ 13 (T 50.788c24–26).

(115.) T 51.413a14–15.

(116.) T 51.415b23–24; according to SGSZ 23 (T 50.860b22–23), a special cloister, the Shangfang jing yuan, was erected for Shaoyan at Hangta Monastery. For a look at the broader influence of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū*. For a more recent assessment, see Ishii Shūdō, “Senshū Fukusen Shōkei-in no Jōshu zenji Shōtō to *Sodōshū*,” 183b–90b.

(117.) T 51.400a6.

(118.) T 51.411c15–17.

(119.) T 51.414b6–7.

(120.) T 51.411b16.

(121.) T 51.415c28–29.

(122.) CDL 26 (T 51.418c18–19a17) (names), T 51.421c7–26a13 (records).

(123.) T 51.429b26–c7.

(124.) T 51.407b8–12ff. Touzi Datong (CDL 15 [T 51.319a2–20b5]; ZTJ 6 [37.2–47.13]) is listed in the *Chuandeng lu* as a fourth-generation heir in the Qingyuan Xingsi lineage. Longya Zhudun (CDL 17 [T 51.337b2–38a3]; ZTJ 8 [151.14–55.12]) is listed as a fifth-generation heir in the Qingyuan lineage. Cuiwei Wuxue

(CDL 14 [T 51.313c7–21]; ZTJ 5 [8.13–9.3]) was the disciple of Danxia Tianran (739–824).

(125.) Dongshan Liangjie (CDL 15 [T 51.321b20–23b21]; ZTJ 6 [49.12–71.10]; SGSZ 12 [T 50.779c29–80a16]) was a disciple of Yunyan Tansheng (780–841).

(126.) T 51.407b23–24. The question literally reads: “What is the first water drop of the sixth patriarch's teaching?”

(127.) T 51.407b26–27.

(128.) T 51.407b28.

(129.) The Tiantai character of Wuyue Chan is most notable in the writings of Yongming Yanshou (see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*) and the characterization of Chan by Zanning. It was also noted that this aspect of Chan was attractive to Japan's early Zen pilgrims, like Eisai (Yōsai), who initially understood Zen and Tendai as species of a common meditation tradition.

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

(131.) Hatanaka Jōen, “Goetsu no bukyō—toku ni Tendai Tokushō to sono shi Eimei Enjū ni tsuite,” *Ōtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 7 (1954), 305–65.

(132.) T 51.407c5–9. Other sources claim that envoys were also sent to Japan to retrieve the lost Tiantai manuscripts; see also Hatanaka Jōen, “Goetsu no bukyō,” 315–16.

(133.) Hatanaka, *ibid.*, 318–19.

(134.) On the subject of Buddhism in the Sui dynasty, see Arthur F. Wright, “The Formation of Sui Ideology, 581–604,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 71–104 (esp. 93–104).

(135.) On the Song Tiantai revival, see the articles by Daniel Getz, “T’ien-t’ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate,” and Daniel Stevenson, “Protocols of Power: Tz’u-yun Tsung-shih (964–1032) and T’ien-t’ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung,” in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Dan Getz.

(136.) T 51.407c10–23.

(137.) Recorded in CDL 5 (T 51.235c3–7).

(138.) Case 29; T 48.296c17–26.

(139.) T 51.407c23–25.

(140.) T 48.292c–93a, italics added.

(141.) References to Yanshou's writings in Korean *sŏn* abound. As an example, see Robert Buswell, *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983). On the combined practice of Chan and Pure Land Buddhism and its attribution to Yanshou, see Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 395–400; and especially Heng Ching-shih, *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992). For a critique of reducing Yanshou's aims to the narrow parameters of Chan-Pure Land synthesis, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

(142.) The study of the records of Yanshou's life was a principal aim of my doctoral research on Yanshou, published as *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*; see esp. 39–99. A translation of select records is found in 193–203. My discussion here is indebted to this earlier study.

(143.) T 51.421c8–11.

(144.) T 51.352c–53a; see especially 353a3.

(145.) T 51.421c11–14.

(146.) T 50.887b9–10.

(147.) T 47.268b21–23.

(148.) XZJ 137.239–41.

(149.) T 47.195a9–13; Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 199–200, with slight alteration.

(150.) *Linjian lu*, XZJ 148.294b. Huihong also chided Zanning for listing “Exegetes” first (i.e., most important) in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, and for his failure to mention Yunmen Wenyan.

(151.) T 51.762–63.



(152.) It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that these phenomena was restricted only to Tiantai records promoting the Pure Land. The later Chan record, the *Rentian baojian*, compiled in 1230 (XZJ 148.71a-c), includes many of the same types of miracle stories characteristic of the Tiantai-based Pure Land records. For a discussion, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 67–73.

(153.) T 47.195a-b; for a discussion and translation, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 82–87, 199–201.

(154.) T 47.268c; for a discussion and translation, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 80–82, 198–99.

(155.) T 49.264b–65a.

(156.) See McRae, *The Northern School and Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, and Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*.

(157.) T 51.421c15–18.

(158.) T 51.421c19–25.

(159.) CDL 25 (T 51.412b29–c5); SGSZ 13 (T 50.788c25–26).

(160.) T 51.422a9–17.

(161.) A reference to “availing oneself of the eyes of a snake” is found in the *Shoulengyan jing* (*Sūrangama sūtra*; T 19.138c28), but there appears to be no connection to the passage cited here.

(162.) Yaoshan Weiyan (750–834) is referred to in the ZTJ 4 (168.4–84.14). There is no reference to the conversation recorded here, making the place where the episode ends in the ZJL difficult to determine. For the *Da niepan jing*, see T 374, 375.

(163.) ZJL 1 (T 48.418a13–b5). Elsewhere, Yanshou implies that the principles and teachings of Chan are in harmony with those of scholastic Buddhism. This is evident from his remarks in ZJL 2 (T 48.427b29–c12):

Furthermore, the scriptures say:

The Buddha said: “In these forty-nine years, I have not added one word to the dharma which all the buddhas of the past, present, and future preach. As a result, I know you can arrive at the Way through the gate of universal mind. When those with superior abilities enter it directly, they will never rely on other methods. For those of average and inferior abilities who have

not entered [the gate of universal mind], I have devised various paths as expedients.”

Consequently, the patriarchs and buddhas both point to the profound ultimate of worthies and sages. Even though the name differs, the essence is the same. In other words, circumstances distinguish [their teachings] but by nature they are in harmony.

The *Prajñā* scriptures simply speak of non-duality. The *Lotus sūtra* only talks of the one-vehicle. For the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* every circumstance is an opportunity for practice. In the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* everything ends in the secret storehouse. Tiantai teaching focuses exclusively on the three contemplations (*sanguan*). Jiangxi (?) proposed the essence as the entire truth. For Mazu mind is Buddha. Heze [Shenhui] directly pointed to knowing and seeing. Moreover, the teaching is explained in two kinds of ways. The first is through explicit explanations. The second is through implicit explanations. Explicit explanations are [contained in] sūtras like the *Lankavatāra* and *Miyan (Ghanavyūha)*, and treatises like the *Awakening of Faith* and *Consciousness-Only*. Implicit explanations establish their unique character according to the fundamental source (*zong*) taught in individual scriptures. For example, the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* regards miraculousness as the fundamental source. The *Diamond sūtra* regards nonabiding as the fundamental source. The *Huayan sūtra* regards the dharma-realm as the fundamental source. The *Nirvāṇa sūtra* regards Buddha-nature as the fundamental source. By relying on these one establishes a thousand pathways. All of them are different aspects of universal mind.

(164.) The view that Mazu rejected scriptures is challenged in an unpublished study by Mario Poceski, “Attitudes toward Canonicity and Religious Authority in Tang China,” paper presented for the Zen Seminar, American Academy of Religion (Toronto, 2002).

(165.) Ehu Dayi's record in CDL 7 (T 51.253a1–23) affirms this. He also has a record in ZTJ 15 (74.10–76.9).

(166.) T 51.421c25–22a9; Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, 196–97, with slight alteration.

(167.) See the sermons attributed to Mazu in CDL 28 (T 51.440a3–b19).

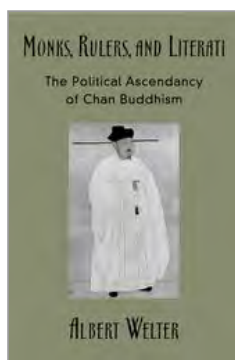
(168.) On CDL 27, see Ishii, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*.

(169.) This is based on my study, “Zen Buddhism as the Ideology of the Japanese State: Yōsai and the *Kōzen gokokuron*,” which will appear in a future volume (*Zen Text*) edited by Dale Wright and Steven Heine. Eisai (Yōsai) openly

acknowledges the Tiantai (Tendai) stream of Chan (Zen) in fascicle 4 of the *Kōzen gokokuron* (Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, 104b; trans., 49.

(170.) On CDL 28, see Christian Wittern. *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus*.

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

# Literati Influences on the Compilation of Chan Records: The Jingde [Era] Transmission of the Lamp and the Tiansheng [Era] Expanded Lamp Record

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0006

## Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines literature influences on the compilation of records of Chan Buddhism, particularly the *Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* and the *Tiansheng Expanded Lamp Record*. It describes the *Jingde Transmission of the Lamp* as reflecting a compromise between rhetorical definitions of Chan as independent, subitist, antinomian, and so forth, as opposed to interpretations of Chan as harmonious with the rituals and traditions of conventional Buddhism. It suggests that the purpose of the *Tiansheng Expanded Lamp Record* was to affirm an interpretation of Chan associated with members of the Linji faction who had become increasingly influential among officials at the Song court and it functioned as a vehicle promoting the Linji faction and its interpretation of Chan.

**Keywords:** Chan Buddhism, literature influences, conventional Buddhism, religious literature, Linji faction, religious history

The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* reflected a compromise, of sorts, between rhetorical definitions of Chan as independent, subitist, antinomian, and so forth, as opposed to interpretations of Chan as harmonious with the rituals and traditions of conventional Buddhism. This compromise was not to last. After the Song reunification, northern-based Chan lineages, silent through much of the tenth century, began to assert themselves. This influenced both the way in which the

*Chuandeng lu* was compiled and understood, and the compilation of a further transmission record spawned it its wake, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*.

The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was compiled by Li Zunxu (988–1038) in 1029 and issued under imperial authority in 1036. As noted previously, Li Zunxu was a well-connected member of the imperial family. He was the husband of Lady Qi Zhao (988–1051), the daughter of Emperor Taizong (r. 976–97), making him a brother-in-law of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), and an elder relative of the current emperor, Renzong (r. 1022–63).<sup>1</sup> Like the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* before it, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* demonstrates the level of approval that Chan had won among the Song elite by the inclusion of the current emperor's reign appellation, *tiansheng* (or in the case of the *Chuandeng lu*, *jingde*) in its title. This approval also served as an endorsement for the style of Chan that each work represented. The importance of this endorsement was immense. It signaled the acceptance of Chan into the Chinese (p.162) cultural mainstream as officially sanctioned Buddhism. While the importance of Chan acceptance in the Song is often noted, as it should be, little concern has been shown for the style of Chan that was endorsed. The point that I would like to focus on here is that the style of Chan fostered and the definition of Chan endorsed represent the conscious decision of Song officials to promote the masters and teachings of certain lineages as “true” Chan at the expense of other alternatives. It is hardly unique for Chan records to promote the factional interests of individual lineages, as we have seen. Prior to the *Chuandeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*, however, the claims of Chan records were largely regional and intra-Chan, or possibly, intra-Buddhist affairs. While Chan had demonstrated the capacity to capture national attention during the Tang, it did not acquire the prestige of being China's officially sanctioned Buddhism. The only exception to this was the success won by Shenxiu, noted earlier, in being acknowledged by Empress Wu in the early eighth century. As momentous as this was, Chan success at this time was short-lived. Empress Wu's dynastic presumptions were soon nullified, and Shenxiu's reputation would become forever tarnished by the Chan infighting that ensued as a result of Shenhui's claim to represent Chan orthodoxy. The story of Chan's rise from “outsider” to “insider” status is thus closely associated with the compilation of the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu*, and the role played by Song officials in the promotion and acceptance of these two works.

Not long after its publication in 1009, the *Chuandeng lu* was deemed incomplete and work began on compiling a new Chan transmission record to supplement it. The need for a new work to supplement one just recently issued seems odd given the *Chuandeng lu*'s comprehensiveness and the level of official approval it garnered (it was the first Chan work admitted to the Buddhist canon). However, in light of the fluid situation at the early Song court, need was felt for a new Chan record to supplement and supplant the old one. That this was a conscious act can be determined by the choice of the word *guang* in the new work's title. Typical meanings for the term *guang* include “wide,” “expansive,” and so forth,

and here its meaning derives from its usage as a verb, “to expand, extend, or broaden.” In this context, “to expand, extend, or broaden” the “lamp record” (*deng lu*) is a clear reference to its intent to supplement the previous “lamp record,” the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. The act of supplementing something may have many connotations, ranging from augmenting, enlarging, enhancing, extending, adding to, complementing, and so on. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* embraces all of these meanings, but its real purpose is to affirm an interpretation of Chan associated with members of the Linji faction who had become increasingly influential among officials at the Song court. In order to understand how the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* functioned as a vehicle promoting the Linji faction and its interpretation of Chan, I review in detail here the circumstances that led to Linji dominance over Chan interpretation in the early Song. Prior to this, I discuss literati support for Buddhism at the early Song court, focusing on the circumstances surrounding the elite Buddhist scholar-official, Zanning.

**(p.163) Zanning: A Buddhist Literati at the Song Court**

After the reconsolidation of China by the Song dynasty in 960, the official interpretation of Chan moved from local, previously autonomous regions to the imperial court and the literati employed there.<sup>2</sup> Official support for Chan in the Song dynasty was initially sanctioned through the Buddhist scholar-official Zanning. While not a Chan monk, Zanning was highly knowledgeable about Chan and played a leading role at the Song court in defining it. As the acknowledged head of the Buddhist clergy in China, Zanning was also well positioned to influence imperial opinion. Appointed to leading positions in the bureaucracy of Emperor Taizong, Zanning wielded immense influence among Song literati officials.

As a Buddhist, Zanning identified with the tradition of Vinaya masters.<sup>3</sup> Traditionally charged with monastic discipline and organization, Vinaya masters in China often served as liaisons between the Buddhist clergy and the state bureaucracy. Zanning's career was emblematic in this regard. Early in his career, he served as Ordination Supervisor (*jiantan*) and Buddhist Controller (*sengtong*) in the regional government of his homeland, Wuyue. Later, he was appointed Buddhist Registrar (*senglu*) at the Song court, serving as the highest-ranking Buddhist of his day.<sup>4</sup> These titles signal Zanning's rise through the ranks of the Buddhist bureaucracy into positions serving the regional and central government.<sup>5</sup> In the tradition of scholar-officials who served the imperial bureaucracy, court monks were also called on to contribute scholarly works commissioned by imperial decree.

Zanning possessed a breadth of knowledge highly prized at the Song court. As a mark of his erudition, he was reputedly appointed to the prestigious Hanlin Academy of scholars, a rare privilege for a Buddhist, and served as one of the “Nine Elders,”<sup>6</sup> a group composed of members who represented the pinnacle of

Song intellectual achievement. Zanning's writings on Buddhist history, the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song) and the *Dasong Seng shilue* (Historical Digest of the Buddhist Order compiled in the Great Song) have been highly prized through the centuries and remain some of the most important sources for the study of Chinese Buddhism. Both works contain the appellation of the Song dynasty in their titles, indicating the imperial sanction of their contents. While scholars commonly rely on these sources for information about Buddhist monks and institutional practices in China, many are only vaguely aware of the more immediate circumstances governing their compilation.

Zanning's writings on Buddhist history were aimed directly at the emperor and the new Song bureaucracy. The works were commissioned directly by Emperor Taizong (r. 976–97) as part of his bid to restore dynastic order based on culture and literary activity (*wen*) rather than military power (*wu*).<sup>7</sup> In this sense Zanning's compilations were part of a larger agenda in the early Song to restore the cultural basis of authority by collecting all known information pertaining to heaven and earth, particularly human affairs. The early Song program **(p.164)** was a conscious attempt by its rulers to set a course for the new dynasty that might set it apart from its failed predecessors.<sup>8</sup> The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* was modeled after well-established precedents governing Buddhist biographical writing in China; the *Dasong Seng shilue* was a highly unprecedented work, patterned on the early Song penchant for encyclopedic collection of information. Zanning's aim was to inform the newly literate classes of the Song regarding the role that Buddhist monks and institutions had played in Chinese history. Zanning's two compilations were the first Buddhist works to be commissioned by imperial order in the Song. In the process, Zanning attempted to influence imperial opinion regarding the role of Buddhism in sensitive areas where precedents regarding Buddhism were vague and the Buddhist role in China was subject to dispute. The *Seng shilue*, in particular, was constructed on this premise.<sup>9</sup> It is thus important to keep in mind that Zanning did not identify with the Chan tradition personally and was not interested in establishing Chan lineages as a means to bolster his own credibility. His writings on Chan were conceived in the context of a non-Chan, pan-Buddhist framework; they did not take the form of the transmission records (*denglu*). As a committed Buddhist, however, especially one delegated important official responsibilities, Zanning was very interested in the Chan tradition, especially in determining the proper interpretation of Chan in relation to the larger Buddhist tradition. Because of Zanning's position of authority at the Song court, his knowledge of and interest in Chan, and the influence he wielded over literati opinion, it is important to examine Zanning's perspective on Chan. Because literati opinion played a large role in determining Chan's official interpretation in the Song, as we shall see, the discussion of Zanning helps us to understand the parameters within which literati support for Chan operated.

The situation facing Zanning as the leading representative of the Buddhist clergy and a high-ranking member of the imperial bureaucracy was a difficult one. Not only were many members of the bureaucracy hostile in their attitudes toward Buddhism, many aspects of Buddhism were new and undefined owing to years of social upheaval and the unprecedented changes affecting Buddhism and Chinese society. Among the practices that Buddhists engaged in and the customs that they followed, it was not always clear which were legitimate. Among the Buddhist community itself, there were often conflicting claims based on the regionalization of Buddhism that followed in the wake of the breakdown of central authority. In addition, important conventions regarding the role of Buddhism in the central government, either forgotten or fallen into disuse, once again became potentially viable with the assumption of Song imperial authority. Amidst these concerns, new practices and old conventions competed for recognition as legitimate expressions of Buddhist teaching. In this context, Zanning's role was key. Zanning was in the leading position to arbitrate matters pertaining to Buddhism for the new Song government and to present a coherent picture of the situation. His views were instrumental in determining government policies affecting Buddhism. The heart of the issue was determining a new sense of Buddhist orthodoxy that could guide Song government policy. The central question was deciding which Buddhist practices **(p.165)** and customs were legitimate and which were not. One legacy of the Huichang suppression was to place Buddhist establishments and their activities under tighter government control. The survival of Buddhist monasteries and the level of support that they received were increasingly tied to government decision making.

Interest in maintaining strict control over Buddhism ran high among members of the Song bureaucracy. Officials responsible for a major suppression of Buddhism in the Latter Zhou (951–59) were appointed to prominent positions in the Song government. As the reputation of the Song grew and independent regions were successively united under imperial control, the “Buddhist question” became important. An example of the intense feelings that Buddhism aroused and the potential problems that ensued is the riot in Hangzhou led by the Buddhist monk Shaolun (d.u.) in 985, which ended in his execution as well as the execution of three hundred of his followers.<sup>10</sup> The incident occurred only seven years after control over the Wuyue region was ceded by the Wuyue ruler, Qian Chu (Zhongyi), and dramatically symbolized the changing fortunes of Buddhism in the region. Buddhists in Hangzhou who had previously enjoyed the lavish government patronage of regional overlords were now faced with suspicious representatives of the central government, upon whose support they nevertheless depended.<sup>11</sup> The ambiguous position facing Buddhism in Hangzhou mirrors Zanning's own dilemma in representing Buddhism at the Song court. One way to appreciate Zanning's situation is to look at his position amidst the growing debate among literati over the nature of *wen*, the defining theme of the new dynasty, at the imperial court.



Although there was broad consensus on the virtue and viability of *wen* as the basis of a new Song culture, the definition of *wen* itself varied. One model of *wen* emphasized literary refinement, following the Tang example of cultural synthesis that appreciated different traditions regardless of formal affiliation. This model prized creativity over strict adherence to form. It was inclusive, adaptive, and innovative in its approach to literary forms. It was open to new ideas and approaches to enhance and broaden culture. It had no set moral agenda. The other model was that espoused by moral ideologues who saw *wen* as a means to combat the currents of cultural decline. Rather than being a creative impulse marked by a high degree of individual freedom, *wen* represented the common interests of the society as a whole. It provided a set of moral imperatives around which taste and conduct were regularized. *Wen* was characterized by a “proper” prose style following the set patterns of ancient literary models, known as *guwen* (classical *wen*). The proponents of *guwen* looked to the golden age of Confucian antiquity for inspiration.<sup>12</sup>

Officials at the Song court had varying reactions to Buddhism depending on their view of *wen*. *Guwen* proponents openly criticized the Buddhist presence in China and sought to circumscribe its influence. Those who advocated *wen* in terms of literary refinement tended to be more tolerant of Buddhism and even promoted it for its poetic and literary contributions. It was usually the case that Buddhist support among literati came from proponents of the latter model for *wen*, as literary refinement, but this was not always so. When (p.166) monks like Shengchang (959–1020) founded Lotus societies, following the example of Huiyuan, in the early Song in an attempt to garner the support of literati, some of its members came from the ranks of the *guwen* faction.<sup>13</sup> Even more surprising, some Buddhist monks themselves were proponents of *guwen*. The Buddhist monk Zhiyuan (976–1022), in a farewell preface for Shuji (d.u.), openly espoused *guwen* as the proper approach for “doing *wen*.”

What is called *guwen* establishes language worthy of being remembered according to the ancient Way, and the language must illuminate the ancient Way. What is the ancient Way? It is the Way the sage-teacher Confucius practiced....His fundamental precepts were simply benevolence and righteousness and the five constants. If you aspire to This Culture (*siwen*), you must really master the Way of the five constants. Do not lose the center with the times, change but maintain continuity [with the ancient], for what is continuous endures and what endures agrees [with the Way]. Once you have apprehended the Way in the mind, let it come out by writing essays (*wenzhang*) and spread it as transformation through instruction (*jiaohua*) [thus saving the age and setting forth the kingly way, etc.]....This should be the goal of doing *wen*. The creation of *guwen* truly is complete in this.<sup>14</sup>

Zhiyuan had a reputation as an active teacher of *guwen* to other monks.<sup>15</sup> The precedent for interpreting Buddhism in terms of *guwen*, followed by Zhiyuan, was established by Zanning. In addition to ideological affinities, Zhiyuan's personal esteem for Zanning is reflected in a verse he composed in Zanning's honor:

In a state of tranquility, [Zanning] returned to the realm of truth; the work of saving humankind having already been completed.

At the courts of two emperors, his accomplishments were much admired; his fame is known to all within the four seas.

Of the traditions of old, he preserved the Lotus Association (*huashe*); in the preservation of [hitherto] lost information, he satisfied [the wishes of] the imperial court.

He reflected on past events without passing judgment; in the tree of the courtyard, a crow calls out at sunset.<sup>16</sup>

Zanning's closest associate among the literati was Wang Yucheng (954–1001), a renowned leader in the *guwen* movement. Wang had a narrow definition of what constituted *wen*: only writings modeled after the classics and five constants deserved the name.<sup>17</sup> Yet, in spite of his own propensities, Wang remained open to other possibilities. He believed that a broad appreciation of writings that fell outside the definition of *wen* per se was not necessarily harmful.

Wang's admiration for Zanning is clearly evident in the preface he wrote for Zanning's collected works (*wenji*), which opens as follows: **(p.167)**

The heirs of Sakyamuni refer to Buddhist writings as the inner teaching (*neidian*) and refer to Confucian writings as outer learning (*waixue*). Those skilled in poetry (*shi*) are common; those with skill in *wen* are rare. The only one to master all four of these is the Great Master [Zanning].<sup>18</sup>

Wang Yucheng's admiration for Zanning did not extend to Buddhism. In the fourth of a five-point memorial to the newly appointed Emperor Zhenzong, Wang argued for the elimination of Buddhist monks from Chinese society in a typically Confucian, anti-Buddhist pretext: the Buddhist clergy, as an idle and unproductive class, placed an unnecessary and additional burden on the Chinese economy. Wang likened the clergy to the military, which established itself, according to Wang, in the aftermath of the villainy of China's first emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi. As if the strain added by the military to the four "legitimate" classes (scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants) was not enough, the Buddhist clergy infiltrated China to make the situation even worse. Wang also criticized Buddhism for its attempts to rationalize its presence on the basis of false spiritual claims.<sup>19</sup>

The attitude toward Buddhism in Wang's memorial was not unique and owes much to the virulent anti-Buddhist rhetoric of Han Yu who, in his "Memorial on the Bone of the Buddha," charged that Buddhism was non-Chinese ("no more than the cult of barbarian peoples"), subversive of public morality ("our old ways [will] be corrupted, our customs violated"), and based on evil, socially damaging superstitions ("How then, when he [the Buddha] has long been dead, could his rotten bones...be rightly admitted to the palace?").<sup>20</sup> Han Yu's memorial preceded the major Buddhist suppression enacted in the Huichang era (841–46). Another anti-Buddhist campaign was enacted by the Latter Zhou emperor Shizong in 955. As mentioned previously, many officials who served at the early Song court were drawn from the ranks of those who served at the court of the Latter Zhou.

Wang's preface suggests he was far more impressed with Zanning's skills as a *wen* master than he was deterred by his Buddhist affiliation. Imperial support for Buddhism, however intended, greatly assisted Zanning's cause. In spite of Wang's and other *guwen* scholars' personal distaste for Buddhism and their opinion that the Buddhist clergy posed a menace to society, imperial policy made clear that the Buddhist presence was to be tolerated, if not openly affirmed, as a legitimate feature of Song culture. Buddhism maintained a broad base of popular support, especially in southern regions, in spite of the objections of *guwen* officials. Pro-Buddhist policies were enacted in an effort to consolidate the empire behind Song authority, and as a means of maintaining friendly relations with neighboring Buddhist countries.<sup>21</sup> It was feasible in this atmosphere for critics of Buddhism to accept, even admire, Buddhists with strong *wen* qualifications. While openly acknowledging Zanning's Buddhist affiliation, Wang's preface avoids the complicated issues that this affiliation might raise by identifying Zanning as a *wen* master who incidentally happened to be Buddhist. This portrayal (**p.168**) suggests a criterion by which Buddhism might find acceptance, even in the eyes of its critics.

To bolster the image of Zanning as *wen* master, Wang notes the lineage of his *wen* associations. Zanning gained his "*wen* style" (*wenge*) through instruction from Huizheng (863–948), a Buddhist Controller (*sengtong*) from Wuyue honored as "Great Master Who Illuminated *Wen*" (*guangwen dashi*).<sup>22</sup> According to Zhiyuan, Huizheng learned *guwen* from Sun He (d.u.) of Le'an and forged a new literary style.<sup>23</sup> In this way, Zanning was linked to a group of so-called "Confucian monks" (*ruseng*) known to exist in southern China.<sup>24</sup> Wang also notes that Zanning learned his "poetic art" (*shijue*) through an official channel, the scholar Gong Lin (d.u.), a recipient of the *jinshi* degree.<sup>25</sup> These associations helped establish Zanning's credibility as a *wen* master of great repute.

Wang Yucheng also notes the high reputation Zanning enjoyed among leading literati in the Song bureaucracy, including former minister Lu Zhuya (d.u.) and Manager of Affairs Li Mu (928–84).<sup>26</sup> The admiration Zanning won from

Confucian-trained, anti-Buddhist literati was hard earned. Buddhist sources record the derision with which Zanning's reputed appointment to the prestigious Hanlin Academy, an extremely rare honor for a Buddhist, was greeted ("How could the Academy accept such a person?").<sup>27</sup> While other Buddhist sources acknowledge Zanning's appointment,<sup>28</sup> Wang does not mention it, casting doubt on whether such an appointment was actually made. Wang does, however, acknowledge Zanning's inclusion in the "Society of Nine Elders," an association led by the prominent historian Li Fang (925–96).<sup>29</sup> Li Fang headed some of the Song dynasty's most ambitious literary projects: the *Taiping yulan* (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopedia of the Taiping era, one thousand fascicles, completed in 984), an encyclopedia compiling the complete knowledge of China through the end of the Tang dynasty, a project in which Li Mu served as a collaborator;<sup>30</sup> the *Taiping guangji* (Extensive Records of the Taiping era, five hundred fascicles, compiled in 978), a vast compendium of miraculous tales designated by the compilers as "trivial, unedifying, superficial, superstitious, or conducive to unprincipled attitudes";<sup>31</sup> and the *Wenyuan yinghua* (Finest Flowers of the Preserve of Letters, compiled 987), an anthology of fine literature.<sup>32</sup> These works were compiled as part of the program initiated at the beginning of a new dynasty to declare the dynasty's claims to legitimacy.<sup>33</sup> Li Fang, more than anyone else, was charged with this mission. Zanning's inclusion in the "Society of Nine Elders" reveals how closely associated he, too, was with the aim of establishing Song legitimacy. The Society itself was intended as a revival of the Tang society of the same name headed by the renowned poet Bo Juyi (772–846).

Other sources point to Zanning's associations with additional literati figures at the Song court: Xu Xuan (917–92), Liu Kai (954–1000), and, of course, Wang Yucheng (954–1001) himself.<sup>34</sup> Each of these figures played leading roles in the *wen* revival at the Song court. Although a stern and conservative Confucian by nature, Xu Xuan displayed a wide range of interests that included painting and calligraphy.<sup>35</sup> The career of Xu Xuan paralleled that of Zanning in important respects. As the leading scholar of the Southern Tang, **(p.169)** a court known for its literary sophistication, Xu Xuan was called on to negotiate a truce in 975 when the Southern Tang state submitted to Song authority.<sup>36</sup> Xu's promotion of *wen* as the basis for civil authority was well received by Taizong, whose advocacy of *wen* over *wu* was noted previously. Xu held a number of prominent political positions and was a prolific writer, participating in the compilation of the important encyclopedic works compiled under the supervision of Li Fang, noted above.<sup>37</sup> Along with his brother, he completed the redaction of the Han dynasty-work on Chinese characters, the *Etymological Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (*Shuowen jiezi*), upon which all subsequent scholarship on the *Shuowen* is based.<sup>38</sup>

The depth of literati respect for Zanning is revealed most clearly, perhaps, through his association with Liu Kai, a ruthless and uncompromising proponent of a strict *guwen* agenda. A self-proclaimed successor to Han Yu (768–824), the

Tang Confucian protagonist who first sounded the call for literati to denounce Buddhism as a blight on China's hallowed indigenous values, Liu Kai is often regarded as the first Song *guwen* scholar.<sup>39</sup> Liu Kai saw himself as spokesman in a line of sages that extended from Confucius through Mencius, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu.<sup>40</sup> Although Han Yu's model for reform was well established in Song literati circles, Liu Kai was unique in proclaiming the exclusivity of Han Yu's *guwen* for inculcating true values. According to Liu, "the mind and *wen* are one." The mind inside one is master of external manifestations; the mind represents the internal structure of *wen* as external appearance. This connection between *wen* and the mind suggests a role for *wen* as a moral instrument for rectifying the mind and attaining sagehood when proper *wen* models are selected for emulation. In Liu Kai's estimation, the classics, histories, and writings of the "hundred schools" are not to be considered true *wen*.<sup>41</sup> It goes without saying that Liu had no room for foreign teachings like Buddhism in his conception of *wen*, making the association between him and Zanning all the more remarkable. In the context of the early Song, where tolerance of difference was regarded as a political necessity, if not a virtue, Liu Kai's moral exclusivism left him isolated. Added to this was Liu's reputedly ruthless and impulsive character. Many stories circulated about Liu's violent nature, some revealing his penchant for cannibalism.<sup>42</sup>

Given Liu Kai's uncompromising moralism and violent character, what was the basis for concord between him and a natural adversary, the Buddhist Zanning? The record of an exchange between Zanning and Liu Kai suggests the basis for Liu Kai's admiration. In a conversation about the nature of luminescent substances, Liu Kai asked Zanning for an explanation of the "blue flames" (*qingyan*) that appeared in his garden one evening following dreary, rainy weather, yet vanished whenever he tried to approach them. Zanning explained that this was "phosphorescent glow" (*linhuo*), which formed at the site of battles where much blood had been shed. When the blood of the soldiers, combined with the blood of the oxen and horses used in battle, soaked into the earth and coagulated, a phenomenon such as the one observed by Liu Kai occurred. Upon hearing Zanning's explanation, Liu Kai had the site excavated and found fragments of old weapons.<sup>43</sup> In this way, Zanning provided a **(p.170)** naturalistic explanation for phosphorescent glow, popularly believed to represent unrequited spirits or phantoms. Such rational explanations were highly appealing to *guwen* advocates like Liu Kai, who lamented the scourge of superstition that plagued Chinese beliefs.

The source of respect for Zanning among Song literati stemmed from the high regard accorded him by Emperor Taizong. As had been the case with Taizu's invitation to Xu Xuan earlier, Taizong was eager to enlist Zanning's services in the cause of unifying the Song state under civil order provided by *wen*. Hearing of Zanning's reputation, Taizong invited him to an audience in the Hall of Abundant Blessings (*Zifu dian*). Deeply impressed, the emperor granted Zanning

emblems of high rank, a purple robe, and the honorific title “Great Master of Comprehensive Wisdom” (*tonghui dashi*).<sup>44</sup> According to Wang Yucheng, Zanning had come to the capital for a specific political purpose.

When prince Zhongyi abdicated his authority in the third year of the *taiping xingguo* era (978) and devised how to reunite the [Wuyue] state [with the Song], Master Zanning entered the capital offering stūpa relics of the true body of the Buddha.<sup>45</sup>

The relics referred to here were taken from the Śākyamuni stūpa at the King Aśoka Monastery (*ayuwang shan*) in Wuyue, one of the principal sites used by the rulers of the region to legitimize their domain in terms of well-known Buddhist precedents. Connecting their rule to the legacy to the famed Indian monarch Aśoka, the mission of Wuyue sovereigns was understood in terms of the preservation and spread of Buddhism, symbolized by the supposed existence of relics from the original body of Śākyamuni in their land. Zanning's act transparently sought to extend this mission over Song rule by engaging Song emperors in the enterprise.

Throughout the remainder of his career, through the roles assigned him by the emperor, Zanning sought to influence imperial and literati opinion in favor of Buddhism. The substance of Zanning's argument was that Buddhism constituted an integral part of Chinese *wen*. Rather than being an alien tradition, as proponents of *wen* in exclusively Confucian terms asserted, Zanning argued that Buddhism deserved equal status as a domesticated, Chinese tradition. In the distinction between *wen* as literary refinement and the moralistically inclined *guwen*, Zanning's arguments went beyond an appeal to Buddhism's natural allies, the proponents of *wen* as literary refinement, to challenge *guwen* proponents to accept Buddhist teaching as part of China's literary heritage.<sup>46</sup> While Zanning's proposal for Buddhism as an integral part of China's *wen* heritage ultimately failed, its failure paved the way for a different strategy for winning literati support: to accept Buddhism as the creative, innovative self-expression based on *wen* as literary refinement, not according to the narrow stricture of *guwen* ideology.

Zanning's proposals for the role of Buddhism in the Song were hindered by two developments. With the assumption of power by the third Song emperor, Zhenzong, in 998, came a change in government policy making. The first two **(p. 171)** Song emperors, Taizu and Taizong, played decisive roles in policy formation and implementation.<sup>47</sup> Rather than passively approving advice filtered through bureaucratic channels, Taizu and Taizong assumed complete command over the government, appointing the most capable officials to execute tasks and personally overseeing government projects. When confronted with policy decisions, Taizu regularly summoned academicians to advise him on past practices and precedents.<sup>48</sup> Taizong was determined to reign as an “emperor of

letters" (*wendi*).<sup>49</sup> To this end, he commissioned the massive encyclopedic projects mentioned above. Taizong was himself an avid reader of the works he commissioned, and it was his custom to spend the day reading books from the imperial library after the conclusion of morning audiences.<sup>50</sup> The works he commissioned, like those assigned to Zanning, were designed to instruct him on matters affecting imperial policy. When Zhenzong assumed power, policy decision making changed. The bureaucracy began to wield greater authority in policy formation. A number of factors contributed to the change in imperial power: Zhenzong possessed less charismatic force of personality than his predecessors; the growth of the size of the bureaucracy, which doubled in size during Zhenzong's reign, necessitated the delegation of authority to lessen the imperial burden; and the changing political climate that followed the peace negotiated with the Khitan tribes threatening China's northern border in 1004 (the "Peace of Shanyuan") became the pretext for strengthening and refining internal administration and domestic policy.<sup>51</sup> This meant that imperial policy depended less on the prerogative of the emperor and more on the bureaucracy, which harbored strong reservations about the Buddhist presence in China. Zanning's literati companions, like Wang Yucheng, were *guwen* traditionalists. Zanning recognized that any possible accommodation of Buddhism would have to be done according to strict *guwen* parameters. As *guwen* positions hardened, no room was left for the kind of accommodation envisioned by Zanning.<sup>52</sup>

The second development was the change taking place within Buddhism and the type of literati support it received. Under the third emperor, Zhenzong, the impact of Chan discourse began to be felt, precipitated by the growing interest in Chan teaching among Song literati. The teaching of emptiness (*kongzong*) displaced Vinaya teaching (*luzong*) as the mainstream Buddhist faith in the capital.<sup>53</sup> Chan served as the principal representative of this emptiness tradition. Beginning with the compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* in 1004 and its publication in 1009, Chan lineages began to assert their identity and their authority over the interpretation of the Buddhist message in China. Chan teaching captured the imaginations of a new breed of officials, less enamored with the stuffy ritualism associated with older Tang Buddhist traditions, more enticed by the punchy rhetoric and enigmatic exchanges attributed to the new Chan-style dialogues. Emblematic of this new trend was the official Yang Yi (974–1020), who personally associated with Chan masters, becoming a student of their teachings.<sup>54</sup> Yang Yi was an advocate of *wen* as an expression of literary refinement and individual creativity, a style of *wen* he saw in the new Chan writings. He became a proponent of these new materials, actively **(p.172)** promoting their publication and assisting in editing and interpreting their message. Other literati followed Yang Yi's lead, most notably Li Zunxu (988–1038), who compiled the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, the successor to the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, issued in 1036.

It is possible to view the emergence of Chan in the early Song as an effective rebuttal against the hostility Song officials felt toward Buddhism. The new interpretation of Buddhism that emerged from the genealogical histories suggested that Chan was distinct from the old forms of Buddhism held responsible for the decline of the Tang dynasty and China's core Confucian values. The new Chan interpretation of Buddhism did not challenge Confucian tolerance for Buddhism in the way that Zanning had proposed. It did not suggest that Buddhism be admitted alongside Confucianism as a legitimate expression of China's cultural values. It did not challenge conservative Confucians, advocates of *guwen*, to accept Buddhism as part of China's *wen* tradition. It catered more to liberal and open-minded literati who sought through *wen* a synthesis of China's cultural traditions, regardless of persuasion, and who actively promoted Chan at the Song court for the freedom of spirit—an essential component of their understanding of *wen*—that it championed. As a result, the Chan form of Buddhism could be either properly excluded or suitably enhancing, depending on the style of *wen* literati espoused.

#### Linji-Faction Support at the Song Court

With the surrender of Wuyue to Song authority in 978, the style of Chan associated with masters from the Fayuan lineage and the *Chuandeng lu* was brought to the Song court.<sup>55</sup> The “official” view of Wuyue Chan envisioned Chan as the quintessential teaching of Buddhism, presupposing harmony between Chan teaching and Buddhist scriptures and doctrines. Following in the legacy of Zongmi, Wuyue masters like Yanshou and Zanning saw in Chan a teaching supportive of Buddhist ritual conventions. Yanshou rejected opinions like those contained in the adage “everything that comes into contact with the eyes is in a state of *bodhi*; whatever comes into contact with one's feet is the *dao*,” expressions linked with the Hongzhou faction,<sup>56</sup> in favor of a concrete program of activities sanctioned by the Buddhist tradition: participation at Buddhist assemblies, ordination rites, prayers and rituals aimed at enlisting the blessings of the buddhas, and so on. Rather than “enslaving one's thought and wearing out one's body,” as critics of Yanshou charged,<sup>57</sup> conventional Buddhist activities (*wanshan* or “myriad good deeds”) were viewed positively as “provisions with which Bodhisattvas enter sainthood,...gradual steps with which Buddhas assist [others] on the way [to enlightenment].”<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, Wuyue Chan adhered to the standard lineal presumptions of the Chan school: the enlightenment engendered by Chan was the same as that experienced by Śākyamuni Buddha himself, transmitted by the patriarchs, through Bodhidharma down to the present, and embodied by living Chan masters. The Wuyue Chan claim, represented by Daoyuan in the *Chuandeng* (p. 173) *lu* in 1004, became officially adopted in 1009 after being edited and abbreviated by leading Song scholar-bureaucrats: Yang Yi (974–1020), Li Wei (*jinshi* 985), and Wang Shu (963–1034). Up until this time, no Chan texts had received such official sanction. By acknowledging the text with the reign year of



its compilation, “*jingde*,” Chan and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* assumed an honored place in the history of Chinese Buddhism, alongside other texts bearing dynastic designations, like Daoxuan's *Datang Neidian lu*, and Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*.<sup>59</sup> By attempting to represent Buddhism in the early Song reunification, the compilers and editors intended it as a major work representing the Chinese Buddhist tradition. While Zanning's *Song Gaoseng zhuan* was also commissioned by imperial authority in the early Song and was officially entered into the Buddhist canon, the *Chuandeng lu* represented a shift away from the *gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) format, as reviewed previously, toward collections of biographies compiled around Chan lineages.<sup>60</sup> The official recognition of the *Chuandeng lu*, a new type of historical work, thus marked an important transition in the official recognition of Chinese Buddhism, indicating the rising status of Chan in the Song dynasty.

The rise of Chan to official status would not have been possible without strong support from well-placed secular officials. Yang Yi was a well-established scholar and official at the Song court.<sup>61</sup> He was one of the first scholar-bureaucrats of the Song to display deep faith in Buddhism, writing prefaces for many Buddhist works and associating with numerous monks.<sup>62</sup> During his career, he served in many posts: as Remonstrating Censor responsible for criticizing state policies (*yanshi yushi*), as Drafter in charge of writing imperial edicts and proclamations (*zhizhigao*), as Vice Minister in the Ministry of Works (*gongbu shilang*), and as a member of the prestigious Hanlin Academy (*hanlin xueshi*). As a scholar, he participated in other imperially sanctioned projects. He assisted in the writing of the official record of the second Song emperor, Taizong (r. 976–97), the *Taizong huangdi shilu* (Official Record in the Shape of a Chronicle Concerning the Second Emperor Taizong). Along with Wang Qinro (962–1025), he served as principal editor of the *Cefu yuangui* (The Magic Mirror in the Palace of Books), a work of one thousand fascicles compiled by the imperial order of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022) that exhibits the role played by Yang Yi in defining the parameters of Song civilization and distinguishing it from the Tang. Yang Yi's role in compiling the *Taizong huangdi shilu* and *Cefu yuangui* and defining the parameters of Song culture are discussed in more detail below.

Yang Yi's involvement in defining the newly established Song civilization in contrast to its Tang predecessor helps us to understand his interest in Chan. While Buddhism had been singled out as a primary reason for the decline and fall of the Tang, regional Chan movements remained relatively unimplicated in this decline. Yang Yi's Chan preferences underscore official attraction to a style of Chan free of past Buddhist encumbrances. Even more than this, Song literati like Yang Yi saw in the new style of Chan discourse a defining feature of Song culture, distinguishing it clearly from Tang Buddhist culture.

**(p.174)** Linji-faction dominance in the early Song was the result of official preference. Throughout the course of Chan history, as with the history of Buddhism in China as a whole, the fate of the religion was intricately bound to official favor. It was official recognition won by Shenxiu that first propelled Chan onto the national scene. The Chan “revolution” instigated by Shenhui was likewise sanctioned by official favor. The efforts of Zongmi to define Chan for Tang officials like Pei Xiu won further approval for Chan in literati circles. It was official recognition of Chan that helped propel members of the Mazu faction to national attention. The occurrence of official recognition was not unique, but was part of an established pattern of rulers sanctioning preferred religious and ideological systems in imperial China. The fact that the Song dynasty was still in its beginning stages created the opportunity to establish new preferences.

The *Chuandeng lu* succeeded in establishing many of the precedents associated with the Chan faction as it won a coveted place in official circles. It was not, however, without problems. Primary among these was the preference ceded to the Fayen faction to which the compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan, belonged. The Song court, influenced by Linji masters whose prominence was increasingly acknowledged fostered Linji supremacy over Chan interpretation. The occasion for this acknowledgment was the compilation of the *Guangdeng lu*. Through it, rightful priority to the Linji faction was “restored,” and the fortunes of the Fayen faction eclipsed. The story of how Chan factional preference was determined in the early Song, and by whom, is crucial for understanding the character of Song Chan, the “classic” image of Chan that was to spread beyond the borders of China, throughout East Asia. The clearest evidence for the change in factional preference in official circles emerges in the two prefaces written for the *Chuandeng lu*, the “original” preface by the compiler of the text, Daoyuan, and the “standard” preface by Yang Yi.

#### Daoyuan's Preface

As noted in the previous chapter, Daoyuan was a Fayen monk about whom almost nothing else is known. Our best window into Daoyuan's understanding of Chan is his preface, largely forgotten in place of Yang Yi's that is included in almost all later editions of the text. One thing that we know through Daoyuan's preface is that he imagined a different title for his compilation—the *Fozu tongcan ji* (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs)—rather than the one given it by Yang Yi, *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. The name that Daoyuan gave his work is indicative of how he understood Chan as part of the common heritage of the Buddhist tradition. This understanding of Chan in harmony with Buddhist teaching was a legacy of the Wuyue-based Fayen faction. The “Buddhas and Patriarchs” represent Buddhist and Chan teaching, respectively, while the “Common Practice” signifies the harmony that exists between them.<sup>63</sup> In this way, Daoyuan conceived his compilation after the

fashion of Zongmi's interpretation of Chan in his *Chan Preface*. Daoyuan states:  
(p.175)

Formerly there were great masters of various locales who established their own individual Chan followings (*zongtu*), transmitting their lineage of masters, and preserving their recorded sayings (*yulu*). Guishan (Zongmi) was disturbed over this state of affairs. He assimilated the various [Chan] interpretations, compiling the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji*. He harmonized the various [Chan] houses (*jia*) so they unequivocally formed a unified tradition. He rendered all aspects of the patriarch's [Bodhidharma's] teaching understandable. Through the passage of time, the *Preface* alone remains, and the one-hundred fascicle text is no longer in circulation.<sup>64</sup>

It is safe to say that Daoyuan conceived his work as complementary to Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquan ji*. The preface to Zongmi's work affirms Daoyuan's appraisal of it here as "assimilating the various [Chan] interpretations" and "harmonizing the various [Chan] factions" to form a "unified tradition."

There are various lineages (*zong*) of Chan mutually conflicting with each other. Here in this collection I have included about one hundred masters and classified them into ten factions according to their doctrinal differences,...

Essentially speaking, when these doctrines are viewed in a limited perspective, each of them is wrong; while looking at them from a comprehensive perspective, all of them are right. One has to use the words of the Buddha to show the meaning and advantages of each faction, and thus to classify these teachings into three divisions according to the three teachings [of Buddhism]. Unless this is done, how can one become a skillful teacher in the current age and make all the factions important and wonderful entrances to Buddhism?<sup>65</sup>

In Zongmi's (and Daoyuan's) interpretation of Chan, "one has to use the words of the Buddha to show the meaning and advantages of each faction, and thus to classify these teachings into three divisions according to the three teachings [of Buddhism]." The three teachings referred to here are the three doctrinal systems of Buddhist scholasticism, variously understood by Chinese Buddhists. For Zongmi these comprised Hīnayāna, Yogacārā, and Śūnyatāvāda, the doctrinal frameworks that grounded the various teachings of Chan factions in Buddhist reality.<sup>66</sup> Regardless of how faithful Daoyuan intended to be to Zongmi's precise application of Buddhist doctrine to classify Chan factions, it is clear that Daoyuan concurred with Zongmi in principle. This agreement makes sense given the influence of the Wuyue Chan heritage over Daoyuan, exhibited in the teachings attributed to Tiantai Deshao, and the writings of Yongming Yanshou and Zanning, reviewed previously.

### Yang Yi's Preface

Daoyuan's aim for the *Fozu tongcan ji* as the “common practice of the buddhas and patriarchs” stands in marked contrast to Yang Yi's purpose for the **(p.176)** *Chuandeng lu*. According to Yang Yi, the record compiled by Daoyuan went beyond the ordinary recounting of interactions and dealings of individual masters associated with monks' histories like the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* collections and Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquan ji*. Daoyuan's work exposed the innermost meaning of abstruse wisdom and revealed the true mind that is miraculously brilliant. By analogy, Yang Yi refers to this mind as being in tacit agreement with the transmission of the lamp (*chuandeng*).<sup>67</sup> With this designation, Yang Yi marked the novel character of the work as a *Chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), distinguishing it from its more prosaic predecessors. It is important to acknowledge that the way this unique Chan literary genre came to be defined as *chuandeng lu* is the result of Yang Yi's new designation. What is noteworthy is that the designation, so famous in Chan and Zen lore, was initiated by a secular official (albeit a faithful Chan patron), and not by a member of the Chan clergy. In the process, Yang Yi was not merely championing Chan as the new style of Buddhism for the Song establishment, but celebrating its break from conventional Buddhist approaches.

In addition to designating the *chuandeng lu* genre, Yang Yi also played a leading role in determining how Chan came to be defined. Anyone with passing familiarity with Chan (or Zen) today will identify it according to its self-proclaimed status as “a separate transmission outside the teaching.” Almost no one acknowledges the role played by Yang Yi in establishing Chan's reputation in these terms. In his preface to the *Chuandeng lu*, Yang Yi recounts how Śākyamuni, on the basis of having received the prediction of enlightenment from Dīpankara Buddha,<sup>68</sup> preached in the world for forty-nine years, initiating the two-sided doctrines of the expedient and real, sudden and gradual, and spreading both lesser and greater vehicle teachings. Before passing away, Śākyamuni transmitted the dharma to Mahākāśyāpa (identified in the text by the name Yinguang) exclusively, from whom it was passed on successively until it reached Bodhidharma.

His robe was transmitted from master to master until it reached the first [Chinese patriarch], Bodhidharma. [He taught] “do not establish words and letters, directly point to the source of the mind, do not engage in gradual methods, and attain Buddhahood at once.” After [Bodhidharma's teaching] was transmitted through five generations (i.e., until Hongren), it began to flourish. Dividing into a thousand lamps, it proliferated even further. Those who arrived at the jeweled site (i.e., attained awakening) increased, and they were not restricted by those who turned the wheel (i.e., preached) of the dharma. In other words, the principle which was transmitted to the great hero, Śākyamuni, the teaching (*dao*) of the true [dharma] eye

(*zhengyan*) which is currently circulated, is “a separate practice outside the teaching” (*jiaowai biexing*), beyond rational comprehension.<sup>69</sup>

Yang Yi thus represented Song Chan as “a separate practice outside the teaching beyond rational comprehension,” claiming this as Chan's unique (p. 177) heritage that distinguished it from other Buddhist schools. It was the truth Śākyamuni himself transmitted, the teaching of the true dharma-eye currently circulating throughout the empire. Yang Yi's representation of Chan in this way contrasts sharply with Daoyuan's own Chan preferences. As I indicated in a previous study, the differences between Daoyuan and Yang Yi's view of Chan are revealed in their prefaces in two ways.<sup>70</sup> One concerns their view of the relation of Chan to conventional Buddhist practice; the other relates to how the teaching of Bodhidharma is expressed through Chan slogans as a means of revealing the essential character of Chan teaching. In contrast to Yang Yi, Daoyuan conceived of Chan practice in a way that was consistent with the way Chan was practiced in Wuyue, as compatible with traditional Buddhism.

The best way of release from birth and death (i.e., *samsāra*) is to realize *nirvāna*; to instruct those who are confused, myriad practices (*wanxing*) are employed according to the differences among practitioners.<sup>71</sup>

By looking closely at the variant wording in the two prefaces we are afforded a glimpse at how Yang Yi reinterpreted Daoyuan's compilation. Whereas Daoyuan viewed Chan as a teaching where “myriad practices are employed according to the differences among practitioners” (*wanxing yi zhi chabie*), an interpretation highly in keeping with Wuyue-style Chan, Yang Yi reinterpreted Daoyuan's record in terms of “a separate practice outside the teaching” (*jiaowai biexing*). In simplest terms, for Daoyuan Chan teaching employed *wanxing*, “myriad practices,” while to Yang Yi Chan represented *biexing*, a “separate practice” distinct from the “myriad practices” sanctioned by conventional Buddhist teaching. In this way, Yang Yi, through his endorsement, promoted Chan exclusivity and implicitly undermined Chan pluralism.

Daoyuan's and Yang Yi's different interpretations of Chan are also reflected in the slogans that each attributed to Bodhidharma's teaching. According to Daoyuan, “[Bodhidharma] did not make a display of verbal expressions (*bushi yuyan*), and did not establish words and letters (*buli wenzi*).”<sup>72</sup> As shown above, Yang Yi attributed to Bodhidharma the teaching: “do not establish words and letters (*buli wenzi*), directly point to the source of the mind (*zhizhi xinyuan*), do not engage in gradual methods (*bujian jiedi*), and attain Buddhahood at once (*jingdeng fodi*).” Daoyuan and Yang Yi agree that Bodhidharma's teaching was represented in the phrase “do not establish words and letters,” They disagree, however, on how this phrase is to be interpreted, and their rival interpretations

reflect their divergent views on the relationship between Chan and Buddhist practice.

In Yang Yi's case, promotion of Chan was intermingled with political interests at the Song court, as reviewed in the previous chapter. Officials at the Song court sympathetic to Buddhism were concerned over ways to promote the religion that coincided with imperial motives. Yang Yi's preface specifies Chan as an imperially sanctioned form of Buddhism in the Song, explicitly mentioning the important role played by Song emperors in encouraging Chan.

**(p.178)**

When the sage [-emperors] began to wield power in the Song, Chan was granted imperial protection. When emperor Taizu quelled the turmoil [of the empire] with his martial spirit, he exalted the purity of the monastery, opening the gates for monks [to enter]. When emperor Taizong, exercising discretion, clarified imperial assumptions [regarding Chan], he set forth its innermost principles and revealed its absolute truth (*zhendi*). The current emperor [Zhenzong] furthered the aims of his predecessors with his literary spirit and inscribed a preface for the *Sheng jiao* (Teachings of the Sages), thoroughly mastering the Chan style (*zongfeng*). His writings, like clouds, spread its meaning through the empire, and with his golden voice, he shook the garden of the awakened (i.e., the Pure Land). He tacitly understood the explanation regarding the lotus-womb (i.e., Buddha-nature), and fully celebrated the teaching of the Buddha. [Because of this], those who practice good deeds steadily increase, and those who transmit the meaning of enlightenment regularly appear. [As a result], the transforming message of the perfect sudden teaching spreads throughout the empire.<sup>73</sup>

Yang Yi's aim here is to link Chan to imperial policy. He stresses how the Song founder Taizu, after quelling chaos with his martial spirit, exalted the purity of Buddhist monasteries and encouraged monks to enter, and how Taizu's successor Taizong spread Buddhist truth with his keen understanding and eloquence. Yang Yi is especially praiseworthy of the current emperor, Zhenzong, with whose reign title (*jingde*) the *Chuandeng lu* is dedicated, for his personal devotion to Buddhism and his role in spreading the "perfect sudden teaching" (*yuandun zhi hua*) (i.e., Chan) throughout China. It is clear from this that Yang Yi saw in Chan a new style of Buddhist teaching, "practiced separately, apart from scriptural teachings," that did not bear culpability for the fall of the Tang, and could serve as a distinguishing feature of Song civilization. The association of Chan with the names of Song emperors in a document written and approved by imperial sanction makes clear the intended status of Chan in

imperial policy: Chan teaching expresses imperial aims and coincides with imperial ideology.<sup>74</sup>

It seems clear that Yang Yi's attraction to Chan, especially when viewed as "a separate practice outside the teaching," was driven by personal motivation and his understanding of the interests of the Song dynasty. He was committed to providing a literary model that distinguished Song civilization, and sought, in the *Chuandeng lu*, a compilation to fulfill these ambitions. It is interesting to contrast Yang Yi's strategy for the *Chuandeng lu* with the compilation strategy of Emperor Taizong, who sponsored the great Song encyclopedic works mentioned previously. According to Johannes L. Kurz, one of the aims for literary projects promoted under Taizong was to link the Song with the Tang by imitating the latter's accomplishments in the literary field.<sup>75</sup> The Buddhist works sponsored by Taizong, like Zanning's *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, also clearly fit this model of validating Song authority through imitating established Tang (p.179) literary conventions. In contrast to Taizong, Zhenzong was persuaded, at least in part, to seek models of literary uniqueness to distinguish Song from Tang culture. This helps explain Yang Yi's attraction to Linji-style Chan, which offered an attractive model of literary uniqueness to distinguish Song culture over the more traditionally oriented interpretation of Chan stemming from the Fayuan faction in Wuyue, which did not fit Yang Yi's ambitions.

If Yang Yi had a different idea of what Daoyuan's compilation meant and how it should be interpreted, what influence did Yang Yi and his associates have over the contents of the *Chuandeng lu*? According to Yang Yi, after the emperor received Daoyuan's text, he commissioned Yang Yi, Li Wei, and Wang Shu to edit it completely, deleting and amending portions to determine the final version.<sup>76</sup>

Few Song scholars matched the status achieved by Yang Yi. Yang Yi personified the renewed interest in literary culture at the Song court, especially the dedication to literary sophistication as a means to demonstrate knowledge of China's cultural inheritance and direct this in appropriate forms suitable to the present.<sup>77</sup> In other words, rather than follow a strict *guwen* agenda that restricted expression to approved forms, Yang Yi inclined toward innovation on the basis of established patterns. His goal, and the goal of the early Song, was to construct a new model for Chinese culture, indebted to past precedents, but also free of past limitations. The Tang represented a glorious legacy, to be sure, but it was ultimately flawed in Song eyes. Care had to be taken to avoid those problems that had plagued Tang rule, which had disintegrated into warlordism and civil unrest. A new basis for culture had to be imagined. Yang Yi played an instrumental role in this enterprise, and Chan played an important purpose in Yang Yi's conception of the new cultural paradigm.

An important point here is that the Song vision for cultural revival differed from the Wuyue one. Although there was certainly recognition that times had clearly changed, Wuyue was much more firmly committed to Tang culture, particularly Buddhism, as the key to a new cultural harmony. To the Song elite, Buddhism represented an ambiguous legacy. Those sympathetic to Buddhism, like Yang Yi, supported it more for its potential contribution to the new Song culture than for its equivocal Tang legacy (as cornerstone of Tang success on the one hand, and for its complicity in Tang failure on the other). It makes sense, in this context, that Yang Yi would support the new form of Buddhism represented by Chan rather than older Tang traditions.

The *Song shi* duly acknowledges Yang Yi's role in the literary revival of the early Song. His name is mentioned in this regard in the introduction to the collected biographies of literary men.<sup>78</sup> According to his biography, Yang Yi was a child prodigy, able to recite a short scripture chanted by his mother as soon as he was able to speak. By age seven, he was able to recite entire texts and debated with guests. By age eleven, Emperor Taizong heard of his reputation and was deeply impressed with his talents.<sup>79</sup> While it is unnecessary to regard all of the detail literally, it is clear that Yang Yi distinguished himself through his literary ability. During the *junhua* era (990–94), Yang Yi was awarded the *jinshi* degree. After Zhenzong assumed the throne, Yang Yi (p.180) assisted Qian Ruoshui (960–1003) in compiling the *Taizong huangdi shilu* (Official Record in the Shape of a Chronicle Concerning the Second Emperor Taizong), completed in 998. Yang Yi was said to have been personally responsible for fifty-six of its eighty fascicles.<sup>80</sup> More important, Yang Yi, along with Wang Qinro (962–1025), served as principal editor of the *Cefu yuangui* (The Magic Mirror in the Palace of Books), a mammoth one-thousand fascicle work compiled by imperial order of Zhenzong at the beginning of the *jingde* era (1004).<sup>81</sup> This book was epoch-making in that it made clear the difference between the features of Song and Tang civilization; it established firmly the “standard of good and bad,” and “exercised an inestimable influence upon the later system and learning of the Song,” specifically influencing such works as the *Song huiyao* (Institutions of the Song) and the *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government).<sup>82</sup>

Given this context, not only was Yang Yi a literary prodigy with unassailable credentials, he was also personally acquainted with two emperors and served in a number of influential posts.<sup>83</sup> His aim was to establish the literary agenda of the new dynasty by distinguishing clearly Song conventions from Tang ones. Although no mention is made of his work as editor of the *Chuandeng lu*, the *Song shi* does assert that Yang Yi devoted himself to the study of the Buddhist canon and *chan* contemplation.<sup>84</sup>

Yang Yi and his cohorts Li Wei and Wang Shu worked on Daoyuan's text for nearly a year,<sup>85</sup> and although they regarded the work with high praise, they also



found reason to make alterations. As Yang Yi stipulates in his preface, the “Old Record” (*jiulu*) of Daoyuan was subjected to revision.

To further assist in the task of communicating the truth, we had to rely even more on skillful expression. In order to convey meaning to future generations, words must be eloquently crafted. In relating the circumstances of the events recorded in [Daoyuan's] compilation and describing in detail their vestiges, in some cases the ordering of the words was confusing and in some cases the language used was coarse—all of this we deliberately removed in order to make it of imperial quality. In the case of dialogues involving officials and lay people, of those with well-known titles and names, we checked calendars for errors [regarding dates] and consulted historical records for [other] mistakes—all such errors and mistakes were effectively eliminated in order that what it conveys be reliable.<sup>86</sup>

How serious the revisions to the “Old Record” were is unclear. Yang Yi claims that they succeeded in adapting large portions of it, while intentionally appending material to enhance it.<sup>87</sup> How far the editing went beyond mere cosmetic matters like cleaning up prose, correcting dates, and so forth to ensure that the work was of “imperial quality” remains a matter of conjecture. What effect these alterations had on the content and organization of the work likewise remains unknown. At the very least it suggests that the *Chuandeng lu*, far from directly conveying the conversations and sermons of famous masters, represents a highly filtered version of these, tailored to presumptions of imperial (p.181) standards. At the other extreme is the suggestion that Yang Yi and his associates assumed a very active role and seriously altered the text's contents in order to conform to their own understanding of Chan. What is known is that Yang Yi did more than simply edit the existing text. Dispersed throughout the *Chuandeng lu* text are dated references subsequent to Daoyuan's completion date, the first year of *jingde* (1004), making it clear that Yang Yi was responsible for additions to the text.<sup>88</sup> While an active role by Yang Yi in altering the *Chuandeng lu*'s contents is clearly possible given the circumstances, it must be balanced against the evidence that the text champions the Fayen faction above others, and retains, at least in part, clear indication of supporting Fayen-faction interpretation of Chan as being harmonious with Buddhist teaching.

It is much more likely that Yang Yi's understanding of Chan reflected the evolving circumstances of Buddhism at the Song court. The clearest evidence for the way in which Yang Yi's own changing Chan preferences paralleled shifting Chan influences is contained in the record of Yang Yi found in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. The record comprises a letter sent by Yang Yi to Li Wei explaining his Chan “evolution” with a brief history of those he counted as his teachers. The letter was apparently written by Yang Yi in 1015, while he was an administrator in Ruzhou.<sup>89</sup> It relates how he was first introduced to the teachings of the

Southern School while studying in the capital, and how he received instruction from two masters, one by the name of Great Master An (*Angong dashi*) and the other named Great Master Liang of Yunmen (*Yunmen Lianggong dashi*). Yang Yi stipulates how the teachings of both An and Liang agreed with each other, as both were members of the Fayan lineage, having trained at the Guizong and Yunzhu monasteries on Mount Lu.

Even as a young ignorant fool, I was bequeathed with good cheer and kindness. Once I heard the message of the Southern School (*nanzong*), I made the long sojourn to the capital. Through the movements, conversations, behavior and catalysts [of everyday life], I eradicated the existence of my self-seeking mind and rendered my quest for doctrinal knowledge obsolete. I am truly indebted to you for this, and even more to my great teacher, Master An, who regularly imparted to me instruction and guidance. Following the one who entered nirvana under the pair of *sala* trees (i.e., Śākyamuni), and the single-sandaled one who failed to return to China (i.e., Bodhidharma), [Master An passed away]. I was overwhelmed with grief, and had no one with whom to stay [to continue my practice]. I passed the year plagued with a long illness, my spirit depressed, confused and disappointed. Nevertheless, as my condition improved, I once again understood the course I needed to take. Then I met the great warrior, Yunmen Master Liang. After our encounter, I lived in his hermitage. The thrust of Master Liang's message was correct, following the same course as Master An's. Both masters had come from the Guizong and Yunzhu monasteries on Mt. Lu. Both were disciples of Fayan Wenyi.<sup>90</sup>

**(p.182)** Unfortunately, we have no information on Master An or Master Liang, other than the mention of their names here. They do not appear in the *Chuandeng lu* in spite of the fact that their affiliation with Fayan Wenyi would have made them familiar to Tiantai Deshao, and presumably Daoyuan. We also have no way of explaining why Master Liang had Yunmen affiliation (at least in name) although he was reputed to be a disciple of Fayan. In spite of this, the important thing is that Yang Yi claimed through them an affiliation with the Fayan lineage, and that Yang Yi's introduction to Chan teaching came through instruction from Fayan lineage masters. It is also worth noting that according to the *Song shi* (Song Dynastic History), Yang Yi received a commission to serve as Prefect in Chuzhou (Zhejiang) in the first year of *xianping* (998).<sup>91</sup> This presumably provided the occasion for Yang Yi's interaction with Fayan lineage masters. A subsequent appointment was also a factor in Yang Yi's switch to Linji-faction affiliation. Yang Yi's letter to Li Wei continues:

Last year, when I was appointed Acting Prefect of this prefecture (Ruzhou, in Henan province), I met the Chan monk Guanghui Yuanlian. Actually, Yuanlian is the successor of Nanyuan Shengnian; Shengnian succeeded Fengxue Yanzhao; Fengxue succeeded Nanyuan Huiyong; Nanyuan

succeeded Xinghua Cunjiang; Xinghua succeeded Linji Yixuan; Linji succeeded Huangbo Xiyun; Huangbo succeeded Baizhang Huaihai; Huaihai succeeded Mazu Daoyi; Mazu succeeded Nanyue Huairang; Huairang was the eldest heir of Caoqi Huineng. After I performed the simple tasks of the prefecture office, I returned home with ample leisure at my disposal. Sometimes I welcomed Yuanlian to my home; sometimes I ordered a carriage to go to his place. I fervently and strenuously exerted myself without abandon, and my accumulated encumbrances suddenly began to dissipate. After half a year I was completely free of all doubts. It was as if I suddenly remembered what had been forgotten, like abruptly awakening from sleep. Past concerns which I had been attached to I discarded at once, without so much as a thought. Matters that I had failed to understand for many years appeared distinctly before my eyes.<sup>92</sup>

In spite of Yang Yi's early affiliation with Fayan lineage masters and their teachings, he ultimately saw himself as a member of the Linji lineage, the dharma-heir of Guanghai Yuanlian. Here, Yang Yi relates how he met Guanghai Yuanlian (951–1036)—after Yang Yi took up his position in Ruzhou (Henan)—and formed a close, personal relationship with him.<sup>93</sup> In the manner of an enlightened master verifying his lineage credentials, Yang Yi traced Guanghai Yuanlian's Chan lineage back through a series of masters—Shoushan Shengnian (926–93),<sup>94</sup> Fengxue Yanzhao (896–973),<sup>95</sup> Nanyuan Huiyong (ca. 860–930),<sup>96</sup> Xinghua Cunjiang (830–88),<sup>97</sup> Linji Yixuan (?–866),<sup>98</sup> Huangbo Xiyun (?–850),<sup>99</sup> Baizhang Huaihai (749–814),<sup>100</sup> and Mazu Daoyi (709–88)—back to the sixth patriarch Huineng through Nanyue Huairang (677–744) (see chart 6.1).

**(p.183)** Yang Yi's experience with Guanghui Yuanlian solidified his Chan preference for the descendants of Mazu Daoyi's Hongzhou faction, currently named after Mazu's descendant Linji, whose lineage was becoming increasingly strong at the Song court. The inclusion of Yang Yi's record in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, a work devoted to promoting the Linji faction, substantiates this claim. Later on, Yang Yi's letter to Li Wei was attached to some editions of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* so as to connect Yang Yi's change of factional affiliation to the work he helped edit.<sup>101</sup>

In his “conversion” to Linji-faction Chan, Yang Yi claims that “accumulated encumbrances suddenly began to dissipate,” and he became “completely free of all doubts.” In the manner of one who encounters great awakening, he **(p.184)** likens his experience to “suddenly remembering what had been forgotten,” and

“abruptly awakening from sleep.” Attachments were discarded, what had been previously unclear became understood. This conversion was predicated on his taking the new position in Ruzhou (Henan), where he had occasion to meet Guanghui Yuanlian. According to the *Song shi*, Yang Yi received his new appointment in the seventh year of *dazhong xiangfu* (1014), some five years after the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was finally issued.<sup>102</sup> This would preclude the possibility that Yang Yi's “conversion” radically altered the contents of the *Chuandeng lu* to coincide with his newfound realization. During the time that he was responsible for editing the *Chuandeng lu*, Yang Yi was, by his own admission, still under the sway of Fayan faction masters. Emblematic of Yang Yi's Fayan style approach is his *Fayuan wen* (Text on Issuing the Vow), a declaration written prior to his meeting with Guanghui Yuanlian to express his



Chart 6.1. Yang Yi's Dharma Transmission Lineage

Buddhist faith and commitment to Bodhisattva vows.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, his interpretation of Chan, as exhibited in his preface to the *Chuandeng lu* reviewed above, was clearly moving in a direction associated with Linji Chan interpretation. Given the role that Chan assumed in Yang Yi's promotion of *wen* as creative and spontaneous expression, it was perhaps inevitable that Yang Yi would eventually align himself with Linji Chan interpretation.

Who was Guanghui Yuanlian, the master whose influence left a lasting mark on Yang Yi's understanding of Chan? Guanghui Yuanlian hailed from Quanzhou, and studied there under Zhaoqing Wendeng, the master behind the compilation of the *Zutang ji*, discussed previously.<sup>104</sup> Yuanlian is said to have visited more than fifty masters in the region, but did not experience enlightenment until he went north and met Shoushan Shengnian in Ruzhou. Yuanlian's experience in the south undoubtedly helped him to persuade Yang Yi about the superiority of the Mazu- and Linji-lineage Chan that prevailed in Ruzhou. Yuanlian's influence also extended to other high-ranking officials. In 1004, when Yuanlian began instructing at Guanghui Monastery in Ruzhou, the high-ranking official (Vice Grand Councilor, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters) Wang Shu was released from his duties as Supervising Secretary where he handled all manner of important imperial correspondences and policies, and was made administrator of nearby Ruyang.<sup>105</sup> The record of a Chan-style dialogue that took place between Wang Shu and Yuanlian at this time is indicative of a close personal relationship between them.<sup>106</sup> You will recall Wang Shu, along with Li Wei, assisted Yang Yi in editing the *Chuandeng lu*. Upon his death in 1036, Yuanlian was honored with the title “Chan master of True Wisdom” (*zhenhui chanshi*). He was later acclaimed by Shaoying (d.u.), author of the *Lehu yelu* (published 1141), as the only master envied by both Buddhist masters and elite and illustrious officials during the *jingde* era (1004–7).<sup>107</sup>

Yang Yi felt self-conscious enough about his switch of allegiance to provide justification. He contends that his interest in exploring Chan continued unabated with visits to numerous Chan masters. He felt no restrictions imposed by past factional allegiances, and justifies his continued curiosity by citing the record of previous masters.

**(p.185)**

Xuefeng [Yicun] visited Dongshan [Liangjie] nine times, and Touzi [Datong] three times, before finally succeeding Deshan [Xuanjian]. Linji [Yixuan] obtained the dharma from [Gaoan] Dayu, but in the end succeeded Huangbo [Xiyun]. While Yungan [Tansheng] often received instruction from Daowu [Yuanchi], he became the heir of Yaoshan [Weiyan]. While Danxia [Tianran] personally received certification from Mazu [Daoyi], he still

became the heir of Shitou [Xiqian]. In the past [examples like this] frequently occurred; in principle there is nothing disagreeable about it.<sup>108</sup>

Yang Yi's self-conscious need to justify his switch of allegiance from Fayuan to Linji Chan tells us much about the atmosphere surrounding Chan at the time. Had the decision to switch not been so momentous, there would have been no need to rationalize it in this way. After all, were they not but two legitimate factions of the same Chan movement? Yang Yi's change from Fayuan to Linji allegiance suggests that there was much more at stake than simple factional affiliation. In fact, what Yang Yi was sanctioning with his switch was a very different understanding of Chan, one that had considerable consequences for the way Chan was interpreted in the Song. Yet, we must be cautious in assessing Yang Yi's role here. Yang Yi was not instigating but confirming how Chan was validated at the Song court. The dominance of the Linji faction at the Song court was already a fact. In sanctioning it, Yang Yi merely affirmed what had already occurred. In this way, Yang Yi's own biography parallels the changes occurring in early Song Chan. Yang Yi, more than any other figure, was responsible for establishing the interpretation of Chan as "a separate transmission outside the teaching" in official circles.<sup>109</sup>

In fact, Yang Yi was but one of a group of prestigious Song literati who formed close links with Linji masters. Other prominent figures include Liu Yun (971–1031), who, according to the *Guangdeng lu*, was on close terms with Chan Master Yuncong of Mount Guyin in Xiangzhou (Hubei), Yang Yi was also on close terms with Master Youncong.<sup>110</sup> Like Yang Yi, Liu Yun was appointed to the prestigious Hanlin Academy. Along with Yang Yi, Liu Yun is credited with initiating the Song literary style, albeit one that was later rejected by Neo-Confucians as too ornate.<sup>111</sup> Nonetheless, Liu Yun played a formative role in initiating the revival of Confucianism. At the bidding of Emperor Zhenzong, Liu Yun began to collect the literary works of various Confucian authors. This collection served as the "canon" for Confucian studies for the generation of Liu's contemporaries, Liu Yun was a personal acquaintance of the emperor, Zhenzong, who delighted in Liu's poems, odes, and songs. Liu Yun also participated in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui*, the encyclopedic project for which Yang Yi served as a chief editor.<sup>112</sup>

Both Yuanlian and Yuncong were among the disciples of the prominent master Shoushan Shengnian (926–93) of the Baoying Chan Cloister in Ruzhou (Henan). According to the epitaph of Yuncong composed by Li Zunxu, the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled expressly to document the achievements of Shengnian and his disciples.<sup>113</sup> The composition of the *Guangdeng lu* is thus closely (p.186) tied to the interpretation of Chan that this group of Linji-lineage masters wished to project.

The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* and Linji-Faction Ascendancy: Tracing  
Baoying Shengnian Back to Linji Yixuan

The shift in preference by Song officials toward Linji-style Chan received full confirmation with the publication of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* in 1036. Like the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the work bears the reign title, *tiansheng*, of the current emperor—in this case Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–63)—and was placed into the official Buddhist canon upon completion. Not only did the *Guangdeng lu* bear Renzong's reign title, the emperor also contributed a preface heralding the work.

This is simply the enlightened teaching of great heroes. They (i.e., Chan masters) regard purity as the fundamental principle (*zong*). With compassion, they rescue the world, alleviating the painful bonds of mental affliction (*fannao*). They initiate methods of transformation with expedient means, and peacefully dwell on snowy mountains. They initially originated in the regions of the west, and traveled [as if] by air to the temples of China (*handian*). Subsequently, they prevailed throughout the lands of the east. How can one describe how a Way obtained in those lands [of the west] was transmitted and propagated in this land, and as a result, exists here?...

When, freed of deficiency, [a master realized] the true form of all phenomena (*shixiang*) and received the prediction of the dharma-eye (*fayan*) for himself, it was always imprinted on his mind (*yinxin*). The robe of the Buddha (*foyi*) was not transmitted. When it reached the sixth patriarch, he was suddenly awakened (*dunwu*). The Niutou [faction] branched off. [The legacy] continues in a thousand lamps without abating. A torch of luxuriant blessings, it increasingly flourishes....

Students of Sanskrit, the lines of which are written horizontally, translated [scriptures] into the Chinese language (*huayin*). Knock quietly on the gates of Chan [monasteries]; [Chan masters] will point out your ignorance and awaken you to the [true] path. Those who achieve understanding will thereupon dispel illusion. Those with transcendent realization will thereupon discard the cage [of scriptural teaching]. Achieving all-knowing illumination places one at the head of the wondrously inconceivable.<sup>114</sup>

While the content of Renzong's preface to the *Guangdeng lu* and its characterization of Chan teaching are of some interest, especially with regard to **(p.187)** Chan's alleged superiority to scriptural teaching, the most important aspect is not the content of Chan teaching but its endorsement by the emperor himself. Such approval at the highest level marked a new watershed for Chan teaching in official circles. The endorsement was undoubtedly facilitated by the close imperial ties of the *Guangdeng lu*'s compiler, Li Zunxu, noted above. As the

brother-in-law of Renzong's father, the previous emperor Zhenzong, Li Zunxu undoubtedly commanded a position of great respect within the imperial family.

Renzong's preface also connects his endorsement of Chan to the support provided by sage-emperors (*shengdi*) through the ages, particularly the support provided by Taizu, Taizong, and Zhenzong, Renzong's Song predecessors.<sup>115</sup> In this way, Renzong leaves no doubt regarding the imperial recommendation of the Chan teaching in the *Guangdeng lu* by Song emperors. The Chan teaching of the *Guangdeng lu*, in effect, represents an imperially sanctioned message. One way to evaluate Renzong's endorsement of Chan is to view it in the context of imperially sponsored compilation projects in the Song. As was noted previously, Taizong sought to link the Song with the Tang by imitating the latter's literary accomplishments, and this was the motivation for the massive compilation projects initiated in Taizong's reign. Yang Yi promoted the *Chuandeng lu*, compiled under Zhenzong's sponsorship, with an aim toward distinguishing Song's cultural uniqueness. Renzong, by writing his own preface for the *Guangdeng lu*, takes Zhenzong's sponsorship of Yang Yi's interpretation of Chan and implicit authorization even further, suggesting an even greater commitment to the agenda for Chan initiated by Yang Yi.

Emperor Renzong also indicates the general nature of the collection and its intended audience: literati officials.

This (i.e., Chan) is none other than the Way followed by former rulers. It can disappear quickly. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was compiled by Defender-General of the State, Military Commissioner, Commandant Escort Li Zunxu. Zunxu served prominently in offices outside the palace (*waiguan*). He received full ordination in the [Buddhist] precepts, and eradicated his haughtiness and arrogance. While devotedly cleansing his mind through quiet relaxation, he conceived the basic idea of collecting [Chan masters'] teachings....[These are] separate from the ultimate aims of the three vehicles. He tracked down the records of the patriarchs, widely disseminating their uniquely Chan style instruction (*zongfeng*). He selected their sudden methods to introduce them to lay officials (*shi*), collecting their everyday exchanges in the monastery (*conglin*).<sup>116</sup>

As Emperor Renzong's preface acknowledges, Li Zunxu was an avid Buddhist devotee. When we look at Li Zunxu's Buddhist affiliations, it comes as no surprise that he was closely associated with the members of the very lineage he sought to promote in the *Guangdeng lu*. Li Zunxu was a follower of Guyin Yuncong (965–1032),<sup>117</sup> a monk of the Linji lineage who attained enlightenment under the instruction of Shoushan Shengnian. In addition to Li Zunxu, **(p.188)** Guyin Yuncong was acquainted with other high-ranking officials, including Yang Yi. When Guyin Yuncong passed away in 1032, he was honored with the title



“Chan Master Whose Mercy Shines Forth” (*cizhao chanshi*). Li Zunxu composed his epitaph.

Li Zunxu also had close personal connections with Yang Yi. The *Guangdeng lu*, like the *Chuandeng lu* before it, was compiled to meet the expectations of the new Song secular gentry regarding the preferred interpretation of Chan. As an “extended lamp record” (*guangdeng lu*), it aimed to supplement and revise the claims of the *Chuandeng lu*. In effect, it went beyond the ambiguous legacy of the *Chuandeng lu*; it “set the record straight” by asserting that the “true dharma eye” was present in the Linji-style Chan of north China, not in the Fayan style nurtured in the south. This claim is explicitly set forth in the opening line of the first fascicle, where Li Zunxu introduces the entry on Śākyamuni Buddha with the words: “The golden hermit (i.e., the Buddha) referred to the treasury of the great dharma-eye in terms of a separate practice outside the teaching (*jiaowai biexing*),”<sup>118</sup> explicitly endorsing the claim of Yang Yi in his preface to the *Chuandeng lu*, and attributing it irrefutably to Śākyamuni. Moreover, the Chan slogan “a separate transmission outside the teaching” (*jiaowai biechuan*) appears prominently in the *Guangdeng lu* as an obvious variant of “a separate practice outside the teaching” used by Yang Yi and Li Zunxu. According to the *Guangdeng lu*, this slogan was in vogue around the time the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled. It was used by the purple robe recipient, Chan Master Guisheng (d.u.) of the Guangjiao Monastery in Ruzhou, a disciple of Shoushan Shengnian;<sup>119</sup> and by Shishuang Chuyuan (987–1040) of Mount Nanyuan in Yuanzhou, a disciple of Fenyang Shanzhao (947–1024) and the teacher of both Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049) and Huanglong Huinan (1002–69), heads of the two branches that came to dominate the Linji lineage during the Song.<sup>120</sup> I discuss these masters’ usage of the phrase in more detail below. Given that Li Zunxu was a powerful presence at the Song court, and, like Yang Yi, was personally acquainted with many of Shengnian’s disciples, it comes as no surprise that his interpretation of Chan followed that of Yang Yi.

Previous Chan transmission records were compiled to support the interests of certain lineages based on the prominence of contemporary factions. The *Guangdeng lu* is no exception to this trend. While the *Zutang ji* usurped the status gained by Mazu’s descendants by suggesting that the true dharma rested with Zhaoqing Wendeng and his disciples, the *Guangdeng lu* asserted that the truth was maintained through Linji lineage masters and had not been appropriated elsewhere. Noting that the circumstances of the six buddhas prior to Śākyamuni had already been covered in the *Chuandeng lu*, the *Guangdeng lu* dispenses with them and begins directly with Śākyamuni.<sup>121</sup> Fascicles 1 through 5 cover the Indian patriarchs.<sup>122</sup> The record of Bodhidharma is contained in fascicle 6.<sup>123</sup> Fascicle 7 covers the second (Huike) through sixth patriarchs (Huineng) in China (identified as “Tang dynasty patriarchs”).<sup>124</sup> Fascicles 8 and 9 contain records from the succession of direct heirs following Huineng: Nanyue Huairang, Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, and Huangbo Xiyun.<sup>125</sup> No mention is

made of collateral lineages, like the Oxhead, much **(p.189)** less the so-called Northern School. The names of Hongren's disciples, prominently appearing in previous records, have been omitted from the *Guang-deng lu*. Not even a record for Shenhui is included. In sum, there is no inclusion of masters not on the direct line of orthodox transmission. This is the situation that prevails in the *Guangdeng lu* through the record for Linji, whose teachings are prominently exhibited in two fascicles (fascicles 10 and 11), emphasizing the message of the Chan patriarch from whom the lineage takes its name.<sup>126</sup> As if to underscore this point, orthodox transmission is emphasized on a unilineal basis through Linji Yixuan, after which there are multiple lines of transmission.

The rise of the Linji faction is connected to the support provided Buddhism in north China, particularly in Hebei province, following the Huichang suppression. The military leaders in Hebei were mostly non-Chinese in origin and alienated from China's ruling elite. From the middle of the Tang, the region constituted a virtually independent political unit. With the authority of the central government weak and ineffectual, the stringent provisions of the suppression had little impact on the military governors in Hebei, who were disinclined to assist the Chinese governing elite even in the best of times. The military governors, members of the Wang family, patronized Chan prelates in the area, most especially Linji Yixuan. Linji most likely received the support of Wang Shaoyi, the military governor of Zhenzhou (Hebei), from 857 until Linji's death in 866. Xinghua Cunjiang, Linji's dharma-heir, also thrived in this region.<sup>127</sup>

The masters covered in the *Guangdeng lu*, from Huineng through Linji, are all well known in Chan and Zen history and require little by way of explanation. Huineng and Huairang have been discussed previously in different contexts. Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji represent "classic" figures etched into collective Chan memory. What is significant about the *Guangdeng lu*, however, is the great amount of material it records that is attributed to these masters, most of it for the first time. Most noteworthy in this regard is the case of Linji Yixuan. Full knowledge of Linji and his teaching emerges with the *Guangdeng lu*. Fragments of his teaching were recorded earlier in the *Zutang ji*, the *Chuandeng lu*, and Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*.<sup>128</sup> Fascicles 10 and 11 of the *Guangdeng lu* contain the complete material, albeit in different order, of the text later issued as the *Linji lu* (Record of Linji; issued in 1120).<sup>129</sup> The "recovery" of Linji's teachings in the *Guangdeng lu* is directly connected to the rising influence of members of the Linji lineage at the Song court, discussed above. Identification with Linji's lineage prompted an interest, if not a need, to recover Linji's teachings.

In general, the *Guangdeng lu* is cast in the *yulu* (Recorded Sayings) style and can be viewed as having direct bearing on this genre. The first full *yulu* texts of many Chan masters are recorded here. The *Guangdeng lu* thus represents an important step in the full recognition of Chan's masters as Buddhas. It

acknowledges their sermons, dialogues, and so forth, in the way that they have come to be viewed: as full revelations of living Buddhas, superceding the authority of doctrinal Buddhism. Given the significance that *yulu* literature (p. 190) came to have in Chan, this fact alone marks the *Guangdeng lu* as noteworthy. Each of the three transmission records composed in the Five Dynasties and early Song (the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Guangdeng lu*) is devoted to recording the lectures, dialogues, and interactions of Chan masters, which are principal features of *yulu* documents as well. Of the three transmission records, the *Guangdeng lu* devotes the least attention to historical and biographical data, and the most to Chan masters' teachings (lectures, dialogues, etc.). It contributes most directly to a view of Chan teaching that transcends the exigencies of historical context. It advances the process whereby leading Chan masters' teachings were isolated and expanded into independent *yulu* texts devoted to the memory of a particular master's teaching style. Internally, Chan was structured around dharma-transmission predicated on the master-disciple relationship. While rhetorically eschewing words and letters, Chan became increasingly identified with a new literary style in official, public eyes. While all three transmission records exhibit this tendency, the *Guangdeng lu*, above all, is dedicated to defining Chan literary style in unmistakably *yulu* terms, and associates this style with the Linji faction most of all. In this sense it augmented Yang Yi's goal for defining Chan *wen* as a uniquely Song cultural product.

According to the *Guangdeng lu*, Linji had twenty-four heirs.<sup>130</sup>

*Linji Yixuan's Students in the Guangdeng lu*

Weifu Dajue	Jinsha
Zhenzhou Baoshou Zhao	Ezhou Guanxi Zhixian
Zhenzhou Sansheng Huiran	Cangzhou Meicang
Qisong	Silla Zhiyi Shan
Dingzhou Cuichan	Yuncheng
Zhenzhou Wanshou	Zhuozhou Kefu
Chuo Zhou Xiu	Tongfeng Anzhu
Weifu Xinghua Cunjiang	Shanyang Anzhu
Youzhou Tangong	Huxi Anzhu
Zhexi Shanquan Che	Fubei Anzhu
Yunshan	Shangzuo (Elder) Ding
Xiangzhou Licun	Shangzuo (Elder) Huo

Of these twenty-four, six are said to have produced heirs of their own: Weifu Dajue, Baoshou Zhao of Zhenzhou, Sansheng Huiran of Zhenzhou, Zhuozhou Kefu, Guanxi Zhixian of Ezhou, and Xinghua Cunjiang of Weifu. Collectively, these six heirs produced fifteen heirs with records in the *Guangdeng lu*: four for Weifu Dajue, two for Baoshou Zhao, one for Sansheng Huiran, two for Zhuozhou Kefu, five for Xinghua Cunjiang, and one for Guanxi Zhixian.<sup>131</sup> This number coincides, more or less, with the level of activity ascribed to Linji and his disciples in the *Chuandeng lu*, where Linji is credited with having twenty-two heirs (sixteen with records), and his disciples (the same six who produced heirs) collectively credited with twelve heirs (nine with records).<sup>132</sup> The real difference between the two records is not found in the **(p.191)** level of activity associated with Linji and his heirs, but rather in the fact that the *Chuandeng lu* suggests a considerable degree of activity associated with other masters of Linji's generation descended from the same lineage through Huairang. According to the *Chuandeng lu*, Linji's twenty-two heirs, while a substantial portion, were only part of the fifty-one total heirs produced in the fifth generation descended from Huairang. The *Guangdeng lu* mentions no dharma-heirs of this generation other than those produced by Linji. This makes all future heirs in the lineage Linji's descendants. It suggests that the true dharma of Chan transmission passed exclusively through Linji, and establishes him as a major patriarch on par with Bodhidharma and Huineng. In doing so, the *Guangdeng lu* ignores all collateral lineages.

According to the *Guangdeng lu*, the orthodox lineage passed down from Huineng was as illustrated in the following chart (see chart 6.2).

Just as the *Zutang ji* was compiled to promote the interests of Zhaoqing Wendeng and his students, and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled to **(p. 192)** promote the interests of Fayen Wenyi's disciples, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was clearly compiled to champion the interests of Shengnian and his disciples. Shengnian was the disciple of Fengxue Yanzhao (896–973), a master who was assisted by Li Shijun in Yingzhou (Hubei), and gained prominence through the patronage of Grand Preceptor Song Hou in Ruzhou (Henan).<sup>133</sup> Shengnian hailed from Laizhou (Shandong) and received his initial Buddhist training at the local Nanchan (Southern Chan) Monastery. After experiencing awakening under Fengxue, his first appointment was as founding head of Mount Shou (Shoushan) in Ruzhou. Later, he served as founding head of the Guangjiao (Spread the Teaching) Monastery on Mount Baoan (Precious Peace), and the third-generation head of the Baoying (Receiving the Treasure) Monastery.<sup>134</sup> The fact that the monastery on Mount Shou and Guangjiao Monastery on Mount Baoan were both newly built affirms the support being given Buddhism by the local elite, and the high regard they held for Shengnian. As reviewed above in the context of the *Chuandeng lu*, members of the Fayen lineage reputedly asserted that the destiny of Buddhism was intertwined with secular patronage in Wuyue. A similar pattern seems evident in the case of

Shengnian and his patrons in Ruzhou. Both the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* record the following address made by Shengnian at the opening of Mount Shou.

The master (Shengnian) took the [speaker's] seat: "The Buddha-dharma, through the donations provided by powerful rulers and ministers, has not been extinguished, but has burned on from lamp to lamp down to the present day. Members of the great assembly, I ask you, what is it that has been passed down?"

After a while, the master said: "It is surely what our elder brother, master (Mahā)kaśyāpa first obtained."<sup>135</sup>

As the initial utterance attributed to Shengnian upon his assumption of his first position as a teacher, the words carry an important message connecting the preservation of the Chan dharma with secular patronage. One can only assume that prominent members of the lay community

were present among the assembly to hear these opening remarks, and that the remarks were specifically directed at them. It is also safe to assume that the purveyors of the true dharma preserved here are members of the Linji lineage, currently represented by Shengnian himself. The clear implication is that support provided to Shengnian, exemplified by the opening of the Mount Shou Monastery here celebrated, will continue to foster the true dharma and ensure that it not be extinguished. It is also interesting to note that while the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* provide essentially the same information regarding Shengnian's address, it has been arranged so that it commands the most prominent place at the outset of Shengnian's remarks in the *Guangdeng lu*, instead of following some brief exchanges as in the *Chuandeng lu*. This subtle difference in arrangement must be viewed in the context of the growing



influence of Shengnian and his students at the Song court, and Li Zunxu's expressed purpose for compiling the *Guangdeng lu*, reviewed above.

**(p.193)** We do know that Shengnian's teacher, Fengxue Yanzhao, was also a prominent master in Ruzhou (Henan), the same area in which Mount Shou was located. Fengxue hailed from Yuhang (Zhejiang), and studied Confucianism in the hopes of becoming an official. Failing to pass the *jinshi* exams, he decided to renounce household life and become a monk. He initially practiced under a master named Jingqing Shunde. Departing Jingqing, Fengxue visited Guanzhi of the Tongan Monastery (Jiangxi).<sup>136</sup> After Guanzhi, he left for the Huayan Monastery in Xiangzhou (Hubei), where he met the elder master Shoukuo. Shoukuo, an heir of Xinghua Cunjiang, introduced Fengxue to the Linji lineage.<sup>137</sup> From the Huayan Monastery in Xiangzhou, Fengxue went to the Baoying Monastery in Ruzhou (Henan), where he met Huiyong and inherited his dharma.<sup>138</sup> He began his teaching career on Mount Fengxue in Ruzhou.

When Ruzhou was besieged, Fengxue fled to Yingzhou (Hubei), where he was befriended by Li Shijun, who housed him in the district office (*yanei*) there. According to the *Guangdeng lu*, the Prefectural Head (*zhouzhu*) and Controller-general (*tongpan*) in Yingzhou attended Fengxue's lectures and engaged him in conversation.<sup>139</sup> Later, Grand Preceptor Song Hou converted his residence in Ruzhou into a monastery, and invited Fengxue to live in it.<sup>140</sup> Court officials also reportedly attended his lectures in Ruzhou, where a monk allegedly addressed the issue of Buddhist-secular relations openly.

When the master (Fengxue) stayed in the imperial office in Ruzhou, he entered the [Lecture] Hall. A monk asked: "What happens when the ruler of people and the ruler of dharma meet each other?"

Fengxue responded: "[Even though] they dance grandly in circles around the spring in the trees, there is no joy or sorrow in the world."

The monk continued: "What will they discuss together?" Fengxue responded: "[Even while] tigers and leopards sit boldly and contentedly in front of the cliff, peregrine falcons spread the true Chan lineage (*zhenzong*) in broad daylight."<sup>141</sup>

Even though Fengxue supplies typically Chan responses to the monk's queries, the meaning is clear. Even while rulers (tigers and leopards) command the realm that is before them, Chan monks (peregrine falcons) openly spread their teaching in full view. Although Fengxue's analogy falls short of suggesting that officials actively support Chan, it implicitly recommends that they sanction and accept Chan endeavors. Elsewhere in the *Guangdeng lu* record, Fengxue allegedly engaged in Chan-style dialogues with the Grand Guardian (*dabao*) of Ruzhou, indicating that Fengxue attracted those of considerable position as supporters.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, the above-cited dialogue was not the only occasion the

issue of Buddhist-secular relations was raised to Fengxue, according to the *Guangdeng lu*.

A monk asked: “Under what circumstances will the Way of the Ruler (*wangdao*) and the Way of the Buddha (*fodao*) perish?”

**(p.194)** The master (Fengxue) answered: “When straw dogs howl, heaven and earth will become one. [Even] after wooden chickens cluck, the lamp of the patriarchs (*zudeng*) will [still] flicker.”<sup>143</sup>

In other words, no time soon will Buddhism perish, fostered as it is by the perpetually burning lamp of the patriarchs. The fact that the issue of Buddhist-secular relations is raised repeatedly to Fengxue attests to its relevance in this context.<sup>144</sup> And it is no coincidence that the question regarding the “true dharma-eye” (*zheng fayan*) is also raised in Fengxue's record.<sup>145</sup> Secular support for Linji-lineage masters was predicated on the assumption that the legitimate lineage of Chan transmission, the “true dharma-eye,” was being fostered. Other noteworthy support for Fengxue came from Vice Director (*shilang*) Ouyang Hui (896–971) of the regime of Western Shu (934–65) during the Five Dynasties period. In the *Guangdeng lu* Ouyang Hui is seen eagerly seeking information regarding the orthodox transmission of Chan, with Fengxue responding to him in verse.<sup>146</sup> After the Western Shu regime recapitulated to Song authority in 965, Ouyang Hui served in Song Taizu's bureaucracy and was appointed to the Hanlin Academy, suggesting that the prestige attained by the Linji lineage in Ruzhou was preserved among the new arrangements at the Song court.<sup>147</sup>

Fengxue's master was Baoying (or Nanyuan) Huiyong (860–ca. 930). Although Huiyong has records in the *Chuandeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*, and an existing compilation of “recorded sayings,” we know little of the details of his life.<sup>148</sup> He was reputedly associated with the Baoying Chan Monastery in Ruzhou, where his student and heir Fengxue allegedly gained awakening. He was not, according to the *Guangdeng lu*, a prolific master in terms of the number of heirs he produced. Only one other name is mentioned in this regard, Chan Master An of Yingqiao in Ruzhou.<sup>149</sup> The Chan style attributed to Huiyong is quintessentially Linji, with lots of hitting and talk of “lumps of red flesh.”<sup>150</sup> It is also worth noting that the record of Huiyong's lectures and dialogues is greatly expanded in the *Guangdeng lu* as compared with the *Chuan-deng lu*, though this is also generally true of all of the “select” Linji masters the *Guangdeng lu* has designated as important for the true transmission. As with the others, the expanded record of Huiyong's teachings reflects the new significance associated with his memory, given the rising status of the Linji faction at the Song court. Under the aura of Linji dominance, the faded memory of former ancestors was dusted off, their image renewed to reflect the prosperous circumstances of the current generation.

Huiyong reputedly received dharma-transmission from Xinghua Cunjiang (830–88 or ?–ca. 925), regarded as a direct heir of Linji Yixuan. Xinghua hailed from Queli (Shandong), and initially studied with Sansheng Huiran (d.u.), who was also counted among Linji's disciples and is the reputed compiler of Linji's "Recorded Sayings" (*Linji lu*).<sup>151</sup> Later, Xinghua served as Director of Temple Business (*yuanzhu*) for Weifu Dajue (d.u.), another disciple of Linji.<sup>152</sup> After leaving Dajue, the *Guangdeng lu* states that Xinghua went to visit Linji, where he attained "tacit agreement with the principle of the Way (i.e., Chan truth),"<sup>153</sup> While there is no mention of a direct encounter between Linji (p.195) and Xinghua in either the *Chuangdeng lu* or *Guangdeng lu*, Xinghua is often identified with the Director of Temple Business character appearing in an encounter with Linji in the *Linji lu*.

The master said to the director of temple business, "Where have you been?"

The director said, "I've been to the district office to sell glutinous rice."

The master said, "Did you sell all of it?"

The director said, "Yes, I sold all of it."

The master took his staff and drew a mark on the ground in front of him and said, "Can you sell this too?"

The director gave a shout.

The master hit him.<sup>154</sup>

What is also important regarding Xinghua's reputation in Linji circles is his supposed encounter with Emperor Zhuangzong of the short-lived Latter Tang dynasty (923–36), recorded in detail in the *Guangdeng lu*.

During the *tongguang* era (923–26), the emperor went on procession to Hebei. On the return trip, he stopped at the Auxiliary Palace in Weifu. The emperor sat on the throne. After the list of names on the monk's register was brought to him, the emperor proceeded to ask his attendants: "Are there any possessing virtue among them?"

An attending minister reported to the emperor:

"Those whose names are listed on the monk's register just now brought to you are all virtuous."

The emperor responded:

"This is virtue gained through celebrity and self-promotion (*mingli*). Is there anyone [among them] possessing the virtue of the Way (i.e., true virtue) (*daode*)?"

The attending minister reported:



"Among them is the senior monk Xinghua who is truly virtuous."

The emperor, accordingly, summoned him, and Xinghua arrived for an audience. The emperor offered Xinghua a seat and hot water for tea. When finished, the emperor proceeded to ask: "When I took possession of the central plains (i.e., the empire), I obtained a treasure. I have yet to meet anyone else who will pay the price for it."

Xinghua said:

"How valuable are the central plains to your majesty?"

The emperor folded his cap with his hands and placed it on his lap.

Xinghua said:

"Who would dare to pay the price for your lordship's treasure?"

[Upon hearing this,] the emperor's face showed great pleasure. He granted Xinghua a purple robe and an honorific title. Xinghua accepted neither of them.<sup>155</sup>

**(p.196)** In this rendition of the story, Xinghua comes across as a latter-day Bodhidharma and Huineng, both of whom were courted by emperors but rejected their overtures.<sup>156</sup> In the case of Xinghua cited here, Xinghua is successful in winning imperial favor while declining the imperial honors bestowed upon him. Xinghua represents the quintessential Chan monk who is highly prized by secular leaders but remains aloof from the temptations that accompany secular recognition. He remains pure in his virtue, unsullied by celebrity and self-promotion. However, as reminiscent of Bodhidharma and Huineng as Xinghua seems to be, there is a crucial difference. In the case of Bodhidharma, he was allegedly forced into exile for his failure to sanction Emperor Wu's merit-making endeavors. In the case of Huineng, he declined to appear at the imperial court when requested to do so, thus remaining a "phantom" presence, however potent, to members of the secular elite. In the above story, Xinghua emerges as both highly effective and persuasive during his conversation with the emperor, while surviving with his Chan integrity and independence intact. This suggests the new type of model Linji Chan members wished to promote in the charged intellectual climate of the early Song court. Unlike the model suggested by Bodhidharma and Huineng, who rejected imperial overtures, or the active complicity of Buddhism in secular affairs that typified Tang Buddhism, the new Linji model preserved the aura of aloofness while remaining highly engaged with secular leaders. The former model, while admirably independent, was ineffective in gaining the type of support necessary to ensure Chan's success. The engaged approach, while highly effective, suffered recriminations for complicity with Tang economic and political failings. The new approach struck the proper balance to accommodate the reality of the early Song: active engagement while effecting political aloofness. To the Song secular elite, this new brand of Chan represented a style of Buddhism that they could support without being suspicious of its motives. It was a style of Buddhism

that invited secular control, a style that Song officials played a large part in helping to define.

From the perspective of historical reliability, the story has serious flaws. Xinghua would have had to inherit Linji's teachings at a relatively early age (Linji died in 866) and live to a fairly ripe old age in order to be around to impress Emperor Zhuangzong (r. 923–26) in the Latter Tang dynasty. Possibly more damaging to the story's credibility, however, is information contained in an epitaph identified as Xinghua's.<sup>157</sup> It is not clear to me that Duke (or “Master” in the secular rather than religious sense) Jiang (Jianggong) of Weizhou, who is memorialized in the epitaph, is the same person as Xinghua Cunjiang of Weifu. Although biographical information on Weifu Cunjiang is sketchy, all three of our “lamp records” mention the encounter with Emperor Zhuangzong. It is the only date referred to in each of them. The epitaph of Weizhou Jianggong states unequivocally that he passed away in the first year of the *wende* era (888) at the age of fifty-nine, long before the above episode is reputed to have taken place.<sup>158</sup> The epitaph also stipulates Jianggong's association with Linji, and gifts received from the Military Commissioner of Youzhou in the second year of the *ganfu* era (875).<sup>159</sup> It makes no mention of a career at (p.197) Xinghua Monastery, or of acquiring the posthumous title *Kuangji dashi* (Great Master Who Extensively Saves).<sup>160</sup> It is quite possible that Xinghua Cunjiang and the Jianggong of the epitaph are distinct individuals. For the chronology of the *Guangdeng lu* and the other lamp records to work, Xinghua would have had to have been born around 840 or so to have had an opportunity to meet Linji prior to Linji's death in 866, and live until around 925 in order to have had an audience with Emperor Zhuangzong.

This review of the lineage of the Linji faction from Linji Yixuan through Baoying (Shoushan) Shengnian (in reverse order)—the story of orthodox Chan transmission central to the *Guangdeng lu*—reveals how relations between Linji masters and secular leaders were shaped in the environment of the early Song court. I now turn to examine the portrayal of Shengnian's disciples, the current representatives of the Linji lineage responsible for the faction's success, with a view toward how they contributed to the way in which Chan came to be officially defined in the *Guangdeng lu*.

### The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* and Linji-Faction Influence: Shengnian's Disciples

**Shengnian produced twelve heirs with records in the *Guangdeng lu*:<sup>161</sup>**

1. Huaizhi of the Ganming Cloister on Mount Shou in Ruzhou
2. Guisheng of the Guangjiao Cloister in Yexuan, Ruzhou
3. Zhisong of the Tiefo Cloister in Xizhou
4. Shanzhao of the Taizi Cloister of Dazhong Monastery in Fenzhou
5. Yuncong of Mount Guyin in Xiangzhou
6. Zhisong of the Sanjiao Chengtian Cloister in Bingzhou
7. Zhenhui Yuanlian of the Guanghui Cloister in Ruzhou

8. Chan Master Mi of Mount Huangbo in Jianmen
9. Jenwang Chuping from Chizhou
10. Zhimen Huihan from Suizhou
11. Nantai Qikuang from Tanzhou
12. Huizhao of Lumen in Xiangzhou

These masters were all either still alive or only recently deceased when the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled in 1029 [the dates of most of them are unknown, but of those that are: Shanzhao (947–1024), Zhenhui Yuanlian (951–1036), and Yuncong (965–1032)]. The *Guangdeng lu* was compiled as a memorial to their legacy. Four of them (Guisheng, Shanzhao of Chengtian, Zhisong, and Huizhao) were recipients of purple robes, the highest imperial honor awarded to Buddhist monks.<sup>162</sup> Three of the masters produced heirs with names and records contained in the *Guangdeng lu*:<sup>163</sup> Shanzhao had six heirs, including Dongchan Shouzhi and Nanyuan Chuyuan; Yuncong had ten heirs, including the compiler of the *Guangdeng lu*, Li Zunxu; and Yuanlian had one heir, the Hanlin academician Yang Yi (see chart 6.3). From the dates of these heirs that can be confirmed [e.g., Dongchan Shouzhi (d. 1056), Nanyuan Chuyuan (987–1040), **(p. 198)** and Military Commissioner Li Zunxu (988–1038)], most of them were still alive when the *Guangdeng lu* was issued, making the *Guangdeng lu* a tribute to their fame, as well as the fame of the generation of masters who preceded them. Finally, the *Guangdeng lu* concludes its records of Linji-lineage heirs with mention of two dharma-heirs of Nanyuan Chuyuan, although only Puzhao Chan Master Xiujie's record is included.<sup>164</sup> All of these masters (thirty-one total) represent the legacy of Shengnian and his students (or in the case of Nanyuan Chuyuan, his student's student). They constitute the influential Linji-faction masters whose presence was so strongly felt at the Song court.

Special notice should also be taken of those students who wielded extraordinary influence and won particular fame. Fenzhou (or Fengxue) Shanzhao (947–1024) had unparalleled access to the Song elite. Little biographical information can be gleaned from the earliest records of Shanzhao in the *Chuandeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*, which are devoted almost exclusively to accounts of his teachings and dialogues.<sup>165</sup> According to the *Xu Chuandeng lu*, compiled in 1404, Shanzhao hailed from Taiyuan (Shanxi). He exhibited great intellectual promise as a youth, with the ability to understand all Chinese characters without the aid of a teacher. His parents both passed away when he was fourteen, prompting him to become a Buddhist monk. After traveling to various monasteries, seventy-one in all, he joined the assembly of Shengnian, where he attained awakening.<sup>166</sup> He achieved fame for his teaching at the Taizi (Imperial Prince) Cloister in the Dazhong (Great Center) Monastery in Fenzhou (Shanxi). The Dazhong Monastery was named after a reign-era title of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), *daizhong xiangfu* (1008–16); the Taizi Cloister was named in honor of the future emperor Renzong (r. 1022–63). This would make Shanzhao the bearer of an imperially sanctioned teaching at an imperially sponsored institution.

According to the *Guangdeng lu*, when Li Zunxu invited Shanzhao to preach at Chengtian (Accepting Heaven) Chan Cloister in Luzhou, the officials and people of the region thronged to hear him.<sup>167</sup> Yang Yi wrote a preface for Shanzhao's "recorded sayings" (*yulu*), compiled by Shanzhao's student, Chuyuan.<sup>168</sup> During Shanzhao's life, he was honored with a purple robe. After death, he was granted the posthumous title *Wude Chanshi* (Chan Master Beyond Virtue).<sup>169</sup>

As we have seen above, Guyin Yuncong (965–1032) was also feted by members of the Song elite. Yuncong hailed from Nanhai (Guangdong), and studied with Baizhang Daochang before attaining awakening under Shengnian. After his awakening, he continued to travel, engaging in discussions with various masters, Dongshan Shouchu in Xiangzhou (Hebei), Dayang Qingyan in Yingzhou (Hubei), and Zhimen Shijie in Suizhou (Hebei). Eventually he settled on Mount Shimen (Stone Gate) in Xiangzhou, when Prefect Cha Dao (955–1018) commissioned Yuncong to live there in the third year of the *jingde* era (1006). In the fourth year of the *tianxi* era (1020), Prefect Xia Song (985–1051) commissioned Yuncong again to take up residence at the Taiping Xingguo (Promoting a Country of Great Peace) Chan Monastery on Mount Guyin.<sup>170</sup> The name of this monastery also bore the mark of imperial sanction, taken from a reign title of Emperor Taizong (r. 976–97), *taiping xingguo* (976–84). Yuncong is said to have attracted a thousand students at both places. In addition, he maintained close relations with Hanlin academician Yang Yi and Liu Yun (see above), important officials of the central government.<sup>171</sup> Li Zunxu sent a letter inviting Yuncong to visit him in the fourth year of the *tiansheng* era (1026), and later composed his epitaph.<sup>172</sup> He was granted the posthumous title *Cizhao* (Compassion and Illumination) Chan Master.

(p.199)

(p.200) Xia Song, the prefect who commissioned Yuncong to assume his tenure at Taiping xingguo Monastery, was also a major literary figure of this period. Unlike Yang Yi and Liu Yun who championed a refined literary style that continued to emulate Tang precedents, Xia Song epitomized the use of

literary skill for political ends rather than artful embellishment. The purpose of literary writing, he contended, was to serve the interests of the court in securing a civil order (as Xia himself put it, "the emperor is expecting transformation through the *wen* of man").<sup>173</sup> His studies ranged over a broad spectrum of topics, focusing primarily on "orthodox" works (classics, histories, the writings of the "hundred schools," writings on *yin* and *yang*, legal works, and almanacs),

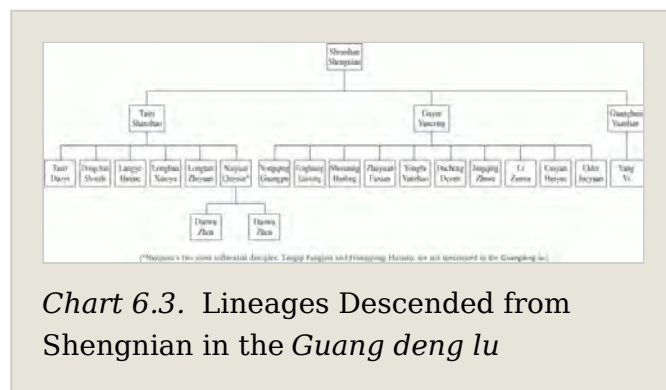


Chart 6.3. Lineages Descended from Shengnian in the *Guangdeng lu*

but also extended to Buddhist and Daoist writings.<sup>174</sup> Xia Song's interest in Buddhist writings suggests both the importance accorded Buddhism by the literati of the age, and the increasing marginalization of Buddhism from literary orthodoxy. For the likes of Xia Song, the champion of a renewed literary tradition that held the promise of political transformation, Buddhism could only be adapted to the extent that it fit this larger agenda.

Cha Dao, the man who first brought Yuncong to public attention in 1006, was a devout Buddhist. In his youth, he is reported to have copied Buddhist scriptures using his own blood as an act of merit-generating devotion in an attempt to seek a cure for his ailing mother. When his mother died, he gave up his ambition to become an official, and traveled to the sacred Mount Wutai with the intention of shaving his head and becoming a monk. When he displayed calm in the face of violent earthquakes and thunder, the monks of the monastery all urged him to serve as an official.<sup>175</sup> After serving as Minister of Public Works in the Southern Tang, he later went on to distinguish himself by attaining the *jinshi* degree (988), and working on the defining Song literary project, the *Cefu yuangui* (1008).<sup>176</sup>

As previously noted, Shengnian's student Zhenhui (Guanghui) Yuanlian (951–1036) was considered Yang Yi's master, responsible for Yang Yi's "conversion" from the Fayen to the Linji lineage. Yuanlian hailed from the Pujiang district of Quanzhou (Fujian). He left home at age fifteen, entering the Baoqu Cloister. He is said to have visited more than fifty teachers in the Min region before attaining awakening under Shengnian. From the first year of the *jingde* era (1004), Yuanlian lived at the Guanghui (Expanding Wisdom) Monastery in Ruzhou (Henan), where he received visits from officials like Yang Yi. He was granted the posthumous title *Zhenhui Chanshi* (Chan Master of True Wisdom).<sup>177</sup>

Another student of Shengnian, Guangjiao Guisheng (d.u.), who hailed from Jizhou (Hebei), left home and became ordained at the Baoshou (Preserve (p. 201) Longevity) Monastery in Yizhou. Later, he traveled south, where he met Chan Master Shengnian in Ruzhou, and experienced awakening.<sup>178</sup> Subsequently, he began his teaching career at Guangjiao Monastery in Yexuan, Ruzhou. He achieved considerable renown, and was the recipient of a prestigious purple robe honor awarded by the central government. Other than these meager details, we know nothing of Guisheng's life. The record of his teaching, however, provides important insight into the way Linji-faction teaching was being represented in the early decades of the tenth century.

Master [Guisheng] entered the [Dharma] Hall and said: "When Bodhidharma came from the west, the dharma transmitted in the lands of the east (i.e., China) was 'direct pointing to the human mind; seeing one's nature and becoming a buddha.' He simply noted that the myriad virtues were external to physical things, and promoted [this message] widely. Those who awakened to it did not separate themselves from the slightest

bit of dust. Those confused by it turned their backs on enlightenment by adhering to the dust. Even those of average and inferior capacities must [pay attention to] the finest details, and not pass the time in vain. Each and every one of you possess the flash [of enlightenment] (*guang*). All the more reason to take the meaning of [Bodhidharma's] coming from the west to be 'a separate transmission outside the teaching' (*jiaowai biechuan*). When the Way [that one practices] tacitly agrees with this single phrase, you will act freely in every situation. If you crack open your skull and pull out your brain, how delighted you will be! Take care."<sup>179</sup>

The meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west appears as a frequent topic of discussion in "lamp records" like the *Guangdeng lu*. It appears most often as a question posed by students to a master, as an apparent way of gauging a master's teaching and assessing his effectiveness. According to the records, various responses were proffered, from the ubiquitous hitting and yelling, to pithy non sequiturs like "the planet Venus revolves" or "while the white moon burns, the earth sleeps; while fumes engulf the night, the earth reclines."<sup>180</sup> During the Tang, Bodhidharma's teaching was commonly associated with the slogans "directly point to the human mind; see one's nature and become a buddha." In the early Song, the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west increasingly came to be understood also in terms of "a separate transmission outside the teaching." A variant of this phrase, "a separate practice outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biexing*), was noted as the distinguishing feature of Chan teaching in Yang Yi's and Li Zunxu's opening remarks to the respective compilations they are associated with. It comes as little surprise to find a version of this phrase in the record of a sermon by a contemporary Chan master and influential representative of the Linji faction.

The phrase "a separate transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*) also appears in a sermon by another contemporary Linji-faction representative, Nanyuan (or Shishuang) Chuyuan (987–1040).

**(p.202)**

The master [Chuyuan]...said: "Do you [members of the assembly] understand? It is comparable to the sun dazzling upon water or the stone-bridge in Nanyue. If you do not understand, I despise you. All of you leave at once! That is why it is said that [the meaning of] Bodhidharma coming from the west is the single phrase 'a separate transmission outside the teaching.' Moreover, what does this 'special transmission' refer to? 'Direct pointing to the human mind, seeing [one's] nature and becoming a buddha'..."<sup>181</sup>

According to this account, Chuyuan consciously connected the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west and his directive to "directly point to the

human mind, see one's nature and become a buddha" with "a separate transmission outside the teaching." Moreover, Chuyuan left influential progeny. Although Chuyuan's two heirs in the *Guangdeng lu* (the only eleventh-generation descendants of Huairang mentioned) are themselves of little note, Chuyuan was also the teacher of Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049) and Huanglong Huinan (1002–69), heads of the two branches of the Linji faction that became dominate in the Song. Chuyuan was also on friendly terms with Li Zunxu; Chuyuan reportedly composed verses for Li Zunxu as Li Zunxu's death approached.<sup>182</sup>

The term *jiaowai biechuan* appears elsewhere in the three transmission records under discussion. The earliest datable usage of the term appears in the *Zutang ji*, in the record of Shishuang Qingzhu (807–88), when an unidentified monk who had just arrived from studying with Xuefeng Yicun (822–908) was asked to report on the status of Buddhism taught there. The monk explained that Xuefeng told his assembly:

The buddhas of the tri-fold world are not worthy of praise. Do not promote the teaching recorded in twelve divisions. As for the three vehicles, they have been totally obliterated by the special transmission outside the teaching arriving here through the mouths of old monks from various regions.<sup>183</sup>

Although this attribution to Xuefeng Yicun's teaching as "a separate transmission outside the teaching" is significant, it is not corroborated by his own record in the *Zutang ji*. Nor does it appear in any other record there. Shishuang Qingzhu himself seems to dispute the student's characterization of Xuefeng Yicun's teaching.<sup>184</sup> The phrase *jiaowai biechuan* also appears in the *Chuandeng lu*, in the record of Yunmen Wenyan (864–949).<sup>185</sup> Since Yunmen is regarded as an heir of Xuefeng Yicun in the *Chuandeng lu*, the appearance of the phrase *jiaowai biechuan* here is not without significance. It is also interesting that Yunmen uses the phrase in reference to the twelvefold division of the teaching in the three vehicles. The ultimate meaning of Buddhism, Yunmen contends, is not described at all in the twelvefold teaching of the three vehicles. He then asks rhetorically, "How can one explain the special transmission outside the teaching?"<sup>186</sup> This points to evidence that other Chan factions, notably that of Yunmen Wenyan, sought to identify Chan in terms of "a separate transmission outside the teaching."

**(p.203)** While Yunmen Wenyan has no record in the *Guangdeng lu*, the phrase "a separate transmission outside the teaching" does appear in records of Yunmen's disciples.<sup>187</sup> The phrase is encountered three times, in the records of Chan Master Shen of Mount Ciyun, Zhimen Fajin, and Yunmen Elder Lang.<sup>188</sup> On each of these occasions, it appears as a question to the master, followed by pithy, Chan-like responses. This reveals that the phrase "a separate transmission outside the teaching" had acquired common currency in the Yunmen faction,

used by students as a kind of test case. The question, “What is [the meaning] of the phrase ‘a separate transmission outside the teaching’?” was uttered by them in the same manner as, “What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the west?” In addition, a variant form of the phrase appears in the record of Yunmen Faqiu. Here, the phrase *jiaowai bieyan* (“a special explanation outside the teaching”) is used by the master himself to refer to expedient kinds of explanations for the “dharma-eye of the Tathāgata,” the “tacit mind (*qixin*) transmitted successively from generation to generation,” as opposed to the explanations provided in the twelvefold teaching of the three vehicles and the texts of the fivefold Vinaya.<sup>189</sup>

It is clear from this that the phrase *jiaowai biechuan* and other variants were widely used in the Yunmen faction. Unlike in Linji-faction usage, however, the phrase was not tied directly to the teaching of Bodhidharma, and served as a more general foil to the teaching contained in Buddhist scriptures rather than a specific affirmation of the Chan goal to “directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become a buddha.” Nevertheless, Yunmen-faction use of the phrase only served to enhance the burgeoning Chan identity as “a separate transmission outside the teaching” in the early Song, and undermine the notion of Chan's compatibility with scriptural teaching.

Absent from the list of Shengnian's disciples in the *Guangdeng lu* is one who played an important role in shaping the understanding of Chan in the early Song, the official Wang Sui (f. 1034–39). Wang Sui was still active when the *Guangdeng lu* was issued, and was surrounded by the taint of political factionalism that had infiltrated the Song court. For these reasons, his name was probably omitted from the list of Shengnian's heirs. Nevertheless, Wang Sui was an important Chan advocate and represents a further indication of the extent to which Chan had penetrated official circles. Wang Sui's name appeared previously in two contexts: as the author of the preface to Xuefeng's *yulu*; and as the compiler of an abridged version of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the *Chuandeng yuying ji*. The *Chuandeng yuying ji* was presented to Emperor Renzong in 1034, contributing to the acceptance of Chan in official circles.<sup>190</sup> Along with literati like Yang Yi and Li Zunxu, Wang Sui served as an important link between government officialdom and the burgeoning Chan movement in the early Song. Wang Sui was a leader—along with Chen Yaozuo, Han Yi, and Shi Zhongli—of a group of new government officials who emerged between 1034 and 1048 during the reign of Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–63).<sup>191</sup> Wang Sui held important government posts: Fiscal Commissioner (*zhuanyun shi*) of Hetong, and Vice Director and Attendant Censor in the Bureau of Judicial Administration (*xingbu yuanwailang lian shiyushi*). However, he was rebuked by Emperor Zhenzong for his liberal policies and demoted to the low-ranking position of Administrative Clerk (*zhishi*) of Yangzhou.<sup>192</sup> Under Renzong, he was promoted again to the rank of Fiscal Commissioner, comporting himself well when Jiangning was threatened with famine.<sup>193</sup> Even non-Buddhist sources note Wang



Sui's fondness for Buddhism and his yearning to model himself after Pei Xiu, the Tang dynasty official who studied Chan first under Zongmi before claiming allegiance to Huangbo. They also note that Wang Sui failed to realize his ambition to emulate Pei Xiu.<sup>194</sup>

Although omitted from the *Guangdeng lu*, Wang Sui's name was added to the list of Shengnian's heirs in the *Xu Chuandeng lu*.<sup>195</sup> The brief entry there claims Wang Sui obtained Shengnian's "teaching apart from verbal explanations" (*yanwai zhi zhi*).<sup>196</sup> In this way, Wang Sui was portrayed as accommodating the "special transmission outside the teaching" for which the Linji faction was noted.

### Factional Representation in the *Guangdeng lu*

As a mark of the Yunmen faction's status in the early Song, Li Zunxu awarded it the highest place of honor next to the Linji faction in the *Guangdeng lu*. The records of Yunmen's disciples are contained in the two fascicles (19 and 20) following the lead up of masters culminating with Linji-faction records. Further generations of Yunmen lineage heirs are contained in the following three fascicles (21 through 23).<sup>197</sup> This also marks the transition in the *Guangdeng lu* from the descendants of Huairang to the descendants of Xingsi, the two disciples of the sixth patriarch Huineng credited with lineages that survived the Tang. Though seamlessly presented, there is something distinctly odd with this arrangement in the *Guangdeng lu*. Although Yunmen's students are clearly identified as such (and as seventh-generation dharma-heirs of Qingyuan Xingsi), there is no mention of the lineage of masters who transmitted the dharma between Qingyuan Xingsi and Yunmen Wenyan: Shitou Xiqian, Tianhuang Daowu, Longtan Chongxin, Deshan Xuanjian, and Xuefeng Yicun. While it is true that the *Guangdeng lu*, as a "supplementary" record, had no obligation to comprehensive treatment, one cannot overlook the implications for lineages descended through Qingyuan Xingsi. It is not that these lineages are ignored. Contemporary representatives of these lineages are duly covered throughout the remaining fascicles of the *Guangdeng lu* (fascicles 19 through 30). Yet, the failure to openly acknowledge the presence of lineage masters crucial to the transmission suggests that the lineages descended from Qingyuan Xingsi were, at the very least, subsidiary and less important, not as vital to the true transmission of the dharma possessed in the Linji faction. At most, the omissions might suggest the illegitimate character of contemporary masters claiming descent through Qingyuan Xingsi and Shitou Xiqian. This is especially relevant in a tradition that is predicated on dharma-transmission personally **(p.205)** conveyed from master to master, where unmentioned linkages carry momentous weight.

The implication that descendants of Qingyuan Xingsi represent something of a "lesser breed" of Chan masters holds true not only for the Yunmen faction, but also for the Caodong, Guiyang, and Fayan factions. Following the records of

Yunmen lineage representatives, the *Guangdeng lu* next covers the Caodong lineage (fascicle 24 and part of 25),<sup>198</sup> before briefly turning attention to the Guiyang lineage (end of fascicle 25, beginning of fascicle 26).<sup>199</sup> After this, the rest of the *Guangdeng lu* is devoted to Fayan lineage descendants (remainder of fascicle 26 through fascicle 30).<sup>200</sup> In all of these cases, the lineages are designated in terms of generations descended from Qingyuan Xingsi.<sup>201</sup>

The actual numbers of masters associated with their respective factions in the *Guangdeng lu* are summarized in the following table (Table 6.1).

According to this, factions other than Linji's, notably the Yunmen and Fayan factions, continued to thrive in the early Song. Given the importance of the Fayan faction in the *Chuandeng lu*, its treatment in the *Guangdeng lu* sends something of a mixed message. On the one hand, extensive coverage is provided to contemporary representatives of the Chan movement. The large numbers of Fayan-faction masters represented in the *Guangdeng lu* are not attributable to Tiantai Deshao, the mainstay of the Fayan lineage according to the *Chuandeng lu*, but are descendants of other students of Fayan Wenyi.<sup>202</sup> One cannot help noting the meager coverage given the students of Tiantai Deshao, whose students dominated much of the Chan world in the tenth century.<sup>203</sup> Yongming Yanshou, the prolific author who defined Wuyue Chan in terms of compatibility with Buddhist scriptures and conventional practices, is completely absent. Again, the *Guangdeng lu*, as a self-defined “supplementary” record, need not be faulted for its lack of comprehensiveness. The lack of coverage here is nevertheless telling. Wuyue Chan disputed the interpretation of Chan tradition as a “special transmission outside the scriptures.” In Wuyue Chan interpretation, the “special transmission outside the scriptures” slogan conflicted with their own view that Chan represented the culmination of the scriptural tradition, and was to be seen in conjunction with the scriptures and not apart from them.<sup>204</sup>

**Table 6.1. Factional Representation in the *Guangdeng lu***

Linji Faction	85
Yunmen Faction	102
Caodong Faction	42
Guiyang Faction	14
Fayan Faction	85
Total = 328	

**(p.206)** The reason for the *Guangdeng lu* emphasis on later representatives of the Fayan faction may not be hard to find. According to the *Guangdeng lu*, the most prolific member of the Fayan lineage of this period in terms of number of heirs produced was Yunju Daoqi (929–97),<sup>205</sup> a disciple of Fayan's student

Qingliang Taiqin (?–974).<sup>206</sup> Yunju Daoqi's twenty heirs far exceed the number attributed to any other Fayen master in the *Guangdeng lu*, comprising an entire fascicle of its contents.<sup>207</sup> One of these students, Huiji Zhida (d.u.), reportedly used an expression in his sermons reminiscent of the “separate transmission outside the scriptures” slogan: When the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the west, he simply transmitted the mind-seal (*chuan xinyin*) outside the scriptures (*jiaowai*), directly pointing to the human mind, seeing one's nature and becoming a buddha....<sup>208</sup> Zhida also understood the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the west in terms of “pointing to the human mind and seeing one's nature,” referring to the “mind-seal” as that which is specifically transmitted “outside the scriptures.” This suggests that Li Zunxu's emphasis on Yunju Daoqi's faction of the Fayen lineage was predicated on this formulation, and that the identity of Chan as “special transmission outside the scriptures” was gaining wider currency throughout Chan circles, penetrating even those lineages who had previously staked their interpretation of Chan to opposite claims.

#### Further Considerations

The prevalence of the definition of Chan as “a separate transmission outside the teaching,” or some species of saying like it, may remain open to dispute. Obviously Chan represented a series of widely based regional movements with varying ideas about its self-identity. In the context of the upheavals of the late Tang and prolonged social disintegration that prevailed through the Five Dynasties period, forces promoting regionalization were enhanced. Chan movements were supported by separatist regimes, often with their own dynastic pretensions. In the early Song, Chan was searching for a national identity, a mechanism for encompassing regional factions within a common framework. The “lamp history” was one of the results of this search. Structured around factional lineages, Chan imitated the Chinese propensity to understand its members along the lines of extended clans. At the same time, the “lamp history” furthered Chan's identification with a certain literary style, represented in terms of characteristic types of utterances, behaviors, and so forth. The culmination of this process came in the early Song, with the compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and its successor, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. Not only did these works solidify Chan's identification with clan and lineage formation, and its commitment to a typical Chan literary style, it did so under imperial sanction. The editor of the *Chuandeng lu*, Yang Yi, and the compiler of the *Guangdeng lu*, Li Zunxu, were both highly placed members of China's cultural and literary elite. Not only did they ascertain Chan's position in Song culture, they defined the terms with which it would be identified as “a separate transmission/practice (p. 207) outside the scriptures.” This definition of Chan prevailed throughout Song rhetoric, and continues down to the present.

The question remains why the approach to Chan adopted by the Linji lineage appealed to Song literati. The style of Chan ultimately preferred by officials in the Song proved to be the most malleable one. By disassociating itself with the larger tradition of Buddhism, the Linji faction found wider acceptance among officials who were interested in a form of Buddhism free of the implications of the past and that did not presume to offer a vision for Chinese civilization that competed directly with the emerging confidence in Confucianism among Song officials. In short, Chinese officials who were inclined toward Confucianism were free to associate with a style of Chan that appealed to them privately without challenging them publicly. The new literary genre shaped by this process, the Chan transmission records, became a defining feature of Song culture, enshrining a new style of Buddhism for officials and an expanding literati class.

Another reason for literati preference for Linji-style Chan may have to do with the popularity of the new Chan literary genre. With the emergence of printing and the convergence of a new, urban, gentry class and rising literacy rates, many were presumably attracted to Chan for reasons that continue to prevail at present. Chan dialogues and the antics of Chan masters make for highly entertaining reading. This is especially true for those who feel constricted by contemporary conventions and seek an escape from the tedium and banality of everyday life. As represented in the literature pioneered in *deng lu*, the Chan tradition represents not merely an escape from the banality but proposes a way to transform it into a mechanism for spiritual transcendence. For those interested in more than the entertainment that Chan anecdotes afford, *denglu* stories provide an enticing and seemingly simple approach to religious realization, one that appears deceptively accessible to the spiritually inclined but otherwise secularly disposed.

Finally, one could suggest the appeal of Chan in light of the increasing bureaucratization of Song culture, which gradually extended state control into every corner of society. Linji Chan's antinomian characteristics might well have offered a private release, as suggested above, for the very officials charged with carrying out the state's agenda of control. Imagine, for example, the appeal of the stories of Linji Chan masters to the magistrate charged with adjudicating the public cases (*gong'an*) that came before him. The shouts and beatings administered so freely and spontaneously by Chan masters on petitioners and pretenders must have delighted and amused official magistrates whose secular roles were mirrored by Chan masters in many Chan dialogues. Instead of the mundane regimen of magisterial duty and decision making, the Chan masters present dynamic authority, unbounded by convention, completely free to dispense "justice" in accordance with their own enlightened nature. **(p.208)**

Notes:

- (1.) Li Zunxu was married to Lady Qi Zhao (Spouse Zhao) (988–1051), the seventh and youngest daughter of Emperor Taizong. For Li Zunxu's biography, see SS 464.13567–69; for Lady Qi Zhao (Jingguo Dachang gongzhu), see SS 248.8774–76.
- (2.) This section comprises portions edited from two previous studies by the author: “Zanning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 23 (1995), 105–40; and “A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over *Wen* in the Early Sung,” *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Daniel A. Getz and Peter N. Gregory, 21–61.
- (3.) Many Vinaya masters hailed from the Hangzhou region and environs, especially during the late Tang and early Song. This coincides with the growth of the region as an economic and cultural hub, and as a thriving center and “safe haven” for members of the Buddhist clergy eager to escape political and social turmoil in the north. For a review of the development of the Vinaya school in China according to master and lineage, see Satō Tatsugen, *Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Mokuji sha, 1986), 229–98.
- (4.) The most reliable source for the study of Zanning's life is by a contemporary, Wang Yucheng, the *Zuojie senglu tonghui dashi wenji xu* (Preface to the Collected Works the Great Master “Comprehensive Wisdom” (Zanning), the Buddhist Registrar of the Left Precincts of the Capital), contained in fascicle 20 of the *Xiaochu ji* (Sibu Congkan 124). Accounts of Zanning's life are also scattered through Buddhist sources, such as the *Shimen zhengtong* (fascicle 8), the *Fozu tongji* (fascicle 44), and Fadao's preface to the *Dasong Seng shilue*. The best modern study is by Makita Tairyō, “Sannei to sono jidai,” *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyōshi kenkyō*, 96–133. For a discussion in English, see Albert Dahlia, “The ‘Political’ Career of the Buddhist Historian Tsan-ning.” (*Buddhist and Taoist Practices in Medieval Chinese Society*, ed. David W. Chappell, 146–80).
- (5.) The practice of the Chinese government from the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (fourth-sixth centuries AD), and reinstituted in the late Tang, was to appoint Buddhist Authorities (*sengguan*), a collective reference for monks at the regional or state level charged with various responsibilities for monitoring the numbers, qualifications, and conduct of members of the Buddhist clergy, under a Central Buddhist Registry (*senglu si*), a central government agency within the imperial bureaucracy that oversaw the entire operation. The Central Buddhist Registry was typically staffed by senior monks at prestigious monasteries in the capital who were recognized as empire-wide leaders of the Buddhist clergy (see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* [Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985], 405, no. 4948).

(6.) There is some dispute over whether Zanning, as a Buddhist, actually served as a Hanlin academician, since the claim can only be substantiated in Buddhist sources. The leader of the “Nine Elders,” Li Fang (925–96), was editor-in-chief of the classic works of early Song historiography, the *Taiping yulan*, the *Taiping guangji*, and the *Wenyuan yinghua*. Zanning's writings on history reflect the broader influences on history writing during this period.

(7.) The Song commitment to valuing the literary over the military is apparent in the opening lines of the collected biographies of literary masters (*Wenyuan*) section of the *Song shi* (439.12997) (adapted from the translation of Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992], 150):

It has been so from old that in the case of a founding and unifying ruler one could predict the pattern of an entire era from what his times valued. When the Great Ancestor [Taizu] changed the mandate, he first gave employment to *wen* officials and took power away from military (*wu*) officials. The Song's valuing *wen* had its roots in this. While still heirs-apparent, Taizong and Zhenzong already had reputations for loving learning. Once they took the throne [the Song] became more *wen* day by day.

(8.) On this tendency in the early Song, see Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, especially 150–55.

(9.) The *Seng shilue* (T 54, no. 2126) is a work in three *zhuan* addressing fifty-nine topics (not counting subtopics) relating to the origins of Buddhism and the growth of Buddhist institutions and conventions in China. Topics covered include the dating of the Buddha's birth, the appearance of monks, scriptures, and images in China, the creation of temples and monasteries, establishing ordination platforms, the establishment of bureaucratic offices and titles for monks, and the development of monastic institutions within the imperial bureaucracy, and so on.

(10.) Chi-Chiang Huang, “Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest” *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 295. See the biography of Chou Ying (SS 268.9226–28).

(11.) Daniel Getz, “T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate,” in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 486.

(12.) The two models described here are suggested by Peter Bol in “*This Culture of Ours*” (148–75). The models should be viewed as indicators of the polarities

that existed in early Song intellectual debate, not as conclusive types with which Song intellectuals were necessarily affiliated.

(13.) Daniel Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, 477-523.

(14.) *Song Jin Yuan wenlun* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 16-18; Peter Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 166 (changing romanization from Wade-Giles to pinyin).

(15.) Peter Bol, *ibid.*, 165-66. On Zhiyuan, see also Koichi Shinohara, "Zhi Yuan's Autobiographical Essay: 'The Master of the Mean,'" *Other Selves: Autobiography and Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic, 1994), 35-72.

(16.) XZJ 130.450d10-12.

(17.) Wang Yucheng, farewell preface for Sun He, *Xiaochu ji* (Sibu Congkan: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1919-36): 19.266-67; Peter Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 165.

(18.) Wang Yucheng *Xiaochu ji* 20.137a.

(19.) SS 293.9797.

(20.) Theodore De Bary, et al., ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., 583-85.

(21.) Tansen Sen, "The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations during the Song Dynasty," *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002), 73-74.

(22.) *Xiaochu ji* 20.137a. Makita Tairyō ("Sannei to sono jidai," *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyō kenkyū* [Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1957], 129 n 30) suggests that Huizheng is the same person as Xijue, whose biography is recorded in the SGSZ (T 50.810b-c). The dates given for Huizheng's life are based on this assumption. The biography of Xijue stipulates that Zanning inherited the office of Buddhist Rector (*sengzheng*) in Wuyue from Xijue. A brief account of Huizheng is found in SGCQ 89.1293.

(23.) Zhiyuan, *Foshi Huizheng bieji xu*, contained in *Xianju bian* (XZJ 101.42d-43a). Huizheng wrote epitaphs for Daofu (864-937) (SGSZ, T 50.787b3-4) and Quanfu (882-947) (SGSZ, T 50.787c12), where he has the title "Buddhist Superior" (*sengzhu*).

(24.) Makita Tairyō ("Sannei to sono jidai," 105) mentions the names of Guanxiu, Lingche, and Qisi as other examples.

(25.) Gong Lin is otherwise unknown.

(26.) Should Lu Zhuya be identified with Lu Duoxun (SS 264.9116–20)? Li Mu's biography is found in SS 263.9105–7. The titles associated with each figure indicate their high rank. According to Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, no. 2303, 940, the term *minister (xiang)* refers to “a title of distinction normally given only to senior officials in a ruler's central administration...a quasi-official reference...to top-echelon officials”; and the *manager of affairs (zhi zhengshi)* to “a supplementary title granted to eminent officials who served as grand councilors (*zaixiang*), regularly participating in deliberation about major government policies in the Administration Chamber (*zhengshi tang*).”

(27.) *Fozu tongji* (T 49.397c).

(28.) *Shimen zhengtong* (XZJ 130.450c11–12).

(29.) For Li Fang's biography, see SS 265.9135–40.

(30.) See *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Etienne Balazs and Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), 319–20; William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Indian Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 745–46.

(31.) On the compilation of the *Taiping guangji* and its significance, see Russell Kirkland, “A World in Balance: Holistic Synthesis in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 23 (1993), 43–70; E. H. Schafer, “*T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*,” in Balazs and Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography*, 341; and William H. Nienhauser, ed., *ibid.*, 744–45.

(32.) On the production of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, see Hanabusa Hideki, “*Bun-en eika* no hensan,” *Tōhō gaku* 19 (1959), 116–35; see also Balazs and Hervouet, *ibid.*, 442–43; William H. Nienhauser, *ibid.*, 897–98. According to Johannes L. Kurz (“The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project” *T'oung Pao* 87 [2001], 290 n 7 [citing Wang Yinglin, *Yuhai* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992): 52.35a–b [407]), a possible model for the *Wenyuan yinghua* may have been the Southern Tang scholar, Zhu Zundu's *Qunshu lizao*.

(33.) As pointed out by Russell Kirkland (“A World in Balance: Holistic Synthesis in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 23 [1993], 43), although the first Song emperor, Taizu, proclaimed Song sovereignty and was concerned with consolidating control over his regime politically and militarily, it was Taizong who presided over the consolidation of reunification. Taizong's compilation projects were the instrument of this consolidation. According to Johannes L. Kurz (“The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project” *T'oung Pao* 87 [2001], 302), one of the aims of Taizong's



literary projects was to consolidate the empire through the incorporation of southern scholarship into the imperial agencies charged with producing the various works. In this way, southern parts of China were geographically included in the empire through the recognition of the scholarly abilities of men from those regions.

(34.) Wen Ying, *Xiangshan yelu*, Baibu congshu jicheng 95, 3.5a (comp. in the *xining* era [1068–77]).

(35.) Helmut Wilhelm, entry on “Hsü Hsüan” in *Sung Biographies*, ed., Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 424–27. Regarding Xu Xuan, see Peter Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 156–57; and Xu Xuan's biography in SS 441.13,044–49.

(36.) Tsukamoto Shungo, “Godai nantō no ōshitsu to bukyō,” *Bukkyō bunka kenkyū* 3 (1953), 81–88.

(37.) At the Song court, Xu Xuan served as Drafter in the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheren*), Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites (*libu shilang*), Assistant Director of the Right of the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu youcheng*), Vice Director of the Ministry of War (*bingbu shilang*), Censor (*yushi*), and Minister of Personnel (*libu shangshu*). According to Helmut Wilhelm (*Sung Biographies*, 425), Xu Xuan intellectually anticipated much of what Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) later represented.

(38.) The *Shuowen jiezi*, by the Han scholar Xu Shen, is the oldest surviving comprehensive dictionary of Chinese characters *Shuowen jiezi*, ed. Xu Xuan, et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983; originally published 1963).

(39.) Peter Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 162; Liu Kai's biography is contained in SS 440.13,023–28.

(40.) Liu Kai, *Hedong xiansheng ji*, Sibu congkan 123, 1.11b; Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 164.

(41.) Liu Kai, fourth letter to Wang Hu, *Hedong xiansheng ji*, Sibu congkan 123, 5.8a–9b, cited in Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 164.

(42.) While serving as prefect of Quanzhou (Guilin), for example, he reportedly had the livers of captured aborigine rebels removed and served raw to his subordinates.; see Jiang Shaoyu, *Shishi leiyuan* (Shanghai: Siku quanshu zhenben, 1981), 1, cited in Ding Chuanjing, *Songren yishi huibian* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshui guan, 1966), 155; Jane C. Djang, *A Companion of Anecdotes of Sung Personalities* (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's, 1989), 176–77.

Another story testifies to his righteous indignation on discovering the designs of a wicked servant who contrived to force his master to surrender the master's unwilling daughter to the servant. When Liu Kai heard this, he requested the

servant bring oil, salt, fruit, wine, and other condiments to his room. When the servant appeared with the goods, Liu Kai confronted him about the wicked designs on his master's daughter. Before the servant could reply, Liu Kai killed him with his dagger, hacked the body to pieces, and cooked it with the supplies the servant had brought. The next day, Liu invited the servant's master and other guests to dinner, where the body of the servant was eaten. Yu Yu, *Tanzhuan* 1, cited in Ding Chuanjing, *Songren yishi huibian*, 154; Djang, *ibid.*, 173–74.

(43.) *Xiangshan yelu* 3.5a–b. This story is cited in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, pt. 1: *Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 76–78, in connection with early Chinese scientific explanations of the phenomenon of luminescence.

(44.) T 50.880b–c.

(45.) *Xiaochu ji* 20.137b. Further detail and elaboration is found in later sources, like the *Fozu tongji* (T 49.402a–c) and *Shishi jigu lue* (T 49.860c–61a). According to the latter (860c17–21), for example, the emperor constructed an eleven-story pagoda at the site of the northwest tower of Kaibao Monastery, with an imperial monastery at its base to inter the relics in.

(46.) The details of Zanning's argument are beyond the current topic, but have been presented elsewhere. See “A Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate Over *Wen* in the Early Sung,” 36–47.

(47.) Karl F. Olsson (“The Structure of Power under the Third Emperor of Sung China: The Shifting Balance after the Peace of Shan-yüan,” PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1974) argues that an important shift in favor of bureaucratic over imperial control occurred during the reign of Zhenzong.

(48.) Li Dao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (Taipei: World Book, 1961): 5.2b–3a.

(49.) John Winthrop Haeger, “The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88.3 (1968), 407. Taizong's determination here is reminiscent of Emperor Wendi of the Sui dynasty, whose relationship with the Tiantai Buddhist master Zhiyi parallels that between Taizong and Zanning.

(50.) Olsson, “The Structure of Power under the Third Emperor of Sung China,” 42. On receiving the copy of the *Taiping yulan*, for example, Taizong declared his intention to read the work within one year (*Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 24.20b; cited in *ibid.*), hence the term *yulan* (imperial read) in the title.

(51.) Olsson, *ibid.*, 12–20.

(52.) As the dynasty progressed, officials advocating *guwen* made significant inroads at the Song court. Allies headed by Fan Zhongyan (989–1052) succeeded in promoting active (*youwei*) governing based on *guwen* policies, and denouncing Buddhist and Daoist sanction of quietistic, nonactive (*wuwei*) governing. They refused to accept Buddhism or Daoism as ethical teachings and strove to reform the examination system to promote those whose ethical behavior and political idealism conformed to *guwen* principles. Shi Jie (1005–45) set out to combat the pernicious effect of Buddhism and Daoism on “true” morality. Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) made *guwen* criteria the pretext for passing the imperial exams when he was appointed director of examinations in 1057. To the extent that the *guwen* agenda gripped official opinion, Buddhism was excluded from positive consideration. (On the points reviewed here, see the relevant sections of Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 148–211.)

(53.) Early Song imperial attitudes toward Buddhism are examined in detail by Chi-chiang Huang, “Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung,” in *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*, ed. Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-chieh Huang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 144–87 (see esp. 166).

(54.) Yang Yi's interests in Buddhism were not exclusive to Chan. See two articles by Yang Tieju, “Yō Oku no bukkyō shinkō,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 42–1 (1993), 279–81; and “Yō Oku to Shimei Chirei,” *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 37–2 (1994), 87–107.

(55.) See Welter, “Zanning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China.”

(56.) See the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (WTJ) (T 48.961a); the phrase occurs in CDL 19 (T 51.356b). The expression “whatever one has contact with is *dao*” is attributed to the Hongzhou faction by Zongmi (*Zengen shosenshū tojo*, ed. Kamata Shigeo, 288).

(57.) This criticism, embedded in a question in the WTJ (T 48.961a), reflects sentiments encountered by Yanshou as represented by hypothetical questions in the WTJ text.

(58.) T 48.958c.

(59.) The *Datang neidian lu* (T 55, no. 2149) was completed in 664, during the Tang dynasty; the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T 55, no. 2154) was completed in the eighteenth year of the *kaiyuan* era (730).

(60.) On the *gaoseng zhuan* classification format, see chapter 2.

(61.) Yang Yi's biography is contained in *Songshi* 305.10079–84. For a discussion of Yang Yi's influence at the Song court, see Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Song China*, 161–62.

(62.) Yang Tieru, “Yō Oku no bukkyō shinkō,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 42–1 (1993), 279–81. Yang Yi is also well known for dissuading the Tiantai monk Zhili (960–1028) from immolating himself to gain rebirth in the Pure Land (see Yang Tieru, “Yō Oku to Shimei Chirei,” *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 37, 2, 87–107).

(63.) Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 14.

(64.) Daoyuan's *Fozu tongcan ji Preface* is found in the collected works of Yang Yi, the *Wuyi xinji* (Literary Collection of Yang Yi) contained in *Siku quanshu zhenben*, vol. 8, *Wuyi xinji* 7:24a–26b. All references here are to the version reproduced in Ishii Shudo, *Sodai zenshushu no kenkyu*, 21a–23a (hereafter abbreviated as Ishii). The English translation was made in consultation with Ishii's Japanese translation on 14.

(65.) T 48.400b28–c1 and 400c21–24. The translation follows that by Jan Yunhua (“Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch’an Buddhism,” *T’oung Pao* Vol. LVIII [1972], 36–37).

(66.) *ibid.*, 34.

(67.) Yang Yi's *Jingde Chuandeng lu Preface* is contained in T 51.196b–97a; Ishii, 21a–23a. For the lines in question see Ishii, 23b5–7; Japanese translation on 10.

(68.) The Chinese name for D<sup>h</sup> iṣṇakara, *randeng*, literally means a burning lamp, an analogy for Chan transmission in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

(69.) Ishii, 22b1–4; 8–9; T 51.196b.

(70.) See Albert Welter, “Mahākāśyapa Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kungan (Kōan) Tradition,” in *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, 75–109.

(71.) Ishii, 22a10–11.

(72.) *Ibid.*, 22a7–8.

(73.) *Ibid.*, 22b5–9; 9.

(74.) As indicated in chapter 1, n 3, this is not meant to suggest that Chan's recognition in the Song was exclusive. Other Buddhist schools and movements likewise received significant official recognition during this period.

(75.) Johannes L. Kurz, “The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project,” *T’oung Pao* 87 (2001), 301–2.

(76.) Ishii, 22b15–17; 9.

(77.) Bol, “This Culture of Ours,” 148–75.

(78.) SS 439.12997. It should be noted, however, that Yang Yi is merely credited with instigating this movement, and is accused of still imitating the literary style of Tang writers. Only with Ouyang Xiu, the introduction contends, was the goal of rein-stituting *guwen* (“classical literature” or “literature of antiquity,” i.e., pre-Tang models) realized.

(79.) SS 305.10079.

(80.) SS 305.10080. In addition to Qian Ruoshui and Yang Yi, the other participants were Chai Chengwu (934–1004), Wu Shu (947–1002), and Song Du (tenth century). Of the eighty fascicles, only twenty are currently extant. See Balazs and Hervouet A Sung Bibliography, 84 (Umehara Kaoru; trans. B. Albertat).

(81.) SS 305.10082.

(82.) Yamauchi Masahiro entry on the *Ts'e-fu yuan-kuei* (*Cefu yuangui*), in Balazs and Hervouet, 320–21 (trans. T. Nakayama and N. Fukui).

(83.) Posts that Yang Yi served in included Political Censor (*yanshi yushi*), Person in Charge of Writing Imperial Edicts and Proclamations (*zhizhigao*), Vice President of the Ministry of Works (*gongbu shilang*), and Han-lin Academician (*hanlin xueshi*).

(84.) SS 305.10083. In addition to the *Chuandeng lu*, Ishii notes that Yang Yi also edited the works of Chan masters like Weijing and the *Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu* (Ishii, 17).

(85.) Ishii, 10; 23b11–12. For the biographies of Li Wei (*jinshi* 985) and Wang Shu (963–1034) see SS 262.9541–42 and 286.9632–36. Li Wei assisted in editing the *Cefu yuangui*. Wang Shu compiled works on a variety of subjects, including the *Zhoushu* (Book of Zhou), the *Zhuangzi*, and *Liezi*.

(86.) Ishii, 10; 23b2–5.

(87.) Ibid., 10; 23b1010.

(88.) Shiina Kōyū, *Sōgenhan zenseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Datō shuppansha, 1993), 174–75, citing Ishii Shūdō, “*Keitoku dentoroku no rekishiteki seikaku* (shita),” in *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin Bukkyō kenkyū kai nenpō* 5 (1971).

(89.) The text of the letter is contained in GDL 18 (ZZ 78.511c5–12a1); it was appended, along with the other material contained in the GDL record of Yang Yi,

to the Yuan edition of the CDL, following fascicle 30. Ruzhou is located in present-day Henan province, Lin'an prefecture.

(90.) ZZ 78.511c7-13; Ishii, 17.

(91.) SS 305.10080.7-8; concerning the biography of Yang Yi, see Fujiyoshi Shinchō "Jōjun to Yōmonkō dan'en," *Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyū jō sōritsu sanjū shūnen kinen ronbun shu* (1981).

(92.) ZZ 78.511c13-20; Ishii, 17-18.

(93.) Guanghui Yuanlian's record is found in GDL 17 (ZZ 78.502a-b); see also CDL 13 (T 51.304a).

(94.) Nanyuan (or Shoushan) Shengnian's record is found in CDL 13 (T 51.304a-305a), GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493c-95a).

(95.) Fengxue Yanzhao's record is found in CDL 13 (T 51.302b-3c), GDL 15 (ZZ 78.488b-93b).

(96.) Nanyuan Huiyong (aka Baoying)'s record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.298b-c), GDL 14 (ZZ 78.485b-87b).

(97.) Xinghua Cunjiang's record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.295b), GDL 12 (ZZ 78.476c-78a).

(98.) Linji Yixuan's record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.290a-91a), GDL 10 and 11 (ZZ 78.464b-74c).

(99.) Huangbo Xiyun's record is found in SGSZ 20 (T 50.842b-c), ZTJ 16 (131.6-37.6), CDL 9 (T 51.266a-c), GDL 8 (ZZ 78.451c-56a).

(100.) Baizhang Huaihai's record is found in SGSZ 10 (T 50.770c-71a), ZTJ 14 (55.4-65.12), CDL 6 (T 51.249b-51b), GDL 8 (ZZ 78.450b-51c) and 9 (456b-64b); see also QTW 446 (4548-49) for his epitaph.

(101.) See, for example, the Yuan edition (issued in 1316), of *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1988), 645-47.

(102.) SS 305.10083.

(103.) Yang Tieju, "YōOku no bukkō shinkō," *Indogaku bukkōgaku kenkyū* 42-1 (1993), 279-81.

(104.) The details of Guanghui Yuanlian's life provided here are taken from the *Lehu yelu* (XZJ 142.493b16-d2).

(105.) Ishii (20) argues that the meeting between Wang Shu and Yuanlian must have occurred sometime after 1020, shortly after the discovery of Zhou Huaizheng's plot to kill Ding Wei, and Zhou Huaizheng's subsequent execution. Wang Shu was implicated because his wife was the daughter of the Grand Councilor Guan Zhun, who was associated with Zhou Huaizheng, and who Zhou Huaizheng petitioned to restore to the office of Grand Councilor. Wang Shu was dismissed and sent to Ruzhou as a result.

(106.) The dialogue, recorded in the *Lehu yelu* (XZJ 142.493c), recounts how Yuanlian went to Wang Shu's district administrative office, observed him at work, and asked him what was the key to his decision making as magistrate. Wang Shu replied that he decided things as they were presented. Yuanlian then asked what he would do if all of a sudden nothing was presented, at which Wang Shu threw his writing brush at Yuanlian.

(107.) *Lehu yelu* (XZJ 142.493c17–18). Guanghui Yuanlian had close ties to other Song literati, as well. In addition to Yang Yi and Wang Shu, Yuanlian received visits from Administrative Secretary (*zhengshu*) Wang Can and Palace Ordinant (*zhongshi*) Xu Lang, and was honored with a poem by Ding Pu. The biography of Guanghui Yuanlian is contained in the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*, fascicle 16 (XZJ 137.506a15–7b3). Yuanlian also has records in GDL 17 (ZZ 78.502a–b) and XCDL 1 (T 51.472b–c), but these contain only *yulu* fragments and no biographical information.

(108.) ZZ 78.511c21–24; Ishii, 18.

(109.) There is also a preface attributed to Yang Yi written for the Chan monastic code attributed to Baizhang Huaihai, *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* (T 48.1157c23–58b6). In the Song, Baizhang was heralded for his contribution to Chan's institutional independence.

(110.) ZZ 78.501b3–4.

(111.) Their “ornate style” was criticized by Zhu Xi as inferior (*Zhuzi yulei* 129.3089–90, translated in Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 29). This criticism is also implicit in comments in the introduction to the collected biographies of literary men from the *Song shi*, where it states that “At the beginning of the dynasty, Yang Yi and Liu Yun were still imitating the tonal rules of Tang writers” (SS 439.12997; translation adapted from Bol, *ibid.*, 150).

(112.) SS 305.10088–89.

(113.) A copy of the epitaph is appended to the end of Yuncong's record in the GDL (ZZ 78.9501a9–b20; see esp. 501b16–17).

(114.) GDL preface (ZZ 78.425c16–24).

(115.) GDL preface (ZZ 78.426a2-7).

(116.) GDL preface (ZZ 78.426a13-18).

(117.) For his record, see GDL 17 (ZZ 78.499a-501c).

(118.) ZZ 78.426b9.

(119.) For Guisheng's record, see GDL 16 (ZZ 78.495b-96b; the slogan appears at 496b2). I have discussed the meaning of the development of this slogan in a different context in "Mahākaśyāpa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the *Kung-an* Tradition."

(120.) For Chuyuan's record, see GDL 18 (ZZ 78.504c-10a; the slogan appears at 504c10). Moreover, the phrase "a special transmission outside the teaching" is specifically tied to Bodhidharma's coming from the west in Chuyuan's *Recorded Sayings*, *Shishuang Chuyuan chanshi yulu* (ZZ 69.81a11-12). The GDL also helped promote Linji-lineage masters to its Song patrons by recording the records of prominent Linji masters' teachings, most for the first time. The most obvious example is the record of Linji Yixuan himself, which is recorded in full for the first time in GDL 10 and 11 (ZZ 78.464b-74c), albeit with contents set forth chronologically different from the standardized format of the *Linji lu*, compiled nearly a century later in 1120.

(121.) ZZ 78.426b10-12.

(122.) ZZ 78.426b-39a.

(123.) ZZ 78.439b-43b.

(124.) ZZ 78.443c-47b; the designation "Tang dynasty patriarchs" is found in the contents (420c2).

(125.) ZZ 78.447c-64a. In addition to a record in fascicle 8 (450b2-51c19), all of fascicle 9 (456b-64a) is devoted to Baizhang Huaihai.

(126.) ZZ 78.464b24-74c.

(127.) On the historical and social background of Chan in Hebei, see Yanagida Seizan, "Tōmatsu godai no kahoku chihō ni okeru zenshū kōki no rekishiteki shakai-teki jijō ni tsuite," *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 25 (1960), 171-86. On Linji's life in Hebei, see Yanagida, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsüan," trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Eastern Buddhist: New Series* 2 (1972), 70-94. Yanagida reconstructs the rule of Wang family military governors in the Hebei region as follows:

Wang Chenzong (r. 809-20)

Wang Tingcou (r. 820-34)



Wang Yuankuei (r. 834–55)

Wang Shaoding (r. 856–57)

Wang Shaoyi (r. 857–66)

(128.) ZJT 19 (98.11–102.7); CDL 12 (T 51.290a–91a); ZJL 98 (T 48.943c8–22).

(129.) GDL 10 and 11 (ZZ 78.464b24–74c21). For a modern edition with Japanese translation and annotation, see Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rinzai roku*; for English translations, see Burton Watson, *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi*, and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture*.

(130.) Linji's heirs are found in GDL 12 and 13 (ZZ 78.468a23–78b).

(131.) These heirs are covered in GDL 14 (ZZ 78.483b21–88b).

(132.) See the CDL 12 contents (T 51.289b and 289c290a) for the records see GDL 12 (T 51.294b–96a and 298b–99b).

(133.) See ZJT 112c. I have been otherwise unable to find any reference to these two figures.

(134.) This information on Shengnian is provided at the outset of his record in CDL 13 (T 51.304a11–13) and GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493c20–22), and at the end of his CDL record (304c.24–26).

(135.) GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493a21–23); the same address, with slightly variant phrasing, is contained in CDL 13 (T 51.304a16–19).

(136.) Tongan Guanzhi (d.u.), a member of the Caodong lineage, inherited the dharma of Tongan Daopi.

(137.) Shoukuo (d.u.) has a record in GDL 14 (ZZ 78.487c18–88b8).

(138.) This information is found at the beginning of Fengxue's record in GDL 15 (ZZ 78.488b22–c23) and CDL 13 (T 51.302b2–5).

(139.) ZZ 78.489c6–14. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles* (no. 7497), the *tongpan* was “a central government official delegated to serve as resident overseer of the work of the Prefect.... ”

(140.) ZJT 112c.

(141.) ZZ 78.490a21–22; the same dialogue is recorded in CDL 13 (T 51.303a5–8).

(142.) ZZ 78.492c14–93a1. I take *dabao* here as being equivalent to *taibao*, which Hucker (*Dictionary of Official Titles* [no. 6195]), claims was “one of the

eminent posts of the central government collectively known as the Three Dukes.”

(143.) ZZ 78.491a5–6.

(144.) It is also raised in ZZ 78.490a12–14.

(145.) See ZZ 78.489b9 and b12.

(146.) ZZ 78.493a22–b14.

(147.) SGCQ 52.777.

(148.) CDL 12 (T 51.298b–c); GDL 14 (ZZ 78.485b–87c); Huiyong's “recorded sayings,” the *Ruzhou Nanyuan chanshi yuyao*, are contained in *Guzunsu yulu* 7.

(149.) GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493b15–c3); there is no record of Yingqiao An in the CDL.

(150.) On Linji's famous use of this term, see T 47.496c10–14; Watson, trans., *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi*, 13 (“Here in this lump of red flesh there is a True Man with no rank...”). Examples of Huiyong striking his students are found at ZZ 78.485b5, b24, c23; 486a3, b2; 487a10, 12–13, 23, and b8. His use of the term for “lump of red flesh” (*chirou tuanshang*) is found at 485b21.

(151.) Sansheng Huiran's record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.294c–95a) and GDL 12 (ZZ 78.475c–76c).

(152.) Weifu Dajue's record is found in CDL 12 (T 51.295a) and GDL 12 (ZZ 78.475a–b).

(153.) ZZ 78.477a6–7.

(154.) Watson, trans., *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi*, 89.

(155.) ZZ 78.477c12–20. Though slightly altered and with considerably less detail, the story is corroborated in CDL 12 (T 51. 295b) and ZTJ 20 (1408–10).

(156.) The story of Emperor Wu of Liang banishing Bodhidharma for rejecting his pious attempts at gaining merit is recounted in the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (see Yampolsky, trans., 155). Versions of the story where Huineng is requested to appear at court are also discussed by Yampolsky (see 31 and 65–66).

(157.) The tomb inscription *Weizhou guchan dade jianggong tabei* (author unknown), contained in QTW 813.10787a–89a, is associated with Xinghua Cunjiang in ZJT 779a.

(158.) See QTW 813.10788b3 for information regarding Xinghua's date of death.

(159.) See QTW 813.10787b13-14, and 10788a5, a9-10.

(160.) The posthumous title, awarded by decree is mentioned in ZTJ 20 (140.1) and CDL 12 (T 51.295b21-22).

(161.) GDL 16 and 17 (ZZ 78.495a24-502c8).

(162.) The granting of purple robes, a symbol of investiture, was a principal means used by the imperial government to recognize the accomplishments of members of the Buddhist clergy. According to Zanning (*Seng shilue* 3; T 54.248c), purple robes were first granted during the reign of Empress Wu as a reward for monks who retranslated the *Dayun jing*, associating Empress Wu with Maitreya.

(163.) GDL 17 and 18 (ZZ 78.503a6-12c17).

(164.) GDL 18 (ZZ 78.512c18-13a19). It should also be noted that although the GDL contents (421c-22a) lists the heirs of Fenzhou Shanzhao, Guyin Yuncong, and Zhenhui Yuanlian under ninth-generation descendants from Huairang, and the heirs of Nanyuan Chuyuan also under the ninth generation, they should be considered as the tenth- and eleventh-generation (in the case of Nanyuan Chuyuan) descendants of Huairang.

(165.) CDL 13 (T 51.305a); GDL 16 (ZZ 78.496b22-99a5).

(166.) XCDL 1 (T 51.469a23-28).

(167.) ZZ 78.499a1-2.

(168.) ZZ 78.496b22-23 interlinear notes, which claim Yang Yi compiled Shanzhao's "Recorded Sayings." Renditions are found in the *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* (T 47-1992.594b-629c; for Yang Yi's preface, see 595a6-b21), and *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* (XZJ 120.83a-60a; for Yang Yi's preface, see 84a-85a). According to the texts recorded here, Shanzhao's *yulu* was compiled not by Yang Yi, but by his student Chuyuan.

(169.) ZJT 690d-91a.

(170.) GDL 17 (ZZ 78.499a12-b17).

(171.) ZZ 78.501b3-4.

(172.) ZZ 78.500c18-20 and 501a8-b20. A version of Yuncong's "Recorded Sayings" is contained in *Shimen shan Cizhao Chanshi Fengyan ji*, recorded in fascicle 9 of the *Guzunsu yulu* (XZJ 118.257a-69a).

(173.) Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 162 (the quote is taken from Xia Song's *jinshi* degree examination of 1007, *Wenzhuang ji* 12.1a).

(174.) SS 283.9571.

(175.) SS 296.9878.

(176.) SS 296.9877–79.

(177.) ZJT 300b.

(178.) ZZ 78.495b6–8.

(179.) ZZ 78.496a23–b3.

(180.) Responses by Yuanlian (ZZ 78.502b4) and Dongchan Shouzhi (503c17–18), respectively.

(181.) GDL 18 (ZZ 78.504c7–10).

(182.) SS 464.13569.

(183.) ZTJ 6 (76.12–13).

(184.) ZTJ 6 (76.14ff.).

(185.) Yunmen's record is contained in CDL 19 (T 51.356b–59a). This serves as a correction to my earlier assertion that the phrase *jiaowai biechuan* did not occur in the *Chuandeng lu*, except in a variant form used by Yang Yi in his preface (see “Mahākaśyāpa's Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Kōan) Tradition,” 84). Subsequent investigation revealed the error.

(186.) T 51.356c20–21.

(187.) GDL 19 and 20 (ZZ 78.513b–23b); CDL 22 and 23 (T 51.384b–91b). The *Guangdeng lu* concurs with the *Chuandeng lu* on Yunmen's importance as a Chan teacher, listing thirty-seven records for Yunmen's students (the *Chuandeng lu* listed sixty-one heirs, fifty-one with records).

(188.) GDL 19 (ZZ 78.516b4) and 20 (522c10, 523b20), respectively.

(189.) GDL 19 (ZZ 78.513b8–10).

(190.) Chan Hing-ho (trad. J. Levi), *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Balazs and Hervouet, 353.

(191.) SS 311.10204.1–2. Shinohara Hisaō, “Ōzui no Gyokuei ji santei ni tsuite—Hokusō shitaifu no zen juyō,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 19 (1961), 97. The group became enmeshed in the factional turmoil that plagued the court as a result of accusations brought by Fan Zhongyan over government

appointments and his quest to make “classical learning” (*guwen*) the basis of civil-service examinations (see Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 166–75).

(192.) SS 311.10202.14–10203.2.

(193.) SS 311.10203.5–7.

(194.) SS 311.10204.4–5.

(195.) T 51.469a.

(196.) T 51.473c3.

(197.) ZZ 78.523c–40c.

(198.) ZZ 78.541a–49a2.

(199.) ZZ 78.549a3–54b7.

(200.) ZZ 78.554b8–74b.

(201.) It should also be noted that while there is an implicit recognition of the five Chan factions (Linji, Yunmen, Caodong, Guiyang, and Fayan) in the arrangement of the *Guangdeng lu*'s contents, nowhere are they explicitly named as such. My reconstruction has reclaimed this implicit arrangement for the sake of convenience.

(202.) The *Guangdeng lu* does not present its contents in a very transparent manner, but through painstaking reconstruction of the contents of fascicles 26 through 30 dealing with the Fayan lineage, I have ascertained the following. Fayan's disciple Lushan [Yi]rou (d.u.) produced six heirs, among whom were Luohan Xinglin (d.u.) and Qixian (Qijian) Chengshi (d.u.). Xinglin produced nine heirs, and Chengshi three, amounting to eighteen of the total of Fayan-lineage masters recorded in the *Guangdeng lu*. The most prolific student of Fayan in terms of numbers of heirs listed in the *Guangdeng lu*, was Qingliang Taiqin (?–974). His disciple, Yunzhu Daoqi (929–97) has twenty disciples attributed to him in the *Guangdeng lu*, three of whom, Lingyin Wensheng (?–ca. 1026), Longhua Wucheng (d.u.), and Ruiyan Yihai (970–1025) produced heirs (five, two, and two, respectively). This accounts for a further twenty-nine of the eighty-five Fayan-lineage masters included in the *Guangdeng lu*. Fayan's disciple Guizong Yi(rou) (d.u.) had six heirs; one of them, Luohan Xinglin (d.u.), had an additional nine heirs (making another fifteen of the total). In addition, Fayan's disciple Baizhang Daochang (Daoheng) (?–991) had three heirs, one of whom, Qixian Chengshi, had an additional three heirs (six total). The rest are spread over various other heirs of Fayan, some of whom I have been unable to attribute.

(203.) In GDL 27, only five of Taintai Deshao's students are mentioned (ZZ 78.558c22–60a17).

(204.) The *Guangdeng lu* acknowledges that representatives of Wuyue Chan accepted the interpretation of Bodhidharma's coming from the west in terms of the accepted Chan slogans of “directly pointing to the human mind” and “see one's nature and become a buddha,” but did not sanction these slogans as indications of “a separate transmission outside the teaching.” See GDL 27 (ZZ 78.9559c23–24) record of Longshan Xingming (d. 1025), where he states, “When the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the west, he [instructed] to ‘directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become a buddha, and did not exert an iota of mental energy....’”

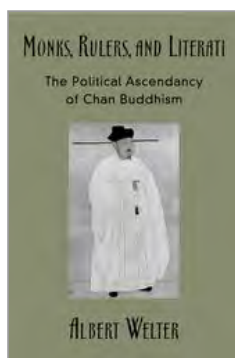
(205.) Yunju Daoqi's record is contained in CDL 26 (T 51.428c).

(206.) CDL 25 (T 51.414c–15b).

(207.) GDL 29 (ZZ 78.566b–70b).

(208.) GDL 29 (ZZ 78.569a19–20).

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## Literati Interpretations of Chan Buddhism in Early Song China

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.003.0007

### Abstract and Keywords

This chapter sums up the key findings of this study on the geographical and historical contexts of the official acceptance of Chan Buddhism in China. The evidence suggests that the presence of Chan monks in Buddhist institutions expanded greatly during the Five Dynasties and early Song Dynasty. This was followed by the organization of various Chan factions and the recognition of the need to understand this in relation to established Buddhist doctrines, practices, and precedents.

**Keywords:** Chan Buddhism, China, religious history, Five Dynasties, religious factions, religious doctrines

In conclusion, I offer a summary of the main argument presented, coupled with some further considerations. The purpose of this volume has been to demonstrate the need for systematic study of Chan *denglu*, the motives that inspired them, the contexts in which they were written, their relation to Chan *yulu*, and so on. While *denglu* are frequently read for the *yulu*-style contents contained in them and the inspirational and spiritual messages that they bear, oftentimes, little regard is given to the factors that led to their compilation, and how these factors affected the contents. To understand this process, I have reversed the priority normally conceded to *yulu*-style materials in *denglu* compilations in favor of the historical detail provided regarding the associations of Chan monks with secular rulers and officials, their appointments to monasteries, and honors granted them. While these links, appointments, and honors were also not immune from creative embellishment,<sup>1</sup> they are likely to

bring us much closer to the historical circumstances that constituted a particular master's success and public reputation. As with any institution, the success and reputation of its members mark an important aspect of the power and prestige it is able to wield.

Based on the historical detail provided, the presence of Chan monks at Buddhist institutions expanded greatly during the Five Dynasties and early Song. With this expansion came the need to organize various Chan factions in a systematic way. This was a need felt both within and without the Buddhist establishment. Within Buddhism, there was a need to understand Chan in relation to established Buddhist doctrines, practices, and precedents; to make **(p.210)** sense of Chan within the Buddhist tradition at large. This enterprise was engaged most effectively by Zongmi, who in the late Tang documented seven different Chan factions, evaluating them in terms of their respective perspectives, and equating them to established doctrinal schools of Buddhism. 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 between them qualitatively in terms of their reputed understanding of an alleged notion of true Chan. As a respected member of the literati, Zongmi's assessment also served the external need of describing Chan to members of the secular establishment. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that Zongmi's assessment of Chan factions was conducted at the specific request of the official Pei Xiu, and Zongmi's findings may also be read as an attempt to sanction Chan's presence to both the secular and Buddhist establishments.

Zongmi naturally sided with his own Heze Chan faction, descended from Huineng through Shenhui, as the truest representative of Chan teaching. The Hongzhou faction, initiated by Mazu Daoyi and represented in Zongmi's day by Huangbo Xiyun, came in a close second. It may be the case that Zongmi was damning Hongzhou Chan with faint praise, acknowledging the faction's burgeoning influence while attempting to circumscribe it at the same time. Contemporary Rinzai Zen orthodoxy in Japan suggests that Zongmi was simply trying to stem an overwhelming tide: the Hongzhou faction had already eclipsed the Heze faction in importance; Zongmi was merely mounting a retaliatory tactic to try and retrieve a doomed presumption of authority.<sup>2</sup> The central story of Chan from this point, according to this orthodoxy, concerns the incontrovertible march of Linji-faction ascendancy. The problem with this interpretation is that it fails to do justice to important intervening chapters in the Chan story, marginalizing important figures and significant developments. In doing so, it privileges the notion of a true Zen spirituality as represented in *yulu*, *yulu*-style materials, and sources derived from these materials such as *gong'an* collections. In versions of Chan and Zen orthodoxy influenced by Rinzai interpretation, these materials have a kind of "trump card" quality, which can always be thrown on the table to legitimize their presumption of authority and dismiss competing



interpretations. Rather than privilege the *yulu*-style materials, I have tried here to subordinate them to the historical-type data provided in *denglu*, as mentioned previously, and to interpret the *yulu* materials in terms of the latter, rather than vice versa. In this regard, it is not so important to understand the internal dynamics of *yulu* dialogues and interactions as to understand the context in which they were uttered, who they were uttered to, and how they fit the motives of the compilation they are recorded in.

Zongmi's approach was not as easily eclipsed as Rinzai orthodoxy might have us believe, and Zongmi's model for the inclusion of disparate Chan groups and the subordination of Chan teaching to Buddhist scriptures remained influential. Following in Zongmi's footsteps, Zanning argued strongly for the inclusion of Chan within the larger Buddhist tradition. Unlike Zongmi, Zanning claimed no formal affiliation with any Chan faction. Nonetheless, it is clear that **(p.211)** the situation of Chan vis-à-vis Buddhism had changed since Zongmi's day. It was no longer necessary to argue for Chan's acceptance internally within the Buddhist establishment; Chan's strength within the Buddhist establishment was more than assured. The question for Zanning was How should Chan be understood within Buddhism? And in this question, he came down heavily on the side that Zongmi had championed previously. This comes as no surprise. On the one hand, Zanning was a Buddhist traditionalist who argued that the entire legacy of Chinese Buddhism, including its vast corpus of writings, be sanctioned as a legitimate Chinese tradition along with Confucianism and Daoism. In effect, he argued that Buddhism should be accepted as a naturalized Chinese tradition, alongside China's indigenous native traditions. While acknowledging Chan's uniqueness, even superiority, within Buddhism, Zanning was highly critical of any suggestion that Chan constituted a separate or independent entity from the Buddhist tradition at large.

Zanning's assertions were forcefully backed up by the leaders of Wuyue Chan, dominated by members of the Fayen faction. Yongming Yanshou emphatically articulated the Wuyue Chan position in the *Zongjing lu*. Even though compiled in the independent regime of Wuyue under the patronage of the local ruling family, the *Zongjing lu* exhibits the encyclopedic tendencies found in early Song compilation projects. The motivation behind such projects was retrospective, perhaps even nostalgic in nature. The desire was to recapture as much of the past as possible before it was lost or faded into oblivion. Yet it was also the case that time could not be made to stand still. The structure of Yanshou's compilation betrayed Chan's new reality, albeit through the eyes of a traditionalist. In Yanshou's rendition, the apprehension of Chan as “universal mind” (*yixin*) served as a pretext to subsume the entire corpus of Buddhist scriptural and doctrinal explanations under the Chan banner. While doctrinal taxonomies relied on by previous scholastic traditions to “divide and conquer” their opponents are lacking, Yanshou implicitly absorbed the notion of a supreme Buddhism that stands above the others. Expressed more in terms of

how Yanshou conceives it, mind becomes a kind of substratum that all Buddhism, regardless of doctrine, teaching, or scriptural preference, is contingent upon. All of Buddhism, regardless of tradition, becomes a species of the mind teaching that Chan expresses. As a result, Chan was understood not as a distinct tradition or even one tradition among many, but as encompassing and absorbing all Buddhist traditions as different species of the revelation of universal mind. In other words, Chan *is* Buddhism, or better, the proper way to understand Buddhism. It has no connection to factional identity or designation as a separate school.

The inspiration to develop *denglu* in multifactional terms also owes much to Zongmi's legacy. While unilineal models had the obvious advantages for providing an unambiguous model for determining orthodoxy, they stifled potential growth by insisting that other lineages lacked credibility. With the rapid growth of Chan and its development into regional movements, already apparent in Zongmi's day, it became beneficial to accommodate different regional manifestations to encourage Chan's growing popularity. The issue (p. 212) became how to facilitate this accommodation while preserving the domain of orthodoxy at the same time. This was the beauty of Zongmi's classification system. The first multilineal *denglu* compilations, the *Zutang ji* and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, applied Zongmi's strategy using lineage, rather than doctrine, as the instrument of accommodation. Forged in the crucible of a new and independent Chan identity, *denglu* were unconcerned about Chan's doctrinal presuppositions. The need to legitimize Chan on doctrinal grounds had evaporated, and leading Chan factions increasingly denied the presumption of doctrinal authority over their interpretations. On the other hand, the need to provide a systematic organization for a burgeoning Chan movement with numerous regional networks had only amplified. The multilineal, root-trunk-branches model had indigenous associations that made it highly suitable for domestic consumption. Unlike the ideologically oriented models based on doctrinal taxonomies, the root-trunk-branches metaphor conjured up associations to clan systems, with lineages and sublineages (branches), all presumed descendants of a line of patriarchs (trunk) traceable to a common ancestor (root). In this way, Chan lineages were conceived as imagined, adoptive bloodlines (Chan factions), descended from a line of patriarchs leading to Huineng, traceable to a common ancestor (Bodhidharma in China, and ultimately to Śākyamuni Buddha in India).

While the *Chuandeng lu* represents the Song consensus view of Chan lineages and their organization, the rediscovery of the *Zutang ji* indicates that this was not simply a concern that emerged with Song reunification. One of the things that the *Zutang ji* helps to put in perspective is the factional motives behind such compilations, particularly in a period when Linji-faction authority was far from assumed. Another thing that the *Zutang ji* demonstrates is the accepted authority granted to Mazu Daoyi in many Chan circles. Zhaoqing Wendeng,

under whose authority the *Zutang ji* was compiled, openly honored Mazu's legacy as the standard-bearer of true Chan in an unambiguous way, even though Wendeng did not claim any affiliation to Mazu's lineage. The favor Wendeng shows toward Mazu lends credibility to the presumption that the missing fascicles of the *Baolin zhuan* were devoted to substantiating Mazu as heir to the Chan legacy. Given this presumption, it makes sense that Wendeng would honor this legacy as an irrefutable component of Chan tradition upon which his own claim to orthodoxy was somehow based.

Another thing the *Zutang ji* demonstrates is the extent and presumption of local authority, especially during the Tang-Song interregnum. In the absence of a unified state, regional authorities assumed many of the responsibilities formerly ceded to representatives of the central government. These included the power to erect Buddhist monasteries and monuments, and to appoint monks to positions of power and prestige. The compilation of the *Zutang ji* was made possible through the support provided to Wendeng and his disciples in a region under Min and, later, Southern Tang authority. A reason often given for the *Zutang ji*'s ultimate eclipse by the *Chuandeng lu* is the lack of comprehensive coverage of Chan by the former as compared to the latter. It is also worth noting that, as a regionally sponsored document, the *Zutang ji* (p.213) represented the very claim to independence that Song authorities sought to obscure and overcome.

Song authorities took an active role in promoting Buddhism as a component of unified state policy. Appeasing Buddhist concerns had advantages for both foreign and domestic policy. Many of the Song's neighboring states were committed to Buddhism. Song promotion of Buddhism fostered diplomatic ties through dedication to common goals. The endorsement of Buddhism had even greater importance for domestic policy. As part of the Song policy to mend a fractured empire and ameliorate the concerns of formerly independent, pro-Buddhist regions, early Song emperors supported new Buddhist translation bureaus and the acquisition of texts from India, sponsored the compilation of Buddhist texts and histories, and the publication of new editions of the Buddhist canon. A definite shift, however, is discernible after the end of the reign of the second Song emperor, Taizong (r. 976–97), and during the reign of the third emperor, Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). The first Song emperors, Taizu and Taizong, wielded immense power and insisted upon control over decision making, personally selecting those for important government appointments. With the reign of Zhenzong, imperial powers were delegated to members of the bureaucracy, and the control of government decision making increasingly fell into their hands. This had a subtle yet profound effect on how Buddhism was appreciated by the Song elite.

Under the umbrella of early Song commitment to literary culture (*wen*) over martial power (*wu*) as the basis of the new regime, Buddhism was largely protected from the criticisms that many literati harbored toward it. The policies

of Taizu and Taizong aimed to establish Song literary culture in terms reminiscent of Tang literary achievements, and to this end Taizu and Taizong sponsored many of the encyclopedic compilations for which the Song became justly famous. In the context of early Song policy, Taizong enlisted the services of the Buddhist scholar Zanning to contribute to Song's culture-building enterprise by compiling works on Buddhist history following the parameters of other Song literary projects. Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Zanning proposed that Buddhism be considered a legitimate component of China's *wen* tradition (i.e., a Chinese tradition as opposed to a foreign tradition). Zanning envisioned a Song empire whose three traditions (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) were all recognized as legitimate participants in the imperial ideology, each of which contributed to the success of the imperial mission. While pro-Buddhist, autocratic, imperial rule prevailed, Zanning's proposal was feasible. Critics of Buddhism among the secular literati were muted by imperial protection and authority. In addition, Zanning's own *wen* credentials were such that he won the praise of would-be detractors who were critical of Buddhism but admiring of Zanning's literary prowess.

Zanning's dream of an empire united under China's three traditions, including Buddhism, died with Taizong. When Zhenzong assumed power and authority shifted to the secular literati, the forces shielding Buddhism deteriorated and it was exposed to blunter criticisms. The new Song literati class represented a broad spectrum of views and opinions on what constituted *wen* (p.214) and how it was properly expressed. One's understanding of *wen* had a strong impact on the role that Buddhism might play in Song culture. Literati who expounded *guwen* (ancient or classical) *mores* demanded Buddhism be excluded as anathema to China's traditional values. The criticism of Buddhism as an alien, non-Chinese tradition that conflicted with values espoused in China's *guwen* (i.e., Confucian) texts, exposed people to malicious superstitions, and undermined China's economic and social well-being, became *de rigueur* for *guwen* proponents. It was out of the question to sanction Buddhism as part of China's *wen* tradition, according to these proponents.

Other Song literati held more liberal views regarding the nature of *wen* and its proper expression. They championed a vision of *wen* that was much more inclusive and need not bar Buddhism from the ranks of true *wen*. In their understanding, *wen* was not restricted to the formal expression found in classical models, but promoted the spontaneous expression of an innately free nature.<sup>3</sup> While this paved the way for Buddhist inclusion in the Song *wen* agenda, it did so on terms that predetermined which representations of Buddhist *wen* would be sanctioned, favoring uniquely Chan expressions. It left little room for the stifling exegetical scholasticism that constituted the bulk of Buddhism's literary legacy. Instead, it paved the way for the advance of a new Buddhist *wen* that radically reinterpreted how Buddhism was understood. The position of authority ceded to Śākyamuni and the celestial buddhas and bodhisattvas was

replaced by Bodhidharma, Huineng, and the Chinese Chan patriarchs. China replaced India as the land of Buddhist exemplars. In collective imagination, stodgy exegetes gave way to dynamic spiritual virtuosos. It was as if the new Chan sage was cast in imagination as a latter-day Zhuangzi. In this vein, one is reminded of the way Linji's "dried shit stick" rebuke to the hapless monk asking about the meaning of the "true man with no rank" can be read as a gloss on Zhuangzi's reply to Master Dongguo about where the Way exists: "It is in the piss and shit!"<sup>4</sup> It is this image of the Chan master as a latter-day Zhuangzi-style sage that Chan *denglu* memorialized.

While bearing marked similarities to the *Zutang ji*, the first two Chan *denglu* compiled under Song authority, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* did most to fix the new image of the Chan master in collective memory. The compelling dramas presented in these records owe much to literary invention and are far from accurate portrayals of the episodes depicted. As a kind of historical fiction, they appeal to the literary imagination in the guise of historical episodes, dramatically retold. They appealed to the new Song literary classes, whose numbers and character had expanded greatly as a result of new innovations in printing technology, which facilitated the reproduction of literary materials and made them accessible as never before.

The new Chan literature was disseminated under imperial approval. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was issued under the reign title, *jingde*, of Emperor Zhenzong. Likewise, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was issued under the reign title, *tiansheng*, of Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–63). This pattern of associating Chan with the imperial cause is evident in the reign titles appearing in other Song *denglu* compilations: the *Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu*, compiled during the (p. 215) *jianzhong xingguo* era (1101) of Huizong; and the *Jiatai Pudeng lu*, compiled during the *jiatai* era (1201–4) of Ningzong. Under the influence of leading literati, the Song sought to distinguish itself from Tang *wen* by exhibiting Song *wen*'s unique character. Under Zhenzong and Renzong, the Song turned away from the mammoth literary projects that defined early commitment to *wen* in favor of a more innovative approach. Song literati played a key role in defining and shaping Chan *denglu* according to this new literary agenda.<sup>5</sup>

Yang Yi, editor in charge of the *Chuandeng lu*, reconceived Daoyuan's original compilation according to the new literary criteria. In the process, he established parameters through which Chan would come to be understood. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when Yang Yi changed the title of the work from *Fozu tongcan ji* (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) to *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp), he in effect created the *denglu* (transmission of the lamp) designation as a standard Chan paradigm. When Yang Yi changed the conception of the work, he introduced to Song literati the new way Chan would come to be understood. Rather than viewing Chan as a common practice shared by the buddhas and

Chan patriarchs—a conception that strongly suggests an inherent compatibility between Chan and the Buddhist tradition at large—Yang Yi championed Chan as a “special practice outside the teaching,” a variant of the phrase “a special transmission outside the teaching,” the designation that serves as a standard-bearer for the new Chan dharma, properly understood. While Daoyuan had conceived his work after the model of Zongmi and viewed Chan as an inclusive teaching where “myriad practices are employed according to the differences among practitioners,” Yang Yi interpreted Chan as a “special practice outside the scriptures,” distinct from the myriad practices and the scriptural teachings they were based on. While Daoyuan sought a multilateral approach to redeem regionally based Chan factions through recourse to the Buddhist doctrine of expedient means (myriad practices employed according to differences), Yang Yi championed a unilateral Chan dharma that reduces all species of Chan to a singular and independent tradition. One cannot help reading the new Song political agenda into this formulation, however conscious it may be. Yang Yi's formulation subjected local Chan traditions, symbolically representing the legacy of regional independence, to the conforming image of Chan as a unified tradition distinct from other schools of Buddhism. In a single stroke, Yang Yi deftly brought a centralizing, uniform blueprint to Chan, and distinguished Chan *denglū* as an innovative literary form, the mark of a uniquely Song expression of *wen*.

Yang Yi's conception of Chan was actualized by Li Zunxu, the compiler of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. Implicit in Yang Yi's conception was a confirmed sense of Chan orthodoxy, a conception obscured by Daoyuan's original intentions for the compilation. It is impossible to determine, aside from the broad parameters mentioned above, where Daoyuan's compilation ends and the influence of Yang Yi's editing takes over. Daoyuan's Wuyue-based Fayen faction championed in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* fell out of favor as years wore on, leaving Daoyuan's compilation and Yang Yi's interpretation of it to dangle (p.216) somewhere in the middle of this process of gradual eclipse. Yang Yi's conception of Chan was taken up in earnest by Li Zunxu, who sought to set the record straight, so to speak, and confirm the true nature of Chan orthodoxy left somewhat in doubt by the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* unabashedly promotes the cause of the Linji faction, whose members emerged as Chan's most influential representatives at the Song court. Li Zunxu expressly compiled the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* to memorialize the legacy of Linji-faction leader Shoushan Shengnian and his disciples for a Song literati audience. A *yulu* text in *denglū* guise, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* confirmed Chan's identification with the new *yulu* literary genre. It also marked a transition in the way Chan was appreciated in the Song. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was still a product of official Buddhism, compiled and edited under imperial authority. While the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* also technically belongs in this category, its *yulu* style depicts the

growing interests of the literati class, and was compiled in accordance with their influence.<sup>6</sup>

In particular, the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* established Linji as a major Chan patriarch and descendant of the powerful progenitor of Hongzhou Chan, Mazu Daoyi. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* contains the oldest-known version of the *Sijia yulu* (Recorded Sayings of Four Houses), a text dedicated to authorizing the Linji interpretation of Chan in terms of the *yulu* of four key masters through whom orthodox transmission was alleged to pass: Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, Huangbo Yixun, and Linji Yixuan. This bolstered the contemporary Linji faction's claim to legitimacy, not only through links to a famed pedigree but also through identification of this pedigree with the genesis of the Chan *yulu* genre. The identification of the Linji faction with the *yulu* genre affirmed Yang Yi's association of Chan with a distinct literary form that helped to distinguish the Song culturally from the Tang. Through the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*, the Linji faction became indisputably connected with the *yulu* literary genre.

Given the evolution of the *Platform sūtra* and the different renditions of the text known to us, it should come as no surprise that Chan *denglu* texts were subjected to a similar process. A look at various fragments from the records of Linji Yixuan, contained in both different *denglu* texts and different versions of the same *denglu* text (in the case of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*), reveals that teachings and episodes attributed to Linji were not transcribed uniformly, but evolved over time. As the contemporary Linji faction acquired more influence, Linji naturally assumed more importance. The gravity of Linji's significance gradually surfaces through the *denglu* texts examined, from an otherwise unremarkable Chan master in the *Zutang ji*, to a figure of looming importance in the *Chuandeng lu*, to a founding patriarch of Chan's most influential lineage in the *Guangdeng lu*. The image of Linji is likewise groomed to meet these requisites. While Linji became the public symbol of the Song Chan movement, the real founders were masters who lived some 150 years after Linji's passing, who sought through their image of Linji validation for their own authority. The Chan masters contemporary with the *denglu* records who claimed affiliation to Linji played the greatest role in shaping Linji's identity in their own image and likeness.

**(p.217)** Finally, I would like to end by returning to the discussion regarding the inclusive, multilineal model evident in Chan *denglu* from this period, and its relationship to claims to Chan's true, orthodox interpretation. The unilineal model of transmission that prevailed throughout Tang Chan transmission records imposed, unilaterally, a “correct” definition of Chan over the entire movement. In doing so, it rendered one faction's interpretation of Chan as dominant, effacing all others. Coupled with the role played by the government in verifying legitimacy when factional disputes occurred, the process of determining Chan orthodoxy was highly politicized. The most well-known case to

demonstrate the political nature of determining Chan orthodoxy is that of Shenhui, whose role in reversing the assumed legitimacy of Shenxiu and the so-called “Northern School” emerged through revelations contained in the heretofore unknown Dunhuang Chan manuscripts. This revelation sensitized Chan scholars to the overtly political nature of Chan, so that they are now beginning to incorporate this convergence of Chan factional interests and political motivation to the study of other periods.

As Chan expanded into regionally distinct movements, the need to provide an organizing structure emerged. The demands of orthodoxy conflicted with Chan's geographical dispersion. Orthodoxy is predicated on the determination of correct (*ortho*) doctrine (*dox*), securing it against fallacious, heterodox views. By nature, orthodoxy has an exclusive aspect, both in the sense of rejecting allegedly inappropriate views, and in the sense of demarcating a particular interpretation as superior. At the beginning of the Song, authorities seemed more interested in incorporating Chan's regional diversity into one overarching framework. At first glance, the root-trunk-branches metaphor, mentioned above, seemed well suited to the task. It acknowledged diversity in a way that also recognizes Chan's shared heritage. Yet, the issue of orthodoxy did not disappear, or even diminish, but reasserted itself in strong, virulent ways. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* reaffirmed the central role of unilineal orthodoxy in Chan transmission by relegating lineages other than those derived through Linji to a decidedly inferior status.

This is not as surprising as it first appears given the nature of centralizing metaphors like root-trunk-branches. The metaphor of the tree, which is essentially what the root-trunk-branches metaphor is, is not at all suited to appropriate the features of dispersed, discontinuous, and distinct traditions. Rather, it reduces distinct traditions to a prescribed set of principles, considering them in terms of their ability to accommodate predetermined norms. The point is that the metaphor of the tree is by no means ideologically innocent, but presumes centrist notions that assign power to those who are best able to define and appropriate them.<sup>7</sup> The model itself is, of course, nothing more than a fiction, a retrospective illusion parading under the guise of a historical tradition. Inherent in any tradition so constructed is a teleological model that presumes the final outcome in favor of those advocating it. But, as Foucault has pointed out, “the successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing [the] rules, to replace those who had used them, to disguise themselves so as to subvert them, invert their meaning, and redirect them against those **(p.218)** who had initially imposed them; controlling this complex mechanism, they will make it function so as to overcome the rulers through their own rules.”<sup>8</sup> Wherever notions of an essentialized past borne of pure principles persist, so will presumptions of legitimation based on the appropriation of this past prevail. In Chan tradition, the appropriation of the past is intricately connected to lineage claims. Most Chan factions are predicated on an obscure so-called



“founder,” promoted to honorific rank to lend legitimacy to the movement. The real founders, in any case, are the second- or third-generation descendants who project their aspirations onto a hypothetical patriarch, a “virtual focus” who exists only in shadow form.<sup>9</sup> And while Chan rhetorically professes itself to be an independent tradition free of the textual and doctrinal parameters of the Buddhist tradition as a whole (“a special transmission outside the teaching”), this very formulation presumes its binary complement, “harmony between Chan and the teaching.” The appropriation of the rhetoric of Chan independence in the cause of promoting “true” Chan is dependent in its formulation on the tradition it allegedly eschews.

The distinctly Chan rhetoric of *denglu*, *yulu*, and *gong’an* is widely understood in terms of its radical, combative nature; anticanonical and subversive. While one may infer, as a hypothetical possibility, that Chan rhetoric was inspired by these qualities in its inception, the formalized representation of Chan rhetoric in texts signifies something of its opposite; rather than subversion and contestation, the official acceptance and promotion of Chan rhetoric in *denglu*, *yulu*, and *gong’an* represent the dynamics of containment and dominance. As Louis Montrose has suggested, “such binary terms as *containment* and *subversion*, *dominance* and *contestation*, [are] in practice always relational and contextual; their configuration, content, and effect are produced in specific and changing conjunctures.”<sup>10</sup> As has been frequently noted, what changed for Chan in the Song was not so much intrinsic to Chan, but to Buddhism in the new Song context. In this regard, my analysis affirms the traditional picture of a receding Buddhist tradition, typified by the diminished role of the Tiantai and Huayan schools in the Song (although I believe that this has been overstated, particularly in the case of Tiantai). What my analysis adds to the picture is a clearer understanding of where and how Chan rhetoric fits into this process.

Chan discourse has been treated as a product of a Tang Chan “golden age,” privileging the spiritual insights of a unique group of Chan virtuosi who forever altered the Chinese Buddhist terrain with their radical reinterpretations of traditional doctrine through performative dialogues and iconoclastic behavior. However Chan discourse was inspired by these masters, my analysis treats the teachings attributed to them as projections or representations, more indebted to those doing the projecting and representing than to the subjects themselves. In this way, I have turned attention toward a new cast of subjects, the compilers of the records upon which our information about Chan is based, and the intellectual, social, and political forces that their own lives are embedded in. In the milieu that these new subjects operated in, radical Chan rhetoric did not represent the forces of subversion and contestation, characteristic (p.219) of a presumed disenfranchisement, but the forces of containment and dominance, characteristic of the new position of power that the Chan establishment represented. Literati officials such as Yang Yi and Li Zunxu facilitated Chan's rise by casting its rhetoric as an example of a free and spontaneous *wen* that

represented a unique expression of a distinctly Song culture. Additionally, the new Chan rhetoric played an important role in distancing Song Chan from Tang Buddhism. To appeal to the new Song Confucian literati classes, Chan staked out a new identity that insulated it from the perceived complicity of Buddhism in the failure of the Tang. To serve this end, Chan represented itself as anticanonical and antiritualistic, iconoclastic and independent of the tradition that preceded it. (p.220)

Notes:

(1.) As noted previously, CDL 14 (T 51.313c1-3) emphasizes the connection between Longtan Chongxin and Li Ao, while, according to Timothy Barret (*Li Ao*, 49), it is unlikely that Chongxin and Li Ao ever met; the conversations recorded between them in the CDL “look very like an invention of the second half of the tenth century.” If so, this is a fiction that transcended Chan and infiltrated other Buddhist sources; the SGSZ 10 (T 50.770a) claims Longtan Chongxin's rise to prominence as a Chan master was due to Li Ao's patronage.

(2.) A position articulated by Yanagida Seizan; see, for example, “Kaisetsu,” in Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., *Denshin hōyō, enryō roku* (Zen no goroku 8), 155–57.

(3.) While full enumeration of the Song literati supporters of Chan is impossible, the *Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu* (Record of the Dharma Treasure compiled in the Dazhong xiangfu era) and *Jingyou xinxiu Fabao lu* (Reedited Record of the Dharma Treasury compiled in the Jingyou era) mention the names of fifteen literati of the period who supported Chan: Zhang Ji, Tang Yue, Yang Li, Zhu Ang, Liu Zhouhan, Zhao Anren, Chao Hui, Yang Yi, Ding Wei, Li Wei, Wang Qinro, Xia Song, Wang Shu, Lu Yijian, and Song Shou (Zheng Suwen, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 47–1 [1998], 24). Zheng also notes the presence of additional literati among the editors and compilers of early Song Chan *yulu* and *denglu*, Li Zunxu, Liu Yun, Hui Gongliang, Fu Bi, and so on.

(4.) Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 241.

(5.) I do not mean to suggest that the change in Song imperial policy toward Buddhism was unilateral. What I have described here may best be viewed as tendencies in policy, rather than exclusive approaches. Policies toward Buddhism, in other words, can be best described as vacillating between parameters, rather than shifting from one pole to the other. A broad range of possibilities continued to exist within these parameters, even when pronounced tendencies did emerge.

(6.) Following Yanagida Seizan (“Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūzō,” 730a–b), who characterizes the shift from *denglu* to *yulu* in terms of a change from official Buddhism to gentry Buddhism.

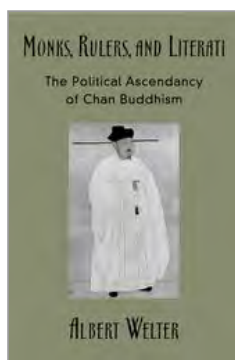
(7.) I am indebted here to the discussion in Ien Ang's essay, "Can One Say No to Chineseness: Pushing the Limits of the Diasporic Paradigm," in Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 37–51. While Ang discusses the tree metaphor in quite a different context, in terms of its impact on diasporic identity and postmodern ethnicity, the point is also applicable in the present context.

(8.) Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 151, as cited in Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/ Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 18–19.

(9.) Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25–3 (1986), 197, citing Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 5.

(10.) Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing*, 11.

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## (p.221) Abbreviations

CDL

*Jingde Chuandeng lu*

CFJ

*Chuan Fabao ji*

GDL

*Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*

JTS

*Jiu Tangshu*

JWDS

*Jiu Wudai shi*

KK

*Kokuyaku issai kyō*

LFJ

*Lidai Fabao ji*

LSJ

*Lengqie shizi ji*

P

*Pelliot* (Collection of Dunhuang manuscripts)

QTW

*Quan Tangwen*

S

*Stein* (Collection of Dunhuang manuscripts)

SGCQ

*Shiguo Chunqiu*

SGSZ

*Song Gaoseng zhuan*

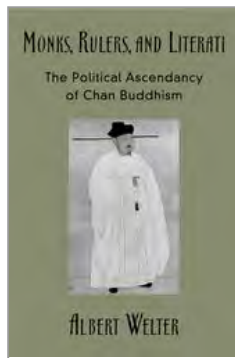
SS

*Song shi*

T  
*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*  
WDHY  
*Wudai Huiyao*  
XCDL  
*Xu Chuandeng lu*  
XGSZ  
*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*  
XTS  
*Xin Tangshu*  
XWDS  
*Xin Wudai shi*  
XZJ  
*Xu Zangjing* (Taiwan reprint of ZZ)  
ZBK  
*Zen bunka kenkyūjō*  
ZJT  
*Zengaku daijiten*  
ZTJ  
*Zutang ji*  
ZZ  
*Dainihon zokuzōjyō*

**(p.222)**

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

Albert Welter

Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

## (p.277) Character Glossary

An (Master)

安

An Lushan

安祿山

Ānanda

阿難

Angong dashi

安公大師

Anguo

安國

Anguo Hongtao

安國弘綽

Anhui

安徽

Aśvaghosa

馬鳴

Ayuwang

阿育王

Ayuwang shan

阿育王山

*ba (hegemon)*

霸

Bai (or Bo) Juyi

白居易

*Bai (or Bo)shi changqingji*

白氏長慶集

Bailian si

白蓮寺

Baisha

白砂

Baizhang Daochang

百丈道常

*Baizhang guanglu*

百丈廣錄

Baizhang Huaihai

百丈懷海

Baizhao Zhiyuan

白兆志圓

Baoan (Mount)

寶安山

Baoci Guangyun

報慈光雲

Baoci Wensui

報慈文遂

Baoci Zangyu

報慈藏與

Bao'en Chan (Cloister)

報恩禪院

Bao'en Guangyi

報恩光逸

Bao'en Huaiyue

報恩懷岳

Bao'en Huiming

報恩慧明

Bao'en si

報恩寺

Baofeng Yanmao

寶峰延茂

Baofu

保福

Baofu Congzhan

保福從展

Baojue

寶覺

*Baolin zhuan*

寶林傳

Baoqu (Cloister)

報勸院

Baoshou (Monastery)

保壽寺

Baoshou Zhao

寶壽沼

Baota Shaoyan

寶塔紹巖

Baotang

保唐

Baoying

寶應

Baoying Huiyong

寶應慧願

Baozhi

寶誌

Basiasita

婆舍斯多

*bazhu* (ruler)

霸主

Bei Han

北漢

*beizong*

北宗

Benjing

本淨

*benyuan* (origin)

本源

Bharabha

婆羅婆

Biancai

辯才

*bieli chanju*

別立禪居

*bielu*

別錄

*biguan*

壁觀

*bingbu shilang* (Ministry of War)

兵部侍郎

*blingshi* (rice-cake chef)

餅師

*blingshu*

丙戌

Bingzhou

并州

**(p.278)** *Biyan lu*

碧巖錄

*bodhi*

菩提



Bodhidharma

菩提達摩

*bu shang wenzi*

不尚文字

Budai (Monk)

布袋

Buddhabhadra

佛駄跋陀羅

Buddhamitra

伏駄密多

Buddhanandi

佛陀難提

*bujian jiedi*

不踐階牴

*bujing zhi wu*

不淨之物

*buli wenzi*

不立文字

*bushi yuyan*

不事語言

Caodong (Jpn. Sôtō)

曹洞

Caoqi (Guangdong 廣東)

曹溪

Caoqi dashi biechuan (Jpn. Sōkei daishi betsuden)

曹溪大師別傳

Caoshan Benji

曹山本寂

Caoshan Huixia

曹山慧霞

Caotang

草堂

*Cefu yuangui*

冊府元龜

Cha Dao (Prefect)

查道

Chai Chengwu

柴成務

Chaizi (Mount)

柴紫山

Chan (Zen)

禪

*Chanding*

禪定

*chanfa*

禪法

Chang (Mount)

常山

*chang ding*

常定

Chang'an

長安

*changdao*

唱導

Changle (Fuzhou 福州)

常樂

Changsha (Tanzhou 潭州)

潭州) 長沙

Changsha Jingcen

長沙景岑

Changshou Faqi

長壽法齊

Changzhao

常照

*Chanlin sengbao zhuan*

禪林僧寶傳

*chanmen dazhe*

禪門達者

*channa*

禪那

*Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*

禪源諸詮集都序

Chanzao

禪慥

*chanzong*

禪宗

*chaojue dashi*

超覺大師

Chaoming (cloister)

朝明院

Chaoshan Yanzong

潮山延宗

Chaozhou

潮州

Chen

陳

Chen Chuzhang

陳楚璋

Chen Shouzhong

陳守中

Chen Xu

陳誦

Chen Yan

陳巖

Chen Yanxiao

陳延效(alt. 交+力)

Chen Zunsu

陳尊宿

*chengde jun* (Army Commander)

成德軍

Chengdong

城東

Chengjun

城郡

*chengling*

澄靈

Chengtian (cloister)

承天院

*chengxu* (Pure Vacuity)

澄虛

Chengyuan

承遠

*chirou tuanshang*

赤肉團上

*Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*

[束+力]修百丈清規

Chizhou

池州

*Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan heshang yu*

池州南泉普願和尚語

Chongshou (cloister)

崇壽院

*chongzhen*

崇禎

Chu

楚

chuan changuan fa

傳禪觀法

*Chuan fabao*

傳法寶

*Chuan fabao*

傳法寶紀

*Chuandeng lu*

傳燈錄

*Chuandeng yuying ji*

傳燈玉英集

*Chuanfa zhengzong ji*

傳法正宗記

*chuanxin*

傳心

*Chuanxin fayao*

傳心法要

*chuanxinyin*

傳心印

Chuji

處寂

*chunhua*

淳化

chuqing

觸情

*Chuyao jing*

出曜經

Chuzhou

處州

*cihua dinghui chanshi*

慈化定慧禪師

Cilang

辭朗

*cishi* (prefect)

刺史

Ciyun (Mount)

慈雲山

Cizhao

慈照

*cizhao chanshi*

慈照禪師

Congzhan

從展

Cui Riyong

崔日用

Cuiwei Wuxue

翠微無學

Cuiyan Lingcan

翠巖令參

*da chanshi*

大禪師

*da fayan chanshi*

大法眼禪師

*Da Fayan Wenyi chanshi yu*

大法眼文益禪師語

*da fayan zang*

大法眼藏

Da Qi (Southern Tang)

大齊

Da'an guo (monastery)

大安國寺

**(p.279)** *dabao (taibao; grand guardian)*

大(太)保

Dade

大德

*dade*

大德

*dade songfa*

大德崇法

Dadian

大顛

Dadian Baotong

大顛宝通

*dafeng*

大風

Daguan Zhiyun

達觀智筠

Daguang Zhuhui

大光居誨

*Dahan shaozhou yunmenshan dajue chansi dacyun dashi beiming*

大漢韶州雲門山大覺禪寺大慈雲大師碑銘

Dahui Zonggao

大慧宗杲

*Dainihon zokuzōkyō*

大日本統藏經

*daizhong xiangfu*

大中祥符

*Daizōkyō to zenroku no nyuzō*

大藏經と禪録の入蔵

Daizong

代宗

*dajue chanshi*

大覺禪師

*dali*

大曆

Damei

大梅

*daming chanshi*

大明禪師

*Damo lun*

達摩論

*Damoduoluo Chanjing*

達摩多羅禪經

Dangyang

當陽

Danqiu

丹丘

Danxia

丹霞

Danxia Tianran

丹霞天然

Danyuan

耽源

Danyuan Zhenying

耽源真應

*dao*

道

Daoci (Mount)

到次山

*daode*

道德

Daofeng Huiju

道峰慧炬

Daofu

道怱

Daojin

道進

Daojun

道俊

*daoli*

道理

Daoming

道明

Daoqian

道虔

*daoshi*

導師

Daosu chouda wenji

道俗酬答文集

Daowu Yuanzhi

道悟圓智

Daoxin

道信

Daoxuan

道宣

Daoxuan

道璿

Daoyi

道一

Daoying

道膺

Daoyuan

道原

Dapu Xuanton

大普玄通

Darong

大榮

Dashi Fulin

大石福琳

*dashun*

大順

*Dasong seng shilue*

大宋僧史略

*Datang neidian lu*

大唐內典錄

*Datang Shaozhou Shuifeng shan Caoqi Baolin zhuan*

大唐韶州雙峰山曹溪寶林傳

Datong

大同

Datong

大通

Datong chanshi

大通禪師

*dawang*

大王

*Dawang qing Shi yu Xuansha runei lun foxinyin lu*

大王請師與玄沙入內論佛心印錄

*dawu*

大悟

*daxiao chanshi*

大曉禪師

Dayi

大義

Dayu

大愚

Dayu ling

大庾嶺

*Dayun jing*

大雲經

Dayun si

大雲寺

*Dazhao chanshi taming*

大照禪師塔銘

*Dazhi chanshi beiming bingxu*

大智禪師碑銘并序

*dazhizang dadaoshi*

大智藏大導師

*dazhong*

大中

Dazhong (monastery)

大中寺

*Dazhong xiangfu Fabao lu*

大中祥符法寶錄

Dazhu Huihai

大珠慧海

*dazong xiangfu*

大中祥符

*de*

德

*deli*

得力

*denglu*

燈錄

Deshan

德山

Deshan Xuanjian

德山宣鑑

Dezong

德宗

Dhrtaka

提多迦

Dicang (monastery)

地藏寺

Ding Pu

丁普

*Ding shifei lun*

定是非論



Ding Wei

丁謂

Dingzhen

定真

*dōgo*

道悟

Dong Xieman

東謝蠻

Dongchan (monastery)

東禪寺

Dongchan Shouzhi

東禪守芝

Dongjing

東京

*dongnian*

動念

**(p.280)** Dongshan

東山

*dongshan famen*

東山法門

Dongshan Liangjie

洞山良价

Dongsi Heshang

東寺和尚

Dongyan Kexiu

洞巖可休

Du Fei

杜朮

Du Hongjian

杜鴻漸

*dudu*

都督

Dugu Pei

獨孤沛

*Dujing*

讀經

Dumen si (monastery)

度門寺

Dunhuang

敦煌

*dunming*

頓明

*dunwu*

頓悟

*Dunwu yaomen*

頓悟要門

Ehu Dayi

鵝湖大義

Ehu Zhifu

鵝湖智孚

Eisai (Yosai)

榮西

*Erru sixing lun*

二入四行論

Ezhou

鄂州

*fa*

法

*fa puti xin*

發菩提心

Fa'an

法安

*fabao*

法寶

Fachi

法持

Fada

法達

Fahai

法海

*Fahua xuanyi*

法華玄義

*Faji yaosong jing*

法集要頌經

*Fajie guanmen*

法界觀門

Fajing

法淨

*famen*

法門

*faming*

發明

Fan Zhongyan

范仲淹

*fangbian*

方便

*Fangji*

方伎

Fangming

方明

*fannao*

煩惱

Fanxing

梵行

Fanyang

范陽

Fanyun

梵雲

Faqin

法欽

Farong

法融

Faru

法如

*fati*

法體

Fayan

法眼

Fayan Wenyi

法眼文益

*fayin dashi*

法因大師

Fazang

法藏

Fazhao

法照

Fazhen

法真

Fenggan

豐干

*fengjian*

封建

Fengxue

風穴

Fengxue (Mount)

風穴山

Fengxue Yanzhao

風穴延沼

Fengyang

豐陽

Fengzhou

豐州

*Fengzhou Yaoshan gu Weiyan dashi beiming*

豐州藥山故惟儼大師碑銘并序

Fenyang Shanzhao

汾陽善昭

*Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu*

汾陽善昭禪師語錄

*Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu*

汾陽無德禪師語錄

Fenzhou

汾州

*Fenzhou Dada Wuye guoshi yu*

汾州大德無業國師語

Fenzhou Wuye

汾州無業

*fo jing*

佛經

*fo yulu*

佛語錄

*fodao*

佛道

*foli*

佛理

Fori Heshang

佛日和尚

Former Shu

前蜀

*Foshi Huizheng bieji xu*

佛氏彙征別集序

*foshuo*

佛說

*foxinyin*

佛心印

*foyi*

佛衣

*foyu*

佛語

*Fozu tongcan ji*

佛祖同參集

*Fozu tongji*

佛祖統紀

*fu*

福

Fu dashi

傅大士

*Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan*

付法藏因緣傳

Fu Xi

傅翕

Fujian

福建

*Fujiao bian*

輔教編

Fuqing Xuan'na

福清玄訥

Furong (Mount)

芙蓉山

Furu

法如

Fuxian Renjian

福先仁儉

Fuyang Zimeng

富陽子蒙

Fuzhou

福州

*ganfu*

乾符

*ganjing*

干淨

*ganshijue*

乾屎橛

*gantong* (Miracle Workers)

感通

Ganzhe (island)

甘蔗洲

Gaoan

高安

**(p.281)** Gaoan Dayu

高安大愚

*gaoseng*

高僧

*gaoseng zhuan*

高僧傳

Gaozong

高宗

Gaozu

高祖

Gayaśata

伽邪舍多

Gong Lin

龔霖

*gongan* (kōan)

公案

*gongbu shilang*

工部侍郎

*Gongzhou fuzhi*

功州府志

*Goroku no rekishi*

語録の歴史

*Gu Zuoqi dashi bei*

故左溪大師碑

*guan*

觀

Guan Zhun

寇準

*guancha shi* (Surveillance Commissioner)

觀察使

Guanding

灌頂

*Guang*

廣

*Guangdeng lu*

廣燈錄

Guangdong

廣東

*guanghua*

光化

Guanghui (temple)

廣慧

Guanghui Yuanlian

廣慧元璉

Guangjiao (monastery)

廣教寺

Guangjiao Guisheng

廣教歸省

*guanglu*

廣錄

Guangmu Xingxiu

光睦行修

*guangnan*

廣南

*guangqi*

光啓

*guangtai chanyuan*

光泰禪院

*guangwen dashi*

光文大師

*guangyu*

廣語

Guangzhai si

光宅寺

Guangzhou

廣州

*Guangzhu*

廣主

*guanliao*

官僚

Guanqi Zhixian

灌溪志閑

*guanxin*

觀心

Guanxiu

貫休

Guanzhi

觀志

*gui*

歸

Guifeng Zongmi

圭峰宗密

Guishan (Zongmi)

圭山

Guishan Lingyu

為山靈祐

Guisheng

歸省

Guiyang

為仰

Guizong

歸宗

Guizong Yi (rou)

歸宗義(柔)

Gunabhadra

求那跋陀羅

*guodaoshi*

國導師

*guoshi*

國師

Guoyi

國一

Gushan

鼓山

Gushan Shenyao

鼓山神晏

*guwen*

古文

Guyin (Mount)

谷隱山

Guyin Yuncong

谷隱蘊聰

Guyin Zhijing

谷隱智靜

*Guzunsu yulu*

古尊宿語錄

Haein-sa

海印寺

Haiyan (Yanguan)

海鹽(鹽官)

Haklenayaśas

鶴勒那

Han

漢

Han Yu

韓愈

Hanazono University

花園大學

*Handian*

漢殿

Hangta (monastery)

杭塔寺

Hangzhou

杭州

Hanlin

翰林

*hanlin xueshi*

翰林學士

Hanshan

寒山

Haorui

皓端

Hebei

河北



*Hedong xiansheng ji*

河東先生集

Helin Masu

鶴林馬素

Helin Xuansu

鶴林玄素

Henan

河南

*Hengshan zhongyuan dalushih taming*

衡山中院大律師塔銘

Hengyue (monastery)

衡嶽寺

Heshan Wuyin

禾山無殷

Heyu Kuanghui

荷玉匡慧

Heze

荷澤

Heze Chan

荷沢禅

Heze Shenhui

荷澤神會

Hongren

弘忍

Hongzheng

宏正

Hongzhou

洪州

Hongzhou Chan

洪州禅

Hou Sushan

後疎山

Hou Zhuyu

後主煜

Hu Shi (Shih)

胡適

Huading

華頂

Huadu Shiyu

化度師郁

Huaihai

懷海

Huairang

懷讓

Huaizhi

懷志

Huang Chao

黃巢

Huang Shaopo

黃紹顥

Huangbo (Mount)

黃檗山

**(p.282)** Huangbo Xiyun

黃蘗希運

Huanglong Huiji

黃龍晦機

Huanglong Huinan

黃龍慧南

Huatai

滑台

Huating

華亭

Huating Decheng

華亭德誠

Huayan

華嚴

Huayan (monastery)

華嚴寺

*Huayan jing*

華嚴經

Huayan Xiuqing

華嚴休靜

*huayin*

華音

Hubei

湖北

*hufa*

護法

Hui Dilin

惠帝麟

Huian

慧安

huichang

會昌

Huifang

慧方

Huifu

惠福

Huihong

慧洪

Huijiao

慧皎

huijue dashi

慧覺大師

Huike

慧可

Huiming (Daoming)

慧命

Huineng

慧能

Huiran

慧然

Huiri si

慧日寺

Huiri Zhida

惠日智達

Huisi

慧思

Huiwen

慧文

Huiyong

慧顒

Huiyuan

慧遠

Huizang

惠藏

Huizhao (Xishan)

慧昭 (西山)

Huizhao

慧昭

Huizhao (Lumen)

惠昭 (鹿門)

Huizhao

惠昭

*huizhao dashi*

慧照大師

Huizheng

彙征

Huizhong

慧忠

Huizong

徽宗

Hunan

湖南

Imje

臨濟

Iriya Yoshitaka

入矢義高

Ishii Shūdō

石井修道

Jayata

闍夜多

Jenwang Chuping

仁王處評

*ji* (belles-lettres)

集

*ji xin ji fo*

即心即佛

*ji xin shi fo*

即心是佛

*jia*

家

*jian foxing*

見佛性

Jiangdu (Yangzhou)

江都(揚州)

Jianggong

漿公

Jiangling (Jingzhou)

江陵(荊州)

Jiangning

江寧

Jiangsu

江蘇

Jiangu

堅固

Jiangxi

江西

*Jiangxi Daji Daoyi Chanshi yu*

江西大寂道一禪師語

Jianmen

劍門

Jiannan

劍南

*jiantan* (ordination supervisor)

監壇

*jianxing*

見性

*jianxing chengfo*

見性成佛

*jianzhong*

建中

*Jianzhong jingguo Xudeng lu*

建中靖國續燈錄

Jianzhou

劍州

*jiao*

教

*jiaohua*

教化

*jiaokan*

校勘

*jiaolun*

教論

*jiaowai biechuan*

教外別傳

*jiaowai biexing*

教外別行

Jiashan

夾山

Jiashan Shanhui

夾山善會

*Jiatai pudeng lu*

嘉泰普燈錄

Jiaxing (Zhejiang)

嘉興 (浙江)

*jiedu shi* (Military Commissioner)

節度使

*Jijing*

寂靜

Jin

津

Jinfeng Congzhi

金峰從志

Jing

靜

*jing* (classics)

經

*jing* (reflection)

鏡

Jing Zongxi

景宗曦

Jing'an

淨安

*jingde*

景德

*Jingde Chuandeng lu*

景德傳燈錄

Jingde Zhiyun

淨德智筠

*jingdeng fodi*

徑登佛地

*jingguang zhi ta*

淨光之塔

Jingguo Dachang gongzhu

荊國大長公主

jinghui chanshi

淨慧禪師

Jingju Xingsi

靖居行思

Jingjue

淨覺

Jingnan

荊南

Jingqing

鏡清

Jingqing Daofu

鏡清道忞

**(p.283)** Jingqing Shunde

鏡清順德

Jingshan (Chan Master)

徑山

Jingshan Daoqin

徑山道欽 (Fa'in 法欽)

*jingshi*

經師

Jingxian

敬賢

*jingxin*

淨心

*jingxiu*

淨修

*jingxiu chanshi*

淨修禪師

Jingzhong (monastery)

淨眾寺

Jingzhou

荊州

*Jingzhou Chengdong Tianhuang si Daowu Chanshi bei*

荊州城東天皇寺道悟禪師碑

Jinhua Shanhui

金華善慧

Jinling

金陵

Jinshan

進山

*jinshi*

進士

*Jinshi xubian*

金石續編

*Jiu Tangshu*

舊唐書

*Jiu Wudai shi*

舊五代史

Jiufeng Daoqian

九峰道虔

*jiulu*

舊錄

Jiuming si

九明寺

Ji Yun Lingzhao

齊雲靈照

Jizhou

吉州

*jue* (sanction)

訣

Jueduo

崛多

Juefan Huihong

覺範慧洪

*jun*

君

*junshi*

郡使

*Junshou*

郡守

*junxian*

郡縣

*kaibao*

開寶

Kaibao (monastery)

開寶寺

*kaiping*

開平

*kaiyuan*

開元

*Kaiyuan shijiao lu*

開元釈教錄

*kaiyun*

開運

Kamata Shigeo

鎌田茂雄

Kanadeva

迦那提婆

Kang Zongchang

康宗昶

Kapimāla

迦毘摩羅

Kāśyapa (Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉)

迦葉

Kinugawa Kenji

衣川賢次

Kōan

公案

*Kokuyaku issai kyō*

國訳一切経

Komazawa University

駒澤大學

Konāgamana

拘那含

Kondanna

拘留孫

*kong* (emptiness)

空

Kongwang si

空王寺

Kongwang si (monastery)

空王寺

*kongzong*

空宗

*Kōzen gokoku ron*

興禅護国論



*kuangji dashi*

廣濟大師

*kuangzhen dashi*

匡真大師

Kumarajiva (Jiumo luoshi)

鳩摩羅什

Kumārata

鳩摩羅多

Laizhou

萊州

Lao (Hui) An

老(慧)安

Laozi

老子

Latter Han

後漢

Latter Jin

後晉

Latter Liang

後梁

Latter Shu

後蜀

Latter Tang

後唐

Latter Zhou

後周

Le'an

樂安

*Lebang wenlei*

樂邦文類

Lei Yue

雷岳

Leiyin juehai dadaoshi

雷音覺海大導師

*Lengqie renfa zhi*

楞伽人法志

*Lengqie shizi ji*

楞伽師資記

Letan Kuangwu

潞潭匡悟

Li

李

*li* (principle)

理

Li Ao

李翱

Li Fan

李範

Li Fang

李昉

Li Hua

李華

Li Jianxun

李建勳

Li Jing

李璟

Li Longji

李隆基

Li Mi

李泌

Li Mu

李穆

Li Sheng

李昇

Li Shijun

李史君

Li Wei

李維

Li Xun

李訓

Li Yong

李邕

Li Yu

李煜

Li Zunxu

李遵勗

*Liandeng huiyao*

聯燈會要

Liang

梁

Liang (Master)

諒公

Liao Yanruo

寥彥若

*Liaokong dazhi changzhao chanshi*

了空大智常照禪師

*liaowu chanshi*

了悟禪師

*libu shangshu*

吏部尚書

**(p.284)** *libu shilang*

禮部侍郎

*Lidai fabao ji*

歷代法寶記

*liezhuan*

列傳

Liezi

列子

*lin*

林

Lin (Palace Attendant)

璘供奉

Lin'an

臨安

Lin'an (prefecture)

臨安縣

Linchuan

臨川

*Ling*

令

Lingche

靈徹

*Lingfu*

靈府

Lingshu Rumin

靈樹如敏

Lingtao

令韜

Lingxun

靈訓

Lingyin (monastery)

靈隱寺

Lingyin (Mount)

靈隱山

Lingyin Wensheng

靈隱文勝

Lingyu see Guishan Lingyu

Lingyun

靈雲

*lingzhi*

靈智

*linhuo* (phosphorescent glow)

麟火

Linji (Rinzai)

臨濟

*Linji lu*

臨濟錄

Linji Yixuan

臨濟義玄

*Linjian lu*

林間錄

Liu

劉

Liu Chang

劉鋹

Liu Congxiao

留從(交+力)

Liu Fen

劉(王+分)

Liu Kai

柳開

Liu Sheng

劉(日+成)

Liu Yan

劉(龍+天)

Liu Yin

劉隱

Liu Yun

劉筠

Liu Zhubu

劉主簿

Liu Zongyuan

柳宗元

*liuzu tanjing*

六祖壇經

*Lizhou Yaoshan Weiyan heshang yu*

禮州藥山惟儼和尚語

Lofu (Mount)

羅浮山

Lohan Guichen

羅漢桂

Long Xi

龍溪

Long Zhizang

隆知藏

Longce (monastery)

龍冊寺

Longguang

龍光

Longguang Yinwei

龍光隱微

Longgui

龍歸

Longhua (monastery)

龍華寺

Longhua Wucheng

龍華悟乘

Longhui Congsheng

龍回從盛

Longji Shaoxiu

龍濟紹修

Longquan

龍泉

Longshan Xingming

龍山行明

Longshou Shaoxiang

隆壽紹鄉

*Longshu jingtu wen*

龍舒淨土文

Longtan

龍潭

Longtan Chongxin

龍潭崇信

Longtan Ruxin

龍潭如新

Longya (Mount)

龍牙山

Longya Judao

龍牙居道

Longya Zhudun

龍牙居遁

*lu*

錄

Lu (Mount)

廬山

Lu Duoxun

廬多遜

Lu Yi

廬弈

Lu Zhengquan

廬正權

Lu Zhuya

廬朱崖

*luchanshi*

律禪師

Luling

廬陵

Lumen

鹿門

Lumen Chuzhen

鹿門處真

*Lunyu*

論語

Luohan Xinglin

羅漢行林

*Luohu yelu*

羅湖野錄

*Luojing Heze Shenhui dashi yu*

洛京荷澤神會大師語

Luopu Yuanan

落(or 洛)浦元安

Luoshan Daoxian

羅山道閑

Luoyang

洛陽

Lushan

廬山

Lushan Yirou

廬山義柔

*luzong*

律宗

Ma Fang

馬防

Madhyāntika

末田地

Magu

麻谷

Mahākāśyapa

摩訶迦葉

Manothita

摩拏羅

Mao (Mount)

鄧山

Mazu Daoyi

馬祖道一

*men* (gate)

門

*menting*

門庭

Mi (Chan master)

謐禪師

Miaode

妙德

Miccaka

彌遮迦

Min

閩

Ming

明

Mingjue

明覺

*Mingli*

名利

*minglu*

明律

**(p.285)** mingta

銘塔

Mingzan

明瓚

Mingzhou

明州

Minyue (Fujian)

閩越

*mo*

末

Muzhou

睦州

Nāgārjuna

龍樹

Naito Torajiro

内藤虎次郎

Nan Chan

南禪

Nan Chang (Hongzhou)

南昌(洪州)

Nan Han

南漢

Nan Tang

南唐

Nan'an

南安

Nanhai

南海

Nanjing

南京

Nanquan Puyuan

南泉普願

Nanta Guangyong

南塔光涌

Nantai Qikuang

南台契曠

Nanyang Huizhong

南陽慧忠

*Nanyang Huizhong guoshi yu*

南陽慧忠國師語

*Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao*

南陽忠和尚言教

Nanyuan

南源

Nanyuan (or Shishuang) Chuyuan

南園(石霜)楚圓

Nanyuan Huiyong

南院慧顥

Nanyue

南嶽

*Nanyue gaoseng zhuan*

南嶽高僧傳

Nanyue Huairang

南嶽懷讓

Nanyue Weijing

南嶽惟勁

*nanzong*

南宗

*neidian*

內典

*neiguan*

內官

*nian*

念

*nianfo*

念佛

*nianxiu*



念修

*niaochuang guizi*

尿床鬼子

Niaoke Guoyi

烏窠國一

*Niepan wuming lun*

涅槃無名論

*ningmi chanshi*

凝密禪師

Nishiguchi Yoshio

西口芳男

Niutou

牛頭

Niutou Farong

牛頭法融

Ouyang Hui

歐陽迴

Ouyang Xiu

歐陽修

Pang (layman)

龐居士

*panjiao*

判教

Panlong Kewen

盤龍可文

Pasva

脇尊者

Pei Xiu

裴休

*Pei Xiu shiyi wen*

裴休拾遺問

Pingmao (Mount)

憑茂山

Pozaoduo

破竈墮

Prajñātārā

般若多羅

Puji

普寂

Pujiang

普江

Punyamitra

不若密多羅

Punyayśas

富那夜奢

*Puti damo Nanzong ding shifei lun*

菩提達摩南宗定是非論

Puying (Mount)

普應山

Puzhao

普照

*qi*

氣

Qi Zhao (Spouse Zhao)

妻照

Qian

錢

Qian Chu

錢俶

Qian Liu

錢鏐

Qian Ruoshui

錢若水

Qian Yuanguan

錢元瓘

Qian Zong

錢侗

Qian Zuo

錢佐

Qianfo si

千佛寺

Qianfo song

千佛頌

*qianfu*

乾符

Qianfu si

千福寺

Qianming (cloister)

乾明院

*qianning*

乾寧

Qiantang

錢塘

*qianyou*

乾祐

*qianyuan*

乾元

Qin Shi Huangdi

秦始皇帝

Qin Zongquan

秦宗權

Qing

清

Qingliang (monastery)

清涼寺

Qingliang (Mt.)

清涼山

Qingliang Taiqin

清涼泰欽

Qingping Weikuang

清平惟曠

Qingqi Hongjin

清谿洪進

Qingxuan

慶玄

qingyan

青饑

Qingyuan Xingsi

青原行思

Qinshan Wensui

欽山文邃

Qisi

齊巳

Qisong

契嵩

Qixian Chengshi

棲(栖)賢澄謐

*qixin*

契心

Quan Deyu

權德輿

*Quan Tangwen*

全唐文

Quanfu

全付

**(p.286)** *quanghua*

光化

Quanwei

全偉

Quanzhou

泉州

Quanzhou (Guilin)

全州 (桂林)

*Quanzhou Kaiyuan si zhi*

泉州開元寺志

Quanzhou Longhua (monastery)

泉州龍華寺

*Quanzhou qianfo xinzhu xushi song*

泉州千佛新著諸祖頌

Queli

闕里

*Qunshu lizao*

群書麗藻

Rāhulata

羅(目+侯)羅多

*randeng*

然燈

Renzong

仁宗

Rinzai (Linji)

臨濟

Rong

融

*roushenfo*

肉身佛

*ru kong*

入空

*Rudao sixing*

入道四行

*ruhuan*

如幻

Ruiguang

瑞光

Ruiyan Yihai

瑞巖義海

Ruizong

睿宗

*Runei lun foxinyin lu*

入內論佛心印錄

ruseng

儒僧

Ruyang

汝陽

Ruzhou

汝州

*Ruzhou Nanyuan chanshi yuyao*

汝州南院禪師語要

Śākyamuni

釋迦牟尼

Śānavāsa

商那和修

Sanghānandi

僧伽難提

*sanguan* (three contemplations)

三觀

Sanjiao Chengtian (cloister)

三交承天院

*sanmodi*

奢摩他

Sanping Yizhong

三平義忠

Sansheng Huiran

三聖慧然

*Seng shilue*

僧史略

Sengcan

僧璨

Sengda

僧達

*sengguan* (Buddhist Authorities)

僧官

Sengke (Huike)

僧可

*senglu si* (Central Buddhist Registry)

僧錄司

Sengna

僧那

Sengqie

僧伽

*sengtang*

僧堂

*sengtong* (Buddhist Controller)

僧統

Sengzhao

僧肇

*sengzheng* (Office of Buddhist Rector)

僧正

*sengzhu* (Buddhist Superior)

僧主

Shanbei (monastery)

山北寺  
Shandong  
山東  
Shangfang jing yuan  
上方淨院  
Shanglan Lingchao  
上藍令超  
*shangshu*  
尚書  
*shangshu youcheng*  
尚書右丞  
*shangtang*  
上堂  
Shangu (Baofu) Xingchong  
山谷(保福)行崇  
*shangyuan*  
上元  
Shanhui (Layman)  
善慧(大士)  
Shankuai  
善快  
Shanxi  
山西  
Shanxian  
善現  
Shanzhao  
善昭  
Shaolun  
紹倫  
Shaoshan Huanpu  
韶山寰普  
shaoxing  
紹興  
Shaoyan  
紹巖  
Shaoying  
曉瑩  
Shaozhou  
韶州  
Shemota  
奢摩他  
Shen (Chan master)  
深禪師  
sheng tianzi

聖天子

Shengchang

省常

*shengdi*

聖帝

*shengjiao*

聖教

shengling

*Shengnian*

省念

*shengyan*

聖言

*Shengzhou ji*

聖冑集

Shenhui

神會

*Shenhui heshang yiji*

神會和尚遺集

Shenran

湛然

Shenrong

神榮

Shenxing

神行

Shenxiu

神秀

shenyi

神異

*shi* (poetry)

詩

*shi* (history)

史

*shi* (lay official)

士

*shi* (practice)

事

*shi* (Sākya)

釋

Shi Jie

石介

Shide

拾得

Shigong Huizang

石鞏慧藏

*Shiguo Chunqiu*

十國春秋

**(p.287)** Shiina Kōyū

椎名宏雄

*shijue*

詩訣

*shilang*

侍郎

Shili

尸利

*shilu*

實錄

Shimen (Mount)

石門山

Shimen Huiche

石門慧徹

*Shimen shan Cizhao Chanshi Fengyan ji*

石門山慈照禪師鳳巖集

Shimen Yun

石門筠

*Shimen zhengtong*

釋門正統

*shiqing*

識情

*Shishi jigu lue*

釋氏稽古略

Shishi Shandao

石室善道

Shishuang Chuyuan

石霜楚圓

Shishuang Qingzhu

石霜慶諸

Shitou

石頭

Shitou Xiqian

石頭希遷

*shixiang*

實相

*Shiyi wen*

拾遺問

*shiyin*

師印

Shizong

世宗



*Shōbōgenzo (Zhengfa yenzang)*

正法眼藏

*Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*

初期禪宗史書の研究

Shou (Mount)

壽山

Shou (Mount)

首山

*Shoulengyan jing (Sūrangama sūtra)*

首楞嚴經

Shoushan

首山

Shoushan Shengnian

首山省念

Shu

蜀

Shuangfeng

雙峰

*Shuanglin si Shanhui dashi yulu*

雙林寺善慧打師語錄

Shuiling Daopu

睡龍道溥

Shuixi Nantai

水西南台

Shuji

庶幾

Shunzong

順宗

*Shuowen jiezi*

說文解字

Shushan Kuangren

疎山匡仁

Si Heshang (Qingyuan Xingsi)

司和尚

*si weiyi*

四威儀

*sibu* (four branches)

四部

Sibu Congkan

四部叢刊

Sichuan

四川

*Sijia yulu*

四家語錄

Sijian

思鑒

Sikhin

尸棄

Sikong (Mount)

司空山

Sikong Benjing

司空本淨

*Siku quanshu zhenben*

四庫全書珍本

Simha bhiksu

師子比丘

Siming

四明

*siwen*

斯文

*sixing*

四行

Sizhou

泗州

*Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*

宋代禪宗史の研究

Song

宋

Song (Mount)

松山

Song Ding

宋鼎

Song Du

宋度

*Song gaoseng zhuan*

宋高僧傳

Song Hou

宋候

*Song huiyao*

宋會要

*Song Jin Yuan wenlun*

宋金元文論

*Song shi*

宋史

Songfu si

嵩福寺

*songjing*

誦經

*Songyue si bei*

嵩岳寺碑

*Songang yizhen*

宋藏遺珍

Sōtō

曹洞

Su Jin

蘇晉

Sui

隋

Suizhou

隨州

Sun Chaojin

孫朝進

Sun He

孫郃

Suzhou

蘇州

Suzong

肅宗

Suzuki Daisetsu

鈴木大拙

*Taifu* (Grand Mentor)

太傅

Taiping (monastery)

太平寺

*Taiping guangji*

太平廣記

*taiping xingguo*

太平興國

*Taiping yulan*

太平御覽

*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*

大正新修大藏經

*taishou*

太守

*taiwei*

太尉

Taixiang

泰祥

Taiyuan

太原

Taizhou

台州

Taizi (Imperial Prince)

太子

Taizi (temple)

太子寺

Taizong

太宗

*Taizong huangdi shilu*

太宗皇帝實錄

Taizu

太祖

Tanaka Ryōshō

田中良昭

Tancui

曇璿

Tang

唐

**(p.288)** *Tang Fuzhou Anguo chanyuan xiankaishan Zongyi dashi  
beiwén bīngxu*

唐福州安國禪院先開山宗一大師碑文并序

*Tang shu*

唐書

*Tang yuquan si datong chanshi bei*

唐玉泉寺大通禪師碑

*Tang Yuquan si Datong chanshi beiming bīngxu*

唐玉泉寺大通禪師碑銘并序

Tanguang

曇光

Tanzhou

潭州

*Tanzhou Daguishan Tongai si Dayuan chanshi beiming*

潭州大灣山同愛寺大圓禪師碑銘

Tanzhou Guichen

潭州桂琛

Tengteng Heshang

騰騰和尚

*Tennō-ji*

天王寺

*tiancheng*

天成

Tianhuang Daowu

天皇道悟

*tiansheng*

天聖

*Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*

天聖廣燈錄

Tiantai

天台

Tiantai Deshao

天台德韶

Tianwang (monastery)

天王寺

*Tianwang Daowu chanshi bei*

天王道悟禪師碑

*tianxi*

天禧

*tianyou*

天祐

Tiefo (temple)

鐵佛

Tiefo Zhisong

鐵佛智嵩

*ting* (courtyard)

庭

Tingzhou

汀州

Tishe

提舍

Tōji

東寺

Tokyo

東京

Tongan

同安

Tongan Changcha

同安常察

Tongan Daopi

同安道丕

Tongan Guanzhi

同安觀志

*tongguang*

同光

*tonghui dahi*

通慧大師

*tongpan*

通判

Tongshan famen

東山法門

Tongxuan (monastery)

通玄寺

*Tonkō zenshūbunken no kenkyū*

敦煌禪宗文献の研究

Touzi (Mount)

投子山

Touzi Datong

投子大同

Upagupta

優波(毛+勺+米)多

Vasubandhu

天親 (婆修盤頭)

Vasumitra

婆須密

Vessabhū

毘舍浮

Vipassin

毘婆尸

*waiguan*

外館

*waixue*

外學

*wanfa*

萬法

Wang

王

Wang Can

王參

Wang Dan

王旦

Wang Hu

王祐

Wang Ju

王琚

Wang Pu

王溥

Wang Qinro

王欽若

Wang Rixiu

王日休

Wang Shengui

王審邽

Wang Shenzhi

王審知

Wang Shu

王曙

Wang Sui

王隨

Wang Xu

王緒

Wang Yanbin

王延彬

Wang Yanhan

王延翰

Wang Yanzheng

王延政

Wang Yong

王詠

Wang Yucheng

王禹偁

*wangdao*

王道

*wangfa*

王法

*wanghua*

王化

*wangshen*

亡身

*wangxiang*

妄想

*wangyou*

妄有

Wanhui Fayun

萬迴法雲

Wanling

宛陵

*wanshan*

萬善

*Wanshan tonggui ji*

萬善同歸集

Wansui

萬歲

*wanxing*

萬行

*wanxing yi zhi chabie*

萬行以之差別

Wei (Surveillance Commissioner)

韋

Wei Chubin

韋處濱

Wei Chuhou

韋處厚

Wei furen

韋夫人

Wei Qu

韋璩

Weifu

魏府

Weifu Dajue

魏府大覺

Weijing

惟經

Weishi

尉氏

*weixin*

唯心

Weizheng

惟政

Weizhou

魏州

Weizhou Jianggong

魏州獎公

*wen*

文

**(p.289)** *wende*

文德

*wendi*

文帝

*wenge*

文格

*wenji*

文集

Wenmu

文穆

Wenyi

文益

*Wenyuan*

文苑

*Wenyuan yinghua*

文苑英華

*wenzhang*

文章

*Wenzhuang ji*



文莊集

Wenzong

文宗

Wu

吳

Wu

武

wu (military power)

武

wu (nonexistence)

無

Wu Shu

吳淑

Wu Toutuo

吳頭陀

Wu Zetian

武則天

Wude Chanshi

無德禪師

wufa

無法

wufo

無佛

wujia

五家

Wuling

武陵

Wumen guan

無門關

Wumen Huikai

無門慧開

wunian

無念

Wusu

武肅

Wutai (Mount)

五台山

wuwei zhenren

無位真人

wuxiang

無相

Wuxiang

無相

wuxiang dashi

無相大師

*wuxin*

無心

*wuxiu*

無修

*wuyan*

無言

*Wuyi xinji*

武夷新集

*wuyin shengtian*

五陰身田

Wuyue

吳越

*Wuyue guo Wusu wang jishi*

吳越國武肅王紀事

Wuzhou

婺州

Wuzhu

無住

Wuzong

武宗

Xia Song

夏竦

Xian Dong'an

先洞安

*Xiang*

相

*xiang* (imitative law)

像

Xiang (Layman)

向居士

*xianggong*

相公

Xianggu (Mount)

象骨山

Xiangzhou

襄州

*Xianju bian*

閑居編

Xiankong

咸空

*xianping*

咸平

*xiantong*

咸通

Xianzong

憲宗

Xianzong Cichan

僖宗守玘

*Xiaochu ji*

小畜集

Xiaoliao

曉了

Xiaowen

孝文

Xiaowen Huangdi

孝文皇帝

Xiaoyao

逍遙

*Xichan*

習禪

Xichan yuan

西禪院

Xijue

希覺

*xin*

心

*Xin Tangshu*

新唐書

*Xin Wudai shi*

新五代史

*xindi*

心地

Xinding

新定

*Xingbu*

行布

*Xingbu yuanwailang jian shiyushi*

刑部員外郎兼侍御史

*Xingfu*

興福

Xinghua Cunjiang

興化存獎

*xingjiao*

行脚

*xinglu*

行錄

Xingshi

行實

Xingsi

行司

Xingwang (Guangzhou)

興王(廣州)

*xingzhuang*

行狀

*xingzong*

性宗

*xinti*

心體

*Xinxin mingi*

信心銘

*xinxing*

心性

Xinzhou

新州

Xishan

西山

Xitang

西堂

Xitang Zhizang

西堂智藏

Xiufu Wukong

休復悟空

Xiujie

修戒

Xiyuan

西原

Xizao

希操

Xizhou

析州

Xizong

僖宗

*xu*

虛

*Xu Baolin zhuan*

續寶林傳

*Xu Chuandeng lu*

續傳燈錄

*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*

續高僧傳

Xu Lang

許郎

**(p.290)** Xu Xuan

徐鉉

Xuan

宣

Xuance

玄策

*xuanhe*

宣和

Xuanjian

宣鑒

*Xuanjian*

玄鍵

Xuanjue

玄覺

*xuanjue daoshi*

玄覺導師

Xuankai

玄楷

Xuanquan Yan

玄泉彦

Xuansha

玄沙

Xuansha Shibei

玄沙師備

*Xuansha Zongyi Shibei dashi yu*

玄沙宗一師備大師語

Xuanshi

宣什

Xuanzang

玄奘

Xuanze

玄蹟

Xuanzhu

玄燭

Xuanzong

玄宗

*xue*

學

Xue Huaiyi

薛懷義

Xue Yanwang

薛延望

Xue Yun

薛蘊

Xuedou (Mount)

雪竇山

Xuefeng (Mount)

雪峰山

Xuefeng Yicun

雪峰義存

*Xuefeng yulu*

雪峰語錄

*Xuefeng Zhenjue chanshi yulu*

雪峰真覺禪師語錄

*Xuefeng Zhenjue dashi nianpu*

雪峰真覺大師年譜

Xun Chanshi

尋禪師

Xunchang

尋常

Yan Tingzhi

嚴挺之

Yanagida Seizan

柳田聖山

*yanei*

衙內

*yang*

陽

Yang Guangting

楊光庭

Yang Jie

楊傑

Yang She

楊涉

Yang Xingmi

楊行密

Yang Xiong

楊雄

Yang Yi (brother of Yang She)

楊沂

Yang Yi (Song literatus)

楊億

Yangdi

煬帝

Yangqi Fanghui

楊岐方會

Yangshan Huiji

仰山慧寂

Yanguan

鹽官

Yangtze River

揚子江

*yanjiao*

言教

*yanshi yushi*

言事御史

Yantou Hou

岳 (with 山 on top) 頭豁

Yantou Quanhuo

巖頭全豁

*yanwai zhi zhi*

言外之旨

*yanyou*

延祐

Yaoshan Weiyan

藥山惟儼

Yexuan

葉懸

Yifang

義方

Yifu

義福

Yiji

義寂

*yijie*

義解

*yijing*

譯經

*yin*

陰

*yingji duida*

應機對答

Yingqiao

穎橋

Yingqiao An

穎橋安

Yingzhou

郢州

*Yinxin*

印心

Yinzong

印宗

*yishen* (self-immolators)

遺身

Yisu Xuanjue

一宿玄覺

*yixin*

一心

Yixing

一行

Yixing Sun

義興孫

Yongfu Congyan

永福從弁

Yongjia Xuanjue

永嘉玄覺

Yongjue Yuanxian

永覺元賢

Yongming (monastery)

永明寺

Yongming Daoqian

永明道潛

yongming dashi

永明大師

Yongming Yanshou

永明延壽

*youwei*

有為

Youzhou

幽州

*yu*

語

Yu (Army Inspector)

魚軍容

Yuan Zongjing

元宗璟

*yuandun zhi hua*

圓頓之化

*yuanfeng*

元豐

*yuanhe*

元和

Yuanji Juding

圓極居頂

*Yuanjue jing lueshu chao*



圓覺經略疏鈔

*yuanli*

元豐

Yuanlian

元璉

*Yuanren lun*

原人論

Yuansu

緣素

*yuantong puzhao chanshi*

圓通普照禪師

Yuanwu Keqin

圓悟克勤

*yuanxin*

緣心

**(p.291)** Yuanzhao

圓照

Yuanzhou

袁州

*Yuanzhu*

院主

*yuben*

語本

Yue

越

Yueshan shinai

越山師鼎

Yuezhou

越州

*Yuezhou Dazhu Huihai heshang yu*

越州大珠慧海和尚語

Yuhang

餘杭

Yujian (monastery)

玉澗寺

*Yulu*

語錄

Yun

筠

Yuncong

蘊聰

Yungai Jingquan

雲蓋景禪

Yungai Yuanchan

雲蓋源禪

Yunju

雲居

Yunju Daoqi

雲居道齊

Yunju Daoying

雲居道膺

Yunmen

雲門

Yunmen Elder Lang

雲門朗上座

*Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi yulu*

雲門匡真禪師語錄

Yunmen Lianggong dashi

雲門諒公大士

*Yunmen lu*

雲門錄

Yunmen Wenyan

雲門文偃

Yunmen Yanchan (Wenyan)

雲門 偃 禪

*Yunmenshan guangtai chanyuan gu kuangzhen dashi shixingbei*

雲門山光泰禪院故匡真大師實性碑

Yunyan Tansheng

雲巖曇晟

Yuquan (monastery)

玉泉

*yushi*

御史

Yuwang

育王

Yuwang Hongtong

育王弘通

*yuyao*

語要

Yuzhang

豫章

*zaixiang*

宰相

*zake shengde*

雜科聲德

Zanning

贊寧

Ze (Ming) zan

懶 (明) 瓚

Zen (Chan)

禪

Zen bunka Kenkyujo

禪文化研究所

*Zenbunken no seiritus shiteki kenkyū*

禪文献の成立史的研究

*Zeng Caotang Zongmi shangren*

贈草堂宗密上人

*Zengaku daijiten*

禪學大辭典

*Zengen shosenshu tojo*

禪源諸詮集都序

*Zenshu goroku no keisei*

禪宗語錄の形成

*Zenshūshi nenpyō*

禪宗史年表

Zhang Fen

張漬

Zhang Junfang

張君房

Zhang Yue

張說

Zhang Zhengfu

張正甫

Zhangle (Fuzhou)

長樂

Zhangnan

漳南

Zhangqing

長慶

Zhangqing Huileng

長慶慧稜

Zhangqiu Jianqiong

章仇兼

Zhangsheng Jiaoran

長生皎然

Zhangxing Heshang

長興和尚

Zhangzhou

漳州

*Zhangzhou Luohan Guichen heshang yu*

漳州羅漢桂琛和尚語

Zhangzi

長髭

Zhao Chanshi

照禪師

Zhao Heng (Zhenzong)

趙恆

Zhao Kuangyi (Taizong)

趙匡義

Zhao Kuangyin (Taizi)

趙匡胤

*Zhao lun*

肇論

Zhaoqing (cloister)

招慶院

Zhaoqing (monastery)

招慶寺院

Zhaoqing Daokuang

招慶道匡

Zhaoqing Huileng

招慶慧稜

Zhaoqing Shenyan

招慶神晏

Zhaoqing Wendeng

招慶文(人+登)

Zhaoti Huilang

招提慧郎

Zhaowu di

昭武帝

Zhaozhou

趙州

Zhaozhou Congshen

趙州從諗

*Zhaozhou Congshen heshang yu*

趙州從諗和尚語

*Zhaozhou yulu*

趙州語錄

Zhaozong

昭宗

Zhejiang

浙江

*zhendi*

真諦

Zhenfu

鎮府

*zhengding*

正定

*zhengfa*

正法

*zhengfa yenzang* (Jpn. shobogenzo)

正法眼藏

*zhengnian*

正念

*zhengshi tang*

政事堂

*zhengshou*

正受

*zhengshu*

政書

*zhengyan*

正眼

*zhenhui chanshi*

真慧禪師

**(p.292)** Zhenhui Yuanlian

真惠元璉

Zhenjue

真覺

Zhenjue Dashi

真覺大師

*zhenming*

真明

*zhenyuan*

真元

Zhenzhou

鎮州

*Zhenzhou Linji Yixuan heshang yu*

鎮州臨濟義玄和尚語

*zhenzong*

真宗

Zhenzong

真宗

*zhenzong dashi*

真宗大師

*zhi*

止

*zhi zhengshi*

知政事

Zhiben

智本

Zhice

智策

Zhichang

智常

Zhiche

志徹

Zhicheng

志誠

Zhidao

志道

Zhide

智德

*zhiguan*

止觀

Zhihuang

智隍

Zhiju (Huiju)

智炬

Zhijue Chanshi (Yanshou)

智覺禪師

Zhili

知禮

Zhimen Fajin

智門法觀

Zhimen Huihan

智門迴罕

Zhimen Shijie

智門師戒

Zhishen

智誥

*Zhishi*

知事

Zhisong

智嵩

Zhitong

智通

Zhitong (cloister)

智通院

*zhitong chanshi*

智通禪師

Zhituo

祇陀

Zhiwei

智威

Zhiyan

智巖

Zhiyi

智顗

Zhiyuan

智圓

Zhizhen

志真

*Zhizheng dashi qinglai mulu*

智證大師請來目錄

*Zhizhi renxin*

直指人心

*zhizhigao*

知制誥

*Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan*

中國佛寺志史彙刊

*zhonghe*

中和

*Zhonghua chuanxindi Chanmen shizi cheng xitu*

中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖

Zhongling

鍾陵

*Zhongshi*

中式

*zhongshu sheng*

中書省

*zhongshu sheren* (Secretariat)

中書舍人

Zhongta Huiqiu

中塔慧球

Zhongxian

忠獻

Zhongxun

忠遜

Zhongyi

忠懿

Zhongzong

中宗

Zhou

周

Zhou Huaizheng

周懷政

*Zhou shu*

周書

Zhuozhou Kefu

涿州剋符

*Zhouzhu*

州主

*Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen*

註華嚴法界觀門

Zhu Wenjin

朱文進

Zhu Xi

朱熹

Zhu Zundu

朱遵度

Zhuangzi

莊子

Zhuangzong

莊宗

*zhuanyun shi*

轉運使

Zhulin

竹林

*zhuzai*

主宰

*zi*

子

*zi benxing*

自本性

Zichong (monastery)

資崇寺

Zifu dian

滋福殿

Ziling (Mount)

紫陵山

Ziling Heshang (Kuangyi)

紫陵和尚(匡一)

Zixia

子夏

Ziyu

子游

Zizai

自在

*Zizhi tongjian*

資治通鑑

*zong*

宗

*zongfeng*



宗風

*Zongjing lu*

宗鏡錄

*zongmen*

宗門

*Zongmen shigui lun*

宗門十規論

*Zongmi*

宗密

*zongshi*

宗師

*zongtong*

宗通

*zongtu*

宗徒

*Zongyan*

宗演

*zongyi dashi*

宗一大師

*zongzu*

宗族

*zu miao*

祖廟

*zudeng*

祖燈

*zun*

尊

**(p.293)** *zunchong*

尊重

*Zunshi*

遵式

*zuonian*

坐念

*Zuoqi Xuanlang*

左溪玄朗

*Zushi*

祖師

*Zutang ji*

祖堂集

*Zuting shiyuan*

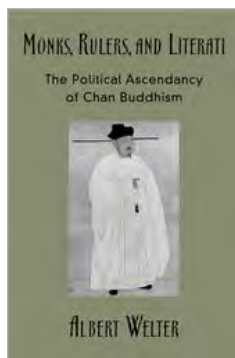
祖庭事苑

*zuxian*

祖先

**(p.294)**

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## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

Albert Welter

Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

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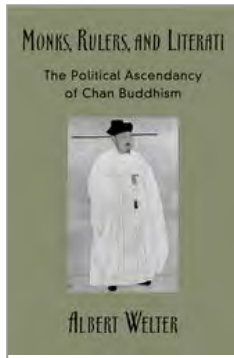
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Zheng Suwen 鄭夙雯. "Sōsho no Zenshū no ki'esha" 宋初の禅宗の帰依者. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 47-1 (1998): 24-27. **(p.314)**

Access brought to you by:



## Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism

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Print publication date: 2006

Print ISBN-13: 9780195175219

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195175219.001.0001

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