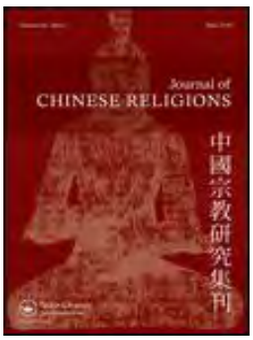

Journal of Chinese Religions

ISSN: 0737-769X (Print) 2050-8999 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/yjch20

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To cite this article: Albert Welter (1995) Zanning and Chan: The Changing Nature of Buddhism in Early Song China, Journal of Chinese Religions, 23:1, 105-140, DOI: 10.1179/073776995805307275

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/073776995805307275

Published online: 18 Jul 2013.

ZANNING AND CHAN: THE CHANGING NATURE OF BUDDHISM IN EARLY SONG CHINA

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS[1]

The tenth century was a period of great change in China. The formal end of Tang rule in 906 ushered in a period of regional independence. While warlord factions competed for control in the north and usurped the imperial banner, regional military commanders (*jiedu shi*) carved out autonomous enclaves in the south.[2] Important changes affecting the nature of Chinese society, politics, and economics were being worked out amid this climate.[3] These changes were particularly significant for Buddhism and the role it played in Chinese society.

The suppression of Buddhism during the Huichang era (841–846) deprived the major Tang Buddhist schools (Tiantai and Huayan) of economic support and official authorization. Monks and monasteries that had relied on private support were subjected to increasingly stringent government control. In spite of this setback, Buddhism continued to exercise a broad influence over Chinese society, both in the way Chinese intellectuals thought and the religious practices that people followed. Chan Buddhism became a major force in China at this time, in part because of its regional orientation and compatibility with the religious needs of growing segments of the population.[4]

The monk Zanning (919–1001) occupies an important place in the transformation of Buddhism in China during the tenth century. As a Buddhist, Zanning identified with the traditional role of *vinaya* masters.[5] 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.[6] These titles signal Zanning's rise through the ranks of the Buddhist bureaucracy into positions serving the regional and central government.[7] 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 that was highly prized at the Song court. He was appointed to the prestigious Hanlin Academy of scholars, a rare privilege for a Buddhist, and served as one of the "Nine Elders,"[8] 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 Outline of the Buddhist Clergy [in China] compiled in the Great Song Empire) have been highly prized through the centuries and remain some of the most important sources for the study of Chinese Buddhism. 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 the compilation of the works.

Zanning's writings on Buddhist history were aimed directly at the emperor and the new Song bureaucracy. The works were commissioned directly by the emperor, Taizong (r. 976–997), as part of his charge for restoring order based on culture and literary activity (*wen*) rather than military power (*wu*). 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 was a conscious attempt by its rulers to set a course for the new dynasty that might set it apart from its failed predecessors.[9] 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. In the process, Zanning attempted to influence imperial opinion regarding the role of Buddhism in sensitive areas where precedents regarding Buddhism were vague and its role in China was subject to dispute. The *Seng shilue*, in particular, was constructed on this premise.[10]

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 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. Amid these concerns, new practices and old conventions competed for recognition as legitimate expressions of Buddhist teaching. In this context, 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, most notably a new sense of Buddhist orthodoxy that could guide Song government policy. The central question was deciding which Buddhist practices and customs were legitimate and which were not.

One important area of concern in the early Song was the rising prominence of members of various branches of the Chan "school" within Buddhism. The emerging identity of the Chan movement during this period is reflected in the appearance of "transmission histories" tracing Chan lineages from a reputed founder of Chan in China, Bodhidharma, to a common ancestry through the sixth patriarch, Huineng, and branching into a number of sectarian divisions (eventually to be fixed at five: Guiyang, Linji, Caodong, Yunmen, and Fayan).[11] While ostensibly an internal matter for Buddhists to decide, acceptance or rejection of Chan by members of the government had important consequences. 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 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 (951–959),[12] the last of the so-called "Five Dynasties," 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. The Buddhism that flourished in various regions increasingly identified with Chan rather than the older, largely discredited forms of Buddhism that had flourished during the Tang. The meaning of this new Chan identification was still unclear, aside from a common ancestry tracing itself from Bodhidharma. One major innovation distinguishing Song Chan transmission histories from earlier prototypes is the development of the multibranched, rather than unilinear, Chan inheritance.[13] Providing a means for uniting regional diversity under a common Chan heading paralleled the political unification of China and the absorption of autonomous regions under the central authority of the Song.

From a political perspective, the popularity of Chan was a sensitive issue in the balance between the newly established authority of the central government and regional cultures associated with Chan monks and teachings. Within the Buddhist religion itself, there were other problems to consider. With the decline of the older and more established Buddhist schools of the Tang, along with their established texts, teachings, and doctrines, Chan was

poised to become the major representative of Buddhism in China. Due to the new situation and the regional character of the Chan movement, consensus on the identity of the Chan "school" had yet to be achieved. What did Chan represent other than a lineage tracing its origins in China to Bodhidharma? There was a developing sense that Chan represented (or should represent) a common core of teachings and practices, but what constituted Chan teachings and practices and their relationship to those of the Buddhist tradition at large was still unclear.

Attempts to gain legitimacy for Chan Buddhism were not unprecedented in the tenth century. The early history of Chan is a series of attempts to secure acceptance for various groups affiliated with Chan in the Buddhist establishment.[14] An important turning point was reached in the ninth century with the evaluation of various Chan lineages by Zongmi (780–841).[15] By analyzing the lineages into various types and comparing the philosophical positions of representative Chan lineages with the positions of the leading doctrinal schools of Chinese Buddhism, Zongmi made an implicit case for accepting Chan lineages as legitimate (while allowing that certain lineages were more legitimate than others). In doing so, Zongmi established that the different positions of branches of Chan ultimately paralleled doctrinal variations of established Buddhist schools.

A related question was how Chan, the "meditation" school, fit into the larger tradition of Buddhist meditation. Meditation was a central feature of traditional Buddhist practice and assumed a leading position among Buddhist schools in China prior to the rise in popularity of Chan lineages. How was Chan's claim to be the meditation school established, and how was it justified in terms of the larger understanding of Buddhist meditation in China? While the memory of the older, established schools still remained and exerted a strong influence over Buddhist forms and institutions, the actual institutional presence of the older schools was increasingly a memory from a bygone era. Questions relating to Chan lineages and practices circulated with unprecedented urgency in this environment, as Chan sought to establish itself as the leading "school" of Buddhism in China.

For Zanning, the question of Chan was thus a multifaceted one. Zanning was personally familiar with the strongest expression of regional Chan in tenth-century China, the flourishing government-supported Buddhism of Wuyue, and sympathetic to a Chan-based Buddhist revival. As an official at the Song court, he faced stiff opposition to Buddhism by those who associated it with the corruption and failures of the past. He was also confronted by Chan representatives who interpreted the relationship between Chan and established Chinese Buddhist teachings and practices differently. This made Zanning's task of presenting Chan and Buddhist teachings to Song officials particularly difficult, requiring a delicate balance between potentially volatile and destructive forces. Coupled with the need to present Buddhism in terms that harsh and unsympathetic officials could accept was the necessity of preserving the integrity of Buddhist teaching and practice, so that future developments might be justifiable in terms of past precedents.

THE CATEGORIZATION OF *CHAN* PRACTITIONERS IN THE TENTH CENTURY AS "EMINENT MONKS" AND AS "TRANSMITTERS OF THE LAMP"

Zanning's main concern regarding Chan was how it fit into the established framework of Chinese Buddhism. Central to this concern was the difference between Zanning's understanding of *chan* in terms of conventional meditation practice informed by the textual and doctrinal tradition of Buddhism, and an idea of *chan* based on lineal associations descended from a common patriarch. One suggestive indicator of similarities and differences is the way monks noted for their meditation (*chan*) practice are classified by Zanning and by representatives of Chan lineages.

The traditional system for classifying monks famed for their meditation practice was the *xichan* ("meditators" or "*chan* practitioners") category found in the *gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) works. Zanning's contribution of a work based on this classification system has already been noted above. The *gaoseng zhuan* categories awarded eminence based on particular activities for which a monk was most renowned. The awarding of eminence was, in principle, not exclusive. The classification system acknowledged multiple categories for which a monk's effort could be rewarded. Recognition in a particular area was not intended to suggest that a monk might not have been active in other areas as well. The implications of this will be elaborated on below.

The Chan school developed an alternative arrangement for recording the biographies of patriarchs in their tradition, based on lineages that detailed the relationships between members of individual sects from one generation to the next. Around the same time that Zanning was working on the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (completed in 988), members of Chan lineages were organizing transmission histories detailing Chan sectarian branches. Two works compiled at this time were important. The oldest extant Chan transmission history to include a multibranched lineage is the *Zutang ji* (Collection of the Patriarch's Hall), compiled in 952 by followers of Shengdeng (?–972) of the Zhaoqing Temple in Quanzhou, descendants of Xuefeng Yicun (822–908).[16] The classical work on Chan history, however, became the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp compiled in the Jingde era), completed in 1004 by Daoyuan, a member of the Fayan sect.[17]

In principle, the aims of the *gaoseng zhuan* works and Chan transmission histories were quite different. In the *gaoseng zhuan* works, "*chan* practitioner" was merely one of ten categories through which a monk could attain eminence, suggesting that *chan* practice was fundamentally included within a larger Buddhist tradition encompassing a broad range of activities.[18] In Chan transmission histories, membership in the Chan "school" was based primarily on lineage affiliations and only incidentally related to common assumptions regarding such things as teaching, practice, or what constituted correct meditation. Lineage affiliation, rather than distinct teaching, doctrine, or meditation practice, provided

the initial means by which followers of Chan attempted to distinguish it within Buddhism; it formed the basis of the "unique" Chan identity. At the same time, members of the Chan movement were attempting to define Chan teaching in order to distinguish it from the teachings of other Buddhist schools, and portray it as a legitimate expression of Buddhist teaching. Major differences still separated Chan members in the early Song, and a consensus had yet to be reached.

Zanning was familiar with the implications transmission histories held for the interpretation of Chan, regardless of any personal familiarity with the two works in question.[19] As indicated below, Zanning even recognized lineal affiliations traced from Bodhidharma as a requirement for inclusion in the Chan "school." The issue for Zanning was not Chan lineage, but Chan exclusivism. Zanning's own comments, as well as those of an earlier contemporary Yongming Yanshou (904–975), both of which are reviewed below, make clear that the issue of Chan exclusivism was an important one in the early Song. Members of the Chan community who sought to use lineage as a means of distinguishing themselves from the Buddhist tradition at large—a tendency that Zanning opposed—relied on transmission histories to substantiate their separate and independent identity.

As a result, two systems for understanding Chan, the traditional *gaoseng zhuan* "*xichan*" classification system that understood *chan* practice in terms of the multiple practices of the Buddhist tradition, and the *chuandeng lu* system that understood *chan* primarily as a lineage designation, were both viable in the early Song. Although governed by different criteria and serving different functions, the two systems would later be judged in terms of their right to explain the basic identity of *chan* practitioners, pitting the non-sectarian, pan-Buddhist criteria of the *gaoseng zhuan* system against that of the strongly sectarian *chuandeng lu*. In other words, the question was whether *chan* practitioners were to be regarded as a category of "eminent monks" (*gaoseng*) within the larger, non-sectarian tradition of Chinese Buddhism, or whether they were "transmitters of the lamp" (*chuandeng*), members of affiliated lineages transmitting the "true dharma" in person from master to disciple. With the ascendancy of Chan, the dominance of the *chuandeng lu* criteria came to be assumed, to the extent that other Buddhist schools increasingly adopted the lineage format as a basic characteristic of their own identities. It is important to note, however, that in the context of the early Song the two systems represented alternative, yet equally viable ways of providing conceptual coherence to a diverse Chan movement. The organization of the diverse Chan movement into a unified framework had far-reaching political and social implications. The conceptual organization of Chan paralleled the political unification of China by the Song government.

For the most part, Zanning's classification of *chan* practitioners in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* included the patriarchs and leading practitioners affiliated with the Chan school and posed no serious problems. In the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, 132 monks (20.1 percent) achieved

eminence under the category of "*chan* practitioner" (*xichan*), out of a total of 656. This is the highest number in any of the ten categories of the *gaoseng zhuan*, indicating the growth of Chan in China between the seventh and tenth centuries.[20] Of these 132 "*chan* practitioners," 116 (or 89 percent) are mentioned in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*,[21] indicating a high degree of compatibility between the two works in spite of their different classification criteria. There were, however, some prominent exceptions. Since there were different criteria for inclusion in each system, no conflict, in principle, need exist. A monk belonging to a Chan lineage could, in theory, be classified as "*chan* practitioner," "miracle worker," "dharma protector," or whatever. In practice, however, as lineage associations became the accepted norm for inclusion in branches of the Chan "school," strong criticisms were voiced regarding Zanning's "errors" and "omissions." These criticisms, in fact, voiced the concerns of a later tradition that identified Chan exclusively in sectarian terms. Zanning himself was sympathetic to Chan lineage claims and sought to integrate Chan teaching and practice within the broader tradition of Chinese Buddhism, but he was unaware of the tenacity with which Chan sectarianism and exclusivism would grip the Buddhist world. He was, at any rate, highly critical of Chan exclusivism, as we shall review in detail shortly.

From the perspective of the later Chan tradition, one major "mistake" involved Zanning's classification of Yongming Yanshou. Yanshou (904–975) was the leading Buddhist scholar of his day. He hailed from the Wuyue region, where he had been a colleague of both Zanning and Daoyuan.[22] During the tenth century, the religion of the Wuyue region was dominated by descendants of Fayan Wenyi (885–958), the most notable being Tiantai Deshao (891–972) and Yanshou. The importance of these Wuyue masters is reflected in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, which highlights the lineage of the Fayan sect. When Zanning compiled biographies of the same Wuyue masters in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he included Wenyi and Deshao under the category of *chan* practitioners (*xichan*), but not Yanshou. Instead, Zanning categorized Yanshou as a "promoter of works of merit" (*xingfu*). For Zanning, the issue was "eminence," not Chan affiliation, and Yanshou was best remembered as a *xingfu*, not a *xichan* master.

The case of Yanshou was only one of a number of prominent differences. The biography of Huangbo Xiyun (?–c. 850), teacher of Linji Yixuan (d. 866), is recorded under the category of "miracle workers" (*gantong*). Yueshan Weiyan (745–828), forerunner of the Caotong lineage, is considered as a "dharma protector" (*hufa*). In addition, other prominent Chan monks were omitted entirely from the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Most notable among these from the perspective of Chan sectarian history is Yunmen Wenyan (864–949), founder of one of the so-called "Five Houses." The biographies of Lumen Chuxin of the Caotong lineage and Yangshan Guangyong of the Guiyang lineage are likewise omitted.[23] All of these were considered serious mistakes by members of the later Chan tradition. Huihong (1071–

1128), a member of the Linji lineage and ardent supporter of Chan during the Song, criticized Zanning openly in the *Linjian lu* (Forest Records):

> Zanning compiled the extensive *Song gaoseng zhuan*, utilizing ten categories for the purpose of classifying [monks]. He placed Exegetes at the top. This is laughable. Moreover, he presented the Chan master Yandou Huo as a "practitioner of asceticism" and the Chan master Zhijue (Yanshou) as a "promoter of works of merit." The great teacher Yunmen is chief among monks. Zanning was a contemporary of Yunmen, but surprisingly, does not even mention him.[24]

Such an interpretation of Zanning represents the perspective of Chan transmission histories after they had assumed a dominant position within the Chinese Buddhist tradition. In this context, Zanning's "misclassification" or "omission" of Chan monks is at odds with the prominent places they were awarded in the lineages of Chan transmission histories and treated as a fundamental misunderstanding of the exclusive and privileged place of Chan within Chinese Buddhism.

In fact, Zanning's "misclassifications" and "omissions" can be attributed to historical factors and partisan considerations. The influence of the Guiyang, Caotong, and Linji lineages did not become great until later in the Song. It is hardly surprising that Zanning failed to highlight masters in these lineages to the degree that later partisans would have liked. Members of these lineages were not the major representatives of Chan in the tenth century. This honor fell on the Fayan and Yunmen sects. Rivalry between these two sects in the tenth century has been suggested as a major reason why Zanning, a natural partisan of Fayan masters, omitted Yunmen completely from the ranks of eminent monks in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.[25] In the final analysis, the criteria for inclusion in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* were different than that of Chan transmission histories. Identification as a leading member of a Chan organization was not necessarily a guarantee of eminence in Zanning's eyes. When such monks were regarded as eminent, it did not always follow that they were honored for their *chan* practice.

As a result, we can see that Zanning's inclinations about Chan did not always coincide with the intentions of those advocating Chan lineages. Zanning acknowledged the important role played by Chan masters in the development of Buddhism in China. At the same time, he tended to judge their accomplishments by a wider, non-sectarian set of criteria, emphasizing the non-exclusive nature of Chan. His aim was to promote Chan within the wider context of the Buddhist tradition, and to view Chan accomplishments within criteria established by this broader tradition. This is evident in the way that Zanning presented Chan to members of the Song bureaucracy, both in *Dasong seng shilue* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.

THE TRANSMISSION OF MEDITATION AND CONTEMPLATION TECHNIQUES TO CHINA

There are two extant sources where Zanning talks directly about the Chan tradition in China. One is the *chuan changuan fa* (The Transmission of Meditation and Contemplation Techniques [to China]) section of the *Dasong seng shilue* (completed in 999), including an appended section, *bieli chanju* (The Separate Establishment of Chan Dwellings).[26] The other is Zanning's commentary to the *xichan* (Chan Practitioners) section of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (completed in 988).[27] The present investigation focuses on Zanning's accounts of Chan in the *chuan changuan fa* section, his last recorded statement regarding Chan, with reference to the *xichan* commentary. The aim is to understand Zanning's attitude toward *chan* meditation as practiced in the Chan school and the place it occupies in Chinese Buddhism.

To begin with, what did Zanning mean when he used the word *chan*? The answer to this question is found in the opening remarks to the *xichan* commentary. The definition contains two parts.

> The Indian word *dhyâna* (*channa*) in Chinese means "cultivation of thought" (*nianxiu*).[28] According to the meaning of this term, there is no thought (*wunian*) even when one thinks (*nian*) by engaging normal thought processes (*chuching*); and there is nothing cultivated (*wuxiu*) even though one cultivates throughout the day.[29]

This part of Zanning's definition is strongly colored by conceptions identified with the developing identity of the Chan school. The terms *wunian* and *wuxiu* strike at the very heart of the Chan school's conception of itself as it had come to be defined in Southern School records.[30]

The other part of Zanning's definition of *chan* is drawn from terminology linking it with standard descriptions of meditation in the Buddhist tradition.[31]

> It (i.e., the word *dhyâna*) also refers to right concentration (*zhengding*) and right contemplation (*zhengshou*).[32]

The term *zhengding* (right concentration) is taken straight from the Noble Eightfold Path. The term *zhengshou* (right contemplation), like *zhengding*, is a Chinese translation for *samâdhi*. The affirmation of *dhyâna*'s relationship to *samâdhi* places the discussion of *chan* within the broader tradition of Chinese Buddhism. Later, Zanning also refers to the terms *samatha* (*shemota*) and *samâdhi* (*sanmoti*) using Chinese transliterations, characterizing the one in terms of the state of quiescence (*jijing*), and the other in terms of contemplating (*guan*) the illusory nature of existence (*ruhuan*). The term *samatha* is usually translated into Chinese as *zhi* (cessation), so in effect what we have is a reference to the classic definition of Buddhist meditation in terms of "cessation" and "contemplation," the *zhi* and *guan*

formulation commonly associated with the Chinese Tiantai school. Yet there is something highly unusual about the way Zanning draws the formulation here. Traditional Buddhist meditation practice describes *samâdhi* as the result of *samatha* (*zhi*), just as *prajñâ* is the result of the practice of *vipasyanâ* (*guan*). The contrast that Zanning draws between *samatha* and *samâdhi*—terms usually linked and distinguished from *vipasyanâ* and *prajñâ*—like the distinction between *zhi* and *guan*, does not fit classical Buddhist meditation theory.

How does one reconcile Zanning's characterization of meditation with classical Buddhist meditation theory? It is hard to imagine that Zanning was mistaken about such basic features of Buddhist meditation. It is far more likely that he was attempting to interpret the polar concepts of Buddhist meditation, *samâdhi* and *prajñâ*, in a way that suggested unity and reduced the tendency to view them dualistically. This was a common aim of Chan lineages that were traced through the sixth patriarch Huineng. It is summarized in the *Platform Sûtra* claim, following the writings of Shenhui, that "*samâdhi* and *prajñâ* are alike."[33] Following the *ti-yong*, or substance-function model found in Shenhui and the *Platform Sûtra* (meditation is the substance of wisdom; wisdom is the function of meditation), Zanning's characterization seems to go further in privileging meditation as the substance of wisdom (characterizing *samâdhi* in terms of contemplating [*guan*] the illusory nature of existence [*ruhuan*], an activity usually associated with *prajñâ*). Although he was careful to depict meditation in terms common to the Buddhist tradition, Zanning's understanding of the terms fit a Chan, rather than a traditional, Buddhist agenda.

Another way of understanding the discrepancy between classical Buddhist meditation theory and Zanning's reinterpretation of it is to think of Zanning's characterization of meditation as a result of the historical development of Buddhism in China rather than a concern for doctrinal accuracy. In other words, Zanning's search for historical understanding superseded his concern for Buddhist doctrine. Two great meditation traditions, Tiantai and Chan, dominated the history of Chinese Buddhism in Zanning's eyes. Zanning's overriding concern was to harmonize these two traditions of meditation, and his discussion of meditation, in particular his characterization of *chan* in terms of *guan*, suggests a way of harmonizing key meditation concepts in the Chan lineages and Tiantai school. Zanning's adoption of *chan* and *guan* as his frame of reference in the *chuan changuan fa* section also suggests the two traditions of meditation practice in China.

At issue in the *chuan changuan fa* section is not the transmission of meditation and contemplation techniques themselves but the consideration of historical figures responsible for spreading these techniques in China. Zanning mentions three figures in this regard: Sengrui, Huiyuan, and Bodhidharma. The first two, Sengrui and Huiyuan, relate to the transmission of *dhyâna* as a broad, essential feature of Buddhist teaching and tradition. The third figure, Bodhidharma, represents the Chan school and its own transmission of *dhyâna* practice based on the lineage of Chan patriarchs. This provided a pretext for

harmony between the traditions of meditation represented by the Chan lineages and the older schools of Chinese Buddhism. The harmony was based on Zanning's understanding of the role that each played in the transmission of meditation and contemplation techniques to China.[34]

Zanning begins the *chuan changuan fa* section as follows:

> The origins of meditation (*chan*) techniques [in China] date from the time of the [Former] Qin dynasty (A.D. 351–394), when Dharma Master Sengrui wrote a preface for the *Meditation Scripture* (*Chan jing*) translated in the Guanzhong (Changan) area.[35]

In his preface to Kumârajîva's *Zuochan sanmei jing* (i.e., the *Chan jing*), Sengrui[36] indicated that "meditation is the initial gate toward [the realization of] the Way, and the ferry for traversing to *nirvâna*."[37] According to Sengrui, the methods that had hitherto been cultivated in China, the "twelve methods" taught in the *Anban shouyi jing* and "breathing meditation" (*ânâpâna*), were insufficient for destroying illusions stemming from sense-experience. Moreover, direct instruction had not been received from teachers on the techniques of meditation, and the *vinaya* precepts had not been fully transmitted.[38] It is this void that Sengrui wished to fill through Kumârajîva's translation.

Regarding Huiyuan,[39] Zanning states:

> South of the Yangzi River, Huiyuan lamented that meditation techniques had not yet been spread [in China] and expended great effort in order to obtain them.[40]

Huiyuan's interests in meditation were very eclectic. This was in large part due to the need of the Buddhist community for visualization aids in meditation practice, resulting in the well-known association devoted to the worship of Amitâbha.[41] In the case of monks, Huiyuan followed the exacting discipline of the Small Vehicle and the meditation techniques brought to Lushan by Buddhabhadra, a strict disciplinarian and disciple of the famed Indian *dhyâna* master Buddhasena.[42]

The last figure mentioned in the *chuan changuan fa* section is Bodhidharma,[43] the famed first patriarch of the Chan school in China.

> The patriarch Bodhidharma observed the karmic dispositions of the people of China, and against the state of confusion of this entire period proclaimed, "Do not rely on words and letters." His intention was to let practitioners abandon their clinging dependence on words.[44]

Zanning's remarks on Bodhidharma follow a characterization of what had gone wrong with meditation practice in China after Kumârajîva and Sengrui.

> The aim of this text [i.e., Kumârajîva's *Chan jing* including the preface by Sengrui] is to illumine the mind and penetrate the fundamental truth of Buddhism (*li*). Nevertheless, the

> situation was such that practitioners started to employ its techniques before they were able to cultivate them effectively. They spoke recklessly about a medical text before having heard [i.e., understood] about curing diseases. With the spread of Buddhist teaching, how many scores of "brilliant" masters there were to lecture on this text [making the situation even worse]! Those who annotated the text valued and paid attention only to its words and phrases. Those who outlined its contents divided the text arbitrarily into sections and subsections. They would pick up their whisks and wave their fingers—all they cared about was "riding conditions and capacities to respond to changes."[45] They "untangled the knots" and "blunted the sharpness."[46] They focused on the blade-edged sharpness of their wisdom and the impact of their debating technique. They completely forgot the truth that the text spoke of and did not seek liberation outside of this world.[47]

A similar appreciation of Bodhidharma's contribution is found in the *xichan* commentary.

> Then an Indian, Bodhidharma, took pity on we sentient beings. He knew that even though the Indian Buddhist works [on meditation] had been transmitted [to China], [practitioners] were drowning in name and form. They "neglected the moon while acknowledging the finger," and "grabbed hold of the trap to catch the fish." They thought highly of scripture recitation as [a means of gaining] merit, and did not believe in the Buddha existing in their own body. As a result, Bodhidharma was the first to proclaim: "Directly point to the mind of man; see one's nature and become a Buddha; do not rely on words and letters."
>
> In this, then, Bodhidharma rode on the *pâramitâ* of skillful means, saving others directly and avoiding circuitous routes which are immeasurably long. Ah! The scriptures indeed contain the circuitous teaching, and the circuitous teaching is none other than [the method of] gradual cultivation. Those who seek their own natures and become Buddhas suddenly awaken to the fact that their own mind is originally pure and from the outset without fault; that they have been endowed with the nature of wisdom free from any taint of illusion from the very beginning; and that their mind is itself the Buddha without any difference whatsoever. Cultivating enlightenment in this way is *chan* of the Supreme Vehicle.[48]

Zanning adopted a different approach to the spread of meditation in the *xichan* commentary, acknowledging the lineages of the main schools of Buddhism responsible for the spread of meditation in China. The discussion of these lineages suggests who Zanning believed was responsible for the depraved state of meditation practice in China prior to Bodhidharma.

Two lineages are represented in the *xichan* commentary, that of Tiantai and that of Chan. Figures mentioned in connection with the Tiantai school, Huiwen, Huisi, and Zhiyi, are credited with furthering meditation techniques (*chanfa*) [specifically the "three contemplations" (*sanguan*) on emptiness, provisional existence, and the middle between these two, and "cessation and contemplation" (*zhiguan*)] through the Sui dynasty. The Chan lineage is listed after the Tiantai lineage and includes the conventional list of early patriarchs: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, and Daoxin. After Daoxin the lineage divides into two branches, that of Hungren and Niutou Farung. Two branches are also said to have derived from Hungren, that of Shenxiu and Huineng, although Huineng passed on the robe of

transmission, and it is his branch that is said to flourish.[49] The important point is that Tiantai is represented before Chan. This suggests that Tiantai masters represented meditation practice in China before the development of the Chan movement, tracing the origins to Bodhidharma. Implicit in the arrangement is a criticism of the kind of meditation practiced in the Tiantai school before the arrival of Bodhidharma and the gradual spread of his influence.

Judging from the above, Zanning held the meditation practices of the Chan lineages in highest regard, which he referred to as "*chan* of the Supreme Vehicle." His comment "those who outlined its contents divided the text arbitrarily into sections and subsections" can be read as a general criticism of prevailing exegetical conventions within the Buddhist scholasticism of the period. According to the information in the *xichan* commentary, Zanning may have had Zhiyi and Tiantai school exegetes specifically in mind here. By the same token, Zanning's statement "They would pick up their whisks and wave their fingers. . . , and did not seek liberation outside of this world" might be read as an allusion to the Buddho-Taoist rapport stemming from conversations between Buddhists and Neo-Taoists in southern China during the Six Dynasties period. This interpretation is strengthened by Zanning's direct reference to Taoist phrases in the *xichan* commentary.

Throughout the *chuan changuan fa* section, two concerns dominate. The first is the need to reconcile the two traditions of meditation in historical terms, to help determine how Tiantai and Chan should be understood in relation to each other as representatives of Buddhist meditation in China. The other is the depiction of meditation in terms that suggest the influence of Chan teachings over traditional conceptions of meditation practice. Both concerns are indicative of Zanning's response to the growing importance of Chan within the Chinese Buddhist tradition.

THE SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHAN DWELLINGS

Along with Bodhidharma, Baizhang Huaihai (749–814) was the most revered Chan patriarch in the Song. Together, Bodhidharma and Baizhang came to represent the pillars of the Chan tradition; their images achieved cult status in the Song Chan tradition. As depicted above, Bodhidharma set meditation practice on the right track by criticizing the prevailing tendencies that gripped the Chinese Buddhist world. Baizhang, on the other hand, is credited with establishing the independent institutions and conventions that prevailed at Chan monasteries, including the provision for setting up separate dwellings for Chan practitioners.

Zanning accepts the tradition that Baizhang was responsible for establishing meditation halls separate from the main Buddhist monastery and for instituting the rules and conventions that prevailed in these halls. As Foulk has shown, this tradition is highly suspect. It has more to do with the image that Chan practitioners wanted to convey than to the reality of how "Chan" monasteries were organized and actually run.[50]

Zanning's comments on Baizhang's innovations are recorded in two places, in a commentary to the *bieli chanju* (The Separate Establishment of Chan Dwellings) and in remarks attached to Baizhang's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.[51] Zanning's position may be summarized in the following points:

> (1) There is no basis for distinguishing *chan* monasteries from *vinaya* monasteries based on the teachings of Buddhism transmitted to China. Consequently, people mastering meditation (*chan*) and people achieving proficiency in Buddhist doctrine (*fa*) all lived in the same monasteries and simply maintained separate cloisters. This was true for the early patriarchs and practitioners in the Chan tradition as well.
>
> (2) When Baizhang entered the scene, he established an independent set of monastic regulations with the idea of using them as expedient devices (*upâya*). The idea was to entice practitioners specifically devoted to austerities (*dhûta*) to follow the correct way and abandon erroneous practices.
>
> (3) The standards established by Baizhang offer many advantages and few disadvantages for *chan* practitioners. The changes initiated by Baizhang resulted in numerous benefits.
>
> (4) The *vinaya* tradition of the Mahîsâsaka school has provisions for such reforms. Even if a practice has not been stipulated by the Buddha, it should be adopted if it purifies those who practice it.

Zanning's justification of Baizhang's monastic code was based on several factors. The regulations instituted by Baizhang, initially unprecedented, merely established new precedents. Three rationales justified Zanning's tolerance of Baizhang's code: (1) The *vinaya* tradition legitimated experimentation within Buddhist monasticism. The most important point in Zanning's eyes was that Baizhang's rules represented innovations to the established *vinaya* tradition, and not deviations from it; (2) The Buddhist notion of expediencies, or skill-in-means (*upâya*) provided doctrinal justification; and (3) Baizhang's innovations were effective. The success of Chan stimulated a revival of interest in Buddhism.

Another factor affecting Zanning's assessment was the geographical circumstances associated with the Chan revival. Chan support was centered in areas away from the capital, in regions that had enjoyed a great deal of autonomy before the Song reestablished its control over them. Zanning's support effectively protected provincial Chan movements as the country came to terms with its newly established unity, thus fostering Buddhist revival carried out under the Chan banner.

Zanning's support, however, was not unconditional. The regional revival of Buddhism carried out under the name of Chan was more than geographically diverse. It also represented a loose amalgamation of practitioners whose distinct approaches to Chan teaching paralleled their geographical diversity. As China attained political unity, the regional Chan movements sought a common identity centered on a coherent set of teachings. However admiring Zanning may have been of Baizhang's innovations, he insisted that Chan practitioners, without exception, abide by the *vinaya* regulations governing the Buddhist tradition as a whole. It was erroneous, according to Zanning, for Chan practitioners to think of themselves as independent of the proscriptions detailed in the *vinaya*, the exceptions precedented by Baizhang notwithstanding. In the *xichan* commentary, Zanning states:

> The study of the *vinaya* alone provides the regulatory model for the thousand pathways [to *nirvâna*]. When the precepts are carried out, they form the foundation for being a member of the Buddhist clan. When Buddhist practices are promoted as accompaniments to [the *vinaya* precepts], the outcome of sramanas' deeds will be pure. How can [*chan* practitioners] mount the One Vehicle while pretending to turn their backs on the Buddhist precepts governing study of the three disciplines (moral training, meditation, and wisdom)?[52]

This position is further confirmed in the *bieli chanju* appendix of the *Dasong seng shilue*, in terms specifically aimed at influencing members of the government bureaucracy.

> When the rites and music and punitive expeditions are issued from the Son of Heaven, then the Kingly Way (*wangdao*) flourishes.[53] When monastic regulations (*senggui*) at Buddhist monasteries accord with stipulations established by the Tathâgata, then the True Law (*zhengfa*) remains [in the world].[54]

What these comments suggest is that although Zanning was admiring of Baizhang and his innovations, he did not always approve of how they were being interpreted in Chan circles. They further suggest an affirmation of the Buddhist tradition that placed Zanning at odds with an interpretation promoted by members of certain Chan lineages that sought to distance Chan from its Buddhist origins.

CHAN AS A SPECIAL TRADITION *WITHIN* THE SCRIPTURES

By the tenth century, Chan was already identified with common slogans characterizing its unique position within Buddhism. These slogans were generally attributed to Bodhidharma, as if to suggest that they were from the outset part of a deliberate plan on his part. In the end, four phrases summarized Chan's self-definition. Three of these phrases were acknowledged by Zanning: "Directly point to the mind of man (*zhizhi renxin*); see one's nature and become a Buddha (*jianxing chengfo*); do not rely on words and letters (*buli*

wenzi)."[55] The fourth slogan, "A special tradition outside the scriptures (*jiaowai biechuan*)," was not. Historically, this slogan was accepted later than the other three. It represented the dominance of the Linji sect over Chan that developed later in the Song period.[56] Zanning's opposition to the position represented by the fourth slogan is made clear in comments appended to the *chuan changuan fa*.

> [The government minister] who does not follow the virtuous influence (government policies) of his sovereign (*wanghua*) is called a rebellious minister. [The son] who does not carry on the legacy of his father is called a disobedient son. Anyone daring to defy the teachings of the Buddha (*foshuo*) is referred to as a follower of demonic heterodoxies. Therefore, the Truth (*fa*) preached by the Buddhas of the three ages (past, present, and future) is always the same, and the learning (*xue*) imparted by the Sacred Ones of the ten directions is textually uniform. The scriptures of Sâkyamuni are the root (fundamental teaching); the words of Bodhidharma are the branch (supplementary teaching). How truly lamentable it is to turn one's back on the root to chase after the branches![57]

Zanning's tolerance for independent Chan institutions did not extend to Chan claims of freedom from scriptural authority and the important placing of Bodhidharma's teachings prior to those of the Buddha. The words of Bodhidharma, according to Zanning, must be understood within the context of Buddhist teaching as a whole. Chan teaching is not a departure from that tradition but is seen as a continuation of it, a "special transmission *within* the scriptures." Zanning continues:

> Your humble servants (monks who follow true Buddhist teachings) begin their training with Buddhist teachings made available through translations and endeavor strenuously to comply with [the teachings contained in] Buddhist writings. They take every opportunity to question Tripitaka Masters who have arrived from India and Central Asia. Based on an examination of the records and writings of those who have sought [meditation] techniques (*fa*) in the past and at present, *chan* meditation (*chanding*) in India is taught along with Buddhist teaching [and not independently]. As a result, people entered the ranks of true enlightenment closely on each other's heels (one after another). In the five districts of India monks practice [meditation] in order to strive toward the truth prescribed in Buddhist teaching.
>
> The words of the Buddhas and teachings of the Sacred Ones will not lead later students astray. They advise anyone who shares the common aspiration [for enlightenment]: If you study the meditation [techniques] (*chan*) that the Buddha [himself cultivated], you can hope for release from the world of suffering and climb onto the other shore; do not deceive others with clever words and betray your mind (*lingfu*). A scripture says: "If you want to obtain enlightenment, you must rely on the words of the Buddha. To try to obtain it by opposing them is completely unfounded."[58] [To try to obtain it in such a way] is slanderous indeed![59]

In these passages, Zanning conveyed a clear message regarding the relationship between *chan* practice and Buddhist teaching: The proper practice of Buddhist meditation is within the context of the Buddhist tradition; the study of Buddhist teaching and the cultivation of meditation should be conducted together, not independently.

This leads to the following conclusion regarding Zanning and Chan. Although Zanning supported Chan, he did not agree with certain interpretations of what the Chan tradition had come to represent. He agreed that the messages of Bodhidharma and Baizhang had a positive impact on the Buddhist religion in China. He was adamant, however, that they and their contributions be seen as a part of the overall history and development of Buddhism, and not as harbingers of a revolutionary message that denied the validity of the tradition that preceded them.

The position adopted by Zanning presumes a difference of opinion about the basic nature of *chan* with members of the Chan school. In the *xichan* commentary, Zanning discusses the divisive and quarrelsome character of Chan students.

> How great a thing *chan* is! By virtue of it, Buddhas ascend the wondrous stages of enlightenment, and female dragons(?) destroy restrictions that bind us. With regard to *chan*, nothing surpasses the sudden approach [developed in the Chan school]. In the present ages of the imitative law (*xiang*) and the end of the law (*mo*), disputes [over *chan*] increasingly occur. [These disputes] bring harm to the [Buddhist] teaching profession, and quarrels with students are endless. [For example], when students hear "This mind is the Buddha,"[60] they respond, "Why are the thirty-two marks [of a Buddha] not present?" Or, when they hear about the "exclusive path to *nirvâna*,"[61] they say, "Where are the eighty-thousand approaches to the Dharma (*famen*)?" They don't know that "giving rise to the aspiration of enlightenment" (*fa puti xin*) referred to in Buddhist scriptures is the same as what they call "seeing into the Buddha nature" (*jian foxing*) in the Chan school. They ask "what is "*bodhisattva* cultivation?" [not knowing] it is gradual cultivation that proceeds in stages (*xingbu*).
>
> Because of their lack of faith, they are led astray by ignorance; having lost themselves, they forget where to return to. How are we to restore their practice? Sometimes, when we use scriptures to instruct them, they answer, "These are the teachings of the School of Nature (*xingzong*)."[62] Others, referring to the scriptures, say "Shouldn't Mara's teachings be burned and destroyed?" If we decide to put the scriptures aside and not discuss them, some want to do away with them, others want to preserve them. [They fight with each other over this question]. Aren't all these people deluded?[63]

Although convinced of the superiority of Chan school teaching ("nothing surpasses the sudden approach"), Zanning shows little patience with the obstructive techniques used by some representatives of the Chan school.

> They [i.e., these members of the Chan school] fail to see that the scriptures are the words of the Buddha, and meditation (*chan*) is the thought of the Buddha; that there is no discrepancy whatsoever between what is in the minds of the Buddhas and what they utter with their mouths.[64]

The disparity between Zanning's promotion of Chan teachings, on the one hand, and criticism of Chan attitudes toward the Buddhist tradition (scriptures and *vinaya*), on the other, may be characterized as follows. As noted above, Zanning acknowledged the legitimacy of unique Chan institutional arrangements and promoted standard teachings of

the Chan school as positive contributions to Buddhism. This demonstrates the pervasive influence of Chan over Chinese Buddhism in the tenth century, to the point that the contemporary understanding of the Buddhist tradition was strongly colored by the Chan school's interpretation of that tradition. This is reflected in the views of Zanning, who was a prominent member of the Buddhist community and not a Chan monk.

The fact that Zanning's views on Chan did not always agree with Chan practitioners may be explained as follows. In the first place, Zanning identified with the *vinaya* tradition. The Vinaya school in China was not regarded as an independent organization as in the case of other schools of Chinese Buddhism. Rather than promoting a unique interpretation of Buddhist teaching and doctrine, the Vinaya school provided a standard code of discipline followed by members of all Buddhist schools. Through identification with this tradition, Zanning opposed the kind of partisanship that defied the authority of established Buddhist teachings and ritual conventions.

Another important factor was the relationship of *vinaya* monks to the government. At a conceptual level, it was natural for Confucian-trained officials to appoint Buddhist ritual experts to positions of authority. As a result, Zanning followed other prominent *vinaya* masters in serving as advisor to the government on Buddhist affairs and liaison between the bureaucracy and the *sangha*.[65] In an age of change and transition where the role of Buddhism in Chinese society was being questioned and reevaluated, the position of liaison was a difficult one. Zanning had to weigh the concerns of both sides in an attempt to strike an acceptable balance, mindful that the government had final say in the matter. The implications of Zanning's position as government liaison on his view of the role of Buddhism in Chinese society are discussed in the next section.

These factors explain the circumstances contributing to the critical views Zanning adopted toward the Chan school. There is another factor, however, that bears directly on Zanning's criticisms. Zanning's criticisms were not unique, but parallel views represented in the Chan tradition itself at the time. As noted previously, Chan in the tenth century was represented by a number of regionally based movements. Zanning was a native of the region (Wuyue) that produced the strongest movement of the day, deriving from Fayan Wenyi. Members of the Fayan sect emphasized connections between Chan and the Buddhist tradition.[66] Like Zanning, they were highly critical of Chan practitioners who sought to establish an identity independent of established Buddhist teachings and conventions.

The main representative of the interpretation of Chan in the Wuyue region was Yongming Yanshou. Yanshou sought to combine Chan teaching with the Buddhist tradition as a whole, interpreting Chan in terms of conventional Buddhist practices and the teachings of the Great Vehicle.

> The tranquil manifestation of "no-mind" (*wuxin*)—this is the criterion for realizing [one's Buddha-nature]. Solemn, adorning practices (*zhuangyan*) for the accumulation of blessings and virtues are necessary on account of [the nature of] conditioned arising (*yuanchi*). Equipped with these two criteria together as a pair, the essence of Buddhahood (*foti*) is complete. None of the scriptures of the Great Vehicle fail to record this in detail.[67]

According to Yanshou, practitioners need both the tranquil practice of meditation and the active cultivation of conventional Buddhist virtues (i.e., the myriad good deeds) in order to fulfill the requirements of true cultivation. This is a model of Chan that openly acknowledges an indebtedness to the Buddhist tradition.[68] In addition, Yanshou was critical of Chan practitioners who denied the Buddhist tradition, and impatient of their claims.

> Nowadays, many people place great emphasis on such nihilistic sayings as "Not mind, not Buddha!" "Not *li*, not *shi*!" and consider them to be subtle and profound. They do not know that these are only expressions for curing disease by cutting off superfluous explanations. They become attached to this skillful means, and take it as the goal, . . . [by doing so] they all at once relinquish the true ground [for cultivating enlightenment]. . . . They only trust in their shallow, facile emotions, and do not investigate the deep, subtle meaning [of Buddhist teaching].[69]

This indicates a correspondence between Yanshou's views on the place of Chan within the Buddhist tradition, and those of Zanning. Zanning's views on Chan, both his promotion of Chan teaching and his criticisms of Chan arrogance, are deeply rooted in the style of Chan voiced by Yanshou that flourished in Wuyue.

A major component in the Wuyue revival was the restoration of Tang Buddhist teachings and institutions. The backward-looking aspects of this revival would eventually prove anachronistic in the Song, which looked elsewhere than the Buddhist idealism of the Tang for its ideological model. As a result, Chan sects (e.g. Linji) that distanced themselves from the Tang Buddhist tradition found a more comfortable reception in the Song environment.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: CHAN AND THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM IN THE SONG STATE

No treatment of Zanning's views on Chan would be complete without an understanding of Zanning's conception of the role of Buddhism in the Song state. On the surface, Zanning's position on the role of Buddhism would have only an indirect bearing on his views on Chan. The rising importance of Chan within Buddhism, however, made this more than an idle concern. Under these circumstances, how Zanning conceived the role of Buddhism in the Chinese state would have direct implications for government policies toward Chan.

Zanning's penchant for using Confucian ideas to justify his position regarding the proper place of Chan within the Buddhist tradition has been shown (specifically, in his analogy between following the Son of Heaven's initiation of rites, music, and punitive expeditions, and following the Tathâgata's lead in making regulations for monks; and in his analogy between loyal ministers and filial sons, on the one hand, and Buddhists who abide by the scriptures, on the other). These allusions suggest a broader framework within which the role of Buddhism in China was conceived. Zanning's conception of the role of Buddhism within this broader framework is discussed in the concluding section of the *Dasong seng shilue*.[70]

Zanning's position in the *Dasong seng shilue* is based on the aim of assuring a role for Buddhism in China. To fulfill this aim, Zanning suggests four propositions:

> (1) The emperor, as the undisputed head of the Chinese state and leader of Chinese society, is the legitimate supervisor of the Buddhist religion.
>
> (2) Buddhism is useful to the emperor for conducting affairs of state.
>
> (3) Each of China's three religions—Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism—has a legitimate position in the function of the state.
>
> (4) It is the duty of the emperor to supervise the activities of the three religions, and direct them in accordance with the aims of the state.

The first proposition is an admission of the reality that Buddhism faced in the Song. The survival of Buddhism depended on imperial sanction of its activities. The second proposition is a reminder of the strong influence that Buddhism had over the populace. Properly guided and supported, Buddhism could serve as an important tool in the imperial arsenal. The third proposition is a cornerstone of Zanning's proposal for the role of Buddhism. For Zanning the three religions represented but three aspects of a single imperial ideology. Zanning's concept placed the emperor alone at the top as the sole authority, with the three religions in tripodlike harmony underneath.[71] Within this ideology, each religion occupied a legitimate place acknowledged by the others. As a result, the fourth proposition assumes that the emperor had sole authority over the three aspects (i.e., religions) of his imperial ideology. The three religions were the emperor's implements: He could direct them as best suited his "grand plan."

In this manner, Zanning likens the three religions to the possessions of a single family, the Chinese nation, with the emperor as the head of this family. While conceding the emperor's authority over Buddhism, as one of the three religions, Zanning asserts that Buddhism, as a member of the Chinese family, has a legitimate place in Chinese society.

What this suggests for Zanning's view of Chan may be stated as follows. As the most popular form of Buddhism in the tenth century, Chan represented the best hope for the future. Two obstacles stood in the way. One came from within the Chan school itself, in

the suggestion that Chan opposed the scriptural and *vinaya* traditions of Buddhism and represented an independent and isolated tradition of its own. The other came from anti-Buddhist factions in the imperial government who saw Buddhism as a culprit responsible for past excesses and sought to deny Buddhism any meaningful role in Chinese society. Zanning responded to the first group by maintaining that Chan, as the culmination of the *Mahâyâna* tradition, stood firmly within the teachings contained in Buddhist scriptures and the standards established in *vinaya* codes. Unique Chan innovations were applauded. Chan suggestions of an independent tradition were renounced. Zanning responded to the second group by conceding imperial authority over Buddhism in exchange for government support.

Zanning's influence on the course of Chan and Buddhism in the Song has received little attention. Much of the reason can be attributed to Zanning's responses to the problems facing Buddhism in his day. Grounded in the reality of the tenth century, many of Zanning's views were out of touch with later Song developments. As sectarianism gripped the Buddhist world, Zanning's non-sectarian approach to issues lost relevance. Within Chan, Zanning's natural affinity with Fayan masters from the Wuyue region, dominant in the tenth century, proved a liability when the Linji sect became dominant in the eleventh. Politically, the Tang Buddhist tradition that Zanning admired symbolized a failed ideology. Song officials, mindful of its legacy, were wary of a Buddhist revival conceived on the model of the Tang, and sought to keep it at arm's length. As a result, Chan practitioners who severed ties with the Buddhist past, at least rhetorically, found a more comfortable reception at the Song court. Nevertheless, Zanning's contributions, even in retrospect, are considerable. His views helped establish Chan as the premier school of Buddhism in the Song, where Chan institutions thrived under government patronage.

END NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was given at a conference held at the University of Hawaii, Manoa (March, 1990) entitled *Zen and Ch'an: How do they Compare?* The author would like to acknowledge the support of the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada* for funding research, upon which the current study is based. In addition I would also like to thank Ishii Shûdô of Komazawa University for his assistance in reading the *Dasong seng shilue*, and Koichi Shinohara of McMaster University, whose comments on an earlier draft have been incorporated in the current study. I am also grateful to the reviewers of the *Journal of Chinese Religions*, whose comments and suggestions I have tried to incorporate.

2. The political climate at this time has been carefully analyzed by Wang Gungwu, in *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Palo Alto: Stanford, 1967).

3. On the impact of these changes primarily from a social and economic perspective, see John W. Haeger, ed., *Crises and Prosperity in Sung China* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1975). In the introduction (p. 4), Haeger writes, "It is by now almost in the nature of truism that the beginnings of

"modern" Chinese history can be traced to the so-called T'ang-Sung transition in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries," and goes on to mention "the concentration of population and economic strength away from the political center of gravity," the "surplus of fertile, arable land," and "the growth of commerce" as factors precipitating broad-based social and institutional changes.

4. Regarding the situation of Chan in medieval China bearing upon important developments in the tenth century, readers may consult T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an Tsung in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?", *The Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, no. 8 (Fall 1992): 18–31. As Foulk points out (pp. 25–26), the effects of the Huichang campaign were keenly felt by Buddhist schools (including the Chan lineages associated with Shenhui and Shenxiu) that were dependent on government support. One of the legacies of the suppression was a "decentralization" of support for Buddhism. Many regional areas remained hospitable toward Buddhism, and as the authority of the central government waned, provincial patrons became primary supporters. This had a tremendous impact on the development of Chan. The so-called "five houses" all owed their existence to this development.

5. 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 anxious 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 Satô Tatsugen, *Chûgoku bukkyô ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Mokuji sha, 1986): 229–98.

6. 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 ch. 20 of the *Xiaochu ji*. Accounts of Zanning's life are also scattered through Buddhist sources, such as the *Shimen zhengtong* (ch. 8), the *Fozu tongji* (ch. 44), and Fadao's preface to the *Dasong seng shilue*. The best modern study is by Makita Tairyô, "Sannei to sono jidai," *Chûgoku kinsei bukkyôshi kenkyû*: 96–133. For a discussion in English, see Albert Dahlia, "The 'Political' Career of the Buddhist Historian Tsanning," in David Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, Buddhist and Taoist Studies II (Honolulu: Hawaii, 1987).

7. The practice of the Chinese government from the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (fourth–sixth centuries A.D.) 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, like Zanning, at prestigious monasteries in the capital; they were recognized as empire-wide leaders of the Buddhist clergy (see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985): 405.

8. The leader of this group, Li Fang (925–996), was editor in chief of the classic works of early Song historiography, the *Taiping yulan*, the *Taiping guangji*, and the *Wenyuan yinghua*.

9. On this tendency in the early Song, see Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), especially pp. 150–55.

10. The *Seng shilue* (*Taishō shinshû daizokyō* [hereafter abbreviated as T], vol. 54, no. 2126) is a work in three *zhuan* addressing 59 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, the development of monastic institutions within the imperial bureaucracy, and so on.

11. T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an Tsung in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?", p. 19, maintains that the term *zong* (*tsung*) in Chinese Buddhism, usually translated as "school," is infused with ideological, symbolic, and mythological dimensions, and is best translated as "lineage" when it refers to "a spiritual clan conceived as a group of individuals related by virtue of their inheritance of some sort of Dharma from a common ancestor." Foulk's distinction, particularly aimed at Chan, distinguishes *zong* as primarily a lineal association drawn on the assumption of genealogical relationships, from a "school" predicated on a common set of beliefs, practices, or institutional structures.

12. The Shizong suppression (955), named after the emperor who sponsored it, is counted as one of four major anti-Buddhist campaigns in Chinese history. Documents concerning it have been collected by Makita Tairyô, in *Godai shûkyôshi kenkyû* (Kyoto, 1971).

13. T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993): 152. The prototypes for Chan lineages are found in Tang texts such as the *Chuan fabao ji* and *Lengjia shizi ji* (completed in the early decades of the eighth century), and the *Baolin zhuan* (c. 801). The acknowledgment of Song multilineal Chan branches begins with the *Zutang ji* (952) and reaches standard form in the *Jingde chuanteng lu* (1004), discussed below.

14. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to review these developments, even in passing. Those interested in early Chan history can consult two excellent works on the topic, both based on the ample research of Japanese scholars: Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia, 1967), and John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1986).

15. Among studies on Zongmi that devote attention to Zongmi's evaluation of Chan schools, see Yün-hua Jan, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972): 1–54, and Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991), especially ch. 9: 224–52.

16. An edition of this work was published by Yanagida Seizan based on the Korean edition contained in the library of Hanazono University (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1972). For the circumstances surrounding the compilation, see Foulk, "The Ch'an Tsung in Medieval China": 27.

17. T 51, no. 2076. Unfortunately, little reliable information is available regarding Daoyuan. The circumstances associated with his life are discussed by Ishii, *Sôdai zenshûshi*: 26–44. Based on the

available evidence (primarily the preface to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* by Yang Yi [974–1020] and the preface to the *Fozu tongcan ji* by Daoyuan), Ishii: 8–25 also presents an insightful assessment of how the meaning of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was recast as it was edited by two members of the Song bureaucracy, Yang Yi and Li Wei, and officially appropriated by the government into the Buddhist canon. Daoyuan's original title for the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *Fozu tongcan ji* (Collection of the Common Chan Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs), reflected harmony between the teachings of Chan patriarchs and the Buddhist tradition at large. This was common among masters affiliated with Fayan, who followed a position based on the compatibility of Chan and Buddhist teaching established by Zongmi. Yang Yi and Li Wei were familiar with Linji style Chan, more common in the north, and appropriated Daoyuan's text as representative of "a special practice outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biexing*), a slogan which, in slightly altered form as "a special transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biechuan*), came to represent the normative position of Chan in the Song. The rejection of this position is an important feature of Zanning's view of Chan discussed below.

18. Zanning's categories of classification in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* are the same as those used by Daoxuan in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*: Translators (*yijing*), Exegetes (*yijie*), Ch'an Practitioners (*xichan*), Disciplinarians (*minglu*), Dharma Protectors (*hufa*), Miracle Workers (*gantong*), Self Immolators (*yishen*), Cantors (*dujing*), Promoters of Works of Merit (*xingfu*), and Various Categories of Invokers of Virtue (*zake shengde*).

19. The probability of familiarity with the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is likely owing to the common tie of Zanning and Daoyuan to the Wuyue region, but the state of Daoyuan's work at the time of Zanning's death in 1001 is uncertain.

20. Those interested in comparing figures in the ten categories throughout the *gaoseng zhuan* works can consult Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: Yungming Yenshou and the Wanshan t'ungkuei chi* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), "Shifting Patterns in the Categories of Eminent Monks": 7–15. In general, tables enumerating the numbers and percentages of monks attaining eminence in each category show a marked transition from translating and exegetical activities toward other, non-scholarly pursuits. The rise in prominence of Ch'an practitioners and miracle workers, in particular, as paths to eminence signifies this change, but monks in a number of other categories illustrate the transition as well: 332 out of 499 monks, or 66.5 percent, attained eminence as translators or exegetes in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (c. 520); 138 out of 656 monks, or 21 percent, attained eminence in these two categories in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (988). In the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, monks attaining eminence in other categories like Ch'an practitioners (20.1 percent), miracle workers (17.1 percent), disciplinarians (10.4 percent), various categories of invokers of virtue (8.7 percent), promoters of works of merit (8.5 percent), and cantors (7.6 percent), rivaled or surpassed monks attaining eminence as exegetes (14.3 percent) or translators (6.7 percent).

21. Ishii, *Sôdai zenshûshi*: 46, Table 2. The total number of "transmitters of the lamp" in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is 183.

22. On Yongming Yanshou, see Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*. During the Five Dynasties period (907–960), the Wuyue region was one of a number of autonomous states (known collectively as the "ten kingdoms") located in the south. As noted previously, Zanning began his career in Wuyue where he served as Ordination Supervisor (*jiantan*) and Buddhist Controller (*sengtong*) for the ruling Qian family before Wuyue unification with the Song in 978. He was personally familiar with Yanshou and the situation of Buddhism in Wuyue.

23. For a consideration of Chan monks in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* and *Jingde chuandeng lu* in terms of their Chan lineages, see Ishii: 45–61. The examples listed here are drawn from p. 48.

24. *Xuzang jing*, vol. 148: 294b.

25. Ishii, *Sôdai zenshûshi*: 48. That Zanning knew of Yunmen is clear from mention of Yunmen's name in the biography of Dasheng Shouxian (ch. 23, T 50.860a). Ishii shows that the favoritism exhibited in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* toward monks from the Wuyue region parallels *Jingde chuandeng lu* partisanship of Fayan claims (as a lineage deriving from Qingyuan Xingsi) over those lineages deriving from Nanyue Huairang in the *Zutang ji*. In this context, Yunmen represented a rival to Fayan as the legitimate heir in the succession deriving from Qingyuan Xingsi.

26. T 54.240a-b. An annotated translation by Makita Tairyô is contained in the *Kokuyaku issaikyô* series, "History section" (*shibu*), vol. 13.

27. T 50.789b-790a.

28. The Chinese pronunciation is actually closer to the Prakritic pronunciation, *jhâna*, although we don't really know how it was pronounced by Central Asian missionaries in China.

29. T 50.789b11–12. This conception of *chan* is adopted from Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuchuanji duxu* (Kamata Shigeo, *Zen no goroku 9: Zengen shosenshu tojo*: 13).

30. Regarding the notion of "no-thought" compare, for example, the *Tan jing* (Platform Sutra): "No-thought (*wunian*) is not to think even when involved in thought" (Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*: 138), and Yanshou in the *Zongjing lu* (Records Reflecting True Buddhist Doctrine): "When one gives rise to a [discriminating] mind and activates thought (*tongnian*), they immediately pervert the substance of the truth (*fati*). . . . When one activates thought and gives rise to a [discriminating] mind, it causes one to be deprived of correct thought (*zhengnian*). Correct thought means to know without thinking (*wunian*)."(T 48.460a)

Regarding the Chan position on "no-cultivation," the *Linji lu* (*Records of Linji*) states: "Attainment is attained instantly, with no time required; without cultivation (*wuxiu*), without realization, without gain, without loss. . . . Followers of the Way, as to Buddhadharma no effort is necessary. You have only to be ordinary with nothing to do." From Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi* (Kyoto, 1975): 11.

Wunian and *wuxiu* became important concepts in the Chan school after they were promoted by Shenhui (670–762), whose writings have been collected by Hu Shih, *Shenhui heshang yiji* (Shanghai, 1930).

31. For useful discussions of the aims and techniques that characterize Chinese Buddhist meditation, see Peter N. Gregory, *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, 1986), esp. the article by Alan Sponberg, "Meditation in Fahsiang Buddhism": 15–43.

32. T 50.789b12–13.

33. A fuller statement from the *Platform Sûtra* reads:

> Good friends, my teaching of the Dharma takes *samâdhi* (*ding*) and *prajñâ* (*hui*) as its basis. Never under any circumstances say mistakenly that *samâdhi* and *prajñâ* are different; they are a unity, not two things. *Samâdhi* itself is the substance of *prajñâ*; *prajñâ* itself is the function of *samâdhi*. At the very moment when there is *prajñâ*, then *samâdhi* exists in *prajñâ*; at the very moment when there is *samâdhi*, then *prajñâ* exists in *samâdhi*. Good friends, this means that *samâdhi* and *prajñâ* are alike.

From Yampolsky, *The Platform Sûtra*: p. 135, with minor changes; for reference to similar passages in the works of Shenhui, see Yampolsky, n. 54 and n. 56.

34. It should also be mentioned that throughout the *Dasong seng shilue* there is a strong inclination to emphasize developments in the north. This is natural considering the primary audience to which the *Seng shilue* is directed. Developments affecting Buddhist institutions are generally associated with the central government, usually located in the north. Developments in the south are also mentioned when relevent, but are always placed at the end of the discussion. In the *chuan changuan fa* section, Sengrui is discussed in connection with northern developments. Huiyuan and Bodhidharma are discussed under southern developments.

35. T 54.240a6–7.

36. T 55.65a. Sengrui's dates are unclear, but according to his biography (T. 50, 364a-b) he initially studied Buddhism under a monk called Sengxian and became famous for his extensive knowledge of Buddhist writings. He later became a student of Daoan, and assisted Kumârajîva in his translation work in Changan. He wrote prefaces for a number of works (many of Sengrui's prefaces are recorded in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, chs. 8–11; T 55.52a-82b), and was held in high esteem by the Qin emperors Yao Song and Yao Xing. Sengrui's preface mentioned here, the *Guanzhong chuchanjing xu* (Preface for the Meditation Scripture Translated in Guanzhong), was written in the ninth year of the *Hongzhi* era (407) [a copy is contained in T 55.65a-b]. It was written for Kumârajîva's *Zuochan sanmei jing* (Scripture on Sitting-Meditation Samâdhi) [T 15, no. 614; a.k.a. the *Pusa chanfa jing* (Scripture on Bodhisattva Meditation Techniques), or the *Chan fayao* (Essential Techniques of Meditation), and abbreviated as *Chan jing* (Meditation Scripture). It is not to be confused with the *Dharmatrâta chan jing* (T 15, no. 618) translated by Buddhabhadra, which will be considered in connection with Huiyuan below].

According to Sengrui's biography,

> Sengrui often lamented: "Although the [available] teachings of the scriptures are few [in number], they are sufficient for understanding [the law of] cause and effect. But since the techniques for meditation (*chanfa*) have yet to be transmitted [to China], there is no basis [literally "ground"] for polishing the mind." As a result, after Kumârajîva arrived in Guanzhong (Changan), Sengrui asked him to translate the *Chan fayao* [i.e., the *Zuochan sanmei jing*], a text in three *zhuan* [Although Sengrui's preface confirms the number of *zhuan* as three, the T. edition of the text has only two *zhuan*]. It begins with compositions quoted from Kumâralâta, ends with explanations quoted from Asvagosha (Maming), with writings quoted from various foreign sages in between. It is also referred to as Bodhisattva meditation (*pusa chan*).

> As soon as Sengrui obtained the translation, he practiced [the techniques described in it] day and night, and eventually became adept in the five methods of meditation [on impurity, compassion, causes and conditions, the world of distinctions, and breath control] and skilled in the six purifications [methods for purifying the six senses?].

There are other questions regarding Zanning's arrangement to consider. Why did Zanning begin the section with Sengrui? Why didn't he begin his discussion with the Parthian emigre monk An Shigao? An Shigao arrived in Luoyang in A.D. 148 and was active there for more than twenty years. An important part of An Shigao's translation work involved meditation texts such as the *Anban shouyi jing* and the *Chanxing faxiang jing* (T 15, nos. 602 and 605). Moreover, Zanning did regard An Shigao's contributions highly. He figures prominently in other sections of the *Seng shilue* [section 5: "The Translation of Buddhist Scriptures" and section 6: "Translations of the Vinaya Rules" (T 54.237b-c)]. The implication is that Zanning accepted Sengrui's assessment that real meditation began with Kumârajîva's translations. The transmission of meditation techniques prior to Kumârajîva was incomplete and did not represent the true (Mahâyâna) tradition of Buddhist meditation.

Moreover, if the transmission of meditation techniques began with the translations of Kumârajîva, why is Kumârajîva not mentioned along with Sengrui? The focus of the *chuan changuan fa* section is on meditation practitioners who advocated *changuan* techniques rather than the translators of the texts where these techniques are found. Sengrui was noted for putting the *chan* teachings of Kumârajîva into practice. This pattern is repeated later on in the section with Huiyuan. No mention is made of Buddhabhadra, the meditator who also functioned as a translator, upon whose work Huiyuan's techniques are based. In short, Zanning's emphasis here is on practitioners rather than translators.

37. T 55.65a20.

38. T 55.65a20–22.

39. According to Huiyuan's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.359b),

> At first, many of the Buddhist scriptures current in the region East (actually South) of the Yangzi were incomplete. *Chan* techniques (*chanfa*) were not heard about, and the collection of monastic rules was fragmentary. Since Huiyuan was saddened by the incompleteness of the Doctrine, he ordered his disciples Fajing [Faling], and others to go in search of the scriptures in distant [countries]. They passed through sand and snow, and only after long years returned. Both had obtained Indian texts which [then] could be translated.

From Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*: 246, with minor changes.

As noted above, Huiyuan's meditation practice grew out of his personal association with Buddhabhadra. Buddhabhadra was also a translator of meditation texts, most notably the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (The Chan Scripture of Dharmatrâta). [To distinguish Kumârajîva's translation from Buddhabhadra's, the former came to be known as the *Guanzhong Chan jing* and the latter, the *Lushan Chan jing*.] Huiyuan also wrote a preface to Buddhabhadra's *Chan Scripture*, as Sengrui had done for Kumârajîva. [The preface is contained in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, ch. 9 (T 55.65b-66a). Huiyuan gave the Sarvâstivâdan monk Buddhabhadra refuge at Lushan when Buddhabhadra became *persona non grata* in Changan after he fell out of favor with Kumârajîva.]

40. T 54.240a11–12.

41. Huiyuan's interests here may be viewed as an extension of the interests of his teacher Daoan, who advocated a similar devotionalism focusing on Maitreya (on this point, see Zürcher: 194–95).

42. Huiyuan's own strict adherence to the precepts is illustrated through a story relating to the final days of his life, when he refused medicinal spirits on his deathbed because he considered them a violation of the *vinaya* rules.

43. The dates and circumstances surrounding Bodhidharma's life remain uncertain. According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.551b-c), Bodhidharma arrived in China by the maritime route in or before 479 and died sometime between 524 and 534 (see McRae, *The Northern School*: 16–19). The intricacies involved in the selection of Bodhidharma to head the Chinese Chan lineage can only be alluded to here. It involves the adoption of a lineage of Indian patriarchs suggested in the previously mentioned *Damoduoluo chan jing*, and the mistaken identification of Dharmatrâta (Damoduoluo), the text's author, with Bodhidharma (Putidamo) by Shenhui. The lineage does not actually occur in the scripture itself, but in the prefaces by Huiyuan and Huiguan. The lineage was first adopted within Chan by a monk named Faru, a disciple of Hongren, who died in 689 (see McRae: 85–86). Shenhui's attribution of Bodhidharma as the author of the *Chan jing* is made in the *Shenhui heshang yiji* (see Hu Shih, "*Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang xieben Shenhui heshang yizhu liangzhong*," *Zhongguo zhongyang yanjiuyuyan yanxiuso jikan* XXIX, Feb. 1958).

44. T 54.240a12–14.

45. This would appear to be a quotation from (or an allusion to) some common saying, but I have been unable to locate it. This follows the *Enpô* edition in reading *zhu* ("whisk") for *chen* ("dust").

46. Phrases taken from ch. 56 of the *Daode jing*.

47. T 54.240a7–11.

48. T 50.789b24-c4. Zanning's assessment of Bodhidharma, moreover, agreed with that of other prominent Chinese Buddhist historians and scholars, suggesting that he was influenced by their views. In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.551c), Daoxuan characterized Bodhidharma as follows:

> Wherever he went, he gave instruction in the teaching of meditation (*chanjiao*). At the time, the practice of lecturing [on the Buddhist scriptures] had spread across the entire country, so that [people] often slandered [Bodhidharma] upon hearing [his emphasis on] *samâdhi* techniques (*dingfa*).

From McRae, tr., *The Northern School*: 17, with minor changes.

Note also the characterization of Bodhidharma by Zongmi in the *Chanyuan zhuchuanji duxu*, ch. 1 (Kamata Shigeo, *Zen no goroku 9: Zengen shosenshu tojo*: 44):

> Bodhidharma received the Dharma in India. When he arrived in China he saw that many of the students of this land had yet to obtain the Dharma. They thought of understanding in terms of verbal dexterity, and practice in terms of phenomena (?). Because he wanted to

> make them know that the moon does not exist in the finger and that the Dharma is one's own mind, [he taught] "mind to mind transmission," and "do not rely on words and letters." The reason he used these phrases was to make evident the fundamental principle of destroying attachments.

49. Curious for his absence is the figure of Shenhui, suggesting that he was not the decisive figure in medieval Chan that modern scholarship (following Hu Shih) has made him out to be. The lineages provided also suggest that the Northern School, represented by Shenxiu, was much more significant in medieval Chan than modern scholars have been prone to acknowledge until recently (see McRae, *The Northern School*).

50. T. Griffith Foulk, *The "Ch'an School" and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition* (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Michigan, 1987).

51. T 50.771c.

52. T 50.790a8–10.

53. These comments are analogous to passages in the *Lunyu* (Analects):

> When the Way prevails in the Empire, the rites and music and punitive expeditions are initiated by the Emperor. . . .

From D.C. Lau, tr., p. 139.

54. T 54.240b5.

55. From the *xichan* commentary of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, referred to above.

56. For example, the first three expressions are contained, with minor variation, in the *Chuanxin fayao* of Huangbo (?–c. 850), recorded by Pei Xiu (797–870) while serving as Surveillance Commissioner (*guancha shi*) in Hongzhou in the second year of *Huichang* (842); see Iriya Yoshitaka, *Zen no goroku 8: Denshin hôyô, Enryô roku* (Tokyo, 1969): 85. According to Yanagida Seizan (*Shoki zenshû shisô no kenkyû*: 475), these expressions made their first appearance as set phrases in the *Chuanxin fayao*. The earliest occurrence of the phrase *jiaowai biechuan* I am aware of is in the *Zutang ji* (ch. 6, bio. of Shishuang Qingzhu), published in the Southern Tang in 952. It also appeared in slightly altered form (*jiaowai beixing*) in Yang Yi's preface to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (see n. 17 above). It did not become normative until well into the Song.

57. T 54.240a14–16.

58. Untraced.

59. T 54.240a16–20.

60. A well-known Chan phrase, particularly associated with Mazu Daoyi (709–788) and his descendants in the Hongzhou school.

61. According to *Zengaku daijiten*: 37c, a reference to the "*samâdhi* of oneness." It was "used in the sense of the ultimate meditational attitude, one in which there is no attachment to anything, including the *samâdhi* of oneness itself" (Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*: 115). Also see the article by Bernard Faure on the *samâdhi* of oneness in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1986).

62. The School of Nature is generally a reference to the school deriving from Nagarjuna teaching the emptiness of phenomena. According to Kamata Shigeo (*Zen no goroku* 9, p. 155), it represented the Huayan school at the time of Zongmi. In the present context it seems to indicate a general reference to Buddhist scholasticism, but in the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (T 48.959a) the School of Nature refers to the Chan school teaching the direct revelation of the Mind-nature.

63. T 50.789c17–27.

64. T 50.790a6–7.

65. Other noteworthy *vinaya* masters who were influential as advisors to the government include Daoxuan (596–667) who, as author of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, suggests definite parallels with Zanning.

66. The traditional arrangement suggests strong links between Fayan Wenyi and Huayan, Tiantai Deshao and Tiantai, and Yongming Yanshou, doctrinal Buddhism, and Pure Land practice.

67. From the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (*Treatise on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds*); T 48.960b-c.

68. This indebtedness is explored in Welter, *The Meaning of Myriad Good*. In the quoted passage above, the "criterion for realizing [one's Buddhanature]" (*liaoyin [foxing]*; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Bukyôgo daijiten*, 1423d-1424a) refers to *prajna*-wisdom, while the "adorning practices for the accumulation of blessings" (*fude zhuangyan*; Nakamura: 1188a) refers to the other five *pâramitâs*.

69. T 48.959a.

70. T 54.254c-255b. This section was the subject of an earlier research report, "Tsanning's *Ta-Sung Seng Shih-Lüeh* and the Foundations of Sung Dynasty Buddhism: The Concept of the Three Teachings as Implements of the Chinese Emperor," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* (The Institute of Eastern Culture), no. XXXIII (1988): 46–64. A summary of the conclusions from this study is presented here.

71. As I have concluded elsewhere ("Tsanning's *Ta-Sung Seng Shih-Lüeh* and the Foundations of Sung Dynasty Buddhism": 63–64), this conception of the three religions (*sanjiao*) represents a major deviation from previous Buddhist notions. While Zongmi and Yanshou concurred that Confucianism and Daoism were useful preparations for Buddhism, these teachings were no match for the unquestioned superiority of Buddhism.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

Anban shouyi jing	安般守意經
An Shigao	安世高
Baizhang Huaihai	百丈懷海
bieli chanju	別立禪居
buli wenzi	不立文字
Caotong (zong)	曹洞（宗）
chan	禪
chanding	禪定
chanfa	禪法
Chan fayao	禪法要
chanjiao	禪教
Chan jing	禪經
channa	禪那
Chanxing faxiang jing	禪行法想經
Chanyuan zhuchuanji duxu	禪源諸詮集都序
Changan	長安
Chu sanzang jiji	出三藏記集
chuan changuan fa	傳禪勸法
chuandeng	傳燈
Chuanxin fayao	傳心法要
chuching	觸情
Daode jing	道德經
Daoxuan	道原
Daoyuan	道宣
Dasheng Shouxian	大聖守賢

Dasong seng shilue	大宋僧史略
dingfa	定法
fa	法
fa puti xin	發菩提心
famen	法門
fati	法體
Fayan (zong)	法眼（宗）
Fayan Wenyi	法眼文益
foshuo	佛説
foti	佛體
Fozu tongcan ji	佛祖同參集
Fozu tongji	佛祖統紀
fude zhuangyan	福德莊嚴
gantong	感通
gaoseng	高僧
gaoseng zhuan	高僧傳
guan	勘
guancha shi	勘察使
Guanzhong	關中
Guanzhong chu chanjing xu	關中出禪經序
Hanlin	翰林
Hongzhou	洪州（宗）
hufa	護法
Huangbo Xiyun	黃蘗希運
Huayan (zong)	華嚴（宗）
Huichang	會昌
Huihong	慧洪

Huineng	慧能
jian foxing	見佛性
jiantan	監壇
jianxing chengfo	見性成佛
jiaowai biechuan	教外別傳
jiaowai biexing	教外別行
jiedu shi	節度使
Jingde chuandeng lu	景德傳燈録
jijing	寂靜
li	理
Li Fang	李昉
Li Wei	李維
liaoyin (foxing)	了因（佛性）
lingfu	靈府
Linji (zong)	臨濟（宗）
Linji Yixuan	臨濟義玄
Linjian lu	林間録
Lumen Chuxin	鹿門處真
Lunyu	論語
Mazu Daoyi	馬祖道一
mo (fa)	末（法）
Nanyue Huairang	南嶽懷讓
nian	念
nianxiu	念修
Pei Xiu	裴休

pusa chan	菩薩禪
Pusa chanfa jing	菩薩禪法經
Qingyuan Xingsi	青源行思
Quanzhou	泉州
ruhuan	如幻
sanguan	三勘
sanjiao	三教
senggui	僧規
sengtong	僧統
Sengrui	僧叡
Shenhui	神會
Shenhui heshang yiji	神會和尚遺集
Shengdeng	省橙
shi	事
Shimen zhengtong	釋門正統
Shizong	世宗
Shishuang Qingzhu	石霜慶諸
Song gaoseng zhuan	宋高僧傳
Taiping guangji	太平廣記
Taiping yulan	太平御覽
Tan jing	壇經
Tiantai (zong)	天台（宗）
Tiantai Deshao	天台德韶
tongnian	動念
wangdao	王道

wanghua	王化
Wanshan tonggui ji	萬善同歸集
Wenyuan yinghua	文苑英華
wunian	無念
wuxin	無心
wuxiu	無修
Wuyue	吳越
xiang (fa)	像（法）
Xiaochu ji	小畜集
xichan	習禪
xichan lun	習禪論
xingbu	行布
xingfu	興福
xingzong	性宗
xue	學
Xuefeng Yicun	雪峰義存
Xu gaoseng zhuan	續高僧傳
Xuzang jing	續藏經
Yangshan Guangyong	仰山光涌
Yang Yi	楊億
Yongming Yanshou	永明延壽
yuanchi	緣起
Yueshan Weiyuan	藥山惟儼
Yunmen	雲門
Yunmen Wenyan	雲門文偃
Zanning	贊寧
Zhaoqing yuan	招慶院

zhengding	正定
zhengfa	正法
zhengnian	正念
zhengshou	正受
zhi	止
zhiguan	止觀
zhizhi renxin	直指人心
zhuangyan	莊嚴
Zongjing lu	宗鏡録
Zongmi	宗密
Zuochan sanmei jing	座禪三昧經
Zutang ji	祖堂集
Zuting shiyuan	祖庭事苑