



The Korean Origin of the Term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*

삼처삼전 (Three Places of Mind-Transmission)

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The Korean Origin of the Term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* 三處傳心 (Three Places of Mind-Transmission)

Seong-Uk Kim

Abstract

Samch'ŏ chŏnsim (Three places of the mind-transmission 三處傳心) is one of the best-known terms in the Korean Buddhist tradition. It refers to three different events in which the Buddha Śākyamuni transmitted the mind to his successor, Mahākāśyapa. These events include the Buddha sharing his seat, holding up a flower, and sticking his feet out of his coffin. Despite its popularity, the term has hardly attracted serious academic attention. Scholars have assumed that it originated from China to refer to those “historical” episodes that happened in India. However, textual evidence shows (a) that many mind-transmission episodes developed in medieval China to substantiate the Chan separation from the scriptural tradition and (b) that the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* was first introduced in Korea to treat the three episodes of *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* collectively and to attempt a new interpretation of the mind-transmission. The term first appears in the Koryŏ Sŏn master Kagun's *Sŏnmun yŏmsong sŏrhwa* 禪門拈頌說話 to present the idea that the Buddha transmitted to Kāśyapa different minds or different aspects of the mind in different times and places.

Keywords: Korea, Buddhism, mind-transmission, *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*, Kagun

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Introduction

One of the most popular pieces of Sōn (Ch. Chan, Jp. Zen) lore in the Korean Buddhist tradition concerns three episodes that describe special events that occurred between the Buddha Śākyamuni and his successor, Mahākāśyapa. The Chosōn Sōn master Hyujōng 休靜 (1520–1604) spoke of this lore, known as *Samch'ō chōnsim* (three places or points of the mind-transmission 三處傳心), in his *Sōn'ga kwigam* 禪家龜鑑:

The three places where the World-Honored One transmitted the mind is the import of Sōn [. . .] Regarding the three places, the Buddha sharing the seat in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons is the first; the Buddha holding up a flower on Vulture Peak is the second; the Buddha sticking his feet out of his coffin under the twin *sāla* trees is the third. Mahākāśyapa's being entrusted with the lamp of Sōn refers to these.

世尊三處傳心者 為禪旨 三處者 多子塔前分半座一也 靈山會上舉拈花二也 雙樹下擲示雙趺三也 所謂迦葉別傳禪燈者此也。

(*Sōn'ga kwigam*, 635b09-13)¹

As the term *Samch'ō chōnsim* itself indicates, it is related to the other Sino-Korean Chan/Sōn notion of the “mind-transmission” (Ch. *chuanxin*, Kr. *chōnsim* 傳心). As previous scholarship has shown, the Chan school established its unique identity by employing this notion of the mind-transmission. When the Chan school emerged as a vital Buddhist movement in medieval China, it faced a question regarding its identity: how was Chan to define itself in terms of its relationship with the other Buddhist schools, in particular, its archrivals, the scriptural (Ch. *Jiao*, Kr. *Kyo*) schools. The prevailing view until the early Song (960–1279) was one of the unity between Chan and the Buddhist scriptural tradition. However, with the development and popularity of the distinctive Chan rhetorical style, as can be shown for example in the *yulu* (recorded sayings) genre, Chan gradually sought a more radical definition to differentiate itself from the scriptural schools. To serve this purpose, the Chan partisans of the time came up with the innovative idea of the separate transmission of the

Buddha's mind-dharma. Challenging the established perception that the Buddha's dharma was preserved and transmitted through the written records of his teachings, they argued that the supreme dharma of the Buddha was in fact the mind-dharma and that this supreme dharma could be transmitted only by pointing directly to the mind, separately from the Buddhist scriptures. Despite such a radical claim, however, Chan, in reality, never completely severed the connection with the scriptural tradition. Thus, this so-called "mind-transmission" served rather as a polemical means to ensure the Chan independence from and superiority to the scriptural schools.² Interestingly, the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* traces the origin of such Chan/Sŏn identity back to the "three historical episodes" in which the Buddha transmitted the mind to Kāśyapa in three different places through a special or mysterious act: sharing the seat, holding up a flower, and sticking his feet out of the coffin.

Despite the popularity of the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* in Korea, it has never received critical academic attention. Traditionally, the term is assumed to have originated in China to refer to the three special episodes, which have also been assumed to be historical events that occurred in India. This article explores the origin of the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*. The textual evidence shows that each episode of *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* developed in Song China as a special Chan episode of the mind-transmission and that the term was first coined in Koryŏ Korea to tie together the three episodes. Demonstrating the Korean origin of the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*, this article also suggests that the term presents a unique perspective for looking at the nature of the mind-transmission, implying that Śākyamuni Buddha transmitted different minds or different aspects of mind in those different places.

The Origin and Development of the Mind-Transmission Episodes

All three individual episodes of *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* represent Chan as a direct and unbroken line of transmission of the ineffable truth outside the scriptural tradition. Whether it originated in India or China, each episode became connected to this ideological claim of Chan identity in medieval China, where transmission episodes other than these three developed as well.

The First Transmission

In relation to the distinct Chan identity, the episode of “sharing the seat” probably developed first among the three mind-transmission episodes. In fact, the story of the Buddha Śākyamuni sharing his seat with Mahākāśyapa has an Indian origin. An avadāna, translated into Chinese in 207 under the title of the *Zhongbenqi jing* 中本起經, recounts the episode as follows:

The World-Honored One was in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika in the city of Śrāvastī. He preached the dharma to the congregation of which heavenly beings, dragons, spirits, and the four groups of Buddhist disciples were all attending in a respectful manner.

Then, Mahākāśyapa who wore a coarse robe with unkempt hair, first approached the Buddha. The World-Honored One saw him from a distance and praised him:

“Welcome, Kāśyapa!” and in anticipation, made a place for Kāśyapa on his seat and ordered him to sit. Kāśyapa came forward, knelt, bowed his head, retreated, and said,

“I am an unworthy disciple of the Tathāgata. Despite your order to share your seat, I could not dare oblige.”

Everyone in the assembly thought to themselves, “What special virtues must this old ascetic have that the World-Honored One would order him to share his seat? This person [must] be outstanding. Only the Buddha will clarify this!”

世尊在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園為眾說法 天龍鬼神 四輩弟子嚴整具足 於是摩訶迦葉 垂髮弊衣 始來詣佛 世尊遙見歎言 善來迦葉 豫分半床 命令就坐 迦葉進前 頭面作禮 退跪自陳曰 余是如來末行弟子 顧命分坐 不敢承旨 大眾僉念 此老道士 有何異德 乃令世尊分坐命之 此人俊又 唯佛明焉。 (Dajiashe rulai pin, *Zhongbenqi jing* 2, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 196.4.161a18-a25)

The *Zhongbenqi jing* explains the setting of the episode, which is omitted in later Chan versions of the episode. According to the text, the clerical and non-clerical members of the Buddhist order and some mysterious beings are present

for the Buddha's sermon. Kāśyapa appears on the scene, wearing a coarse robe with unkempt hair, which suggests his commitment to ascetic practices. Then, he is granted the honor of sharing the seat of the Buddha himself, but feeling undeserving respectfully declines. The text also locates this event in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika, not in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons as described in later versions.³ More importantly, however, this version of the episode does not directly connect the Buddha's act to the Chan claim of its lineage as a separate transmission from the scriptural tradition. Right after this episode, the *Zhong-benqi jing* simply explains that the Buddha offers to share his seat with Kāśyapa because he knows that this disciple possesses the same level of meditative and spiritual power as himself. The Buddha's act in this original version appears to be just a public gesture to promote Kāśyapa over the rest of the disciples or to appoint him as the next leader of the whole Buddhist order, though the version provides some basic elements important to the later Chan transformation.⁴

Around the ninth century, this episode became linked to the Chan attempt to distinguish itself from the scriptural tradition. One of the early records of this link is in the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要, the recorded teachings of Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850), the master of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867), the eponymous founder of the iconoclastic Linji school. In the *Chuanxin fayao*, all the details of the episode previously recorded in the Indian text are removed:

[The Buddha] widely distributed the wondrous Way and employed expedient means to preach the existence of the three vehicles . . . [However], because all [three vehicles] were not the cardinal Way, [he] said, "there is only a path of one vehicle; the other two are not true." However, because [he] ultimately could not reveal the Dharma of one mind, he entrusted the one mind to Mahākāśyapa by sharing his Dharma-seat with him. [This is] the ineffable preaching of Dharma. This one strand of dharma is a separate practice. If one is able to conform to it and be awakened, he will suddenly reach the stage of the Buddha.

溥捨妙道 遂設方便說有三乘...皆非本法 故云 唯有一乘道 餘二則非真 然終未能顯一心法 故召迦葉同法座別付一心 離言說法 此一枝法令別行 若能契悟者 便至佛地矣。 (*Chuanxin fayao*, T2012A.48.382b05-09)⁵

Instead of all the details of the episode, the *Chuanxin fayao* focuses on the true motivation of the Buddha's act. According to the text, the Buddha shared his seat with Mahākāśyapa to transmit the "mind" that could not be transmitted through the teachings of the three vehicles of the scriptural tradition. As Foulk has pointed out, this text is among the earliest records to mention the "mind" as the object of the Buddha's direct transmission to Mahākāśyapa. Although the text never explicitly designates Chan as a "separate transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), one of the four famous Chan slogans, it refers to the transmission of the ineffable mind-dharma as a "separate practice" (*biexing* 別行) that would open the true path toward Buddhahood.⁶ The *Chuanxin fayao* uses the term "separate practice" especially to suggest the Chan's separation from and superiority to the scriptural tradition. This term was repeated in the preface to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 of 1004 and replaced by the more famous expression "separate transmission" (*biechuan* 別傳) in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (hereafter *Guangdeng lu*) of 1029.⁷

About a century later, in the Song period, the story of "sharing the seat" appeared in various Chan texts in a bolder and more embellished form that attributed the distinct Chan identity to the mouth of the Buddha himself. One such text is the *Guangdeng lu*, an imperially-ratified lamp record that first mentioned a "separate transmission outside the teaching."⁸ This episode is recorded in two places in the text: one in the biography of the Buddha and the other in the biography of Kāśyapa. The Buddha's biography section presents the episode as follows:

The Tathāgata circumambulated until he came to the front of the Stūpa of Many Sons. There, he ordered Mahākāśyapa to sit next to him and spoke to him, saying, "I secretly entrust to you the treasury of the true dharma eye, which is subtle and wondrous. You must guard it and transmit it in the future and not allow it to be cut off. This great treasury of the dharma eye, beginning with you as the first, is to be vouchsafed to a single person, without differentiating between lay and ordained." Then, the Tathāgata also recited a verse for Kāśyapa:

The dharma is at root a dharma that is no dharma,
 But that no-dharma dharma is yet the dharma.
 When I now entrust this no dharma,
 What dharma could possibly be the dharma?

He also said, “I now give you this robe. You should protect it and transmit it to the Tathāgata Maitreya for me.” Thereupon, he went to the city of Kuśinagara, where he entered *nirvāṇa* beneath the twin *sāla* trees.

如來經行至多子墻前 命摩訶迦葉分座令座 遂告云 吾以微妙正法眼藏密付於汝 汝當保護 傳付將來 無令斷絕 此大法眼藏 自爾為初 人囑一人 不擇凡聖 爾時 如來復為迦葉說是偈曰 法本法無法 無法法亦法 今付無法時 法法何曾法 又曰 吾今以僧伽梨衣用付於汝 汝當護持 為吾傳授慈氏如來 乃往拘尸那城娑羅雙林示入涅槃. (*Guangdeng lu* 1, *Xu zangjing*, 1553.78.428a16-a24)⁹

This version of the episode provides a few prototypical elements for the later versions. It not only fixes the location of the event in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons but also depicts the Buddha as explicitly stating that he is entrusting the “treasury of the true dharma eye” (*Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏) to Kāśyapa for the first time in Chan history. This is also the first version to present the robe as a symbol of the Buddha’s transmission of the mind, though most later versions describe the Buddha draping Kāśyapa in a robe rather than simply handing it to him.¹⁰

In Kāśyapa’s biography in the *Guangdeng lu*, the episode appears in the form of Kāśyapa’s recollection of the event:

The great Kāśyapa had already assembled the Tripiṭaka and thought the following: “I should retreat to Mount Kukkuṭapāda with the robe that I received from the Tathāgata, and wait for the Three Dragon-Flower Assemblies of Maitreya.” Then he said to Ānanda, “Now, you should know that before the Bhagavān entered *parinirvāṇa*, he entrusted the treasury of the true dharma eye to me in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons. I will now retreat to Mount Kukkuṭapāda and thus entrust this true dharma to you. You must protect and maintain it well; transmit and spread it in the future; not allow it to be cut off. You must receive my teaching. Listen to my verse!

Since every dharma is an original dharma,
 there is neither dharma nor no dharma;
 How in one dharma
 could both dharma and no dharma exist?"

Ānanda had received the teaching. Kāśyapa finally retreated [to wait for] Maitreya.

大迦葉結集三藏已 作是思惟 持如來傳受僧伽梨衣 當隱雞足山中 以俟龍華三會 遂告阿難曰 汝今當知 婆伽婆未圓寂時 多子塔前以正法眼藏付囑於我 我今將隱雞峰 以此正法傳付於汝 汝善護持 流通將來 無令斷絕 汝受吾教 聽吾偈曰 法法本來法 無法無非法 何於一法中 有法有不法 阿難受教已 迦葉遂茲隱焉。
 (*Guangdeng lu* 2 X1553.78.428c18-429a01)

This episode is part of Kāśyapa's explanation to Ānanda about the way he received the "treasury of the true dharma eye" from the Buddha. The depiction of the situation around the event in this section serves to affirm the validity of the Chan tradition. By illustrating that the treasury the Buddha originally entrusted to Kāśyapa in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons is now entrusted to the would-be second patriarch Ānanda, this text creates a sense of continuity in the Chan transmission that would eventually reach the Chinese Chan patriarchs along the line of the Indian patriarchs. In this illustration, therefore, "sharing the seat" becomes the episode through which the Buddha and Kāśyapa launched the Chan tradition of transmitting the treasury of the supreme mind-dharma from master to disciple.

The episode also appears in the *Zongmen tongyao ji* 宗門統要集, one of the early *gongan* collections, compiled in 1093. The collection records the episode as follows:

When the World-Honored One reached the front of the Stūpa of Many Sons, he ordered Mahākāśyapa to share the seat, draped him in a robe, and said, "I secretly entrust the treasury of the true dharma eye to you. You should protect it and transmit it in the future and not allow it to be cut off."

世尊昔至多子塔前命摩訶迦葉分座令坐以僧伽梨圍之遂告云吾有以正法眼藏密付於汝汝當護持傳付將來無令斷絕。¹¹

In this version, the background setting of the episode includes only the location. The text simply records the Buddha's statement of the Chan separation from the scriptural tradition, together with his use of the robe to symbolize such a secret transmission. Because of the popularity of the *gongan* collection, this version came to be known widely in the Chan community.¹² It was recorded with few changes in such Song Chan texts as the *Chanzong songgu lianzhu tongji* 禪宗頌古聯珠通集 of 1175, the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 of 1183, and the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 of 1253.¹³

The appearance of the “sharing the seat” episode in the imperially-authorized lamp record and the early influential *gongan* collection boosted its popularity within the Chan Buddhist community. Since the Song period, many Chan monks have demonstrated their awareness of the episode. For example, the renowned Song Chan masters Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) and Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) mentioned this episode in their recorded sayings as representing the separate transmission of Chan from the scriptural tradition.¹⁴ More often than not, this episode appears in tandem with the following second transmission episode in various Chan texts.

The Second Transmission

The second transmission episode, which is probably the most famous of the three, is known as the “World-Honored One holding up a flower” (*shizun nianhua* 世尊拈花) or “holding up a flower and a subtle smile” (*nianhua weixiao* 拈花微笑). The earliest record of this episode is found in the *Guangdeng lu* of 1029. The episode appears in Kāśyapa's biography of the lamp record.

When the Tathāgata was on Vulture Peak preaching the dharma, some gods made an offering of flowers to him. The World-Honored One held up a flower to instruct the congregation, and Kāśyapa smiled subtly. The World-Honored One told the congregation, “I have the treasury of the true dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*, which I entrust to Mahākāśyapa. He should spread it and not allow it to be cut off in the future. I also entrust to Kāśyapa this robe sewn with gold thread to await Maitreya.

如來在靈山說法 諸天獻華 世尊持華示眾 迦葉微笑 世尊告眾曰 吾有正法眼藏 涅槃妙心 付囑摩訶迦葉 流布將來 勿令斷絕 仍以金縷僧伽梨衣付迦葉 以俟慈氏. (*Guangdeng lu* 2, X1553.78.428c02-c05)¹⁵

This version of the episode became the standard form that most later versions followed. It locates the episode on Vulture Peak, where a large assembly is present to hear the Buddha's sermon. The Buddha repeats a similar speech to that which he made in the "sharing the seat" episode: he publicly proclaims that he is entrusting the "treasury of the true dharma eye" to Kāśyapa and asks him to preserve it for future generations. One of the interesting features of this *Guangdeng lu* version is that it describes the Buddha as giving a robe to Kāśyapa to symbolize the mind-transmission, which had, in fact, primarily been associated with the episode of "sharing the seat." In the *Guangdeng lu*, this episode appears together with the "sharing the seat" episode for the first time in Chan history. However, the text does not seem to establish any relationship between the two episodes. There is no indication in the text that either episode was recorded with the other episode in mind. Rather, the two episodes are simply placed together to represent the same ideological vision of Chan, depicting Chan as a separate transmission outside the scriptural tradition.

As Foulk demonstrates, this episode of "holding up a flower" became connected more boldly to the Chan claim of its lineage in later Chan texts such as the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 of 1183. However, because of the absence of the original Indian source, the historical authenticity of the episode was questioned. Ironically, in response to the controversy, this episode, which exemplified the Chan independence from the scriptures, relied on the authority of the scriptures to legitimize its historicity. One of the earliest references to the scripture recording this episode is the *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 of 1188. The text presents a dialogue between a literocrat and a Buddhist monk on the origin of the episode:

The magistrate Wang asked the Chan master Fohui Quan, "From what scripture does the so-called 'the Buddha holding up a flower' of the Chan house originate?" The master Quan said, "It is not found in the Buddhist canon." The magistrate said, "When I was in the Hanlin Academy recently,

I happened to discover the *Da fantianwang wenfo jueyi jing* 大梵天王問佛決疑經 in three fascicles. Examining it, I found out that the words of the scripture about [“holding up a flower”] were extremely detailed.

王荊公問佛慧泉禪師云 禪家所謂世尊拈花 出在何典 泉云 藏經亦不載 公曰 余頃在翰苑 偶見大梵天王問佛決疑經三卷 因閱之 經文所載甚詳. (*Rentian yanmu* 5, T2006.48.325b06-b09)

From the time of its appearance in the *Rentian yanmu*, this story became popular, being quoted in several Chinese and Korean Buddhist texts. For example, Chinese texts such as the *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑 of 1230, the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 of 1269, and the *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 of 1354, and Korean Sŏn texts such as the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong sŏrhwa* 禪門拈頌說話, compiled sometime between the mid and late-thirteenth century, repeat almost the same story with little variation from that of the *Rentian yanmu*.¹⁶ The two interlocutors of this story, the magistrate Wang and the Chan master Fohui Quan, refer to the Song scholar-official Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and the Yunmen master Fohui Faquan 佛慧法泉 (fl. 11th century), respectively.¹⁷ Regardless of whether this story of the discovery of the scripture is historically accurate, the description of the first person to discover the scripture as a renowned literocrat gives more credibility to this story and to the scripture.

This scripture in question, *Da fantianwang wenfo jueyi jing* 大梵天王問佛決疑經, however, can be found only in the Japanese canon of the *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經; even its title is missing from the scriptural catalogues. The canon records two different texts under the title: one-fascicle and two-fascicle versions, neither of which has the name of the translator or the date of translation.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the content of the scripture suggests that the text could not have been composed before the compilation of the *Guangdeng lu*.¹⁹ The scripture was probably created in China sometime between the late twelfth and fourteenth centuries, perhaps specifically to legitimize the historical authenticity of the episode (Foult 1999, 277). In particular, the one-fascicle version even has a chapter called “holding up a flower,” which records the most extended version of the episode. This chapter gives the following transmission speech of the Buddha, encapsulating the distinct Chan identity:

I have a subtle and wondrous dharma-gate that is the treasury of the true dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*, and the true sign that is signless. It is entirely retained and held without setting up scriptures, as a separate transmission outside the teaching. It is the ultimate truth by which ordinary beings attain Buddhahood. I am now entrusting it to Mahākāśyapa.²⁰

我有正法眼藏涅槃妙心 實相無相微妙法門 不立文字教外別傳 總持任持 凡夫成佛 第一義諦 今方付屬摩訶迦葉. (*Da fantianwang wenfo jueyi jing*, 1.442a10-a12)

This speech by the Buddha is the culmination of the Chan ideological claims in the previous versions. It contains the Chan claims of its separation from and its superiority to the scriptural tradition by describing the Buddha as the very source of these claims: the Buddha is said to proclaim that the treasury of the true dharma eye, which is transmitted along the separate line of Chan from the scriptural tradition, is nothing but the ultimate truth that enables ordinary beings to achieve Buddhahood.

This episode appears as the sixth case in the *Wumen guan* 無門關, the *gongan* collection compiled in 1228 by the Song Linji master Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260).

The World-Honored One was once at the assembly on Vulture Peak and held up a flower to show to the congregation. At that time, all in the congregation remained silent. The venerable Mahākāśyapa alone broke into a subtle smile. The World-Honored One said, “I have a subtle and wondrous dharma-gate that is the treasury of the true dharma eye, the wondrous mind of *nirvāṇa*, and the true sign that is signless. [This dharma-gate, which is] not established on words and letters and is a special transmission outside the teaching, I entrust to Mahākāśyapa.”

世尊昔在靈山會上 拈花示眾 是時眾皆默然 惟迦葉尊者破顏微笑 世尊云 吾有正法眼藏涅槃妙心實相無相微妙法門 不立文字教外別傳 付囑摩訶迦葉. (*Wumen guan* T2005.48.293c13-c16)

The “holding up a flower” episode became the most well-known among the transmission episodes representing the independent Chan identity as it appeared in this *gongan* collection, which was very popular not only in the Buddhist but also in the broader intellectual community.

The Third Transmission

The last transmission episode is called “sticking his feet out of his coffin” (*guoshi shuangfu* 擲示雙趺). Though this episode is as popular as the previous two, if not more, it is less connected to the Chan separation from the scriptural tradition. The story, in fact, originated from one of the best-known Buddhist texts. It appears with small variations in the diverse versions of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, such as the *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, the *Fo bannihuan jing* 佛般泥洹經, and the *Ban nihuan jing* 般泥洹經. The episode is related to an event that happened at the Buddha’s funeral. To provide some context for the event, I will give an account of it from the *Fo bannihuan jing*, which was translated into Chinese in the late third century.

Wrapping the Buddha’s body in a silk cloth and placing it in a coffin, the disciples of the Buddha finished preparing for his funeral. They were attempting to cremate the Buddha’s body, but for some reason the body would not catch fire. The elders asked Ānanda why, for he had been a personal attendant to the Buddha. Ānanda answered,

The Buddha had an elderly disciple named Mahākāśyapa. He has traveled around, propagating. He is now returning with his two thousand disciples and countless number of heavenly beings in the hopes of seeing the Buddha. [Therefore, the Buddha’s body is] not permitted to catch fire.

佛有耆舊弟子 名大迦葉 周行教化 今者來還 將弟子二千人 諸天無央數 欲完見佛 令火不燃. (*Fo bannihuan jing* 2, T5.1.173c13-15)

Kāśyapa finally reached the funeral site where all disciples awaited him. The disciple approached the coffin in order to pay his final respects to the Buddha’s body. Looking at the golden coffin of the Buddha, however, Kāśyapa thought

to himself, “I have come too late. I did not see my master, and do not know where the head and feet of the World-Honored One are!” (吾來晚矣 不及吾師不知世尊頭足所在). The Buddha then responded to Kāśyapa’s thought by “sticking both of his feet out of his coffin” (雙出兩足) (*Fo bannihuan jing* 2, T5.1.174a05-07). Kāśyapa bowed to the Buddha’s feet and praised the Buddha’s merits. The feet were drawn back into the coffin after all the other disciples paid their respects to them. Afterwards, the disciples were able to cremate the Buddha’s body.

The various versions of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* have a few differences in their account of the event (An 2009, 295–357). For example, in the *Bannihuan jing*, the passage where Ānanda rejects Kāśyapa’s request to see the Buddha’s body is inserted right before the moment the Buddha sticks his feet out of the coffin;²¹ the Buddha’s body caught fire by the power of the Buddha (*foli* 佛力) in the *Da banniepan jing*, and is set on fire by the Brāhman elders (*shixin lijia* 逝心理家) in the *Fo bannihuan jing*, while it spontaneously combusts in the *Bannihuan jing*.²² Despite their differences, these accounts have some common elements: Kāśyapa was far away when the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*; the Buddha’s body in the coffin did not catch fire before Kāśyapa’s arrival at the funeral site; and the Buddha’s feet emerged from the coffin to allow Kāśyapa to pay his final respects. However, all of these scriptural descriptions of this mysterious event at the Buddha’s funeral have nothing to do with the Chan claim of its identity as a separate transmission outside the teaching. They all serve merely to confirm Kāśyapa’s position in the Buddhist order as a whole, just as does the original version of the “sharing the seat” episode.

The episode of “displaying the feet” was very well known not only in India but in China, probably because of the wonder of the episode itself.²³ The episode, however, does not seem to have fully developed as a Chan transmission episode to support the Chan image of independence. Unlike the previous two transmission episodes, there is no version of this last episode describing the Buddha as explicitly proclaiming his transmission of the “treasury of the true dharma eye.”²⁴ Nonetheless, in the Song period, this episode also served to support the Chan claim of the legitimacy of its lineage, though it was not commonly used for that purpose. For example, the Song master Fenyang 汾陽 (947–1024) explained the episode to his students as follows:

When [Mahākāśyapa] was going to pay his respects to the World-Honored One's feet, the Tathāgata stuck his feet out of the coffin with his divine power and let Kāśyapa pay his respects by touching them. This means that [the Buddha] entrusted the dharma treasury to Kāśyapa in front of the congregation of human and heavenly beings to transmit and spread it. [This dharma treasury] has continued down to the present day.

禮世尊足 當此之時 如來神力 擲示雙趺 令迦葉禮敬摩觸 意為對人天大眾前
付囑迦葉 流通法藏 迄至于今. (*Fenyang wude chanshi yulu* 1, T1992.47.602b11-
b13)

Fenyang's explanation suggests that the episode functioned as a transmission episode to exemplify the Chan ideological claim that the treasury of the mind-dharma had been transmitted along the Chan lineage.

Despite being relatively irrelevant to the Chan polemical claim, this episode appears in many *gongan* collections, just as the previous two episodes do. For example, the *Chancong songgu lianzhu tongji* 禪宗頌古聯珠通集 records the episode as follows:

On the day of the World-Honored One's *parinirvāṇa*, Kāśyapa was the last one to arrive. The World-Honored One, then, stuck his feet out of the coffin. Kāśyapa paid his respects and asked the Tathāgata to cremate himself with the fire of *samādhi*. Instantly, the gold coffin rose from the seven-jeweled bed, floated around the city of Kuśinagara seven times, came back to the original point, and burned itself by means of the flame *samādhi*.

Fojian Qin's appreciatory verse says,

[The Buddha] entered *nirvāṇa* without leaving the palace.

Why did he stick his feet out of the gold coffin,

And let Kāśyapa knit his brows

And Ānanda topple the flag pole before the gate?

世尊涅槃日 迦葉最後至 世尊乃於槨中露雙趺示之 迦葉乃作禮請如來 以三昧火而自闍維 即時金棺從七寶牀升舉 繞俱尸羅城七匝 却還本處 化火光三昧而自焚之...

未出王宮已涅槃 何須雙足露金棺 致令迦葉雙眉皺 慶喜門前倒刹竿 (佛鑑勸).
(*Chancong songgu lianzhu tongji* 2, X1295.65.487b01-b04 and b08-09)

This latter version adds other mysterious elements to the episode, such as the Buddha's coffin floating around the city of Kuśinagara and the cremation of the Buddha's body through his own power of the flame *samādhi*, both of which are also mentioned in a few versions of the episode from the Song period.²⁵ The *Chanzong songgu lianzhu tongji*, however, does not describe this last episode as one of the special mind-transmission episodes. The episode in the collection does not mention the transmission of the "treasury of the true dharma eye" between the Buddha and Kāśyapa. Neither does it show any specific association with the Chan claim of its unique identity. It simply treats the episode like one of the *gongan* cases by recording commentaries, including the verse of Fojian Huiqin 佛鑑慧懃 (1059–1117). In China, this episode of "displaying the feet" was mostly known as a *gongan* case rather than a special mind-transmission episode, though it was at times employed as such.

Chinese Treatment of the Mind-Transmission Episodes

As seen so far, these three episodes evolved through a long process of development. The first and third episodes of "sharing the seat" and "sticking his feet out of the coffin" originated from stories in Indian Buddhist texts while the second episode of "holding up a flower" originated from a Chinese Chan lamp record. Regardless of their origins, however, all three episodes became connected to the Chan identity in medieval China. In particular, each episode was employed to substantiate the Chan claim, in the Song period, to be a separate transmission outside the teaching. Interestingly, however, there were transmission episodes and theories other than these three circulating in China during this time. The Tiantai master Fadeng 法燈 (fl. 1194) confirmed the existence of such Chan transmission theories when he criticized the Chan claim of separate transmission.

Some say, "At the assembly on Vulture peak, the World-Honored One held up a flower and Kāśyapa smiled subtly; that is the mark [of the dharma transmitted]." But that theory has no basis at all in the Indian scriptures and must be considered merely a metaphor created by people of later times.

Some say, “When the Buddha taught the *Prajñā* sūtras, that was the transmission of dharma.” But that theory still does not specify the mark of that which is transmitted. Moreover, in the *Prajñā* sutras, it is Subhūti and Śāriputra who are directly infused [with the Buddha’s wisdom], not Kāśyapa.

Some say, “The Tathāgata transmitted the dharma everywhere he went; how could it be restricted to a single time and single place?” But that theory is vague and unfocused in the extreme.

According to some explanations, when the World-Honored One transmitted the robe, that was the transmission of dharma. Others say, “When the World-Honored One entered *nirvāna*, Kāśyapa arrived later and the Buddha displayed both of his feet; that was the transmission of dharma.” When we examine these two explanations, however, they only have to do with external signs. How could [those signs] possibly be the mark of the dharma that is transmitted?

或曰靈山會上 世尊捨華迦葉微笑即其相也 此說於竺典殊無稽據 蓋後人所喻耳 或曰般若轉教即是付法 此說亦未見的傳之相 且般若被加 即空生身子非迦葉也 或曰如來處處付屬 豈局一時一處耶 此說通漫之甚 或說世尊付衣即付法也 或曰世尊入滅 迦葉後來 佛現雙足即是付法 觀此二說 但可表示而已 豈付法相耶. (*Yuandun zongyan*, X0958.57.92c13-19)²⁶

Fadeng’s criticism shows that several mind-transmission episodes developed in medieval China: (a) the Buddha holding up a flower, (b) infusing his wisdom through the *Prajñā* sūtras, (c) transmitting constantly throughout his career, (d) giving his robe, and (e) sticking his feet out of the coffin. According to Fadeng, each of these episodes exemplifies the Chan claim of its separation from and superiority to the scriptural tradition.

In China, however, the three episodes were not selected from among the several mind-transmission episodes and treated collectively by the term *Samch’ō chōnsim* (three places of the mind-transmission). This term is nowhere to be found in any of the Chinese Chan texts. Neither is there a text that regards all three episodes together as the special mind-transmission episodes. In fact, regarding the latter issue, two Chan texts are worth examining more closely: the *Guangdeng lu* and the *Fenyang wude chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語錄. In the

Guangdeng lu, all three episodes are included for the first time in Chan history. However, they are not treated collectively. Moreover, the third episode of “displaying the feet” is related to the scriptural tradition rather than to Chan. In the lamp record, immediately after the mysterious event at the Buddha’s funeral, Kāśyapa calls the council to assemble the *Tripitaka* collections: “[We] see the Tathāgata [enter] *nirvāna* under the twin trees. We must ensure that the future affairs [of the order] will flourish. It is right to assemble the *Tripitaka* collections and transmit the Buddhist teachings” (如來雙林示滅 我等宜興後事 可共結集 宣傳法教) (*Guangdeng lu*, X1553.78.428c08-c09). In this record, Kāśyapa as the leader of the whole Buddhist community, rather than just one faction of that community, leads the compilation of the *Tripitaka* to ensure the continuity of the Buddhist tradition. In another Song text called the *Fenyang wude chanshi yulu*, the first episode of “sharing the seat” appears along with the third episode (*Fenyang yulu*, T1992.47.606c06). Instead of recording the second episode of “holding up a flower,” the text simply mentions “Vulture Peak” (*Lingshan* 靈山), the place of the second episode. However, “Vulture Peak” in this text does not seem to be regarded as the place of the Buddha “holding up a flower.” It is rather related again to the scriptural tradition: “Vulture Peak speaks about the Moon, while Mt. Caoxi points to it” (靈山話月 曹溪指) (*Fenyang yulu*, T1992.47.599b14). Using the moon to symbolize the mind, this passage connects Vulture Peak to the scriptural tradition, which provides the conceptual explanation for the mind, while Mt. Caoxi is linked to the Chan tradition, which points directly to the mind without relying on conceptual explanation.

In short, there is no Chinese text that either records the term *Samch’ō chōnsim* or treats all three episodes collectively as a special mind-transmission set to establish an independent Chan identity.²⁷ In thirteenth-century Korea, the term *Samch’ō chōnsim* was first introduced as an umbrella term for the three episodes in the attempt to reinterpret mind-transmission.²⁸

The Origin of *Samch’ō chōnsim*

The earliest extant record of the term *Samch’ō chōnsim* in Chan/Sōn history is in the *Sōnmun yōmsong sōrhwa* 禪門拈頌說話, the commentary of the Korean

Sōn monk Kagun 覺雲 (fl. 13th century) on the *Sōnmun yōmsong* 禪門拈頌, the *kongan* collection of his master Chin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧謚 (1178–1234).

Hyesim's *Sōnmun yōmsong* records the three episodes as the fourth, fifth, and thirty-seventh cases, respectively:

When the World-Honored One preached to human and heavenly beings in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons, Kāśyapa arrived late. The World-Honored One then shared his seat with him. (Another book says that the World-Honored One shared his seat with Kāśyapa and draped him in a golden robe). The audience was puzzled.

世尊在多子塔前 為人天說法 迦葉後到 世尊遂分座令坐 (一本云 分座令坐以金襴圍之) 大衆罔措. (*Sōnmun yōmsong sōrhwa*, 012c17-013a02)

When the World-Honored One preached on Vulture Peak, four kinds of flowers rained from the sky. The World-Honored One held up one of the flowers to show the congregation. Kāśyapa smiled. The World-Honored One said, “I have the treasury of the true Dharma eye, which I entrust to Mahākāśyapa!” (Another book says that when the World-Honored One looked back at Kāśyapa with his blue-lotus eyes, Kāśyapa smiled).

世尊在靈山說法 天雨四花 世尊遂拈花示衆 迦葉微笑 世尊云 吾有正法眼藏 付囑摩訶迦葉 (一本世尊 以青蓮目顧視迦葉 迦葉微笑). (*Ibid.*, HPC 5, 014a03-a07)

Seven days had already passed since the World-Honored One entered *nirvāṇa* beneath the twin *śāla* trees. The Mahākāśyapa arrived late and circumambulated the coffin three times. The World-Honored One stuck his feet out of the coffin. Kāśyapa bowed down. The audience was puzzled.

世尊在婆羅雙樹 入般涅槃已經七日 大迦葉後至 遶棺三匝 世尊擲示雙趺 迦葉作禮 大衆罔措. (*Ibid.*, 050a09-a12)

Here, all three episodes appear in truncated form. In particular, the first episode omits the Buddha's entire transmission speech; the second episode removes any expression concerning the distinct Chan identity from the speech; the third episode merely records the mysterious event, dropping all subsequent

details. Nonetheless, there is one common feature in Hyesim's three descriptions. They are portrayed as public events. No secrecy attends the events: a large group of assembly is present for the Buddha's sermons or his funeral service, and witnesses the events in all three cases. Moreover, Hyesim does not seem to regard these episodes as special episodes of the mind-transmission. He did not even treat the episodes collectively; neither did he employ the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* to connect them.

Kagun was the first to introduce the term. He did so in the comments section to the "displaying the feet" episode in his commentary on Hyesim's collection. There, Kagun treated the term as if it were already well known at the time he composed his commentary and criticized a few allegedly earlier interpretations of the term:

There are a great many interpretations for *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* (three places of the mind-transmission). One connects each [episode in *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*] to the three stages of awakening, cultivation, and realization. Awakening, cultivation, and realization are stages in pursuing cultivation. They are a matter of discipline and control over habitual tendencies, not a matter of a "separate transmission outside the teaching." Mostly, the exegetical schools take the absolute removal of causality as their principle. [Therefore, this interpretation is like] saying that because the patriarchs of the Chan school rather fall short of the capability of the exegetical schools, they take awakening, cultivation, and realization as proper and suitable work for them. [If this is the case,] how could the gaffer Śākyamuni be regarded as the head of a separate transmission outside the teaching? [. . .] There is another [interpretation] that connects [*Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*] to the three phrases of essence, functioning, and middle. I regard [this interpretation] as inappropriate. The three phrases refer to a [conceptual] frame. If [*Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*] refers to a "separate transmission outside the teaching," the three phrases will perish and become more inappropriate. [. . .] There is another that connects [*Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*] to the first, last, and middle phrases. An ancient said, "It is necessary to know the last phrase in order to understand the time before your birth." The first and last phrases are not the same, and yet, in fact, they are one. The first phrase has already transmitted [the

mind], and yet once more, the last phrase has ensured [that transmission of the mind]. There is nothing like this. [In this interpretation], the middle phrase is redundant. What is this phrase for? There is another that connects [*Samch'ō chōnsim*] to the exoteric and esoteric transmissions. I do not know what these words are based on. I have only heard the exoteric and esoteric teachings but have never heard of the exoteric and esoteric transmissions. In these three places [of mind-transmission], what words were transmitted through the exoteric transmission and what words were transmitted through the esoteric transmission?

三處傳心商量甚衆 有以悟修證三程節配之者 悟修證乃進修者 鍊治習氣之事 非教外別傳之事 且約教門畢竟亡因果為則 而謂宗門鼻祖返不及教門之機 而以悟修證為能事 釋迦老子肯以為教外別傳之標準.....又有體用中三句配之者 余以為不可 三句是矩模也 若是教外別傳 三句斯亡 尚猶不可.....有以最初句末後句中間句配之者 古人云要識末后句 看取未生時 則特最初末後不同 其實一也 既以傳得最初句 又以明得末後句 無有是處 且贅於中間者 復是何句 耶 又有以現傳密傳配之者 不知何據而有此語 只聞有現教密教末聞現傳密傳 於此三處傳心現傳者 傳什麼消息 密傳者 傳什麼消息. (Ibid., 50b18-c14)

Kagun explains the three episodes in terms of two or three different interpretations. According to him, all these interpretations are wrong: (a) awakening, cultivation, and realization cannot be the meaning of the term *Samch'ō chōnsim*, which is associated with the Chan separation from the scriptural tradition, because they refer to the three stages of the gradual path presented in the scriptures; (b) the correspondence of essence, functioning, and middle to *Samch'ō chōnsim* is wrong for a similar reason, that these three notions cannot be employed to explain the term because they are used by the scriptural schools; (c) the first, last, and middle phrases are redundant because there is no need for the middle phrase to refer to the same thing as the first and final phrases; and (d) exoteric and esoteric transmissions have no textual ground and are ambiguous in their meanings. Here, the way Kagun introduced the interpretations of the term *Samch'ō chōnsim* creates an impression that not only those interpretations but also the term itself had already been circulating. However, the interpretations he presented have, in fact, never been found in any of the Chinese Chan and Korean Sōn texts.

After criticizing these interpretations, Kagun explains the historical validity of the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*:

Samch'ŏ chŏnsim (Three places of the mind-transmission) is a description widely known throughout the world. It is not an expression created by any one person. Yuanwu gave a dharma talk to the head monk Sheng, saying, “By sharing his seat [with Kāśyapa] in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons, Śākyamuni had already transmitted this seal secretly. Thereafter, he held up a flower. This is the second-level of *gongan*” and so forth. [...] How could [Yuanwu, as] a legitimate descendant of Linji, falsely say an unreliable word without any evidence?

三處傳心 天下之公論 非一人造端之說也 圓悟示勝首坐 法語云 釋迦文 多子塔前分座 已密授此印 爾後拈花 是第二重公案云云.....為臨濟嫡孫 豈冒妄為無實游言乎. (Ibid., 050c16-051a01)

Here, Kagun quotes the renowned Chinese Linji master Yuanwu Keqin to establish the historical authenticity of the term. However, Yuanwu's statement does not mention the story of “displaying the feet” as a transmission episode. Furthermore, Yuanwu does not treat all three episodes collectively as a mind-transmission set in any of his writings, though he seems to have considered the religious significance of the existence of more than one mind-transmission episode.²⁹ Whether Kagun recognized this fact when he quoted Yuanwu is unknown, but Kagun used the authority of this renowned Chinese Chan master to present *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* as a “description widely known throughout the world” (天下之公論), rejecting the possible suspicion that someone—probably Kagun himself—created the term.

Finally, Kagun offers his comments on *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*. Although his comments are rather unclear, they provide a new perspective on the concept of mind-transmission, suggesting that each of the three transmissions intend a different meaning:

When the World-Honored One in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons preached the dharma to human and heavenly beings, [he] transmitted the fake to one person and the real to ten thousand people. Because Mahākāśyapa came late, he had to be alert. It is wrong to say that the World-Honored One shared his seat [with Kāśyapa]. This is like saying that the “single-edged sword that kills people” is needed to kill people. Therefore, quite a lot has leaked. [...] When the World-Honored One was on Vulture Peak, four kinds of flowers rained from the sky. A petal, two petals, a thousand petals, and ten thousand petals fell countlessly. It is wrong to say that the World-Honored One held up a flower and showed it to the congregation. This is like saying that the “double-edged sword that gives life to people” is needed to give life to people. Therefore, quite a lot has scattered. [...] “When the World-Honored One was under the twin *sāla* trees, and so on” means alas! alas! “Mahākāśyapa came late and circumambulated the coffin three times” means that the track of the seal was created. If ancestors are not clear, disaster will befall their descendants. It is really wrong to say that the World-Honored One stuck his feet out of the coffin!

世尊在多子塔前 為人天說法 一人傳虛萬人傳實 迦葉後列惺惺着 世尊分座令坐錯 殺人須是殺人刀 漏逗也不少.....世尊在靈山 天雨四花 一片兩片千片萬片繽紛而下 世尊拈花示衆錯 活人須是活人劍 狼籍也不少.....世尊在沙羅雙樹下云云 蒼天蒼天 迦葉後至 遶棺三匝 印文生也 祖禰不了 殃及子孫 世尊擲示雙趺 錯錯. (*Sōnmun yōmsong sōrhwa*, 051a03-23)

Here, Kagun seems to identify different meanings of at least two of the three episodes. The passage connects the episode of “sharing the seat” to the “single-edged sword that kills people” (*sarin to* 殺人刀) and the episode of “holding up a flower” to the “double-edged sword that gives life to people” (*hwarin kōm* 活人劍). Because the metaphor of a sword often symbolizes the function of wisdom in Buddhist texts, these two types of swords represent the two different functions of wisdom with which the mind was originally endowed. In my understanding, the “single-edged sword” symbolizes the one-dimensional aspect of wisdom, to kill the defilements; the “double-edged sword” refers to the two-dimensional aspect of wisdom, to remove all defilements and to respond freely

in accord with the phenomenal condition. Through his comments, Kagun therefore suggested that the first two places of the three mind-transmissions are linked to the two different aspects of wisdom: the one-dimensional aspect of wisdom was transmitted in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons while the two-dimensional aspect of wisdom was transmitted on Vulture Peak. He coined the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim* to introduce the idea that the Buddha Śākyamuni transmitted to his successor Mahākāśyapa different minds or different aspects of the mind in different times and places.

Conclusion

Samch'ŏ chŏnsim is a Korean Buddhist term that developed from the Chinese imported notion of “mind-transmission” (*chuanxin* 傳心). In medieval China, the Chan school created a rather mythical image of its lineage to define Chan as a separate transmission outside the scriptural tradition. This image portrayed the historical Buddha as the head of the lineage, along which the highest mind-dharma was transmitted. The Chan school substantiated such a unique view of its lineage by devising several episodes of transmission of the mind-dharma that illustrated the very first transmission event between the Buddha and his disciple Kāśyapa. The reason the Chan school of medieval China developed more than one such episode to serve the same purpose is unclear. One of the reasons may be related to the historical authenticity of the transmission episodes. In medieval China, not only the scriptural school but also the Chan school itself questioned the historicity of some of the episodes. Perhaps the Chan school of this time came up with several transmission episodes to make a stronger case for the lineage's historicity and therefore legitimize Chan's distinct identity.

The Korean Sŏn tradition provides a new perspective on the existence of several transmission episodes by its introduction of the term *Samch'ŏ chŏnsim*. The textual evidence shows that the Koryŏ Sŏn monk Kagun (fl. 13th century) was the first to employ the term to tie together the three episodes of the Buddha (a) sharing the seat in front of the Stūpa of Many Sons, (b) holding up a flower on Vulture Peak, and (c) sticking his feet out of his coffin under the two *śāla*

trees. Kagun, then, suggested that the Buddha had transmitted the different minds or different levels of the mind in these different places by connecting the metaphor of two types of swords representing the two different aspects of wisdom to the first two mind-transmissions, respectively. His suggestion opened up the possibility that the term could be applied to the Sōn intra-polemical context. Later, the nineteenth-century Chosōn Sōn master Paekp'a 白坡 (1767–1852) fully articulated this polemical implication of the term *Samch'ō chōnsim*, though such an interpretation was not the main trend in Korean Buddhism.³⁰ Although not as popular in its polemical application, since Kagun first introduced the term *Samch'ō chōnsim* it has become one of the most iconic terms of the Korean Sōn Buddhist tradition.

Notes

- 1 This translation was made in consultation with Buswell (1999), 152.
- 2 Regarding the idea of a separate transmission of Chan during the early Song period, see Ishii (1987), 1–122.
- 3 The Stūpa of Many Sons was located a few miles northwest of the city of Vaiśālī.
- 4 The portrayal of Kāśyapa as such a prominent figure in the Buddhist order originates from some early Mahāyāna texts. For details, see Silk (2003), 173–219.
- 5 The text employs *tong fazuo* 同法座 rather than *fen banzuo* 分半座 to refer to the Buddha's act of sharing the seat.
- 6 For details on the origin of the four Chan slogans, see Yanagida (1967), 470–482.
- 7 For details on a “separate practice” and its later corollary a “separate transmission,” see Welter (2000), 91–94.
- 8 For the *Guangdeng lu* and its promotion of the Chan identity as a separate transmission outside the teaching, see Welter (2006), 161–208 and (2000), 82–86.
- 9 The translation is quoted with slight changes from Foulk (1999), 255–256.
- 10 A robe establishes a special relationship between the Buddha and Kāśyapa or promotes the disciple to the prominent status of the whole Buddhist order in early Mahāyāna texts, in which the Buddha's robe is not related to the Chan episodes of “sharing the seat” or “holding up a flower.” For a detailed explanation of the various versions of the episode regarding the Buddha's robe in early Mahāyāna texts, see Silk (2003), 181–202.

- 11 This is from the *Zongmen tongyao ji* as quoted in Yanagida and Shiina (1999), 7a9-11.
- 12 The *Zongmen tongyao ji* was so popular that it was published several times in the Song period and even became the source of many later *kongan* collections. For details about this collection and its influence on the later Chan tradition, see Ishii (2000), 110–136.
- 13 *Chancong songgu lianzhutong ji* 2, X1295.65.486c04-06; *Liandeng huiyao* 1, X1557.79.14a11-13; *Wudeng huiyuan* 1, X1565.80.31a10-12.
- 14 For Yuanwu's reference, see section 3 of this article; for Dahui's, see *Zheng fayan cang* 1, X1309.67.577b22.
- 15 The translation, with small changes, is from Foulk (1999), 257.
- 16 *Rentian baojian* X1612.87.22b21-c03; *Fozu tongji* 5, T2035.49.170c12-14; *Shishi jigu lue* 4, T2037.49.873a27-b05; *Sōnmun yōmsong sōrhwa* 1, HPC 5, 015c20-016a07. The *Rentian baojian*, the *Fozu tongji*, and the *Shishi jigu lue* claims that the story is from the *Meixi ji* 梅溪集. However, I could not find the *Meixi ji* that records this story. There is a work with that title, composed by the Song scholar-official Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112–1171). But I have not been able to find the story in Wang's *Meixi ji* in fifty-three fascicles; the *Sōnmun yōmsong sōrhwa* records the story from the *Rentian baojian*.
- 17 *Jingong* 荆公, along with *shuwang* 舒, which the *Rentian baojian* use to refer to the literocrat, is the title of Wang Anshi; the *Shishi jigu lue* puts *Jiangshan Jiankang* 蔣山建康 before the name of the monk, a term used to refer to Fohui Faquan in such Chan texts as the *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 3, X1559.79.308c09).
- 18 *Zengaku daijiten* 816d-817a.
- 19 The Buddha's transmission speech from the scripture includes a "separate transmission outside the teaching," that was not used until the *Guangdeng lu*.
- 20 This translation was made in consultation with Foulk (1999), 278.
- 21 *Ban nihuan jing* 2 T6.1.189b28-c02.
- 22 *Da banniepan jing* 2 T7.1.207a12; *Fo bannihuan jing* 2 T5.1.174b11; *Ban nihuan jing* 2 T6.1.190a12.
- 23 Buddhaghosa was also aware of this mysterious event, explaining that it was caused by Kāśyapa's spiritual power (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini* 2: 603; quoted from An 2009, 339).
- 24 Interestingly, the *Shijia rulai chengdaoji zhu* 釋迦如來成道記註, composed by Daocheng 道誠 (fl. 1019), says that the Buddha's voice sounded, saying he entrusted the true dharma eye to Kāśyapa, after the Buddha's feet emerged from the coffin (X1509.75.14b15-b19). However, this event in Daocheng's work is not related

- to the Chan claim of its separation from the scriptural tradition. Rather, the work emphasizes the harmonious relationship of Chan with the scriptural tradition, introducing some Indian Chan patriarchs who composed commentaries on the scriptures.
- 25 One of the earliest records of such elements is the *Zongmen tongyao ji* (Yanagida and Shiina 1999, 7a19-20).
- 26 This translation is derived from Foulk (1999), 273 and Ziporyn (1994), 56.
- 27 Such *gongan* texts as the *Zongmen tongyao ji* and the *Chanzong songgu lianzhutong ji* include all three episodes. However, the texts do not treat all three episodes as related to mind-transmission.
- 28 In particular, the term *Samch'ō chōnsim* does not appear in the Chinese Chan materials published during the period of the Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties, the period when the term was introduced in Korea. There were 135 published Chan items during this period. However, as far as I can find, there is no text that records this term. For a list of the Chan materials published in this period, see Shiina (1993), 539–601.
- 29 *Foguo yuanwu zhenjue chanshi xinyao*, X1357.69.457a24-b01.
- 30 I have explored the polemical application of *Samch'ō chōnsim* in another article. See Kim (2013).

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