

Inventing Hui-neng,
the Sixth Patriarch
*Hagiography and Biography
in Early Ch'an*

—
by
John Jorgensen



BRILL

INVENTING HUI-NENG, THE SIXTH PATRIARCH

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*Cover illustration: the mummy of Hui-neng at Na-hua Monastery.
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While many readers will likely disagree with the vision I have outlined, a scepticism that comes from my experience of life on the margins, this does not mean I think Ch'an is valueless. Far from it. I do

feel some affinity with a number of the players in this history, working as I have done away from the metropolitan establishments, and I think the creativity of the invention of Hui-neng has been a very positive force. While there are undoubtedly flaws in my account, I also hope it will offer some insights into Ch'an as a creative human activity.

PREFACE

Hui-neng (trad. 638-713), widely known as the sixth patriarch (*liu-tsu*) of Ch'an, the name of a Buddhist Order and lineage that began in China, has had his name attached to a sutra, the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, which was disseminated to Korea, Japan and Vietnam. This work was glossed or translated into many languages of East Asia in pre-modern times, and has been more recently translated into English (at least five times), French (at least twice), Russian and Czech.¹ Ch'an was spread from China to Korea as early as the eighth century, and in Korean pronunciation is Sŏn. It reached Japan a little later, and was there pronounced Zen, under which name it came to be known in the West. It reached Vietnam from the ninth or tenth centuries, and was known as Thiên. The only lineage that has survived to the present day in all these countries is Southern Ch'an, which supposedly derives from Hui-neng. Venerated as the founder, the image of Hui-neng and the ideas attributed to him are seized upon to advance many theories.

Hui-neng is a controversial figure, especially in his homeland, China. In 1963, Jen Chi-yü, a leading writer on the history of thought backed by the Communist Party, described Hui-neng as having established the Ch'an Sect proper, and of shifting Buddhism from an objective idealism to a subjective idealism. This, Jen says, was welcomed by the ruling class, which made Hui-neng a reactionary.² Not surprisingly, several years later, Red Guards vandalised the relic of Hui-neng enshrined in Nan-hua Monastery.

But others portrayed Hui-neng as the person who made Buddhism truly Chinese, bringing it to everyman. As a humble wood-cutter, this illiterate hick showed that even the most ordinary individual could achieve enlightenment midst daily routines. Thus Hui-neng,

¹ For example, Catherine Tournay (1992), *Sixième Patriarche: Sūtra de la Plate-Forme*, You Feng: Paris; Françoise Morel (2001), *Le Sutra de l'Estrade du don dela loi*, La Table Ronde: Paris; N. V. Abacv (1989), *Chan-Buddhizm: kulturno-psikhologicheskie traditzi v srednevekovom Kitae*, Nauka: Novosibirsk, 175-227; Oldrich Kral (1988), *Chuej-neng: Tribunova sutra sesteho patriarchy*, Praha.

² Jen Chi-yü (1963), *Han Tung Fo-chiao ssu-hsiang lun-chi*, Jen-min ch'u-pan she: Peking, 1973 reprint, 140ff.

in this scenario, influenced the move away from scholastic exegesis of canonical works towards a free, pragmatic interpretation suited to the needs of people, which helped trigger the Neo-Confucian movement. His emphasis on seeing one's own nature, or 'original face' also inspired artistic expression,³ and many poets and artists used Ch'an vocabulary to describe their aesthetics. In a similar vein, Fan Wen-lan has described Hui-neng as the founder of the sudden teaching of Ch'an. For Fan, Bodhidharma was not the true ancestor of Ch'an, but rather Chuang tzu, through the mediation of Hui-neng.⁴ In other words, Hui-neng's thought is nationalistically asserted to be Chinese in essence and origination, not Indian or even truly Buddhist. Yet in other recent Chinese biographies, Hui-neng was identified as a member of a national minority.⁵

Hui-neng has passed beyond the realms of the historians, philosophers and ideologues, into the spheres of literature and the arts. In 1995, a *ch'i-kung* (qigong) practitioner and Taoist, Lu Lin-ch'uan, who had published many works on these subjects, wrote a two-volume novel titled *Hui-neng Ta-shih chuan* (Biography of Master Hui-neng). He claimed that despite being literature, his opus truly reflected the historical reality of this mystic, and indeed, Lu has drawn upon most of the primary source materials. He claims to counter the doubters, who hint that Hui-neng's very existence is highly dubious, and the disparagers, who deride the image of Hui-neng as akin to the poor, cringing and tragic Ah Q, a fictional character made famous in the 1921 story by Lu Hsün.⁶

Most recently, the dissident Nobel laureate, Gao Xingjian, wrote a play titled *Snow in August* (*Pa-yüeh hsüeh*). It played as an opera in Taipei in December 2002 and in Marseille in November 2003. Again, the focus is on Hui-neng as a mystic, and according to the blurb for the English translation by Gilbert Fong,

³ Lo Tsung-t'ao (1978), *Chung-kuo li-tai ssu-hsiang-chia 22: Hui-neng, Fa-tsang*, Taiwan shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Taipei, 51-54.

⁴ Fan Wen-lan (1979), *T'ang-tai Fo-chiao*, Jen-min ch'u-pan she: Peking, 68-69.

⁵ Chang Hsin-min (2003), "'Ko-Lao tso Fo" kung-an yü Tung-shan Ch'an-fa nan-chuan,' *Chung-Hua Fo-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* 16: 123 note 37, cites two recent works promoting this view.

⁶ Lu Chin-ch'uan (1995), *Hui-neng Ta-shih chuan*, 2 vols, T'ien-ti t'u-shu/Cosmos Books: Hong Kong, 1: 3-5, 2: 692ff.

Gao finds a soul-mate in Hui-neng, a marginal figure in the society of his time, who defies established thinking and conventions and challenges even the emperor in refusing to serve the imperial court.⁷

This is undoubtedly a projection back onto the figure of Hui-neng of the stance of Gao, who defied the Chinese Communist Party, but unlike Hui-neng, left China to reside in France.

Thus, the image of Hui-neng remains as vital as ever, but so overlain with layers of ideological manipulation that the early process of the image creation has been almost completely obscured. This book hopes to wipe away some of the romanticism and uncover a few of the stages of the process, and show how Hui-neng came to be seen as so quintessentially Chinese. Therefore it is necessary to distinguish between analysis of the hagiography itself for the image or literary tropes, and the process of the formation of the hagiography, which involves an historical examination. The aim then is not to describe the mature image of Hui-neng, but rather to analyse the process of the formation of that image in the eighth to tenth centuries, in particular in the period of the ninety years following the time Hui-neng supposedly died. In that sense, this book is a history of the formation of the hagiography of Hui-neng, and outlines the many factors and conditions that contributed to that formation.

The first part of the book considers the image of Hui-neng and the problem of his relics. Chapter 1 outlines the historical background of early Ch'an, and compares the hagiography of Hui-neng with those of three other saints of the East Asian pantheon; Confucius, Buddha and Bodhidharma, and concludes that the template for Hui-neng's image was primarily that of Confucius. This is an analysis primarily of the image, but with insights into the formulation of the image. Chapter 2 looks at the afterlife of Hui-neng as a relic, a 'meat body' in vulgar parlance, which still survives at Nan-hua Monastery in northern Kuangtung Province. This is followed in the next chapter by an

⁷ Gao Xingjian (2003), *Snow in August: Play by Gao Xingjian*, translated by Gilbert C. F. Fong, Chinese University Press: Hong Kong; Andrew Huang (2002), 'Universal Song: Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian draws on a wide range of influences in his innovative first opera,' *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Dec. 12, 2002), vol 165 no. 49: 70; Gao Xingjian and Xu Shu-Ya (2003), *La neige en août*, Actes Sud, a lyrical epic in three acts, based on Gao's play with music by Xu Shu-Ya. One author has written of Gao's work in terms of Zen, see Henry Y. H. Zhao (2000), *Towards a Modern Zen Theatre: Gao Xingjian and Chinese Theatre Experimentalism*, School of Oriental and African Studies: London, cited in <http://www.nobel.se/literature/laureates/2000/gao-bibl.html>.

examination of his secondary relics, the robe of transmission and his bowl. In Chapter 4, the story of an attempted theft of this corporeal relic is told, which introduces Koreans into the picture.

The second half of the book shifts to the topic of the formation of the hagiographies themselves in an historical analysis. These hagiographies were a series of works produced between the eighth to the tenth centuries, all with a focus on Hui-neng. Chapter 5 examines the issue of authority and authorship, Chapter 6 the geography of the authorship and how that was tied in with authority, and Chapter 7 the evolution of the hagiographies, particularly that embedded in the *Platform Sutra*. Finally, there is a translation of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (Biography of the Master of Ts'ao-ch'i), which was written around 781. This, along with the hagiographical section of the *Platform Sutra*, plus the *Pao-lin chuan*, all composed within a time frame of twenty years, are the prime sources in this study.

Therefore, this book is not an exposition of the philosophy and thought of Hui-neng, but rather a study of the 'invention of tradition' and hagiography. Hui-neng is placed in the socio-political context of his times, or rather, in that of his image-makers. This understanding is required before we can impute any teachings to him, and before speculations can be made about his thought, as so many have sought to do. If we do not know what he wrote and taught, if anything, these speculations become only so many more mirages vainly thirsted after, leading to ever greater attachment and disappointment.

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1. Ling-nan and adjacent administrative districts

Map 2. Shao-chou

ABBREVIATIONS

- Buddhacarita*: see Conze. 1959.
CFPC: see *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, Yanagida Seizan. 1971.
CTS: see Liu Hsiu et al.
Ch'uan fa-pao chi: see Yanagida Seizan. 1971.
CTW: see Tung Kao et al.
Ch'ü-chiang chi: see Liu Szu-han.
EK: see Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai. 1978.
FMS: see Pai Ming et al.
HKSC or *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*: see Tao-hsüan, *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*.
HPC: see Tongguk Taehakkyo Han'guk Pulgyo chönsö p'yöñch'an
wiwöñhoe, comp.
HTC: see *Hsü Tsang ching*
HTS: see Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i.
Ishii text: see Suzuki Teitarō and Koda Rentarō. 1934.
LCSTC or *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*: see Yanagida Seizan. 1971.
LTFPC or *Li-tai fa-pao chi*: see Yanagida Seizan. 1976a.
LTYCC: see Liu Tsung-yüan.
Pao-lin chuan: see Yanagida Seizan. 1975.
Shih chi: see Ssu-ma Ch'ien.
SKCC: see Wu Jen-ch'en.
SKSC or *Sung Kao-seng chuan*: see Tsan-ning.
T or Taisho: = Taisho shinshu Daizōkyō.
Tsu-t'ang chi: see Yanagida Seizan. 1974a.
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien: see Ssu-ma Kuang.
Wang Wei: see Chao Tien-ch'eng.
Yü-yang tsa-tsu: see Lan Chi-fu.
ZSS: see Yanagida Seizan. 1967.

CONVENTIONS

1. *Romanisation*

- a) Chinese: the Wade-Giles system, with the occasional adoption of alternative readings as provided in *Matthews' Chinese English Dictionary*, 1943, for older readings, such as Li Po for Li Pai.
- b) Japanese: modified Hepburn, as used in *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, 1954. Thus *shinbun* rather than *shimbun*.
- c) Korean: McCune-Reischauer.
- d) Sanskrit: as used in Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, revised edn, Clarendon Press, 1899. Due to software font limitations, retroflex consonants that have subscript dots are replaced with the consonants with subscript cedilla, as in French ç; anusvara and visarga are not represented.

2. *Referencing primary source materials*

Buddhist collections separate volume and page number with a full stop. Non-Buddhist, pre-modern works separate volume and or fascicle number, and page number, with a forward slash. Modern works without fascicle divisions separate volume and page number with a colon.

a) The Buddhist collections

- I. T indicates the *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, edited by Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, published by the Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, Tokyo, 1924-1932 in 100 volumes. Modern reprints have 85 volumes, plus illustrated volumes. Indicated by T, volume number, page, register and line number. Some works are indicated by abbreviations preceding, such as SKSC T50.766c8, which is *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, Taisho volume 50, page 766, register c, line 8.
- II. HTC indicates the *Hsü-tsang ching* reprinted by Hsin-wen-feng Publishing Company, Taipei, 1968-1970 in 150 volumes from the *Dai Nihon Zoku Zōkyō* edited by Nakano Tatsue, and published by Zōkyō shoin, Kyoto, 1905-1912. Indicated by HTC, volume number, page number, register (a and b), line number. Thus HTC 38.690a11ff. is the commentary on the last line of the Diamond Sutra in

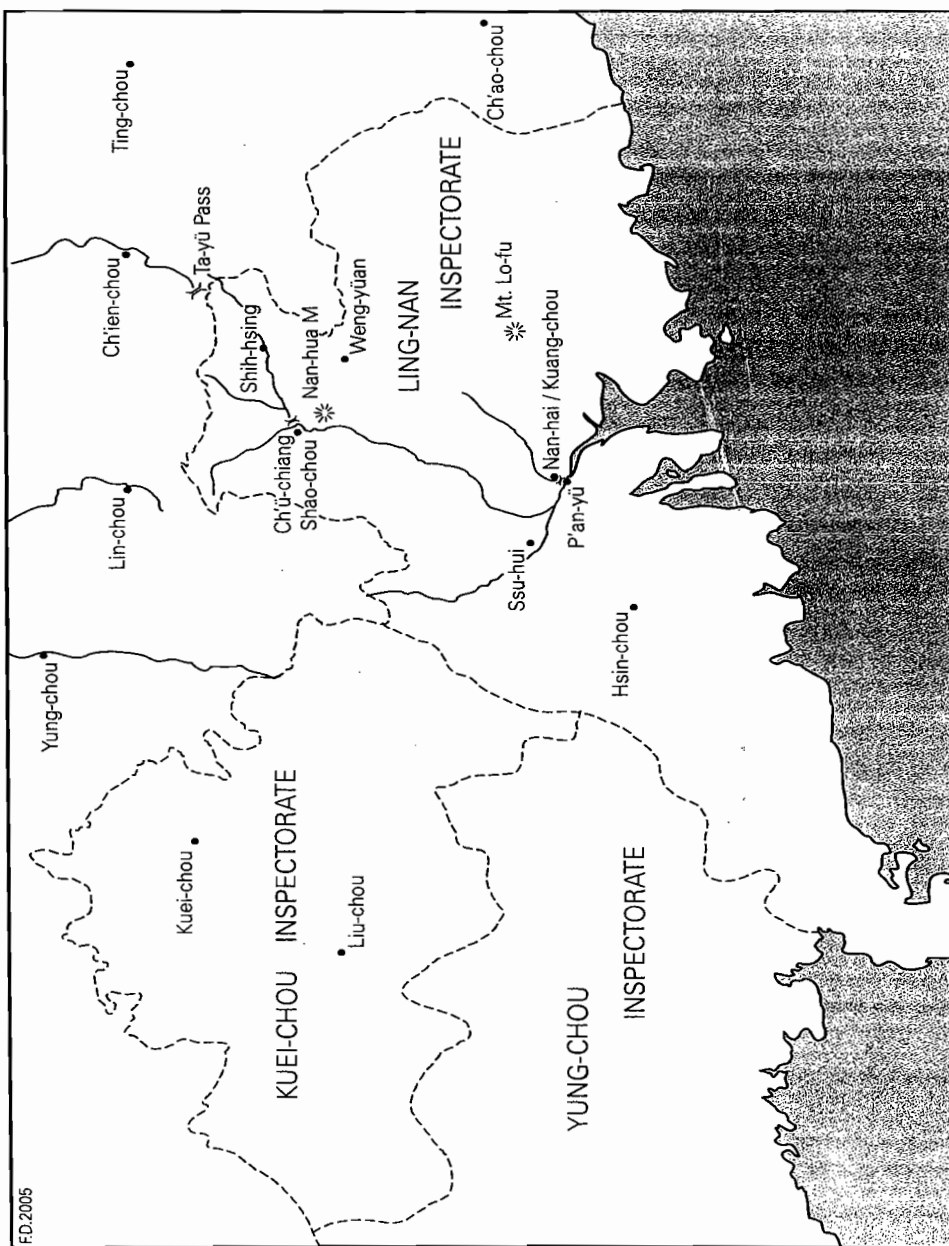
the *Chin-kang chieh-i* attributed to Hui-neng.

- III. HPC indicates the *Han'guk Pulgyo chönsö*, compiled by Tongguk Taehakkyo Han'guk Pulgyo chönsö p'yöñch'an wiwönhoe, published by Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu in 12 volumes, 1979-1996. Indicated by HPC, volume number, register, line.
- b) Pre-modern non-Buddhist collections
- I. CTW indicates the *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* compiled by Tung Kao et al, 1814, in the woodblock reproduction edited and punctuated under the direction of Prof. Li Nai-yang, published by Ta-hua shu-chü, Taipei, 1987, in 4 volumes with supplements by Lu Hsin-yüan, and index and modern corrections in volume 5. The central 'fish-tail' division between the two half-folios of the woodblock have been removed, and three of the woodblock folios are presented on one page. Indicated by CTW, fascicle, modern page, register, line number. Thus CTW 917/4288c6ff refers to Ching-ch'ou's *Pao-ying chüan hsü*.
 - II. The standard histories (*cheng shih*) are all in the Chung-hua shu-chü edition. Referred to by full name or abbreviation, modern volume, fascicle, modern page number. Thus CTS 13/159/4183 refers to the *Chiu T'ang shu*, volume 13, fascicle 159 and p. 4183.
 - III. TCTC indicates the *Tz'u-chih t'ung-chien* by Ssu-ma Kuang (1067), with interlinear commentary by Hu San-sheng (1230-1302), published by Hung shih ch'u-p'an she, Taipei in 11 volumes. Indicated by TCTC, volume number, fascicle, page number.
- c) Individual Ch'an works reproduced from woodblocks.
- I. PLC indicates the *Pao-lin chuan* published by Chübun shuppansha, reproduction of Sung-tsang i-chen copy. Indicated by *Pao-lin chuan* or PLC, modern page number (arabic numerals) and half folio letter, and or by fascicle and Chinese page number added by modern editor between the two half-folios, plus line number. Each modern page contains two folios. Thus PLC 149d7-8 or 8.36b7-8.
 - II. TTC indicates the *Tsu-t'ang chi* published by Chübun shuppansha, reproduction of woodblocks from supplement to the Koryö Tripitaka. Indicated by TTC and numbers added by the modern editor under each half-

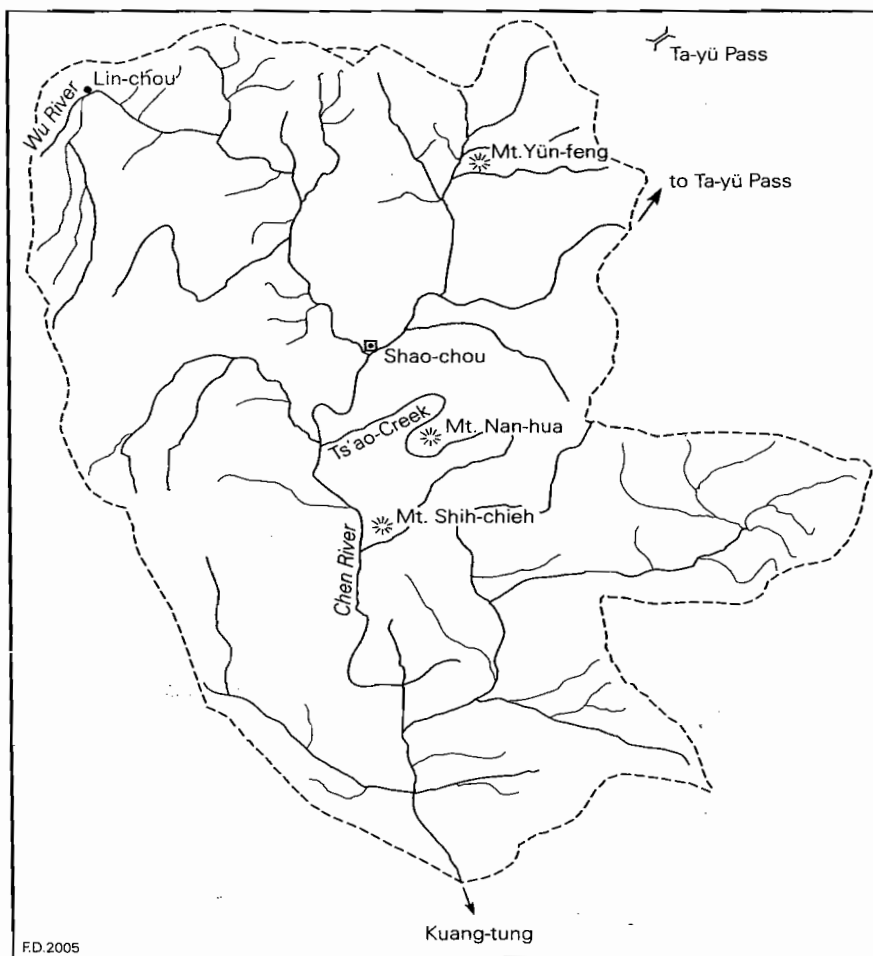
folio. Fascicle not indicated.

III. EK indicates Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai, comp., *Enō kenkyū*. Pages 28-59 indicated the modern edition of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*; pages 63-81 the notes made by the research group on the text. Other pages indicate other materials related to Hui-neng's hagiography.

- d) Zen no goroku series, published by Chikuma shobō.
CFPC indicates the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, edited by Yanagida Seizan, 1971.
LCSTC indicates the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, edited by Yanagida, 1971.
LTFPC indicates the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, edited by Yanagida Seizan, 1976a.
The use of the abbreviation or full name before Yanagida (year), indicates the edited text. Where there is no abbreviation, and only Yanagida (year), page number, indicates the notes by Yanagida or other commentary.
- 3) * indicates reconstruction of name from Chinese or Japanese transcription.



Ling-nan and adjacent administrative districts



Shao-chou (based on map of 1897)

INTRODUCTION

Traces of Hui-neng

Nestled in a bend of Ts'ao Creek (Ts'ao-ch'i), which courses through the semi-tropical, lush green highland foothills of Shao-chou near the northern entrance into Kuangtung Province in South China, is a large monastery known as Nan-hua (South China) or Pao-lin (Jewel Forest) Monastery. Enshrined within it is an unusual, reddish-brown lacquer cast of a man, eighty centimetres high, which is seated cross-legged on a wooden dais and covered with a bright red and yellow Buddhist robe. On either side are two much later lacquer casts of other monks, including the famous Han-shan Te-ch'ing (1546-1623). Seated as a trinity, rather like a Buddha statue with attendant bodhisattvas, the central 'flesh body' has been worshipped by pilgrims and the monk residents for over a millennium. The central lacquer cast is by tradition that of Hui-neng (traditional year of death, 713), the legendary founder of all the surviving lineages of Ch'an, Sŏn, Zen or Thiĕn Buddhism found in the world today. If the documentary evidence can be believed, the cast dates back before 748 when the Chinese missionary to Japan, Chien-chen (d. 763), better known as Ganjin, probably saw it at this monastery. Chien-chen introduced the Vinaya School of Buddhism to Japan and founded Tōshōdaiji in Nara, where, coincidentally, a famous lacquer statue of the missionary monk can still be seen. Since Chien-chen's time, the relic of Hui-neng has been the palladium of a state, protected on the orders of Genghis Khan, brought to the Sung Dynasty court, reproduced in images, celebrated in poems by great literati such as the ever-popular Su Tung-p'o (1037-1101), fulminated against by the eminent Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1583-1610), and damaged by Red Guards. It has supposedly survived all the changes around it since the death of the saint in 713, including the repeated decay and destruction of the monastery that houses it, the rise and fall of dynasties and of schools of thought.

Across the ocean, on the seaward side of the massive Mt Chiri in the southern part of the Korean peninsula lies Ssanggye Sa, the Monastery of the Twin Creeks, which is located in Hwa'gae Myŏn (Flower Bloom Subcounty). The monastery is situated midway up the slopes of Mt Chiri, in a region broken by rivers and ridges. Travelling south to

visit this monastery in late January 1997, I saw transformations in the landscape as I approached the district. Unlike in neighbouring areas, the rivers were not completely iced over. The fields alongside the road leading up to Ssanggye Sa were marked by their green shoots, the first I had seen in Korea that winter. During a break between meditation sessions the monks were holding in the Golden Hall, which is on a slope over one of the creeks from the main structures of the monastery, I was shown a relatively recent granite stupa about three metres high. After three bows, I was directed to a narrow hole in the back of the stupa, into which I put my hand to barely touch something soft, cloth-like, inside. According to the monks, this is the wrapping of the *uṣṇīṣa* or mysterious, often invisible, cranium crown of a buddha, in this case, that of Hui-neng. This relic was allegedly stolen by a Silla Korean monk and brought to this monastery in 738 or 739. In the central courtyard of the monastery stands a stele inscribed with the obituary penned by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, arguably the most famous literary figure of pre-modern Korea, in 887 for Hyeso, a Silla monk who took the tonsure at Shao-lin Monastery in 810. Hyeso (re)built the monastery at Ssanggye, where he erected a portrait hall of the Sixth Patriarch, namely, Hui-neng.

In the fastness of Mt Kaya inland from Mt Chiri lies Haein Sa, the Monastery of the Ocean Seal. Associated with Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and Hwa'ŏm (Hua-yen) Buddhism, this monastery stores the Koryŏ Tripitaka in over 81,000 large woodblocks that were carved between 1236 and 1247 as a replacement for an earlier set burnt by the Mongol invaders in 1232. The new blocks were to serve as a magic talisman to counter these marauders and invaders.¹ The Tripitaka also had a supplement, which included the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Collections from the Hall of the Patriarchs). This long book was initially compiled in Ch'üan-chou, a port city in Fukien, in 952. This text was expanded several times and printed in 1245 from the woodblocks.² The blocks survived

¹ Lewis Lancaster (1998), 'The Koryŏ Edition of the Buddhist Canon: New Sources for Research,' in Sang-Oak Lee and Duk-Soo Park, eds, *Perspectives on Korea*, Wild Peony: Sydney, 320-332. (There is a typo of 1347 for 1247 here.) See also the same author's *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1979, xiv. Kinugawa Kenji (2003), 'Sodōshū no kōri,' *Tōyō bunka* 83: 127, gives 81,240 blocks.

² For details on the supplement, see Kim Tujŏng (1980), *Han'guk ko'inswoe kisulsa*, Tamgudang: Seoul, 78-80, 84-85. For the text see entry in Lancaster (1979), 478, as K1503. See Appendix 2. Kinugawa (2003), 128, states that the 197 blocks are dif-

subsequent wars, pirate raids and a number of shifts.³ The storage conditions at Haein Sa were near ideal, however, and the architecture built with consideration for air circulation, humidity, and the use of insecticides,⁴ assisted in the preservation. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* was 'rediscovered' by Ono Gemmyō there around 1909 or 1910. Ikeuchi Hiroshi published a catalogue of the Haein Sa Tripitaka, including the supplement, in 1924, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was used for writing the history of Sōn in Korea by Nukariya Kaiten in his *Chōsen Zen Kyōshi* (History of Sōn and Doctrine in Korea) of 1930. The study of the text itself was started by Anayama Kōdō in 1933.⁵ The *Tsu-t'ang chi* not only carries some references to the alleged theft of the *uṣṇīṣa* of Hui-neng by a Silla monk, it may even have been written by a Silla monk. Yet it further adapts the Buddhist monk, Hui-neng, to Chinese values, while also providing much information on the development of Ch'an in Silla Korea. It has been intensively studied in recent years for its use of medieval colloquial Chinese, for it is one of the earliest texts transitional between the T'ang Dynasty lineage and hagiographical texts and the Sung Dynasty *kung-an* (Japanese *kōan*) collections and enlightenment-episode 'lamplight transmission' histories.

Even further distant from Shao-chou, a manuscript scroll of nine sheets of paper pasted together, was held at Enryaku-ji, the temple headquarters of the Tendai Sect. This monastery on Mt Hiei, is on the peak overlooking the old imperial capital of Japan, Kyoto. The manuscript, designated a Japanese national treasure in 1953, is now displayed in the Nara National Museum. Somehow it survived the razing of the mountain's monasteries by Oda Nobunaga in 1571, and came to the attention of the aged Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744) in 1734. Dōchū, a great scholar and encyclopedist of the Myōshinji branch of the Rinzai School, who is responsible for many of the editions of Ch'an/Zen texts now used and for the scholarly and philological apparatus needed for modern research into the history of Ch'an, made a copy, which was later printed in 1762. This printing popularised

ferent in size and number of lines from those of the Tripitaka blocks, so this means it was likely a private printing, and not part of the Tripitaka project.

³ Lancaster (1979), xv.

⁴ Personal communication from Rev. Sōng'an, a monk of Haein Sa, during January 1997 visit.

⁵ Yanagida Seizan (1984), 'Sodōshū kaidai,' in Yanagida Seizan, *Sodōshū sakuin*, 3 vols, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 3: 1579-1582.

the text, which was called the *Rokuso Daishi betsuden*. The original copy was brought to Japan by Saichō (763-822), who went to T'ang China in 804, where he acquired this *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (Biography of the Master of Ts'ao Creek), a hagiographical account of Hui-neng and his relics.⁶

Shōren-in, the Cloister of the Blue Lotus, a branch temple of Enryaku-ji founded in 1144 in Kyoto itself, also came to be known as the Awata Gosho or Awata Palace from 1150 when it was used to pray for the cessation of rain upon the gift from the emperor of a Triptaka (Buddhist Canon) in gold lettering.⁷ In 1932, Tokiwa Daijō there discovered a manuscript copy of the sixth fascicle of the *Pao-lin chuan* (Biographies of the Jewel Forest), a work of the Ma-tsu branch of Ch'an that is named after Hui-neng's home monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i. This text was probably brought originally to Enryaku-ji by Ennin around 839, for it is listed in his catalogue of works brought from China in that year.⁸ In 1933, at almost the same time as Tokiwa's find, fascicles one to five (or most of them), and fascicle eight, were discovered by Fan Ch'eng and Hsü Hung-pao at Kuang-sheng Monastery in Chao-ch'eng Prefecture, central-south Shansi Province, as part of the long-lost Chin or Jürchen Tripitaka. These fascicles were published in 1935 in Shanghai. West of the T'ai-hang Ranges, an area that retained Sung Dynasty influence well after its collapse, Kuang-sheng Monastery's Chin Tripitaka was a reproduction of the standard Sung Tripitaka, but with some additions, including texts written during the T'ang, the *Pao-lin chuan* among them.⁹ The *Pao-lin chuan* was one of

⁶ Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai, comp. (1978), *Enō kenkyū*, Daishūkan shoten: Tokyo (hereafter EK), EK, 8-19, on history of text. Translated in Appendix 1. The manuscript is reproduced photographically in its entirety in the front of EK.

⁷ For history of this cloister, see Mochizuki Shinkō (1954-1963), *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 10 vols, enlarged edn, Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai: Tokyo, 1973 Taipei reprint, 3: 2815a-2817a.

⁸ For the first modern study of this text, see Tokiwa Daijō (1934), *Hōrinden no kenkyū*, Kokusho kankōkai: Tokyo, 1973 reprint, 1-4. Photo-reproduction of text at the end.

⁹ For an account of this privately issued Tripitaka, carved between 1149 and 1153 or 1173, see Ono Gemmyō, ed. (1932-1936), *Bussō kaisetsu daijiten*, 14 vols plus supplement, supplement, 728-729. The *Pao-lin chuan* is catalogue no. 1500 in this encyclopedia, p. 745. Hu Shih-yang and Hu Hsin-hung (2000), 'Chao-ch'eng Chin-tsang shih-chi k'ao,' *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 3: 38-48, describe this Tripitaka and provide a history of Kuang-sheng Monastery. Kuang-sheng Monastery was famous from T'ang times, and had been repaired during the Ming. For it, see Nogami Shunjō (1953), *Ryō Kūn no Bukkyō*, Heirakuji shoten: Kyoto, 291-295. For reproductions of

the most influential texts in the formation of Ch'an ideology, and yet only parts of it are extant. Unfortunately, the fascicle on Hui-neng is missing, and only a few quotes from it have been located.¹⁰

In a cave repository of a monastery located in the desert cliffs at Tun-huang on the north-western frontiers of China, the exit point into the Tarim Basin for the silk route, a large number of manuscripts in many languages, but mostly in Chinese and Tibetan, were discovered about the turn of the twentieth century. Many manuscripts and other treasures were taken to London, Paris, St Petersburg and Peking, while others fell into the hands of private collectors. In a survey of this material between 1922 and 1923 in the British Museum's Stein collection of Tun-huang manuscripts, Yabuki Keiki (1879-1939) discovered a series of important Ch'an documents, prominent among them the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (Records of the Masters and Disciples of the Lankā[vatāra School]) of 713 to 716, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (The Records of the Dharma-Jewel through the Successive Generations) of ca. 774 and the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* of ca. 781,¹¹ all of which mention Hui-neng. Not long afterwards, in 1926, Hu Shih (1891-1962) discovered three manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale that were attributed to Shen-hui, the original inventor of the Hui-neng legend. In the following year, Hu Shih met Tokiwa Daijō and Yabuki Keiki.¹² The academic study of the hagiography of Hui-neng began with a work on the *Sōkei Daishi betsuben* by Nukariya Kaiten in 1923. With these discoveries, by 1930 Hu Shih realised the connection between the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* and Shen-hui,¹³ and research on Hui-neng accelerated rapidly thereafter.

all the extant sections of the *Pao-lin chuan*, from the Chin Tripitaka and Shōren-in, see Yanagida Seizan, comp. (1975), *Hōrinden: Dentō gyokueishū*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto. The Shōren-in portion has been replaced by modern font print.

¹⁰ For these see Shiina Kōyū (March 1980), 'Hōrinden kan-kyū kan-jū no itsubun,' *Shūgaku kenkyū* 22: 191-198 and (1980), 'Hōrinden itsubun no kenkyū,' *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgaku ronshū* 11: 234-257, esp. 246-247.

¹¹ See Yanagida Seizan (1980), 'Sōsetsu,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, esp. 19.

¹² Hu Shih (1968), *Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi: Fu Hu Hsien-sheng wan-nien ti yen-chiu*, ed. by Ma Chün-wu, Hu Shih chi-nien kuan: Taipei, preface of 1930, 2-3. See also Yanagida Seizan (1975b), 'Ko Teki Hakushi to Chūgoku shoki Zenshūshi no kenkyū,' in Yanagida Seizan, comp., *Kō Teki Zengaku-an*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto. This book collects together all Hu Shih's writings on Ch'an, plus letters sent by Hu to Iriya Yoshitaka and Yanagida Seizan.

¹³ Cf. EK, 20-21.

In this way, the evidence for the fabrication or invention of the legend of Hui-neng has come almost entirely from the margins of China. Beyond the reach of the homogenising authorities of the state and the Ch'an establishment (which arose in the Sung Dynasty), these manuscripts preserved traces of stages in the evolution of the hagiography that had largely been erased in China proper. Even though the *Platform Sutra*, the sutra of Hui-neng, was reproduced in China, the earlier versions were lost, and were only recovered from the caves of Tun-huang and the monasteries of Japan. The *Platform Sutra*, the scripture of a Chinese buddha, Hui-neng, was widely read in East Asia. In pre-modern times, it was translated or glossed into a number of languages, such as old Korean and Tangut,¹⁴ and commentaries were produced for it in Classical Chinese in China, Korea and Japan.¹⁵

¹⁴ For Tangut fragment, dated 1071, see Kawakami Tenzan (1938), 'Seikago-yaku *Rokuso dankyō* ni tsuite,' reproduced in Yanagida Seizan, comp. (1976), *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto. This collection has a reproduction of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. See also Yanagida Seizan (1974c), 'Zenseki kaidai,' in Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, comps, *Zenke goroku II*, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū 36b, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 461, for more details. For the Korean *onhae* texts, see the entry on the *Yukjo Taesa Pōpbo tan'gyōng onhae* of 1496, made at the order of a queen, in Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yōn'guso, comp. (1976), *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhōn ch'ongnok*, Tongguk Taehakkyo: Seoul, 255. Three volumes of the *onhae* text, which is a gloss-cum-translation of the Te-i version of the *Platform Sutra*, have been published. Vol. 1 was published by Hongmungak: Seoul in 1981 (100 copies), volume 2 in 1976, with an explanation by Nam Kwang'u, Inha Taehakkyo Inmun kwahak yōn'guso: Seoul, and Vol. 3 in 2000 by Hongmungak: Seoul, with introduction by Nam Kwōnhūi and linguistic discussion by Kim Tongso. The third volume appears to be from a 1551 printing, but it is unclear whether the other two extant volumes are from the same print.

¹⁵ In Korea, Paekp'a (1767-1852), *Yukjo Taesa Pōpbo tan'gyōng yohae*, 1845; see Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yōn'guso (1976), 223. In China, Ming-yūan Hung-tao (-1631), *Liu-tsu t'an-ching chieh-lu*; Lin Chao-en (1517-1598), *Fa-pao t'an-ching hsiin shih*; Ming-chi Ch'u-chun (1262-1336), *Fa-pao t'an-ching san* (possibly written in Japan); and Yang Chen-fu, *Fa-pao t'an-ching p'ing-chu*. In Japan, *Rokuso dankyō kanchū* and *Rokuso hōbō dankyō kōkwan* by Yakujun (1697), *Rokuso hōbō dankyō kaisui itteki* by Tenkei Denson (1648-1735), published in 1752; *Hōbō dankyō suitaishō* by Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1774); *Hōbō dankyō shō*, 1683; and *Hōbō dankyō nettetsurin* by Genrō Okuryū (1720-1813). See Ono Gemmyō (1932-1936), 10: 120 and 11: 325. Not included are those that are anonymous and or have no publication date. For Lin Chao-en's work, see Judith A. Berling (1980), *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*, Columbia University Press: New York, 202 and 252, who lists it as only nine pages. It seems that Dōchū's source text could have been based on a text very similar to that found at Tun-huang, and it may have been the same as that read by Pojo Chinul (1158-1210). The latter has been a puzzle for modern scholars. Dōchū mentioned a Chin dynasty text of 1214 and a Ming text of 1462 that had been offered to the

The cult of the relics and the cult of the book

Thus, under the name of Hui-neng, at the core of the Ch'an tradition, two mainstreams of Buddhism are to be found, the 'cult of the relics' and the 'cult of the book.' These date to very early times in the history of Buddhism, the cult of the relics almost back to the Buddha himself.¹⁶ The cult of the book originates with early Mahayana, in texts such as the *Lotus Sutra*, which went so far as to recommend the enshrining of scriptures in the stupas (along with the bodily relics?).¹⁷ A rivalry existed between the two cults as a means of creating sacred spaces.¹⁸ They could be symbolised as *Dharmakāya* (Corpus of the Law) versus *Buddhakāya* (Body of the Buddha). The book replaced the Buddha's speech, the relics his body. This had doctrinal implications, as in the development of the idea of the *trikāya* or Three Bodies and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*'s theory of the permanence of the presence of the Buddha.¹⁹ The book cult also had implications in practice and soteriology, making wisdom superior to relics, privileging the vision of a buddha over hearing the word of a buddha, and liberating worship from a fixed location to a mobile space or non-dwelling on a single site.²⁰ In Ch'an, this is reflected in the transmission of a secret lamplight, not words (although verse came to be used), and in a possible shift from seeing the Buddha to seeing the Buddha-nature. Yet, despite their differences, these two cults were ultimately one,

Chosōn Sutra Publisher, who had them collated and edited. For this, see Nakagawa Taka (1976), *Zen no Goroku 4, Rokuso dankyō*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 237-238. For Chinul's preface, see John Jorgensen (1990), 'Nan-yang Hui-chung and the heresies of the Platform Sutra,' *Fo Kuang Shan Report of International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism*, Fo Kuang Publishers: Kao-hsiung, 119.

¹⁶ For cult of relics, see Kevin Trainor (1997), *Relics, ritual, and representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 39, 43-45, 53-56.

¹⁷ Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (1995), 'Authority and Orality in the Mahāyāna,' *Numen* XLII: 28, and Reginald Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values and Orientations*, Oxford University Press: New York and London, 345-346, drawing on the work of Gregory Schopen.

¹⁸ Lopez (1995), 41.

¹⁹ Cf. the comment by Gregory Schopen (1997), *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, chapter 12, 'The Buddha as an Owner of Property and Permanent Resident in Medieval Indian Monasteries,' 278.

²⁰ David McMahan (1998), 'Orality, writing and authority in South Asian Buddhism: visionary literature and the struggle for legitimacy in the Mahayana,' *History of Religions* 37 (3): 256-260, 264, 269, 271.

grounded as they were in the presence of the Buddha. Moreover, the bodily relic required some textual authentication, for the relic's "authority is not self constituting." The relic required a chronicle of its history, a pedigree. It also demanded worship and veneration, which was also worthy of being recorded.²¹ In India, there was a close association between stupas and the creation of hagiographies, and the Chinese pilgrims to India heard the lives of the saints recited when they visited these stupas. Reginald Ray even thinks that hagiographies were developed and preserved at stupas because of their importance in the remembrance and celebration of the relics and the presence of the Buddhist saints.²²

In East Asia at least, even the scripture required a seal of approval, which was given not merely by the presence in the sutra of the opening formula, "Thus I have heard," but also through authentication by the cataloguers of the Vinaya School, who tried to find who translated it, when and where, and sometimes tested it for doctrinal orthodoxy. Collation and proof-reading were taken seriously, for in a manuscript culture it was all too easy for a scribe to alter the text to suit his own doctrinal proclivities, and interpolations were not unknown. This was despite the reverence held for the word of the Buddha and for the written text in general within Chinese civilisation.²³

Hence, for Hui-neng's hagiography, there are two almost contemporary texts, both written in the early 780s: the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which focused primarily upon the relics and afterlife of Hui-neng and was written around Hui-neng's stupa that contained his mummy; and the *Platform Sutra*, which emphasised his sermon, 'autobiography' and itself. Both were ultimately written to gain for its authors and adherents the proof of being in a lineage from Hui-neng, as lineage and transmission were of great importance in Buddhism in general and China in particular. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* can represent the cult of the stupa and the *Platform Sutra* the cult of the book.

²¹ Trainor (1997), 78.

²² Ray (1994), 228.

²³ Susan Chesniack (1994), 'Book culture and textual transmission in Sung China,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54 (1): 9-21, 82-88 passim; Gerald L. Bruns (1982), *Inventions: Writing, textuality, understanding in literary history*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 45ff; Lewis Lancaster (1979), 'Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editions,' in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, ed., *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, Berkeley Religious Studies Series: Berkeley, 225-226.

Invention

However, like nearly all such texts, Buddhist or otherwise, most of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Platform Sutra* 'autobiography' perforce were invented. While there is a remote possibility that the relics are those of the real monk Hui-neng, the tales about him certainly do not closely reflect historical events as far as we can determine them, if at all. Similar doubts apply to the sutra and its sermons. Indeed, much of the history of early Ch'an has been described as an imaginary construct, a pseudo-history.²⁴ But even imaginary constructs are built upon other materials, which can be sought out and analysed. These inventions have their own history and historical contexts, for they were not creations *ex-nihilo* (as if anything ever was). Furthermore, these fabrications were expedient means to another end, which in the best light would be soteriologically effective, and in the worst scenario misleading lies to aggrandise greedy individuals. Some of the campaign to idolise Hui-neng, especially the propaganda of Shen-hui who claimed to be his only true heir, seems to belong to the latter category. The history of Buddhism, as with all human institutions, is replete with struggles for power,²⁵ and as a religion of self-control or asceticism, may be prone to the extension of the will to power over the mind and body by renunciation into the control and power over others.²⁶ Yet, on balance, the myth-creation of Hui-neng was very

²⁴ Yanagida Seizan (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' *Tōhō gakuho* 57: 223-224, 586.

²⁵ For examples drawn from Korea, see J. Jorgensen (1997), 'A social analysis of Korean Buddhism and its future prospects,' in Nog'wŏn sūnim kohūi ki'nyŏm haksul nonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe, eds, *Han'guk Pulgyo ūi chwap'yo* (The Direction of Korean Buddhism), Pulgyo sidaesa: Kimch'onsi, 344-363. For the case of Dōgen, see Carl Bielefeldt (1985), 'Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen,' in William R. LaFleur, ed., *Dōgen Studies*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 41-45, on his politics and disputes with other Buddhist leaders. Bielefeldt even calls him "a politician manqué," p. 41. The 'debates' in Tibet between the Chinese Ch'an and Indian parties may also have been as much about power and politics as about doctrine.

²⁶ Max Stirner (1845, 1973), *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*, translated by Steven T. Byington, Dover: New York, 94, says, "the medieval...struggle is a struggle against self, the mind...against the inner world." Similarly, Friedrich Nietzsche thought that asceticism arose out of "so great a need to exercise their strength and lust for power that...they at last hit upon the idea of tyrannizing over certain parts of their own nature..." R. J. Hollingdale, selected and translated, (1977), *A Nietzsche Reader*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, 215. Once that is achieved, or perhaps, has failed, the lust for power extends to others.

powerful and inspirational for many in East Asia. The relic drew pilgrims to Ts'ao-ch'i from as far away as Korea, and the *Platform Sutra* remained a popular and much studied text through to the present day. Even though the pioneering texts of this myth fell into obscurity, they played a considerable role in its forging, and thus had a major effect on the religious history of East Asia.

Throughout this study, words such as fabrication, forgery, invention, fiction and contrivance are frequently used, for the central subject matter is the construction of an elaborate, legitimising hagiography from little more than the name of a monk, his location, and evidence that he was the pupil of a well-known, influential monk. Although these words have a moral judgment implicit in them, they are not used here as a blanket or absolute condemnation. All can be viewed as kinds of innovation and creativity, even while inventing historic continuity.²⁷ Fiction, the expedient that gives meaning to existence, is in some estimates quintessentially human, as humans invent the symbols with which to interpret the world in an artificial manner, through language, and to create their own identity. As most of human aspirations are fictitious,²⁸ surely religion itself is a fiction, as is history.

These are social or cultural fictions, which should be distinguished from lying and deception. Fiction is not consciously intended to mislead, for in a sense it is both a self-deception and a willing suspension of disbelief, to which we consent.²⁹ Religion is not exempt; in fact, it is a prime perpetrator of lying, for

[c]onvinced that they know the truth—enthusiasts may regard lies for the sake of this truth as justifiable. They may perpetrate so-called pious frauds to convert the unbelieving or strengthen the conviction of the faithful

in the name of the higher truth.³⁰

Relics were prime objects for invention in Christendom. In its older meaning of 'to discover,' Helena, the mother of Emperor Constan-

²⁷ Eric Hobsbawm (1983), 'Introduction: Inventing Tradition,' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 7.

²⁸ Ernest Becker (1971), *The Birth and Death of Meaning*, 2nd edn, Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, 105, 130-131, 141.

²⁹ Sissela Bok (1978), *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life*, Harvester Press: Hassocks, 206.

³⁰ Bok (1978), 7.

tine, is supposed to have discovered, or invented, the cross in 326 A.D., and it is likely this led to the practice of discovering remains of the saints, also called inventions. Later, even statues and images were invented.³¹ Rival churches and monasteries sometimes claimed independent 'inventions' of the same saint, as was the case with St Denis in 1053.³² Saints and their hagiographies were also forged or invented. The case of the 'apostle' St Martial was a double invention, with a 'life' supposedly written by Aurelian, Martial's disciple, but which was probably written down from an oral life sometime after 980, and then improved upon. Then Ademar of Chabannes (989-1034) wrote an apostolic liturgy and a series of forgeries, including a papal letter handing down a decision, to back up those claims. Ademar's work failed in the short term, but was partly revived later. So complete was the forgery that one analyst called Ademar a 'mythomaniac'.³³ While some of the cults were "purely literary creations" or were inflations or improvements on earlier versions, with the majority for the advantage of the community and not the forger,³⁴ all caused some moral misgivings. Lying and forgery were grave sins in Christianity, and forgery posed a moral dilemma. On one hand, the forgers had pious motives, but on the other, if done in any way for local or personal advantage, they could be seen as counterfeiters, debasing the currency of God and his saints.³⁵

Similarly, in India, we find even the Buddha discovering or 'inventing' the stupas of former buddhas,³⁶ but there seems to have been no questions about this, probably because it was set in the distant past and involved the Buddha. In Buddhism, the doctrine of expedient means initially appears to belong in the category of lying, a statement intended to deceive, to make others believe what we do not.³⁷ At first blush, the Buddhist skilful or expedient means seems to be a form of

³¹ Stephen Wilson (1983/1985), 'Introduction,' in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pbk edn, 4-5.

³² Gabrielle M. Spiegel (1983/1985), 'The cult of St Denis and the Capetian Kingship,' in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults*, 144.

³³ Richard Landes (1995), *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 3-4, 54, 61, 71, 274.

³⁴ Landes (1995), 53, 16.

³⁵ Landes (1995), 270-271; counterfeiting coinage was punishable by death.

³⁶ Ray (1994), 228, 337.

³⁷ Bok (1978), 13.

the noble or paternalistic lie, made altruistically for the benefit of others and the common good by one in 'the know,' or spiritual superior.³⁸ This could be seen to be both compassionate and utilitarian or pragmatic, for the ends justify or hallow the means.³⁹ A prime example often cited in Buddhist literature is that of the *Lotus Sutra*, in which an old man falsely tells children in a burning house, who will not come out voluntarily, that he has carts for them to play with. Although he has no carts, this is not considered a lie for the man's intentions are judged proper and beneficial.

Even if they had not received any cart at all it would have been inappropriate to speak of falsehood, because the original thought of the old man was: "I will get my children to escape by a skilful means".⁴⁰

The responsibility for the expedient means resides with the enlightened buddha or bodhisattva, and each means is created to suit the circumstances of the beneficiaries, the sentient beings mired in sorrow and delusion. Once the beneficiary has realised the Way, these means can be discarded and forgotten.⁴¹ Similarly, the Ch'an master or buddha substitute, uses shouts, beatings, paradoxes and other means, each suitable for the consulting student to bring them to the point of enlightenment. Expedient means then can be interpreted as a form of implied consent, for the saved will be truly grateful for their release.⁴²

³⁸ Cf. Bok (1978), 167, 204-205.

³⁹ Cf. Bok (1978), 47-48; Stirner (1845), 91, takes a dimmer view of the "Jesuit maxim, 'the end hallows the means,'....No means are holy or unholy in themselves, but their relation to the church, their use for the church, hallows the means." On p. 92, he makes this crystal clear: "A Jesuit may, as a good Catholic, hallow everything. He needs only, for example, to say to himself: 'I as a priest am necessary to the church, but serve it more zealously when I appease my desires properly; consequently I will seduce this girl, have my enemy there poisoned, etc; my end is holy because it is a priest's, consequently it hallows the means.'" This, though is an abuse of the paternalistic or altruistic lie, but in the light of recent revelations of child abuse in various churches, appears all too common. Of course, the religious establishment often tries to protect those who transgress its moral precepts, claiming there are no bad religious, only misunderstood ones. See John Kieschnick (1997), *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, Kuroda Institute, University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 63.

⁴⁰ Michael Pye (1978), *Skilful Means: A Concept in Mahayana Buddhism*, Duckworth: London, 37-38. Cf. Bok (1978), 215, for a similar example.

⁴¹ Pye (1978), 4-5, 14.

⁴² Cf. Bok (1978), 214-215.

Truth in an overly prescribed sense may in fact be limiting, ruling out creativity, hypotheticals and imagination. It could remove the ability to envisage the future,⁴³ even of the hope of being enlightened or becoming buddha. The truth, if reified, can imprison, and by being made 'sacred,' can delude.⁴⁴ Thus in some forms of Buddhism, especially Ch'an, attachment to truth or to emptiness means one has created a blockage to the realisation of the truth. Lin-chi I-hsüan (d. 866) proclaimed the famous,

If you meet Buddha, kill the Buddha, if you meet the patriarch, kill the patriarch...if you meet your parents, kill them....only then can you gain release, and not be constrained by things/people,⁴⁵

and the Mādhyamika wrote of the 'emptying of emptiness' (*k'ung-k'ung*). So while Ch'an can be suspicious of language, it is the attachment that is damaging, not the language itself. The mistake is seeing the finger pointing at the moon for the moon itself. Language that has soteriological functions is described as 'alive,' and is contrasted to 'dead' language or words.

According to the ever-popular *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, even meditation is a means. Attachment to the experience of meditation is bondage, even for a bodhisattva. Therefore,

Buddhist practice can be either retrogressive or helpful depending on ... how it is used....one has to treat the practices and activities as 'skilful means,' that is, one has to continue to make use of them while simultaneously not being greedily attached to them.⁴⁶

⁴³ George Steiner (1975), *After Babel: Aspects of language and translation*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 214-217.

⁴⁴ Cf. Stirner (1845), 301-302. This passage begins with an attack on Kant's position of absolute rejection of lying, even if it would assist an innocent person. Even silence is improper in Kant's view. For Kant, see Bok (1978), 41-42.

⁴⁵ Ruth F. Sasaki, trans. (1975), *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture*, The Institute for Zen Studies, Hanazono College: Kyoto, Chinese text p. 14, cf. trans. 25. Paul Demiéville trans. (1972), *Entretiens de Lin-tsi*, Fayard, 117-118, is a better translation, and makes the point that this violation of filial piety etc, was most shocking to the Chinese. But he also pointed to the connection with the Mādhyamika doctrine of non-attachment. Cf. also 161-163, or Sasaki (1975), 37, and the words of Hui-neng's reputed pupil, Huai-jang in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.240c20-27, who castigated Ma-tsu for sitting in meditation with the plan of becoming a buddha, comparing that to polishing a brick to make a mirror. He concluded, "If one learns to sit as buddha, buddha is not a fixed characteristic. There should be no grasping or discarding in a non-persistent dharma, so if you sit as buddha that is killing buddha."

⁴⁶ Pye (1978), 97-98, cf. 156, on Sōtō Zen distinction.

Such open declarations that Buddhism is a skilful means,⁴⁷ implies that at least for the more attentive and literate audiences, adoption of Buddhist practices was a willing consent to the paternalistic lie, which removes the deception.⁴⁸ The provisionality of Buddhism was admitted even in the legends of its very foundation,⁴⁹ which had implications for Buddhist historiography and hagiography.

Expedient means and hagiography were closely associated with place and authority. Just as the broader Buddhist world varied its teachings, means and hagiographies to suit the locality and social context, so within China these similarly varied according to differences between regions and social status. To ignore this aspect of the history of Ch'an is to decontextualise it, making it easy prey for the reifiers and exploiters of Ch'an/Zen as a transcendental, metaphysical doctrine that is timeless and without location. Shorn of its variety and identity, Ch'an is abused in the religious marketplace, commodified, homogenised and packaged to suit the desires of the modern globalised community. Lacking its rituals, monasteries, icons and relics, it loses its physical practice, and so can be made to suit any fancy, a 'Zen in the art of' whatever one wishes. It has not only lost its place, but also its authority in this latest phase. Early Ch'an leaders condemned various forms of 'Ch'an' as delusory, and the Pao-t'ang lineage of Wu-chu in particular was ridiculed for removing all ritual, scriptures and practice. Others were condemned for teaching 'wild-fox Ch'an' or 'the Ch'an of demons,' or even heresies. Most Ch'an aspirants in the T'ang received the precepts and had to study the sutras and be able to memorise reams of scripture before they would be admitted to the Order as a monk. This was virtually unavoidable, as it was a state requirement. Problems of questionable morality, or antinomianism, that have been alleged recently against various Zen groups⁵⁰ may have been avoided if the students were aware of the history of Ch'an's embedment in scripture, ritual, social networks of monasteries, and devotions to relics or icons.

⁴⁷ Pye (1978), 93.

⁴⁸ Cf. Bok (1978), 217.

⁴⁹ Pye (1978), 124.

⁵⁰ On sexual and financial improprieties, see references in Michelle Spuler (2003), *Developments in Australian Buddhism: Facets of the Diamond*, Routledge Curzon: London, 64-65, and Jamie Hubbard (1997), 'Introduction,' in Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson, eds, *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: The Storm over Critical Buddhism*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, vii-xvii, cf. x, xi.

The hagiography of Ch'an was rooted in specific places and authorities, and although it was spread throughout all of China and to the rest of East Asia, it had its regional conventions, characteristics and styles. These were products of its history and environments. The hagiography of Hui-neng illustrates many of these aspects, and its evolution shows that Ch'an is not some static, timeless entity suitable for every occasion, but a dynamic and evolving practice. It may have been invented or fabricated, but that simply illustrates that Ch'an, as a form of Buddhism, is a means and not an end.

Some more astute and historically informed Buddhists were also aware that the sutras or scriptures were a human product. Knowledge of the evolution of Buddhist doctrine would have made this evident. For example, Wŏnch'ŭk (613-696), an erudite assistant to, and critic of, the great translator Hsüan-tsang (600-664), apparently knew that Buddhism had evolved, with the Buddha preaching only one level of consciousness or representation, the mind, but that nine hundred years later, Asanga and Vasubandhu divided it into the perceiving and perceived aspects. He knew that a little later, Dignāga added the self-conscious or self-witnessing aspect, and lastly, eleven hundred years after the death of the Buddha, Dharmapāla conceived of a fourth aspect, the 'consciousness of being self-conscious.'⁵¹ East Asian cataloguers also knew some of the scriptures were forged or imitations, and some texts even admitted to having been discovered or 'recovered' from caves or from the dragon king's palace beneath the sea, and could appear and disappear according to the needs of the age. Some of these were Ch'an forgeries.⁵² The Buddhist canon was open, and as there was no linguistic basis or "single, lineal transmission of the authentic Word of the Buddha to posterity," elaborations, alterations and additions took place throughout Buddhist history, particularly as the

definition of the dharma was extended from the teachings of the master himself to the enlightened words of his pupils, finally any sincere description of religious attainment could be considered authentic. At that point,

⁵¹ Quote by Taehyŏn of Wŏnch'ŭk, cited in O Hyŏnggŭn (1976), 'Wŏnch'ŭk Pŏpsa ūi sinsiksŏl e tachayŏ,' *Pulgyo hakbo* 13: 7-8.

⁵² Robert E. Buswell, Jr (1990), 'Introduction,' in Robert E. Buswell, Jr, ed, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 20-21, 23, and Michel Strickmann (1990), 'The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells,' in the same volume, 81, 86, 88. This last text represented itself as a "hidden 'treasure-text'."

the 'inspired speech' (*pratibhā*) of anyone claiming a transcendental vision became the equal of the Buddha's own words.⁵³

Even the Dharmaguptaka and Theravada *Vinaya* stated:

That which is called dharma is that spoken by the Buddha, spoken by the śrāvakas, spoken by the sages (*ṛṣi*), or spoken by divinities, when significant and when endowed with doctrinal principles.⁵⁴

Chinese readers must have been aware that not all sutras were preached entirely by the Buddha, for the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, especially the *hou-fen* section, describes the Śākya Muni's death and funeral, and the *Ta chih-tu lun* translated or compiled by Kumārajīva (350-409) stated that there were many different sorts of preachers of the sutras, not just the Buddha or his pupils, but even sages or immortals (*hsien-jen*), gods and incarnations (*hua-jen*). The *Ta-sheng chuang-yen ching lun* (*Mahāyāna sūtrālamkāra*) of Asanga gave eight reasons for considering Mahayana sutras truly the word of the Buddha.⁵⁵ Such apologetics surely made readers cognisant of the possibilities that, unlike the claims of the more rigid Vinaya School cataloguers, all sutras were not the directly spoken words of the Buddha or true sutras.⁵⁶ To become Buddha required enlightenment, but various Mahayana sutras, such as the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, placed that enlightenment in a heaven, or in an inconceivably distant age in the past, with Śākya Muni's enlightenment under the bodhi-tree merely a show for the disciples, a position adopted by the *Lotus Sutra*.⁵⁷ The authors of the *Platform Sutra* ascribed it to Hui-neng, thereby bringing the sutra back to earth and to the present time, making it all the more human. It admitted all of Buddhism was a human product made from the wisdom within humans: "All the sutras exist because they are spoken by man," it declared.⁵⁸

⁵³ Buswell (1990), 4, 6.

⁵⁴ Ronald M. Davidson (1990), 'An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism,' in Robert E. Buswell, Jr, ed, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 294.

⁵⁵ Mochizuki Shinkō (1946), *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 13-16; cf. Davidson (1990), 309-311.

⁵⁶ Makita Tairyō (1976), *Gikyō kenkyū*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 1, 6.

⁵⁷ Davidson (1990), 306-307.

⁵⁸ Philip B. Yampolsky (1967), *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, Columbia University Press: New York, 150-151.

The 'invention' then was quite overt, but behind this was hidden the identity of the real authors of the *Platform Sutra*, who thus engaged in a form of deception, which they undoubtedly justified by reference to the theories of the preaching of the scriptures by those other than the Buddha and as a form of expedient means.

Buddhists were also often aware that expedient means were defined as being 'that convenient to place' 隨方因便,⁵⁹ which permitted variations in Buddhist practice due to culture and even individual temperament and abilities. Many were aware also of the problem of forgeries or imitation sutras,⁶⁰ and of the issues of hermeneutics or trying to determine what the Buddha intended. When there was a suspicion that texts were being forged or manipulated for state or private benefit and not for the salvation of sentient beings, condemnation usually followed. This can be seen in the criticisms aimed at some of the Ch'an hagiographers or 'lamplight transmission' histories considered in this study. The critiques suggested that the inventions were only for the aggrandisement of the lineage of the author, and hence benefited only one section of the Buddhist community to the detriment of the other. It is here that I join those critics in moral censure, for evidence points to Shen-hui acting to make he himself the 'seventh patriarch' and 'true heir' to orthodox Buddhism as authenticated by a surety of transmission. This aristocratic assumption of the noble lie⁶¹ and recognition of the coercion or violence implicit in this deception⁶² on the part of Shen-hui (684-758) and his imitators, the main hagiographers in this study, taints the very positive results of their creations and fictions. The very formation of a key definition of Ch'an, the lineage of transmission from the Buddha, was initially meant to benefit Shen-hui himself and exclude others. In other words, the transmission of the patriarchal robe in Ch'an had a legitimising function, rather like the fiction of the bodily resurrection in early Christianity, which provided "the authority of certain men who claim to exercise exclusive leadership over the churches as the successors of the apostle Peter."⁶³ These

⁵⁹ Pye (1978), 15 note.

⁶⁰ Makita (1976), 2.

⁶¹ On noble lie, see Bok (1978), 167. This self-aggrandisement in Buddhist monastic rules was a *pārājika* offence, one requiring expulsion from the Sangha.

⁶² It is implicit in the references to theft, the attempt to decapitate Hui-neng, etc. Cf. Bok (1978), 18, on deception and coercion or violence.

⁶³ Elaine Pagels (1979), *The Gnostic Gospels*, Random House: New York, 6.

were political actions that were part of a contest for power, and the fabrications and lies were used to overcome rivals. For that end, a robe, a lineage, relics and hagiographies were forged or invented, and they were meant to deceive. Ironically, after Shen-hui's propaganda had gained a wide hearing and he himself had attained powerful political connections, he lost control of his own lie and it took on a life of its own, generally ignoring its creator, who died soon afterwards and was buried in an ordinary tomb, a forgotten and sometimes suspect figure. But his propaganda gained momentum, resulting in one of the defining myths of Chinese culture, referred to by Buddhists, Neo-Confucians, modern reformers and artists. The image of an egalitarian, earthly saint survived right through to the present day.

Medieval history, hagiography and biography

When Martin Luther attacked the hagiography of the Catholic Church he coined the word *Lügende*, a combination of *Liüge* or 'lie' and *Legende* or 'legend,' the latter referring to works like the *Golden Legend* (ca. 1260), a most popular version of the lives of the saints. Luther's coinage was not totally unjustified, for hagiography did include fiction and works of little historical value that expressed more of the hopes and ideals of the authors than of historical 'fact.' However, other hagiographies did provide first-hand, "authentic information."⁶⁴ Therefore, we should not simply discard hagiographies as mere 'lies' or as just material on which to "reconstruct...general mentalities of the time" or 'images' of the monk ideal.⁶⁵

The distinction between hagiography and biography, the latter a subset of history, has been overdrawn, especially when applied to medieval Chinese historiography. Official biographies in the medieval Chinese standard histories (*cheng shih*) and monastic hagiographies of the same period shared much in common, for the 'life' was consciously placed into stereotypical categories. As the subject of the 'life' had to perform a set function, the personality and individuality was at best muted. Despite this, the Confucian notion of 'transmission,' a form of

⁶⁴ Peter Dinzelbacher (2000), 'Hagiography: Western Christian,' in William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols, Fitzroy Dearborn: Chicago and London, 1: 570.

⁶⁵ John Kieschnick (1997), 14, 1, 4.

mimesis, was an attempt to portray reality through the biography or history.⁶⁶ This attitude was carried over into the Buddhist hagiographical collections, with their authors claiming to reproduce the efforts of the great models of secular historians such as Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 145-86 B.C.) and Ch'en Shou (223-297).⁶⁷ These secular historians took careful note of time and place, which influenced the monastic hagiographers to do likewise. Moreover, both the secular biographers and religious hagiographers had a didactic and commemorative aim, but the hagiographer had an additional purpose, to provide a model for salvation. This model was to be imitated by the reader. Yet the hagiographer, like the Chinese secular biographer, was attempting to educate those in the future by using examples from the past, the mirrors for conduct. The secular biographer desired to educate rulers and administrators for a near-ideal government and state; the monastic hagiographer wished to educate the clergy and laity for sainthood. To these ends, the biographer or hagiographer could embellish their representations to enhance the didactic purpose.⁶⁸ Therefore, in the T'ang Dynasty, secular and religious biographies or hagiographies have little to distinguish them; both allowed for the fabrication or reconstruction of the thought and speech, and probably deeds where required, of their subjects. This was because of their derivation from eulogistic 'accounts of conduct' (*hsing-chuang*). Thus Li Ao in 819 complained that the authors of *hsing-chuang* were former subordinates or disciples of the deceased, and that all

falsely incorporate examples of benevolence, righteousness, correct ritual conduct, and wisdom, or tell lies about his loyalty, respectfulness, graciousness and kindness. They do this not only because they are not truthful in their intentions, but simply because they wish to give an empty reputation to him from whom they have received favours...⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Arthur F. Wright (1954), 'Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*,' *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyūshō*, Kyoto University: Kyoto, 386, 391, 407, and Denis Twitchett (1961), 'Chinese Biographical Writing,' in E. G. Pulleyblank and W. G. Beasley, eds, *Historians of China and Japan*, Oxford University Press: New York, 108, 112.

⁶⁷ Kieschnick (1997), 6-7.

⁶⁸ Denis Twitchett (1962), 'Problems of Chinese Biography,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Confucian Personalities*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 29.

⁶⁹ Twitchett (1961), 103 note 35.

Furthermore, these hagiographies were structurally similar to the secular biographies, the *topoi* merely diverging because of the different roles of officials, literati and clerics.⁷⁰ Just as the genealogy and 'family cult' were weighty concerns for the secular biographer,⁷¹ so they were also for the Chinese Buddhist hagiographer, for the monk belonged in the Śākya clan (*Shih-shih*), and his genealogy displayed his membership with a school/ancestral lineage (*tsung*) or family (*chia*) that transmitted a practice or interpretation of Buddhism. A monk had to treat his teacher as if he was his father, and familial terminology was used to show a monk's relationships with other clerics.⁷²

Therefore, it is only in recent times that hagiography became separated from the 'scientific biographies' of the modern period and dismissed as legend, belonging to "the period of an ancient prehistory." This dismissal arose from the growth of historical criticism and source studies beginning in seventeenth-century Western Europe.⁷³ Some thus assert that although hagiography shares "some surface similarities with modern biographies," such as temporal sequence, the "historical details should be construed as accidental," for "[t]he intention was not to narrate the events of a life but to show that God is 'glorified in his saints'" and so hagiography and modern biography should not be confused.⁷⁴ Others think that the hagiographies can be used for "the study of mentalities, everyday life, and cultural history,"⁷⁵ as "the literary crystallization of the perceptions of a collective conscience," to quote Jacques Fontaine.⁷⁶

This dismissal has been compounded by the growth of new outlooks such as deconstruction and post-structuralism, all parts of the 'linguistic turn,' which viewed even history "as a literary artefact," a "representa-

⁷⁰ Cf. Kieschnick (1997), 4-5, and Twitchett (1961), 111.

⁷¹ Twitchett (1961), 111-112.

⁷² John Jorgensen (March 1987), 'The "Imperial" Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Ch'an's Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T'ang Dynasty,' *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35: 96-97. Cf. Tao-hsüan, *Ssu-fen lü shan-fan pu-ch'üeh hsing-shih ch'ao*, T40.31a16-17.

⁷³ Michel de Certeau (1988), *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley, Columbia University Press: New York, 270.

⁷⁴ Thomas O'Loughlin (2000), 'Hagiography: Christian Perspectives,' in William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols, Fitzroy Dearborn: Chicago and London, 1: 566.

⁷⁵ Dinzelbacher (2000), 1: 570.

⁷⁶ Quoted in de Certeau (1988), 270.

tion of pastness."⁷⁷ If history and hagiography are both representations of some versions of the past, and are both literary artefacts, what is there to distinguish history/biography from hagiography? Is it impossible, as de Certeau claims, "to consider hagiography solely in terms of its 'authenticity' or 'historical value'," for "this would be equivalent to submitting a literary genre to the laws of another genre—historiography—"?⁷⁸ de Certeau seems to be asserting here that literature and historiography are two separate genres, while others such as Munslow seem to suggest that there is no distinction. Such debates, and their philosophical underpinnings, have left the historian beset by a 'crisis of representation,' in which some have abandoned biographies, especially pre-modern biographies, as sources of historical value that can only be treated as literature. As literature, they can only provide collective paradigms and no individuality. The biographical reconstruction, with its attempts to find a chronological continuity, is dismissed as an "illusion" that "flourishes precisely owing to the scarcity of historical materials." Indeed, "the biographical process is in most cases only an unconscious duplication of the hagiographical process."⁷⁹

Yet coherence is of the nature of historiography, and of biography in particular,⁸⁰ for authors and readers, past and present, see the apparent continuity in their own lives and project those onto others. If the representation is an illusion, it is a comforting illusion and practical illusion, for it is writing history or biography to make events and lives intelligible. Moreover, as long as the representation is not made out to be *the* history of the person or saint, but *a* history, then it has value as a fiction, an interpretation of the past.⁸¹

Moreover, not all hagiographies are complete fiction in the sense that they have no basis in evidence or 'facts.' Some do belong to an

⁷⁷ Alun Munslow (1997), *Deconstructing History*, Routledge: London, 13, 178.

⁷⁸ de Certeau (1988), 270.

⁷⁹ Bernard Faure (1986), 'Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm,' *History of Religions* 25 (3): 188-190.

⁸⁰ Michel de Certeau (1992), *The Mystic Fable, volume 1: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by Michael B. Smith, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 9, on the correlation and coherence in historiography. For a Buddhist theory that would support collective or shared representation and consequently coherence, plus other issues related to hagiography, see John Jorgensen (2002), 'Representing Wöñch'ük (613-696): Meditations on Medieval East Asian Buddhist Biographies,' in Benjamin Penny, ed., *Religion and Biography in China and Tibet*, Curzon: Richmond, Surrey, 82-87.

⁸¹ Munslow (1997), 143.

historical type in which there is evidence of individuality, and not just a string of *topoi*. These have been distinguished from the legendary type in which the hagiographer's purpose could be served equally well by fact or fictions (baseless inventions).⁸² In the West, this tendency towards historicity, in which sources could be named, and didactic intentions declared, was hastened by the procedures for canonisation,⁸³ whereas in China this was due to the influences of secular historiography⁸⁴ and attempts to gain posthumous honours for the saint from the state by providing evidence of his sanctity, evidence supported by literati authors. Therefore it is possible to 'reconstruct' the lives of some individuals from select hagiographies, particularly when one is aware of the aims and the *topoi* operating in the source materials, and that one is creating a representation.

Thus, Pierre Delooz thought that we must "clearly distinguish *real* saints from *constructed* saints." Some information or 'objective facts' can be ascertained about these 'real' people: data such as dates, gender, status and membership of a religious community. This can be done in Western Christendom due to the process of canonisation that informs us about this social milieu and of "the social group which chose them, which were not always the same."⁸⁵ Most of these records of canonisation, which were documented and argued in a tribunal with procedural rules, date from 1234 onwards. These canonisations were distinguished from 'popular' canonisations which were recognised locally. The canonisation process left records of interviews, and so the attribution of sanctity had to be a form of 'collective representation.' As such, one can gain from these records an appreciation of

⁸² Discussion of paper by Régis Boyer (1981), 'An Attempt to Define the Typology of Medieval Hagiography,' in Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, Jørgen Højgaard Jørgensen and Tore Nyberg, eds, *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium*, Odense University Press: Odense, 161-162. For similar themes concerning Thai Buddhist hagiography, see Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah (1984), *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism and Millennial Buddhism*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 124-127.

⁸³ Michael Goodich (1982), *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 25, Anton Hiersemann: Stuttgart, 28-30, 62-64.

⁸⁴ Wright (1954), 385-386.

⁸⁵ Pierre Delooz (1983/1985), 'Towards a sociological study of canonized sainthood in the Catholic Church,' in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, article translated from French, 195.

the 'collective mentality,' for sanctity is a social value "expressed in systems of associated conduct or behaviour within a given network of social relations."⁸⁶

In contrast, the 'constructed saint' exists on a continuum from the less constructed, those 'real saints' whose lives have been remodelled to meet the demands of collective representation but for whom some 'objective facts' are retained, to the solely constructed saints about whom nothing is known historically; "everything, including their existence, is a product of collective representation."⁸⁷ Examples of the latter include St Nicholas and St Anne, the latter created to fill a role, someone who "must have existed," and whom Luther eventually denied. But as Delooz indicates, these constructions were "not totally arbitrary. They tell us something about the social groups who were responsible for them." And for such constructions to succeed, there had to be popular pressure, adherents and supporters, not to mention inventors.⁸⁸

Therefore, this book is not an attempt to reconstruct the life of Hui-neng, for that is nigh impossible, given that the most reliable sources only tell us that he lived around the late seventh century, was a pupil of Hung-jen (601-674), and lived in the far south of China. But that does not mean we cannot reconstruct or represent the lives of some of those who participated in the formation of the legend of Hui-neng, individuals such as Shen-hui (684-758). We possess a funerary inscription by Shen-hui's pupils, which was buried not long after his death, hagiographies by monk 'historians,' comments on his teaching by Tsung-mi (780-841), and works from Tun-huang that are edited 'transcripts' of what are allegedly his sermons and writings.

Therefore, in some instances, the historian studying legends, by using "the historical method so as to bring to light their hidden truths," is not just left with a 'skeleton' "after this mortuary washing," as Faure claims, at least for Bodhidharma.⁸⁹ Of course, the biography created is not *the* truth of his life, but *a* truth.⁹⁰ But nor is it just a 'skeleton,' although that may be appropriate for Hui-neng and his relic, for the historian interpreting the past does not invent it, but imposes

⁸⁶ Delooz (1983/1985), 191, 193.

⁸⁷ Delooz (1983/1985), 195.

⁸⁸ Delooz (1983/1985), 196, 199.

⁸⁹ Faure (1986), 188.

⁹⁰ Munslow (1997), 171.

a coherent narrative structure on it based on codes or conventions. The hagiographers, like the modern biographer-historians, usually give the life a beginning, middle and an end.⁹¹ Moreover, the medieval Chinese biography (*chuan*) was also used to 'line up or connect events' (*lieh-shih*), as in 'accounts of conduct,' to interpret scriptures or annals.⁹² Therefore, at least in the Confucian histories, there are materials to cross-check the 'biographies' with. This is not the case with the Buddhist hagiographies, for the hagiographies were meant to 'interpret' or illustrate virtues and models of conduct, such as those mentioned in the vinayas and some of the sutras. The hagiographies did highlight character more than individuality, and always contain a 'theology.'⁹³ However, for some monks we have access to their writings, or funerary inscriptions, and mentions in secular histories such as the *Chiu Tang shu* or the writings of eminent literati. These then can be used to tell us more about the times in which Hui-neng allegedly lived, and about some of the individuals connected with the forging of Hui-neng's hagiographies.

Yet this book will concentrate on what de Certeau states is required "[f]rom a sociological and historical point of view." That is, "the stages of this literature must be retraced, its functioning must be analysed, and its cultural situation will have to be specified." In addition, the type of hagiography will need to be analysed for its structure and its exemplars.⁹⁴ The networks of social relations, and the social creation and representation of sanctity that these hagiographies and other sources reveal will also be examined, for saints (or their hagiographies) reflect the societies that produce them.⁹⁵

Despite these modern uses of medieval hagiographies for purposes other than they were intended, medieval clerics themselves sometimes shared the modern dismissal of some of these works as fiction, apocrypha or 'lies' as Luther suggested. They could sometimes be as critical as modern scholars, as we can see in the attacks on the *Pao-lin chuan*. Also,

⁹¹ Munslow (1997), 73; cf. John Makeham (2003), *Transmitters and creators: Chinese commentators and commentaries on the Analects*, Harvard East Asian monograph, Harvard University Press: Harvard, 14, on coherence and choice of codes.

⁹² Liu Chih-chi, *Shih-t'ung*, in Ts'ai Cho, *Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih*, preface 1752, printed 1893, reprinted by Wen-hai ch'u-pan she: Taipei, 1964, 2/13a (p. 58).

⁹³ Cf. de Certeau (1988), 276, 278, writing of European hagiography.

⁹⁴ de Certeau (1988), 270.

⁹⁵ Delooz (1983/1985), 193; Wilson (1983/1985), 1, 6-7.

the early Christian Church condemned hagiographies as apocrypha, and some medieval monks maintained a scepticism that questioned and even mocked forgeries. Moreover, the monastic elite could not stomach the enthusiasms of the oral or popular hagiographer.⁹⁶ Similarly, the early hagiographies of Hui-neng were long lost or neglected for being too fanciful or vulgar, before some sanitised versions were generally accepted. Thus there were attempts to have the *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan* destroyed by Buddhist rivals who objected to their religious implications. This can be seen in Üich'ön's record that a Liao emperor had the Ch'an texts, the *Platform Sutra* 六祖壇經 and the *Pao-lin chuan* 寶林傳, burnt as deluding texts. This was an outcome of a project to determine the content of the Tripitaka.⁹⁷ The refutations of 'forgeries' then were prosecuted in order to protect an 'original tradition' or orthodoxy. Therefore the condemnation was not made out of a sceptical criticism as with modern historians, who wish to rewrite history. The medieval Buddhist hagiographers saw their works as part of the continuity of the tradition that illustrated an 'atemporal essentialism' and assumed a 'temporal unity.' For Ch'an, the past was not foreign, for the eternal presence of the unchanged Buddha-nature guaranteed no real innovation. The modern historian instead sees change, even discontinuity, and is not committed to the Buddhist narrative.⁹⁸ Therefore, a 'forgery' for the medieval Buddhist historian was something one should not be influenced by; nothing should be learnt from it, whereas the modern historian wishes to learn about the forgery and its origins,⁹⁹ and the mentality and milieu that produced it. Thus the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the autobiographical section of the earlier versions of the *Platform Sutra*, and the *Pao-lin chuan*, were largely neglected by the Buddhist world, if not destroyed, and it was only when modern historians emerged that serious historical study was devoted to them.

However, we cannot remain content to only examine the hagi-

⁹⁶ de Certeau (1988), 274, citing the Gelasian decree; and Landes (1995), 15, on Benedict's challenge of Ademar, and 63, 91, on the elite scorn for vernacular hagiography.

⁹⁷ Tsukamoto Zenryū (1983), *Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi no shomondai*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 147.

⁹⁸ Dale S. Wright (1998), *Philosophical Meditations on Zen Buddhism*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 111-112.

⁹⁹ Dale S. Wright (1998), 113.

ography as a collective or literary image. If it is fiction, in this case a romance, it is still likely to be based on a place and a time, a social milieu, and use the name of an historical figure. The task here is to discern the elements used to create the fiction and to consider possible reasons these elements were adopted. Thus in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* very specific place names are used, and I have identified people who are given roles in the hagiographies as actual historical actors known from other sources. I have also suggested reasons why those individuals and places have been incorporated into these hagiographies of Hui-neng. This does not mean that those people actually did what the hagiographies claimed they did, but it does mean the authors of the hagiographies used them for a specific end, such as an appeal to authority or to conjure up specific associations. While we cannot be certain of the authors' intentions, in some cases not even knowing who the authors were, because of the problem of 'other minds' and because that author in turn has relied on earlier texts and ideological positions in a chain of signification, we can make inferences from the hagiography and its context about possible motives.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, if we do not understand these associations created by the authors of the hagiographies, we will not understand anything of how the intended readers interpreted the hagiography. And if we do not understand that, we do not understand the nuances of the images beyond a few literary tropes and structures. In other words, the image will lose its particularity, and we will begin to read the hagiography as just another standard formula or stereotype. That may have to be the case with some hagiographies, but I contend that there is more than formulaic tropes to many East Asian biographies, even if all histories or biographies may be emplotted into one master trope.¹⁰¹ Thus there has to be interplay between literary themes and structures, and historical analyses.

Furthermore, we should not simply use the texts as mere expressions of the social conditions of the times, nor as just tropes or formulaic conventions. If there is no use of historical context then there is no constraint on the imagination that looks for tropes or for the

¹⁰⁰ Munslow (1997), 29, 62, 166; cf. Jorgensen (2002), 81, on the problem of knowing the Buddha's intentions, an issue raised in the *Samdinirmocana Sūtra*; Makeham (2003), 11, on the ideas of Paul Ricoeur.

¹⁰¹ Munslow (1997), 154ff.

interpretation of social conditions. While we cannot do more than hypothesise about the author's intent, some hypotheses, being more coherent, are more responsible or appropriate than others. Those hypotheses can best be judged by historical context¹⁰² and outcomes. Unfettered imagination or interpretation (like that of the Holocaust deniers) or endless chains of signification are impractical and so cannot be challenged. Therefore, the hagiographies are not to be regarded as just expressions of the social conditions. But nor are they entirely the product of the author's imagination, and readers at various times in history generally used codes to form coherent readings appropriate to that period. The changing readings or interpretations of the *Lun-yü* are prime examples of this. Of course, as a canonical text, the *Lun-yü* came to be a fixed text, but hagiographies like those of Hui-neng were instead rewritten and not just reinterpreted to suit the new interpretations and social conditions. Here I shall be examining the earliest hagiographies and trying to interpret them in their historical context. I shall try to avoid falling into the trap of irresponsible interpretations that have made Hui-neng a reactionary, a revolutionary, a quintessential Chinese everyman, a national minority, an anti-imperial mystic, or an iconoclastic rationalist.

Medieval hagiography and modernisers

When modernist historians, who were dominated by the idea of the human being (Man), reality and scientific progress,¹⁰³ encountered the hagiographies of Hui-neng, they ignored the 'irrational' elements that did not suit the temper of their times, and so did not deal with issues such as the relics of Hui-neng. They attempted rather to abstract a rationalist and a progressive role for Hui-neng as an actual historical actor.

This study rather places greater emphasis on the relics of Hui-neng, and does not analyse the doctrinal content of the *Platform Sutra*. As a study of hagiography, it focuses more on people, places, texts and events than on doctrinal theory. In that hagiographical sense, it envisions Ch'an as medieval and aristocratic in reality if not in rhetoric, not modern and certainly not post-modern (unless postmodernism is

¹⁰² Makeham (2003), 9-17.

¹⁰³ Munslow (1997), 133.

a reversion to the medieval). Although the word medieval was used pejoratively by the modernisers such as Hu Shih and Nukariya Kaiten, who adopted Ch'an/Zen for their own projects of modernisation and nationalism, it is not intended to be negative here. After all, the worship of relics was and is an integral part of Buddhism, even if it is classified as a skilful means, at least according to the *Lotus Sutra*.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, all of Buddhism can be considered skilful means that are meant to remedy the circumstantial problem and then be discarded, just like a raft used to cross a river is left behind on reaching the other shore. As long as the means are beneficial soteriologically, it does not matter if the means are lies or contrivances.¹⁰⁵ Such pragmatism about propaganda appealed to modernisers and pragmatists like Hu Shih,¹⁰⁶ who also viewed Ch'an as part of the transcendence of the medieval religion of superstition created by the introduction of Buddhism into China.¹⁰⁷ He was particularly attracted by the Ch'an use of the vernacular, for he considered that China's renaissance had to begin with language reform.¹⁰⁸ Thus for Hu, Ch'an was a precursor of modernisation. In

¹⁰⁴ Pye (1978), 58. Hu and Nukariya undoubtedly adopted the Burckhardian sense of medieval, which made the term negative in contrast to renaissance, which in Chinese history could apply to the Sui and T'ang dynasties that re-united China and did much to revive scholarship, improve the bureaucracy, and develop the economy and international trade. This was the period too in which printing developed, and we see the beginnings of a 'colloquial' literature. For Hu and the renaissance, see Zhu Weizheng (1990), *Coming out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West*, translated by Ruth Hayhoe, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk NY, 193-195.

¹⁰⁵ Pye (1978), 37-38, 69, 136, 150.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Lin Yü-sheng (1979), *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*, University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 88-91, 95, 99, 154-155, on Hu's 'totalistic iconoclasm,' 'cultural nationalism' and 'reformism' and on 'scientific method.' Cf. Hu Shih (1932), 'Development of Zen Buddhism in China,' *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* XV no. 4 [reprinted in Yanagida Seizan, comp (1975), *Ko Teki Zengaku-an* (722-690)], 493 (703), on Hui-neng as "the founder of the Chinese Reformation" in a revolt "against Dhyana itself," 500 (696), on Zen as an "iconoclast movement," 503-504 (693-692), on Ch'an as a "unique product of the Chinese racial mentality...marriage between Chinese rationalism and naturalism...and Indian religion and philosophy....a revolt against Buddhism....Hui-neng, the George Fox of China....(Later)...All that was left, was an attitude and a method."

¹⁰⁷ Lin (1979), 98-99.

¹⁰⁸ Ping Chen (1999), *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 72-75. The first time Hu seems to have recognised the colloquial nature (*pai-hua*) of the Ch'an works was in 1920, in his 'Kuo-yü wen-fa kai-lun,' in *Hu Shih wen-ts'un*, vol. 1 (first issued 1921, reprinted 1971 by Yüan-tung kuo-shu kung-ssu: Taipei): 455. However, when he discovered the works of Shen-hui in 1926, he must have been impressed by their forceful colloquial language.

that vein, Hu viewed Shen-hui as a revolutionary, akin to St Paul.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Nukariya Kaiten, despite his broad scholarship in the Ch'an of Korea, China and Japan saw Zen as a character-building force, a religion for a new, modern nation, a muscular religion that could discard superstition and be appropriate in a scientific age.¹¹⁰ In this, both scholars were internalising the colonialist or 'Protestant' discourse on Buddhism emanating from the West, although there were a few earlier Chinese thinkers such as Lin Chao-en who thought of Ch'an, in particular Hui-neng's Ch'an, as iconoclastic and eminently adaptable to secular life.¹¹¹

The entire modern notion of Buddhism as rational, compatible with science, textually based and anti-ritualistic, and thus part of the overcoming of the medieval and a force for modernisation, had a profound effect on the conception of Buddhism among twentieth century scholars, whether from East Asia or the West. This in turn was popularised, and still has not been transcended. Ch'an or Zen was stripped of its context, its material and ritualistic aspects, leaving a rarified and reified doctrine that could be practiced equally by Christians, atheists, martial artists, and Buddhists. It then could be secular, artistic, 'beat' and post-modern before it was even modern. In Japan it was integrated with German philosophy, and in the West variously with quantum theory and the uncertainty theories of Kurt Gödel and art of M.C. Escher. A Russian scholar, N. V. Abaev, linked it with cybernetics and Ken Wilbur made it a higher part of an evolution towards a transcendent consciousness. The skeleton in the Ch'an closet, or rather on Nan-hua Monastery's dais, immediately undermines all of these projects, which use Ch'an for purposes other than it was intended. Ch'an may have been the 'School of the Mind' (*hsin-tsung*), but in many respects that mind was medieval, full of premonitions, faith in miracles, reincarnation, the powers of dead saints and deference to imperial authority. While all of these can sup-

¹⁰⁹ Bernard Faure (1993), *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 95.

¹¹⁰ Nukariya Kaiten (1913), *The Religion of the Samurai*, Luzac and Co: London (1973 reprint), 50; "And now it is looked upon as an ideal faith, both for a nation full of hope and energy, and for a person who has to fight his own way in the strife of life....If a person be a person and not a beast, then he must be a Samurai—brave, generous, upright, faithful and manly."

¹¹¹ Berling (1980), 202.

posedly be explained away as expedient means, the means is also the message. T'ang society was medieval in many aspects, for the blood vendetta, beliefs in ghosts and the supernatural still profoundly influenced society.¹¹² Yet it was also a time when printing began, Chinese was sometimes written in the colloquial, the examination system for the bureaucracy began hesitantly, a new literature of romance was born, and many technological advances were made. Ch'an had a part to play in some of these changes, but its ultimate impulse was to look back to the past, emphasise transmission and genealogy, and commemorate the dead. Simultaneously medieval and modernising, Ch'an was far more ecumenical and varied in practice than its rhetoric suggested. In this it is not unlike many other religious movements, even those with tags such as New Age, which can mix 'post-modern' cyborgs with 'medieval' Nostradamus in the one breath.

The evidence for this simultaneous backward-looking and modernising mind lies primarily in the Ch'an hagiographies, the most important of which were those of Hui-neng, whose image was invented to symbolise a change in the nascent Ch'an movement and to legitimate the claims of one branch against another. Ironically, the invention failed to give a long-term advantage to the inventor and his lineage, but it was taken advantage of by others. As the hagiographies are our primary sources, they need to be analysed for their structures and themes, and how they and the image of Hui-neng they presented evolved and interrelated. They generally represent Hui-neng as a hero, like most saints, who overcame great odds to achieve transcendence, and thereby changed the course of Ch'an history,¹¹³ even if he did conform, via karmic causation and conditioning, to alleged predictions of his advent.

Like the deconstructionist historians, the Ch'an hagiographers were aware of the limitations of language, that there is not a direct correspondence between a word and what it represents (the signified). They knew that language is not innocent, if one is attached to it, for language belongs in the realm of 'conventional or provisional truth.'¹¹⁴ Ordinary beings do not understand the 'ultimate truth' for they are

¹¹² Charles Benn (2002), *Daily Life in Traditional China: The Tang Dynasty*, Greenwood Press: Westport, Conn., 212-213, 279-281, 265-266.

¹¹³ Cf. Munslow (1997), 158, describing Hayden White's theories of historical explanation.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Munslow (1997), 28-29, and Dale S. Wright (1998), 67, 71.

not yet enlightened. So the hagiographers realised that language or communication was necessary for teaching purposes. Their works were thus meant to be read or heard, and were a form of skilful means,¹¹⁵ and the hagiographies were models to be imitated. The models may have been all similar in that they were romances, but the enlightenment they embodied was located in particular times and places, that is, in historical context,¹¹⁶ even if their lives somehow repeated a pattern as Buddhist practitioners.

Therefore, if we are to understand the formation of the Ch'an movement, we need to understand the image of its most iconic figure, and some of the motives of its chief authors, and the formation and evolution of the hagiographies that carried that image in the social context. While these are concerns imposed on earlier materials, I hope thereby to provide another perspective on the history of Ch'an, one that will undermine the modernist notions.

¹¹⁵ Dale S. Wright (1998), 65, 21.

¹¹⁶ Dale S. Wright (1998), 106, 108.

PART I

**THE HAGIOGRAPHICAL IMAGE AND
RELIC WORSHIP**

CHAPTER ONE

ANALYSIS OF THE HAGIOGRAPHY: HUI-NENG AND THE FABRICATION OF A BUDDHO-CONFUCIAN HAGIOGRAPHY

Section A: Background

Buddhist hagiography

Hagiographies are meant to spread the ideals of a religious community, especially monastic communities, to a wider audience. They use a biographical format to extol the holiness of the subject, and by association, the community the saint founded or lead. The hagiography was a celebration and commemoration of the deeds of the saint, and had liturgical and entertainment uses.¹ Buddhist hagiography was didactic, using the events of the saint's life as exemplars of conduct. They also celebrated the potency of the saint's relics. Thus Buddhist hagiography grew around two catalysts; the explanation of the reasons for certain provisions in the vinaya that centred around events in the life of the Buddha and his disciples, and the commemoration of the relics of a dead saint at a stupa or reliquary.² As Buddhism eschewed desire and the self, the lives were those primarily of renouncers. Buddhism taught rebirth, so that each life was but one in a succession. As no egos were ultimately possible, the lineages of rebirths were those of a 'complex of consciousness.' The Buddha's previous lives were related in *jātaka*, as remembered by the Buddha and related by him to illustrate the consequences of moral actions and how these contributed to the culmination in the achievement of buddhahood in the person of Śākya Muni himself. Similarly, other saints such as arhats, pratyekabuddhas

¹ Alexander Alexakis (2000), 'Hagiography: Eastern Christian,' in William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols, Fitzroy Dearborn: Chicago and London, 1: 566.

² Eric Frauwallner (1956), *The Earliest Buddhist Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Serie Orientale Roma VII: Roma, 46-50, 52-53; Reginald Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values and Orientations*, Oxford University Press: New York and London, 228.

and bodhisattvas belonged in such lineages of rebirths. Each saint, in this life and previous lives, shared their lives with those whom they had karmic affinities, such as family members or pupils. This chain of rebirths represented a transmission of the doctrine, but in Ch'an this also occurred between saints in this life. Karma governed the lives of the saints, although the saints overcame the consequences of their past deeds. No divine intervention was required; the agents of the miraculous were the saints themselves. The life of the Buddha provided the prime pattern for the hagiographies of the saints, and so the life courses were approximately the same.

Buddhist hagiography was later provoked by the feeling that the Śākya Muni was now in the distant past, and the promised Maitreya or next buddha was far in the future. The notion that the timeless *Dharmakāya* (Corpus of the Dharma) was the body of the Buddha in principle meant that the *Dharmakāya* could be manifested in many forms. These forms were the recent, local and accessible saints who were born throughout the countries of the Buddhist commonwealth. The fact that the Buddha and saints were the latest in a chain of rebirths beginning in imperfect beings promised all in the readership or audience that they too had the buddha-nature, the potential for buddhahood.³

Hagiography was one of the keystones of Indian Buddhism, for the Buddhist saints were ever present in the literature, presented as stereotypes. Largely overlooked by modern scholars, hagiography "is particularly interesting and revealing because here one finds a Buddhism that is alive and in evolution, and also relatively unself-conscious."⁴ These hagiographies tended to be of types representing specific groups or traditions, not individuals, were undated, and could substitute elements such as particular names of places and people. This was the case with episodes in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. They were built up with set dramatic structures, common themes and stock lists. These were freely exchanged between versions and episodes.⁵ Although the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* was an important hagiography dealing with the

³ John Jorgensen (2000), 'Hagiography: Buddhist Perspectives,' in Johnston, 1: 563-564.

⁴ Ray (1994), 8.

⁵ Ray (1994), 14 notes 17 and 19, 384.

last years of the Buddha's career,⁶ in its Mahayana version it was influential on the formation of ideas in Ch'an of preserving the bodies of deceased saints. However, in India, the buddhas, bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas and other saints, while human also had superhuman powers and were seen as partly divine.⁷

Moreover, as in Ch'an, the Indian Buddhist hagiographies had concerns with lineages of transmission. Early in their history they were created in order to give their tradition an authority like those of their Brahman rivals and so tended to be brief, for texts soon took over that authority.⁸ Moreover, an Indian conception of inheritance also permeated these lineages. Sons did not inherit the property, they became their father and so the property did not shift. One inherited the person of one's father. Similarly, the disciples of the Buddha did not so much inherit the Dharma, but became identified with him as the Dharmakāya. Mus called it "a theory of transmission....For to initiate a disciple is to engender him...to transmit one's person." As each 'heir' became identical with or have the same 'core of personality' as the master, all the saints converged in type.⁹ This theme perhaps subconsciously infiltrated into Ch'an hagiographical notions of the lineage transmission, with the enlightened personality or the lamplight transmission from lamp or person to lamp. Moreover, the pratyekabuddhas at times seem to teach like the Ch'an master, by a "direct, visual teaching, rather than verbal instruction." He also uses verses to teach 'prospective pratyekabuddhas' or to demonstrate "the essence of his enlightenment to other pratyekabuddhas."¹⁰ In this, the pratyekabuddha seems to prefigure the Ch'an master, despite the bodhisattva rhetoric in Ch'an, in which one vows to save all beings before entering nirvana. The pratyekabuddha was supposedly a sole saint, who was self-realised, but the hagiographies show them teaching disciples or 'prospective pratyekabuddhas,' an interesting contradiction.

In China, the Buddhist hagiographies indeed were a product of the influences of Indic and Chinese Confucian historiography, the former largely ignoring secular time and circumstances, the latter being grounded in secular time and mundane reality. Sinitic hagiography

⁶ Ray (1994), 382 passim; Frauwallner (1956), 42-44.

⁷ Ray (1994), 51, 59, 208-209 note 32, 220-221, 226, 230.

⁸ Ray (1994), 32.

⁹ Ray (1994), 61.

¹⁰ Ray (1994), 224-225.

thus tended to humanise its subjects, and downplayed supernatural interventions. Before the T'ang, the Buddhist hagiographers did not pay great attention to lineage or transmission, probably because hagiography was dominated by institutionalised, monastic scholars. By the early T'ang, the most important hagiographers were the Vinaya teachers, who wanted to illustrate monastic conduct and the moral life, and not transmission or meditation. Thus the scholars preceded the meditators in most collections.¹¹ Moreover, the first separate hagiographies of major figures such as Chih-i (538-597), a founder of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism; Hsüan-tsang (600-664), the traveller and translator; and Fa-lin (572-640), the early T'ang defender of Buddhism, had been produced by this time. These genres inspired early 'Ch'an' hagiography, which increasingly stressed transmission because of their greater focus on meditation and greater marginalisation from the establishment in early times.

Evidence for early Ch'an history

The evidence for the early Ch'an figures come from a limited number of hagiographical genres: the stele inscription (*pei-ming*), usually an epitaph called a stupa inscription (*t'a-ming*); less frequently, an 'account of conduct' (*hsing-chuang*); the 'connected biography' (*lieh-chuan*) in one of the collections of biographies of eminent monks (*kao-seng chuan*); or in a Ch'an 'genealogical history.' Most of the originals of the tomb inscriptions have been lost, although some may be found listed or reproduced in full in epigraphy (*chin-shih hsüeh*) collections, or in 'rubblings,' that is, 'ink squeezes' taken from the inscribed surface.¹² These rubblings were mostly collected by scholars in the Sung and Ch'ing dynasties,¹³ although they were classified under the heading of philology (*hsiao-hsüeh*) rather than history from the time of the *Sui shu* treatise on bibliography (656 A.D.). A pioneering work on epigraphy

¹¹ John Jorgensen (2000), 'Hagiography: Buddhist Perspectives,' in Johnston, 1: 563-564.

¹² For a definition, see Benjamin A. Elman (1984), *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Harvard University Press: Harvard, xxiii. For a description of the techniques of rubbing and the historical value of these rubblings, see R. H. van Gulik (1958), *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente: Roma, 86-93.

¹³ Elman (1984), 154, 188.

was the *Chin-shih lu* by Chao Ming-ch'eng and his wife Li Ch'ing-chao (1081-1140).¹⁴ Other copies of stele inscriptions were placed in the collected works of their famed literati authors. Examples include the *Chang Yen-kung chi* by Chang Yüeh (667-730) or the *Wang Yu-ch'eng chi* of Wang Wei (701?-761). Occasionally, as in the case of Shen-hui, we are fortunate enough to possess the original of the inscription.

The *hsing-chuang* or 'account of conduct' was prepared before the tomb inscription was made, and were more detailed than the *lieh-chuan*, but eulogistic as they were commissioned by relatives or disciples,¹⁵ and were often prepared to be presented to the state when requesting a posthumous title. They survive in the same way as the tomb inscriptions or epitaphs.

If the original inscription has not survived, there are usually problems of transmission. Even rubbings may be poor when the inscription was worn or weathered.¹⁶ Thus, a rubbing was made from the original stone epitaph for Shen-hsiu (606-706) written by Chang Yüeh. But according to a report made in the 1920s by Tokiwa Daijō, one third of the reverse of the inscription had long been broken off, and there is no assurance that the inscription is the original. According to the *Ching-men Yü-ch'üan chih*, the gazetteer of the monastery, someone had destroyed the stele in the Hsüan-te era (1426-1436) when attempting to steal the land in front of the monastery, and that the stele had only been restored in the Wan-li era (1573-1620). The rubbing had probably been made from this restoration.¹⁷ The *Chang Yen-kung chi* does not assist greatly here. This book is listed in the bibliographical treatise of the *Chiu T'ang shu*, the standard history of the T'ang that was compiled from 941, as having had thirty fascicles, but the extant book has only twenty-five fascicles, and all the cataloguers from the Sung Dynasty onwards give twenty-five. So five fascicles were lost early, and by comparison with texts such as the *Chiu T'ang shu* for biographies and the like, we know some items are missing from the extant text. In the Chia-ching era (1522-1567), a descendant of Chang Yüeh had

¹⁴ Yao Ming-ta (1977), *Chung-kuo mu-lu hsiieh shih*, Taiwan Shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Taipei, 358; Elman (1984), 188-190.

¹⁵ Twitchett (1962), 25, 27-29.

¹⁶ van Gulik (1958), 92-93.

¹⁷ See Kawachi Shōen's explanation (*kaidai*) for this inscription in Shiga Takayoshi, ed. (1998), *Tōdai Shakyō bunsen yakuchū*, Ōtani Daigaku Shinshū sōgo kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 259; Tokiwa Daijō (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, Kokusho kankōkai reprint: Tokyo, 125-126.

the manuscript engraved and printed, but it was full of errors. Later compilers collated it with other sources such as the *Wen-yüan ying-hua* (986) and the *T'ang wen-ts'ui* etcetera. They found over sixty items missing from the printed version. These included four stele inscriptions, nine tomb inscriptions and an account of conduct. These were then added into the imperially commissioned *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, the *t'i-yao* (descriptive notes) for which are dated early 1782.¹⁸ The *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* was compiled between 1773 and 1782 in an attempt to collect all known works deemed worthy of preservation. These were taken from many sources.¹⁹ But this massive collection was partly motivated to rival the Buddhist and Taoist canons.²⁰ Despite some elements of censorship, the compilers used the best scholarly methodology of the day in striving to create reliable texts.²¹ However, even some of the material included in the twenty-five fascicle *Chang Yen-kung chi* is suspect of being falsely attributed to Chang Yüeh. For example, the last poem in fascicle 7, 'Shu-hsiang Neng Hô-shang t'a,' which appears to be a poem accompanying a letter sending incense to the stupa of Hui-neng, reads:

The Master has rejected the world,
Emptiness remains, but the power of the Dharma exists.
From afar (I wish) I convey the incense of non-obstruction,
My thoughts following it down to Nan-hai.

This poem has probably been extracted from the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (Complete T'ang Poems), which in turn took it from the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* biography of Hui-neng. As Tsan-ning (921-1001), compiler of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, was drawing upon an earlier hagiography, possibly by one of Shen-hui's supporters, it is likely that this poem is a fabrication falsely attributed to Chang Yüeh.²² Therefore, even

¹⁸ See Chang Yüeh, *Chang Yen-kung chi*, reproduced from the Wen-yüan ko edition of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, published by Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-p'an she: Shanghai, 1992, *t'i-yao* 1a-3b.

¹⁹ Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff (1971), *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, 3rd edn, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 19.

²⁰ Elman (1984), 154.

²¹ Elman (1984), 15-16, 65.

²² *Chang Yen-kung chi* 7/17a; *Sung Kao-seng chuan* T50.755b24-26; Fukunaga Shunō (1938/1974), 'Rokuso Enō Zenji to bunjin to no kankei ni tsuite,' reproduced from *Zengaku kenkyū* 29, in *Fukunaga Shunō chosaku shū*, vol. 3, Mokujisha: Tokyo, 140; Yanagida Seizan (1967), *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto (hereafter ZSS), 246.

the material preserved in supposedly authoritative collections such as the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* must be traced as far back towards its source as possible, and has to be used critically.

As the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* was limited to collected works, some ninety from the T'ang, one needs to look elsewhere for materials not included in those collections, such as in works derived from rubbings or epigraphical studies, or from other sources. Many of these were collected into the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (Complete Prose Works of the T'ang), a project commenced on imperial orders in 1808 and completed in 1814, under the direction of Tung Kao, a powerful political figure. The compilers included eminent scholars of the time such as Juan Yüan (1764-1849), Hsü Sung and over one hundred others in an institute. They used old manuscripts of T'ang works held in the palace as their basis, but they did not include novellas etcetera. They took individual pieces from the T'ang collections found in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, and from the *Wen-yüan ying-hua*, *T'ang wen-ts'ui* and the *Yung-le ta-tien*, and they collected many miscellaneous items and epigraphs. These were organised in order of authors from rulers and statesmen down to Buddhists and Taoists at the end. Unfortunately, it and its supplements, the *T'ang wen shih-i*, by the editor Lü Hsin-yüan, which was published in 1888, and the *T'ang wen hsü shih-i* published in 1895, contain many lacunae and errors, and excluded many items. Moreover, the compilers did not note their sources or their corrections, and did not sufficiently pay attention to the biographies of the authors or their posts.²³ While the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* included 20,025 items by 3,035 authors, less than 7% of them are Buddhist. Even though the editors endeavoured to select the best texts, they often abbreviated the titles or gave the works inappropriate titles, and replaced rare and difficult characters with those easier to read. Moreover, the sources such as the *Wen-yüan ying-hua* and *T'ang wen-ts'ui* were also very faulty, and were re-edited because they had been so corrupted over time, or were very limited in range of subject material.²⁴ As the imperial preface by Emperor Jen-tsung states, the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* contains over forty fascicles of Buddhist and Taoist items, and he feared that these could be used by evil ele-

²³ See explanation of publication in *Ch'üan T'ang wen chi shih-i*, plus index, Ta-hua shu-chü: Taipei (hereafter CTW), 1: 1. Lü Hsin-yüan was a noted epigrapher, see Yao Ming-ta (1977), 359.

²⁴ Chikusa Masaaki (1998), 'Tōdai Shakyō-bun no tekisto ni tsuite,' in Shiga Takayoshi, ed., *Tōdai Shakyō bunsen yakuchū*, 14-20.

ments to write seditious books. Therefore all spells and dharanis and the like were excluded so as not to mislead the people, who need to be guided by correct texts.²⁵

To further make the record of the early T'ang Buddhist world less well represented, very little exists of the voluminous writings of statesmen active during the reigns of Emperor Kao-tsung and Empress Wu, the latter half of the seventh century, a crucial period in the formation of early Ch'an. Well over half the items in the *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, for example, date from between 760 and 840, a later period.²⁶

However, the two collections of biographies of eminent monks, the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* by Tao-hsüan (596-667) and the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* by Tsan-ning (921-1001) help compensate for these lacunae, biases and corrupted texts. The *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* was initially completed in 645, but was supplemented at least up until 666.²⁷ The *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, on the other hand, is distant in time from the events we are interested in. However, Tsan-ning gathered many materials, especially epitaphs, which he often did little more than summarise. Therefore, as in the case of Shen-hsiu, we can see that his account is based partly on the inscription by Chang Yüeh, but also on two other lost inscriptions. Despite having had access to multiple sources, Tsan-ning still made some errors about Shen-hsiu's life.²⁸ Moreover, at times Tsan-ning appears to have deliberately ignored certain inscriptions.²⁹

The two monk compilers of the 'lives of eminent monks' were members of the Vinaya School, the scholarship of which in India was largely responsible for the biographies and histories of Buddhism. Tao-hsüan founded the Vinaya School in China, and Tsan-ning was the tenth patriarch of that lineage.³⁰ While they pressed the existing hagiographies found in stele inscriptions, accounts of conduct and

²⁵ 'Imperial preface,' CTW vol. 1: 3b-5a.

²⁶ Denis Twitchett (1979), 'Introduction,' in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, vol 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part 1*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 45.

²⁷ ZSS, 4-5. Ibuki Atsushi (1989, Dec), 'Zoku Kōsōden no zōkō ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (1): 217-220, argues that the expansion occurred during the Sung Dynasty with incorporation of parts on meditators and miracle workers from Tao-hsüan's *Hou-chi Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, and shows that there were at least two versions of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* before the Koryō edition.

²⁸ Shiga Takayoshi (1998), 'Tōdai Shakyō bunsen yakuchū jo—Shakyō bun to Sō Kōsōden,' in Shiga Takayoshi, ed, *Tōdai Shakyō bunsen yakuchū*, 3-5.

²⁹ Shiga (1998), 11.

³⁰ Jorgensen (2002), 82.

oral transmissions into set roles, these hagiographies were meant to be read as part of a series, the *lieh-chuan* or 'connected traditions.' These would provide a "cumulative didactic effect," just like those of the secular standard histories.³¹ Tsan-ning at least claimed to have followed in the footsteps of great historians of the past such as Ssuma Ch'ien.³² These Vinaya School authors classified and ranked the veracity and functions of their sources, giving pride of place to the inscriptions and other written documents, then eye-witness accounts, and lastly, popular stories.³³ As Tsan-ning wrote in his memorial to the throne, "I have sought afar for traces of events, and extensively collected stele inscriptions, and now I have compiled them into thirty fascicles." And, when the originals of the inscriptions have been available for comparison, it is clear that Tsan-ning made excerpts from them in close conformity with their original order, something he was criticised for.³⁴ Where the name of the stele inscription author appears in the hagiography, it is almost certain that Tsan-ning consulted the inscription. However, in many respects he and his team were uncritical, as in the case of Hui-neng, where they adopted the earliest inscription, which probably had much input from Shen-hui, as the basis of the hagiography, and ignored the later inscriptions.³⁵ In other cases, they ignored other accounts, such as Tsung-mi's records of the life of Shen-hui—which have been confirmed by an inscription unearthed in recent years—and used other materials.³⁶ Tsan-ning, moreover, preferred hagiographies written by monks to those written by laymen, no matter how sympathetic they were to Buddhism.³⁷

The motivation, especially for Tao-hsüan, to record these hagiographies was a sense of crisis arising from the early T'ang rulers' preference for Taoism over Buddhism, and the memories of the

³¹ Twitchett (1962), 32-33, 35.

³² Tsan-ning, *Sung Kao-seng-chuan*, hereafter SKSC, T50.709b-c; Kieschnick (1997), 6-7.

³³ Cf. Koichi Shinohara (1988), 'Two sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and and Miracle Stories,' in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds, *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, Mosaic Press: Oakville, Ontario, 120-122, 126, 194. For more on their methodology of moral judgement etc, see Jorgensen (2002), 89-90.

³⁴ Shiga (1998), 3; cf. Kieschnick (1997), 10, for sources, and 12-13, for criticisms by Hui-hung.

³⁵ Shiga (1998), 10.

³⁶ Shiga (1998), 7-8.

³⁷ Shiga (1998), 10-11.

Northern Chou persecution of Buddhism. To some extent, this also motivated Tsan-ning, who would have seen records of the disastrous, corrupting pro-Buddhist policies of Empress Wu (r. 690-705) and the anti-Buddhist backlash under Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-756), and then the Hui-ch'ang persecution of the early 840s. They both felt a need to boost Buddhist morale and encourage resistance. Therefore, Tao-hsüan highlighted those monks who opposed Taoism and resisted the anti-Buddhist policies. Besides the hagiographical collections, he also wrote a hagiography of the Buddha, the *Shih-chia shih p'u*, and a geographical gazetteer of where Buddhism was active in India, the *Shih-chia fang-chih*, to encourage people to imitate the Buddha and go to India to bring back more Buddhist texts.³⁸ As vinaya adherents, these historians were also motivated to counter corruption in the Buddhist Order, and saw the protection of the Dharma, especially via the observation of principles, as a primary mission.³⁹

Tsan-ning's work on the other hand was commissioned by the Sung emperor, who wanted to use this as part of his propaganda that his was a government by civic virtues or *wen* (literature), which was magnanimous enough to permit conquered subjects from other states, such as Tsan-ning, to head such literary projects. As such, Tsan-ning had to write with the emperor as reader in mind, and not indulge in excessive doctrinal disputes, although as a Vinaya School monk he was critical of Po-chang Huai-hai (720-814) for his creation of a more Sinified monastic regulation. Thus Ch'an overall was probably problematic for Tsan-ning.⁴⁰ The iconoclasm and antinomianism of some of the Ch'an hagiographies posed a dilemma for Tsan-ning and his team, for they contradicted their own scholasticism, devotion to the scriptures and to the observance of the vinaya. Yet some elements of these Ch'an hagiographies had to be included, given their great influence by the time Tsan-ning was writing. The solution was to make these hagiographies read like the hagiographies of monks from other schools, and generally avoid quoting the Ch'an *yü-lu* (recorded sayings, *logia*) or hagiographies, and to not provide a biography, even

³⁸ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-hsüeh shih—Tung Chün chih Wu-tai, Fa-ku wen-hua*: Taipei, 83, 86-92, 106.

³⁹ Ts'ao (1999), 103-104, 107; Kieschnick (1997), 7.

⁴⁰ Ts'ao (1999), 131-137; Kieschnick (1997), 8, on court links, 11, on his defence of Tsung-mi from Ch'an critics who viewed him as a "slave to his erudition."

of eminent Ch'an monks, when there was no stele inscription.⁴¹

Moreover, it is doubtful whether Tsan-ning had access to the early Ch'an hagiographical collections, such as the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (ca. 713), *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (ca. 713-716) and *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (ca. 774+), all of which were compiled well after Tao-hsüan's death. They exist only in manuscripts found at Tun-huang, with the latter two having a Tibetan translation, but not included in the Canon. Thus, they were probably forgotten or lost by the time Tsan-ning was writing. Their aims were unlike those of the compilers of the 'lives of eminent monks' series. Evidently sectarian, disputing each others' claims, they tried to assert lineage continuities from Bodhidharma on or earlier, of a radical meditative practice and thought supposedly superior to that of all other Buddhists. Thus, for example, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* was critical of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* for not understanding that mission of orthodox transmission,⁴² while the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* is more tolerant and simply further develops some of the themes of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*. The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* already exhibited some anti-scholastic tendencies, and made new interpretations of items in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* to forge lineage claims, in the process changing the evaluation of certain individuals such as Shan-fu (?-660).⁴³ Therefore, the hagiographies of these early Ch'an books were meant to be lineage claims and were concentrated more on the radical thought contained in their sermons than on any set role other than that of lineage link.

The results are that some of the figures of the early Ch'an groups did not receive a hagiography in the Ch'an collections, figures such as Fa-ch'ung (ca. 587-666+) and Tao-shun, or are only mentioned in lists of pupils. In contrast, others only have biographies in the Ch'an collections, but went unnoticed by the Vinaya School historians, and yet others have hagiographies not included in any of these collections, but have been discovered by epigraphers or included in the works of the literati.

Moreover, the motivations of the hagiographers impact on our

⁴¹ Kieschnick (1997), 13, 131-135; Ts'ao (1999), 134, who writes that Tsan-ning so relied on stele inscriptions, that if one was not available, the monk did not receive a biography, also citing the case of Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949), who actually had a stele inscription, but at that time it was not accessible.

⁴² Yanagida Seizan, trans. (1971), *Zen no goroku 2: Shoki no Zenshi I: Ryōgashijiki, Denhōbōki*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 27.

⁴³ ZSS, 52-54.

understanding of events. For example, as I am interested here in this section and elsewhere in the book, in place, power and authority, the fact that Tao-hsüan, for example, was concerned to highlight resistance to Taoism and the state repression of Buddhism, may well over-dramatise the anti-state actions of a monk such as Fa-ch'ung, and make early Ch'an seem more anti-establishment than it actually was. On the other hand, Tsan-ning, in his concern to see Buddhism as an obedient servant of the throne and to downplay the antinomian behaviour of monks, may well have exaggerated the connections of early Ch'an monks to the state and to have ignored the iconoclastic or anti-scholastic tendencies of some of these monks. It probably also meant he ignored certain early Ch'an figures.

This problem of evidence means we will never have a complete picture of early Ch'an, for that is not possible even if the evidence was better, but it does not mean that we have to abandon all attempts at understanding. We may not be able to create fully-rounded portraits of the main participants, or even know who all of them were, but we can know data such as names, likely place of birth or family ancestry, teachers, places of residence, type of teaching and role (meditator, ascetic, scholar), pupils, and author(s) of epitaphs. In what follows then, I shall summarise the current state of scholarship on these monks, and use this to set the background for the invention of the hagiography of Hui-neng.

The Ch'an milieu of the early Eighth Century and hagiography

By the early eighth century, a number of groups claiming to be the heirs to the meditation techniques and teachings of Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530), a South Indian monk who had taught in North China, began to exercise influence at the T'ang Dynasty court and to produce hagiographical collections. They were mostly practitioners of ascetic exercises or *dhūta*, living apart from monasteries for much of the time, rather like the forest renunciants of India who rejected much of the settled monastic life as contrary to the spirit of Buddhism. They especially venerated the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, which belonged to the forest renunciant tradition. The sutra castigates the monastics who took up scholastic pursuits.⁴⁴ Therefore, these Chinese groups were hostile to

⁴⁴ Ray (1994), 273-275, for *dhūta*, see Ray chapter 9.

those Buddhist scholars of North China who spent much ink on the scholastic interpretation of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, especially with respect to the consciousnesses or *viññānas*.⁴⁵ Their ascetic outlook probably also inclined them towards the veneration of a group of early Buddhist saints, beginning with Mahākāśyapa and ending with Upagupta, because they practised ascetic meditation and could be viewed as taking the place of the Buddha, and even be called Buddha.⁴⁶ Thus it was in later Ch'an hagiography beginning with the works of Shen-hui, if not earlier, that Mahākāśyapa and those other forest saints were made members of the Ch'an lineage.

There were a number of contending groups, some very obscure, but the largest was the Tung-shan Fa-men (East Mountain Dharma Gate/School) that was founded by Tao-hsin (580-651) and his pupil Hung-jen (601-674). They seem to have moved more towards a monastic lifestyle, probably because of state and social pressure. The state, which was increasingly centralising its power, prohibited the wandering lifestyle.⁴⁷ Tao-hsin established a monastery on Mt Shuang-feng in Huang-mei County, just to the north of the mid-reaches of the Yangtze River. This community then was located a long way from the capital regions of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, suggesting an anti-establishment and possibly anti-metropolitan outlook, which may have been derived from opposition to the meditation groups favoured by the preceding Sui Dynasty court, which built monastic centres for these groups⁴⁸ and retained some residual influence in the early T'ang.⁴⁹ Although

⁴⁵ See John Jorgensen (1979), 'The earliest text of Ch'an Buddhism: The *Long Scroll*,' MA dissertation, Australian National University: Canberra, 79-94, 136.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ray (1994), 94 and chapter 4, especially 105, 107, 125, 127.

⁴⁷ Moroto Tatsuo (1990), *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, Hirakawa shuppansha: Tokyo, 87-88, on movement during the Northern Wei, and 43, 133-134, on the need to obtain permission to go into the mountains to meditate. As the evidence for the latter comes from Japan, extrapolation suggests that this applied in T'ang China also, for this was the source of the Japanese code.

⁴⁸ Chen Jinhua (2002), 'An alternative view of the meditation tradition in China: Meditation in the life and works of Daoxuan (596-667),' *T'oung Pao* LXXXVIII: 366, 385.

⁴⁹ For a list of these monks at one of the monasteries, see Okimoto Katsumi (1998), *Zen shisō keiseishi no kenkyū*, Hanazono Daigaku Kokusai Zengaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto (available at <http://iriz.hanazono.ac.jp/book/book0105.html>): 89-96, especially T'an-tsang (527-635), who became chief monk of Hui-ch'ang Monastery under the T'ang; Seng-feng (ca. 570-ca. 640), who had connections with Tu Cheng-lun and other leading ministers of the early T'ang; plus Tao-yüeh (568-636), Seng-pien (568-642) and Fa-ch'ang (567-645), all of whom taught or worked with Hsüan-tsang;

Ts'ui I-hsüan, a supporter of Empress Wu in her early years, paid a courtesy call on Tao-hsin, probably around 650, there is little evidence that this translated into any influence at court, and Tao-hsin displayed no interest in the court's patronage.⁵⁰ Hung-jen, a rather self-effacing individual, also had little to do with the court. His eulogy was by Li Chiung-hsiu, a supporter of Empress Wu,⁵¹ but that was likely commissioned by Hung-jen's pupils.

This anti-establishment stance is seen also in the person of Fa-ch'ung (ca. 587-666+), who abandoned officialdom for the monkhood after an initially promising career. He defied state regulations and argued against the ideas of the court-favourite, the great translator Hsüan-tsang (600-664). Fa-ch'ung, a wandering ascetic and commentator on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in the 'tradition of Bodhidharma,' represents another facet and 'lineage' of early Ch'an. A number of commentaries on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* attributed to Bodhidharma survive, and one was probably brought to Japan in 736. It appears to date from the mid-sixth to seventh centuries, and could well be associated with this lineage.⁵² However, Fa-ch'ung's influence is difficult to discern, although it appears Ching-chüeh (683-ca. 750) of the Tung-shan Fa-men, attempted to link the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* with his own sub-group, following the lead of his master, Hsüan-tse (ca. 630-718+), a pupil of Hung-jen.⁵³ Ching-chüeh though was allegedly the 'brother-in-law' of Emperor Chung-tsung.

Hung-jen really put the name of the Tung-shan Fa-men into the Chinese Buddhist firmament by producing a number of able pupils, beginning with Shen-hsiu (606-706), Lao-an (581?-708), Fa-ju (638-689), Hsüan-tse, Tao-shun, and allegedly, Hui-neng and Yin-tsung

Chih-shou (567-635) in a line from Seng-chou, became a monk official under the T'ang and taught Tao-hsüan; K'ung-tsang (569-642), whom the T'ang imperially ordered to construct Hui-ch'ang Monastery.

⁵⁰ Tao-hsüan, *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, hereafter HKSC, T50.606b19-20; cf. John McRae (1986), *The Northern School and the formation of early Ch'an Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 33. Note that the *Hsin T'ang shu* and *Chiu T'ang shu*, the orthodox state histories, do not mention that Ts'ui I-hsüan ever held the office of prefect in the district of Tao-hsin's monastery.

⁵¹ McRae (1986), 37.

⁵² Ibuki Atsushi (1999), 'Bodaidaruma no Ryōgakyōso ni tsuite (ge),' *Tōyōgaku ronsō: Tōyō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 52: 1-33.

⁵³ HKSC, T50.666a3-c24; cf. McRae (1986), 24-29; Bernard Faure (1997), *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*, translated by Phyllis Brooks, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 145-148.

(627-713), among others. Lesser lights included Chih-shen (609-702) and Fa-hsien (643-720).

Fa-hsien was a thaumaturge rather than a scholar. He lived in the region of Ch'i-chou, not far from the headquarters of Tung-shan Fa-men. He apparently never left the area. His funerary stele was composed twenty years after his death by Li Shih-chih (d. 747), a member of the imperial clan and a powerful political figure. But this composition was drafted only after Ch'an became a topic at court, and Li Shih-chih may have been attracted by the numinous after-death powers Fa-hsien exhibited. According to the stele inscription, Fa-hsien's corpse did not decay for decades after his death, and so it was lacquered and venerated,⁵⁴ rather like the corpse of Hui-neng.

Chih-shen came from Szechwan, and studied first under the translator Hsüan-tsang, and only then with Hung-jen. He departed Hung-jen's monastery around 672 and taught in Szechwan for about thirty years. He was supposedly invited to the court of Empress Wu in 697, but even if he did go, which is unclear, he did return to Szechwan soon after. Chih-shen certainly did not crave court sanction.⁵⁵

Tao-shun lived in a monastery in Ching-chou his entire career, and was only invited to court by Emperor Chung-tsung in 707 or 708. He appears to have had some contact with Lao-an, another pupil of Hung-jen. Tao-shun was an ascetic hermit, and rapidly returned from the court after a brief stay.⁵⁶ Again, he showed no inclinations towards metropolitan ambitions.

Hsüan-tse, who had assisted Hsüan-tsang in his translation project, later studied under Hung-jen from 670 to 674. He wrote the earliest extant collection of 'Ch'an hagiographies,' the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* or 'Treatise on the Men and Dharma of the *Lankāvatāra*' between 708 and 710. He was invited to court in 708, and so may have had some ambitions in the capital. Notably, his pupil Ching-chüeh, a distaff relative of the imperial clan, also wrote a collection of hagiographies, which built upon those of his master. But even Ching-chüeh

⁵⁴ Li Shih-chih, *Ta Tang Ch'i-chou Lung-hsing Ssu ku Fa-hsien Ta-shih pei-ming*, in Tung Kao et al, *Ch'üan Tang wen chi shih-i*, 5 vols (hereafter CTW) 304/1384c-1385d; Yang Chia-lo, ed. (1972) *Tang wen ts'ui* 63/9a-11a.

⁵⁵ *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (hereafter LCSTC), in Yanagida Seizan (1971), *Zen no goroku 2: Shoki no Zenshi I: Ryōgashijiki, Denhōbōki*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, LCSTC 92, 122, 129, 137, 140, 144; McRae (1986), 38.

⁵⁶ T50.758a1-8; McRae (1986), 39.

fled the capital for a brief period, probably 705 to 708.⁵⁷

Fa-ju, in contrast, inadvertently perhaps, initiated a metropolitan connection by shifting to the capital territory to proselytise sometime after Hung-jen's death. However, even he was reluctant at first to respond to invitations from the capital. He probably came to the attention of the court in the early 680s while he resided at Shao-lin Monastery. Fa-ju studied under Hung-jen from ca. 658 until the master's death in 674/5, and he seems to have followed Hung-jen's teachings faithfully. Invited to court sometime between 685 and 688, he declined, and died not long after. He, or his obituary writer, introduced the idea of an unbroken transmission of enlightenment teachings from India via Bodhidharma to himself.⁵⁸

Lao-an or 'Old An,' also more properly known as Hui-an or Tao-an, was an obscure but influential figure. He seems at first to have been opposed to the establishment, but later supposedly came to Shao-lin Monastery, also the base of Fa-ju, and possibly went to the court sometime after 695, having earlier refused an invitation to the court. In 683 he had gone to Hua-t'ai, which, significantly, is where Shen-hui later launched a campaign against the 'Northern Lineage.' Lao-an was discussed by Empress Wu, and in 706 Lao-an was presented with a purple robe by Emperor Chung-tsung, a signal honour.⁵⁹

Sung Tan's stele inscription of 727, written for the builder of Lao-an's stupa, P'o-tsao-to (n.d.), shows Lao-an was a native of Ching-chou, surnamed Li, and was born in the K'ai-huang era of the Sui, i.e. around 581. After much resistance to Sui court policies, he visited Hung-jen and then adopted the lineage from Bodhidharma, in which Hung-jen was the fifth-generation master. Lao-an studied under Hung-jen, together

⁵⁷ On Ching-chüeh and the political events of 705, ZSS, 578; on the politics, see Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i (1975), *Hsin T'ang shu*, 20 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Shanghai (hereafter HTS) 12/83/3653; Ssu-ma Kuang (1974), *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, (hereafter TCTC), 8/208/6584; for Hsüan-tse and Ching-chüeh, McRae (1986), 59-60; Faure (1997), 158-159, 166-167.

⁵⁸ Yüan Te-ling (2000.1), 'Fa-ju Shen-hsiu yü Pei-tsung Ch'an ti chao-shih,' *Tun-huang yen-chiu* (*Dunhuang Research*) 67: 72-76; McRae (1986), 43-44, 85-86.

⁵⁹ McRae (1986), 56-58; SKSC, T50.833b12-c4; stele, see Sung Tan, *Ta T'ang Sung-shan Hui-shan Ssu ku Ta-te Tao-an Ch'an-shih pei*, in Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen hsiu-shih* (appended to Tung Kao et al, CTW, vol. 4), 3/5036b-5037c, which is far more complete than that in Washio Junkyō, ed. (1932), *Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan*, Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan kankōkai, Sanbō shoin: Tokyo, 1981 reprint, 41-44. Washio's text is shorter, probably because it was copied later, by which time the inscription was greatly eroded, as can be seen in the photographic plate.

with Shen-hsiu, and Hung-jen supposedly said that of his many pupils, only Tao-an and Shen-hsiu were capable of receiving the transmission. Following this, Lao-an went into seclusion, and referred all enquirers of the Way to Shen-hsiu, just as Fa-ju asked his students to do after his death. Finally, Lao-an came to live at Hui-shan Monastery on Mt Sung, where he gained the veneration of the Buddhist teachers of the capital, but he tried to chase them away. As Sung Tan wrote, "he had the learning of Shuang-feng (Tung-shan), and was pure and not involved with secular affairs...his flesh and bones all became *śarīra*." His sandals were worshipped by his pupils in a style reminiscent of disciples touching their heads to the feet of their living master, and this reminds one of the later legend of Bodhidharma's sandal in his coffin. It seems Lao-an never took state-sanctioned tonsure, and so was probably illegally ordained,⁶⁰ another sign of his 'purity.'

Therefore, Mt Sung became a site for members of the Tung-shan Fa-men, firstly with Fa-ju, then Lao-an, and later, P'u-chi, the chief disciple of Shen-hsiu. Moreover, Lao-an at least, deferred to Shen-hsiu, referring would-be pupils to him. Lao-an's influence, however, was considerable, for he had pupils in Ching-tsang (675-746), Huai-jiang (677-744), Ch'en Ch'u-chang (n.d.) and Hou-mo Ch'en Yen (660-714).⁶¹ Both Ching-tsang and Huai-jiang are alleged later to have gone to consult Hui-neng after meeting Lao-an.⁶² However, the references to Hui-neng are of doubtful veracity, being made well after Shen-hui's propaganda campaign began.⁶³ This is especially evident as both are said to have then returned northwards from Shao-chou; Huai-jiang to Mt Heng in Hunan, and Ching-tsang to Szechwan, and ultimately to the stupa for Lao-an in Hui-shan Monastery, probably around 740.

⁶⁰ Sung Tan, in Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen hsü-shih* 3/5037a-c; Ishii Kōsei (2003, March), 'Rōan hibun ga shimesu shisōteki shomondai,' *Tōyō bunka* 83: 80, 91, 93.

⁶¹ Ishii Kōsei (2003), 93.

⁶² For Ching-tsang, see Hui-yün, *Sung-shan ku Ta-te Ching-tsang Ch'an-shih shen-t'a-ming*, in Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen shih-i* (appended to Tung Kao et al, CTW, vol. 4), 50/4913a28-29, also, with the same title but anonymous, CTW 997/4637c; for Huai-jiang, see SKSC, T50.761a21-22; *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.143.5-6, cf. Chang Cheng-fu, *Heng-chou Po-jo Ssu Kuan-yin Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 619/2804c18-21.

⁶³ Hui-yün, a pupil of Ching-tsang, was writing after 746, and Chang Cheng-fu, the earliest author to mention Huai-jiang, was writing in 813 or 815—the Yüan-ho 18 of the text is in error, because Chang was Inspectorate Commissioner of Hu-nan from 813 to 816, so it should be Yüan-ho 8 or 10. Cf. CTW 619/2804c2-3, compilers' notes for Chang's appointment.

Ching-tsang seems to have been thought of as the seventh patriarch, thereby placing him at odds with Shen-hui.⁶⁴

The Szechwan connection was also made through Ch'en Ch'u-chang, a layman who supposedly taught Wu-chu (714-774), whose group was important in Szechwan and wrote the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. Moreover, Ma-tsu Tao-i came from Szechwan and met Huai-jang on Mt Heng.⁶⁵

Hou-mo Ch'en Yen was probably a layman also. He later studied under Shen-hsiu. Around 700, Shen-hsiu said to him,

As you are already wise and discerning (*chih ta*), and unobstructed in debate, it is proper to take Chih-ta as a name. (Although your) Way is in laymen's clothes, I have no worries.

Hou-mo Ch'en then went on to teach and travel around Lo-yang and Hopei. He taught 'sudden enlightenment,' especially in Liu-tu Monastery in Lo-yang. Among his pupils were two nuns, sisters of the famous P'ei clan of Wen-hsi, the same clan to which P'ei K'uan (680-755); who as Governor of Honan, mourned P'u-chi and was later buried next to him; belonged.⁶⁶ The notion that the transmission could pass even through laypersons, those in 'white clothes' or 'white robes,' may have played a part in the development of the idea that a saintly layperson need not wear monastic robes and yet wears the 'robe of the tathāgatas (Buddhas)' and should be respected by the clergy. This idea appeared in the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*, and may also have influenced Shen-hui and the group around Wu-chu, who emphasised a transmission of the robes but without the need to take monastic vows.⁶⁷ The *Vajrasamādhi* or *Chin-kang san-mei ching* was probably written between 650 and 665, to promote the Tathāgata (Thus Come)

⁶⁴ *T'ang-wen shih-i* 50/4913b1-4.

⁶⁵ *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida Seizan (1976a), *Zen no goroku 3: Shoki no Zenshi II: Rekidai hōbōki*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 168.

⁶⁶ For Hou-mo Ch'en Yen, see Ts'ui K'uan, *Liu-tu Ssu Hou-mo Ch'en Ta-shih shou-t'a ming-wen*, in Lo Chen-yü, comp., *Mang-Lo chung-mu i-wen*, ssu-pien, fascicle 5/10a-12a, in *Lo Hsüeh-t'ang Hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi*, vol. 13, 5095-5099, and Bernard Faure (1986a), 'Le maître de dhyāna Chih-ta et le "subitisme" de l'école du Nord,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2: 127-130. For P'ei K'uan, see Liu Hsü et al (1975), *Chiu T'ang-shu* 16 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking (hereafter CTS), 16/191/5111, and SKSC, T50.760c22, 733c9, and for doubts about his close connection to P'u-chi, see Shiga (1998), 5-8.

⁶⁷ Cf. Wendi L. Adamek (2000), 'Robes Purple and Gold: Transmission of the Robe in the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Ages),' *History of Religions* 40 (1): 70.

Ch'an, which transcends monks and householders. Such a saintly person does not wear the robes or keep the *pratimokṣa* confession, yet must be revered by monks. This idea may have been influenced by ideas from the Sect of the Three Stages,⁶⁸ but it also resonates with the practices of Lao-an and his associates. Even the two nuns who studied with Hou-mo Ch'en Yen are said to "have worn the Thus Come's robes, and sat in the Thus Come's room."⁶⁹

As many of these early Ch'an teachers were venerated as if they were buddhas, and supposedly had realised buddhahood without the stages of practice usually deemed necessary, it was thought they could teach and mix in with the laity, just like Hui-neng was later described as having done. Lao-an is depicted as assisting ill workers on the building of the Grand Canal in the Ta-yeh period (605-617), and as not becoming an officially ordained monk. Hou-mo Ch'en Yen and Ch'en Ch'u-chang likewise did not become monks, but rather were enlightened laymen.⁷⁰ This suggests an attempt to distance themselves from a state-sanctioned Order that was being corrupted by the policies of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien.

However, while Fa-ju and Lao-an may not have actively sought imperial favour, the fact that they went to Shao-lin Monastery suggests they were not unaware of the possibility of the benefits of such a relationship. Shao-lin Monastery had a special place among Buddhist institutions for the T'ang imperial clan, as the monks of Shao-lin had actively assisted the T'ang forces by defeating part of the army of a rival claimant to the throne in 621. For this, Shao-lin was given special grants of land, and stele inscriptions in the hands of two emperors, T'ai-tsung in 622 and Hsüan-tsung in 728.⁷¹ In the first inscription, "effective parallels are drawn between...the monastery and the royal house," and the location of the monastery was "close to the political centre of the Tang establishment."⁷² By 728, the monastery was associated with Bodhidharma, and Fa-ju was praised highly in the

⁶⁸ Ishii Kōsei (1998, March), 'Kongozanmaikyō no seiritsu jijō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 46 (2): 551-556.

⁶⁹ Ts'ui K'uan, 5097.

⁷⁰ Ishii Kōsei (2003), 90, 93-94; Sung Tan, 5036c.

⁷¹ Tonami Mamoru (1990), *The Shaolin Monastery Stele on Mount Sung*, translated by P. A. Herbert, Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull' Asia Orientale: Kyoto, 3, 36.

⁷² 'Preface' by P. A. Herbert, in Tonami (1990), xiii.

inscription.⁷³ The refusals of invitations to the court or capital may then just have been a strategy to heighten their reputations as saintly ascetics, and the residence at Shao-lin a possible move to acquire such a reputation.

This is certainly what Shen-hui thought, for in 732 he made much use of this connection of court, the pupils of Shen-hsiu and Fa-ju, and the worship of relics by Empress Wu. Empress Wu had built a relics pagoda or stupa on Mt Sung in 700 and probably saw her fate as linked to this Central Marchmount. She was also probably the ruler most devoted to relic worship up till that time in the T'ang Dynasty,⁷⁴ and her failure to personally attend the opening ceremony for the reliquary stupa on Mt Sung may have led her to compensate by summoning Shen-hsiu to the court. This stupa project was also deeply associated with Wu P'ing-i, a relative of the empress who had retired to the mountain,⁷⁵ which probably prompted Shen-hui to claim that Wu P'ing-i tried to erase Hui-neng. Shen-hui was hostile to the Buddhism of Empress Wu, and so used this association to justify his cult of the book instead of the cult of the relics. Further, he frequently attacked Mt Sung, because this was where P'u-chi lived for a time and had supposedly erected a Hall of the Seven Patriarchs, not including Hui-neng in the list of seven.⁷⁶ Thus he claimed that the *Diamond Sutra* stated that even the use of all the gems in the universe to make a stupa "higher than the Brahma Heavens does not equal the chanting and keeping of the *Vajrachhedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*," and Tu-ku P'ei in his conclusion wrote that "students vainly travel to the Sung Range. Fish may travel in water, (but these students) are casting their nets on the high mountains."⁷⁷

The pupil of Hung-jen who left the most powerful and immediate reputation was Shen-hsiu. Often considered the senior pupil, there is evidence that initially the position was held by Fa-ju. Possibly a member of the imperial Li clan, Shen-hsiu came from a district not far from the metropolitan region. After travelling widely throughout China,

⁷³ Tonami (1990), 37.

⁷⁴ Jinhua Chen (2002a), 'Śarīra and scepter: Empress Wu's political use of Buddhist relics,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25 (1-2): 90-92.

⁷⁵ Jinhua Chen (2002a), 132.

⁷⁶ Hu Shih (1968), 284, 289, 303, 315; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), *Shen-hui Ho-shang Ch'an-hua lu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 31-32, 37, 43.

⁷⁷ Hu Shih (1968), 303, 315; Yang (1996), 37, 43.

even to the far South, Shen-hsiu was ordained in a monastery in Lo-yang that had been Emperor Kao-tsu's residence. There he studied until 651, when he went to learn from Hung-jen. After some years of practice with Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu was banished by the court and wore laymen's clothes for a decade in Ching-chou, probably because he had been defrocked by the state, and possibly reflecting a growing tendency among some of his fellow pupils such as Lao-an to give less credence to symbols of formal ordination. McRae hypothesises that he was banished for protesting over-strenuously against state-imposed restrictions on the Buddhist clergy. However, between 676 and 678, Shen-hsiu took up residence, again as a monk, in Yü-ch'üan Monastery in Ching-chou. This monastery had been made famous by the T'ien-t'ai School founder, Chih-i (538-597). There Shen-hsiu remained until he was invited to court in 700-701. He was received with the respect and ceremony due to a member of the imperial clan, and the Empress Wu, the ruler of the state, kowtowed to him, a most remarkable event. For the next five years, Shen-hsiu was active in the metropolitan regions, dying in Lo-yang in 706. He was almost immediately granted a posthumous title by Emperor Jui-tsung, who may have even attended the funeral.⁷⁸ According to the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, he was buried temporarily at Mt Lung-men, near Lo-yang, probably in a Buddhist graveyard, where he was worshipped. Later he was transferred to a stupa behind his monastery, Pao-en Ssu.⁷⁹ The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* has Shen-hsiu request his pupils build a stupa for him behind his hermitage and plant fruit trees around it,⁸⁰ but it also incorporates an epitaph for Shen-hsiu (Tao-hsiu) that was inscribed on a stupa on Mt Chung-nan, just out of Ch'ang-an that may have been erected by his pupils such as I-fu who lived near the capital.⁸¹ It has been alleged that yet another stupa for his *śāṛīra*, which were apparently divided up, perhaps like those of the Buddha, was established on Mt Sung, for Chang Yüeh sent Wu P'ing-i (whom we shall meet later in a slander made by Shen-hui) with some relics to the mountain.⁸²

⁷⁸ McRae (1986), 46-56; Faure (1997), 14-24.

⁷⁹ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 302; Chang Yüeh, in Shiga (1998), 28-29, notes by Kawachi Shōen, 45-47; ZSS, 500, 511.

⁸⁰ *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (hereafter CFPC), in Yanagida Seizan (1971), *Zen no goroku 2: Shoki no Zenshi I: Ryōgashijiki, Denhōbōki*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 403.

⁸¹ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 426, notes 430.

Thus, Shen-hsiu was commemorated at a minimum of two sites; near his home monastery of Yü-ch'üan Ssu, on Mt Chung-nan and just possibly on Mt Sung. This attests to his great influence on the court and in metropolitan Buddhist circles.

Shen-hsiu's charisma thus attracted many students, including those who had once followed Fa-ju, and those referred to him by Lao-an. This may have been because he had had the gumption to stand up to the state, and partly because of his venerable age. The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* or 'Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-Jewel' by Tu Fei, written around 713, emphasises this linkage with Fa-ju. This collection of hagiographies may have been influenced by one of Shen-hsiu's main disciples, P'u-chi (651-739). P'u-chi had wanted to learn from Fa-ju, but as this master had just died, P'u-chi went on to study with Shen-hsiu.⁸² P'u-chi, who was of an elite clan claiming descent from Duke Pi Kao, the fifteenth son of the legendary King Wen of the Chou Dynasty, had an excellent education. P'u-chi was ordained in 688 by Hui-tuan, the same monk who had ordained Fa-ju, in Lo-yang. P'u-chi later studied under Shen-hsiu for six or seven years, then left, as a major disciple, on Shen-hsiu's instructions, for Mt Sung, where Shao-lin Monastery is located. After Shen-hsiu's death in 706, it is intimated by a number of sources that Emperor Chung-tsung ordered P'u-chi be made the heir and head of Shen-hsiu's assembly. The message was carried by Wu P'ing-i, a figure who we will see again in Shen-hui's propaganda. But P'u-chi declined the emperor's wishes. In 725, Emperor Hsüan-tsung ordered P'u-chi stay in Ching-ai Monastery in Lo-yang. In 727, when Hsüan-tsung was returning to Ch'ang-an, the main capital, he requested that I-fu (658-736), another pupil of Shen-hsiu, accompany him, while P'u-chi was to remain in Hsing-t'ang Monastery, 'the Monastery for the Prosperity of the T'ang,' in Lo-yang. P'u-chi attracted aristocrats and commoners, and claims were made, possibly only after Shen-hui's

⁸² 'Sung Wu Yüan-wai lang Chung-ch'un fu Hsiu-shih Sung-shan t'a hsia she-li,' *Chang Yen-kung chi* 6/5a-b: "Yearning for Yü-ch'üan (Monastery)/ Longing for the Compassionate One/ Quiescent (in nirvana) his true mind cannot be seen/ Vainly he left a portrait stupa (*ying-t'a*) beneath a crag of (Mt) Sung..../ In the golden urn with a thousand grains, you are escorting the divided body..." Jinhua Chen (2002a), 86-92, argues that this poem refers to the installation of the relics of the Buddha on Mt Sung around 700 that was sponsored by Empress Wu, and that Wu P'ing-i had been living on Mt Sung.

⁸³ Faure (1997), 14, 94. For more on the issue of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, Tu Fei and P'u-chi, see the first part of Chapter 7.

propaganda commenced, that P'u-chi was the seventh patriarch of Ch'an in China. P'u-chi's funeral in 739 was on a huge scale,⁸⁴ and his obituary writer, Li Yung (680-746) connected him to the imperial court, no doubt with the exaggeration of an apologist:

The Great Lord of the Empire is our K'ai-yüan Emperor Sheng-wen Sheng-wu (Hsüan-tsung). He who has entered the flames of wisdom to be the Lord of the Multifarious Doctrines is our Master Ta-chao (P'u-chi), in the seventh generation of Ch'an....The original mind of the bodhisattva latently resides in and depends on the strength of faith of the king of the state.⁸⁵

Like Hou-mo Ch'en Yen, P'u-chi also had female disciples, in particular, nuns. This seems to have been part of the tradition of this group, for it was later continued by Wu-chu.⁸⁶ Liang Su (753-793), in a piece of T'ien-t'ai propaganda, wrote of two sisters, nuns who followed T'ien-t'ai and were disappointed in 712 by P'u-chi's teachings when they consulted him.⁸⁷ It seems that P'u-chi had at least one nun as a disciple, Ling-chüeh (687-738), a daughter of Princess T'ai-p'ing and so a granddaughter of Empress Wu and Emperor Kao-tsung.⁸⁸ I-fu, another pupil of Shen-hsiu, had a nun pupil, Hui-yüan (662-737), who practised meditation.⁸⁹ The stele for Hui-yüan is replete with Ch'an-style expressions, such as:

I have heard that seeing the nature is the basis....The transmission of the Dharma seal needs to have a master....later she met the eminent monk, I-fu, who always sat quietly in pure meditation and *chih-kuan*. He transmitted the enlightenment (to her) and she especially revered the seal of permission. There was also the nun Tz'u-ho, who perspicaciously

⁸⁴ Faure (1997), 93-96; LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 320; Liu Hsü et al (1975), *Chiu Tang shu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 16 vols, (hereafter CTS) 16/191/5110-5111; Li Yung, *Ta-chao Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 262/1190b-1192a; SKSC, T50.760c9-29.

⁸⁵ CTW 262/1190b24-27; Jorgensen (1987), 'The "Imperial" Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism,' *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35: 104.

⁸⁶ Bernard Faure (1998a), 'Voices of Dissent: Women in Early Chan and Tiantai,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 24: 38-40.

⁸⁷ Faure (1998a), 28-29.

⁸⁸ Li Yü-chen (1989), *T'ang-tai ti pi-ch'ü-ni*, Taiwan hsüeh-sheng shu-chü: Taipei, 25, 55-56; Wu Ch'ung-cheng, *Ta Tang tu Ching-fu Ssu chu Wei Ho-shang t'a-ming*, in Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen hsü-shih* 3/5034a12-13, which although full of lacunae, seems to read, "Due to....Mountain...Ch'an teacher P'u...received...the Ch'an Dharma..." Wu Ch'ung-cheng also seems to have been related to another nun called Hui-teng or Ch'an teacher xx-ho, 3/5034b-c. This woman died ca. 731.

⁸⁹ Li Yü-chen (1989), 24.

realised what the world did not yet know, and could see (through) matter without obstruction. The people of the time called her the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin. Once, in the great assembly, she eyed Hui-yüan and said, "The sixteenth śrāmaṇera was the original teacher in the *Lotus*. This was the name of Śākya Muni in an earlier life. So is not your mind the same as that of the Thus Come?"⁹⁰

In one sense then, this was an egalitarian stance, for it allowed that women could be buddhas, of the same mind. But as these women in reality were of the elite, with Ling-chüeh the daughter of Princess T'ai-p'ing, and Hui-yüan a member of the eminent Hsiao clan of Lan-ling, which traced an ancestry back to Emperor Wu of Liang,⁹¹ there was still a trace of elitism that implicated this group with female imperial connections. After all, Ching-chüeh was supposedly a 'brother' of Empress Wei, who met with exile due to the rivalry of the empress dowager, Wu Tse-t'ien, which led to the murder of a number of Ching-chüeh's male relations in 684. When Empress Wu fell from power in 705, the Empress Wei also used Buddhism to gain wealth.⁹² Soon afterwards in 710, the future Emperor Hsüan-tsung and Princess T'ai-p'ing placed Jui-tsung on the throne, and largely eliminated the Wei clan, but then Hsüan-tsung engaged in a power play with Princess T'ai-p'ing, who was forced to commit suicide in 713.⁹³ Such connections undoubtedly were dangerous and may have caused tensions between the heirs of Hung-jen in the metropolitan region. Shen-hui thus vehemently attacked all those who were connected with Empress Wu and adopted a masculine, patriarchal lineage.

Shen-hsiu had other heirs, including I-fu, and suggestions have been raised that a leadership dispute broke out between P'u-chi and I-fu,

⁹⁰ Yang Hsiu-lieh, *Ta T'ang Chi-tu Ssu ku Ta-te Pi-ch'iu-ni Hui-yüan Ho-shang Shen-k'ung chih-ming*, CTW 396/1814c5, c23-26. Perhaps this Tz'u-ho was the nun Wu Ch'ung-cheng wrote of called Ch'an Teacher xx-ho, or Hui-teng. For the reference to the *Lotus Sutra*, see Leon Hurvitz (1976), *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma: Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva*, Columbia University Press: New York, 144-147, especially, "The sixteenth is I myself, Śākyamuni-buddha," 147.

⁹¹ Li Yü-ch'en (1989), 52-53, her aunt was a Princess Hsiao-ch'eng, and she had two other aunts who were nuns.

⁹² Faure (1997), 130-132.

⁹³ Faure (1997), 133-134; Richard W. L. Guisso (1979), 'The reigns of the empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung (684-712),' in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part 1*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 291, 321-328, for the politics.

and possibly other pupils such as Lao-an and Hsiang-mo Tsang (active 707-710).⁹⁴ But Ching-chüeh's *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* depicts P'u-chi, Ching-hsien, I-fu and Hui-fu, all residing in the metropolitan region, as enlightened heirs of Shen-hsiu, all "lined up like (flying) geese" in formation, in other words, in harmony,⁹⁵ although that is not to say rivalry did not occur after the time of the writing.

Thus, the majority of the early Tung-shan Fa-men leaders were of an anti-establishment bent and lived most of their lives away from the capitals. With the exception of Fa-ju, most were only invited to the court late in their careers, and they remained there for only a short time. Many of the later Tung-shan Fa-men leaders seemed to have been ambiguous about relations with the court, especially given the turbulent changes of power in the early eighth century,⁹⁶ and so may have been reluctant to remain in the capitals. However, Fa-ju, and Shen-hsiu, the latter possibly a member of the imperial clan, established Tung-shan Fa-men in the capital. The early eighth-century hagiographers; Hsüan-tse, Tu Fei and Ching-chüeh; all largely capital-based, formulated notions of a lineage of patriarchs and a 'Ch'an' genealogy, thereby providing core materials for the formation of a 'school' and its propaganda. They romantically depicted the rural seclusion of their heroes to contrast them with the scholastic Buddhists of the metropolis. Related to this was the rising support from the aristocratic clans of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, and the patronage of the pro-Buddhist Empress Wu and the succeeding two emperors, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung.

The reason for this patronage may have resided in the nature of the Tung-shan Fa-men teachings, which were eclectic, adopting elements of Mahayana meditation practices, Pure Land-style mindfulness or chanting of the names of the buddhas, Mādhyamaka analysis, Tathāgatagarbha ideas of an inherent buddha-potential obscured by

⁹⁴ Faure (1997), 23, 97; McRae (1986), 62-67.

⁹⁵ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 320. Geese flying in formation were a symbol of order, and "brothers working in close concert were likened to geese flying in close formation." See Alfreda Murck (2000), *Poetry and Painting in Sung China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 75, citing commentaries on Tu Fu's poems.

⁹⁶ See chapters 6 and 7 of Denis Twitchett, ed (1979), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol 3: *Sui and Tang China, 589-906, Part 1*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

the pollutions of desire, Vijñānavādin 'psychology' and epistemology, and Chinese T'ien-t'ai. This pragmatic selection of practices was aimed at followers of different levels of capacity and understanding. Thus the beginners (*ch'u-hsin*) could practice a form of Pure Land visualisation of the character one (一), which was apparently popular with women, especially at court. The meditation for the adept or 'qualified' (*yu-yüan*), on the other hand, was also called 'protecting the one,' but this latter meditation was based on the complex philosophy of the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* (The Mahayana Awakening of Faith), which protected the inherent purity of the One Mind from external contamination.⁹⁷

However, this categorisation smacks of elitism, with a qualified elite or inner circle, and an outer circle, which could include women from the court.⁹⁸ No doubt that suited aristocratic pretensions. Moreover, the Tung-shan Fa-men seemed to permit both constant practice, with overtones of gradualism, and a teaching of perfection that assumed one was potentially already enlightened.⁹⁹ This left them open to accusations of gradualism and contradictions between practice and teachings. Such accusations, typically ignoring subtleties for slogans, were fired off by Shen-hui (684-758), who also asserted vociferously that P'u-chi had usurped the role of patriarchal heir, substituting Shen-hsiu as the sixth patriarch for the legitimate heir, Hui-neng. Shen-hui claimed the obscure Hui-neng, who lived in the remotest region of China, was the true heir of Hung-jen. All the other claimants were impostors in his eyes.

Shen-hui utilised the possible fractures within the Tung-shan Fa-men to make his claims seem plausible. He took possible resentment against the prominence of P'u-chi, hoping no doubt to gain the allegiance of the followers of Lao-an and others, even though Lao-an had deferred to Shen-hsiu. Perhaps he aimed some of his propaganda enticements and barbs at Ching-tsang, who also supposedly had a claim to be the seventh patriarch. For example, Chiao-jan (ca. 734-791?) seems to imply that in his day there was still rivalry between the school of Lao-an and that of P'u-chi, and that their 'Northern Lineage' was already in decline, with Lao-an "assisting Empress (Wu Tse-)t'ien and

⁹⁷ Jorgensen (1987), 91-92; Faure (1997), 49-73; McRae (1986), chapters VI and VII.

⁹⁸ Jorgensen (1987), 92.

⁹⁹ McRae (1986), 247.

(P'u-)chi aiding Hsüan-tsung." P'u-chi is here also labelled a seventh patriarch.¹⁰⁰

Moreover, Shen-hui pointedly contrasted Hui-neng (and he himself) with his rivals, not just by labelling them 'Northern Ch'an,' but also by implying that they were compliant in the schemes of Empress Wu to misuse Buddhism, by allowing more than one patriarch per generation. They were associated with females of the imperial court, unlike true patriarchs. His references also to the materialist Buddhism of Emperor Wu of Liang Dynasty could be aimed at the nun Hui-yüan, a lineal descendant, thereby implicating her master, I-fu. Shen-hui manipulated the symbols used by Empress Wu to create her Chou Dynasty against 'Northern Ch'an,' by saying that no woman could become a cakravartin ruler, and that women were subordinate to men.¹⁰¹

Shen-hui also distorted the term that the Tung-shan Fa-men members centred round Mt Sung had occasionally used, when they referred to themselves as the 'Northern current,' i.e. the Chinese lineage derived from the Southern Lineage of India.¹⁰² He thus created the slogan, "in the North, Shen-hsiu; in the South, Hui-neng," and associated the North with gradualism and the South with sudden enlightenment.

Yet the idea of sudden enlightenment championed by Shen-hui, as distinct from the alleged gradual enlightenment of those he labelled the 'Northern Lineage,' may have come from Hou-mou Ch'en Yen (660-714), a pupil first of Lao-an from ca. 680, and later a student under Shen-hsiu. Taking the Dharma name Chih-ta, he wrote a work on sudden enlightenment, the *Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang po-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh* (The essentials of the Dharma-gate that brings one to the other shore [through] the practice of the diamond insight of the true essence of sudden awakening) in 712. Chih-ta may not have been acknowledged as a master by Shen-hui because his status was ambiguous; he was possibly a layman with an honorific Dharma-name, and so in Shen-hui's eyes, not an appropriate heir to Bodhidharma's lineage. Yet it is possible that Shen-hui took one of his key ideas from Chih-ta and not from Hui-neng.¹⁰³ Certainly,

¹⁰⁰ Ishii Kōsei (2003), 82-83; Chiao-jan, *Erh-tsung Ch'an-shih tsan*, CTW 917/4289a.

¹⁰¹ Testimony of Tsung-mi, see Jorgensen (1987), 103-108.

¹⁰² Ishii Kōsei (2003), 78-79; *pei-liu*, used in the stele for Lao-an by Sung Tan.

¹⁰³ Tanaka Ryōshō (Dec. 1998), 'Jinne tōmei to Kōbo Chin sutōmei no shutsugen to sono igi,' *Zen bunka kenkyū kiyō* 24: 230-232; Faure (1997), 127-128.

Shen-hui took the opportunity of apparent confusion in the doctrines and lineages of the heirs of Shen-hsiu, and their ostensible rivalry, to launch his own campaign to promote Hui-neng and a 'Southern Lineage,' and to denigrate P'u-chi in particular and the 'Northern Lineage' in general.

Shen-hui (684-758)

Shen-hui was born at Hsiang-yang into the Kao 高 clan, just at the time the prefect of Hsiang-yang was Kao Cheng-ch'en.¹⁰⁴ He was evidently a child of the elite, for he received instruction from a teacher in the Confucian and Taoist classics. It was Shen-hui's reading of the *Hou Han shu*, a standard history of the Latter Han Dynasty that was required reading for the literati of the times, probably the section containing Hsiang K'ai's 166 A.D. memorial to the throne that mentions the term *shou-i*, a key term for the Tung-shan Fa-men,¹⁰⁵ which provoked the young Shen-hui's interest in Buddhism. Shen-hui abandoned his dream of entering the government bureaucracy, left home and became a pupil of Hao-yüan (alternatively, Hao-hsüan), a Dharma Teacher of Kuo-ch'ang Monastery in Hsiang-chou. There Shen-hui studied the sutras, vinaya and ritual. As the usual practice was to be ordained as a monk at the age of twenty, and his epitaph by his pupil Hui-k'ung stated he was a monk for fifty-four summers, he must have been tonsured around 704. Yet Tsung-mi, another chronicler of Ch'an, states Shen-hui had studied under Shen-hsiu for three years before Shen-hsiu was summoned to court in 700. This seems unlikely, as Tsung-mi also claims Shen-hui was only fourteen when he went south to study with Hui-neng, which would be nigh impossible given the time needed to achieve the level of education

¹⁰⁴ On Kao Cheng-ch'en, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), *T'ang tz'u-shih k'ao*, 5 vols, Kiangsu ku-chi ch'u-p'an she: Chung-hua shu-chü, 5: 2258. Ch'en Sheng-kang (2002), 'Tsai lun Tu-ku P'ei chih P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tung ting shih-fei lun,' *Fo-hsüeh yen-chiu chung-hsin hsüeh-pao* 7: 142, alleges the surname was Sung 嵩. This is unlikely, as there was no such surname known in the T'ang. See Ts'en Chung-mien commentary (1994), Lin Pao, *Yüan-ho hsing-suan*, 3 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1: 21-22; Fu Hsüan-tung, Chang Ch'en-shih and Hsü I-min, comps (1982), *T'ang Wu-tai jen-wu ch'uan-chi tzu-liao tsung-ho so-yin*, Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 265.

¹⁰⁵ On Hsiang K'ai's memorial, see Erik Zürcher (1959), *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Brill: Leiden, 37; for *shou-i* in the Tung-shan Fa-men, see Faure (1997), 70-72.

he is credited with by the monk historian Tsan-ning, and his study under Hao-yüan.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, Wang Wei, in his stele for Hui-neng (translated later), wrote that Shen-hui was middle-aged (*chung-nien*) when he met Hui-neng.¹⁰⁷ Tsung-mi also asserted that Shen-hui then went north to Ch'ang-an, where he took the precepts and so became a monk, and then he returned to Hui-neng during the period 707 to 709. These gymnastic chronological contortions by Tsung-mi to have Shen-hui travel to Ts'ao-ch'i in distant Kuangtung twice, once at the age of fourteen, illustrate Tsung-mi's biases rather than history.¹⁰⁸

Rather, it is more probable that Shen-hui studied with Shen-hsiu in Ching-chou or Ch'ang-an in the closing years of Shen-hsiu's life, and only after did Shen-hui became a monk, that is, between 704 and 706. There is a remote possibility that Shen-hui travelled south to the lower Yangtze and Chekiang regions around 707, for the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* mentions that Hui-lang (662-725), after he was twenty-two,

met the generalissimo of the Southern School sudden teaching and asked him to be his teacher, but he instead responded, "You have accumulated pure karma for a long time. I am not your teacher. You should go to Ts'ao-ch'i."¹⁰⁹

But as Shen-hui was only a monk from 704 at the earliest, and Hui-lang was already in his early forties, this was unlikely. Unlike McRae, Yanagida thinks the 'generalissimo' may refer to Hui-neng, whereas the location and activity of establishing precepts platforms, would rather possibly indicate Yin-tsung, who came from Su-chou, not far to the north of Hui-lang's territory in Ch'ü-chou, Chekiang.¹¹⁰ This record is also late: the stele on which the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* entry was based being written by Hsiao Ting in 777 when he was prefect

¹⁰⁶ SKSC, T50.756c.

¹⁰⁷ ZSS, 542.

¹⁰⁸ Tsung-mi is frequently confused, and the text, the *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao* is sometimes faulty. Thus it gives Shen-hui's surname as Sung, and then Wan, see HTC 14/553b. For a recent study of Tsung-mi's membership of a lineage from the Korean Musang in Szechwan, a group who falsely claimed, under the direction of their teacher Nan-yin, a lineage from Shen-hui, see Ogawa Takashi (Dec. 1998), 'Shūmitsu denpō sekei saikō,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 24: 74-75.

¹⁰⁹ SKSC, T50.758c27-29.

¹¹⁰ John R. McRae (2003), 'Shen-hui as Evangelist: Re-envisioning the Identity of a Chinese Buddhist Monk,' in *Tanaka Ryōshō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū: Zengaku kenkyū no shosō*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 4, 21 note 9. ; ZSS, 198.

at Hsin-ting. Thus it could well have been influenced by Shen-hui's campaigns, and so a link was made with Shen-hui by suggestion only, and not by name. Therefore I have rejected this as evidence for Shen-hui having been in the Southeast and South.

Tsung-mi noted that Shen-hui was ordered by the court to reside in Lung-hsing Monastery in Nan-yang County, Teng-chou, in 720.¹¹¹ This monastery probably remained his home base until around 745. From 720 to 730, when Shen-hui supposedly held discussions on topics he was soon to raise in his propaganda campaign with various parties, including Chang Yüeh (667-730), Shen-hsiu's erstwhile patron, and Ts'ui Jih-yung (d. 722),¹¹² we know nothing of his activities. Then, in February 732, Shen-hui launched a polemical attack on the 'Northern Lineage' at a mass meeting at Ta-yün Monastery in Hua-t'ai (Hua County, Honan). He may have chosen this location in the hope that he could muster support from Lao-an's group, which was living in that district.¹¹³

According to the records made by Shen-hui's lay pupil, Tu-ku P'ei, Shen-hui was challenged at this meet by the eloquent monk, Ch'ung-yüan. Tu-ku P'ei wrote that Shen-hui was victorious in this debate, but given what looks like invented dialogues (e.g. with Chang Yüeh), special pleading, the creation of 'straw men' and megalomaniac identifications of Shen-hui with a bodhisattva of the tenth stage, one has to be sceptical, for some forgery is rather made to cover up failure in debate, not victory.¹¹⁴ In the debate, it is mentioned that Shen-hui's attack on P'u-chi would endanger Shen-hui's life, something Shen-hui proclaimed he would not shy away from.¹¹⁵ It appears that, having been defeated in the debate, Shen-hui displaced the blame for the defeat onto the object of his attack, P'u-chi, and his alliance with the authorities. Hence, Tsung-mi elaborates by alleging that there were three failed attempts on the life of Shen-hui after the assembly at Hua-t'ai. The

¹¹¹ Hu Shih (1968), 13, shows that this was confirmed by the SKSC.

¹¹² Hu Shih (1968), 439-443; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), *Shen-hui Ho-shang Ch'an-hua-lu*, Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 66-68.

¹¹³ Ch'en Sheng-kang (2002), 139.

¹¹⁴ See the case of Ademar of Chabannes, who was defeated by Benedict in a debate, and so composed a letter, which was largely accepted as a truthful account by later historians, depicting himself as the victor. Landes (1995), 231-233.

¹¹⁵ Hu Shih (1968), 293; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 33; Teng Wen-k'uan and Jung Hsin-chiang, comp. (1998), *Tun-po pen Ch'an-hsi lu-chiao*, Kiangsi ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 57-59.

first may have been after he went to Lo-yang and directly confronted the now elderly P'u-chi (651-739), probably in response to Ch'ung-yüan's challenge asking why Shen-hui had made such outrageous allegations before even conferring with P'u-chi. The second and third attempts are described elliptically, possibly deliberately, by Tsung-mi:

There was the affair of the knight-errant (on a) sandbar (at) Wu-t'ai, and the affair of the texts of the two magistrates, Lü and Ch'eng of Pai-ma and Wei-nan (counties in Hua-chou). He nearly died three times. He exchanged clothes with a travelling merchant who was wearing mourning, and took his scales and carried them back (to Nan-yang?). There were hundreds of extreme difficulties, verifying just what the patriarch Bodhidharma had predicted.¹¹⁶

Although the first affair above implies that an assassin made an attempt on Shen-hui's life at Mt Wu-t'ai, the reference to a sandbar would rather seem to be a reference to a bar in the Yellow River, possibly at Hua-t'ai, with Wu-t'ai a faulty transcription. The second incident probably refers to petitions made by the magistrates in the environs of Hua-t'ai against Shen-hui for promoting dissensions in the Buddhist Order. Ch'en Sheng-kang suggests they may have acted at the instigation of Li Yung (680-747), a principal sponsor of P'u-chi. Li Yung, a member of the imperial clan, was prefect of Hua-chou between 741 and 742, during which time he wrote a stele obituary for the famous Vinaya Master Wen-kang (636-727), whose name Shen-hui misused.¹¹⁷ The magistrate Lü may have been Lü I (d. January 756), for later, in 753, Lü I indicted Shen-hui for rabble-rousing and producing unrest in the minds of his followers.¹¹⁸ Lü I was still at the magistrate grade in the bureaucracy around 742.¹¹⁹ Thus, although Tsung-mi's assertions may contain a kernel of truth, he may have twisted the interpretation in order to play upon the emotive allegations of a persecution, for which there is no other evidence.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao*, HTC 14.553b note lines 22-25. Jacques Gernet (1951), 'Biographie du Maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsö (668-760): Contribution à l'histoire de l'école du Dhyāna,' *Journal Asiatique* 239: 47, thinks the text is corrupt, and that the merchant was wearing a cloak of rushes, and was not in mourning.

¹¹⁷ Ch'en Sheng-kang (2002), 140-141; on Li Yung at Hua-chou, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 2: 688; for the misuse of Wen-kang's name, see Hu Shih (1968), 290; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 32; Teng and Jung (1998), 52.

¹¹⁸ SKSC, T50.756c25ff.

¹¹⁹ CTS 11/3713, 15/4893-4894.

¹²⁰ Ch'en Sheng-kang (2002), 140-141, thinks the incidents occurred between

Moreover, even Tsung-mi admits that Shen-hui, while on the Huai River, received imperial benevolence, probably a pardon, and so was soon invited in 745 by Sung Ting, Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War, to Lo-yang. Enabled to spread his propaganda, in 752 Shen-hui erected a portrait hall (*chen-t'ang*) for Hui-neng and the five other patriarchs, for which Sung Ting wrote a stele inscription. Shen-hui wrote a preface to the stele that outlined his claimed lineage, and he recruited Fang Kuan (697-763), a Grand Marshall (Defender-in-chief) to write a preface for the portraits themselves.¹²¹

However, this activity was interrupted in early 753, when Lü I, now Vice Censor-in-chief, accused Hui-neng of gathering crowds. Therefore, the emperor, Hsüan-tsung, at least according to Tsan-ning, ordered Shen-hui to come from Lo-yang to Ch'ang-an. At the time Shen-hui arrived, the emperor was luxuriating in the hot springs of Chao-ying, near Ch'ang-an.¹²² After discussing the principles of the affair with the emperor, Shen-hui was exiled, probably in March 753, to I-yang Commandery, also known as Kuang-chou.¹²³ In the ninth lunar month of 753, the poet Wang Wei, author of an inscription dedicated to Hui-neng that was commissioned by Shen-hui, sent a message to Shen-hui, via a certain Eminence Yüan, who was at Chen-yang in Ju-nan Commandery, not far to the north of I-yang.¹²⁴ Then Shen-hui shifted to Wu-tang Commandery or Chün-chou, closer yet again to Ch'ang-an.¹²⁵

732 and 739, but if Li Yung was an instigator, the actions of the two magistrates probably took place around 741. Ch'en also tries to explain the Wu-t'ai incident by a reference to the Hsüeh-yen-t'o Turkish tribe, who in 643-644 attacked Tai-chou, but were defeated by Li Chi at No-chen Waters. Li Chi pursued them and finally defeated them in Wu-t'ai County, see CTS 1/3/53. This seems farfetched.

¹²¹ SKSC, T50.755b10ff; the stele by Sung Ting was probably titled *T'ang Ts'ao-ch'i Neng Ta-shih pei*, and so was dedicated to Hui-neng, see Chao Ming-ch'eng (1985), *Chin-shih lu*, collated by Chin Wen-ming as *Chin-shih lu chiao-cheng*, Shanghai shu-hua ch'u-pan she: Shanghai, 7/9a item 1298 on p. 132; EK, 219-220; Hu Shih (1968), 19.

¹²² The emperor was at Chao-ying from December 752 to January 753, see TCTC 8/216/6913; Gernet (1951), 55.

¹²³ It was called I-yang Commandery from 741; see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 3: 1574.

¹²⁴ Wang Wei, commentary by Chao Tien-ch'eng (n.d.), *Wang Mo-chieh ch'üan-chi chien-chu*, Kwong Chi Book Co: Hong Kong, 19/357, cf. 8/137, where he does not name him Shen-hui, but rather calls him the student of Ts'ao-ch'i; cf. CTS 5/38/1435, for the place, Chen-yang.

¹²⁵ For this district, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2368.

In 754, after about one year of banishment of a rather mild degree, possibly due to his advanced age, an amnesty allowed Shen-hui to move to nearby Hsiang-chou, his hometown. Then, in the seventh lunar month of 754, he was ordered by the emperor to live in Po-jo Cloister of K'ai-yüan Monastery in Ching-chou, the town where he had once studied under Shen-hsiu. Some months later, in December 755, the massive An Lu-shan Rebellion erupted, devastating much of North China and forcing Emperor Hsüan-tsung to flee to Szechwan and to abdicate. The loyal commander-in-chief, Kuo Tzu-i, found the treasury bare and unable to fund his military supplies, so in 756, P'ei Mien, Vice-Director in the Department of State Affairs initiated a system of ordination platforms in every prefecture under state control as a funds raiser. It was evidently a success, for many men wished to avoid military service by becoming monks. Shen-hui was then still in the 'countryside,' and Lü I, a loyalist, had been killed by the rebels in Lo-yang. Shen-hui, known for his rhetorical skills and ability to attract crowds, was recruited to Lo-yang to lead the program. As many of the monasteries had been razed, Shen-hui had temporary awnings raised, with a square ordination platform in the centre. His activities contributed substantially to the coffers Kuo Tzu-i needed to defeat the rebels. Consequently, the new emperor, Su-tsung, invited Shen-hui to the court chapel and ordered the Director of Palace Works to build a meditation sanctuary in Ho-tse Monastery. This was probably in 758, when the court chapel was rebuilt. Shen-hui again propagated his version of 'Ch'an,' under the name of Hui-neng. Shen-hui died on 23rd June 758 in K'ai-yüan Monastery, Ching-chou. The governor of Shan-nan East Province and prefect of Ching-chou, Chi Kuang-ch'en saw Shen-hui passing through the sky, and a voice told him to go welcome Shen-hui at K'ai-yüan Monastery.¹²⁶ Shen-hui's temporary coffin was translated to Lo-yang, where he was venerated by Li Chü, a prince of the imperial house.¹²⁷ Later, in 765, a stupa was erected at Lung-men for him.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ HTC 14/553b note lines 34-35, the text is corrupt; cf. CTS 11/195/8944; Wang Shou-nan (1978), *T'ang-tai fan-chen yü chung-yang kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu*, rev. edn, Ta-hua shu-chü: Taipei, no. 519A; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2349, for Chi Kuang-ch'en.

¹²⁷ For Li Chü in post of prefect of Lo-yang, 758-759, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987) 2: 469-470. His father was Li Yung, the patron of P'u-chi; see Ogawa (1998), 70-71. Li Chü also invited Hui-chien, one of Shen-hui's chief disciples, to Lo-yang, and it seems it was Hui-chien who requested Li to preside at the funeral as chief mourner.

¹²⁸ HTC 14/553b; SKSC, T50.756c7-757a14; Wen Yü-ch'eng (1984), 'Chi hsin

Shen-hui was constantly seeking the support of leading officials as the list of names appearing in his works indicates. For example, he allegedly met and spoke with Ts'ui Jih-yung (d. 722), the prefect of Ju-chou; Chang Yüeh (667-730), the chief minister; Wang Chü (ca. 690-ca. 746), a confidant of Emperor Hsüan-tsung; Wang Wei (701-761), a leading poet; Miao Chen-ch'ing (d. 765), Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Personnel; Sung Ting, Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War; and Fang Kuan (697-763), Supervising Secretary (in 745 when met Shen-hui), President of the Heir-Apparent's Secretariat and later commander-in-chief.¹²⁹ A consummate social climber, Shen-hui eventually succeeded with his propaganda, unlike most of the Tung-shan Fa-men members who eschewed court connections. The exceptions were P'u-chi and I-fu, who had many eminent patrons.¹³⁰ But unlike them, Shen-hui was an evangelist and polemicist, and not a teacher of meditation and doctrinal subtleties.¹³¹ Therefore, Shen-hui wielded slogans, addressed mass gatherings, and created his own semi-fictional hagiographies, but only to justify his claimed lineage. He also recruited famous authors such as Wang Wei and Sung Ting to lend his hagiographies even more authority. In so doing, he altered the course of 'Ch'an' history and rhetoric.

Section B: Analysis of the hagiography

Introduction

The Tun-huang text of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*,¹³² which was probably written during the early 780s,¹³³ contains what

ch'u-t'u ti Ho-tse Ta-shih Shen-hui t'a-ming,' *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* (*Shijie Zongjiao yanjiu*) 2: 79; Yeh Wan-sung and Sheng Chih-t'an (1994), 'Lo-yang Lung-men ch'u-t'u Shen-hui t'a-ming k'ao-pien,' *Wen Wu* 11: 81-83; Yamazaki Hiroshi (1967), *Zui-Tō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 212-213; Gernet (1951), 58.

¹²⁹ Yamazaki (1967), 218-220 and Gernet (1951), 39, 48, 51-52; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 66, 68, 65, 85, 75, 94, for these (in order, minus Sung Ting).

¹³⁰ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 320; Li Yung, *Ta-chao Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 262/1190b-1192a; SKSC, T50.760c9-29 for P'u-chi; and LCTSC 370; Yen T'ing-chih, *Ta-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 280/1272c-1273c, and Yang Po-ch'eng, *Ta-chih Ch'an-shih pei yin-chi*, CTW 331/1503a-1503b; SKSC, T50.760b7-29, for I-fu.

¹³¹ John R. McRae (1998), 'Shen-hui's vocation on the ordination platform and our visualization of medieval Chinese Ch'an Buddhism,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 24: 64.

¹³² *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*. This abbreviation comes from the 'subtitle,' which in translation reads, *The Platform Sutra preached by the Sixth Patriarch, the Master Hui-neng, at Ta-fan Monastery, Shao-chou*.

¹³³ Yampolsky (1967), 98, but see later in Chapter 7.

is supposedly the autobiography and sermons of a monk, Hui-neng, who came to be titled the 'Sixth Patriarch of Ch'an.' This title, although appropriated for Hui-neng from supposed rival claimants to the patriarchate through the machinations of Shen-hui (684-758), who claimed to be Hui-neng's heir in the Dharma, was generally accepted as belonging to Hui-neng from the latter half of the T'ang Dynasty.¹³⁴ Yet the title itself had no real history; it was a fiction used in a contest for legitimacy.

According to the *Platform Sutra*, the illiterate Hui-neng earned this title in a verse (*gāthā*) competition. In this contest, Shen-hsiu, who was the instructor for the assembly at 'Fifth Patriarch' Hung-jen's monastery, never met his opponent, and he is portrayed as caught in a dilemma between feeling unworthy of the patriarchate and fearing that he will not learn the Dharma if he does not produce a verse. So he steals out one night and writes the following verse on the wall:

The body is the tree of bodhi,
The mind is like the stand of a bright mirror.
At all times we strive to polish it,
And not allow there to be any dust on it.

The Master, Hung-jen, thought the verse adequate instruction to prevent the deluded sliding back into a worse state of rebirth, and so left it in place. But he privately told Shen-hsiu, who already knew that it was not of sufficient understanding for the patriarchate, that Shen-hsiu had only reached the front gate of bodhi, and had not passed through it, for he had to see his 'original nature' to attain bodhi. Certainly the body as a tree or the mind as a mirror-stand, are not indications of a discernment of one's original nature. As the

¹³⁴ Title used in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which dates from period immediately after 774; in Wang Wei's (700-761) stele for Hui-neng; and in Liu Tsung-yüan's stele of 816 celebrating the imperial awarding of the posthumous title Ta-chien to Hui-neng. The latter states, "All say Ch'an is totally based in Ts'ao-ch'i. Ta-chien has departed this world for 106 years." (Liu Tsung-yüan, n.d., *Liu Tsung-yüan ch'üan-chi*, 2 vols, Kwong chi Book Co: Hong Kong, 1/6/65). This would date Hui-neng's death at 710, but is probably based on some mistaken calculations, for which see EK, 206. The *Chiu Tang shu* compiled 941-945 from earlier materials, on the contrary, seems to accept that Shen-hsiu was the Sixth Patriarch, but in an insert states that after Hung-jen, there existed Shen-hsiu's Northern Lineage and Hui-neng's Southern Lineage (CTS 16/191/5110).

Diamond Sutra (*Chin-kang ching*, *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) states, "All that which has form/characteristics is false."

Finally, Hui-neng, who was working as a menial for the assembly, saw the verse and had someone read it to him. Hui-neng, who had already realised that the body has no relevance to the Buddha-nature or bodhi (see below for his initial interview with Hung-jen, in which Hui-neng denies that there can be any difference in the Buddha-nature despite the differences in the bodies of he and Hung-jen), requested someone write down Hui-neng's response:

Bodhi originally has no tree (body),
The bright mirror also lacks a stand (mind).
The Buddha-nature is constantly pure,
(So) where will there be any dust?

Although Hung-jen would not admit immediately to the assembly that this was a complete understanding, for the assembly members were not mature enough spiritually to comprehend, he secretly conferred the title on Hui-neng.¹³⁵

The *Platform Sutra* is allegedly the teaching of the matured insight Hui-neng initially displayed with this verse. Indeed, it avers that all sutras are created by insightful people, and that those awakened people are buddhas. Since Hui-neng is enlightened, and sutras normatively can only be preached by buddhas, then it follows implicitly that Hui-neng is a 'living buddha,' and that the text itself is a sutra equivalent to those preached by the historical Buddha.¹³⁶ This claim, although not accepted by many in the T'ang Dynasty, had by the Northern Sung period become orthodoxy.

Yet, before the propaganda of Shen-hui began around 730, virtually nothing was known in North China, where Shen-hui was operating, about the historical Hui-neng. The sole existing record of the pre-730 period that even mentions Hui-neng, the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* of ca. 713-716, states only that Hui-neng of Shao-chou was merely a regional teacher, one of the pupils of Hung-jen.¹³⁷ The *Ch'uan-fa-pao chi* of ca. 713 does not even mention Hui-neng among Hung-jen's pupils. Therefore it is most probable that the hagiography of Hui-

¹³⁵ Summarised from Yampolsky (1967), 128-133. The interpretation is my understanding from the context of the poems. Cf. Koga Hidehiko (1994), 'Rokuso dankyō kenkyū kidan,' *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 37 (1): 6-12.

¹³⁶ Cf. Yampolsky (1967), 151-152.

¹³⁷ EK, 495; LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 273.

neng had to be conjured out of a factual vacuum; in other words, he was a constructed saint. The suspicion must be entertained then that it was Shen-hui who was mostly responsible for the forging of the legend of Hui-neng. Given that Shen-hui had considerable training in the Confucian texts and Buddhism, it is then also possible that he drew upon Confucian and Buddhist hagiography in order to build up a hagiography of Hui-neng.

Although the Buddha would naturally be expected to have formed the prime model for this fabrication as suggested by the *Platform Sutra* passages referred to above, that was not the case. Rather, the template hagiography used was that of the legendary Confucius (551-479 B.C.) as depicted in the *Shih chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 145- ca. 86 B.C.). At first the comparisons of Hui-neng and Confucius were made covertly, but as time passed the comparisons became more open.

Thus, Ch'an (or rather the movements and lineages that claimed a genealogy from Bodhidharma and thus ultimately from Buddha) attempted to gain acceptance from the Confucian state and its officials by making themselves more Confucian than any of the other movements or 'schools' within the Chinese Buddhist Sangha. In this endeavour they were most successful. Of course, the Confucianism relevant here is not the idealized, rationalist 'humanism' of the Enlightenment and beyond, but rather the Confucianism of medieval China, with its acceptance of the supernatural, omens and a semi-divine Confucius.¹³⁸ Furthermore, for many of the T'ang and even Northern Sung period elite, the boundaries between Confucianism, Buddhism, and perhaps Taoism were blurred, and so the dominant belief system of the times was a Buddhio-Confucian constellation.¹³⁹ This synthesis may explain in part why the comparison of Hui-neng and Confucius was eventu-

¹³⁸ For the problem of Confucianism as a humanist and rationalist philosophy, and the implications such interpretations have had for the study of Buddhism by Western scholars, see Bernard Faure (1993), *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 19-20, 30, 35, and 72, on Rene Etiemble. For elements of this official state 'religion' of Confucianism in the duties of a T'ang official, see Edward Schafer (1980), *The Divine Woman: Dragon ladies and rain maidens in T'ang literature*, North Point Press: San Francisco, 55-58, 80-81, and Charles Hartman (1986), *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 217-220, on Han Yü's dealings with Ta-tien, 93-99 passim.

¹³⁹ Cf. the study Chinese Buddhism "as an independent...set of Chinese phenomena," T. Griffith Foulk (1993), 'Issues in the field of East Asian Buddhist studies: An extended review of *Sudden and gradual: Approaches to enlightenment in Chinese thought*, Peter N. Gregory,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16 (1): 96.

ally accepted, and be a reason for the popularity of the Hui-neng hagiography. This section then is partially an attempt to explain the Confucian elements in Ch'an hagiography.

Methodology: structure, historiography and genre

In order to demonstrate how the Hui-neng hagiography came to be modelled on the Confucius paradigm, and even to show that there is a valid comparison, involves a number of methodological questions. There are major methodological issues underlying this study. For example, even the idea that there was a distinctive Ch'an 'sect' or a united 'school' or 'lineage' of Ch'an in pre-ninth century China is problematic.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, calls have recently been made for a change in the methods of studying Ch'an away from 'essentialist' or 'factual history' towards a 'literary history'.¹⁴¹ Bernard Faure has suggested instead the adoption of a 'methodological pluralism' in which one attempts to "hold together...conflicting approaches such as the hermeneutical, the structural(ist) and the historical, the 'theological' and the ideological/cultural."¹⁴² Faure prefers the structural however, focusing on a "few paradigms or metaphors," but does not wish to abandon the historical approach.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Theodore Griffith Foulk (1987), 'The "Ch'an School" and its place in the Buddhist monastic tradition,' PhD diss., University of Michigan, has argued that there are no strong features to distinguish 'Ch'an' from other 'schools' of Buddhism or the Sangha in general. There was no separate institution, truly distinctive doctrines or practices, and until the early ninth century at the earliest, there was no 'Ch'an lineage' as such, only a variety of competing lineages each claiming to originate with Bodhidharma. Thus we cannot speak of a Ch'an 'sect' or even 'Ch'an' in general until the ninth century or later (164-165, 229-244). Here Ch'an will be used to cover these disparate lineages, with the hint that there was at least one issue in common, the inheritance from Bodhidharma.

¹⁴¹ John C. Maraldo (1985), 'Is there historical consciousness within Ch'an?' *Japanese journal of religious studies* 12 (2-3): 160-161; Faure (1993), 123, and 126, 128, for the criticism 'essentialist' and 'historicism.'

¹⁴² Bernard Faure (1991), *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 9.

¹⁴³ Faure (1991), 9, 16. Faure's methodology seems to have developed towards a greater emphasis on Derrida in his later works, which are in English. In an earlier study, Bernard Faure (1989), *Le bouddhisme Ch'an en mal d'histoire: Génèse d'une tradition religieuse dans la Chine des T'ang*, École Française d'Extrême-Orient: Paris, 2-3, examines the intentions of the author, his biography and the socio-political context. But he states that we cannot reduce a text to its author or the author to his biography.

The structural approach is particularly applicable to hagiography as is seen in Faure's examination of the Bodhidharma legend, for "hagiography flourishes precisely when historical materials are scarce,"¹⁴⁴ which implies the necessity of invention. He asserts that only after the paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures are considered from that synchronic perspective can one shift to the historical or diachronic dimension.¹⁴⁵ However, I believe that the process is far more dialogical; neither perspective taking precedence. Faure does not apply the hermeneutical approach to Bodhidharma's hagiography, for there seems to be a disjunction in the two approaches, with the "danger of a facile eclecticism." To avoid this dilemma, Faure instead advocates a 'performative scholarship' that could use any approach against another; "history against philosophy when confronted with essentialist theories...or philosophy against history when confronted with historicism"; in a form of *upaya* (expedient means),¹⁴⁶ an opportunist 'methodology' of the *bricoleur* perhaps.¹⁴⁷

The structuralist analysis is the most appropriate for this study of the analogy of Hui-neng and Confucius, for it does not need to deny the historical approach; they in fact require each other.¹⁴⁸ Thus the structure in the hagiography may transform over time,¹⁴⁹ and it has been the very doubts raised by historians about the historicity of the subjects of the hagiographies that have prompted students of hagiographical literature, whether that of the Ch'an 'patriarchs' or of Jesus and the Christian saints, to adopt structuralist methodologies.¹⁵⁰

Rather, Faure adopts two approaches, the critical, in the classical historical mode, and the hermeneutic, similar to that of Hans-Georg Gadamer, neither of which can be adopted exclusively, because each would become reductionist. Therefore, the study is a 'double reading,' the critical and the historical (a study of the patriarchal tradition and 'sectarian stakes,' and the doctrines and practices of Northern Ch'an) in a dialogical form. My reading of course, is an over-simplification.

¹⁴⁴ Faure (1993), 126.

¹⁴⁵ Faure (1993), 131, 134-135, for application to examples of Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou.

¹⁴⁶ Faure (1993), 145-146.

¹⁴⁷ Edgar V. McKnight (1978), *Meaning in texts: The historical shaping of a narrative hermeneutics*, Fortress Press: Philadelphia, 246-247.

¹⁴⁸ McKnight (1978), 136-137, on the views of Levi-Strauss, and 193.

¹⁴⁹ McKnight (1978), 137.

¹⁵⁰ McKnight (1978), 274, on Jesus. Note that illustrations of Levi-Strauss' structuralism in myth frequently use New Testament material, as in the pairing of John the Baptist and Jesus by Edmund Leach (1973), 'Structuralism in social anthropology,' in David Robey, ed., *Structuralism: An introduction*, Clarendon Press: Oxford,

A fundamental of structuralist analysis is binary opposition. Thus the inseparable pairing of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng can be found at most stages in the evolution of their hagiographies. For example, in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* Hui-neng is depicted as an illiterate southern barbarian of a hunting tribe who works as a postulant doing menial labour, while Shen-hsiu is a literate monk, the instructor of the assembly.

Shen-hui had of course previously applied the topographical and moral binary opposition, North versus South, to Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng,¹⁵¹ a slogan that stuck. Subsequently, in a stele for the monk Ju-hai of ca. 809, Liu Tsung-yüan wrote, "It split into (Shen)-hsiu and (Hui)-neng. North and South disliked each other, and they turned on each other like fighting wolves."¹⁵² The dyad is most pronounced in the *Chiu T'ang shu*, which was compiled in 941-945 from earlier materials. In this 'correct' or standard official history (*cheng shih*), a portrait of Hui-neng is inserted into Shen-hsiu's biography.¹⁵³ The binary oppositions there can be tabled as follows:

<i>Shen-hsiu</i>	<i>Hui-neng</i>
North	South
tall, handsome	short, ugly
relative of royalty ¹⁵⁴	[barbarian]
metropolitan prelate	backwoods, frontier monk
associate of rulers, elite	associate of animals and hillbillies
[gradual]	[sudden]

This account is echoed almost word for word in Tsan-ning's *Sung Kao-seng chuan* Shen-hsiu biography,¹⁵⁵ which was sanctioned as the orthodox interpretation, for it was presented to the Sung court in

53-55. Faure (1993), 130, on the other hand, pairs Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou, based primarily on the *Hsiü Kao-seng chuan* 'summation' or *lun*, as well as a pairing of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng.

¹⁵¹ Hu Shih (1968), 288.

¹⁵² Liu Tsung-yüan *ch'üan-chi* 1/7/68.

¹⁵³ CTS 16/191/5110-5111.

¹⁵⁴ Surnamed Li, the same as the imperial family. See discussion McRae (1986), 46.

¹⁵⁵ SKSC, T50.755c27-756b3. Tsan-ning probably had to draw upon the *Chiu T'ang shu* because of its status, and because he wrote for the Sung emperor who probably had that standard history available to him.

988 and was included in the Buddhist Canon (*Tripitaka*). A reader of the biography of Hui-neng in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* would discover some of the other elements in the binary opposition such as those bracketed above.

The historical context is important when considering the evolution of the hagiography and its motifs, and also the texts in which the hagiographies appear. For Tsan-ning and Ju-hai the key is to overcome the opposition of the two sides, as Ju-hai was attempting to unite the Niu-t'ou and 'Northern Ch'an' divisions of 'Ch'an' in a new synthesis,¹⁵⁶ while Tsan-ning was trying to unite the Sangha in order to prevent a recurrence of the recent persecutions of Buddhism by presenting a united front to the Sung rulers.¹⁵⁷ For Shen-hui the point was the victory of Hui-neng over Shen-hsiu, of his proclaimed lineage over that of his so-called 'Northern Ch'an,' court-supported rivals.

With changes in context, over time and space, the ideas, motifs and functions of any element in a narrative structure may change into a different meaning or function.¹⁵⁸ North-South in the *Chiu Tang shu* is geo-political, signifying proximity to the court in the North and the remoteness of the South. Its prime concern was the relations of the monks to the court. In contrast, in the *Platform Sutra* the division was rather between Southern, direct and immediate enlightenment, and saintliness; versus stupid Northern, gradual plodding towards enlightenment; a dyad probably based on the *Pien-tsung lun* of Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433).¹⁵⁹ Its hero after all was a deep Southerner (although with ancestry in the North), and the text itself may be of Southern

¹⁵⁶ Liu Tsung-yüan wrote that Ju-hai said, "Their Way therefore went into obscurity. Alas! I will unite them." *Liu Tsung-yüan ch'üan-chi* 1/7/68.

¹⁵⁷ Albert A. Dalia (1987), 'The "political career" of the Buddhist historian Tsan-ning,' in David W. Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist practice in medieval Chinese society*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 148-149, for this and Tsan-ning on the division. Tsan-ning's summation (*lun*) tries to show in respect of the North-South rivalry how bitter and sweet tastes depend on each other, in other words how North and South are merely aspects of the same continuum, are relative. This was an attempt to downplay the dispute. See SKSC, T50.756b5-11.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Peter Worsley (1969), 'The concept of populism,' in Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner, eds, *Populism: Its meanings and national characteristics*, Wiedenfeld and Nicolson: London, 213, on how ideas change with different contexts into different ideas.

¹⁵⁹ *Pien-tsung lun*, T52.225c11-14. In T52.226c12-15, this is extended to Southern *li* (principle) or emptiness and sudden enlightenment, and Northern semi-barbarian works, mundane existence and gradual enlightenment. See later discussion in Chapter 6.

provenance. For Shen-hui, not only was the sudden (South) versus gradual (North) significant in this dichotomy, but also the Confucian Southern Learning School's theory of only one heir per generation in a lineage (*tsung*) versus the Confucian Northern Learning's permission of more than one heir per generation, for that provided ammunition for his definition of *tsung*.¹⁶⁰

Therefore the binary opposition North-South had different implications for different people and at different times. Shen-hui's concern was to establish the legitimacy of his lineage, the *Platform Sutra*'s theme was rather the superiority of 'sudden enlightenment,' and the *Chiu Tang shu*'s emphasis was on relations with the ruler or state affairs. Therefore, the *Chiu Tang shu*, unlike the religious texts, does not mention 'sudden' and 'gradual' at all, let alone associate these ideas with North and South.

Hagiographical sources: context, evolution, genre

The hagiographical sources cannot simply be read as they are. Even though the analyst must be aware of the limitations of the sources and the genre, any analyst must learn how to read them by examining their context, that is, by considering their intentions, place in historical time, and their genre or how they were meant to be read. Then consideration can be given to their rhetoric and narrative structures.¹⁶¹

Indeed, the selection of which hagiographies to compare must be made on the basis of chronology and genre. This will be illustrated through examples, which elucidate the complexity of the chronological and genre contexts. Without this understanding, the comparisons of Hui-neng's and Confucius' hagiographies will be at best superficial, at worst misleading. However, it is obvious that the fundamental selection has already been made in the form of the hypothesis that Hui-neng's hagiography structurally resembles that of Confucius, which is based of course on this initial, superficial understanding.

The comparison, moreover, is not simply between Confucius and Hui-neng. Ch'an, after all, belonged to the Buddhist tradition, and so to determine if Hui-neng's hagiography was based structurally upon

¹⁶⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 111-114.

¹⁶¹ Muslow (1997), 70-71, 153-155.

that of Confucius, a contrast is needed, the hagiography of the Buddha. And since all Ch'an lineages claimed descent from Bodhidharma, his hagiography should be introduced as a control.

Confucius

To take an example of the problems faced, which of the many hagiographical versions of the life of Confucius is adopted depends firstly on the order of their appearance and their genre. Six variations have been identified, of which perhaps the last three, 'the Confucius of the religion of "familism",' the 'Western judgements of Confucius' and the Confucius vilified by the communists in the 'criticise Lin Piao and Confucius' campaign¹⁶² are too late in time. Moreover, the genre of the *Lun-yü* or *Analects* does not permit a structured hagiography to be reconstructed, so the prime source must be the biography of Confucius in the *Shih chi*, which is 8,000+ words long and has been evaluated as "the first genuine attempt at writing a biography in China, and had no successor worthy of the name in the next two thousand years."¹⁶³ Yet it too is a 'creative interpretation.'¹⁶⁴ Ssu-ma Ch'ien's biography of Confucius then is the most appropriate source, for it is fully developed, officially approved, and of a comparable length to one of the main hagiographies of Hui-neng, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which is somewhere between 6,500 and 7,000 characters in length.

However, because the Ch'an material is evidently more hagiographical than the *Shih chi* Confucius biography, with the hagiographies of Hui-neng containing a multitude of marvellous events, the hagiography of the apotheosized Confucius of the New Text school of Confucianism and Han apocrypha should also be examined. This literature made Confucius the 'uncrowned king,' a prognosticator and a divinity.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² O. B. van der Sprenkel (1975), 'Confucius: six variations,' in Wang Gungwu, ed., *Self and biography: Essays on the individual and society in Asia*, Sydney University Press: Sydney, 79. Cf. Zhu Wei-zheng (1990), *Coming out of the Middle Ages: Comparative Reflections on China and the West*, 64, who makes other subdivisions.

¹⁶³ van der Sprenkel (1975), 84; Zhu (1990), 76, on the *Analects*. Makeham (2003), 10, on the problem of recovering 'historical meaning' from the *Analects*. For some of the problems with the *Shih chi* account, see Makeham (2003), 59-66.

¹⁶⁴ Makeham (2003), 2.

¹⁶⁵ van der Sprenkel (1975), 90-91. See Fung Yu-lan (1953), *A history of Chinese philosophy*, 2 vols, translated by Derk Bodde, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2: 128-130, 89, 71, and John Knight Shryock (1961), *The origin and development of the*

The notion of Confucius as the 'uncrowned king' came out of the Kung-yang tradition of interpretation of the *Tso-chuan* in an attempt to explain why Confucius wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. This began with Tung Chung-shu (179?-93 B.C.). Tung's thesis was that Confucius wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu* to elucidate the ways of an uncrowned king. The competing thesis of Cheng Hsüan (127-200) was that he became the uncrowned king in order to write the text. It was said in related works that when Confucius was seventy he knew the chart and the writing (i.e. received the Mandate of Heaven), or he captured the unicorn (symbolising his death?), and only then wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. Later this idea was used in the justification for the changes of dynasties, and to facilitate that position, Confucius was attributed with prognostication texts such as the *K'ung Ch'iu pi-ching* (Secret Classic of Confucius) forecasting the overthrow of dynasties. Such texts may have been produced when the Former Han was weakened and Wang Mang (r. 9-23 A.D.) took control of the empire.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, these hagiographies and apocrypha were primarily driven by political schemes.

Other conceptions of Confucius not in the hagiographical genre, may have influenced the Hui-neng image-makers. For example, Wang Pi's theory that the human Confucius was the great sage who embodied the Taoist *wu* (non-existence) but who was forced to talk of *yu* (existence) because that was the only possible subject and medium that could be taught, parallels the case of the bodhisattva or buddha, who understanding nirvana and *sūnya*, ultimate truth, has to teach via expedient means (*fang-pien*) in the mode of conditioned origination and provisional truth.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Wang Pi (226-249) asserted that even a sage has emotions, but is simply not ensnared by them, responding emotionally like a mirror because he has embodied non-existence.¹⁶⁸

state cult of Confucius, Paragon Book Reprint Corp: New York, 1961 reprint, 123-124. Zhu (1990), 177-178, especially on the origins of the term *su-wang* in the *Chuang-tzu*, and of the idea of the sage-king in the *Hsün tzu*. Zhu's comments on invention, the manufacturing of linkages and purposeful manipulation, are also appropriate to Hui-neng's hagiography.

¹⁶⁶ Yasui Kōzan and Nakamura Shōhachi (1966), *Isho no kisoteki kenkyū*, Kan Gi bunka kenkyūkai (Taisho Daigaku): Tokyo, 152-163.

¹⁶⁷ Fung (1953), 2: 170-172, on Wang Pi. Cf. E. Zürcher (1959), *The Buddhist conquest of China: The spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*, 2 vols, E. J. Brill: Leiden, 90, for his comments on 'hidden saintliness' and the Mahayana concept of *upāya*.

¹⁶⁸ Fung (1953), 2: 187-189.

Likewise, the Mahayana saint or bodhisattva could achieve nirvana or realise emptiness in this mundane world, without extinguishing or suppressing the *klesas* or troubling emotions.¹⁶⁹

Disputes over whether the Two Truths are 'two complementary truths,' or whether they are antagonistic, with only the ultimate level being true, played a part in the pairing of Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu. This is revealed in the *Platform Sutra* verse contest, and even in Shen-hui's story of Bodhidharma's interview with Emperor Wu of Liang, in which Bodhidharma denied expedient means and the conventional level of truth.¹⁷⁰ The Two Truths, and those parallel theories about Confucius expounded by Wang Pi, are another form of binary opposition that contributed to the Hui-neng image.

These concepts of the 'Neo-Taoists' such as Wang Pi also assisted in the formation of theories that Confucius was identical to Buddha, or at least his disciples, in that they both saved humanity by identifying with the Way or emptiness, and acted in accord with the situation, their emotions merely echoing their times. Thus these saints are merely different in name, "they are (mutually complementary) like head and tail," in the words of the Buddhio-Confucian layman Sun Ch'o (ca. 300-380).¹⁷¹ The Buddhists forged this identification in response to the Taoist theory that Lao tzu went to India and converted the barbarians (*hua-hu*), Buddhism merely being a remnant of that teaching. In one of the earliest translations of the biography of the Buddha into Chinese, the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* that dates from the period 222-229 A.D., the Buddha is declared to have manifested himself through expedient means as Confucius or Lao tzu, an idea elaborated on by the famous cleric Hui-yüan (334-416).¹⁷²

From the late fourth century, a number of Buddhist apocrypha, such as the *Ch'ing-ching fa-hsing ching* (Sutra of the Practice of the Pure Dharma), advanced the notion that Confucius, Yen Hui (Confucius' favourite disciple), sometimes the Duke of Chou, and Lao tzu were

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Yanagida Seizan (1977), 'Kifu—Zenshisōshi no hitotsu no kadai,' *Zen bunka kenkyū kiyō* 9: 178-179, 182-186.

¹⁷⁰ Faure (1991), 55-56, on the *Platform Sutra*, and 59-60, on Bodhidharma and other instances. The question of the verse contest is over whether to allow expedient means, such as Shen-hsiu advocated, or not.

¹⁷¹ Zürcher (1959), 267, quoting Sun Ch'o's *Tu-tao lun*. See Makeham (2003), 25 note 6, on problem of definition of *hsüan-hsüeh* and the dated term 'Neo-Taoism.'

¹⁷² Zürcher (1959), 309-310.

bodhisattvas with names like Ju-t'ung (*Mānavaka, Confucius), Moonlight (Yen Hui) and Kāśyapa (Lao tzu). In 504, Emperor Wu of Liang stated in an edict that "Lao-tzu, the Duke of Chou and Confucius were disciples of the Buddha,"¹⁷³ despite the fact that this emperor was the first ruler to erect public shrines for the annual offering of sacrifices to Confucius.¹⁷⁴

Such homologisations were definitely known to the authors of the Ch'an hagiographical collections, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of ca. 774+, perhaps the *Pao-lin chuan* of ca. 796, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* of 952.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, just as Hui-yüan thought that Confucianism and Buddhism derived from the same source and were destined to merge again,¹⁷⁶ so this was echoed in Liu Tsung-yüan's inscription for Hui-neng:

There is nothing better than returning to the beginning. Confucius died without the great rank (the throne), leaving his words to assist the world, but then Yang (Chu), the Mohists, and Huang-Lao (Taoists) dislocated it, and their arts divided and split (the current from the source). Our Buddha's sermons appeared later (in China), overcoming the divergences and returning to the source, and merged with what is called 'life and yet calm.' The Liang (Emperor Wu) loved to create the compounded (*yu-wei, samskṛta*), and the teacher (Bodhi-)dharma ridiculed this. The art of emptiness was further manifested, and in six transmissions it reached

¹⁷³ Zürcher (1959), 313-318.

¹⁷⁴ Shryock (1932), 120. However, this is based on a late source, the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, and does not appear in the dynastic history of the Liang.

¹⁷⁵ See the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 39, 53, where it quotes the *Ch'ing-ching fa-hsing ching* as declaring that to the northeast of India there is the country of China, most of whose people do not believe and many of whom commit sins. So the Buddha sent three pupils, all bodhisattvas, to convert them, and "the youth Kuang-ching will be called Chung-ni (Confucius), and the Confucian youth (Ju-t'ung, *Mānava) will be named Yen Hui. They will preach the five classics...and so after that the Buddhist sutras can then go there." Note also its references to both Hui-yüan and Emperor Wu of Liang, 54-55, and that many other similar apocrypha are referred to by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, including a version of the *Lao-tzu hua-hu ching*. For the *Pao-lin chuan* we have only portions of the text of the biography of the Buddha. We can conjecture though from the fact that it quotes a *Chou-shu i-chi* for a date of the Buddha's decease in the 42nd year of the reign of King Chao of Chou, also referred to by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, that the *Pao-lin chuan* may have used a similar mix of apocrypha (cf. ZSS, 380-381). For the *Chou-shu i-chi*, and like texts, see Zürcher (1959), 273, though they give the date as the 52nd year. In the *Tsu-t'ang chi* there are quotes from the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* and the *Chou-shu i-chi*, which suggest at least an awareness of the ideas behind these apocrypha. See notes to *Tsu-t'ang chi* biography of Buddha translated by Yanagida Seizan (1974), *Sekai no meichō, zoku 3: Zen goroku*, Chūō kōronsha: Tokyo, 413-416.

¹⁷⁶ Zürcher (1959), 310.

Ta-chien (Hui-neng)....His teaching of people began with the nature is good and ended with the nature is good.¹⁷⁷

Buddha, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng then in Liu's view are simply returning to the original reality, which was what Confucius also preached. The content of that preaching is that "human nature is (originally) good."

Liu Tsung-yüan's comments have to be seen in the light of developments in T'ang Dynasty Confucianism. At the start of the T'ang, the cult of Confucius was revived, and in 619 a 'state academy directorate of shrines for the Duke of Chou and for Confucius' was established, as a symbol of education and the civil bureaucracy. This made Confucius the first teacher (*hsien shih*) and the Duke of Chou the first sage, so Confucius was subordinate, but still the 'forefather of all education.' In 623, the emperor Kao-tsu officiated over the ritual of homage to Confucius, a ritual prescribed for all prefectures and counties.¹⁷⁸ In 628, the Duke of Chou was replaced by Confucius' favourite pupil, Yen Hui, as the second figure in the Confucian temple, and Confucius was elevated to the rank of sage (*sheng*). The temple of the Duke was removed; Confucius made the first sage and Yen Hui the first teacher. There were some disputes over this. In 655, at the instigation of Empress Wu, the positions of the Duke and Confucius were reversed. However, this move was overturned by strong opposition in 657. Eventually, the Duke of Chou was made the symbol of the imperial house, and Confucius that of the officials and scholars. Yen Hui became a 'moral exemplar,' and by the eighth century, after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, symbolised spiritual ideals. The scholars removed some of the magical and Buddhistic elements that had been attached to Confucius, and he was instead considered "the greatest man since humanity began."¹⁷⁹

Sometime in the period 656-661, we find the first recorded example of a shrine to the seventy-two disciples of Confucius erected. It was in T'an-chou and had drawings and written eulogies (*tsan*) for each of the disciples,¹⁸⁰ a practice that resembles the earlier painting of

¹⁷⁷ Liu Tsung-yüan *ch'üan-chi* 1/6/64-65; Shiga (1998), 176.

¹⁷⁸ David McMullen (1988), *State and scholars in T'ang China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 32. Cf. Zhu (1990), 65.

¹⁷⁹ McMullen (1988), 33-34; cf. Zhu (1990), 65-66.

¹⁸⁰ McMullen (1988), 2777 note 67, and 45; CTS 15/185A/4795; HTS 13/100/3944.

the portraits of translators up to the time of Hsüan-tsang and writing out their hagiographies on the walls of the translation centre of Ta tz'u-en Monastery in Ch'ang-an,¹⁸¹ and the adoption of this practice by early Ch'an, and especially by Shen-hui in 752 when he built an patriarchal hall (*tsu-t'ang*) or ancestral temple dedicated to Hui-neng and the earlier patriarchs.¹⁸²

These actions by Shen-hui were not simply a response to the doings of his 'Northern Ch'an' rival, P'u-chi, whom Shen-hui alleged had established a 'hall of the seven patriarchs' in order to make Shen-hsiu the sixth patriarch,¹⁸³ but also to the expansion of the state cult of Confucius sponsored by Emperor Hsüan-tsung not long before the An Lu-shan Rebellion of 755, a cult itself partly influenced by Buddhist iconography. Even before the start of his reign, Hsüan-tsung promoted the cult of Confucius and gradually made the rituals compulsory for officials. In 720, he ordered that the ten main disciples of Confucius be given seated statues in the shrine to Confucius. In 739, Confucius was elevated in rank, and his statue made to face south in all the temples of the empire, symbolising thereby the position of an emperor. These arrangements also resembled eighth-century Buddhist chapels and the iconography was similar.¹⁸⁴ This was a reversal of the early T'ang attitude led by K'ung Ying-ta (574-648), which disputed the notion that Confucius was the 'uncrowned king' (*su-wang*), and wanted to remove the semi-divine and royal status that had been previously attached to Confucius.¹⁸⁵

After the rebellion, scholars like Liu Tsung-yüan stressed rather the role of private discipleship in contrast to the state Confucian education, and idealised the pursuit of Confucian truth. Liu himself idealised the

¹⁸¹ T55.367c26-29; Ts'ao Shih-pang (1966), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-chuan yü mu-lü yüan-ch'u lü-hsüeh sha-men chih t'an-t'ao, hsia,' *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 7 (2): 110; Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-hsüeh shih: Tung Chin chih Wu-tai*, Fa-ku wen-hua: Taipei, 280-281. The author of the *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*, which recorded these hagiographies, probably compiled this around 645-650, before the T'an-chou hall to Confucius was erected by Wei Chi.

¹⁸² SKSC, T50.755b10ff.; Jorgensen (1987), 121.

¹⁸³ T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf (1993-1994), 'On the ritual use of Ch'an portraiture in medieval China,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7: 173-174. This remains only an allegation, for no other mentions of this hall can be found. I am also dubious of the allegation that the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (CFPC) had been altered by Tu Fei, for which doubts see first part of Chapter 7.

¹⁸⁴ McMullen (1988), 43-45.

¹⁸⁵ McMullen (1988), 80-81.

role of the teacher, because he and others felt that true teaching had died out.¹⁸⁶ Liu and his associates in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* school of exegesis were more inward looking, and sought in this text, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, a broader view of history and a 'profound moral purpose.' Interestingly, this school flourished most in the areas where Southern Ch'an was expanding. The failure of Liu and his companions in the Wang Shu-wen reformist effort of 805, led many of these *Ch'un-ch'iu* scholars into exile and to an even more critical examination of the use of the canon of Confucius, whom they held in high regard. This exile also brought them into even greater contact with the Ch'an monks, and many were Buddhist in their private lives.¹⁸⁷

As can be seen from the above, there were a variety of notions of Confucius available to the medieval Ch'an hagiographers as a model for their images of Hui-neng. It is likely that these images were not strictly segregated, but were adopted as an amorphous whole. The basic structure for the hagiography of Confucius used by the Hui-neng image-makers was that of the *Shih chi*, supplemented by the apocryphal versions of Confucius' conception and death miracles. This was underpinned by an homologisation of Buddha and Confucius that derived from Buddhist apologia.

The following abstract from the *Shih chi* incorporates, in square brackets, the comments of three commentators as added by the editors of the Chung-hua shu-chü edition. These are, firstly, the *Shih chi chi-chieh* by P'ei Yin of the fifth century Liu Sung Dynasty. P'ei Yin quoted from other famous Confucian scholars such as K'ung An-kuo (ca. 156-74 or d. 100 B.C.), Pao Hsien (6 B.C.-65 A.D.), Cheng Hsüan (127-200 A.D.), Ma Jung (79-166 A.D.), Wang Su (195-256), Tu Yü (222-284) and Ho Hsiu (129-182). The two other works were by contemporaries of Shen-hui; the *Shih chi so-yin* by Ssu-ma Chen, who debated Liu Chih-chi on the issue of the proper commentaries to the canon in 719, an issue that had been provoked by Chang Yüeh;¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ McMullen (1988), 51, 63, 65; Han Yü likewise placed great importance on teachers, see Charles Hartman (1986), *Han Yü and the Tang Search for Unity*, 160-162. This was also linked to his version of the succession of the Way via transmission. It was used to overcome the dependence on commentarial tradition, and may have been inspired by the Ch'an 'transmission of the Dharma.'

¹⁸⁷ McMullen (1988), 101-104, 154-155, 157. See also later in Chapter 5.

¹⁸⁸ McMullen (1988), 85-86, 174. For more information on most of these figures, see Makeham (2003), 378-385, 28-30. K'ung, Ma, Cheng, Wang and Ho all wrote commentaries on the *Lun-yü*.

and the *Shih chi cheng-i* of 736 by Chang Shou-chieh.¹⁸⁹

The *Shih chi* was widely read and commented on by the early T'ang elite, and was regarded as a prerequisite reading for the educated. A number of commentaries, now lost, were written in the late seventh and eighth centuries,¹⁹⁰ just when Shen-hui was receiving his Confucian education. It should also be noted that the *tzu-hsü* or the 'autobiography' of an author appended to his book, was greatly influenced by Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 'T'ai-shih kung tzu-hsü,' which is appended to the *Shih chi*.¹⁹¹ This, as we shall see later, may have also influenced the incorporation of the 'pseudo-autobiography' of Hui-neng into the *Platform Sutra*.

K'ung-tzu shih-chia no. 17

[Ssu-ma Chen: Confucius did not have the rank of the feudal ruler, and yet he is still accorded a family genealogy, for as a saint he was the lord of the teaching. Also, when a generation has a sagely wise man, he is therefore accorded a family genealogy.] Confucius was born in Tsou hamlet in Ch'ang-p'ing district in Lü. [P'ei Yin: "...K'ang An-kuo wrote," Tsou was a hamlet governed by Confucius' father, Shu Liang-He."] His ancestor was a native of Sung named K'ung Fang-shu. [Ssu-ma Chen: (traces his ancestry from Duke Hsiang of Sung)...after five generations of parents ended, they were separated (from the Sung) to form a ducal family, surnamed K'ung. (Then follows six generations from the first K'ung until K'ung Fang-shu, who was forced to flee to Lü.)] Fang-shu produced Po-hsia, who begat Shu Liang-He. He and a woman of the Yen clan had an illicit union and produced Confucius. [Ssu-ma Chen: The (*K'ung-tzu*) *chia-yü* says, "Liang-He married a woman of the Shih clan of Lü, and produced nine girls. His concubine gave birth to Meng P'i, who had a deformed foot, so he sought a marriage with Cheng-tzai of the Yen clan, following his father's orders to marry (again)." This text is very clear. Now this 'illicit union' refers to the (advanced) age of Liang-He and the youth of Cheng-tzai, which was not in accord with the propriety (li) of a healthy male and a girl with her hair bound up (aged 15). Therefore it is termed an illicit union, meaning it was not in agreement with propriety and rites...." (Chang Shou-chieh makes a calculation that suggests Liang-He was over sixty-four.)] She had prayed at Ni-ch'iu (Ni Hillock, according to Chang Shou-chieh, a mountain) to gain Confucius, and in the twenty-second year of Duke Hsiang of Lü, she gave birth to Confucius. Because he was born with a furrow (*yü-ting*) on the top of his head [Ssu-ma Chen:....*yü-ting* means that

¹⁸⁹ For brief comments on the format and histories of these texts, see 'Explanation of publication' in Ssu-ma Ch'ien (1959), *Shih chi*, 10 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü edition of 1959, 1: 4-5.

¹⁹⁰ McMullen (1988), 173-174.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Nishiwaki Tsuneki (2000), *Tōdai no shisō to bunka*, Sōbunsha: Tokyo, 6, 8, 10.

the top of the skull has a crack, which is like an upside-down roof, the middle low and the four sides higher.], he was consequently named Ch'iu. His style was Chung-ni, and surname K'ung.

Ch'iu was born and Shu Liang-He died [*Ssu-ma Chen: the Chia-yü says he was three years (sui) old when Liang-He died.*] and was buried on Mt Fang. Mt Fang was in the east of Lü, and due to this, Confucius wondered about the location of his father's grave, but his mother concealed/avoided it. [*Ssu-ma Chen: This means that Confucius was orphaned when young and did not clearly know the location of his father's tomb; it does not mean he did not know which cemetery. Cheng-tzai was only fifteen when she married Liang-He, and soon after he died of old age, so she was widowed young. She was resentful of this, and did not accompany (the coffin) to the burial, and therefore did not know the tomb location. Therefore she did not tell Confucius, but she did not hide it from him.*]

When Confucius was a child he always played by lining up the sacrificial vessels as if setting up a ritual. When his mother died, he buried her in a coffin in Wu-fu Lane because of his concern....

When Confucius was wearing white mourning clothes, the Chi clan had a feast for the knights. Confucius was allowed to go, but Yang Hu blocked him saying, "The Chi clan feast is for knights, so I would not dare entertain you." Confucius therefore retreated.

When Confucius was seventeen, the great minister of Lü, Meng Hsi-tzu was ill and dying. He advised his heir, I-tzu, "Confucius is a descendant of a saint, whose (line) was extinguished in the Sung [*P'ei Yin: Tu Yü said, "Confucius' sixth generation ancestor, Kung Fu-chia was killed by Hua Tu of Sung, and his son fled to Lü."*], and his ancestor Fu-fu Ho initially possessed Sung but ceded it to Duke Li [*P'ei Yin: Tu Yü said, "Fu-fu Ho...was Duke Li's older brother..."*]....I have heard that the descendants of a saint, even if they do not hold the office of ruler, are sure to have those who are percipient. [*P'ei Yin: Wang Su said, "This means that one such as Fu-fu Ho, a descendant of T'ang of Yin, still did not succeed through the generations to be the ruler of Sung."* Tu Yü said, "The descendants of a saint have brilliant virtue and yet do not take the great rank (of ruler), which means Cheng-k'ao fu (Fu-fu Ho's son)."] Now K'ung Ch'iu is young but loves propriety, so is he not a percipient person? When I have died, you must serve him as your teacher." Then Hsi-tzu passed away, and I-tzu and the man of Lü, Nan-kung Ching-shu, went to study propriety with Confucius. This year, Chi Wu-tzu (the ruler of Lü) died and P'ing-tzu replaced him.

Confucius was poor and humble. When he matured, he was the accountant of the Chi clan [*Ssu-ma Chen: a text has keeper of the stores. Note, Chao Chi said, "Keeper of the stores, in charge of grain storage."*], and in measuring quantities (of grain) he was fair. Then he was clerk in charge of the livestock, and the livestock increased and grew (in numbers). For this reason he was made the Minister of Works. When that ended he left Lü, was dismissed from Ch'i, chased out of Sung and Wei, was in distress between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and subsequently returned to Lü. (This is a summary of his later wanderings.)

Confucius was nine feet (*shih*) and six inches tall,¹⁹² and everyone called him the 'Tall Man,' and marvelled at him. Lü again treated him well, and so he returned to Lü.

Later Confucius supposedly met Lao tzu, who gave him some advice, something Ssu-ma Ch'ien rejects as erroneous and based on the *Chuang-tzu*. However, Ssu-ma Ch'ien concluded this passage as follows:

Confucius returned from Chou to Lü, and his pupils slightly increased in number there. At this time, Duke P'ing of Chin was dissolute, and the six ministers assumed authority, and to the east attacked these lords. King Ling of Ch'u was militarily strong and oppressed the central states. Ch'i was large and close to Lü. Lü was small and weak. If it were allied to Ch'u then Chin would be angered, if allied to Chin then Ch'u would come and attack. If it were not prepared against Ch'i, the army of Ch'i would invade Lü. In the twentieth year of Duke Chao of Lü, Confucius was thirty years old. Duke Ching of Ch'i and Yen Ying came to Lü, and Duke Ching asked Confucius, "In the past Duke Mu of Ch'in had a state that was small and located on the margins. Why was he hegemon?" Confucius replied, "Although the state of Ch'in was small, its ambition was great. Although its location was on the margins, its conduct was central and correct..." Duke Ching was pleased.

Confucius was thirty-five....Sometime later, Lü was in confusion and Confucius went to Ch'i....The ministers of Ch'i wanted to harm Confucius, who heard about this. Duke Ching said, "I am old. I cannot make use of you." Confucius therefore departed and returned to Lü....

In Lü, the ministers on down usurped (their functions) and departed from the Central Path. Therefore Confucius did not serve (as an official) and retired to edit the *Odes*, the *Documents*, the *Rites* and *Music* (classics), and his pupils grew to become a crowd, coming from distant places, and all accepted instruction from him.

After a series of minor posts and disappointments in his travels in search of a suitable ruler to serve, Confucius was passing K'uang, a town in Hua-chou (note, in which Hua-t'ai is located), where he was detained by the locals, who mistook him for Yang Hu. They threatened him and the disciples were afraid. Confucius said,

"Since King Wen has died, is not *wen* (culture) herein (within me)? [*P'ei Yin: Kung An-kuo said, "Here is this. He is saying that although King Wen has already died, his wen appears in this (place). This is he indicating his own person."*] If Heaven were to destroy this culture of ours (*ssu-wen*), those who die later would not be able to participate in this culture of ours. [*P'ei Yin: Kung An-kuo said, "Since King Wen was already dead, Confucius therefore called*

¹⁹² This was the same height as the legendary sage emperor, Yü, according to the apocrypha. Yasui and Nakamura (1966), 167.

himself one who dies later. In saying that if Heaven were to destroy this culture, then basically it would not allow us to know it. Now that it allows us to know it, it does not wish to destroy it." If Heaven will not destroy this culture of ours, what can the men of K'uang do to me?" [P'ei Yin: Ma Jung said, "What can do to me is just to say, 'What can it do to me?' If Heaven does not destroy this culture, then I shall transmit it, so what will the men of K'uang do to me? This is saying they cannot contravene Heaven in order to harm me?"]

This passage displays Confucius' confidence that he is heir to the culture of the past sage king and that his mission was to transmit it, despite all the dangers. A little later there is a similar passage, showing that there were indeed threats to the life of Confucius:

Confucius left Ts'ao and went to Sung, and was studying the Rites together with his disciples beneath a large tree. The Minister of War of Sung, Huan T'ui, wished to kill Confucius and uproot the tree. Confucius left. His disciples said, "We should hurry!" Confucius said, "Heaven has produced virtue in me; what can Huan T'ui do to me?" [P'ei Yin: Mr Pao (Hsien) said, "Heaven has produced virtue means it has conferred the nature of the saint on him, a virtue that is in agreement with heaven and earth, and good fortune that benefits everything. Therefore he said, 'What can he do to me?'"]

Confucius went to Ch'eng, and was separated from his disciples. Confucius stood alone at the East Gate of the wall. A man of Ch'eng said to Tzu-kung, "The man at the East Gate has a forehead like Yao (the legendary emperor), his neck resembles that of Kao Yao, his shoulders resemble those of Tzu-chan, but three inches shorter below the waist than Yü (the emperor who rescued China from the flood), aimless like a stray dog." [P'ei Yin: Wang Su said, "A dog that has lost its home, the owner lamented, it does not see food and drink, so it is dispirited and has no intent. Confucius was born in a troubled age, and the Way could not be put into practice. Therefore he had the appearance of one who was dispirited and unable to attain his aims..."] Tzu-kung repeated this exactly to Confucius. Confucius laughed happily, "Appearance is insignificant. But to say I am like a stray dog, that is just right!"

Later, when reduced to near starvation between Ch'en and Ts'ai, Confucius tested his students with some poetry:

Confucius, knowing that his disciples felt indignant, summoned Tzu-lu and asked him, "The *Odes* say, 'We are not rhinoceros or tigers, yet we are led into desolate wilds.'¹⁹³ Is my Way wrong (*fei*)? Why have I come to this?"

¹⁹³ Cf. James Legge (1972), *The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols, Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan she: Taipei reprint, 4: 424, Part II, Bk VIII, Ode X, who says this is the complaint of soldiers on military expeditions. The second line of the song reads, "Pity us expeditionary soldiers, morning and night we have no leisure."

Tzu-lu said, "Is the meaning that I am not humane? And that (therefore) people do not trust us? Is the meaning that I am not knowledgeable, (and that therefore) people do not follow me?" [*P'ei Yin: Wang Su said, "To say that people cannot be made to understand and practice, and I am in privation, is that not due to me not being wise?"*]

Confucius said, "Is this right? Yu (personal name of Tzu-lu), even if one was humane and certain then to be trusted, then why should there be a Po I and Shu Ch'i?" [*Chang Shou-chieh: If one says that the wise are certain to be used in service and their (ideas) understood and put into practice, how could Prince Pi-kan have had his heart cut out (by the emperor, Chou Hsin)?*]

Tzu-lu departed, and Tzu-kung came in for the interview. Confucius said, "Tz'u, the *Odes* say, 'We are not rhinoceros or tigers, yet we are led into desolate wilds.' Is my Way wrong? Why have I come to this?"

Tzu-kung said, "Your Way is too great. Therefore the world cannot accept you. Should you not reduce it?"

Confucius said, "A good farmer sows grain and yet may not reap the harvest... A gentleman (*chün-tzu*) can cultivate his Way, and regulate (according to) his principles, unify and govern by them, but not have (his Way) accepted. Now you do not cultivate your Way and yet you seek to have it accepted. Tz'u, that ambition is not far off! (i.e. too easy)."

Tzu-kung departed and Yen Hui came in for the interview. Confucius said, "Hui, the *Odes* say, 'We are not rhinoceros or tigers, and yet we are led into desolate wilds.' Is my Way wrong? Why have I come to this?"

Yen Hui said, "Your Way is too great. Therefore the world cannot accept it. However, if you persist and carry it out, why be distressed if they do not accept it? If they do not accept it, later you will be seen to have been a gentleman (*chün-tzu*). Now the non-cultivation of the Way is our disgrace. If the Way has been cultivated and it is not adopted, it is the disgrace of those who have the countries (rulers). If it is not accepted, why be distressed?"

Confucius happily laughed and said, "That is correct, son of the Yen clan! If you were very wealthy, I would be your steward." [*P'ei Yin: Wang Su said, "Steward is one in charge of wealth. To be your administrator of wealth is to say that his ambition is the same."*]

The above dialogue resembles some of the interviews of Ch'an masters with their pupils and the use of poetry in Ch'an evaluations of cases (*kung-an*). After further peregrinations and aborted offers of posts in government, some because of the advice of jealous ministers, and because the rulers were not worthy of the sage's services, Confucius commented, declining an inappropriate invitation:

"A bird selects its tree, how can the tree select the bird?"

Confucius used the *Odes*, *Documents*, *Rites* and *Music* for teaching, and his pupils came to three thousand, and those who were personally versed in the six arts numbered seventy-two. Those followers like Yen Cho-tsou,

who greatly received his instruction, were extremely many.

Confucius had four teachings: culture (*wen*), conduct (*hsing*), loyalty and trust; four prohibitions: no wilfulness [*P'ei Yin: Ho Yen said, "Taking the Way as the measure, he therefore did not indulge his will."*], no necessity [*P'ei Yin: Ho Yen said, "If one uses it then put it into practice; if one abandons it, then conceal it; therefore things are not just necessity alone."*], nothing set [*P'ei Yin: Ho Yen said, "Nothing that should be and nothing that should not be, therefore there is no set practice"*] and no self [*P'ei Yin: Ho Yen said, "To transmit the past and not create oneself, dwell in the collected masses and yet not change oneself, and only follow the Way, one therefore does not have their person."*]¹⁹⁴.....

Tzu-kung said, "The Master's writings on culture (*wen-chang*) could be heard [*P'ei Yin: Ho Yen said, "Writings (*chang*) are clarification (*ming*); culture is ornament. They have form that is visible and can be complied with."*]. The Master's words on the Way of Heaven and the nature of fate could not be heard.".....

In the spring of the fourteenth year of Duke Ai of Lü there was a hunt in Ta-yeh. The charioteer of the Shun-sun clan, Ch'u Shang caught a beast he regarded as ill-omened. Chung-ni, seeing it, said, "It is a unicorn." He took it. [*P'ei Yin: Fu Ch'ien said, "A unicorn is seen in unseasonable times. Therefore (Ch'u Shang) was amazed at it, and so he regarded it as ill-omened. Chung-ni named it 'unicorn,' and afterwards the people of Lü then took it. This made it evident that the unicorn was Chung-ni's end."*] He said, "The (Yellow) River has not produced the chart, the Lo (River) has not issued forth the writings. I am already finished!" [*P'ei Yin: K'ung An-kuo said, "When a saint receives his mandate, then the Yellow River issues the chart, but now there was no such omen. 'I am already finished!' means the harm cannot be seen (yet). The Yellow River chart is the eight hexagrams."*] When Yen Yüan died, Confucius said, "Heaven has destroyed me!" [*P'ei Yin: Ho Hsiu said, "Me is I. Heaven gave birth to Yen Yüan as the Master's counsel. His death was evidence that Heaven was going to eliminate the Master."*] So when the hunt in the west found the unicorn, he said, "My Way has come to an end." [*P'ei Yin: Ho Hsiu said, "The unicorn is a beast of great peace, and resembles the saint. When it is captured it dies. This is proof that Heaven was also informing the Master of his impending demise...."*] Sighing, he lamented, "Nobody knows me!" Tzu-kung said, "Why does nobody know you?" The Master said, "I am not angry at Heaven, I do not blame men. [*P'ei Yin: Ma Jung said, "Confucius was not employed by the world, and he was not angry at Heaven not knowing him, and also he did not blame men."*] Below I learn and above I discern [*P'ei Yin: K'ung An-kuo said, "Below he learnt human affairs, above he discerned the mandate of Heaven."*], but the one that knows me is Heaven!".....

The next year Tzu-lu died in Wei and Confucius was ill. Tzu-kung asked to see him. The Master then was carrying a staff and was wandering around the door. He said, "Tz'u, why have you come so late?"

¹⁹⁴ Makeham (2003), 128, translates these as 'not having a (deliberating) mind,' 'not being insistent,' 'not being inflexible,' and 'not having a self.'

Confucius consequently sighed, "Mt T'ai crumbled/ The beams and pillars have snapped! The wise man has withered." Then, with tears streaming down, he said to Tzu-kung, "The world has lacked the Way for a long time, and nobody can follow (*tsung*) me (as an ancestor). The men of Hsia mourned by the eastern steps, the men of Chou by the western steps, and the men of Yin between the two pillars. Last night I dreamt that I was sitting at the offerings between the two pillars, (so) from the first I was a man of Yin."

Seven days later he died. [*Pei Yin: Cheng Hsüan said, "This shows that a saint knows his fate."*] Confucius was aged seventy-three years....

Confucius was buried on the banks of the Ssu (River) north of the city of Lü, and his disciples all mourned him for three years. For three years they mourned in their hearts and afterwards they said their farewells and left. Then they wept and each again ended their mourning, and some stayed on. Only Tzu-kung had a mourning hut on the grave mound for a total of six years, and only after that did he leave. Because his pupils and the men of Lü went back and forth to the grave mound and so made over a hundred of their homes there, it was called K'ung Village. For generation after generation the Lü transmitted (his legacy) by making offerings at the grave mound of Confucius on the seasonal festivals, and the scholars also lectured on the Rites there. Village festivals and archery contests were held on the grave mound of Confucius, which is as large as one *ch'ing* (14 acres, 5.7 hectares). Therefore, the hall where he lived, among his disciples, in later generations was consequently made into a shrine to store Confucius' clothes, hat, lute, chariot and books [*Ssu-ma Chen: Means that the hall where Confucius lived, after his death by some of his disciples in later generations, was used to enshrine the Master's everyday clothes, hat, lute and books in the hall of his lifetime.*"], which have come down to the Han over two hundred years later without interruption. Emperor Kao-tsung (of Han) passed Lü and offered the great sacrifice (of an ox) at the shrine, and the lords and ministers continually came, always making a visit before taking up their official duties....(list of descendants follows)....

The Grand Historian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien) says, "...When I read the writings of Confucius, I imagined that I could see him as a man. When I went to Lü, I viewed the chariot, costumes and ritual implements in the shrine hall of Confucius. Students at times study the rites of his house, and I respectfully turned around to stay there and felt I could not leave. When the numerous rulers and princes of the world, and even the sages who in their times were famed, died, that (fame) ended. Confucius was a commoner in plain clothes, (but his Way) was transmitted for over ten generations, and scholars (still) follow (*tsung*) him (as an ancestor)....He should be called the supreme saint."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ *Shih chi* 6/47/1905-1947, selections; cf. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, translators (1979), *Selections from Records of the Historian: Written by Szuma Chien*, Foreign

Buddha

The 'biography' of Buddha was not like the life of an individual, such as Confucius, with a personality and will, but rather as this manifestation of the lived Dharma. It was this readers wished to know.¹⁹⁶ The personality, or self, is not to be reified, for that would violate the doctrine of *anātman* or non-self.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the hagiography of the Buddha must also be incorporated into this study, for the Buddhist, just like the Christian who 'imitated Christ,' tried to replicate the religious experiences and practices of the Buddha. So common apparently was this conscious imitation in early 'Ch'an' that Hsüan-tse (ca. 630-718+), a pupil of Hung-jen, reported that Hung-jen, after his funerary stupa had been erected, on the fourteenth day of the second lunar month, said, "I cannot (die) on the same day as Buddha's nirvana....Those who will transmit my Way afterwards will number only ten."¹⁹⁸ For Hung-jen, too close an identification with the Buddha must have smacked of hubris, and so he voluntarily avoided this date for his own death. Evidently, many religious figures modelled their lives on the exemplar of their tradition, and so the hagiographers may have tried to force their depiction of their subjects into that pattern. Indeed, in Indian hagiography, the paradigm of the Buddha for the lives of the saints display a unity in which most of the elements are reproduced.¹⁹⁹

The mention by Hsüan-tse of ten disciples could be a reminder of the ten main disciples of either Buddha or Confucius, which suggests that there could be a fusion of exemplary patterns in Ch'an hagiographies. As Donald Capps has suggested, this fusion is meant to be interpreted as reconciliation,²⁰⁰ here between Confucianism and

Languages Press: Peking, 1-27, and reconstructed biography by James Legge (1972), 1: 56-89.

¹⁹⁶ Robert L. Brown (1998), 'The Miraculous Buddha Image: Portrait, God or Object?' in Richard H. Davis, ed., *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, Westview Press: Boulder, 39-40.

¹⁹⁷ Brown (1998), 49.

¹⁹⁸ *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, Yanagida (1971), 273. Yanagida also comments on pp. 281-282, that one tradition held that the fifteenth day of the second month was the date of Buddha's decease, and that the number of great disciples, ten, could be in imitation of those of either Buddha or Confucius. See also Faure (1989), 164-165.

¹⁹⁹ Ray (1994), 60-61.

²⁰⁰ Donald Capps (1976), 'Lincoln's martyrdom: A study of exemplary mythic patterns,' in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds, *The biographical process: Studies*

Buddhism, or more specifically, between Confucius and Hui-neng, the 'living Buddha.'

But given that there are far more hagiographies of the Buddha than of Confucius, and many are cited in Ch'an hagiographies, the selection is even more problematic. Although the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* does not have its own biography of the Buddha, it does refer to Jñānagupta's translation of Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*, the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*; to Chih-chien's translation, the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*; and to the aforementioned apocrypha, the *Ch'ing-ching fa-hsing ching*.²⁰¹

The *Pao-lin chuan* of ca. 796 has a hagiography of the Buddha that is largely based on the *P'u-yao ching* for the eight major episodes in the life of the Buddha,²⁰² but the dates are given in Chinese Buddhist apocrypha style. The *Pao-lin chuan*'s emphasis is on the Ch'an-like teaching of a sutra the authors of the *Pao-lin chuan* themselves adapted, and on the transmission from the Buddha to Mahākāśyapa of the True Dharma.²⁰³

On the other hand, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* refers to many translated texts on the life of the Buddha that are mentioned in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, but this is mostly through the medium of the *Shih-chia shih p'u* (Genealogy of the Śākya Clan) by Tao-hsüan (596-667), which became the dominant source for Ch'an hagiographies of the Buddha,²⁰⁴ probably because it conveniently organised these disparate materials into

in the history and psychology of religion, Mouton: The Hague, 394, and 393, for conscious imitation. For a Buddhist example, see William La Fleur (1976), 'The death and "lives" of the poet-monk Saigyō,' in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds, *The biographical process: Studies in the history and psychology of religion*, 344-345, 352-353, on Saigyō (1118-1190), the Japanese poet-monk who consciously imitated the Buddha.

²⁰¹ Yanagida (1976a), 45. The *Buddhacarita* is translated in a condensed form by Edward Conze (1959), *Buddhist Scriptures*, Penguin Classics: Harmondsworth, 34-66. Hereafter, *Buddhacarita*.

²⁰² The eight major scenes or *aṣṭamahāpratihārya* ('Eight great miracles' or *pa-hsiang*) were a development from the Pala period, appearing in the Indian art of the eighth century, Brown (1998), 51 note 3. Note that Ray (1994), 48-49, isolated thirty-five themes, especially from the *Buddhacarita*.

²⁰³ ZSS, 380-383, and 389-390, note 1, for other studies by Yanagida on Ch'an hagiographies of Buddha, which I have not seen. Note that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* also adds some of the lineage of the Śākya clan from the beginning of creation until Buddha. The sutra is the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* (see later).

²⁰⁴ This book is an abbreviation of a much longer work by Seng-yu (445-518), another Vinayist historian. For the motives of Seng-yu, his method of composition, and concision as compared to the *Buddhacarita* (*Fo pen-hsing chi ching*), and Tao-hsüan's later simplification of Seng-yu's text, see Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), 149-153.

a concise, systematic register (*p'u* or family genealogy). Because of its convenience, and because it used the famous eight scenes (*pa-hsiang*) to summarise the life of the Buddha, and because it frequently quoted the ever-popular *P'u-yao ching*, the *Shih-chia shih p'u* was adopted as the main source for Buddha's biography.²⁰⁵

The *Pao-lin chuan* appears to have been the earliest Ch'an work to provide a biography of the Buddha, but unfortunately the first three sheets (*chang*) out of the total of seventeen and a half of the biography are missing, and about one and a half sheets are missing between sheets five and seven. Moreover, from somewhere in the gap between sheets five and seven until sheet seventeen, is taken up with a sermon of the Buddha, probably in the form of the *Ssu-shih-erh chang ching* (Sutra in Forty-two Sections) and the account of its supposed arrival in China in the Later Han Dynasty with Kaśyapa Matanga and Chu Fa-lan.²⁰⁶ This sutra was emphasised because it was allegedly the first sutra preached after the Buddha's enlightenment and was supposedly the first sutra translated into Chinese. Therefore the *Pao-lin chuan* compiler/s provided the complete sutra inside the hagiography of the Buddha as a sort of *yü-lu* (logia) of the Buddha. In this it is unlike the later *Tsu-t'ang chi* biography of the Buddha, which stressed the genealogy of the Buddha and the creation of the world. The *Pao-lin chuan* author/s altered the sutra to suit their version of Ch'an transmission and Ma-tsu Ch'an ideas on no-mind and seeing the (Buddha-) nature.²⁰⁷ The *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography of the Buddha was probably around 3,900 characters in length, but if the sutra portion is subtracted, this would drop to only 1,900 to 2,100 characters. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, on the other hand, has a hagiography of around 4,300 to 4,400 characters, but if the genealogical and mythical elements are removed, that drops to

²⁰⁵ The eight scenes are: 1) located in Tuṣita Heaven, 2) the descent into Jambudvīpa, 3) the miraculous birth, 4) gathering to learn the arts, 5) departing the household in search of the Teaching, 6) taking the opportune moment to become Buddha, 7) turning the wheel of Dharma to enlighten beings, and 8) death and miracles; T50. 88b-94d.

²⁰⁶ ZSS, 365; for a translation of the sutra, which may even have Chinese origins, see Robert H. Sharf (1996), 'The Sutra in Forty-two Sections,' in Donald S. Lopez Jr, ed., *Religions of China in Practice*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 360-371. It can also be found in Samuel Beal, translator (1883), *The Fo-sho Hing-Tsan King: A Life of Buddha*, Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller, vol. 19, Oxford University Press; Motilal Barnasidass: Dehli, 1964 reprint, 296-307.

²⁰⁷ ZSS, 381-383. Ma-tsu Ch'an is that of Ma-tsu Tao-i and his followers, who were active from the late 780s.

about 2,000 characters. The 1004 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* has dropped most of these elements, and is only about 750 characters, suggesting a changed evaluation of the Buddha and a need to eliminate unnecessary information. It should be remembered that the readers only needed to be reminded of some events in the life of the Buddha, most of which would have been known to even ordinary Buddhists and the literate population. Thus, the Ch'an hagiographies only highlighted items that supported their particular views.

Here I shall translate those parts of the *Pao-lin chuan* (PLC) extant, plus the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (TTC):

TTC:

According to the *Yin-kuo ching*,²⁰⁸ "Before the time the Śākya Thus Come became a buddha, he was a great bodhisattva named Shan-hui (Good Insight), also called Jen-ju (Forbearance). His practice was meritorious and he had already fulfilled the rank of rising to that of buddha elect (the successor buddha in the next life). He was born in the Tuṣita Heaven, and was named Sheng-shan (Saintly Good) or Hu-ming,²⁰⁹ who preached the practice of the buddha-elect for the heavenly kings. He also manifested his body in all directions to preach the Dharma. When the time in the cycle came for him to descend and become Buddha, he surveyed the various lands as to which place was central. He then knew that the country of Kapila(vastu) really was the middle of that land!" Therefore the *Pen-ch'i ching*²¹⁰ says, "The Buddha's awing of the spirits, extreme veneration and extreme gravity (means) he is not born in a peripheral place or in a sloping place."

This city of Kapila(vastu) is the centre of the trichilio(-cosm), the sun and the moon, heaven and earth. The buddhas of the past all arose here. The (*Abhidharma*)*kośaśāstra* says, "It is the centre of Jambudvīpa."²¹¹ The *Shan-hai ching* says, "An Indian country, which Hsien Yüan occupied." Kuo P'u's commentary says, "This is central India."²¹² This land

²⁰⁸ Yanagida Seizan (1974), *Zen goroku: Sekai no meichō zoku* 3, translation of selections of the TTC, 413 note, this idea was taken from Guṇabhadra's translation, the *Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tai yin-kuo ching* 2, but is in fact a direct quote from the *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.87a18ff and 88b21ff.

²⁰⁹ Yanagida (1974), 413, this name appears in Jñānagupta's translation, the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*, equals Prabhāpāla, 'Guardian of Light.'

²¹⁰ Yanagida (1974), 413; the translation by Chih-chien, the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*, but here quoted from the *Shih-chia shih p'u*. See Ray (1994), 281 note 7, quoting the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* for another justification for why bodhisattvas are born in the centre, for border areas lack knowledgeable people and civilisation. Other texts say the border areas harbour barbarians.

²¹¹ Yanagida (1974), 413, notes this is also quoted in the *Shih-chia shih p'u*. Jambudvīpa is the Buddhist world.

²¹² Yanagida (1974), 413. The *Shan-hai ching* is China's oldest geographical text,

itself was divided into the five Indian countries, and it was the central Indian country, which is the centre of heaven and earth. Since its name is already not peripheral, the meaning of the Mean (Buddhism?) was manifested (there).

The *Yin-kuo ching* says, "Central India, or Greater Hsia, has four castes called kṣatriya, brahmana, vaiśya and śūdra."²¹³ The kṣatriya royal caste really is the most noble, and from the beginning of the eon has been succeeded to without interruption. The other three castes are not discussed here, but to clarify the Buddha's surname, his surname is naturally separated into five (items).²¹⁴

There follows an explanation of cosmology and the origins of the world, and the social origins of kings, including an explanation of the term kṣatriya as meaning a landlord.

TTC:

Previously, from the start of the eon when the first king was created, (the kingship) was passed down through the generations to the bodhisattva and his (son) Rahula in a correct succession, and then was extinguished.²¹⁵ The remainder of the clan in a branch lineage still carries on the succession to the throne. Therefore, what follows below is broadly listed as the characteristics of the continuations of the *cakravartins* and the subordinate kings.²¹⁶

The first king of the people was titled the great man (*mahāpuruṣa*), the second king was called King Chen-pao, and (the lineage) reached the thirty-third king, Shan-ssu (Good thought). The above thirty-three kings were in a succession through the sons,²¹⁷ yet these were probably only subordinate kings. Next, below, are all the inheritances from heir to heir of the *cakravartin* kings.²¹⁸

Then follows a lineage to King Ikusvāku and his four sons, who settled

and Kuo P'u wrote a commentary to it. Hsien Yüan is a name of the Yellow Emperor, from a hill in Hsin-cheng County in Honan where he lived. It seems that Chinese Buddhists of old believed that India and China were his territory.

²¹³ Yanagida (1974), 413, a quote from the *Shih-chia shih p'u*.

²¹⁴ Yanagida (1974), 414, five theories about Śākya's ancestors. Detailed in *Shih-chia shih p'u*. All are related to agriculture, see T50.85a9ff. The above from TTC 1.10.3-1.11.3.

²¹⁵ Yanagida (1974), 414, follows the *Shih-chia shih p'u*.

²¹⁶ Yanagida (1974), 414, branch kings from the same blood line....In the *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi* 1 it is said, "That their saints have different virtues means they are called cakravartin kings, and those not supreme in virtue are called subordinate kings." Cakravartin kings are universal rulers who govern according to Buddhist principles, bringing an earthly utopia. There were a number of types, the lesser with restrictions on their powers and realms.

²¹⁷ Yanagida (1974), 414, the *Shih-chia shih p'u* lists their names.

²¹⁸ TTC 1.12.9-1.13.1.

on the flat plain of the Sākata Forest (or 'straight trees'), which is the origin of the surname Śākya:

Because of this, in accordance with their virtue (*guṇa*, characteristics), they established a surname, and the surname was Śākya. Śākya is translated as 'humane' (*neng-jen*).

Three sons of King Ikusvāku had already died, and there was only one other, who came to be titled King *Nigura. He was the Buddha's great-great-great grandfather. This king had an heir-apparent named King *Gurura,²¹⁹ who was the Buddha's great-great grandfather. This king had an heir-apparent named *Gaugura, who was the Buddha's great-grandfather. This king had an heir apparent named King Simha-hanu, who was Buddha's grandfather. This king had four heir-apparents: one was named Śuddhodhana, that is, King Pure Rice (Śuddhodhana); the second was named Śuklodana, that is, King White Rice; the third was named Droṇodana, that is, King Tub of Rice; and the fourth was named Amṛtodana, that is, King Ambrosia Rice.

King Pure Rice had two heirs-apparent: one was called Siddhārtha, that is, the Buddha, who was born on the eighth day of the fourth month. He was sixteen feet²²⁰ tall. The second was called Nanda, that is, One who Sweeps the Earth Against the Wind (?), who was born on the ninth day of the fourth month, and was fifteen feet four inches tall.

King White Rice had two heirs-apparent. One was named Devadatta, who was Buddha's elder cousin. He was born on the seventh day of the fourth month, and was fifteen feet four inches tall.
(The text continues on to list the remainder of his paternal cousins.)

The *Fo pen-hsing (chi) ching* (6) says, "At that time the bodhisattva Prabhāpāla was in the Tuṣita Heaven, and he thought that he wished to convert all sentient beings. Consequently he ordered Prince Gold Nugget,²²¹ 'You examine closely the clans of the kings, then select one appropriate for my birth.' Prince Gold Nugget received the bodhisattva's command, and once he had made this examination for him, he informed the bodhisattva saying, 'There is a kṣatriya caste surnamed Gautama, who are descendants of Kṣatriya (the world's first king). They studied the Way with the Great Ṛṣi Gautama, and from their teacher took the name Gautama. They are a clan who ever since the origin for generation after generation have been gold *cakravartin* kings, and ever since the heirs and descendants of King Ikusvāku have succeeded in a lineage that lived at the city of Kapila(vastu), which was the capital of the Śākya clan. Among them was a king called Simha-hanu. This king had an heir-apparent named King Śuddhodana. Now this king is

²¹⁹ Yanagida (1974), 415, these two names are unknown outside of the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*. * indicates an attempted reconstruction of the name.

²²⁰ Yanagida (1974), 415, 4.92 metres.

²²¹ Yanagida (1974), 415, name unknown outside of the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*.

greatly famed in all the worlds, those of the gods and humans. He is a site suitable for your incarnation.'

The bodhisattva sighed, 'Good, good! You have examined the clans of the kings well. As you say, I will settle on being born there.'

Again the sutra says, "When the bodhisattva Prabhāpāla wished to descend, Queen Māyā told King White Rice, 'Your Majesty, you should know that I am to receive the eight prohibitions and vegetarian precepts.'"²²²

Then when her observation of the vegetarian precepts was over, she slept. In her dream she saw a six-tusked white elephant whose head was a vermilion colour, with seven supports pillared in the earth, with gold ornamenting the tusks. Gods and men rode it and it descended from the sky and came to the palace of King White Rice.

According to the *Āgama Sūtra*,²²³ "It is inferred that the (time of) Buddha's descent of his soul into his mother's womb was equivalent to the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the twenty-third year, the *kuei-ch'ou* (fiftieth in the cycle), since King Chao took the throne as the fifth emperor of the Chi (clan) Chou (Dynasty).²²⁴ The entrusting to the *yin* (femininity, womb) of Māyā lasted until the twenty-fourth year, the *chia-yin* (fifty-first in the cycle). Queen Māyā was playing in the Bilva Grove, enjoying looking at the flowers of the *pātālī* trees, and lovingly raised her right hand to touch its branches. (At that time) the bodhisattva was born from her right side. His body was a true gold colour, the marks of excellence fully present (in him)."

Moreover, the *P'u-yao ching*²²⁵ says, "When the Buddha was born, he emitted a great light to shine on the realms in all directions, and the earth bubbled forth golden lotuses which naturally supported his feet. He took seven paces to the east, west, south and north, surveyed the four directions, and with one hand he pointed to Heaven and with the other he pointed at the earth, and making a lion's roar (proclaimed), 'In heaven above and on earth below, only I am honoured.' He also spoke a *gāthā* (verse),²²⁶

The womb-birth has been ended,
And this is my very last birth.

²²² Yanagida (1974), 415, glosses this as the eight respectful precepts for nuns, but this is anachronistic, for they were first formulated by the Buddha.

²²³ Yanagida (1974), 415, states that the following is not from the *Āgama*, but from the apocryphal *Chou shu i-chi*, as quoted in Yen-tsung's *T'ang hu-fa Sha-men Fa-lin pieh-chuan* (a work examined later). The *Chou shu-chi* was an apocrypha written at the end of the Six Dynasties Period to claim that Buddha was born before Lao tzu, in the time of King Chao of Chou. This was done to counter Taoist anti-Buddhist assertions. It was quoted in the *Li-tai san-pao chi* of the Sui Dynasty. Note also that the *Chou shu i-chi* was used in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the *Pao-lin chuan*, ZSS, 380-381.

²²⁴ Yanagida (1974), 406, equals 1028 B.C.

²²⁵ Yanagida (1974), 415, says this is as quoted in the *Shih-chia shih p'u*.

²²⁶ Yanagida (1974), 415, says this comes from *Ta-chih-tu lun* 1.

I have already obtained release,
And will again liberate sentient beings.

Having finished speaking this gatha, all the nine dragons spouted water to wash the Heir-Apparent. When the Heir-Apparent finished washing, he was silent and did not speak, and from then on was the same as a human baby.”²²⁷

Again, note that the *Chou (shu) i-chi* says, “On the eighth day of the fourth month of the twenty-fourth year, the *chia-yin* (of the cycle), of the reign of King Chao, the rivers, springs and ponds suddenly overflowed; the palaces and homes of the people, mountains and watercourses, and the great earth all shook; its lights were five-coloured and threaded through the constellation *Tai-wei* and spread in all directions. King Chao asked the Grand Astronomer Su Yu,²²⁸ ‘What is this an omen of?’ Su Yu memorialised, ‘A great saint is born in the Western Region.’ Again he asked, ‘What about in the Empire?’ Yu said, ‘At this time (there is) no-one. After another thousand years, his fame and teaching will be spread in this land.’”

This is the auspices of Buddha being first born in the West, in the Indian country of Kapila(vastu) city, in the palace of King Pure Rice, echoing in this land.”²²⁹

The PLC has a much simpler version of much of the above and has placed it in a different order:

....the prince, due to this virtue was titled Neng-jen (the Humane), and Gautama was the (surname)...and was changed to make the Sanskrit word Śākya Muni. In T’ang (Chinese) that is the Compassionate (*Neng-jen che*)....the kṣetra (land) has benefit, so he was posthumously titled a kṣatriya king. Again, note that the *P’u-yao ching* says, “When the Buddha was born into the home of a kṣatriya king he emitted a light of great insight, which illuminated the worlds in all directions, the earth bubbled forth golden lotus flowers that naturally supported his feet. He took seven paces in each of the directions of east, west, and north and south; he spread his hands to point at the heaven and earth, making a lion’s roar (saying), ‘Above and below and in the four directions, I am an invincible Ārya.’”²³⁰

Later, by the forty-second year of King Chao, in the year of T’un

²²⁷ Yanagida (1974), 415, says Chi-tsang’s *Nieh-p’an ching yu-i* explains this.

²²⁸ Yanagida (1974), 415, says he is an invented person. Zürcher (1959), 273, translated this section.

²²⁹ Note that the *Ching-te ch’uan-teng lu* incorporates the same text from here back to the words, “the *P’u-yao ching* says.”

²³⁰ *P’u-yao ching*, T3.494a; Tanaka Ryōshō (2003), *Hōrinden yakuchū*, Uchiyama shoten: Tokyo, 2. This work became available after my first draft, and so is only referred to when new information is provided.

T'an,²³¹ on the eighth day of the second month, the Heir-Apparent reached the age of nineteen, when he sought to leave home (become a monk). He thought to himself, "Now then, what will I encounter?" Then he toured through the four gates (of the city) and saw the four objects of universal (concern),²³² and his mind was kind and joyful. He formed this idea, that this old age, illness, and death in the end should be renounced. It was only *Kaśyaparati Buddha who did not teach his pupil this place of true refuge. Once he had completed this thought, he spoke these words; "In seeking to leave home, I must have the accord of my father, the king's great compassion. So I must have his approval."

At that time the Heir-Apparent desired to leave home. But his father, the king, loved him and so did not permit this. Then the king ordered the entertainers to please the Heir-Apparent. The Heir-Apparent did not enjoy this, and again in the division of time, at the hour of the rat,²³³ there was a god named Śuddhāvasa (Pure Dwelling), who clasped his hands in the lattice window and informed the Heir-Apparent, "It is time to leave home. You should leave! It is the time to leave!" Once the Heir-Apparent had heard these words, his mind became joyful, and he ordered Channa to lead out his horses, and the four gods supported their feet to surmount the city walls, and they departed. At that time the Heir-Apparent thought to himself, "Now one who leaves home should mentally practice pity and be full of great compassion. He then should practice respect and compliance, and not do harm to beings. If I do not leave behind a single hoof print, the king is certain to blame the door (guardians)." So at the northwest corner of the city he left a hoof print to (let them) know. They rose into the sky and departed.

Then the Heir-Apparent went and on Mt Dantaloka²³⁴ practised the Way. This mountain had names for each of its five peaks, and each had marvels. The central and highest of them was called the Precious Mountain Meru. This mountain produced its brilliant white jade, and its name was translated as Nālañjāda. Yet another name was central Gaya-jaśirṣa (Elephant Head). On each of the four faces of this mountain there was a great peak. That on the south face was named Gandhamārdana (Incense Mountain); that on the west face Dhantaloka; that on the north face Pantanu; and that on the east face J(h)ana...²³⁵

²³¹ Morohashi Tetsuji (1955-1960), *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, 13 vols, Daishūkan shoten: Tokyo, no. 17540.1, when Jupiter is in Shen, i.e. in the ninth of the twelve branches. Tanaka (2003), 2, gives the date as 1011 B.C.

²³² Tanaka (2003), 2, the old, the sick, the dead, and śramaṇa; *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.90c.

²³³ 11.00 pm to 1.00 am, the third watch of the night. This based on the parallel passage in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.205b.

²³⁴ Tanaka (2003), 4, gives Daṇḍaka, a mountain near Gandhara, a name taken from a *jātaka*, which has mistakenly been inserted into the hagiography.

²³⁵ Yanagida Seizan, comp. (1975), *Hōrinden: Dentō gyokueishū*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto (hereafter *Pao-lin chuan* or PLC, by modern page number, then

The PLC has some missing pages here, which are then followed by the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections*. The TTC resumes:

When the Heir-Apparent turned nineteen he wearied of the palace of the king and queen. His father, the king, feared he would leave home, so he ordered the musicians to amuse the Heir-Apparent, but he did not enjoy it. He sat till the third watch (of the night) and all the five hundred people of the palace slept. The deva Śuddhāvāsa then preached a gatha from in the sky to inform the Heir-Apparent:²³⁶

The world's impurities and its mass of delusions
Are not exceeded by the nature of a wife's body.
Because the clothes of the world ornament it,
The stupid give rise to desire of this aspect.
If these people can take such a view,
Such is dream and illusion, not reality,
And quickly abandon ignorance and do not surrender to idleness,
Then their minds will attain release and a body of merit.

Again the god in the window clasped his hands and informed the Heir-Apparent, "It is time to depart!" Once the Heir-Apparent heard this gatha, his mind became joyful and he covertly ordered Channa to lead out (his steed) Kaṇṭhaka. The four gods²³⁷ supported its feet and they surmounted the city wall and departed to the northwest. The Heir-Apparent thought, "Now one who leaves home is to be full of great compassion. If I do not leave a hoof-print, the king is sure to blame the door-men." So then at the northwest corner of the city he left a hoof-print to let them know. He then rose into the sky to the northwest and departed. The time corresponded to midnight of the eighth day of the second month in the forty-second year, *jen-shen* (the ninth in the cycle), of King Chao of Chou in this country.

Note that the *Vinaya* says, "The Heir-Apparent, having departed, came to Mt Pandava²³⁸ in the country of Magadha. There he sat cross-legged on a rock and formed this thought: 'What will I use to shave off my hair?' As soon as he thought this, the deva Śuddhāvāsa offered him a blade. The Heir-Apparent then took the blade himself and cut off his

by fascicle and folio), PLC 2a-3a (1.1a-3b). These mountain names have not been located in other biographies of the Buddha. Tanaka (2003), 4, thinks Gandhamādana is correct. This means 'intoxicated with incense,' and comes from a story that people on the slopes of Meru became intoxicated with its fragrances. It was a mountain in the Himalayas, famous for being a residence of pratyekabuddhas, see Ray (1994), 152, 221.

²³⁶ Yanagida (1974), 416, this verse appears in the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*.

²³⁷ Yanagida (1974), 408, identifies these with the four lokapāla.

²³⁸ Yanagida (1974), 416. Later he was met on this mountain by King Bimbisāra, see Ray (1994), 63.

own hair. Once done, deva Śuddhāvasa then offered him a plain silk *samghāṭī* robe. Then he took off the clothes he had worn formerly and doffed his head-gear, and gave those and his white horse to Channa to take back to the royal palace." Then he preached this gatha as a farewell to his father the king:

Even if there has been kind love and a long (life) together,
When the time comes and the life is finished, one can separate.
Seeing this impermanence, one should think it momentary.
Therefore I now seek release.²³⁹

At that time on the mountain the Heir-Apparent was intensively zealous in his cultivation of the supreme Way. He also visited Ārāḍakālāma (a ṛṣi) and for three years studied *akīñcanāyatana*,²⁴⁰ but knowing it was incorrect he abandoned it. He then went to Udraka Rāmaputra's place and for one year studied *nāivasamjñānā-samjñāyatana*,²⁴¹ but knowing it was wrong he abandoned this also. He also went to Gayajaśīrṣa Mountain and together with heretics each day he ate (only) hemp seeds and wheat,²⁴² passing six years in austerities. When he was about to fulfil this he bathed in the Nāirañjanā River. Because he had been a long time in these austerities, he found it a little difficult to come back to the bank until a ṛṣi seized a tree branch to pull in the Heir-Apparent.²⁴³

Furthermore, the *Yin-kuo ching* says, "Having bathed (he thought), 'If I can obtain the Way with an emaciated, weak body, and the heretics say that self-starvation is nirvana, I should therefore take food.'" As soon as the Heir-Apparent thought this, the sisters Nandā and Vāraṇasī offered him milk gruel. Again, the Heir-Apparent thought to himself, "What vessel shall I use to receive the food in?" As soon as he thought this, the four lokapālas (heavenly kings) each gave him a stone bowl. Then, because the bodhisattva was equanimous, he accepted them all. Because he had ended desire and craving, he pressed down on them to form one bowl with which to receive the milk-gruel. Once he had eaten his fill and had physical strength, he wished to visit Mt Prāgbodhi.²⁴⁴

According to the *Pen-hsing ching*, "The Heir-Apparent thought, 'What should I use to sit on? It should be pure grass.' As soon as he thought

²³⁹ Yanagida (1974), 416, a verse from the *Fo pen-hsing chi ching* 18.

²⁴⁰ Contemplation of a state of nothingness, cf. Yanagida (1974), 416, who says the unusual translation used here came from the *Ssu-fen lü* or Dharmaguptaka-vinaya.

²⁴¹ Contemplation of neither thinking nor non-thinking.

²⁴² Yanagida (1974), 416; this can be seen in the *Jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 1 and *Ta chih-tu lun* 34. "A hemp seed and a grain of rice a day."

²⁴³ Cf. Beal (1883), 144, for this incident.

²⁴⁴ Yanagida (1974), 416, mentions a reference in the *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi* for this. Chi Hsien-lin et al, ed. and annotation (1985), *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi chiao-chu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 665-667; Thomas Watters (1904-1905), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645)*, Royal Asiatic Society: London, Munshiram Manoharlal reprint (1973), II: 112-113.

this, he met a grass-cutter called Chi-an (Fortunate Rest).²⁴⁵ The Heir-Apparent spoke with him, 'Could you donate a small amount of this grass without begrudging it?' Chi-an then offered it to him and wandered off."

When (Buddha) reached Mt Prāgbodhi, because the Heir-Apparent's virtue was heavy, that mountain shook. The mountain god appeared and spoke to the Heir-Apparent, "This is not the place to realise the Way."

The Heir-Apparent asked, "Where is suitable?"

The mountain god said, "Go sixteen *li* (7.2 kilometres) south from here to the south of the country of Magadha, where there is a vajra throne (*vajrāsana*). The thousand buddhas of the bhadrā-eon all mounted this throne and achieved *samyaksambodhi* (supreme enlightenment). It would be best to go there."

Then the Heir-Apparent consequently descended the mountain, where he encountered a blind dragon.²⁴⁶ The blind dragon said to the Heir-Apparent, "Bodhisattva, aren't you seeking a place to realise the Way?"

The Heir-Apparent asked, "How do you know I am a bodhisattva?"

The blind dragon said, "In the past, during the time of the Vipasyin Buddha,²⁴⁷ I was an evil monk who abused the Three Jewels, and so I fell (in rebirth) midst the (realm of) the dragons and my eyes were blinded. When the past three buddhas appeared in the world my eyes were then opened, but after their demise, they were shut again. Now that I see you, that has caused my eyes to open. Therefore I know that you are a bodhisattva."

Then he led the Heir-Apparent to the vajra throne, and he spread the grass on it. Consequently, he mounted this throne. The Heir-Apparent issued a vow, saying, "If I do not achieve supreme bodhi (enlightenment), I pledge not to rise from this throne, and will only do so when I have achieved correct bodhi (*samyaksambodhi*) and am titled Buddha."

Therefore the *P'u-yao ching*²⁴⁸ says, "On the eighth day of the second month, the bodhisattva, when the bright star²⁴⁹ came out, was greatly awakened. Then he created this gatha:

Gaining enlightenment due to a star,
After enlightenment there was no star.
That I am not swayed by things,
Does not (mean) that I am insentient."

²⁴⁵ Yanagida (1974), 416, suggests that this meant he was of the caste of kuśa, an auspicious grass.

²⁴⁶ Yanagida (1974), 416, a translation of Mucilinda or Mucalinda. This story is found in the postface of the Later Han translation, the *Fa-ching ching* (Dharma-Mirror Sutra), and is detailed in the *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi* 8. See Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 685-686; Watters (1904-1905), II: 128-129.

²⁴⁷ The first of the seven past buddhas, the Buddha was the seventh.

²⁴⁸ Yanagida (1974), 416, as quoted in the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 11.

²⁴⁹ Venus, or Aruna, the Dawn.

The time when he achieved the Way corresponded to the eighth day of the second month of the third year of King Mu, the sixth emperor of Chou of this land, the year *kuei-wei* (twentieth in the cycle). Due to this, it was thirtieth (?) achievement of the Way.

At that time, once the Śākya Thus Come had finished realising the Way, he instructed the assembly,²⁵⁰ "Now those who leave home and are śramaṇas, cut off their desires and remove their passions, and recognise their own mental source. They discern the basic principles of Buddha, and are enlightened to the uncreated dharma (nirvana), and internally have nothing to gain and externally nothing to seek. Their minds are not attached to the Way, nor are they bound by karma; they lack thought and lack action; they do not practice nor do they realise; they do not pass through the various stages (of a bodhisattva), and they venerate and respect themselves; this they call the Way."

A bhikṣu asked, "Why is it the pure, original nature?"

The Buddha said, "Because it is ultimately pure."

"Why is the original nature without knowing?"

The Buddha said, "Because the dharmas are obtuse."

A heretic asked the Buddha, "Do I ask with words, or do I ask without words?"

The Buddha then for a long time (said nothing).

The heretic bowed and praised (him), saying, "Excellent! Excellent! World-honoured, you have such great compassion and pity that you have cleared away my clouds of delusion so that I can gain entry (to the Way)."

After the heretic departed, Ānanda asked the Buddha, "What did the heretic realise that he could say he had gained entry?"

The Buddha said, "It is like the world (says), 'A good horse runs when it sees the shadow of the whip.'"

Thus he preached the Dharma and remained in the world for forty-nine years, and then on the edge of the Hiraṇya River in the city of Kuśinagara, between a pair of sāla trees, he entered nirvana. He was then aged seventy-nine. The time was the fifteenth day of the second month of the fifty-second year, *jen-shen* (ninth in the cycle), of King Mu of Chou. A violent wind rose suddenly and blew down and damaged people's residences, and broke and snapped the trees. The mountains and rivers and great earth all shook. In the west there were twelve white rainbows which coursed across the land, and which did not cease throughout the nights. This corresponded to the time of the omen-response to the Buddha's entry into nirvana. Moreover, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*²⁵¹ says, "At that time, when the World-honoured was about to

²⁵⁰ Yanagida (1974), 416, says the verse comes from a section added in the *Pao-lin chuan* to the second chapter of the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections*, as quoted in the *Tsung-ching lu*.

²⁵¹ Yanagida (1974), 417, this is a theory of the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, a scripture written in China.

(enter) nirvana, Kāśyapa was not in the assembly. The Buddha told the great disciples, "When Kāśyapa comes, you should then propagate the correct Dharma." Again he said, "I have a pure Dharma-eye,²⁵² a marvellous mind of nirvana, and the subtle and wondrous correct Dharma of true characteristics that is no characteristic, which I entrust to you. Protect and keep it well." And then he ordered Ānanda to be the heir's second (*assistant*) to transmit and convert without allowing any rupture. He preached a gatha:

The Dharma originally is a Dharma that lacks Dharma,
(Yet) the Dharma of the Dharmaleless is also Dharma.
Now when I give you the Dharmaleless,
The Dharma that is the Dharma, what Dharma was it?²⁵³

At that time,²⁵⁴ Kāśyapa and five hundred disciples were on Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain. Their minds and bodies were quiescent, having entered into *samādhi*. In the midst of that correct perception (*samādhi*), Kāśyapa's mind was suddenly aroused and his entire body trembled in awe. When he came out of the meditation, he saw that the mountains and earth were all shaking, so then he knew that the Thus Come had already entered nirvana. He told the disciples, "Our great master Buddha has been in nirvana already for seven days, and he has already been placed in a coffin. Alas! Alas! We must hurry to the place of the Thus Come. I fear that he may already have been cremated, and we may not be able to see the Buddha."

In order to venerate the Buddha, they therefore did not dare fly through the sky (and so be higher than the Buddha). He then led the disciples, seeking a path that was fast to go to the Thus Come's place. Their grief sped them along, but it took a full seven days to reach the cremation grounds of the city of Kuśinagara. He asked the great assembly, "Can we open the Great Saint's golden coffin?"

The great assembly replied, "The Buddha has already been in nirvana for fourteen days. We fear there is decomposition. How could we open it?"

Kāśyapa said, "The Thus Come's body is adamant, hard and cannot be ruined.²⁵⁵ The aroma of his virtue perfumes him like a mountain of candana (sandalwood)."

²⁵² Yanagida (1974), 417, in *Ta-pan ni-huan ching* 6 and the Southern text of the *Nieh-p'an ching* 2, but the theory of the pure Dharma-eye and the gatha of the transmission of the Dharma are creations of the *Pao-lin chuan*.

²⁵³ Translation tentative; a gloss might be: The Dharma originally was Dharma, it did not have to be made into a Dharma by me or anyone else. The Dharma of that which does not have to be made into Dharma then is the true Dharma. Now, when I give you that which does not have to be made into a Dharma, what Dharma is the Dharma that has to be made into Dharma?

²⁵⁴ Yanagida (1974), 417, all of the below is from the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*. For Gṛdhrakūṭa, see Ray (1994), 409.

²⁵⁵ As in *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, T12.908c27.

Having spoken these words, their tears joined up and flowed to the site of the Buddha's coffin. Then the Thus Come's great compassion was equanimous, and for Kāśyapa the coffin opened naturally and all (the shrouds) scattered to reveal the thirty-two marks and eighty excellences of the truly burnished gold hard body. Then Kāśyapa was again deeply grief-stricken, and together with the disciples he circumambulated around the Buddha seven times, stretching out full length (on the ground) and clasping his hands. He preached this gatha, lamenting:

Alas! Alas! The great venerable saint!
 I am now pained unbearably
 (That) the World-Honoured has passed beyond ever so rapidly,
 And (you), Great Compassion, were unable to wait for me.
 I was on Mt (Gṛdhra)kūṭa in meditation,
 Looking all over (for) the Thus Come, I could see nothing at all.
 Again I espied that the Buddha was already in nirvana,
 And suddenly my mind trembled in a great shock.
 Unexpectedly I saw black clouds envelop the world,
 And further perceived the mountains and earth shaking greatly.
 Then I knew that the Thus Come was already in nirvana.
 Thus I rapidly came but still I could not see you.
 The World-Honoured's great compassion did not extend to me,
 Which meant I could not witness the Buddha's nirvana.
 Not receiving a single word of verbal instruction,
 Now alone I am bereft, what shall I rely upon?
 World-Honoured, now I am much pained,
 My emotions are confused and I am deluded, my mind clouded over.
 Now I (have come) to pay obeisance to the Thus Come's *uṣṇīṣa*
 (crown),
 And also to mournfully bow to the Thus Come's chest,
 And to respectfully bow to the Thus Come's hands,
 And to pitifully bow to the Thus Come's waist,
 And to reverentially bow to the Thus Come's navel,
 And to heartfeltdly bow to the Buddha's feet.
 Why didn't I witness the Buddha's nirvana?
 I only wish to show my respectful obeisance.
 When the Thus Come was in the world, the assembly was at ease,
 Now that you have entered nirvana they are all very sad.
 Alas! Alas! This profound sadness.
 With great compassion, indicate a place (for me) to pay (my) respects.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ This is another quote from the *Ta-paṇ nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, T12.909a.

Once Kāśyapa had finished speaking this gatha, the World-Honoured's great compassion then displayed the two wheel marks with a thousand spokes on the soles of his feet. They pushed outside of the coffin to be shown around to Kāśyapa, and from the thousand-spoked wheels there were emitted a thousand lights that lit up the worlds in all directions. Then, once Kāśyapa and the disciples had seen the Buddha's feet, and simultaneously bowed to the thousand-spoked wheel marks, the Great Aware Thus Come's adamantine feet returned of themselves into the coffin, which sealed itself shut like before. Then the Thus Come, with the power of his great compassion, leapt a flame from out of his heart to the outside of the coffin, which was gradually cremated over seven days, and it burnt a marvellous perfumed wood, and only then was it finished. The Buddha's divine power (meant) that the inner and outer white shrouds²⁵⁷ were not harmed. This indicated two things. That the outer layer of the white shroud was not damaged indicated that the worldly truth survived therein. That the inner layer of the white shroud was not harmed indicated that the ultimate truth was not destroyed.

From the *jen-shen* (ninth) year (in the cycle) when the Thus Come entered nirvana till the present tenth year of the Pao-ta era of the T'ang (952 A.D.), which is the *jen-tzu* (forty-ninth in the cycle), is 1,912 years. (From the time) the teaching spread to the lands of the Han till the present *jen-tzu* year is a total of 886 years.²⁵⁸

PLC resumes, notably showing more concern for the role of women than in the TTC:

'Convert beings and confer Dharma and Nirvana, Section 3'

At that time, the World-honoured, having preached this sutra, again converted beings and preached the Dharma for them. Then Ānanda requested the Buddha to ordain Prajāpatī and the matron Vaiśākha (wife of Anāthapindika)²⁵⁹ et al as clerics. The Buddha told Ānanda, "My correct Dharma will remain in the world for a full thousand years. Now you ask me to ordain women, which will extinguish my correct Dharma (after) five hundred (years)."

The Buddha told Ānanda, "Can't Prajāpatī and the others practice the eight (precepts) of respect?"

Prajāpatī requested (Ānanda) tell the World-Honoured, "Permit me to be ordained and I will rely on the Buddha's teaching and commands, and will practice the eight precepts."

Ānanda reported the above to the Buddha. The Buddha told Ānanda and the great assembly, "If women are ordained and can practice the

²⁵⁷ Yanagida (1974), 417; these are undergarments, divided into inner and outer.

²⁵⁸ TTC 1.27.2., much of the latter passage is from the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*.

²⁵⁹ Tanaka (2003), 28, Visākhā-Mṛgāramātar.

eight reverences, and there is no transgression of my correct Dharma, then it will (survive) for a thousand years.”

Since they had accepted the Buddha's command and were permitted to be ordained, in a moment more women were ordained, in all 1,200. They all joined their hands and looked up to the Buddha and praised him with a gatha:

That the World-Honoured's great compassion has operated
And ordained us as clerics,
(Means) women with the bodies of five hindrances
Can encounter the Buddha's release.

Having spoken this gatha, they were joyful in mind. The Buddha emitted from the white down between his eyebrows (a light) that illuminated the assembly of bodhisattvas in front of his throne. All were delighted and reverentially gazed up at his honourable visage and spoke this gatha:

The golden-hued most honoured of men,²⁶⁰
The virtue great and extremely fearless,
The jade-like down mark between the eyebrows
Shines on the great chiliocosm.

Then the Thus Come preached the Dharma of the five vehicles and was able to rescue all sentient beings. He proclaimed the three releases and saved all existence. The virtue of his Way was eminent and vast, and not (even) ten wings²⁶¹ could describe it. The place of mental activities extinguished, *vitarka* and *vicāra* (awareness and contemplation) are unable to discern its processes, and it eternally cut off names and was beyond words, and cannot be measured by praise! So great is it that it is a limitless Dharma-realm, so small is it that original awareness is one mind! Internally it contains the six cardinal points (universe). Externally it is boundless distant territories. Therefore a sutra says, “The Dharma is extended over a vast territory, and yet is revealed in a small region. That one mind of original awareness spouts forth the great chiliocosm, plucks out and rescues existence and non-existence, and nourishes all conscious beings.” Therefore our Muni from the original source nature-ocean professes the great teaching to convert people; none it does not encompass. Vast, and yet it lacks the large; minute and yet it is not small. To grow the service of the Dharma it leads the children from the burning house. In discussing the principled teaching, it is not within words and symbols. It is united in One Vehicle, its nature penetrates the eight circles (around Mt Sumeru?) and clearly illuminates the ten realms.

He preached the Dharma and remained in the world for forty-nine

²⁶⁰ Tanaka (2003), 28, *dvipadottama*, the most honoured of humans, who is fully provided with wisdom and practice.

²⁶¹ Cf. ZSS, 384, that is, commentaries.

years. He opened out the marvellous gate of *prajñā*, poured the Way of Awareness into a multitude of friends, and the five (regions of) India were at once converted. He greatly provided the three illuminations²⁶² and gained the six (supernatural) powers and the eight liberations.²⁶³ Once he told his disciple Mahākāśyapa, "I entrust you with the pure Dharma-eye, the marvellous mind of nirvana, the true characteristic that is without characteristic, and the subtle correct Dharma. You shall protect and keep it."

He had also commanded Ānanda to assist in this second transmission and conversion so that it would not be permitted to be ruptured. The Buddha again preached a sermon for Kāśyapa:

The Dharma originally is Dharma that lacks Dharma,
(Yet) the Dharma of the Dharmaleless is also Dharma.
Now when I give you the Dharmaleless,
The Dharma that is the Dharma, what Dharma was it?

Then the World-Honoured, having spoken this gatha, again told Kāśyapa, "I hand over this gold-embroidered *samghāṇī* robe to you to confer on the Buddha-elect. In fifty-seven *koṭi* and six million (576 million) years, the Compassionate Buddha (Maitreya) will appear in the world, so do not let it decay."

Then, once Kāśyapa had heard the Buddha's gatha, his face bowed (to the Buddha's feet), and from his *uṣṇīṣa* issued forth a true light that illumined the most honoured of men as if he were massed mountains of gold (Buddha's body). Then Kāśyapa personally promised, sighing, "Excellent! Excellent! I wish there be no concern. I will accord with your command because I reverence and obey the Buddha."

At that time, the World-Honoured went to the city of Kuśinagara and told the great assemblies, "Now my back hurts and I am about to enter nirvana." Then he went to the edge of the Hiranya River and lay down on his right side between a pair of sāla trees, with one foot on top of the other. He calmly rested in silence (to die). The Gautama country (?) was moved to tears, and the eight classes (of supernatural beings)²⁶⁴ were hurt emotionally. So again he rose from the coffin to preach the Dharma for his mother.

When the time comes, the great earth and the sun and the moon all revert to nothing. There has never been a single thing that has not been swallowed up by impermanence. At the end of an eon, even Mt Sumeru is totally dispersed. It is for example like a flock of nesting birds gathering at night. In the morning they fly off and

²⁶² Of arhats; insight into past lives, into the future, and to overcome all sufferings.

²⁶³ Liberation, deliverance, freedom, emancipation, escape, release etc.

²⁶⁴ As listed in the *Lotus Sutra*, eight types of gods.

die separately. To separate from parents and know the blame for leaving is also like this.

He especially displayed his feet to instruct *Vāspa (Mahākāśyapa).²⁶⁵ And he spoke of impermanence using this gatha to declare:

Deeds (*samskāra*) are impermanent,
That is the Dharma of birth and death (*samsāra*).
Once birth and death have been extinguished,
Quiescent extinction becomes delight.²⁶⁶

Once he had spoken this gatha, he emitted a great light that illuminated and dazzled heaven and earth, and descended (back) to the place of the golden body, and he retreated into delight in nirvana. The pupils used aromatic wood and strove to cremate him. After the fire had reduced to embers, the golden coffin was just like it was before. Then the great assembly praised him with a gatha before the Buddha:

All the ordinary, worldly fierce flames,
How can they make this fire burn?
We request (the World-Honoured's) samādhi fire,
Immolate (*jhāpita*)²⁶⁷ this golden-hued body.

Then the golden coffin rose from the stand to a height of seven tāla (fan palm) trees²⁶⁸ up into the sky and transformed into the fire samādhi in the space of a moment. The ashes gave birth to four trees, and they collected eight bushels and four pecks of śarīra (relics). Śakra-Indra was told, and he requested and gained a tooth. The ocean god rose and felled the divine messenger and robbed him of the tooth, and erected a jewelled stupa.²⁶⁹ From the thirty-two marks of the complete body there were erected 84,000 stupas.

From the time of the World-Honoured's decease, which corresponded to the fifteenth day of the second month of the fifty-second year, *jen-shen* (ninth of the cycle), of King Mu of Chou of this land,²⁷⁰ 1,017 years (passed) till (his teaching) reached this land of the Han, which was in the tenth year, *wu-ch'en* (the fifth in the cycle) of the Yung-p'ing era. We depend on our emperors and kings to govern well and for the countries and realms to forever be pure, and consequently attain the honour of devas and humans, and the reverence of gods and dragons.²⁷¹

²⁶⁵ This name is used in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, see ZSS, 388. Cf. Beal (1883), 193.

²⁶⁶ *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching*, T1.204b; also in *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

²⁶⁷ Term used of the funeral pyre of a monk. See later in Chapter 2.

²⁶⁸ About seventy or eighty feet high each; taken from *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, T12.904a.

²⁶⁹ A similar passage is in the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, T12.910a.

²⁷⁰ Tanaka (2003), 34, gives this as 950 B.C.

²⁷¹ PLC 9a7-11b8. Note the appeal to the rulers and state.

Bodhidharma

The other hagiography that has to be included is that of Bodhidharma, since all 'Ch'an' lineages claimed descent from him. This makes unravelling his hagiography difficult, for he was an exemplar for each lineage, and with each shift in Ch'an perspectives there was a change in his image. Therefore his hagiography has been amplified and embellished from earliest times until quite recently, having even been adopted as an exemplar in new religions in both Taiwan and Japan.²⁷² In other words, like all hagiographies, these works on Bodhidharma are 'demand biographies,'²⁷³ written to meet the needs of the hagiographer's milieu.

The earliest source for Bodhidharma is the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi*, which was written by Yang Hsüan-chih in 547 or soon thereafter, to record the glories of the old capital of Northern Wei, Lo-yang. Full of exaggerations and mirabilia, it is possible, given Yang's memorial against the profligate expenditure on Buddhist temples, that Yang considered this a cause of the destruction of the city, which he looked back on with affection and nostalgia.²⁷⁴ Bodhidharma in this account is merely a cipher, inserted to give evidence of the sanctity of a monastery statue and to attest to the international aesthetic superiority of Yung-ning Monastery, the symbol of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Bodhidharma is there called a barbarian from Po-ssu (Persia) who claimed to be one hundred and fifty years old and to have travelled the (Buddhist) world. He visited the monastery sometime between 516 and 526.²⁷⁵

The second source is the preface to the so-called *Long Scroll*. According to the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* this preface was written by T'an-lin, who in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* of 666, is mentioned as an associate of Hui-k'o, Bodhidharma's main disciple, or of one of Hui-k'o's own

²⁷² Personal observation in Taipei, and in Japan see the Nyorai-kyō, founded in 1802, which worshipped Bodhidharma.

²⁷³ Peter H. Lee (1969), *Lives of eminent Korean monks: The Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 13, quoting Paul Murray Kendall (1965), *The art of biography*, New York, 40-41.

²⁷⁴ John Jorgensen (1979), 'The earliest text of Ch'an Buddhism: The *Long Scroll*,' 139, 150-152.

²⁷⁵ Jorgensen (1979), 28, 31. The word Po-ssu is probably used because Yang confused Pahlava (Persia = Po-ssu) with Pallava, the name of a South Indian dynasty, for Buddhism in Persia had but a tenuous existence at this time. Cf. *ibid*, 401-409. For a translation, see McRae (1986), 17.

pupils, in the years around 577. Although some doubts remain, this preface to the supposed *logia* of Bodhidharma and his pupils was possibly written soon after 577.²⁷⁶ The preface states that Bodhidharma was the third son of a brahmin king of South India, who travelled to China to teach, but that he met opposition. He gained two pupils, Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who studied with him for several years.²⁷⁷

Given the brevity of the above two sources, the first hagiography proper starts with the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* written by Tao-hsüan (596-667). Tao-hsüan adds details to the 'T'an-lin Preface,' such as the arrival of Bodhidharma in Nan-Yüeh (Canton area), probably before 479, his later appearance in Northern Wei, and that Tao-yü and Hui-k'o studied as his pupils for four or five years. It also adds that Bodhidharma's pronouncements were recorded and still in circulation, and that his place of death was unknown.²⁷⁸

Tao-hsüan used the earlier sources, but with discrimination, in the Chinese historiographical tradition of *p'ien-wei* or 'discriminate (and delete) the false,' and the 'principle of truthful recording' and 'praise and blame.'²⁷⁹ Chinese historians, or at least the more scrupulous, including some clerics, discriminated between their sources, and put the materials into appropriate categories. Thus Tao-hsüan put one cursory biographical notice of the Indian translator Ratnamati in the 'Translators' Section, for it was derived from sources such as prefaces to translations and stele inscriptions; but wrote another much longer account based on a popular tale current among the people of Ratnamati's incomprehensible skills and the besting of an official into the 'Thaumaturges' Section.²⁸⁰ The frivolous, or works not aimed at

²⁷⁶ Jorgensen (1979), 142-147; McRae (1986), 279, note 30.

²⁷⁷ Jorgensen (1979), 239.

²⁷⁸ Jorgensen (1979), 106-110; McRae (1986), 17-18.

²⁷⁹ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1966), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-chuan yü mu-lu yüan-ch'u lü-hsüeh sha-men chih t'an-t'ao: hsia,' *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 7 (2): 150. In this article, this first term applies primarily to the cataloguers of the Vinaya School who attempted to discriminate the apocrypha from the 'genuine scriptures.' See also Yang Lien-sheng (1961), 'The organization of Chinese official historiography: Principles and methods of the standard histories from the T'ang through the Ming dynasty,' in E. G. Pulleyblank and W. G. Beasley, eds, *Historians of China and Japan*, Oxford University Press: New York, 49, on official, Confucian state histories.

²⁸⁰ It should also be noted that the first cursory biography is appended to the biography of Bodhiruci. See Jorgensen (1979), 149 f.; T50.429a and T50.644a-b. The technique is mentioned in Koichi Shinohara (1988), 'Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories,' 213-214. John McRae's treatment

seriously promoting Buddhism were apparently used cautiously, and so Tao-hsüan, who thought the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* "is not something a person of understanding will pay attention to,"²⁸¹ used this work judiciously, treating its information with suspicion. He thus preferred to trust T'an-lin as a more accurate witness.²⁸²

Therefore knowledge of the principles governing a genre and how they were meant to be read is crucial to our reading of the hagiographical sources. The Chinese Vinaya 'historians' who wrote the three 'Biographies of Eminent Monks' (*kao-seng chuan*), in many respects adopted the historical principles of the compilers of the official 'standard histories.'²⁸³ In a similar manner, they classified and ranked the veracity and functions of their sources. Thus stele inscriptions and 'accounts of conduct' took pride of place in most categories of the clerical hagiographies, and probably after that accounts of eye-witnesses interviewed, then prefaces and other scriptural materials, and only then the popular story and mirabilia, though the latter had their place, especially in the 'Thaumaturges' and 'Promoters of Good Works' sections.²⁸⁴ In other words, material that most closely conformed to the classical model of the standard history *lieh-chuan* and its prime sources; the funerary inscription (*pei-ming*) and 'accounts of conduct' (*hsing-chuang*), were considered the most reliable.

In the case of Bodhidharma's biography in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, that prime source was 'T'an-lin's Preface,' as no funerary stele is mentioned. Yet there are other mentions of Bodhidharma in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* besides his own biography: in that of his pupil Hui-k'o²⁸⁵ and the 'summation' (*lun*)²⁸⁶ on the 'Meditators.' These provide additional information, but have to be read in their own special context,

of Shen-hsiu, based on the *Ch'uan-fa-pao chi*, suggests that Tsan-ning used the same method, using a different name for the same individual to create two biographies. Thus Wei-hsiu was the politically active depiction or aspect of the more religious Shen-hsiu, McRae (1986), 46, 48-50.

²⁸¹ Jorgensen (1979), 151; quote from the *Kuang Hung-ming chi*, T52.128b.

²⁸² Cf. Jorgensen (1979), 149-150.

²⁸³ Ts'ao (1966), 150, 126; Ts'ao Shih-pang (1964), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-chuan yü mu-lu yüan-ch'u lü-hsüeh sha-men chih t'an-t'ao: shang,' *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 6 (1): 432-434; Arthur F. Wright (1954), 'Biography and hagiography: Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*,' 384-385.

²⁸⁴ Shinohara (1988), 120-122, though not in this order. Cf. also p. 194, note 3.

²⁸⁵ Jorgensen (1979), 116-119; T50.551c-552a.

²⁸⁶ Jorgensen (1979), 180-181; T50.596c; translated Faure (1989), 30.

for Tao-hsüan, like traditional Chinese historiographers, expected his readers to read the whole book, and not just the hagiography of one individual or those of one group of monks.²⁸⁷

Tao-hsüan's biography of Hui-k'o adds little information about Bodhidharma beyond the remark that Bodhidharma "died on the banks of the Lo River,"²⁸⁸ which contradicts the final statement of his Bodhidharma biography proper: "He took travelling and conversion to be his duty, and I cannot fathom his end," a standard phrase meaning no date, age or place of death was known.²⁸⁹ Again, this may be due to conflicting sources, and is an application of the traditional historiographical technique of 'concealing and revealing' wherein details not appropriate to the subject of the hagiography are revealed in the biography of another individual.²⁹⁰

The 'summation' of the 'Meditators' Section belongs properly to the 645 draft of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, and not to the expanded 666 version, for it comes at the end of the fifth fascicle (chapter) on the meditators and yet two more fascicles on meditators follow it. This is not to exclude the possibility of some interpolations in the earlier biographies,²⁹¹ but the 'summation' appears to be an integrated judgement on pre-645 meditation monks.

The importance of the 'summation' notice is the contrast of Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou (480-560), primarily for the differences in the profundity of their meditation, their relations with secular rulers, and the type and extent of records left about them. As Faure states, here the two monks are complementary, and although the opposition may be a literary device, and the *lun* evaluation of Bodhidharma somewhat different to that in the biography proper of Bodhidharma,²⁹² it is pre-

²⁸⁷ Jorgensen (1979), 148; Twitchett (1962), 33. See my comment on the line of the 'summation,' T50.596c17-18, in Jorgensen (1979), 191.

²⁸⁸ Jorgensen (1979), 118; T50.552a7; McRae (1986), 22.

²⁸⁹ T50.551c25-26; Jorgensen (1979), 110, esp. note 28.

²⁹⁰ Jorgensen (1979), 148-149; Wright (1954), 384, 388, where it is called 'inclusion and exclusion': Yang (1961), 51, on 'concealment'; D. C. Twitchett (1961), 'Chinese biographical writing,' 101-102, on the official historiographers. If Satomichi Tokuo's speculation that this remark implies that Bodhidharma was executed on this execution ground ("banks of the Lo River" on the outskirts of Lo-yang), perhaps this was thought inappropriate to Bodhidharma's biography, and so was placed in that of Hui-k'o. Cf. McRae (1986), 277 note 12.

²⁹¹ ZSS, 4 f.; Jorgensen (1979), 140, 151-152.

²⁹² Faure (1989), 31-32; and Faure (1993), 130-131, where this complementarity is described as syntagmatic. I am not so certain, however, that the characterisa-

cisely because it is in the *lun* or 'summation' that a contrast is made, for Tao-hsüan needed to indicate exemplars of types of meditation and meditators there. Each category of monk, or rather, of religious activity, was meant for didactic purposes, and the *lun* summed the preceding biographical entries up on a thematic or paradigmatic basis. Following the secular historians, these 'summations' referred to "individuals to illustrate the different phases of" a particular category of exemplars.²⁹³ Therefore Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou were stereotypical 'functions' who had to fit into their category.²⁹⁴

As Tao-hsüan was a practitioner who saw meditation as simply a technique to aid spiritual development and was not simply an observer,²⁹⁵ his position could be described as biased. He was in fact a third-generation disciple of Seng-ch'ou and a settled monastic, which goes some way towards explaining his criticisms of the ascetic and peripatetic pupils of Bodhidharma.²⁹⁶ While Tao-hsüan considered there were six groups of meditators in the later sixth to mid-seventh centuries, he thought the Bodhidharma group was an exception, and that the other five groups had enough in common to be symbolised by Seng-ch'ou.²⁹⁷ Tao-hsüan felt that enlightenment required prolonged and strenuous efforts via proper procedures, and had to be backed by adherence to the vinaya and complemented by wisdom of knowledge.²⁹⁸

This binary opposition, which was not just an expedient for Tao-hsüan, but also a result of his own opposition to the heirs of Bodhidharma,²⁹⁹ became more complex and paradigmatic in later texts, as Faure has suggested in *Insights and Oversights*. With the appearance

tion of Bodhidharma as 'an ascetic typical of hinayana' is correct, for asceticism in Mahayana was also common.

²⁹³ Wright (1954) 391, 407, from Hui-chiao's Preface to the *Kao-seng chuan* where he relates the references to specific persons to a 'postface,' or what here is called a 'summation.'

²⁹⁴ Twitchett (1961), 112, concerning the standard biographies being on 'professional function' rather than individual personality, and 108, on the formulaic phrases used to fit a person into that category.

²⁹⁵ Chen Jinhua (2002), 'An alternative view of the meditation tradition in China: meditation on the life and works of Daoxuan (596-667),' *T'oung Pao* LXXXVIII: 334, 336.

²⁹⁶ Chen Jinhua (2002), 332, 342-343, 350-351, 362-363.

²⁹⁷ Chen Jinhua (2002), 346, 361.

²⁹⁸ Chen Jinhua (2002), 334, 339-340, 364.

²⁹⁹ Chen Jinhua (2002), 365.

of lineage-specific hagiographical collections that claimed genealogies originating with Bodhidharma, the mythopoetic tendency becomes marked and crucial. This genre is proudly partisan, championing the claims of one particular lineage and its latest paragon to be the legitimate heir in a genealogy back to Bodhidharma, and by implication to India and the Buddha. Thus while the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (Annals of the Transmission of the Jewel of the Dharma) of ca. 713 largely adopts the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* account, combining the latter's biographies of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, and some of the post-645 additions, it also adds the myths of the attempted poisonings of Bodhidharma by jealous rivals (whose names were supposedly known), his docetic or 'immortals'-like manifestation of death, a post-resurrection meeting with Sung Yün in the Pamir Mountains and Bodhidharma's predictions, and the opening of Bodhidharma's grave by his pupils who found it empty.³⁰⁰ These fabrications aimed to demonstrate the difficulties in the transmission of the true Jewel of the Dharma (*ch'uan fa-pao*)³⁰¹ (as contrasted to the Jewels of the Buddha and Sangha), with Bodhidharma being poisoned, Hui-k'o cutting off his arm to obtain the Dharma and being himself poisoned (but unaffected), Seng-ts'an's period in the mountains during the Northern Chou persecution of Buddhism, living in the wilds where animals attacked people, Tao-hsin's saving of a city from a rebel siege by summoning up a vision of protective kings, Fa-ju's close encounter with death when his boat capsized, and Shen-hsiu's survival of a rebellion, famine, and banishment.³⁰² The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* thus criticises Tao-hsüan for not highlighting the sacred

³⁰⁰ McRae (1986), 259-260, for a translation; ZSS, 53-54; and Sekiguchi Shindai (1967), *Daruma no kenkyū*, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 205-209; Hu Shih (1968), 261-263, and Yanagida (1976a), 67-77, for the origins of these fanciful tales.

³⁰¹ Yanagida (1971), 358, notes that this transmission is the basic standpoint of this text. McRae (1986), 87, describes the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* as elitist, that very few gifted people are able to understand that transmission, and that Bodhidharma's contemporaries aimed more at fame (*ming*) than eminence (*kao*). Cf. Hui-chiao's use of these words, fame and eminence, in his preface, Wright (1954), 393, 408 and T50.422c13. Faure (1989), 65-66, contends that the principal theme of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* is that truth transcends all discourse, that the essential is the 'transmission of the Jewel of the Dharma,' and that what distinguishes Bodhidharma from other meditation specialists is not the superiority of his meditation practice or doctrine, but that he was the one to carry the torch of transmitting a Dharma in a lineage from the Buddha. Perhaps then the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* is implicitly criticising Tao-hsüan for making the judgement in the 'summation' that Bodhidharma's meditation was merely superior to that of Seng-ch'ou.

³⁰² McRae (1986), 259-265, for a translation.

mission of those in the direct transmission, and for overly reducing the Dharma to just one form of meditation.³⁰³ The allegation that Bodhidharma was knowingly poisoned is perhaps a suggestion of his homologisation with Buddha, who was also poisoned (in this case, accidentally by Cunda) with his knowledge.³⁰⁴

Ching-chüeh's *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* of 713-716, was written with a far more conservative attitude towards the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* and the 'T'an-lin Preface,' to which it refers the reader.³⁰⁵ However, Ching-chüeh developed the double Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou both syntagmatically and paradigmatically.³⁰⁶ Ching-chüeh, while conservative or traditional, was also trying to be more comprehensive and catholic, adopting other monks, forms of meditation, and traditions into his more scholarly 'Ch'an.' Thus Guṇabhadra, the translator of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, which Tao-hsüan in his supplements to the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* wrote was the scripture Bodhidharma transmitted to Hui-k'o,³⁰⁷ is made the first master in the tradition.³⁰⁸ The reason for this was that Guṇabhadra could represent both an earlier branch of 'Ch'an' and a scholar who "brought erudition to contemplation."³⁰⁹

Similarly, Ching-chüeh, although not in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, pairs Seng-ch'ou and Bodhidharma, and rather identifies himself with Seng-ch'ou. By this means, Ching-chüeh was both reconciling the two currents of meditation and creating a more ecumenical, inclusive, but eclectic form of Ch'an.³¹⁰ Therefore, Ching-chüeh in the *Leng-ch'ieh*

³⁰³ Faure (1989), 66; cf. McRae (1986), 88; ZSS, 54.

³⁰⁴ See John Stevens (1985), 'What kind of food did Sakyamuni Buddha eat,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34 (1):441; cf. Seng-yu, *Shih-chia p'u*, T50.70a-c, on the last offering of food to the Buddha, and the divergent traditions on this matter. The food was offered by Cunda, a devout layman, who had no intention of poisoning the Buddha.

³⁰⁵ Yanagida (1971), 127, 133; Faure (1989), 64, 66, describes the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* as sober, with a greater concentration on the meditation practice, although only in short citations.

³⁰⁶ Faure (1993), 131.

³⁰⁷ HKSC, T50.552b20-21 (Hui-k'o biography), 666b1-3, 7-8 (Fa-ch'ung biography); McRae (1986), 25.

³⁰⁸ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 92, where Guṇabhadra is not called a patriarch, just the 'first,' that is, in reference to the title of the book, 'of the masters and disciples of the Lanka.' It states that Ch'an Teacher Dharma 'received his inheritance' (*ch'eng hou* 承後), which as Yanagida notes on p. 130, is the standard expression for all the later transmissions. But this does not mean Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma had to have met.

³⁰⁹ Faure (1989), 28.

³¹⁰ Faure (1989), 31-32, 34.

shih-tzu chi passively accepted the image of Bodhidharma from the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* and T'an-lin, merely adding the Guṇabhadra 'connection,' without any of the disturbing mythic elements found in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* or in Shen-hui's hagiography of Bodhidharma.³¹¹

Shen-hui, in his polemic, used the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*'s hagiography, while attacking the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* as a product of his rival P'u-chi (651-739). This text had allegedly made both Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu the Sixth Patriarch, and by implication P'u-chi the Seventh, although in the biographies it does not use the numbers or the word 'patriarch,' yet it does end with the words, "*Ch'uan pao chi ch'i-tsu* (seven patriarchs), one fascicle."³¹² Shen-hui's rhetorical debates were recorded from the notes of a meeting of 732 by Tu-ku P'ei in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tung ting shih-fei lun* (Discussions on Settling the correct and incorrect Southern Lineage of Bodhidharma). Tu-ku P'ei's preface to this records a biography of Bodhidharma as related by Shen-hui at Ta-yün Monastery, Hua-t'ai. Shen-hui claimed that Bodhidharma 'obtained Ju-lai (Tathāgata) Ch'an' and held a dialogue with Emperor Wu of Liang in which he denied that there was any merit in building monasteries, ordaining monks, or making images and copying out sutras. The emperor, not understanding, dismissed him, and so Bodhidharma went to Northern Wei and met Hui-k'o, who accompanied him to Shao-lin Monastery where Hui-k'o cut off his arm to obtain the ineffable Dharma. Thereupon Bodhidharma conferred the secret and the robe on Hui-k'o.³¹³

Another text, possibly the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, which was most likely in circulation before the An Lu-shan Rebellion, is found appended to a text that may have been finally collated in 813. However, this hagiographical collection may have been rather derived from the inscriptions in a portrait hall erected in Lo-yang in 752 by Shen-

³¹¹ Faure (1989), 66, says the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* "appears extremely sober, the mural contemplation of Bodhidharma is more of interest than his miracles." On the other hand, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* adds miraculous elements and attacks the reduction of Bodhidharma's 'Ch'an' to *pi-kuan* or 'mural contemplation.'

³¹² Jorgensen (1987), 103-104; Hu Shih (1968), 289, 284. The *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tung ting shih-fei lun* is dated 732 according to the introduction, Hu Shih (1968), 260, and postscript, 318. For the CFPC, see Yanagida (1971), 353, 435; and McRae (1986), 88, 258.

³¹³ Hu Shih (1968), 261-263; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), *Shen-hui Ho-shang Ch'an-hua lu*, 18; Teng Wen-k'uan and Jung Hsin-chiang, compilers and collators (1998), *Tun-po pen Ch'an-hsi lu-chiao*, 7-12.

hui's supporters. The original of the text to which it is appended is of undetermined date, compiled by a Liu Ch'eng, the registrar of T'ang-shan Prefecture (Yü-hang Commandery, Hang-chou),³¹⁴ with the title *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*. It was in formation sometime before 791-792, for a copy was made from it in the far northwest of China after that date, probably in 813.³¹⁵ This 813 recension has appended the biographies of the six patriarchs to what was probably an earlier version, that of Liu Ch'eng.³¹⁶ The very close resemblances in wording in the Bodhidharma hagiographies of the 'Tu-ku P'ei Preface' and this text (also known as the Ishii manuscript) biography, suggests that the Ishii text was copied in the remote northwest from a copy brought from central China, and that this text may well date from before the time of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (774+), which seems to have used this material, and possibly that of the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*.³¹⁷

The Ishii text also relates that Bodhidharma realised Ju-lai (Thus Come) Ch'an, but it does not mention a dialogue with Emperor Wu of Liang. The incident of Hui-k'o severing his arm is almost identical to the earlier versions, but the text adds that the *Diamond Sutra* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) was transmitted as the scriptural authority. It mentions that Bodhidharma taught laity and clerics for six years, after which there was a persecution, and so Bodhidharma consequently announced his departure from China, warning of the problems of the future. He then passed away and was buried on Mt Sung. The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*'s story of Sung Yün and the empty coffin is developed further, with Bodhidharma now wearing only one sandal, the other sandal remaining in the coffin. The hagiography also mentions that the sandal can be now seen at Shao-lin Monastery

³¹⁴ Hu Shih (1968), 491, note 2.

³¹⁵ Hu Shih (1968), 412. The complex issues of these texts will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

³¹⁶ The Stein 6557 text ends less than half way through the Ishii text [cf. Hu Shih (1968) 452; Suzuki Teitarō and Koda Rentarō (1934), *Tonkō shutsudo Katakū Jinne Zenji goroku* (in a boxed set with *Tonkō shutsudo Rokuso dankyō*, *Kōshōjibon Rokusodankyō* and *kaisetsu* volume), Morie shoten: Tokyo, 16, no. 14] and Pelliot 3047 has different text from Ishii p. 49 (no. 45: what Hu Shih labels no. 49), and comes to what Hu Shih (1968), 152, in red ink notes is a verse that is the end of the conversation, and it seems that that nothing is missing thereafter. The Ishii ms. copyists lacked the first section of Pelliot 3047 [at least five 'chapters,' see Hu Shih (1968), 91] as does Stein 6557 (Hu Shih (1968), 427).

³¹⁷ Yanagida (1971), 18.

and that Emperor Wu of Liang had a stele written and erected in the same monastery.³¹⁸

It is most likely that the source of this text, or more likely the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, was in turn the source for the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* hagiography of Bodhidharma. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, written to promote the 'Ch'an' of Wu-chu (714-774) in Szechwan, was a relatively parochial book compiled between 774 and 781.

The hagiography of Bodhidharma in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* adds new elements to the existing versions, which reflect such trends. It openly calls him Dharmatrāta, a figure earlier works had implicitly used to forge their lineage claims. However, here, another text, a sutra, is attributed to this Dharmatrāta, a.k.a. Bodhidharma. So the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author was outbidding Shen-hui by proving the greater Mahayana credentials of his version of (Bodhi)Dharma(trāta).³¹⁹ The author created the story, associated with this sutra, the *Ch'an-men ching*, a 'Northern Ch'an' apocrypha, of Dharmatrāta sending two pupils, Buddha and Yaśas,³²⁰ to China to preach sudden enlightenment. However, not gaining any believers, they went to Hui-yüan (334-416) on Mt Lü and convinced him of the truth of their teaching. They then had Hui-yüan translate the *Ch'an-men ching*, and once that was completed, they died. Hearing of their lack of missionary success, Dharmatrāta came to China, met Emperor Wu of Liang in great ceremony, but when asked about the teaching he had brought, he replied, "I have not brought a single letter." This foreign monk denied all material

³¹⁸ Suzuki and Koda (1934), 53-55. Such a stele exists at Mt Hsiung-erh and was re-erected in copies at Yüan-fa Monastery on Mt Erh-tsu (dated 817) and at Shao-lin Monastery (dated 1341). See Kojima Taizan (2001), 'P'u-t'i ta-mo shih-pei pei-wen ping ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao,' *Tsung-chiao hsieh yen-chiu* 1: 127-133, who suggests that the first text was a forgery of 730. However, Ishii Kōsei (2000.10), 'Ryō Butei-sen *Bodaidaruma hibun* no zaikentō,' *Komazawa Tankidaigaku Bukkyō ronshū* 6: 39-54, has shown that it is closer in content to the positions of 'Northern Ch'an' masters such as Ching-chüeh (683-ca. 750), and that the text in the *Pao-lin chuan* differs in some aspects. This stele will be discussed later in Chapter 7, for I disagree with Ishii's assessment.

³¹⁹ Suzuki and Koda (1934), 27-28.

³²⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida Seizan (1976a), *Zen no goroku 3: Shoki no Zenshi II: Rekidai hōbōki*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 74. In the *Kao-seng chuan* these individuals were actually the one person, Buddhayaśas. The connection with Hui-yüan is through yet another person, Buddhahadra, who translated the *Ta-mo to-lo ch'an ching*. See also, Yanagida (1983), 'The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an doctrine of sudden awakening,' in Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, eds, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, Asian Humanities Press: Berkeley, 27-28.

works, just as Wu-chu himself did.³²¹ Dharmatrāta then left for Mt Sung, but only one pupil, Hui-k'o could obtain the marrow of his teaching. The poisoners who appear in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi's* hagiography of Bodhidharma are here identified as Bodhiruci (d. 535) and Vinaya Master and Controller Hui-kuang (468-537). Dharmatrāta was said to have been poisoned about six times, the last dose killing him. Just before his death, Dharmatrāta passes on the robe to Hui-k'o, with the caution that the transmission will hang like a thread. Then the hagiographer introduces the levels of understanding attained by Dharmatrāta's three disciples: the marrow by Hui-k'o, the bones by Tao-yü, and the meat by nun Tsung-chih; a story taken up later in many versions.³²² The hagiography states that Dharmatrāta is buried on Mt Hsiung-erh near Lo-yang, and it repeats Shen-hui's version of the encounter with Sung Yün (as found in the Ishii text).³²³

This *Li-tai fa-pao chi* hagiography is further extended by the *Pao-lin chuan* (ca. 796), a lineage text of the Ma-tsu School that may even have been written by a Silla monk.³²⁴ The overwhelming impression in the *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography of Bodhidharma is of the great veneration he eventually receives from the emperors of the Liang and Northern Wei dynasties, and of the minute concerns with chronology. Two very long texts are appended to the hagiography; the first a funerary dirge attributed to the heir apparent, Chao-ming or Hsiao T'ung (501-531) of Liang who was famous for his editing of the *Wen hsüan*, and the second a stele inscription by Emperor Wu of Liang.³²⁵ It even records that the T'ang emperor, Tai-tsung in the Ta-li reign (766-780) granted Bodhidharma a posthumous title and his stupa a title.³²⁶ These, along with mentions of gifts given by rulers to Bodhidharma, and of exchanges

³²¹ Yanagida (1983), 33 and note 36.

³²² Sekiguchi (1967), 160-161. It is based on the *Ta chih-tu lun*, T25.164b passage: "Vinaya is the skin, meditation the flesh, prajñā the bone, and the subtle, good mind is the marrow."

³²³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 67-69, notes pp. 73-77.

³²⁴ Yanagida (1978), 'Shin zokutōshi no keifu, Jo 1,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 69: 24.

³²⁵ *Pao-lin chuan* 137c-142c (8.12a-22a); Sekiguchi (1967), 39-41. For Hsiao T'ung's biography, see David R. Knechtges, trans. (1982), *Wen xuan: Or selections of refined literature, vol. 1: Rhapsodies on metropolises and capitals, Xiao Tong (501-531)*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 4-11, who shows he was learned in Buddhism. This inscription, or more likely a copy of it, was discovered by Kojima Taizan. See Kojima (2001) in note 318 of this chapter.

³²⁶ *Pao-lin chuan* 142c (8.22a3). Note that Tao-hsüan said that his place of death and burial were unknown.

of memorials and emissaries between the Northern Wei and Liang rulers concerning Bodhidharma, plus references in the other biographies to imperially-conferred titles and stele inscriptions (for Seng-ts'an the 'Third Patriarch,' and Hui-k'o the 'Second Patriarch,' and even one for the remote Mahākāśyapa),³²⁷ suggest a strong motivation to gain recognition from the court, or at least acceptance by others that this lineage had been imperially sanctioned.

As a result, the events in Bodhidharma's *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography are merely developments of the previous hagiographies fortified with mentions of official contacts. So Bodhidharma's departure for China was assisted by his father the king, who provided a boat, and the missionary is met by the prefect of Kuang-chou, Hsiao Ang, on the 31st October 527.³²⁸ Our hero then proceeds to the Liang court on the summons of Emperor Wu. At that time, the famous thaumaturge, Pao-chih (418-514) was supervising the refurbishment of Kao-tso Monastery. Pao-chih joked with a monk named Ling-kuan (Numinous Observation/Contemplation), "Can you see numinously?" Asked for instructions, Pao-chih replied, "A Mahayana bodhisattva has entered the country from the West. If you do not believe me, listen to my prediction." The obscure verse was recorded by Ling-kuan. So after Emperor Wu held his famous conversation with Bodhidharma on the merit of material works, and Bodhidharma had departed north across the Yangtze on 25th November 527, Pao-chih asked the emperor

³²⁷ For Mahākāśyapa, *Pao-lin chuan* 15d (1.28b). Cf. discussion by Yanagida in ZSS, 388. The author of this stele for Buddha's disciple was supposedly a person meant to be Chang Tsu (657-ca. 730), author of the *Yu-hsien k'u*, a work Thomas Edward Graham (1975), 'The reconstruction of popular Buddhism in medieval China using selected "pien-wen" from Tun-huang,' PhD diss., University of Iowa, 87-88, suggests may have been a precursor to the *pien-wen* style. For his biography, see Howard S. Levy (1965), *The dwelling of playful goddesses: China's first novelette, by Chang Wen-ch'eng*, Dai Nippon Insatsu: Tokyo, 64-67. The *Hsin Tang shu* describes his writings as "coarse and vulgar" (Levy, 67), and that may have been directed not so much at the slightly risqué or scandalous content, but also perhaps at the fact it was entertainment in a non-Classical style. For Seng-ts'an, *Pao-lin chuan* 149d (8.29b), for Hui-k'o, 146b (8.26b).

³²⁸ *Pao-lin chuan* 132b (8.1b). The reign era, P'u-t'ung eighth year, here is incorrect, for in April 527 the reign changed to Ta-t'ung. (Most other incidents are dated, often incorrectly, so I shall not give them all.) Note that the Yüan Tripitaka recension of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.219a20, says that the *Nan shih*, a standard history for this period, does not mention Hsiao Ang ever holding this position. But it still may have been possible, for such histories were often incomplete. According to the *Liang shu*, Hsiao Ang held this post from 521 and died in 525. See Tanaka (2003), 370.

why he did not respect Bodhidharma and retain him. The emperor confessed that he had not realised that Bodhidharma was a teacher of the Supreme Vehicle, and so his ordinary understanding could not fathom the foreign missionary. As a result, he had slandered Bodhidharma. Pao-chih then told the emperor, "His is the transmission of the Buddha-mind; indeed, the Great Scholar is the saint Kuan-yin!" The emperor was astonished and out of regret sent the emissary Chao Kuang-wen to entice him back, but Pao-chih stated that the emissary alone could not achieve this; even the entire power of the country could not make Bodhidharma return. At that juncture, Ling-kuan sent what he had recorded, a short record of the eastward transmission of the (Ch'an) Dharma, to the court.³²⁹

Meanwhile, Bodhidharma arrived in Lo-yang in the "reign era T'ai-ho of the eighth ruler," where he met Shen-kuang, the future Hui-k'o, who had despaired of Taoist and Confucian philosophies. The story of the Shao-lin Monastery trials of Hui-k'o embroiders on that of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. Eight or nine years later, an emissary, Huang Tzu-li, from the Northern Wei emperor, (Hsiao)-ming (r. 516-528) arrived to summon Bodhidharma to court, but after three requests met with refusals, the emperor presented gifts of two special robes, a gold begging bowl, three hundred rolls of silk and a silver water bottle. Bodhidharma would not accept them.

During the late Northern Wei to early Northern Chou period of confusion, Hui-k'o spent nine years in ascetic exercises and so obtained the Correct Dharma and the robe of transmission that had come from (Mahā)kāśyapa as a sign of faith. Bodhidharma then chanted his *gāthā* of transmission (which may be based on that appearing in the *Platform Sutra*):

I originally came to this land
To transmit the teaching and rescue the deluded.
One flower opens with five petals
And the fruit forms naturally.³³⁰

Bodhidharma then transmitted the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and not the *Diamond Sutra* as Shen-hui had insisted. Bodhidharma related to Hui-k'o how

³²⁹ *Pao-lin chuan* 132c-133b (8.2a-3b). The Dharma of course means Ch'an, as only it is the proper Dharma in this milieu.

³³⁰ *Pao-lin chuan* 134c (8.6a); cf. Sekiguchi (1967), 182; Yampolsky (1967), 176, for the *Platform Sutra* 'original' and possible interpretations of the verse.

he had been poisoned six times, but had survived. But this time, he would be poisoned by Bodhiruci and Hui-kuang, and would not save himself because he had already transmitted the Dharma.³³¹ Bodhidharma then dies in the nineteenth year of the T'ai-ho reign of Emperor Hsiao-ming,³³² and is buried on Wu Slope, Mt Hsiung-erh.

Three years later Sung Yün encountered Bodhidharma with one sandal crossing the Pamirs, and so Sung Yün tried to confirm Bodhidharma's predictions by having Emperor Hsiao-chuang of Northern Wei (r. 528-530) open the stupa coffin. The sandal found therein was taken for worship to Shao-lin Monastery, but it was stolen and taken to Hua-yen Monastery on Mt Wu-t'ai to be venerated there in 727 (this time the dates are synchronised).³³³

This obsession with dates continues, with the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* trying to assert that the Liang reign year Ta-t'ung two (536/7) equals Northern Wei reign year T'ai-ho nineteen (actually 495). It

³³¹ The use of Bodhiruci and Hui-kuang (465-537) suggests, from the initial element of their names, a parallel and antithesis to Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o. Also, Bodhidharma supposedly transmitted Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* in four fascicles, while Bodhiruci translated the same sutra in a ten-fascicle version, and upon which he wrote a commentary. See T50.607-608 and Jorgensen (1979), 79 and 82, for Hui-kuang. In other words, these two monks were seen to represent two different contemporary interpretations of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, the Northern Ti-lun (Bodhiruci) and Southern Ti-lun (Hui-kuang). Cf. Jorgensen (1979), 75ff. There is a possible binary opposition operating implicitly here in the *Pao-lin chuan*, with Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o meditation monks who reject the court and practice austerities in the wilderness, while Bodhiruci and Hui-kuang were court-centred metropolitan scholastics.

³³² *Pao-lin chuan* 134d (8.6b). This date is not possible, for there was a T'ai-ho reign era under Hsiao-ming, who ruled only from 516 to 528, so the nineteenth year does not compute. Probably there is confusion here with Hsiao-wen's reign, in which T'ai-ho nineteenth year is 495/6, as was noted by a commentator in the Yüan recension of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.220b1-3.

³³³ *Pao-lin chuan* 135a (8.7a). The Yüan *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* commentator, T51.220b10-15, attacks this, stating that it means 539/540, so how could Sung Yün return and tell this to Emperor Hsiao-chung (r. 528-530). Moreover, Sung Yün's return was in the Ching-kuang era (520-525), probably 521. Cf. Tanaka (2003), 380. He also attacks the *Pao-lin chuan* for other date errors, T51.220b22-23. The theft of the sandal suggests a rivalry between a group on Mt Wu-t'ai with a Shao-lin Monastery-centred Ch'an lineage. Kojima Taizan (1989), 'Rokuso dankyō to Kagonkyōgaku,' in Kim Chi'gyōn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, has suggested that after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, an old layer of the *Ur-Platform Sutra* was written with a heavy influence of the Hua-yen of Mt Wu-t'ai. This was almost immediately changed by Shen-hui or his followers by interpolating material related to the *Diamond Sutra*. No doubt if this were the case, Hui-neng's hagiography may have been added at the same time.

correctly states that Emperor Wu of Liang reigned forty-eight years, from 502 to 549/550, and that Bodhidharma arrived in the twenty-sixth year of the reign (527/8) and entered Lo-yang in the same year ('T'ai-ho year eleven' in Northern Wei). Bodhidharma then spent nine years around Lo-yang, and when he is about to die he meets Yang Hsüan-chih (author of the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi*), who begs for his teaching. Bodhidharma is not forthcoming, citing the dangers he has faced from Bodhiruci and Hui-kuang, and mentions his imminent death and manifestation before Sung Yün in the Western Ranges. He then dies on 6th January 537 (?).

At that juncture, Emperor Ming of Northern Wei sends an emissary, Ho Hung-chien, to Liang, alerting the rival court of the mourning. In response, Emperor Wu in the *wu-shen* year (45th in the cycle, no correspondence) sent a memorial letter to Wei containing records of Bodhidharma's activities in the South. An exchange of memorials praising Bodhidharma ensues, and finally Bodhidharma is (re)buried in the capital on 24th January 537 (?). At that time Emperor Wu orders condolence presents be given. In 537 Prince Chao-ming wrote his funerary dirge (*chi-wen*).³³⁴ The hagiography then declares that three years later, Sung Yün encountered the master in the Pamirs.

Given the glaring errors in the dates, errors obvious even to some later Ch'an authors, how could this text have been used at court to prove the legitimacy of its proclaimed lineage against that of Shen-hui? It can only be surmised that the author was hoping, by means of eliminating some of the inconsistencies in the preceding lineage theories, and by being more comprehensive with the inclusion of the first 'Ch'an' hagiography of Buddha and of details and dates for every one of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs who were placed in a newly rationalised order based on earlier works,³³⁵ to overawe with verisimilar precision and exuberance.

Although the relevant sections of the *Pao-lin chuan* are missing, it is possible to reconstruct from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* other details of Bodhidharma's biography as it appeared in the hagiography of his teacher Prajñātāra.³³⁶ This is amply supported by evidence from

³³⁴ *Pao-lin chuan* 135a-137c (8.7a-12b). This of course is impossible, as Hsiao T'ung died in 531.

³³⁵ Yampolsky (1967), 48.

³³⁶ Yanagida, ZSS, 406, accepts this on the basis of the Yüan Tripitaka commentator on the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.217c21, who corrected a character therein

Ch'i-sung's *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi* of 1061, which repeats the passage about Bodhidharma and Prajñātāra, but does not source it.³³⁷ Ch'i-sung was critical of the *Pao-lin chuan* for some of its information, and so the assumption that the material came from the *Pao-lin chuan* is probably correct, especially given Ch'i-sung's pertinent comments on the dating and personages such as Hsiao Ang mentioned in the *Pao-lin chuan*.³³⁸

This 'hidden' story is that of the six 'schools' formed by Buddhaśānta, a fellow student with Bodhidharma, when he studied Buddhahadra's Hinayana 'Ch'an' (meditation). Buddhahadra is meant to be identified with the Buddhahadra (359-429) who translated the *Ta-mo to-lo ch'an ching* that had been used to formulate early versions of the 'Ch'an' lineage.³³⁹ These six 'schools,' the leaders of which Bodhidharma defeats in debate, are the 'school of the mark of existence' (*yu-hsiang*), 'school of the mark of non-existence' (*wu-hsiang*), 'the school of samādhi and prajñā' (*ting-hui*), 'school of precepts and conduct' (*chieh-hsing*), 'school of nothing obtainable' (*wu-te*), and the 'school of quietude' (*chi-ching*).

Although a criticism of doctrine and a polemic against other 'schools' in a *chiao-p'an* (classification and ranking of teachings) are implied, the targets are obscure.³⁴⁰ Perhaps the story is aimed against other 'sects' of Buddhism in China, such as Fa-hsiang being the *yu-hsiang* school, T'ien-t'ai the *ting-hui* school, San-lun the *wu-te* or *wu-hsiang* school,

on the basis of a parallel passage in the *Pao-lin chuan*. Sekiguchi (1967), 80, clearly does not accept this, claiming that the story is a creation of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, and so cannot be found in the *Pao-lin chuan* or the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

³³⁷ T51.740b28-741b8.

³³⁸ Cf. above for Hsiao Ang, and the comment by the commentator in the *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi*, T51.742b22-25, without specific mention of the *Pao-lin chuan*; his attack on the story of the poisoning by Bodhiruci, T51.744a13-21.

³³⁹ For Fa-ju's lineage of 'Northern Ch'an,' ZSS, 38; also related to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s Dharmatrāta, ZSS, 310; and referred to in *Tsu-t'ang chi*, see ZSS, 357.

³⁴⁰ Sekiguchi (1967), 80, mentions various groups, including the classifications by Tsung-mi (780-841) of the Ch'an and other teachings, and Yanagida in ZSS, 407, thinks it may be a reply to criticisms made by Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774) of Southern Chinese 'Ch'an' teachers. If Sekiguchi's thesis that this passage is a creation of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* is correct, then I would suggest that the six correspond roughly to Tsung-mi's characterisations of the lineages of 'Ch'an' along the possible lines of :1) Northern Ch'an = school of marks; 2) Ho-tse (Shen-hui) = school of the mark of non-existence; 3) Chien-chung (Musang) = school of samādhi and prajñā; 4) Nan-shan nien-fo men = school of precepts and practice; 5) Niu-t'ou = school of nothing obtainable; and 6) Pao-t'ang (Wu-chu) = school of quietude?

Nan-shan Vinaya the *chieh-hsing* school, Northern Ch'an the *chi-ching* school, and Pao-t'ang or Niu-t'ou the *wu-hsiang* school. Undoubtedly it was a crucial theme in the *Pao-lin chuan* for its author(s) to invent such a lengthy dialogue. It was clearly meant to demonstrate the superiority of Bodhidharma's lineage through Hui-neng to Ma-tsu Tao-i over contending teachings.

Although the *Pao-lin chuan* was the catalyst and chief model in the creation of the classical Ch'an hagiographies of Buddha, Bodhidharma and possibly Hui-neng, supplanting all the previous hagiographies, with the exception of that of Hui-neng in the *Platform Sutra*, and "rewrote the history of Ch'an as a whole," it did not survive long. However, the influence of the *Pao-lin chuan* was maintained via the bowdlerised, rationalised and officially approved 'lamplight histories' such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, which were edited or written by eminent Buddhist-Confucian laymen and incorporated into the Buddhist Canon.³⁴¹ Yet because it was influential and close in time to the main formulations of the hagiography of Hui-neng (the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of 774+, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781, and the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* of ca. 781), I have adopted the *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography of Bodhidharma as the prime source for comparison. However, as the *Pao-lin chuan* is so prolix and incomplete, and as the link with the hagiography of Hui-neng as formulated by Shen-hui is so crucial, I shall translate the Ishii text version of the hagiography of Bodhidharma.

In the Ishii text of the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, Dharma Teacher Yüan asked Shen-hui about the transmission of the Dharma and the number of generations in China. So Shen-hui then gives the following hagiography of Bodhidharma:

The first generation was the Later Wei (Dynasty) brahman monk of Shao-lin Monastery on Mt Sung. His style was Bodhidharma. He was the third son of a South Indian king. He became a monk when he was young. He was enlightened to the Supreme Vehicle and of the various samādhi he realised the Thus Come Dhyāna (*Ju-lai Ch'an*). He took

³⁴¹ For example, Yang I (972-1020), a court-employed editor, rewrote what became the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* [John Jorgensen (1989), 'Sensibility of the insensible: The genealogy of a Ch'an aesthetic and the passionate dream of poetic creation,' PhD diss., Australian National University: Canberra, 228-229], a work he completed in 1008; Li Tsun-hsü (d. 1038), married to a princess, wrote the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* in 1029, with a preface by Jen-tung, as a continuation of the former; and Wang Sui (d. ca. 1035) wrote the *Ch'uan-teng yü-ying chi* in 1034 as a digest of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* for lay readers, Jorgensen (1989), 233.

a ship to sail the seas and from afar passed over the tides to come to the Han territories. Then he met Hui-k'o, who followed Bodhidharma. They arrived at Shao-lin Monastery on Mt Sung, and Hui-k'o served him as an attendant. He stood in front of Bodhidharma's hall and that night snow fell. It reached up to Hui-k'o's waist, but Hui-k'o stood and did not shift from the spot. The Master saw this and said, "What are you doing standing in the snow?"

Hui-k'o told the Master, "Master, you have come a long way from the West to reach here, with the intention of preaching the Dharma to save people. I do not fear injury to my body. I am determined to seek the surpassing Dharma (nirvana). I beg you, Master, with great compassion and pity, please rescue sentient beings from sorrow and pluck them out of their hardships. This is what I hope for."

Master Bodhidharma said, "Of the persons I have seen seeking the Dharma, none are your equal."

Hui-k'o took out his own sword and cut off his own left upper arm and placed it before Bodhidharma. Bodhidharma acknowledged (*k'o*) that Hui-k'o in seeking the surpassing Dharma would give up his own life and injure his body. This resembled the relinquishing of the body in the Himalayas to seek the (other) half (of the) gatha.³⁴² Then (Bodhidharma) said, "Since you are acknowledged before me, and your previous style was Shen-kuang, I will therefore give you the name of Hui-k'o (Insight acknowledged)."

Master Bodhidharma then relied on the *Chin-kang pan-jo ching* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, *Diamond Sutra*) to preach the Thus Come's knowledge and views, which he conferred on Hui-k'o. Once Hui-k'o had received these words he was in accord with the Dharma. Then (Bodhidharma) transmitted the *kaśāya* (robe) to him as a surety of the Dharma, just as the Buddha conferred the prediction (of future buddhahood) on the daughter of the Dragon King of Sagara (the Ocean).³⁴³ The Master

³⁴² This is a story from the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching*. The Buddha, in a previous incarnation, was practising austerities in the Himalayas, when Indra warned him against the austerities of the heretics, and turned into a fierce demon. The demon preached the verse, "Deeds (*samskāra*) are impermanent, That is the Dharma of *samsāra* (birth and cessation)." The Buddha then offers himself as food to the demon in exchange for the other half of the gatha, which is, "Once birth and cessation (*samsāra*) have been extinguished, Quiescent extinction becomes delight." T12.499b-451a. This is referred to in a poem sent by Hui-k'o as included in the *Long Scroll* or continuation of the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* attributed to Bodhidharma's associate, T'an-lin. See Jorgensen (1979), 254-255, where the verse is given a different interpretation. There it is explained that the results of the deeds (in this case austerities) are impermanent, merely being phenomena of rising and ceasing. This gatha is quoted in the PLC's account of the funeral of the Buddha and the Buddha's instructions to his mother. For source, see also Fa-hsien, *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching*, T1.204c.

³⁴³ Story from the *Lotus Sutra*, see Leon Hurvitz, trans. (1976), *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 199-201.

said, "The single fascicle *Diamond Sutra* directly brings one to achieve buddhahood. You and later people, rely on its prajñā contemplation gate (method) to cultivate your learning. If there is not a single dharma (element of existence), then that is nirvana. If there is no movement of body and mind, that is the achievement of the supreme Way."

Master Bodhidharma received and guided clerics and laity for six years. Then a persecution occurred and he was drugged six times. Five of the times, when he had finished eating, he dug up some earth and vomited into it. He said to Hui-k'o, "My connection with the Han lands is finished. Later you also will not escape from this difficulty, and up until after the sixth generation, the life of the transmitter of the Dharma will hang like a thread. Farewell." When he had finished speaking he passed away. He was buried on Mt Sung. At the time the emissary of enquiry, Sung Yün, encountered a western barbarian monk in the Pamir Ranges wearing a shoe on one foot, the other being bare. He said to emissary Sung Yün, "Your Chinese emperor is impermanent (died) today." Sung Yün heard this and was profoundly alarmed. At the time he noted the day and the month. Then Sung Yün asked Master Bodhidharma, "When you proselytised in the Han lands, did you have believers?" Master Bodhidharma said, "More than forty years after me, there will be a person of the Han lands who will propagate my Dharma." Sung Yün returned to the court to have an audience with the emperor. The emperor had died well before. So he took the record of the day and month of his meeting with the barbarian monk to verify this, and there was not the slightest discrepancy. Sung Yün told this to the officials of the court. At that time there were also scores of followers of Bodhidharma at the court. They said to each other, "Can this not be our Master?" So they gathered together, uncovered the tomb and opened the coffin, but they did not see the Dharma-body. They only saw a single shoe in the coffin, and the entire country knew now for the first time that he was a saint. That shoe is now at Shao-lin Monastery where it is worshipped. Emperor Wu of Liang composed a stele inscription, which is now at Shao-lin Monastery.³⁴⁴

Hui-neng

The hagiography of Hui-neng had a career as checkered and astonishing, albeit shorter, as that of Bodhidharma. The germ of this 'Ch'an myth' is to be found, appropriately perhaps, in emptiness or at least an absence of traces.

³⁴⁴ Suzuki and Koda (1934), 'Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku,' 53-55. See also Yang Tseng-wen (1996), *Shen-hui Ho-shang Ch'an-hua lu*, 103-104; Jacques Gernet (1954), 'Complement aux *Entretiens du Maître de Dhyana Chen-houei* (668-768),' *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 44 (2): 463-464.

Mentioned in passing as a minor pupil of Hung-jen by the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, it took all the rhetorical skills of Shen-hui and his sympathisers to give a form to the name Hui-neng. Hui-neng really then only commences his literary existence as rhetorical projections of Shen-hui's imagination, which became public between 730 and 732 at Hua-t'ai.

The first account of Hui-neng is probably that in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* of 732 (or 745+, here in 745+ version because it misuses Wu P'ing-i, who died ca. 741), which merely uses Hui-neng as a skeleton for Shen-hui's lineage claims and attacks on 'Northern Ch'an.' This asserts that Hui-neng was the 'Sixth Patriarch,' and that Hung-jen gave him the robe of transmission at Tung-shan,³⁴⁵ and that P'u-chi sent an assassin, Chang Hsing-ch'ang of Ching-chou to feign clerical status and take Hui-neng's head from his corpse. This event supposedly occurred in the third lunar month of 713. Chang struck the relic corpse thrice with a sword, damaging it. A certain stele inscription for Hui-neng was rubbed out twice, and a follower of P'u-chi, Wu P'ing-i, and others erased the stele of Hui-neng in Shao-chou and substituted a report which made Shen-hsiu the Sixth Patriarch and (lacunae in text; "changed the story of"?) the robe transmission. In addition, P'u-chi erected a stele on Mt Sung for the patriarchs.³⁴⁶

Continuing on from this, Shen-hui alleges that the great Vinaya monk (Wen)-kang in 702 had asked Shen-hsiu about Bodhidharma's robe and whether or not he, Shen-hsiu, possessed it. Shen-hsiu reportedly replied,

Master (Hung)-jen of Huang-mei transmitted the Dharma-robe and now it is at Ch'an Teacher (Hui)-neng's place in Shao-chou.

Shen-hui commented that

When Reverend (Shen)-hsiu was alive he indicated that the Dharma-robe transmitted through to the sixth generation is at Shao-chou, and he did not call himself the sixth in number. Now Ch'an Teacher P'u-chi calls himself the seventh generation, and falsely sets up (Shen)-hsiu as the sixth generation: that is why I cannot allow it.

Then Shen-hui cautions his audience:

³⁴⁵ Hu Shih (1968), 281; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 27; Teng and Jung, (1998), 33.

³⁴⁶ Hu Shih (1968), 289; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31; Teng and Jung (1998), 48.

Do not be amazed at the creation of a story like this, for one can see that there are many in the world teaching Ch'an, which leads to extreme confusion among the students of Ch'an. I fear that the Evil One, the God Māra, and the heretics have entered their midst and have deluded the students of the Way into extinguishing the Correct Dharma. Therefore they speak like this. In the Chih-shih reign (700) Empress (Wu) Tse-t'ien summoned Reverend (Shen)-hsiu to the court...(and he told her that) "There is a great friend (teacher) in Shao-chou who originally was the heir of (Hung)-jen of Tung-shan," advising her that if there were any doubts (on Buddhism) to have that teacher resolve them.

Then Shen-hui tells a tale of how a fellow student of P'u-chi, one Kuang-chi of Ch'ing-ch'an Monastery, Ch'ang-an, in the eleventh lunar month of 709 went to Shao-chou, and after passing over ten nights there, at midnight entered Hui-neng's room and stole the robe.

Hui-neng called out, and the teachers Hui-ta and Hsüan-wu each heard the shout, rose to look and arrived outside the room. They then saw Kuang-chi, who grabbed Hsüan-wu's hand to prevent him making any noise (?). Hsüan-wu and Hui-ta then entered Hui-neng's room, and the master said, "A person came into the room and stretched out his hand to take the robe." That night, because of this incident, both northerners and southerners, lay and clerical, came into the room. So they asked the master, "Was the person who entered a southerner or northerner?" Hui-neng said, "I only saw a person come, but I do not know whether he was a northerner or a southerner." The assembly also asked, "Was he a cleric or a layperson?" "I also do not know whether he was lay or cleric." The Master knew the intruder, and fearing that harm would come to that person if he was identified, replied in this way. Hui-neng then explained that this was not the first theft, for the robe had been stolen three times from Hung-jen, and Hung-jen had said that it had been stolen once from Tao-hsin. But of course all attempts at theft ultimately failed. Shen-hui commented, "Because the robe had created such extreme confusion among northern and southern clerics and laity, they always faced each other with swords and staffs."³⁴⁷

These dramatic scenes were probably part of a more extensive hagiography of Shen-hui's supposed master, Hui-neng, which may have been found in the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan* mentioned by Tu-ku P'ei. Worthy of the name entertainment, their purpose was to indict the 'false' lineage claims of P'u-chi through the mouth of P'u-chi's master, Shen-hsiu (606-706), with the prompting of Wen-kang (636-

³⁴⁷ Hu Shih (1968), 290-293; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 33; Teng and Jung (1998), 57; Gernet (1954), 94-96; EK, 493-497.

727), a Vinaya monk who was regarded by Emperor Chung-tsung and Empress Wu Tse-t'ien as their religious mentor.³⁴⁸ The story was also part of an attack on the materialist Buddhism of Empress Wu and her times, and on those associated with her,³⁴⁹ 'Northern Ch'an' monks such as P'u-chi and possibly Ching-chüeh. Another aspect of this slander was the dialogue between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu of Liang, whom readers would have associated with Empress Wu, who spent massively on Buddhism to gain the political allegiance of Buddhists.

The aim of this attack is evident from the introduction of Wu P'ing-i (?- ca. 741) into the story as a vandaliser and interpolator of Hui-neng's stele. In fact, Wu P'ing-i was a cousin of Empress Wu, who rather than serve in the bureaucracy under his ruthless relative, studied Buddhism on Mt Sung instead. A scholar of Confucianism and an opponent of females in politics, he entered government service in 705 after Empress Wu died, and was demoted in 713 when Hsüan-tsung took the throne, as he was suspected of being one of the favourites of the former emperor, Chung-tsung.³⁵⁰ He was a friend of Chang Yüeh, who praised him in a poem saying, "A prince does not serve the vulgar... Sit peacefully in the deep forest, And the three ages unite as one time."³⁵¹ Li Yung (680-747), a member of the imperial Li clan, mentions that Wu P'ing-i had written a memorial on the abilities of P'u-chi,³⁵² probably around ca. 708 judging from his title. So it was Wu P'ing-i's association with Empress Wu, Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi, and not his own deeds and opinions that had him incorporated into the ludicrous allegations.

Likewise, the aforementioned assassin, Chang Hsing-ch'ang may have been modelled on the Chang brothers; Chang I-chih, Chang Ch'ang-tsung and Chang Ch'ang-ch'i, the first two of whom were

³⁴⁸ SKSC, T50.791c15-792b21.

³⁴⁹ Jorgensen (1987), 106-107.

³⁵⁰ Biography based on *Hsin T'ang shu* 14/119/4293. Note, Wu P'ing-i appears in the SKSC biography of Hui-neng as having forged a huge bell for Hui-neng's heir, Huai-jang, for which he wrote an inscription. Sung Chih-wen wrote it out. T50.755b25-27, cf. Shiga (1998), 6. This is clearly a later story.

³⁵¹ *Chang Yen-kung chi* 6/5a-b, 'Pieh P'ing-i shih.'

³⁵² *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 262/1191a15, for Li Yung's stele for P'u-chi (651-739), *Ta-chao Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*. Li Yung was also requested to write Wen-kang's stele, SKSC, T50.792b18.

sexual favourites of the aged Empress Wu. All were killed in the coup of 705.³⁵³ They also had attempted to frame Wei Yüan-chung in 703 for plotting against the throne, but Chang Yüeh, refusing to perjure himself, told the empress that Wei was innocent. For this refusal to bend to the will of Empress Wu's lackeys, Chang Yüeh was exiled to Ch'in-chou in the remote southwest of Ling-nan, not far from Hui-neng's birthplace, Hsin-chou. This action brought the overthrow of the empress, for the influence of the Chang brothers was seen to be pernicious. Chang Yüeh was recalled by Emperor Chung-tsung.³⁵⁴ As Shen-hui had studied soon after early 705 under Shen-hsiu, who had Chang Yüeh as a patron, and Chang Yüeh's name was used to bolster Shen-hui's propaganda efforts, the perfidious reputation of the Chang brothers was a useful avenue for allegations of assassination.

The full story, though with the curious omission of the attempted theft of the robe by Kuang-chi, is to be found in the Ishii text, which may have edited this material out. The Ishii text hagiography is very similar to that of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*. A comparison of the fifty-one relevant episodes (minus that of Kuang-chi which never resurfaces) to be found in eighteen hagiographies of Hui-neng shows similarities in content and style between the Ishii hagiography, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*.³⁵⁵ The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has added many more elements than the others for it is really also a hagiography of the relics of Hui-neng. The elements absent in the Ishii text and Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, but present in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, show that the Ishii text and the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* are the closest. I suspect that the reference to the collation done for Grand Master Chang in the Ishii text is to a reworking of the hagiographies in the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, or rather of a later set of inscriptions for a portrait hall of the patriarchs written in 752 by Shen-hui that postdate the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, made through comparison with the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*,³⁵⁶ which toned down some of the more scandalous allegations, and put the stories into a more *lieh-chuan* like framework, if that had

³⁵³ HTS 9/72/2718. ZSS, 240, 280, suggests this.

³⁵⁴ CTS 9/97/3051; Richard W. L. Guisso (1979), 'The reigns of Empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung (684-712),' 320-321.

³⁵⁵ EK, 240-241.

³⁵⁶ This will be discussed later in Chapter 7.

not already been done. Thus, the biography is one of a series (*lieh*); the six 'patriarchs' from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng, with some additional notes on Shen-hui.³⁵⁷ Moreover, the *lieh-chuan* form tends to be more succinct than that of the 'accounts of conduct,' which the original hagiography by Shen-hui probably resembled closely.³⁵⁸

The original of the Ishii text, or the earlier *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, undoubtedly formed the basis of all the hagiographies that followed, in particular, those of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, then the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, and in reaction to the latter, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. The *Pao-lin chuan*, which in its extant form lacks a hagiography of Hui-neng, expanded the section dealing with Hui-neng's relics, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* most likely copied it. Therefore the Ishii text hagiography of Hui-neng shall be a core text for comparison. It reads as follows:

In the sixth generation, the T'ang court Ch'an Teacher (Hui-)neng succeeded to Master (Hung-)jen. His lay surname was Lü, and his ancestors were from Fan-yang. Because his father was made an official beyond the Ranges, he lived in Hsin-chou. When he was twenty-two, (he went) to pay his respects at Tung-shan to Master (Hung-)jen. Master (Hung-)jen said, "Where are you from? Why do you pay reverence to me? What thing are you seeking?" Ch'an Teacher (Hui-)neng replied, "I came from Hsin-shan in Ling-nan (South of the Ranges). Therefore I have come to pay obeisance. I only seek to become Buddha, I do not seek anything else."

Master (Hung-)jen said, "You are a Ling-nan Hunting Lao."³⁵⁹ How can you become Buddha?"

³⁵⁷ Suzuki and Koda (1934). 53-54. Note Twitchett's (1962), 25, translation of *lieh-chuan* as 'connected traditions,' for they were to be read in groups, as a type, for didactic purposes (p. 33).

³⁵⁸ Cf. Twitchett (1962), 28-30.

³⁵⁹ This indicates a hunting and gathering people [cf. Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 20723], the Lao, or south-eastern barbarians. They are said to have hunted, and even ate insects. It was a word of abuse even in early T'ang (Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 20692). The *Chiu T'ang shu* 16/197/5277, describes what was probably another group who lived in eastern Szechwan in stilt houses. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 187/5867, says that in 619 the Lao of Chi-chou in northeast Szechwan were either civilised ('cooked') or wild ('raw'). Note that Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791), surnamed Ch'en, from Kao-yang County, Kuangtung, was said to be of a Lao tribe, who sacrificed cattle to the spirits and were shamans. See SKSC, T50.763c21-764a22, and *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.47-1.55. *Ko-Lao* indicates that this referred to a Lao tribe who were hunters. See P'an Chung-kuei (1994), 'Tun-huang hsieh-pen *Liu-tsu t'an ching chung-ti* "Ko-Lao",' *Chung-kuo wen-hua* 9: 162-165. Chang Hsin-min (2003) "'Ko-Lao tso Fo" kung-an yü Tung-shan Ch'an-fa nan-chuan,' 113-115, argues that *Ko-Lao* referred to the head-hunting Lao, who were also cannibals, which makes Hung-jen's comment even more pointed.

Ch'an Teacher (Hui-)neng said, "What difference is there between the Buddha-nature of a Hunting Lao and your Buddha-nature?"

The Master deeply marvelled at these words, and wished to speak with him further. Because of the people around them, (Hung-jen) sent him away, ordering him to join with the assembly and perform duties. So (Hui-neng) trod the (grain) mill for the assembly.

After eight months Master (Hung-)jen sought him out midst the assembly, and when he came to the tread-mill, he saw him and spoke with him. (Hung-jen) saw that he knew the truth and had finally seen his Buddha-nature. So (Hung-jen) came at night and secretly called on him to come to his room. They spoke for three days and nights, and (Hung-jen) knew that he had realised the knowledge and views of the Thus Come (Tathāgata), and that as no further doubts remained, he then conferred the inheritance upon him. He said, "Your (karmic) connections are in Ling-nan, so you should hurry there. If the assembly realise this, they are sure to harm you."

Ch'an Teacher (Hui-)neng said, "Reverend, how can I leave?"

Master (Hung-)jen said, "I will personally send you off."

That night they went to the Chiu-chiang stage, and there he got a boat to cross the Yangtze. The Master watched him cross the river, and that night returned to his home mountain (monastery). The assembly did not notice this.

Three days after (Hui-neng) had gone, Master (Hung-)jen said, "My followers, you should disperse. There is no Buddha Dharma here on this mountain. The Buddha Dharma has flowed over the Ranges to the South."

The assembly, hearing these words, were all astounded no end, and in pairs gazed at each other, drained of colour. Then they said to each other, "Who is in Ling-nan?", and they questioned each other back and forth. In the assembly Fa-ju of Lu-chou³⁶⁰ said, "That junior Hui-neng is there."

Each of them went to seek him out. There was in the assembly a fourth-rank general who had left officialdom to become a monk. His lay surname was Ch'en and style Hui-ming.³⁶¹ He had been with the Master a long time, but had been unable to attain enlightenment, so at these words of the Master, at daybreak he doubled up in pursuit. When he reached the top of the Ta-yü Ranges, he saw him, and Ch'an Teacher Neng, in fear hurried up, afraid for his life. He handed over the robe he was carrying to Hui-ming. Ch'an Teacher Hui-ming said,

³⁶⁰ Fa-ju (638-689) is the monk championed by the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, and for whom a stele, or rather an 'account of conduct' exists. He was a pupil of Hung-jen, whose legitimate heir he claimed to be. Cf. McRae (1986), 43-44, and Part A of this chapter.

³⁶¹ Not to be confused with Fo-ch'uan Hui-ming, also surnamed Ch'en, for whom see CTW 917 and SKSC, T50.876a23-c6.

"I did not originally come for the robe. On the day that the Master sent (you) away, there was a mandate for you to verbally teach. I want you to explain it to me." Ch'an teacher Neng then preached the Correct Mind Dharma in full. After Ch'an Teacher (Hui-)ming had listened to the teaching of the Mind Dharma, he joined his hands in obeisance. Thereupon (Hui-neng) rapidly crossed the Range. Later many people came to seek him out.

Ch'an Teacher Neng crossed the ranges and coming to Shao-chou, stayed at Ts'ao-ch'i (Ts'ao Creek), residing there for forty years. He relied upon the *Diamond Sutra* to reopen the Thus Come's knowledge and views. Laity and clergy came from all directions (like) the clouds gathering and the rain coming. He was just like the moon's orb, situated in the empty sky, all at once (*tun*) shining on all material images. He was also like the moon of the fifteenth night of autumn,³⁶² at which all sentient beings gaze.

In the second year of the Cheng-yün era (711), he suddenly ordered his disciples Hsüan-k'ai and Chih-pen to go to his old residence in Lung-shan, Hsin-chou, and there build him a stupa. Then in the ninth month of the first year of Hsien-t'ien (approx. Oct. 712) he left Ts'ao-ch'i and went back to Hsin-chou. On the third day of the eighth month of the second year of Hsien-t'ien,³⁶³ he suddenly announced to his followers, "Now I have come to the Great Departure!" His pupil, the monk Fa-hai asked, "Reverend, will there be a successor or not? You have that robe, so why will you not transmit it?"

Hui-neng said, "Do not ask me now. Later difficulties will arise in great abundance. Because of this robe I nearly lost my life. You will come to know this over forty years after my decease. The person who establishes the *tsung*,³⁶⁴ will be the one (who succeeds)."

That night he abruptly passed away in the seated position. The Master was seventy-six years old. That day the mountains crumbled and the earth shook, the sun and moon were lacklustre, the wind and clouds had lost their colouration, and the forest trees turned white. Besides this there was an unusual fragrance that hung around for several days. The Ts'ao-ch'i stream stopped flowing and the spring (-fed) pond dried up for over a period of three days.

That year in Hsin-chou's Kuo-en Monastery they welcomed the Reverend's spirit-seat (corpse)³⁶⁵ and on the tenth month they buried

³⁶² The Moon Festival, 15th day of the eighth lunar month.

³⁶³ 28th July, 713.

³⁶⁴ This indicates Shen-hui and his thesis that Ch'an had an 'imperial lineage,' for the date would seem to be 752, when the hall of the patriarchs was erected. This is further evidence that this text was based on those used in the hall of the patriarchs.

³⁶⁵ See Faure (1991), 172, and Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 191-192. A tablet in which the spirit resides, but here a metonym for the corpse.

him in Ts'ao-ch'i. On that day the birds cried out in distress, and the insects and animals howled and roared. In front of his dragon niche³⁶⁶ a white light shone forth right up to the sky. Only after three days did the former begin to disperse.

The Assistant in the Imperial Household Service Department, Wei Ch'ü³⁶⁷ wrote a stele text. In the seventh year of the K'ai-yüan era (719) it was erased and altered by someone, and a separately created written report was engraved on it, leaving out the transmission of the six generations of masters and disciples and the history of the robe of transmission. This stele can now be seen at Ts'ao-ch'i.

The disciples had asked, "What is the reason for the Dharma being in the clothing, so that the robe is taken in order to transmit the Dharma?"

The Master said, "Although the Dharma does not reside in the robe, in order to express the succession through the generations, we use the transmission of the robe as a surety. Now the Buddha Dharma is something that can be received and students of the Way are those who can know the essential tenets. Because there is to be no mistake or error (about this), the Śākya Thus Come's gold embroidered robe³⁶⁸ is instead on Mt Kukkuṭapāda, where (Mahā-)Kāśyapa now keeps this robe, merely awaiting Maitreya's advent to allot that robe to him. This is to show that the Śākya Thus Come transmitted the robe as a surety. Our six generations of patriarchal teachers have done likewise. (Therefore) I can now realise the Thus Come-nature. The Thus Come is now in me, and

³⁶⁶ The tomb of an eminent person who is compared to a dragon, the coffin being in the niche.

³⁶⁷ Otherwise unknown. He is titled in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* the Assistant in the Office of Imperial Sacrifices. EK, 79, suggests that Wei Ch'ü is based upon the adjutant (or deputy prefect) of Shao-chou surnamed Wei for whom Chang Chiu-ling wrote a funerary inscription. Cf. ZSS, 204. This identification is not far-fetched. According to Chang Chiu-ling's inscription for the funerary record on the late Mr Wei, Ssuma of Shao-chou, this man's grandfather was Wei K'un, and his father Wei Chan. This man was buried in early 719 near Ch'ang-an [Liu Szu-han, annotator (1986), *Ch'ü-chiang chi*, Kuang-tung jen-min ch'u-pan she *Ch'ü-chiang chi*, 640]. According to the clan table in *Hsin T'ang shu* 10/74A/3096, there is a blank under his father's name, but all the cousins in that generation have the 'hand' radical in their personal names, suggesting that this man may have been meant to be Wei Ch'ü 韋據. Chang Chiu-ling was a native of Shao-chou, and as one of Wei Ch'ü's probable relatives was Wei An-shih (651-714), a man who rose to prominence during the reign of Empress Wu, but who opposed the Chang brothers' conduct at court (*Chiu T'ang shu* 9/92/2956), perhaps a binary opposition by association is operating here. Wei An-shih was described as upright and serious in government, the opposite of the sexual favourites, the Chang brothers. Could Wei Ch'ü then be the opposite of the obliterator of the stele, Wu P'ing-i (relative of Empress Wu) and the assassin Chang Hsing-ch'ang? Perhaps assassin Chang was written out of the Ishii text because he had the same surname as Grand Master Chang for whom the text was collated?

³⁶⁸ ZSS, 107-108, 387.

there is no difference between myself and the Thus Come. The Thus Come is my true Thusness.³⁶⁹

This is a remarkable piece of fiction. Words are placed in the mouths of opponents, conspiracies are alleged by rival claimants, obscure individuals like Wei Ch'ü are given roles as authors of evidence, and individuals are conjured up reminiscent of shadowy figures involved with Empress Wu who were later scapegoated by a resentful elite.³⁷⁰ It is indeed a masterpiece of propaganda, using parallels with Buddhist myths such as the robe kept for Maitreya in the depths of Mt Kukkuṭapāda to suggest legitimacy. This is a form of identification by association with powerful but conventional images in the discourse of the times,³⁷¹ in this case with Buddhist themes at a superficial level, but perhaps with Confucian themes at a deeper level. The association of forms of Buddhism with political leadership is also clear; those evidently associated with Empress Wu and 'Northern Ch'an' are evil, those with 'Southern Ch'an' and opponents of Empress Wu are good. Even the equality in the Buddha-nature between the 'barbarian' Hui-neng and the Master Hung-jen is an expression of a new post-Empress Wu atmosphere in which individual merit came to count more than previously, with less emphasis on origin or hereditary status.³⁷²

Shiga Takayoshi has suggested that the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* biography of Hui-neng was largely based on the 752 epitaph for a portrait hall of Hui-neng written by Sung Ting, the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War, with a preface by Shen-hui. This is why Tsan-ning did not use the later stele inscriptions by Wang Wei, Liu Tsung-yüan (816) and Liu Yü-hsi (819), although he may have used other material by Shen-hui and his allies. Therefore, Shiga thinks we should use this material.³⁷³ Certainly, Sung Ting is mentioned in the stupa inscription

³⁶⁹ This last section, with the exception of the final claim, was probably adapted from the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, and is thus Shen-hui's words. See Hu Shih (1968), 284-285, which is almost identical word for word. Text in Suzuki and Koda (1934), 60-62 and Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 109-111.

³⁷⁰ See R. W. Guisso (1978), *Wu Tse-t'ien and the politics of legitimation in Tang China*, Occasional Papers vol. 11, Program in East Asian Studies: Western Washington University, 60-62, on the reign of terror that largely victimised high officials of aristocratic background, many of whom were exiled to South of the Ranges (Ling-nan), demoted there and even massacred.

³⁷¹ Paul E. Corcoran (1979), *Political language and rhetoric*, University of Queensland Press: St. Lucia, 169, on identification, association and image.

³⁷² Guisso (1978), 81.

³⁷³ Shiga (1998), 6, 10.

for Shen-hui written in 765, as having invited Shen-hui to Lo-yang. Shen-hui (and Sung Ting) "set up a stele and erected portraits." Tsung-mi stated this invitation occurred in 745, although he did not mention the stele, which some say was erected in 748 and others in 752.³⁷⁴ However, the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* text contains elements that contradict Shen-hui's own account and has clearly drawn upon elements from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and other sources, possibly including the *Platform Sutra* or *Pao-lin chuan*. Hence, it introduces Liu Chih-lüeh and his aunt Wu-chin-tsang from whom he heard the *Nirvana Sutra*, and states that he later studied meditation with the Meditation Teacher Chih-yüan.³⁷⁵ Also, Tsan-ning relates that Hui-neng later hid between Ssu-hui and Huai-chi counties, and then discussed the wind and flag with Yin-tsung which leads to Hui-neng's tonsure, and reception of full precepts from Chih-kuang on a precepts platform built by Guṇavarman who had predicted this event. This is clearly derived from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, and partly via the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. The mention of the wind and flag dialogue in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* is so cryptic as to be unintelligible without knowledge of the other sources.³⁷⁶ Moreover, as we have seen above, it falsely attributed a poem to Chang Yüeh about sending incense to Hui-neng's stupa. Since Chang Yüeh had been exiled to Ch'in-chou in Ling-nan, he could be expected to have mentioned Hui-neng elsewhere, but he did not do so. As none of the details can be found in any of Shen-hui's works, for this material to have been in Sung Ting's stele, either he or Shen-hui had to have invented all of these stories after Shen-hui's earlier hagiography of Hui-neng had been written, and then the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* would have had to have selectively and differentially adopted elements from the

³⁷⁴ Shimazu Kyōjun in Shiga (1998), 196, 202-203; cf. SKSC T50.755b11. Sung Ting was a prefect of Hsiang-chou during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, and he became Secretary of the Board of the Army (*Hsin T'ang shu* 11/75A/3357). Tsung-mi (HTC14.277b) says Sung Ting invited Shen-hui to Lo-yang in 745 when he was Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War. He is known, however, as a pupil of the T'ien-t'ai teacher Hui-ch'en (673-751) of Yü-ch'üan Monastery where Shen-hsiu had lived (Li Hua, *Ching-chou Nan-ch'üan Ta-yün Ssu ku Lan-jo Ho-shang pei*, CTW 319/1451b15). The Sung Ting mentioned in *Chiu T'ang shu* 16/197/5275, as involved with a Man tribe in 797 is probably another person, see ZSS, 160.

³⁷⁵ Cf. SKSC T50.754b12-19, with *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, EK, 30-32.

³⁷⁶ Cf. SKSC T50.755a2-8, with EK, 37-38, 41-42, and LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 99, which does not mention the two courtiers, 122-123, on the wind and flag, but no mention of Chih-kuang or the prediction.

stele, without acknowledgement. While the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* mentioned that Sung Ting had recently written a stele,³⁷⁷ it does not quote from it. Rather, it seems clear that Tsan-ning has attempted to combine elements of the various accounts of Hui-neng, as is evident from his mention of a Silla monk who tried to take the head from Hui-neng's 'mummy' relic,³⁷⁸ that probably came from the *Pao-lin chuan*, as we shall see. Therefore, it seems near impossible to reconstruct the content of Sung Ting's stele inscription from the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*.

There is one other problematic text that has puzzled many historians, that by Wang Wei (700-759/761), titled *Neng Ch'an-shih pei*. It is generally considered to have been written at the behest of Shen-hui, but it is undated, vague, containing no specifics on Hui-neng's dates and origins, and has material in it not known in any other texts associated with Shen-hui or his school.³⁷⁹ But it must be remembered that this lack of specificity or detail may be due to the circumstances of the author and the nature of the genre of funerary inscriptions, which tend to be eulogistic and flowery.

Wang Wei was writing under several restraints. He could not, in an unseemly manner, attack P'u-chi (651-739) or his followers, for his mother, who died in 750, had been a devout follower of P'u-chi for over thirty years. On her death, Wang wrote Emperor Hsüan-tsung requesting that he be permitted to turn his Lan-t'ien villa into a monastery,³⁸⁰ which was given after 756 to Yüan-ch'ung (713-777), a pupil of Tao-hsüan (706-760), who in turn was a pupil of P'u-chi.³⁸¹ Wang was friendly with Yüan-ch'ung, who may have conducted memorial services for Wang Wei's late mother there.

Wang Wei also wrote a stele for Ching-chüeh (683-750?), probably on request. As with Hui-neng, he does not specify Ching-chüeh's date of death. Ching-chüeh, author of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, was supposedly a relative of the Empress Wei, and being of such an eminent background, it is unlikely that the date of death was unknown unless

³⁷⁷ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 99.

³⁷⁸ SKSC T50.755b17-19.

³⁷⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 66-69; Nagashima Takayuki (1978), *Truths and fabrications in religion: An investigation from the documents of the Zen (Ch'an) Sect*, Probsthain: London, 16, 25-28, 30-50.

³⁸⁰ Chao Tien-ch'eng (nd.), *Wang Mo-chieh ch'üan-chi chien-chu*, Kwong Chi Book Co.: Hong Kong (hereafter Wang Wei, except where referring to Chao's commentary), Wang Wei 17/320.

³⁸¹ SKSC, T50.814c7-9.

there was a special reason for not mentioning it, and in fact Wang Wei knew about one of Ching-chüeh's chief mourners. Note that Ching-chüeh had been a pupil first of Shen-hsiu and then Hsüan-tse.³⁸²

Wang Wei also seems to have known another pupil of Shen-hsiu, either Hui-fu or I-fu (d. 736), both of whom lived at Lan-t'ien.³⁸³ Wang Wei wrote a 'Memorial for the Ācārya Shun in thanks for the Imperially Inscribed Stupa Plaque for Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi' around 758 to honour the two monks. The plaque was written out by Emperor Su-tsung.³⁸⁴

Wang Wei must have faced a quandry when requested by Shen-hui to write the stele for Hui-neng. His friends, family and beloved mother, as well as political masters, were devotees or associates of the very 'Northern Ch'an' teachers Shen-hui was slandering.³⁸⁵

Wang Wei is known to have talked to Shen-hui when he was Censor in Attendance, probably in the period 738-739.³⁸⁶ This relationship endured, for Wang Wei sent a message to Shen-hui, who was then in exile in Chen-yang (modern Cheng-yang, south of Nan-yang, Shen-hui's place of origin), through an acquaintance, his Eminence Yüan who was returning to Mt Heng after holding discussions with Fang Kuan and Wang Wei in Ch'ang-an during 753. Shen-hui had been sent into exile for gathering crowds in Lo-yang and disturbing the peace with his allegations.³⁸⁷

³⁸² ZSS, 88-90; Faure (1989), 15-16.

³⁸³ Wang Wei 7/127. Cf. Chang Yüeh, who wrote praises for two Dharma halls at Fa-ch'ih Monastery at Lan-t'ien. These halls were the San-kuei and Shan-fu halls. In the preface, Chang stated that they had been built by Ch'an Teacher Ch'u-shang, an elder, who later specialised in meditation and chanting scripture, and was an artist of some achievement. See *Chang Yen-kung chi* 12/7a-8a. Ch'u-shang may have been part of this group, although his fame seems to have been due mainly to his filial piety.

³⁸⁴ Wang Wei 17/312.

³⁸⁵ The Prince of Chi, Li Fan, who was one of Wang Wei's patrons, wrote a stele for Shen-hsiu, *Chiu T'ang-shu* 16/191/5110.

³⁸⁶ Hu Shih (1968), 137-139; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 85-86; Gernet (1954), 63.

³⁸⁷ The strict and upright censor Lü I was suspicious of Shen-hui's motives. Sometime between December 752 and January 753 Emperor Hsüan-tsung ordered Shen-hui to Ch'ang-an. When Shen-hui arrived, Hsüan-tsung was visiting the nearby hot springs of Chao-ying. Questioning him, Hsüan-tsung concluded by ordering Shen-hui into a relatively light exile in I-yang County, Chin-chou, about March 753. See Wang Wei 19/278 and 8/106, for his letter and its circumstances. Shimazu, in Shiga (1998), 203-204, casts doubt on whether Shen-hui was exiled, for the stele by Shen-hui's pupil Hui-k'ung merely says that after the stele by Sung Ting was erected,

Whether or not Wang Wei was entirely convinced of Shen-hui's theories is unclear. The suspicion is that the stele for Hui-neng was commissioned around early 752, possibly when Shen-hui had the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War, Sung Ting, write an epitaph for a portrait hall (*chen-t'ang*)³⁸⁸ of Hui-neng (and the other patriarchs?) erected by Shen-hui in Lo-yang's Ho-tse Monastery. Shen-hui wrote a preface for this describing his lineage from Buddha down to Hui-neng, and Fang Kuan wrote prefaces to the diagram/portraits (*t'u*) of the Six Patriarchs.

This portrait hall with its diagrams, inscriptions and prefaces may well have been the source of the six hagiographies of the 'Ch'an' masters from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng found in the Ishii text. The reason for this conjecture is the prediction in the hagiography made by Hui-neng in his final instructions before dying in 713. The prediction was that the transmission of the robe and succession to the 'patriarchship' would be obvious in forty-odd years time, when that person would establish the *tsung*.³⁸⁹ The portrait hall of 752 erected by Shen-hui, which established publicly the 'imperial lineage *tsung*' by placing the portraits in the *chao-mu* order of an ancestral temple of the emperor, with Shen-hui implicitly the seventh 'ancestor' to make up the *tsung*, is probably what was intended.³⁹⁰

If this scenario is correct, then Wang Wei had waited till after his mother's death (750) to write the stele for Hui-neng. Moreover, he was probably constrained by the knowledge of the actions of the Censor, Lü I (?-756), whose indictment of Shen-hui had led to Shen-hui's banishment from the metropolitan regions. As Lü I was in power until he was killed in January 756 during the An Lu-shan Rebellion,³⁹¹ which broke out in December 755, Wang Wei would not have published a stele inscription that could further inflame matters. Moreover, as Shen-hui went into exile around March 753, and the rebellion erupted

"he then travelled to south of the Yangtze, and there was a barbarian rebellion." However, typically, negative items were ignored in epitaphs.

³⁸⁸ For the term *chen*, see Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 161, 174-175; Jorgensen (1987), 121.

³⁸⁹ Suzuki and Koda (1934), 62; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 110.

³⁹⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 110.

³⁹¹ For Lü I see *Chiu T'ang shu* 11/135/3713. He died defending Lo-yang and was considered a sincere and perhaps austere person. Of course, Tsan-ning slanders him as being 'servile' to P'u-chi as an explanation for his banishment of Shen-hui, SKSC, T50.756c25f.

in December 755, causing chaos across much of North China, Wang Wei may not have had the opportunity to obtain the details about Hui-neng from Shen-hui.

Yet surely Wang Wei, who was friends with Fang Kuan,³⁹² would have known what was in the portrait hall preface and inscriptions, or in the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*. However, the portrait hall information may not have been readily available to him, for Wang was appointed Secretary in the Board of Personnel, which seems to have taken him away to Ch'ang-an, where he was captured by An Lu-shan's troops, only to be sent to Lo-yang and kept at P'u-t'i Monastery until he succumbed to pressure to work as an administrator for the rebels. After Lo-yang was retaken by the dynasty's forces on 3rd November 757, Wang Wei was busily defending himself against charges of collaboration, and it was only with the aid of his powerful brother, Wang Chin, that Wang Wei was finally pardoned. He therefore may not have had the chance to consult this material then.

Meanwhile, Shen-hui was busy elsewhere. Shen-hui was still in the countryside until about mid-757,³⁹³ when he was employed by the state under a plan initiated by P'ei Mien and possibly Fang Kuan, to control the collection of money for government coffers through the ordination of monks. Shen-hui's propaganda skills were now of great use. This activity began in Feng-hsiang, and Shen-hui probably only returned to the capital in 758, and he remained busy travelling around the ordination platforms, for he died on 23rd June 758 in Ching-chou.³⁹⁴ Therefore, Wang Wei may not have had a chance to verify the details of the stele with Shen-hui.

Moreover, if the stele inscription dates from after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, Wang Wei may have deliberately left it unfinished, for he wrote a memorial on behalf of an Ācārya Shun in thanks to the emperor for writing a plaque for the stupas of Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi in 758.³⁹⁵ Although this may have been a semi-official duty, there is evidence some of Shen-hui's erstwhile supporters still had sympathies with 'Northern Ch'an,' and Wang Wei may have been among them.

For example, his brother Wang Chin (700-781), who had rescued

³⁹² Wang Wei 1/18.

³⁹³ Yamazaki Hiroshi (1967), *Zui-Tō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 212-213.

³⁹⁴ Jorgensen (1987), 118-119, notes 131 and 132; ZSS, 322; Hui-k'ung, stele for Shen-hui, in Shiga (1998), 197.

³⁹⁵ Wang Wei 17/243.

Wang Wei from charges of collaboration with the enemy, was friends with P'u-chi's pupil Kuang-te and wrote a stele for Kuang-te's pupil T'an-chen. T'an-chen's disciple Cheng-hsün treated Wang Chin like a father.³⁹⁶ And, it should be noted, it was Wang Chin who collected together his brother's writings and presented them to the throne in 763. It is unclear whether or not the collection included his stele for Hui-neng or not,³⁹⁷ but if so, Wang Chin may have only had a draft. If Wang Wei wrote the stele after the rebellion, he would hardly have been likely to insult the beliefs and friends of his brother to whom he was indebted.

Moreover, Fang Kuan (697-763) wrote a stele inscription for the 'Third Patriarch' Seng-ts'an in 762 on behalf of Shen-hui. It is significant that in a stupa inscription for Seng-ts'an written by Tu-ku Chi, that the petitioners to Emperor Tai-tsung on 28th May 772 requesting that the monk be granted the posthumous title Ch'an Teacher Ching-chih, include Chang Yen-shang, who is called Grand Master,³⁹⁸ along with Wang Chin and others. Therefore, Chang Yen-shang clearly had an interest in the incipient 'Ch'an tradition,' and so it is likely that he commissioned the collation of the Ishii text after 772. Moreover, all of these activities are considered to have been part of a counter-attack made by 'Northern Ch'an' against Shen-hui's claims about Seng-ts'an.³⁹⁹

Given this changed climate, perhaps Wang Wei was not willing to push the more extravagant claims made by Shen-hui, for his friends and fellow officials were evidently showing skepticism concerning Shen-hui's assertions, even while they used Shen-hui's rhetorical talents to raise money for the treasury.

³⁹⁶ Wang Chin, *Tung-ching Ta-ching-ai Ssu Ta-cheng Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 370/1686c4-5.

³⁹⁷ Chao Tien-ch'eng, 'lich lüeh,' 1, indicates that it probably only included poems.

³⁹⁸ Tu-ku Chi, *Shu-chou San-ku Ssu shang-fang Ch'an-men Ti-san tsu Ts'an Ta-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 392/1791a10ff. Text of Fang Kuan's inscription is in *Pao-lin chuan* 149-154 (8.36b7-46b), and epigraphical record by Chao Ming-ch'eng (1081-1129) in *Chin-shih lu*, no. 1378, see Jinhua Chen (1999), 'One Name: Three Monks: Two Northern Chan Masters Emerge from the Shadow of Their Contemporary, the Tiantai Master Zhanran (711-782),' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22 (1): 4-5, note 9. See also ZSS, 124, and Tu-ku Chi, *Shu-chou San-ku Ssu Chieh-chi t'a Sui ku Ching-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 390/178. Chang Yen-shang is Grand Master.

³⁹⁹ ZSS, 324-325; Jorgensen (1987), 95.

Another reason for the imprecision and vagueness of Wang Wei's stele when compared to Shen-hui's stories is the genre of funerary stele itself. Funerary stelae were often written on commission,⁴⁰⁰ and the more famous the writer the more likely the stele would survive as a literary masterpiece. These lay writers did not necessarily share the same 'sectarian' viewpoint as some monks, being more open-minded and catholic in their opinions, providing thereby a different emphasis. Wang Wei may thus have modified the 'account of conduct' that Shen-hui presumably had prepared for Hui-neng,⁴⁰¹ if there ever was one. Perhaps the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan* or the Portrait Hall inscriptions count as an 'account of conduct.' Thus, Wang Wei may have used secular criteria in writing the inscription for Hui-neng.⁴⁰²

Therefore, the language of the stele is completely different to that of Shen-hui's texts, which were easy to read, in a vulgate or even colloquial, and similar to the *p'ien-wen* style. The only allusions made in the Ishii hagiography of Hui-neng are to a few well known Buddhist stories, and the information is relatively straightforward and the point fairly evident. In contrast, Wang Wei's stele is in an ornate, dense, elliptical style of Classical Chinese prose, and packed with so many allusions to the Chinese Confucian and Taoist classics, as well as Buddhist materials, that only the most highly educated person could have read it. Thus the Ch'ing Dynasty commentator, Chao Tien-ch'eng (Sung-ku) in 1736, the contemporary Japanese scholar of Zen, Yanagida Seizan, and the eminent modern Chinese Buddhist scholar Ting Fu-pao, all have extensive notations to explain the references in the text.⁴⁰³ As this text also became a major influence in the creation of the later Hui-neng hagiography, parts of it, excluding reported teachings of doctrine, are translated below:

⁴⁰⁰ See Chao Tien-ch'eng, 'chuan shou,' 8, quote of *Lu shih tsa chi* on Wang Chin's love of writing stelae, and Wang Wei's response, in colloquial Chinese, when a commissioner mistakenly came to knock on his door.

⁴⁰¹ See comments by Shinohara (1988), 122-123, 125.

⁴⁰² Cf. Shinohara (1988), 126.

⁴⁰³ Wang Wei and Chao Tien-ch'eng, 25/348-358; Ting Fu-pao (1922), 'Liu-tsu Neng Ch'an-shih pei-ming,' *Liu-tsu t'an-ching chu-chieh*, Jui-ch'eng shu-ch'ü yin-hang, 1-18; ZSS, 539-558, of which only 4 pp. are original text. To this we could add the commentary by Wakatsuki Toshihide in Shiga (1998), 151-174, which became available after I completed this translation.

Stele Inscription for [the Sixth Patriarch] Ch'an Teacher Neng (with preface)

[Preface]

Where there is no existence to be discarded,
This is the discernment of the source of existence.
Where there is no emptiness to be dwelt on,
This is the knowledge of the basis of emptiness.
There is no movement apart from calm,
So ride the transformations and use them as a constant.
Not one of the hundred dharmas is attainable,
(So) circulate through the myriad things and not be destroyed.⁴⁰⁴
The roving sailor [like the śrāvaka who ferries many over the ocean but
cannot save himself]⁴⁰⁵ does not know the conduct of bodhi,
(But) the goddess scattering flowers can transform the body of a śrāvaka so
that (the śrāvaka) knows that dharmas originally are not produced.⁴⁰⁶
Views arise due to the mind, but there is nothing to be grasped in the
views.

The Dharma is constant, Thus.

Perfected people in the world have a realisation of this.

Is not (the one) who has attained the non-outflow (nirvana) without
exhausting the outflow [in this life],

And who has transcended the created (*yu-wei*, *samskṛta*) while denying
the uncreated (*wu-wei*),

Just our Ch'an Teacher of Ts'ao-ch'i?⁴⁰⁷

The Ch'an Teacher's lay surname was Lü. He was a native of a *certain*
commandery and a *certain* prefecture. His name was Hsü-chia (Unreal).
He was not born into a family of distinguished lineage. The Dharma has
no centre or extremes; and he did not dwell in the Chinese heartlands.⁴⁰⁸
His good (karmic) habituation was expressed in his child's play, and his
sharp faculties developed in his youthful mind. He was not selfish with
his person, sharing his life⁴⁰⁹ with his ploughing and silkworm-raising
companions. If one is to follow his Way, one enacts rank conduct⁴¹⁰
among the villages of the Man and Mai.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁴ Wakatsuki, in Shiga (1998), 159, based on *Lao-tzu* 16.

⁴⁰⁵ ZSS, 544, reference to the *Hua-yen ching*? References will not be given in full as they are indicated in the notes of the commentators mentioned above in the previous note. Wakatsuki, in Shiga (1998), 159, from *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* and *Ch'u tz'u*.

⁴⁰⁶ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, T14.547c, 550c.

⁴⁰⁷ The last means a bodhisattva or buddha who acts within the the world yet is not of it.

⁴⁰⁸ Hua-Hsia indicates the North China Plain.

⁴⁰⁹ Literally, "having the same odour," a reference to the *Tso-chuan*.

⁴¹⁰ *Chuang-tzu*, Hsi Yu-kuei chapter, on Shun, whose 'rank conduct' made people like him.

⁴¹¹ *Lun-yü* XV.v.2. A common usage in the T'ang for the barbarians of Kuang-

When he had some years, (Neng) served Master (Hung-)jen of Huang-mei. He wished to use his strength,⁴¹² and so was placed with the well and mortar (kitchen). He always scoured his mind⁴¹³ and obtained his awakening midst panic grass.⁴¹⁴ Each time the Master climbed into his pulpit, the student assembly filled the courtyard. Among them there were those with the faculties of the Three Vehicles, who together heard the Dharma of the Unique Voice.⁴¹⁵ The Ch'an Teacher (Hui-neng) received the teaching silently and never promoted himself.⁴¹⁶ He retired and reflected on himself,⁴¹⁷ and made the great leap to non-ego. Its (ego) existence was just like the imaginings of a thirsty deer⁴¹⁸ or still seeking the traces of a bird's flight [after it has passed].⁴¹⁹ The fragrant food had not yet dissipated,⁴²⁰ and the ragged clothes still covered [the prodigal].⁴²¹

Everyone said, "Go up into the hall and enter (Hung-jen's) room, and fathom the ocean and spy on Heaven,⁴²² for it is said that you can obtain the pearl of the Yellow Emperor⁴²³ and are able to receive the seal of the Dharma King." The Master knew in his mind that (Hui-neng) alone had attained (enlightenment), but declined to announce it. Does Heaven speak?⁴²⁴ How dare (I rank myself with) the saint and the compassionate?⁴²⁵ The master (Confucius) said, "Tz'u, I grant you, you are not his equal."⁴²⁶ When (Hung-jen) was near death, he secretly gave

tung. See Chang Chiu-ling's stele for the Ssu-ma of Shao-chou, Mr Wei; "If one is to follow honesty and good faith, why despise the Man and Mai," Liu Szu-han, annotator (1986), *Ch'ü-chiang chi*, 640.

⁴¹² *Lun-yü* I.vii. Legge (1972), 1: 140, "if in serving his parents, he can exert his utmost strength."

⁴¹³ *Chuang-tzu*, Heaven and Earth chapter.

⁴¹⁴ *Chuang-tzu*, Chih-pei Yu, "The Tao is even in panic grass and shit."

⁴¹⁵ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14,538a, the theory that students with different levels of comprehension all heard the same voice, but understood it differently according to their capacity.

⁴¹⁶ *Lun-yü* III.viii.3; Legge (1972), 1: 157, "bring out my meaning."

⁴¹⁷ *Lun-yü* II.ix; Legge (1972), 1: 149.

⁴¹⁸ *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, T16,491a, the thirsty deer sees a mirage and thinks it real.

⁴¹⁹ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* or *Nieh-p'an ching*, T12,547b.

⁴²⁰ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14,552b.

⁴²¹ *Lotus Sutra*, meaning he attained enlightenment, but made no show or use of it.

⁴²² *Lun-yü* and *Han shu*, biography of Tung-fang Shuo.

⁴²³ *Chuang-tzu*, Heaven and Earth chapter, i.e. where there are no longer any set images, No mind.

⁴²⁴ *Lun-yü* XVII.xix.3, and *I Ching*, chien, cf. Cary F. Baynes, trans (1968), *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, translated from the German of Richard Wilhelm, 3rd edn, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 464.

⁴²⁵ *Lun-yü* VII.33; Legge (1972), 1: 206.

⁴²⁶ *Lun-yü* V.viii.3; Legge (1972), 1: 176. Tz'u is the personal name of Tzu-kung. This is an abbreviation of the text, which was about the superiority of Yen Hui over

(Hui-neng) the robe of the patriarchal teachers, saying to him, "People envy the lone saint, for they hate those better than themselves. I am about to die, so it is up to you to carry out (the mission)."

The Meditation Teacher (Hui-neng) thereupon embraced the jewel and left the country to delusion,⁴²⁷ and silenced his voice in that foreign land. Sentient beings make up the Pure Land,⁴²⁸ and so he mixed in and lived with the common people [those registered]. Worldly affairs are the gate of salvation,⁴²⁹ so he mucked in with the farmers and merchants and their labours.⁴³⁰ This he did for sixteen years.

In Nan-hai there was a Dharma teacher Yin-tsung who lectured on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. The Meditation Teacher listened to him in the congregation, and so asked him about the overall meaning (of the sutra) and questioned him about the True Vehicle. Since (Yin-tsung) could not reply, (Yin-tsung) instead requested the benefits (of Hui-neng's instruction). (Yin-tsung) then sighed, "The Transformation Body (*nirmāṇakāya* of the Buddha) is in his physical body, and (I) a flesh-eyed ordinary person (*prthagjana*) wish (you) to open my wisdom eye." So (Yin-tsung) led all his followers to visit Ch'an-chu (Monastery),⁴³¹ and presented (Hui-neng) with a robe to wear, and personally shaved off his hair [gave him the tonsure]. Thereupon the rain of the Dharma came down heavily, and everywhere washed away the adventitious contaminants.⁴³²

Then (Hui-neng) taught the people about forbearance, saying...[here follows a sermon on forbearance, samādhi and prajñā, original awareness etc]

And since his way and its virtue were spread all over, his reputation was heard everywhere, and the people of the islands, water and cave-dwellers and the grass-clad,⁴³³ separated from the Saint (Buddha) by eons, and of countries whose people paint their bodies and pierce their

Tzu-kung. Confucius said, "You are not equal to him. I grant you, you are not equal to him." Cf. Makeham (2003), 57, for interpretation.

⁴²⁷ *Lun-yü* XVII.1.2, when Confucius was challenged to serve the country, he was asked, "Can it be humane to hide away one's treasure (ability) and leave the country to delusion?"

⁴²⁸ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14.538a.

⁴²⁹ *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, T16.480a.

⁴³⁰ labours = labourers, people who are troubled; cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14.504c.

⁴³¹ ZSS, 250, note 12, and EK, 497; a monastery to the west of Shao-chou, according to Chien-chen/Ganjin. The *Pao-lin chuan* states that this is where Seng-ts'an stayed.

⁴³² *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.455a.

⁴³³ ZSS, 551; Ting Fu-pao (1922), 'Liu-tsu Neng Ch'an-shih pei-ming,' 8, compares cave-dwellers 淵館 and water-craft dwellers 泉館 or 泉定. Water-craft dwellers and the grass-clad appear in a poem by Wang Wei, see Wakatsuki, in Shiga (1998), 167.

ears,⁴³⁴ and sail on the seas throughout the year, all wished to set eyes on the form of the great holy man, and so they forgot their fears of the mouths of leviathans (and travelled over the sea). They lined up outside his home, and sat in front of his bench.

The forest is (composed of) candana (sandal-wood) trees, without any other intruding species;⁴³⁵ the flowers are only campaka, and do not smell of another fragrance.⁴³⁶ They all returned full of the fruit,⁴³⁷ and most divorced themselves from false attachment.

The emperor extended his considerations (to him) and conveyed his sincerity over ten thousand *li*. (The emperor) thought to spread his hair (on the ground) in order to welcome him,⁴³⁸ and he hoped to join his hands and bow to him. The Empress Dowager Tse-t'ien and Emperor Hsiao-ho (Chung-tsung) both wrote imperial letters encouraging him to come to the court in attendance. The Meditation Teacher was of the mind of Prince Mou,⁴³⁹ but he dared to forget the phoenix palace. (Hui-yüan's feet did not pass beyond Tiger Stream,⁴⁴⁰ and he (similarly) declined, ultimately not accepting the summons. So (the court) sent a patchwork robe, cash and silk etc as offerings. The Celestial King⁴⁴¹ out of deep respect presented a jade robe to the man of illusion;⁴⁴² the Empress out of past causation donated gold coins to the Transformation Buddha (*nirmāṇakāya*).⁴⁴³ The respect for virtue and the honouring of people is in concord throughout the ages.

On a *certain* year, month and day, (Hui-neng) suddenly said to his disciples, "I am going now!" Immediately a strange perfume filled the room, and a bright rainbow touched the ground. When he had finished eating he spread his mat out, and when he had completed bathing he put his clothes on again. In less time than it takes to snap

⁴³⁴ *Nan shih* says that these are characteristics of the people of Champa and beyond.

⁴³⁵ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.480a, all are good pupils.

⁴³⁶ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14.548a, only hear of Buddha's merit, not that of the śrāvakas or pratyeka buddha.

⁴³⁷ *Chuang-tzu* or Wang Ch'in's *T'ou-t'o Ssu pei wen*, in *Wen-hsüan*.

⁴³⁸ *Liu-tu chi ching* 8, the person doing so was Ju-tung, i.e. Mānava, Confucius in a previous incarnation. See also *Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching*, T3.622b.

⁴³⁹ *Chuang-tzu*, Prince of Wei, who said, "Physically I am by the rivers and seas, but my mind rests at the court of Wei," that is, Hui-neng thought of the court, but could not go there.

⁴⁴⁰ A famous story of Hui-yüan, who vowed not to cross the stream, but was so engrossed in conversation with T'ao Yüan-ming and the Taoist Lu Ching-hsiu that he forgot, *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.361a.

⁴⁴¹ Ting Fu-pao (1922), 'Liu-tsu Neng Ch'an-shih pei-ming,' 10, says indicates Chung-tsung; ZSS, 553, suggests Empress Wu arranged this.

⁴⁴² *Lieh-tzu*, in which King Wu of Chou meets a man who is like a gourd, who transforms, and gave him gifts made of jade.

⁴⁴³ *Tsa pao-tsang ching*?, ZSS, 553-554.

one's fingers, (as) water flows away and lamps flame out,⁴⁴⁴ the golden body (of a buddha) departs eternally, (like) firewood totally consumed in the fire.⁴⁴⁵ The mountains crumbled and the rivers dried up, the birds cried and the gibbons howled, and people called out, "People have no eyes."⁴⁴⁶ The serried commanderies were moved by tears and the world was now empty.⁴⁴⁷

On a *certain* date his spirit⁴⁴⁸ was shifted to Ts'ao-ch'i and was enshrined in a *certain* place. They had selected an auspicious site and did not await the black crow.⁴⁴⁹ The trees of virtue were all transformed to become like white cranes.⁴⁵⁰

Alas, the master's perfect disposition was pure and unique; his natural physique was chaste and unsullied. The one hundred blessings [possessed by each mark of the Buddha's body]⁴⁵¹ perfected his attributes, and the masses of marvels combined in his mind. Whether he was walking⁴⁵² or at rest (meditation), he was always in *samādhi*. When he joked and conversed, he never (engaged) in sophistry [*prapañca* or frivolous speech]. Therefore it was impossible for him to have many Indian visitors,⁴⁵³ and the peoples of the South (Yüeh) worshipped him. The strength of great snakes,⁴⁵⁴ pythons, and poisonous scorpions was eliminated. The cruel customs of throwing spears and bending bows were changed, and hunting and fishing halted. The use of (murderous) poison (magic) was (now) known to be wrong. Most gave up the smell of game and imitated the diet of the monkhood. They all abandoned their nets and snares, and adopted the clothes of rice farmers. For a long time, only the Buddha's Dharma could truly aid in the august rulers' conversion [civilisation of these people].

A pupil called Shen-hui met the teacher in the evening (of Hui-neng's life), hearing the Way when he (Shen-hui) was middle-aged. His broad capacities transcended that of the ordinary mind, and his sharp intelligence exceeded that of former students. Although he made the very

⁴⁴⁴ Like immediate entrance to nirvana at the time of death, mentally a fire arises in meditation and consumes the body.

⁴⁴⁵ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, or *Lotus Sutra*, T9.5a, referring to the cremation of Buddha.

⁴⁴⁶ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.424a, "sentient beings' eyes went out" when the Buddha passed into nirvana.

⁴⁴⁷ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.365c.

⁴⁴⁸ Faure (1991), 152, note 8.

⁴⁴⁹ That is, did not divine the burial site by using a geomancer, cf. Li Hsien's commentary to *Hou Han shu* 66, biography of Wang Ching.

⁴⁵⁰ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.369b, the sāla trees that surrounded Buddha's nirvana all changed into a white colour.

⁴⁵¹ *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.508a.

⁴⁵² Wakatsuki, in Shiga (1998), 170, from Wang Chin, 'Tou-t'ou Ssu pei-wen,' in *Wen-hsüan*.

⁴⁵³ *Han shu* 45, or Lu Chi, 'Pien-wang lun,' in *Wen-hsüan* 53.

⁴⁵⁴ *Huai-nan tzu*.

last offering,⁴⁵⁵ he delighted in the Highest Vehicle. What the former teacher (Hui-neng) clarified was akin to the vow (of the daughter of the dragon king) to present the pearl.⁴⁵⁶ People of the world do not yet realise this (so he was) just like (P'ien Ho of Ch'u) who often was in grief while clasping a jade to his chest.⁴⁵⁷

He (Shen-hui) considered that I (Wang Wei) was knowledgeable of the Way, so he commissioned me (to write) the eulogy (*sung*). The gathas are:

The five skandhas are originally empty,
The six (sense) contaminants do not exist.
Sentient beings mistakenly calculate,
Not knowing the correct perception (*samādhi*).
The lotus flowers supported (the babe Buddha's) feet,⁴⁵⁸
And a willow branch sprouted from his elbow.⁴⁵⁹
If one is separated from both body and mind,
Which shall (receive) the good and ill (karma)?

The perfected man perceptively contemplates,
Equal to the Buddha in merit.⁴⁶⁰
He has no mind (with which) to reject existence,
And where can he depend on emptiness?
He is not attached to the three realms,
Nor in vain labours the eight emotions.
Through this keen insight,
He can comprehend the essential doctrine.⁴⁶¹

He pitied this remote region
That had not heard the Correct Dharma.
He condescended to join these evil groups,
To inspire the doing of good deeds.
He taught patience, to cut off anger,

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Shen-hui's own comparison of himself with Cunda, Hu Shih (1968), 275-276; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 24; Teng and Jung (1998), 25-26; and Jorgensen (1987), 114; cf. *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.424a.

⁴⁵⁶ *Lotus Sūtra*, Hurvitz (1976), 201; the receiver of the pearl will rapidly become buddha.

⁴⁵⁷ *Han Fei-tzu*, Burton Watson (1964), *Han Fei tzu: Basic Writings*, Columbia University Press: New York, 86. This man found a rough jade and presented it to the ruler, whose jewellers said it was just a stone. After several attempts, his foot was amputated as a punishment. Finally, he just sat and wept, clasping it to his breast, until eventually it was acknowledged to be jade. This could be used as a metaphor for the lack of recognition Shen-hui received.

⁴⁵⁸ *Fo pen-hsing chi ching*, T3.687b.

⁴⁵⁹ *Chuang-tzu*, Burton Watson (1968), *The Complete Works of Chuang tzu*, Columbia University Press; New York, 114, part of the natural cycle.

⁴⁶⁰ Some versions have 物 (things).

⁴⁶¹ *Lankavatāra Sūtra*, T16.499b.

To cultivate compassion and give up hunting.
 The world is but a single flower,⁴⁶²
 And the patriarchal lineage has six petals (generations).

He greatly opened the Treasure Store
 And indicated clearly the jewel in the clothing.
 The original source is always present,
 But if one takes a mistaken course one diverges (from it).
 Transcend movement and non-movement,
 Divorce oneself from both and neither.⁴⁶⁴
 My Way is Thus,
 How can the Way (not) be in me?

The Way is throughout all four forms of life,
 And always relies on the six paths (of transmigration).
 The tainted and the saintly insight
 Are meaningless sentences and verses.
 The sixty-two kinds (of views)
 And one hundred and eight metaphors (for defilements)
 Are all unattainable,
 (So) one should reside Thus.⁴⁶⁵

Although there is some similarity in the information in Wang Wei's and Shen-hui's accounts; such as Hui-neng's surname, discipleship under Hung-jen and work in the kitchens, the secret transmission of the robe, Shen-hui as the final pupil of Hui-neng, and miracles of his death; it is the differences in style and content that strike the reader. Wang Wei's account lacks specific dates, the dramatic scenes of attempted thefts of the robe, and conspiracies to alter the stele inscription in favour of 'Northern Ch'an.' There is no Shen-hsiu or P'u-chi here, and no mention of North versus South. Much of the binary opposition that is featured in Shen-hui's accounts is absent, possibly because it was obvious to his literate audience. And then there are the additions; the story of Yin-tsung and the imperial summons and gifts.

Some of these differences can be explained by the genre and the constraints Wang Wei was working under. He could not support Shen-

⁴⁶² *Lotus Sutra* or *Hua-yen ching*, T10.213b. This is a possible source for the gathas of the *Pao-lin chuan* or *Platform Sutra*.

⁴⁶³ *Lotus Sutra*.

⁴⁶⁴ *Lankavatāra Sūtra*, T16.531b.

⁴⁶⁵ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. This became a famous line for Hui-neng in the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra*.

hui's identification of Hui-neng's family with the eminent Lü of Fan-yang, and so states that Hui-neng's ancestors were of an undistinguished clan. He does not mention that Hui-neng's father was an official of Hsin-chou, for bureaucratic records could have been consulted to deny this, and members of the Lü clan of Fan-yang moved in Wang Wei's circle of acquaintances.⁴⁶⁶ On the other hand, the stories of the imperial gifts Wang added may well have been able to be falsified simply because such events were very frequent and often alleged, and such hyperbole was generally accepted. The point was rather Hui-neng's deliberate resistance to the summons of corrupt rulers, a sure sign of the typical sage in the Chinese tradition.

The stele inscription also does not mention Shen-hsiu or P'u-chi, as can be expected given Wang Wei's own allegiances and those of his family and friends. Nor could vile smears be levelled against Wu P'ing-i (d. ca. 741), who probably still had living relatives in the capital region, and whose memory would have still been fresh in the minds of many who could deny the trumped up charges. Finally, it was not the done thing!

The addition Wang Wei made of the figure of Yin-tsung, and for

⁴⁶⁶ Patricia Buckley Ebrey (1978), *The aristocratic families of early imperial China: A case study of the Po-ling Ts'ui family*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 146 note 22. The only sizable, important Lü clan came from Fan-yang. I suspect that Hui-neng's father was modelled on Lü Tsang-yung, a Taoist-cum-Buddhist who was active around court and opposed Empress Wu's extravagance in the period 700 to 705. He was exiled to Hsin-chou in 712 for association with the revolt of Princess T'ai-p'ing. He was later exiled into northern Vietnam, and died later at Shih-hsing, just east of Shao-chou on the road to Ts'ao-ch'i. He thus died in a very minor post. See *Hsin Tang shu* 14/123/4314-4315, and CTW 238/1075a, compilers' notes. Lü Tsang-yung wrote a preface to the *Heng-yüeh/Nan-yüeh shih-pa Kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of Eighteen Eminent Monks of Nan-yüeh) when he was Directory of the Chancellery, CTW 238/1075ff, and he was connected with the translation teams of I-ching and Bodhiruci. He proof-read the *Fa-ching Ching* (Dharma-Mirror Sutra), a copy of which was found at Tun-huang, Pelliot 2433, and Stein 2423, cf. T85.1422a22-23. It was used by the Sect of the Three Stages, and has been the subject of a study by Forte (1990). He was famed as a calligrapher, and wrote out Chang Yüeh's stele inscription for Shen-hsiu. See James George Robson (2002), 'Imagining Nanyue: A Religious History of the Southern Marchmount through the Tang Dynasty (618-907),' PhD diss., Stanford University, 427-431. A rubbing mentions that Lü wrote out Chang's inscription, see Kawachi Shōen in Shiga (1998), 30; ZSS, 497. It should be noted that Lü was a patron of the Fa-hsiang master, Hui-chao (640-714), along with Wu P'ing-i. See Jorgensen (2002), 'Representing Wōnch'ūk,' 92. As Shen-hui was relying more on rhetorical images, the image evoked by the Lü name and the association of Lü Tsang-yung with Buddhism and 'Ch'an,' and his opposition to Empress Wu and his exile in the far South were more important than the historical facts.

which no evidence can be found in the writings of Shen-hui or his pupils, was made to capitalise on family connections. Wang Wei seems to have been short on details to put into the hagiography, and if he wrote it after Shen-hui's death, he may have interpolated the person of Yin-tsung (627-713), a relatively well-known Vinaya monk whom the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* states lived mostly in the Wu Commandery (Su-chou) region during the Shang-yuan reign (675-676). Yin-tsung there met Wang Wei's grandfather, Wang Chou, who had Yin-tsung set up precepts ordination platforms across the lower Yangtze valley region. Yin-tsung may have been a student for a time under Hung-jen, like his student and fellow Vinaya specialist of K'uai-chi, Seng-ta (639-719).⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps also it is not coincidence that Yin-tsung's name means, 'to seal the lineage.' Remarkably, in Wang Wei's account Hui-neng receives the robe of a monk, that is, the robe of transmission, from Hung-jen before he is even tonsured and ordained as a monk by Yin-tsung. Shen-hui's account did not specify whether Hui-neng had already been ordained or not, leaving his status ambiguous. This deflation of the status of a monk and the inflation of the layperson is increased in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, possibly as a protest against the heightened emphasis on qualifications and ordination introduced under Emperor Hsüan-tsung, who also closed many unofficial monasteries and laicised improperly registered clergy, while simultaneously promoting Taoism. The protest took the form of a reaction against Empress Wu's misuse of materialist Buddhism, which had encouraged Hsüan-tsung's crackdown, and an advocacy of an immaterial Buddhism, symbolised by the formless precepts.⁴⁶⁸

Much of Wang Wei's stele appears to be a draft, for he has yet to put in the dates and places, using the word *mou*, 'a certain,' instead. This lack of specific information has induced some speculation that Shen-hui was not Hui-neng's pupil.⁴⁶⁹ There is merit in the suggestion, for there is no evidence other than Shen-hui's own assertion that Shen-hui ever went to Shao-chou; his activities centre round North

⁴⁶⁷ For Seng-ta, see SKSC, T50.889b; for Yin-tsung, T50.731b8-26. Tsan-ning probably connected Yin-tsung and Hui-neng on Wang Wei's testimony.

⁴⁶⁸ Wendi Leigh Adamek (1997), 'Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as seen through the "Lidai fabaoji" (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages),' PhD diss. Stanford University, 254-255, 267-268; cf. Stanley Weinstein (1987), *Buddhism under the Tang*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 50-54.

⁴⁶⁹ Nagashima Takayuki (1990), 'Enōden no hassō no ichi kōsatsu,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 39 (1): 94-98.

China. Born in 684, Shen-hui studied Confucianism and Taoism, and finally Buddhism, which induced him to abandon his ambitions to enter the bureaucracy. He became a monk in Hsiang-chou for a time, studying sutras, vinaya and ritual. He then studied under Shen-hsiu for three years, and according to Tsung-mi, this was before Shen-hsiu was summoned to court in 700. But this does not accord with the dates given in his funerary inscription. Shen-hui could not have studied all of this material by the age of sixteen, and be a fully-fledged monk. His stupa inscription by his pupil Hui-k'ung states that he died in 758 aged seventy-five, a monk for fifty-four summer retreats, which means he became a monk in 703/4, i.e. at the proper age for ordination, and so he probably remained a pupil of Shen-hsiu until the latter's death in 706.⁴⁷⁰ There is thus a gap in our knowledge of Shen-hui's activities until 720 when he was imperially ordered to reside in Lung-hsing Monastery, Nan-yang. He became a rival of P'u-chi, possibly because P'u-chi made Shen-hsiu the 'Sixth Patriarch' instead of Fa-ju, by changing and adding Shen-hsiu's hagiography to the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* ca. 712/3 and establishing a 'Hall of the Seven Patriarchs' and stele inscriptions for them.⁴⁷¹

Rather, the slanders at the end of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* against unnamed pupils of Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu as being below par, of students pretending that their ignorance is understanding and who mix up methods of practice, and the assertion that the Dharma was transmitted in secret,⁴⁷² may have sparked a reaction from Shen-hui, who began to use P'u-chi's own weapons (or those alleged that P'u-chi used) against him. Therefore, Shen-hui did not attack Shen-hsiu, only P'u-chi, and as the transmission was supposedly secret, he could equally claim a secret transmission from Hung-jen to Hui-neng and eventually to himself, thereby bypassing Shen-hsiu and outplaying P'u-chi at his own game. Hui-neng was selected as his teacher and secret agent of transmission simply because, of the ten great disciples of Hung-jen, he was the most remote and obscure, and supposedly

⁴⁷⁰ Wen Yü-ch'eng (1984), 'Chi hsin ch'u-t'u ti Ho-tse Ta-shih Shen-hui t'a-ming,' 79; Shimazu, in Shiga (1998), 197, 206 note.

⁴⁷¹ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 172-174; Hu Shih (1968), 289, and Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31, or Teng and Jung (1998), 38, for the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*. However, the evidence for P'u-chi doing so is tenuous at best, as I shall indicate in Chapter 7.

⁴⁷² McRae (1986), 268-269.

lived long enough for Shen-hui to have met him.⁴⁷³

Furthermore, Shen-hui gained ideas from the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*. He may have used its hagiography of Hung-jen to provide a structure for the Hui-neng hagiography, though that is more evident in later works. Possibly he also obtained the idea of the transmission of the robe from the 727 preface written by Li Chih-fei to Ching-chüeh's *Commentary on the Heart Sutra*.⁴⁷⁴ Finally, it may have been knowledge that Wang Wei was writing a stele inscription for Ching-chüeh that prompted him to request a stele inscription for Hui-neng also.

Shen-hui probably never met Hui-neng, for just about everything he claimed concerning Hui-neng was propaganda written in response to the challenges of P'u-chi, Ching-tsang, Hou-mo Ch'en Yen and possibly Ching-chüeh, the latter a much more marginal figure. He invented the blatantly false stories about Wu P'ing-i and Chang Hsing-ch'ang, and found the most obscure of individuals such as Wei Ch'ü to whom to attribute obituaries. Therefore, when Wang Wei came to compose his inscription, there was not much solid evidence to work with, which may explain the heavy use of stereotypes, hyperbole and classical allusions in the text, and the frequent use of *mou* ('a certain'). Stereotypes of course were stock in trade for writers of all Chinese biographies, lay or Buddhist,⁴⁷⁵ and *mou* was probably not used only for drafts, but also where information was being kept secret by relatives and others, information such as the taboo names of subjects. Most funerary inscriptions of this period use *mou* to varying degrees, but few to the extent that Wang Wei seems to have done, especially in the Hui-neng stele.⁴⁷⁶ *Mou* was likely used in places where relatives

⁴⁷³ Of the ten, Shen-hsiu, Fa-ju, Lao-an and Chih-shen were already dead by this time; Hsüan-tse was claimed as patriarch by Ching-chüeh, and had died also. Liu the Registrar was a layman, and Hui-tsang, I-fang and Hsüan-yüeh lived too close by and were obscure. Chih-te was a 'Korean.' Cf. LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 282.

⁴⁷⁴ Nagashima Takayuki (1993), 'Enōden no hassō no ichi kōsatsu, 2,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 41 (1): 104-105.

⁴⁷⁵ Twitchett (1962), 28, on formulas and 29, on embellishing with incidents taken from tradition, 34, on stereotypes. Cf. Hans H. Frankel (1962), 'T'ang literati: A composite biography,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Confucian personalities*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 110ff, on topoi for biographies of literati. Cf. Zürcher (1959), 7, for similar features in Buddhist biographies.

⁴⁷⁶ Wang Wei's stele for Ching-chüeh uses *mou* for dates of death and for names of mourners (ZSS, 518-519); the stupa inscription for Shen-hui appended to the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* uses it for Shen-hsiu's taboo name (CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 426), but there is not one occurrence in Chang Yüeh's stele for Shen-hsiu. In the case of

or disciples of the deceased could fill in the blanks if they wished, and so Shen-hui probably never had the chance, and Wang Wei lacked the information. Unusually, Wang even lacked the place names for Hui-neng's native place of registration, perhaps because he did not accept Shen-hui's Fan-yang claim.

Wang Wei's stele was probably made public when his brother Wang Chin collected his works and presented them to the throne in 763. Later forgers of Hui-neng's myth, such as the authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (774+), the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (781) and the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* (ca. 781), therefore borrowed from both Wang Wei's stele and Shen-hui's writings, combining them into a new composite biography, different only in that additions had to be made in order to meet the demands of their particular intended audience. The style adopted was more that of Shen-hui than of Wang Wei, however, for the latter's style was far too erudite and obscure for effective mass propaganda.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author(s) clearly made use of the Liu Ch'eng or Ishii precursor text for the hagiography of Hui-neng proper, for it repeats the Ishii text almost word for word, with only a few minor alterations, deletions and additions. For example, it changes Hui-neng's prediction of the time of the appearance of the revealer of the lineage from forty years to twenty years hence, in a clear reference to the 732 Hua-t'ai diatribes,⁴⁷⁷ and possibly in ignorance of the 752 portrait hall reference. It also puts into Hui-neng's mouth the words, after mentioning the attempted theft of the robe, that "a woman will take it," a reference to Wu-chu's claim that Empress Wu would take the robe and give it to Chih-shen of Wu-chu's lineage, something which is greatly elaborated on in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*.⁴⁷⁸ Wei Ch'ü, the supposed author of the stele for Hui-neng, is given a different title, and a Sung Ting is said to have recently written another stele.⁴⁷⁹

After a long discussion on the transmission of two forms of Buddhism in China, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* resumes with mention of Hung-jen's ten chief disciples, and again takes material from the Liu Ch'eng text on

Chang Chiu-ling, some tomb inscriptions do not use *mou*, some only for personal names and not dates, and some for names and dates; in Tu Fu's steles *mou* is used for personal names and dates.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. observations in Yanagida (1976a), 106.

⁴⁷⁸ LTFFC, Yanagida (1976a), 99, for Hui-neng's biography, 105, for Yanagida's explanation, and 129-130, for the robe passing to Chih-shen.

⁴⁷⁹ LTFFC, Yanagida (1976a), 99.

the dialogue between Hung-jen and Hui-neng over Hui-neng's desire to become a buddha and his work in the kitchen.⁴⁸⁰ Then it introduces information such as Hui-neng's life hidden in the wilderness for seventeen years, and his meeting with Yin-tsung who was lecturing on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, became Hui-neng's pupil and gave him tonsure; that displays awareness of Wang Wei's stele.⁴⁸¹ This text probably came to Wu-chu's attention through his patron Tu Hung-chien, who became military commissioner of Western Szechwan in 766.⁴⁸² Tu Hung-chien certainly knew Wang Chin, replacing him as Vice-roy of Lo-yang in 768. In fact, the *Chiu Tang shu* links Wang Chin and Tu Hung-chien as profligate donors for the building of monasteries,⁴⁸³ and so it is quite probable that Tu Hung-chien introduced the works of Wang Wei, collected by Wang Chin in 763, to Wu-chu.

Here the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* introduces the famous conversation over whether the flag is moving or the mind moving,⁴⁸⁴ Hui-neng's answer making Yin-tsung take notice of him. After ordaining Hui-neng, Yin-tsung sighs, "Good, good, recently I had heard that Master (Hung)-jen of Huang-mei's Dharma had flowed to Ling-nan," a precursor of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*'s later assertion that Yin-tsung had been a pupil of Hung-jen. Yin-tsung then recommends all his followers study under Hui-neng, comparing all his own sermons to rubbish. He also asked Hui-neng to display the robe of transmission to remove the doubts of the assembly.⁴⁸⁵ This concern with the robe transmission of course is one reason for the story. The other reason for the flag story was to provide evidence of Hui-neng's spiritual superiority, which induced Yin-tsung to ordain him. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* states Hui-neng was twenty-two when he met Hung-jen, and after his recognition as the succeeding patriarch, spent seventeen years among the laity, not even preaching. Only when he went to Chih-chih Monastery in Kuang-chou and Yin-tsung brought up the topic of the flag, was Hui-neng ordained.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 122; Suzuki and Koda (1934), 60.

⁴⁸¹ Wang Wei said Hui-neng lived among hunters and farmers for sixteen years.

⁴⁸² *Chiu Tang shu* 10/108/3282-3284, for his biography; Yanagida (1976a) 189, 199.

⁴⁸³ *Chiu Tang shu* 10/118/3417-3418.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Yanagida Seizan (1983), 'The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an doctrine of sudden awakening,' 13, showing how the story spread from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* to Tibet, and finally to a French novelist.

⁴⁸⁵ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 123.

Yin-tsung here even addresses Hui-neng as 'layman,'⁴⁸⁶ indicating a rather anomalous status for the patriarch of a Buddhist lineage.

This book continues the tale with an account of how Empress Wu on the 3rd March 692 ordered Chang Ch'ang-ch'i, with the rank of Director of the Ministry of Personnel, to proceed to Ts'ao-ch'i and request Hui-neng attend court, which Hui-neng refused, pleading illness. So in 696 Chang returns to request Hui-neng's attendance, and when the latter refused, he requested the robe transmitted by Bodhidharma, for worship at the court chapel. Hui-neng accedes, and so the robe is taken back to Empress Wu, who then invites five of the other pupils of Hung-jen to court. In a contest over suitability to have the robe, Chih-shen wins, even though he is reluctant to stay. Hui-neng seems to have lost the robe because he refused to come to court.⁴⁸⁷ Thus the robe is eventually passed to Wu-chu, which is the point of the tale.

This incident is clearly built on Wang Wei's account of the invitation to court made by Empress Wu, and on the Chang Hsing-ch'ang of Ching-chou who attempted to steal Hui-neng's head as mentioned in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*. But the Chang Ch'ang-ch'i of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was a real person, a Prefect of Chi and Ju-chou under Empress Wu, who was demoted and imprisoned in 704 when he was Prefect of Pien-chou because his brothers were being investigated. He was later executed when his brothers, sexual favourites of Empress Wu, were killed during a coup.⁴⁸⁸ Clearly the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author(s) needed an historical person to give their fabrications a greater air of veracity.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* seems to have triggered a massive reaction, particularly among groups in South China with lineages derived from or associated with Kim Musang, whose lineage Wu-chu and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* attempted to appropriate. These groups included the followers of Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786). Ma-tsu had first studied under Musang. Others who could possibly have been involved were individuals like

⁴⁸⁶ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 123.

⁴⁸⁷ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 129-130.

⁴⁸⁸ The *ch'i* 期 of his name is given as 其 in other sources. See *Hsin Tang shu* 9/72/2718; *Tzu-chih tung-chien* 207/6581, 6563, 6572; Guisso (1979), 315-316, 320-321. As he was Prefect of Ju-chou ca. 702-704, the link was made with the Chang Hsing-man of later accounts, who also came from Ju-chou.

Ju-hai (727-808), who resided at T'an-chou (Ch'ang-sha), a possible source of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781.

The origins of the other major text to champion Hui-neng, the *Platform Sutra*, are obscure. In fact, the *Platform Sutra* in many respects resembles the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, only it has taken the guise of a sutra in which Hui-neng's 'autobiography' appears as a setting for his sermons. On the other hand, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* emphasises the honours conferred by the court and the fate of Hui-neng's relics, and is pure hagiography. Because these texts seem to have emerged from a similar environment; both being a new type of hagiography for a single individual, not part of a series of hagiographies as had been usually the case previously; both appeared around the same date (ca. 781) and are both written in a vulgate, I shall temporarily treat them as variants on a commonly agreed vision of Hui-neng that was emerging in reaction to the works of Shen-hui and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*.

Several major features separate the two books. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* retains remnants of the story of the attempted theft of Hui-neng's relics and of Wu P'ing-i's alteration to the stele by Wei Ch'ü, and emphasises that the robe (and bowl) were kept in Ts'ao-ch'i. It repeats a version of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s tale in which the famous pupils of Hung-jen were summoned to the court (here of Kao-tsung) but only Hui-neng pleads illness, and in this version the robe remains with Hui-neng. On the other hand, the *Platform Sutra* ignores the stories of the thefts and stele alterations, and although it mentions the robe transmission stories from Hung-jen to Hui-neng and the meeting with Ch'en Hui-ming, it replaces the *Platform Sutra* itself for the robe, which is then ignored.⁴⁸⁹ In addition, the *Platform Sutra* introduces into Shen-hui's story a verse competition between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, the results of which convince Hung-jen that Hui-neng is the true Sixth Patriarch. Because of its claim to be a sutra; and its discarding of the shackles of the robe theory, of attempted assassinations and thefts; and of attempts to gain an association with the court,⁴⁹⁰ the *Platform Sutra* can definitely be considered the more radical text.

The *Platform Sutra* states that Hui-neng's father, of the Fan-yang Lü clan, was demoted to Hsin-chou, banished there as a peasant. There his father died young and Hui-neng had to support his mother by

⁴⁸⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 176.

⁴⁹⁰ Wei Ch'ü, the author of the stele, and here a witness to the preaching of the sutra, is made Prefect of Shao-chou, but he is the highest official mentioned.

selling firewood. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* says rather that he was orphaned at the age of three. The *Platform Sutra* states Hui-neng was first enlightened to a truth of Buddhism upon hearing someone chanting the *Diamond Sutra* when a customer for his wood sent him with it to the local grog shop.⁴⁹¹ This customer had come from Hung-jen's monastery where he was advised to only keep the *Diamond Sutra* and so see his nature. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* rather claims that Hui-neng heard the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* from a friend's sister, a nun, who read it to him because he could not read. As a result, Hui-neng went to stay in Pao-lin Monastery for three years, and then visited some monks who advised him to consult Hung-jen.

Both hagiographies repeat Shen-hui's version of Hui-neng's initial interview with Hung-jen, a conflict perhaps based on two interpretations of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: the older South Chinese tradition of all people except the *icchantika* having the Buddha-nature, which was interpreted to mean commoners like Hui-neng lacked that nature; and the interpretation from Tao-sheng onwards of an universal Buddha-nature.⁴⁹²

Hui-neng then works in the kitchen, with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* claiming he was so light he tied a stone around his waist to help in the milling, and that Hung-jen came to see him at night. The *Platform Sutra* does not mention the stone, but inserts into the story created by Shen-hui the gatha or verse 'competition' between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, which came to epitomise Southern and Northern Ch'an.⁴⁹³

The *Platform Sutra* writes that Hung-jen invited Hui-neng to the hall and taught him the meaning of the *Diamond Sutra* and handed him the robe, with a warning of the dangers of the future; whereas the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* fills in the content of their conversation in

⁴⁹¹ Kim Chi'gyōn (1989), 'Tonhwang *Tan'gyōng* susang not'u,' in Kim Chi'gyōn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 514, says that this dates the *Platform Sutra* manuscript from after 846, citing the *Chiu T'ang shu* to show that these shops were established by the state to sell alcohol, but the reading does not specify that *kuan-tien* had to sell alcohol, only that this form of *kuan-tien* sold alcohol. Nagashima (1993), 101, finds it incongruous that in tropical, remote Hsin-chou someone could sell firewood. This would suggest that the *Platform Sutra* originated further to the north, or in a city.

⁴⁹² Jorgensen (1989), 12, note 7.

⁴⁹³ Yampolsky (1967), 162 no. 39. Note that in the T'ang, this is the only part of the *Platform Sutra* ever referred to, and even then the source is not named. It was used by Ch'eng-kuan (738-839) and Tsung-mi. See EK, 129-130, 500; McRae (1986), 4.

Hung-jen's room on the Buddha-nature, with the master sending other members of the congregation away because they would not understand. Hung-jen also teaches Hui-neng the lineage, with stress on the robe and continuity. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* mentions the crossing of the Yangtze at Chiu-chiang, with Hung-jen warning that competing heresy with close links to the ruler and his ministers would arise and obscure his teaching, perhaps an indication of 'Northern Ch'an' and the deeds of Wu P'ing-i et al.⁴⁹⁴ The *Platform Sutra* merely says that Hung-jen told Hui-neng not to teach for three years.

Both tell the story of the pursuit by Ch'en Hui-ming and several hundred people. The *Platform Sutra* states simply that at the end of the encounter, Hui-neng told Ch'en to return north and convert people there, while the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* says Hui-neng also gave Ch'en a bowl and that Ch'en returned and informed the other pursuers that he had not seen anyone, and so they gave up the chase. Hui-ming then lived on Mt Lü for three years before being awakened.

In the *Platform Sutra* it is written Hui-neng preached on arrival at Ts'ao-ch'i, but the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* claims he left there because some people were seeking him out, and he went to the border territories between Ssu-hui and Huai-chi counties where he spent fifteen years among hunters until the age of thirty-nine.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* then gives a tale of Hui-neng meeting Yin-tsung at Chih-chih Monastery in Kuang-chou in 676, where they discussed the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the flapping flag, the robe of transmission, and seeing the Buddha-nature etc. It also relates a version of the tonsure, with important clerics as witnesses, all in considerable detail, but the *Platform Sutra* makes no mention of it.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* elaborates on the flag debate, with Hui-neng labelled a *hsing-che* or adult postulant, generally an aspirant who sought tonsure, but could not buy or earn a certificate of ordination, and so lived like a monk but was not tonsured. Once tonsured, one usually became a śrāmaṇera (*sha-mi*) or novice, and only after that a fully ordained monk or śrāmaṇa (*sha-men*).⁴⁹⁵ It also details all the members of the ordination-conferring monks, showing a concern thereby

⁴⁹⁴ EK, 140; ZSS, 240.

⁴⁹⁵ EK, 39, 156. Moroto Tatsuo (1990), *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, Hirakawa shuppansha: Tokyo, 112, 236; Erik Zürcher (1989), 'Buddhism and Education in T'ang Times,' in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds. *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 30.

to ensure that it complied with state-mandated procedures.⁴⁹⁶ The *Platform Sutra*, on the other hand, ignores the whole issue of ordination. These differences probably reflect divergent approaches to the state-imposed ordination system.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* appears hostile to the official rules,⁴⁹⁷ whereas the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was angling for state sanction. The fact that Hui-neng remained a postulant so late in life may reflect a memory by the authors of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of the lengthy process of study needed to qualify for ordination that was imposed from 648 at the latest.⁴⁹⁸ Even in the time the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was composed, a candidate needed a recommendation letter and an application form containing full details of name, registration, age, residence and the like, plus an imperial approval once these had been submitted. These documents then went from the Chancellor to the Board of Sacrifices. Once this approval was received from the Board, the presiding monk could give the tonsure and ordain the candidate.⁴⁹⁹ The state deliberately limited the numbers of ordained monks, and so for two decades after 711, no monks were ordained.⁵⁰⁰

Those Buddhists suspicious of the state could see the parallels in their own day (770s-780s) between the corruption of the Order by permissive and materialistic pro-Buddhist rulers like Empress Wu and those emperors of the period immediately following the An Lu-shan Rebellion, when monk certificates could be purchased. They wanted no state intervention at all, allowing the clergy itself to determine who was eligible to join the Order. They probably promoted the notion of the formless precepts and ordination, as was the case in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the *Platform Sutra*.⁵⁰¹

The alternative response was to support state regulation of the Order, laicising illegitimate or unqualified clergy, and a tightening of the qualifications and ordination procedures, something the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* ostensibly backed.⁵⁰² A new set of restrictions was

⁴⁹⁶ EK, 41.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Adamek (1997), 261, 254, 62.

⁴⁹⁸ Moroto (1990), 250-251.

⁴⁹⁹ Moroto (1990), 257-259.

⁵⁰⁰ Moroto (1990), 296.

⁵⁰¹ Adamek (1997), 294; EK, 274; Yampolsky (1967), 117-118.

⁵⁰² For corruption and the tightening of controls by the state, see Weinstein (1987), 50-52, 60-61, 83, 85.

proposed just before the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was written.⁵⁰³ Yet its authors had to be cautious, for the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* frequently refers to Hui-neng's illiteracy.⁵⁰⁴ This was playing with fire, for the state had made the memorisation of sutras a prerequisite for ordination from 706 (just after Hui-neng was supposedly ordained), and in 724, Emperor Hsüan-tsung demanded that all clergy under the age of sixty had to memorise two hundred pages of scripture or be defrocked. Meditation skill was not permitted as a substitute for the recitation. Later, in 773, comprehension of the content of the text could be tested to make sure the clergy was properly literate.⁵⁰⁵ Perhaps this was why the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has Hui-neng's recitation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* at length.⁵⁰⁶ Hui-neng's ordination from Yin-tsung before the ordination, and Hui-neng's death in the emperor's late in his career.⁵⁰⁶ Hui-neng thus began as an illiterate youth with an innate capacity, and was the heir to the patriarchy even before he was ordained, but then apparently learned the scriptures to conform to state requirements.

On the other hand, Shen-hui granted the formless precepts to those innately qualified at mass precepts platform ceremonies, although this did not make them formally monks. One could thus be inwardly a monk, self-validated and possibly even superior to the formally ordained clergy who had received the precepts and tonsure.⁵⁰⁷ Similarly, the *Platform Sutra* maintained that Hui-neng was illiterate to the very end,⁵⁰⁸ and has Hui-neng say that one can practice as a layperson outside the monastery, for it is the practice that makes the difference between people, not their status or whether or not they are ordained.⁵⁰⁹ Hui-neng parallels monks not practising as evil people of the West, those whose minds are not pure even though they reside in the Pure Land

⁵⁰³ Weinstein (1987), 90-92.

⁵⁰⁴ EK, 31, saying to a nun, "I do not know letters," and 32, "had never studied books." See also *Platform Sutra*, EK, 283-284; Yampolsky (1967), 111-112, 165.

⁵⁰⁵ Moroto (1990), 294-297; Weinstein (1987), 49, 110-111. 170 note 3, says laymen candidates had to be able to recite 500 to 700 pages of scripture if they wanted to be ordained without payment of fees. Zürcher (1987), 28, 32-34, says this was selection by talent, which implied literacy.

⁵⁰⁶ EK, 39-40, 71b, 44-45.

⁵⁰⁷ Adamek (1997), 289.

⁵⁰⁸ EK, 343; Yampolsky (1967), 165; in his discussion with Fa-ta, who read the *Lotus Sutra* to Hui-neng.

⁵⁰⁹ EK, 328; Yampolsky (1967), 111, 159.

of the West, with lay people purifying the mind who live in the East or China. The difference of clergy and laity is meaningless; purity alone counts.⁵¹⁰ Thus monastic status was fundamentally of no consequence. In this the *Platform Sutra* differs from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.

Both texts describe conversations between Hui-neng and Shen-hui, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* in greater detail, part of which seems to be made to counter a critique made by Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774) of ideas he alleges were held by certain unnamed 'Ch'an' teachers from the South about theories of perception and the Buddha-nature. This bears some resemblance to the theories of Ma-tsu Tao-i.⁵¹¹ Note that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* states that Shen-hui was only thirteen when he met Hui-neng.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* states that after this Hui-neng returned to Ts'ao-ch'i from Kuang-chou, bringing Yin-tsung and thousands of followers. But in the *Platform Sutra*, Hui-neng had never left the area of Ts'ao-ch'i, preaching the sutra at nearby Shao-chou.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* then records its version of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* invitation of Hui-neng to the court in 705. This is one of the longest passages in the book, indicating its importance. It even includes the tale of the enlightenment of the court envoy. It also states that on the 16th December 707 (erroneous date) an imperial decree was handed down directing the peasants of Shao-chou repair Hui-neng's monastery, and the emperor sent a plaque renaming the monastery. Hui-neng in 712 also repairs Kuo-en Monastery in Hsin-chou. The *Platform Sutra* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* both claim that he built a stupa there, presumably in preparation for his impending death. Then Hui-neng gives his last testament. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* largely follows the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* on the question of the robe, but it removes the references to Empress Wu and adds a prediction about two bodhisattvas coming from the east in seventy years to renovate both buildings and teachings, which may refer to the activities of

⁵¹⁰ EK, 323; Yampolsky (1967), 157. Note there are a number of images in the following passage that are shared with those in the *Seng-ch'ieh Ho-shang yü ju nieh-p'an shuo Liu-tu ching*, an apocryphal sutra attributed to Seng-ch'ieh. See T85.1463c8-11, images such as oceans, fish, turtles, the East and West. Translated later in Chapter 2.

⁵¹¹ Cf. Yampolsky (1967), 169; EK, 164-165; the authenticity of the *Tsu t'ang-chi* source for this information has been challenged, with many interpretations. Cf. Ishii Shūdō (1990, March), 'Enshū Yōgisān o meguru Nanshū Zen no jūkō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (2): 666-672; Chung Moo-hwan (1989), 'Rokuso dankyō hihan,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (1): 255-259.

the authors of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. The *Platform Sutra* uses this opportunity for Hui-neng to give the core sermons of the sutra, and adds that the sutra should be the surety of the transmission, not the robe. There is a tearful farewell, and the prediction that he would indicate the 732 deeds of Shen-hui. Then it adds the verses of transmission as an additional surety.

On the miraculous events at Hui-neng's death, the *Platform Sutra* basically follows Shen-hui, but the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is far more elaborate. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* injects the story that there was a dispute over the corpse of Hui-neng, which then was lacquered. It claims that in 739 an 'assassin' came to take the head, which is a revival of the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* tale, though more dramatic events were added.

Both books then influenced the composition of the *Pao-lin chuan*, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The *Platform Sutra* influenced the *Tsu-t'ang chi* more than the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* did. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* rather influenced the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and possibly the *Pao-lin chuan*, which has no extant hagiography of Hui-neng.

Comparison

As seen above, it is crucial to establish the context, chronology and genres of sources before making comparisons. Although simple structural comparisons such as binary oppositions may be a starting point, the more complex structural comparisons require greater differentiation. Taking the *Pao-lin chuan* as the cut-off date, the hagiographies of the Buddha and Confucius evolved for a period of over a millenium, Bodhidharma's for over two hundred years, and that of Hui-neng for nearly a century. Therefore the issues are both complex, and the motifs and even the meanings of the structure vary due to different contexts, genres and times.

Indeed, these hagiographies have merged Indian Buddhist and Chinese Confucian themes to form a Buddho-Confucian hagiography, a coalition of paradigms, further complicating the picture. Embedded in these sacred biographies are 'exemplary patterns' or structures;⁵¹²

⁵¹² Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (1976), 'Introduction,' in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds, *The biographical process: Studies in the history and psychology of religion*, Mouton: The Hague, 2, referring to the ideas of Mircea Eliade.

those of the Indian saint and the Chinese sage. These exemplars each provided a structural framework for the spiritual ideal, attached to which are incidental elements of specific history or individual particulars,⁵¹³ as seen above.

Thus the Indian Buddhist hagiographies contain less of the historical particulars than their Chinese counterparts, so much so that to Chinese monks such as Tsan-ning (919-1001), the Indians appeared to lack any clerical histories,⁵¹⁴ despite the existence in Chinese translation of works such as the *I-pu tsung-lun lun*, *Shih-pa pu lun*, *A-yü wang chuan* (Biography of King Aśoka), *Ma-ming p'u-sa chuan* (Biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghōṣa), *Lung-shu p'u-sa chuan* (Biography of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna) and possibly the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* (Biographies of the Circumstances of the Transmission of the Dharma-Store).

The Indians rarely mentioned family names, dates, years as a cleric, other records, or patrons other than kings.

[T]heir subjects move through a sequence of supernatural events with the majesty of demigods. The biographical elements—the chronological record of commonplace events and actions of mundane existence—is lacking or subordinate.⁵¹⁵

This is because karma made all actions related and of significance, forcing everything into a moral 'patterning'.⁵¹⁶ Thus the hagiographies of the Buddha had four major components: tales of previous lives (*jātakas*); genealogy (*vaṃṣa*); the life course from birth to enlightenment and ministry; and the prelude to and events of death and the 'history' of his relics.⁵¹⁷ These were later elaborated with miracles and

⁵¹³ Reynolds and Capps (1976), 8, 14, for cultural models versus the individual. For structure in Chinese myth and legend, see Sarah Allan (1981), *The heir and the sage: Dynastic legend in early China*, Chinese Materials Center: San Francisco, 15-16. 'Surface structures' and 'deep structures,' which seem to parallel the individual variations and cultural models, are differentiated on p. 18.

⁵¹⁴ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1964), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-chuan yü mu-lu yüan-ch'u lü-hsüeh sha-men chih t'an-t'ao: shang,' *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 6 (1): 419, interpretation of 僧本無史.

⁵¹⁵ Wright (1954), 385-386.

⁵¹⁶ A. K. Warder (1972), *An introduction to Indian historiography*, Monographs of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, University of Toronto: Popular Prakashan: Bombay, 30.

⁵¹⁷ Frank E. Reynolds (1976), 'The many lives of Buddha,' in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds, *The biographical process: Studies in the history and psychology of religion*, Mouton: The Hague, 42.

detailed genealogies.⁵¹⁸ Even as late as the hagiographies of the tantric siddhas written in the later eleventh or early twelfth centuries, which have some resemblance in their subjects to radical Ch'an monks, "the narrative follows a certain set pattern, which, with repetition, takes on an almost ritualistic quality,"⁵¹⁹ leaving little room for individual history.

In like fashion, the major concern of the Indian Vinayists was to legitimate the monastic rules and regulations by placing them in the framework of the Buddha's life, and by giving evidence of their transmission through an unbroken line of teachers. These latter *vamṣas* were modelled on Vedic genealogies.⁵²⁰ These hagiographies then were mere shells to be filled with karmic networks of action and response, or contexts to illustrate monastic discipline, or links in a legitimising chain.

Of course, some of these elements were taken over by Chinese Buddhist hagiographers who also made their subjects agents of karma and exemplars of the Dharma.⁵²¹ The *jātaka* elements were not as popular, but the *vamṣas*, life course and thanatic themes were adopted and adapted. In the Chinese tradition, historic particulars were valued more, and if absent, were fabricated. The human dimension appears to be favoured, with details of chronology (as seen in the *Pao-lin chuan*), events in the life cycle, hints of a personality, and specific locations deemed necessary.⁵²² There was a genealogical concentration, as in the disputes over the 'patriarchal lineage,' which elucidated legitimacy and fame, for the clan, in this case the Śākya (*Shih*, the surname taken by monks) clan, was the social map. With the exception of the rare sage in China, heredity was thus more important than virtue.⁵²³ Hence, it is no surprise that the 'Ch'an' movement took up the genealogical strand early, while the lay authors of their funerary inscriptions took particular notice of clan origins.

⁵¹⁸ Reynolds (1976), 44.

⁵¹⁹ James B. Robinson (1979), *Buddha's Bio.* ... siddhas, Dharma Publishing: Berkeley, 9. Cf. Ray (1994), 5, 1. ... how a continuity with the earlier Buddhist saints of Nikāya and Mahayana Buddhism.

⁵²⁰ Erik Frauwallner (1956), *The Earliest Buddhist Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, 62-65; Warder (1972), 27-28.

⁵²¹ Lee (1969), 10, 13.

⁵²² Wright (1954), 386.

⁵²³ Allan (1981), 19.

By the time of Shen-hui's youth, a Sarvāstivādin tradition of a lineage of vinayists, which had been transposed into a lineage of meditators, was already connected to a 'Ch'an lineage.'⁵²⁴ 'Ch'an,' therefore, began to clothe itself in some of the Chinese genealogical trappings, and monks began to adopt elements of Confucian clan ritual.⁵²⁵ Shen-hui aimed high, for in his promotion of Hui-neng, and inevitably himself, he adopted the Southern Learning Confucian theories of the Chinese 'imperial lineage' or *tsung*, merging it with the Indian Buddhist theories of the cakravartin king, recently used by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien. Empress Wu had claimed to be the legitimate Confucian ruler of the Chou Dynasty, a cakravartin ruler and an incarnation of Bodhisattva Maitreya. She proclaimed that she was the cakravartin ruler of this world, Jambudvīpa, only a quarter of the realm of a true cakravartin king, the Gold-wheel cakravartin. Yet she claimed to be a Gold-wheel cakravartin monarch.⁵²⁶

Shen-hui, and those who took the cue, were faced with the question, what motifs or topoi were they to use in their portrait of the 'Sixth Patriarch'?⁵²⁷ As virtually nothing was known of the actual Hui-neng at the time, the choice of "how much is culture pattern and how much is true individual history"⁵²⁸ is of little relevance; it was virtually all culture pattern, with the exception of minor decorative particulars invented to make the account seem plausible.

Shen-hui's use of a Confucian concept for a Buddhist lineage cast the die: Hui-neng was then predominantly modelled on Confucian motifs and paradigms, perhaps the transmission of the throne to sage emperors.⁵²⁹ A suggested model has been the sage emperor Shun, who broke the expected lineage from Yao to his son. Similarly, Hui-neng as an 'unlikely emperor,' broke the anticipated inheritance passing from Hung-jen, the "Fifth Patriarch," to Shen-hsiu.⁵³⁰ This

⁵²⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 5-9; McRae (1986), 79-85. These should be compared to the Vinaya lineages of the Mūlasarvāstivādins given by Frauwallner (1956), 20, 28-31.

⁵²⁵ Jorgensen (1987), 96-99.

⁵²⁶ Jorgensen (1987), 104, 109-111.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Reynolds and Capps (1976), 3.

⁵²⁸ Reynolds and Capps (1976), 14.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Yang Hung-fei (1967), 'Jinne no dentōsetsu to Juka shisō to no kōshō,' *Ryūkoku shidan* 56/57: 95-96.

⁵³⁰ John McRae (1989), ms, 'The legend of Hui-neng and the Mandate of Heaven: An illiterate sage and the unlikely emperor,' Paper delivered at Fo Kuang Shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism, 6, 16-17.

may be symbolised by the fact that both Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu were reported to be tall, with an appearance of eminence,⁵³¹ and so had the marks of great men such as Confucius, the Buddha or the sage emperor, Yü.⁵³² In contrast, Hui-neng was depicted as a frontier barbarian, short in stature.⁵³³ But, although this structural model may be applicable, the historical circumstances of non-metropolitan groups attempting to demonstrate equality also may have played an equally determining role.

In any case, the model was Confucius rather than Shun, for the comparison with Confucius was clearly alluded to by T'ang literati who wrote about Hui-neng. Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), as we have seen, when he wrote in 816 after Hui-neng had been granted the posthumous title Ta-chien by the emperor, drew parallels between the teachings of Hui-neng and Confucius. No doubt he had in mind that neither were recognised as sage-kings in their lifetimes, and both taught that human nature is good.⁵³⁴ Tsung-mi (780-841), who traced his lineage back to Shen-hui, identified the cranial features of Shen-hui, the alleged pupil of Hui-neng, with those of Confucius, who had a hollow in the crown of his head.⁵³⁵ Indeed, Hui-neng also had an *uṣṇīṣa* or 'skull crown' so special it became the object of an attempted theft.⁵³⁶ Tsan-ning compares Shen-hui's relations with Hui-neng to those between Yen Hui and Confucius, despite the fact that Yen Hui predeceased Confucius. Tsan-ning wrote (perhaps based on an earlier source) in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* that Hui-neng conferred the succession on Shen-hui just as Confucius had on Yen Hui.⁵³⁷ Tsan-ning

⁵³¹ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 92, and note on pp. 95-96, quoting Chang Yüeh's stele for Shen-hsiu.

⁵³² Shen-hsiu had large ears like the Buddha, and Confucius had an extraordinary physique, being nine 'feet' six 'inches' tall, a great man 長人 according to the *Shih chi* 6/47/1909; Legge (1972), 1: 66 and 88, lists some of the forty-nine characteristics of Confucius. For Shen-hsiu see *Chiu T'ang shu* 16/191/5110, quoting the stele by Chang Yüeh, and for Buddha see *Buddhacarita*, 35-36, and *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.89c. For Emperor Yü, see Yasui and Nakamura (1966), 167.

⁵³³ EK, 503, citing the *Chiu T'ang shu* 16/191/5110, which claims Hui-neng declined to attend court because he was too short and ugly.

⁵³⁴ Jorgensen (1987), 123; *Liu Tsung-yüan ch'üan-chi* 1/6/64; Ting (1922), 'Liu-tsu Neng Ch'an-shih pei-ming,' 19-20.

⁵³⁵ *Shih chi* 6/47/1905; Tsung-mi, *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao*, HTC 14.553b6 notes.

⁵³⁶ This was also the feature of a buddha, cf. Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 205; for the theft, EK, 213-214.

⁵³⁷ T50.756b9.

comments in his 'summation' aimed at the emperor, that when the Chou rulers enfeoffed their lords and vassals, they apportioned the ritual paraphernalia according to whether or not their surname was identical to that of the royal clan. Similarly, he argued, the Ch'an patriarchs used the transmission of the robe to distinguish refined and coarse (disciples).⁵³⁸

The successors to Wang Wei and Shen-hui as hagiographers of Hui-neng expanded upon the structural model of Confucius, while adding superficial embellishments from the career of the Buddha. This evolution can be seen from a diachronic examination of the sources, while the structural similarities between the hagiographies of Confucius and Hui-neng can be discerned via a synchronic comparison of the lives of the Buddha, Bodhidharma, Hui-neng and Confucius. This will demonstrate that the mature hagiographies of Hui-neng, those of the *Platform Sutra* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, are closer to those of Confucius than to those of the Buddha, contrary to expectations. After all, if Hui-neng was a buddha, his life, like those of all other buddhas would have had to replicate that of the Buddha. This is because "all buddhas, in their final lives, experience the same events."⁵³⁹ The hagiography of Bodhidharma, part of whose myth/legend was forged by Shen-hui, is further along the spectrum towards the image of the Buddha.

1. *Ancestry*

The Buddha was born of an illustrious ancestry, something that Tao-hsüan stresses.⁵⁴⁰ This was reiterated by the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. In contrast, Confucius' father was a remote descendant of exiled Sung state nobility, and whose ancestor had surrendered the state.⁵⁴¹ The Buddha and Bodhidharma were sons of royalty.⁵⁴² Hui-neng alone was the son of a peasant, or at most a member of a once illustrious clan, the Lü of Fan-yang, who had been made déclassé.⁵⁴³ This makes Hui-neng more akin to Confucius in his ancestry.

⁵³⁸ T50.789c13-14.

⁵³⁹ Ray (1994), 71 note 10.

⁵⁴⁰ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.85a-87a. Note comparisons are made with Chinese emperors and rulers. Cf. *Buddhacarita*, 35.

⁵⁴¹ *Shih chi* 6/47/1907-1908.

⁵⁴² Sekiguchi (1967), 59; *Pao-lin chuan* 132a (8.1a) for Bodhidharma; *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.88c, for the Buddha.

⁵⁴³ See above and EK, 101-102.

2. Birth

According to very late hagiographical traditions, Buddha, Confucius and Hui-neng had miraculous births. The Buddha is born from his mother's side after dreaming of a white elephant entering her body, and his birth was accompanied by marvellous signs, including attendance by gods and a body with thirty-two glorious marks.⁵⁴⁴ This anticipated the Buddha's balance of humanity and divinity as seen in the *Buddhacarita*.⁵⁴⁵

Confucius' birth was accompanied by miraculous signs in the post-*Shih chi* traditions: unicorns and dragons appear, and the five planets manifested themselves as old men.⁵⁴⁶ Other late Han Dynasty apocrypha claim that Confucius' mother, while sleeping on a large tomb mound, dreamt of having intercourse with the Black Emperor, and as a result gave birth to Confucius inside a hollow mulberry tree. Some also claim that Confucius was "ten feet high and nine spans in circumference," and had other special marks of the sage.⁵⁴⁷ These were used to suggest he was legitimately the 'uncrowned king,' for his birth was influenced 感 by a Black Emperor or black dragon or his semen/spirit (the emperor was black because this had political meanings in the Han). Therefore, although he was a commoner, he had the status of a king or emperor. Moreover, special features, such as the hands/paws of a tiger, an arched back like a tortoise, front teeth fused and great height, which the apocrypha attributed to Confucius, were the marks of sage emperors such as Yü. This divinisation again indicated that Confucius was able to see the future.⁵⁴⁸

The *Liu-tsu Ta-shih yüan-ch'i wai chi* that is appended to the Ming Tripitaka Tsung-pao text (1291) of the *Platform Sutra* states,

His mother of the Li clan previously had dreamt of white flowers struggling to bloom, and of white cranes flying in pairs. A strange fragrance filled the room, and when she awoke she was pregnant. So she chastely and sincerely kept to a vegetarian diet and the precepts, and

⁵⁴⁴ *Buddhacarita*, 35; *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.88c22-89c.

⁵⁴⁵ Ray (1994), 47, 59.

⁵⁴⁶ Shryock (1932), 123; Legge (1972), 1:59 note 1.

⁵⁴⁷ Fung (1953), 2: 129. A similar story can be found in Wang Chia's (d. ca.324) *Shih-i chi*, chüan 3.4b, King Ling of Chou entry, in *Han Wei ts'ung-shu*. See Legge (1972), 1: 59 note 1, and 88.

⁵⁴⁸ Yasui and Nakamura (1966), 165-167.

remained pregnant for six years, after which the Teacher (Hui-neng) was born.⁵⁴⁹

It, and Fa-hai's 'Brief Preface' (*lüeh-hsü*) to the *Platform Sutra* which probably dates back to 1316,⁵⁵⁰ state that when Hui-neng was born on the eighth day of the second lunar month, a date that coincides with the Chinese date for Buddha's birthday,⁵⁵¹ "beams of light rose in the air and the room was filled with a strange fragrance."⁵⁵²

Bodhidharma appears more human, although the late *pao-chüan* (precious scroll) tradition and new religions probably provided him with a divine birth. In the *Shih chi* and in the T'ang sources for Hui-neng, there were likewise no miraculous elements, but over time, both Confucius and Hui-neng were deified.

3. Place of birth: centre versus periphery

The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, using quotes, emphasises that the Buddha was born in the *axis mundi*, on a flat plain in the centremost of the five regions of India.⁵⁵³ This undoubtedly symbolised Buddhism, the Middle Way or the Correct.⁵⁵⁴ Lü, where Confucius was born, was one of the states of central China in his day, but it was still peripheral in terms of power and was only a duchy, not the state of the Chou king or of a hegemon.⁵⁵⁵ For Bodhidharma, the important thing was that he was born in South India, as this connected him to the Southern or legitimate lineage. Hui-neng, of course, was born in the uttermost periphery of China, in the frontier backblocks of Hsin-chou, which

⁵⁴⁹ EK, 270, 93, 99; Yampolsky (1967), 63, thinks that this text does not date from before the Yüan Dynasty.

⁵⁵⁰ EK, 93; cf. Yampolsky (1967), 64.

⁵⁵¹ Ting Fu-pao (1922), 'Chiu-hsu,' p. 1; Kenneth K. S. Ch'en (1973), *Buddhism in China*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 263, 265, for the two dates; the old date was the 8th day of the 4th month [Zürcher (1959), 272], which was the date of supposed conception. The change to the new date occurred sometime by the Northern Wei rule.

⁵⁵² Yampolsky (1967) translation, 60; EK, 270. There is a slight difference in the two texts. The light may refer to the Buddha's virtues, as in the *Lotus Sutra* [Ting (1922), 'Chiu-hsü,' p. 1] or to Chinese accounts that tried to date Buddha's birth to 686 B.C. on a 'bright night' [Zürcher (1959), 272].

⁵⁵³ TTC 1.10.7ff. Bodisattvas are born in central countries, Ray (1994), 281.

⁵⁵⁴ See *San-lun hsüan-i*, "The Middle takes reality as its meaning, the Middle takes the correct as its meaning," quoted in Nakamura Hajime, ed. (1975), *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, 3 vols, Tokyo shoseki: Tokyo, 957c.

⁵⁵⁵ *Shih chi* 6/47/1910.

also, symbolically, was in the South. This was not what was expected of a bodhisattva, which Hui-neng would have been, not yet being enlightened.⁵⁵⁶

4. *Predictions or omens of an illustrious future*

Buddha, Confucius and Hui-neng were all predicted or signalled by omens to become saints or sages.

Confucius was said in apocrypha to have had written on his breast, "The act of instituting (a new dynasty) has been decided and the rule of the world has been transferred."⁵⁵⁷ In another legend a supernatural voice declared, "Divine harmony strikes the ear, because Heaven has caused a saint to be born. His doctrine will be the law of the world."⁵⁵⁸ The *Shih-i chi* repeats similar information, adding that

before the Master was born, a unicorn spat out a jade book in the palace. The family text of the village (of Confucius?) says, "He is the son of the Water Spirit, and the uncrowned king (*su-wang*) who inherits the ailing Chou Dynasty."⁵⁵⁹

Even in the *Shih chi*, when Confucius was seventeen, some one is reported to have said that he was the "heir (descendant) of the sage."⁵⁶⁰

The Buddha, on his birth, is predicted by astrologers to become a cakravartin king if he remained a layman, or a buddha if he became a renouncer (*ch'u-chia*, the Chinese understood this to mean he became a monk, but in the Indian context the meaning is much broader). A great *tsi* (Chinese, *hsien* or immortal) who had magic powers flew to the palace to worship the new-born heir-apparent, saying, "He will be honoured within the three realms."⁵⁶¹

While Bodhidharma has no predictions made for his future, Hui-neng has a great variety. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has predictions by three people. The first was the Brahmin Trepitaka Master Chih-yao from Nālandā University in India, who on his way to Mt Wu-t'ai to

⁵⁵⁶ Ray (1994), 216, 261. The Buddhist saints preferred to live in remote, border areas in order to have solitude.

⁵⁵⁷ Fung (1953), 2: 129.

⁵⁵⁸ Shryock (1932), 123.

⁵⁵⁹ Wang Chia, *chüan* 3/4b, King Ling of Chou entry.

⁵⁶⁰ *Shih chi* 6/47/1907-1908.

⁵⁶¹ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50. 90a1-7; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 36.

worship Mañjuśrī, came to Ts'ao-ch'i village. Being versed in astrology he told the villagers,

"I can see that the source of this water must be a superior place, suitable for a monk to live in, and for generations eminent monks will continue there." This was in 502.

Chih-yao founded Pao-lin Monastery there, and when ordered to attend court, he told the Prefect of Shao-chou, "One hundred and seventy years after my departure (death), the Supreme Dharma Jewel will be propagated in this place."⁵⁶² This of course is an indirect prediction of Hui-neng's later activities. It also has Guṇavarman (367-431), who erected the precepts platform in Kuang-chou where Hui-neng was ordained, predict that "later there will be an arhat who will mount the platform and a bodhisattva who will receive the precepts," which clearly signals Yin-tsung and Hui-neng. Moreover, the great translator Paramārtha (ca. 562) at the end of the Liang Dynasty, planted two bodhi trees beside the platform, reportedly saying that a bodhisattva monk will preach the Supreme Vehicle beneath them, which was confirmed by Hui-neng's proselytisation.⁵⁶³

The 'Brief Preface' substitutes Guṇabhadra, the translator of the Lankāvatāra Sūtra for Guṇavarman, repeats Chih-yao's prediction, and adds the tale of two strange monks who visited the Master's father at dawn and said, "The child born last night requires an auspicious name"; that is Hui-neng, the rationale being that "'Hui' 惠 means to bestow beneficence on sentient beings; 'Neng' 能 means the capacity to carry out the affairs of the Buddha." Moreover, Hui-neng did not drink his mother's breast milk, and gods brought ambrosia (*amṛta*, a medicine of immortality) for him to drink at night.⁵⁶⁴

5. *Upbringing*

Buddha and Bodhidharma were both sons of royalty. The Buddha was trained in all the arts of his day by teachers because he was the heir-apparent. He was even anointed and married.⁵⁶⁵ However, the Buddha's mother died and was reborn in Heaven when he was

⁵⁶² EK, 28-29, 97.

⁵⁶³ EK, 161-163, 41.

⁵⁶⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 60; Ting (1922), 'Chiu-hsü,' 1; EK, 270.

⁵⁶⁵ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.90a24-b29; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 37-38.

only one week old.⁵⁶⁶ Bodhidharma, the third son of a South Indian brahmin king,⁵⁶⁷ presumably had a traditional brahmanical education. When his father died, he departed the kingdom.⁵⁶⁸

Confucius, on the other hand, was not in a regular family, for his father had an 'improper union' with his mother,⁵⁶⁹ and because his father died, probably when Confucius was three, he later was not even sure exactly where his father was buried.⁵⁷⁰ Confucius' play was not normal, for he loved to set up ritual implements. His mother died when he was a youth, probably before he was seventeen.⁵⁷¹

Hui-neng was the son of a peasant, or a demoted official, and his father died when he was young, leaving him in his mother's care (*Platform Sutra*). The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* claims both his parents died when he was three, and that he had an exceptional determination. Wang Wei writes that his play displayed "good karmic habituation," youthful intelligence and a generosity of spirit.⁵⁷² Hui-neng is therefore depicted as an illiterate because he had been a poor orphan.

As a result of their fathers (and mothers) dying early, Confucius and Hui-neng were both brought up in relative poverty, unlike the Buddha and Bodhidharma who were cosseted in court luxury, but later chose to leave and be renunciants. Confucius and Hui-neng then were battlers in their youth; Confucius in the lowly job of a record keeper of herds,⁵⁷³ Hui-neng selling firewood to support his mother and living among farmers and hunters.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁶⁶ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.90a18-20; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 37.

⁵⁶⁷ Sekiguchi (1967), 59. All accounts from the 'T'an-lin Preface' onwards claim this. Third sons of kings seem to have often become monks if we are to believe Chinese historical accounts of Indian monks who came to China. Likewise, Silla monks such as Musang are frequently called third sons of royalty. Possibly such princes needed another career, particularly one that could shield them from the ambitions and paranoia of older siblings.

⁵⁶⁸ *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.63ff., probably based on the biography of Prajñātāra in the *Pao-lin chuan*.

⁵⁶⁹ *Shih chi* 6/47/1905, with a note from the *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* (6/47/1906) suggesting that it was not his father's first marriage, and that the marriage did not follow the ritual procedure or was too late in his father's life to be considered proper.

⁵⁷⁰ *Shih chi* 6/47/1906.

⁵⁷¹ *Shih chi* 6/47/1906-1907.

⁵⁷² EK, 103-104.

⁵⁷³ *Shih chi* 6/47/1909.

⁵⁷⁴ EK, 105, for *Platform Sutra* on firewood selling, Wang Wei on his life among farmers and hunters.

6. *Early career*

Buddha and Bodhidharma, early in their teaching careers, defeat six heretical or schismatic teachers. Despite his father's attempt by the provision of a sybaritic lifestyle to prevent Siddhārtha gaining the knowledge that will lead him to become a monk, failed experiments with misleading teachings, and the temptations by Mara, he eventually achieves enlightenment.⁵⁷⁵ The Buddha, after his awakening, according to the tradition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, defeated six heretical teachers in a contest of magical powers.⁵⁷⁶ 'Ch'an' monks knew the story, for Wang Wei and the *Pao-lin chuan* referred to it, the latter writing, "At that time the Buddha will descend to seven places and convert six teachers."⁵⁷⁷

Likewise, the *Pao-lin chuan*, according to the testimony of Ch'i-sung, had Bodhidharma defeat the six masters of the six 'schools' formed by Buddhaśānta, a pupil of Buddhābhaddra. All of the hagiographies suggest that Bodhidharma's teaching did not meet with approval because it was too difficult,⁵⁷⁸ and invited slander.⁵⁷⁹ Shen-hui's tale of Emperor Wu of Liang not understanding his teaching is an extrapolation of this theme, as is the mention of a persecution that led to Bodhidharma's announcement of his departure.

Confucius does not defeat any heretical teachers, but he finds that his teachings are initially rejected or not readily accepted, mainly because he was the son of a rustic villager,⁵⁸⁰ and his teachings were not widely adopted in his lifetime, for he is said to have not become

⁵⁷⁵ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.90b16-91c28; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 38-49.

⁵⁷⁶ Seng-yu, *Shih-chia p'u*, T50.65a-c (origin in the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching*, T12.786c-790c7). These teachers are identified in the Sung Dynasty *Fan-i ming-i chi*, T54.1084c25-1085b23, based on the testimony of Kumārajīva's *Ta chih-tu lun*, as Pūrāṇa Kāśyapa, Maskari-Gośālīputra, Sañjaya-Vairadīputra, Ajita-Keśakambala, Kakuda-Kātyāyana, and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra [cf. Govind Chandra Pande (1974), *Studies in the origins of Buddhism*, 2nd edn, Motilal Barnasidass: Delhi, 342, 347-349, 350ff, 353]. It was common for Buddhist saints to defeat this same list of heretical teachers, see Ray (1994), 153, 174 note 9. This story is referred to in Wang Wei's stele for Ching-chüeh, where it is written that, "The four (noble) Truths conquered such as those six teachers who confused the masses." See Wang Wei, 24/341-342, where Chao Tien-ch'eng identifies them, and ZSS, 521.

⁵⁷⁷ *Pao-lin chuan*, 17d (1.32b); this may have been in the missing part of its hagiography of the Buddha.

⁵⁷⁸ Beginning with HKSC, T50.596c9-11, 16-17.

⁵⁷⁹ HKSC, T50.551c1-2.

⁵⁸⁰ *Shih chi* 6/47/1907.

famous.⁵⁸¹ His sagehood, his status as the 'uncrowned king,' was only recognised after his death, although it is claimed he exercised his prerogative by writing the judgements in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*.⁵⁸²

Hui-neng, because he was a backwoods' southerner and called a Hunting Lao barbarian, an insult during the T'ang, found he was not readily accepted. So even his master, Hung-jen, asks how could he possibly have the Buddha-nature. Being illiterate, he had to depend on others for the reading of the scriptures and even the writing out of his own gatha. Even after he has bested Shen-hsiu in the verse contest, because of his junior, 'barbarian' status, the transmission occurs in secret. Afterwards, Hui-neng goes into hiding for a considerable period of time among semi-civilised people. He did not even achieve the status of a monk until middle age, yet he had already been recognised as the next patriarch by Hung-jen years before.

7. Assassination attempts on the sage teacher

A number of assassination attempts are made on the life of the Buddha by his jealous cousin, Devadatta,⁵⁸³ something missing though from the Ch'an version of the hagiography. Several aborted attempts on the life of Confucius were made by the leaders of Ch'i and a resident of Sung.⁵⁸⁴ Bodhidharma was supposedly repeatedly poisoned by Bodhiruci and Hui-kuang, but Bodhidharma's powers overcame the toxins.

In Shen-hui's outrageous allegations, P'u-chi sends an assassin to steal the head from Hui-neng's corpse. Hui-neng also fears for his life when he flees south with Hung-jen's warning about possible harm to him if the assembly locate him, and only the actions of Ch'en Hui-ming prevent this eventuating. In Wang Wei's stele, Hung-jen warns Hui-neng of the envy directed at the lone saint, and in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* Hui-neng tells his followers that when he kept the robe of transmission, assassins three times tried to take his life, which is the reason why he would not transfer it.⁵⁸⁵ In the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng*

⁵⁸¹ *Shih chi* 6/47/1941.

⁵⁸² Morohashi (1995-1960), no. 27300.335, 336; cf. Legge (1972), 5: prolegomena 5; Yasui and Nakamura (1966), 156.

⁵⁸³ *Shih-chia shih p'u* T50, 94c28-95a2; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 58.

⁵⁸⁴ *Shih chi* 6/47/1911, 1921.

⁵⁸⁵ EK, 49-50.

lu and later accounts, the youthful Chang Hsing-ch'ang is made out to be an adventurer hired by 'Northern Ch'an' people to harm Hui-neng. But Hui-neng, foreseeing this with his 'living buddha' powers, took precautions. Hui-neng simply stretched out his neck in front of Chang's sword and Chang struck thrice, but Hui-neng got off without even a scratch.⁵⁸⁶

8. Relations with rulers

Once they have achieved fame, all are summoned by rulers or are given gifts by them. For example, the Buddha's teaching is welcomed by King Bimbisāra, and the Bamboo Grove is donated to him for the creation of the first monastery (*sanghārāma*).⁵⁸⁷ Confucius at first declines office from Yang Huo, and although he desires to be employed by a ruler, he declines nearly all invitations.⁵⁸⁸

Bodhidharma accepted an invitation from Emperor Wu of Liang, but after that he declines the summons of Emperor Hsiao-ming of the Northern Wei, and the *Pao-lin chuan* also has Pao-chih tell Emperor Wu that not even the entire might of the state could get Bodhidharma to return.⁵⁸⁹ Emperor Hsiao-ming provides Bodhidharma with robes and other expensive Buddhist paraphernalia as gifts.

Hui-neng of course refuses all requests and summons to appear at court, and is eventually provided with various gifts. This court connection, first mentioned by Wang Wei in respect of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien and Chung-tsung, is developed in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* where Chang Ch'ang-ch'i is sent to invite Hui-neng to court. In this case Hui-neng pleads illness as a reason not to obey. This is expanded greatly in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, where the emperor has Hui-neng's monastery repaired, and a plaque in the emperor's hand is conveyed to rename it.⁵⁹⁰

No doubt these refusals were because all were ascetics to some degree, and in China the declining of the invitation from a ruler is the

⁵⁸⁶ T51.238c16ff. This is a very complicated issue, of how several popular stories emerged from Shen-hui's original allegations. See Chōn Posam (1989), 'Yukjo chōng-sang ūi tongnae-sōl kwa kū sin'angjōk ūi', in Kim Ch'gyōn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 324.

⁵⁸⁷ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50. 93a25-b2; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 57.

⁵⁸⁸ *Shih chi* 6/47/1914, 1920-1921, 1934.

⁵⁸⁹ Sekiguchi (1967), 138.

⁵⁹⁰ EK, 173-180, 183.

mark of a sage, which explains its importance in the hagiographies of Bodhidharma and Hui-neng.

9. *Predictions on the future of their teaching*

Before these saints die, all write or transmit texts, and predict the future of their teaching, in particular the future of the transmission and the dangers it was to encounter.

Buddha thus predicts the advent of Maitreya, and provides Mahākāśyapa with a gold-embroidered robe which he was to hand over to the future buddha.⁵⁹¹ He also predicts future persecution and the eventual extinction of the Dharma.⁵⁹²

According to the *Tso-chuan*, Confucius made predictions.⁵⁹³ He predicts rather logically the future of his pupils,⁵⁹⁴ and the apocrypha have tales about how Confucius left predictions in his tomb and temple, one prophesying the death of the first emperor of the Ch'in. On another occasion, a bowl belonging to Confucius was discovered with an inscription recommending Tung Chung-shu (179?- 93 B.C.) be employed as an official.⁵⁹⁵ Confucius of course wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu* because his Way was not being practiced,⁵⁹⁶ but by the Han it was widely believed that he left behind 'prognostication texts.'⁵⁹⁷

Bodhidharma, even in one of his earliest hagiographies, that of the Ishii text, predicts that the future of the teaching will be difficult, the life of the transmission hanging like a thread for the first six generations, for which reason he will transmit a robe or a sutra.⁵⁹⁸ He also

⁵⁹¹ This is Shen-hui's story, based on the *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi* of Hsüan-tsang. See Chi Hsien-lin et al, ed. and annotation (1985), *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi chiao-chu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 706. The *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.94a13 and 98a-b, mentions the rise of a persecution and the extinction of the Law, and Buddha predicts Maitreya's arrival and the transmission to Mahākāśyapa. The *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*, T50.300c-301a, tells the story of Mahākāśyapa and the patchwork robe. For comment on the origins of the story, see ZSS, 386-387.

⁵⁹² *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.98a22-c17.

⁵⁹³ H. G. Creel (1960), *Confucius and the Chinese Way*, Harper and Row: New York, 204.

⁵⁹⁴ Legge (1972), 1: 86.

⁵⁹⁵ Shryock (1932), 124.

⁵⁹⁶ *Shih chi* 6/47/1943.

⁵⁹⁷ Yasui and Nakamura (1966), 153-154; Fung (1953), 2: 89; although there were sceptics.

⁵⁹⁸ Sekiguchi (1967), 184; Suzuki and Koda (1934), 54; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 104; *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 68.

predicts, in his meeting with Sung Yün, the death of the Northern Wei emperor.

Hui-neng also predicts the future of the teaching. For example, in the Ishii text he predicts the problems of the future and the activities of Shen-hui, and says that the robe is a surety of the transmission. However, in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* Hui-neng says he will not transmit the robe because there will be problems in the future like those of the past. In the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* the arrival seventy years hence of two bodhisattvas from the east who will renovate his teaching and monastery is predicted, as are the activities of Shen-hui when a false teaching arises. As well, he predicts the attempted theft of his relics.

In a sense, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng are part of a continuum from the Buddha, all predicting trouble ahead; at least in China until the lineage question is settled.

10. Premonition of death

The Buddha foresees his own death, voluntarily accepting the poisonous food from Cunda, who unwittingly causes the Buddha's death.⁵⁹⁹ Again, this is missing from the *Pao-lin chuan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi*, probably in response to Shen-hui's association of himself with Cunda, writing this hubristic claim out of history.⁶⁰⁰

Confucius predicts his death from seeing the manifestation of a unicorn as an omen of his death, and he dreamt of how his coffin should be placed.⁶⁰¹ This was interpreted that he knew the time of his death and had some control over this.⁶⁰² In the Han Dynasty, Tung Chung-shu regarded this unicorn as a sign that Confucius had received the Mandate of Heaven to found a new dynasty.⁶⁰³ The apocrypha say predictions in blood showed that Confucius would die.⁶⁰⁴ According to the *Shih-i chi*, Confucius' mother had tied brocade ribbon to the unicorn's horn, so that when the unicorn was captured and shown

⁵⁹⁹ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.93c10-18; cf. Seng-yu's discussion in *Shih-chia p'u*, T50.70a-c, on Cunda; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 59-60, which does not mention Cunda. For Buddha setting the time of his death, see Ray (1994), 57.

⁶⁰⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 114; Hu Shih (1968), 275-276; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 24; Teng and Jung (1998), 25-26.

⁶⁰¹ *Shih chi* 6/47/1942, 1944.

⁶⁰² Nishiwaki Tsuneki (2000), *Tōdai no shisō to bunka*, 314-315.

⁶⁰³ Fung (1953), 2: 71.

⁶⁰⁴ Fung (1953), 2: 130.

to Confucius, he knew from the ribbon that his time was up.⁶⁰⁵

Bodhidharma knew that he would die on the sixth occasion from poisoning, announcing to Hui-k'o in advance that since he had transmitted the Dharma, his work was done, and so he could now consume the poison and die.⁶⁰⁶

Hui-neng, on the other hand, orders the preparation of his funerary stupa and then after an illness,⁶⁰⁷ announces his 'great departure' to all his disciples in advance. He then dies.

Thus all four saints have premonition of their impending death, and so have preparations made. Buddha and Bodhidharma are poisoned, the former unintentionally, the latter at the hands of jealous rivals. Hui-neng and Confucius die naturally.

11. *Miracles associated with death*

Miracles occur at the instant of the deaths of all four saints. At the moment of Buddha's death there are earthquakes, a rain of fragrant blossoms on all those attending,⁶⁰⁸ the sāla trees turn as white as cranes, a magical jewelled hall appears in the sky, the gods and other beings come to mourn,⁶⁰⁹ and even the animals and wind fall silent.⁶¹⁰

According to the later tradition of the apocrypha, when Confucius died, various miracles occurred, but the *Shih chi* makes no mention of any prodigies. In the apocrypha for example, a meteor descends and becomes a jade tablet.⁶¹¹

Bodhidharma is not provided with a set of miracles occurring immediately on his death. Rather, his meeting with Sung Yün in the Pamirs, with one sandal remaining in the tomb, is an indication both of his sainthood; a probable incarnation of Kuan-yin as the *Pao-lin chuan* suggests he is an undying immortal. This event has also been modelled on earlier monks such as Fo-t'u-teng (d. 349) or his pupil Chu

⁶⁰⁵ Wang Chia, *chüan* 3.4b, Reign of King Wen of Chou; Legge (1972), 1: 59, 85.

⁶⁰⁶ Sekiguchi (1967), 194-195, beginning with the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, Shen-hui, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Pao-lin chuan*.

⁶⁰⁷ EK, 188, 90, 204; from Shen-hui on.

⁶⁰⁸ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.94a19-20.

⁶⁰⁹ Seng-yu, *Shih-chia p'u*, T50.69b.

⁶¹⁰ Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 59, 63.

⁶¹¹ Shryock (1932), 123.

Fo-tiao, who were assimilated with the image of a Taoist immortal.⁶¹² His is a myth of the eternal return, not death.

Hui-neng's death is accompanied by miracles such as unusual fragrances, birds and animals howling, streams drying up,⁶¹³ mountains collapsing, or trees turning white, and beams of light and rainbows appearing, some of which are modelled on the death miracles of the Buddha (trees turning white) and others on the death of a Chinese emperor (mountains collapsing).

12. *Tombs, relics, shrines*

All four saints were worshipped at shrines or stupas, where their relics were installed.

The Buddha's corpse was cremated and his ashes divided as relics among eight countries, and these were worshipped in stupas that eventually were spread around the Buddhist world. Secondary relics such as hair, fingernails and even a bowl were venerated.⁶¹⁴ Later, other shrines and statues were made.⁶¹⁵

Confucius' tomb was a site of pilgrimage; even Ssu-ma Ch'ien visited it, where he saw the robe and implements of Confucius kept in the shrine hall.⁶¹⁶ By 720, the state erected a temple with images of Confucius and his disciples arranged in them. As Shryock notes, they were rather similar to the Buddhist temple arrangements.⁶¹⁷

The site of the tomb of Bodhidharma was not fixed until the time of Shen-hui, when it is mentioned he was buried on Mt Sung, and after that the location becomes more specific. Eventually a stupa was raised for him, but since his coffin was known to be empty, there was little point.

Hui-neng on the other hand left behind a lacquered corpse, a stupa shrine he himself had prepared, a robe and a wooden begging bowl,

⁶¹² Yanagida (1971), 364-365; *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.387a14ff, 388a10ff. Cf. Zürcher (1959), 182. Also, an even closer example was located by Hu Shih (1941), *Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih*, Wen-kuang t'u-shu: Taipei, reprint, 161-162; T50. 393a16ff, on Shao-shih (d. 473).

⁶¹³ Wang Wei 25/350; EK, 207-208. Creeks not flowing probably derives from the *Nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*. See Yanagida (1976a), 206.

⁶¹⁴ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.94b23-c13.

⁶¹⁵ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.97b-c; Conze (1959), *Buddhacarita*, 64-65.

⁶¹⁶ *Shih chi* 6/47/1947.

⁶¹⁷ Shryock (1932), 138-139.

according to the tradition of the monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i.⁶¹⁸

It should be noted that the portrait halls erected by Shen-hui for example, in 752 for the six patriarchs, may resemble the Confucian *ming-t'ang* or 'Hall of Light,' for Empress Wu Tse-t'ien had one built as a 'Temporary Nirvana,' and 'no-barrier' rites (*wu-che hui*) were held there.⁶¹⁹ This revival of the *ming-t'ang* was followed by the use of political iconography by Hsüan-tsung, who in 714 ordered all districts of the empire to have bronze statues of the Taoist deity Yüan-shih T'ien-tsun, the Buddha, and the emperor himself placed in all the K'ai-yüan Monasteries in each prefecture where they were to be worshipped.⁶²⁰ It should be no surprise then that Buddhists such as Shen-hui tried to enshrine their patriarchs in one place. Note that Confucius himself may have set the precedent, for he is supposed to have gone to Chou to inspect the *ming-t'ang*, which had painted pictures of the ancient rulers together with their praises written about them on the walls.⁶²¹

13. *Number of pupils*

Both Buddha and Confucius were supposed to have had ten great disciples, and so in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* we can count ten people as great pupils of Hui-neng.⁶²²

Structure of the comparison

From the above it can be observed that the structure of Hui-neng's hagiography is closer to that of Confucius than to that of the Buddha. If the motifs common to all four saints, and the items concerning the transmission of the Buddha's robe and warnings over the future threat to the teaching are eliminated, then Hui-neng and Confucius share features not seen in the hagiography of the Buddha.

For example, the father of Hui-neng and the father of Confucius are of fallen 'nobility,' who died when Hui-neng and Confucius were

⁶¹⁸ EK, 216.

⁶¹⁹ Guisso (1978), 46; Antonino Forte (1976), *Political propaganda and ideology in China at the end of the seventh century*, Istituto Universitario Orientale: Napoli, 162-164.

⁶²⁰ Charles Benn (1987), 'Religious aspects of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's Taoist ideology,' in David W. Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist practice in medieval Chinese society*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 137-138.

⁶²¹ Legge (1972), 1: 66.

⁶²² Yanagida (1971), 282; EK, 221, 225.

small children, probably when they were three, leaving them to grow up in poverty and take on menial tasks when they become young adults. Therefore they are thought too uncouth to know the truth. Both Hui-neng and Confucius suffered a relative lack of recognition in their lifetimes and so came to be titled, directly or indirectly, 'uncrowned kings,' while Buddha could have been a cakravartin king.

On the other hand, Bodhidharma's hagiography shares a number of motifs with the Buddha that are not shared with Hui-neng or Confucius, and several motifs with Hui-neng and Confucius not common to Buddha's hagiography. Buddha and Bodhidharma were both princes, brought up in luxury, which they renounced; both died through poisoning, and both defeated six 'heretical' teachers. Yet the Buddha in general found reasonably ready acceptance of his teachings and did not refuse invitations to the courts, whereas Confucius, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng all decline invitations from at least one ruler. Bodhidharma is the more human, having no miraculous birth or miraculous signs in Nature to accompany his death, for he did not really die. He is also the only figure not to have had ten great disciples.

Bodhidharma then is a transitional figure, for he is an Indian monk in China, and so partakes of the Buddhist and Chinese traditions of sainthood. In particular, the 'liberation of the corpse' motif shows the evident irruption of a Taoist theme.

Several features are shared by Buddha, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng because they were meditators, who probably preferred the solitude of the forests and wilds to the cacophony of the city. This also drew them towards the lowborn and disadvantaged, and to emphasise inner meaning over outer form and convention. They thus taught orally and were not scripture specialists.⁶²³

Yet some features are superficial, required because three of the saints were monks, while Confucius was not. Therefore the clerics take the tonsure and have stupas as shrines. Confucius sang poems, the Buddhists gathas. But these, and details such as proper names and dialogues with pupils, are trivial in comparison with the deeper structures. For example, incidents are introduced to provide local connections. Hui-yüan of Mt Lü thus hears about Bodhidharma through the Indian monk's two pupils, and his translation work induces Bodhidharma to

⁶²³ Cf. Ray (1994), 54-55, for the Buddha, *passim* for other saints; 18, on forest as the preferred place for meditation; 49-50, on Buddha and forest meditation.

voyage to China.⁶²⁴ Likewise, Wang Wei compared Hui-neng's refusal to attend court to the precedent of Hui-yüan on Mt Lü.⁶²⁵

Other elements are arbitrary, adventitious to the deep structure. Thus Wang Wei interpolated Yin-tsung into the hagiography of Hui-neng for family reasons, and later authors amplified this. Similarly, the names of rulers and places are generally not germane to the structure. They are merely coincidentals used to create verisimilitude, and so are frequently in error.

Moreover, such structures can be seen in other 'Ch'an' hagiographies. It has been observed that the hagiographies of Hung-jen, the so-called Fifth Patriarch, in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* or in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* are very similar to those of Hui-neng.⁶²⁶ Hung-jen is described, especially in the latter source, as having been abandoned as a child by his father, who of course was of a once eminent family. Filially, he helped his mother, and like the Hui-neng of later myth, he worked as a servant in the monastery, and only his master Tao-hsin could perceive his talents. Moreover, Hung-jen must have foreseen his death, for he ordered his pupil Hsüan-tse to build a funerary stupa for him, and like Confucius, Buddha, and Hui-neng he had ten major disciples.⁶²⁷ Later, the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* mentioned that Hung-jen's body had been preserved and retained miraculous powers like those of Hui-neng, and Hung-jen was likewise deified.⁶²⁸ This hagiography then, with its cultural template Confucius, probably provided one of the inspirations for Hui-neng's biography, and illustrates the notion of Buddhist hagiography that saints' lives followed similar patterns.

On the other hand, Hsüan-tse, who wrote the source quoted by the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, reports that he was Hung-jen's pupil, and that he was writing around 709. So unless Hsüan-tse was engaged in a massive subterfuge akin to Shen-hui's fabrications of the image of Hui-neng, of which there is little evidence, perhaps some of this material was based on true events, and it is purely coincidence that the hagiographies concur structurally. But there is no way to be certain, for there is only Hsüan-tse's word for his version.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁴ Sekiguchi (1967), 94.

⁶²⁵ EK, 174.

⁶²⁶ McRae (1986), 2, 36.

⁶²⁷ Yanagida (1971), 273, and note p. 282.

⁶²⁸ SKSC, T50.754b; Nagai Masashi (2000), *Chūgoku Zenshū kyōdan to minshū*, Uchiyama shoten: Tokyo, 499, 88-124, on popular deification.

⁶²⁹ Yanagida (1971), 273ff., 56. There is a mention of a Hsüan-tse who was a proof-

Therefore, structure is important, but the paradigm structure must be separated, if possible, from pseudo-structures, materials that may have been historical events. Of course, there is a problem with *imitatio*, the conscious modelling by a person of himself on a religious saint or sage such as Buddha or Confucius. In that case, the motif may be fact rather than fiction, the action confirming the paradigm. This needs to be taken into account in writing history, whether the history of the literature and the structures, or of the 'narrative' substantialist kind.

Implications

The next stage in the analysis, following the moves from the simple structural binary opposition to the historical examination of context, both in socio-cultural and genre terms, and then to the deeper structures discovered through comparison, is into narrative hermeneutics. Our hagiography is a romance, in which Hui-neng makes a perilous journey in search of the truth, is engaged in a crucial struggle with his rival, and finally succeeds in his quest.⁶³⁰ After this identification is made from the structure, the next stage is hermeneutical, which McKnight claims is a 'narrative hermeneutics' that uses a 'narrative grammar.'⁶³¹ This is a "movement beyond history on the basis of history...approaching the narrative from a literary or poetic perspective."⁶³²

Although such a hermeneutical analysis is not attempted here, there is one paradigm that unites all of the hagiographies and comparisons. This intertextuality provides the meaning, dominating the plot(s).⁶³³ And it is this paradigm that dominates most T'ang hagiography and much of the other Ch'an literature as well. Although not a cohesive group or a sectarian institution, the various 'Ch'an' lineages had a family resemblance, for they all focussed on one issue, 'transmission,' and

reader for Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti lun* in 647 (T30.283c21), and he is mentioned as coming from Ching-chou along with Hung-ching to the precepts platform in the Chung-nan Mountains in 667 (T45.816c28). This suggests he was a scholarly monk also devoted to the vinaya, and so he was possibly a reliable witness.

⁶³⁰ Cf. one of the four generic plots in myth, based on the analysis of Frye, in McKnight (1978), 261, and used by Hayden White, for which see Munslow (1997), 154, 158.

⁶³¹ McKnight (1978), 260-268.

⁶³² McKnight (1978), 274.

⁶³³ Cf. McKnight's (1978) analysis of *Luke* 5:1-11, especially p. 287.

that transmission was via Bodhidharma. After a bitter and complex family feud, the focus fell on Hui-neng, the victors' choice. Like the various branches of Marxism, which all claim a mantle from Marx, but fight over the orthodox transmission, whether via Lenin, Stalin or Trotsky etc, there was a uniting factor, and so the hagiographies spared no effort in the creation of orthodox lineages.

The paradigm of transmission takes many forms, and can be found in the themes of the 'transmission of the robe,' 'gathas of transmission,' even the *Platform Sutra* itself as a surety of the orthodox lineage. 'Transmission' of course is a major feature of Chinese culture, the authority for which was Confucius' statement in the *Lun-yü* VII.1, "I am a transmitter and not a creator." This claim was taken up by the Vinaya historians, such as Hui-chiao, whose preface to the *Kao-seng chuan* states, "this is a transmission [*chuan*, of what has come down from the past] and not a creative work (*shu*)."⁶³⁴ Yet he selected for his history only those eminent, not the famous, monks, and so obscure figures like Hui-neng could have biographies that were transmitted. However, this idea was not unknown in Indian Buddhist hagiography. The Buddha was also in a sense just reshaping or restating the truth realised by earlier buddhas and other proto-Buddhist saints, for they were not so much creators as transmitters. They shared a 'core of personality' or Dharmakāya.⁶³⁵ Thus there was some common ground between Indian and Chinese hagiographies of Buddhist saints.

Another *Lun-yü* phrase, that of I.4.2, "Have I transmitted but not practised?"⁶³⁶ is found in Tsan-ning's preface to the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*,⁶³⁷ along with references to Confucius.⁶³⁸ The same applies to Tao-hsüan, who says, "When it came to the uncrowned king, he followed the tracks of the former..."⁶³⁹

It was a core theme in the most influential commentary on the *Lun-yü* in the period from the Han through to the early Sung. This

⁶³⁴ Wright (1954), 407.

⁶³⁵ Ray (1994), 239-240, 248-249 note 72; on personality, 61.

⁶³⁶ Legge (1972), I: 139-140, for an analysis. I have read it in a later interpretation. The problem as Huang K'an (488-545) saw it was: "All of that which I transmit and create (*ch'uan-shu*) must first have been practised. Only then can I transmit it. How can I have not first practised and have falsely transmitted it." *Lun-yü i-shu*, Nemoto edn, 1750, 1/5b.

⁶³⁷ T50.709b27.

⁶³⁸ T50.709c13-14.

⁶³⁹ T50.425a9.

commentary, the *Lun-yü chi-chieh* by Ho Yen (ca. 190-249) et al, which was also commented on by Huang K'an (488-545), "sought to present the 'collective' commentary as a performative expression of Confucius' claim to have been a transmitter rather than a creator" by using brief glosses and paraphrases. This, and other themes, they hoped would make explicit the *Lun-yü*'s status as a classic and Confucius as a sage.⁶⁴⁰ In this it was unlike all other commentaries, with an apparent refusal to be original. This would make Confucius' 'transmitter' claim to be central. It would thus substantiate his claim to be without a self (*shen*) or personal bias, for it would allow antiquity to stand for itself.⁶⁴¹ This may have appealed to Ch'an, for if the claim is accepted, then the latest person in the lineage would truly reflect the mental enlightenment of the saint of antiquity, the Buddha, and could be used to justify lineage.⁶⁴²

So although transmission was the prime objective of Confucius, and the historians from Ssu-ma Ch'ien to Tsan-ning and beyond, Ch'an had a special or separate transmission according to later slogans. Titles such as *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and even *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* make the point explicit, as does the *Platform Sutra*, which declares that its recording was in order to "receive the pivot of the teaching and transmit it among themselves, taking these words as their authority."⁶⁴³ Hui-neng even declares in the *Platform Sutra*, "My teaching has been handed down from the sages of the past; it is not my own personal knowledge,"⁶⁴⁴ echoing Confucius.

Shen-hui, largely responsible for the theory of patriarchal transmission, may have looked rather to the *Lun-yü i-shu* of Huang K'an, whose idea that the *Lun-yü* had been given an imprimatur (*yin-k'o*) by Confucius when he was still alive, may have suggested to Huang and to Shen-hui that they, as commentators or heirs to the lineage, had approval to write and assert their claims.⁶⁴⁵ In fact, the transmission is more like a confirmation, for Huang saw Confucius as innately

⁶⁴⁰ Makeham (2003), 23-24, 26.

⁶⁴¹ Makeham (2003), 48-51.

⁶⁴² Contrast Makeham (2003), 52, who thinks the *Lun-yü chi-chieh* commentators were diverging from the exegetical principles of the 'lineage model' (*chia-fa*) of the Han, which is different to how I read the Ch'an interpretation.

⁶⁴³ Yampolsky (1967), 126. This can be translated in another sense, however.

⁶⁴⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 134 (no. 12).

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. Makeham (2003), 86, on Huang. See discussion later.

a sage, who concealed his sanctity and had 'no mind' (*wu-hsin*).⁶⁴⁶ For Shen-hui, who taught 'no thought/mindfulness' (*wu-nien*), the bodhicitta or mind of enlightenment arrives suddenly, not gradually, for we are supposed to be innately bodhisattvas or buddhas.⁶⁴⁷ The patriarchs are rather confirmed in their status, and so do not strive for that understanding. The *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü* writes:

Each person has the Buddha-nature in full. The good friend (teacher) does not take the Buddha's Dharma (teaching) of bodhi and give it to people, nor do they calm minds for people. Why? Because the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, "One has already received the Compassionate One's prediction (of buddhahood), so all sentient beings originally are nirvana."⁶⁴⁸

And it is because this Buddha-nature is covered by adventitious, not intrinsic, contaminants that this innate buddhahood is not recognised.

This metaphor, of a family tradition transmitted through the generations of course denies that anything new was being created, and the stronger the denial the greater the innovation. Thus, as the Ch'an *kung-an* states, "One person creates a deception, and a crowd of people transmit it as real."⁶⁴⁹ But perhaps this is too negative a judgement on Ch'an mythopoeisis, for their object was the transmission to the future, an 'axiomatic fiction' necessary for the survival of their culture.⁶⁵⁰ They attempted the 'heroism of the lie,' but were still imprisoned by the need to transmit a truth.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁶ Makeham (2003), 112-114.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. McRae (2003), 'Shen-hui as Evangelist,' 16-17. For a definition of *wu-nien*, see *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu (1968), 309; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 39; Teng and Jung (1998), 90. On sitting with mind in no location, being given the imprimatur, no gradualism and no sitting (or effort), see Hu (1968), 286; Yang (1996), 30-31; Teng and Jung (1998), 42-44.

⁶⁴⁸ Hu (1968), 232; Yang (1996), 7; Teng and Jung (1998), 128-130.

⁶⁴⁹ *K'ung-k'ü chi*, quoted in Ting Fu-pao, comp. (1969), *Fo-hsüeh ta-tz'u-tien*, 4 vols, Hua-yen lien she: Taipei, 1: 1a-b, as an illustration of how it is easy to lead the truth, and Komazawa Daigaku daijiten hensansho, comp. (1977), *Zengaku daijiten* 1: 33a, which interprets this as, "although each individual must enlighten himself, the truth the Buddha awakened to, as one person (Mahākāśyapa) thoughtlessly transmitted it, everybody all thought they were transmitting that truth."

⁶⁵⁰ Steiner (1975), *After Babel*, 159.

⁶⁵¹ Cf. Stirner (1973), 302; cf. Stirner on Nietzsche, 222.

CHAPTER TWO

"WHY NOT TAKE ALL OF ME?" THE AFTERLIFE OF HUI-NENG AS A RELIC IN CHINA

Introduction: the significance of relics and 'vulgar' faith

Relics and historical perspectives

Because Hui-neng in his lifetime was an obscure figure from the remote, 'barbarian' South of China, his name was barely known until an audacious propaganda campaign was started around the metropolitan centres of the North in the 730s, about two decades after Hui-neng's death, by Shen-hui (684-758), who claimed to be his disciple and heir. These claims were opposed, and with Shen-hui's lineage lasting only a few generations, they and their claims were inadequate reasons for the eventual elevation of Hui-neng to the throne of the progenitor of the 'Southern Ch'an' orthodoxy. Other groups took up this theme and produced a number of hagiographies of Hui-neng in order to take advantage of the opportunities Shen-hui had created. But it seems some needed something more than words; they required a relic to be worshipped and to attract pilgrims and patronage. They wanted *buddha-sarīra* rather than *buddha-vacana*, bodily relics rather than books.

Unlike the Hui-neng of their propaganda, Shen-hui and the other creators of the hagiographies, whether members of the Ch'an movement or not, were part of the elite. For example, Tsan-ning (919-1001), author of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, was an irregular diplomat from the state of Wu-Yüeh and later a member of the Han-lin Academy at the Sung court.¹ Virtually all the stelae for known Ch'an monks were penned by high lay officials or literati, and the majority of Ch'an monks were from establishment families.² Ch'an hagiography and

¹ Albert A. Dalia (1987), 'The "political career" of the Buddhist historian Tsan-ning,' 166-167. Note that Tsan-ning also took a 'true body' relic from Wu-Yüeh to Sung.

² Of the 117 Ch'an monks I have studied whose existence can be confirmed for the period ca. 600 to ca. 820 from T'ang Dynasty sources (and not merely from the

modern studies of Ch'an, therefore have been written through elite-coloured glasses; virtually no consideration has been given to the role of the 'vulgar masses' in the achievements of Ch'an.³ Yet in writing the hagiography of a religious hero, motifs with sure appeal to wider audiences than just the literate elite are certain to be introduced. Such was the case with Confucius who became the 'uncrowned king.'⁴

To overlook the influence of the beliefs of the 'vulgar masses' is to ignore part of the historical context within which Ch'an and its hagiographies grew, and perpetuates moreover the illusion of Ch'an as merely an order of *virtuosi*, who as monks dedicated to the austere practice of meditation, transcended the world. Earlier historians of Buddhism, like those of Latin Christendom, thus thought "the potentially enlightened few are...subject to continuous upward pressure from

Sung Dynasty *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* or *Sung Kao-seng chuan*), 53 were likely from the elite, 9 were possibly from the elite, 14 were non-elite, 3 were foreigners; the hagiographers admit the background of 12 to be unknown; 6 are of totally ambiguous status, and for 34 there are no indications of family or clan status. If the Pao-t'ang School, which operated in the comparative isolation of Szechwan, often among the local non-establishment, are discounted (10 members, only one confirmed as of elite status), these ratios rise to over 50% elite background. Methodological difficulties plague such assessments of status beyond those posed by the ignorance of the hagiographers and the desire of some monks to not disclose their backgrounds. See the remarks of W. Th. M. Frijhoff (1979), 'Official and Popular Religion in Christianity: The Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times,' in Peter Hendrik Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg, eds, *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*, Mouton: The Hague, 72-75, especially on applying methods developed from contemporary data to medieval data (i.e. historical sociology), and the restricted nature and elite bias of the sources.

³ Exceptions include Bernard Faure (May 1987), 'Space and Place in Chinese Religious Traditions,' *History of Religions* 26 no. 4, which deals with popular belief and Northern Ch'an, and in later works by Faure; Osabe Kazuo (1950), 'Tōdai Zenshū Kōsō no shisho kyōka ni suite,' in *Haneda Hakushi shōju kinen Tōyōshi ronsō*, Kyoto. There are Japanese studies of figures adopted by later Ch'an from popular Buddhism, figures such as Fu Ta-shih and Pao-chih, who were celebrated as incarnations of bodhisattvas, and of legendary Ch'an patriarchs like Bodhidharma who were deified and placed in the popular pantheon of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. For example, see Sawada Mizuho, (1975), *Bukkyō to Chūgoku bungaku*, Tokyo, esp. chapter 8, 'Daruma-den shōsetsu'; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (1976), *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* Vol. 3, Tokyo, chapter 3, 'Chūgoku minshū shinkō no naka no Darumadaishi'; and Nagai Masashi (2000), chapter 1, sections 1, 2, 4. See also Chang Yung (2000), *Fu Ta-shih yen-chiu*, Pa-shu shu-she: Ch'eng-tu, which I have not been able to access.

⁴ See chapter 1, and Henri Maspero (1981), *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, trans. Frank A. Kiernan Jr, University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, 131-136, for the popular image of Confucius.

habitual ways of thinking current among 'the vulgar',⁵ failing to see that the hagiographers made use of, or themselves believed in and even promoted, much of the so-called 'vulgar' practice, including the 'translation' of oral or vulgar hagiographies.⁶ These historians wrote their accounts from self-appointed positions as defenders of normative or 'orthodox' religion. Further account needs to be taken, at least in some circumstances, of the divisions among the religious or monkhood, as in the case of India where there was a division in the Buddhist religious between the conservative, settled monastics and the radical, forest-dwelling renunciants. Therefore the two-tiered model of laity and clerics, which favours the idea of a popular Buddhism that compromised with 'superstitions' and a monkish Buddhism of scholarship and rationality centred on the monastery and its economic needs, should be abandoned. The monastic scholarship favoured the upper classes or castes and drew distinct boundaries between itself and the masses. It provided the historical records.⁷ Monastics tended to treat the wandering and homeless forest renunciants and ascetics as if they had bad karma, and perhaps were more likely to have come from the lower castes.⁸ Hui-neng, as a meditator, like some of the proto-Ch'an wandering ascetics, may have been looked upon askance by the monastic establishment as lower class, tainted by 'popular' belief in the powers of the dead and the like. Yet the monasteries needed such 'popular' ascetics and renunciants, for they were the enlightened saints that provided the rationale or basis for the existence of Buddhism.⁹

In other words, Ch'an history has been written from the top down, not from the bottom up, for we are pliant prisoners of our sources, which tend to be overwhelmingly from the normative tradition. Thus the history was written by the elite monastics, who needed the saints for the long-term survival of Buddhism. The Ch'an 'historians' were

⁵ Peter Brown (1981), *The Cult of the Saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 17. See the opening comments by Paul Harrison (1987), 'Who gets to ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-image and Identity among the followers of the Early Mahayana,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 10 no. 1. See also M. A. G. T. Kloppenburg (1979), 'Some Reflexions on the Study of Sinhalese Buddhism,' in P. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg, eds, *Official and Popular Religion*, 487-489.

⁶ Landes (1995), 61-63, 135.

⁷ Reginald Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 21-36, 37 note 13, 43 note 59, and 401, which suggests monastics treated lay people and women as lower castes.

⁸ Ray (1994), 320-321 note 38, see also on pratyekabuddhas, 214-215.

⁹ Ray (1994), 436.

probably monastic rather than ascetic meditators, were probably from the upper classes, and so when they wrote about the saints tended to do so from a conservative perspective, sanitising their subjects or placing them into set formulae accepted by the normative tradition. So as a general rule, until recently, the histories written from the bottom up were usually hostile, reformist polemics, or anti-clerical.

However, non-normative sources such as mirabilia and folk-lore, archaeological evidence, art works and other physical items, can illuminate the dark underbelly that is the Ch'an of the people, and even normative sources perhaps inadvertently reveal that 'vulgar' influence. Therefore the hagiographies can hint at the mutual dependence and blurred borders between the elite clergy and the vulgar laity.¹⁰ A search for these hints may disclose a reason other than doctrinal virtuosity and Shen-hui's hagiographical project for the posthumous popularity of Hui-neng; the veneration of his relics. These relics were in fact an important subject of at least one of the most influential hagiographies of Hui-neng, the anonymous *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Indeed, Bernard Faure has even suggested that the relic of Hui-neng contributed to "the victory of the Southern School and its rise to the status of Buddhist orthodoxy."¹¹

Relics and their influence

To some hagiographers, relics were more important than the lives of the saints, for the relics extended the saint's power forward in time to the present and future. The saint may no longer be alive, but through his relics his potency lived on. Therefore there was a search for where the powers had gone. As the relics were the site of this power, which mattered more than the person who carried the power, the relics were described and venerated, while the life of the saint was comparatively ignored. The relics were portable and could counter the influence of the scriptures. In Buddhism, the veneration of the relics became a prime characteristic, and relics were used in

¹⁰ Cf. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell (1982), *Saints and Society: The two worlds of Western Christendom*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 11-13. Note that the distinction is here overdrawn. The clergy had its elite and those of lower status; likewise members of the laity included elite believers.

¹¹ Bernard Faure (1992), 'Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites,' in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 168.

missionary activities.¹² Relics in the early Middle Ages of Western Europe were “the most important feature in the religious landscape”; important items of trade, buttresses for secular rulers,¹³ and “guarantors of political prestige and spiritual authority” for which even emperors made political sacrifices.¹⁴ Moreover, rulers used relics to make their subjects more obedient, and clerics tried to overawe rulers with relics by channelling the fervour of the faithful.¹⁵ Without relics the Latin Church probably would have failed in its proselytization north of the Alps and have been a lesser force in society.¹⁶ Moreover, relics were a source of great wealth to many religious establishments and their dependants; innkeepers, merchants and fair showmen.¹⁷

Although Buddhism in China cannot be recklessly equated with the Latin Christian Church; being neither organisationally as coherent or autonomous, always supervised by the state while competing with other religions;¹⁸ significant similarities exist: in particular, the role of relics and pilgrimage in the popularity of the Buddhist Order; and the Order as a rival of secular authority.

Indeed, unlike Christianity in European history, the importance of Buddhism in Chinese history is usually overlooked as a catalyst of

¹² John Kieschnick (2003), *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 30-31, 49.

¹³ R. W. Southern (1970), *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Pelican History of the Church 2), Pelican, 30. These points are made even more emphatically in R. W. Southern (1959), *The Making of the Middle Ages*, Arrow Books: Tiptree, 144.

¹⁴ Jonathan Sumption (1975), *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion*, Faber and Faber: London, 30-31.

¹⁵ Landes (1995), 33-35, 198-199.

¹⁶ See Southern (1970), 16-18, on the Church as a compulsory society, as identical with society. For the role of relics in the religious conquest of Northern Europe, see Lionel Rothkrug (1980), ‘Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation,’ *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, University of Waterloo: Ontario, 9, on the popes, uses of relics as instruments of state; 5, on missionary efforts. See also the popular account by James Bentley (1985), *Restless Bones: The Story of Relics*, Constable: London, 47, on no popular practice in the Church without relics.

¹⁷ Sumption (1975), 156, 166, 210; Bentley (1985), 101-102.

¹⁸ See the comments by R. Ransdorp (1979), ‘Chinese Religions,’ in P. Vrihof and J. Waardenburg, eds, *Official and Popular Religions*, 402, 415. For a detailed study of the controls exerted over Buddhism in China by the state, see Moroto Tatsuo (1990), *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, Hirakawa shuppansha: Tokyo. He shows that the Buddhist Order lost its autonomy and exceptional status in the interaction with the increasingly powerful state from the time of Northern Wei. In the early T’ang in particular, the Order was subordinated to state authority through regulations governing the clergy, state-issued ordination certificates and taxation imposts.

change. Yet the Buddhist Order was probably the only major enduring institution capable of even rivalling the bureaucratic state, and it was not fortuitous that the height of its prosperity coincided with the age that made the greatest strides in the economic and technological development of pre-modern China, the T'ang to Sung. The state frequently saw the Order as a challenge to its very foundations, proscribing it a number of times.¹⁹ Yet the benefits of the Order from its welfare activities and the power of its adherents was so great that it was always revived with a 'penitent' state help,²⁰ for such was Buddhism's influence that throughout most of the Sui and T'ang dynasties the state was even obliged to prohibit slaughter and executions for set periods that coincided with three 'sacred months' in the Buddhist calendar.²¹

Moreover, the Order was a considerable economic power and innovator, establishing water-powered mills, oil presses and hostels, as well as financing the institutions of the pawnshop, the mutual financing association, the auction sale, and in later ages, the lottery.²² Jacques

¹⁹ In the Wu-ch'ang persecution of 845, some 260,000 clerics were laicized, millions of acres of land confiscated, 150,000 'slaves' freed [Joseph Needham (1954), *Science and Civilisation in China: Vol. 1: Introductory Orientations*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 126], though there may have been some 700,000 'monks,' for in 830 this was the number of ordination certificates issued; [see Stanley Weinstein (1987), *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 199, note 111]. The best account of the persecution is Weinstein (1987), 114-136. In the last major persecution, that of the Later Chou in 955, which was restricted to a part of north China, 61,200 clerics were laicized, 30,600 monasteries and cloisters were abolished, while 2,694 survived. See Makita Tairyō, ed. (1976a), *Ajia Bukkyōshi: Chūgoku-hen II: Minshū no Bukkyō*, Kōseiisha: Tokyo, 22.

²⁰ Benefits included the almshouses for the aged, infirm and indigent [Weinstein (1987), 131]; and education for the poor [Yen Keng-wang (1969), 'T'ang-jen hsi-yeh shan-lin ssu-yüan chih feng-shang' in his *T'ang shih yen-chiu ts'ung-kao*, Hong Kong, 367-424]. Of the over 200 people known to have been educated in the monasteries, Yen (415) lists twenty chief ministers. The welfare activities of the Order included hospitals, almshouses, 'soup kitchens,' bathhouses, well-digging, road-building and tree-planting for the public. See Kenneth Ch'en (1964), *Buddhism in China*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 295. Buddhist monks also did sterling work in building and maintaining bridges throughout China, something based on the Buddhist doctrine of merit, which advocated the provision of gardens and woods, medicine, boats for fords, wells for drinking, toilets and bridges for the common people. See Kieschnick (2003), 199-203.

²¹ Weinstein (1987), 122-123.

²² Ch'en (1964), 261-267; Lien-sheng Yang (June 1950), 'Buddhist Monasteries and four money raising institutions in Chinese history,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13: 174.

Gernet has suggested that Buddhist doctrine provided the basis for the "notion and techniques of the productive use of capital" in China.²³ This was possible because the Order was the largest nation-wide landholder, though not necessarily on the richest lands.²⁴ Thus, despite the proscriptions of 845 and 955, the Buddhist Order again prospered under the Sung Dynasty, with registered clerics making up at least 1% of the population,²⁵ and with large numbers of tenants on the Order's estates. Its economic strength grew once again to amazing proportions, with wealth and land-holdings becoming the envy of the state.²⁶

If one accepts the theory that alternative and competing institutions are one of the preconditions for economic and technological development,²⁷ the Buddhist Order has to be seen as crucial to these developments in China. It comes as no surprise that it was at the

²³ Kenneth Ch'en (May 1957), 'The economic role of Buddhism in China,' *Journal of Asian Studies*, 16 (3): 409, in a review of Jacques Gernet (1956), *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*, Saigon, 68-69.

²⁴ Ch'en (1964), 267-269. A calculation made by the Chinese Buddhist Association totalled 200,000 monastery and hermitage sites in China. Some 3,000 stupa sites still exist, 100 of them over 700 or 800 years old. See Pai Ming, Chang T'ien-chieh and T'ien Hsü-tung (1988), *Fa-men Ssu yü Fo-chiao wen-hua*, Shen-hsi Shih-fan Ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she: Hsi-an, 32 (hereafter FMS). Most of these would have held some land.

²⁵ There are various figures, the census not being particularly accurate. In the 1021 census there were 6,039,331 households and 458,854 clerics registered. Under Emperor Jen-tsung there was a total population of 26,421,651 people (1063 count), and 434,262 clerics (1034 count); in 1077 a population of 30,807,211 and 232,564 clerics. The late Northern Sung population was given as 43,411,606 in 1097 and 46,734,784 in 1110. Figures are from Kuo P'eng (1981), *Sung Yüan Fo-chiao*, Fu-chien jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Fu-chou, 6-7. Under the much reduced area of the Southern Sung, in 1221 there were 458,855 clerics [Ch'en (1964), 401]. These numbers were greatly enhanced by the sale of monk certificates, which rose from 3,000-4,000 p.a. issued, up to 50,000-60,000 sold in 1132. These certificates enabled the holder to avoid taxation, corvée and military service (389). The Order also had large numbers of tenants on its estates, and they too were exempted from some state exactions.

²⁶ See the figures in Kuo P'eng (1981), 6, for the Order's take in grain and tenant dues. In Southern Sung, the Order's lands in Fu-chou made up a fifth of the total arable land, and in Chang-chou an incredible six sevenths. See Brian McKnight (1986), 'Chu Hsi and his World,' in Wing-tsit Chan, ed., *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 428 passim. According to Kuo P'eng, monasteries in the Fu-chien circuit took in over 365,000 strings of cash in addition to regular donations and taxes per annum for the needs of the day-to-day living of the clergy. In the Northern Sung there were over 40,000 monasteries, many very large. Some in the capital occupied over 700 *chu* 畝.

²⁷ Hyobom Pak (1974), *China and the West: Myths and Realities in History*, E. J. Brill: Leiden, 22-48.

height of the Order's economic power and intellectual influence that China's development was at its peak.²⁸ This was despite the T'ang court's sponsorship of a rival religion, Taoism, because of the claim that the T'ang imperial clan, the Li, were descended from Lao tzu, deified as the creator of the universe in the Taoist pantheon. Moreover, the first T'ang emperors used Taoistic prophecies to proclaim their legitimacy, and later emperors used Taoist images and 'miracles' to confirm this. However, the support was intermittent, being the strongest under Kao-tsu (r. 618-626) and T'ai-tsung (r. 626-649), then Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-756) and Wu-tsung (r. 840-846). Several others, such as Kao-tsung, supported Taoism temporarily, especially in the last years of their lives. However, with the exception of Wu-tsung who persecuted Buddhism, all recognised the influence of Buddhism, and could not do without its support entirely.²⁹ Even the most vigorous supporter of Taoism, Hsüan-tsung, also used Buddhist monasteries in his campaigns, despite having made Taoism a state religion in 741.³⁰ Moreover, the promise of peace and prosperity under several of the pro-Taoist emperors was undermined by their ignominious ends, with Hsüan-tsung deposed by a rebellion, and Wu-tsung's murderous search for elixirs of immortality, which eventually killed him. The response on both occasions was a penitent restoration of Buddhism,³¹ partly by using relics of the Buddha. It is most pertinent then that relics were one of the great generators of wealth for the Order, for they were classified as fields of merit for the faithful to plant with their donations.

However, the creation after the Sung of a Confucian state orthodoxy, which had assimilated Buddhist ideas, spelt the end of this alternative institution as a productive and potent force, for it could not compete with a comparatively solid alliance between the bureaucracy, landed gentry and the state. Furthermore, in the Southern Sung, the Ch'an Order, which was then the dominant force in Chinese Buddhism, was co-opted as an arm of the imperial state by the formation of the 'Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries System,' in which the abbots were state appointees (frequently imperial relatives) and were no longer internally elected, and the sermons and rituals became celebrations of

²⁸ Needham (1954), 134-135.

²⁹ Cf. Weinstein (1987), 5-8, 35-37, 51-53, 115-117, 144.

³⁰ Charles Benn (1987), 'Religious Aspects of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's Taoist Ideology,' 128-129, 131-132, 137, 140.

³¹ Weinstein (1987), 57-60, 77-79, 135-138, 143.

the emperor's birthday or state ceremonials.³² This Confucian orthodoxy was largely created out of the ideas of Chu Hsi, who claimed that all of Buddhism and Lao-Chuang (Taoism) had been absorbed into Ch'an. His greatest challenge was to counter the influence of Ch'an on Confucianism, for his claim that nearly all T'ang and Sung Confucians were permeated with Ch'an was close to the truth, at least in some estimates.³³ Chu Hsi's successors eventually succeeded in their aim, thereby removing the stimulus provided by this one alternative institution, restricting innovation severely. As the historian of Confucianism, Ch'ien Mu said in a rather hyperbolic statement, Chu Hsi's influence "kept China from turning into a Ch'an nation."³⁴

Aramaki Noritoshi has suggested that there was a connection between the 'Chinese Ch'an' that began with Hui-neng and the so-called T'ang to Sung transition or revolution, a transformation from a medieval, aristocratic society to a pre-modern, gentry culture and monarchical absolutism. This is explained as a change from the 'Northern Ch'an' contemplation of the mind as a means to transform it from the tainted mind that unconsciously clings to medieval Buddhist statuary and scripture to a pure mind, to the Southern Ch'an mind as empty, a "fundamental religious experience." The transformation socially was in the changes brought about by the An Lu-shan Rebellion leading to the collapse of medieval society with its aristocratic alliance of barbarians and Chinese, and the cultural elite shifting their allegiance to Hui-neng's "fundamental revolution in Ch'an thought." Even the 'Northern Ch'an' leaders who were spreading their influence from the metropolises "noticed the innovation of Hui-neng's Ch'an and came to covertly respect it." Although this is an hypothesis, Aramaki seeks to see Hui-neng (or rather, his image) as a reflection or symptom of the changes from the early T'ang joint barbarian-Chinese aristocratic regime towards a Chinese meritocracy in the Sung, from a society

³² Yanagida Seizan (1967a), 'Chūgoku Zenshūshi,' in Suzuki Daisetsu and Nishitani Keiji, eds, *Zen no rekishi—Chūgoku: Kōza Zen Vol. 3*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 95-97.

³³ Yanagida Seizan (1976b), 'Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen,' *Zen bunka kenkyū kiyō* 8: 3-4.

³⁴ Cited by Charles Wei-hsun Fu (1986), 'Chu Hsi on Buddhism,' in Wing-tsit Chan, ed., *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, 377, from Ch'ien Mu's *Chu Tzu hsin hsieh-an*, vol 3, 490. Hartman (1986), 5, states that "the T'ang was in all essentials a Buddhist state," and this was what Han Yü struggled against, partly by borrowing from Ch'an. This may account for Han's stature among Sung Neo-Confucians.

based on a closed manor economy and corvée to a monetary economy, and intellectually from a Buddhism and Taoism that renounced the household life and politics to a family-oriented and socially active Neo-Confucianism.³⁵ Some have seen Ch'an as part of a questioning of the value of tradition in this same period after the rebellion, heralding the end of the medieval world.³⁶ Yet it is unclear whether Hui-neng's 'Ch'an,' or that attributed to him and his supposed heirs, was merely a reflection of the changing society or was a contributor to the changes. It is difficult to ascertain whether this 'Ch'an' of Hui-neng inspired the poets and men of culture to rethink their 'tradition,' or whether the association of monks and literati continued relatively unchanged, with no special singling out of Southern Ch'an monks as companions and interlocutors. It is all too easy to leap to the conclusion of an 'alliance of progressive forces,' but one has to account for the role of 'medieval' relic worship in this Southern Ch'an and the wider society. Indeed, there is even a major question as to what 'medieval' means, and there is still debate on the periodisation and characteristics of the so-called T'ang to Sung transition.³⁷ Unfortunately this argument needs methodological refinement, for even Aramaki accepts texts that are false attributions from later periods and concepts that seem anachronistic, such as 'religious experience' or 'historical necessity.' This theory seems to replicate some of the concerns of the modernists who saw Ch'an as a progressive, modernising force in Chinese history. Even so, in the latter half of the T'ang, the influence of Ch'an grew, but it grew in part because the relics of Hui-neng and other Ch'an monks became objects of devotion and hagiographies, many not accepted by the intellectual elites. Perhaps as some relics were realistic lacquer casts or 'mummies,' they reflected a more 'human' saint or saviour than the squalid bone fragments and *śarīra* beads, rather as the images of the crucified Christ in European Christendom from the late tenth century became more human as he was depicted as suffering on the cross.³⁸ In that sense, these 'medieval' icons may have contributed

³⁵ Aramaki Noritoshi (2000), 'Nanshū Zen kara Sōgaku no seiritsu e,' in Aramaki Noritoshi, ed., *Hokuchō Zui Tō Chūgoku Bukkyō shisōshi*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 565-569.

³⁶ Peter K. Bol (1992), *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 48.

³⁷ See Tanigawa Michio (1997), 'Rethinking "Medieval China",' *Early Medieval China* 3, translated by Victor Xiong.

³⁸ Landes (1995), 301.

to the rise of a new Chinese-style 'humanism' or *jen-wen*.³⁹

Therefore the power of Buddhism as an institution was not derived simply from the intellectual brilliance of the leading clergy and its influence among the literati and at court. It had to have popular support. Hence, a forgery, whether relic or hagiography, had to be popular, and a relic's best chance of survival over the long term was via a written testimony,⁴⁰ for popular enthusiasm could soon fade. Furthermore, as in Byzantine Christianity, the cult of relic worship probably affected literature, for it produced a demand for hagiography.⁴¹ Thus in China, various forms of hagiography were produced, ranging from the tomb inscriptions, 'accounts of conduct,' 'lives of eminent monks, and the Ch'an 'lamplight histories' etcetera. Pertinently, Ch'an seems to have occupied a significant place in T'ang Buddhist hagiography.⁴² The

³⁹ See *jen-wen* in Bol (1992), 76, 187, on early Sung Ch'an master Ch'i-sung's use of the term.

⁴⁰ Cf. Landes (1995), 272-273.

⁴¹ Wilson (1983/1985), 15.

⁴² It is difficult to gauge the popularity of hagiographical literature in the T'ang, given that we have two main sources: the imperial library collection, itself selective, as catalogued in the anti-Buddhist *Hsin T'ang shu* 59; and in the Tun-huang cave collections from the remote Northwest (we could add the Sung compilation, the *Tai-p'ing kuang-chi* to the list). The *Hsin T'ang shu* lists 182 Buddhist works, of which 28 are hagiographical, and 6 are monastic gazetteers or geographies. Besides the various *kao-seng chuan*, there are a number of Ch'an hagiographical works including the *Pao-lin chuan*, a biography of Lan-ts'an, the *Sheng-chou chi*, the Fa-hai *Liu-tsu Fa-pao chi* (Platform Sutra), Hui-k'o's *Ta-mo hsieh-mo*, and possibly Li Chi-fu's biography of I-hsing. The Tun-huang collections are full of sutra duplicates made for merit, students' copybooks, and administrative documents etcetera. Even so, of the 12,559 items in the Stein and Pelliot Chinese collections from Tun-huang, most of which are duplicates, I count about 45 hagiographical works, including stele inscriptions, encomia, histories of certain monks (*yin-yüan chi*), records of miracles and separate biographies (*pieh chuan*) of monks such as Kumārajīva (S 0381.2), Tao-sheng and Seng-chao (S 0556), and Hui-yüan (*Hui-yüan wai-chuan*, in T85). They include biographies of Bodhidharma (S 4272, quote from 'T'an-lin Preface' in LCSTC; P 2460, a fragment from Emperor Wu of Liang's stele, and P 4029, a portrait), Seng-ts'an (S 1611), Hung-jen (S 1776.2), and Hung-jen and Fa-ju as a pair (P 3858), Hui-neng (S 1776.3, *T'ang-ch'ao ti-liu tsu*), a eulogy for P'u-chi (S 2512.2), another for layman Ch'en Huai-ku who was associated with 'Northern Ch'an' (S 6877) and for Ch'an Teacher Ta-hui, i.e. I-hsing (P 3535), and praises for a Ch'an Teacher Ting-hui (S 5809.2). Also, not counted in the 45 above, Tun-huang held 12 near complete manuscripts or fragments of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* [Wendi Adamek (2003), 'Imagining the Portrait of a Chan Master,' in Bernard Faure, ed., *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, RoutledgeCurzon: London, 66], 3 copies of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and 7 of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* [Yanagida (1971), 38-40], plus the Ishii text of the *Shen-hui yü-lu*. Tun-huang material counted from Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, comp. (1983), *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking.

popular dimension of Buddhism was soteriological, and this was just as true of Ch'an as it was of the other orders or schools. This soteriology naturally came to appear in the hagiographies, which provided examples or even 'enlightening dialogues,' or wrote of the saving powers of the relics of the saint.

Indeed, one major avenue of salvation was the saint and his relics. In medieval Chinese Buddhism, as in Latin Christendom, saints' relics played an important role as a focus of belief and contact with spiritual charisma. This led to the widespread fabrication of relics, the construction of shrines and the institutions that protected them and benefited from them, and ultimately to the theft of the most potent of the relics. In Europe, the Church, both institutionally and popularly, was largely founded around, if not on, the tombs of the saints of late antiquity.⁴³ In India, the stupas, which housed the relics of saints and were considered to be the saints themselves, were important access points to the sacred, for the live saints, wandering in the forests and border districts, were difficult to meet,⁴⁴ as was often acknowledged in the sutras with stock phrases. Because the stupa was the physical body of the buddha and the bones or relics the essence of the buddha or saint refined by fire, they formed a place for the saint to appear and be seen by the faithful, in whom the sight could induce the aspiration for enlightenment and to themselves become a buddha. Therefore stupas attracted donations and became institutional centres for the wandering ascetics, the laity, and even the monastics, who built their monasteries around the stupas to capture the spiritual market.⁴⁵ In China, the monastery of the saint prospered once the relics gained notoriety, especially on those margins of Chinese civilisation where the Order was the main bearer of that culture. Therefore, many of the great pilgrimage sites, such as Ts'ao-ch'i, Mt O-mei, Mt Wu-t'ai and Mt Pu-t'o were on edges of mainstream Chinese culture during the T'ang and Sung period.⁴⁶ There, to achieve popularity, the Order relied on local beliefs in the powers of holy men. Such was probably

⁴³ Brown (1981), 3-12.

⁴⁴ Ray (1994), 324-326.

⁴⁵ Ray (1994), 326-332, 342.

⁴⁶ See Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (1992), 'Introduction,' in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, University of California: Berkeley, 7, on Turner and the peripheral, 11, on the locations in mountains, away from the preferred lowlands, 16, on great mountain sites of pilgrimage.

the case with the patriarch of all post-T'ang Ch'an, Hui-neng. Some of Hui-neng's contemporaries and hagiographers were conscious of this fact. For example, in Wang Wei's stele for Hui-neng, he wrote that Hui-neng's influence among the barbarian hunting tribes and fishers of the far South was such that

most gave up the smell of game and imitated the monks' diet. They abandoned their nets and snares, and adopted the garb of rice farmers. For a long time, only the Dharma of Buddhism has in fact aided the imperial rulers' conversion (of the people).⁴⁷

Therefore, given the immense prestige that Hui-neng increasingly gained as the reputed 'founder' of Southern Ch'an and the last of an unbroken 'lineage of patriarchs' stretching back to the Buddha himself, it was natural that his remains were to become venerated relics, so much so that attempts were made to steal them. They became the focal point of Ch'an and cultural interest in remote (as seen from the metropolis) northern Kuangtung, being a pilgrimage site for both locals and literati from all over China, as well as for foreign monks.⁴⁸ It followed that a record of such events be included in and

⁴⁷ See chapter 1, and ZSS, 542. The people to the south of the Ranges (Kuangtung and Kueichow) were generally ignorant of the metropolitan culture and religion. The *Ling-piao lu-i* commented that many small commanderies in the South had no regular 'monks,' and so reliance, even for state matters, often devolved upon false or unordained 'monks.' Quoted in Tseng Hua-man/Tsang Wah-moon (1973), *T'ang-tai Ling-nan fa-chan ti ho-hsin-hsing*, Chinese University of Hong Kong: Hong Kong, 14. Further south, in the early Vietnamese states, monasteries played an important role in spreading Sinitic civilisation, and monks were political advisors to and diplomats for the courts. Before the formation of these Vietnamese dynasties, the T'ang court had promoted Buddhism in the region of the Red River delta as part of its 'civilising mission.' See Thich Duc-niêm/Shih Te-nien (1979), *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yü Yüeh-nan Li-ch'ao wen-hsüeh chih yen-chiu*, Ta-sheng chung-she yin-ching hui: Taipei, 45, 90. For Buddhist monasteries as bearers of the central civilisation to the margins, see the examples in Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah (1984), *The Buddhist Saints of the forest and the cult of amulets*, 69-73. Comparisons can also be made with the advance of Christianity into the countryside as part of 'Romanization,' for which see Brown (1981), 120-122; and with the conversion of the Franks, see Rothkrug (1980), xi, 5-7.

⁴⁸ The *Ch'ung-hsiu Ts'ao-ch'i t'ung-chih* by Ma Yüan, Tu Chieh-hsiang, eds (1980), *Chung-kuo Fo-ssu shih-chih i-k'an*, series 2, vol. 5, fascicles 7 and 8, gives a series of poems by distinguished visitors, of whom Su Shih was an undoubted devotee. Due to its remoteness, Nan-hua Monastery, where the relic was installed, was certainly not a pilgrimage site in the same league with places such as Mt Sung or Mt T'ai. For a general account of these sites, see Karl Ludvig Reichelt (1928), *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, trans. by Kathrina van Wagenen Bugge, Shanghai, reprinted Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968, 284-297. Mt Wu-t'ai, on the northern march-

appended to Hui-neng's sutra, the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. Thus, while most of these incidents were not entered in the earliest versions of the *Platform Sutra*, with the embroidering of the legend, they were borrowed from parallel traditions of popular hagiography and incorporated into the sutra in Sung times.

Both for reasons of Chinese self-esteem, as well as for the prestige that would accrue to Hui-neng, the theft of Hui-neng's relic was later claimed to have been orchestrated by Koreans, for Silla Korea alone had a viable Ch'an presence in the late eighth and early ninth century when the first outlines of this tale were fabricated. It also had other resonances for the Chinese when it was combined with predictions of the possible disappearance of Ch'an in China and the spiritual significance of Korea for the rejuvenation of the Way in China. Moreover, this raises the question of the Korean contribution to the creation of these very legends. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* mention of the relic of Hui-neng and its attempted theft, and its subsequent worship, was the culmination of Chinese Buddhist devotionism.

Relics in China

In Buddhism the cult of the saints' relics went back to the historical Buddha, with early accounts of his ashes and *śarīra* being divided among the eight kingdoms he had traversed and that desired them. Scriptures such as the *Nirvāṇa* and *Avatamsaka* sutras provided rationales

lands of China, attracted pilgrims from as far afield as Tibet and Korea. For Tibet and Tun-huang, there is a study by Hibino Takeo in Ono Katsutoshi festschrift, *Tōhōgaku ronshū*, Ryūkoku Daigaku: Kyoto, 1982. See also a map of Wu-t'ai from Tun-huang in Hibino Takeo (1977), *Zusetsu Chūgoku no rekishi 4: Zui-Tō teikoku*, Kodansha: Tokyo, 189. For Korea, see the story of Ch'ajang's visit to Wu-t'ai in the *Samguk yusa*, text edited by Yi Pyōngdo (1981), *Samguk yusa*, revised edn, Kwangjo ch'ulpansa: Seoul, 140. See also Edwin O. Reischauer (1955), *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*, Ronald Press Co.: New York, 26, on the hostels along the route to Wu-t'ai, see 151, and for the site, pilgrims and relics, see 194-210. Comparisons can be made with medieval Europe; for example, the pilgrimage route from France to Santiago de Compostella, Sumption (1975), 116, 176ff. Modern Chinese evidence shows that even some of the pilgrims' accoutrements, such as the pouch and the staff, seem to have been the same as in Europe. Compare Sumption (1975), 171, with photographs of modern pilgrims taken by Henri Cartier-Bresson in Holmes Welch (1968), *The Buddhist Revival in China*, Harvard University Press: New Haven, and the descriptions in Holmes Welch (1967), *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*, Harvard University Press: New Haven, 370-375.

for relic worship and pilgrimage,⁴⁹ as a continuation (*hou-fen*) of the former described the events of Buddha's death and relics. The earliest known Chinese discussions of the Buddha's relics were held between K'ang Seng-hui and Sun Ch'üan (182-252 A.D.). Seng-hui asserted that a test of *śarīra* was whether or not a mystical light issued from them and whether they could be burned. Genuine *śarīra* were as hard as diamonds and indestructible.⁵⁰ The first 'official' Chinese account, Wei Shou's 'Shih Lao chih' (Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism) in the *Wei shu* of 554 A.D., describes the cremation of the Buddha's corpse and the resultant *śarīra* (bead-like relics), which, "when struck...would not disintegrate, when kindled...would not scorch. Some had bright light and miraculous efficacy." Wei Shou wrote that they were put in a stupa or *t'a*, which is "like a family tomb" or *t'a-miao*. He mentioned that King Aśoka had built 84,000 reliquaries or stupas throughout the world in a day, and that in fact there were monasteries bearing the Indian monarch's name in China.⁵¹ The link between the *śarīra* of the Buddha and Aśoka only began in the Liang Dynasty, most likely after the translation of Aśoka's hagiography in 512 A.D., which influenced the beliefs of Emperor Wu of Liang. Aśoka's sanction was a guarantee that the *śarīra* were those of the Buddha.⁵²

Tradition asserted that nineteen of Aśoka's 84,000 stupas were in China,⁵³ and even the slightest fragment of the relics of the Buddha, as with saints in Europe, was considered to have the power of the entire living body.⁵⁴ However atomised, the saint was a living presence, even in exuvia. The possessors of fragments thus could magnify their credentials as defenders of the faith, something that attracted rulers,

⁴⁹ Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (1992), 14-16.

⁵⁰ Nishiwaki (2000), 256-257.

⁵¹ Tsukamoto Zenryū and Leon Hurvitz (1956), 'The Book of Wei: Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism,' in *Yün-kang Caves*, Supplementary Volume to Volume 16, Kyoto, 42. For the testing of relics in Europe by fire etc, see Sumption (1975), 40, or Bentley (1985), 221. Cf. later for the testing of the robe, in the *Pao-lin chuan*.

⁵² Nishiwaki (2000), 258, 261.

⁵³ FMS, 30-31. The nineteen sites are listed on p. 66, but there is no historical evidence for the claims.

⁵⁴ See Akira Hirakawa (1963), 'The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas,' *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 22 (Tokyo): 88, 93; Gregory Schopen (1987), 'Burial "Ad Sanctos" and the physical presence of the Buddha in early Indian Buddhism,' *Religion* 17: 212. For European saints, see Sumption (1975), 28, and Bentley (1985), 95.

from India and Śrī Lanka to China, Korea and Japan.⁵⁵

Hence, Yang Chien, Emperor Wen of the Sui, in 601/2 and 604/5, almost immediately after he had reunified most of China, the first time since Buddhism had gained popularity there, claimed to have received *śarīra* of the Buddha from an Indian monk. These he ordered distributed to prefectures throughout the country and he had stupas erected there to enshrine them. There were reportedly 113 stupas; the sites of 111 are known today; and some still survive. The translations and installations of the relics were conducted by eminent clerics and celebrated by a week of confession and official holidays.⁵⁶ Although Yang Chien was using the belief in *śarīra* that had flourished in the southern courts, especially the Liang, which claimed to possess a number of Aśoka's stupas, to unify the nation,⁵⁷ the vast majority of the stupas were north of the Yangtze River,⁵⁸ thus reflecting the population distribution and the location of prefectures, as well as the lack of complete control in some districts (in 612 A.D. there were a total of 190 commanderies, the equivalent of prefectures). These stupas were generally erected in the grounds of existing monasteries.

The system of official monasteries in every prefecture was adopted by the T'ang emperors, but there was no particular relationship with relics. Yang Chien's actions, however, had ramifications for international relations. Thus, in 601, envoys from the three Korean kingdoms of Koguryō, Paekche and Silla came to request *śarīra*, which they received.⁵⁹ These were undoubtedly the origins for some of the relics of the Buddha claimed later to be kept by 'Unified' Silla.⁶⁰

Yang Chien's Aśoka stupa relics were not the only relics of the Bud-

⁵⁵ Brian D. Ruppert (2000), *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass, and London, 3-4.

⁵⁶ For descriptions of these events, see Yamazaki Hiroshi (1942), *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, Hōzōkan: Tokyo, 332-333, 337-339, for list, 333-336; Shioiri Ryōdō and Tōdō Kyōshun (1975), in Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Ajia Bukkyōshi: Chūgoku-hen 1: Kan minzoku no Bukkyō*, Kōseisha: Tokyo, 200-201; and Ch'en (1964), 200-201.

⁵⁷ Yamazaki (1942), 340, 343. Note that Yang Chien's power lay in the North. Kieschnick (2003), 41, thinks that the fact all the relics were distributed from the capital and the relics were all installed simultaneously was to demonstrate the unification of the empire.

⁵⁸ Only six in Szechwan, five in the far South, and one in Chiao-chou (modern Hanoi region). See Shioiri and Tōdō (1975), table, 363.

⁵⁹ Yamazaki (1942), 340, 344.

⁶⁰ Kim Huigyōng (1980), 'T'apsok-e sölchi-doen sari sangchi,' in Chōng Yōngho, ed., *Han'guk ūi Mi 9: Soktap*, Chung'ang Ilbo Tong'yang pangsong: Seoul, 202.

dha claimed by China. The earliest relic was supposedly presented by K'ang Seng-hui to Sun Ch'üan in 247. It was placed in a 'King Aśoka' stupa in Chien-ch'u Monastery, Nanking. Excavated in 384 following miraculous signs, three *śarīra*, nails and a hair were found. An iron stupa containing a *śarīra* relic was also reportedly established by Sun Ch'üan at Kan-lu Monastery in Chen-chiang, Kiangsu. The infamous Li Te-yü (787-850), prefect of the area in 821-824, translated the *śarīra* into a new stupa, which was replaced in 1069 (these latter events were confirmed by evidence discovered during repairs conducted in 1960). A stupa in Ningpo erected in 450 in a monastery given the name A-yü wang (King Aśoka) Monastery by Emperor Wu of Liang, supposedly enshrined one of the *śarīra* sent by King Aśoka. Another *śarīra* dating back to the Northern Wei was discovered in 1969 in a stupa crypt which was reconstructed in 977 at Ching-chih Monastery in Ting County, Hopei. Among the many items dating through the centuries was a 'spirit tablet' inscribed, "*śarīra* of the true body of Śākya Muni." Other archaeological explorations have unearthed one of the 604 A.D. *Buddha-śarīra* sites at Shen-te Monastery in Yao County, Shensi, and possibly another from the 601 installation at Ta-yün Monastery in Ching-ch'uan County, Kansu, which had fourteen *śarīra* beads and was 'reinstalled' by Empress Wu in 694. In 741, yet another *śarīra* was sealed in a crypt in Ch'ing-shan Monastery, Chien-t'ung, Shensi.⁶¹

Besides these grain-like *śarīra*, which could be 'faked,'⁶² more substantial relics of the Buddha such as teeth or finger bones were venerated in China. Fa-hsien, 法顯 who went to India in 399, and I-ching and Hsüan-tsang who travelled to India in the early T'ang, mentioned teeth-relics of the Buddha in their pilgrimage records. I-ching even wrote that a certain Ming-yüan planned to steal a tooth from Śri Lanka, but was thwarted.⁶³ Another monk, Fa-hsien 法獻, allegedly brought a tooth of the Buddha from Khotan around 475. Presented to Emperor Ming of the Ch'i, it was placed in Ting-lin Monastery, Nanking. This relic was stolen in 522 and lost for thirty-five years. Taken by the founder of the Ch'en dynasty, Ch'en Pa-hsien, in 577,

⁶¹ FMS, 67-78.

⁶² FMS, 79, quotes an Esoteric Buddhist text, which has as one of its bodhisattvas a form of Avalokiteśvara or Kuan-yin. The sutra, the *Ju-i pao-chu ch'uan-lun pi-mi hsien-shen ch'eng-fo chün-lun chou-wang ching*, says that one may use gold, gemstones, crystal etc., to make *śarīra*. Even sand could be used as a substitute. T19.332c4-8.

⁶³ FMS, 64; T51.3c8-12.

he displayed it at a great religious assembly, announcing there that Fa-hsien had obtained it. Eventually the tooth came into the possession of Peking's Kuang-chi Monastery during the Ch'ing Dynasty. In the 1900 bombardment of Peking, the relic tower was hit, and a casket containing the tooth was found in the rubble.⁶⁴ Four teeth of the Buddha, one each from Khotan, Tibet, India, and one miraculously from heaven, were held in the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an, where annual festivals were celebrated for them, the masses tossing "cash like rain toward the storied hall of the Buddha's tooth."⁶⁵

However, these were not the most egregious relics of the Buddha in China. The finger-bone relic of the Buddha enshrined in Fa-men Monastery in Fu-feng County (T'ang Dynasty Feng-hsiang) had a palpable role in medieval Chinese history. The monastery may have been founded during or before the T'o-pa Northern Wei, for the earliest record states that the prefect of Ch'i-yang Commandery, T'o-pa Yü, "inaugurated the foundations of the stupa," and the relic was brought for worship in the capital. Later, ca. 604, Yang Chien elevated and worshipped the finger bone. Records from the T'ang are far more detailed. The processions of the finger-bone relic from Fa-men Monastery to the capital, Ch'ang-an, became major events in the festival calendar and were often associated with miracles. The relic was usually escorted to and enshrined for a time in the court chapel. In 631, for example, the local prefect requested Emperor T'ai-tsung repair the monastery. The emperor opened the crypt in front of a crowd of pilgrims, and a blind man was cured by this relic. Estimates of the number of pilgrims from the capital were twenty-thousand plus; so many burned off their fingers as offerings that blood stained the ground. In 659, when the pro-Buddhist Empress Wu was in effective control of the court, monks claimed miracles occurred due to the powers of the relic. The emperor, Kao-tsung, ordered an image of King Aśoka made, and brought the relic to Ch'ang-an with clerics and laity lining the route for some two hundred *li* (88 kilometres). In 660, it was translated to the eastern capital, Lo-yang, when the monk-hagiographer Tao-hsüan pleaded it be placed in a better reliquary,

⁶⁴ FMS, 75-76.

⁶⁵ Edwin O. Reischauer (1955), *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*, 190. The relics were worshipped at the monasteries Ch'ung-sheng, Chuang-yen, Chien-fu and Hsing-fu. See Weinstein (1987), 196 note 72.

so a gold and silver double 'coffin' was manufactured. The relic was not returned to the home monastery until 662.

The most scholastic of monks were also devotees of the relic. Fa-tsang (643-712), the Hua-yen School leader, burnt off his finger as an offering before the relic when he was sixteen, and in 704 Empress Wu commissioned him to lead the clerical delegation sent to convey the relic to Lo-yang. The relic on this occasion was housed in the *ming-t'ang*, the sacred hall symbolic of all China and the emperor's harmony with Heaven, but which was part pagoda when Empress Wu built it. The relic was not returned to Fa-men Monastery until 706, when the emperor, Chung-tsung, commanded it.⁶⁶ Later, in 710, Chung-tsung and Empress Wei went as pilgrims to worship at the stupa. Significantly, Chung-tsung granted the stupa the title of 'The Jewelled Stupa of the True Body (*chen-shen*) of the Great Saint,' and this term, *chen-shen*, was used frequently thereafter for this finger-bone of the Buddha.⁶⁷ Significantly, this term later came to be used of the relic of Hui-neng also.

There was a hiatus of such officially sanctioned activity under the pro-Taoist emperor, Hsüan-tsung (713-756), but after the An Lu-shan Rebellion (755-) there was a revival of the materialistic Buddhism of the period of Empress Wu, with the famed relic being brought to the court by emperors Su-tsung in 760 and Te-tsung in 790. When it was conveyed to the court by Hsien-tsung in 819, he declared that this should occur every thirty years. The most extravagant procession was that of 873, when the emperor, I-tsung, confessed he could die without regret if he could see it but once before he died. This fervent Buddhist emperor proclaimed an amnesty for the whole realm. He personally worshipped the relic after it had been carried through crowds for the entire route, the last ten *li* (4.4 kilometres) of the road covered by brocades. The crowds were hysterical, perhaps in atonement for

⁶⁶ FMS, 81-85; Kamata Shigeo (Dec. 1989), 'Kenju Daishi Hōzō to Hōmonji,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (1): 232-237. For the *ming-t'ang* erected by Empress Wu, see the study by Antonino Forte (1988), *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock: The Tower, Statue and Armillary Sphere Constructed by Empress Wu*, Serie Orientale Roma 59, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 145, Rome and Paris (not consulted) and Guisso (1979), 311-312. Jinhua Chen (2002a), 'Śarīra and scepter,' 100, 102 passim, for more details on Empress Wu and the relic.

⁶⁷ FMS, 41; Nagai (2000), 488. The use of the description 'Jewelled Stupa' links it to the *Lotus Sutra*, section 11. See Leon Hurvitz (1976), *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 183 ff.

the 845 persecution of Buddhism, with people fearing the relic might not appear again in the fin de siècle or End of the Dharma (*mo-fu*) atmosphere of the times.⁶⁸

The enemies of Buddhism clearly understood the key function these relics played in the survival of the Buddhist Order. For example, in 819 the arch-Confucian Han Yü wrote a memorial decrying the emperor's public veneration of the finger-bone of the Buddha, for which Han barely escaped execution for lese-majesty and was banished to remote Ch'ao-chou in Kuangtung province,⁶⁹ where he came to realise that Buddhist monks, especially Ch'an monks, were virtually the only civilised men in these distant frontiers.⁷⁰ In fact, the 845 persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Wu-tsung was preceded by decrees in 844 forbidding offerings of even a single coin to the tooth relics in Ch'ang-an and the finger-bone of Fa-men Monastery and Mt Wu-t'ai, as well as to the relics of saints such as Seng-ch'ieh in Ssu-chou and other districts. This was an attempt to sever lay support from the Order.⁷¹

As Wu-tsung's ban suggests, there were popular relics not only of the historical Buddha, but also of more recent, accessible Buddhist saints. Initially, *śarīra* were supposed to come only from the Buddha. However, as more monks were cremated and ideas arose about the sanctity or buddhahood of some monks, the notion came into being that monks other than the historical Buddha left *śarīra*. For example, the tongue of the famous translator, Kumārajīva (350-409) remained

⁶⁸ FMS, 85-95; for a description of the 873 festival, see Ch'en (1964), 280-282; on I-tsung and Buddhism, see Robert M. Somers (1979), 'The end of the T'ang,' in Denis Twitchett, ed. (1979), *Cambridge History of China, vol 3: Sui and T'ang China, Part I*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 714.

⁶⁹ For an account of this procession and the incident involving Han Yü, see Charles Hartman (1986), *Han Yü and the Tang Search for Unity*, 84-86. For Han Yü's memorial, see Reischauer (1955), 221-224; Ch'en (1964), 225-226; and Weinstein (1987), 102-104.

⁷⁰ Hartman (1986), 59-60. When he was at Yang-shan, Han found that even the local officials lived "in the bamboo thickets...speak like birds and look like barbarians." His only intellectual contacts were monks, as was the case at Ch'ao-chou where he was banished. The Ch'an monk Ta-tien was the only educated man in the district, and he almost converted Han (p. 94 ff). This supports the thesis that Buddhism played a role in Sinifying these remote districts.

⁷¹ Weinstein (1987), 125, note 72; Reischauer (1955), 242. Note that Buddhists claimed that the finger-bone relic was not destroyed in the persecution, but instead a substitute 'shadow bone' was smashed, FMS, 52, 92. See the photograph in Kieschnick (2003), 42, fig. 1, titled the 'decoy relic' of this finger bone, and comments, 46.

after cremation. But these were not associated with miraculous powers and so were not identical in power with the Buddha's *śarīra*. However, in the T'ang, monks were praised for the number of *śarīra* they left. These had all the characteristics of the Buddha's *śarīra*; bright, lustrous, hard and possessing miraculous powers.⁷² However, these were discrete, small objects, like beads or a finger bone. According to the *Lotus Sutra*, the complete body of a Buddha of the past, not just some fragments, was interred in a stupa. It implied that no cremation had taken place.⁷³ When the historical Buddha opened the stupa,

the assembled multitude saw the Thus Come One Many Jewels in the jewelled stupa, seated on a lion throne, his body whole (*ch'üan-shen*) and undecayed, as if (he were) entered into dhyāna-concentration.⁷⁴

Then that buddha spoke to Śākyamuni. Similarly, the lesser beings, bodhisattvas, left relics of linked bones in a chain or net. This signalled a hierarchy of realisation, in which completeness was total realisation, linked bones a guarantee of future buddhahood, and *śarīra* beads mere saintliness. Nishiwaki linked this to the idea of a Buddha of self-realisation (in this life), which was reflected in this alternative tradition of *śarīra* of the whole body and *śarīra* of Chinese monks.⁷⁵ As Ta-tien, the Ch'an monk, told Han Yü (768-824), the light of the body of Buddha can only be seen by the enlightened mind.⁷⁶

Moreover, the mummy, being an entire body, could have human qualities, such as sweating, thereby bringing the power of the saint to a more immediate, corporeal and tangible level. Thus, as images, they could have personalities.⁷⁷ Therefore, Hui-neng's relic, being that of the whole body (*ch'üan-shen*), could be ranked as a buddha with a Chinese 'personality,' which is why the hagiographies, beginning with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, emphasise that his entire body was preserved, and that the attempt to decapitate it failed.⁷⁸

⁷² Nishiwaki (2000), 265-269. For such relics as the tongue, see a chapter on this topic in Suwa Gijun (1997), *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 330ff.

⁷³ Nishiwaki (2000), 203-204.

⁷⁴ Hurvitz (1976), 187.

⁷⁵ Nishiwaki (2000), 269-270.

⁷⁶ Nishiwaki (2000), 270, quoting the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, for which see, Hartman (1986), 97, cf. 307 note 186, on the connection of the Emperor and the relic, which created the Buddha-light that provoked this dialogue with Ta-tien.

⁷⁷ Kieschnick (2003), 36, on sweating, and 68-69, on images and personality.

⁷⁸ EK, 51-52.

The most famous relics from the time of Hui-neng were those of Seng-ch'ieh, a monk from Central Asia, probably Kushanika.⁷⁹ When he arrived at the banks of the Huai River in Ssu-chou, desiring to locate a site for a monastery, he induced signs of the bodhisattva Kuan-yin, including a halo, beneath which he unearthed a statue inscribed with one of Kuan-yin's epithets, 'Pu-chao wang fo.' Crowds gathered and witnessed these miracles, and so in 708 the emperor, Chung-tsung, summoned Seng-ch'ieh to the court chapel in Ch'ang-an, where he was honoured with the title of National Teacher.

The earliest record of Seng-ch'ieh, the stupa inscription written in 736 by Li Yung (680-747), coincidentally a lay pupil of the 'Northern Ch'an' monk P'u-chi (651-739),⁸⁰ states that,

On the 5th April 710, he departed this world at Chien-fu Monastery in the capital while sitting upright, leaving his (physical) traces behind. The Emperor Hsiao-ho (Chung-tsung) paid homage like a pupil and mourned for the Master, reverently lacquering the physical body 色身 and respectfully giving a Dharma offering to it. In order to make merit he presented seven of Seng-ch'ieh's ordained pupils with 300 bolts of silk and ordered his officers to prepare the imperial palanquin to convey the corpse there (to his monastery). The officials and four (Buddhist) congregations, lamenting, sent him out to the capital gates, and in five days he was returned to his original location. At that time, the statues of Buddha perspired, the weather was extraordinary, birds mourned in the forests, and animals howled in the wilds. Was he not then a son of compassion [disciple of Maitreya] who had descended into the path of humans?⁸¹

Later his pupils

erected Ch'ung-t'a (Reverence the Stupa) Cloister, where they planted pāla trees and exhibited the lotus blossom throne (of Kuan-yin)....if one confessed to him then all calamities were extinguished, and if sought,

⁷⁹ Cf. Xu Pingfang (1998), 'Les découvertes récentes de statues de Sengqie et le culte de Sengqie,' translated by Marianne Bujard, *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 10: 394 note 3. This gives a French translation of most of the passages below.

⁸⁰ Li Yung wrote the funeral stele for P'u-chi, see CTW 262, another for Hsüan-chüeh of Northern Ch'an, SKSC, T50.758b13ff, and one for the Vinaya School leader, Wen-kang, SKSC, T50.792b18. He was also a friend of the Vinayist T'an-i, see Yang Chia-lö, ed., *T'ang wen ts'ui* 62/7. Chün-fang Yü (2001), *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*, Columbia University Press: New York, 211, follows Makita Tairyō in saying that the earliest account was written by Li I (673-742), as in the *Wen-yüan ying-hua*, in a stupa of an identical title.

⁸¹ CTW 263/1197b10-15, *Ta T'ang Ssu-chou Lin-huai hsien P'u-kuang wang Ssu pei*.

good fortune occurred. Although he was already long gone, there were numinous marvels as if he was present, and multitudes of devotees and many donors (came).⁸²

Much of the above is quoted verbatim in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* (988 A.D.) and *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* (978). The latter elaborates on Seng-ch'ieh's death and miracles. After he died,

Emperor Chung-tsung ordered a stupa erected in Chien-fu Monastery, and the body lacquered as an offering. Soon a great wind suddenly arose and a putrid smell filled Ch'ang-an. Chung-tsung asked, "Of what is this an omen?" His close ministers replied, "Master Seng-ch'ieh proselytized in Lin-huai. We fear that he wishes to return there, so he manifested this prodigy."

Chung-tsung silently assented, the stink cleared, and a marvellous, perfumed aroma permeated the air...

Later Chung-tsung asked Master Wan-hui, "What sort of man was Master Seng-ch'ieh?" Wan-hui said, "He was an avatar of Kuan-yin. As the 'P'u-men Chapter' (of Kuan-shih-yin) in the *Lotus Sutra* says, 'He will show those who can be liberated by the body of a bhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī etc., these (respective bodies) and preach the Dharma to them.'⁸³ He was exactly that."⁸⁴

There were evidently further miracles, for the compiler of the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* claims he could only give a summary of them. Seng-ch'ieh was very similar to the saints of the Latin Church in providing miracle cures. For example, Seng-ch'ieh often washed his feet, people then drank the water and their illnesses were cured.⁸⁵ These miracles continued, and so he was honoured by Emperor Tai-tsung in 781.⁸⁶ His 'cult' spread rapidly, for Ennin (793-864), who was in China from 838 to 847, noted the worship of Seng-ch'ieh in special halls.⁸⁷ Even the Sung emperors ordered donations and repairs to his stupa in 982 and 983.⁸⁸ Piety was such that a nun gave her life as an offering when she saw a vision of Seng-ch'ieh in the form of

⁸² CTW 263/ 1197b17-19.

⁸³ Leon Hurvitz (1976), 314-315.

⁸⁴ Li Fang et al (1961), *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi*, Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 2/96/638.

⁸⁵ Li Fang et al (1961), *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi*, 2/96/638-639. See some more mentions taken from the SKSC etc in Yü (2001), 213. For cures obtained from water used to wash relics in the West, see Sumption (1975), 82-83.

⁸⁶ SKSC, T50.822c4-6.

⁸⁷ Yü (2001), 195.

⁸⁸ SKSC, T50.823a15-17.

a child,⁸⁹ and superstition such that the apparition of the saint in miniature was considered an omen.⁹⁰

This monk was adopted by Ch'an as a non-lineage or collateral member, and his hagiography is incorporated into the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* along with similar marvellous figures such as Pao-chih, Shan-hui, Hui-ssu and Chih-i of T'ien-t'ai, Wan-hui, the trio Han-shan, Shih-te and Feng-kan, as well as Pu-tai Ho-shang, the laughing Buddha, probably because they were the subjects of popular worship. Note that Seng-ch'ieh is linked closely here with the bodhisattva Kuan-yin in this passage, explicitly and symbolically.⁹¹

Seng-ch'ieh's cult did not fade, and an apocryphal sutra, with Seng-ch'ieh's name prefacing it (as was Hui-neng's to the *Platform Sutra*), the *Seng-ch'ieh Ho-shang yü-ju nieh-p'an shuo liu-tu ching*, which contains unusual motifs, was written soon after his death. It asserts:

For limitless eons I have divided my body into billions to save sentient beings....My original home was in the eastern sea....Because beings are stupid and difficult to convert, and do not believe in the Buddha Dharma, creating much evil karma, I left my original place and personally went to the West to convert sentient beings. There I was called Śākya Muni Buddha. The eastern countries subsequently were submerged by five hundred toxic dragons and became a great ocean, and all the sentient beings there sank into the sea, changing into turtles, iguanas or fish. After this body [as Śākya Muni], I will come from the Western barbarian countries to be born in Jambudvīpa [China?], where I will save those with good qualifications....I see that the beings of Jambudvīpa are everywhere ill-favoured and evil, eating each other, and cannot be converted. I now therefore will enter nirvana, and my *śarīra* and original bones I vow will rest at Ssu-chou. Thereafter, if good sons and daughters are compassionate, filial and obedient, and reverence my body and statue, are vegetarians for a long time and chant my name...[I will ferry them across that ocean to a magical city].⁹²

⁸⁹ SKSC, T50.823a12ff.

⁹⁰ SKSC, T50.823a2-5. See also Yü (2001), 214-216.

⁹¹ *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.433a4. On popular worship, see Nagai (2000), chapter 1, dealing with Fu Ta-shih, Wan-hui, Hung-jen, Pu-tai and some post *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* figures. Even in the T'ang, there seems to have been popular worship in the city streets at 'platform shrines' to Seng-ch'ieh, Pao-chih and Wan-hui as a trilogy, for Ennin mentioned it in 838. They may, as a triad, have had a joint hagiography from the Wu-tai to early Sung period, for one was found at Tun-huang. See Nagai (2000), 67.

⁹² T85.1463c1-15; the section in brackets is a summary of the following section. For a fuller translation, see Yü (2001), 218-220. Note that in China sutras were regarded as the words of the Buddha. As Buddha means 'enlightened one,' the implication here

Seng-ch'ieh's cult prospered and he was made a god of all those who derived their living from the water. Districts all over China erected halls of Seng-ch'ieh Ho-shang or Ssu-chou Stupas,⁹³ and this faith persisted until recent times despite the attempt by Wu-tsung to eliminate it during the 845 persecution.⁹⁴

Although there were other famous monks whose relics became the objects of mass cults and whose shrines became pilgrimage sites, saints such as Kim Ti-tsang from Silla whose remains on Mt Chiu-hua in Anhwei were worshipped as those of an avatar of the bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha) who rescues beings from hells,⁹⁵ Seng-ch'ieh's

is that Seng-ch'ieh was enlightened and was at the very least a bodhisattva. Seng-ch'ieh's apocrypha even states he was Buddha in a previous incarnation, and that Śākya Muni was one of his incarnations. Perhaps this daring inspired the compilers of the *Platform Sutra*. After all, before this time, there were probably only one or two sutras with the names of individuals connected to them, sutras such as the *Kao-wang Kuan-shih-yin ching*. See Makita Tairyō (1976), *Gikyō kenkyū*, Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 170ff. But the name here, that of Prince Kao, or Kao Huan, merely indicated the time period when the sutra was recorded from the oral testimony by a soldier of a dream in which this was dictated to him. Earlier Ch'an 'forged sutras' were attributed to buddhas or bodhisattvas, and apocryphal śāstras to Indian saints. The tendency to attribute authorship of a sutra to an historical person seems to have been an impetus from popular religion for more accessible buddhas. This was justified by an appeal to the enlightenment thesis. Ch'an later went further and explicitly gave its masters the status of buddhas; but their humanity and accessibility, as well as identity with Buddha, were shown by their sayings being called *yü-lu*, something that also demonstrates a probable Confucian influence via the *Lun-yü* (Analects).

⁹³ Makita (1976a), 74-75. See list in Xu Pingfang (1998), 401-402. Yü (2001), 220-221.

⁹⁴ Reischauer (1955), 267; Weinstein (1987), 196 note 73, who refers to Henry Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, trans. by M. Kennelly (Shanghai, 1922), vol. 7: 447-456, for the popular legend. Lo Shih-p'ing (1996), 'Tun-huang Ssu-chou Seng-ch'ieh ching hsiang yü Ssu-chou Ho-shang hsin-yang' in *Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan hsüeh yen-chiu lun chi*, Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan hsüeh tzu-liao chung-hsin: Peking, 126, notes a poem by Li Po devoted to Seng-ch'ieh, and (pp. 128-129) classifies the images into three kinds: those of Seng-ch'ieh's lacquered mummy (e.g. from Tun-huang); a triad with Pao-chih and Wan-hui; and in *pien-wen* literature.

⁹⁵ Reichelt (1928), 109-114. The earliest record of this shrine is the *Chiu-hua shan Hua-ch'eng Ssu chi* by Fei Kuan-ch'ing, written in 813, which says Kim died at the age of 99 in 794. A man of great physical strength, when he announced his impending death he just disappeared. He was discovered, dead, sitting in a casket looking as if he were still alive. Three years later, when he was to be placed in the stupa, his life-like body rattled like metal chains when shifted. According to a sutra, this is a sign of a bodhisattva. Among his miracles was the conversion of earth into food. See CTW 694/ 3200c25-3201b8, and SKSC, T50.838c16-839a19; the latter based on Fei's account. See also Faure (1991), 153. For another example of a saint with 'golden linked bones,' see entry on the 'Northern Ch'an' Layman Ting (d. 724),

hagiographies contain motifs which are related closely to those of Hui-neng's hagiographies. Not only were they contemporaries, but both were associated with Kuan-yin, both had their cadavers lacquered, and both were linked with the east and have a sutra to their name. Perhaps some of the miraculous Buddhist elements in the hagiography of Hui-neng were modelled on those of the earlier hagiographies of the more popular Seng-ch'ieh, and not simply on the structure of the biography of Confucius. However, most of these comparisons are restricted rather to the afterlife of Hui-neng.

Kuan-yin worship

But why would Hui-neng be identified with Kuan-yin? The answer would appear to be connected with popular faith and the association of this figure, who at this stage in history was still identified as male, with some of the earlier patriarchs of Ch'an.

Belief in the saving powers of the bodhisattva Kuan-yin was widespread in the Six Dynasties period due to the popularity of the twenty-fifth chapter (commonly known as the *Kuan-yin Sutra*) of the *Lotus Sutra*, which promises, as did many Christian saints, believers will be mercifully saved from all forms of suffering, especially those caused by weapons, fire and water. Kuan-yin also vows to grant children to barren women and break the bonds of those fettered.⁹⁶

Such beliefs lead to the forgery of sutras in the pre-Sui period, forgeries which promoted the beliefs in a Chinese fashion.⁹⁷ These apocrypha were critical of the clerical establishment, and lamented the corruption of the day, asking the faithful to confess.⁹⁸ During the corrupt, uncertain times of the Period of Division, and after, the theme of the escape from the executioner's sword by chanting a Kuan-yin

in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*. Apparently, having linked bones indicated bodhisattva status, whereas leaving an 'entire body' in mummified form is the mark of a buddha [SKSC, T50.830a; Bernard Faure (1992), 'Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites,' 167; Faure (1991), 148-149]. For other monks who were popularly worshipped, see Nagai (2000), 25-124, especially Fu Ta-shih, Wan-hui (632-711) and Hung-jen.

⁹⁶ Ch'en (1964), 341. See Hurvitz (1976), 311-313; Yü (2001), 117; and Kieschnick (1997), *The Eminent Monk*, 103-104. For the chains of penitent pilgrims falling off because of the power of relics of Christian saints, see Sumption (1975), 67-68, 109-110.

⁹⁷ Makita (1976), 213-214, 224, 67.

⁹⁸ Makita (1976), 60, 67-69.

sutra was extremely popular,⁹⁹ becoming a mark of the avatars of Kuan-yin.

For example, one of the Esoteric Buddhists responsible for introducing a new image of Kuan-yin through the *dhāraṇī* literature, Shan-wu-wei (Śubhākarasimha—in China from 716 to 735), who had as a collaborator the 'Northern Ch'an' monk I-hsing, was clearly viewed as an avatar of Kuan-yin, for his hagiography in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* says, "Kuan-yin laid hands on his head," and when, like Seng-ch'ieh, he prayed for rain, Kuan-yin appeared in the sun with a water jar as a sign of rain.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, an apocryphal story has his adversary, Tao-hsüan (actually long dead) recognizing Shan-wu-wei as a bodhisattva.¹⁰¹ Most relevantly, Shan-wu-wei was struck thrice by bandits with a sword during his journey to China, but he was not harmed in the least,¹⁰² and later his corpse did not decay, only shrank. It was worshipped during droughts and floods.¹⁰³

This motif of escape from death by the sword forms part of a legend created in China that Kuan-yin was the daughter of a King Miao-chuang (*Śubhavyūha), who had her strangled because the executioner's blade broke without harming her. Maspero attributes the seeds of this story to the visions of Tao-hsüan (596-667), who calls her Miao-shan. This tale became part of popular religion.¹⁰⁴ Kuan-yin was venerated,

⁹⁹ See stories quoted by Makita (1976), 73-74, and by Yü (2001), 112, 116-117. See also *Ta Tang nei-tien lu*, T55.339a17-27.

¹⁰⁰ T50.714c21-22, 24-25. See Chou Yi-liang (1945), 'Tantrism in China,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8: 258-259.

¹⁰¹ T50.715c28-29; Chou Yi-liang (1945), 269. See also Kieschnick (1997), 1-2, 59.

¹⁰² T50.715a14-15; Chou Yi-liang (1945), 261.

¹⁰³ T50.716a7-17; Chou Yi-liang (1945), 271-272.

¹⁰⁴ Henri Maspero (1981), *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, 169-170. In neither this, nor the translation in J. Hackin et al (n.d.), *Asiatic Mythology*, Crescent Books: New York, are sources given. Glen Dudbridge (1978), *The Legend of Miao-shan*, Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University: London, 44, traces the origin of this story and states it began to appear in popular devotional texts in the late twelfth century, but recent discoveries have shed extra light on its origins. Yü (2001), 291-301, backs up Dudbridge, and analyses the newly discovered second half of a stele inscription of 1104 by Chiang Chih-ch'i. The story dates back to 1100. An Kyehyŏn (1979), 'Pulsang ūi sin'angjŏk ki'nŭng kwa pyŏnsŏn,' in Hwang Suyŏng, ed., *Han'guk ūi Mi 10: Han'guk Pulgyo misul: Pulsang p'yŏn*, Chung'ang Ilbo Tong'yang pangsong: Seoul, 180, states that the worship of Miao-shan at Hsiang-shan Monastery as seen in the *pao-chüan* literature goes back to the reign of Che-tsung (1086-1101) of Northern Sung. A late Buddhist text of 1164, the *Lung-hsing Fo-chiao pien-nien t'ung-lun*, writes; "The Nan-shan Vinaya Master Tao-hsüan asked a god about the origins of

like Seng-ch'ieh, as a saviour of sailors and travellers, and as a divine intermediary between the living and the dead, or this world and the Pure Land. Two traditions exist: one connects Kuan-yin with the south;¹⁰⁵ the other says Kuan-yin will come from the east.¹⁰⁶

For Ch'an myth-makers, there was an even more pertinent example. Guṇabhadra (394-468), the translator of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* that was symbolic of early Ch'an (Guṇabhadra was made the first patriarch of Ch'an in China by the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* of ca. 713-716),¹⁰⁷ worshipped Kuan-yin. Once, unable to learn enough Chinese to translate, he prayed to Kuan-yin, who in a dream visitation cut off Guṇabhadra's head with a sword, replacing it with a head that comprehended Chinese.¹⁰⁸ The object of this tale was transformed in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* from translating doctrinal sutras to translating works on meditation, notably the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps we, like the author of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* tradition, can link Guṇabhadra to Bodhidharma (claimed by all other Ch'an texts as the first patriarch), although not necessarily through the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. When Guṇabhadra was left stranded far from shore during a naval battle in 480, he,

single-mindedly called on Kuan-shih-yin, seized a bamboo staff, and threw himself into the Yangtze. The water came up to his knees and with the staff he pierced the water, and the waters rushed away. He saw a youth who came and pulled him to shore and then disappeared.¹¹⁰

This Moses-like act resembles the much later legend of Bodhidharma

Great Teacher Kuan-yin. The god replied, 'In a past eon there was a ruler called Chuang-yen whose wife Pao-ying gave birth to three girls....the third was Miao-shan.'" When she refused to marry because she wanted to become a nun, her father eventually became so angry he sent soldiers to take her head and kill the nuns, but a fog suddenly rose and they could not find her. It alleges that her relic-stupa at Hsiang-shan was one of the nineteen in China created by King Aśoka, HTC 130.554b16-556a5.

¹⁰⁵ Kobayashi Taichirō (Dec. 1950), 'Shin—Tō no Kannon,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 10: 8-11.

¹⁰⁶ Sawa Ryūken (Dec. 1950), 'Kanzeon bosatsu no tenkai,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 10: 53, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Jorgensen (1987), 102 note 61. Cf. McRae (1986), 90-91, on problems with this.

¹⁰⁸ *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.344b11-17 and Yü (2001), 166; *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi*, T55.105c22-28, here to translate the *Hua-yen ching*. The *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* had already been translated according to this version of the story. The figure in the dream was clothed in white, a sign of Kuan-yin. For other references, see ZSS, 71 note 15.

¹⁰⁹ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 93; ZSS, 61.

¹¹⁰ Kobayashi (Dec. 1950), 125; KSC, T50.344b23-29.

crossing the Yangtze on a reed.¹¹¹ Just as the youth helping Guṇabhadra was probably Kuan-yin, so too was Bodhidharma identified with the saint Kuan-yin by Pao-chih (425-514) to Emperor Wu of Liang in a story that first appeared in the *Pao-lin chuan* of ca. 796, and was repeated in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* of 952.¹¹² The suspicion is that the creators of this last identification were also involved, possibly indirectly, in creating the hagiography of Hui-neng, which links him to Kuan-yin and Silla Korea. There was thus a widespread identification of Ch'an patriarchs with Kuan-yin. For example, Huai-jang,

¹¹¹ Sekiguchi Shindai (1967), *Daruma no kenkyū*, 266. Cf. Kido Chūtarō (1932), *Daruma to sono shosō*, Heigo shuppansha: Tokyo, 197. This legend of Bodhidharma first appears in a clear form in 1254 (Kido, 347). It may be derived from a *Shih ching* poem, Odes of Wei, no. 7, "Who says the River is wide, / On a reed I can cross it. / Who says Sung is far, / On tip-toe I can see it." Translation from James Legge (1972), *The Chinese Classics* 4: 104, with modifications. The motif of miraculously crossing water also occurs in the biography of Paramārtha, HKSC, T50.430a23-26, there using mats and lotus leaves. Cf. Charles Lachmann (1993), "Why Did the Patriarch Cross the River?" *Asia Major* 3rd Series 6 (3): 263-264.

¹¹² Sekiguchi (1967), 124. *Pao-lin chuan*, 133a. Sekiguchi (1967), 120, 124. Note that Matsumoto Bunsaburō (1942), *Daruma no kenkyū*, Dai'ichi shobō: Kyoto, 142, shows that this incident was created out of a distortion of the biography of Seng-ta in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, where Pao-chih told Emperor Wu of Liang that (Seng)-ta was a "bodhisattva in the flesh." Note *Pao-lin chuan*, 147c (8.32a) states, "Master (Bodhi-)Dharma is the saint Kuan-yin, who manifests many bodies in statues." In Shao-lin Monastery, where tradition asserts Bodhidharma practiced meditation, a statue triad with Kuan-yin in the centre flanked by Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o still exists; Washio Junkyō (1932), *Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan*, plate 28. As early as the 770s, Pao-chih had been identified with the eleven-headed Kuan-yin, possibly under the influence of Amoghavajra (705-774). See Yü (2001), 202-203. For more on Pao-chih, see Yü (2001), 198-211. Although Pao-chih was favoured by Emperor Wu, the earliest evidence of his identification as the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin dates to around the same time as the *Pao-lin chuan*, as mention is made of his image as Kuan-yin by Kaimei, who was in China from 770 to 780. See Yü (2001), 201. These stories are dependent on the story fabricated by Shen-hui about Bodhidharma's dialogue with Emperor Wu of Liang. Sekiguchi (1967), 334, thinks the Pao-chih story was taken from an earlier tale about Fu Ta-shih. The *Pao-lin chuan* took a cue from the slightly earlier *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which claims the court chapel offerent Fa-lin (572-640), famous as an adversary of Taoism in defence of Buddhism, wrote the stele for Hui-k'o, the second patriarch (ZSS, 320). The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* 'quotes' the stele inscription: "Alas! The Master Bodhidharma was the saint Kuan-yin, who manifested many bodies in images." PLC 147c2-3 (8.32a2-3), for the quote; 132c6-7 (8.2a6-7), for Pao-chih. This inscription was not included with the rest of Fa-lin's works in CTW 904. Note though that according to a stele of 806, Emperor Tai-tsung in the period between 766 and 780, ordered Hui-chien (719-792), a pupil of Shen-hui, to build a Kuan-yin Hall and install the portraits of the seven patriarchs therein. This was possibly in 770. See Jorgensen (1987), 119-120. This linkage with Kuan-yin may not have met with Shen-hui's approval if he were alive at the time (see later).

purportedly a pupil of Hui-neng, was called Kuan-yin, and in one story helped a Seng-hsüan escape from prison after Seng-hsüan made a supplication to Kuan-yin.¹¹³ Ho-tse Shen-hui's portrait and those of the previous 'six patriarchs' were placed in an imperially sponsored Kuan-yin Hall, probably in 770. Thus Hui-neng probably came to be considered an incarnation of Kuan-yin, which may explain why his corpse was lacquered, for the figure of the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion (Ta-pei Kuan-yin) had recently come into vogue under Esoteric Buddhist influence, and statues of this Kuan-yin were often lacquered.

Another illustrious cleric closely identified with the Kuan-yin faith was the founder of the T'ien-t'ai School, Chih-i (538-597), who was attracted to Buddhism by hearing the *Kuan-yin ching* or 'Pu-men Chapter' read at a monastery when he was seven, rather like the youthful Hui-neng who was awakened when he heard the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* while he was selling firewood.¹¹⁴ Throughout his life Chih-i worshipped Kuan-yin by placing the bodhisattva's statue to the south and a willow branch in pure water to the east, the willow symbolizing life and rebirth.¹¹⁵ Just before he died, Chih-i said to his attendants, "Kuan-yin is coming to welcome me. I must go soon."¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Chih-i, along with Pao-chih (418-514), Seng-ch'ieh and Wan-hui (ca. 706), who were adopted later by Ch'an as irregular saints (*san sheng*), were all identified in T'ang times with avatars of Kuan-yin, some of these identifications surviving in Ch'an lineally arranged

¹¹³ *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, T50.761a25-27; stele by Chang Cheng-fu, *Heng-chou Po-jo Ssu Kuan-yin Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 619 /2804c-2805a, for Huai-jang does not contain this story. Possibly it is related rather to the name of the cloister Huai-jang stayed in, Kuan-yin Yüan. But the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, T 50.761b10-11, states that a 'Kuan-yin memorial' was held for Huai-jang at the instigation of Ling-hu Ch'uan in 813.

¹¹⁴ For the incident of Hui-neng's initial enlightenment, which first appears in the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra*, see EK, 105-106.

¹¹⁵ Kobayashi (Dec. 1950), 31-33. Note, there is also an allegation that Chih-i composed his own sutra on Kuan-yin, the *Fo-shuo Kuan-yin san-mei ching*, which makes Kuan-yin to be a buddha in the past under whom Śākya Muni studied. It has a meditative content. See Yü (2001), 106-110.

¹¹⁶ Kobayashi (Dec. 1950), 34. Even after his death, Chih-i was widely thought of as being connected with Avalokiteśvara, for Hui-yen dreamt that Chih-i's body followed Avalokiteśvara, who led him away. Shinohara Koichi (1992), 'Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition,' in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, *Speaking of Monks: Religious Biography in India and China*, Mosaic Press: Oakville, 108.

hagiographies which served as histories of orthodoxy, usually known as the lamplight histories, such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.¹¹⁷

Kuan-yin and lacquer

Again, in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, we find the earliest mention that Hui-neng's "entire body was glued and lacquered."¹¹⁸ This seems highly irregular, given all the scriptures that told of the Buddha's cremation, although there was the example of a buddha whose entire body was interred, according to the *Lotus Sutra*, in a stupa. Moreover, a remarkable feature of Seng-ch'ieh's hagiography is the record of his corpse being coated with lacquer. At this very period, from the 650s, and especially from the teens of the eighth century, the figure of the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion (*Ta-pei Kuan-yin*) came into vogue under the influence of recently arrived Esoteric Buddhist masters.¹¹⁹ Later there are many records about lacquering statues of the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion and of the corpses of monks called by the name 'Great Compassion.'

For example, in 753, Chien-chen (Japanese, Ganjin) took artisans with him to Japan to make a hollow statue of this Kuan-yin covered with cloth and lacquer.¹²⁰ In 969, there is a record of the use of layers of cloth and lacquer over bronze cylinders to form the statue of Kuan-yin, that being finally covered in gold foil.¹²¹ Furthermore, Tao-chou, a monk venerated as Ta-pei because he induced rain during a drought by painting pictures in his own blood of the thousand-armed-and-eyed Kuan-yin of Great Compassion (Ta-pei), seemed to be in meditation when he died in 941. His body did not decay, so it was coated in lacquer. Lacquering seems to have become a more common practice in the Sung and Yüan, especially on statues of Kuan-yin.¹²²

The origin of lacquering the cadaver is not certain. It is most

¹¹⁷ Chapter 27 of *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. Cf. Makita (1976), 75; Kobayashi Taichirō (1953), 'Tōdai no Daihi Kannon 1,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 20: 3.

¹¹⁸ EK, 52.

¹¹⁹ Kobayashi (1953), 5.

¹²⁰ Kobayashi Taichirō (1954), 'Tōdai no Daihi Kannon 2,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 21: 89. See also later, in notes to this chapter.

¹²¹ Kobayashi (1954), 92-93. There are also some questions about this record, however.

¹²² Kobayashi (1954), 102, 105; SKSC, T50.859a29-b9.

unlikely to have come from India or Central Asia, for the lacquer tree is native to China and Korea, and Indian *lakh* is not true lacquer but varnish.¹²³ Perhaps then it was sourced in a native Chinese belief in a god of renewal and to what J. J. M. de Groot called the idea 'of the resurrection of the body,' which prompted methods of trying to prevent putrefaction, but not embalming.¹²⁴ The *Li chi* 58 prescribed the lacquering the lids of the coffins of the elite,¹²⁵ and in South China unburied coffins were "pasted over with linen, and...varnished black."¹²⁶ Perhaps the process was extended from coffins to corpses, especially in the South,¹²⁷ although Seng-ch'ieh was from the North.

Lacquered goods have been found from the earliest cultures in China. As early as the Warring States period, there are records of the heads of enemies being lacquered so that they could be used as drinking vessels, and lacquer was sometimes applied to bodies.¹²⁸ But as lacquer manufacture was advanced in China,¹²⁹ a more likely origin is in the lacquering of statues, especially those considered to be a living, powerful presence. Tao-hsüan, obsessed later in his life with the miracles of relics, stupas and statues, had visitations from various gods,¹³⁰ and was probably a devotee of Kuan-yin.¹³¹ His *Tao-hsüan lü-shih kan-t'ung lu*, which frequently quotes from the *Kuan-yin ching*,

¹²³ William Willetts (1965), *Foundations of Chinese Art*, Thames and Hudson: London, 125-126.

¹²⁴ J. J. M. de Groot (1892), *The Religious System of China*, Southern Materials Center 1982 reprint, vol. 1: 280.

¹²⁵ de Groot (1892), 1:287. The character used here is 'lacquer,' not varnish, as the translation has it.

¹²⁶ de Groot (1892), 1: 106.

¹²⁷ For example, Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 10, states that the natives of Ling-nan did not like the funeral ceremonies of the North and buried people quickly. Those northerners exiled or posted there tried all methods possible to have the corpses taken back North (p. 45), so perhaps they lacquered the cadavers to preserve them for the trip. Nakasuna Akinori (1993), 'Tōdai no bosō to boshi,' in Tonami Mamoru, comp., *Chūgoku chūsei no jinbutsu*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 374-378, discusses the common problems of official transfers and relocating coffins for final burials, and the transport of coffins over long distances, and the temporary burial in monastery grounds of such individuals as transferred officials who died in remote postings. There was a widespread desire to be buried near Ch'ang-an.

¹²⁸ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 'Nankaji no "Rokuso Enō no shinjin" kō,' translated by Takuma Nobuyuki, in Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu, comp., *Nihon Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, Heibonsha: Tokyo, 236. Nagai (2000), 496, quotes a text that claimed lacquer vessels dated as far back as the mythical emperor, Shun.

¹²⁹ Willetts (1965), 128.

¹³⁰ Yamazaki Hiroshi (1967), *Zui-Tō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, chapter 9.

¹³¹ Yamazaki (1967), 178-181.

relates the story of a statue from Ta-ming Monastery in Ching-chou, which was supposedly made by King Udayāna of Kauśāmbī, who is reputed to have made the first image of the Buddha.¹³² There were two images, and a dispute arose over which one was genuine. During the Sui a replica had been made by the locals and sent to the capital, passing for the original, while the genuine statue was kept in Ching-chou where it was coated in cloth and lacquer to obscure its shape, that of the week-old Buddha. Lacquering made it look like the mature Buddha. The original came from the land of the Buddha and had miraculous powers that prevented it from being translated to the North. When the lacquer was later removed, the statue was so radiant and well carved, observers concluded it could not have been made by humans.¹³³

Although this lacquering may have been merely a measure to preserve statues¹³⁴ and even bodies, it was apparently tied closely with the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion, or at the very least, with images or relics that have numinous powers or potential for 'resurrection' like

¹³² Willetts (1965), 182-183. Perhaps Tao-hsüan's statue is that referred to by Willetts. The story of King Udayāna was probably first made known to the Chinese through the *A-han Ching* (*Agama*). See Chin Hongsōp (1976), *Han'guk ūi Pulsang*, Ilchisa: Seoul, 53. It was allegedly brought to China along with the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* in the first century by the envoy of Emperor Ming. See Robert H. Sharf (1996), 'The Scripture on the Production of Buddhist Images,' in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Religions of China in Practice*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 262-263. This statue or image as a mature Buddha was popular after a 'copy' was brought to Ch'ang-an by Hsüan-tsang and displayed in 645. This gave it mass adoration for the next two generations, and the image was transferred onto a stele for the famed Ch'an monk, Fa-ju (d. 689). This account of conduct for Fa-ju, which is engraved on a stele in Mt Shao-lin, stated, "They erected a stupa placed on stone. The image of Śākya by King Udayāna, together with the account of conduct of the consecutive masters was engraved on the buddha-stele" (ZSS, 489, for notes, 495-496). For the popularity and multiplication of the image around Lo-yang, plus the notion that the image of the Buddha was placed at the commencement of the lineage (charts?), see Inamoto Yasuo (1997), 'Utenoōzō tōzen kō: Chūgoku sho Tōki o chūshin ni,' *Tōhō gakuho* 69: 359, 361, 364, 396, on the lacquering of the statue. Inamoto thinks Empress Wu's connection with Shao-lin Monastery may have influenced the stele carvers to add Udayāna's image. See pp. 407-408, on Fa-ju.

¹³³ T52.438b1-17. Note that either because Tao-hsüan was trying to stress these events, or because his visions were recorded by various hands, this and other mirabilia are repeated. See also *Lü-hsiang kan-t'ung chuan*, T45.877b-c, and Li Fang, *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, 93: 621-622.

¹³⁴ Note that there is evidence from Korea that even metal statues were coated with lacquer and gilt, at least from around 600 A.D. See Nakagiri Isao (1973), *Shiragi Kōrai no butszō*, expanded edn, Niginsha: Tokyo, 63.

the Ta-ming Monastery statue. Moreover, the faith in the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion was very popular in the late T'ang through the Sung, especially from the mid-750s, when there is definite evidence of it in the South, with Chien-chen of Yang-chou, who, perhaps not coincidentally, visited Hui-neng's reliquary near Shao-chou, a committed believer.¹³⁵ Kuan-yin became the focus of a popular cult,¹³⁶ for the *dhāraṇī* of the thousand-armed-and-eyed Kuan-yin, commonly known as the *Ta-pei to-lo-ni*, promised all kinds of protection from disaster, and hence was frequently inscribed on stelae, stupas and pillars.¹³⁷ It is no accident that Kuang-chou's Kuang-hsiao Monastery, connected with both Hui-neng and Esoteric Buddhism, erected a *Ta-pei hsin to-lo-ni ching* pillar in 826 with this text inscribed on it.¹³⁸

Thus a plurality of these motifs from the Kuan-yin cult, the hagiography of Seng-ch'ieh, the 'life' of the Buddha, and even the tale of the statue of Ta-ming Monastery, appear where Hui-neng's hagiography deals with his relics, a hagiography moreover which was created in this very period, the latter half of the T'ang and into the Sung Dynasty.

The hagiography of the relic

By examining the fully developed form of the hagiography of Hui-neng, we can see how it developed from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, and see some of the elements that contributed to the formation of the hagiography.

In the 'appendix' to the Te-i (1290), Tsung-pao (1291) and later versions of the *Platform Sutra*,¹³⁹ the following story is told:

¹³⁵ Kobayashi (1954), 89; T51.991c21-22. Note that Chien-chen, like nearly all other travellers to the port of Canton from north or central China, had to pass through Shao-chou, which was the third largest centre in all of Ling-nan during the T'ang, and was always under central government control. See Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 23, 38.

¹³⁶ Kobayashi (1954), 98.

¹³⁷ Kobayashi (1954), 100; Yü (2001), 59-69, on the texts and traditions.

¹³⁸ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), *T'ang-tai Kuang-chou Kuang-hsiao Ssu yü Chung-Yin chiao-t'ung chih kuan-hsi*, Chung-kuo hsüeh she: Hong Kong, chapter 7, 131-137, plates 14, 15; Tokiwa Daijō (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, Kokusho kankōkai: Tokyo, 1972 reprint in one volume, 616.

¹³⁹ There are some slight differences over dating. I have here followed EK, 399.

After the Master was installed in the stupa, at midnight on the third day of the eighth month...of the tenth year of the K'ai-yüan era (18th Sept. 722) a sound like the dragging of an iron chain¹⁴⁰ was unexpectedly heard from the stupa. The monk assembly was aroused, and they saw a mourner running out of the stupa. When they investigated, they saw that there was damage to the Master's neck.

The entire affair of the thief was heard at the prefecture and county (offices). The magistrate, Yang Chien and the prefect, Liu Wu-t'ien obtained a warrant for his urgent arrest. On the fifth the thief was captured at Shih-chieh Village and they sent him to Shao-chou for interrogation. He said, "My surname is Chang, my personal name Ching-man. I am a native of Liang County in Ju-chou. At K'ai-yüan Monastery in Hung-chou I received twenty thousand cash from the Silla monk Kim Taebi with orders to take the head of the Great Master the Sixth Patriarch, so he could return with it to Haedong (Korea) and worship it there."

Prefect Liu heard the accusation but did not apply torture.¹⁴¹ Then he personally went to Ts'ao-ch'i and asked the Master's senior disciple, Ling-t'ao, "How shall I judge the case?" Ling-t'ao said, "In accordance with the principles of state law he must be executed. But in accordance with the Buddhist teaching of compassion, enmity and affection are equal. Even more so as he wished to worship (the relic), the crime can be forgiven!" Prefect Liu sighed in admiration and said, "For the first time I have come to know the breadth and expanse of the Buddhist teaching." So he pardoned him.¹⁴²

This passage has been taken word for word from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, with the exception of the introductory words, "After the Master was installed in the stupa."¹⁴³ Indeed, other passages have

¹⁴⁰ Note that this seems to be a hint that Hui-neng was a bodhisattva, for as seen with Kim Ti-tsang and Layman Ting above, the linking of bones in a chain after death is an indication of a bodhisattva. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* does not mention the sound of a dragging chain, but rather the sound of a sword striking iron. The first mention of the dragging of an iron chain is in a quote from the *Pao-lin chuan* found in the *Tsu-t'ing shih yüan*, EK, 499.

¹⁴¹ For judicial torture and criminal investigation, see Charles Benn (2002), *Daily Life in Traditional China: The Tang Dynasty*, 202-204.

¹⁴² EK, 391a-b. A full collection of reproductions of all the versions [excepting the recently discovered Tun-huang text, called the Tun-huang Museum (Tun-po) text, published in Teng and Jung (1998) and Li Shen and Fang Kuang-ch'ang, eds (1999), *Tun-huang Tan-ching ho-chiao chien-chu*, Shan-hsi ku-chi ch'u-p'an she: T'ai-yüan] can be found in Yanagida Seizan, ed. (1976c), *Rokuso dankyō shōhon shūsei*, Zengaku sōsho 7, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto. Besides the Te-i and Tsung-pao texts, we have the Koryō (159a), Ming Dynasty Cheng-t'ung (232a), Ch'ing Dynasty (274), Ts'ao-ch'i yüan (306b) and popular or *liu-p'u* (360b-361a).

¹⁴³ Chōn Posam (1989), 326, suggests the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* story was adopted

been adopted into the post Tun-huang versions of the *Platform Sutra* from both the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004) and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (952), which in turn had sources in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (781) and the *Pao-lin chuan* (ca. 796).

To understand the above passage, one has to be familiar with earlier incidents that are recorded in the body of the sutra text. The Tsung-pao and Te-i texts give the fullest account, including two separate sequences. The first concerns a statue of Hui-neng made by a monk from Szechwan, Fang-pien:

In the eleventh month the officials of the three commanderies of Kuang, Shao and Hsin stopped the pupils, clerical and lay, from wrangling over the reception of the true body. They could not decide where to site it. So they burned incense with the invocation, "Where the incense smoke points is where the Master chooses to return." Then the smoke headed straight towards Ts'ao-ch'i. On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month his spirit was interred in the stupa-reliquary together with the transmitted robe and bowl, which reverted (to him).

The next year, on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month, he was taken out of the reliquary. His pupil, Fang-pien smeared perfumed clay on him. The pupils remembered his prediction about the taking of his head, so first took iron leaf and then a coat of lacquer to firmly protect the Master's neck. Then he was put back into the stupa. Unexpectedly, from the stupa a white light issued forth directly ascending into the heavens, and in three days it began to disperse....Fang-pien sculptured the Master's true (*chen*) likeness, and that, together with his Buddhist implements [robe and bowl], were to be eternally protected at Pao-lin Monastery. The chief of the stupa attendants supervised it. They kept the transmitted *Platform Sutra* to illustrate the doctrine of the lineage.¹⁴⁴

The above is largely based on the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, which is more elaborate, but provides some unusual additional variations:

because it was one of few Ch'an texts that had been entered into the Tripitaka and so had prestige and authority. Note that this was at a time when the Korean cataloguer, Uich'on had denied the *Platform Sutra* and *Pao-lin chuan* entry into his catalogue of the Tripitaka because he saw them as false texts. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, with its court-imprimatur, was entered into the Tripitaka in 1011. See Yanagida Seizan (1976), 'Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūzō,' in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Keitoku dentōroku*, *Sō-ban*, *Kōrai-bon*, Zengaku sōsho 6, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto, 726.

¹⁴⁴ EK, 216b, 388-389; Ting Fu-pao (1922), 162-164; Koryō 158b-159a; Ming 231b; Ch'ing 273a-b; Ts'ao-ch'i 306a-b; *lu-p'u* 360; Chin-ling 362a. The reference to the bowl and robe reverting to the Master implies that contrary to the custom of distributing the effects of deceased, ordinary monks, Hui-neng's effects were returned to the care of the stupa and its supervisors. See Tso Sze-bong (1982), 'The Transformation of Buddhist Vinaya in China,' PhD diss., Australian National University, 222-223.

There was also a Szechanese monk named Fang-pien who came to pay his respects to the Master, saying, "I am good at sculpting clay." Hui-neng straight-faced said, "Try to make a sculpture (of me)." Fang-pien did not understand his intent, and so modelled the Master's likeness (*chen*) 真 to a height of seven *ts'un* (inches), perfectly capturing his charisma. The Master looked at it and said, "You are good at the nature of sculpture, but are no good at the nature of Buddha." He rewarded Fang-pien with a robe and things. The monk bowed and departed....

The pupils remembered the prediction of the taking of the head, so first of all they took iron leaf and a coat of lacquer to protect the Master's neck securely. At the time the two commanderies of Hsin and Shao each raised a numina-stupa, but the laymen and clergy could not decide where to locate it. The prefects of the two commanderies burned incense and prayed, saying, "Where the incense smoke is drawn is where the Master wishes to return." Then the incense in the censer billowed forth and headed straight towards Ts'ao-ch'i. On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month he was interred in the stupa-shrine.¹⁴⁵

The other incident in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* is based in part on the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi*:

(The assembly) also asked, "Will there be difficulties later on or not?" The Master said, "Five and six years after my decease, a man will come to take my head. Listen to my prediction:

To my head he will offer affection,

In his mouth he must eat.

When I meet the difficulty of fullness (*man*),

Yang and Liu will be the officials."

He also said, "Seventy years after I have departed, two bodhisattvas will come from the east, a monk and a layman, who will simultaneously evoke conversions and establish my lineage, building and roofing monasteries, multiplying heirs to the Dharma."¹⁴⁶

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of ca. 781 was undoubtedly the primary source for this incident, and it clearly is connected with a prediction of threats to the existence of the lineage:

¹⁴⁵ T52.236b20-c10.

¹⁴⁶ EK, 381; Ting Fu-pao (1922), 150, especially his commentary; Koryō 156a; Ming 229a; Ts'ao-ch'i 304b; *liu-p'u* 357b. The first line of the prediction may also be translated, "Via my head he will worship his parent," making the term mourner or devotee 孝子 (literally, filial son) more meaningful. But here also we have to take into account the words of Ling-t'ao about Buddhist compassion. Cf. the translation by Yampolsky (1967), 85, "Atop the head offerings to parents,/ In the mouth food is sought./ When the trouble with Man occurs,/ Yang and Liu will be officials." Yampolsky commented that "[a] man in need of food was hired by a Korean monk to cut off the Sixth Patriarch's head..."

The pupils asked, "Who will your Dharma be conferred on?"

"The Dharma is not to be conferred, nor will any person obtain it."

Shen-hui asked, "Master, why won't the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* be transmitted?"

"If I transmit this robe, the person to whom the Dharma is transmitted will have a short life. If I do not transmit this robe, my Dharma will spread and flourish. Keep it and guard it at Ts'ao-ch'i. Seventy years after my demise, there will be two bodhisattvas from the East. One will be a lay bodhisattva who will repair and build monasteries and vihāras, the other will be a monk bodhisattva who will rebuild my teaching."

The pupils asked the Master, "Why will there be a shortened life if this robe is transmitted?"

"When I held this robe, assassins came three times to take my life. My life was like a hanging thread. I fear that the later people who transmit the Dharma will be harmed. Therefore I will not hand it over."¹⁴⁷

The account continues a little later as follows:

The pupils of Ts'ao-ch'i wanted to welcome the entire body of the Master back to Ts'ao-ch'i. At that time the leader would not assent to its release, and wanting it to be kept at Kuo-en Monastery, raised up a stupa (where it could be) worshipped. At that time a pupil, the monk Ch'ung-i met with the prefect and discussed the issue. (They) then returned (with the body) to Ts'ao-ch'i. The Master's neck was first encased in iron leaf and his entire body was glued and lacquered. In that year, on the thirteenth day of the eleventh month his corpse was translated into the reliquary.

In the twenty-seventh year of the K'ai-yüan era, an assassin came to take the head, and he shifted the Master out into the courtyard and tried to behead it with a sword. The assembly heard the sound of the iron (being stuck) and were startled awake. They saw a mourner running hurriedly out of the monastery, and they sought nearby but could not catch him. When the Master was alive he gave the precepts, taught the Dharma and liberated people for thirty-six years.¹⁴⁸

While a change of symbol of lineal transmission from the robe to mummy is suggested here, the actual words of the prediction came via the *Tsu-t'ang chi* from the *Pao-lin chuan*. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* records a conversation between Yang-shan (807-883) and Wei-shan (771-853) concerning predictions and the six supernatural powers, which demonstrate the prediction was apparently well known:

¹⁴⁷ EK, 49-50.

¹⁴⁸ EK, 51-52. Kuo-en Monastery was in Hsin-chou, and was built by Hui-neng from his old residence according to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, EK, 48.

Yang-shan inquired of Wei-shan, "What about (the story that) the Sixth Patriarch at the time of his decease conferred a final instruction on his pupils: 'Take a gate bolt-hole two catties in weight and place my neck in it, and after that lacquer it.' The pupils asked, 'What sense is there in placing iron around your neck?' The Sixth Patriarch said, 'Bring a brush and paper and I will obscurely predict it:

In five and six years¹⁴⁹

To my head he will offer affection,

In his mouth he must eat.

When I meet with the difficulty of *man*,

Yang and Liu will be the officials."

Wei-shan said, "Do you understand the meaning of the patriarchal teacher's obscure prediction or not?"

Yang-shan said, "I do understand that the affair is over."

Wei-shan said, "Even though the matter is over, won't you try to talk about it?"

Yang-shan said, "'In five and six years' is thirty years. 'To my head he will offer affection' is the meeting with the mourner. 'In his mouth he must eat' is to often set up vegetarian feasts. 'Meet the difficulty of *man*' (refers to) Chang Ching-man of Ju-chou who was employed by the Silla monk Kim Taebi for money to cut off the Sixth Patriarch's head and steal the robe and bowl. 'Yang and Liu will be the officials' (means) that Yang is the prefect of Shao-chou and Liu the magistrate of Ch'ü-chiang. After startling (the assembly) awake, at Shih-chieh t'ai he was submitted to the Master. Now are not you of this view?"¹⁵⁰

All of these earlier accounts in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* were summarised in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, which as a state-authorised Buddhist history, gave the story the imprimatur of veracity:

Moreover, as Hui-neng's body was upright and not in disarray as if it were in samādhi, they later added a lacquer coating. Then the Szechwanese monk Fang-pien made a clay-plaster miniature model whose visage was identical with that (of the Hui-neng) of the past.

Hui-neng once said, "After I die a good-minded man is certain to take my head 元. Do not be afraid." Some remembered these words and added an iron ring encircling his neck. In the eleventh year of K'ai-yüan (723), a man of Ju-chou eventually took a bribe from a Silla

¹⁴⁹ Chöng Söngbon (1995), *Silla Söngjong üi yön'gu*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 316-318, notes that this is the first time these numbers appear, and that while the *Tsu-t'ang chi* takes them to mean thirty years or 743, the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* takes it to indicate eleven years, and so would date the theft to 723.

¹⁵⁰ Yanagida Seizan (1974a), 347a-b (or TTC 5.67-68). The name of this obscure but actual village, Shih-chieh t'ai, located to the south of Shao-chou here indicates that this part of the text could not have been written in Silla.

pilgrim/resident to secretly use a sword to cut off the head, as (the Silla monk) wished to encase it and take it back to Haedong (Korea) for worship. Someone heard the sound (of the sword) striking the iron and he was captured.¹⁵¹

These variants of the story seem to be connected and may once have formed a whole. They were part of a popular tradition that was partly modelled on the lives of the Buddha and Seng-ch'ieh, partly on native beliefs in human forms of a deity of rejuvenation and Kuan-yin, and partly on the way Koreans were perceived in China. The main elements in the story are the stupa and its relics, the prediction and the attempted theft.

The relics

The first distinctive feature of these stories is the mummification of the corpse of Hui-neng with lacquer and an iron ring placed around his neck. This is unusual in that eminent Buddhist monks by T'ang times were usually buried in accordance with Chinese custom.¹⁵² Therefore, it is necessary to explain why mummies were created of Buddhist monks, and how mummification came to be accepted in China, especially in the case of Hui-neng, whose life, we should remember, was modelled on that of Confucius, who was buried.

Waiting for Maitreya?

One theory about mummification in Buddhism explains it as a means of waiting for the arrival of the next buddha, Maitreya, which it was expected would bring a greater chance of enlightenment and liberation for the well preserved monk. This anticipation was related to an anxiety that the teaching of Śākya Muni had lost its potency and one was thus unable to ensure enlightenment even if one did practice zealously. It could also be linked, rather tenuously, to the tale of Mahākāśyapa (later made into the first patriarch of Ch'an after the Buddha) being in suspended animation, like a mummy, until he could transmit a precious robe from the Buddha to Maitreya.

The pilgrim Hsüan-tsang observed arhats in Central Asia who had

¹⁵¹ T50.755b13-19.

¹⁵² See figures in Nishiwaki (2000), 199-200.

entered into a samādhi in which all sensation and mentation is extinguished (*nirodha-samāpatti*, 滅心盡定). They appeared to be alive, sitting upright, their hair growing, but had emaciated bodies. This practice may have originated in India, but this was denied by Kosugi Kazuo.¹⁵³ On his return journey from India, Hsüan-tsang saw or heard about two arhats in two separate caves in the Pamirs who had been in the samādhi for over seven hundred years,¹⁵⁴ and saw another three arhats near Yarkand in similar conditions.¹⁵⁵ In Khotan he heard that an arhat was in *nirodha-samāpatti* on Mt Oxhorn (Gośṅga) awaiting the advent of the future buddha, Maitreya, and had been doing so for several hundred years. This arhat was served and worshipped, and so was not thought to be dead.¹⁵⁶ Another story he heard was of a hunter who found an arhat in this samādhi with hair so long that it formed a robe. The hunter told the king of Wu-sha, who was informed that such meditators, before entering into that trance, established time limits or warning sounds for coming out of the samādhi. The power of the samādhi supposedly preserved the body. However, if the body were given nourishment, it would decay as soon as the arhat came out of the trance. Awakened, this arhat said his master was the ancient buddha, Kāśyapa. Hearing that Śākyā Muni had also long passed into nirvana, he rose into the sky where he self-cremated.¹⁵⁷

Again, Hsüan-tsang also mentioned the mummy of the king of a territory (Tashqurgan?) in the Pamir Mountains who was supposedly the son of a solar god. The corpse, preserved in a cave in the mountains,

¹⁵³ Chou Yi-liang (1945), 271 note 107.

¹⁵⁴ *Ta Tang Hsi-yü chi*, T51.942a21-24, and Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 988; *Ta Tz'u-en Ssu San-tsang Fa-shih chuan*, T50.250c5-7, and Li Rongxi (1995), *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research: Berkeley, 161-162; Thomas Watters (1904-1905), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II: 286.

¹⁵⁵ T51.943a6-8, and Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 999, possibly Qargaliq; T50.251a3-5, and Li Rongxi (1995), 163, as country of Chakula; Watters (1904-1905), II: 293; Paul Demiéville (1973), 'Momies d'Extrême-Orient,' in Paul Demiéville, comp., *Choix d'études sinologiques (1929-1970)*, E. J. Brill: Leiden, 146, writing of Karghalik.

¹⁵⁶ T51.943c19-20; Watters (1904-1905), II: 297; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 1014.

¹⁵⁷ T51.942b22-c10, and Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 992-993, who says Wu-sha was possibly a country of the Saka and part of Yarkand; T50.250c12-27, and Li Rongxi (1995), 162-163. This latter action of self immolation seems to have been modelled on the story of the end of Mahākāśyapa, for which see *Mi-lo hsia-sheng (ch'eng-fo) ching*, T14.425c, and below. Kieschnick (1997), 44, thinks that self-immolation was a transformation of oneself into a relic, or as Tao-hsüan had it, into a 'Dharma-body.'

was "dried flesh, but uncorrupted, in form like an emaciated person asleep."¹⁵⁸ As the corpse of the famous protagonist in the Tibetan debates over gradual versus sudden enlightenment, Kamalaśīla (d. 797 or 804), was also mummified and kept in a monastery about twenty miles from Lhasa,¹⁵⁹ this suggests at least two types of mummy were known in Central Asia; that of the arhat in the suspended animation of samādhi, and the truly preserved corpse, which were very common in the dry Tarim Basin.¹⁶⁰

The tale of the arhat of Khotan awaiting the arrival of Maitreya is probably a reflection of the famous legend of Mahākāśyapa, who was entrusted by Śākyā Muni with a gold-embroidered robe to be given to Maitreya when the latter achieved buddhahood. At that moment, the mountain covering Mahākāśyapa will unfold to reveal him, and he will hand the robe over. As soon as this duty has been performed, Mahākāśyapa will ascend into the heavens, manifest miracles, his body will be incinerated spontaneously, and he will enter nirvana.¹⁶¹

This tale is of considerable antiquity in Buddhism¹⁶² and was well known to the Chinese through sources such as the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* (Biographies of the Circumstances of the Transmission of the Dharma-store), probably a composite work written in China ca. 472, which makes Mahākāśyapa the first in a list of twenty-three patriarchs after Śākyā Muni:

Thereupon Kāśyapa went to Mt Kukkuṭāpāda (Cock's Foot Mountain) and sat cross-legged on a grass mat, vowing, "Now I will hold my bowl and wear the robe of rags the Buddha gave me on my body, not allowing it to decay until Maitreya arrives"... Ānanda said, "By means of samādhi Mahākāśyapa resides in his body awaiting Maitreya, and so it cannot be burnt. When Maitreya appears, he will lead a congregation

¹⁵⁸ T51.942a2-3; Watters (1904-1905), II: 286; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 985. Ray (1994), 368, 392 note 76, mentions that the word used for 'dried up,' *pariśuṣkagātra*, used of the buddha Prabhūratna enshrined in a stupa in the *Lotus Sutra* account, is connected also with meditation.

¹⁵⁹ Yoshimura Shuki (1974), *Indo Daijō Bukkyō shisō kenkyū—Kamarashira no shisō*, Hyakkaen: Kyoto, 3, citing Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, 41, who saw it on one of his travels.

¹⁶⁰ Demiéville (1973), 146, on the evidence of the Ōtani expedition.

¹⁶¹ T51.919c; Watters (1904-1905), II: 143-144; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 705-706.

¹⁶² Cf. Watters (1904-1905), II: 145; Gouriswar Bhattacharya (1980), 'Stūpa as Maitreya's Emblem,' in Anna Libera Dallapiccola, ed., *The Stupa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, Franz Steiner verlag: Wiesbaden, 102-103. Cf. Ray (1994), 105-109.

of 960 million beings to this mountaintop where they will see Kāśyapa. Maitreya's congregation will then all think that the body of this pupil of the Śākya Tathāgata is so crude and vulgar that the Śākya Buddha must have been (bodily) the same. Then Kāśyapa will elevate his body into the sky and transform it into eighteen scenes (of the Buddha's life), forming a body that fills the entire world. Then the Maitreya Buddha will go to Kāśyapa to obtain the *sanghāṭī* (cloak).¹⁶³

This record was based on the *A-yü wang chuan* (Biography of King Aśoka), which was translated in 306 A.D.¹⁶⁴ It in turn was compiled from earlier hagiographies of Mahākāśyapa, the exemplary meditator. The earlier legends had been combined before the time of the *A-yü wang chuan* to detail the promise of the advent of Maitreya, his ideal city, and his meeting with Mahākāśyapa (whether in meditation or dead is not made clear by the texts since they do not agree), as can be found in texts such as the *Mi-lo hsia-sheng (ch'eng-fo) ching* (Sutra of the Incarnation and Buddhahood of Maitreya).¹⁶⁵

It has been suggested that the belief in Maitreya prompted deliberate (as distinct from accidental) mummification in order that the aspirant can wait until Maitreya's arrival. For example, one of the contributors to the foundation of T'ien-t'ai, Hui-ssu (515-577), vowed to become an immortal (*hsien*) so as to wait for the incarnation of Maitreya and become the first person to receive the future buddha's prediction that he, Hui-ssu, would eventually achieve buddhahood. In order to do that, Hui-ssu used the techniques of Taoist immortality, both elixirs (*wai-tan*) and physiological cultivation (*nei-tan*). Matsumura Akira thinks this explains why earlier monks such as Shan Tao-kai and others stopped eating grains, ate only berries and resin etc, and entered a trance.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ T50.300c11-14; 301a9-14. Note that the robe of rags here differs from the gold-embroidered robe of Hsüan-tsang's tale. Some state that Mahākāśyapa held this, and gave it also to Maitreya. Bernard Faure (1995), 'Quand l'habit fait le moine: The symbolism of the *kāśyā* in Sōtō Zen,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8: 339-340.

¹⁶⁴ T50.114c-115a.

¹⁶⁵ T14.422b-c. Here, after Maitreya takes the robe, Kāśyapa's body dissolves and Maitreya praises his bones, T14.425c. This text was possibly translated between 384 and 385 A.D. Cf. Mochizuki Shinkō (1933-1936), *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 5: 4814-4815; Ono Gemmyō (1932-1936), *Bushō kaisetsu Daijiten*, 10: 320. There are a number of translations and variants. On the disagreements of the texts, see Demiéville (1973), 147, and Watters (1904-1905), II: 145. Some state he was preserved due to the virtues of his meditation; some say that only the skeleton was preserved; and others that the body was covered with flowers and aromatics, possibly suggesting a process of mummification, which Demiéville ultimately rejects.

¹⁶⁶ Matsumoto Akira (1993), 'Chūgoku no nyūjō miira no kenkyū,' in Nihon

However, this was only a suggestion, and the notion of *mo-fa* or 'End Period of the Law,' which probably originated with a misreading by Hui-ssu,¹⁶⁷ provided no motivation for these monks, although there was a general feeling that as time distanced one from the Buddha chances of deliverance weakened. On the other hand, the entry into a trance of suspended animation, which was in reality mummification via desiccation and the cold in caves, was believed in Central Asia to be aimed at meeting Maitreya in the distant future.¹⁶⁸ This belief was maintained despite *nirodha-samāpatti* being authoritatively discriminated from death by the fact that in the former one is still alive, the sense organs are not destroyed, and the body retains warmth.¹⁶⁹ This was surely easy enough to verify.¹⁷⁰

In China, the Maitreya faith was strong during the Northern Wei (386-534), as can be seen in the cave carvings of Yün-kang and Lungmen. However, belief in Maitreya had softened by early T'ang times, that being largely replaced by devotion to Amitābha and Kuan-yin. The original appeal had been the promise of rebirth in Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven. Even Chih-i (538-597) venerated Maitreya, but he also stated that Kuan-yin and Mahāsthāmaprāpta came to welcome him on his deathbed.¹⁷¹ By the T'ang, it appears belief in Maitreya was promoted mostly by pilgrims to India such as Hsüan-tsang, who related not only the stories of Central Asian monks in trance awaiting Maitreya, but also similar tales from India about famous Buddhist scholastics who used various means to gain access to Tuṣita Heaven and Maitreya. The most pertinent case cited by Hsüan-tsang was that of Nagārjuna's pupil, Bhāvaviveka, who was supposedly in a palace

mūra kenkyū gurūpu, comp., *Nihon Chūgoku mūra shinkō no kenkyū*, Heibonsha: Tokyo, 158-160.

¹⁶⁷ Jan Nattier (1991), *Once upon a future time: Studies in a Buddhist prophecy of decline*, Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, Asian Humanities Press, 110-111.

¹⁶⁸ Matsumoto (1993), 173-176.

¹⁶⁹ Matsumoto (1993), 179, citing *Chung A-han ching* 58; Ray (1994), 369-372, analyses *nirodha-samāpatti* in terms of the immanence of the saint. It was a state of meditation preferred by pratyekabuddhas and was the state Mahākāśyapa entered while waiting for Maitreya. It was often mistaken for death, but was really the attainment of complete realisation or nirvana in this life. It was closely associated with the meditation of the forest ascetics, and provided a physical location for nirvana in the world, in the saint's body, stupa or icons.

¹⁷⁰ See below on poking a corpse, and case of Seng-ch'e and his admonition about touching his corpse, HKSC, T50.595c.

¹⁷¹ Matsumoto (1993), 183-186.

of the Asuras immured in a cliff waiting for Maitreya to become a buddha so that his doubts could be resolved. He abstained from grains and other foods, only drinking water, and chanted the *Kuan-tzu-tzai sui-hsin dhāraṇī* in front of a statue of Kuan-yin for three years. Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) appeared to him and advised him to gain a meeting with Maitreya via rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven, which would be more expedient than remaining in this body to wait for Maitreya's incarnation in this world. But Bhāvaviveka would not be dissuaded, so Kuan-yin gave him instructions to pray to Vajrapāṇi, a god who provided him with the power to enter the Asura palace inside the cliff, where he entered and resides in meditation.¹⁷² Despite this, none of the pilgrims became mummies themselves,¹⁷³ and their interest in Maitreya was rather in visualising Maitreya to gain either rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven and thus rapid development of one's career as a bodhisattva, or for 'exegetical inspiration'.¹⁷⁴ However, meeting with Maitreya when he became the next buddha would make it easier to attain enlightenment, and thus future buddhahood for oneself.¹⁷⁵

Yet it must be noted, as in the case of Bhāvaviveka, that it is Kuan-yin who is the guide and most immediately accessible bodhisattva. Moreover, none of our texts state that the monks in T'ang China who were mummified did so to meet Maitreya. Thus Demiéville finds little textual evidence that mummification was associated with the notion of waiting to attend in the flesh the advent of Maitreya.¹⁷⁶ Rather, the account of Maitreya by Hsüan-tsang that appealed to the incipient Ch'an movement was that concerning the transmission of the robe. The Buddha said to Mahākāśyapa,

I am now about to enter Mahāparinirvāṇa. I entrust my Dharma-stores to you to maintain and propagate so nothing is lost. Keep the gold-embroidered robe presented to me by my aunt, and transmit it to Maitreya when he becomes Buddha,

which of course Kāśyapa does.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Matsumoto (1993), 166-167; Watters (1904-1905), II: 215-224.

¹⁷³ Matsumoto (1993), 191.

¹⁷⁴ Alan Sponberg (1988), 'Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualisation,' in Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, eds, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, Cambridge University Press, 107, cf. also 103.

¹⁷⁵ Sponberg (1988), 103.

¹⁷⁶ Demiéville (1973), 152.

¹⁷⁷ Matsumoto (1993), 166; Watters (1904-1905), II: 143-144; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 706; ZSS, 385ff, as quoted in the *Pao-lin chuan*.

Although this legend was used by Shen-hui as a paradigm to justify his version of the lineage from Mahākāśyapa to Hui-neng, and implicitly to Shen-hui himself, which was similarly legitimised by the symbolic transfer of a robe, he did not apply this comparison to the mortal remains of Hui-neng. Thus Shen-hui said, in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*:

In the past, the gold-embroidered *kaśāya* (monastic robe) of the Śākya Tathāgata was on Mt Cock's Foot. Kāśyapa now keeps this *kaśāya* waiting for Maitreya to appear in the world, when he will dutifully confer this robe, to show that the Śākya Tathāgata transmitted the robe as a surety. Our six generations of patriarchal teachers did likewise.¹⁷⁸

Although Shen-hui denied that the Dharma was inherent in the robe itself, he claimed that it was evidence of the correct lineal transmission. However, he could not identify Hui-neng with Maitreya, for that was fraught with danger. There had been a history of uprisings dating from the Northern Wei and into the early T'ang, led by people claiming to be incarnations of Maitreya,¹⁷⁹ so "there was a 'political' element deeply imbedded in Maitreya eschatology itself."¹⁸⁰ Not long before Shen-hui made his claims in 732, the T'ang state condemned those who claimed that Maitreya had been incarnated in China, threatening in this edict of 715 to arrest all those involved.¹⁸¹ During Hui-neng's own lifetime, Empress Wu Tse-t'ien had been tentatively identified with Maitreya and a Buddhist Universal Monarch,¹⁸² but after the

¹⁷⁸ Hu Shih (1968), 285; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 29; Teng and Jung (1998), 40; ZSS, 107-108, 386-388. Cf. below, Chapter 3, under the heading, 'Secondary Relics.'

¹⁷⁹ Weinstein (1987), 154 note 1. The *Mi-lo hsia-sheng ching's* prediction of the coming of Maitreya, combined with folk superstition, vaticination and economic distress had produced chiliastic rebellions in the Northern Wei period. When this was merged with the idea that the End Period of the Dharma (*mo-fa*) was nigh, many people believed that Maitreya would come soon. This was used by political opportunists to raise rebellions that promised a 'kingdom of heaven on earth.' Cf. Ch'en (1964), 428. E. Zürcher (1982), 'Prince Moonlight: Messianism and eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism,' *T'oung Pao* LXVIII (nos 1-3): 14.

¹⁸⁰ Daniel L. Overmyer (1976), *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass, London, 69.

¹⁸¹ Overmyer (1976), 25-26.

¹⁸² Weinstein (1987), 41-43. Forte (1976), *Political propaganda...*, 271-280. For the cautious identification, see R. W. Guisso (1978), *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China*, 156-158, especially as a vulgar or worldly truth and not ultimate truth, but this was useful propaganda, 161-162.

collapse of a massive Maitreya statue she had been building,¹⁸³ the religious establishment was opposed to millenarian Maitreyism, banning its apocryphal sutras and populist appeal in an attempt to maintain the orthodoxy that asserted that Maitreya was not due to appear until the distant future.¹⁸⁴ Yet the identification of Maitreya with the empress had been made, and she represented all that Shen-hui was attacking.¹⁸⁵

It is therefore unlikely that any 'mummies,' or monks casuistically claimed to be in a state of suspended animation through samādhi, let alone Hui-neng, would have been publicly proclaimed in pre-T'ang or T'ang China to be incarnations of Maitreya, for that was tantamount to challenging the state. After Empress Wu's death, the Confucian ideology of state legitimation reasserted itself, never to permit such claims again during the T'ang. It was only during periods of division and weak state power that such identifications occurred. The only two cases in Ch'an associated with Maitreya eschatology were Yün-men (864-949), who lived under the Southern Han, and Pu-tai (d. 916), an obscure figure whose fat-bellied and good-natured image would seem to preclude any threat.¹⁸⁶ Such identifications were seen as threats to the state and to the Buddhist Order, for it implied the state and clergy were corrupt.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, there are no clear references to Maitreya, except waiting for Maitreya, in any of the examples known of Chinese mummies. Rather, the evidence of the relations of mummies with Maitreya comes from Japan, beginning only as late as the eleventh century. Moreover, these were associated with Shingon and not with Zen.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Cf. study by Forte (1988), *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock* cited in Jinhua Chen (2002a), 'Śarīra and scepter,' 63, who also notes that a Maitreya Pavilion was built to house the 'invented' relics of the Buddha discovered at Kuang-chai Monastery. Chen gives a description of what it might have been like, 66-69.

¹⁸⁴ Guisso (1978), 164-166.

¹⁸⁵ Jorgensen (1987), 104-108.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Faure (1991), 155. Nagai (2000), 125-148, traces the changes in the belief in Pu-tai and Maitreya, and he cautions that Ch'an tended to deny that individual monks were Maitreya (incarnations).

¹⁸⁷ Zürcher (1982), 14-16.

¹⁸⁸ Mochizuki (1954-1963), vol 10 (supplementary volume): 764-765, which makes the identification with Maitreya. But I have checked the Chinese instances of T'ang and pre-T'ang times and have found no evidence of the Maitreya connection. For the Japanese mummies and their method of manufacture, see Carmen Blacker (1975), *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, George Allen & Unwin: London,

Mummies in China

If Hui-neng was not mummified in order to wait for Maitreya, we must look into the history of mummification in China to see how and why it was done. What were the precedents, and were there any scriptural references to justify the practice?

Mummies of monks had been produced in China as early as 298 A.D. when the thaumaturge Ho-lo-chieh, a Chinese, could not be cremated because the body would not burn. Placed in a cave, over thirty years later a Central Asian monk saw the corpse looking as if it were sitting in peace and so spread rumours about it.¹⁸⁹ Another monk, Shan Tao-k'ai of Tun-huang, practiced the austerities of a Taoist seeker of immortality, eating only pine resin and ground-up rock, but no grain, for seven years, rather like the Japanese Shingon monks who become *mūra*. When he died, his pupils installed his corpse in a cave on Mt Lo-fou. In 336, the governor of Nan-hai (Canton) saw the corpse there and compared him, Taoistically, to the 'shell of a cicada,' meaning that his soul had left this world but the body remained.¹⁹⁰ Thus, these mummies had either Taoistic or Central Asian characteristics. Before the T'ang they had not been treated for preservation, being merely left in caves. It was only with Chih-i, in the Sui Dynasty, that special stupas or shrines were built for them.¹⁹¹ Even so, these can be called 'accidental mummies,' and they continued to appear throughout the T'ang.¹⁹²

Lacquering the corpse

The first documented case of lacquering the corpse of a 'Ch'an' monk, or perhaps of any monk, was that of the so-called Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin (580-651). However, the earliest record, the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, in the supplementary sections added between 645 and 666,

87-90, who connects them to Shingon, and dates them back to the seventeenth century. Faure (1991), 149, states that the oldest dates to 1363, most recent to 1903, and notes that there are four twelfth century mummies of the Fujiwara clan.

¹⁸⁹ KSC, T50.389a11-16.

¹⁹⁰ KSC, T50.387b-c. Joseph Needham (1974), *Science and Civilisation in China: vol 5, Part II: Spagyric Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 300, claims on the basis of food and practices that he was a Taoist who was incorporated into the *Kao-seng chuan*.

¹⁹¹ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764.

¹⁹² Nagai (2000), 492-493.

states that Tao-hsin ordered his pupil, Hung-jen to build his stupa. When Tao-hsin died on the 23rd October 651, various miraculous signs occurred. The next year, Hung-jen and other pupils opened the stupa to find Tao-hsin sitting upright as if alive.¹⁹³ But the hagiographer, Tao-hsüan, a contemporary, and author of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, did not know of Tao-hsin being lacquered, and the surprise shown by the pupils that Tao-hsin was still seated upright suggests that if lacquering did take place, it was after Tao-hsüan's time. According to the later *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* of ca. 713,

On the eighth day of the fourth month of the following [literally, third] year, the stone doors (of the shrine-niche) opened by themselves to reveal that his countenance looked just as dignified as it had been in life. His students then wrapped (his body) with lacquered cloth and did not dare close (the doors) again. They cut stone and engraved a stele, and the eulogy of his virtues was written by the Secretariat Director Tu Cheng-lun.¹⁹⁴

Unfortunately, the stele by Tu Cheng-lun (587-658) is lost, and may even have been fabricated, for it was unknown to Tao-hsüan, and those fragments allegedly of it that are quoted elsewhere,¹⁹⁵ do not mention Tao-hsin at all. Firstly, sometime around 642-643, Tu Cheng-lun was exiled to the far south, and was only recalled in 656 to Ch'ang-an,¹⁹⁶ although another record states he was near Lo-yang in 651.¹⁹⁷ It is very surprising that Tao-hsüan was unaware of the purported stele by Tu Cheng-lun, for Tao-hsüan was very much aware of Tu's other Buddhist activities.¹⁹⁸

Moreover, if the lacquering of the flesh body was intended to be a means to create solidarity in a group possibly threatened with dissolution by the death of its founder, and to attract pilgrims and

¹⁹³ T50.606b20-28.

¹⁹⁴ McRae (1986), 263, translation modified; Yanagida (1971), 380; Sharf (1992), 9; cf. Matsumoto (1993), 200.

¹⁹⁵ ZSS, 566, 79, 608, 83-84.

¹⁹⁶ Michael T. Dalby (1979), 'Court politics in late T'ang times,' in Denis Twitchett, ed, *The Cambridge History of China, vol 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part I*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 657.

¹⁹⁷ Yü Hsien-hao (1987), *T'ang tz'u-shih k'ao* 5: 2896, 5: 2940; although there is a contradiction here with his biography in the *Chiu T'ang shu* and *Hsin T'ang shu*.

¹⁹⁸ HKSC, T50.666c8, on Fa-ch'ung; T50.615a4-5, mourned the Vinayist Chih-shou in 635; T50.617b15, mourned for Hsüan-wan; T50.528b5, knew Tao-yüeh; T50.618c3, on dispute with Hui-man in 642; T50.442a25ff, assisted in a translation in 628.

donations as a field of merit,¹⁹⁹ there surely would have been more records of this relic. There are no mentions in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, which tends to ignore such issues in any case, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* quotes almost word for word from the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (possibly via another source), then mentions that Emperor Tai-tsung in the Ta-li era (766-780) granted Tao-hsin a posthumous title and his stupa the name 'Cloud of Compassion.' It mentions that Tu Cheng-lun wrote a stele. However, it neither quotes from the stele nor mentions the lacquering of the corpse. This deletion is evidence it probably had not been lacquered.²⁰⁰ The only source noted, that by Hsien-ch'eng Ju-hai in 1827, the *Ts'an-hsüeh chih-chen*, which writes that the 'true bodies' of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen are preserved in their respective mountains,²⁰¹ should be discounted as too late, and because, according to other records, Hung-jen was not mummified. However, Yüeh-chiang Cheng-yin (n.d., Yüan Dynasty), Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263-1323) and Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh (1091-1157) are said in their *logia* to have paid respects to the 'flesh bodies' (*jou-shen*) of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen in Ch'i-chou.²⁰² This suggests that the reason for the decline of the site of Huang-mei and Mt Shuang-feng, where the relics of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen were kept, was not due to the existence of 'true bodies' there,²⁰³ but rather to their nature and to geo-political factors. When Tokiwa Daijō visited Cheng-chüeh Monastery in Huang-mei, the monks there did not even know the name of Tao-hsin, all the T'ang statues were destroyed, and yet the hermitage of the Fourth Patriarch had a niche (*k'an*) containing a clay sculpture of Tao-hsin. This was supposedly his grave. At Chen-chüeh Monastery on Tung-shan, there was an image of Hung-jen covered in cloth and lacquer. Tokiwa noted that all the images at both mountains wore jewelled crowns like Kuan-yin wears.²⁰⁴

Before 666, however, there are three definite mentions of the lacquering of the corpse of a monk. These appear in the Tao-hsüan's account of meditators in his *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*.²⁰⁵ The first is of

¹⁹⁹ Faure (1991), *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 151, 166-167.

²⁰⁰ TTC 1.82.13-1.83.2; the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, Sung 25, chüan 3/14b1-2 concurs.

²⁰¹ Faure (1991), 151; Faure (1992), 'Relics and Flesh Bodies,' 167.

²⁰² Nagai (2000), 119, 123-124.

²⁰³ Faure (1992), 167-168.

²⁰⁴ Tokiwa (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 519, 523.

²⁰⁵ ZSS, 4ff.

Tao-chi, a specialist in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, who was also famed for his treatment of someone riddled with evil smelling ulcers and whom no one could approach. Tao-chi even shared his eating utensils with that person. When he died in 627 at the height of summer at Fu-ch'eng Monastery in I-chou, Szechwan, his cadaver did not rot or smell, and after a hundred days it was seated cross-legged exactly in the same position it was in when he died. Everyone was amazed and praised it, so then "they added lacquered cloth and it came to be venerated in Szechwan."²⁰⁶ The second is that of Tao-hsiu, who died in 629. He was thought to have entered samādhi in his hermitage and so was left for two nights, but examination showed his breath had left him, yet he remained seated and did not decay, looking just as if he was living. Then they closed the doors of the hermitage, and added brambles on the outside, fearing insect damage. At the start of the winter of 630, Tao-hsüan went to see it. The locals had erected a shrine (*miao-she*) to him, placing the body in it. Although his skin was leathery and the bones connected, his countenance was unchanged. He was seated as before. Lacquered cloth had been added over it.²⁰⁷ The third is the case of the monk Seng-ch'e, a native of Wan-ch'uan in Ho-tung (far southwest corner of Shansi), who died nearby at Hsien-ch'uan Monastery in P'u-chou after he had announced his impending demise to the only attendant he permitted to remain, saying, "...once the life has gone and the body is cold, you may touch me," and he closed his eyes as if entering meditation. Miraculous signs appeared, and crowds rushed to worship his remains. As a result, his corpse was translated into a cave on Mt Ling, in which he was seated. Tao-hsüan wrote:

After three years he still retained his initial seated posture. His pupils changed the bamboo mat under him, but his clothes were not in the least stained, so they added lacquered cloth (to the corpse).²⁰⁸

If the entry in Mochizuki's encyclopedia and Kosugi's article are

²⁰⁶ HKSC, T50.687c24-688a1.

²⁰⁷ Kosugi Kazuo (1937), 'Nikushinzō oyobi yuikaizō no kenkyū,' *Tōyō gakuho* 24 (3), reprinted in *Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu*, comp., (1993), *Nihon Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, Heibonsha: Tokyo, 192; HKSC, T50.685b12ff.

²⁰⁸ HKSC, T50.595c10-19. Note, one version says 'stained cloth.' The date is based on mentions of a prefect of Chin-chou, for whom see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 1: 361-362, and of the writer of his epitaph, T'ang Lin, for whom see CTS 9/85/2812-2813. T'ang Lin held the post named in the period 650-659. These references meant that Seng-ch'e had to have died after 640 but before 659.

based on a full survey of the hagiographies and the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* entry is deemed dubious, these would appear to have been the first cases of the use of lacquer on a corpse. However, Tao-chi, Tao-hsiu and Seng-ch'e were associated neither with Maitreya nor Kuan-yin, and there were no mentions of fasting. Rather, the use of lacquer was probably prompted by the desire to preserve the lifelike condition of the corpses, which were already mummified to some degree. Seng-ch'e's last words about the touching of his corpse may have had a Confucian import, for most Chinese Buddhists were buried rather than cremated in order to maintain the Confucian maxim of the preservation of the body intact as a sign of filial duty. It may also have been a test to determine that he was truly dead, and not just deep in *nirodha-samāpatti*.

Mummies, the immortal soul and agricultural deities

Nagai considers the lacquering and preservation of the corpse to be a compromise between the Chinese burial, in particular the second burial, and the introduced practice of cremation, and that there was a linkage made between the survival of the mummified body and the continuance of the soul.²⁰⁹ Perhaps the mummy was also a combination of the Chinese belief in the eternity of the soul and the Buddhist belief in the *śarīra*. It should also be noted that a passage in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was mistakenly thought by some Chinese monks to mean that the soul or self was immortal,²¹⁰ so it may not be coincidental that the first monk to be deliberately mummified was a specialist in this sutra.

This unorthodox treatment of the corpse of the saint may also be related to earlier Chinese worship of the Taoist immortals, some of whom Kobayashi Taichirō claims represented the traces of a submerged autochthonous worship of the god of renewal, the god of Spring and recurring vegetative cycles whose corpse repeatedly revives. These 'immortals' were either resurrected or their bodies regrew, or the corpse did not go cold and emitted a 'pleasant' odour of sanctity.²¹¹ One such case of popular belief is recorded in the *Chi-wen*, a text of

²⁰⁹ Nagai (2000), 489-490.

²¹⁰ T'ang Yung-t'ung (1932), 'Chu Tao-sheng yü Nieh-p'an hsüeh,' *Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* 3 (1):27-29, 33-35.

²¹¹ Kobayashi Taichirō (1954a), 'Kōsō sūhai to shōzō no geijutsu,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 23: 8-9.

the last quarter of the eighth century. There was, it says, a temple to a woman killed by her husband seven hundred years ago for walking on water and for her mastery of the arts of the Way. She still looked as if alive, lying on her side. She was bathed and manicured monthly, and the body remained soft and flexible, as if asleep. Pilgrims came to worship the temple, which was on an island.²¹² These beliefs merged with Buddhism where the vegetative and regenerative powers of the Buddhist saints were also similarly displayed by the disappearance from the tomb of the corpse, which was seen elsewhere alive, the magical powers to restore the dead to life, the incorruptibility or non-flammability of the corpse, the emission of light or the marvellous growth of special trees on the tomb.²¹³

Shan-wu-wei (636-735), the previously mentioned Esoteric Buddhist master, who even when alive possessed so peculiar a body that swords just bounced off it without the slightest trace but the sound of metal clashing, is a prime example of the worship of a monk as an agricultural deity, and not just as a 'field of merit.' Famed in his lifetime for the control of the dragons of rain,²¹⁴ his corpse did not decay. It simply shrank and the skin darkened, with the bones becoming visible, just like the *miira* (mummies) of Shingon monks in Japan, because it was 'perfumed with samādhi and insight.' From then until the Sung Dynasty when Tsan-ning (919-1001) was writing, common people and emperors visited his shrine during droughts and floods to pray for relief:

The remains are covered with sheets of embroidered brocade as if he were asleep. Every time the remains are taken out of the cave, they are placed on a low couch and bathed with a fragrant unguent.²¹⁵

Such practices continued on into recent times, especially in Kiangsu and Szechwan, and were undoubtedly part of a Buddhicised folk belief in agricultural gods of drought and rain. Unlike in Japan, these corpses did not alleviate the illnesses or misfortunes of individuals.²¹⁶

²¹² Valerie Hansen (1993), 'Gods on walls: A case of Indian influence on Chinese lay religion?' in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds, *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 78-79.

²¹³ Kobayashi (1954a), 10-12.

²¹⁴ Chou Yi-liang (1945), 268-269; T50.715c12-26.

²¹⁵ Chou Yi-liang (1945), 271-272; T50.716a7-17. Cf. Demiéville (1973), 151, thinks that their main power was against natural disasters such as floods and droughts.

²¹⁶ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764c.

Portraits and likenesses

As we have seen, in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the Szechwanese monk Fang-pien made a clay image, a likeness (*chen*) of Hui-neng that seems to have paralleled the manufacture of the lacquered 'mummy.' Portraits or images of both Taoist and Buddhist saints were made, the latter being found in 'portrait halls' (*ying-t'ang* 影堂) or 'portrait stupas' (*ying-t'a* 影塔). Portraits and images of monks such as Hui-yüan of Mt Lü (334-416) were worshipped; others like Pao-chih (425-514) having icons in a number of places because of their supposed ability to divide their bodies at will. By the T'ang Dynasty this *memento mori* portraiture had become a common practice.²¹⁷ Moreover, during the lifetime of Shen-hui, Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-756) had images of Lao tzu, other deities and himself worshipped in Taoist ancestral temples (*miao*) throughout the empire from 741 and 744.²¹⁸ This probably demonstrated to observers such as Shen-hui how images could be used to support a claim of orthodoxy. Hence such portraits even became weapons in disputes over genealogical legitimacy, with Shen-hui accusing P'u-chi (651-739) of building a 'hall of the seven patriarchs' at Shao-lin to support his lineage, and his pupils having them imperially sanctioned and titled. Shen-hui countered by having his own portrait hall for the six patriarchs built in 752.²¹⁹ They were evidently important as legitimating symbols, for after the Hui-ch'ang Persecution had destroyed many stupas and halls, Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 846-859) supposedly ordered that they be repaired and put in order.²²⁰ Thus portraits, stupa images and halls for portraits in proper sequences had significance for legitimation of succession, funerary rites and as objects of worship. They were state-sanctioned ancestral temples (*miao*), just like those the earlier Hsüan-tsung had commissioned. These portraits were apparently derived from the ancient Chinese custom of painting murals with images of the deceased on the walls of their tombs.²²¹

²¹⁷ Kobayashi (1954a), 13-14.

²¹⁸ Benn (1987), 131-132, 137-138.

²¹⁹ Jorgensen (1987), 104, 118-120, 124; Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 174-175.

²²⁰ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 177, based on a late record.

²²¹ Kobayashi (1954a), 14. Note that the *Chin-kang ching chu*, usually attributed to Seng-chao, but more likely to have been by Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433), notes a distinction between stupa and *miao*; "That which seals up and honours the confined corpse

A remarkable portrait was that of Wu-chu as celebrated at the end of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and recorded by the 'mountain man' or hermit, Sun Huan, in a portrait-eulogy (*chen-tsan*). It attributes to him a teaching of the *Shou-leng-yen ching*:

"The superior, pure enlightened mind is universal in the Dharma-realm." It is our Master (*Ho-shang*) who occupies this entrance and transmits this Dharma. He instructed us in the meaning of the lack of thought....The pupils sighed to each other, "We are grateful that the Master pitied our deluded ignorance, and instructed us with the Correct Dharma, of not proceeding via gradual stages, but direct to bodhi. If we meet students, we must in turn instruct them. But we do not have the Master's form, so how could we show it to them?" Consequently, they quietly summoned excellent artisans who painted the traces of his likeness (*chen*). The appearance was glorious....One who looked at this portrait could destroy evil.²²²

That it was secretly made and was singular, not in a group with other lineage members, suggested to Wendi Adamek that it was a "special sacred relic," even a "death mask" painting for which the artist took the corpse as his model."²²³ It may have been used as a funerary portrait, rather like that of Amoghavajra, and it may have been commissioned just before his death.²²⁴ Perhaps this portrait was a transition to the 'mummy' and provided an inspiration for the writing of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, although it must be remembered Chien-chen had already seen Hui-neng's 'mummy' around 748, well before Wu-chu's portrait was made. Indeed, this portrait of Wu-chu seemed as if alive; "it was just as if it had true life-force (*chen-ch'i*), the visage alert as if about to speak, the eyes twinkling as if about to stare."²²⁵ However, such 'animated portraits' were fairly common in the Chinese art narrative, but in this case, the portrait was meant to preserve the Dharma.

of the Dharmakāya is called a stupa. That which erects an image in the spirit hall is called a *miao*." This is a comment on the Buddha's *t'a-miao*. HTC 38.423b13-14, cf. Hung-lien, *Chin-kang ching chu-chieh*, HTC 38.892b9.

²²² LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 316. Cf. translation by Wendi Adamek (2003), 'Imagining the Portrait of a Chan Master,' 64.

²²³ Wendi Leigh Adamek (1997), 'Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as seen through the "Lidai fabaoji" (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages),' 325-326.

²²⁴ Adamek (2003), 38-39, 53.

²²⁵ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 316.

Worship of mummies and portraits

According to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the leaders of Hsin-chou, where Hui-neng died, wished to erect a stupa for him so they could worship his relics. It became a matter of dispute, but eventually Hui-neng's corpse was brought back to Ts'ao-ch'i and placed in a reliquary. As the mummy was later taken into the courtyard by a thief,²²⁶ it was clearly meant to be a relic in demand. Again, the text mentions that in 760, the emperor sent a commissioner to worship with incense in front of the reliquary.²²⁷ Moreover, if we accept the evidence of the existing mummy, it was seated on a dais in view of worshippers. Indeed, Shen-hui had said that Hui-neng died while seated.

In one sense, the mummies were simultaneously portraits of the late saint or entire body *śarīra*,²²⁸ and thus were 'idolizations of enlightenment,'²²⁹ in other words, of sainthood and buddhahood. Faure calls them double bodies, both mortal and immortal.²³⁰ The historical evolution towards this began from an inauspicious beginning, for the earliest mummies, being produced naturally due to special atmospheric conditions, were located in remote caves that were rarely visited. They may even have been abandoned there as repulsive or liminally dangerous. Later, as sainthood lost some of its ascetic and eremitic aura, the mummies were sealed in shrines and stupas next to monasteries, which attracted regular devotees and donations. From the early T'ang, when the deliberately produced mummies were lacquered, they were displayed in these halls, which were akin to the portrait halls and stupas. Thus, special measures were taken to preserve them. Seng-ch'ieh's case was a 'turning point.'

A parallel evolution of the disposal of the dead also resulted in portraiture. At first, stupas were only meant for the relics of the Buddha, but later became tombs for the ashes and *śarīra* of cremated monks. These relics were secreted or buried deep within or below the stupa in crypts. In China, the lesser stupa mounds were circular and indicated

²²⁶ EK, 51-52.

²²⁷ EK, 57.

²²⁸ Kosugi (1937/1993), 295, on portrait; Matsumoto (1993), 282, on whole body as *śarīra*; Robert H. Sharf (1992), 'The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China,' *History of Religions* 32 (1): 20.

²²⁹ Sharf (1992), from title.

²³⁰ Bernard Faure (1995a), 'Substitute bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism,' in Jane Marie Law, ed., *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 213.

by a stele. As the relic or entire body was deeply entombed, in some cases, at least by the Northern Wei, a portrait or image was buried or displayed in a niche in the stupa, as was later the case with Fa-ch'in (714-793) of Niu-t'ou Ch'an. The buried corpse from beneath the stupa and the portrait above the ground were united in one visible place. This seems to have made them all the more potent and revered, and so these mummy-portrait halls were called the hall or cloister of the 'true body' (*chen-shen*) or 'true hall' (*chen-t'ang*), as distinct from the 'portrait' (*ying*) or 'shadow hall.'

The mummy itself was now worshipped. This meant that great care was taken in the production of the mummy, which was finely finished and decorated, rather like the best statues. Colour was used in the lacquer to depict the saint's clothing.²³¹ The aim then was to produce an object of veneration, an object so potent that it had the presence and powers of the living saint. Perhaps this is the reason why in a few later instances, including that of the influential Silla monk Musang (684-762), who taught Ma-tsu Tao-i, when there was no body to mummify because it had been cremated, and the relics had demonstrated a special holy power, the *śarīra* remains and ashes were mixed to produce an image, or images, which were then worshipped.²³²

The lacquered mummy was a full-body *śarīra*, a legal and potent presence, an icon or special portrait for worship, a field of merit to which donations were given, a memorial to the 'dead' saint, and even in some cases, a state palladium (see later). Therefore, considerable skill, attention and experience were devoted to making these mummies.²³³

The posture of the mummy also provides a clue as to the status and the motivations in these fabrications. With the exception of two mummies; that of Seng-ch'ieh, which is standing with hands raised as if about to walk, and Śubhākarasimha (Shan-wu-wei), who is lying on his right side just as the Buddha did at his nirvana; all the mummies are in a seated position of samādhi. This was more esteemed for the time of death, and even the bones and corpses of non-mummified monks were seated.²³⁴ Thus, the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* indicates that Seng-ts'an, the 'Third Patriarch' told his disciples,

²³¹ Kosugi (1937/1993), 288-298; Faure (1991), 158-159.

²³² Kosugi (1937/1993), 302-305; Faure (1991), 159.

²³³ Kosugi (1937/1993), 298-299; Sharf (1992), 15.

²³⁴ Kosugi (1937/1993), 300.

Everyone holds it valuable to die in a sitting posture. As for me, life and death, coming and going, depend on my will. I will therefore die standing."²³⁵

Yet this seated position would have been difficult to maintain during the death throes, and so was supposed to indicate the powers in meditation of the saint.

Matsumoto thinks the posture was related to the *tso-wang* mentioned in *Chuang-tzu* and the passing away of the immortals of Taoism.²³⁶ But *tso-wang* is rather 'sitting and forgetting' or meditation, and has no special link with death.²³⁷ Rather, the motivation and imagery is Buddhist, for the mummies are cross-legged in the *padma-āsana* (lotus position), and have their hands in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Iconographically, this does not distinguish between buddhas and bodhisattvas, but in general it would tend to indicate Śākya Muni, for Maitreya was thought to be still remote in time and residing in the Tuṣita Heaven. Moreover, at least in India, *samādhi* indicated the mental state of the meditator and "the grave in which he is buried alive,"²³⁸ and in Japan *sanmai* (*samādhi*) could suggest the monk's state and the burial ground,²³⁹ but I have seen no evidence of this in China. As awakening has to occur in the body, that body should be seated in meditation or *samādhi* just like the Buddha, and each Ch'an patriarch or master could be the embodiment of the Dharma. Thus even alive they were icons, doubles of the Buddha.²⁴⁰

In Ch'an at least, the mummy-icon was used to create a vertical society, in which the hierarchy of master and pupil could be formed. Thus the master was idolized, and it was exactly those monks who were in the process of forming a community, or new order, such as Chih-i, possibly Tao-hsin, Hui-neng and Seng-ch'ieh, who were deliberately mummified and made into icons.²⁴¹

Perhaps then it was as an incarnation of Kuan-yin that these mum-

²³⁵ Faure (1991), 190, also gives several Indian precedents. Adamek (1997), 155-156, notes that Sanghānandi also died standing up (KSC, T50.320a16-22).

²³⁶ Matsumoto (1993), 189, 203.

²³⁷ Cf. A. C. Graham (1981), *Chuang tzu: The Inner Chapters*, George Allen & Unwin: London, 92; Isabelle Robinet (1987), *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, translated by Phyllis Brooks, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 34, for meditation.

²³⁸ Faure (1991), 154.

²³⁹ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 1674c.

²⁴⁰ Faure (1995a), 212, 224.

²⁴¹ Matsumoto (1993), 200-201; Faure (1991), 156; Faure (1992), 174.

mies were venerated, for a number of texts, especially Chinese apocrypha, state that Kuan-yin had already become a buddha, even before the time of Śākya Muni.²⁴² The *Shou-leng-yen ching*, another apocryphal sutra closely associated with Ch'an, the South, the *Platform Sutra* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*,²⁴³ created ambiguity by stating that eons earlier, a buddha called Kuan-shih-yin taught the bodhisattva (Śākya Muni's earlier incarnation) meditation, thus enabling him to appear in numerous manifestations to instruct beings. This is why the Buddha, Śākya Muni, called him Kuan-shih-yin bodhisattva.²⁴⁴ One of the many sutras on Kuan-yin, the *Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa lao to-lo-ni shen ching*, suggests once one has

realised separation from pollutants, is at the first stage (of the bodhisattva career), and are mindful of the buddha-samādhi and illuminate the world; if at the end of one's life one is as if one has entered dhyāna, at the point of (re)birth one will gain all the insight of the past life and the barriers of sins committed will all be eliminated.²⁴⁵

In other words, being seated as if in meditation at one's death guaranteed one a better rebirth and a faster track to buddhahood. As Kuan-yin was able to be manifested in many forms to save beings, and was ambiguously a bodhisattva or even a buddha in some formulations, it would be possible that a seated, lacquered mummy

²⁴² Makita Tairyō (1970), *Rikuchō ko'itsu Kanzeon ōkenki no kenkyū*, Heirakuji shoten: Kyoto, 112-113, citing Chih-i, who realised the contradiction, and Chi-tsang, and the *Kuan-shih-yin san-mei ching*, which has the historic Buddha state, "Bodhisattva Kuan-shih-yin became a buddha before me...at that time I was a student practising austerities beneath that buddha, and received this sutra for seven days and nights...at this I was enlightened." (pp. 146-147). The *Kakuzen sho*, Taisho illustrated vol. 4. 391b5-9, under the heading, 'Became buddha in the past,' quotes a *Ch'ien-shou ching* (Thousand-handed Kuan-yin Sutra), which says he became a buddha in eons past, but I have been unable to identify the exact passage. Yü (2001), 68-69, mentions both the *Kuan-shih-yin san-mei ching* and another T'ang work, in which Kuan-yin was the Buddha Bright True Dharma (*Cheng-fa-ming*).

²⁴³ Discussed in detail in Chapter 7; ZSS, 233-234. The supposed amanuensis was Fang Jung, the father of Fang Kuan who wrote for Shen-hui. It was supposedly 'translated' at Chih-chih Monastery around 705. Yanagida thinks it was written to support the new Southern Ch'an. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* wrote that the then sutra-library cloister of Lung-hsing Monastery is the former Chih-chih Monastery.

²⁴⁴ *Kakuzen sho*, T. illustrated vol. 4. 391a27-b2; Charles Luk (1966), *The Śūrangama Sūtra*, Rider: London, 135-142. Yü (2001), 46-47, thinks the *Śūrangama Sūtra* was partly modelled on the *Lotus Sutra* and has links to Esoteric scriptures. I suspect it was a forgery from a monastery in Kuang-chou associated with Hui-neng.

²⁴⁵ T20.98a17-19, translated by Bodhiruci in 709. Cf. comparable passage in the earlier translation, T20.91b15-17, translated by Chih-t'ung between 627 and 649.

could be seen as Kuan-yin. Thus, it comes as no surprise that when Hui-neng's relic had to be shifted out of a stupa when it was rebuilt in brick in 1477, that a statue of Kuan-yin was substituted for the mummy in the niche.²⁴⁶

Before Hui-neng became famous there were a number of illustrious precedents of relic and icon worship in the Sui-T'ang period. Besides Seng-ch'ieh, one can cite the history of the relics of Chih-i, which involved even the emperor, Yang Chien of the Sui, who when still heir-apparent mentioned in his lament for Chih-i that the images and remains in the stupa-shrine should be looked after by his assembly just as Confucius' pupils protected his tomb for at least three years.²⁴⁷ Numerous miracles were then reported (no doubt to the benefit of the monastery) and subsequently recorded in official documents. Finally, as related in a letter to the crown prince, the stupa-reliquary was unsealed to reveal the corpse of Chih-i fully intact as when alive, sitting in the meditation posture, the scriptural justification for the opening 經論有開法 being the *Lotus Sutra*, which states, "The Śākya Tathāgata with his own right hand opened the door of the multi-jewelled stupa and the eight classes (of beings) all saw the complete body."²⁴⁸ Later Chih-i's portrait was painted and worshipped.²⁴⁹ Other famous monks had potent relics and icons made of them, men such as Tao-hsüan (596-667), whose image, like that of the later Hui-neng, was a clay statue that was placed in his stupa-reliquary,²⁵⁰ or Shan-tao of the Pure Land tendency and Tz'u-en of Fa-hsiang.²⁵¹ Yet another monk, I-hsing, who was versed in 'Northern Ch'an,' Esoteric Buddhism and Vinaya, and was a respected 'scientist,' had a corpse that did not decay. A portrait-shrine was erected in his memory.²⁵²

The phenomenon of Hui-neng then is not quite so extraordinary. His remains were the object of a cult of the 'living dead,' as were those of many other Buddhist saints. Tsan-ning records that in the Southern Han under Liu family rule, the 'true body' of Hui-neng

²⁴⁶ Matsumoto (1993), 205.

²⁴⁷ Kobayashi (1954a), 15.

²⁴⁸ Kobayashi (1954a), 18. The translation is a summary of Hurvitz (1976), 187. Cf. Shinohara (1992), 101-102, 128, notes it later disappeared. The body had disappeared, p. 106.

²⁴⁹ Kobayashi (1954a), 19.

²⁵⁰ Kobayashi (1954a), 20.

²⁵¹ Kobayashi (1954a), 22ff.

²⁵² Kobayashi (1954a), 28.

was carried in a torch-lit parade every fifteenth day of the first month (*shang-yüan*) into the city (Shao-chou or Kuang-chou?) for the people to pray for blessings. *Shang-yüan* 上元 is called the Festival of Lanterns 元宵節 (*yüan-hsiao chieh*) or *teng-chieh* and was said to be held to secure rain.²⁵³ Indeed, miracles associated with the relic are recorded as late as the early Sung by Tsan-ning in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*.²⁵⁴

Elements of the Chinese Taoist immortality beliefs penetrated Ch'an hagiographies with the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (ca. 713), wherein the 'founder' of Ch'an, Bodhidharma is said to have been seen by the envoy, Sung Yün in the Pamir Mountains returning west, and when this was reported, his tomb was opened and the coffin found empty,²⁵⁵ which implies he was not cremated. This tale was much elaborated around 732 by Shen-hui who added the typical Taoist immortal's motif of leaving one sandal behind in the tomb, claiming that Sung Yün saw Bodhidharma travelling with only one sandal in the Pamirs.²⁵⁶ By the time of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (952), the coffin has become a stupa, and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* declares that a stupa was created for Bodhidharma at Hsiung-erh Mountain's Ting-lin Monastery. Shen-hui was of course motivated by the need to have proof of the 'divinity' of his fabricated lineage and had a 'portrait hall' erected in Lo-yang to show that lineage and as a centre of worship.²⁵⁷ The themes for this tale of Bodhidharma and Sung Yün were taken ultimately from the Taoist hagiographies of immortals leaving behind a sandal, cane or sword in the tomb, and more proximately from the earlier Buddhist versions of these Taoist tales, such as those of Shao-shih in the *Kao-seng chuan*.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ Cf. John Shryock (1931), *The Temples of Anking and their Cults: A Study of Modern Chinese Religion*, Library Orientaliste Paul Guenther: Paris, 165. This festival was marked by the viewing of lanterns, especially important in Ch'ang-an. See Hibino Takeo (1977), *Zusetsu Chūgoku no rekishi 4: Zui-Tō teikoku*, 133, and Nagai (2000), 291. Note that Kuan-yin was one of the gods of rain and was prayed to for good fortune. Perhaps the local people identified Hui-neng as an avatar of Kuan-yin. In Vietnam this festival is associated with Buddhism and the earth god, and Kuan-yin was popularly identified with some of the rulers, especially the first two kings, during the Ly dynasty. See Thich Duc-niêm (1979), 25, 190-191.

²⁵⁴ T50.755c5-6; Kobayashi (1954a), 26.

²⁵⁵ Sekiguchi (1967), 205.

²⁵⁶ Sekiguchi (1967), 206-207.

²⁵⁷ SKSC, T50.755b10-13. See Jorgensen (1987), 103ff.

²⁵⁸ Sekiguchi (1967), 235-236. For the Taoist *Lieh-hsien chuan* story, see Kobayashi (1954a), 9, and on P'ei Tu, 10. For the story of Fo-t'u-teng, see Sekiguchi (1967), 236.

Thus there were precedents for the adulation of relics in the Buddha, the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, in Chinese Buddhist practices as exemplified by Chih-i and Seng-ch'ieh, and by the use of Bodhidharma in the early Ch'an hagiographical histories that was latched onto by Shen-hui to create a likeness of Hui-neng and the other patriarchs.

Preservation of the corpse by burial and mummification versus cremation

The dominant narratives about the death of the Buddha seen in the scriptures are the cremation scene and the division of the relics. This was repeated in works like the *Shih-chia shih p'u* that were well known to Chinese Buddhists. Yet the creators of the relic-hagiography of Hui-neng chose to have him preserved by mummification and not cremated or buried. Perhaps this had something to do with Chinese perceptions of death and the Confucian respect for the integrity of the body that was justified by filial piety.

Although Chinese may have attempted various techniques for mummification, in particular jade, which they erroneously believed preserved the body,²⁵⁹ according to Berthold Laufer,

death, in the view of the Chinese, does not mean a permanent, but rather a temporary separation. The relations of a husband and a wife did not cease at the moment of death; they continued to be united even beyond the grave, and expected to resume their marital relations in a future life.²⁶⁰

This is exactly why many Chinese made strenuous efforts to have husbands and wives buried together (*ho-tsang*), and why some devout Buddhist women refused to be buried with their husbands.²⁶¹ This

²⁵⁹ Needham (1974), 298-299, describes various possibilities which could lead to mummification or preservation, such as poisoning by metallic compounds, undoubtedly the case in some Taoist imbibers of elixirs, anaerobic conditions combined with very cold or hot conditions, desiccation, and saponification. There are archaeological discoveries of preserved corpses dressed in jade. The preservation was due partly to layers of charcoal and clay, which was aided by anaerobic conditions (pp. 303-304). But these cases were not necessarily connected to Taoist practices at all, and could equally have been due to Confucian ideas, as is argued by Timoteus Pokora (1985), "Living Corpses" in Early Medieval China—Sources and Opinions, in Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds, *Religion und Philosophies in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65 Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 354.

²⁶⁰ Berthold Laufer (1912), *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, Dover: New York, 1974 reprint of 1912 edn, 235.

²⁶¹ Nishiwaki (2000), 230.

concept could well have had implications for the devotees of a holy man also, just as the practice of burial *ad sanctos* occurred in the West and in Indian Buddhism where the Buddha or saint was considered to still be in a sense alive, the stupa often deemed a living, legal entity, and so devotees wished to be buried as near the stupa as possible. There is at least one example in Ch'an history of an eminent lay believer and his family mourning for a monk like a parent and being buried right next to their saint: P'ei K'uan (680-755), a pupil of Shen-hui's *bête noire*, P'u-chi.²⁶² Moreover, ironically, Shen-chao (776-838), a distant heir of Shen-hui, was reburied in a stupa near that of Shen-hui in Pao-ying Monastery to indicate "that he had not forgotten his origin," a phrase taken from the *Li chi* concerning burial.²⁶³

However, interment of the entire corpse in a stupa was sanctioned by the *Lotus Sutra* where the sanctity of a buddha's body was guaranteed to preserve it in a life-like condition. Four forms of funeral had been practised in India; burial, cremation, disposal in the water, and the so-called wind-burial in which the corpse was left in the open for animals to devour. Of these, the Buddha as prime exemplar chose cremation for Buddhists.²⁶⁴ But the Buddhist texts available to the Chinese seemed to sanction all four, as does the *Ta-kuan-ting shen-chou ching*, translated in the Eastern Chin, which terms burial 'stupa-mound burial,' and then adds that in China the people decorate or adorn the dead with all precious gems, use carts and singers to praise the dead, and

the deceased's body is fully clothed, the coffin is perfumed sweetly, and crowds of millions accompany it to the mountain plain...the grave cypresses flourish and the stele there is magnificent...²⁶⁵

Naturally such texts were often written with insertions aimed to mollify Chinese apprehensions on the delicate subject of funerary practices.²⁶⁶ Indeed, it took considerable time for Chinese monks to abandon burial and opt for cremation. At least until the fifth cen-

²⁶² CTS 16/191/5111; SKSC, T50.760c22; Nishiwaki (2000), 213.

²⁶³ Nishiwaki (2000), 214-215, citing Po Chü-i; cf. Ui Hakuju (1935), *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol 1, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 259.

²⁶⁴ Ishida Mosaku (1977), *Bukkyō kōkōgaku ronko 4: Butsutō-hen*, Shibunkaku: Kyoto, 63; cf. Nishiwaki (2000), 197, quoting from the HKSC.

²⁶⁵ T21.512b3-11, cited by Mujaku Dōchū (d. 1744) in his dictionary of Zen, *Zenrin shokisen*, ed. Yanagida Seizan, Zengaku sōsho 9, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto, 571b. This refers to chapter 6 of the *Fo-shuo Kuan-ting ching*.

²⁶⁶ As here and in the following text Mujaku Dōchū cites, 571b.

ture, cremation was remarked upon as an alien practice, and burial continued to be the usual form until much later.²⁶⁷ In fact, as late as the seventh and eighth centuries, monks such as Yin-tsung had to leave special instructions if they wished to be cremated, and in the T'ang graveyards were established around the monasteries. There were state-run graveyards for the clergy near Ch'ang-an. These monastic graveyards were marked with simple grave signs, and had no stupas over them.²⁶⁸

But the practice of interring the corpse beneath a stupa was distinctly prohibited by the *Dharmagupta Vinaya*, which was the operative, state-promoted vinaya by the time of Hui-neng's presumed death (713) and the compilation of our source texts for the hagiography.²⁶⁹ It decrees:

The Buddha said that those who would bury the corpse beneath the stupa must not do so. The Buddha said that those who would place the cremated corpse beneath a stupa must not do so!²⁷⁰

However, this applies rather to devotees and not to the Buddhist saints for whom the stupa was erected. It thus prohibits the widespread custom of burial *ad sanctos*. But the mummification of the body and its insertion in a stupa seems contrary to the example of the Buddha and normative Buddhist practice, and may have been based more on the precedents of earlier Chinese Buddhist holymen, and partly on the funeral rites for Buddha himself. Indeed, monks of the Vinaya School like I-ching tried to provide instructions on Buddhist funerary practices, such as sitting upright at the approach of death, or lying on one's right side with one's head facing west, the latter in imitation of the Buddha's posture. These instructions were made in an attempt to overcome the Chinese practices. Similarly, Tao-hsüan (596-667), referred to Indian orthodox practice. However, in later times, Ch'an seems to have largely adapted the Confucian style lay burial to its Buddhist practice.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Matsumoto (1993), 148-149; Kosugi (1937/1993), 282-283; Nishiwaki (2000), 199-202. In the KSC, only nine out of 500 monks were recorded as having been cremated, in the HKSC sixteen out of 684, and in SKSC only 89 out of 656, and most of those in the late T'ang, the very end of the period the SKSC recorded.

²⁶⁸ Kosugi (1937/1993), 283-286.

²⁶⁹ Tso Sze-bong (1982), 48-49, 54. The edict was issued by Emperor Chung-tsung in 709.

²⁷⁰ Mujaku Dōchū, 572a-b; T22.958a8-9.

²⁷¹ Nishiwaki (2000), 340-343.

In India, the corpses of important individuals were 'mummified' prior to cremation via evisceration and cleansing. The Pali *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* states that a tathāgata's corpse was to be treated in the same way as that of a cakravartin king. The procedure was to "wrap the corpse in 500 layers of carded cotton wool interspersed with 500 layers of 'new cloth' and then place the body in an 'oil vessel of iron'." Only then was it cremated.²⁷² This passage is also found in the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, a supplement to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* supposedly translated by the South Indian, Jñānabhadra, together with the Szechwanese, Hui-ning, in Kalinga, a kingdom in Java, during the year of 664-665:

"Ānanda! If you see the *śarīra* of the Tathāgata, that is seeing the Buddha. Seeing the Buddha is seeing the Dharma. Seeing the Dharma is seeing the Sangha. Seeing the Sangha is seeing nirvana. Ānanda! You should know that through this causation the three jewels are constantly present without alterations, and are sites in which sentient beings can take refuge."

Ānanda again said to the Buddha, "After your nirvana, Buddha, what method should all the great assembly rely upon to cremate the Thus Come (Tathāgata), gain the *śarīra* and whole-heartedly worship them?"

The Buddha told Ānanda, "For my parinirvāṇa, you and the great assembly should rely on the method of cremation of a cakravartin king."

Ānanda again said, "What is to be done in the cremation method for a cakravartin king?"

The Buddha told Ānanda, "Once seven days have passed after the life of a cakravartin king has ended, place him in an iron coffin. Once he is in the coffin, fill it with the subtlest of marvellous scented oils and close the coffin tightly. After another seven days have passed, take him out of the coffin and wash and bathe him with the various unguents. Once that is done, burn the various famed incenses and offer worship, and with *tūla* (cotton) cloth underlay the entire body. After that, use priceless, most excellent white silk²⁷³ in a thousand sheets and then sequentially wrap those over the king's body. Once the binding is completed, fill the iron coffin with perfumed oils, place the king's body into the coffin and close it tight. Carry it in a seven-jewelled carriage made of incense wood....Then ornament (the cart) internally and externally only with marvellous incense timbers and the subtlest of marvellous scented oils,

²⁷² Sharf (1992), 4; Trainor (1997), 118; cf. *Ch'ang A-han ching* 3, *Yü-hsing ching*, T1.20a24-b10, with some repetition.

²⁷³ Probably meant to indicate a finely woven woollen cloth, but in China indicates a cloth woven from the threads of wild silkworms (Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 22678.845). Note that 白疊 can be a cotton cloth and a non-Chinese product.

and (in it) cremate the cakravartin king's body. Once the cremation is done, gather the *śarīra* and raise a stupa of the seven jewels at the cross-roads in the centre of the city. Open the four doors of the stupa and install the *śarīra* therein so all the world can together admire them."

Of course, the conclusion is reached that a buddha deserves vastly greater adulation and veneration than a cakravartin king, because a buddha has renounced more and has escaped samsāra.²⁷⁴ Moreover, the Buddha was a member of the Indian aristocracy, for whom such a cremation was permitted.²⁷⁵

At least one 'Ch'an' monk, Ching-chüeh (683-ca. 750?), the author of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, was, according to an undated funerary stele by Wang Wei, treated in this way. This technique may have been suggested by the fact that he was a 'brother' of Empress Wei (d. 713),²⁷⁶ and it is possible that the wealth of his connections met the considerable costs of a cremation described as follows:

Scented oils and fine white silks were used for his cremation. Paired jade and linked pearls formed his burial accoutrements. From the city gates to the valley mouth, pennants and umbrellas were in an uninterrupted succession.... They still rely on his *śarīra* in the hope of obtaining bodhi. The bodily stupa did not go beyond Tiger Stream...²⁷⁷

This *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen* is also known as the 'Cremation section' of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and yet lacks any Mahayana doctrinal theory. As the Dharmakṣema translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* was incomplete, the *hou-fen* may then have been concocted from mentions in an apocryphal Chinese sutra, the *Chü-shih ch'ing-seng ching*, and from the Pali *Dirghama* section two, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, which had been translated in 413. The supplementary sutra was allegedly translated when Hui-ning of Ch'eng-tu went to Kalinga in 664-665

²⁷⁴ T12.902a17-b8.

²⁷⁵ Nishiwaki (2000), 197-198.

²⁷⁶ Yang Tseng-wen (1999), *Tang Wu-tai Ch'an-tsung shih*, Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she: Peking, 132, suggests he was in fact a distant relative dragooned into the family register of Empress Wei.

²⁷⁷ ZSS, 519, and notes 529-530, demonstrates that these references are derived from the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou-fen*, T12.905b etc. The 'bodily stupa,' (*shen-t'a*) refers probably to the entire-body stupa, but Yanagida, ZSS, 531, thinks it refers rather to the stupa as living, as the 'flesh body' (*jou-shen*). Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun* equated the body with the stupa, McRae (1986), 200. See T85.1272b5, "The stupa is the body." For Ching-chüeh's career, see McRae (1986), 88-90; Faure (1997), *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 130-136.

and there met Jñānabhadra. They had a monk take their 'translation' to Chiao-chou, near modern Hanoi, where the governor, Liang Nan-ti sent it to Ch'ang-an. In 678 it was distributed and in 695 entered into the Tripitaka, much to the consternation of later cataloguers, who suspected on doctrinal grounds that it was a forgery. As the alleged translators were unavailable, Hui-ning having gone to India, the text could not be verified, which explains also its multiplicity of titles.²⁷⁸

The alleged southern origin of the sutra is intriguing, for it came via Chiao-chou and may even have originated there. This suggests that in the far south of China there was a fascination with the topic of death and funerals, and the region does indeed have, even into modern times, some distinctive funerary practices.²⁷⁹ This may have been because these southerners, such as the Man barbarians and hill tribes of southern China, had different burial customs to the northern Chinese.²⁸⁰

Nevertheless, the procedure described in the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching hou-fen* ends with cremation, which was not a native Chinese custom. The first half of the procedure may have provided some inspiration for the mummification of Hui-neng, but as the text was probably only available from 678, or at the earliest 665, and Seng-ch'e had been mummified with lacquer before 659, and possibly Tao-hsin in 652, this was most unlikely. However, the *Yü-hsing ching* was available, having been translated in 413. It specified that new cotton (*kārpāsa* 劫波貝) be wound around the body, and then five hundred layers of cotton cloth to cover the body. This then could well have provided some justification for covering the corpse with cloth and per-

²⁷⁸ Cf. Mochizuki (1954-1963), 4: 3359b-3360b, and Mochizuki Shinkō (1946), *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shi ron*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 274-282. There was a story that in the Yüan-chia era (424-453) of the Liu Sung, Tao-chin went to India in search of the *hou-fen* section missing from the Dharmakṣema translation, but due to a shipwreck was injured and died lamenting the lack of a link between the *hou-fen* and Sung. See T'ang Yung-t'ung (1932), 'Chu Tao-sheng yü Nieh-p'an hsüeh,' 3.

²⁷⁹ Demiéville (1973), 692, about Kuangtung, where certain localities are called the 'land that nourishes cadavers' (*yang-shi ti*), and a double burial is practised, whereby the corpse is left in a wooden coffin to decompose, and then later the bones are taken out and transferred into an earthenware jar and placed in a burial plot, the bones sometimes dressed in clothes. He cites J. J. M. de Groot (1897), *The Religious System of China*, 3: 1057-1062.

²⁸⁰ de Groot (1897), 3: 1065-1066, citing the *Sui shu* 31, and 3: 1070-1-71, on washing the bones near Heng-yang, from *Liang shu* 52 and *Nan shih* 35.

fume, and a precedent that could identify Hui-neng with Buddha.

The use of the cakravartin king's cremation rites for the Buddha's funeral was used to identify the two. Shen-hui, in his championing of a lineage of patriarchs, with only one patriarch per generation, attacked P'u-chi for permitting two patriarchs, Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu, in a generation with the words, "it is like the world having one cakravartin king...or in one age only one buddha."²⁸¹ While the political context was an attack on Empress Wu, who claimed to be both a cakravartin monarch and an incarnation of Maitreya, and by association, the 'Northern Ch'an' that had been favoured by her supporters, the religious implication may well have been that the patriarchs were in fact buddhas.²⁸² This was made clear by Tsung-mi (780-841):

The throne of the Cakravartin King refers to the Dharma. So the succession to the throne of the Cakravartin King is like the transmission of the patriarchs of the Ch'an lineage through the generations to only one heir, who is called the true son.²⁸³

As buddhas then, maybe the patriarchs of Ch'an had to be given funerary rites like the cakravartin kings. A clue to this may be found in the *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography of Mahākāśyapa, which quotes the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*:

At that time when the World Honoured was about to enter into nirvana, Kāśyapa was not in the assembly. The Buddha told his major disciples, "When Kāśyapa comes, you should have him proclaim the Storehouse of the Eye of the Correct Dharma." And he ordered Ānanda to transmit (the teaching) and convert (others) together with (Kāśyapa). At that time Mahākāśyapa was in the Vaibhāra cavern on Gṛdhra-kūta Mountain. He saw a superior light and the earth shook. He then entered samādhi in order with the pure, heavenly/divine eye to perceive that the World Honoured was entering nirvana on the edge of the Hiraṇyavati River. His entire body had abandoned the life force. Kāśyapa rose out of the samādhi and was saddened and unhappy. Then he told his followers, "The Thus Come has (entered) nirvana..."²⁸⁴

This passage refers, as Yanagida Seizan has pointed out, to a section in the various versions of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha where the

²⁸¹ Jorgensen (1987), 103-104; Hu Shih (1968), *P'u-t'i ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, 282; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 27-28; Teng and Jung (1998), 34-35.

²⁸² For the political context, see Jorgensen (1987), 104, 107.

²⁸³ Jorgensen (1987), 108; HTC 14.448b12ff.

²⁸⁴ *Pao-lin chuan* 12b-c (1.21b-22a).

cremation is delayed because Mahākāśyapa is not present.²⁸⁵ In the *Yü-hsing ching*, once the cremation preparations have begun, a minister of the Mallas found that the pyre would not ignite despite repeated attempts. Aniruddha explained that as the gods had known that Mahākāśyapa and five hundred pupils were on the road from Pāva and wished to view the Buddha's body before it was incinerated, they had prevented ignition. Despite various ruses to halt the party, they arrived at the cremation grounds. When Ānanda was asked if they could see the body, he told them it would be difficult because it was wrapped in the five hundred layers of cloth and encased in a gold casket inside a metal coffin, and candana wood was piled up on the outside. However, when Mahākāśyapa approached the pyre, two feet jutted out of the coffin, glowing a golden colour. Mahākāśyapa then bowed to the Buddha's body (*śarīra*) and the feet suddenly disappeared. After Mahākāśyapa chanted a gatha, the pyre naturally caught alight and the body was cremated.²⁸⁶

For Indians of the time, these events would have indicated that Mahākāśyapa was the chief mourner and thus the legitimate heir of the Buddha, particularly when Mahākāśyapa is earlier depicted as seated at a *caitya* paying his respects as a disciple to Buddha, for which he received a rag-robe previously worn by the Buddha. In this account in the Pali records, Mahākāśyapa is even stated to have been granted the robe to signal that he was the heir.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, Mahākāśyapa was thought to be the chief heir of the Buddha in respect of meditation, and meditation and cremation were linked symbolically. The verb used in the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* for cremation is *jhāpeti*, but it can also be used of the fervour of meditation. Indeed, when the Buddha entered into mahāparinirvāṇa, or his death, he first entered *nirodha-samāpatti*, then entered the other dhyānas, going from the physical realm dhyānas to the immaterial realm dhyānas, and then returning to the physical realm dhyāna for the mahāparinirvāṇa. This symbolised perfection in meditation, and not extinction.²⁸⁸ This burning, the fire of samādhi (*tejo-dhātu-samādhi* 火界定) is why the *śarīraṇi*

²⁸⁵ ZSS, 385-386.

²⁸⁶ T1.28b25-29a27; Hsüan-tsang also refers briefly to this incident in the *Ta Tang Hsi-yü chi*, T51.904ab-c, and Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 550-551.

²⁸⁷ Irisawa Takashi (2001, Jan.), 'Budda wa naze kasōsareta no ka,' *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū* 457: 25-26; cf. Ray (1994), 107-108, on Mahākāśyapa's pre-eminence and his virtual assumption of the role of the Buddha.

²⁸⁸ Irisawa (2001), 15-18.

(plural) of the Buddha's body (*śarīra*, singular) that survive for eternity after cremation are so lustrous; in some cases red.²⁸⁹ Given that the *śarīrāṇi* and the mahāparinirvāṇa symbolise perfection of meditation, it is surprising that Ch'an, and Hui-neng in particular, did not adopt cremation. They may have been ignorant of the symbolism, or wanted to conform more to Chinese custom.

As ever, the composite *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hou fen* elaborates greatly, writing that it was "the World Honoured's great compassion that universally moistened (the pyre) in order to await the arrival of Kāśyapa's assembly, and only then would it burn." The mountain was fifty leagues distant, and Mahākāśyapa was in samādhi when the Buddha died. Mahākāśyapa's body shook and he came out of the meditation to see the earth quaking and he then knew the Buddha had entered nirvana. By that time a week had passed and the Buddha had been placed in the coffin. He therefore urged his followers to rush to the cremation grounds and view the thirty-two marks of the pure body of the Buddha. It took seven days to complete the journey, and in the city Mahākāśyapa begged for various special cloths, the white silk and cotton, plus the unguents, musical instruments and the parasols etc that were required. When he arrived, the entire assembly lamented. Mahākāśyapa then asked the great assembly,

"How can I open the coffin of the saint of Great Compassion?"

The assembly replied, "The Buddha has already been fourteen days in nirvana, and we fear there will be decomposition. How can you open it?"

Kāśyapa replied, "The Thus Come's body is adamant, hard, constant, in delight, a self 我 and pure, it cannot be spoilt..."

When he had finished speaking these words, a stream of tears reached the Buddha's coffin. At that moment the Thus Come's great compassion and equanimity, because of Kāśyapa, therefore naturally opened the coffin, and the thousand sheets of white silk and tūla cotton all unravelled to reveal the thirty-two marks and eighty excellences of the truly golden, hard physical body.... They then, with scented clays and unguents washed the Thus Come's golden body, burned incense, scattered flowers, and crying in lament made worship. Once the anointing and washing was done, Kāśyapa and the disciples took the marvellous tūla cotton cloth and wound it around the Thus Come's pure golden body. Next they took the used cotton and wound it over the fresh cotton, and once the tūla

²⁸⁹ Irisawa (2001), 27-29; Faure (1995a), 213, on meaning the plural versus singular takes for *śarīra*.

was finished, they added the thousand sheets of white silk and wound them over the top of the cotton in successive layers...

Then the coffin was shut and the corpse set itself alight.²⁹⁰ Here, the seven days of delay were probably meant to parallel the seven days of the enlightenment meditation of the Buddha, and the corpse setting itself alight showed the power of the Buddha's meditation.²⁹¹

It is possible that passages such as these suggested that the body of Hui-neng might not burn, and that as he had designated no successor such as Mahākāśyapa, his body would have to remain intact like that of the Buddha until the appropriate heir came, if ever. Although several individuals such as Shen-hui and possibly Hsing-t'ao claimed to be Hui-neng's legitimate heir, the fact that the transmission of the robe, the surety of succession, had been halted, meant there was no longer a sole inheritor. This may have suggested to the creators of the 'mummy' the notion of preserving the 'true body' indefinitely.

Another reason for the postponement in cremating these saints was that the image or 'true body' (*chen-shen*) had taken on a power of its own. This may have been coupled with a Chinese resistance to cremation, especially of leaders.²⁹² Perhaps this indefinite postponement of cremation is related to the logic of 'secondary burial,' in that the 'mummy' was temporarily inhumed and sealed off in a jar or stupa before being completed. The mummy is a form of incorruptible body, recreated "at a higher ontological level."²⁹³ The Buddha was broadly accepted to have had an incorruptible adamantine body, which was equated with the Dharmakāya. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* states:

²⁹⁰ T12.908b9-909c.

²⁹¹ Cf. Irisawa (2001), 19, 30. Note that *Udāna* VIII.9 says that Buddha rose from his seated position into the air, sat cross-legged and entered *tejo-dhātu-samādhi*, which he then left to go into mahāparinirvāṇa. His body then burnt. Cf. the parallel with Mahākāśyapa rising into the sky and self-cremating immediately after he handed over the robe to Maitreya.

²⁹² Sharf (1992), 17, esp. note 47; de Groot (1897), 3: 1393, citing Tu Yu, and 3: 1396, citing the Neo-Confucian Ch'eng brothers' horror at permitting cremation in the suburbs, but beyond three *li* of the imperial altars.

²⁹³ Faure (1991), 135. Cf. the analysis of the incorruptibility of the Christian saint's corpse and sanctity, and the idea that the overcoming of the functions of the body by ascetic practices led to supra-corporeal powers, a process in which "the powers of the body made way for the power of the spirit," in the words of St Hilary. Quoted, Wilson (1983/1985), 'Introduction,' 10. Non-decomposition was one of the proofs of sanctity, see Delooz (1983/1985), 'Towards a sociological study of canonized sainthood,' 210.

The Thus Come's body is a constantly present body, an indestructible body, an adamantine body, not a compound body; it is the Dharmakāya.²⁹⁴ The Thus Come's body is an adamantine, indestructible body. A bodhisattva should thus study well...and if they can thus clearly know and see, that is seeing the Buddha's adamantine, incorruptible body, just as if one is seeing various physical images in a mirror.²⁹⁵

Yet this was an issue of dispute or contention, for the question had to be asked, how could the body, even an adamantine one, escape the ineluctable influence of change (*anitya*) and causation? The answer was appropriately ambiguous, in the tradition of the *prajñāpāramitā*: "The Thus Come's body is not a body and (so) is a body, not rising or ceasing."²⁹⁶ Yet other passages suggest it was subject to change (*wu-ch'ang*), despite being adamantine or vajra-like.²⁹⁷ The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-uttamarāja Sūtra* stated:

The Dharma-body nature is constantly present,
Cultivation of practice makes no difference.
The bodies of the buddhas are all the same
And the Dharma they preach is likewise.

....
The World Honoured's adamantine body
Is manifested temporarily in a transformation body (Nirmāṇa-kāya).
Therefore the Buddha's *śarīra*
Are not like the mustard seed in number.
The Buddha is not a flesh and blood body
So how can there be *śarīra*?
As an expedient he left his body's bones
In order to benefit sentient beings.
The Dharma-body is correct awareness.
The Dharma-reality is the Thus Come.
This is the Buddha's true body (*chen-shen*),
Which also preaches the Thusness Dharma.²⁹⁸

To explain why the sutras mention that the buddhas enter parinirvāṇa, have *śarīra* and leave bones, resort is had then to an esoteric meaning.²⁹⁹

In other words, the physical body of the person, whether that of the individual before burial, or that afterwards, was merely an appearance

²⁹⁴ T12.382c27-29.

²⁹⁵ T12.384c22-25.

²⁹⁶ T12.383a5-6.

²⁹⁷ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 1331b-c.

²⁹⁸ T16.406c6-14.

²⁹⁹ T16.406c24-407a2.

for the benefit of beings, an expedient.³⁰⁰ In that sense, the 'mummy' or temporarily preserved body of a buddha is a part of the *Nirmāṇa-kāya* left behind to benefit beings, or is a symbol of regeneration.³⁰¹ Therefore, these bodies are but shadows (*ying*) of the real body, which is in nirvana.³⁰² Thus images, and perhaps even mummies, are but shadows of the shadow body, the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*.³⁰³ Yet these 'shadows' or relics supposedly enabled believers to progress in the Path, as Wang Wei wrote in his epitaph for Ching-chüeh (683-750?): "We still rely on his *śarīra* in the hope of obtaining bodhi."³⁰⁴ In that sense, perhaps, they could be said to be 'true bodies,' although 'true' also had the meaning of a portrait. They or similar images could function as doubles also. For example, images of Kuan-yin were said by some miracle tales to be substitutes for the person who was to be executed, and the image instead received the blow, not the person. Such was the case with Sun Ching-te between 534 and 537, at least according to the apocryphal *Kao Wang Kuan-shih-yin ching*.³⁰⁵ This recalls the scene in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* quoted above, when an assassin hacked at the relic of Hui-neng with a sword.

The case of Hui-neng was indeed to provide an important precedent in Ch'an. Thus the much later *Po-chang ch'ing-kuei* has an entry, 'The entire body interred in the stupa,' which describes the ritual of the reliquary being brought to the stupa after the master of funerary ceremonies has welcomed the body or image (*chen*)³⁰⁶ and paid homage to it.³⁰⁷ Dōchū says that this is done when "(the body) is not cremated and the complete bones (or body) are installed in the stupa."³⁰⁸

These practices have continued into modern times. Holmes Welch

³⁰⁰ Cf. docetic example in ZSS, 386, citing the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.899c.

³⁰¹ Cf. quote from Block and Parry, in Faure (1991), 175.

³⁰² Faure (1991), 170, citing Hui-yüan of Mt Lü.

³⁰³ Zürcher (1959), 224-225, 242, where Hui-yüan discusses a famous shadow or reflection of the Buddha's earthly or transformation body cast on a cavern wall in India.

³⁰⁴ ZSS, 519; Faure (1991), 136. This echoed the idea that the stupa could inspire the aspiration for enlightenment, see Ray (1994), 330.

³⁰⁵ Yü (2001), 176-177.

³⁰⁶ Though Mujaku Dōchū says in the 掛真 entry of the *Zenrin shokisen* that the 真 is the "true deportment, that is the deceased former saint's portrait image," 570a. Similarly, in Japanese, the same Chinese characters, *ting-hsiang*, are read *chōso* (the *uṣṇīṣa*) or *chinzō* (portraits of the bust of Zen masters) by Japanese Zen.

³⁰⁷ T48.1129a11, a17-18.

³⁰⁸ Mujaku Dōchū, 576a.

observed one such incident where the body of an eminent monk showed no signs of rigor mortis, as if merely asleep, and mentions the 'meat bodies' (*jou-shen*) of recent times, especially in Szechwan. He claims that the oldest example was that of Hui-neng. Most were gilded and "[t]he implication was therefore that in his lifetime the monk whose corpse the visitor saw before him had attained buddhahood."³⁰⁹

The mummy of Hui-neng and its production

Since Hui-neng provided such an important precedent for the production of mummies or *jou-shen*, it should be useful to examine accounts of how the mummy may have been produced, and to investigate the actual physical state of the icon claimed to be Hui-neng's full-body relic.

The usual use of the term *jou-shen* (also *sheng-shen*) is for the physical body of the Buddha in contrast to the Dharma-body that survives the decay of the *jou-shen*.³¹⁰ *Jou-shen* is only used of Hui-neng by the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, whereas usually our accounts employ *chen-shen* (true body),³¹¹ which means the true body of the Buddha, rather than his *hua-shen* (transformation body).³¹² This implies that *jou-shen* and *chen-shen* are opposites and not identical as our sources suggest. This is further complicated by the use of the word *chen* to mean a 'real' portrait of the subject, and these portraits could be used as substitutes for the corpse.³¹³ Shen-hui is said by Tsan-ning to have established a portrait hall (*chen-t'ang*) for the six patriarchs and Fang-pien modelled a small *chen* or likeness of Hui-neng.³¹⁴ Moreover, as the example from Fa-men

³⁰⁹ Holmes Welch (1967), 342-342; Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764. Carmen Blacker (1975), *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, 330, note 5, rightly points out that the gilding process was an attempt to replicate the golden lustre of the skin of the Buddha.

³¹⁰ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 2629a, especially the citation of the *Tseng-i a-han ching*.

³¹¹ EK, 235; SKSC, T50.755c8; *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.237a6, *chen-shen*.

³¹² Mochizuki (1954-1963), 2042a-b; Nagai (2000), 487, citing the *Ta-sheng I-chang*, which notes that *chen-shen* is used in contrast to *ying-shen* or *hua-shen*, and is equated with *fa-shen* and *pao-shen*. Needham (1974), 300, gives the meaning of both *chen-shen* and *jou-shen* as 'self-mummification,' and thinks the practice was originally Taoist, but he fails to distinguish the methods used by the different groups. Demiéville (1973), 152, thinks the terms appear to distinguish images made from mummies of individuals from artificial images such as statues.

³¹³ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 160-161, 166.

³¹⁴ SKSC, T50.755b10-15; Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 176-177; note, these last are early Sung sources, not T'ang.

Monastery suggests, there the finger-bone relic of the Buddha was called a *chen-shen*. This may have promoted the idea that the relics of saintly monks likewise be called *chen-shen*. A text attributed to Amoghavajra (705-774) even writes of *chen-shen she-li* or 'true body *śarīra*.'³¹⁵

Lo Hsiang-lin captioned his photographs of the reputed mummy of Hui-neng, "the Sixth Patriarch's True Body."³¹⁶ From a comparison with the earliest engraved depictions of Hui-neng in Nan-hua Monastery, those of 1188 and 1324, it appears that the 'true body' dates from before 1188.³¹⁷ Yet Hsü Heng-pin suggests that the visual evidence can be traced even earlier, back to a Sung Dynasty bronze statue of Hui-neng that is now in Liu-yung Monastery in Kuang-chou, and to a stone engraved image of 1188 now in Nan-hua Monastery. The former was supposedly cast around 989. Hsü states that the bronze statue is almost identical with the mummy, as is the 1188 stone engraving.³¹⁸ However, as Chien-chen saw the image of Hui-neng in Fa-ch'üan Monastery in 750 (or 748),³¹⁹ it is possible that the Nan-hua Monastery mummy may date back to the T'ang Dynasty and may even be that of the 'historical' Hui-neng. Debate on the authenticity of the 'True Body of the Sixth Patriarch' erupted after the Communist regime came to power, with some alleging it was merely a plaster statue.³²⁰ However, the author of *Nan-hua Ssu*, a 1990 publication by the Kuangtung Provincial Museum, based on personal examination and the verbal testimony of a master of the monastery, Fu-kuo, claims it is authentic. In 1966, a hole was made in the back of the *chen-shen* by some Red Guard youths, revealing an intact human skeleton supported by un-rusted iron props, one across the shoulders and one down the spine. According to Fu-kuo, in his youth, neighbouring elderly farmers related that in the Hsien-feng era (1851-1862) rebel soldiers, probably

³¹⁵ Nagai (2000), 488-489.

³¹⁶ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plate 4.

³¹⁷ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plates 5 and 7; for that of Kuang-hsiao Ssu see photograph in vol. 2 of the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih*, Kuang-tung sheng p'ien-yin chu 1936 reprint of the 1769 compilation by Ku Kuang. The photo of the Sixth Patriarch Portrait Stele shows that it was probably copied recently from the Nan-hua Monastery stele.

³¹⁸ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 248-252; he also describes and examines later representations, 252-256. However, as Needham (1974), Fig. 1331, notes concerning the bronze statue, although "local tradition ascribes it to +989,...an early Chhing date is much more probable," citing Lo Hsiang-lin (1960). Nagai (2000), 535, gives merely the reign period 988-989.

³¹⁹ Sharf (1992), 24, gives the date as 750, as does ZSS, 234, and EK, 497.

³²⁰ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 228, 230.

iconoclastic T'ai-p'ing remnants, drifted into the village and struck the *chen-shen*, but that the monks had repaired the damage. Fu-kuo thought the iron rods were added then, as they had not rusted. Fu-kuo also said he had heard the famous abbot Hsü-yün (1840?-1959) say that the throne and shrine had to be repaired in 1934 because white ants had eaten away most of the wood.³²¹

The authenticity of the mummy is rather difficult to verify, for it has been covered in robes and at times placed in a glass case.³²² In 1970, Hsü Heng-pin of the Kuangtung Provincial Museum, together with an expert on vertebrates, and Nan-hua Monastery monks, examined it and could see ribs, collar bones and the spine supported by an iron frame. The head was also judged to be real (although that of Tan-tien was not, and it also had iron supports). Because the mummy had been shifted, some ribs had been dislodged. Hsü and others wished to X-ray it but were denied permission by the monks.³²³ Again, in 1987, Morimoto Iwatarō, together with Hsü Heng-pin, attempted to make an anatomical examination of the mummy, but could see only the head and part of the neck, as it was covered with lacquered robes plus later vestments, and was encased in glass. However, the hands are in the meditation mudrā, and the head is tilted slightly downwards. There are probably four layers of hemp cloth, which was then hardened with lacquer, then a light, sculpted clay overlay, which has been again lacquered over. The muscles of the neck could be clearly seen, which suggests it has not been decapitated. The muscles are well developed, with little fatty tissue. Morimoto concluded from this limited evidence that the mummy is that of a real person.³²⁴

The existing *chen-shen* is 80cm high, seated in a cross-legged position. The outer skin is a reddish-brown lacquer over a hemp fabric, beneath which is a very fine yellowish powder. Inside of this shell is

³²¹ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan, comp. (1990), *Nan-hua Ssu*, Wen-wu ch'u-pan she: Peking, 111-113. Note that W. Perceval Yetts (July 1911), 'Notes on the disposal of Buddhist dead in China,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, remarked that many mummies were destroyed during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion; cited James Robson (2003), 'A Tang Dynasty Chan Mummy (roushen) and a Modern Case of Furta Sacra?: Investigating the contested bones of Shitou Xiqian,' in Bernard Faure, ed., *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, RoutledgeCurzon, 174 note 5.

³²² Matsumoto (1993), 205.

³²³ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 226, 229.

³²⁴ Morimoto Iwatarō (1993), 'Rokuso Enō no kubi,' in Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu, comp., *Nihon Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, Heibonsha: Tokyo, 261-267.

a human skeleton with the iron props. This suggests that it is a hollow hemp-cloth statue made over the corpse. According to Fu-kuo, the mummy is formed with the monk going into a trance long before death and not eating or drinking so that the bodily fluids are lessened. Once the person has died, the body is seated on a wooden seat with drainage holes over a pile of lime and charcoal, all of which is placed inside a large jar. Then another jar is placed on top, sealing the body off from the outside air. As putrefaction begins, some liquid flows into the lime, producing heat, and subsequently drying up the remaining fluids in the body, thereby creating a mummy.³²⁵ The next step is to create a hemp-cloth hollow statue (*chia-chu hsiang* 夾紵像). The technique as known today to form these statues is to make a clay image as the core, which is then wrapped with hemp cloth and coated with lacquer to build up an outer layer. Then a powder of incense wood is mixed with lacquer to make a paste, which is used to form the details. Once that has set hard, the clay core is broken and removed, and a wooden frame inserted to prevent deformation and collapse. Finally colours are applied.³²⁶

³²⁵ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan, comp. (1990), 111-113. Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 232. Cf. Holmes Welch (1967), 343-345, who cites W. Perceval Yetts (July 1911), 'Notes on the disposal of Buddhist dead in China,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for a description of the process of mummification, p. 512 note 62. See also Shryock (1931), 29, on 'Ruh Shou' or 'Dried Monks' for another description, and Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764-765. Fu-kuo's account has been independently confirmed in conversations with Tso Sze-bong and Geremie Barmé. The use of lime on the corpse of Chih-chan, whose death was forecast by Pao-chih to Emperor Wu of Liang, has been suggested by Nagai (2000), 495, but I think this was applied to the stupa in which he was placed. This was used to keep birds and animals from soiling it. See HKSC, T50.686a6-12. The use of lime may have been a southern Chinese tradition, as Nagai quotes the story of the Jesuit Francisco *Zabiel, a Portuguese missionary who died in 1552 in Kuangtung. His corpse was buried in a coffin with four sacks of lime. Later, it was unearthed and taken in 1553 to Malacca, and in 1554 on to Goa and then Portugal. It was apparently preserved all that time. Nagai (2000), 523-525.

³²⁶ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan (1990), 114. Nakamura Hajime, ed. (1962), *Shin Bukkyō Jiten*, Seishin shobō: Tokyo, 94-95, states these dry-lacquer statues are called *soku* or *kyōcho* and flourished as a statue form in Japan during the Asuka to Tenpyō period. There are two forms of *kanshitsu* (dry-lacquer statues): the *mokushin* or 'wood core,' in which the carved statue is covered with lacquer; and the *datsukatsu* or 'hollow' statue in which the form is made of clay, covered with hemp cloth and hardened with lacquer, which when dry is cut open, the clay removed, and the lacquer touched up, polished and gilded. For a more detailed description of their manufacture, see Jirō Sugiyama (1982), *Classic Buddhist Sculpture: The Tenpyō Period*, Japanese Arts Library 11, trans. Samuel Crowell Morse, Kodansha International: Tokyo, 66, 135, 177. Cf. Sharf (1992), 15, esp. note 42, which notes

It appears then, that either the lacquer is put on later over the desiccated corpse (there is textual evidence for this), or that the lacquer is applied immediately, and when dried and hard, a hole is made at the base of the shell and it is placed in the pottery urns, where the flesh is allowed to rot away, leaving a lacquer shell over the skeleton (evidence of the actual *chen-shen* of Hui-neng and some textual sources). Some accounts say that the lacquer was applied years after the corpse was found to be in a life-like condition, while others state the lacquer was applied immediately or soon after death.³²⁷ The contemporary evidence suggests that the first method has been standard. The Fukienese monk, Tz'u-hang, who died in 1954, according to Holmes Welch, posed as Pu-tai, the fat, laughing Buddha who was an incarnation of Maitreya. Being so fat, it was thought his corpse would not be preserved, but when the jars he had been placed in were unsealed in 1959, his body was intact, but with a twisted face, shrunken body and overhanging stomach. These photos were never reprinted.³²⁸ Mochizuki Shinkō, on the other hand, says that Tz'u-hang entered the 'closed off' life, in which the monk is sealed into his cell, and that he ate only two cups of rice gruel for breakfast and two of rice for lunch, supplementing this with small amounts of tea and fruit, which surely would have reduced his

that the earliest existing statue may date to ca. 650 A.D. According to Chin Hongsōp (1976), 323, this method of statue manufacture was popular in Sung China, from where it spread to Koryō Korea. Few survive in Korea, as in Japan (where most examples are of Kannon), because of the fragility of the materials. In fact, only one survives in Korea.

³²⁷ Kosugi (1937/1993), 297, and Sharf (1992), 23-24, cite the case of Wang Lo-han, who died in 968. He was apparently lacquered by his pupils and patrons three days after his death, but it seemed as if the casing would burst, so later they opened up the lacquer (T50.852b4-8). I would suggest that the opening had not been left and the putrefaction therefore had no outlet. On the other hand, Hsing-hsiu, who was lacquered after he died in 950, appeared in a dream to the local prefect, complaining that "the area beneath me has not been finished," and so lacquer was added there (T50.899a2-6). In other words, the exit hole beneath the shell had not been closed after the desiccation had been completed. Perhaps the closure was needed, as the ideal body of the ascetic or enlightened monk is one that has no outflows, is closed. Cf. Faure (1995a), 'Substitute...', 212-213. Nagai (2000), 238-244, 261-263, notes that Hsing-hsiu, a pupil of the famous Ch'an monk Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908), later came to be popularly worshipped as an incarnation of Ting-kuang Fo, the Dīpamkara Buddha (something not mentioned by Tsan-ning), perhaps as part of the hidden Manichaeism that was linked with Maitreya in Fukien and Chekiang provinces. It seems to have entered this region from the port of Ch'üan-chou, Hsing-hsiu's native district.

³²⁸ Holmes Welch (1967), 343-344.

weight. On his death he was placed in the jars with lime at the base, and grass packed around the corpse. The closed jar was buried, and when dug up in 1959 the corpse had shrunk, had an oily skin, with soft joints and flesh. It was then lacquered and the face straightened. Gold leaf was applied and the mummy is now worshipped.³²⁹

The Kuangtung Provincial Museum author considers that it was the monk Fang-pien who made this mummy-statue of Hui-neng's 'true body' by combining the mummification process with the hollow hemp-cloth statue manufacturing technique.³³⁰ However, this is most unlikely as the earliest accounts do not mention Fang-pien. As we have seen, the earliest mention of Fang-pien is in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, where he is said to have made a miniature model of Hui-neng after the lacquer coating was added, something also mentioned in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, where the statue is said to have been only seven inches high. In fact, the earliest mentions of Fang-pien smearing perfumed clay on Hui-neng's corpse are in the Te-i and Tsung-pao versions of the *Platform Sutra*, dated 1290 and 1291.

However, the method of statue manufacture mentioned above was undoubtedly known in the time of Hui-neng, for a *chia-chu* statue is mentioned by Hsüan-tsang in records of his pilgrimage as being located near Khotan, but having originated in Kucha.³³¹ Thus the origin of the statue-making technique may have been foreign, Kucha being an Indo-European Tokharian centre in the time (630) of Hsüan-tsang.³³²

³²⁹ Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764-765, and for photograph, see Mochizuki vol. 8 (supplementary volume), plate 1821. Needham (1974), 300, lists Tz'u-hang and several other monks who were preserved in this way; one in 1904, another in 1927. Nagai (2000), 548-558, also cites the example of Yüeh-ch'i Hsin-yüan (1879-1965), who is preserved in a glass case at Wan-fu Monastery, Shatin, Hong Kong. He asked to be mummified, but there may have been some decomposition before the lacquer and gold leaf were applied.

³³⁰ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), 114.

³³¹ *Ta Tang Hsi-yü chi*, T51.943c23-24; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 1014-1015, gives it as 'dried lacquer technique,' and later described it as the 'sand removal' method. Cf. Watters (1904-1905), II: 297, 301-302, who translates this as "cemented (?) image." He attempted to give it an Indic or Turkic origin. However, in a gloss to Tao-hsüan's *Shih-chia fang-chih* (T51.951a18-19), Hui-lin in his *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* compiled between 783 and 807, states that *chia-chu* means a "hollowed out image made with lacquer and cloth" (T54.808c19). For the *Ta Tang Hsi-yü chi*, Hui-lin glosses *chia-chu* as *chu* being called hemp grass in the *Chou-li*, and the Cheng Hsüan commentary to this stating that *chu* is white and fine (T54.847c12).

³³² René Grousset (1970), *Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia*, trans. Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 96-100.

However, the *Shin Bukkyō Jiten* suggests that this technique probably evolved from the Han Dynasty technique of lacquering coffins,³³³ and Hsü Heng-pin states that this method was known before the Warring States period. Moreover, such Buddhist statues, which were light and easily moved in processions, were known in pre-T'ang times, with one Chin Dynasty sculptor, Tai K'uei (?-395), famed for making these *chia-chu* statues. Furthermore, Hui-lin, writing between 783 and 807, described this method of manufacture in his *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i*.³³⁴ Therefore, although the earliest surviving dry-lacquer mummies and dry-lacquer sculptures date from roughly the same era (mid 600s),³³⁵ this does not mean that the technique dates only as far back as that time.

In any case, the relic of Hui-neng seems to have survived because the mummy was created in the dry season in Kuangtung (Hui-neng allegedly died in the eighth lunar month; the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* date is 28th August 713), and was sealed away in an air-tight stupa on high ground. Moreover, being made of lacquer (which is itself rather toxic) and coated internally with a yellow incense powder that may have been a fungicide or pesticide, damage from the damp, fungus and insects may have been prevented.³³⁶ The use of this poison, plus the use of charcoal, perfumed clay and lime, were possibly survivals of much older techniques of preservation, for these materials were used in much earlier times and have been discovered in archaeological excavations.³³⁷ A combination of anaerobic conditions, desiccation and preservatives may have enabled the lacquer shell to survive the centuries. Furthermore, tradition asserts it was given imperial protection by Emperor Tai-tsung (r. 762-779) as a 'national treasure,' was placed in Ling-chao stupa by Emperor Hsien-tsung in 815, and the stupa was rebuilt as a seven-story structure by Emperor T'ai-tsung of the Northern Sung. Even the Mongol emperors afforded it special protection, and in 1477 the Ming converted the stupa from wood to brick.³³⁸ It may have been further preserved, like the rival *chen-shen* of

³³³ Nakamura Hajime (1962), 94-95.

³³⁴ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 236-237. For Tai K'uei, see *Kuang Hung-ming chi* 17 and Zürcher (1959), 136, 316.

³³⁵ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 168.

³³⁶ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 247.

³³⁷ Needham (1974), 304, and Pokora (1985), 351-353.

³³⁸ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), 112, 114-115. Cf. p. 27, for the brick Nan-chao Stupa, and plates 51 to 53, for a supposed Ch'ing Dynasty transcript of

Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949), by being recoated with lacquer several times.³³⁹

Although we cannot be certain the relic is that of Hui-neng, this relic seems to have provided the model for later techniques of making such *jou-shen*, and a number of famous T'ang and Five Dynasties' monks were mummified in this fashion.³⁴⁰ Possibly the first was Fa-hsien (643-720), a pupil of Hung-jen, who read a treatise attributed to Bodhidharma. He died in Ch'i-chou after sitting in meditation for thirteen days without food or drink.

His body did not decay, his hair lengthened and skin was soft and pink. It remained so for twenty years, and no-one dared bury (*ch'ien*) him. In recent days he was perfumed and lacquered, and worshipped as if alive by the four assemblies.³⁴¹

Perhaps the most troubled relic or 'present-body buddha' is that reportedly of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791), which was allegedly brought to Japan in 1911 from a monastery in Hunan that had been razed in the revolution, and after a series of shifts, was eventually worshipped at Sōjo-ji, the Sōtō Order monastery and headquarters in Tsurumi-ku, Yokohama. It was in fact brought to Japan by a dentist, Yamazaki Takeshi, who rescued it, probably from a monastery shrine in Chang-chou, Fukien. Later it was purchased for worship by a timber merchant, and at one stage was displayed at the 1916 Taisho Exhibition in Ueno Park. Eventually, in 1975, it ended up in Sōjo-ji. It has been compared to a dry-lacquer sculpture (*kanshitsu-zō*).³⁴² The naming of it as Hsi-ch'ien has been due to confusion with another

an order by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien, and two orders of protection by the Mongol emperor Genghis Khan in Phagspa script.

³³⁹ Nagai Masashi (1991, Dec), 'Kōtō no Bukkyō shinkō: Unmon Bun'en matsugo no jiseki,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 40 (1): 108, according to a record of 1687 for Wen-yen's *chen-shen*.

³⁴⁰ See the photograph of the reputed body of Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949) from Yün-men Monastery, in frontispiece, Charles Luk (1964), *The Secrets of Chinese Meditation*, Rider: London. For a study of this mummy, see Nagai (2000), 537-548. Mochizuki (1954-1963), 10: 764, lists other monks from the Five Dynasties through the Ming and into the Republican period.

³⁴¹ Stele by Li Shih-chih, *Ta T'ang Ch'i-chou Lung-hsing Ssu ku Fa-hsien Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 304/1385b25-26, and Yang Chia-lo, ed. (1972), *T'ang wen ts'ui*, 63/9a-11a.

³⁴² Tanaka Ryōshō and Furuta Shōkin (1982), *Enō: Jīnbutsu Chūgoku no Bukkyō*, Daizō shuppansha: Tokyo, 177-178. Matsumoto (1993), 209-211; cf. Faure (1991), 167 and photograph, 168. Robson (2003), 151-178, disproves this attribution, as Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien was never mummified.

monk who had the posthumous name Wu-chi.³⁴³ And after all, there was another monk called Master Shih-t'ou who lived in the state of Wu in the tenth century.³⁴⁴

The term *jou-shen* may also be related to the 'physical-bodied bodhisattva' 肉身菩薩 (i.e. Hui-neng) predicted to appear at Kuang-hsiao Monastery who was variously foreseen in the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu i-fa t'a-chi* of Fa-ts'ai as receiving the tonsure there from Yin-tsung.³⁴⁵ However, this text is very unreliable, and probably dates from after the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781, perhaps from even so late as the time when the stupa was erected in 1636 for the buried hair.³⁴⁶ Yanagida notes that the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu i-fa t'a-chi*'s usage of *jou-shen* is at variance with previous usage and has a "completely new meaning,"³⁴⁷ and I suspect that the new usage is only a later, perhaps even a Sung or even Ming Dynasty, development.

Interestingly in the light of the above, Lo Hsiang-lin cites a manuscript, the *Kuang-chou tsa-lu*, by an unknown author, which states that an excavation was made at the base of the Buried-hair Stupa (*I-fa t'a*) of Kuang-hsiao Monastery, revealing a large number of small clay-pottery stupas about six *ts'un* (inches) in height, with six faces, each with a niche containing a buddha, all with twenty-five characters reading,

The Buddha preached a Dharma hymn, "Dharmas originate from conditions. The Thus Come preaches of this cause, and that Dharma

³⁴³ Robson (2003), 166-168, 171.

³⁴⁴ Wu Jen-ch'en (1982), *Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu*, 4 vols, Chung-hua shu-ch'ü: Peking, 1/14/177.

³⁴⁵ ZSS, 535; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 81.

³⁴⁶ ZSS, 212 note 45; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 81, on the present stupa. For doubts about its antiquity, see Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), *Tō Godai Zenshūshi*, Sankibō busshorin: Tokyo, 19-23. Doubts were also raised by Yang Hung-fei (1970), 'Eihatsu tōki ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 19 (1): 142-143, who thinks it is later than the Tun-huang Platform Sutra, and the later 'Short Preface' by Fa-hai (n.d.), but before the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which is hard to prove giving the problems of dating, and the fact that most researchers consider the Tun-huang Platform Sutra and *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* to date from around 780 and 781. Firstly, the date of 676 in the text is wrong and the prediction otherwise only first appears in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Moreover, as seen above, the connection between Yin-tsung and Hui-neng made in this text was probably in imitation of the link made by Wang Wei to connect his own family with the charismatic figure of Hui-neng via his grandfather, Wang Chou (fl. 680s-710s) who was, according to the SKSC, T50.731b17, and a no longer extant stele inscription by Wang Shih-chen, supposed to have been a patron of Yin-tsung. See also Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 23.

³⁴⁷ ZSS, 536-537.

causes conditions to be eliminated, which is what the great śramaṇa preaches."

The manuscript's author then cites the *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, which reports:

Buddha told Indra, "When you take my hair, how many stupas will you make?"

Indra announced to the Buddha, "I will make one stupa for each curl of the Thus Come's hair."

The Thus Come used his divine powers, and in the space of a meal the hair-stupas were all complete.³⁴⁸

Comparison of the photograph in Lo Hsiang-lin's book (plate 11) of those clay mini-stupas with those of other sites in Ishida Mosaku's study,³⁴⁹ shows these Kuang-hsiao Monastery stupas to be distinctive. Such minor-stupas are known from India to Japan, but without examination it is uncertain whether these contained either human remains and were cases of burial *ad sanctos*, or dhāraṇīs and were votive stupas.³⁵⁰ They must have been mass-produced as all are presumably the same, and so probably did not contain relics, but they may have contained dhāraṇīs like the cast-metal stupas of 955 made at the behest of the King of Wu-Yüeh, Ch'ien Hung-shu, which, however, are of a much different shape.³⁵¹ These mini-stupas may well have been placed there in 1636 when the present 'reconstructed' Buried-hair Stupa was erected.³⁵² They thus were undoubtedly votive stupas designed to gain merit for the donor, for as the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* states, "even the erection of a small stone as a stupa is the equivalent of

³⁴⁸ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 82-83. The excavation was made in 1924. The twenty-five character inscription is the famous *gāthā* found in caityas in India. The *gāthā* is Aśvaghi's summation of the Buddha's teaching. See Lalmani Joshi (1977), *Studies in the Buddhist Culture of India*, 2nd edn, Motilal Barnasidass: Delhi, 184. See also Hubert Durt (1967, Dec.), 'Note sur l'origine de l'Anavalokitamūrdhatā,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16 (1): 445-446.

³⁴⁹ Ishida Mosaku (1977), 246-252.

³⁵⁰ Schopen (1987), 198-199. For photographs of these Indian mini-stupas, see Mireille Benisti (1981), *Contribution à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodhi-Gayā et de Ratnagiri*, 2 vols, Publication de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient: Paris. Ko Yusōp (1975), *Han'guk l'appa ūi yōn'gu*, Tonghwa ch'ulpan kongsa: Seoul, 132, citing the *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi* 9, mentions the custom of Indian Buddhists of taking a scented mud or paste to create miniature stupas about five or six inches high, with texts placed inside. These were called *Dharma-śarīra*, and were made in great numbers to form one large stupa.

³⁵¹ Makita, ed. (1976a), 25. The kings of this area were most interested in relics.

³⁵² Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plate 9.

creating a great stupa in merit."³⁵³ Moreover, the gāthā on the chain of causation that they carry indicates that they were meant to be one form of *śarīra*, that of the verbal Dharma-kāya. As I-ching stated, "[I]f we put these two (the Buddha's relics and the gāthā) in the images or caityas, the blessings derived from them are abundant."³⁵⁴

Conclusion

Thus the 'cast' or 'mummy' of Hui-neng may date back to T'ang times, and may just conceivably be that of the historical Hui-neng. It was seen by the monk Chien-chen circa 748 to 750, and was probably manufactured to provide a source of cohesion among the followers of Pao-lin Monastery, and to associate Hui-neng with Kuan-yin and indicate that he may even be considered a buddha. This production may have borrowed from precedents like those of Seng-ch'ieh in the North, for his was not the first case of 'mummification' and coating with lacquer. However, it may also have been influenced by funerary practices peculiar to the locality of Shao-chou or Ling-nan. In any case, this *śarīra* of the 'true body' was to become a most significant relic for Ch'an Buddhism and an object of widespread local veneration and supplications for this-worldly benefits. It formed the core of a cult of the relics to oppose the cult of the book and aided in the propagation of Ch'an among the common people. Whether it is real or not, what is certain is that the earliest extant record of the mummy of Hui-neng in any Ch'an source is in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which wrote briefly of the circumstances of its production. Later Ch'an sources elaborated on this considerably, demonstrating yet again the use of invention in the hagiographical afterlife of Hui-neng.

³⁵³ Ko Yusöp (1975), 94, cites this source.

³⁵⁴ Takakusu Junjiro, trans. (1896), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)*, By I-Tsing, Clarendon Press: Oxford, reprint, 150-151; Faure (1991), 134. Note that the passage immediately preceding this on the caityas or images is the subject of recent controversy, for which see T. H. Barrett (1998), 'Did I-Ching go to India?' *Buddhist Studies Review* 15 (2): 142-156. It involved attempts by Buddhists such as I-ching to gain the patronage of Empress Wu by providing Buddhistic sanctions and precedents for printing texts and images, something she did with the *Ta-yün ching*.

CHAPTER THREE

SECONDARY RELICS, ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND LINEAGE LEGITIMATION

Shen-hui based much of his claim for the legitimacy of Hui-neng as the sole sixth patriarch on the fabrication that Hui-neng had received a robe that was symbolic of the patriarchate. Later texts took up the motif. This was especially marked in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which also mentions that Hung-jen gave this cotton robe to Hui-neng. It asserts that the robe and a bowl were kept at Ts'ao-ch'i and were forwarded on loan to the court after Hui-neng's death.¹ A set of robes and a bowl, among other items, are still kept at Nan-hua Monastery, and they are claimed to be those very items that belonged to Hui-neng. They also form part of the after-life relics, and so were venerated.

Secondary or contact relics are items such as personal belongings or objects touched and thus blessed by the saint, or such exuvia of the saint as hair and nail-clippings. The Theravada tradition had a classification of these into three: "corporeal relics, relics of use, and commemorative relics," the latter being images.² The Buddha's robe and bowl were enshrined in stupas in India from early times, and sometimes relics of the saints were incorporated into statues, which then became the saint himself, at least in rituals.³ The stories of the secondary relics, the robe and bowl in particular, are very complicated concomitant with their status as symbols of transmission.⁴ The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* claims that Bodhidharma's robe and the bowl sent by Emperor Chung-tsung, together with Fang-pien's statuette, are all in the Ling-chao Stupa,⁵ and Nan-hua Monastery still displays what are

¹ EK, 35, 55.

² Trainor (1997), *Relics, ritual and representation in Buddhism*, 30.

³ Phyllis Granoff (1998), 'Divine Delicacies: Monks, Images, and Miracles in the contest between Jainism and Buddhism,' in Richard H. Davis, ed., *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, Westview Press: Boulder, 86-87.

⁴ See paper by Ozaki Masayoshi (1989), 'The "transmission of the robe" as explained in the *Platform Sutra*,' Proceedings of the Fo-kuang shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism, Kao-hsiung, paper delivered Jan. 9-13, 1989; in *Fo-kuang shan kuo-chi Ch'an-hsüeh hui-i shih-lu*, 230-235 (in Chinese).

⁵ EK, 216, 226-227, 134-138; also in Tsung-pao *Platform Sutra*.

supposed to be these objects, the Thousand Buddhas robe and the wooden begging bowl.⁶

The robe and bowl: symbols of transmission

However, scholars agree that the story of the transmission of a robe and bowl by Bodhidharma began with an invention by Shen-hui to legitimate his lineage claims. Perhaps he took a hint from a mention by Li Chih-fei in his preface to a commentary on the *Heart Sutra* by Ching-chüeh, where a transmission of the lamplight from Hsüan-tse (ca. 630-718+) to Ching-chüeh is established. Li Chih-fei asserted a 'Southern Lineage' from India through to Bodhidharma, then to Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, and finally on to Shen-hsiu, Tao (Lao-)an and Hsüan-tse in the same generation. After these three masters are portrayed as equals, Li wrote that "the *moṇa* (polished-patch) *kaṣāya* kept by Master Hsüan-tse, and the pitcher, bowl and staff etc, were all left to Meditation Teacher Ching-chüeh."⁷ This suggestion was linked with the well-known Buddhist tale of Mahākāśyapa keeping a robe for the arrival of Maitreya, and the Buddhist custom of allowing pupils to receive the six principal objects kept by their masters after his death.⁸ Shen-hui may also have read a story in the *Fa-yüan chü-lin*, a compendium of Buddhism by Tao-shih (d. 683), who reported that his teacher, Tao-hsüan had a vision that Śākya Muni obtained

⁶ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plates 12 and 13. Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), plate 22, in colour, for robe, and p. 3, for description. See also entry on Nan-hua Monastery in Tokiwa (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 624-629, and plates 133 and 134, for monastery itself.

⁷ ZSS, 596-597; Bernard Faure (1997), *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism*, 133, 179, where Faure suggests Shen-hui took many ideas from Ching-chüeh. See also Tanaka Ryōshō (1981), 'Hokushū Zen to Nanshū Zen,' *Bukkyō shisōshi* 4: 96.

⁸ Gernet (1956), *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*, 76; Tso Sze-bong (1982), 223. For these six requisites, see Takakusu (1896), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 55. He notes that the *sanghāṇi* or cloak, *uttarasanga* or upper garment, and *antarvāsa* are in the north (of India) called *kaṣāya* because of their reddish colour. The other items are the *pātra* or bowl, the mat and water strainer; p. 190, for objects that could be distributed, at least in India, to the monks present at the death of another monk. The story was related, for example, in Hsüan-tsang's account, the *Ta Tang Hsi-yü chi*, T51.918b-c; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 122. See John Kieschnick (1999), 'The Symbolism of the Monk's Robe in China,' *Asia Major* 3rd Series, XII (1): 27.

a robe via a tree-spirit from a previous buddha. This was a sign of a lineage of buddhas. Śākya Muni gave the robe to Ānanda, who was instructed to take it to Mt Wu-t'ai in China where Mañjuśrī was thought to reside.⁹ This vision is dated 667, and seems to be related to Tao-hsüan's vision of a precepts platform of stupendous size,¹⁰ for he also relates concerning it that Mañjuśrī went to Mt Ch'ing-liang, that is, Wu-t'ai.¹¹

In the vision, a minister of the four heavenly kings told Tao-hsüan that just before the Tathāgata entered nirvana, he ordered Mañjuśrī to summon the bodhisattvas and others to gather at the precepts platform of Jetavana. He then told of how he leapt over the city wall to study the Way, and he then exchanged a priceless robe for deer-skin clothes, when a tree-spirit appeared holding a *sanghāṭī* in his hands. He told Siddhārtha that as the prince was certain to attain Correct Awakening, in the past when the Buddha Kāśyapa went into nirvana, that buddha gave his *sanghāṭī* and conferred it on him. Kāśyapa ordered the spirit to keep the robe and wait till Siddhārtha appeared and then hand it over to him. When he accepted the robe, the earth shook, and the spirit informed Siddhārtha that he should not wear the Dharma-robe, but should elevate it above his head. After much practice, he wore the robe and attained the delights of the third dhyāna, and from then on he always wore the robe when he preached. At other times he took it off and placed it in a stupa brought by the spirit. The stupa was held aloft by a Vajra god (Vajrapāṇi) who never let it touch the ground. The Buddha said that when he was about to enter nirvana, he had to confer it. Since no-one but a Tathāgata could shift the robe-stupa, the Buddha then took it around the platform three times and brought it up onto the platform, and threw it into the sky. It then shed light on myriads of lands. The Buddha then told the buddhas of those lands,

I am about to enter nirvana. I have the coarse-cloth *sanghāṭī* of the ancient Kāśyapa Buddha, who gave it to me to keep for the sentient beings of the End Period of the Law (*mo-fa*).

After all these buddhas gave their *sanghāṭī* to the Tathāgata to support those beings, he ordered Ānanda to have all the myriads of buddhas

⁹ T53.560a-c; Kieschnick (1999): 28; Adamek (1997), "Issues...", 207-210.

¹⁰ *Kuan-chung ch'ang-li hsieh-t'an t'u-ching*, T45.817b17, and *Chung T'ien-chu She-wei Kuo Chih-huan Ssu t'u-ching*, T45.882c13.

¹¹ T45.886c3ff.

gather at Jetavana. The Buddha ascended the precepts platform, and he told Ānanda, "You go to China, and in a cave on Mt Ch'ing-liang, order Mañjuśrī (come). I wish to hand over the *sanghāṭī* of Kāśyapa..." In a moment Mañjuśrī arrived at the precepts platform. The Buddha told Mañjuśrī and the assemblies that came,

I am now entering nirvana and wish to give you the Kāśyapa Buddha's robe-stupa to maintain the Dharma I have bequeathed. After I have entered nirvana, take the robe-stupa of Kāśyapa and place it on my precepts platform.

After this, the Buddha told Mañjuśrī that evil monks would fight to extinguish the true Dharma, and an evil king would rule north India, and so Mañjuśrī was to use his spiritual powers to bring the robe-stupa to that country to help the persecuted Mahayana monks. The stupa of the robe and bowl is to be circulated throughout the universe and established everywhere to protect the Dharma. These will be the stupas of King Aśoka. The Buddha also warned against wearing silk robes in a long polemic.

The Śākya Muni Buddha, from the time he was first enlightened until his nirvana, only wore a coarse cloth *sanghāṭī* and white cotton 白氎 three robes, and never wore silk...

Finally, he ordered Mañjuśrī to return the robe-stupa to its original place, and wait until Maitreya descends and to then confer it on Maitreya.¹²

It would appear that Shen-hui attempted to collapse these two stories (of Mahākāśyapa and of Mañjuśrī) and the idea of the transmission of the Dharma from a text such as the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*.

However, these mixed elements seem to have created some confusion in the claims of Shen-hui and his followers. In the Ishii text of the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, Shen-hui stated that the Dharma does not reside in the robe, but it is used as a surety to express the succession through the generations. He claimed that the Śākya Thus Come's gold-embroidered robe is in Mt Kukkuṭapāda, where Mahākāśyapa keeps it, waiting to present it to Maitreya. The six generations of patriarchal teachers in China similarly transmitted a robe as a guarantee of succession.¹³

¹² T53.560a24-562a20.

¹³ Suzuki and Koda (1934, 62; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 111. Cf. similar passages in the biography of Hung-jen, p. 59, or in Bodhidharma's hagiography, which has a variant: "Then he transmitted the *kaśāya* as a surety of the Dharma, just as the

But a major interlocutor, Dharma Teacher Ch'ung-yüan, asked out of perplexity,

"Do the Western Countries (India) also transmit the robe?"

Shen-hui replied, "The Western Countries do not transmit the robe."

"Why don't the Western Countries transmit the robe?"

"As there are many in the Western Countries who have gained the result of sainthood, they are not deceived and they only transmit the mind tally. In China there are many ordinary people (*prthagjana*), who, if they seek fame and profit, mix up right and wrong. Therefore the robe is transmitted to settle the import of the lineage 宗旨."¹⁴

Although Shen-hui made out that there were eight generations in the West, the implication was that no robe was transmitted there. The robe that was transmitted is Bodhidharma's robe, and so it did not come from the Buddha via the eight generations, for they had no need of it. The robe held by Mahākāśyapa is referred to merely as an analogy or precedent.

Shen-hui may have been challenging the necessity for one to take the tonsure and the garb of a monk,¹⁵ for he requested the participants in his platform ceremony,

Friends, produce now the mind to learn the Dharma in accord with *prajñāpāramitā* that transcends (the understanding) of the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, which is completely identical with the prediction (of future buddhahood) conferred by Śākya Muni Buddha on Maitreya.

As this assembly probably included laity, Shen-hui also quoted a passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* containing a word for meditation, *yen-tso*, made famous in application to the famous layman, Vimalakīrti.

"Not manifesting body and mentation in the three realms is resting in meditation." If one sits like this, the Buddha then seals (sanctions) one. The six generations of patriarchal teachers used mind to transmit mind, and therefore were divorced from writing. The transmission from the start was like this.

Buddha gave a prediction to the daughter of the Sāgara (ocean) dragon king." This last image comes from the *Lotus Sutra*. The first passage is found almost word for word in the *P'u-t'i-ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu Shih (1968), 284-285; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 29; Teng and Jung (1998), 40. Shen-hui may have also gained this idea from the account of Fa-hsien who visited Kukkuṭapāda and described the pilgrims who visited there, for which see Reginald Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 114-115.

¹⁴ *P'u-t'i-ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu Shih (1968), 296; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 34; Teng and Jung (1998), 63.

¹⁵ Adamek (1997), 289.

This is possible for all because the "*Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, 'You received the prediction of the Compassionate One (Buddha) that all sentient beings are originally nirvana'."¹⁶ In other words, the transmission was formless, and if one meditates in this fashion, being innately in nirvana, one can participate in the transmission and be given the imprimatur of buddhahood. So while the robe may not be important, for one did not have to manifest the body of a monk with its signs, the robe and the tonsure, in the logic of the *prajñāpāramitā*, one particular robe was significant to establish a Buddhist elite in China.¹⁷ And the implication was that Hui-neng and Shen-hui were that select elite, for they were the heirs to that particular robe. Shen-hui was the same as the Tathāgata, and the members of the assembly at his meeting who accepted his message, even though laity, could participate in that sainthood without wearing monastic robes. Shen-hui may thus have drawn on the passage of the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*, which he occasionally quoted, but without attribution, because it was regarded as apocryphal. It stated,

Although he does not go forth into homelessness (*pravrajita*), he is no longer part of the household....while he does not wear the dharma robes...[he] obtains the fruition of sainthood....entered the domicile of nirvāṇa where he dons the robe of the tathāgatas.¹⁸

The idea of this transmission of the robe may have been taken from the visions of Tao-hsüan as recorded in Tao-shih's *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, where the robe and bowl were entrusted via intermediaries to following buddhas, for it was linked to a transcendental and ahistorical precepts platform of Jetavana in which believers could participate via ordination.¹⁹ Possibly, the ordinary layperson did not need the common robe of the clergy and so did not display it, but in the realm of nirvana or buddhahood, they wore the robe of transmission or of a buddha, at least symbolically. But which robe that was is ambiguous.

¹⁶ Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing Tan-yü, in Yang Tseng-wen (1996), *Shen-hui Ho-shang Ch'an-hua lu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 7; cf. W. Liebenthal (1953), 'The Sermon of Shen-hui,' *Asia Major* III: 142-144. The exact quote is from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, and probably incorporated the understanding by Kumārajīva: "A śrāvaka can hide the true dharmas of his mind, but is unable to not show his body," T.38.344b16ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Adamek (1997), 189.

¹⁸ Adamek (1997), 253, quoting the translation by Robert Buswell, Jr.

¹⁹ Adamek (1997), 207-208, 211-212.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* adopted this theme, similarly calling the robe "the patriarchal teacher Bodhidharma's transmission of surety *kaśāya*."²⁰ But later in this same book, when Tu Hung-chien tries to find out by questioning the monks who had succeeded to Musang, he stated, "he is sure to have had a succeeding pupil, and the monks gained the robe and bowl." The monks denied this. Later, Tu is told by a Vinaya teacher that Musang, as a great teacher, must have it:

Ever since it (the Dharma) was received from the beginning (i.e. the Buddha), it has been passed on from teacher to teacher by conferring the robe and the bowl.²¹

Here it is unclear from how many generations back the robe has been transmitted (although the beginning 上 probably indicates the Buddha), and the bowl is thrown in as an extra.²² However, the robe is distinguished from the gold-embroidered robe kept by Mahākāśyapa, and the following declaration is made:

Now is an evil age, and those who study meditation are numerous. Our patriarchal teacher Dharma [in this text he is called Dharmatrāta = Bodhidharma] consequently transmitted a *kaśāya* to illustrate that his Dharma was correct and to allow later students a proper transmission of the teaching. 稟承²³

Yet attached to the end of this text is a paean to the portrait (*chen*) of Wu-chu drawn by a pupil, in which it is asserted that

Kāśyapa gained it (the Supreme Vehicle Dharma) and in the West spread it through the Buddha's territory. Dharma received it, and it flowed east into the Chinese lands. That matter has lasted over a thousand years, the saints are thirty-four (in number of patriarchs), and it was received by pupils from masters continuing through the generations. They received the Dharma that tallied with the source of the Way, and they transmitted the robe that indicated 表 the true and the false.²⁴

Thus, this last passage has made it ambiguous as to whether or not the robe was transmitted from Mahākāśyapa through the thirty-four saints to Hui-neng, or just from Dharmatrāta/Bodhidharma to Hui-

²⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 129.

²¹ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 189.

²² Yanagida (1976a), 197 notes. This, as we shall see, suggests the ignorance of the compilers of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* concerning matters of monastic protocol.

²³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 109.

²⁴ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 316.

neng. The main focus of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was rather on how the robe transmitted by Bodhidharma was taken for worship at the court chapel of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien in 696, and eventually given to Chih-shen (609-702), from whom it eventually was passed via Musang to Wu-chu. In place of the Bodhidharma robe, Hui-neng in this account is given a *moṇa* (polished-patch, purple) *kaṣāya* in 707, along with five hundred bolts of silk. The role of Empress Wu in deciding who would receive the robe, instead of Hui-neng, is remarkable,²⁵ suggesting a desperate ploy by the author(s) to have the robe transferred from Hui-neng to another lineage and religious community. It also signified a devaluation of the ordinary robe of a monk, but the special significance of the patriarchal robe. This special robe could be transmitted by intermediaries, just as Śākya Muni never personally accepted the robe.²⁶ Yet the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* gave no indication of its fate following Wu-chu, and the text named no successor to the robe.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* took up this challenge, ignoring, by silence, the tale of Empress Wu's involvement, and adopted from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* only the dispatch of the commissioner Hsieh Chien to Ts'ao-ch'i. It also changed Dharmatrāta back to Bodhidharma, and adjusted the number of patriarchs in India from twenty-nine down to twenty-eight.²⁷ The author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* gave concrete details about the robe, such as what it was made from, and contested the caution issued by Shen-hui that it is merely a sign or surety that was only transmitted from Bodhidharma. It also adopted the suggestions made in the praises of the portrait of Wu-chu found in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, but is more specific. Thus, Hui-neng asked Hung-jen when he accepted the robe,

"The Dharma has no letters, and is transmitted from mind to mind, and from Dharma to Dharma, (so) why use this *kaṣāya*?"

Hung-jen explained, "The robe is the surety of the Dharma, the Dharma is the essence/lineage 宗 of the robe. It has been transmitted from the beginning (Buddha), and nothing else has been conferred. If not for the robe, there would be no transmission of the Dharma; if not for the Dharma, there would be no transmission of the robe. The robe was transmitted from Venerable Simha of the Western Countries so that the Buddha-Dharma would not be extinguished."²⁸

²⁵ ZSS, 236; cf. Faure (1991), 165.

²⁶ Adamek (1997), 254, 256, 260-262.

²⁷ ZSS, 236-237.

²⁸ EK, 35.

Here, the robe has been made the sole guarantor of the transmission, and while it says it has been transmitted from the beginning/Buddha, it seems to contradict itself by stating that the robe was transmitted from Simha bhikṣu so that Buddhism would not perish. The reason for selecting Simha was that early tradition, at least in China, held that Simha, the twenty-third patriarch, had been killed by a violent persecutor of Buddhism, King Mihirakula, and that therefore the transmission had ended. This was the T'ien-t'ai position and was definitely an opinion Ch'an had to overcome if it wanted to assert a genealogy back to the Buddha.²⁹ The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* therefore vigorously countered this theory with the fabricated tale as to how Simha bhikṣu first conferred the succession on Śaṇavāsa, and only then travelled from Central India to Kashmir to convert this heretical king. However, in a contest with the non-believer instructors of the monarch, in which all contestants were put to the sword, only Simha survived. This converted the king, who ordered Śaṇavāsa to go to South India to propagate Buddhism. Thus Simha revived Buddhism and perpetuated the lineage.³⁰

Therefore, the author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is saying that the robe actually came from Śākya Muni, and that because the Buddhist lineage was threatened with extinction, Simha had it transmitted especially as a guarantee. This is why it became so important from the time of Simha. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* emphasises, via Hui-neng's words, that the lineage in fact was threatened. In response to Shen-hui's question as to why the robe will not be transmitted further, Hui-neng is reported to have replied that the successor to the robe would likely be killed, for he himself had been the subject of three assassination attempts when he held the robe.³¹ The robe was therefore both a guarantor and an object of jealousy and theft. Indeed, after Hui-neng died, the robe was allegedly stolen twice, but was soon returned.³² Despite all of the specificity, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* occasionally obscures the

²⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 6.

³⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 59, see notes 65-66. Mihirakula (ca. 515-556) was a Huna, the son of Toramana, the king who attacked the Guptas and reached Vārāṇasī around 515. Mihirakula persecuted both Buddhists and Jains, but according to Sung Yün, in the 520s he was fighting the ruler of Kashmir. In the 530s, he was driven out of India into Kashmir. See Upendra Thakur (1976), *The Hunas in India*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies LVIII: Varanasi, 122, 151, 156, 137.

³¹ EK, 49-50.

³² EK, 58.

picture by referring vaguely to "the robe and bowl" or "the robe and bowl of Bodhidharma."³³ On the other hand, this relic-hagiography carefully tracks the movement of the robe, mentioning the order by Emperor Su-tsung that it be brought to the palace in 762 (mistake for 758), who escorted it, and where it was installed, for how long, and when it was returned.³⁴ The bowl is not mentioned.

All of this, of course, is fabrication and lies. As Yanagida has indicated, why would the emperor request the robe in such terms from Hui-neng, when Hui-neng was not yet recognised by the court with a posthumous title or as the Sixth Patriarch. Hui-neng was granted a posthumous title in 815, while earlier in the Ta-li reign era (766-779), Bodhidharma, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen had been given posthumous titles.³⁵ The state had not recognised any of these monks as 'patriarchs' by 758 or 762, despite Shen-hui's influence at court and the erection of the portrait hall in 752.

The Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* adopted the idea of the robe of transmission as proof, and that the transmission was tenuous and the transmitter threatened.³⁶ But it also had Hui-neng state that the robe would not be handed down, and links its earlier transmission to gathas or verses.³⁷ The *Platform Sutra* is made the new item of transmission, and it is no longer restricted to a single patriarch.³⁸ However, this assertion is later contradicted, possibly due to the revisers of the text:

When (in the future) this Dharma is to be handed down, it must be attained by a man of superior wisdom....Such a person must be qualified to possess this *Sutra*, to make it a proper transmission of the teaching, and to see that in this day it is not cut off.³⁹

³³ EK, 36, 44, 55.

³⁴ EK, 54-57.

³⁵ ZSS, 242-243.

³⁶ Yampolsky (1967), 133.

³⁷ Yampolsky (1967), 176.

³⁸ Yampolsky (1967), 173: "You ten disciples, when later you transmit the Dharma, hand down the teaching of the one roll of the *Platform Sutra*....If others are able to encounter the *Platform Sutra*, it will be as if they received the teaching personally from me." Cf. Li and Fang (1999), *Tun-huang T'an-ching ho-chiao chien-chu*, 60; Teng and Jung (1998), 392-394.

³⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 182. Note the translation is tentative here. The recently discovered Tun-huang Museum text titled *Tun-huang hsin-pen Nan-tsung tun-wu chiao tsui-shang Ta-sheng Mo-ho po-jo po-lo-mi ching*, Liu-tsu Hui-neng Ta-shih yü Shao-chou Ta-fan Ssu shih-fa t'an-ching generally supports Yampolsky's translation. It appears this description applies to Wu-chen, the last in the lineage appended to the text. Li and Fang (1999), 67; Teng and Jung (1998), 425.

The bowl simply vanishes in this account.

The *Pao-lin chuan* mentions that Buddha gave Mahākāśyapa a gold-embroidered *sanghāṭī* (cassock/cloak), which was to be handed to Maitreya in the distant future.⁴⁰ At the same time, it mentions that Mahākāśyapa wore a *pāmsukūla* (a robe of discarded rags 糞掃衣) and held the *sanghāṭī* for Maitreya, and that Ānanda stopped Mahākāśyapa from being cremated for that very reason.⁴¹ According to this text, no robe was transmitted until the time of Simha, who said, "My master predicted that my Dharma in my body was sure to suffer harm." He also said,

The Thus Come conferred the eye of the Great Dharma on Kāśyapa, and thus it has been transmitted through the generations up until me. I take this Dharma and the *sanghāṭī* robe and confer it on you. You should keep and protect it so that it is not cut off.

After preaching a gatha of transmission, a notable feature of the *Pao-lin chuan*, Simha announced,

You have received this teaching to transmit it to a foreign country so that it will not be extinguished. Should they there give rise to doubt, you should use *my* robe to be a surety of the Dharma.

The recipient, Basiasita, then leaves for South India while Simha meets his end at the hands of King Mihirakula.⁴²

The 'lamplight histories' after this time (ca. 796) provide no extra information, for the notion that Hui-neng had stopped the transmission of the robe had gained widespread assent, and it was believed to be in Ts'ao-ch'i. Liu Yü-hsi (772-842), who wrote the second stele inscription for Hui-neng in 819, following that by his friend Liu Tsung-yüan, wrote a verse inscription in four-character lines to explain why:

Since I have written the second stele of Ts'ao-ch'i on behalf of the monk (Tao)-lin, I also thought therefore to explain the gist (of why) the Sixth Patriarch put aside the robe and did not transmit it, so I have written this inscription about the Buddha's robe:

"If the Buddha's words are not acted upon

The Buddha's robe will be fought over.

To ignore the near and value the far,

Past and present is the constant sentiment.

At the birth of Confucius

⁴⁰ PLC 10b7-c2 (1.17b7-18a2).

⁴¹ PLC 15a-c (1.27a-28b).

⁴² PLC 104a-b (5.40a-b).

There was not a village in the land
 That dreamt of offering libation to his posterity,
 Yet his sacrificial rites have been maintained for a millennium.
 Now, in the past there was (Emperor Wu of) Liang
 Who was as mad as an elephant.⁴³
 (Bodhi)dharma, to save the age
 Came to be the king of doctors.
 He could not heal (him) with his words,
 So shifted because of the people. (or the Emperor?)
 Like holding a tally together,
 When acting one does not connect them again.
 The people do not know the officials;
 Seeing their chariots they are in awe.
 The worldly (*su*) do not know the Buddha
 And consider gaining his robe to be of value.
 This robe of a soiled colour,
 The Way is not in it!
 Through it there is faith in the Way,
 Which is the reason it is treasured.
 The Sixth Patriarch did not display it,
 And he rarely brought it out.
 Since it has returned to the Lang-huang⁴⁴
 It aroused the worldly from their ignorance.
 As they did not have a vessel of faith
 The sentient beings requested its return.
 This is the opening of the gate of expedience,
 And is not the halting of the transmission of the robe.
 If there is a beginning there must be an end!
 How then can the transmission be endless?
 Things must revert to extinction,
 So how can a robe be relied on for ever?
 Preceding the end is knowledge of the demise,
 Function then is inexhaustible.
 My Way lacks decay,
 So how can it be in the robe?
 Its function has already been demonstrated;
 Why then is it not a straw dog?⁴⁵

⁴³ This probably is a reference to Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin who was jealous of the Buddha, and unleashed an enraged elephant to kill the Buddha. See Beal (1883/1964), *The Fo-sho Hing-Tsan King*, 246-247; and *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi*, Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 720; Cf. Ray (1994), 166.

⁴⁴ Probably the Nicobars, known as the country of the nude people, Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 20431.29; cf. Takakusu (1896), xxxviii-xxxix, they dress in bamboo and leaves. This was far south of Thailand and Cambodia, for the Chinese, 'beyond the wild blue yonder.'

⁴⁵ A straw dog is something useless, discarded after use, as a straw dog is aban-

However, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* of 952, taking its interpretation from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* or *Pao-lin chuan*, writes that the robe is that of Bodhidharma, and it and the bowl are in Shao-chou.⁴⁶ Yet it also identifies Bodhidharma's robe with that he received through the transmission ultimately from Śākya Muni via Mahākāśyapa and Simha bhikṣu. Śākya Muni gave Mahākāśyapa robes; one at least was the gold-embroidered robe. Mahākāśyapa took the *sanghāṭi* into Mt Kukkuṭapāda, and wore the robe of cast-off rags (*pāmsukūla*), and waited there for Maitreya.⁴⁷ Simha bhikṣu transmitted a *sanghāṭi* to Basiasita, as a robe of surety, which he kept in a bag. The king at the time had it tested by fire, but it survived, and a note states that, "this robe is worshipped in a stupa raised in the royal palace."⁴⁸ Yet Bodhidharma gave Hui-k'o a *kaṣāya* as an external surety of the transmission.⁴⁹ The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004) claims that Bodhidharma's robe and bowl sent by Emperor Chung-tsung, together with Fang-pien's statuette, are all in the Ling-chao Stupa in Ts'ao-ch'i.⁵⁰

Later, in the twelfth lunar month of 1100, the famous poet Su Shih (Tung-p'o) came to Nan-hua Monastery for a second time, and in a poem written about a dream that would have him burn incense at the temple, he wrote:

From the water's fragrance we knew it was the mouth of Ts'ao
Creek,
Our eyes clear, together we saw the old buddha's robe.
If we do not go to Nan-hua and jointly burn incense,
In this life, where will there be true refuge?

The first verse quoted above refers to the prediction by Chih-yao, who, when he came to the area, founded Pao-lin Monastery there at the source of the water. This first appears in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. The second line refers to the robe held in the stupa.⁵¹

Therefore, Shen-hui's allegations were materialised in actual

doned after its use in magic. This image comes from *Tao-te ching* V. *Fo-i ming*, in CTW 608.2759a-b; EK, 395; *T'ang wen ts'ui* 63/6a.

⁴⁶ TTC 1.92 (46). 11-12 and 1.99 (50). 7-8, with a description of the robe.

⁴⁷ TTC 1.27.10; 1.31.12; 1.32.5, 12-14; 1.33.11.

⁴⁸ TTC 1.59.2; 1.60.9-13.

⁴⁹ TTC 1.74.

⁵⁰ EK, 216, 226-227, 134-138; also in the *Tsung-pao Platform Sutra*.

⁵¹ K'ung Fan-li, ed. (1982), *Su Shih shih-chi*, 8 vols, Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 7:2408-2409.

objects that were kept at Ts'ao-ch'i and were witnessed at various times throughout history.

The extant contact relics: robe

A robe, or rather a set of robes, is kept at Nan-hua Monastery to this day. It is 2.86 metres by 1.46 metres, made of reddish-brown silk and bordered by twelve dragons playing with pearls. The main decoration is of a thousand seated buddhas who have adopted various mudrās. They are in fifty lines, twenty seated buddhas per line. They are outlined in yellow, and their details are in blues, reds and yellows. It is embroidered, and was supposedly originally a vermilion colour. According to the Kuangtung Provincial Museum authors, it is a fine example of T'ang embroidery.⁵² Therefore it cannot be the robe allegedly transmitted from Buddha, or Simha bhikṣu, or Bodhidharma. Firstly, it is unlike the description of this robe of transmission found in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Pao-lin chuan*. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* says that the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* is of a

Central Indian cloth, in Sanskrit *bāraṇa* (po-lo-na), in Chinese 'the best quality cloth.' It is made of the flower of the cotton wood, which people of the time did not know about, and so they erroneously said it was a silk cloth.⁵³

The *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* state that it was a "seven-piece *ch'ü-shun* cloth, of a blue-black colour, with an emerald thin silk as the lining."⁵⁴ The word *ch'ü-shun* is thought, on the basis of studies of the Yüan Dynasty and the testimony of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243), to be a transcription of the Arabic *kassam*, meaning 'cotton.'⁵⁵

⁵² Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), plate 22, in colour. Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plate 12, shows three pieces of cloth; this could be the *sanghāfi* or outer cloak. Tokiwa (1938), 624-629, especially 625, where he mentions "three *kaṣāya* woven with a thousand buddhas." Takakusu (1896), 54, notes that the *uttarāsaṅgha* or upper garment and the *antarvāsa* or inner garment are known by the collective name of *kāṣāya*.

⁵³ EK, 35, 69b; ZSS, 248, suggests *bāraṇa* is said to have come from Vāraṇasī, its place of manufacture. I have not found it in Sanskrit dictionaries. Note, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was probably correct in saying that the Chinese people of the time did not know about cotton, for it only became available in China after the tenth century, and even then it was about the same price as silk. See Kieschnick (2003), 99 note 48.

⁵⁴ TTC 1.99: 7-8; Dōchū, *Zenrin shokisen*, 686b.

⁵⁵ ZSS, 248, citing Iwamura Shinobu (1961), 'Tannen Koji bunshū satsuki,' in Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinenkai, ed., *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū*, Nagai shuppansha: Kyoto, 96-97.

This evidence made Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744) conclude; "As what Bodhidharma transmitted to the Second Patriarch was *kassam*, then the robe of transmission cannot be limited to gold embroidery."⁵⁶

Therefore, as the extant robe is not of cotton but is of silk, which caused a moral dilemma for some Buddhists in that silk involved the killing of silkworm pupae,⁵⁷ is red and without a lining, and is of T'ang embroidery, this suggests that the extant robe could be one of those allegedly donated by Emperor Kao-tsung (actually, it had to have been Chung-tsung, from the date) in 705, as seen in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. This was brought by the Imperial Commissioner, Hsieh Chien, and is described as a *mo-na kaṣāya*. This idea is based on the entry in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which states that in 705 Hsieh brought this *mo-na kaṣāya* on the orders of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien as a recompense for the loss of the robe of transmission, which went to Chih-shen.⁵⁸ The colour red had been used for monks' robes in India and in China up until the Wei Dynasty. By Tsan-ning's time, red was used in the south of the Yangtze and brown in the metropolitan region.⁵⁹ The word, *mo-na*, may be based on the *pai-na kaṣāya* mentioned by Wang Wei in his stele. Yanagida Seizan interpreted this as literally a 'hundred-patch robe,' indicating the *sanghāṭī* that is made from nine up to twenty-five patches.⁶⁰ A *mo-na kaṣāya* is mentioned by Li Chih-fei as having been given along with a pitcher and a staff, by Hsüan-tse to his pupil Ching-chüeh.⁶¹ While Yanagida thinks this is probably the same as the *bāraṇa* or cotton robe, he noted that Dōchū had cited Su Shih, who wrote in a praise of *mo-na* for his Ch'an monk friend Liao-yüan. Liao-yüan had received a "gift from the emperor of a *mo-na* that was given in tribute by Koryō." Dōchū also cited a *Kyerim chi* (Gazetteer of Kyōngju, the Silla capital), which wrote that Koryō monks who wear a *mo-na* robe are Ch'an-dharma masters, and that the cassock is top

⁵⁶ *Zenrin shokisen* 683a; cf. Bernard Faure (1995), 'Quand l'habit fait le moine: The symbolism of the *kāṣāya* in Sōtō Zen,' 340-341.

⁵⁷ Faure (1995), 347-349; Takakusu (1896), 58; Kieschnick (1999), 21-23, who says not all monks rejected silk. Tao-hsüan rejected it, yet I-ching accepted it. Note that the use of silk by monks was a controversial issue, as it involved the killing of silkworms, see Bernard Faure (1995), 346-349.

⁵⁸ EK, 47-48; LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 130.

⁵⁹ T54.237c24-238a5; Kieschnick (1999), 11.

⁶⁰ ZSS, 541, 542.

⁶¹ ZSS, 597.

quality.⁶² Hsü Ching, who wrote an account of his time in Koryō in 1123, confirmed that Koryō monks used this robe and thought it the most valuable of all.⁶³ The robe then appears to have been a form of burnished silk, and so it could be called a 'polished patch robe,' and was the *sanghāṭī* that was worn on formal occasions and in the company of the laity.⁶⁴ As such, it was extremely expensive, suitable as a gift from an emperor. This closely matches the actual robe (or one of them) now kept at Nan-hua Monastery.

The extant contact relics: the bowl

The bowl was overshadowed by the robe for two reasons. Firstly, the robe could be identified with the monk who wore it, and was thought to be identical to the Dharma, and thus the monk wearing it became a buddha.⁶⁵ It could also be seen as "a substitute of the *śarīra*, in other words, as a substitute body of the Buddha."⁶⁶ It, along with other items, could also be made the equivalent of the stupa, a "substitute body of the Buddha."⁶⁷ Moreover, at least in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, only the robe of transmission is designated a state-treasure (*kuo-pao*) in 762 when it was sent back by Emperor Tai-tsung.⁶⁸ This was despite the fact that both the robe and the bowl had been earlier sent to the capital. Anna Seidel has argued that the robe of transmission in Ch'an was understood to be like a dynastic treasure or a tally, a sacred object that symbolised religious legitimacy.⁶⁹ How-

⁶² *Zenrin shokisen*, 701b-702a; ZSS, 612; K'ung Fan-li, ed. (1986), *Su Shih wen chi*, 6 vols, Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 2: 635.

⁶³ Yi Changse, publisher (1972), *Kao-li t'u-ching*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, 97.

⁶⁴ Faure (1995), 338. Note that the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, T50.755b20-21, states, "The *bārāṇa* cloth *uttarāsaṅgha* is stored beneath the stupa. Its colour is a green-black, and is an emerald, silken double-lined garment." The *uttarāsaṅgha* is the outer, seven-patch robe, worn for ordinary activities among other monks.

⁶⁵ Faure (1995), 342. See Tao-shih, *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, T53.556c6ff, "After I have become buddha, if gods, nāgas, ghosts, humans and non-humans can worship and praise those wearing a robe, if that person can see the robe even a little, they will not backslide from the three vehicles." Tao-shih was a pupil of Tao-hsüan. Kieschnick (1999), 15, states that a monk's meditation mat symbolised the stupa and the robe the Dharma-kāya. He cites the *Lü-hsiang kan-t'ung chuan* by Tao-hsüan, T45.881a.

⁶⁶ Faure (1995), 357. The story used to support this equivalence is that trial by fire of the robe in the biography of Basiasita in the *Pao-lin chuan*, as seen above.

⁶⁷ Faure (1995), 361.

⁶⁸ EK, 57.

⁶⁹ Faure (1995), 342-343.

ever, here, these words *kuo-pao* are put into the imperial decree, and so supposedly suggest more of the lay or imperial comprehension of the object, the robe, and is an example of the hagiographers again using the imperial authority to bolster their shaky claims. Secondly, if the robe of the Buddha was problematic because of differing robes and stories of transmission, the bowl was even more plagued with questions of doubt. This is why it is never described, for there were major differences between Indian and Chinese practice over what the bowl should be made of. The Buddha's alms-bowl or *pātra* was made of stone. The four guardian kings (*lokapāla*) each offered him a bowl made of gemstones and precious metals, but these were considered unsuitable for a mendicant. The kings each then gave him a bowl of dark-violet stone. The Buddha stacked these up and compressed them into a single stone bowl.⁷⁰ The Indian vinaya texts also prohibited the use of wood for the bowls of monks because they are used by the brahmacārins or non-Buddhists, retain dirt and filth, and because of the Buddha's precedent. Instead, they recommended the use of metal or pottery. However, in China and Japan, great care was taken to argue that the Buddha did not prohibit the use of wood, for if one used the hollow-lacquer technique (*chia-chu*), the problem of pollution would be eliminated. Moreover, the Chinese Ch'an monks argued that there were no brahmins in China, so the distinction need not be maintained by a prohibition on wooden bowls.⁷¹

The bowl now kept at Nan-hua Monastery is made of wood.⁷² It is therefore probably meant to be the bowl Hui-neng used. As there were prohibitions against the use of the Buddha's bowl by his followers,⁷³

⁷⁰ Watters (1904-1905), II: 131; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 687-688; Zürcher (1982), "Prince Moonlight": Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism, 29; Kieschnick (2003), *Material Culture*, 111; Dōchū, *Zenrin shokisen*, 806, citing the *Fo pen-hsing ching* or *Buddhacarita*, which is the more elaborate. It also says that the bowl is to be worshipped like a stupa.

⁷¹ *Zenrin shokisen*, 806-809; Mochizuki (1954-1963), 5: 4230c; cf. Kieschnick (2003), 108.

⁷² Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), plates 12 and 13, where it is called the bowl of the Sixth Patriarch. It is unclear from the black and white photographs, but it appears to be lacquered wood. Plate 12 is an interesting collection of the robe, bowl and two other relics. These photographs were taken in 1932. The bowl is not shown in the Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan (1990) volume.

⁷³ *Zenrin shokisen*, 810b, quoting the *Ssu-fen lü*; "King Bimbisāra distributed stone bowls to bhikṣus. The bhikṣus told the Buddha of this. The Buddha said, 'You must not keep them. This is the Dharma-bowl of the Thus Come.'" As a quote preced-

it is almost certain that the Ch'an hagiographers tended to avoid any specifications about the bowl that was transmitted.

A second major obstacle to the identification of any bowl held at Shao-chou with that of the Śākya Muni was a tradition that the Buddha's bowl had suffered various outrages. Chinese records and translations indicate that there were stupas for the Buddha's bowl and his robe.⁷⁴ Fa-hsien, who visited India between 399 and 412, and Sung Yün who went between 518 and 521, knew of predictions that the alms-bowl of the Buddha went from Vaiśālī to Gandhāra, and then to the Kushans (Yüeh-chih), to Khotan and finally to China.⁷⁵ In Hsüan-tsang's time it was supposedly in Kashgar, and Chih-meng (d. ca. 450) said it was in Kashmir.⁷⁶ Fa-hsien even linked the loss of the bowl to the decline of Buddhism and of life in general.

In this bhadrakalpa, the thousand buddhas (of the eon) jointly used the one bowl. Since that bowl has gone, the Buddha-Dharma will gradually be extinguished, and after the Buddha-Dharma has been extinguished, human life will be shortened to as little as five years.⁷⁷

In China, it was similarly linked to an apocalyptic, millenarian tradition. As early as 365, Hsi Tso-ch'ih wrote a letter to Tao-an with the prediction, "Yüeh-kuang (Candraprabha) will appear, and the numinous bowl will descend."⁷⁸ This letter was extolling the rise of

ing this suggests, the Buddha used a stone bowl for himself, but did not permit his pupils to keep stone bowls.

⁷⁴ Seng-yu (445-518), *Shih-chia p'u*, T50.66b29-c3.

⁷⁵ Samuel Beal (1869), *Travels of Fa-hsien and Sung Yün*, 2nd edn, Susil Gupta 1969, 162; *Kao-seng Fa-hsien chuan*, T51.465c858b2-25; Kieschnick (2003), 111-112. In Fa-hsien's time it was at Gandhāra. In something like a hundred years time it was predicted to go to the Western Kushans, and then a century or so later to Khotan, and after several centuries to Śrī Lanka. A century after that it was predicted to go to China and then return to Central India, and then up to the Tuṣita Heaven where it will be worshipped by Maitreya, and finally would go to the king of the Nāgas. When it was at Gandhāra, the Kushan king tried to take it by force, but the elephant carrying it refused to budge. For it being in Vaiśālī, and Chih-meng seeing it in Kashmir or Kashgar/Kara-shahr? (奇沙), see *Kao-seng Fa-hsien chuan*, T51.865c2-8. Chih-meng commented on its varying weight, see *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.343b17-19. Hui-chiao concluded, "The Buddha's bowl and cranium bone...do not stop in one place. The numinosity of the cranium bone and bowl shift with time to different lands," T50.343c8-9.

⁷⁶ Watters (1904-1905), I: 202-203, and *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi*, T51.879c5-7; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 236.

⁷⁷ *Kao-seng Fa-hsien chuan*, T51.865c12-13, based on an oral tradition; cf. Zürcher (1982), 30-31, for this and other details.

⁷⁸ Zürcher (1982), 25.

Buddhism since the first transmission to China, allegedly about four hundred years earlier, and then its increasing popularity amongst the intelligentsia and some rulers. He then stated:

Although the sun and moon (the Buddha) are further separated from us, their light is increasingly bright. Is it not said that the prince Yüeh-kuang died and was reborn on the true (Chinese) soil, and the inconceivable bowl has shifted to the East and suddenly manifested miracles here.⁷⁹

This idea was clearly based on some millennial prophecies about this Candraprabha (Prince Moonlight) as a saviour. It came to be linked to the rulers of the state, for in Narendrayaśas' 583 translation of the *Samādhi-rāja Sūtra* (the *Yüeh-teng san-mei ching*), in which Candraprabha is a major interlocutor of the Buddha, the Buddha prophesies that Yüeh-kuang will be reborn in the Sui as a powerful ruler by the name of Ta-hsing, that is Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty. This emperor will bring the alms-bowl from Kashgar to Sui China.⁸⁰ In 584, Narendrayaśas translated a sutra, the *Lien-hua mien ching*, another work of prophesy, which states that the Buddha's bowl had been smashed by King Mihirakula of Kashmir, the incarnation of a perspicacious and sagacious pupil of the heretical Purāṇas (or Purāṇa Kāśyapa, one of the six heretics defeated by Śākya Muni, who taught the non-existence of all things) named Lien-hua mien (Lotus-blossom face). As a result, the followers of Buddhism gradually came to violate the pure precepts, and corruption and calamities increase. The smashed bowl would then go north, where it would be worshipped. Then it would go to the country of P'o-lo po-to (?), where it would be lavishly venerated. Not long after this, it would naturally revert to its original form and disappear from the earth, to circulate in the heavenly and supernatural realms until the advent of Maitreya, when it will emerge from the diamond matrix and reside in the sky, emitting five-coloured lights, which will have all beings perform Buddhist actions.⁸¹ If this was an Indian text, it was probably "intended to console the faithful after the outrage on the sacred alms bowl."⁸² Tao-hsüan wrote that

⁷⁹ *Kuang Hung-ming chi*, T52.76c29-77a2. This letter is translated into Japanese by Yoshikawa Tadao, translator (1988), *Daijō Butten 4: Gumyōshū, Kōgumyōshū*, Chūō kōronsha: Tokyo, 111-112.

⁸⁰ Zürcher (1982), 25-26, indicates that this was an interpolation.

⁸¹ T12.1075c-1077b.

⁸² R.C. Mitra (1954), 'The Decline of Buddhism in India,' *Viśva-Bharati Annals* VI: 7.

when Narendrayaśas questioned various elders in India, "Some said a certain country has the bowl, a certain country has the robe." He therefore sought all over India and even to Śrī Lanka for traces of the historical Buddha.⁸³ Therefore Narendrayaśas is given as an Indian authority on the subject.

The encyclopedist Tao-shih in 668 tried to summarize all this information. It is said that the *sanghāṭī* robe is protected by a god and the bowl and staff by yet another god. These three personal possessions of the Buddha had stayed on earth for a short time. Tao-shih concluded:

The four heavenly kings (*lokapāla*) gave the Buddha the stone bowl, which only the World Honoured can use, and others cannot keep and use. After the Thus Come's demise, it rested on Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak) where together with the light from the Śākya Muni's eyebrow curl, it jointly benefited beings. In the period of the End of the Dharma (*mo-fā*), as a consequence of the Buddha's bowl being used to distribute food to monks in other countries, it went to the gods and nāgas etc, where assemblies followed the Buddha's intent. The lax performance of non-Dharmic actions (meant) that finally it disappeared.⁸⁴

Therefore, although there were hints that the bowl was in China for a short period, the general conclusion was that the bowl was in another country, smashed, or was in the realm of supernatural beings and would not reappear until the arrival of Maitreya. The use of the joint term 'robe and bowl' in the texts is therefore a general claim, not a specific one. But the claim of the joint transmission of the robe and bowl came to be accepted, even in official circles, such as in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*⁸⁵ and the biography of Shen-hsiu in the *Chiu Tang shu*:

It is said that there were a robe and a bowl used as signs 記 of the transmission from Śākya Muni, which were conferred from generation to generation. Bodhidharma brought the robe and bowl across the sea.⁸⁶

This claim was taken from the mention of the transmission of 'the robe and bowl' in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, and in the section on Hui-neng and decree of Emperor Kao-tsung in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.⁸⁷

⁸³ HKSC, T50.432b1ff.

⁸⁴ T53.589c13-17.

⁸⁵ T50.755b3.

⁸⁶ CTS 16 /191/5109.

⁸⁷ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 189; EK, 36-37, 44.

Yet the bowl seems to have been an afterthought, for the robe is mentioned as the main object, and often is the only item said to have been transmitted.⁸⁸ However, these two items, which had been valued rather unequally as tokens of transmission, by the time of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s compilation in 952, were often merged,⁸⁹ although the robe maintained priority. Moreover, by this stage, the claim of transmission may have been a 'literary conceit.'⁹⁰

Furthermore, the claim to possess the bowl had to overcome the assertion that it had been broken, and that there was only one, and that only the buddhas could eat from it. If the Ch'an lineages maintained that the bowl held by Hui-neng was that of the Buddha, it implied that Hui-neng was one of the thousand buddhas of the bhadrakalpa, in which we live. In addition, the bowl had to be made of stone, not wood. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* also wrote that the bowl presented by Kao-tsung (mistake for Chung-tsung) was made of metal,⁹¹ and it repeats the story of the Buddha's bowl being made of stone in the hagiography of Śākya Muni.⁹²

Criticisms

Because of such detail and controversy about the composition and fate of the Buddha's robe and bowl, it is a wonder that these claims by Shen-hui and later imitators were not more seriously questioned by other Buddhists, especially those learned in the scriptures and familiar with the accounts by Fa-hsien, Sung Yün, Narendrayaśas and Hsüan-tsang. Even stringent critics such as the learned Chan-jan (711-782) from the rival T'ien-t'ai School, which had been the first

⁸⁸ For example, the SKSC has Hung-jen say that the reception of the robe will endanger life (T50.755a1), "secretly transfer the Dharma robe" (754b5); LTFPC biography of Hung-jen, only mentions the robe (Yanagida, 1976a, 92), as is the case from Tao-hsin (86), from Seng-ts'an (83), from Bodhidharma (68) etc; in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, transmitted from Hung-jen (EK, 35), in Hui-neng's last testament (EK, 49), on protecting the robe (EK, 52), on it being sent to court (EK, 54-55), and returned from the court (EK, 57).

⁸⁹ See TTC 1.3.8, in list of contents; 1.61.11, in a poem by a master of the compilers; 1.83.4, in a poem for Tao-hsin; 1.87.2-8, on Hui-neng's request and meeting; 1.93.4, on Hsieh Chien etc.

⁹⁰ Kieschnick (2003), 110.

⁹¹ TTC 1.96. 4; note that this has been changed from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (EK, 48) text in virtually only this respect, substituting it for the five hundred bolts of silk.

⁹² TTC 1.22. 7-9.

Chinese Buddhist group to promote a lineage based on the twenty-three 'patriarchs' of the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* in 594, failed to use this evidence in their critique of Ch'an. Chih-i's heir, Kuan-ting (561-632) claimed a dual or segmented transmission: the first being the 'sutra transmission' of these twenty-three patriarchs ending with Simha who had no successors; and the second, the 'transmission of the *chih-kuan* meditation' from Hui-wen via Hui-ssu to Chih-i. The connection was made between these two segments via Hui-wen's use of the *chih-kuan* meditation of the *Ta chih-tu lun*, which he believed was written by Nāgārjuna, the thirteenth patriarch.⁹³ Despite mentioning in a text completed in 765 that,

Since the time Emperor Ming of the Han dreamt (of Buddhism) one night, until the Ch'en Dynasty [time of Hui-ssu], all the various writings of the age that were circulated in profusion dazzled the eyes. Now, following that, the Ch'an gate (theory) of the conferral of the robe and bowl fills (the world). How can they not have heard of the two words, *chih-kuan*? They simply are not like T'ien-t'ai in preaching this.⁹⁴

Chan-jan and others did not challenge the Ch'an claims by referring to the evidence concerning the fate of the robe and bowl of the Buddha. It is possible that the Ch'an theory had not developed sufficiently, yet Chan-jan, writing between 755 and 756,⁹⁵ had already noted this joint robe and bowl transmission before it was mentioned in extant Ch'an texts.⁹⁶

Another trenchant critic, the Vinaya monk Shen-ch'ing (d. ca. 783), who was also a member of Musang's line,⁹⁷ attacked the Ch'an idea

⁹³ Jorgensen (1987), 98, 100; Ikeda Rosan (1981), 'Tendai shikan to Zen,' *Bukkyō shisōshi* 4: 74-75; Yagi Nobuyoshi (1970), 'Tai Zen ryōshū kōsho ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18 (2): 170-171.

⁹⁴ *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh*, T46.142b15-18; Ikeda (1981), 75. For date of text, see Linda Penkower (1993), 'T'ien-t'ai during the T'ang dynasty: Chan-jan and the Sinification of Buddhism,' PhD diss., Columbia University, 169.

⁹⁵ Penkower (1993), 169. Part 2 gives a detailed examination of lineage in T'ien-t'ai.

⁹⁶ The joint robe and bowl transmission is not found in the works of Shen-hui, or in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, or in Wang Wei's stele inscription. Chan-jan was writing before the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* were produced.

⁹⁷ For details on Shen-ch'ing and his ideas, see Sangyō kōshō kenkyūban (March 1980), 'Hokuzan roku yakuchū (1),' *Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 81: 179-197; but there are theories as to when the *Pei-shan lu* was written, as late as 820, for which see pp. 190-191.

of a lineage on a number of grounds, including the unseemly contest of North versus South, their prideful assertions that their teachers were superior to those of others and came in a transmission from the Buddha via Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma and then "to my teacher, from mind conferred to mind. The other lineages are not the equal of mine." Yet Shen-ch'ing noted that the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* stated that the transmission stopped with Simha. His commentator, the monk Hui-pao of the early Northern Sung, mistakenly asserted that this comment was made in reference to the *Pao-lin chuan*, a text he frequently excoriates for those errors. Shen-ch'ing also attacked the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s assertion that there was a twenty-ninth patriarch called Dharmatrāta or Dharmatāra, whom he noted could not be Bodhidharma. Moreover, some of these patriarchs were śrāvakas, of lesser insight, so how could they transmit the mind-Dharma of a Buddha? He also attacked the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* theory that Bodhidharma sent two pupils to China ahead of him, and attacked its dating.⁹⁸ After dismissing other tales from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and related texts about the persecution of Bodhidharma, Shen-ch'ing wrote:

On examining (the theory that) the Sixth Patriarch gained the robe of surety, that is like treading on a tiger's (tail) and fearing its bite, or keeping a jade piece and being afraid of the injury,⁹⁹ everywhere terrified of the roads and tracks, panting with fright in the grass lands and marshes. Now to be worried over the transmission is mistaken. [Commentary: The *Pao-lin chuan* says, "The Fifth Patriarch handed over the robe of surety and secretly gave it to the postulant Hui-neng, who fled along the roads into the wilds, stopping when he reached Nan-hai..."] Now one who obtains the Way loses his ego. One who loses his ego also loses (concern with) all things. What place is there for a robe that is kept to oneself? [Commentary: The Way is originally due to the mind, how can it be in a robe?].¹⁰⁰

Once again, the criticism rests more on dogma, and not so much on historical records, except that of the *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*, a Chinese compilation.

⁹⁸ T52.611b-c.

⁹⁹ The commentator here refers to a story in the *Tso-chuan*, tenth year of Duke Heng, of the harm that can come of retaining something precious coveted by others. See Legge (1972), 5: 54-55.

¹⁰⁰ *Pei-shan lu*, T52.612c4-9. Following this there is a denunciation of suddenness.

Miscellaneous relics

Other relics exist which have not been connected with the lineage transmission or modelled on clues taken from the life and afterlife of the Buddha. At least two such items are retained at Nan-hua Monastery today: a pair of floral satin socks; and a stone allegedly used by Hui-neng to make his body heavier when he was pounding grain with a pestle at Hung-jen's monastery in Ch'i-chou. The Kuangtung Provincial Museum authors date them to the T'ang period. The socks are 54 centimetres long by 27 centimetres wide, yellow, with a design of flying phoenixes and cloud whirls. Tradition holds that they were gifted by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien and were worn by Hui-neng when he was preaching. The stone, which is a Ming Dynasty reconstruction, is 37 centimetres long and 8 to 10 centimetres across. It is shaped to fit the waist and has a hole at one end, and is inscribed, "The master's waist-weighting stone, carved in the first year of the Lung-shu reign (661). At Layman Lü's will, written out by Kung Pang-chu of Kuei-lin." The stone was brought in the Chia-ch'ing era (1522-1566) of the Ming Dynasty from Huang-mei County, where Hung-jen's monastery was located, by officials of Shao-chou.¹⁰¹ This latter inscription is based purely on the tales in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*,¹⁰² and appears to be a much later invention, for there are two such stones, one at Nan-hua Monastery and another at Tung-chien Monastery in Huang-mei County, on the site where Hung-jen is supposed to have given Hui-neng the robe and the bowl. The stone at Tung-chien Monastery was inscribed with the date 661, and is about two feet (*shaku*) square, painted vermilion. There is yet another stone there about one foot two inches (*isshaku nisun*) in length and two feet five inches in breadth, dated in the T'ung-chih era (1862-1874), inscribed with the history of the stone. Later, Tokiwa Daijō saw a similar stone at Nan-hua Monastery, and concluded that they were both formed out of the legend.¹⁰³ Other relics do exist, but they are of little significance.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan (1990), plates 23, 24, text 95.

¹⁰² EK, 33.

¹⁰³ Tokiwa Daijō (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 524, 625.

¹⁰⁴ Faure (1992), 'Relics and Flesh Bodies,' 173, including a pilgrim's staff and shoes.

Deification: in the presence of the relic

The afterlife of Hui-neng as a mummified relic, or potent 'person,' that began with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, has been a long and contentious one. The 'mummy' in Nan-hua Monastery, and contact relics there and elsewhere, still receive devotees and attract the ire of some Ch'an iconoclasts,¹⁰⁵ who have appealed to scriptural authorities such as the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* to back the proposition that it is a perversion of Ch'an doctrine. While this may seem to be a modernist reaction, it has been the long-term response of some elitists to all such 'vulgar' manifestations of popular piety. Such ideas can be found in Shen-hui's works and in the anonymous critic of the relics of Seng-ch'ieh,¹⁰⁶ and in Korea is encapsulated in the expression 'the Buddhism of stupid women.' This reflects a virtually permanent, seeming contradiction in Buddhism between the intellectual theorists and the devotees. However, the majority of Buddhists, even today, find no contradiction between the monistic theory of the intellectuals and the particularistic worship of relics and images, which is justifiable on the grounds of the two truths, which in reality are one.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the entire idea of the field of merit (*fu-t'ien*) and the devotion to relics associated with it, had an economic, that is to say, materialistic, imperative. The Sangha needed an economic base, and this was to be found by attracting the masses and the support of the state. Abstract theory and eremitic practice were insufficient on their own to propagate Buddhism to a broad range of people, for the theory would exclude, particularly in pre-modern China and Korea, the vast majority of the population who were illiterate and could not even read the hagiographies produced by the clerical elite. Although they may have listened to these hagiographies being read at the monasteries and festivals,¹⁰⁸ they would have related more directly to a powerful icon, a deified saint who had once lived among them. This was acceptable to the Bud-

¹⁰⁵ Faure (1991), *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 144-145, esp. on Ch'u Ta-chun in 1968 on the 'hair relic.'

¹⁰⁶ Faure (1991), 145, from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

¹⁰⁷ Compare this to the *Pei-shan lu* theory that Ch'an actually teaches three truths, the *san-kuan* and the *san-hsing*.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Paul Magnin (1987), 'Pratique religieuse et manuscrits datés,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Orient* 3: 139; Victor H. Mair (1983), *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 7-9, mentions stories about lay figures and Buddhist saints such as Maudgalyāyana, Śāriputra and Hui-yüan.

dhist elite as an expedient, which would lead the believers towards a deeper understanding via faith, or from the 'worldly truth' (*su-t'i*) to the 'actual truth' (*chen-t'i*).

Despite attempts by iconoclasts, Neo-Confucians, and latterly by modernisers to eliminate such practices as worship of a mummified icon, they ultimately failed. In fact, modernisers such as the Chinese Communists attempted to deify their own leaders by 'mummification' and embalming while eliminating those of other faiths.

If a buddha's body, or that of Hui-neng, was adamantine and incorruptible, so too would the teaching, at least in the material realm of the temporal or 'vulgar/lay' truth (*su-t'i*). This body, rather than the notion of a rarefied or 'supernatural' Dharmakāya, probably appealed to the more pragmatic Buddhist masses. It provided a focus for worship and pilgrimage, and symbolised the goal of enlightenment.

Hui-neng then was the focus of an ancestral cult. In later times, the Ch'an abbot became a replacement for the Buddha¹⁰⁹ or Hui-neng. The portrait of the deceased abbot functioned both as "a dwelling place for his soul or *ling*," and was placed in the abbot's chair to receive worship during the funeral rites. Thus the portrait was both the 'memorial tablet' (*wei-p'ai*) and the living presence of the deceased abbot.¹¹⁰ The mummified corpse, the exemplar of which was Hui-neng, provided the closest possible likeness.¹¹¹ The likeness, as it functioned like its original, could be viewed as identical with Hui-neng. Yet, unlike most artistic images, it was not meant to deceive, to confuse reality with representation.¹¹² It was not so much a representation as a presentation. As such, there was an ambiguity between the corpse itself (*chen-shen*) and the likeness or *chen*, something known in several cultures and languages.¹¹³ *Chen* was so polysemic in Chinese that it

¹⁰⁹ Sharf (1992), 'The Idolization of Enlightenment,' 6. Cf. *Ch'an-men kwei-shih* (1004), "Not to construct a Buddha Hall but only to erect a Dharma Hall is to demonstrate the way in which the Buddha and the Ch'an patriarchs transmit to the Master of the present generation his exalted position." Cited in Martin Collcutt (1983), 'The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule,' in Whalen Lai and Lewis Lancaster, eds, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series: Berkeley, 175.

¹¹⁰ Sharf (1992), 6.

¹¹¹ Sharf (1992), 19-20.

¹¹² Granoff (1988), 'Divine Delicacies,' 79-81.

¹¹³ Francis Huxley (1980), *The Way of the Sacred*, W.H. Allen: London, 40-41. Old English *lich* or *lych* meant corpse, and is related to the word 'like.' This imagined presence or likeness is the soul or shadow.

could mean what one was born with naturally, the body, the soul or spirit, and lastly, both in time and sequence, the likeness or portrait.¹¹⁴ This provided the linguistic bridge for all of these correspondences, which in turn formed a framework for the ancestral cult.

Ancestral cults had been associated with Buddhism in China before the time of Hui-neng, with some monasteries becoming substitutes for the Confucian *miao* or ancestral temple of the donors. Monks came to mourn for their deceased masters as if they were sons, sometimes fulfilling the ritual requirements of Confucian mourning.¹¹⁵ However, the ancestral worship theories of Shen-hui concerning lineages and the cakravartin king, and his establishment of a patriarchal hall (*tsu-t'ang*) with portraits organised in a seven-fold arrangement like that of spirit-tablets (*chao-mu*) of the imperial ancestral shrine (*miao*),¹¹⁶ rapidly promoted a Confucian-style cult of the patriarchal ancestors among Buddhist monks. Contrary to Shen-hui's elitist intentions, this probably merged surreptitiously with the popular Buddhio-Confucian filial piety which had gained ground in the seventh century when the *Sutra on the Profound Kindness of Parents* appeared, and asserted that one could repay one's parents' kindness by giving donations to the monasteries or Sangha, a field of merit.¹¹⁷ This apocryphal but popular scripture said that even the Buddha, in a fall from the omniscience and supernatural powers that were usually attributed to him,¹¹⁸ paid homage to some unidentified dry bones on the off chance that they could be those of ancestors. In a normative, translated sutra, the *Chin-kuang ming tsui-sheng wang ching* or *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-uttamarāja Sūtra*, the Buddha is depicted as bowing to the *śarīra* of an earlier self-sacrificing (*she-shen*)

¹¹⁴ Cf. Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 23235 under sections 5, 7, 8 and 9. All except the last are attested in the *Chuang-tzu*, for which see Watson (1968), 219, "forgetting its true self," 329, "against their true form and inborn nature."

¹¹⁵ Jorgensen (1987), 97, citing Tso Sze-bong (1982), 215. Cf. Jacques Gernet (1995), *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Seventh Centuries*, translated by Franciscus Verellen, Columbia University Press: New York, 283.

¹¹⁶ Jorgensen (1987), 109-110, 121.

¹¹⁷ Alan Cole (1998), *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 132, 147; cf. Tsung-mi on the superiority of Buddhist filial piety and comparisons of Buddhist and Confucian funeral rites, 153-154, and on fields of merit, 7.

¹¹⁸ But cf. the contentious article by Paul J. Griffiths (Oct. 1989), 'Why Buddhas can't remember their previous lives,' *Philosophy East and West* 39 (4): 449-451, a theory which would obliterate all the *jātakas* or dismiss them as expedients.

bodhisattva¹¹⁹ found in a seven-jewelled *caitya*, whose doors the Buddha had Ānanda open. The Buddha said,

You bhikṣus should all reverence the bodhisattva's original body (*pen-shen*). His *śarīra* are perfumed by the limitless incense of his precepts, dhyāna and insight, and are the supreme field of merit.

Ānanda then asked, "Since you, Thus Come, master, transcend all, and are respected by all sentient beings, for what reason should we bow to this body and bones?" The Buddha then told Ānanda that it was "because of these bones that I rapidly attained *annuttarasamyak sambodhi*. In order to repay past kindness I now make obeisance."¹²⁰ Although this bodhisattva may have been a former incarnation of the Buddha, or at least an associate in the cluster of lives that tended to share rebirths,¹²¹ it is clear one had to repay the kindness of one who taught and inspired one. If Hui-neng were a bodhisattva or buddha, the same respect would naturally have to be paid to his remains. As Hui-neng became the ancestor of all Southern Ch'an, which became Ch'an orthodoxy, so much so that his toponym, Ts'ao-ch'i, was adopted for all Ch'an, whether in China or Korea,¹²² all Ch'an followers were obligated to repay him with devotions and donations due to an ancestor and a buddha.

The mummy of Hui-neng then became a symbol of the legitimate, orthodox lineage of Ch'an, an object of devotion and pilgrimage by clergy and laity, a palladium for southern states, and ultimately a popular god.

The reliquary and stupa as palladium and symbol

A stupa that contained the relics of a saint, especially a buddha, was considered to be a living representative of the timeless Dharma-body or corpus of the Buddha. That Buddha was actually present and active.

¹¹⁹ Cole (1998), 218, 278 note 45.

¹²⁰ *Chin-kuang ming tsui-sheng wang ching*, T16.451a12-b27.

¹²¹ Cf. Mark R. Woodward (1997), 'The Biographical Imperative in Theravāda Buddhism,' in Juliane Schober, ed., *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 53-54.

¹²² See I Hsing-kuang (1994), *Ts'ao-ch'i Ch'an jen-wu chih*, Kuang-tung jen-min ch'u-pan she: Kuang-chou, and the Chogye Order in Korea. Moreover, Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi (840-901), who admired Hui-neng, had the name of the mountain he lived on changed from Ho-yü shan to Ts'ao-shan, see Nagai (2000), 505.

In other words, the stupa and image *were* the Buddha.¹²³ They consequently had the legal and religious status of people or saints and so were not to be harmed.¹²⁴ No matter that they were 'images,' they were 'persons' who were thought to live in the monasteries, and had to be provided for and had property. Residences, which were called Perfume Chambers, were set aside for these buddhas in Indian monasteries.¹²⁵ Even the broken statues of buddhas were considered 'dead' buddhas and were interred in stupas as if they were dead persons.¹²⁶ Relics thus have the salvific powers of a living saint.¹²⁷ Moreover, relics were the ultimate field of merit,¹²⁸ and as mentioned by the *Ta-p'an mieh-p'an ching hou fen*, to see the *śarīra* of a buddha is to see the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. Indeed, the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* stated that the stupa (*t'a-miao*) for Śākya Muni was to be raised at the crossroads, and one should display banners,

to cause the passers-by to all look at the Buddha's stupa, and remember with fondness the Thus Come Dharma King's way and teaching, and produce and gain benefit, so that on death they will rise to the heavens....All who venerate and pay homage will attain unlimited fortune.¹²⁹

These relics therefore had great economic value, not only to the monastery that held them, but to the Order in general. Consequently, as in the case of the Buddha's relics, they attracted rulers, who could thereby demonstrate their faith and influence as indispensable protectors of the relics.¹³⁰ As Aśoka and other rulers realised, the debt was eternal and unlimited, just like the non-decaying, adamant relics; but at the same time, by controlling the relics they gained access to the power of the relic, which could promote the passage to enlightenment.¹³¹ Paul Mus has even suggested that the building of a stupa for relics of a buddha made the kingdom and king a living

¹²³ Hirakawa (1963), 'The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas,' 88, 93; Schopen (1987), 'Burial "Ad Sanctos",' 212.

¹²⁴ Schopen (1987), 208-209.

¹²⁵ Schopen (1997), *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, 262-263, 269. These *gandhakūṭi* were known to Chinese via the works of I-ching. See Takakusu (1896), 22, 123, 155, on *hsiang-shih* 香室.

¹²⁶ Schopen (1997), 276-277.

¹²⁷ Schopen (1987), 202-203.

¹²⁸ Ruppert (2000), 18.

¹²⁹ *Yü-hsing ching*, T1.20b9-11, b20.

¹³⁰ Ruppert (2000), 12, 16.

¹³¹ Ruppert (2000), 3, 24, 40.

reliquary: "the Buddhist king may also be conceived as a potential symbol of the Buddha."¹³² It is no surprise then that the mummy and image of Hui-neng became a state palladium.

It was probably for this reason that the Liu family, rulers of the Southern Han (917-971), seem to have made the reliquary containing the lacquered body of Hui-neng into a sort of palladium, which they took out in a torch-lit procession through their city once a year. However, despite some patronage of Hui-neng's relic, it is possible that the Liu clan, possibly of Iranian ancestry, favoured the mummy of Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949) and his heirs, as they could be associated with their own dynasty and not that of the T'ang. Moreover, there seems to have been some rivalry between the two monasteries of Ts'ao-ch'i and Yün-men, both near Shao-chou, as the *logia* (*yü-lu*) of Yün-men contains some ridicule concerning the powerlessness of Hui-neng's relic.¹³³ Later, when the Sung had conquered Southern Han, some remnant troops, perhaps loyalists, possibly brigands, rebelled in Shao-chou and

burnt down the monastery, and this fire was about to spread to the stupa. In normal times the physical body could not be lifted even by several men. The smoke came towards two monks who were lifting it, and it was as light as a hollow-cloth statue (*chia-chu hsiang*). In 978, the present ruler (of the Sung) ordered the reconstruction of the stupa and changed (the monastery's name) to Nan-hua Monastery.¹³⁴

According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the two monks who were trying to rescue the relic must have been the stupa guardians.¹³⁵ They were probably doing their religious duty, but the attention the Southern Han and the Sung rulers, who incidentally knew the political value of Buddhism, paid to this particular relic suggests that it was somehow connected to the fortunes of the state, even if only in the Kuangtung region. Similarly, Fa-hsing Monastery, where Hui-neng had supposedly received his tonsure from Yin-tsung, was thought to be a weather-vane of the vicissitudes of the ruling house. Hsieh Chü-cheng, who presented the (*Chiu*) *Wu-tai shih* to the Sung emperor in 974, wrote of Liu Ch'ang (r. 958-971), the last ruler of Southern Han, that he

¹³² Ruppert (2000), 20-21.

¹³³ Nagai (2000), 506-507, 541-542; for more details of the history of this relic, see Nagai (1991), 'Kōtō no Bukkyō shinkō,' 104-109.

¹³⁴ SKSC, T50.755c5-10; EK, 236.

¹³⁵ T51.237a4-7; EK, 236.

lacked the ability to rule (he was under the de-facto control of the eunuchs), and the loss of his kingdom at the hands of the Sung troops was foretold by an omen from Fa-hsing Monastery (i.e. Kuang-hsiao Monastery in Canton), a site where Hui-neng had been active:

Previously, Kuang-chou's Fa-hsing Monastery had a bodhi tree that was a hundred and forty *shih* (feet) high and in circumference the extent of ten people with arms outstretched. Tradition states it was planted by the monk Paramārtha from the Western Regions in the time of the Hsiao (clan) Liang Dynasty, so it was over four hundred years old. In the summer of the fifth year of the Ch'ien-te reign of the imperial court (967), it was uprooted by a typhoon. In the autumn of that year, thunder frequently shook Ch'ang's sleeping quarters, and the percipient knew that this meant his certain downfall.¹³⁶

It is even probable that this ruler tried to counteract his misfortune by erecting a seven-storied iron stupa coated with gold, the 'Thousand Buddhas Precious Stupa,' in the very same year.¹³⁷ There is also a tradition that Emperor Jen-tsung of the Sung in 1032 had the "true body placed in a palanquin and welcomed it, the robe and the bowl to the court chapel for worship,"¹³⁸

There may indeed have been a southern tradition linking Hui-neng and the patriarchs of Ch'an with the rise and fall of ruling dynasties. In Vietnam, images of Hui-neng were connected with the fall of the Chinese T'ang house and the rise of local rulers. The monk La-Qui-An 羅貴安 (850-935/6), tenth generation of the Ty-Ni-Da-Lu'u-Chi

¹³⁶ *Chiu Wu-tai shih*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking (1976), 6/135/1810. Note that Ou-yang Hsiu's Confucian bias has him eliminate this entry in his *Hsin Wu-tai shih*. For the bodhi tree, see Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), English summary, 14, on the legend of Guṇabhadra planting haritakī trees there. See Tokiwa (1938), 617 and plate 11. See also Hsiang Ta (1957), *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming*, San-lien shu-tien: Peking, 1987 reprint, 51. The legend of Paramārtha (499-569) planting two bodhi trees at this monastery comes from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, EK, 41, 73.

¹³⁷ Liu Ch'ang, *Hsing-wang-fu Ch'ien-fo pao-t'a ts'an*, CTW 129/578b-c; Wu Jen-ch'en, comp. (1983), *Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu*, 2/60/865. See also Tokiwa (1938), 616-618; Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), plate 45. The accompanying explanation states the stupa is 4.18 metres high, the stone base dating to the Southern Han and in the Sumeru style, with Vajrapālas (Adamantine Protecting Kings) on the four corners and dragon heads in between. Above this is a lotus. The remainder is made of iron and was cast in the Yung-cheng reign (1713-1735). This part is hollow. The first storey has an inscription on it; the other stories have the images of the thousand buddhas.

¹³⁸ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu kuan (1990), 115, quoting an anonymous postface to the Ming Dynasty Cheng-t'ung 4 (1439) printing of the Te-i text of the *Platform Sutra*, for which see Yanagida (1976c), *Rokuso Dankyō shohon shūsei*, Ming, 232a-b.

School of Thiên (Ch'an) that spuriously traced itself back to Vinītaruci, a supposed pupil of the third patriarch, Seng-ts'an, cast a metal statue of Hui-neng in Luc-tô (Liu-tsu or Sixth Patriarch) Monastery in Bac-ninh Province.¹³⁹ Fearing it would be stolen, he buried it beside the monastery gate, saying, "If it meets with an enlightened king, then it will come forth; if it comes across an evil king, it will remain buried." La-Quy-An died at the age of eighty-five when the T'ang had already collapsed, and Chinese control over Vietnam had weakened. In the Red River Valley, Vietnamese military leaders had started on the road to autonomy.¹⁴⁰ The implication is that the statue was a symbol of independence, possibly predicting the rise of the Ly Dynasty, for its pro-Buddhist founder Ly Thái-Tôn, studied under the twelfth patriarch of the Ty-Ni-Da-Lu'u-Chi School, Van-Hanh (d.1018), at this monastery when he was young. Moreover, in Vietnam the people believed that the Ly Dynasty rulers or their empresses were incarnations of Kuan-yin, with the dynasty's fortune being linked to the fact that the concubine and mother of the heir of Ly Thánh-Tôn (r. 1054-1072) was thought to be a Quán-Âm (Kuan-yin), and a dream that his father, Thái-Tôn (r. 1028-1054) had of Kuan-yin inviting him to mount the throne led to the foundation of the One Column Pagoda of Quán-Âm (a.k.a. Diên-Hu'u).¹⁴¹

Even in the neighbouring state of Nan-chao in Yün-nan, itself linked to Tibet, which had experienced a dispute between Indian

¹³⁹ For the location of Luc-tô Monastery, see Trần-Van Giap (1932), 'Le bouddhisme en Annam: de origines au XIIIe siècle,' BEFEO 32 (Hanoi): 238 note 1. Note that predictions were a major, popular feature of Ch'an in Vietnam, and have been attributed to the influence of Taoism from China and Tantrism from India, Champa and possibly Tibet. La-Quy-An and Van-Hanh were especially noted for their abilities to predict in poems the fate of the state. See Thich Đức-niệm (1979), *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yü Yüeh-nan Li-ch'ao wen-hsüeh chih yen-chiu*, 105-106.

¹⁴⁰ Kawamoto Kunie (1976), 'Vetonomu no Bukkyō,' in Nakamura Hajime et al, eds, *Asia Bukkyōshi: Chūgoku-hen 4: Higashi-Asia sho chi-iki no Bukkyō*, Kōseisha: Tokyo, 255.

¹⁴¹ Kawamoto (1976), 268. Thus, Van-Hanh, when at Luc-tô Monastery, had foreknowledge of Thái-Tôn's accession to the throne, using a poem to predict this. See Thich Du-niệm (1979), 115-116. For the incidents involving Vietnamese rulers and Kuan-yin, see Thich Du-niệm (1979), 190-191, and Thich Thien-An (1975), *Buddhism and Zen in Vietnam*, Charles E. Tuttle: Tokyo: 68-69, where Thái-Tôn is listed in the seventh generation of the Vô-Ngôn-Tôn School of Ch'an. Thánh-Tôn had been childless until he took this 'Kuan-yin' as a concubine. For general information on Vietnamese Ch'an, see Thich Thien-An (1975), (although this has to be used cautiously, as the historicity of some of its sources have been challenged); Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 88, and English summary, 13, *passim*.

Buddhism (Mādhyamaka and Tantra) and Chinese Ch'an in the 780s and 790s, the people may have worshipped a lineage of Ch'an monks from Hui-neng via Shen-hui, Chang Wei-chung (Nan-yin?) and several Nan-chao patriarchs to the Indian monk Kuan-yin Bodhisattva, the founder of the nation who claimed descent from King Aśoka.¹⁴² However, Nan-chao's Ch'an traditions differ from those of the Vietnamese because the Ch'an of Nan-chao, similarly to that of Tibet, derived from Szechwan with its distinctive Ch'an, unlike Vietnamese Ch'an which derived its traditions from Kuangtung. But there was clearly a southern tradition linking Ch'an patriarchs and Kuan-yin to the fate of rulers and dynasties. It is possible that the Ch'an images of Hui-neng and those of Kuan-yin superseded an earlier southern tradition of Aśoka images, which likewise escaped fire and calamities, or predicted the fortunes of dynasties. The 'tradition' may have started with Emperor Wu of Liang, and such tales were recorded by Tao-hsüan. Tao-hsüan recorded the story of a stone image from the Vaiśālī Monastery of Kuang-chou, which was threatened by fire between 479 and 482. Normally so heavy that seventy men could not move it, when three or four nuns tried to shift it away from the fire, it was as light as the stone weight of a scale.¹⁴³

To return to the fire in Nan-hua Monastery, the extraordinary varying weight of the body-relic must be symbolic of saintliness and potency, for when the Mallas attempted to lift the bier of the Śākya Muni Buddha, they could not, for the gods did not desire it moved.¹⁴⁴ Hence with Hui-neng, it was he himself who allowed his body to be shifted during the fire. This was of course only one of many miracu-

¹⁴² Yanagida Seizan (1988), 'Jinne no shōzō,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 15 (Iriya Yoshitaka sensei kiju ki'nen issue): 232-242. This is based partly on a series of portraits by a Sung Dynasty painter. For the founder, Kuan-yin Bodhisattva, see Hibino (1977), 163, a scroll of the late ninth century. For this 'Long Scroll' or 'Ta-li Scroll' and its possible links to Szechwan Ch'an, see Adamek (2003), 'Imagining the Portrait,' 42-43. For these scrolls, see the summary of recent research by Chü T'ao (2003.2), '20 shih-chi T'ai-wan "Chang Sheng-wen Fan-hsiang chuan" yen-chiu chih kung-hsien,' *Tun-huang yen-chiu* (Dunhuang Research) 78: 29-41.

¹⁴³ Koichi Shinohara (1998), 'Changing Roles for Miraculous Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,' in Richard H. Davis, ed., *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, Westview Press: Boulder, 151, 153, 156-157.

¹⁴⁴ Julian Sherrier (1980), 'Iconography of the Mahāparinirvāṇa,' in Anna Libera Dallapiccola, ed., *The Stupa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, Franz Steiner verlag: Weisbaden, 211.

lous signs associated with the stupa and its various relics, including the inability of thieves to permanently remove the robe, with

the ethereal numina after the Master's decease constantly present, almost as if he could be seen. In the reliquary-stupa there was constantly a strange aroma, or it (the relic) entered people's dreams. The various auspicious omens were not merely one, but extended over a long period of time and cannot all be recorded.¹⁴⁵

This record in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is echoed in simpler forms in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* and the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra*, and they and all other versions of the sutra record that a white light emerged from the reliquary directly to the heavens, remaining for two or three days.¹⁴⁶

The power of the cadaver is also evident from the story of the dispute over the valued relic, with clear echoes of the dispute over the *śarīra* of the Buddha. Eight kingdoms desired Buddha's relics. The brahmin monk, Droṇa 香姓婆羅門 interceded to divide the remains, with the begging bowl of the Buddha used for the eight-fold apportionment made into one more stupa, and the left-over ashes of the cremation used by the local villagers to make yet another.¹⁴⁷ In the case of Hui-neng, the officials of the commanderies (either two or three, but always including Shao and Hsin, only later Kuang, which suggests the involvement of the political centre) had to stop the pupils and their people, lay and cleric, from fighting over the location of the stupa for the relic. They solved the problem by having Hui-neng decide when they burned incense 香, here perhaps alluding to the Chinese rendering of the name of Droṇa, *Hsiang-hsing* 香姓 and the word for pilgrimage, *chin-hsiang* 進香.¹⁴⁸

Consequently, if the relic had such powers and numinosity, it must have been a great privilege to have been made the stupa-guardian.

¹⁴⁵ EK, 231. Hints from this passage were used in recent Korean developments of the hagiography of the relic. For dreams leading to the discovery of relics, and dreams of relics as saints in the West, see Sumption (1975), 26-27, 52.

¹⁴⁶ EK, 231.

¹⁴⁷ Ishida Mosaku (1977), *Bukkyō kōkogaku ronko 4: Butsutō hen*, Shibunkaku: Kyoto, 63.

¹⁴⁸ The decision-making method is similar to the one used by St Patrick to choose his burial site. It was determined by where the bullocks pulling the cart carrying his relics stopped. See Bentley (1985), 167. Note that Shao-chou was the site of the relic, Hsin-chou, to the southwest of Canton, Hui-neng's place of upbringing, exile and death; and Kuang-chou was the regional capital.

Originally the duty of the laity,¹⁴⁹ somebody, presumably a resident monk, eventually became a professional caretaker¹⁵⁰ to take charge of the financial affairs arising from the donations of the faithful as well as the management and upkeep of the stupa itself. With the threat of theft, perhaps he also had to be a watchman. It has been suggested that as the pupils erected stupas to the glory of their late teachers, such stupas may have become focal points for lineages.¹⁵¹ With the necessity of lineage symbols in Ch'an, and the denial by Shen-hui and supposedly Hui-neng of the future transmission of the robe and bowl, the need for a long-lasting symbol arose, and that was the stupa, with the *Platform Sutra* nominating itself as the alternative. Therefore, given the number of stupa-guardians mentioned in the Ch'an histories and stele inscriptions,¹⁵² it seems that the position of stupa-guardian was akin to being the personal attendant of the master, and perhaps the equivalent of chief disciple and heir, especially when the stupa-guardian was the chief mourner.

Thus the relic became not only a state palladium, but also a sign of the legitimate lineal Dharma-succession. It is for this reason that many attempts were made to steal the relics of Hui-neng. At first attempts were made to steal the robe, but once that had been largely superseded as a symbol of the transmission, especially since Hui-neng was made to announce that it was too dangerous and no longer worthy of being used as a symbol, attention switched to stealing the body, or part thereof, of Hui-neng himself.

Yet, for hardline Confucians, the relic was a fake and a vulgar superstition. This is also how Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit colleagues perceived the mummy of Hui-neng, which they naturally regarded as a graven idol and a rival to the relics they venerated. Ricci, who lived in Shao-chou from mid-1589, and whose residence there was attacked, possibly on the instigation of Buddhist monks in 1592, was

¹⁴⁹ Hirakawa (1963), 102-103; this has been challenged recently by Gregory Schopen (1999), 'The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk,' *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27: 281, 289, 298, 308.

¹⁵⁰ Hirakawa (1963), 105. These caretakers could be compared to the *custodes* of pilgrimage sites and reliquaries in Western Christendom, who acted as 'tour guides,' and cared for pilgrims, maintaining the sites. They became important officials. See Landes (1995), 62, and for earlier evidence, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel (1983/1985), 'The cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship,' 145.

¹⁵¹ Ch'ong Y'nggho (1974), *Silla sokjo podo y'nggu*, Sinh'ungsa: Seoul, 12-13, 197.

¹⁵² This is an impression gained from many sources.

hostile to the monks of Nan-hua Monastery, who "are also robbers, and killers of those who pass along the road."¹⁵³ He wrote that there were a thousand "priests of the idols" there:

They are the lords of this demense, inherited as a benefice from the impious piety of their ancestors. This institution had its origin with a man named Lusu [either Patriarch Lü or the Sixth Patriarch] some eight hundred years ago....His body is enshrined in this magnificent temple, which was built in his honor, and the people who venerate his memory and whatever belonged to him, come here on pilgrimage from all corners of the realm....The temple ministers also showed them the body of Lusu, enveloped in that peculiar shiny bituminous substance, known only to the Chinese. Many say it is not his body, but the people believe that it is and they hold it in great veneration.¹⁵⁴

The 'many' were probably members of the elite, in particular the Confucian bureaucrats. Even the local officials had to bend to popular feelings and demands. Thus, another Jesuit, Longobardo, saw the mummy of Hui-neng brought into Shao-chou in order to halt a severe drought:

So (the inhabitants) gave up hope in the city gods, and for the occasion they brought in a celebrated monster from the country. Its name was *Locu*. They paraded it about, bowing before it and made offerings to it, but like its counterparts it remained deaf to their pleading. It was this occasion that gave rise to the saying, "*Locu* is growing old."¹⁵⁵

Perhaps Longobardo was exaggerating, for in 1636, 1654, 1655 and 1853, the *chen-shen* of Hui-neng was brought to Shao-chou and worshipped in Ta-chien Monastery, to counter the ill effects of droughts and floods. Even in 1943, a bronze statue of Hui-neng was brought from Nan-hua Monastery to Shao-chou. Coincidentally, Ta-chien was the posthumous name granted to Hui-neng in 816, so the people of

¹⁵³ Jonathan D. Spence (1985), *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, 57, 211. These accusations may have some validity, especially on the blatant keeping of families by monks at Nan-hua Monastery, for soon after, Han-shan Te-ch'ing (1546-1623) arrived and made sweeping reforms. See Nagai (2000), 502.

¹⁵⁴ Louis J. Gallagher, trans. (1953), *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci 1583-1610*, Random House: New York, 222-223, cited in Faure (1991), 152, and Faure (1992), 168.

¹⁵⁵ Gallagher (1953), 462, cited in Faure (1991), 163, and Faure (1992), 169. Note that these opinions and language may not necessarily accurately reflect that of Ricci himself, for the diaries were edited and distorted by Nicola Trigault, for which see Spence (1985), 271 note 4. Note tradition also has it that Hui-neng was a dowser or creator of springs, Faure (1991), 174.

Shao-chou must have respected his virtue to build a monastery by that name.¹⁵⁶

Despite the enduring presence of Hui-neng's relic, its power could be seen as diminishing over time. At least according to Tsung-mi (780-841), the debts to remote ancestors are lighter than to those of immediate ancestors or masters,¹⁵⁷ and so if donations to the fields of merit or the food to the ancestors lessened, so would the ancestor's potency.¹⁵⁸ This can be related to the ineluctable influence of flux (*wu-ch'ang*) or change, and to whether or not a buddha is subject to it, a topic broached in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. One theory avers, "Even though the body of the Thus Come, honoured by men and gods, is adamant and hard, it still is not exempt from flux (*anitya*)."¹⁵⁹ Such an idea is reflected in the notes to a poem written by Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283), a Sung loyalist who resisted the Mongols to the last, for which he and his family suffered grievously.¹⁶⁰ The poem read,

On this journey of nearly a thousand *li*,
Again I am confused and forget east and west.
We travel on and on to Nan-hua,
Indifferent as if in a dream.
How much dust (trouble) does the buddha's transformation (body) know?
The harm then is the same as (to) mine.¹⁶¹
To have a body 形 is to end in reversion to annihilation.
That which does not cease is only true emptiness.
Laughing, I looked upon the Ts'ao-ch'i waters
And before the gate I sat in the pine breeze.

He noted,

The true body of the Sixth Patriarch Ch'an teacher has probably been here for several hundred years! His heart and liver were cut out by rebel

¹⁵⁶ Nagai (2000), 533-534.

¹⁵⁷ Cole (1998), 155-157.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Cole (1998), 7-9; these are my extrapolations.

¹⁵⁹ *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching*, T1.204c26-28, translated by Fa-hsien in 405 A.D. Note that *wu-ch'ang* also means death in some contexts.

¹⁶⁰ Herbert A. Giles (1898), *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Ch'eng Wen Publishing: Taipei, 1971 reprint, no. 2306, pp. 874-875. For a vignette of this man's personal grief at the loss of the Sung and his division of responses to this event between the spare, factual autobiography and his belles-lettres, see Pei-Yi Wu (1990), *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 11, 32-38.

¹⁶¹ Reference to *Lao-tzu XIII*, see Waley (1934/1977), *The Way and its Power*, George Allen & Unwin: London, 157.

troops (Mongols), so we know that a buddha is not exempt from harm and adversity. How much less so humans?¹⁶²

While Wen viewed the mummy as a buddha, he was probably referring to an incident in 1276 when Mongol troops opened the flesh body with a sword, but seeing the heart and liver in good preservation, halted the rampage.¹⁶³

However, as long as the relic had potency and could be seen as a field of merit for rulers, the mummy was 'patronised' by them. The author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* invented summonses and decrees from the imperial court. This strategy eventually gave Hui-neng's mummy sufficient spiritual *gravitas* for it and the contact relics to be titled 'national treasures' by Emperor Tai-tsung in 765.¹⁶⁴ In 815 Emperor Hsien-tsung gave Hui-neng a posthumous title, and the stupa housing the mummy the name Numinous Luminosity (*Ling-chao t'a*). The Southern Han made the mummy into a state palladium, and when that state fell to the Sung, marauding troops burnt down the stupa, but the monks managed to escape with the treasured mummy. In recompense, Emperor T'ai-tsung of the Sung had a new stupa built, with an additional title, and in 1032 Emperor Jen-tsung sent a palanquin to bring the 'true body,' and the robe and bowl, to court, where they were venerated.¹⁶⁵ During the Mongol invasion of south China between 1287 and 1291, the monk Ku-na and his students took the "patriarchal teacher's image, robe and bowl out of Nan-hua Monastery and fled beyond the boundaries of the city." To compensate, the Yüan Emperor Genghis Khan exempted Nan-hua Monastery from corvee labour and ordered it be protected. Gifts were given by the Ming and Ch'ing emperors, and the robe and bowl were sometimes brought to the imperial palace. Again, probably during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, troops opened a hole in the back of the mummy, an action repeated by Red Guards in 1966. Finally, in 1962, it was designated the first

¹⁶² Quoted in Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), '*Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih pieh chuan chiao-chu*,' in Kim Chi'gyön, ed. *Yukjo Tan'gyöng üi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 555. These annotations by Wen are very similar to lines from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, T1.205b7-8: "The Thus Come and honoured of gods and men, Has an adamantine body that is hard and firm, But still it is not exempt from flux, So how much more so other people."

¹⁶³ Faure (1992), 178, quoting a legend mentioned by Doré (1916), 7: 257.

¹⁶⁴ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 241, gives the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* as a source for this. Faure (1995), 341-343.

¹⁶⁵ Cheng-t'ung text of the *Platform Sutra*, Yanagida (1976c), 232.

important cultural item to be protected by Kuangtung Province.¹⁶⁶

When examined together with evidence of imperial or state assistance in rebuilding the monastery after it was damaged in warfare or fell into decay because of a lack of funds,¹⁶⁷ it is clear that state patronage has declined, and to the present regime it has no spiritual, only a cultural significance. Yet given all the tribulations of warfare, arson, looting, fires, insects, unruly Red Guards and a humid, tropical climate, it is a minor miracle that it has survived relatively intact. Hui-neng entered into popular belief, and various dates associated with him have been made into popular festivals or commemorations, and these have been recorded in Ming and Ch'ing Dynasty almanacs.¹⁶⁸ The afterlife of 'Hui-neng' has been long, celebrated and contentious, and it may yet see many more years as an object of religious devotion, a national treasure, and possibly even as a 'monster.'

Ch'an Buddhism cannot be studied seriously, except as a reified "circle in the air," to quote Max Stirner, or an ideological abstraction, without being seen in its historical context of time, place and specific social and cultural matrix. Ch'an could not remain aloof from the popular aspirations and beliefs of the people, the machinations of clerical 'politicians,' and the interests of the state. The mummy of a monk, which was widely believed to be living buddha, as a material artefact, was more subject to the physical deeds of these actors in its environments than were abstract ideas. The forging of hagiographies that highlighted the miracles associated with the relic, however, made it into a potent icon and a foundation for salvation. Successful in their enterprise, the hagiographers and the fabricators of the mummy, made the relic of Hui-neng not simply a symbol of an orthodox lineage, but also a sanction of aspirants to succession in that lineage.

Confucianism and worship of the mummy

The worship of relics was part of a much larger spectrum of miracles and hermetic beliefs permeating Ch'an, beliefs and practices such as premonition, prediction, dream visitations, miraculous omens and signs, deifications and co-optations of local gods,¹⁶⁹ and geomancy.

¹⁶⁶ Hsü Heng-pin (1993), 226, 241-242.

¹⁶⁷ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan (1990), 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ Nagai (2000), 503.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. on Hui-neng and the taming of a dragon, Faure (1991), 174.

The 'special dead' had a concrete role to play in the life of Ch'an, but under conservative Neo-Confucian pressure, and recent modernisation, many of their traces were erased from the public record. Examples of such pressures were the increasingly severe restrictions on cremation by the state under the growing influence of doctrinaire Neo-Confucianism. Even the T'ang laws made cremation of non-clergy a punishable offence.¹⁷⁰ Yet, at the end of the T'ang, cremation was still "deeply rooted in the customs of the nation,"¹⁷¹ and persisted into early Sung despite the 962 Sung state reaffirmation of the prohibition.¹⁷² A movement began in the Sung to oppose cremation. This peaked with the strictures of Chu Hsi, who averred it was more filial to bury one's parents even though they desired to be cremated.¹⁷³ Neo-Confucian strictures against cremation were partly 'nationalistic,' or rather, xenophobic.¹⁷⁴ Cremation survived this fundamentalist opposition for a long time, because of Buddhism, the lack of burial plots in densely populated areas, and the mixing with 'barbarian' populations,¹⁷⁵ and only really declined during the Ming Dynasty.¹⁷⁶ But it was only in the Ch'ing, with the Sinifying Emperor Yung-cheng, that a truly tough enforcement of the provisions was made, despite the Manchus themselves having a custom of cremating their dead. This was the true turning point.¹⁷⁷ Ch'an was especially vulnerable to these pressures because of the precedent of Hui-neng and a number of other such 'flesh bodies,' and because Ch'an monks and monasteries sought the patronage of the Confucian literati and the protection of the state. They often modelled themselves on

¹⁷⁰ Miyazaki Ichisada (1961), 'Chūgoku kasō kō,' in *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōjūkinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū*, Nagai shuppansha: Kyoto, 795-796.

¹⁷¹ de Groot (1892), 3: 1393.

¹⁷² Miyazaki (1961), 797; cremation was permitted if death occurred a long way from the burial site. Patricia Buckley Ebrey (1993), 'The response of the Sung state to popular funeral practices,' in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds, *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 214, 224, shows that Buddhist monasteries still had crematoria, and 222, she claims that controls were only ad hoc arrangements, and were otherwise never truly enforced. Rather, the state was ambiguous in its attitudes.

¹⁷³ Cited by Wei Cheng-t'ung (1986), 'Chu Hsi on the Standard and Expedient,' in Wing-tsit Chan, ed., *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 266-267.

¹⁷⁴ Miyazaki (1961), 805-806.

¹⁷⁵ Miyazaki (1961), 798.

¹⁷⁶ de Groot (1892), 3: 1395-1411; Sharf (1992), 17-18, note 47.

¹⁷⁷ Miyazaki (1961), 803-804.

Confucian practices and ideas such as lineage and ancestor worship in the hope of making themselves the most Confucian of Buddhists, a movement that Shen-hui had given great momentum to.

However, some texts, such as the *Platform Sutra* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, had gained state imprimatur and so their record of the relic was sacrosanct. Other hagiographical collections without that sanction, such as the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Pao-lin chuan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi* were superseded and only survived in Korea or Japan. They may have been too outrageous in their claims, or too partisan and divisive within the Ch'an community, to have been acceptable as statements of the orthodox 'history.' These two categories of textual sources preserved some of the evidence of practices that were too popular and also violated Confucian norms on funerary customs. The Indian Buddhist funerary customs were allegedly simple and used as a lesson on impermanence. However, most leading Ch'an monks of the early period were buried, and the funerary rituals themselves probably had a major Confucian component.¹⁷⁸ As time passed, Confucian elements increasingly infiltrated Ch'an funerary practices, and this was most evident by the early Northern Sung.¹⁷⁹ By the Yüan Dynasty, the influential *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* of ca. 1350 was imperially commissioned to be the code in the state-supported Ch'an monasteries, and demonstrated a more 'secular bent,' with sixteen headings for the funeral rites of the abbots alone. It sanctioned both cremation and burial, which was called "the entire body interred in the stupa."¹⁸⁰ These measures brought state, and to some extent, Neo-Confucian control over Ch'an funerary practices and the related ancestral worship, via state power and internalisation of the Confucian hegemonic values. Therefore, there was no longer a major problem for the Confucian elite of the reports of occasional miracles, even if they were still viewed as superstition, and even of the worship of the mummy of a

¹⁷⁸ Faure (1991), 192.

¹⁷⁹ William M. Bodiford (Nov. 1992), 'Zen in the Art of Funerals: Ritual Salvation in Japanese Buddhism,' *History of Religions* 32 (2): 151; for the case of Yi Dynasty Korea, see John Jorgensen (1998), 'Conflicts between Buddhism and Confucianism in the Chosön Dynasty—a preliminary survey,' *Bulgyo-Yongu* 15: 224-229.

¹⁸⁰ Martin Collcutt (1983), 'The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing-kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life,' 169. For a detailed comparison of the funerary rituals in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*, see Narikawa Hōyu (March 1990), 'Ōbakushingi no sōsōgirei,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (2): 681-685.

rather Confucianised Ch'an ancestor, Hui-neng. This was despite the gut feeling that the worship of fragments of the dead was unwholesome and not filial. However, the factual existence of the mummy of Hui-neng was a constant reminder of these 'vulgar' practices, and attracting popular support, was more difficult to suppress.

Worship of the mummy

The survival of the mummy of Hui-neng, as a 'national treasure' and genealogical guarantor, providing a seal of approval as in the case of the worshipper, the Silla monk Toŭi, is yet another example of the Chinese trope of transmission. Here, it is the presence of Hui-neng that is transmitted, not his teachings. He is a continual presentation or presence (*praesentia*) as shown by emissions of light or aura, fragrances, the automatic opening of doors to the shrine, his changing weight, the induction of rain and similar signs.¹⁸¹ The lights that in so many accounts come forth from the mummy or the *uṣṇīṣa* are parallels to, or participation in, the *parinirvāṇa* miracles of the Buddha, or are used to identify the relic of Hui-neng with the same power. The Nan-hua Monastery shrine, where Hui-neng's remains were installed, for ordinary believers was a magical place, an access point to a Pure Land or Heaven.¹⁸² In other words, the mummy was animated, containing a heart and liver,¹⁸³ and so was not simply an icon, but a continuing 'live' transmitter, an agent of transmission, and a medium or channel between the world and the divine. Possibly, as it is alleged to have contained a *hsin* (heart/mind), perhaps it was also what was transmitted in the 'transmission from mind to mind' (*i-hsin ch'uan-hsin*) in Ch'an.

Therefore, as a continuing presence and as a full body *śarīra* or body-mask, the mummy is not a re-presentation of Hui-neng like so many fragments of the Buddha or icons.¹⁸⁴ There is no mention of

¹⁸¹ See last section of *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, for Toŭi see next chapter, above for changing weight and for European examples, Brown (1981), *The Cult of the Saints*, 82; and also Bernard Faure (1998), 'The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze,' *Critical Inquiry*, Spring: 795. Cf. Richard H. Davis (1998), 'Introduction: Miracles as Social Acts,' in Richard H. Davis, ed., *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, Westview Press: Boulder, 3.

¹⁸² Cf. Brown (1981), 76, for Europe.

¹⁸³ Faure (1998), 770, 780.

¹⁸⁴ This differs from the position taken by Trainor (1997), 30. Cf. also p. 55,

reproduction, imitation or invention,¹⁸⁵ or of representation. Just as with the Buddhist hagiographies, so too with Hui-neng's relic, there is no calling into question or mention of the theory of 'representation only' (*vijñāptimātra*, 唯識) or 'mind only.'¹⁸⁶ Thus intellectual or elite theory should not be read into this mummy. Rather, the mummy was produced and preserved out of a mixture of devotion by followers both clerical and lay who were overawed by the charisma of the saint, plus the appeal to precedents and an identification with a lineage from Buddha, and with Buddha. It had the mundane virtues of becoming a revenue earner or field of merit, attracting pilgrims and hopefully, imperial patronage.

Whether really a mummy of Hui-neng or not, it was made from a physical body and was authenticated through the hagiographies that traced its history and described the sanctions given it by the state and the veneration of the masses.¹⁸⁷ It was clearly meant to appeal to the vulgar or lay people, and was undoubtedly a calculated act by its creators, the local monks. Moreover, as in the medieval Church of Western Europe, this was a response to popular religion, in which the majority of monks themselves participated. The Buddhist monks, especially those of the far South in China, probably had a limited education, with a few notable exceptions. This education was primarily in the memorisation of texts like the *Lotus Sutra*, which vigorously extolled the worship of relics and stupas.¹⁸⁸ The majority of the local population, excluding a very small, old elite and immigrant elites from the North, were mostly illiterate peasants, slash-and-burn tribes-people, or hunters and gatherers. These people had only the simplest understanding of Buddhism, and considered charismatic monks to have supernatural powers or access to them. In this frontier territory for Buddhist missionaries, miraculous images were used to promote the

where *śarīra* in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* shift from meaning 'body' to meaning 'relic,' the latter only occurring after cremation.

¹⁸⁵ See Ronald C. Finucane (1977), *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, J. M. Dent: London, 221, on *inventio*, or to find, which particularly meant the discovery of a saint's body due to a vision.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. John Jorgensen (2002), 'Representing Wōnch'ūk (613-696): Meditations on Medieval East Asian Buddhist Biographies,' 81-82.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Trainor (1997), 30, for relics in Theravada.

¹⁸⁸ Erik Zürcher (1989), 'Buddhism and Education in T'ang Times,' in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds, *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, 20, 28, 35.

status of the monastery and the monks, just as had been done with the earlier Aśoka images.¹⁸⁹ Therefore, the monks of the region of Ts'ao-ch'i and elsewhere South of the Ranges, would have taught the believers through tales of miracles, hagiographies and images. This was sometimes performed by professional entertainers, sometimes by monks using special 'lectures for the laity' (*su-chiang*).¹⁹⁰ This was common practice elsewhere in China, where the popular lecturer spoke in the vulgar tongue to reach the unlettered masses,¹⁹¹ and was undoubtedly necessary in the South, where the locals spoke an outlandish dialect, if not different languages. Thus we find even at Hung-jen's monastery, mentions of *pien-hsiang*, scenes of incidents in the lives of saints or tableaux from the sutras, painted on the monastery wall, for which popular sermons may well have been given. This use of *pien-hsiang*, statues and paintings was a crystallization of religious thought into images. High-flown intellectual explanations and proofs were futile in proselytising to such a population; faith and the immediate presence of an image had an immensely more powerful effect in propaganda, although some elites, such as Hung-jen, eventually rejected the use of such images on the grounds that they are unreal.¹⁹² Yet the elite, despite occasional resistance, generally concurred with the faith in the miraculous relics, and often could not maintain the distinctions they drew between means and ends, or the hierarchy of holiness.¹⁹³ Furthermore, there was a collapsing of distinctions arising out of the needs of the elites to identify themselves with the numinous powers and pinnacles of the hierarchy. Just as the emperor identified himself

¹⁸⁹ Shinohara (1998), 'Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies,' 163.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Victor H. Mair (1983), *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 7, 9.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Kenneth Chen (1976), 'The Role of Buddhist Monasteries in T'ang Society,' *History of Religions* 15: 224. On the use of dialect in the *Platform Sutra*, see Teng and Jung (1998), 'Foreword,' 23-27. Later copies of the sutra from Tun-huang show evidence of alterations to fit the local dialect of Ho-hsi. This suggests that the text may have been read aloud to audiences.

¹⁹² For the *pien-hsiang* incident, Yampolsky (1967), 130. Cf. Kieschnick (2003), 75-76, and Sumption (1975), 44-45, 53; J. Huizinga (1924), *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, translated by F. Hopman, Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1976 reissue, 147. For the idea of presence in paintings, see Adamek (2003), 41.

¹⁹³ Cf. Sumption (1975), 48, 45-46; Huizinga (1924), 159-160; for elite belief in miracles, and caution against separating the religion of the elite from that of the masses, see Koichi Shinohara (1994), 'Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,' *Chung Hwa Buddhist Journal* 7: 480-481.

with the primal ancestor and Heaven, so the elite monks were identified with the lineage ancestors and with Śākya Muni or one of the bodhisattvas. "One shows respect to a monk as a Buddha," wrote Yen-tsung (556-610). Thus Shen-hui, seated on a Dharma-seat in the assembly at Hua-t'ai said in a loud voice,

I now can realise the nature of the Thus Come,
The Thus Come is now in my body.
There is no difference between the Thus Come and I,
The Thus Come is my ocean of True Thusness.¹⁹⁴

While this identification of the monk with Śākya Muni may have been produced by analogy with the theory of the Buddha-nature being universally inherent in all beings, the influence of the ancestor worship and funerary ritual played a major role in such a conflation. Thus, in Shen-hui's favourite sutra, the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā*, it is stated that where even a stanza of this text is taught or recited, that place is a stupa or shrine (*caitya*), and the reciter or teacher has the Thus Come dwelling within.¹⁹⁵ This textual source would justify the worship of the relics of Hui-neng and Shen-hui's conflation of himself (and Hui-neng) with the Tathāgata. This was made clear to the masses through the rituals that were probably performed before the mummy of Hui-neng and its elevation during processions when it was called upon to end droughts. Such rituals involved prostrations in front of the relic, bowing and the burning of incense, and possibly readings of the hagiography, as well as rituals that were evidently modelled on Confucian ancestor worship.¹⁹⁶ It may not have been fortuitous then that the rise in interest in the issues of ancestor worship, and how and in what circumstances monks should bow, coincided with the start of lacquering of monks.¹⁹⁷

Therefore this relic was unproblematic for ordinary believers. While the mummy of Hui-neng may have held the promise of enlightenment for all people, despite their education or ethnic backgrounds, as can be

¹⁹⁴ *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 40; Hu (1968), 310; Teng and Jung (1998), 93.

¹⁹⁵ Ray (1994), 344, using the work of Schopen.

¹⁹⁶ Eric Reinders (1997, Feb.), 'Ritual Topography: Embodiment and Vertical Space in Buddhist Monastic Practice,' *History of Religions* 36 (3): 244-264, at notes 44-45. For such rituals at the stupa, see the liturgy mentioned by Tao-hsüan, cited in Ray (1994), 333-334, and for other texts, 334-336.

¹⁹⁷ Reinders (1997), at note 48.

seen in the dialogue with Hung-jen, it was even more a locally potent deity who was present 'in the flesh.' It was not a *memento mori*, rather a promise of rebirth in a better existence and a symbol of resurrection.¹⁹⁸ It was also a double for Kuan-yin, an embodiment of compassion and pity for ordinary beings.¹⁹⁹

Not only ordinary people appreciated the relic-icon; members of the official elite did so also. Su Shih (1037-1101) saw one particularly well-executed mural of Hui-neng in a monastery. In his praise of the painting, he wrote:

I bow to the Sixth Master, In the past dark, now light.
Neither going nor coming, What is diminished and what added?
I have bowed and revered in humble faith, For thirty-one years.
Even though I am daily transformed, Who can shift *him*?²⁰⁰

It is certain then that Su Shih worshipped Hui-neng, and did so through his image. Moreover, when he visited Nan-hua Monastery, he paid homage to the merits of the Stupa of the Sixth Patriarch, with the supplication to the relic:

I humbly desire the Sixth Patriarch, the Ch'an Master P'u-chüeh Chen-k'ung Ta-chien to display great compassion and pity, emit universal light, take pity on the infants who are surely without sin, and remove their sicknesses. I am mindful that in my few remaining years you will grant me peace. I'm afraid I cannot seek my original mind on my own, forever separated (as I am) from it by obstacles. I expect to complete the fruit of the Way by recompensing the Buddha's grace.²⁰¹

This pious devotion, however, was informed by a deep understanding of the images, or more precisely, the theories of the three bodies (*trikāya*) of a buddha. In his 'Discussion of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*' he takes up an unusual metaphor and the peculiar usage of *chien-hsing* ('seeing-nature' or 'see the [Buddha]-nature') found in the *Shou-leng-yen ching*²⁰² to illustrate these three bodies:

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Brown (1981), 75.

¹⁹⁹ Faure (1998), 786.

²⁰⁰ K'ung Fan-li, ed. (1986), *Su Shih wen chi*, 6 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 2: 622, poem titled, 'Hsing-kuo Ssu Yu-shih-yüan Liu-tsu hua-tsan.'

²⁰¹ K'ung Fan-li (1986), 5:1904, 'Nan-hua Ssu Liu-tsu-t'a kung-te shu,'; cf. also Beata Grant (1994), *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shih*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 152.

²⁰² *Shou-leng-yen ching*, T19.109b21-27; Charles Luk (1966), *Surangama Sutra*, Rider: London, 21.

Recently I read the Sixth Patriarch's *Platform Sutra* which indicates and preaches the three bodies of Dharma, Recompense and Transformation, to open men's minds and clear their eyes. So for now I shall present a simile. I will try by using the simile of the eye.

Seeing is the Dharma-body (*Dharmakāya*), the seer is the Recompense-body (*Sambhogakāya*) and the seen is the Transformation-body (*Nirmāṇakāya*). What is meant by 'seeing is the Dharma-body'? The eye's seeing nature (*chien-hsing*) is neither existent nor not existent, (for) an eyeless man cannot avoid seeing black, and (although) the eye is rotten and the pupil missing, the seeing-nature is not extinguished. So the seeing-nature is not dependent on the existence or non-existence of the eye; there is no coming or going, rising or ceasing. Therefore I say "seeing is the Dharma-body."

What is meant by 'the seer is the Recompense-body'? Although the seeing-nature is existent, if the eye faculty (organ) is not there, one cannot see. If one could foster that faculty and not have it blocked by things, constantly making the light penetrate clearly, the seeing-nature would be complete. Therefore I say, "the seer is the Recompense-body."

What is meant by 'the seen is the Transformation-body'? Once the faculty and the nature are complete, in the space of a moment, the seen millions (of realms) are transformed everywhere, all being marvellous function. Therefore I say, "the seen is the Transformation-body."²⁰³

The passage of the *Platform Sutra* referred to is where Hui-neng says that the three bodies of the Buddha can be seen in one's own physical body, for they are within one's own self-nature and are produced from one's own (Buddha)-nature.²⁰⁴

If translated to the worship of an image then, the image becomes the Transformation-body, the usual physical body of a buddha. On the other hand, the worshipper becomes the Recompense-body, who enjoys the rewards of being a buddha, and the seeing or, in modern terms, the gaze, is the Dharma-body, the Corpus of the Law, the means of enlightenment. Perhaps this is an example of the beholder wanting "also to be beheld, to dwell in the benefice, transformative

²⁰³ K'ung Fan-li (1986), 5: 2082; Jorgensen (1989), 'Sensibility of the insensible,' 328-330; Grant (1994), 116-120.

²⁰⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 141-144, for translation, Chinese text, 8-9. Unfortunately we cannot determine which version of the sutra Su Shih was using; the only texts we know of that date before his time are the Tun-huang, the Hui-hsin of 967 (not extant, but source of the Kōshōji and Daijōji texts), the *Fa-pao chi t'an-ching* of 826 and a no-longer extant text cited by Ch'i-sung in 1056. Cf. EK, 301, and stemma on 399. Su Shih deeply respected Ch'i-sung and gathered his writings and forwarded them to the court. Cf. Jorgensen (1989), citing Shih Yüan-chih, *Shih-chu Su Shih*, edited by Shao Chang-heng, *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu*, vol. 1110: 214c5.

gaze of the icon.”²⁰⁵ However, this gaze could only be returned if one believes that the icon is alive, and that requires faith, “proper ritual reactivation” and “the karma of the worshipper.”²⁰⁶ As Seng-yu wrote concerning the worship of images and stupas:

Therefore know that the Way depends on people for it to be propagated, and the divine influences through things. How can one say they are empty? That is the reason gods (*shen*) are sacrificed to, as if the god is present. Then the god and the Way interconnect. Reverence the Buddha-image as if it is the Buddha-body, then the Dharma-body will respond. Therefore entry into the Way must have wisdom as its fundamental, and wisdom must have virtue 福德 as its foundation.²⁰⁷

However, the common people were unlikely to have comprehended such sophisticated analyses, and the common people and śrāvakas were not thought to have this purity of vision or the eye of knowledge, something the *Pao-lin chuan* called the ‘eye-store of the Correct Dharma.’ This implied a spiritual hierarchy.²⁰⁸ Yet even a literatus like Su Shih was probably motivated more by the emotional participation in devotion and rituals, with theory an afterthought or *post-facto* rationalisation. In this way, the popular or vulgar desire for ready access to a supernatural power that could answer demands for rain, the curing of disease, or even a vision of the power of a deity or a buddha became the prime element in the adoration of the full-body relic of Hui-neng. In addition, many lay people, like Su Shih, wished to gain peace of mind and to progress on the Path by repaying the kindness of the Buddha, most probably via donations and worship. That Hui-neng, in his afterlife, managed to survive as a physical object and presumably a potent presence, despite occasionally ‘growing old’ as Longobardo reported, for so long is testimony to the fact that he continued to answer the needs of the pilgrims and the monastery. The need was even so great that Koreans attempted to get a piece of the action by theft or invention.

²⁰⁵ Faure (Spring 1998), 783. Cf. the idea of *darśan* in South Asia, Adamek (2003), 56, where relics gazed upon the suppliants, who take in the ‘spiritual energy’ of the Buddha or relic. This relies on the work of Ray (1994).

²⁰⁶ Faure (1991), 173-174.

²⁰⁷ *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.413b9-12.

²⁰⁸ McMahan (1988), ‘Orality, writing and authority...,’ 249-274.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FURTUM SACRUM

The attempted theft

As we have seen, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* mentioned briefly an attempt to steal the head of the mummy-relic of Hui-neng, a seed that later grew into a story of a theft orchestrated by a Silla monk. Accounts of the thefts of relics have received scant attention from modern Buddhist scholars, the notable exceptions being Trainor's study of relic theft in Śrī Lanka and James Robson's study of the alleged remains of Shih-t'ou. There were such tales in hagiographical collections and in the popular Chinese mirabilia; and the history of the Buddha's begging bowl, stolen by conquerors and heretics, is one such example. But this probably can never have reached the extent it did in Western Christendom; where an entire genre, the *translationes*, was devoted to the topic of relic thefts.¹

The story of the attempted theft of Hui-neng's head first appears in the propaganda of Shen-hui, who alleged that P'u-chi of 'Northern Ch'an' tried to eliminate 'Southern Ch'an':

Ouch! Ouch! How painful! Can't you hear, when will you see? In the third month of the second year of the K'ai-yüan reign (714), he (P'u-chi) employed an assassin of Ching-chou, Chang Hsing-ch'ang to pretend to be a monk and take Master Hui-neng's head. The Master's numinous physical constitution was harmed by three sword blows....He also sent his follower, Wu P'ing-i and others to erase the stele inscription of the Bhadanta at Shao-chou, and to write another report and engrave it over Meditation Teacher Neng's stele to establish Meditation Teacher (Shen)-hsiu as the Sixth Patriarch in the history of the robe transmitted from master to disciple. Moreover, now Meditation Teacher P'u-chi has erected a stele inscription on Mt Sung and established a Hall of the Seven Patriarchs, and has had the *Fa-pao chi* compiled.²

¹ Patrick J. Geary (1978), *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton University Press: Princeton.

² EK, 496; in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, in Hu Shih (1968), 289; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31; Teng and Jung (1998), 48-49.

Further, Shen-hui even introduced the chief disciple of Tao-hsüan, the great Vinaya teacher Wen-kang (636-727), who was conveniently dead by the time Shen-hui made these allegations, to give testimony on his behalf. This was probably because Wen-kang came from the South and as a vinaya specialist was presumably above reproach:

In the third year of the Ch'ang-an reign (703), Master (Shen)-hsiu mounted the precepts platform of Yün-hua (Monastery) in the capital city. The Vinaya Teacher (Wen)-kang of great authority...who was in the assembly, asked Shen-hsiu, "I have heard that (Bodhi)-dharma had a robe that was transmitted to his heirs. Now, is it at your place or not?" Master Hsiu said, "Master (Hung)-jen of Huang-mei transmitted the Dharma-robe and now it is at Meditation Teacher Neng's place in Shao-chou."³

This fabricated story is greatly elaborated on in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, and later in the Te-i and Tsung-pao *Platform Sutras*, where Chang Hsing-ch'ang has a biography under the identity of Ch'an Teacher Chih-ch'e of Kiangsi. In this evidently popularised version, the youthful Chang Hsing-ch'ang is made out to be a sort of bravo employed by 'Northern Ch'an' adherents to go and harm Hui-neng. But Hui-neng supposedly had the foresight of a bodhisattva and took precautions. When Chang entered with his sword, Hui-neng just stretched out his neck and Chang struck three times, but there was not the slightest scratch on him (as in the case of Shan-wu-wei). Chang fled at Hui-neng's words, but later returned and repented, becoming a monk.⁴ Strangely, in this later version, Hui-neng is still alive when attacked, unlike in all the other developments of the legend where it is the mummy that is the target.

The 'alternative' version of the story developed from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* first appeared in the *Pao-lin chuan* of ca. 796. This tale is preserved in a quotation in the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* by Mu-an Shan-ch'ing (fl. 1098-1100) under the heading of Chang Hsing-man, who thus seems to be an intermediary between the Chang Hsing-ch'ang of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the Chang Ching-man of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* etcetera. The account reads:

Pao-lin chuan: The Sixth Patriarch and Master, when he was about to die said to the assembly; "After I die, there will be a person who will

³ EK, 497; Hu Shih (1968), 290-291; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 32; Teng and Jung (1998), 52.

⁴ T51.238c16ff.

take my head. Listen to my prediction:
 To the head he will offer affection,
 In his mouth he must eat.
 When I meet the difficulty of *man*,
 Yang and Liu will be the officials."

The pupils worried about this and made preparations by using iron leaf to firmly protect the Master's neck. In the K'ai-yüan era, at midnight they heard a sound of dragging chains in the stupa. The assembly was aroused and saw a mourner coming out of the stupa. When they investigated they saw that there was damage to the Master's neck. They reported the whole affair to the presiding county magistrate, Yang K'uang and the prefect, Liu Wu-t'ien. They captured him at Shih-chieh Village.⁵ Due to the preliminary interrogation, he said to the officers, "My surname is Chang, my name is Hsing-man. I am a native of Liang County, Ju-chou. I received twenty thousand cash from the Silla monk Kim Taebi of K'ai-yüan Monastery, Hung-chou, who wanted me to take the Patriarch's head so he could return with it to Haedong for worship."

Governor Liu heard this and so came to know the proof of the Master's forecast. So he pardoned Chang and showed him additional respect.⁶

Therefore, there are two different traditions beginning from Shen-hui's vicious and ludicrous claims of ca. 732 in his *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*: the first from Shen-hui of Chang Hsing-ch'ang that developed into the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* tale where Hui-neng is still living when attacked; the other evolved from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781 in which the 'assassin' of 739 is not named and is without specific employer or purpose (though Shen-hui's story was probably well known) into the *Pao-lin chuan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi* version in which the assassin is transformed into Chang Hsing-man or Chang Ching-man, and the instigator the Korean Kim Taebi. It was the latter that passed into the post Tun-huang versions of the *Platform*

⁵ This is not far to the southwest of Mt Nan-hua, to the east of the Chen River. See Chang Jen-chün (1897), *Kuang-tung yü-ti ch'uan-t'u*, 20a, and Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien p'ien-wei hui (1991), *Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien*, Shanghai tz'u-shu ch'u-p'an-she: Shanghai, 197, says it is twenty kilometres south of Ch'ü-chiang County.

⁶ HTC 113.160a11-b2; EK, 499a. Discussed in Yanagida Seizan (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' *Tōhō gakuho* 57: 457 and note 526; Yanagida (1978), 'Shin zokutōshi no keifu, jo 1,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 69: 30. Note that the magistrate's name has been changed from Yang Chien to Yang K'uang. A little later, Shan-ch'ing noted that Chang Hsing-man was called Chih-nang (Knowledge bag) and that he was a native of Ju-hai. "The people of Ju often have goitres, and therefore they called people with goitres *chih-nang*. According to the *Shih chi*, Shu Li-tzu of Ch'in had a goitre and was very wise, so then people called him Chih-nang." HTC 113.160c.

Sutra and continued to have a life of its own in Korea. More amazingly, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* also retails the latter story of Chang Ching-man and Kim Taebi, which it clearly derived in part from the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.⁷

The latter tale is the more interesting, even if it was probably derived from the original Chang Hsing-ch'ang tale, for it included a Silla monk as the instigator of a plot to take Hui-neng's head. In general it was more palatable for the theft to be blamed on foreigners. The Silla Koreans were the most likely culprits by the end of the eighth century when the *Pao-lin chuan* was compiled for Ma-tsu's line, especially the lineage of Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang. Chih-tsang was Ma-tsu's true heir and lived at Hung-chou. His group had many Silla pupils.⁸ Moreover, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* itself has many Korean connections, and may even have been recompiled, rearranged or supplemented in Korea.⁹

At first it would appear that the story of Kim Taebi was intended to malign the Korean Sŏn Buddhists and by association the Ma-tsu lineage of Hung-chou. But this reasoning would make the story the product of the Ts'ao-ch'i monks of Shao-chou as a propaganda weapon to denigrate monastic or lineage rivals in Hung-chou. This was not

⁷ T51.236c, for *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* version. The problem of the shifting identity of the assassin seems unresolvable. Shen-hui's creation, Chang Hsing-ch'ang, resembles the Chang Ch'ang-ch'i of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (ca. 774-781), who was supposedly sent by Empress Wu to see Hui-neng in 692 and invite the patriarch to court. This text also claims he gave Bodhidharma's robe to Hui-neng, and ultimately invited Shen-hsiu and other masters to court instead. See LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 137. Chang Ch'ang-ch'i was an historical person, whose elder brothers, Chang I-chih and Chang Ch'ang-tsung were sexual favourites of the aged Empress Wu Tse-t'ien. See HTS, 9/72/2718; TCTC 207/6581, and Guisso (1979), 315-316, 320-321. Perhaps Shen-hui mischievously selected this name to evoke memories of the villainous henchmen of Empress Wu. This is more evident as Chang Ch'ang-ch'i was also a prefect of Ju-chou from ca. 702-706, see Yü Hsian-hao (1987), 2: 616. This may have provided the link for later composers of the legend (esp. in the *Pao-lin chuan*), who made Chang Hsing-man come from Ju-chou. Shen-hui rather had the assassin come from Ching-chou. For a useful table summarizing these changes and continuities, see Chŏn Posam (1989), 'Yukjo chŏngsang ūi tongnae-sŏl kwa kŭ sin'angjŏk ūiui,' 324. It lists year of event, form of prediction, name of criminal and schemer, and the course of the event. Note that the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* of 1036 uses the name Chang Hsing-man, as the *Pao-lin chuan* had.

⁸ Yanagida (1985), 461-463.

⁹ Yanagida Seizan (1984), 'Sodōshū kaidai,' 3:1600-1605. Shiina Kōyu (1979), 'Sodōshū no hensei,' *Shūgaku kenkyū* 21, takes a differing position, favouring a Korean involvement. Note that Yanagida has also suggested that Silla's Toŭi was possibly the author of the *Pao-lin chuan*. Chŏn Posam (1989), 322. See later for further discussion.

the case. The *Pao-lin chuan*, which most commentators see as being the source of the Kim Taebi legend, was a history of Ma-tsu Ch'an, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was part of that same hagiographical tradition. The more likely explanation of this fiction is that as Kim Taebi was attempting to steal part of the relic, just as the Indian kingdoms tried to obtain some of the Buddha's remains, he was enhancing the prestige of Hui-neng's relics and wanting to gain a potent rallying symbol for the nascent Silla Sŏn movement, which was struggling against the state-supported doctrinal schools of the Silla capital, Kyŏngju. These royally sanctioned schools had relics enough of their own, such as the statue trinity that supposedly came to Hwangnyong Monastery from Aśoka and which was the palladium of the Silla state, or the *śarīra* of the Buddha that Ch'ajang allegedly brought from Mt Wu-t'ai in China.¹⁰ Sŏn in Silla Korea was mainly a regional force of the displaced nobility or regional magnates, and certainly needed some spiritually potent weapons of its own to fight against the central authorities. The Korean Sŏn monks were thus in a similar position to Carolingian Christians not blessed with their own relic; the best avenue for obtaining a relic was from overseas, which for the Koreans had to be China.¹¹ Conversely, for the Chinese, a Korean thief was the most promising candidate, for of all the surrounding states only the Silla (and perhaps the Tibetans or Nan-chao) had developed any real Ch'an following by the start of the ninth century.¹²

Moreover, the theft or attempted theft of a relic was not really an indictment of the thief. As in Europe, there are elements of the legend which suggest that the saint, being in fact still powerful, could

¹⁰ Ko Yusöp (1975), *Han'guk t'appa ūi yŏn'gu*, 54-55, 61, from the *Samguk yusa*. The *śarīra* originally numbered one hundred beads, and the Buddha's skull and teeth, and the gold-decorated robe that he had worn, all were brought to Silla. The *Samguk yusa* must be used with caution, as its author, Iryŏn was attempting to prove the superiority of Korea over its neighbours, especially religiously, during a crisis caused by the Mongol invasion.

¹¹ See Geary (1978), 46, 48-49, for the Carolingians, who usually went to Rome for relics.

¹² Cf. J. Jorgensen, 'Korea as a Source for the Regeneration of Chinese Buddhism: The Evidence of Ch'an and Sŏn Literature,' to be published in Robert Buswell, Jr., ed. (2005), *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences on the Buddhist Traditions of East Asia*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu. The Koreans, as the main seafarers of East Asia, were akin to the English, whom Northern European hagiographers most often made scapegoats for the theft of relics in the eleventh century. See Geary (1978), 62.

not be harmed or removed without his (or her) consent.¹³ Hui-neng evidently did not want to be beheaded and his prescience about this matter, and his instructions, are not uncommon in the history of relics.¹⁴ Moreover, according to Chang Hsin-min, Hui-neng lived in a district where there were head-hunting cannibals, or Ko-Lao, and so may have been worried that his head would be taken by them. They took the heads of those they killed, and worshipped the shaven and dry skulls as spirits, also believing that would bring them many wives.¹⁵ However, it would appear they only took heads from those they killed, not that of a mummy. Kim Taebi could thus be seen as acting on behalf of his Silla Sŏn community and as a truly pious man whose sole aim was to protect and venerate the relic and spread the Ch'an Dharma,¹⁶ just as Ling-t'ao said of him in his justification for the release of Chang Ching-man, and not merely a souvenir hunter. Finally, as P. Geary states, "The 'heroes' of the *translationes* were not the thieves, but the saints themselves."¹⁷ Thus it is that all attempts to take Hui-neng's head were thwarted, the robe or begging bowl could not be stolen, for Hui-neng was the guardian of the Ch'an tradition that was allegedly continually under threat in its early years.¹⁸ And perhaps there was a threat to Hui-neng's relics as he himself had

¹³ Geary (1978), 133, 137.

¹⁴ Cf. Bentley (1985), 142: "Many of our greatest saints have been conscious that after death the power of their relics might be even greater...anxiety...lest thieves deem even his lowly body worth stealing....Saints have sometimes left detailed instructions about what to do with their relics." Ko Yusŏp (1975), 132 note 14, also cites stories in the Mahāsaṅghika, Dharmaguptaka and Sarvāstivādin vinayas that suggest the danger foreseen by a Minister when the Kāśyapa Buddha was buried in a seven-jewelled stupa, of a person committing the crime of looting that stupa.

¹⁵ Chang Hsin-min (2003), "Ko-Lao tso Fo" kung-an yü Tung-shan Ch'an-fa nan-chuan, *Chung-Hua Fo-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* 16: 113-115, 128.

¹⁶ Geary (1978), 139-140, for the Christian interpretation of the theft of relics. Chŏn Posam (1989), 324-325, says that the use of the term 'mourner,' literally 'filial son,' by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Pao-lin chuan*, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and later *Platform Sutra* texts shows that the theft was seen as a positive act, one motivated by a desire to worship it, as is confirmed by Ling-t'ao and the verse of the prediction, "To my head he will offer affection." The use of the name Ta-pei for the Korean thief also suggests filial piety, for later in Sung times, the Great Compassion Ritual was performed for the benefit of the dead and the ancestors. See Yü (2001), 271.

¹⁷ Geary (1978), 154.

¹⁸ See EK, 191-199, for a discussion of the predictions made by Hui-neng as seen in the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Tsu-t'ang chi* and possibly the *Platform Sutra*. Note that Bodhidharma had supposedly also made a prediction on the decline of his teaching in association with the *Lankavatāra Sūtra*.

predicted. A new religious order, itself riven with jealousies as can be seen in Shen-hui's vituperative attacks on P'u-chi, could also have provoked envy from rival orders of Buddhism in China. The theft of relics or the destruction of items supposedly symbolic of a transmission from the Buddha was a distinct possibility, for such a transmission claim was full of hubris and a challenge to other Buddhists. Theft and destruction of relics may have been more common than we think, especially aimed at new and challenging groups, and so, like St Francis of Assisi, Hui-neng took some preventive measures.¹⁹

Shen-hui probably invented these tales about the attempt to eliminate evidence of Hui-neng and take his head, in order to illustrate the perfidy of his 'Northern Ch'an' opponent, P'u-chi, and to symbolise P'u-chi's wish to decapitate the leader of a rival group. The desire to appropriate Hui-neng's remains would also be a mark of P'u-chi's respect for Hui-neng. As demonstrated previously, it is problematic, however, as to whether Shen-hui ever studied under, or even met, Hui-neng. Shen-hui may not even have been to distant Shao-chou. We only have his word, which seems less than trustworthy, given the number of fabrications and lies he stooped to using. There is no corroborating evidence for his assertions, as the stele for Hui-neng by Wang Wei had relied almost completely on Shen-hui's declarations,²⁰

¹⁹ St Francis asked for an armed guard for his body when he died, fearing that it might be stolen by the citizens of Perugia. Bentley (1985), 115-116.

²⁰ ZSS, 555, for stele, where for example, Shen-hui compared himself to Cunda, who gave the last food offering to Buddha. Thus, Wang Wei took over this comparison used by Shen-hui to further his lineage claim. See Jorgensen (1987), 114. John McRae (1987), 'Shen-hui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Ch'an Buddhism,' in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 227-228, remarks that Shen-hui in his works never quotes Hui-neng and concludes, "Shen-hui was guided only by his memory and not by any written transcript of Hui-neng's teaching." Tsung-mi relied on earlier works, including Wang Wei's stele and probably the tradition of the Ho-tse lineage to state that Shen-hui went from near Nan-yang to Shao-chou, a long and difficult journey to the feared south for an aspirant aged fourteen (p. 233). Even after Chang Chiu-ling had repaired the path over the Ta-yü Range pass in 716-718 [for which see, P. A. Herbert (1978), *Under the Brilliant Emperor*, Australian National University Press: Canberra, 14, 46], it still took Li Ao five to six months to travel from Lo-yang to Canton, but Liu Tsung-yüan, with some dependants in tow, took a little over three months from Ch'ang-an. See Edward H. Schafer (1967), *The Vermilion Bird*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 22-24. Admittedly, these were longer trips, but they had official assistance. The only other source for this information on Hui-neng was from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* [McRae (1987), 262 note 20], which itself was largely based on and motivated by the propaganda Shen-hui had produced.

and it is apparent from the stele that neither Shen-hui nor Wang Wei knew Hui-neng's death date, nor what happened to the body. Wang wrote,

The golden body (of a buddha) had forever departed, (just as) the fire-wood consumed, the fire ceases....On a certain day they translated his spirit 遷神 to Ts'ao-ch'i, installing it in a certain place.²¹

This is a metaphoric hint, contrary to later Ch'an tradition, that Hui-neng was cremated in accordance with Indian Buddhist practice. There is no mention here either of the extraordinary act of lacquering the corpse. Even if the lacquered mummy still kept in Nan-hua Monastery is not a fake like so many other relics, there is not a scintilla of evidence to suggest that Shen-hui had anything to do with its manufacture, for he was clearly not the stupa guardian as he was resident in North China. Moreover, despite founding an 'image/portrait hall for the Sixth Patriarch,' and his own portrait (presumably along with those of his previous six patriarchs) being posthumously placed in an imperially sponsored 'Kuan-yin Hall,' probably in 770,²² Shen-hui was doctrinally opposed to such iconolatry.

As Shen-hui aged, he relied increasingly on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in his war against the materialist Buddhism of the imperial court, especially the women, who sponsored P'u-chi and other 'Northern Ch'an' leaders.²³ This is evident in his tale of Bodhidharma's rejection of Emperor Wu of Liang's construction of monasteries and sculpting of statues,²⁴ and a citation of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, which states:

The other reported pupils of Hui-neng: Nan-yang Hui-chung, Ching-tsang and Pen-ch'ing, likewise have at best only dubious connections with Hui-neng, the evidence for which is based on much later, or anonymous and undated, sources. I tentatively conclude there was no relationship between Hui-neng and Shen-hui.

²¹ ZSS, 542.

²² Jorgensen (1987), 121, 119-120; SKSC, T50.755b10ff; ZSS, 184-185; Hu Shih (1968), 19.

²³ Jorgensen (1987), 106-107. For Shen-hui's reliance on the *Vajracchedikā*, see Yanagida (1985), 372, 392, 400-401, and Takeuchi Kōdō (1983), 'Shoki Zenshū to Kongohannyakyō,' *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō* 15: 132-141. Takeuchi claims there is a shift from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* to the *Vajracchedikā* later in Shen-hui's career, and others state it may have occurred after his death.

²⁴ Hu Shih (1968), 261-262, Preface to *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* by Tu-ku P'ei; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 18; Teng and Jung (1998), 9. See also Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 'Hotoke wa kokoro ni ari,' in Fukunaga Mitsuji, ed., *Chūgoku chūsei no shūkyō to bunka*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 89.

If a person fills the super trichiliocosm with all the rare seven treasures and used them to make a jewelled stupa as high as the Brahma heaven, that would not equal the intoning and keeping of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*.²⁵

Perhaps the butt of this quote was P'u-chi, who was buried with great fanfare and cost in 739 in a stupa with an extremely lavish tombstone stele, which is still preserved in the Hsi-an Forest of Stelae.²⁶ In contrast, Shen-hui's stupa inscription was engraved on a used tombstone, possibly because he died in 758 in the immediate aftermath of the An Lu-shan Rebellion when the capital region was still in chaos,²⁷ and so was placed in a public graveyard (for clergy). Yet this does not explain why it was not recarved more magnificently once prosperity returned. Although his stupa may have been poor because of the straightened circumstances of the time, the ideological factor may have been more telling. For example, the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* constantly denies the validity of the physical world, declaring that all sites where the sutra is preached are to be worshipped like a reliquary.²⁸

Shen-hui's story of Bodhidharma rejecting the materialist Buddhism of Emperor Wu of Liang and his reliance on the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*

²⁵ *P'u-ti ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu Shih (1968), 302; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 36; Teng and Jung (1998), 77-78. This is a paraphrase of Kumārajīva's translation of the sutra, T8.749c29-750a5. This paraphrase may have been inevitable, given that there were so many translations of the text. Cf. Suzuki Tetsuo (1999), *Chūgoku Zenshū shi ronkō*, 132-133, on Shen-hui's alterations to the scriptures. According to Hsieh Ling-yün, the reason the sutra says this is because "there is a limit to the treasures that can be collected, but the marvellous understanding is inexhaustible," *Chin-kang po-jo-lo-mi ching chu*, HTC 38.433a14. The text is attributed to Seng-chao, but as all quotes of Hsieh's commentary in Hung-lien's *Chin-kang ching chu-chieh* are those of the text attributed to Seng-chao, and as the two quotes of Seng-chao's commentary do not coincide, this is clearly a mis-attribution by the editors of the HTC.

²⁶ For a record of P'u-chi's funeral in official accounts, see CTS 16/191/5111; repeated in SKSC, T50.760c. For a lengthy description of his funeral proceedings etc, see the stele inscription by Li Yung, CTW 262/1191b-c. The stele is frequently reproduced in works on Chinese art, for example, Sekino Tadashi (1935), *Shina hiketsu keishiki no hensan*, Zayuhō kankōkai: Tokyo, plates 41, 46 and 47.

²⁷ Yanagida (1988), 'Jinne no shōzō,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kijō* 15: 223-224.

²⁸ T8.750a20-23, on the physical world; 750a6-8 and 750c20-23, on the worship of the sutra site as a stupa. Similar passages are paraphrased by Shen-hui, Hu Shih (1968), 301. It should be noted that this indicates tension between the cult of the book and that of the relics, with the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* firmly on the side of the book. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., (1995), 'Authority and Orality in the Mahāyāna,' *Numen* XLII: 28, drawing on Gregory Schopen (1975), 'The phrase "sa pṛthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet" in the *Vajracchedikā*: Notes on the Cult of the Book in the Mahāyāna,' *Indo-Iranian Journal* 17: 147-181.

may have been inspired by the example of Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433). In 431, Hsieh arrogantly clashed with Meng I, the devout Buddhist governor of Hsieh's native district, K'uai-chi. Meng had worked with Fa-hsien in 417 on the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, and in 418 he requested Buddhahadra translate the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Meng repaired an Aśoka stupa containing the Buddha's relics at K'uai-chi. He prevented Hsieh from draining a lake to create fields for himself, something the local peasants opposed as a removal of a common use area. Meng also disliked it as it meant the killing of fish and turtles. Hsieh slighted Meng by saying,

To attain the Way one must have the deeds of insight. You will be born in heaven (as a god) before me, but you are certain only to become a buddha after me.

Birth as a god or deva was due to good deeds, which one performs if one cannot practice emptiness or insight. This birth can be achieved by the removal of desire, and implies another rebirth. Such ideas can be found already in the works of Chu Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434) and in the version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* Hsieh had helped edit in 430. In contrast, Hsieh was claiming, based on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* that he, Hsieh, transcended the duality of desire and non-desire, of being able to drink and cavort and yet not be attached to these pleasures because of his understanding of insight and emptiness or non-duality, just like the layman Vimalakīrti. Hsieh also elaborated on the theme of the deficiencies of material donations in his commentary on the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*. Ironically, Hsieh's assumption of his own superiority and wisdom led to his execution in Kuang-chou,²⁹ and resembles the possible end of Bodhidharma.

Around the time Shen-hui launched his preaching career, there was a movement by anti-materialist lay Buddhists (probably with more than a modicum of Confucianism; and Shen-hui had a solid Confucian training in his youth) to deny that expensive works for the dead built in the hope of transference of merit (*ch'ui fu*) were of any benefit. This they did with the sanction of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, which they used to pillory the materialistic Buddhism of Empress Wu and her ilk, the patrons of 'Northern Ch'an' monks such as Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi.³⁰

²⁹ Ukai Mitsuaki (2000), 'Sha Reiun to Yuimakyō,' in Aramaki Noritoshi, ed., *Hokuchō Zui Tō Chūgoku Bukkyō shisōshi*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 89-106.

³⁰ Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 60-62, quoting the 721 testament of Yao Ch'ung.

The proof from the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, a primary text of the cult of the book, used to attack such profligacy for the dead, stated:

If you try to see me (the Buddha) through matter,
Or seek me through sound,
Such a person is practising a perverse path,
And cannot see the Thus Come.³¹

Therefore the worship of relics and erection of stupas, all monuments to the dead, and any form of icon, could be a source of delusion.³²

Although the promulgators of these very teachings may have been the 'Northern Ch'an' monks themselves,³³ Shen-hui turned the tables by attacking them through the practices of their followers, who built lavish reliquaries for their favourite masters, as well as through the concessions these masters made to their lay patrons. 'Northern Ch'an' monks made a distinction between adepts and 'beginners,' who probably included wealthy lay women in particular. These beginners could use visualisations of, or even concentrations on, images of various buddhas. The adepts though, interpreted this as meditation on the mind, saying that the mind is Buddha. The source of these ideas was the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou fo ching*.³⁴ The tyros were told by the 'Northern Ch'an' monks to visualise a sun, the first of the sixteen visualisations of the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou fo ching*, that they would see the Thus Come's bodily characteristics and various transformations, but that they should not be attached to them.³⁵ However, these beginners probably also took

³¹ T8.752a17-18; Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 70.

³² See quote by Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 77, from a 423 A.D. text, the *Pai-hei lun* by Hui-lin, found in *Sung shu* 97. Cf. Zürcher (1959), 323, note 60. However, compare this to the citation of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* by Ray (1994), 344-345, on the place where the text was recited becoming a shrine. However, this makes the text superior to the place.

³³ Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 86, 91. For example, see the *Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching chuan wai-chuan* (S 6877), a text associated with several 'Northern Ch'an' monks and the layman Ch'en Huai-ku [elsewhere known as the adjutant of Feng-chou, see Ts'en Chung-mien, commentator (1994), Lin Pao, *Yüan-ho hsing suan*, 1: 348], who was exiled to Ling-nan on false charges by a jealous person of note. See Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, comp. (1983), *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, 250. Note that Ch'en Ch'u-chang and Hou-mo Ch'en Yen (this surname changed to Ch'en only) were all lay followers of 'Ch'an,' who had considerable influence on 'Ch'an.'

³⁴ Jorgensen (1987), 91-92. See Yoshikawa Tadao (1982), 87.

³⁵ Hsiu-hsin yao-lun, in Suzuki Daisetsu (1951), *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū 2: Zenshisōshi kenkyū: Daruma kara Enō ni itaru*, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 1968 reprint of 1951 text under the latter part of the title, 306-307.

to heart the sutra's advice to mentally visualise a statue of Buddha at first. This would seem to allow, given a free interpretation, the building and worship of images,³⁶ and the process of gradual enlightenment, all of which the monistically minded Shen-hui opposed.

One of the figures that could be visualised was the bodhisattva Kuan(-shih)-yin, the tenth visualisation in the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou ching*.³⁷ 'Northern Ch'an' monks like I-hsing, or their followers, like Li Yung, may have identified with Kuan-yin, for the stele commemorating Shen-hsiu written by Chang Yüeh (667-730) records that after the master's death,

The bodhisattva Wan-hui begged alms from the imperial harem, jewels and clothes enough to fill trunks and rarities worth an empire's ransom. He was intimate with the favourites and nobility, encouraging them to worship, visit and burn incense (at Shen-hsiu's tomb).³⁸

This observation encapsulates the dilemma faced by Shen-hui, who had attacked Shen-hsiu, or rather his pupils. As Wan-hui was identified with Kuan-yin, could Shen-hui have approved the implicit identification of Hui-neng with Kuan-yin, when Wan-hui was engaged in the accumulation of wealth and glory for Shen-hsiu's reliquary?

³⁶ T12.343a23-25; cf. McRae (1986), 196-204, on 'contemplative analysis' and the meditative interpretation of motifs in sutras. It is clear from the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* that 'Northern Ch'an' teachers used chanting and mindfulness (*nien*) of the name of the Buddha in their practice, which caused some confusion when the means came to be confused with True Thusness or the Dharmakāya:

"When it came to the age of Hung-jen, Fa-ju and Ta-t'ung (Shen-hsiu), the Gate of the Dharma was opened wide, and the students were not discriminated on the basis of their abilities. They were equally urged to *nien* the Buddha's name in order to purify the mind. (Those who could) secretly came to present (this pure mind) to their superiors. If it matched with principle and the Dharma, they then could transmit it as a confidence to both (teacher and pupil)....Seng-k'o [i.e. Hui-k'o] said, 'After four generations, it will transform into name and attribute.'" CFPC, Yanagida Seizan (1971), 420; cf. McRae (1986), 268-269.

³⁷ T12.344a10-12.

³⁸ ZSS, 500; *Chang Yen-kung chi* 18/2b. Note though in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, that Shen-hsiu is made to disparage the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*'s claim about a bodhisattva of limitless body coming from the east, for he questions how anything infinite can have a direction. See LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 313. Is the prediction of 'two bodhisattvas from the east' a response? Another reason Shen-hui may have disapproved of Kuan-yin was his patriarchal viewpoint, which excluded women, and Kuan-yin was especially favoured by women. In later times, the male Kuan-yin was transformed into a woman [see Ch'en (1964), 341-342], and in Japan from Ashikaga times, Bodhidharma occasionally appears as a woman or as Kannon. See Kido Chūtārō (1932), *Daruma to sono shosō*, 367ff, 257.

A conclusion to be drawn is that Shen-hui did not promote the worship of Hui-neng's relics or make any hint of an identification of his patriarch with Kuan-yin, or Maitreya. Rather, such identifications were made later, as in Shen-hui's own case. Shen-hui had forged the story of the harm done to Hui-neng's corpse merely as a way of castigating his opponents and showing them to be jealous rivals who would balk at nothing to remove all traces of Hui-neng. Therefore, in contrast to the riches and fame of 'Northern Ch'an,' Shen-hui conjured up a statusless, rank outsider, with only the minimal physical trappings, such as a robe and bowl, of the saint.

The fabrication of the legend of the relic then was a product of later times when the rival lineages engaged in a war of the stupas, the 'Northerners' supporting Seng-ts'an as a 'new saint,' and both sides claiming the positions of sixth and seventh patriarchs for their own genealogies.³⁹ Perhaps it was then, in the 760s and 770s, soon after Shen-hui's death, that others began to build upon the skeleton Shen-hui had created, with elements from the hagiography of Seng-ch'ieh, the life of the Buddha, the symbolism of Kuan-yin, and the precedent of Hung-jen/Tao-hsin in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, to create a story of the mummified relic of Hui-neng and attempts to steal part of it.⁴⁰

The Korean connection

Hui-neng's so-called predictions reveal an important possible connection with Korea. This is the prediction that many difficulties will face the Ch'an of Hui-neng after his demise, and that sometime in the future some person or persons will come to fearlessly revive his teachings.⁴¹ The prediction in the *Shen-hui yü-lu* of forty years in the future is probably meant to indicate Shen-hui himself (and so was created by his pupils) and perhaps the twenty years of the *Li-tai fa-*

³⁹ Yanagida (1988), 'Jinne no shōzō,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 15: 229-230; ZSS, 324-325.

⁴⁰ It is remotely possible ideas were taken from the life of Shen-hui also. Among his secondary relics in his stupa was a lacquered bowl, which may have been venerated along with his bodily śarīra. See Yanagida (1988), 231.

⁴¹ In approximate chronological order; Shen-hui says more than forty years in the future, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* over twenty years, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* seventy years, the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* over twenty years, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* seventy, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* seventy (EK, 191-195), twenty years in the *Daijōji* and *Kōshōji Platform Sutras*, and seventy years in the *Te-i* and *Tsung-pao* versions (EK, 381).

pao chi is also meant to indicate Shen-hui's opening salvo against 'Northern Ch'an' in 732 (and likewise the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, which probably took this from the previous works).⁴² But the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* introduced a much longer time interval and the prediction of two bodhisattvas coming from the east, which is adopted in summary by the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the Te-i and Tsung-pao *Platform Sutras*.⁴³

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has Hui-neng forecast that two bodhisattvas from the east, one lay and the other a cleric, will arrive in seventy years to repair his monastery and re-establish or rebuild his teaching, and thus he will not transmit the robe for that it will shorten the life of any recipient.⁴⁴ Who these two bodhisattvas are meant to be is uncertain, and it has prompted some speculation by scholars. Yanagida Seizan ventured the opinion that they are the stupa-guardian Hui-hsiang and the layman Yung-ho mentioned later as being summoned to the court in 759, with the seventy years referring to the writing of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* itself in 781 or thereabouts.⁴⁵ Hui-hsiang then would be the heir as stupa-guardian to Hsing-t'ao (a.k.a. Ling-t'ao in other texts). However, the later texts in this tradition do not mention these two men in this context, and Ting Fu-pao cites another tradition in which they signify either Ma-tsu Tao-i and Layman P'ang Yün, or Huang-po and P'ei Hsiu.⁴⁶ Yet, the 'coming from the eastern direction' or 'bodhisattvas from the east' of the texts probably could not indicate Chinese. The place they are coming to is in eastern China already, most probably Shao-chou, so if they were Chinese the words 'come from' would be superfluous. In addition, the date 759 cannot be in accord with the predicted seventy years after Hui-neng's death (trad. 713). It should be about 783.

Therefore the 'east' probably equals Korea, then commonly known as Haedong, 'East of the Sea,' as is used in the legend of Kim Taebi. The bodhisattvas are likely to be incarnations of Kuan-yin. Although the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*'s account cannot be used to equate the monk Kim Taebi and the Chinese catspaw Chang Ching-man with the two

⁴² EK, 195-197.

⁴³ EK, 196-198, 381.

⁴⁴ EK, 499.

⁴⁵ ZSS, 222; EK, 77. There is no further evidence of these two figures as far as I can ascertain.

⁴⁶ Ting Fu-pao (1922), 150.

bodhisattvas, for they operated in 739, the suggestion of a Korean link between the two incidents is strong. Firstly, even the senior of the two officials who arrested Chang Ching-man, the prefect, Liu Wu-t'ien, had a Korean connection, for one of his ancestors, the father of Liu Shih (d. 659), was a Sui envoy to Koguryō who died there. Liu Shih went personally to Koguryō to mourn, thereby gaining the deep respect of the Koreans. Liu Shih was later falsely convicted by Empress Wu's faction of an attempted plot on the throne through one of his female relatives, his niece, Empress Wang. He was accused when Empress Wu was still a concubine, and he was murdered in 659, and his family property was confiscated. The close relatives were all exiled to the far South in the Ling-nan region in 658 as slaves. In ca. 705 his descendants were pardoned, but by ca. 713 only the great-grandson, Liu Wu-t'ien was found registered as a resident in Kuangsi. He was imperially ordered to take Liu Shih's coffin back to their native village and give it an official burial. Liu Wu-t'ien later became a prefect of T'an-chou.⁴⁷ This Korean connection may be a reason why he was selected as the prefect with such a forgiving nature, especially if the legend was created by a Korean. Moreover, Empress Wu represented 'Northern Ch'an' and hence opposition to Hui-neng. Therefore, the adoption of the sole surviving descendant of Liu Shih, the prefect Liu Wu-t'ien, as the compassionate official, was a reminder to readers of the perfidy of Empress Wu, whose elimination of Liu Shih and his circle marked the start of her political career.

But why choose the east as the direction from which the revival would originate? Firstly, in China as elsewhere, the east is the direction of sunrise and Spring, in other words, the vector whence rejuvenation comes.⁴⁸ In Buddhism also, the Buddha as cakravartin (universal monarch) "was very early identified with the sun," and of course, the

⁴⁷ HTS 13/112/4177-4178; cf. table 9/23A/2839. For background, see Denis Twitchett and Howard J. Wechsler (1979), 'Kao-tsung (reign 649-83) and the Empress Wu: the inheritor and the usurper,' in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 3, Sui and Tang China, 589-906, Part 1*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 243, 248, 254. See also TCTC 7/6285, 6288, 6313-6317, and Jorgensen (2005).

⁴⁸ Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 14499, cites the *Shuo-wen*: "The east is movement," the *Po-hu t'ung*, "The east is where the *ch'i* of yin and yang begins to move, where the myriad things were first born." Note Mircea Eliade (1974), *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed, New American Library: New York, 135-136: "The sun in this way becomes the prototype of the 'dead man rising again every morning'."

bodhisattva Kuan-yin is said to come from the east.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the Chinese had ever since the time of Confucius identified 'Korea' as the source of a revival of the Way, for by early T'ang times the Tung-i or 'Eastern barbarians' mentioned were equated with the Koreans.⁵⁰ The early T'ang commentator, Yen Shih-ku (581-645) implied that Confucius thought of reviving the Way by taking to a raft over the sea and living among the 'Koreans' or Eastern I (*Tung-i*). At the very time that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* were being written, a passage from the *Tso-chuan*, in which Confucius declared, "I have heard that when the Son of Heaven has lost (the practice of) officials, one (should) study it among the I of the four directions"⁵¹ was used by the T'ien-t'ai revival Chan-jan (711-782) in response to a comment made by the Esoteric Buddhist monk Han-kuang (n.d.);

When I was travelling with the Trepitaka Master Amoghavajra (705-774) in India, we met an Indian monk who asked me, "I have heard that the teachings of T'ien-t'ai are circulating in the Great T'ang. They are best for distinguishing the heterodox from the orthodox, the one-sided from the perfect. Can you have these texts translated [into Sanskrit] and brought to this country?" Chan-jan responded, "Isn't this like saying, 'The teachings have been lost to China and must now be sought in the surrounding regions?'"⁵²

⁴⁹ Eliade (1974), 146. Kobayashi Taichirō (1948), 'Jōka to Kannon,' *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 1: 20 and note 15, who especially associates this with female deities and Kuan-yin. He quotes the *Shang-shu ta-chuan*: "What is the East? It is movement, the movement of things. Why is it regarded as the Spring? (Because it is whence) Spring issues." Yü (2001), 408-409, finds Kobayashi's attempt to link Kuan-yin with the goddess Nü-wa, or Chinese goddesses of fertility to be fascinating but without a concrete linkage.

⁵⁰ Fan Yeh, *Hou Han shu*, 12 vols, Chung-hua shu-chū: Shanghai, 10/85/2810, editor's note.

⁵¹ Pan Ku, *Han shu*, 12 vols, Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking edn, 6/28B/1658, including Yen Shih-ku's comments. *Hou Han shu* 10/85/2180, editor's notes. See also James Legge, 5: 666; Fan Yeh (1965), comments on this, *Hou Han shu*, 10/85/2807-2810. Dealt with in more detail in Jorgensen (2005), 'Korea as a Source for the Regeneration of Chinese Buddhism: The Evidence of Ch'an and Sōn Literature.' Later, Liu Tsung-yūan interpreted the sea as the basis of the sage attaining the Way, that is the mind of the universe, and the raft the means of travelling in return to that state of mind. See LTYCC 1/16/202, and Tosaki Tetsuhiko (1987, Oct.), 'Ryū Sōgen to Chū Tō no Bukkyō,' *Chūgoku Bungakuhō* 38: 16-17, thinks in this he may have been influenced by Wang Pi.

⁵² Linda Penkower (2000), 'In the Beginning...Guanding (561-632) and the Creation of Early Tiantai,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23 (2): 268 note 53, 287 note 98.

Of course, this is the reverse of what was intended by the reference to Korea, but it may have been suggestive.

Thus the two bodhisattvas who came from the east to rebuild Hui-neng's Ch'an were probably meant to be Silla Koreans,⁵³ and or avatars of Kuan-yin, for even the name of the Silla monk Taebi is identical with a name for the Kuan-yin who in T'ang times was worshipped as a kind of god of renewal and fertility.⁵⁴ Of even more coincidental interest is the fact that in late T'ang a number of holy monks came to be called by Kuan-yin's epithet of Ta-pei, and at least one of them was coated in lacquer after death. Therefore, the name Kim Taebi (Ch. Ta-pei) for the Silla monk from Hung-chou who paid to have Hui-neng's skull stolen according to the *Pao-lin chuan*, had resonances with the Kuan-yin of Great Compassion (Ta-pei Kuan-yin). Having made Kim Taebi a resident of K'ai-yüan Monastery, Hung-chou, the *Pao-lin chuan* author was probably intending that he was to be read as a pupil of Tao-i, and Tao-i did have a pupil surnamed Kim, who is called Chen-chou Kim U in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.⁵⁵ Moreover, there were Silla monks like Pöm'il (811-899) who received the mind-seal of the Ch'an transmission via an omen he saw when he bowed to Hui-neng's stupa a number of times:

Later, fulfilling a vow, he headed for Shao-chou to venerate the patriarchal teacher's stupa, not regarding the thousand *li* too far for a visit to Ts'ao-ch'i. The clouds of incense smoke suddenly formed a circle around the front of the stupa, and auspicious sparrows quickly came and cried out on top of the hall. The assembly was astonished, and said to each other, "There has never been such an auspicious omen. It must be a sign of the dignity of the Ch'an master's arrival." Then he thought to return to his native country and there spread the Buddha-Dharma.⁵⁶

Probably the first allusion to this legend and the Silla role in the rejuvenation of Ch'an came with Ch'oe Ch'iwön (857-?), when members of the purged Kim Yusin Kaya royal lineage, the then declining King

⁵³ Yanagida (1984), 3: 1602.

⁵⁴ Kobayashi (1954), 89. This was the Thousand-eyed and Thousand-handed Avalokiteśvara, whose most popular sutra was translated by Bhagavadharma in 650. See Yü (2001), 50, 59-69, 271.

⁵⁵ Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 'Silla hadae Sŏnjong Kusanpa ūi sŏngnip,' *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 7: 90, where Ch'oe Ch'iwön equates Kim U with Ch'ang-shan Hye'gak, who probably later taught in North China, for Chen-chou is modern Chen-ting, south of Peking.

⁵⁶ *Tsu-t'ang chi*, 5.14.1-5.

Muyŏl lineage and the large sixth bone-rank clan, the Ch'oe, many of whom had been students and even officials in China, returned and began to challenge the rigid Silla social system, linking themselves to the newly emergent regional warlords and Sŏn Buddhism. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was representative of these forces and he championed the Tung-i or Korean revitalisation thesis to propagandise against the Silla class system of bone-ranks and state-supported scholastic Buddhism, and for a Confucian meritocracy and Sŏn. This campaign was at its greatest intensity between ca. 872 and the 930s.⁵⁷

Thus there was a convergence of two elements; the theory of a revitalisation of a 'Chinese' religion from the Eastern I or Koreans; and the notion that Silla monks were true heirs to Hui-neng's teachings. These were joined together explicitly by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn. The earliest datable source for this legend as it unfolded in Korea is in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's stele inscription for Hyeso (773/4-850); a monk who had studied under Tao-i's pupil Yen-kuan Shen-chien (750?-842), returned to Silla in 830 and established a portrait hall for Hui-neng in Ssanggye Monastery.⁵⁸ As this stele was one of the four famous inscriptions written by Ch'oe that came to be widely read after they were first abstracted from his collected works and given a commentary by Hae'an (1567-?), a monk pupil of Hyujŏng at Hwaŏm Monastery who fought against Hideyoshi's invasion, the mention of a portrait hall for the Sixth Patriarch that was filled with paintings of the patriarchs or of his lineage was certain to attract attention.

According to the stele, Hyeso was a descendant of a Chinese clan from Shan-tung that had followed the Sui attacks into Koguryŏ. He may even have been of the same clan as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.⁵⁹ He went

⁵⁷ For more details on this and other elements related to Korea, see J. Jorgensen (2005).

⁵⁸ Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 98; Chōsen Sōtokufu, comp. (1920), *Chōsen kinseki sōran*, 2 vols, Asea munhwasa 1976 reprint, hereafter CKS 1: 69; Yi Nūnghwa (1918), *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa*, Kokusho kankōkai 1974 reprint of the original Keijō edition, 1: 109; and Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), *Chuhae Sasan pimyŏng*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, 112. For more details, see translation in Appendix 1. Note especially Yi Nūnghwa (1918), 1: 109, which contains notes by Yi Nūnghwa and the late Yi Dynasty layman Hong Kyŏngmo, and those of the annotator of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's famous *Sasan pimyŏng*.

⁵⁹ Lee Ki-baik (Dec. 1975), 'Confucian political ideology in the Silla Unification and Early Koryŏ Periods,' *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 42: 11.

to China in 804 as a sailor in the annual tribute mission to the T'ang court, only becoming a monk later. He was enlightened under the direction of Shen-chien at Ts'ang-chou. The assembly there observed, "Again we see here an eastern saint." The word 'again' surely indicates Hyeso and his senior Toïi. Hyeso only took the full ordination in 810 at Shao-lin Monastery, and in 830 when he returned to Silla,⁶⁰ King Hŭngdŏk (r. 826-835) welcomed him with a letter that announced;

Sŏn Master Toïi, who has already returned to his homeland, and you, who have returned next, are two bodhisattvas. I have heard of the two black-clothed prodigies, and now I see the patch-clothed heroes. To fill the heavens with compassionate dignity and have the entire country happily reliant, I will now make the territory of East Kyerim (Silla) the residence of the Felicitous One (Bhagavat).⁶¹

This inscription, written on royal command in 887,⁶² clearly pairs Toïi and Hyeso, and displays a particular concern with Hyeso's connections to Hui-neng and his relics. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn wrote that Toïi and Hyeso befriended each other in China,⁶³ and that Hyeso was in a lineage from Hui-neng. The king's desire to use these two monks to create a residence of the Bhagavat indicates their importance.⁶⁴ More pertinently, the records show that Hyeso came to China as a layman and was associated with Toïi.

Toïi, who founded Chinjŏn Monastery on Mt Sŏrak, has a hagi-

⁶⁰ Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 105-106, 112; CKS, 1: 67-69; Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 106-107; Song Akhun, ed. (1972), *Han'guk ūi Sasang Taegŏnjip*, Tonhwa ch'ulpansa: Seoul, vol. 3: 360a.

⁶¹ Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 112-113; Song Akhun (1972), 360a-b; Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 108; CKS, 1: 68-69. The black-clothed prodigies refer to two famous monks who served under a Southern Dynasty's emperor. See Jorgensen (2005) for an analysis of this passage.

⁶² Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 14; Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 80.

⁶³ Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 106; CKS, 1: 68; Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 107-108; Song Akhun (1972), 360a.

⁶⁴ Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 112; Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 108; Song Akhun (1972), 360b. Note that Hyeso was registered as resident at Hwangnyong Monastery. A mention in this inscription of Hyeso building a monastery on the ruins of a hermitage built by Master Sanbŏp in Hwagae Valley near Ssanggye Monastery has instigated the formation of a legend that Kim Taebi actually succeeded in bringing the crown of Hui-neng's skull back to Silla. Choi Byong-hon/Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1990), 'On the Legend of the Sixth patriarch as recorded in the Ssangye-sa gi,' *Proceedings of the Fo Kuang Shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism*, 277, thinks that Toïi and Hyeso were called bodhisattvas and that the prediction attributed to Hui-neng concerned them. A different opinion is taken by Chŏng Sŏngbon (1995), *Silla Sŏnjong ūi yŏn'gu*, Minjoksa: Seoul, chapter 7.

ography in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, which is based on a funerary inscription for Toïi erected in Korea. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* records that he arrived in T'ang in 784, just over seventy years after Hui-neng's death in 713, together with an emissary to the T'ang court, Kim Yang'gyong. When he went to Kuang-chou he received the full ordination precepts at Pao-t'an Monastery (?). Then he proceeded to Ts'ao-ch'i to pay his respects at the memorial hall dedicated to Hui-neng. When he approached, the doors of the hall suddenly opened of themselves. He then bowed thrice, and the doors closed just as mysteriously as he departed. Toïi subsequently visited K'ai-yüan Monastery in Hung-chou where Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang resolved his doubts. Chih-tsang remarked:

"Truly, who else could I transmit the Dharma to but this man," and (Chih-tsang) changed his name to Toïi. Thereupon (Toïi) practised austerities and visited Master Huai-hai of Mt Po-chang. On one occasion he (Po-chang?) said to Chih-tsang, "Does the bloodline (genealogy) of the Ch'an of Kiangsi totally belong to the monks of the Eastern Country (Korea)?" The rest is as in his stele.⁶⁵

The final comment about the stele indicates that the extant *Tsu-t'ang chi* was likely compiled by Koreans, for they anticipated that the readers might be able to visit Chinjŏn Monastery. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, and possibly Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (who had been in China from the age of twelve, took the *pin-kung* examinations for foreigners in 874, and who served in official posts in Kiangsu and Huainan before returning to Silla in 885),⁶⁶ may thus have been hinting that Toïi and Hyeso were the two bodhisattvas mentioned in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. After all, the coincidences are remarkable. One was a layman and the other a cleric, and they were predicted to arrive seventy years after the death of Hui-neng to revive his teachings and build monasteries. Above all, Hui-neng, in his relic form, sanctioned Toïi, who then seems to have gone on to become a chief disciple of Chih-tsang. Furthermore, both King Hŭngdŏk and Shen-chien's assembly praised Hyeso and Toïi as bodhisattvas. Since the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* did not specify where the teaching will be revived or the monasteries built, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* may have been indirectly suggesting that these two Silla monks spread Hui-neng's Ch'an to Silla, from where it could later flow back into China.

⁶⁵ *Tsu-t'ang chi*, 5. 8-9.

⁶⁶ Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 1-2.

Hyeso established and repaired buildings on the foundations of the monastery founded by Sanbōp and built the memorial hall for Hui-neng there at Ssanggye Monastery. Toŭi allegedly introduced Hui-neng's lineage to Silla. These deeds made them suitable candidates to be identified by later writers with the two bodhisattvas of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* prediction. Moreover, it is from hints found in these early descriptions that a legend of Hui-neng's skull-cap or *uṣṇīṣa* relic being present in Korea was forged around the turn of the twentieth century.

The Chiri San Ssanggye Sa ki and the Korean theft of the uṣṇīṣa of Hui-neng

This tradition of the Kim Taebi-inspired attempted *furtum sacrum* originally found in the *Pao-lin chuan*, but slightly developed in the *Tsu-t'ang chu* and *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, was combined in Korea with a statement in a stele of 887 dedicated to Hyeso (773/4-850), written by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-?). Hyeso returned to Silla in 830, and he set up a portrait hall for Hui-neng in Ssanggye Monastery.⁶⁷ The inscription for Hyeso claims that sometime before 838, Hyeso,

because the foundation remains of the old hermitage of Master Sanbōp were in Hwa'gae Valley, built and repaired halls and buildings there. They were as majestic as the illusory city.⁶⁸

According to a much later record of this tradition, the *Chiri San Ssanggye Sa ki* quoted by Nukariya Kaiten in 1930, Master Sanbōp, who became a pupil in 676 of the great Hwaŏm teacher Ŭisang (652-702), heard about Hui-neng and wished to consult him, but could not. When he learnt of Hui-neng's death in 713 Sanbōp was much saddened. Six years later the monk Kyujōng of Mirŭk Monastery brought back a copy of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* from China,

⁶⁷ Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 'Silla hadae Sŏnjong kusan ūi sŏngnip,' *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 7: 98; CKS, 1: 69. Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 109. This entry contains notes by Yi himself and the late Yi dynasty layman, Hong Kyŏngmo. Hong, and the commentator on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's famous *Sasan pimyŏng/mun*, disagree as to what the portrait hall contained; either portraits of the six generations from Hui-neng through to Hyeso himself, or only six generations from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng. These were portraits and not statues as the stele makes clear. See text also in Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 112, and Song Akhun, ed. (1972), 3: 360b. Note that the 887 date is given by Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 14, and Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 80.

⁶⁸ CKS 1: 69; Yi Nŭnghwa (1918), 1: 108; Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (1987), 112. The final line is a reference to a passage in the *Lotus Sutra*, Hurvitz (1976), 130ff.

which Sanbŏp read. When he came to the prediction by Hui-neng that "five and six years after my death, someone will come to take my head," Sanbŏp thought, "I will do this to benefit my country for ten thousand generations." So he went to the nun Pŏpjŏng, widow of the courageous Silla general, Kim Yusin (595-673), and borrowed twenty thousand gold coins from her. He then took a merchant ship to China and met with the Ch'an Elder 禪伯 Taebi who was staying at K'ai-yŭan Monastery in Hung-chou. Taebi was originally from Paengnyul Monastery in Kyŏngju, an institution famed for its statue of the Kwan'ŭm Taebi (Kuan-yin of Great Compassion), which had many attested miracles.⁶⁹ The two men earnestly discussed the plan and decided to pay the twenty thousand coins to Chang Ching-man to bring back the *uṣṇīṣa* (Kor. *chŏngsang*) of Hui-neng.

In this version of the legend the conspirators succeed in their scheme and the nun Pŏpjŏng worshipped the relic when they brought it back to Yŏngmyo Monastery near Kyŏngju in 723. But later a monk (probably indicating Hui-neng), appeared in Sanbŏp's dream and recited a poem:

I have *returned* to this land,
As a qualified Buddha-country.
At the base of Mt Chi(ri) in Kangju,
On a day with arrowroot flowers in snow,
And men and scene are both like an illusion,
The mountains and waters marvellous like a lotus,
(Then) I will divine (there) a spirit residence for ten thousand years,
As the ego-dharma is basically No Mind.

Consequently, Sanbŏp searched Mt Chiri together with Taebi, and in the twelfth month they found a place where the snow was piled like a peak and yet it was as warm as in spring, where creeper flowers were blossoming profusely. There they cut out a rock to form a casket for the relic, buried it deep and erected a meditation hermitage. After eighteen years of practice,⁷⁰ Sanbŏp bathed, chanted the

⁶⁹ Iryŏn, *Samguk yusa* 3, Paengnyul Sa entry. See Yi Pyŏngdo, comp. and trans. (1980), *Samguk yusa*, 108. Iryŏn states that this monastery was famed for the statue, which predates 713. See Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'guwŏn (1974), *Han'guk ūi sach'al 3: Silla ūi p'yesa I*, Ilchisa: Seoul, 74-76, dates the statue to 693.

⁷⁰ Nukariya Kaiten (1930), *Chōsen Zen Kyō shi*, Meicho kankōkai, 1969 reprint of Shunjūsha edn, Tokyo, 61, gives the date as the 38th year of King Hyosŏng, which

Platform Sutra and passed away. His entire body was buried in Un'ŏm Monastery.⁷¹

Nukariya's text was based on earlier Korean works that date from around 1914 as an attempt to promote the *chōngsang* or *uṣṇīṣa* relic of Hui-neng allegedly kept at Ssanggye Monastery. This was part of a propaganda campaign by Ssanggye Monastery that began after 1854 when the monastery suffered losses through natural disasters and was revived around 1914 to maintain its independence and as a fight against pro-Japanese Buddhist rivals.⁷²

The relics' war then was aimed not only at Japan, but also at proving the superiority of what was claimed to be the 'authentic' Korean Sŏn. The hints provided in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, which stated that Kim Taebi failed in the attempt to steal the *chōngsang* of Hui-neng, plus the mention of a portrait hall raised by Hyeso for Hui-neng, were used to fabricate the propaganda texts that asserted the *chōngsang* was in Korea.

Theft of uṣṇīṣa versus theft of head

The *chōngsang* or *uṣṇīṣa* was an ambiguous item, for not only could it mean a portrait or the fleshy lump on top of the Buddha's head, it could also be invisible.⁷³ Thus if their claims were attacked, the proponents of the relic in Ssanggye Monastery could retreat and say that it was invisible or a portrait, even though the early texts clearly state that the top of the head was stolen and that the thieves had to sever the head off through protective layers over the neck. And yet, since the Chinese sources never mention the removal of the *uṣṇīṣa*, the defence could, rather implausibly, rest on the assertion of invisibility.

Moreover, the theft of the *uṣṇīṣa* could be seen as an extrapolation

does not exist, this ruler reigning 737-742. The cyclical date is *ki-myo*, 13th day of the 7th month, which is probably 739, the third year of Hyosŏng, which means it was eighteen years of practice, and not eight as Nukariya has it.

⁷¹ Nukariya (1930), 60-61. Summarised by Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1972), 88-89.

⁷² For materials dealing with this issue, see Chŏn Posam (1989), 'Yukjo chōngsang ūi tongnae sŏl kwa kŭ sin'ang sajŏk ūiŭi,' 330-332; Chung Moo-hwan (1987), 'Zenshū Rokuso Enō Daishi chōsō torai engi kō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 36 (1): 81. Chōng Sŏngbon (1995), 297; for reproduction of the text of the *Ssanggye Sa yaksa*, see *charyo* no. 3, and section Nukariya translated at *charyo* 21-23; and for the idea of textual support, 308.

⁷³ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 162-163, though they mention that the meaning of 'portrait' is not attested until Northern Sung times.

of the alleged theft of the head found in the Chinese sources. The head is the highest part of the body, the most deserving of respect, being what one bows to, and with,⁷⁴ and the *uṣṇīṣa* is the uppermost extremity of the head. Heads of saints thus became prime targets for theft.⁷⁵ Indeed, the head of the Buddha possessed a quasi-magical power, such that if one refused to bow one's head to the Buddha's feet, one's head would rupture into seven pieces.⁷⁶ The *uṣṇīṣa* exhibited greater powers, emitting a light so bright that the *uṣṇīṣa* could not be seen by living beings directly. Likewise, it could not be seen because no one can look down upon the Buddha; one must always look up. This meant that the *uṣṇīṣa* is invisible (*wu-chien ting-hsiang* or *anavalokitamūrdhatā*).⁷⁷

The forgers of this tale may also have had in mind the mentions by pilgrims to India of the corporeal *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha. Hsüan-tsang reported that a 'slice' of the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa*, of a yellow-white colour was worshipped in Kāpiśa 迦畢試 by the king of that country,⁷⁸ and yet again that in the city of Hilo or Hidda,

there was a two-storeyed building in which were carefully preserved the Ushnīsha bone of the Buddha, his skull, one of his eyes, his mendicant's staff, and one of his clerical robes.⁷⁹

He called it the *ting-ku* 頂骨 or *uṣṇīṣa-śīrsas*, the bone of the crown of the head. Hsüan-tsang thought it not part of the skull, but a growth on the top of the head. He described the Hilo *uṣṇīṣa* as "twelve inches in circumference, with the hair pores distinct, and of a yellowish white colour. It was kept in a casket..." It was seen by Chih-meng in Kapilavastu and by Hyōnjo, a Silla monk (in India, 627-649, and met I-ching), at Kāpiśa.⁸⁰ In 660, Wang Hsüan-ts'è, the T'ang envoy,

⁷⁴ Eric Reinders (Feb. 1997), 'Ritual Topography: Embodiment and Vertical Space in Buddhist Monastic Practice,' 247, citing Tao-hsüan's *Shih-men kuei-ching i*, T45.863b, for *ting-li fo-tsu*.

⁷⁵ Faure (1991), 164.

⁷⁶ Hubert Durt (Dec. 1967), 'Note sur l'origine de l'Anavalokitamūrdhatā,' 449, citing *Fo-pen hsing chi ching*, T3.692a8-11, *t'ou erh ting-li*.

⁷⁷ Durt (Dec. 1967), 446. The Buddha even grew so that his height could not be measured (p. 445); cf. Watters (1903-1904), II: 146; Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 163.

⁷⁸ Watters (1903-1904), I: 128; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 154-155.

⁷⁹ Watters (1903-1904), I: 184; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 228.

⁸⁰ Watters (1903-1904), I: 196-198; Watters thinks it was 'an imposture'; for Chih-meng, T50.343b22; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 228, 230-231. But Hyecho, another

brought such a *ting-ku*, or a part thereof, of the Buddha from Kāpiśa to the Chinese court.⁸¹

Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864-1953), the great Ceylonese propagator of Buddhism who came to Keijō (Seoul) in August 1913 to present a *śarīra* bead of the Buddha,⁸² may have told those in the forger's circle of the famous 'forehead bone relic' of the Buddha that was kept in Śri Lanka, and had a genealogy of transmission via Mahākāśyapa to a lineal series of monks who eventually brought it to Śri Lanka. This was what was related in the *Dhātuvamsa*.⁸³ Again, the idea may have come from the widespread Japanese use of *chinzō*, the portraits of Zen masters, which had a double meaning of portrait and invisible icon. They could be functionally identical with the 'flesh body' or mummy.⁸⁴ The invisibility of the *uṣṇīṣa* would have been known to all Korean monks, for they had to study and chant the opening invocation in the *Shou-leng-yen ching*, a 'Ch'an apocrypha,' which states, "I whole-heartedly take refuge in the Śūrangama King of the invisible *uṣṇīṣa*."⁸⁵ The logic of this was summed up by Mujaku Dōchū:

The (true) mark of the patriarchs is fundamentally devoid of form. It is just like the Tathāgata, whose *chinzō* cannot be seen, and thus [depictions of the patriarchs] are called *chinzō*.⁸⁶

Thus, it is no longer a visible icon or *Nirmāṇakāya*, but the invisible *Dharmakāya* itself.⁸⁷

Hence, the use of the term 'portrait hall' (*ying-t'ang*) by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn for the commemorative structure Hyeso built at Ssanggye Monastery suggested a number of associations, one of which was the

Silla pilgrim, saw the 'Buddha's curled chignon bone *śarīra*' (i.e. *uṣṇīṣa*) at Kāpiśa, probably near Kabul. See Yi Sōkho, translator (1970), *Wang Och'ŏnchuk-guk chŏn (oe)*, Ulyu munhwasa: Seoul, 102.

⁸¹ Jinhua Chen (2002a), 'Śarīra and scepter,' 45-46.

⁸² Trainor (1997), 15-16; Gananath Obeyesekere (1976), 'Personal Identity and Cultural Crisis: The Case of Anagārika Dharmapala of Sri Lanka,' in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds, *The biographical process: Studies in the history and psychology of religion*, Mouton: The Hague, 238-239, 242; Yi Nūnghwa (1918), 3:1016-1017.

⁸³ Trainor (1997), 125, 148.

⁸⁴ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 204; Faure (1991), 172-173.

⁸⁵ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 205; for Korean use, Yi Chi'gwan (1979), *Han'guk Pulgyo so'ui kyōngjŏn yŏn'gu*, Poryŏn kak: Seoul, 136ff.

⁸⁶ Cited by Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 205.

⁸⁷ Cf. Faure (1991), 170. Note that a similar, related text, the *Buddhoṣṇīṣavijaya dhāraṇī Sūtra*, which was usually inscribed on stone pillars, equated the pillar with a "śarīra stūpa of the Buddha's entire body." See Jinhua Chen (2002a), 103.

uṣṇīṣa of Hui-neng, which of course, could be both portrait and invisible relic. The claims then that the *chōngsang* relic of Hui-neng was enshrined at Ssanggye Monastery as seen in a series of texts produced between 1910 and 1918 at the latest, were outcomes of an attempt to preserve one monastery's autonomy and prestige, and were propaganda weapons in a struggle over the legitimate form of Korean Sōn and its future. Similar conflicts, though not on such an international level, can be seen in the conflict between the abbey of Saint-Denis and the chapter of the cathedral of Notre-Dame-de-Paris. St Denis, a relatively obscure figure, had been decapitated at Montmartre (hence the name) ca. 251 A.D., but the abbey claimed to possess the entire body, including the head, and the chapter a slice off the top of the head. A debate ensued over whether there had been two blows, one severing the head, the other taking the top off the cranium. There was another claim to the body, and the monks and canons argued it out for centuries. The possession was crucial, for St Denis became the patron saint of the monarchy, and the abbey a major pilgrimage site. Saint-Denis supported their claim by forging charters, writing hagiographies and inventing episodes in their chronicles. These forgeries took on a life of their own, even beyond the intentions of the forgers.⁸⁸ In many respects then, the cases of Ssanggye Sa and Saint-Denis display remarkable parallels with the propaganda wars within Chinese Ch'an that date back to the eighth and ninth centuries in which Hui-neng and his relics were important propaganda symbols. Moreover, the initial mention of an attempted theft made in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* took on a life of its own that continued right into the twentieth century. The authors of the later Korean campaign, which began around 1910, took their cues from the traditional literature that described these crucial, but largely invented, events in the early history of Ch'an. They attempted to manipulate those traditional symbols to their own ends, but ultimately failed, which explains why their texts have sunk into relative obscurity and also why the alleged relic of Hui-neng at Ssanggye Monastery never became a major site of pilgrimage. These days, about one thousand to one thousand five hundred people come to a memorial held for Hui-neng's relic annually on the fifth day of the third month in the lunar

⁸⁸ Gabrielle M. Spiegel (1983/1985), 'The cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship,' 144, 147-148, 154.

calendar.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in the text for the worship of the Buddha used daily at Ssanggye Monastery there is mention of the “*chōngsang* jewel stupa of the sixth patriarch Hui-neng.”⁹⁰

The nature, morality and precedents of relic thefts in Buddhism

The theft of relics was not a major theme in Chinese Buddhist history, although a number of examples can be found. There were several obstacles to the thefts besides the defences of the monastery that held the relics, or the ruler in whose territory it resided. Firstly, there was the Buddhist admonition against theft and the doctrine of non-attachment.⁹¹ Hence there were moral and soteriological reasons not to steal. However, the stealing of a relic could be considered an extraordinary theft; not for oneself, but altruistically for the community to which it was destined. It also honoured the relic. However, a stigma was probably still attached to such deeds, which is why they so often failed. Some historical records merely allude to theft, not making the allegations explicit for this reason. As Sanbōp, the mastermind of the theft of the *uṣṇīṣa* of Hui-neng in the modern Korean account said,

it would be best that through my strength I would plan to make it a field of merit for my country over ten thousand generations rather than let it fall into the hands of another....To do this, first I will have to steal, and second, to remove a buddha's body or blood, which is to violate the five irredeemable sins. Therefore I would be sure to fall into hell. But if I can benefit sentient beings, I am willing to accept the pains of hell.⁹²

Secondly, the relic itself could resist removal by becoming unusually heavy, for example. Because of these difficulties, and the corruption that the possession of relics could bring through the attractions of wealth generated by the exploitation of devotees, at least one group of Indian Mahayana (?) monks, as represented in the *Maitreya-samhanā Sūtra* condemned those monks who worshipped relics to the neglect

⁸⁹ Araki Kazuko (1993), ‘Sangesa no Rokuso chinzō tō,’ in *Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu*, comp., *Nihon Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, Heibonsha: Tokyo, 274.

⁹⁰ Yi Kōnhui (1999), *Kankoku Bukkyō kenkyū*, Meicho honyaku shuppankai: Higashi Osaka, 489.

⁹¹ Trainor (1997), 119-120, on non-attachment; 123-124, on theft.

⁹² Chōng (1995), 327.

of meditation and recitation as 'sham bodhisattvas.' This was because they are attached to property and the physical.⁹³ They asserted that relics lacked 'the breath of life,' which went against the mainstream tradition that claimed that relics were alive, imbued with all the virtues of Buddhism and thus worthy of worship, that is, they were 'empowered.'⁹⁴

However, the 'presence' of the relics was too powerful for some to resist the lure of appropriation, and it appears from the records of Chinese pilgrims to India that certain relics were shifted by conquerors into their own territories as prizes of war. The alleged *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha was probably 'translated' several times, and a tooth-relic was definitely taken from Kashmir by King Śīladitya, a contemporary of Hsüan-tsang.⁹⁵ Even secondary relics, such as the Buddha's alms-bowl, were frequently taken.

According to a tradition dating back at least to the fifth century, as seen in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, the brahmin Dona (=Droṇa) who was responsible for dividing up the relics of the Buddha immediately after his cremation, stole the right eye-tooth of the Buddha and hid it in his turban, but Śakra Indra, the king of the gods, took it from Droṇa up to his heaven, there to be worshipped.⁹⁶ The Śrī Lankan *vamsa* (genealogical or lineage) texts, such as the *Thūpavamsa* (thirteenth century) and *Dīpavamsa* (fourteenth century) described the transfer of relics such as the forehead-bone of the Buddha through monks and kings over the centuries.⁹⁷ Some of these transfers are depicted definitely as intentional thefts, although they were supposedly in accordance with the Buddha's predictions and will. The media for those thefts were *arahant* monks such as Sonuttara, laymen such as the brahmin Droṇa, gods such as Indra, and kings such as the *nāga* ruler Jayasena.⁹⁸

Probably the first theft by a Chinese alluded to in the historical

⁹³ Gregory Schopen (1999), 'The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk: Conservative Monastic Value in an Early Mahāyāna Polemical Tract,' *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27: 283, 288-289.

⁹⁴ Schopen (1999), 294-295, 306.

⁹⁵ Watters (1903-1904), I: 197, listing Kāpiśa, Kapilavastu and Gandhāra for the locations; I: 279, 351, on charges to see the relic. See also Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 154.

⁹⁶ Trainor (1997), 123; Watters, II: 43; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), 552.

⁹⁷ Trainor (1997), 124-125.

⁹⁸ Trainor (1997), 129, 131-132.

records was the removal of a tooth of the Buddha and fifteen *śarīra* beads from Khotan by Fa-hsien, who desired to visit the Indian sacred sites after hearing of the exploits of Chih-meng, who had left for India in 420 and returned to China in 437. Fa-hsien set out in 475, but when he arrived in Khotan, he found that the passes through the Pamir Mountains were cut, and so he "returned from Khotan, obtaining a tooth of the Buddha," the *śarīra* and a mantra of Kuan-yin to remove (the) sin. These he kept in his private possession, worshipping the relics alone for fifteen years until 489, when a dream of the Prince Wen-hsüan induced him to show it to the public. This is not described as a theft because the author of the *Kao-seng chuan*, Seng-yu, was a disciple of Fa-hsien.⁹⁹ Tao-shih's *Fa-yüan chu-lin* goes further and makes it clear Fa-hsien was virtually forced to exhibit the relic:

On the day he was about to depart Khotan, a monk handed him a copper casket in a closed room. He said, "This casket has a tooth of the Buddha in it, one inch wide and three inches long. You should take it back to the South and produce benefits widely."

Fa-hsien [here written 先 not 獻] joyously received it above his head as if he was seeing the Buddha's body. This monk also said, "I took 取 this Buddha-tooth from the Udyāna Country, and it gave me much trouble. I also obtained a copper seal, with an image of the king's face on it to seal this casket."

Master (Fa)-hsien later heard monks discussing this, saying, "The Country of Udyāna has lost the Buddha's tooth, and we do not know which country has its blessings. A monk must have taken it for worship." Hearing this, Master Hsien kept his thoughts to himself and secretly was delighted, which increased his reverence for it. Then he took it back to Mt Chung [near Nanking], where he kept it for fifteen years without his close associates and disciples knowing. He secretly presented this only to Vinaya Teacher Fa-ying of Ling-ken Monastery. Lifting it above his head, he laboriously disclosed what he had heard before. A monk of Kucha did not know whether it was genuine, and he had many suspicions it was a forgery.

⁹⁹ T50.411b28-c8, c28-29. The prince is Hsiao Tzu-liang, second son of Emperor Wu of Southern Ch'i. Except for the dates, this could refer to an incident in 493 when the emperor knew he was about to die, and yet distrusted Tzu-liang. Tzu-liang had monks chant sutras in front of the emperor's hall, and the emperor was thereby influenced to dream of an Udumbara flower, which appears only once in three thousand years, and is a symbol of the Buddha. Tzu-liang consulted the sutras in order to make a copper flower in imitation. The emperor temporarily received the prince and placed him in a position to assist in government. See Hsiao Tzu-hsien (1972), *Nan Ch'i shu*, 3 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 3/40/700; cf. 1/3/61-62.

Prince Wen-hsüan, on the Buddha's birthday, the eighth day of the second month, in the seventh year of the Yung-ming era (489), held a Dharma assembly where

he saw the Buddha coming from the east, his awesome appearance bright and dazzling. Prince Wen-hsüan gazed at the body and bowed down to it. The Buddha smiled at him....Later, on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth lunar month, he also dreamed that he had gone to Ting-lin (Monastery on Mt Chung), where he saw Master Hsien who pleaded illness and lay down. Therefore (the prince asked), "One cannot avoid birth, old age, illness and death even with the five supernatural powers. Master, besides your robe and bowl, is there anything else that can build merit?"

"In my store I have a priceless divine jewel. It is something that reverence can be given to. You should take it yourself."

Following his words, he went to find it, and saw a casket cupboard. Then he opened it and saw there were many sutras and images in it, and finally saw a small casket hanging in the air. He took it and opened it.

After he woke from the dream, he sent an attendant, Yang T'an-ming, to see if there was an unusual jewel in Fa-hsien's store, but Fa-hsien thought he was after something vulgar like pearls. Later that night Fa-hsien realised what had happened, and so personally went to the capital and confessed everything. He told the prince that the dream was evidence of the prince's faith. The prince then gained the tooth. Earlier, the prince had often heard about Buddha's teeth and hair relics existing in the Western Countries. In 481 he told Emperor Kao (r. 479-482) about this, and the monarch dispatched the foreign monk Dharmatāra 曇摩多羅 to search out equipment for offerings in order to express due reverence for the relics. They also made a small jewelled curtain with the intention of sending it to the Western Regions, but they held on to it.¹⁰⁰ In this account, there is a double theft, first from Udyāna by the anonymous Khotanese monk, who experienced many difficulties as a result. But the fact that Fa-hsien kept the relic in secrecy, possibly because there was a suspicion it was a forgery, suggests that Fa-hsien also had come by it less than honestly.

After these events, the relic was kept in Upper Ting-lin Monastery:

In the first month of the third year of the P'u-t'ung era (522), early in the night, unexpectedly a number of men carrying staves knocked on

¹⁰⁰ T53.380a-b.

the gates, saying, "A slave of the Heir-Apparent Lin-ch'uan has revolted. A person has told us he is in the top of the Pavilion of the Buddha's Tooth. Please open the pavilion so we can inspect it." The monastery superintendant obeyed and opened it. The leader went in front of the throne for the Buddha's tooth, opened the casket and took out the tooth. He bowed three times, and wrapped the tooth in an embroidered handkerchief, detoured the mountain to the east and left. To the present day we still cannot determine where it is.¹⁰¹

This relic does not resurface until 557, when the founder of the Ch'en Dynasty, Ch'en Pa-hsien (Kao-tsu) decreed it be taken out from a private residence, and displayed to a mass congregation of clergy and laity. The emperor personally came out of the palace and bowed to it. The *Ch'en shu* record states that after the relic was at Upper Ting-lin Monastery, around 519 it was kept by the monk Hui-hsing of Ch'ing-yün Monastery of Mt She, and when Hui-hsing was about to die, he entrusted it to his younger brother monk, Hui-chih. Around 544, this monk secretly sent it to Ch'en Pa-hsien.¹⁰² Yao's account, written in the early T'ang, elides the account of the theft and constructs a genealogy of an apparently secret transmission for the relic. Yet these accounts of one relic demonstrate that it was stolen or surreptitiously purchased and used for political ends at least three or four times. The orthodox political history, interestingly, created the genealogy. In contrast, the pre-T'ang Buddhist sources such as that of 597, the *Li-tai san-pao chi*, indicate that a theft had been perpetrated by a group of armed men in 522, and were ignorant of the whereabouts of this remarkable relic.

I-ching, writing around 685, mentions a monk from Szechwan, one Ming-yüan, called in Sanskrit Cintādeva, who in the early T'ang decided to travel south, going to Chiao-chih, near modern Hanoi. He there took a boat to Kalinga, and on to Śri Lanka. There he paid his respects to the ruler and secreted himself in the pavilion to take 取 its tooth of the Buddha, hoping to bring it back to China for veneration. But once he had it in hand he was captured. He was grossly embarrassed as a consequence for this abuse of hospitality. On his way to

¹⁰¹ T50.412a1-7; see also Fei Ch'ang-fang, *Li-tai san-pao chi*, T49.95c24-96a3, which also notes that Fa-hsien was involved in the translation of several texts he had brought from Khotan. T'ang Yung-t'ung (1938/1974), *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih*, Supplemented by Feng Ch'eng-chün, 1974, Shih-hsüeh ch'u-pan she: Taipei, 387-388.

¹⁰² Yao Ssu-lien (1972), *Ch'en shu*, 2 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 1/2/34.

India, I-ching heard from a Śrī Lankan that Ming-yüan had died on the road to Mahābodhi (vihāra) in Gaya, a monastery built by a king of Śrī Lanka.¹⁰³ Several years later, to protect their precious relic, the Śrī Lankans took special measures, placing the tooth-relic in a high tower, behind several locked doors, the doors sealed with mud. A tradition reportedly existed in Śrī Lanka that said that if ever the tooth of the Buddha were lost, the *rākṣasa* demons would devour Śrī Lanka. Another tradition said, "It will go to China, which is the power of the saint having an influence which penetrates from afar."¹⁰⁴ The former tradition should be taken seriously, as the tooth relic of Kandy was a royal palladium in Śrī Lanka, and was kept inside the royal palace, wherever that happened to be, and Śrī Lanka was supposedly only settled once the demons had been vanquished.¹⁰⁵ The latter tradition conforms to the beliefs in the power of the Buddha or saints' relics to determine their location and community, but it may also be I-ching's own interpolation for political ends. The Chinese monk thus was attempting to gain such an important relic for his own community, but was mortified when the relic did not agree with his actions. It was not just the shame at being caught in the act of theft.

Inside China, the thefts of relics were similarly to gain an advantage for one's own monastic community. Therefore, Shao-lin Monastery lost a sandal of Bodhidharma, the one he supposedly did not take with him over the Pamirs, to a thief from Hua-yen Monastery on Mt Wu-t'ai in 727.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, a Korean attempted to steal a relic of the Buddha from A-yü wang Shan (King Aśoka Monastery) in 849.¹⁰⁷ However, there is a difference between the Chinese accounts of relic thefts and those recorded in Śrī Lanka. In the latter, the role of non-humans such as gods and *nāgas* (serpent deities, in Chinese, dragons) is crucial. They are the real thieves, who do not deserve to have the relics, for as non-humans, they cannot attain enlightenment unless reborn as humans. They are intermediaries, whose status permits *arhants* (Chinese, *lo-han*), those human beings without attachment or craving, to use their psychic and magical powers to gain the relics for Śrī Lanka. This is what Trainor calls a 'hierarchy of possession' that

¹⁰³ Takakusu (1896), xxxii note 2, for Mahābodhi.

¹⁰⁴ *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü ch'iu-fa Kao-seng chuan*, T51.3c2-17.

¹⁰⁵ Trainor (1997), 31, 96.

¹⁰⁶ *Pao-lin chuan* 135a (8.7a).

¹⁰⁷ *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, T49.387a17-19; Faure (1992), 176.

favours the Śrī Lankan Sangha.¹⁰⁸ In Chinese accounts, the thieves are human, and not saints. While Fa-hsien is depicted as a strict observer of the vinaya, an elite monastic official and a devotee of the Buddha who wished to see the homeland of the Buddha, he is not accorded the status of a saint. Ming-yüan is shown as abusing the hospitality of his Śrī Lankan hosts and dying unknown on the road in disguise, rejected by the relic/Buddha.

In the Ch'an relic-hagiographies, some of the thieves are depicted as rivals, like Kuang-chi, the pupil of P'u-chi, whom Shen-hui accused of attempting to steal Hui-neng's robe. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* even labels the person who tried to decapitate Hui-neng and take his head as a relic 'an assassin,'¹⁰⁹ taking its cue from Shen-hui's accusation against Chang Hsing-ch'ang.¹¹⁰ At the same time he is called a 'mourner' or 'filial child.' Ambiguity surrounds these figures. Chang Ching-man was a hired thief, while Kim Taebi was seen as acting for the sake of the Silla community. In the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, Hui-neng even calls the thief 'a good-minded man.' As the later versions of the *Platform Sutra* have Ling-t'ao say,

in accordance with the Buddhist teaching of compassion, enmity and affection are equal. Even more so as he wished to worship (the relic) the crime can be forgiven.¹¹¹

Even the Korean tale of the teens of the twentieth century retains this entirely human dimension. There is no supernatural intervention, with the exception of that of the relic itself. Many of the actors or 'thieves' are only too human. Some are depicted as illegitimate rivals who fail in their heinous designs; others are seen as acting in accordance with the intentions of the relic and on behalf of their community. This is more in accord with the Confucian hagiographical paradigm, which was human-centred and tended to abhor excessive superhuman intercessions. The Buddho-Confucian hagiography did allow for the supernatural, such as the power of the relic and the magical powers of saints, and occasionally permitted the introduction of dragons, mountain gods and Indo-Buddhist deities, but they were

¹⁰⁸ Trainor (1997), 118, 126-135.

¹⁰⁹ EK, 49.

¹¹⁰ EK, 496; Hu Shih (1968), 289; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31; Teng and Jung (1998), 48.

¹¹¹ EK, 391a-b.

subordinate to the human actors far more so than in the Indic hagiographical tradition. Therefore, in the Ch'an hagiographies examined, the thieves are always human, and they receive no divine assistance, and there are no traces of divine intervention or mediation. This is in accord with the intentions of the hagiographers of Hui-neng, who wanted to make him a Chinese buddha.



PART II

THE WRITING OF THE HAGIOGRAPHY

Having examined the contents of the hagiographies of Hui-neng for their structures and models of the life, and considered the afterlife in the relics, I now shift my attention to the formation of the hagiographies as documents. If hagiographies reflect social conditions and values, and required popular support to be successful, it is necessary to know what constituted the authority to write such hagiographies and what elements contributed to popular support. Who could be a successful hagiographer? The problem is, with the exception of the initiator, Shen-hui, the authors of the major hagiographies of Hui-neng; the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the 'autobiographical' section of the *Platform Sutra*, and possibly the *Pao-lin chuan*; are all anonymous or unidentified. Thus, in order to understand the status of the texts and their anonymous authors, it is necessary to first of all examine the social, political and intellectual context of their production. Some aspects of this can be gauged by focussing on the status of known individuals, mostly literati, who wrote other material directly or indirectly connected with the image of Hui-neng and the hagiographies. As written works, moreover, the hagiographies would only have been influential if they had met certain criteria of style and authority. These criteria included the status of the author, such as his/her place in society, and whether or not the hagiographies conformed to ideas about literature or history and its production. Following this chapter, is a chapter examining the issue of place, both as a theme in the hagiographies, and as related to the status of the hagiography that was due to its place of production. This demonstrates an evolution of production shifting away from the metropolitan centres towards the provinces and peripheries of the empire, just as the status of the centre began to decline. The last chapter concentrates on the hagiographies themselves, their evolution, genres and styles, interrelationships, sites of production, and possible authors.

SECTION A

PLACE AND AUTHORITY IN THE LIFE OF HUI-NENG



CHAPTER FIVE

BACKGROUND 1: AUTHORITY AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

Hagiographies, authors and authorities in a Buddho-Confucian milieu

Hagiographies are written by devotees of a dead saint. The hagiographers were thus members of a social group formed through master-disciple relationships, and the hagiography promoted group loyalties and increased status for both the saint and disciples. The hagiography thus created involved the invention of their subject as a saint, which deepened the saint's authority, and through the reflected glory, elevated the authority of the disciples and the authors. However, as time distanced the authors from the saint, the hagiographies had to change, and the compilation of sayings of the master-saint in dialogue with the disciples and of what were supposedly eyewitness accounts transformed into more abstract, distanced biographical and 'theological' narratives, sometimes replete with citations from other books. Of course, those not directly in the fold, such as literati writing funerary inscriptions and the like on commission, also relied more on general tropes and abstract formulae to pad the text, using the ornate language of praise.

This change over time and of relationship to the master or group can be seen by comparison of the Ch'an hagiographies of Hui-neng and the Buddha. Shen-hui's hagiography of Hui-neng contains reported dialogue such as that between Hui-neng and Hung-jen, but no direct statements such as, 'the Master said,' without the presence of another named party. This suggests that Shen-hui never heard Hui-neng speak first hand, and Shen-hui did mention an inscription by Wei Ch'ü. Similarly, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* contains only reported dialogues and quotes from official documents, including a letter allegedly by Hui-neng, and a decree of 765, written well after Hui-neng's death.¹ Only the *Platform Sutra*, which claims the hagiographical content was

¹ EK, 44-45, 57.

recorded by the disciple Fa-hai from the autobiographical account given by Hui-neng as a preface to his sermon, uses direct quotations.² The lay literatus, Wang Wei, on the other hand, used minimal reported speech, except for a sermon by Hui-neng, in his stele for Hui-neng. The reported speech is a quote of two sentences spoken by Hung-jen and one sentence by Yin-tsung. In contrast, the hagiography of the Buddha in the *Pao-lin chuan* was clearly written based on unacknowledged sources, while in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* the hagiography is packed with acknowledged sources.

In China, the archetypal saint or sage was Confucius and the record of his teachings and deeds the *Lun-yü*. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, his biographer, linked this authorship to death, and so the compilation of the works of saints was linked to the funerary cult.³ Confucius, like Ch'ü Yüan, the putative author of the *Li-sao*, wrote his *Ch'un-ch'iu* as a "final testament or suicide note," and Ssu-ma Ch'ien stated that scholars treated Confucius "as their fixed, ultimate ancestor,"⁴ which is why they compiled the *Lun-yü*. Similarly, Fa-hai compiled the *Platform Sutra*, for on Hui-neng's deathbed the master allegedly replied to Fa-hai, saying: "Fa-hai, please listen. Hand the teaching down to successive generations, and do not allow it to be cut off."⁵ Thus, the master, whether Confucius or Hui-neng, "played the role of the apical ancestor in the ...lineage, and the text functioned as both genealogy and 'family instruction'."⁶

The *Lun-yü* and Confucius provided the model for the formation of a 'school,' its cardinal text, and authorship. This text separated 'authority' and 'authorship,' for the authority was Confucius, but the authors were the disciples who recorded the words of the authority, reporting the words of the master or participants in the dialogues. Without a recorder, the saint had no authority; he needed the disciples and the records of him teaching them. The disciples, as transmitters of the teaching, in turn became teachers and (lesser) authorities. Lewis thinks

² Yampolsky (1967), 126ff.

³ Mark Edward Lewis (1999), *Writing and Authority in Early China*, State University of New York Press: Albany, NY, 191.

⁴ Lewis (1999), 235, 238, as seen above in Chapter 1 at the end of my translation from the *Shih chi*, where the scholars *tsung* 宗 him, that is, make him the primal ancestor or head of the lineage.

⁵ Yampolsky (1967), 180-181. Note that earlier, p. 173, Hui-neng told his ten disciples to transmit the *Platform Sutra*. This may hint at a structural hiatus in the text.

⁶ Lewis (1999), 55.

that as a result of such a way of producing text, the master/saint had to be invented in the text. As a consequence, we only 'know' what the disciples/authors tell us.⁷

The masters were invented and certified as wise men in this progressive rewriting by disciples, while the disciples in turn received authority from the prestige they generated for their master. Each element—master, disciple, and text—was dependent on the other two, and together they generated a distinctive type of group.⁸

Yet the author, despite benefiting from the invention, was in other ways subordinate, for the master, even an invented one, was the authority.⁹ However, the groups that formed through this process, with their common loyalties to a master through a text and lineage, formed an alternative, possibly an opposition, to the state,¹⁰ and so when the state was strong these groups or schools were closely monitored and controlled.

In one sense, Ch'an was replicating the rise of 'philosophical schools' that occurred from the time of Confucius, but in a differing situation of centralised state power. This was more akin to the situation Ssu-ma Ch'ien was working in.¹¹ However, in the T'ang, Buddhism was not seen as an alternative philosophy of state, and was carefully controlled by the state. On the other hand, Ch'an seems to have reproduced the peripatetic nature of the members of the schools of the Warring States period, when "physical mobility became a mark of authority," and earlier, when Confucius travelled from state to state, unlike the commoners who were fixed in place by registration.¹² Yet, while monks during the T'ang were among the most mobile section of the population, travelling all over the empire and beyond, they had to be registered and have travel permits, and so they were subservient to the state.¹³ They possessed no real authority in the eyes of that state. The state also tended to vest authority in the centre and not in the periphery. The provenance of a text was therefore significant.

⁷ Lewis (1999), 56-58.

⁸ Lewis (1999), 5.

⁹ Lewis (1999), 54.

¹⁰ Lewis (1999), 63.

¹¹ Cf. Lewis (1999), 225.

¹² Lewis (1999), 67.

¹³ Cf. Kieschnick (2003), 221-222, with Moroto Tatsuo (1990), *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, Hirakawa: Tokyo, 43, 133-134, on permission to go into the mountains to meditate, 87-88.

Whether or not Ch'an authors were conscious of replicating the production of texts by the disciples of Confucius, for different attitudes and practices concerning authorship and texts had appeared already by the Warring States period when masters began to figure as the authors of their own texts,¹⁴ the results of the method of compiling the text seem to have been similar. As different disciples wrote and rewrote their texts about the master, the master's sayings and teachings appeared to be inconsistent, and the underlying principles had to be deduced by the reader. To resolve the apparent inconsistency, the interpreters adopted the idea that the master taught specific and different teachings in response to the particular circumstances. Thus the texts had to be read for hidden meanings, which were dependent on the differing contexts.

Confucius was suspicious of language, and the meanings of the sayings in the *Lun-yü* are not transparent and demand explication. Confucius supposedly disliked and suspected glib and clever speech, with the fear that words would not relate or correspond to objects and deeds, which would damage trust (*hsin*). The master's silence and indirection in speech would spur the disciple to act and not think. The master also taught via responding to the particular circumstance. Once this laconic teaching was in a text, the student had to create his own reading, and any words, no matter how shallow or seemingly self-evident, should be read as having a hidden meaning. Lewis thus considers the *Lun-yü* to

have shaped the Chinese understanding of the sage intellect and the authoritative text. A suspicion of the ultimate reliability of language and the possibility of fixed definitions, a denial of absolute and unchanging truths or rules, the location of meaning and authority within the endlessly adaptable wisdom of the sage mind, the preference for locating truth within particular propositions that suggested broader truths, the tendency to privilege the indirect over the explicit,

was part of the reading of the *Lun-yü*.¹⁵

Much of this method of recording, reading and teaching of the *Lun-yü* reappears in the mature Ch'an *yü-lu* with its enigmatic statements, silences and *kung-an*. Moreover, many of these features appear as early as the works of Shen-hui and the *Platform Sutra*, if not in earlier

¹⁴ Lewis (1999), 83, 95.

¹⁵ Lewis (1999), 83-86.

Ch'an hagiographical collections. For example, the writings of Shen-hui, and those attributed to Hui-neng such as the *Platform Sutra* were recompiled several times, in the latter case provoking accusations of vulgarisations and distortions. As we shall see later in the last chapter, modern scholars have detected differences in the *Platform Sutra* attributed to supposed rival pupils of Hui-neng or Shen-hui. Shen-hui's 'yü-lu' was possibly recompiled at least three times from the simple original made by Registrar Liu Ch'eng of T'ang-shan, the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa cheng-i*.¹⁶ Even the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* existed in a number of versions before the extant text was produced by Tu-ku P'ei.¹⁷ Later Ch'an masters tried, at least ostensibly, to stop the disciples making such records, but the recording and rewriting continued unabated.¹⁸

Furthermore, these *yü-lu*, including the *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan* hagiography of Buddha, for example, were largely inventions.¹⁹ Moreover, the texts were fluid, and the answers to any single question such as, "What is the meaning of the patriarch coming from the West?", may be manifold and at variance. Even the sermons were in response to the needs of the students present, rather than to some universally applicable principle. Furthermore, the recorders have added in judgements and revisions.²⁰

Moreover, silence and indirection in speech, plus a suspicion of language, appear in many of these early Ch'an texts, including the hagiographies. Therefore the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* wrote in its concluding evaluation (*lun*) that

Is this not a world of language (*yen-yü*)? Therefore the saints and sages had to speak with words (*yen-yü*) to lead one to the level of the ineffable (*wu yen-yü*). Therefore our original teacher (Buddha) said, "If you say the Thus Come had a Dharma that he preached, that is abusing the Buddha." And Confucius also said, "I wish to be without words (*yen*)."
Chuang Chou further said, "Those who gain the meaning forget the words."

Later it states that Bodhidharma

¹⁶ Yanagida Seizan (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' *Tōhō gaku* 57: 366-367, 370.

¹⁷ Yanagida (1985), 378.

¹⁸ Yanagida (1985), 228-229.

¹⁹ Yanagida (1985), 223, 231.

²⁰ Yanagida (1985), 227-228.

halted his speech (*yen-yü*) and divorced himself from the sutras and śāstras. His gist was subtle and yet perceptive, and his zeal (in practice) was direct and clear.... This is also the beginning of silent illumination, the pure essence of the truth.

This section concludes by attacking the heirs of Hung-jen, Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu, for deviating from this ideal and engaging in vulgar talk and for being engrossed in name and form.²¹ Likewise, in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, Shen-hsiu is depicted as having received Ch'an instruction from Hung-jen, "and he transmitted the lamplight in silent illumination, the path of language discontinued; the conditions of mental activity extinguished; he did not produce written records."²² It also reports Shen-hsiu using paradox and indirect methods of teaching:

He said, "The body is extinguished, the shadow is not extinguished.

The bridge flows, the water does not flow.

My teaching method is totally reduced to the two characters substance and function."

Again, he saw a bird flying past, and asked, "What is it?"

Or again, "Can you meditate when you are sitting on a drooping tree branch or not?"²³

Some of these themes were adopted by Shen-hui. When he was asked by a Dharma Teacher why his sermons so differed from those current in China when the Dharma was singular, he replied,

The Buddha Dharma originally did not differ. It is because the views of today's students vary in depth that there is difference. Therefore I say the Way is not the same,

and he proceeds to blame 'Northern Ch'an' by implication for this. Again, a Cheng Chün asked,

"What is the Way?"

"The nameless is the Way."

"Since the Way is already nameless, why do you speak of the Way?"

"The Way ultimately is not due to (dependent on) words, but I speak of the Way only in answer to your question."²⁴

²¹ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 408, 415, 420.

²² LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 298.

²³ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 313.

²⁴ *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-la tsa cheng-i*, Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 76-77; Hu (1968), 127; Gernet (1977), *Entretiens du Maître Dhyāna Chen-houei du Ho-tsö (668-760)*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, XXXI: Paris, 48; Cheng's name appears at HTS 75A/3302.

This passage is echoed in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* where Hui-neng debated the loquacious Shen-hui:

The Master said, "I preached the nameless and unlettered. How can you say the Buddha-nature has name and letters?"

The śrāmaṇera said, "The Buddha-nature is nameless. It was your question that gave it a name. When the name is correct, that is nameless."

The Master hit the śrāmaṇera several times.²⁵

Even the *Platform Sutra* states that the Dharma was transmitted silently, and problematised language.²⁶

Given the coincidence of themes between Ch'an and the ancient understanding of Confucius and his authority, it seems early Ch'an hagiographers and authors were influenced by the medieval to early T'ang interpretation of the *Lun-yü*, and even adopted the word *yü* for their own compilations. The understanding of the *Lun-yü* even as late as the Sung was based on the *Han shu*:

The *Lun-yü* is the sayings (*yü*) of Confucius in reply to his pupils, and the words exchanged between pupils and people about what they had learnt from the Master. Since the pupils each had their own records, when the Master died, the disciples compiled and discussed (these sayings) together, and so they called it the 'discussed words' (*lun-yü*).²⁷

However, the commentary that provides the most likely source for Ch'an and especially Shen-hui, who may have taken its notion of 'seal of approval' 印可 for the disciples of Confucius and applied it to the patriarchal succession, was the *Lun-yü i-shu* by Huang K'an (488-545). He wrote in his preface,

The essence of this book is that the meetings that occurred were manifold, (for) they all are the teachings made by the Master throughout his life in response to opportunities 應機作教.²⁸ As particulars (事) lack a constant

²⁵ EK, 42.

²⁶ Yampolsky (1967), 153, 173.

²⁷ Hsing Ping (931-1010), *Lun-yü chu-shu*, in Juan Yüan, comp. (1980), *Shih-san ching chu-shu* 3 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 2: 2454. Legge (1972), 1: 137, takes it to be 'Digested Conversations.'

²⁸ This phrase seems to have influenced Ch'an notions of pedagogy, as in *ying-chi she-chiao* 應機設教, which appears in case 87 of the *Pi-yen lu*: "The World Honoured in forty-nine years, on over three hundred occasions, responded to opportunities to preach the teaching." See Asahina Sōgen (1952), *Hekigan roku*, 3 vols, Iwanami shoten reprint, 3: 128. The earliest appearance of this phrase in Ch'an literature is probably in the (*Ta-mo*) *hsüeh-mo lun*, which appears to date after Shen-hui and may predate the *Pao-lin chuan*. It was attributed to Hui-k'o, and is possibly related to the *Platform Sutra* and Niu-t'ou Ch'an. See Yanagida (1985), 259-262. Here the phrase

standard...answers to the same question were different, the words were approachable (familiar, 近) but the meaning was profound, the *Shih* and *Shu* (*ching*) texts were interwoven, and the statutes and pronouncements (of the *Shu ching*) were confused with each other, so the meaning was not fixed in one location. The names were therefore difficult to seek midst the various categories. Therefore they used the two characters *lun* and *yü* for the name of the book.²⁹

Huang then discussed the meaning of the title:

These sayings (*yü*) are what were spoken by Confucius when he was alive, and the discussions (*lun*) are those that were held after Confucius had died. The *lun* came after the *yü*.³⁰

It should be no surprise then that Shen-hui has a text of his sayings delivered from a precepts platform titled *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü*, which has no author/recorder, and that directly addresses people, and another, compiled by Tu-ku P'ei called *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*. The latter has *lun* in the title in the sense of 'debate,' the former has *yü* with the sense of 'sayings.' Shen-hui appears to have been the first to use *yü* for the genre-title of a Buddhist work, but it also seems that many T'ang Ch'an masters imitated this if those texts in *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 28 are any guide, and if their *yü* are not contractions of *yü-pen* or *kuang-yü* as Yanagida maintained.³¹

Therefore, given the apparent influence of Confucian ideas about authority, authorship and text on the production of Ch'an documents and records, to understand the problem of authority and authorship in the early Ch'an hagiographies we need to examine the ideas about these issues that were current at relevant times during the T'ang.

is *ying-chi chieh-wu* 應機接物, 'to respond to occasions and relate to people/things.' This last phrase also appears in the *yü* of Ma-tsu in *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 28. Here, these last two cases make it refer more to the response by the mind to events. But almost the same phrase appears in the *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* in the sense Huang K'an used: "The tenets of the Three Vehicles are just medicines that respond to the opportunities/situation." Iriya Yoshitaka, trans. (1969), *Zen no goroku 8, Denshin hōyō, Enryō roku*, Chikuma shobō: Tokyo, 61. Makeham (2003), 126-128, discusses this as 'accommodation' and quotes Huang K'an as writing that the *Lun-yü* has a variety of paths. His translation is fuller and differs slightly.

²⁹ *Lun-yü i-shu*, hsü (preface), 1b-2a (in Nemoto edition). For more discussion of the title by Huang, see Makeham (2003), 90-91.

³⁰ *Lun-yü i-shu*, hsü (preface), 3b.

³¹ Yanagida (1985), 243.

State power in the T'ang

Authority gives the status to write or dictate and to legitimate. It is bound up with place in the sense of both geographic location and the privileged place in society in which to write. This authority or power ultimately resided in the state,³² and even a saint could lose authority if the state was hostile. In T'ang China, all status depended finally on the state. The state ranked clans and regulated their genealogies, it set the examinations for entry into officialdom, and office-holding was made the key to maintaining the status of the clan and branches within it.³³ Buddhism also depended on state patronage and tolerance, and its very existence as an institution was threatened if it fell out of favour with the emperor and his court. The state set examinations for entry into the Sangha, controlled the numbers of clergy via certification, and gave rank and recognition to selected members of the monkhood. Thus the central bureaucracy of the literati or gentry (*shih ta-fu*) provided the model for the control of the Buddhist clergy.³⁴

The authority and place to write was also informed by the powers of the state. The very language of writing was linked to the state-directed orthodox commentaries on the Confucian Classics, the examination format and topics, and government documents and bureaucratic etiquette.³⁵ This was a very artificial language, far removed from the colloquial of ordinary people. Use of anything else but this *wen* 文 was normally confined to the lower orders of society or to private

³² Cf. Michel de Certeau (1988), *The Writing of History*, 56-57. Note that in the West (and possibly in China), the author dictated his composition to a scribe and that writing was a menial task. This gradually changed towards the author writing out the composition. See Landes (1995), 104.

³³ David G. Johnson (1977), *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, Westview Press: Boulder, 55-56, 104, 118-119.

³⁴ Erik Zürcher (1989), 'Buddhism and Education in T'ang Times,' 27-28; Moroto (1990), 2-5.

³⁵ Steven Van Zoeren (1991), *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 140; Patricia Ebrey (1985), 'T'ang Guides to Verbal Etiquette,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45 (1): 582, 584; cf. Peter Kornicki (1998), *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Brill: Leiden, 32, "literacy linked to state control and access to elite culture." Hartman (1986), 235-240, shows that the state examinations, reliant on the commentaries to the Classics, and even more, on the *Wen hsüan* by Hsiao T'ung and its commentary of 658 by Li Shan, formed a 'memorization corpus' and hence a limited, 'common lexicon.' The literary examinations thus promoted a distinction between elegant and vulgar language, and the dominance of a poetic, parallel prose (*p'ien-wen*).

concerns.³⁶ In these ways the state became the “source of doctrinal orthodoxy,”³⁷ and the arbiter of language style. Imperial or state patronage channelled philosophical and religious writing into specific genres seen as less susceptible to unorthodox thought. The commentaries to the Classics or sutras were favoured because the interpretation was more likely to follow accepted theories or tradition.³⁸ Hence, the court tended to favour the scholastic forms of Buddhism that produced copious commentaries and not those that promised salvation through prayer, extreme asceticism or meditation. Furthermore, the state censored works and prevented the unorthodox from publishing. It catalogued and classified books into a hierarchy, just as it imposed hierarchies on society. Everything had its place 處 or part 分 to play, all had their rank. For books, this can be seen in the orders of the catalogues, again largely organised by the state. The state determined the Canon, for that displayed its power.³⁹ Thus, in the bibliographical treatise of the T’ang imperial library compiled in the Northern Sung by the Confucians Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Chi, the order was; Classics (the Confucian Classics and their commentaries, and related philology), history (histories, geography, biographies, genealogies, travel records), then the philosophers and finally collections. In the philosophers’ section of the catalogue, the Confucians came first, then the Taoists and next the Buddhists. Within the Buddhist section, works such as the ‘biographies of eminent monks’ came first, then works on ritual, commentaries, and only then works such as the *Pao-lin chuan*, a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā Sutra* attributed to Hui-neng and later the *Platform Sutra* by Fa-hai (although the order is not very clear).⁴⁰ Similarly, the state intervened on occasions to dictate the boundaries of the Buddhist canon by having certain sutras listed as apocrypha or inimical to the state.⁴¹ It also attempted to monopolise the writing

³⁶ Victor H. Mair (1994), ‘Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages,’ *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53 (3): 708, 712-721.

³⁷ Van Zoeren (1991), 127.

³⁸ Makeham (2003), 5, commenting on the importance of commentaries.

³⁹ Kornicki (1998), 11. Cf. David McMullen (1988), *State and scholars in T’ang China*, 71-72, on the commissions to determine (*ting*) canonical exegesis, rather like the way Shen-hui attempted to determine the Southern lineage, and 213, on searches for books, one motive being to destroy treasonable texts.

⁴⁰ CTS 5/59/1528-1531, for most of Ch’an works.

⁴¹ Chapters by Mark Edward Lewis, ‘The Suppression of the Three Stages Sect:

of normative history, and the printing or copying of calendars, maps, histories, the classics and eulogistic biographies.⁴² This extended to Buddhist hagiographies, particularly those that in any way challenged the state's version of events. Thus, the biography of Fa-lin, the *Fa-lin pieh chuan* was prohibited because it mentioned Fa-lin's contending version of the imperial house's genealogy.⁴³ Therefore, if a text like the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* did not conform to the requirements of the state, it was likely to have been prohibited, as the *Pao-lin chuan* and *Platform Sutra* were by the Liao emperor who had them burnt as 'false texts.'⁴⁴

Buddhism, subordinate to state power, had its own authorities in the Vinaya or Discipline School (*Lü-tsung*). This school attempted, in conjunction or conformity with state requirements, to regulate the behaviour of monks, the definition of the Canon, and the production of 'histories' and hagiographies. The rules of the Order were formulated out of the various Vinaya traditions brought from India, and the state eventually ordered that a single, authoritative Vinaya be produced. In addition, the cataloguers of the Canon were from the Vinaya School, and they labelled certain works as forgeries and requested their destruction. Occasionally, the state intervened and had works included in or excluded from the Canon.⁴⁵ Therefore the Vinaya School elite acted as censors and determined what was orthodox. Moreover, nearly all the authors of the hagiographical collections were

Apocrypha as a Political Issue,' esp. 208, 227-229; Antonino Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism: Chih-sheng's Indictment of Shih-li and the Proscription of the *Dharma Mirror Sūtra*,' and Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 'Introduction: Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures,' 7, all in Robert E. Buswell, Jr., ed. (1990), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu.

⁴² Kornicki (1998), 243, 321, 415; Nakamura Hiroichi (1991), *Tōdai kanbunsho kenkyū*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto, 350-351, 363-365, on the necessity of state approval for the *hsing-chuang* before stele inscriptions could be raised to the deceased or they be granted posthumous titles.

⁴³ Tonami Mamoru (1999), *Zui-Tō no Bukkyō to kokka*, Chūō kōronsha: Tokyo, 67-68. Copies survived at Tun-huang (P 3686, P 3901) and in the imperial library (HTS 59/1529).

⁴⁴ Evidence from Ūich'ōn writing in 1085/1086 about events possibly in 983. See Chikusa Masaaki (2000), *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, Kyūko shoin: Tokyo, 102, 106, who has some doubts about this.

⁴⁵ Yanagida (1976), 'Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūZō,' 725-726; for the *Ta-yün ching*, and works of Sect of the Three Stages, see Forte (1990), 240, and Lewis (1990), 232.

Vinaya monks.⁴⁶ Therefore, the writings of Shen-hui, hagiographies and 'lineage histories' such as the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* never made it into the Canon and only survived due to chance on the peripheries of Chinese civilisation such as Tun-huang, Korea and Japan. The *Platform Sutra* was never included in its early forms; only after great popularity and rewriting to fit the new state-imposed norms of the Sung did it gain entry into the Canon. It thus finally gained the public pressure and adopted an acceptable form, meeting the popular and state criteria. But this earlier exclusion had not precluded these works from influencing other Ch'an texts that eventually made it into the Canon.

Geographical determinism

Geographic place was important in T'ang China. From earliest times, there was a theme of environmental determinism in Chinese thought. The *Li chi*, a key work in the guides for state and personal behaviour in the Confucian canon, asserted:

In all their settlements the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be in accordance with heavenly and earthly influences, being cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and rivers large, there was a different system; and the people born among them had different customs....Reform their teachings [commentary: ritual and righteousness], do not change their customs. Make uniform their government [commentary: punishments and prohibitions], do not change their advantages....The peoples of the five directions; the Middle Kingdom and the *Jung* and *I* (barbarians); each have a nature which is unalterable [Cheng Hsüan's commentary: the *ch'i* of the earth causes it to be so]. In the eastern direction they are called *I*....In the South they are called *Man*. They have tattoos on their foreheads....[Cheng-i commentary: The nature is the inherited nature, the self-so (*tzu-jan*). Therefore the *Hsiao ching* states, "The nature is the substance (*shih*) of life. If one is of the nature of wood then one is humane, of metallic nature then is righteous, of the nature of fire then is decorous....The people of the East love life. The myriad things were rooted in the earth and so were born. *I* are the rooted.]⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), 29, and Ts'ao Shih-pang (1964) *passim*.

⁴⁷ Juan Yüan et al (1979/1980, index 1983), *Shih-san ching chu-shu*, 3 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, *Li chi*, ch. 12/ 150, 1: 1338c-d; cf. James Legge (1967), *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, ed. Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, University Books: New York, 2 vols,

Thus, the environment, the *ch'i* of the soil, and the climate tempered the natures of peoples, and these were therefore largely unalterable. However, Chinese civilisation was supposed to be able to ameliorate this among the surrounding barbarians. Again, a text of the early T'ang states:

Humans dwell in the forms of heaven and earth, are endowed with the *ch'i* of *yin* and *yang*, and their stupidity or intelligence is based on the self-so. The intractability and compliance of humans is linked to water and land....This is what is meant by the various Hsia (Chinese), if born in those lands, will be the source of humaneness and righteousness.⁴⁸

The Sinocentric view dictated that the further a society was from the Centre (*chung*) of Chineseness, the less civilised and civilisable it was. However, there was room for expansion of this civilisation or *wen*. Originally, four of the five great marchmounts (*yüeh*) were in the territory of non-Chinese tribes, or on the margins, with one in the centre. As Chinese power expanded, they, along with some of the 'barbarians,' were brought into the Chinese heartland, although Mt Wu-t'ai always remained marginal, and Nan-yüeh long remained a border marker, at least in literary conceits.⁴⁹ Sincere imitation and reception of education could also bring barbarians closer to the fold, especially if they were like the 'Koreans' Pan Ku described in the *Han shu*:

The Eastern *I* are inherently soft and pliable....Therefore Confucius set a raft upon the sea, wishing to live among the Nine *I* (the Eastern *I* tribes) for this reason.⁵⁰

Such images were even accepted and used by Silla 'Koreans' such as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, who wrote about this in his stele for Sungbok

1: 228-229. I have altered the tense from the original past tense to the present tense to reflect the way the text was read as a model for government.

⁴⁸ Li Yen-shou (1974), *Pei shih*, 10/94/3109.

⁴⁹ Terry F. Kleeman (April-June 1994), 'Mountain deities in China: The domestication of the mountain god and the subjugation of the margins,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (2): 226-234; for Wu-t'ai, see Robert M. Gimello (1994), 'Wu-t'ai Shan during the Early Chin Dynasty: The Testimony of Chu Pien,' *Chung-hua Fo-hsiieh hsiieh-pao* 7: 503-505. On Nan-yüeh, see Alfreda Murck (2000), *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 6-7 passim. It was not truly a border, for areas well to the south had been settled and administered by Chinese well before the T'ang, pp. 242-243.

⁵⁰ Pan Ku (1962), *Han shu*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 6/28B/1658. Cf. Hartman (1986), 158-159, on the claim that differences between Chinese (*Hua*) and barbarian were in their culture and education, not racial origins.

Monastery, though here the civilising force is Buddhism:

The transmission of the Buddha's gathas was not restricted to the Western lands, for (the Buddha) produced a numinous light that reached the world of the East, which is our superior land of great tranquillity. Our nature is nourished with softness and pliability [commentary: of the five constants, the eastern direction is allocated humaneness, and therefore is soft and pliant], and its *ch'i* is suitable for the production of life [commentary: the East first produces the myriad things].... They encourage the *chün-tzu* (gentleman)'s style and are permeated by the Brahmin King's Way, just as mud conforms to the seal or metal to the mold.⁵¹

Therefore, it may have been considered possible for a Silla monk, for example, to have been the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* or for a monk like Hui-neng from the far South to be a saint.

As the horizons of China expanded and Buddhism was domesticated, this environmental determinism was applied to Buddhism. Mountains, often synonymous with monasteries, were assimilated into old sacred sites of Buddhism, frequently building upon Taoist precedents. Stupas containing relics would be built or discovered there, and caves, sometimes hidden or secret, were made entrances into Pure Lands or the residences of bodhisattvas and saints. Moreover, the relics of famous Buddhist holy men would be enshrined on them.⁵² Liu Yü-hsi (772-842), who wrote a third stele for Hui-neng, also used this geographic determinism, perhaps playfully, in a stele inscription for Vinaya Master Hsiang-t'an Yen (d. 818), who lived on Nan-yüeh, the Southern Marchmount, also known as Mt Heng.

Throughout the Nine Provinces (all China) the Buddha-Dharma converts in accordance with the direction. The people of Central China (*Chung Hsia*) are confused by glory and profit. There is nothing better than marvellous Awareness to deflate glory. Therefore those who speak of meditative calm honour 宗 Mt Sung. The people of the North are valiant and use military force. There is nothing better than visions to pacify the martial. Therefore those who speak of supernatural powers honour Mt Ch'ing-liang (Wu-t'ai). The people of the South are flighty

⁵¹ *Chōsen kinseki sōran* 1: 120; Ch'oe Yōngsōng (1987), *Chuhae Sasan pimyōng*, 125; cf. this to his stele for the Sōn monk Chijūng, CKS, 1: 88.

⁵² Raoul Birnbaum (1989-1990), 'Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: The Caves of Wu-t'ai Shan,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5: 116-117 passim; James Robson (1995), 'The polymorphous space of the Southern Marchmount [Nanyue]: An introduction to Nanyue's religious history and preliminary notes on Buddhist-Daoist Interaction,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8: 243 passim.

and disrespectful. There is nothing better than dignity of demeanour to control disrespect. Therefore those who speak of the Vinaya Canon honour Mt Heng. These three famous mountains, being ornaments of the country, are sure to have accomplished people (on them), who can be venerated like the mountains.⁵³

This environmental vision also suggested that some regions were more productive of certain types of works: the southerners 'flighty and disrespectful' but not glory-seeking or martial like the people of the North and Centre and thus not needing meditative calm in the sense of the meditation of 'Northern Ch'an' nor of the visions of the Pure Land, Hua-yen and Esoteric Buddhist tendencies. The disrespect of these southerners could then lead to a disdain perhaps of the Buddhist and state authorities in the North and metropolitan regions, and so could produce works like the *Platform Sutra*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* or *Pao-lin chuan* with a hero like Hui-neng whose status challenged the pretensions of the metropolitan centre by being depicted as an illiterate semi-barbarian.

Status and place

Analogously, these presuppositions influenced status. The Centre was supreme, but military threats and hence the country's military strength came from the North. The far South, on the other hand, was given less weight and was less populated. In general, social or aristocratic status inhered in northern origins. True aristocrats, clans with long genealogies and pedigree, and the second-rank prefectural clans (*chiün-wang*) were overwhelmingly from the metropolitan centre and the North.⁵⁴ This roughly coincided with the heartland of Chinese civilisation, where the Confucian Classics originated and capitals were located. Although population was also concentrated in this area in the early T'ang, the population gravity gradually shifted southwards, but leaving the North still politically and militarily dominant. However, economic productiv-

⁵³ *T'ang ku Heng-yüeh lü-shih Hsiang-t'an Yen T'ang-hsing Ssu Yen-kung pei*, CTW 610: 2767b7-11; cf. Gimello (1994), 503, 554, for paraphrase, and James George Robson (2002), 'Imagining Nanyue: A Religious History of the Southern Marchmount through the Tang Dynasty (618-907)', 549-550.

⁵⁴ See map in Johnson (1977), 65, and comment, "the overwhelming majority were concentrated in Hopei, western Shantung, and northern Honan; that is, the northern half, more or less of the North China Plain," 63-64.

ity and demographic forces were moving into the Yangtze Valley,⁵⁵ and the South was frontier territory. Opinion, however, was slow to catch up with economic realities, and still maintained that status was derived from a link between place-name of clan origin, registration and surname. Even though a clan did not reside in that place, this place name was a partial guarantee of elite status to the fortunate possessor of one of the select surnames. The other guarantee was the recent achievement of an official post in the central bureaucracy. All of these elements necessitated the maintenance of genealogies.⁵⁶ Significantly, burial sites and ancestral shrine locations helped define clans, although the state exercised controls over this also. Burial sites were especially important in the establishment of new clan branches.⁵⁷ This may have influenced Buddhist 'clans,' the schools, in their formation and divisions. Therefore the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* championed a lineage that maintained the reliquary or tomb of Hui-neng in Ts'ao-ch'i, and the *Pao-lin chuan* directed considerable attention to stupa sites and their promoters or guardians.

In a similar fashion then, place of origin, clan surname and genealogy seem to have played a major role in the rise of a monk to a position of importance within Buddhism. The Sangha was a 'secondary elite,' with increasing numbers of members of the great clans joining the clergy.⁵⁸ Elite clan members may have pushed the hagiographers to highlight the sanctity of their clerical brethren in order to enhance their own status,⁵⁹ thereby distorting the evidence we have. Members of the elite also dominated Ch'an (see note 2 chapter 2), with nearly fifty percent of monks on whom there is information known to have belonged to elite

⁵⁵ Cf. Ch'ao-Ting Chi (1936), *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History*, Paragon Book Reprint: New York, (1963), 113, 131; see endpiece map in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds (1973), *Perspectives on the Tang*, Yale University Press: New Haven, and Twitchett and Wright, 'Introduction,' 35, in same volume; Mark Elvin (1973), *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 204-209; Denis Twitchett (1979), 'Introduction,' in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3: *Sui and Tang China, 589-906, Part 1*, 23-24; Robert M. Hartwell (1982), 'Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42 (2): 365, 369 table 1, 384 table 7.

⁵⁶ Johnson (1977), 30, 53, 55-56, 59, 61-63, 119; Peter K. Bol (1992), "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China*, 37-38.

⁵⁷ Johnson (1977), 95-97.

⁵⁸ Erik Zürcher (1989), 'Buddhism and Education in T'ang times,' 24-26.

⁵⁹ Saints in Christendom tended to be overwhelmingly of aristocratic or upper class origin, meaning that they renounced more. But it also "reflected advantageously on their families or lineages...." Wilson (1983/1985), 37.

clans. Ch'an monks from elite families included Hung-jen, Hsüan-tse, Ching-chüeh, Tu Fei, I-hsing, Chih-shen, P'u-chi, Musang and possibly Shen-hsiu. Those with no indication of clan status include Tao-hsin, Fa-ju, Wu-chu, Shen-hui and Ma-tsu, and possibly Hui-neng, who at best was declassé. Those with elite connections had more ready access to education, wealth and status, and most came from central or north China. As Szechwan and inland areas south of the Yangtze had virtually no great clans, that meant all of the Pao-t'ang and virtually all of the Niu-t'ou and Southern Ch'an lineages were not of elite clan background, and were more likely to come from the local gentry. It is tempting to envisage that there was a status divide behind many of the disputes within 'Ch'an' beginning from the time of Hung-jen.⁶⁰ Yet Shen-hui, a key instigator of the splits, when young received a broad education of the type that only the elite could afford. He learnt the five Confucian Classics, *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu*, and the *Han shu*, all before gaining an interest in Buddhism.⁶¹ In fact, it may have been the type of Confucian training he had received that goaded him to formulate a new conception of the Ch'an lineage.

However, it is clear that in many instances monks from elite backgrounds favoured as heirs in lineages and inheritances those monks who had a similar heritage. Thus Hsüan-tsang,⁶² a member of an elite clan with an ancestry back to the Han Dynasty, selected K'uei-chi⁶³ to be his heir out of his many pupils, possibly because of his elite status. Likewise, Tao-hsüan,⁶⁴ whose ancestor had been a governor, had as his heir Wen-kang, whose great-grandfather had been a minister under the Ch'en, etc.⁶⁵ Wen-kang's chief disciple, Tao-an was of a great clan with an ancestry going back to a Han Dynasty minister.⁶⁶ His pupil in turn, Hsüan-yen, was a member of a prefectural clan or *chün-wang*.⁶⁷ In early Ch'an, this social tendency is very noticeable in several lineages. Hung-jen had *chün-wang* status, his pupil Hsüan-tse likewise, and Hsüan-tse's pupil Ching-chüeh was the 'brother' of an

⁶⁰ Cf. Yamazaki Hiroshi (1967), *Zui-Tō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 218-220, 203 ff., on the patrons of Shen-hui and those of 'Northern Ch'an'; Jorgensen (1987), 91-92.

⁶¹ SKSC, T50.756c9-10.

⁶² T50.446a.

⁶³ T50.755b.

⁶⁴ T50.790b8-9.

⁶⁵ T50.791b16-17.

⁶⁶ T50.793a12-14.

⁶⁷ T50.795a28.

empress. Another of Hung-jen's pupils, Shen-hsiu, may have been a distant member of the imperial Li clan,⁶⁸ and his apparent heir, P'u-chi had a lineage supposedly going as far back as King Wen of the Chou Dynasty. Most of Shen-hsiu's other pupils were of distinguished family backgrounds. Another of Hung-jen's pupils, Chih-shen, was of a *chün-wang* clan, and Hui-neng was alleged by some, beginning with Shen-hui, to be of a demoted line of a great national aristocratic clan, the Lü of Fan-yang. In this way, Shen-hui was appealing to the clan status of Hui-neng to give authority to his alleged master, which would assist Shen-hui to be an author.

Therefore, these elite monks took as great an interest in genealogy as their lay counterparts. Familial and clan terminology was introduced into the Sangha, and the state required that monks had to treat their teacher as if he was their actual father. They mourned like lay sons would for their fathers, and similarly inherited property. This is the context in which Shen-hui created a patriarchal 'imperial lineage' centred on mourning and seven patriarchs modelled after the degrees of mourning and lineage definitions of the imperial clan.⁶⁹ All of these factors; status, lineage, property inheritance, access to the best education; resulted in the formation of a 'class' structure inside the Sangha, with a gradation within the institution from the very small elite of a monk 'aristocracy,' a bulk of 'ordinary' monks, then attendants, novices and postulants, followed by servants, tenants and slaves. The monastic aristocracy, because of their status, political connections, elite scholarship and wealth, gained the titles of Dharma Teacher or Bhadanta, Meditation Teacher, or National Teacher, etc. They were awarded honorary titles, official posts and purple robes by the court.⁷⁰ Even the award of robes ranked monks, as with officials, by the colour of the robe. Vermilion and purple robes ranked the highest, then green and yellow sashes etc.⁷¹ Such robes and titles, even posthumous titles,

⁶⁸ McRae (1986), 44-46.

⁶⁹ Jorgensen (1987), 96-98, 111.

⁷⁰ Huang Min-chih (1971), *T'ang-tai ssu-yüan ching-chi ti yen-chiu*, Kuo-li Tai-wan Ta-hsüeh wen-hsüeh yüan: Taipei, 116-119; for award of titles, see *Ta Sung Seng-shih lüeh*, T54.249b-250a. Mujaku Dōchū, *Zenrin shokisen*, 199-200, notes that not only great teachers but also the Buddha were called *Ta-shih* (Master), and that Meditation Teacher had two senses; one a title bestowed by the emperor for virtue, the other was what Ch'an monks called those preceding them. He noted that the first usage began with Shen-hsiu, as did the title National Teacher.

⁷¹ *Ta Sung Seng-shih lüeh*, T54.248c5-6.

when awarded by the emperor, must have been highly valued, and even within the Ch'an hagiographical texts, a fierce determination to garner titles for monks or one's monastic master and lineal ancestors is evident. Campaigns were launched, with the assistance of notable literati, to gain such posthumous titles for most of the Ch'an patriarchs and their stupas.⁷² Similarly coveted, by some at least, were imperial invitations to preach and perform at the court chapel.⁷³ Thus in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Emperor Kao-tsung supposedly gifted a robe to Hui-neng after he had declined the emperor's invitation to court. Moreover, Hui-hsiang, a second-generation disciple of Hui-neng, was supposedly invited to court and was granted a purple robe in 759.⁷⁴

Gaining such recognition by the state no doubt assisted the recipient in being recognised as the chief heir in a lineage. Ideally, enlightenment would have been the criterion to gain one a place in the succession, especially in the Ch'an lamplight transmission from mind to mind. Hence, it is possible that the idealistic criterion and the worldly criteria could each be used to justify inclusion in these rather exclusive lineages. Just as individuals and even clan branches were dropped from the lay genealogical record if they failed to gain office, and branches were ranked,⁷⁵ so too in Ch'an certain lineages were subordinated, even forgotten. Even the lineage implied in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of Hui-neng to Hsing-t'ao to Hui-hsiang was forgotten, just like the text that contained the lineage.

It was at this very time, the period around the late seventh and early eighth centuries, that the court moved from the ranking of the super-elite clans (the four great northern clans; the Ts'ui, Lü, Li, and Cheng; plus the Wang) at the top based on their Confucian credentials via tradition and location "centered around the birthplace of the sage," towards an emphasis on the individual's achievements. Thus, the general or secondary elite now gained a greater chance of attaining high office and status.⁷⁶ However, the prestige of the super elite lingered on, and one of their defining characteristics was a refusal to abandon their ancestral graves, something that seems to have affected Buddhist groups and Ch'an lineages in particular. Therefore there were

⁷² ZSS, 242-243, 320-329.

⁷³ ZSS, 236, for an alleged invitation; *Ta Sung Seng-shih lüeh*, T54.247b-c.

⁷⁴ EK, 44-45, 47, 55.

⁷⁵ Bol (1992), 38-39; Johnson (1977), 104, 118-119.

⁷⁶ Guisso (1978), *Wu Tse-t'ien*, 25, 80-81.

campaigns to find or verify the tomb locations of various patriarchs and promote them,⁷⁷ especially those of Seng-ts'an, the obscure 'Third Patriarch,' and of Bodhidharma. In the latter case, as we shall see, several stelae were erected and claims were made for different locations. The campaigns based on Seng-ts'an's 'tomb' occurred twice, once from before 762 and again from 770.⁷⁸ The relics of Shen-hsiu were venerated at two or three separate sites. The location of the tomb and the role it had in maintaining a lineage is evident from an incident mentioned in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. The leaders of the community in Hsin-chou, where Hui-neng had died, did not wish to release the body to monks from the other community at Ts'ao-ch'i. Hsin-chou wished to erect a stupa and tomb for their native son, Hui-neng, in their area, and only official intervention solved the problem. Later, in 760, the emperor sent incense to burn before the reliquary of Hui-neng,⁷⁹ supposedly confirming the sanctity of the tomb location and strengthening the lineage claims of those supposedly successors to Hui-neng. This, if true (which it was not), would have given extra status to any author of a hagiography of Hui-neng.

Moreover, the virtues of certain clans, linked to their environment, were seen as a condition for survival of the pedigree by Liu Fang, writing in his *Discussion of Surnames and Lineages* in 719:

The people east of the mountains are unsophisticated and honest (*chih* 質), and so they esteem marriage connections. Their sincerity (*hsin*) is worthy of praise. Those of Chiang-tso (the Yangtze Valley) are highly cultivated (*wen*) and so esteem individual worth. Their wisdom (*chih* 智) is admirable. In Kuan-chung, the people are brave and manly (*hsiung*) and so esteem office-holding. Their perception (*ta*) is admirable. The people of Tai-pei (northern Shensi) are martial (*wu*) and so esteem noble relationships (*kuei-ch'i*). Their breadth (of mind) (*t'ai*) is admirable.⁸⁰

Place, tombs, or devotion to the deceased, temperament and virtue, and qualifications for membership were clearly linked in this formulation. Attempts were made by the state to overcome this fissiparous force that determined status and qualification for power and membership of the literati (*shih*) through the clan name (*hsing*), place of origin and *wen* (literary or civilised culture), by giving greater weight to *kuan*, that

⁷⁷ ZSS, 422.

⁷⁸ Jinhua Chen (1999), 'One Name: Three Monks,' 3-8 passim.

⁷⁹ EK, 51, 57.

⁸⁰ Guisso (1978), 73.

is office-holding itself.⁸¹ It enabled the boundaries of the elite or *shih* to be extended to the secondary elite, the *chün-wang*. This occurred just before Shen-hui launched his campaign to promote Hui-neng. Perhaps this explains why Shen-hui made Hui-neng the scion of a demoted member of the Fan-yang Lü, one of the super-elite clans from the Northeast, and yet had Hung-jen suggest he could not have the Buddha-nature as he was a Lao tribal, a hunter from beyond the pale in remote Ling-nan.

The metropolitan elite, many of them admirers of the super-clans, and who wished to emulate them, were enthusiasts for the teachings of Hsüan-tsang, for he had declared there was one class of beings, the *icchantikas*, who lacked the Buddha-nature. To the elite, this seemed to verify that they, being karmically blessed with high status, were guaranteed buddhahood in the future by virtue of possession of the Buddha-nature, a potential for buddhahood. It may also have confirmed their differences from the commoners (*shu*), who might not have Buddha-nature at all, or at best have one of the inferior forms of Buddha-nature.⁸² Ideas such as these probably appealed to the elite, and so Hsüan-tsang and his heir Tz'u-en (K'uei)-chi (632-682), enjoyed lavish imperial patronage and adulation from the imperial relations and high court officials. This lineage had, by 733, died out.⁸³ The idea that there were five classes of beings, one lacking the pure seeds that are the potential for buddhahood, was advanced in Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Ch'eng wei-shih lun*, despite having been previously undermined by the work of Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434), and attacked by Fa-pao (627-ca. 705),⁸⁴ may have gained acceptance in aristocratic Confucian circles because it had some similarity to Huang K'an's theory that human nature could be divided into three types; the sage, the middle and the benighted. They were differentiated by the quality of their *ch'i* (material energy). Huang subdivided each of

⁸¹ Guisso (1978), 74, 81.

⁸² Cf. Walter Liebenthal (1956), 'The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng,' *Monumenta Nipponica* XI: 93, writing of an earlier, more aristocratic time. Jorgensen (1989), 12; T'ang Yung-t'ung (1938/1974), 648-649.

⁸³ Cf. Stanley Weinstein (1973), 'Imperial patronage in T'ang Buddhism,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Perspectives on the T'ang*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 291, 293; Jorgensen (2002), 92-93, 110.

⁸⁴ Weinstein (1973), 293; Terai Yoshinobu (2000), 'Höbō no yuishiki shisō hihan no kōsatsu: heneki shōji to nijō sakubutsu no mondai o chūshin ni,' *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 48: 1-25.

these grades into three divisions, making nine in all. The sages thus have innate knowledge, but the benighted are incapable of learning.⁸⁵ Huang K'an's ideas, at least superficially, seemed to support an aristocratic hierarchy of moral stature like that of the Nine Grades and the Impartial and Upright Official (*chiu-p'in chung-cheng*), which had become a form of pedigree used for bureaucratic appointment.⁸⁶ It also had been used for ranking nine grades of people for rebirth into the Pure Land and was still used in the bureaucracy ranking in the early T'ang,⁸⁷ although it began to fade just as Fa-hsiang was losing its influence also.⁸⁸ The changes were led by men like Chang Yüeh (667-730) who had close relations with 'Northern Ch'an'.⁸⁹ However, partly due to the complexity and Indian features of its thought, the Fa-hsiang School also failed because it went against the rising tide of opinion that asserted that all beings, sometimes even insentient things, have the Buddha-nature. Sinified Buddhism was increasingly supported, and this was mirrored in the opening of the examinations and official posts to merit that occurred after Tz'u-en's death.⁹⁰

This was a conflict between an ideal Buddha-nature and a Buddha-nature of practice, of sudden versus gradual, inherent versus acquired. The former was based, for Buddhists, on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*,⁹¹ with which Hui-neng has been associated. The elite, who had gained their positions through a combination of scholarship and a pedigree they were born with and had not acquired, were more likely to have favoured the rather aristocratic Fa-hsiang and Huang K'an theories, because it distinguished them from others. They preferred a more demanding examination that required more than study, books and

⁸⁵ Makeham (2003), 102-103, 115-117, 150, 155.

⁸⁶ Makeham (2003), 157, 161-164.

⁸⁷ Makeham (2003), 165-166.

⁸⁸ Bol (1992), 37, 40, on greater inclusiveness in 713 and brought largely to an end by the An Lu-shan rebellion, 41.

⁸⁹ Bol (1992), 45.

⁹⁰ For the examinations, see Guisso (1978), 81, who rather over states the case that service was decided on "the sole criteria of eminence, and scholars, soldiers and 'barbarians' were all eligible seemingly without reference to their antecedents." Cf. the contemporary criticisms of the system noted by P. A. Herbert (March 1986), 'Tang Dynasty Objections to Centralised Civil Service Selection,' *Papers on Far Eastern History* 33: 89, 91-95, which were mostly concerned with hereditary privilege, and biased or incompetent examiners.

⁹¹ For an account of this idea, see Tokiwa Daijō (1943), *Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū*, Meicho Fukyūsha: Tokyo (1979 reprint), 3: 257, 264-266.

discipline. Yet they were eliminated in the terror initiated against the upper echelons of the bureaucracy by Empress Wu in the 680s and 690s.⁹² Even someone like Chang Yüeh (667-730), usually seen as siding with the more 'aristocratic' so-called Northern Ch'an, was in fact a product of the examination system and from the broader *shih* class,⁹³ and he had been exiled to the farthest South of the empire,⁹⁴ which may have made him even more appreciative of the values of non-elites and non-metropolitan groups.⁹⁵ Ch'an appealed to the universality of the Buddha-nature, and Hui-neng is therefore depicted as having won his position as patriarchal heir through his merit, of having realised the inherent potential, despite being a semi-barbarian, possibly even an illiterate from the remote periphery of the empire. Shen-hui was thus attempting to give Hui-neng the authority of both the aristocratic inheritance through the Lü clan and the meritocratic achievement through Hui-neng's alleged rise from the ignominy of a 'barbarian' Lao tribal background. On the other hand, the location of Hui-neng's relics or tomb site in the far South gave the monks there the opportunity to forge a new 'Southern Lineage,' one that was no longer dependent on Shen-hui who resided in the metropolitan region in the distant North. Thus they had to reinvent their authority with a greater, if not overwhelming, emphasis on place, unlike Shen-hui, whose invention stressed the authority of the lineage transmission. After all, the aristocratic pedigree of lineages was losing force in the post An Lu-shan and post Shen-hui period.

Moreover, the depiction of Hui-neng by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* as living among hunting tribes and by the *Platform Sutra* as a 'hunting Lao' barbarian, reflected concerns by the state to re-unify China on non-racial grounds after the disastrous An Lu-shan Rebellion, which was led by Uighur military from the North. The T'ang imperial clan,

⁹² Guisso (1978), 106, 261 note 82.

⁹³ Tonami Mamoru (1970), 'Tō chūki no seiji to shakai,' in Iwanami kōza, *Sekai rekishi* 5, *Kodai hen* 5, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 466; Bol (1992), 45.

⁹⁴ For his exile, see Alfreda Murck (2000), *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 20-21.

⁹⁵ See his poem, 'Hsi tu Ling' (Happy at Crossing the Range): "Passing from the Eastern Han to the Rise of the T'ang/ The South of the River again imitates Yü./ How could he know the land of the malarial plague,/ Would be freshly brought into the August Imperial Realm...." *Chang Yen-kung chi* 8/4a. This still has elements of ambiguity towards the far South, for he is happy to return north, and he wrote, "The Ranges road divides Central Hsia...the stars in the heavens again revolve...."

like An Lu-shan, had some Turkish ancestry, and so the emperors' propaganda was one of the unity of Chinese (*Hua*) and barbarian (*I*), as was mentioned by Li Hua (ca. 710-ca. 767), in order to overcome the increasing polarisation of the two groups. This programme became urgent after the rebellion, when the loyalists were largely *Hua*, who were located around the capital and in the South, and the rebels or barbarian *Hu*, were largely concentrated in the Northeast.⁹⁶ Buddhism, itself 'barbarian' in origin, was on the defensive, and the notion of a universal Buddha-nature was an excellent ideological counter against xenophobia for it appealed to the state project of racial, or rather, cultural unity. If all human nature was basically good, and one could become a sage or a saint, race and level of education could ultimately count for little.⁹⁷ Ch'an and the *ku-wen* ideas of men like Liu Tsung-yüan and Han Yü provided this egalitarian doctrine in an accessible form, collapsing the barbarian and Buddhist into an encompassing *Hua* cultural embrace, which the elitist T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools were probably unable to achieve after the rebellion. Thus Liu Yü-hsi wrote of the grant of a posthumous title to Hui-neng by Hsien-tsung in 816:

He (the emperor) esteemed the Way with a respectful name (for Hui-neng), by equally patronising the good as good, and not cutting off the other teachings (Buddhism as opposed to Confucianism). The one word of praise was cherished by *Hua* and *I*.⁹⁸

Hui-neng therefore could become an authority, despite his apparent illiteracy and 'barbarian' taint, for he had both aristocratic pedigree and meritocratic achievement, was an 'uncrowned king' and yet was acknowledged by the throne. Shen-hui probably manipulated this image of the rank outsider as a weapon against his pedigreed opponent, P'u-chi, but later hagiographers found these claims to be less effectual in the post An Lu-shan Rebellion environment and so opted to stress place and merit instead.

⁹⁶ Hartman (1986), 120-122.

⁹⁷ Cf. Hartman (1986), 6-10, 120, 129.

⁹⁸ Shiga (1999), 186; Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 22; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), *Liu Yü-hsi ch'üan-chi*, punctuated by Ch'ü Shui-yüan, Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan she: Shanghai, 80.

Wen, Authority and the 'Lives' of Hui-neng

One must have a certain status to produce a myth: one must be an authority, a source. A writer or speaker having this status is thus able to produce a myth or lie, the very success of which reinforces his status.⁹⁹

What were the status requirements in T'ang China, and how did Shen-hui and the other hagiographers gain the authority to be counted as a 'source'? Although we have no direct evidence, the intellectual and social context of the times can provide some clues.

Early Buddho-Confucian theories of wen and authority

A correct genealogy and official office-holding were all components of *wen*, that is, civilised culture,¹⁰⁰ and in the early eighth century leading ministers such as Chang Yüeh gave greater emphasis to *wen* than to genealogy.¹⁰¹ Selection for the bureaucracy, the official cult of Confucius, and the concerns of the elite were encapsulated in the 'four fields' of the *Lun-yü* or *Analects*; "*te-hsing* (ethical conduct), *yen-yü* (speech), *cheng-shih* (affairs of government), and *wen-hsüeh* (culture-learning)." Thus two of the markers of a member of the elite involved language, or more broadly, culture.¹⁰² During the T'ang,

literary composition was the most common way of connecting learning, values, and social practice, and changing the way men wrote was the common way of influencing intellectual values.¹⁰³

Of all forms of legitimate scholarship, therefore, literary composition was the avenue most open to all.¹⁰⁴ As the composition of the elite shifted, so did the conception of *wen*, writing and authority. The authority to write then included learning of the tradition, or *ssu-wen*, a proper morality, and membership of the *shih* class. Bol sees the early T'ang normative view of authorship as

mastering the appropriate cultural forms so well that one could reproduce them and vary them to fit the situation....Written language had

⁹⁹ Paul E. Corcoran (1979), *Political language and rhetoric*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Guisso (1978), 73-74.

¹⁰¹ Bol (1992), 45.

¹⁰² Bol (1992), 15.

¹⁰³ Bol (1992), 27.

¹⁰⁴ McMullen (1988), 207.

to be put in the proper cultural form to be effective; it had to be 'said with wen.'¹⁰⁵

In other words, one had to learn the tradition to be a transmitter, and transmission was what one did, the exemplar for this being Confucius.¹⁰⁶ This tradition, or *wen*, was the moral pattern in the universe and in human behaviour, it was truth, and to change the world required *wen*, which mediated between language and practice.¹⁰⁷ Yet *wen* had to be acquired, it was not innate (at least in those who were not sages). It had to be learnt through the models of the Classics.¹⁰⁸ Hence, "[b]y sticking to the framework of the generic tradition of the past, men are according with the natural order."¹⁰⁹ Therefore, for preservation of 'This Culture of Ours' (*ssu-wen*) in the early T'ang, divergences in *wen* created by historical events such as the division of the country and by the different environments of North and South had to be eliminated.¹¹⁰

In a Buddho-Confucian synthesis before the T'ang, there was the notion of *wen-hsin*, the mind that was patterned with this moral culture. Liu Hsieh (ca. 465-522), in his *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, wrote that, "*wen-hsin* means the use of the mind to make *wen*."¹¹¹ *Wen* comes into being with the universe, and all the colours, planets, shapes etc are the "*Wen* of the Way." Since man is the "mind of the universe," is the only part of the universe with a "spiritual nature" (*ling-hsing*) or intelligence, when man or mind is born, "he creates language (*yen*) and makes *wen* appear. This is the Way of the self-so." As the insentient have *wen* in the sense of patterns and markings, humans must also have *jen-wen* or civilisation and literature in order to make meaning of the universe.¹¹² This human *wen* originates in the supreme ultimate. The author of *wen* is one who discerns these patterns:

¹⁰⁵ Bol (1992), 76-77.

¹⁰⁶ Bol (1992), 85.

¹⁰⁷ Bol (1992), 87-88, 95. *Wen* seems to have had a different meaning in the *Shih chi* biography of Confucius, where it meant laws or written regulations, see Lewis (1999), 222-224.

¹⁰⁸ Bol (1992), 92-93.

¹⁰⁹ Bol (1992), 103.

¹¹⁰ Bol (1992), 104, citing the *Sui shu*.

¹¹¹ Fan Wen-lan, comm. (1978), *Wen-hsin tiao-lung chu*, 2 vols, Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she: Peking, 2: 725.

¹¹² Fan (1978), 1: 1, and 1: 7 note 11, which cites the *Shuo-wen*, "Man is the nature of Heaven and Earth, is the most valued."

Now the creator (*tso* = authority) is called the Saint, the transmitter (*shu* or author) is called the enlightened (*ming*). The refining of the nature and emotions is an achievement of the supreme sage. The Master's literary works (*wen-chang*) can be obtained and heard, so the saintly man's emotions can be seen in his literary language.¹¹³

In other words, there was really only one authority, Confucius (even if he claimed only to be a transmitter), but there were many transmitters or authors. The basic pattern (*wen*) had been discerned and written down by Confucius; all that later people could do was transmit, that is, elaborate upon his writings.

However, Liu Hsieh's contemporary, Huang K'an, took the idea of the last line of the above quote about hearing the Master's *wen-chang* to mean the Six Classics, and that the attuned elite could do more than just transmit. They could understand and somehow engage in a dialogue with Confucius through the *Lun-yü*. Huang used an image from the *Chuang-tzu* about discarding fish traps to show that written language was limited. Thus, ordinarily the Classics can be read, but their gist is hidden. Only the spoken words of Confucius himself can express his intended meaning; the text is but a simulacrum. The presence of the authority then was crucial for meaning. Normally one cannot hear Confucius through the texts. Only the innately talented, those with the appropriately tuned nature can hear Confucius in this way. This seemed to suggest a non-scriptural transmission independent of human agency, a 'mysterious wind' (*hsüan-feng*), as was suggested by Sun Ch'o (ca. 300-380):

Yet a mysterious wind has carried his voice over a great distance, and the great truths of his teachings continue to flow on and on to be sung even a thousand years on, just as if one were gazing on his visage. Although he actually died a long time ago, the wooden clapper of his teachings has yet to come to rest.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Fan (1978), 1: 2, 15, cf. 1: 17 note 2, quote of *Li chi*, "One who knows the emotions of the rites and music can create (*tso*), one who recognises the patterns (*wen*) of the rites and music can transmit (*shu*) them. The creator of these is called the Saint, the transmitter is called the enlightened (*ming*)." Cf. Legge (1972), 2: 100 para. 22, and Juan Yüan et al (1979-1980), *Lun-yü*, Cheng-i, 2: 2481c. Note, this passage is based on *Lun-yü* VII.1, where Confucius said, "(I am) a transmitter and not an authority," cf. Legge (1972), 1: 195. Huang K'an claimed the reason Confucius said he was a transmitter was because he did not freshly institute the rites and music. To institute these, one must be able to disseminate them throughout the empire, and as he was not a ruler, despite having virtue, he could not do so. Therefore he could only transmit the rites and music of the ancients. *Lun-yü i-shu*, 4/ 1b; Makeham (2003), 143.

¹¹⁴ Makeham (2003), 131-133, 135-138.

Perhaps then extraordinarily gifted people can read the *Lun-yü* as if they were speaking with Confucius. Later, Liu Tsung-yüan claimed he could "converse with antiquity." Those who could 'hear' were a "natural aristocracy of the innately talented." Makeham concluded:

In the absence of any Chan-like face-to-face lineage of transmission, might Huang's choice of a range of earlier commentators to 'converse' with on the significance of the Master's teachings have facilitated the recreation of contexts in which the Master's voice could be heard again.¹¹⁵

It is conceivable that Shen-hui tried to improve on this idea, which had some affinities with the T'ien-t'ai reading of the *Ta chih-tu lun* and the works of Nagārjuna, by going one step further in creating a face-to-face transmission back to the Buddha. Huang, after all, had limited the transmission to the Confucian Classics, all other works being declared harmful, even though some people by nature preferred heterodox writings.¹¹⁶

In contrast, Liu Hsieh was closely associated with Buddhism, in particular with the cataloguer and hagiographer Seng-yu, wrote an apology for Buddhism, the *Mieh-huo lun*, and Liu became a monk in his old age. Therefore the Way or *Tao* was one:

The Provisional Teaching is without location (*fang*), it does not respond differently to clergy and laity. The marvellous transformation lacks an outside (*wai*),¹¹⁷ so how can Chinese and (western) barbarians be separated in emotion/thought? Therefore the Dharma is preached with One Voice, but differs in translation. Jointly understand the One Vehicle. The teaching is spread by different sutras (*ching*), but all revert to the scriptural authority (*ching-tien* = canon). Because of expedience, Confucian and Buddhist teachings differ but the Ways tally and they are understood to be the same.¹¹⁸

Although the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* was inspired by a dream of Confucius,¹¹⁹ Liu Hsieh's own example of writing Buddhist texts and inscriptions for monks practically demonstrated that Confucius was not the only source

¹¹⁵ Makeham (2003), 145-146.

¹¹⁶ Makeham (2003), 136-138.

¹¹⁷ Here Liu is playing on the idea of *fang-wai* as used by Hui-yüan, for which see Murakami Yoshimi (1962), 'Eon no hōgai shisō,' in Kimura Eiichi, ed., *Eon kenkyū*, Sōbunsha: Tokyo, 365-394.

¹¹⁸ *Hung-ming chi*, T52.51b1-4; cf. Kōzen Hiroshi (1987), 'Bunshin chōryū to Shusanzō kishū,' in Fukunaga Mitsuji, ed., *Chūgoku chūsei no shūkyō to bunka*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 128-129, 228.

¹¹⁹ Kōzen (1987), 224.

of *wen*, although he was the source of *ssu-wen*, 'This Culture of Ours.' Each of the teachings or religions had its own role, with Buddhism and Taoism allocated *fang-wai* (beyond the bounds or beyond place or location),¹²⁰ and so each had its own classics and own ultimate 'authority' (*tso-che*). Sun Ch'o had earlier argued the unity of 'what is beyond the world' (*fang-wai*) or Buddhism and 'what is within the world' (*fang-nei*) or Confucianism. He stressed that the Buddha reacts to the stimuli of the world, and so teaches all beings, enabling him to equate Buddha and Confucius.¹²¹ Thus, Buddha or Śākya Muni was the authority in Buddhism, at least as understood by Sun Ch'o and by cataloguers like Seng-yu, who excluded apocrypha on the grounds they were not preached by the Buddha. Even translated works and texts not called sutras are attributed to the Buddha's authorship by Seng-yu:

I observed and found that the words of the sutras and the different speech and letters of the śāstras and mantras are all the preaching of the Buddha. So the words are basically at one. However, Indian and Chinese (texts) are divided by sound, but their meaning is identical, so the nature of the text differs only in style.¹²²

Although there are hints that there were other authorities besides Śākya Muni, for there were other buddhas, both past and present, who could preach the Dharma in sutras, and all that was required was that the words lead towards nirvana,¹²³ the cataloguers and others persisted in believing that all the sutras were taught by the human Buddha in his lifetime.¹²⁴ However, it was also said that the sutras attributed to the Buddha did not have to be spoken by him personally, but could be preached through other media, such as walls, trees and birds etc,¹²⁵ and so presumably by other human beings. Therefore, the idea arose in China that the insentient has the Buddha-nature,

¹²⁰ Bol (1992), 21.

¹²¹ Zürcher (1959), *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 133.

¹²² *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi*, T55.5a7-10.

¹²³ Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (1995), 'Authority and Orality in the Mahāyāna,' *Numen* XLII: 26-28; Ronald M. Davidson (1990), 'An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism,' 309; *Ta-sheng chuang-yen ching lun*, translated by Prabhākaramitra in 630, T31.591a17-21, with some early T'ang court officials as assistants, literati such as Fang Hsüan-ling and Tu Cheng-lun, T31.590a14-15.

¹²⁴ Makita (1976), *Gikyō kenkyū*, 6; although see *Ch'u san-tsang chih-chi*, T55.1c15-18.

¹²⁵ Lopez (1995), 32, 35; *Samādhirāja Sūtra*, *Yüeh-teng san-mei ching*, T15.557a12-13, on buddhas of the ancient past and bhikṣus of eons ago called *wu-so yu-ch'i ju-lai*.

or at the very least, can preach the Dharma.¹²⁶ One who has pure discernment then can recognise the Dharma in the sky, walls and trees, "even when no buddha is living on earth," or can receive a visionary revelation from a buddha or buddhas.¹²⁷

Moreover, like Confucius who discerned the *wen* of the universe or humanity, the Buddha also did not create the doctrine, nor was it created by somebody else. It was in fact discovered or realised by the Buddha. This discovery was his authority.¹²⁸ This meant a lineage became important; from master to disciple, 'Thus I have heard,' became a mark of transmission and the legitimacy of the teaching.¹²⁹ The vinaya masters, most concerned with the legitimacy of the Canon, tried to guarantee the transmission by listing genealogies, with two separate lineages known from translations in China for the vinaya. Again, it was Seng-yu who wrote out the two earliest lists of meditation lineages.¹³⁰ Moreover, it was not only crucial to declare that one had heard the sutra preached by the Buddha or his disciples, but also where. This was developed in Mahayana to give authority to the sutra itself, and so the phrase 'that spot of earth (where the sutra is set forth) becomes a truly sacred place,' appeared over and over in their sutras. Hence, wherever a sutra was preached became a holy site, and the sutras became holy relics and objects to be transmitted, a manifestation of the Dharmakāya. It is thought that the motivation behind this was to establish new centres to rival those places that held stupas and relics in their possession, to make sacred space mobile, and to free the Buddha from specific locations.¹³¹ Such a rationale may have been behind the forging of the *Platform Sutra*, which was made

¹²⁶ Cf. *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, passage attributed to Shen-hsiu, Yanagida (1976a), 122; McRae (1986), 92-93.

¹²⁷ *Chi i-ch'ieh fu-te san-mei ching*, translated by Kumārajīva, T12.996c18-21, 996a16-17. The most famous expression of this is the poem by Su Shih: "The sound of the stream is the broad, long tongue (of Buddha's sermon),/ Are not the hues of the mountain those of the pure Body?/ At nightfall the 84,000 gathas,/ On another day how could I present them to someone?" Cf. John Jorgensen (1989), 'Sensibility of the insensible,' 324 ff., for this and a study of this poem and topic. On revelations, see McMahan (1998), 264, 266, 270.

¹²⁸ Lopez (1995), 36, 39; Davidson (1990), 294.

¹²⁹ Lopez (1995), 39-40.

¹³⁰ David W. Chappell (1988), 'Hermeneutical Phases in Chinese Buddhism,' in Donald S. Lopez, Jr, ed., *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 181; T55.89a-b, 89c-90a; cf. also T55.65c-66a.

¹³¹ Lopez (1995), 41-42; McMahan (1998), 260.

the proof of transmission, in order to counter the claims of the community at Ts'ao-ch'i that guarded the reputed relic of Hui-neng and the robe of transmission. Thus the *Platform Sutra* may have been used primarily at Kuang-chou in the first instance,¹³² and like Confucius who said he was a transmitter and not a creator, so Hui-neng in the sutra declares, "My teaching has been handed down from the sages of the past."¹³³ This defensive move attempted to soften the hubris of the claim that Hui-neng had produced a *ching* (sutra or classic) by appealing to a trope well loved by the conservatives who looked back to the literati ideals of the early T'ang.

Even before the T'ang there was thus a Buddho-Confucian theory of authority and authorship that had been mooted by Confucian commentators like Huang K'an, by eminent literary theorists such as Liu Hsieh and by Buddhist hagiographers such as Seng-yu. Some of their ideas therefore provided a theoretical base for the theories of Shen-hui and the authorship of works like the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Platform Sutra*.

Shen-hui had earlier provided a basis for such claims by asserting that his authority was not the sutras but the lineage of patriarchs back to the Buddha. His entire legitimacy was based on this claim, which is why he detailed the lineage and wrote hagiographies of the six patriarchs in China. It was claimed he was enlightened and the only person to understand the teachings of the 'Southern Lineage' from Bodhidharma, rather like Huang K'an's attuned aristocratic elite who could 'converse with Confucius.' This enlightenment meant he was a bodhisattva in essence but physically an ordinary human being, while mentally he was the equivalent of the Tathāgata (Thus Come) or Buddha.¹³⁴ This claim he made publicly.

The Master on the Dharma-seat midst the great assembly raised his voice and said,

"I now can realise the Thus Come nature;

The Thus Come is now in my body.

There is no difference between me and the Thus Come;

The Thus Come is my True Thusness Ocean."¹³⁵

¹³² Faure (1992), 'Relics and Flesh Bodies,' 177-178.

¹³³ Yampolsky (1967), 126.

¹³⁴ McRae (2003), 'Shen-hui as Evangelist,' 14-15.

¹³⁵ *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 40; Hu (1968), 310.

Only those who can see the Buddha-nature (that is, the Thus Come nature), like Shen-hui, are qualified to teach, as he quoted from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: "He who can think about and explain the meaning of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, know him to be the person who sees the Buddha-nature."¹³⁶ This in turn was related to the proper mode of meditation, not like that of 'Northern Ch'an,' which

is the dharma (method) of stupid people. The practice mode 行處 of Meditation Teacher Neng is divorced from these two Dharmas of suppression and non-suppression. For this reason the sutra said, "The mind not residing inside or outside; this is sitting in peace. One who sits like this the Buddha then seals."¹³⁷

Elsewhere, in the *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü*, Shen-hui linked this 'sealing' to the transmission from mind to mind through six generations, a process divorced from written texts.¹³⁸ This linkage of the sealing of disciples, which in the Buddhist sutras was only an approval of meditation, probably derived again from Huang K'an (488-545), whose commentary on the *Lun-yü*, the *Lun-yü i-shu* was widely used during the T'ang.¹³⁹ Huang wrote on the first few lines of the *Lun-yü*, where there is an explanation of 'The Master said':

So this one book is also the words of the disciples, and at times the conversation of the vulgar 俗. Although these are not all the words of Confucius, at that time they were all sealed (*yin-k'o*, given the imprimatur) by Confucius. It was necessary that they be sealed, so that they could be prepared for the record.¹⁴⁰

Therefore, one could not be an author without being given the imprimatur (*yin-k'o*) by the Master, the authority. Perhaps then the imprimatur was given to the elite through the 'mysterious wind' and this gave persons like Huang the authority to write his commentary. Shen-hui took this and extended it, so that the seal made one the

¹³⁶ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 25; Tanaka Ryōshō, trans. (1989), 'Bodaidaruma Nanshū tei zehi ron,' in Tanaka Ryōshō, Okimoto Katsumi et al (1989), *Daijō Butten: Chūgoku Nihon hen 1: Tonkō 2*, Chūō kōronsha: Tokyo, 27, 412 note 27, for sutra citation, T12.526a-b.

¹³⁷ Yang (1996), 30; Tanaka (1989), 222, 433 note 40; the sutra is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T14.539c.

¹³⁸ Yang (1996), 7; ZSS, 109, 472; Tanaka (1989), 95; see more discussion in chapter 6.

¹³⁹ Cf. Juan Yüan (1979-1980), introduction to the *Lun-yü cheng-i*, 2: 2453.

¹⁴⁰ *Lun-yü i-shu*, 1/ 1b; cf. Makeham (2003), 86.

authority, in this case the Buddha, and that was passed on through the generations of patriarchs in a single, exclusive transmission that was not in a lettered form. Only such people could teach, see the Buddha-nature, and be an authority. However, it is doubtful this idea was acceptable to most of Shen-hui's contemporaries, for whom the sages and saints lived in the distant past and from whom one was cut off by time and so one only had texts as a source of information and guidance.

T'ang literary society and changes in the theory of wen and authority

However, the hagiographies of Hui-neng and the *Platform Sutra* itself were produced during a transitional period in T'ang intellectual thought, which was shifting away from the early T'ang ideal of modeling oneself on tradition and simply being a transmitter of *wen*. This was hastened by the exiling to South China en masse of the leading poets of the reign of Empress Wu, who had been associated with the notorious Chang brothers. One poet, Sung Chih-wen (650-712), a friend of Wu P'ing-i, supposedly visited Hui-neng and wrote out a funerary inscription for him, but this is extremely doubtful, although he may have written a memorial in 700 A.D. inviting Shen-hsiu (a.k.a. Tao-hsiu) to court.¹⁴¹ This exodus left Chang Yüeh (667-730) and Chang Chiu-ling (673-740) from Shao-chou as the dominant literary figures at the court during the first half of the reign of Hsüan-tsung. Wang Wei and Meng Hao-jan followed their lead,¹⁴² and later Tu Fu, Li Po and others did likewise. These men were products of the *chin-shih* examinations, which included poetry in the curriculum. A slightly wider range of literati from the minor gentry, as well as some members of the old aristocracy, were attracted by this. Motivated by dreams of meritocracy, they hoped for a more moral government, and took a broader interest than simply the state and the court into consideration. Buddhism, renunciation, the frontier and the Southwest, the lower social orders and less artifice, all became part of their more

¹⁴¹ For banishment of the poets, Steven Owen (1981), *The Poetry of the Early T'ang*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 705; for doubts about Sung's alleged inscription, see earlier and ZSS, 246, and texts, SKSC, T50.755b23, 28; and Sung Chih-wen, *Wei Lo-hsia chu-seng ch'ing fa-shih ying Hsiu Ch'an-shih piao*, CTW 240/1089a.

¹⁴² Owen (1981), 388, 400, 420; Steven Owen (1981a), *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 5.

ecumenical repertoire.¹⁴³ This period, 705 to 750s, coincided with the activities of P'u-chi and Shen-hui.

Chang Yüeh, an honest and conscientious official, had many Buddhist associates, and polished some of the translations of I-ching and Bodhiruci.¹⁴⁴ He wrote the obituary and a memorial thanking the emperor for writing a plaque for Shen-hsiu's monastery after Shen-hsiu's death,¹⁴⁵ and composed a preface for a work of calendrical studies by I-hsing,¹⁴⁶ which connected him with 'Northern Ch'an,' but he is mentioned as talking with Shen-hui about Shen-hui's core teaching of *wu-nien* or 'no-thought,'¹⁴⁷ which can only have occurred after Chang's return from exile in 721, if it happened at all, as Chang, rather atypically, made no mention of it. After all, Chang was a personal friend of Wu P'ing-i whom Shen-hui alleged had erased Hui-neng's epitaph. On the other hand, Chang Chiu-ling, who originated from Shao-chou, the district within which Ts'ao-ch'i was incorporated, made no mention of Hui-neng. Wang Wei was involved with both 'Northern Ch'an' figures and Shen-hui, and wrote the influential funerary inscription for Hui-neng around the time of the An Lu-shan Rebellion that brought Hsüan-tsung's reign to an end. This transitional period then, with its widening scope of literary interest, provided an opportunity for greater propaganda activities and for the use of a less aristocratic literary style. Chang Yüeh led the way in a rather clumsy yet direct and simple style that took up formerly taboo topics,¹⁴⁸ and his exile poems were much appreciated¹⁴⁹ and contained Buddhist sentiments. Shen-hui, or his supporters, took that even further, using the colloquial style, possibly influenced by a regional style of poetry (and prose?) that came out of

¹⁴³ Owen (1981a), xiii, 4-6, 15, 22-23, 26.

¹⁴⁴ SKSC, T50.710c29, 720b23.

¹⁴⁵ *Tang Yü-ch'üan Ssu Ta-t'ung Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 231/1045b-1046a; *Hsieh tz'u yü-shu Ta-t'ung Ch'an-shih pei-ê chuang*, CTW 224/1011c. Also in Chang Yüeh (1992), *Chang Yen-kung chi*, Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan she: Shanghai, 15/116 and 18/137c-139d respectively. For this type of memorial, see Nakamura Hiroichi (1991), 12-13.

¹⁴⁶ *Ta-yen-li hsü*, CTW 225/1016b-c; Chang Yüeh (1992), *Chang Yen-kung chi* 16/121.

¹⁴⁷ Suzuki Daisetsu (1951), *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshü 2: Zenshisōshi kenkyū: Daruma kara Enō ni itaru*, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 1968 reprint, 250; Hu Shih (1968), 115; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 68-69; Gernet (1977), *Entretiens du Maître Dhyāna Chen-houei du Hotsō (668-760)*, 31-33.

¹⁴⁸ Owen (1981a), 12.

¹⁴⁹ Murck (2000), 108-109, 111, 21.

the Southeast, specifically the lower Yangtze Valley, which sometimes incorporated local dialect.¹⁵⁰

The court also recognised the *Wen hsüan*, edited by Hsiao T'ung (501-531), crown prince of the Liang Dynasty, as a prime model for literary composition. Associated with the Southeast, by the early 700s, it had entered court literary culture. Commentaries by Li Shan (658) and his son Li Yung, added to its prestige, and it became a prime text for students of composition. In 718, Emperor Hsüan-tsung collected such commentaries. However, it began to lose prestige after the An Lu-shan Rebellion.¹⁵¹ Yet its lingering influence can be seen in the fact that a long funerary dirge for Bodhidharma attributed to Hsiao T'ung was incorporated into the *Pao-lin chuan*, which has a southern or south-eastern origin, but was trying to gain the approbation of the court and scholars, and gain entry into the Buddhist Canon by imitating the style of the Buddhist scriptures, especially in its chapter headings.¹⁵² Earlier, Wang Wei had used the *Wen-hsüan* for vocabulary and allusions several times in his stele for Hui-neng.

The An Lu-shan Rebellion, beginning in 755, created a conservative backlash at court, but it also caused a crisis for serious thinkers, and the rise of a new centre of poetic activity that even challenged the dominance of the capital. Once again it was in the Southeast, and this time it included monks as significant poets.¹⁵³ A few of the 'old-guard,' such as Wang Wei and Fang Kuan (697-763), both associated with Shen-hui, retained a very brief influence. Fang Kuan was a protégé of Chang Yüeh, and he himself was a great patron.¹⁵⁴ Fang Kuan, who had venerated I-fu (658-736) of 'Northern Ch'an,' and several Vinaya monks, Fa-shen (666-748) and Huai-i (669-751), who combined vinaya and Ch'an;¹⁵⁵ was part of a movement to elevate Seng-ts'an, something noted by the *Pao-lin chuan*.¹⁵⁶ He also wrote a *Liu-yeh t'u*

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Owen (1981a), 320-321, 15.

¹⁵¹ McMullen (1988), 217, 223-224.

¹⁵² *Pao-lin chuan* 137c-140a (8.12a-17a); Yanagida (1976), 725.

¹⁵³ Owen (1981a), 166. Po Chü-i distinguished those who used poetry as a means to propagate Buddhism; that is (true) monks; and those who wrote poetry for the sake of poetry, that is, poet-monks. Among the latter he included Hu-kuo, Fa-chen, Ling-i and Chiao-jan. See Nishiwaki (2000), 146.

¹⁵⁴ McMullen (1988), 49.

¹⁵⁵ SKSC, T50.760b21; 796c15; Li Hua, *Yang-chou Lung-hsing Ssu Ching-lü yüan Ho-shang pei*, CTW 320/1454c.

¹⁵⁶ Tu-ku Chi, *Shu-chou Shan-ku Ssu Chieh-chi t'a Sui ku Ching-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 390/1783a11; *Pao-lin chuan* 149d-150aff (8.36b-37aff).

hsü (Preface to the Diagram/Portraits of the Six Generations) for the patriarchal hall or *tsu-t'ang* Shen-hui had erected in 752, just on the eve of the rebellion.¹⁵⁷ Fang Kuan may have been one of the senior officers who gained Shen-hui's co-operation in mid-757 to sell monk ordination certificates, which were used to help finance the military campaign against the rebels. This gained Shen-hui a summons to the court chapel from Emperor Su-tsung. These political connections enabled Shen-hui to spread his propaganda about Hui-neng all the more efficiently and authoritatively.¹⁵⁸ But Fang Kuan's influence waned because he gave disastrous advice, based on adherence to an archaic model of administration and warfare, a form of *ssu-wen*, during the war against the rebels.¹⁵⁹ Also, Shen-hui died soon after in 758. Their demise effectively marked the end of the old generation and signalled a major rethinking in both lay and Ch'an intellectual circles, and a shift of intellectual innovation away from the metropolitan centre and away from an over-emphasis on transmission and canonical authority. This probably opened the way for the creation of new types of Ch'an hagiography, works such as the *Platform Sutra*, that dared to call itself a *ching* or sutra/classic, and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which incorporated apparently forged imperial letters and was written in the deep South.

The next generation of literati thinkers, Li Hua (ca. 710-ca. 767), Tu-ku Chi (725-777), Liang Su (753-793) and Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-784), and others, turned against the excessive adulation of literary elegance (*wen*) over substance (*shih*), which they believed had led to the near collapse of the dynasty. Bol has described this as a 'crisis of culture,' which propelled them to question whether *wen* and morality were connected, and to conclude that *wen* had to be based on the Way, not just the form of literature (*wen-chang*) dictated by the court

¹⁵⁷ SKSC, T50.755b10ff, a *chen-t'ang* or *ying-t'ang*, ZSS, 184-185; Hu Shih (1968), 19; Jorgensen (1987), 121.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Ui Hakuju (1935-1943), *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, 3 vols, Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 2 (1935): 234-235; Yamazaki Hiroshi (1967), *Zui-Tō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 212-214; Jacques Gernet (1951), 'Biographie du Maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsō (668-760). Contribution à l'histoire de l'école du Dhyāna,' *Journal Asiatique* 239: 58.

¹⁵⁹ Edwin G. Pulleyblank (1960), 'Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755-805,' in A. F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 99; David McMullen (1973), 'Historical and Literary Theory in the Mid-Eighth Century,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Perspectives on the Tang*, Yale University Press: New Haven, 316.

example. Consequently, they aimed to change society through their *wen*, which was based on their own understanding of the Way.

[T]hese men saw their role as scholars as deriving from their *wen*-hsüeh, their ability to learn from the textual traditions and models of the past while responding as morally concerned individuals to the time through their writing.¹⁶⁰

Mostly northerners, many were pushed into the South and Southeast, where they came into contact with poet-monks and scholar-monks who were interested in vinaya, T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an. Experiences such as these probably inclined them to think that the centre or metropolis no longer had a monopoly on *wen* or culture, and that the Way could also be found in other traditions.¹⁶¹ Such beliefs meant there was a greater emphasis on the individual, his morality, and thus comprehension of the Way. In their estimation, only individuals who were good people and were in contact with the Way, could produce excellent *wen*, thereby eschewing a distinction Confucius had made between the man and his words.¹⁶² Their emphasis on substance also opened opportunities later for the writing of works like the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Platform Sutra* that were not marked for their literary elegance, but more by their content. These works focussed on an individual, Hui-neng, who was supposedly good and in contact with the Way. In these texts, Hui-neng was not just one member of a list of transmitters.

Despite their various Buddhist contacts, including Ch'an monks from the Southern, Niu-t'ou and possibly other branches, this generation of literati still tended to favour 'Northern Ch'an.' Li Hua, for instance, who wrote stelae for Niu-t'ou, Vinaya and T'ien-t'ai monks, also wrote a funerary inscription for Ch'ang-chao (d. 764), a disciple of P'u-chi, and professed that he was that monk's disciple.¹⁶³ Li Hua

¹⁶⁰ Bol (1992), 121, and 109-122, for *wen* versus *chih*, and McMullen (1973), 323-324.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Bol (1992), 111, 119-120; McMullen (1973), 312-313; Pulleyblank (1960), 87, 92; Owen (1981a), 166, 281-283.

¹⁶² McMullen (1973), 330, 339. That is, for Confucius, a man's words could be excellent but his character without merit, and the reverse.

¹⁶³ Li Hua, *Ku Chung-yüeh Yüeh Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 316/1439a-b. Cf. Silvio Vita (1988), 'Li Hua and Buddhism,' in Antonino Forte, ed., *Tang China and Beyond: Studies in East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century*, Italian School of East Asian Studies: Kyoto, 112-113, and 120, cautioning on the use of the term 'disciple,' and 119-120, on relations with Niu-t'ou, Vinaya and T'ien-t'ai monks.

wrote for Hui-ch'en (673-751), whose pupil was I-hsing. He also wrote a stele memorial for Fa-yün (d. 766), a pupil of P'u-chi. Fa-yün was called the chief of all the monks in the South and the person who had brought 'Northern Ch'an' south of the Yangtze,¹⁶⁴ thereby disrupting Shen-hui's geographical basis for separating Northern from Southern Ch'an.

Liang Su, because of his close connections with the T'ien-t'ai revivalist Chan-jan (711-782), criticised radical strains of Ch'an and the status of the lay people who consorted with them:

Those who practice meditation, empty their nature and characteristics (*hsing-hsiang*), and cannot be pulled back. (They claim that) those who affirm this deny that, and those who do not obtain (*te*) are said to have realisation. The Way of understanding through insight flows out and forgets to return.... The actions (*shih*) of the body and mouth are dissipated and lack rules (*chang*). In this respect, the entirety (empire) of the Dharma-gate (Buddhism) has almost come to a halt.... People of correct faith are now rare. Some of those who open up the barriers of meditation/Ch'an teach (*hua*) that there is no Buddha and no Dharma, so how (can there be) sin and good? They teach those persons of middling level and lower. The crowd that hastens after desires and those types who go in and out with the gentry, regard these words as the ultimate. Since these words do not offend the audience, private desires are not removed. Therefore, those who follow this school (*men*) are like moths flying towards a bright candle or broken-off clods falling into an empty valley.¹⁶⁵

These censures of Ch'an seem very similar to the criticisms made of Pao-t'ang Ch'an by Shen-ch'ing around 814 and by Tsung-mi (780-841) of both the Pao-t'ang and Ma-tsu school.¹⁶⁶ It also had resonance with criticisms levelled by Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774) at court around 761 of a Southern opponent who had made alterations to a 'Platform Sutra.'¹⁶⁷ Certainly, the words of another

¹⁶⁴ SKSC, T50.798a17; Li Hua, *Jun-chou T'ien-hsiang Ssu ku Ta-te Yün Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 320/1453c-1454b. Cf. Vita (1988), 108-109, on Hui-ch'en; 114, on Fa-yün. He also wrote for several Niu-t'ou monks, among them Hsüan-su.

¹⁶⁵ Liang Su, *T'ien-t'ai fa-men i*, CTW 517/2360a2-5, 16-20.

¹⁶⁶ Yanagida (1976b), 'Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen,' 22-25, and Yanagida Seizan (1983), 'The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening,' 31-33, for these criticisms, and for Tsung-mi, see Kamata Shigeo (1971), *Zen no Goroku 9: Zengen shosenshū tojo*, Iwanami shobō: Tokyo, 307, "even no Buddha and no sentient beings." Dates for Shen-ch'ing are disputed, for which see Sangyō kōshō shi kenkyūban (1980), 'Hokuzanroku yakuchū (1),' *Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 81: 190-193.

¹⁶⁷ *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a1-6; cf. Jorgensen (1990), 'Nan-yang Hui-chung and the heresies of the Platform Sutra,' 119. This is a complex topic involving the

Chan-jan, this time a member of 'Northern Ch'an,' in the debate at court; "Southern frontiersmen are deceiving later students," would seem to indicate Ma-tsu Tao-i, for the rebuke by Ta-i (Ma-tsu's pupil) supposedly caused this Chan-jan to die several days later.¹⁶⁸ The emphasis this generation placed on morality therefore seems to have prevented them accepting fully the claims of Shen-hui and similar proponents of the image of Hui-neng, for they may have suspected, like Hui-chung, that these images were based on a lie or invention, and thus were immoral. That may have inclined them to remain loyal to 'Northern Ch'an' or T'ien-t'ai.

Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-784), another of this generation, met many Buddhist monks, but had no special connections with Ch'an, although he was a close associate of the poet-monk Chiao-jan, as were a number of people in this circle.¹⁶⁹ Yen did, however, visit the tomb of Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu (d. 741), who was allegedly a pupil of Hui-neng,¹⁷⁰ and in 772 he met a Fa-hai of Chin-ling in Chiao-jan's Miao-hsi Monastery, Hu-chou. This Fa-hai may be the person listed as compiling (*chü*) the *Platform Sutra*.¹⁷¹

Tu-ku Chi (725-777), who belonged to a family interested in Ch'an,¹⁷² was active in the campaign to promote Seng-ts'an as the third Ch'an patriarch. In this he was following the lead of Fang Kuan. Tu-ku Chi's inscription describes the events of 770, in which the 'Northern Ch'an' monk, Chan-jan, chanted scriptures beneath the stupa on Mt Lo-fou in eastern Kuangtung Province. Tu-ku mentioned that a number of monks came together and "listed (*suan*) the last

dating of Hui-chung's text, whom it was aimed against, and so forth. Hui-chung preached the insentient Buddha-nature, just like Chan-jan, and both monks set up their polemics against some mysterious opponent. Another possible target was Niu-t'ou Hui-chung (683-769), for which see ZSS, 171.

¹⁶⁸ *Hsing-fu Ssu Nei-chang Kung-feng Ta-te Ta-i Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 715/3301b2-5, and 3301a8-9, stele by Wei Ch'u-hou, where Ta-i connects the *Platform Sutra* with Shen-hui. Cf. ZSS, 265-266. This made Yanagida think the *Platform Sutra* was compiled near Lo-yang, Yampolsky (1967), 98. For the identity of this 'Northern Ch'an' Chan-jan, see Chen Jin-hua (1999), 'One Name: Three Monks: Two Northern Chan Masters Emerge from the Shadow of their Contemporary, the Tiantai Master Zhanran (711-782),' 1-91. Issue discussed in section on *Platform Sutra* in Chapter 7.

¹⁶⁹ Owen (1981a), 295.

¹⁷⁰ Yen Chen-ch'ing, *Ching-chü Ssu t'i-ming*, CTW 339/1539b9, 13-14.

¹⁷¹ Yen Chen-ch'ing, *Hu-chou Wu-ch'eng hsien Chu-shan Miao-hsi Ssu pei-ming*, CTW 339/1540b1; Yampolsky (1967), 64, on Fa-hai. Yanagida Seizan has on at least one occasion suggested that he was the real author of the *Platform Sutra*.

¹⁷² Nishiwaki (2000), 233.

instructions of the seven generations after our Ch'an teacher (Seng-ts'an)." Shen-hui is given only a minor role in all this, for although Tu-ku says he "had the *kaṣāya* and the Dharma both presented to the enlightened one," he lists the lineage from Bodhidharma down to Hung-jen, and then states:

Master Jen transmitted it to Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu. Master Neng retreated and grew old at Ts'ao-ch'i. We have not heard of his heirs. Master Hsiu transmitted it to P'u-chi, whose pupils number ten thousand and disciples sixty-three. The one who gained the freedom of insight was called Hung-cheng.

Hence, here the Northern Lineage is emphasised, while Hui-neng is still largely unknown, and Shen-hui's strident claims to be recognised as the heir of Hui-neng are ignored. Tu-ku Chi continued rather to mention Hung-cheng's proselytisation activities and compared the need for transmission (*shu*) in Ch'an to the hand-over from Yao to Shun, mythical emperors of the past, with the Duke of Chou establishing the system of rites, and Confucius transmitting (*shu*) them, and then Mencius and others broadening it:

We know that the former teacher's entire body is the beginning of the Ch'an school (*Ch'an-men*), and that the greatness and splendour of the Royal command is on this mountain.¹⁷³

Therefore, this generation of leading intellectuals (or rather, those whose writings have been left to posterity via editors),¹⁷⁴ despite broadening the horizons of *wen* and coming into contact with Ch'an communities and figures from outside the metropolitan region, were not yet ready to accept fully the claims made on behalf of Hui-neng, and the only literature on the subject seems to have been by Shen-hui and his pupils, and by Wang Wei. Although interested in individuals, history and transmission, and challenging the early T'ang orthodoxy, this generation of literati were not interested in fiction,¹⁷⁵ into which category Shen-hui's hagiography of Hui-neng may have been cast. Hui-neng was not yet accepted as an authority; nor Shen-hui as his author. Rather, the authorities seem to be Shen-hsiu and his heirs,

¹⁷³ *Shu-chou Shan-ku Ssu Chieh-chi t'a Sui ku Ching-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 390/1783a-b. Note the similarity to the ideas of Huang K'an mentioned above.

¹⁷⁴ See comments by McMullen (1973), 319-320.

¹⁷⁵ McMullen (1973), 340.

who apparently conformed more to the expectations of the literati and the state.

The pupils, imitators and successors to this group of literati in the next generation, beginning in the 780s and 790s, brought yet another marked change in intellectual attitudes. This applied, it appears, to the serious literati, the poet-monks, and possibly Ch'an monks. Many of the main players in this period were not only linked socially with those of the same generation, but also with the previous generation, in a complex network.¹⁷⁶ The period under consideration covers the reign of Te-tsung (780-805), who was probably a Buddhist believer in private, given that he erected a stupa to his fifth son who had died at the age of three.¹⁷⁷ Te-tsung's policies influenced the attitudes of scholar-officials and Buddhism. He attempted to restore the empire's financial position and regain control over the northern autonomous provinces. This led to a series of provincial revolts in the Northeast from 781, and Te-tsung's policy failed. Local governors asserted even greater autonomy and there were continued problems of control in the provinces, so revenue had to be increasingly sourced from the Yangtze valley. For this, Te-tsung was attacked by historians and disappointed officials supportive of the regime. He was unwilling to delegate authority and was distrustful of the bureaucracy. Instead, he used eunuchs for important tasks, further alienating the bureaucrats and scholars. Eunuchs were used to supervise the army. These measures introduced greater suspicions and corruption, especially by the eunuchs.¹⁷⁸ These eunuch army supervisors extorted money from military and civilian governors, and the bureaucrats despised them. Once his disabled son, Shun-tsung took over as emperor, one of his favourites, Wang Shu-wen (735-806), attempted what has been called a failed coup d'état, which intended to eliminate the eunuchs and regularise the taxation system.¹⁷⁹

Another of the results of the failure of Te-tsung's strategies to re-establish direct control over the north-eastern provinces was an

¹⁷⁶ Cf. diagram in Nishiwaki (2000), 187 note 24.

¹⁷⁷ Nishiwaki (2000), 203.

¹⁷⁸ C. A. Peterson (1979), 'Court and province in mid- and late T'ang,' 497-514, and Michael T. Dalby (1979), 'Court politics in late T'ang times,' 599, both in Denis Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History of China, vol 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part I*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

¹⁷⁹ Dalby (1979), 599-603.

attempt to bolster his authority via a policy of promoting literary (*wen*) endeavours. Thus he sponsored a number of Buddhist catalogues and commentaries on the vinaya,¹⁸⁰ although these also served to reinforce controls over the clergy. But even greater literary efforts were pursued in the provinces, especially in the Southeast, largely by disillusioned scholars,¹⁸¹ and the idea of expedient action (*ch'üan*) gained influence with those scholars of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, most of whom were reformists wishing to restore central authority.¹⁸² It may well have inspired the Wang clique, and it also had Buddhist overtones of expedience and the temporary.

An attempt to restore the moral fibre of the empire through reform began with Ts'ui Yu-fu, a friend of Tu-ku Chi and Li Hua. He became the Chief Minister and soon appointed many of this circle to office, which partially undermined the trend towards meritocracy. Liang Su came to lead the *ku-wen* movement from 789. This movement used the older-style *wen* to revive morality and Confucianism, and Liang Su recruited and taught many able young men, including Lü Wen (772-811), Ch'üan Te-yü (759-818), Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) and Liu Yü-hsi (772-842). There was a rival group under Han Yü, which was more rigidly and exclusively Confucian.¹⁸³ Among the monk-poets of the Southeast, all of whom coincidentally were educated in Confucianism and were educators,¹⁸⁴ the older generation of Ling-i (727-762) and Chiao-jan (ca. 734-791?) were succeeded by Fa-chen and Ling-ch'e (746-816). Ling-ch'e was a pupil of Chiao-jan, and Ling-ch'e in turn taught Liu Yü-hsi, who wrote the preface for Ling-ch'e's collection of poems and studied poetry under the monk during his youth.¹⁸⁵ It was this period that saw the production of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the

¹⁸⁰ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), 342, 348.

¹⁸¹ McMullen (1988), 69-70.

¹⁸² McMullen (1988), 102-103. The school had a sense of moral discretion in one's actions, p. 109. The idea of expedience (*ch'üan*) versus *ching* (norm or Classic) was a core doctrine of the Kung-yang commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. See Lewis (1999), 141-143.

¹⁸³ Pulleyblank (1960), 85, 93, 95-97; cf. Hartman (1986), 13, 212ff., on Han Yü's conception of literature and *ku-wen*.

¹⁸⁴ Nishiwaki (2000), 148.

¹⁸⁵ Owen (1981a), 282-284, 287-288; see also Thomas P. Nielson (1972), *The Tang Poet-Monk Chiao-jan*, Occasional Paper No. 3, Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University; Tempe, 3, 9; Tosaki Tetsuhiko (1987), 'Hörinden no josha Reitetsu to Reitetsu,' *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 30 (2): 30.

Platform Sutra and the *Pao-lin chuan*, and it is likely their formation was influenced by the monk-poets and the literati circles.

Chiao-jan, Fa-hai and the Platform Sutra

Chiao-jan played a key role in the world of poetry during Te-tsung's reign. He assisted Yen Chen-ch'ing write a treatise on rhyme, the *Yün-hai ching-yüan*.¹⁸⁶ Chiao-jan's tract on the theory of poetry, the *Shih-shih*, was expanded from one fascicle to five by Li Hung after 789.¹⁸⁷ As he had studied T'ien-t'ai and the *Hua-yen ching* under his master, Shou-chih, a T'ien-t'ai scholar who had studied in turn under P'u-chi, and Esoteric Buddhism, as well as the entire Tripitaka,¹⁸⁸ Chiao-jan was able to introduce the Buddhist theory of mind-only genesis into ideas about the creation of literature. He wrote of "literary composition being related to one's fundamental nature," and of gaining subject matter through frisson and the sublime, and once the strange verses that have been formed as a result are composed, they appear to be written without effort.¹⁸⁹ Chiao-jan alluded to Ch'an and Hua-yen theories of enlightenment when he stated that the fundamental nature must not become a problem for the poet, in the sense that the author must not constantly imitate or return to earlier models:

It is like the sudden teaching of Buddhism whose (beginning) students have the fault of being immersed in the nature. They really do not know that with the dharma of nature-arising (*hsing-ch'i*) that the myriad and manifold images are all true.

As in the Hua-yen theory of *hsing-ch'i*, where the pristine Buddha-potential rises spontaneously in the person and their environment, and where the *pen-hsing* or fundamental nature appears rather than the desire-motivated conditional production (*yüan-ch'i* or *pratītya-*

¹⁸⁶ SKSC, T50.892a24-26, b13-14; Ichihara Kōkichi (March 1958), 'Chū-Tō shoki ni okeru kōsa no shisō ni tsuite,' *Tōhō gakuho* 28: 227-228. This work was a huge undertaking on pronunciation, and it involved many participants, Chiao-jan the most important assistant.

¹⁸⁷ T50.892a18-21; Nielson (1972), 19-21. However, Ichihara (1958), 227, lists it as in 360 fascicles, citing Feng Yen's *Feng-shih wen-chien chi*.

¹⁸⁸ Ch'ing-chou, *T'ang Hang-chou Ling-yin shan T'ien-chu Ssu ku Ta Ho-shang t'a-ming*, CTW 918/4291b16; SKSC, T50.797c24-25.

¹⁸⁹ Jorgensen (1989), 147; Lo Lien-tien, comp. (1978), *Sui-T'ang Wu-tai wen-hsiieh p'i-p'ing tzu-liao hui-pien*, Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan she: Taipei, 104, 88.

samutpāda), true images are created or arise for one without being obsessed with them as objects. This was a paradigm for creative writing.¹⁹⁰ The fundamental nature of literature, the Middle Way of poetry, was made the equivalent of the realisation of the Buddhature.¹⁹¹ This was a strong comparison of Ch'an to literature.

Chiao-jan may have been associated with the lineage of Niu-t'ou Ch'an, which was then headed by Hao-lin Hsüan-su (668-752). Chiao-jan wrote an encomium for Hsüan-su and was a close friend of one of Hsüan-su's leading pupils, Fa-hai, a friendship said to have 'transcended form.' Chiao-jan probably also knew Li Hua, for Li Hua wrote obituaries for Fa-hai and Hsüan-su.¹⁹² Fa-hai in turn may have been an inspiration to Chiao-jan. According to Li Hua, Fa-hai was the stupa-guardian or keeper of the master's remains,¹⁹³ a position often synonymous with being heir to the master's monastery. Chiao-jan quoted Fa-hai in a preface,¹⁹⁴ and Fa-hai assisted both Chiao-jan and Yen Chen-ch'ing with the writing of the *Yün-hai ching-yüan*.¹⁹⁵ Yanagida Seizan thought Fa-hai may have been the compiler of one of the earliest versions of the *Platform Sutra*, injecting Niu-t'ou themes into it.¹⁹⁶ But Fa-hai here perhaps really was a cypher, designated a pupil of Hui-neng by the *Platform Sutra* and by Tsung-mi, probably because of the reputation Fa-hai had in literary circles, which might lend an air of authority to the *Platform Sutra*. Chiao-jan was also associated with Southern Ch'an. He wrote an encomium for Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu as a pair,¹⁹⁷ and a funerary inscription for Hui-ming, a monk supposedly of Hui-neng's lineage.¹⁹⁸

This latter stele shows that Chiao-jan moved in circles that promoted Hui-neng, for it lists Hui-neng as the sixth of seven Chinese

¹⁹⁰ Jorgensen (1989), 148; Lo Lien-tien (1978), 100.

¹⁹¹ Jorgensen (1989), 163; Lo Lien-tien (1978), 104.

¹⁹² Li Hua, *Jun-chou Hao-lin Ssu ku Ching-shan Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 320/1456a11-12; Sekiguchi Shindai (1964), *Zenshū shisōshi*, Sankibō busshorin: Tokyo, 293-299, 326-328. Vita (1988), 110-111, suggests this friendship of Li Hua with Chiao-jan was probably via contact with Fa-ch'in (714-793), Hsüan-su's pupil.

¹⁹³ CTW 320/1456a21-22.

¹⁹⁴ Ch'ing-chou, *Pao-ying chuan hsü*, CTW 917/4288c6ff.

¹⁹⁵ Yen Chen-ch'ing, *Hu-chou Wu-ch'eng hsien Chu-shan Miao-hsi Ssu pei-ming*, CTW 339/1540b1ff.; Ichihara (1958), 228.

¹⁹⁶ ZSS, 165, 187-188, 196-204; this was modified in Yanagida (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 411-412, 414.

¹⁹⁷ Ch'ing-chou, *Neng Hsiu erh-tsu tsan*, CTW 917/4289a.

¹⁹⁸ Ch'ing-chou, *T'ang Hu-chou Fo-ch'uan Ssu ku Ta-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 917/4290 a-b.

patriarchs from Bodhidharma, who seems to sit as the twenty-seventh patriarch, and not the twenty-eighth as in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Pao-lin chuan* or *Platform Sutra*. This Hui-ming, known as Ts'e of Fang-yen, was listed as a fellow pupil under Hui-neng along with Yungchia Hsüan-chüeh and Ho-tse Shen-hui, with a possible implication that he was the seventh patriarch, as the monk Tzu-yü, on meeting Hui-ming, said, "Why has the bodhisattva who transmits the teaching of the Southern Patriarch arrived so late?" Yet his dates should contradict this implication, for Hui-ming received the full precepts of a monk in 719, and he died in February 780, after having been a monk for fifty-one years. This then should mean he was ordained in 729, not 719. The *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, which was heavily based on this inscription, appropriately deleted mention of a relationship with Hui-neng.¹⁹⁹ Because he had the same taboo name, Hui-ming, and illustrious ancestry in the Ch'en clan, as the Ch'en Hui-ming, the former general, who pursued Hui-neng to the Ta-yü Pass in the accounts of Shen-hui and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, it is probable that the pupils of Fo-ch'uan Monastery's Hui-ming, or even Chiao-jan, used these coincidences to forge a link of this monk with Hui-neng. Thus Chiao-jan was in a milieu that influenced the hagiographical inventions surrounding Hui-neng.

Yet Chiao-jan was eclectic, writing praises of Bodhidharma, a T'ien-t'ai master, Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu as a pair, Shen-hsiu alone, and Hsüan-su. Of most interest is his paeon to the 'Ch'an teachers of the two lineages,' for in it he wrote that P'u-chi was the seventh patriarch, and by implication, a worthy rival to Hui-neng, for

he was no different to the six (patriarchs) of the lineage, and unashamedly the seventh patriarch. If the ridge of Ch'an collapsed all at once, who could men and gods rely on?²⁰⁰

This means Chiao-jan still had loyalties to his own teachers, one of whom studied under P'u-chi. Chiao-jan was, perhaps, trying to show that there was no real split in Ch'an, for in essence North and South were the same. He is thus a transitional figure between Northern and Southern Ch'an.

¹⁹⁹ See *T'ang Hu-chou Fo-ch'uan Ssu ku Ta-shih t'a-ming*, in CTW 917/4290a-c, which has many lacunae, and in *Chiao-jan chi*, in *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, 1st series, vol. 664, fascicle 8/8a-11a, which is a better text. See also SKSC, T50.876a23-c6.

²⁰⁰ Ishii Kōsei (2003), 'Rōan hibun ga shimesu shisōteki shomondai,' *Tōyō bunka* 83: 82-83.

Therefore, new ideas of literary production and authority were being touted in the 780s, especially in Southeast China, where most of these figures were active. This was an area that came to regard itself as heir to the tradition of the Southern courts (of pre-Sui times), and of being the true Central Kingdom and hub of Chinese culture.²⁰¹ It was probably in this climate that the *Platform Sutra* was written. Indeed, the *Platform Sutra* of ca. 781 had a theory of authority of its own. It stated that Hui-neng lectured:

All the sutras and written words...have been instituted by humans. Because of the nature of wisdom (within humans) it has been possible, therefore, to establish them....All the sutras exist because they are spoken by humans....Even a sentient being, if awakened in an instant of thought, is a buddha. And thus we know that the ten-thousand dharmas are all within our own minds....

If you awaken to the sudden doctrine of no-thought, you will have reached the status of the Buddha.

Good friends, those in later generations who obtain (*te*) my teaching will always see that my Dharma body is not apart from where they are.²⁰²

The conclusion to be drawn, as it was by his pupils, was that as an enlightened teacher, Hui-neng was a buddha, who therefore could preach a sutra. The exclamation put into the *Platform Sutra*, "Who would have expected Ling-nan to be so fortunate as to have had a Buddha born there!"²⁰³ acknowledges both the authority and the place, but expresses surprise at the location and so exhibits a new pride in the periphery as distinct from the metropolitan centre. Such a statement militates against arguments that the *ching* of *Platform Sutra* (*T'an ching*) is merely a sign of respect, that it was an important text, but not a sutra or Classic.²⁰⁴ The consequences for literary theory and authority are that as all things are in the minds of humans, with insight the truths, or *wen* perhaps, discerned therein, can be reproduced as sutras or Classics. Therefore, even the semi-barbarian Hui-neng, who may have been an illiterate, could be an authority if he was truly enlightened. In one sense, this idea of realising what is in the

²⁰¹ Nishiwaki (2000), 176.

²⁰² Yampolsky (1967), 150-151, 153, modified.

²⁰³ Yampolsky (1967), 162.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Roger Corless (1975-1976), 'The meaning of *ching* (sutra?) in Buddhist Chinese,' *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 3: 67-72.

mind is like the 'grasping of the sense-data' (取境) or the nature-arising (*hsing-ch'i*) of Chiao-jan and the mid-T'ang poets' notion that the verse or couplet was "first 'gotten', *te* 得, then worked into a poem by reflective craft," something Owen calls a *trouvaille*.²⁰⁵ It was also rather like Shen-hui's idea that all one needed to do is to produce the mind of supreme bodhi, which was possible because we already have the Buddha-nature within. As it is difficult to meet the true teacher, "Today you can hear 得聞 him (me)" and "meet him."²⁰⁶ And, as we shall see, this nature-rising thought was probably a core theme in one of the earliest versions of the *Platform Sutra*.

Ling-ch'e, Ta-i, the Pao-lin chuan, and the court politics of authority

Chiao-jan's pupil, Ling-ch'e, may have had a role in using such fresh ideas about authorship and creation. Besides teaching Liu Yü-hsi poetry, Ling-ch'e is also known to have written the no-longer extant preface to the *Pao-lin chuan*. The *Pao-lin chuan*, despite its dating errors and clumsy attempts to write a comprehensive hagiographical history, had a poetic bent, for it made gathas of enlightenment the symbols of the transmission of the Dharma lineage,²⁰⁷ something it probably developed from the *Platform Sutra*. The gathas or verses were substituted for the physical robe or the *Platform Sutra*.

Verses were not only confirmations of the conferral of inheritance on an enlightened disciple, but also predictions that could distinguish between pupils. If a master had a number of enlightened, capable disciples, a means to distinguish between them and to assert an inheritance from one master rather than another, was prognostication in verse. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, in the chapter on Prajñātāra, for example, has the patriarch predict the advent of Ma-tsu and Huai-jang.²⁰⁸ These verses, which may indicate an origin in Nan-yüeh, are found throughout the *Pao-lin chuan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi*, but the specific prophecy gathas (*ch'an-*

²⁰⁵ Steven Owen (1996), *The End of the Chinese 'Middle Ages': Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2, 108; transliteration modified for consistency. The mid-T'ang is defined by Owen as 791-825.

²⁰⁶ *Tan-yü*, Hu (1968), 225-226, 231-232; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 4, 7; Teng and Jung (1998), 112-114, 128-130.

²⁰⁷ ZSS, 355.

²⁰⁸ ZSS, 357-358; *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.64-1.66. On importance of inheritance, Min Yönggyu (1993), 'Chungguk Sön kwa Han'guk Sön,' *Paegnyön Pulgyo nonjip* 3: 31-32.

ke 讖偈) seem to begin with Simha, the problematic twenty-fourth patriarch, and are used thereafter most frequently by the patriarchs in China.²⁰⁹ Given that the prophesies concern not only the lineage inheritors, but also state persecutions of Buddhism,²¹⁰ and that the rulers were paranoid about such prophesies, which despite having a Chinese origin in the Han Dynasty, were widely used by Buddhist monks, this may have given rise to grave suspicions about the *Pao-lin chuan*, perhaps leading to the expulsion of Ling-ch'e, who wrote the preface to this book.²¹¹

Moreover, the *Pao-lin chuan* author was aware of the stele for Seng-ts'an written by Tu-ku Chi, for it mentions that Fang Kuan wrote the stele inscription for the stupa;²¹² that Li Ch'ang, the governor of Honan was involved; and that Chan-jan of 'Northern Ch'an' was at the memorial celebrations.²¹³ However, it has cleverly added the misinformation that Li Ch'ang asked Shen-hui about the location of the stupa in 746, and that Li Ch'ang had brought back one hundred *śarīra* beads from the tomb and erected a stupa in Shen-hui's Ho-tse Monastery.²¹⁴ This provided it with a further connection to the metropolis.

Ling-ch'e, the *Pao-lin chuan* preface writer, besides living in the Southeast where he studied under Chiao-jan and taught the young Liu Yü-hsi, also lived on Mt Heng or Nan-yüeh, the Southern Marchmount. Moreover, other evidence suggests that he had stayed at Ts'ao-ch'i, for Lü Wen (772-811), when he received a portrait of the much admired Chang Chiu-ling, wrote that he had obtained it via "the śramaṇa Ling-ch'e of Ts'ao-ch'i, who although he has shed the duties of the world, still loves the correct and the frank." Another poem by Lü Wen suggests that the two had a close friendship, and

²⁰⁹ Cf. ZSS, 356-357, for Nan-yüeh and verse, 398; PLC 8.9b, 8.28a; Tanaka (2003), *Hōrinden yakuchū*, by Bodhidharma, 384, and Hui-k'o, 415.

²¹⁰ ZSS, 356-357; cf. Tanaka (2003), 416.

²¹¹ For the rulers, Buddhism and apocryphal prophesies, see Yasui Kōzan (1961), 'Kan Gi Rikuchō jidai ni okeru zushin to Bukkyō,' in *Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū*, Nagai shuppansha: Kyoto, 855-868; for mention of an attribution of some of these to Confucius in 485, see 857-858, on the "Confucius Record from the Sealed Room." For a suggestion that this discredited the *Pao-lin chuan*, see Min Yōnggyu (1993), 32.

²¹² *Pao-lin chuan*, 149d7-8 (8.36b7-8).

²¹³ *Pao-lin chuan*, 152a7 (8.41a7)—this information is supposedly contained in Fang Kuan's inscription.

²¹⁴ *Pao-lin chuan*, 153a-c (8.43a-44a).

Liu Tsung-yüan also sent a poem to a friend about Ling-ch'e in 815 and another in 816 mourning the late monk. Liu Tsung-yüan may also have exchanged poems with Ling-ch'e in the capital before 805, a momentous year. Yet another significant figure in this network with whom Ling-ch'e had a friendship was Ch'üan Te-yü. This was when they were both in Ch'ang-an. Around 781, Chiao-jan wrote to the leading writer, Pao Chi (d. 792), a man who had spent time in Ling-nan, and was a Commissioner of Salt and Iron, a powerful taxation post, in the period 782 to 785,²¹⁵ recommending Ling-ch'e and his poetry. In the list of poems Chiao-jan mentioned to Pao Chi was a poem titled, 'Written on Mt Ching about Master (Hui)-neng of Ts'ao-ch'i.'²¹⁶ Pao Chi had close connections to Ch'an, for he wrote a stele for Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786).²¹⁷ Pao Chi, Ch'üan Te-yü and Ling-ch'e spent time together in the Mt Lü region sometime between 785 and 790, and it was Ch'üan Te-yü who wrote out the stupa inscription to accompany Pao Chi's obituary for Ma-tsu. This, and other evidence, seems to suggest that Ling-ch'e and his colleagues supported the claims of the Ma-tsu lineage to succession from Hung-jen and Hui-neng.

Sometime around 791, Ling-ch'e went to Lo-yang, and then to Mt Sung, where he resided in Sung-yang Monastery. After 793 he came to Ch'ang-an, but was then exiled to T'ing-chou in southwest Fukien in the period 795-796, remaining there until 807 or 809. The *Pao-lin chuan* had to have been written after 790, and the date usually given for it is 801, so the preface had to have been composed either when Ling-ch'e was in exile or while he was in Ch'ang-an. Tosaki suggested that Ling-ch'e's exile sentence may have been closely intertwined to the appearance of the *Pao-lin chuan* in the capital, for Liu Yü-hsi wrote that when Ling-ch'e visited Ch'ang-an,

his name excited the imperial capital. The monks hated him and created anonymous rumours (denouncing him). This aroused the eunuchs, who consequently inveigled a false accusation that he had committed a crime, and he was exiled to T'ing-chou.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Tosaki (1987), 36-38. For Pao, see Denis Twitchett (1970), *Financial Administration under the T'ang*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 55, and as a writer, see mention in Ichihara (1958), 245.

²¹⁶ Ch'ing-chou, *Tz'u Pao Chung-ch'eng shu*, CTW 917/4287c20-21, 4288a4.

²¹⁷ SKSC, T50.766c8.

²¹⁸ Tosaki (1987), 46; Ch'u Chung-chün, in Fu Hsüan-tsung, compiler and editor (1987), *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan chiao-chien*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, an annotated edition of the *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan* written by Hsin Wen-fang in 1304, pp. 615-616,

Tosaki proposed that this denunciation was the product of sectarian rivalry at the capital, such as the followers of Shen-hui slandering 'Northern Ch'an' and other rivals. For example, Tsung-mi asserted that Shen-hui's lineage was superior to that of Ma-tsu, and he reported that in 796 Emperor Te-tsung ordered the heir-apparent, the future Shun-tsung, gather Ch'an monks in Ch'ang-an to examine the issue of which was the main, orthodox lineage of Ch'an, and which were subordinate branch lineages. He decreed that Shen-hui's lineage was orthodox, at least according to Tsung-mi. This then was a continuation of the dispute over who was the seventh patriarch.²¹⁹ As the *Pao-lin chuan* championed the Ma-tsu lineage, making the Shen-hui lineage subordinate, the dominant pro-Shen-hui faction in the metropolis undoubtedly reacted.²²⁰ After all, as Shen-hui had so loyally served the court of Su-tsung during the An Lu-shan Rebellion and was honoured by the emperor in 758, the succeeding emperors may have found it difficult to revise such a declaration of Shen-hui's orthodoxy. According to an 806 stele inscription by Hsü Tai, one Hui-chien (719-792), a pupil of Shen-hui, was ordered by Emperor Tai-tsung during the Ta-li reign (766-780) to build a lineage hall for the seven patriarchs of Ch'an. As the stele honours Shen-hui as the seventh patriarch, this shows that Shen-hui's line was supported by emperors Su-tsung and Tai-tsung. This would make it likely that the next emperor, Te-tsung, did likewise. Significantly, Hsü Tai also wrote that in the early Chen-yüan reign (785-805), Hui-chien was summoned to the court by Te-tsung and

received the imperial command to debate the heterodoxy and orthodoxy of the Buddha Dharma with the elders and to confirm the Ch'an teachers of the two lineages of North and South.

date this expulsion to between 793 and 795. For Sung-yang Monastery, see the stele dated 535, and its renaming as Hui-shan Monastery in 664, in Washio Junkyō (1932), 14-16.

²¹⁹ Cf. Jorgensen (1987), 118, for translation of Tsung-mi from HTC 14.554a1-3. Note also that sometime after 785, according to a stele written in 806, Hui-chien (719-792), a pupil of Shen-hui, was summoned to court by Te-tsung and "he also received the imperial command to debate the orthodoxy and heterodoxy of the Buddha-Dharma with the elders and to confirm the Ch'an teachers of the two lineages of North and South," which hints at a long-running court interest in the Ch'an genealogical controversy.

²²⁰ Tosaki (1987), 46-48; for the entire argument about Ling-ch'c I have followed Tosaki, 28-54, with some supplementary material.

This looks very much like the event mentioned by Tsung-mi that he dated 796, also in the Chen-yüan reign era, but four years after Hui-chien's death.²²¹ Therefore, it is clear that the pro-Shen-hui faction maintained a hold on the imperial sanction and it was this that Ling-ch'e or the *Pao-lin chuan* challenged.

Around 809, Ling-ch'e returned to K'uai-chi, where it appears that Ling-ch'e, through his literary efforts, introduced the Ma-tsu interpretation of Ch'an to the social network of like-minded scholars, his pupil Liu Yü-hsi, and younger acquaintances such as Ch'üan Te-yü and Liu Tsung-yüan. This group in turn championed Hui-neng, with Liu Tsung-yüan and then Liu Yü-hsi writing stelae commemorating the grant of a posthumous title to Hui-neng by the throne. Action seems to have been centred round gaining court recognition. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* contains a number of forged decrees favouring Hui-neng, supposedly by the hands of emperors Kao-tsung and Chung-tsung. It also makes mention of the imperial emissaries sent to invite Hui-neng to the court, or at least to bring his robe to court. While such forgeries were partly a response to the claims of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* concerning Empress Wu's intervention in the transmission of the robe, the fabrication of these decrees and orders displays an attitude of (feigned) deference and appeal to central power, which may have been very attractive on the margins of the empire in places such as Shao-chou. The *Pao-lin chuan* is even more obviously aimed at an appeal to the throne and the literati. Although only the sections of the *Pao-lin chuan* dealing with patriarchs in China from Bodhidharma to Seng-ts'an survive, this part is full of quotes from texts supposedly written on the commands of emperors or by eminent literati. Prime examples are the funerary dirge for Bodhidharma ascribed to Hsiao T'ung (a.k.a Chao-ming, 501-531), the heir-apparent to the Liang throne, a stele inscription attributed to Emperor Wu of Liang, and another by Fa-lin (572-640) for Hui-k'o, and the inscription by Fang Kuan for Seng-ts'an.²²² Furthermore, the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* was conscious of the influence wielded by Shen-hui's adherents at court, for he offered some sops to their pride in their orthodoxy by

²²¹ Jorgensen (1987), 117-120.

²²² *Pao-lin chuan*, 137c-142c (8.12a-22a), for works devoted to Bodhidharma; 146b-148c (8.29b-34a), for Fa-lin's supposed inscription for Hui-k'o; and 149d-152d (8.36b-42b), for that of Fang Kuan for Seng-ts'an.

incorporating Shen-hui into the account of Seng-ts'an's relics.²²³

Ling-ch'e also had influence in Buddhist and political circles, which should have given him sufficient status to be an author of a serious work, not just poetry. Fu-lin mentioned Ling-ch'e favourably in his biography of Chiao-jan as a friend in the Way and as a mourner together with the local prefect. Fu-lin was well aware of Ling-ch'e and Chiao-jan's political connections.²²⁴ Indeed, as Liu Yü-hsi, a not unbiased observer noted, it was the eunuchs who had Ling-ch'e exiled after some monks had spread hatred via rumours. Eunuchs had been appointed from 788 as Commissioners of Good Works (*kung-te shih*), supposedly to expedite donations to Buddhism and control of the clergy. Rather, they used the posts to enrich themselves.²²⁵ These very same eunuchs were also in charge of the metropolitan region's military forces, and were extremely venal, which raised the ire of the group gathered around Wang Shu-wen (735-806). This clique included Liu Yü-hsi, Liu Tsung-yüan and Lü Wen. This group of young officials wished to lower taxes, curb the eunuch power and build a ruling coalition united by a pro-Buddhist vision of a moral government centralised around a saint-ruler. Moreover, they desired a purified Buddhist Order, not one associated with corrupt eunuchs.²²⁶ One of these eunuch commissioners, Huo Hsien-ming (d. 798), before he attained this high position, reportedly dreamt of Ta-i (746-818), a pupil of Ma-tsu, arriving in the capital, so he petitioned the throne that Ta-i be invited to the court chapel for worship. Ta-i also gained connections with the heir-apparent, Shun-tsung, who was in league with the Wang Shu-wen clique, probably sometime later than this event. In the heir-apparent's domain, they exchanged views on Buddhism in debate with another monk. It appears later that when Shun-tsung was in ill-health in 805, and the Wang clique came to power, Ta-i, who had returned to the capital sometime earlier, departed, and

the carts of those farewelling him filled the road from the imperial city to the Pa River, and all those who came insincerely professed shame at the change [i.e. the political reversal] and that punishments and imprisonment had been used sparingly. Therefore, the prefects and leaders of

²²³ *Pao-lin chuan*, 153a2ff (8.43a2ff.).

²²⁴ Fu-lin, *T'ang Hu-chou Chu-shan Chiao-jan chuan*, CTW 919/4297a27- c5.

²²⁵ Weinstein (1987), 96.

²²⁶ Dalby (1979), 598-599, 601-602; and Hartman (1986), 52, 136, 139.

the provinces all requested that he bless them in order to assist in their arts of government.²²⁷

Ta-i had certainly been favoured by the court. In an inscription on the reverse side of the stele re-erected for Bodhidharma by Li Ch'ao-cheng, Supervising Commissioner of the Chao-i Provincial Army, most likely a eunuch, it is mentioned that Ta-i was in a direct line via Hui-neng and Tao-i from Bodhidharma, and that in the Chen-yüan reign era (785-805), Ta-i was the Court Chapel Bhadanta (*ta-te*) of Good Works (*kung-te*), a title reflecting a commonality with the eunuchs. In 803, Emperor Te-tsung ordered his favourite, Wang Shih-tse, the son of a Khitan rebel, be ordained as a monk named Hui-t'ung, and to be the pupil of Ta-i. As a monk, Wang Shih-tse seems to have learnt his lessons well.²²⁸

The politics of the metropolis therefore were full of intrigue, which could have complex ramifications for Buddhism. Ta-i had close political associations both with the eunuchs and with the emperor-to-be, Shun-tsung. It is probable that he left the capital when the reformist party of Wang Shu-wen had come to power. Ling-ch'ê's expulsion at the instigation of monks, who hated him, and at the hands of the eunuchs, hint that the motivations were probably more than simply a jealousy on the part of Shen-hui's faction. After all, Ta-i was honoured at the court of Te-tsung and in the stele for Ta-i written by Wei Ch'u-hou, who was also the honest compiler of the official records of the reigns of Te-tsung and Shun-tsung,²²⁹ Ta-i is said to have praised Shen-hui as the pupil of Hui-neng who "attained the seal of the *dhāraṇī* (keeper of the truth). He alone illuminated the lustrous pearl."²³⁰ Ta-i; or Wei Ch'u-hou; criticised followers for being deluded and for creating the *Platform Sutra*. Moreover, Liu Yü-hsi wrote a stele inscription in 807 for Ch'eng-kuang (717-798), a follower of Shen-hui,²³¹ although this was after the events that had Liu Yü-hsi himself demoted and exiled.

²²⁷ Stele by Wei Ch'u-hou, CTW 715/3301a24 ff. and 3301d3-5.

²²⁸ Li Ch'ao-cheng, *Ch'ung-chien Ch'an-men Ti-i tsu P'u-t'i ta-mo Ta-shih pei yin-wen*, CTW 998/4639a-b, esp. b13-18; for biography of Wang Shih-tse, see CTS 12/142/3878; ZSS, 395-396, for Li Ch'ao-cheng, cf. ZSS, 322-323, 394-395.

²²⁹ McMullen (1973), 332 note 130, and CTS 13/159/4183.

²³⁰ Wei Ch'u-hou, *Hsing-fu Ssu Nei-chang Kung-feng Ta-te Ta-i Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 715/3301a.

²³¹ Yüan-chou P'ing-hsiang hsien Yang-ch'i shan ku Kuang Ch'an-shih pei, CTW 610/2766c-2767b.

However, as the dates of Ta-i's arrival in the capital sometime after mid-796 and Ling-ch'e's expulsion in 795-796 closely coincide, perhaps the issue was lineage and Shen-hui's status therein. The *Pao-lin chuan*, after all, probably falsely incorporated Shen-hui into a campaign to promote Seng-ts'an, and this campaign had been led by a 'Northern Ch'an' monk, Chan-jan.²³² In 796, Ta-i attacked this Chan-jan, who died soon after.²³³ Perhaps then Ta-i was opposed to Ling-ch'e for supporting the 'Northern Ch'an' master Chan-jan and possibly for the insubstantial backing the *Pao-lin chuan* gave to Shen-hui. Furthermore, Ling-ch'e was associated via his teacher, Chiao-jan (ca. 734-791?), with Fa-hai, an intimate friend of Chiao-jan. An individual called Fa-hai was named the author of the *Platform Sutra*.²³⁴ Therefore, Ta-i may have supported Shen-hui and Ma-tsu as leaders of legitimate lineages, and so attacked the *Pao-lin chuan* for its alleged links with the 'corrupted' *Platform Sutra*. Furthermore, politically Ta-i was associated with the eunuch Huo Hsien-ming (d. 798), who supported Ta-i, while Ling-ch'e, to the contrary, was exiled by the eunuchs at the urging of some monks, possibly Ta-i's faction. In turn, Ta-i may have left the metropolis with the 805 rise of the anti-eunuch Wang Shu-wen clique centred round Emperor Shun-tsung. At the same time, Ling-ch'e was pardoned, but the Wang clique soon collapsed.²³⁵ The fact that Ling-ch'e was closely connected with a network that wished to remove most of the eunuchs' power seems to have been a factor as well. Guilt by association may well have doomed the *Pao-lin chuan* to obscurity and a circulation limited to partisans of the Ma-tsu, Shih-t'ou and possibly Niu-t'ou lineages. Thus, a misjudgement in riding on the coattails of a bid for power that failed meant that the *Pao-lin chuan* lacked authority at the centre and was condemned to marginality and the periphery.

Wei Ch'u-hou (773-828), the author of the obituary for Ta-i, may also have contributed to this assessment of history. He commended

²³² Chen Jin-hua (1999), 9-10, 77.

²³³ Chen Jin-hua (1999), 32-33.

²³⁴ Li Hua, *Jun-chou Hao-lin Ssu ku Ching-shan Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 320/1456a; ZSS, 165, 187-188, 196-204.

²³⁵ See Dalby (1979), 598-599, 601-604; McMullen (1973), 107-109, 111, and Hartman (1986), 53, 63, 139, 146, on politics of the period and the reasons for the collapse of the clique; that their rule was ad-hoc, chaotic and palace-court centred rather than based in the regular bureaucracy.

Chang Yüeh for his sponsorship of both Chang Chiu-ling and Fang Kuan,²³⁶ who had written on the patriarchs for Shen-hui. Yet Liu Yü-hsi, a member of the Wang Shu-wen faction, wrote a preface to the collected works of Wei Ch'u-hou. By 809, Wei Ch'u-hou was a member of the history office, which involved him in some factional controversies.²³⁷ As Liu Yü-hsi wrote, Wei was probably a member of the *hsing-ming* school of Confucian studies that sought ultimate value in Confucian terms, often in combination with Buddhism and Taoism. Other members of this tendency included Li Hua, Tu-ku Chi and Ch'üan Te-yü.²³⁸ Following a factional dispute, Wei was demoted to K'ai-chou in Szechwan as prefect from 816 to 818,²³⁹ after which he returned to the capital through the influence of a friend.²⁴⁰ It was likely while he was back at Ch'ang-an that the disciples of Ta-i asked him to write the inscription, and he probably drew upon memories of events at the courts of Te-tsung and Shun-tsung, for which he was an official historian, to write this obituary.

Wei recorded the death of the 'Northern Ch'an' monk Chan-jan who was mortified by Ta-i's scathing reply. Chan-jan had asserted that the achievement of buddhahood took eons of strenuous practice and that "southern frontiersmen are deceiving later students."²⁴¹ The pejorative, 'southern frontiersmen,' was probably meant to indicate Southern Ch'an,²⁴² but similar terminology was also used by Nan-yang Hui-chung against opponents he accused of distorting an original *Platform Sutra*.²⁴³ Yet Hui-chung himself was claimed to have been a pupil of Hui-neng, a real southern frontiersman. Wei Ch'u-hou, perhaps echoing Ta-i, attacked 'followers,' possibly of Shen-hui, for creating a *Platform Sutra*.²⁴⁴ Ta-i's attack on the great expanses of time required to reach buddhahood also appears in the *Pao-lin chuan* text of the stele for Bodhidharma attributed to Emperor Wu of Liang:

If we point and with one word preach it directly, (then) this mind is Buddha. If one cuts off the conditions in order to extinguish the marks,

²³⁶ McMullen (1988), 63.

²³⁷ McMullen (1988), 349 note 158.

²³⁸ McMullen (1988), 105-107, 310 note 193.

²³⁹ Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2506.

²⁴⁰ Liu Yü-hsi (1999), *Liu Yü-hsi ch'üan-chi*, 19/129; CTS 13/159/4183.

²⁴¹ CTW 715/3301b4; Chen Jinhua (1999), 29, 33.

²⁴² Chen Jinhua (1999), 34.

²⁴³ *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a2-3

²⁴⁴ CTW 715/3301a8-9.

then this body divorces itself from sentient beings. The real is the empty, the ordinary is the holy. If the mind is non-existent, then in a moment one will rise to the Marvellous Awareness.²⁴⁵ If the mind exists, for vast eons one will stagnate as an ordinary person (*pythagjana*).²⁴⁶

According to Wei Ch'u-hou, Ta-i was questioned in these very words at the Lin-te Hall on Emperor Te-tsung's birthday, sometime after the Chan-jan incident of 796:

"If the mind exists, then for vast eons one will stagnate as an ordinary person. If the mind does not exist, then in a moment one will rise to the Marvellous Awareness. Why?"

Ta-i replied, "This is what Emperor Wu of Liang said is so. With the mind existing, this is stagnation in existence, and since it exists, how can one be liberated? If it does not exist, who is there that rises to the Marvellous Awareness?"²⁴⁷

This would seem to suggest that the questioner and Ta-i had both read the *Pao-lin chuan* and were debating some of its content.

However, a stele inscription allegedly by Emperor Wu of Liang was re-erected at Mt Erh-tsu in 817 by Li Ch'ao-cheng, probably a eunuch official.²⁴⁸ In his commemoration of this deed, engraved on the reverse of the stele, Li claimed the text of the inscription had long been transmitted throughout China, but some of his dating calculations are problematic. He claimed to have re-erected the stele in front of the stupa for the second patriarch, Hui-k'o, at Mt Erh-tsu, and he recounts the story of the robe coming to Hui-neng. Li then states a lineage from Hui-neng to Huai-jang, and then to (Ma-tsu) Tao-i and at last to Ta-i, whom he praises for being the Court Chapel Bhadanta of Good Works during the Chen-yüan era (785-805). Li then mentions that in 803, Wang Shih-tse was ordered to become Ta-i's pupil. These details and effusive praise for the excellence of Ta-i's teaching, and Li Ch'ao-cheng's statement that "I merely based this record on the fundamental teaching that had been received by me,"²⁴⁹ suggests he was in Ta-i's circle and probably knew Wei Ch'u-hou.

²⁴⁵ The supreme enlightenment of a Buddha, or the forty-second of the fifty-two stages of a bodhisattva, where all afflictions are cut off and insight is complete.

²⁴⁶ *Pao-lin chuan*, 140d2-3 (8.18b2-3).

²⁴⁷ CTW 715/3301b7-9; noticed by Yanagida, ZSS, 396.

²⁴⁸ For date of this, and the problems associated with it, see ZSS, 394-395, cf. 402 note 2. Li Ch'ao-cheng, CTW 998/4639b1-2.

²⁴⁹ CTW 998/4639b.

However, it is possible that the stele inscription attributed to Emperor Wu of Liang was not a forgery by the author of the *Pao-lin chuan*. In 1999, Kojima Taizan discovered a 3.6 metre high stele inscribed with this text at Mt Hsiung-erh in Honan Province. Kojima concluded that the *Pao-lin chuan* text contained errors and so was a copy.²⁵⁰ The inscription text is also found in Li Ch'ao-cheng's re-erected stele at Mt Erh-tsu, Yüan-fu Monastery. This is dated 817 and had the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief, Hsin Pi for its engraving.²⁵¹ Later a copy was erected in 1341 at Shao-lin Monastery, and a fragment of it has been found at Tun-huang in the manuscript Pelliot 2460.²⁵²

Thus, Li Ch'ao-cheng wanted to erect the stele for Bodhidharma at Mt Hsiung-erh, a place mentioned as Bodhidharma's burial site in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and *Pao-lin chuan*, whereas Shen-hui's Ishii hagiography stated he was interred on Mt Sung. However, Li eventually erected it on Mt Erh-tsu before the stupa for Hui-k'o.²⁵³ Thus, the main inscription was recorded in 817, and Hsin Pi, appointed Commander-in-Chief and Military Commissioner of the Chao-i Army in that same year,²⁵⁴ also seconded the project. Li Ch'ao-cheng must have been Hsin's superior, for he was the Supervising Commissioner of the Chao-i Army. Li then inscribed the reverse of the stele in 818. Thus, the inscription allegedly at Mt Hsiung-erh would presumably be the original from which Li Ch'ao-cheng made a copy, but unfortunately we have no date for its engraving. The extant inscription there, at K'ung-hsiang Monastery appears to be of Ming or Ch'ing Dynasty provenance.²⁵⁵ Moreover, Li said he wished to re-erect the stele at Mt Hsiung-erh, but because he was busy with military matters; by which he is undoubtedly referring to the attacks on Wang Ch'eng-tsung, a rebellious military governor in the Tse-Lü chou districts,²⁵⁶ in which

²⁵⁰ Kojima Taizan, 'Daruma no haka? Sekihi ni namae,' *Asahi Shimbun* 16/9/1999, p. 34, with photograph.

²⁵¹ Kojima Taizan (2001), 'P'u-t'i ta-mo shih-pei pei-wen ping ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao,' 131.

²⁵² Kojima (2001), 132. For images of these and related texts, see the Hanazono University site, Zenshū shi kenkyū shitsu, 'Daruma hibun,' http://iriz.hanazono.ac.jp/k_room02a00.html, accessed 26/09/2003.

²⁵³ CTW 998/4639b2-4; Kojima (2001), 133-134, 129; for LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 68; *Pao-lin chuan* 138a6-7 (8.13a6-7); for Shen-hui, Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 104.

²⁵⁴ CTS/157/4151.

²⁵⁵ Hanazono website, 'Daruma hibun,' shiryō 4.

²⁵⁶ CTS 13/157/4151; Peterson (1979), 527-533.

Mt Erh-tsu is located; he was diverted from his original intention.²⁵⁷ Therefore, the extant inscription at Mt Hsiung-erh must post-date 818, for it seems in reasonable condition, and if it is the original, Li Ch'ao-cheng would have no reason to re-erect it. Yet, an earlier text must have existed, but did Li think so because of the testimony of the *Pao-lin chuan* or because an even older inscription existed? The *Pao-lin chuan* states that Bodhidharma was buried at Wu Slope on Mt Hsiung-erh, which may have been what prompted Li Ch'ao-cheng's actions.

However, Ishii Kōsei concluded that the text was forged by a member of the Tung-shan Fa-men school (i.e. those monks surrounding Hung-jen) because it contains no mention of a transmission of a robe, sudden enlightenment, no-thought (*wu-nien*) or prajñā. Therefore it should, in his view, pre-date Shen-hui's 732 attacks on 'Northern Ch'an'.²⁵⁸ Ishii's comparison reveals that the *Pao-lin chuan* text differs from all the others, being influenced by the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *P'o-hsieh lun* by Fa-lin (572-640), but Chi Hua-chuan suggests that the Erh-tsu Shan inscription erected by Li Ch'ao-cheng was closer to the *Pao-lin chuan*, and rather different from the two later inscriptions. Ishii thinks the stele inscription is closest in vocabulary to the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* by Ching-chüeh, and Chi Hua-chuan thinks the inscription was forged by Ching-chüeh between 716 or 727 and 732. Terms in the inscription, such as the 'black dragon pearl' as a symbol of the Dharma transmission; 'my great teacher,' used for Bodhidharma rather than the usual Śākya Muni; and 'mind-lamp,' are shared with Ching-chüeh. The 'mind-lamp' seems to have been implicated in a ritual, in which concrete objects were pointed out and a question asked about their essence. This pointing and expression of the mind is alleged to have been part of the confirmation of the transmission of the enlightened mind. This was done at a word (*i-yen*), and therefore the inscription writes of "pointing at and with one word speak directly, this mind is the Buddha." 'Northern Ch'an' devotees, as seen in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, begged for a word from the master, even being prepared (rhetorically) to lay down their life for it, just as in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* Hui-k'o cut off his arm to obtain Bodhidharma's teaching. Tao-hsin and others in Ching-chüeh's *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* used one word and 'this mind is the Buddha,' the latter based on the *Kuan wu-liang-shou fo*

²⁵⁷ CTW 998/4639b3-4; Kojima (2001), 134.

²⁵⁸ Kojima (2001), 127-128, summary of Ishii's article.

ching. Thus the mind to be expressed by this pointing is the Buddha-mind.²⁵⁹ Therefore, Ishii concluded that there is no need to attribute the inscription to Ma-tsu Tao-i or his group, who championed 'this mind is the Buddha' (*chi hsin shih fo*). However, in Ma-tsu's Ch'an, this was only a preliminary teaching for beginners,²⁶⁰ and before Ma-tsu, in Shen-hui's *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the exact wording was not *chi hsin shih fo*, but rather *shih hsin shih fo* or *fo chi shih hsin* ('the Buddha is the mind').²⁶¹ The prefix *chi* strengthens the succeeding word as a subject, so the meaning is more exactly, 'this very mind is Buddha' or 'this mind itself is Buddha.' *Shih* is weaker,²⁶² and so *shih hsin shih fo* is 'this mind is Buddha.' Furthermore, if Ching-chüeh or his associates wrote the stele inscription, it is unusual that the stele is not quoted by Shen-hui or the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, although in the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, Shen-hui says, "Emperor Wu of Liang composed a stele inscription, which is now at Shao-lin Monastery." But this text, as seen above, probably postdates Ching-chüeh, the final copy dating from 813.²⁶³ Nor is the inscription even alluded to in Ching-chüeh's works. Shen-hui did adopt ideas from Ching-chüeh, taking hints to create the notion of a robe of transmission, as we have seen. Did he merely take the assertion of Emperor Wu of Liang's authorship of the stele inscription to create the tale of the interview between the emperor himself and Bodhidharma? In the inscription, the emperor and the missionary are not explicitly stated to have met, but in the

²⁵⁹ Ishii Kōsei (2000.10), 'Ryō Butei-sen *Bodaidaruma hibun no saikentō*,' *Komazawa Tankidaigaku Bukkyō ronshū* 6: 39-54; Chi Hua-chuan (2002), 'P'u-t'i ta-mo pei-wen k'ao-shih,' *Shih-chieh chung-chiao yen-chiu* 4: 23, 26-27.

²⁶⁰ Jinhua Jia (2001), 'Doctrinal Reformation of the Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24 (1): 8-9, though this analysis is based on the later *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. Note that Suyama Chōji (1990, March), 'Baso Dōitsu no Zen shisō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (2): 673-674, states that *chi-hsin shih fo* was used only once in Ma-tsu's sermons, as quoted in the *Tsung ching lu*, where it was more confronting, being "your present words are the words of the mind." Later this was changed by the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* into the standard slogan.

²⁶¹ Cf. materials presented by Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), *Tō-Godai Zenshūshi*, 383-384.

²⁶² Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko (1991), *Zengo jiten*, Shibunkaku: Kyoto, 272-273, cf. 242.

²⁶³ Chi Hua-chuan (2002), 20, accepts the date of 732, but as I have shown in Chapters 1 and 7, that is problematic.

works of Shen-hui and in the *Pao-lin chuan* they do meet. Yet, in the stele inscription the emperor laments,

I saw him but did not see him; I met him but did not meet him...I regret it. Although I am only an ordinary person, I presume to make him my master.

This seems to imply that they had met, which suggests Shen-hui's tale of their meeting was the earlier fabrication, and that the stele inscription was used to confirm the relationship. Therefore I would conclude that the text is not of Tung-shan Fa-men provenance, but a later work.

Moreover, Saichō, who travelled to southeast China in 804 and 805, brought back to Japan a copy of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, plus sets of stele inscriptions (rubblings) and hagiographies of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and other Ch'an patriarchs. But he did not bring a copy of the *Pao-lin chuan* or ever refer to it.²⁶⁴ From quotes in Saichō's *Naisho buppō sōjō kechimyaku fu* of 819 and in the *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* of ca. 834 by his pupil Kōjō (779-858), we know they had access to copies of the stele inscriptions for the patriarchs, including the inscription by Emperor Wu of Liang for Bodhidharma. Saichō also seems to have seen copies of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* and other 'Northern Ch'an' materials, as well as Niu-t'ou Ch'an texts.²⁶⁵

Saichō quoted a *Hsi-kuo Fo-tsu tai-tai hsiang-ch'eng ch'uan-fa chi* (Record of the Continuous Transmission of the Dharma by the generations of Buddhist Patriarchs of the Western Countries), which included an account of Bodhidharma's interview with Emperor Wu of Liang. The evidence showed that this account had close connections with the theories of Shen-hui and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. Ibuki concluded this work existed before the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of ca. 774 and after Shen-hui.²⁶⁶ Saichō also quoted from a *Fu-fa chien-tzu* (Abridgement of the Conferral of the Dharma), which told the story of Bodhidharma's sandal and Tsung (sic, Sung) Yün. It also mentioned the transmission of the robe of Bodhidharma as a surety up until Hui-neng, when it

stopped and was not transmitted. Now it is displayed in the stupa of Ts'ao-ch'i. In the Ch'ien-yüan years (758-760) it was offered to

²⁶⁴ Ibuki Atsushi (1997.6), 'Saichō ga tsutaeta shoki Zenshū bunken ni tsuite,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 23: 182.

²⁶⁵ Ibuki (1997.6), 143-152; the LCSTC was brought by Tao-hsüan (Dōsen).

²⁶⁶ Ibuki (1997.6), 152-160.

Emperor Hsiao-i (?), who sought the robe. It was brought to the court and worshipped. But Ling-nan was unsettled, and the Commissioner Chang Hsiu²⁶⁷ memorialised seeking the robe. (The emperor) decreed in accordance with the petition that the robe be returned to its original location. The light emitted from the stupa caused the commissioner to again memorialise, and (so) there is an imperial decree brilliantly praising the virtues of the master.²⁶⁸

Once again, the *Fu-fa chien-tzu* is close to Shen-hui's hagiographies of the six patriarchs and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, and seems to predate the *Pao-lin chuan*.²⁶⁹ The story of the return of the robe from the court in the Ch'ien-yüan era is identical with the tale in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, but it differs in claiming that the reason for the return was disquiet in Ling-nan.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is much more detailed in its account, introducing Wei Li-chien and Hsing-t'ao et al, and the emperor's dream about the return of the robe. The suspicion is that the *Fu-fa chien-tzu* dates from after 759 but before 781, and had a possible source in common with the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. It gave an absolute value to the robe, but the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* reinforced that by making linkages with the imperial authority.²⁷¹

Furthermore, Saichō quoted directly from the verse (*sung*) section of the stele inscription for Bodhidharma by Emperor Wu of Liang, and from a stele inscription dedicated to Hui-k'o, and he referred to a stupa for Tao-hsin, which he said recorded the reasons for the transmission of the robe. Kōjō also quoted from an early section of the stele by Emperor Wu. It seems they quoted from a text called the *Ch'an-men ch'i-tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming* (Stele inscriptions and accounts of conduct of the seven patriarchs of the Ch'an Gate) or *Ta-mo hsi-t'u* (Lineage chart of Bodhidharma), the first of which is mentioned around 858 by

²⁶⁷ Chang Hsiu was Commissioner (*chieh-tu-shih*) under Su-tsung, and was prefect of Kuang-chou in 762-763 (reign of Tai-tsung) and Commissioner-Governor of Ling-nan who fled a rebellion there. See, Yü Hsien-hao (1987) *T'ang tz'u-shih k'ao* 5: 2758; Fu Hsüan-tsung, Chang Ch'en-shih and Hsü I-min (1982), 148; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 223/7157, in tenth month of 763. He had been a deputy to An Lu-shan during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, but refused to follow An in rebellion. He was a well-liked governor of Hung-chou for a time, see Ts'ui Yu-fu, *Wei-wei ch'ing Hung-chou Tu-tu Chang kung i-ai pei-sung ping hsü*, CTW 409/1882b-c.

²⁶⁸ Ibuki (1997.6), 161-162.

²⁶⁹ Ibuki (1997.6), 167.

²⁷⁰ Ibuki (1997.6), 176.

²⁷¹ Ibuki (1997.6), 176.

Enchin (815-892), who listed its contents. With the exception of Shen-hsiu, all the seven patriarchs have *hsing-chuang* (accounts of conduct) or *pei-ming* (stele inscriptions). Enchin attributes the stele inscription for Bodhidharma to Emperor Wu, that for Hui-k'o to (Fa-)lin, and that for Tao-hsin to Tu Cheng-lun (plus another to the same author). He listed a *shih-lu* (veritable record) of Hui-neng of Ts'ao-ch'i in Shao-chou, and a "stele inscription of the late Meditation Teacher Neng, who was enlightened to the Buddha's knowledge and views, of Kuang-kuo Monastery, Shao-chou, of the Great T'ang." The title of this book, the *Ch'an-men ch'i-tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming*, does not appear in Saichō's catalogues, but he does mention a *Ta-mo hsi-t'u*, which may be the same as Enchin's *Ta-mo tsung hsi-t'u*. Ibuki suggests that the *Ta-mo hsi-t'u* is another name for the *Ch'an-men ch'i-tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming*. What the relationship this has with the *Fu-fa chien-tzu* is unclear, but the latter may be a simplification of the former. Ibuki thinks the *Fu-fa chien-tzu* may date to around the 770s.²⁷²

Unfortunately, we do not know who compiled these texts or exactly when. What is certain is that the text of the stele for Bodhidharma attributed to Emperor Wu of Liang was a popular item from the time of the *Pao-lin chuan*, ca. 795-796, until Li Ch'ao-cheng erected a copy on Mt Erh-tsu in 817. Moreover, it is likely that the text predates the *Pao-lin chuan*, but had connections with the Ch'an of Shen-hui and Ma-tsu. Among the court and monastic circles, the section that attracted most attention was that concerned with the long duration of practice required with mind, and the instantaneous rise to enlightenment with no-mind. The passage was quoted three times by the Hua-yen Master, Ch'eng-kuan (738-839) in his *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao*.²⁷³ Moreover, the Ishii text of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* has a verse titled, 'Mahayana Sudden Teaching Verses and Preface,' which says of that teaching,

²⁷² Ibuki (1997.6), 179-188.

²⁷³ T36.61c11-12, the only difference is that *miao-chüeh* 妙覺 becomes *cheng-chüeh* 正覺; 62b1-2, "If it is not indicated by one word...that this very mind is Buddha, then by what means can it be transmitted?" using this to attack all of Ch'an, Northern and Southern; and 68a12-14, where he comments, "Those who say the mind is non-existent, even though they realise the mind is empty, do not produce this from realisation!"; see Kojima (2001), 128.

That of the gradual accumulates (over) innumerable eons, and one still remains in transmigration. That of the sudden is like the instant of moving one's arm, and (yet) one attains rising to Marvellous Awareness.²⁷⁴

This then was the key doctrinal message of the text, and the claim that the text was written by Emperor Wu of Liang seems to have been of secondary importance. The doctrine was certainly taken from Shen-hui by the followers of Ma-tsu, including Ta-i, while Ch'eng-kuan saw it as a mark of the entire Ch'an School, Northern and Southern.

Ta-i seems to have disputed some of the themes of the *Pao-lin chuan*, but held the ideas of the Emperor Wu stele for Bodhidharma in common with the *Pao-lin chuan* and possibly Shen-hui or his heirs. In any case, he gained the respect and veneration of the eunuchs Huo Hsien-ming and Li Ch'ao-cheng, the Emperor Shun-tsung and the historian Wei Ch'u-hou, and so must have been a very influential figure. Once again, the politics of the court may have determined the success or survival of a Ch'an hagiographical text. Because Ling-ch'e had lost in a battle for influence at the court to Ta-i and others, the text that he championed, the *Pao-lin chuan*, lost favour and was not accorded recognition by the state. Part of this struggle for influence was centred round the stele for Bodhidharma, which allegedly had an author as eminent as the pro-Buddhist Emperor Wu of Liang. It appears that the interpretation of some doctrine contained in the inscription was disputed and that the *Pao-lin chuan* lost out because the courtiers favoured an alternative explanation.

Furthermore, the *Pao-lin chuan* had attempted to gain authority by appealing to the *Sutra in Forty-two Chapters* (*Ssu-shih-erh chang ching*), which was attributed to the Buddha. But the *Pao-lin chuan* may have lost this campaign because it dared to tamper with the content of the *Sutra in Forty-two Chapters*, a sutra allegedly the first ever translated into Chinese (by Kāśyapa Matanga and Chu Fa-lan), recasting it as a Ch'an text preached by the Buddha. Although there are doubts as to the sutra's origins, it had been accepted as the translation by Matanga and Chu Fa-lan by Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan*.²⁷⁵ It may have appealed to the Ch'an compiler, for to some observers the style is suggestive of that of

²⁷⁴ Ishii Kōsei (2000.10), 51, citing Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 112.

²⁷⁵ Tokiwa Daijō (1938), *Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, Meicho Fukyūkai: Tokyo, 60-61. For an English translation, see Robert H. Sharf (1996), 'The Scripture in Forty-two Sections,' 360-371.

the *Lun-yü*.²⁷⁶ The alterations made to transform it into a Mahayana or Ch'an sutra included deletions of material that called for constant mindfulness with a single-minded zeal. These were replaced and augmented with passages about realising one's own mind source, yet there is nothing internal to obtain and nothing external to seek,

the mind not being tied to the Way nor bound by karma. Being without thoughts (*wu-nien*) and without deeds (*wu-tso*), one does not practice or realise, and does not pass through various stages...

The *Pao-lin chuan* compiler also changed a passage about liberating one's parents and being filial for one encouraging feeding "those without thoughts, without residing, without practice and without realisation," and introduced terms such as 'seeing the nature' (*chien-hsing*) and 'speaking wordless words.' It said the Dharma of the Buddha "is the Way of language (*yen-yü*) being cut off, and not being restricted by things. The slightest divergences from this are suddenly (overcome) in a moment," whereas the original wrote, "What words speak of the Way? My thought of understanding the Way is not that of a sudden moment." The altered version also includes lines such as, "View the numinous awareness to be bodhi; such a mind-consciousness attains the Way rapidly."²⁷⁷ Moreover, it has much content in common with the *Ta-mo hsieh-mo lun* and the teachings of Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786).²⁷⁸ This text was widely used in Ch'an circles, or so it seems, and included some contemporary colloquialisms.²⁷⁹

This usurpation or abuse of the authority of the Buddha by the compiler of the *Pao-lin chuan*, who reflected some of the ideas of Ma-tsu, probably condemned it in the eyes of the court and the Buddhist establishment. Perhaps it was this that also led to Ling-ch'e's expulsion from the capital, and to the success of Ta-i, who also decried alterations for the worse to a *Platform Sutra*. It seems then that these disputes had several aspects, including doctrine and the abuse of authority as

²⁷⁶ Sharf (1996), 363.

²⁷⁷ Tokiwa (1938), 82-85.

²⁷⁸ Tokiwa (1938), 90-91; ZSS, 383.

²⁷⁹ Yokoi Seizan (1955), 'Hörinden-bon Shijūni-shō kyō no kadai,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 3 (2): 628-630. The *Pao-lin chuan* version was incorporated into the *Fo-tsu san-ching*, three basic Ch'an texts that were probably combined in the late T'ang, and a commentary on all three was made by Shou-sui (1072-1147), and it was printed and commented on by later scholars of Ch'an. See Shiina Kōyū (1998), 'Busso sangyō chū no seiritsu to shohon,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 47 (1): 28-33.

symbolised by the use of the term *ching* (sutra/classic). Whether this involved Hui-neng's authority or not is unknown. In any case, the conservative position on authority still seems to have been dominant.

Li Chou and the transitional generation

Another pioneer in the promotion of the hagiography of Hui-neng and a likely bridge between the earlier generation of *ku-wen* reformers and the later generation was Li Chou (ca. 739-ca. 787). Li Chou was listed by Liu Tsung-yüan in an inscription probably dating from 807 as one of the friends of his late father, Liu Che (740-793). He is described there as a person of literary abilities, high purpose and as a loyal servant of the throne against those he suspected of rebellion in actions he took during 780 and 781. However, for his brave deeds he met with envy and was demoted to be a prefect far from the capital, where he developed a chronic illness and died.²⁸⁰ He was praised by the admired poet Tu Fu (712-770), and by Ch'üan Te-yü and Liu Tsung-yüan.²⁸¹ He was supposedly posted as prefect of Ch'ien-chou sometime after 796 and was there until sometime before 800,²⁸² but as his tomb inscription was penned by Liang Su who died in 793 and was mourned by Liang Su before 789,²⁸³ and he died after a protracted illness aged forty-eight, he was probably prefect of Ch'ien-chou in the early to mid-780s. This would mean he was born around 739. Li Chou was part of the earlier generation, writing a preface for the collected works of his friend Tu-ku Chi, which had been compiled by Liang Su.²⁸⁴ His father, Li Tsen, active in the 750s to 770s, was a prefect of Sung-chou during the reign of Emperor Su-tsung.²⁸⁵ Li Tsen was also possibly a prefect of Ming-chou in eastern Chekiang around 789-790, where he stayed

²⁸⁰ Liu Tsung-yüan, *Liu Tsung-yüan ch'üan-chi*, (hereafter LTYCC), 1/12/122, for dating in the commentary, 1/12/126, with commentary derived from the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, 226/7299, (781, 3rd month). For the background to this, see David C. McMullen (1995), 'Li Chou, a Forgotten Agnostic of the Late-Eighth Century,' *Asia Major* 3rd Series VIII (2): 79-82.

²⁸¹ McMullen (1995), 59.

²⁸² Yü Hsien-hao, 4: 2054; CTW 443/2028b, compilers' notes.

²⁸³ Liang Su, *Ch'u* (sic)-chou *tz'u-shih Li kung mo-chih ming*, CTW 521/2376c; McMullen (1995), 85.

²⁸⁴ Li Chou, *Tu-ku Ch'ang-chou chi-hsü*, CTW 443/2029b-c.

²⁸⁵ He had been surrounded by rebels at one time, but was relieved; see Collected Works of Yen Chen-ch'ing, *Wen-kung chi*, ch. 14/101.

with Kuan-tsung (730-809), a member of the Niu-t'ou lineage,²⁸⁶ and teacher of Niu-t'ou Hui-chung. Given his father's connections, Li Chou's family was probably Buddhist. It is reported, for instance, that Li Chou wrote a letter to his sister asserting:

If Śākya had been born in China, he would have founded a teaching like that of Confucius of Chou. If Confucius had been born in the West, he would have founded a teaching like that of Śākya. If heaven does not exist, then that's that. If it does exist, then the *chiün-tzu* (gentleman) ascends to it. If hell does not exist, then that's that. If it exists, then petty people enter it.²⁸⁷

Li Chou here seems to equate Buddhism and Confucianism, and imply that the differences in the teachings were due only to their location. However, David McMullen puts it into another context, of anti-Buddhist sentiment, especially against prayers for the dead by family members, in particular women. At least it may have displayed an agnostic attitude, and that one only need to be a Confucian morally if there is an afterlife.²⁸⁸

Despite this, or perhaps because of it given the Confucian undertones in much of Southern Ch'an, Li Chou, while prefect of Ch'ien-chou, which is not far to the north of Shao-chou over the range on the main transport route, wrote a biography of Hui-neng. This account seems to owe most to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of all the preceding hagiographies because it says that Hui-neng hid in "the area between Ssu-hui and Huai-chi."²⁸⁹ The account, as partially recorded by Yao K'uan, reads:

Li Chou of the T'ang wrote a Biography of Master Neng: "The Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen told him, 'Your connections are in the South, so you should go there and teach. Take this *kaṣāya* to be a surety of the Dharma.' One evening he headed south. Following this, Sir Jen spoke rarely, and at one time said to people, 'My Way (is in) the South.' At the time people did not realise his meaning. After the Master (Hung-jen) had passed away in the *jen-shou* year (672?), the disciples searched for

²⁸⁶ Hu Ti, *Ta Tang ku T'ai-po Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 721/3331b13-14; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 1782.

²⁸⁷ Li Fang et al, *Tai-p'ing kuang chi*, 3/101/681.

²⁸⁸ McMullen (1995), 95, 100.

²⁸⁹ Cf. quote of Li Chou's work in the Southern Sung text by Yao K'uan, the *Hsi-ch'i ts'ung-yü*, in EK, 563, and the paralleled passages in EK, 149, and for the *Hsi-ch'i ts'ung-yü*, see EK, 625. This book also quotes the *Pao-lin chuan* for the history of Pao-lin Monastery.

the robe but could not find it. Initially they said to each other, 'Wasn't it this that was obtained by the postulant Lü?' (When) the person sent to chase him had already departed, and the Master (Hui-neng) had returned to Ts'ao-ch'i, but the pursuer had not yet arrived there, (Hui-neng) subsequently hid between Ssu-hui and Huai-chi. He did not talk of the precedent of Mt Gṛdhra-kūṭa not happening (again)."²⁹⁰

Li Chou most likely wrote this hagiography of Hui-neng at Ch'ien-chou because of the close geographical proximity to Ts'ao-ch'i, and because it had to have been written after the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was produced around 781. Therefore it dates from before the *Pao-lin chuan*, for Li Chou died in 787, and the *Pao-lin chuan* was probably only compiled around 796. From the above quote, it appears that Li Chou's biography of Hui-neng was a shorter version of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* written in a more polished literary style. It probably did not achieve wide circulation and eventually disappeared because Li Chou did not have authority as an eminent literary figure. He did not have a place in the pantheon of Chinese writers, which included other writers on Hui-neng like Wang Wei, Liu Tsung-yüan and Liu Yü-hsi. In other words, he was not an authority to the same extent, and so his works were mostly lost.

Another person connected with this circle was Li Chien, who was the civil governor or commissioner of Kuangsi, and military governor of Ngo-Yüeh, the Kiangnan region, from 783 to 785. He was subsequently made military governor of Kiangsi from 785 to 790.²⁹¹ Liu Tsung-yüan's father worked under Li Chien during the mid-780s for about five years while Tsung-yüan was in his teens. This connection was further cemented when Liu Tsung-yüan married a woman of the Yang family. Li Chien was her maternal grandfather.²⁹² Li Chien supported Chih-tsang (735-814), and Chih-tsang's master, Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786) late in life (786) taught Li Chien. Li Chien is

²⁹⁰ EK, 563. The last is a reference to Mahākāśyapa and the fact that Hui-neng would not transfer the robe. This information about Yao K'uan's record of Li Chou was likely first noticed by Mujaku Dōchū in his commentary on the *Platform Sutra*, the *Rokuso dankyō suitaisō*, sheet 33, from mss held at the Zenbunka kenkyūsho, Hanazono University.

²⁹¹ Wang Shou-nan (1978), *T'ang-tai fan-chen yü chung-yang kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu*, nos 374A-B, 841, 858: CTS 11/136/3751. Ch'üan Te-yü was his secretary during this posting [Nishiwaki (2000): 101], which is how Ch'üan probably came to know Ma-tsu.

²⁹² Jo-shui Chen (1992), *Liu Tsung-yüan and intellectual change in T'ang China*, 773-819, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 47.

described as having protected the Dharma sincerely in the area under his administration.²⁹³ Chih-tsang received Ma-tsu's robe when his master died, and so he met Li Chien and taught him also. Significantly, Chih-tsang lived at Ch'ien-chou²⁹⁴ where Li Chou had likely written his biography of Hui-neng. Ma-tsu's death also probably brought Chih-tsang into contact with Pao Chi, who wrote Ma-tsu's obituary and was a patron of Ling-ch'e. This relationship is relevant because Chih-tsang's community is alleged to have authored the *Pao-lin chuan*, and Ling-ch'e was the composer of the preface.

Yet another person in the circle of Liu Tsung-yüan's father was Yang P'ing, military governor of Hunan from 802 to 805. He was a follower of Lung-an Ju-hai (727-808), a monk who tried to reconcile Northern, Southern and Niu-t'ou Ch'an. Yang P'ing was Liu Tsung-yüan's father-in-law, and Tsung-yüan wrote the stele inscription for Ju-hai.²⁹⁵

Therefore, personal associations and postings or exile to the southern regions where the image of Hui-neng was being freshly promoted, brought these literati into the networks of the hagiographers of Hui-neng, and they may in turn have indirectly influenced the production and acceptance of these hagiographies.

The 790s generation and the Wang Shu-wen clique

After this transition, a generation change commenced around the early 790s.²⁹⁶ Differences emerged among the literati, with Ch'üan Te-yü maintaining

authority over wen in the line of Li Hua, Tu-ku Chi, and Liang Su. Ch'üan kept to the idea that wen was necessary to transform the world and that political authority should be guided by the creators of ssu-wen in the present.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ SKSC, T50.766c14, b18; Ch'üan Te-yü, *T'ang ku Hung-chou K'ai-yüan Ssu Shih-men Tao-i Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 501/2292c3ff.

²⁹⁴ SKSC, T50.766c6-15.

²⁹⁵ LTYCC 1/6/69 for stele, and 1/12/125, for a list of his father's friends; *Lung-an Hai Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 587/2666b2-3; Jo-shui Chen (1992), 173 note 44; for Yang P'ing's biography, CTS 12/146/3967-3968; CTW 478/2193c, compilers' notes; Wang Shou-nan (1978), nos. 1012A-B. See Ichihara (1958), 232, which shows that Yang mixed in the circle of Yen Chen-ch'ing, Lu Yü and Chiao-jan.

²⁹⁶ Bol (1992), 122, sees a start in 793; Owen (1996), 2, 8, in 791.

²⁹⁷ Bol (1992), 122. Cf. Anthony De Blasi (2001), 'Striving for Completeness: Quan Deyu and the Evolution of the Tang Intellectual Mainstream,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 (1): 33.

But he also felt that culture needed to be linked to the Classics, which could be reconnected with via *wen*.²⁹⁸ In the fragmented politics and intellectual culture, Ch'üan's conservative response was to combine 'traditional literary values' with the reformist 'return to antiquity' by going back to the early T'ang sources of inspiration. He "became a spokesman for the court bureaucratic approach to intellectual culture" and represented the metropolitan position.²⁹⁹ This line was challenged by groups of political outsiders who asserted that the individual had to realise the Way for himself and express it to the public through *wen*, but there was no agreement among them on what that *Tao* or Way is. Imitation, therefore, was a "sign that one had not seen for himself."³⁰⁰ One group, led by Han Yü, vigorously asserted that the Way was exclusively Confucian, even to the extent of risking dismissal and execution by attacking the Emperor Hsien-tsung's devotion to Buddhism, in particular, to the finger-relic of Buddha from Fa-men Monastery.³⁰¹ Another group, to which Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), Liu Yü-hsi (772-842) and Lü Wen (772-811) belonged, was less exclusive and able at times to appeal to Buddhism as a Way also.³⁰² Yet these men probably shared a new method of textual analysis, moving away from sub-commentaries on commentaries on one specific text, towards grasping the 'overall meaning' and not just of the Classics. This was achieved by taking up 'touchstone passages' to sum up the works, internal exegesis, and the elimination of contradictions by invoking the idea of teachings being tailored for the different capacities of individuals, just as the Buddhists did. They also blatantly altered texts to solve problems, rather in the fashion Shen-hui did with his quotations from scriptures or the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* did with the *Sutra in Forty-two Chapters*. This parallels the rise of the free exegesis and *yü-lu* of Ch'an.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ De Blasi (2001), 17, 24.

²⁹⁹ De Blasi (2001), 6-8.

³⁰⁰ Bol (1992), 123. Cf. also a quote from Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), comparing Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan, leaders of two new groups: "Their concepts of the *tao* were as different as barbarian and Chinese," but note the caution following, in William H. Nienhauser, Jr, Charles Hartman, William Bruce Crawford, Jen W. Walls, Lloyd Neighbours (1973), *Liu Tsung-yüan*, Twayne Publishers: New York, 26.

³⁰¹ Weinstein (1987), 102-103; Owen (1996), 3.

³⁰² Cf. Nienhauser et al (1973), 45, which says that Liu Tsung-yüan tried to merge the essentials of Buddhism and Taoism with Confucianism.

³⁰³ Hartman (1986), 174-178.

The sense of disillusion in the 790s with the politics of the older generation, according to Steven Owen, may have been due to the failure of the attempts by Emperor Te-tsung and his bureaucracy to restore the T'ang to its former glory in the aftermath of the An Lu-shan Rebellion. Setbacks to this hope began when the regional military commissioners and governors humiliated the stingy and self-willed Te-tsung in 783 by maintaining their independence from the centre and even occupying the capital. Because this generation saw political and social crises "as symptoms of a cultural crisis, and the cultural crisis was often conceived as a crisis of language and representation," as they felt that the imperial language and names had been debased to favour raw power and force, they concluded that language or *wen* had to be reformed.³⁰⁴ This had personal dimensions, as for example, when in 783 the insurrection in the capital led by Chu Tz'u made Liu Tsung-yüan flee Ch'ang-an for the South where his father was working under Li Chien.³⁰⁵ The group around Liu also favoured meritocracy, for they were not from the aristocracy, and they tended to be scholars of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* who believed all people can become sages and that one must transcend specialisation in one Classic or literal commentaries and seek one's own philosophy, something that may have attracted them to Ch'an.³⁰⁶ Ch'üan Te-yü and others saw a similarity in this overcoming of literalism and the need to question in their Confucianism, with what Ma-tsu and his contemporary Ch'an masters were doing.³⁰⁷ Indeed, Ch'üan wrote that "the tenets of Buddhism are to balance (*ch'eng*) samādhi and prajñā," just like the *Platform Sutra* has Hui-neng say. Ch'üan also said, in the same sentence, "the Confucian teachers clarify sincerity."³⁰⁸ This may have been part of Ch'üan's attempt to find balance and completeness.³⁰⁹ One method of reform proposed was to search for the Way on one's

³⁰⁴ Owen (1996), 10-11. Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), 340, on Te-tsung's personality; his love of flattery, his suspicious nature, and, 342, on his turn to literary pretensions after his failure in the military sphere. McMullen (1973), 77, calls him "autocratic and miserly," and "one of the most individual and forceful of T'ang emperors..." and 107, as having an "autocratic temper, combined with...avarice" which made him rely on favourites and bypass the bureaucracy.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Nienhauser et al (1973), 27.

³⁰⁶ Nishiwaki (2000), 98, 102-103, 162.

³⁰⁷ Nishiwaki (2000), 104-105.

³⁰⁸ Nishiwaki (2000), 105.

³⁰⁹ De Blasi (2001), 34-35.

own, and bring the consequent morality to bear on writing; another was to take political power oneself. The Wang Shu-wen clique tried both. As this group did not exclude Buddhism from the Way, it has more significance for the developments in Ch'an hagiography, despite the fact that Han Yü re-affirmed the Buddhist, in particular Ch'an, theories of legitimacy through lineages from master to pupil, but these were for an exclusively Confucian milieu.³¹⁰

The Wang Shu-wen faction formed sometime from around the mid-790s, and was held together by an oath of secrecy to the death. They pinned their hopes on the heir-apparent, Li Sung, the future Emperor Shun-tsung. While they may have been driven by a lust for power, they were also reformers who wanted to wrest power away from the eunuchs who were in charge of the metropolitan armies and Buddhist wealth, and to regain control over the then autonomous military governors and commissioners and hence restore central court authority. They probably despised the eunuchs, castrated boys mostly sent from Fukien and Kuangtung in the South who lacked education and 'This Culture of Ours.' They wished to rein in the rampant, avaricious corruption and bribery, but were partly undermined by their own idealism, lack of military backing, and the corruption of some of their own members.³¹¹ When their power play collapsed, all the members were severely punished. Eight of them who escaped execution were exiled to remote posts in the South as deputy prefects (*ssu-ma*, also translated as adjutants or marshals). Only Lü Wen avoided this fate because he was on a mission to Tibet at the time.³¹² Exile to the periphery of the empire undoubtedly affected these men, who for most of the remainder of their lives resented their exclusion and yearned to be brought back into the centre. However, their exile seems to have made them more appreciative, eventually, of those people of the remote regions. For example, Liu Tsung-yüan in his last years turned from his contempt for the local people, the aborigines, their

³¹⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 123-124, and Tsung-mi's criticism of Han Yü; cf. Jo-shui Chen (1992), 147, and Hartman (1986), 163-166.

³¹¹ See Dalby (1979), 601-606; Nienhauser et al (1973), 17-19, 29; Jo-shui Chen (1992), 66-77. Nishiwaki (2000), 161, 165, attributes the fall to Shun-tsung's stroke before he became emperor and to the faction's need to communicate with the emperor via a concubine and a eunuch. McMullen (1973), 107, adds to this the hostility of military governors, eunuchs and conservative sections of the bureaucracy.

³¹² Nienhauser et al (1973), 118 note 24; Jo-shui Chen (1992), 70-71.

outlandish dialects and their lack of education, towards greater respect and assistance to the locals. He personally acted against child slavery in South China and the misuse of these boys as eunuchs.³¹³ In those remote districts, someone like Liu Tsung-yüan could come into closer contact with the ordinary people. He realised that the dynasty's fate rested on them and that the officials had a duty to serve them.³¹⁴ All people, he argued, should be treated equally, on their merits, not on the basis of their pedigree. This egalitarian spirit meant that the Way existed even among servants and beggars; "one should get away from those in whom the opposite of the Way exists, even though they are lords and marquises." Those with the Way were the true teachers.³¹⁵ No doubt this realisation and experience gave Liu Tsung-yüan a more positive evaluation of Hui-neng, who was sometimes depicted in Ch'an hagiography as an illiterate indigene, a hunting Lao tribesman.

Defeat also meant that Liu Tsung-yüan was forced to rethink his attitude towards the Classics and the models of the past. As he wrote to Liu Yü-hsi when they departed for their exiles,

Faith in the Writings 書 is self-deception,
Slowly, through experience, you know they are wrong.

Thus, the truth or Way had to be discerned for oneself, and the Way was not restricted to Confucian literature, but could possibly include Buddhism.³¹⁶ Hence, Liu Tsung-yüan and others questioned textual authority that was supported by institutions, such as a canon, and began to forge individual sources of authority, which were uncertain, often not shared, and lacking authoritative ground except for one's own subjective claims.³¹⁷ Liu Tsung-yüan reflected that he had earlier "not yet understood the *tao* of doing *wen*," despite extensive study and gaining top place in the imperial examinations. But after having read widely outside the Confucian canon, he felt he had begun to glimpse the standards for *wen-chang*.³¹⁸ He stated that "current literati (*wen-shih*) all put *li* (principle) first, but as principle is not singular, they are

³¹³ Nienhauser et al (1973), 35, 41, 123 note 55. This is something Liu shared with Han Yü; see Hartman (1986), 102-103.

³¹⁴ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 150-155.

³¹⁵ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 144, and 156-157.

³¹⁶ LTYCC 2/42/464; Nienhauser et al (1973), 97.

³¹⁷ Owen (1996), 55-57, 82.

³¹⁸ Bol (1992), 140.

cut off from the ancient writings.”³¹⁹ Therefore, one had to search the various schools of thought for principles or the truth, and reflect upon their value. He remained uncertain as to whether he himself had reached the Way.³²⁰ But he did say, “I have been learning the *tao* of the sage....I am practically at the point where I can converse with antiquity.”³²¹ To counter exclusivist claims to authority, Liu equated the Way of the sage with Centrality (*chung*), a balance to which writers of *wen* had to lead their readers. While this Centrality was primarily that of the Confucian sages, he did search other schools to find “what was appropriate to great centrality.”³²² Although this Centrality was argued in terms of the *Chung-yung*, a Confucian classic, it had resonance with the Buddhist Middle Way (*chung-tao*). His own reluctance to proclaim that he had definitely obtained the Way (*te-Tao*) is reminiscent of the Buddhist prohibition against declaring one’s own enlightenment.

Liu Tsung-yüan’s attitude towards Buddhism, and Ch’an in particular, is a subject of controversy. Some claim he was more interested in the monks as individuals rather than in Buddhism itself, and that he only turned to Buddhism after his political hopes were frustrated. But rather, his understanding of Buddhism matured from the time of his demotion and exile, and he shifted his association with Buddhist monks away from a common enjoyment of the pleasures of poetry towards a more serious examination of doctrines and practices.³²³ Others say he was hostile towards Southern Ch’an.³²⁴ However, he did write a stele for Hui-neng, and stated more than once that he had “been fond of Buddhism since his youth and had sought its Way for over thirty years,”³²⁵ or had “known the Way of Buddhism already for a long time.”³²⁶ Indeed, his mother ended her life living in a monastery, and she ordered her fourth son to become a monk.³²⁷ Although some are

³¹⁹ LTYCC 2/30/325, letter to his father-in-law, Yang P’ing.

³²⁰ Bol (1992), 141; LTYCC 2/34/359.

³²¹ Quoted from a review of Jo-shui Chen by Bol, cited in Makeham (2003), 145.

³²² Bol (1992), 141-144; Nishiwaki (2000), 170-171, on the need for an equal distancing of the self from Confucianism and Buddhism.

³²³ Cf. Nienhauser et al (1973), 44, 125 note 89, and Tosaki Tetsuhiko (1987, Oct.), ‘Ryū Sōgen to Chū Tō no Bukkyō,’ *Chūgoku Bungakuhō* 38: 10-12.

³²⁴ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 159, 176-177; Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 34-35, 31.

³²⁵ Nienhauser et al (1973), 63; LTYCC 2/25/284.

³²⁶ LTYCC 2/28/310.

³²⁷ Nishiwaki (2000), 149, 219.

sceptical of these assertions,³²⁸ references in his writings tend to suggest that he did indeed understand many of the issues in Buddhism. Firstly, he castigated Han Yü for not understanding anything beyond the externals of Buddhism and not perceiving the spiritual in it, or the similarity its doctrine has with the *I ching* (Book of Changes) and the *Lun-yü* of Confucius, something he may have perceived if he had read works by the Confucian-influenced Shen-hui.³²⁹ Moreover, he did not reject Southern Ch'an as a whole. Rather, he tended to favour one line of interpretation, and he may have been under the indirect influence of Ch'an in scepticism about the authority of transmitted texts, the need to experience enlightenment in this world, and the need to practice.³³⁰ Yet it seems he needed also to possess a text, a singular text, because transmission is fraught with problems. Thus the Buddha's words and ideas are only available through his writings. In this his ideas were similar to those of Huang K'an:

Have I alone obtained (the Way)? Now I cannot attain and hear the words of the Buddha! What exists in the world is only what he left in writings. If one seeks for (the words) not in the books, one will be unable to obtain those words there. If the words cannot be obtained, how much less so his intentions? Now you, Your Eminence, have probed these books and obtained these words, and discussed their intentions.

In other words, eminent individuals could 'converse' with the Buddha through reading the sutras.³³¹ In 'Sung Ch'en Shang-jen Nan-yü hsü,' he wrote:

The Buddha's traces (deeds) are long gone from this world, and what he left and still survive are the Buddha's words. The sutras have recorded the words, and the śāstras accompany and complement them. Of them, what has been transmitted to China is not even one percent. And yet his Way is complete. Now for the height of Dharma there is none greater than prajñā, and for the greatness of sutras there is none greater than the *Nirvāṇa (Sūtra)*. The most eminent scholars of the world who wish through this to enter (the Way) would be perverse not to adopt the sutras and śāstras. And yet there are among those who speak of Ch'an some loafers and those in error, who use each other in succession as teachers, falsely adopt empty words, abandon expedient means, and invert the truth, ensnaring themselves and others. There are also those who can

³²⁸ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 172.

³²⁹ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 179; LTYCC 2: 25/285.

³³⁰ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 159-162.

³³¹ Nienhauser et al (1973), 63; LTYCC 2/25/284 and 287.

speaking of substance (*t'i*) and do not reach function (*yung*), not knowing that these two cannot be divorced for a moment.³³²

However, Liu Tsung-yüan is not indiscriminately attacking all of Ch'an here. Firstly, according to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Hui-neng was initially led towards realisation by the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Secondly, not all groups of Ch'an rejected expedient means. For example, Tsung-mi (780-841), writing in the early 830s, stated that Chih-shen of the Ching-chung lineage in the 'South,' Shen-hsiu in the 'North,' the Pao-t'ang school and others also

made clearly understood the expedient means to lead into the realm of meditation....Niu-t'ou, T'ien-t'ai, Guṇabhadra and others were very similar in their outward actions, in the expedient means of advancement, but their interpretations are different.³³³

In his comparison of 'Northern,' Ma-tsu and Niu-t'ou Ch'an, Tsung-mi wrote that, "each lineage also has many forms of expedient means, and refutations of external criticisms."³³⁴

Liu Tsung-yüan was definitely in favour of the Vinaya lineages centred on Nan-yüeh, possibly due to the geographic proximity of Yung-chou, where Liu was demoted in 806. The first of his stelae extant for a Buddhist monk was written for Fa-ch'eng (724-801) in 801. In 804 he wrote for Jih-wu (736-804).³³⁵ He wrote yet another stele inscription for Vinaya Teacher Ta-ming of Nan-yüeh (733-797) at the request of that master's pupils,³³⁶ and one for Hsi-ts'ao, who revived Vinaya on Mt Heng.³³⁷ But he also wrote for monks who were connected

³³² LTYCC 2/25/287, last part in Nienhauser et al (1973), 58. The last lines may be a criticism of those who taught the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*, theorists who did not have practical achievements. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 34, thinks this was aimed at Southern Ch'an, which supposedly dismissed function as empty and merely engaged in metaphysical theory. Certainly, Shen-hsiu in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* said his Way was totally dependent on *t'i* and *yung*. LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 312; this doctrine can be found in several 'Northern Ch'an' texts, p. 317.

³³³ Kamata Shigeo (1971), *Zen no Goroku 9: Zengen shosenshū tojo*, 87, cf. 117; from the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tou-hsü*.

³³⁴ Kamata (1971), 311, from the *Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*.

³³⁵ LTYCC 1/7/69-71. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 22, gives a time of sometime after 806 for Fa-ch'eng's stele, and 808 for that for Jih-wu. The latter is probably correct because of the reference to Yung-chou (by another name) in the text. On the geographic proximity, see p. 25.

³³⁶ LTYCC 1/7/73ff.

³³⁷ LTYCC 1/7/74. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 20, claims this was the first, and was written in 807 at Yung-chou.

with Ch'an, such as Ch'eng-yüan (712-802), again of Nan-yüeh, who had first studied under the Ch'an teachers Ch'u-chi and Chih-shen, the latter a pupil of Hung-jen. Ch'eng-yüan later studied T'ien-t'ai under Hui-chien of Yü-ch'üan Monastery.³³⁸ According to Lü Wen, in Kuang-chou, Ch'eng-yüan also came into contact with the teachings of Tz'u-min Hui-jih (680-748), who taught a mixture of Pure Land and Ch'an. Liu's criticism of Ch'an seems similar to those made by Hui-jih.³³⁹ The relationships between T'ien-t'ai, Vinaya, Pure Land and Ch'an in the Nan-yüeh region were extraordinarily interwoven and cannot be simply disentangled. The cross-allegiances, cross-pollination and debates were multi-layered, and Liu Tsung-yüan and his friend Lü Wen were both deeply involved. For example, Ch'eng-yüan studied under Ch'u-chi and Hui-chien, while Ma-tsu Tao-i, who also lived on Nan-yüeh for a time, studied under Ch'u-chi initially, and later Huai-jang. Huai-jang in turn has been made, possibly retrospectively, a pupil of Hui-neng, but he had first studied under Hung-ching, the master of Hui-chien.³⁴⁰

Liu Tsung-yüan interestingly also wrote a stele for Ch'an Teacher Lung-an Ju-hai (727-808), who had lived just to the south of Ch'ang-sha. He had earlier lived on Nan-yüeh. Ju-hai outlined the lineage from Mahākāśyapa to Śimha, when it split in the twenty-third generation. From that time it came via Bodhidharma on to Hung-jen, when there was again a split into Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. Liu Tsung-yüan further reported that Ju-hai maintained that,

North and South disliked each other, and they turned on each other like fighting wolves, and so their Way subsequently went into decline. Alas! I will unite them. Now what the world transmits is both the Way of Āśvaghōṣa and Nāgārjuna. The Way of these two teachers is fully preserved in their writings. I have realised that these writings are united in their intent, so we will not be confused. Therefore, in the North I studied from Hui-yin, and in the South I sought from Ma-su, and totally

³³⁸ LTYCC 1/6/65-66; *Nan-yüeh Mi-t'o Ho-shang pei*, CTW 587/2664c19ff; written in 810.

³³⁹ Robson (2002), 543, 553.

³⁴⁰ See Tsukamoto Zenryū (1975), *Tō chūki no Jodokyō*, 295-345. As this account is extraordinarily detailed, readers should consult it to see that one cannot simply deal with Liu Tsung-yüan's Buddhism as a simplistic rejection of Ch'an and affirmation of T'ien-t'ai and Vinaya. Nan-yüeh Buddhism was interwoven of many elements. For more details on the subject of Nan-yüeh's religious currents, see James Robson (2002).

removed their differences in order to follow the Centre (*chung*). I ignored their divisions (of lineage) and superseded them for identity.³⁴¹

By ignoring or transcending lineage and challenging the identity created by the division, Ju-hai was making himself an individual authority, rather like Liu Tsung-yüan and some of his contemporaries were attempting. Ju-hai studied 'Northern Ch'an,' for Hui-yin was a pupil of the 'Northern Ch'an' teachers P'u-chi and Chiang-mo-tsang (fl. 707-710). He may also have been a pupil of Ch'eng-kuang (717-798) of the Shen-hui lineage and he lived on Nan-yüeh.³⁴² Ma-su was probably Hsüan-su (668-752), surnamed Ma, of the Niu-t'ou lineage. But as Ju-hai is said not to have become a monk until after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, he had to have studied under Hsüan-su when he was still a bureaucrat. Li Hua wrote the obituary for Hsüan-su, and claimed that the monk was the seventh generation in a lineage branched off from Tao-hsin, the Fourth Patriarch. Moreover, Hsüan-su taught Fa-hai, who became the sutra guardian.³⁴³ Ju-hai's pupils probably were able to have Liu Tsung-yüan write this stele because one of Ju-hai's patrons was Yang P'ing, Tsung-yüan's father-in-law.³⁴⁴ Moreover, Liu Tsung-yüan had a dispute with Han Yü over mentioning Buddhism in a poem he wrote farewelling Hao-ch'u, one of Ju-hai's pupils, where he stated that Han Yü only recognised the superficial aspects of Buddhism, and so was biased in his understanding, whereas Hao-ch'u understood the Confucian Classics, the *I ching* and the *Lun-yü*,³⁴⁵ and so presumably was balanced or 'centred,' unlike Han Yü.

Liu Tsung-yüan also criticised some forms of Ch'an and the transmission theories in this stele inscription for Ju-hai:

The Buddha's birth was twenty thousand *li* distant from China. The Buddha's death was separated from the present by two thousand years. Therefore the transmission of the Way is increasingly attenuated. Speaking

³⁴¹ LTYCC 1/7/68-69; *Lung-an Hai Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 587/2666a.

³⁴² On Chiang-mo-tsang, see Ming-fu (1988), *Chung-kuo Fo-hsieh jen-ming tz'u-tien*, Fang-chou ch'u-pan she: Taipei, 369, source for this information not provided. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 21, says this information came from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, and that Ju-hai also studied under P'u-chi, and may have studied with Ch'eng-kuang.

³⁴³ *Jun-chou Hao-lin Ssu ku Ching-shan Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 320/1455b-1456b.

³⁴⁴ LTYCC 1/7/69.

³⁴⁵ LTYCC 2/25/285; cf. Jo-shui Chen (1992), 179; Nienhauser et al (1973), 52, for other sections of this dispute. Nishiwaki (2000), 170-171, considers that Han Yü only knew of the 'old' northern Buddhism, whereas Liu knew the new Buddhism of the south, Ch'an.

of Ch'an's greatest ill; adherence to it leads to bigotry towards others, to lie about it is to be divorced from the truth. Once removed from the truth, boasting becomes increasingly prevalent. Therefore these vainly stupid, deluded, and overbearing egotistic people of the present all falsely accuse Ch'an of confusing their teaching and of exposing one to insincere stupidity, and being abandoned to debauchery. The one who is unlike this is Ju-hai.³⁴⁶

In the concluding encomium, Liu Tsung-yüan wrote, "The cultivation of Buddhism has its profundity in Ch'an/meditation." Therefore he was attacking only those forms of Ch'an he regarded as misguided, and was countering those who laid false charges for and against it. He may have been attacking the lies and inventions of lineages advanced by Shen-hui, Wu-chu and others, and supporting those like Ju-hai whom he saw as honest and sincere. Certainly, one could accuse Shen-hui of bigotry and exaggeration in his accounts.³⁴⁷

Yet Liu clearly favoured the Pure Land position, at least in one treatise he wrote. There he contrasted those who spoke only in terms of the (Buddha)-nature in which there is no sin, causation, buddhas and sentient beings, and not in terms of particulars or service (*shih*); with those who believed that only through the help of the Buddha achieved by the samādhi of chanting the name of the Buddha (*nien-fo san-mei*) and being led to the Pure Land could one escape the sea of suffering. He lamented the enormity of the fact that people did not know that one should abandon the first and adopt the second.³⁴⁸ Here he may have been attacking Shen-hui for asserting that he possessed authority the equal of the Buddha by virtue of his claimed lineage from the Buddha via Hui-neng, and for his suggestions that he was a bodhisattva of the tenth stage or had the mind of the Thus Come, like Cunda. Moreover, Shen-hui did not advocate any preliminary service (*shih*) before enlightenment; in a sense, one was enlightened

³⁴⁶ LTYCC 1/6/68; CTW 587/2666a15-18.

³⁴⁷ Cf. McRae (2003), 'Evangelist,' 3.

³⁴⁸ LTYCC 2/21/246; *Tung-hai ju*, CTW 586/2661b; Jo-shui Chen (1992), 176 note 54. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 38-43, thinks this criticism was aimed at Southern Ch'an, possibly Niu-t'ou in particular, for erroneously assuming one is already buddha, for seeing all as empty via extinguishing contemplation/examination (*chiieh-kuan*, a feature of Niu-t'ou practise), and thinking only of emptiness. Instead, he was championing a form of Pure Land like that of the *Ching-tu shih-i lun* that made similar criticisms, thereby reflecting a rivalry between Pure Land and Ch'an that was then current. This Pure Land introduced faith to deal with the innate inequities of life, and to educate the common people and promote meritorious works.

already.³⁴⁹ Shen-hui did not advocate the Pure Land practice either. At least the *Platform Sutra* did mention the Pure Land.³⁵⁰ Of course, Liu may also have been criticising Wu-chu, who advocated discarding all rituals and Pure Land practice.³⁵¹ Liu Tsung-yüan most likely wavered between the two positions of supporting genuine Ch'an or favouring Pure Land. He preferred a slightly more scholastic and devotional Ch'an or Pure Land practise, and objected to the antinomian and iconoclastic streams of Ch'an. Therefore, the proposition that Liu Tsung-yüan wrote the stele inscription for Hui-neng merely as an official duty because he was located in Liu-chou or to please the court³⁵² is inappropriate.

This stele for Hui-neng was written not long after Liu was again exiled from the capital to an even more remote and difficult location, but with a minor promotion. Liu Tsung-yüan had accompanied his close friend Liu Yü-hsi south, parting at Heng-chou, near Nan-yüeh, and arrived at Liu-chou in the sixth lunar month of 815.³⁵³ The stele was composed sometime after 17th November 815 (tenth lunar month), when a tally of approval arrived, from the Bureau of Sacrifices (in charge of the Buddhist Order, among other things) in the capital, at the Ling-nan Military Commissioner's headquarters in Kuang-chou. This military commissioner, Ma Tsung (d. 823), who had been in this post since 813, had earlier petitioned the emperor that Hui-neng be given a

³⁴⁹ Cf. McRae (2003), 14-17; Yang (1996), 24-25, 40, 4, 14.

³⁵⁰ Yampolsky (1967), 156-159.

³⁵¹ Yanagida (1976a), 22, on not practising *shih-hsing*, LTFPC, 273, against calling on the name of the Buddha or reading sutras.

³⁵² Jo-shui Chen (1992), 176 note 54, and Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 35, say Liu-chou was situated in the province where Hui-neng preached, which is only half true. Liu-chou was in the Kuei Inspectorate Region, whereas Shao-chou was in the Ling-nan Military District. See maps in *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, 5: 38-39, for year 820, and also Wang Shou-nan (1978), unfolding map. The *chieh-tu shih* or Military Commissioner technically controlled military affairs, and the *kuan-ch'a shih* controlled civilian matters, but as Charles O. Hucker (1985), *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, no. 777, notes, this implied a division of roles. Cf. Peterson (1979), 487-489. These two centres were over 420 kilometres apart in a direct line. Ch'ang-sha was much closer to Shao-chou (approx. 340 km) than to Liu-chou (about 510 km) in a straight line. Nienhauser et al (1973), 51, claims Liu deliberately used some terminology to make the stele acceptable to both Buddhist and Confucian devotees, but as the emperor was a devout Buddhist, and Liu had just been disappointed at being sent down from the capital a few years earlier, I suspect this had little to do with the matter.

³⁵³ Nienhauser et al (1973), 40.

posthumous honorary title. Hui-neng was granted the title Meditation Teacher Ta-chien, and his stupa the name Ling-chao. Ma Tsung is depicted as an incorruptible official and a learned Confucian, and was favoured by Emperor Hsien-tsung.³⁵⁴ Liu Tsung-yüan also wrote a tomb inscription (*mu-chih*) for one of Ma Tsung's clan in 814 based on the account of conduct, mentioning that this man had held posts in Kuei-chou, Ling-nan and Kiangsi, and also a record of a banquet hall for foreigners built by Ma Tsung in Kuang-chou.³⁵⁵ It was he (*kung*), Ma Tsung, who ordered "the section officer come to the clerk of the prefectural personnel manager and make the pronouncement to his (Hui-neng's) shrine."³⁵⁶ It is probable, from this and from the evidence of Liu Yü-hsi's stele, that the order or commission to write the inscription did not come from the throne but from Ma Tsung, as Liu Yü-hsi wrote:

Lord Ma venerated his deeds, and attentive to origins in order to hand them down to posterity, he consequently enquired about it to the literary lion, the current prefect of Liu-chou, Mr Liu of Ho-tung, to make that earlier stele (inscription).³⁵⁷

Therefore it was not an imperial decree, but a polite request from a regional military commissioner, not even a direct superior, that had Liu Tsung-yüan write the obituary.

Moreover, Liu Tsung-yüan was probably willing to write this stele. His association with Ch'an might not have been completely harmonious, but his father's friend Li Chou had written a biography of Hui-neng, and in the *Pao-lin chuan*, one of his own relatives, Liu Wu-t'ien appears as the magnanimous prefect at the time of the attempted theft of Hui-neng's head.³⁵⁸ Moreover, several of the monks he wrote for

³⁵⁴ CTS 13/157/4151-4152; CTW 481/2208a, compilers' notes; Li Tsung-min, *Ma kung chia-miao pei*, CTW 714/3292b-3293b. For dates of Ma Tsung's appointment, see Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 50 note 49, and Wang Shou-nan (1978), 889 (683C) and 912 (683B). Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2764, gives the term as 813 to 816, and noted that Ma was earlier the Surveillance Commissioner or *kuan-ch'a shih* of the Kuei Inspectorate Region in which Liu-chou was located.

³⁵⁵ LTYCC 1/10/108 for the tomb inscription, LTYCC 2/26/296 for the banquet hall.

³⁵⁶ LTYCC 1/ 6/64; Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 18-19; Shiga (1998), 176.

³⁵⁷ *Ts'ao-ch'i Liu-tsu Ta-chien Ch'an-shih ti-erh pei*, CTW 610/2766b20-22; Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 22; Shiga (1998), 186. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 35, thinks he could not refuse such a request.

³⁵⁸ For the relationship with Liu Wu-t'ien, see table in Jo-shui Chen (1992), 38,

had associations with a claimed lineage back to Hung-jen, Hui-neng's own master. In addition, Wu Wu-ling (ca. 785-835), the man who inspired Liu Tsung-yüan to write while he was in exile, was a native of Hsin-chou, where Hui-neng was supposedly born.³⁵⁹ Finally, Liu Tsung-yüan praised Ma Tsung for the time when he was prefect of Ch'ien-chou, where co-incidentally Li Chou had been stationed, and Protector of An-nan (northern Vietnam), because he had respected (the legacy of) Hui-neng and gained the obedience of the barbarians of the South. In this, and other respects, such as the mention of Hui-neng's sixteen years in the wilderness and the envoys sent by Emperor Chung-tsung to Hui-neng, Liu echoed the stele by Wang Wei.³⁶⁰

Yet Liu Tsung-yüan introduced his own vision into the stele for Hui-neng. Firstly, there is his concern with trying to find the 'source' and the problems of its transmission. Secondly, there was the question of how to harmonize the different traditions; and thirdly, of locating the calm and peace in one's nature.

Ever since there have been living things, they have loved to fight and rob, thief from and kill each other, losing their original reality.... There is (then) nothing better than returning to the beginning. Confucius died without the great rank (throne), leaving his words to assist the world. Then Yang (Chu), Mo (tzu) and Lao (tzu) mixed things up even further, and their arts divided (the empire). Our Buddha's preaching appeared later, rejecting separation, returning to the source, and uniting with that which is called birth and yet is calm. [*Li chi*, "That which was born and yet calm is the nature of heaven."] The Liang (Emperor Wu) loved to create the manufactured, and Master (Bodhi-)Dharma castigated him. The art of emptiness became more manifest....

In teaching people, (Hui-neng) began with the nature is good and ended with the nature is good. He did not turn to the weeding hoe (conquest by force), for he was based in calm.... Emperor Chung-tsung heard of his reputation, and sent an emissary....

If one (wishes) to grasp his words as a mental art, his theories are all available. They are now spread throughout the empire. All the talk

and 37, 41 note 26, and 40 note 23, which shows that the relationships in the CTS and HTS have been incorrectly calculated based on an error by Han Yü.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Nienhauser et al (1973), 34, 121-122 note 50.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Liu Tsung-yüan's stele, Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section 20-21, and Shiga (1998), 176, with that of Wang Wei, Ting (1922), stele section 5, 10, 13-14. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 35, states the praise of Ma Tsung was unusual in such a stele, for the praise occupies nearly a third of the inscription, and he thinks that this reflects the power structure. I am inclined to think it displays some admiration for a good administrator in this troubled region.

of Ch'an is based on Ts'ao-ch'i....The Master used compassion (*jen*) for transmission, the lord (Ma Tsung) used *jen* to govern (*li*).³⁶¹

It is unknown what text about Hui-neng Liu Tsung-yüan referred to here, but most observers have assumed it was the *Platform Sutra*. But it is unclear which version it was, that of the South or that of the North, or yet another, such as that catalogued by Ennin. It is possible Liu Tsung-yüan did not even see a *Platform Sutra*. He may have seen the *Pao-lin chuan* or perhaps some other work such as the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, for he mentions that Emperor Chung-tsung sent an emissary. Although the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* does not say Emperor Chung-tsung, but rather has Kao-tsung, it used Chung-tsung's reign era to date this event.³⁶² If we take his word at face value, the texts recording Hui-neng's words were widely available and worth reading, for he compares their teachings to those of Confucius and Mencius, using the 'nature is good' theme to represent the core of Hui-neng's teachings. On the other hand, he did not like people who could not write elegantly turning

to the outward forms of Buddhism, taking this as a lofty pursuit. If in learning Buddhism they are incapable of enough sincerity, then once again they return to indulging themselves in literature (*wen-chang*). This is why those who engage in literary composition and Buddhism in general (produce) nonsense and confusion.³⁶³

A confirmation of this trend is found in the *Yin-hua lu*:

From the Yüan-ho era (806-821) onwards, a great many monks and Taoist priests of the capital had the title of Ta-te (Bhadanta). If through chance their influence was advanced, then they obtained public office, and subsequently it was regarded as the top rank. It reached the stage where there were those who were titled Bhadanta of Literature (*wen-*

³⁶¹ LTYCC 1/6/64-65; Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 19-21. For Liu's concern with 'source' and harmonisation, see Nienhauser et al (1973), 56, 58; Jo-shui Chen (1992), 178. For the peace and harmony in one's nature and emotions, see Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 36, 14-18. Tosaki thinks this is related to Liu's Confucian program, in which he equated Buddhist and Confucian morality, especially filial piety, and that human nature and emotions should be unperturbed, without disputes and competition. This is probably why he admired Ju-hai's project of re-uniting or harmonising Northern and Southern Ch'an, and equated the calmness mentioned in the *Li chi* with the good nature championed by Hui-neng. This interpretation, Tosaki thinks, was more akin to the T'ien-t'ai theory than to that of Southern Ch'an.

³⁶² EK, 74b.

³⁶³ LYTCC 2/25/282, translated by Nienhauser et al (1973), 58. Cf. Nishiwaki (2000), 186 note 18.

chang ta-te). Now how can the appellation of literature be established for the monastic crowd?³⁶⁴

It has been suggested that this trend was due to the corrupt sale of office and title, probably by the eunuchs, or was aimed at the poet-monks, a term coined or made popular in 832 by Liu Yü-hsi.³⁶⁵ Certainly, Tsan-ning made the complaint about officials giving monks the title of bhadanta from 771, and he mentioned similar incidents in the reign of Hsien-tsung.³⁶⁶ Liu Tsung-yüan therefore only allowed authority to those who were sincere, had access to the source of the Way, and if they had the *wen* to put it into literary form.³⁶⁷ This was a period in which there were new forms of literature emerging, such as the 'romance,'³⁶⁸ and the semi-colloquial *pien-wen* and the *su-chiang* or lecture to the laity.³⁶⁹ It also saw the first shoots of the colloquial collected sayings and dialogues of the Ch'an masters, the *yü-lu*, appear, and for which Shen-hui's words provided a precursor. Liu Tsung-yüan, however, maintained his stance that the authority to write resided with those who had the style to commit the truth or *wen* they had perceived via the thorough investigation of books and by practice to paper. Shen-hui probably did not meet these standards, for his works contained strong colloquial expressions, bombast and abuse of opponents, as well as what could be deemed hubris in claiming a near equality with the Buddha. Yet Liu probably detected a sincerity in the works attributed to Hui-neng, and so recommended them to readers in his stele inscription, despite their colloquial elements. They were not the feigned understanding of the Way that some literati monks adopted. This feigned understanding for him had no authority whatsoever and deserved only the strongest condemnation.

Liu Yü-hsi, the close friend and fellow exile in the deep South with

³⁶⁴ Quoted in Huang Min-chih (1971), 138 note 5.

³⁶⁵ Cf. Huang Min-chih (1971), 116, on the sale of titles; and Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 12-13, on poet-monks.

³⁶⁶ *Ta Sung Seng-shih lüeh*, T54.249c5-13.

³⁶⁷ 'Sending of Hao-ch'u,' LTCYY 2/25/285. Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 13, claims that Liu Tsung-yüan came to this position after he was demoted to Yung-chou, and he conceived of literature or "*wen*, as a means of illuminating the Way." Liu criticised the poet-monks for ignoring this role of literature and for engaging in poetry as a pleasure, something he himself had done earlier at Ch'ang-an together with monks such as Ling-ch'e.

³⁶⁸ Owen (1996), 6.

³⁶⁹ Mair (1983), *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, 6-8.

Liu Tsung-yüan, was even more an adherent of Buddhism. He had been born in Su-chou, where his father had gone to avoid the troubles of his native North. There he was taught by two of the poet-monks, something not uncommon in this region at that time. Ling-ch'e apparently also taught Liu Yü-hsi about Southern Ch'an.³⁷⁰ Liu Yü-hsi had long been interested in Buddhism, and after the failure of the 805 programme, he felt that the worldly Way was dangerous, and only the Buddhist Way would give peace of mind.³⁷¹ Liu Yü-hsi, a considerable poet himself, wrote a preface for the collected poems of Ling-ch'e,³⁷² and he wrote a record for the new stupa erected in honour of the Niu-t'ou founder, Fa-jung,³⁷³ sometime after 829. Like Liu Tsung-yüan, he also wrote an inscription for the Vinaya teacher Chih-yen (d. 818) of the Nan-yüeh group,³⁷⁴ and another for Ch'eng-kuang (717-798), a pupil of Shen-hui who lived in Yüan-chou in northern Kiangsi. He wrote that on request of the later master's pupils in 807.³⁷⁵ This monk had studied on Nan-yüeh before going to Lo-yang where he was enlightened under Shen-hui. In the inscription Liu Yü-hsi mentions the differences over sudden and gradual enlightenment and the seven generations of patriarchs:

The seventh generation lacked an heir....The Buddha robe produced dust and the Buddha-Dharma was like a thread. Our Master was Aware, and mysteriously penetrated the essentials of the Way, and received the secret seal.³⁷⁶

From his collected works, it is clear Liu Yü-hsi shared many of the same monk acquaintances with Liu Tsung-yüan, although a certain Wen-yüeh of Ching-chou is mentioned,³⁷⁷ who was probably in the lineage of Hui-neng and who visited Liu Yü-hsi at Lien-chou. Liu Yü-hsi also wrote the *Fo-i ming* (translated earlier) for Tao-lin after

³⁷⁰ Nishiwaki (2000), 144, 148-149.

³⁷¹ Jo-shui Chen (1992), 186.

³⁷² *Ch'e Shang-jen wen-chi hsiu*, CTW 605/2745c-d; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), *Liu Yü-hsi ch'üan-chi*, 19/136. Ichihara (1958), 220, dates this from 832, made at the request of Ling-ch'e's disciple, Hsiu-feng.

³⁷³ *Niu-t'ou shan ti-i tsu Jung Ta-shih hsin t'a-chi*, CTW 606/2747a; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 4/32-33.

³⁷⁴ *Tang ku Heng-yüeh Lü Ta-shih Hsiang-t'an Tang-hsing Ssu Yen kung pei*, CTW 610/2767b-c; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 4/31-32.

³⁷⁵ *Yüan-chou P'ing-hsiang hsien Yang-ch'i shan ku Kuang Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 610/2766c-2767b; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 4/33-34; Shiga (1998), 232-234.

³⁷⁶ CTW 610/2767a26-27; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 4/34; Shiga (1998), 234.

³⁷⁷ Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 29/220.

he had written a second stele about Hui-neng for the same monk on request in 819, three years after Liu Tsung-yüan had penned his. Tao-lin had led his pupils from Ts'ao-ch'i all the way to Lien-chou, desirous of having a second stele erected. A sense of time is highlighted in this stele. There it is asserted that it took five hundred years from the death of the Buddha until his sutras reached China, and then another half millennium until Bodhidharma arrived, "and Chinese first transmitted his mind." The six generations of the transmission on to Hui-neng were compared to a thread linking a rosary (said originally to have been made from *śarīra* of the Buddha). Liu equated 'true lineage' with the 'sudden gate,' and averred that the Buddha-robe Bodhidharma brought as a seal of the truth was not transmitted after Hui-neng, as something useless, a 'straw dog.' Liu Yü-hsi provided the biographical information that Hui-neng was born in Hsin-chou and became a monk when he was thirty, and was a monk for forty-seven years, dying one hundred and six years earlier.³⁷⁸ The periodisation is interesting, for the only other extant text before this time mentioning the age for Hui-neng's acceptance as a monk is the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which says he was thirty-nine. Liu also stated Hui-neng lived another forty-seven years; that is, to the age of seventy-six or seventy-seven, the source for which is again unknown. He also states that Kao-tsung sent an emissary to Ts'ao-ch'i, and that Hui-neng declined the invitation, something probably drawn from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.³⁷⁹ It is possible Liu Yü-hsi drew upon the ideas of Tao-lin or had gained the information from another source such as the *Pao-lin chi* or Li Chou's biography.

Liu Yü-hsi had a Buddhistic theory of poetic creation, and tried to explain why it was that Buddhists produced so many poets:

The term *śramaṇa* in Sanskrit is equivalent to the expression *ch'ü-yü* (eliminate desires) in Chinese. Only when one is able to quit the desires will his mind become *hsü* (empty, *śūnya*), and when it is empty, the

³⁷⁸ Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 22-23; CTW 610/2766b-c; Shiga (1998), 186. The issue of the 106 years previous was first mentioned by Liu Tsung-yüan, LTYCC 1/6/65, so by counting back from 816 when the stele was written, one should come to a date of 710 for Hui-neng's death. This disagrees with the dates provided by Shen-hui, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Various explanations have been proffered, none really satisfactory. See Tosaki (1987, Oct.), 24, 50 notes 48-50; Ui Hakuju (1935), 164; EK, 206-207.

³⁷⁹ EK, 160, 207, 174, and Ting Fu-pao (1922), stele section, 23; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 4/30; text in Shiga (1998), 186. The latter calculation of years seems to be incorrect.

myriad forms of phenomenal reality will enter it. When they enter it, there is sure to be something which will break out, and it is this which consequently will take form in verbal expression.... Thus, from the time of near antiquity on, disciples of Śākya Muni who have become famous throughout the world appear one on the heels of another. Through *samādhi* (*ting*, a composed mind) one achieves a *viśaya* (*ching*, a mental realm), which consequently reaches a purity through a soaring freedom and which in accordance with *prajñā* (wisdom) charges words with meaning. Therefore, such a one attains beauty through the essence of art. Believe in the flowers that bloom in the forest of Ch'an and shun the pearl and jade that might be fished up out of the river [as probably dangerous and due to desire].³⁸⁰

This theory of authority means that the Tao or *wen* is only discerned once desires have been removed and one has entered meditation. The clear mirror mind then reflects the sense-data, which can be put into words informed by insight, presumably after one has come out of *samādhi*. Thus the Way is available to those who can empty their minds of the obscuring desires, and like Hui-neng, be a great mirror or speculum (Ta-chien). This is very close to the *Platform Sutra's* argument that the sutras are all available in one's nature. Liu Yü-hsi also seems to be more tolerant, even approving of the literati-monks, than his friend Liu Tsung-yüan.

Conclusion

The 'lives' or hagiographies of Hui-neng then were written during a period which saw a change from adherence to classical models backed by an institutional power, in other words a closed canon on which one was only permitted to elaborate, towards a more individualistic 'canon' founded on personal investigations, not only of the Classics, but whatever could be made useful. Now the scholar or elite had

to think about what they should value.... To a great degree the tao of the sage was an empty category which each person had to fill in his own way.... The capital, court, and emperor might still be the center of culture, but they and their culture had lost moral authority.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Richard John Lynn (July 1982), review of Pauline Yu, *Wang Wei*, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 4 (2): 261; Liu Yü-hsi (1999), 29/217.

³⁸¹ Bol (1992), 147.

The same transformation applied in Buddhism. Although there were few challenges to established Buddhist orthodoxy in pre-T'ang times, by individuals like Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434), the court of ultimate appeal still remained authenticated Buddhist scriptures. The canonical, institutional Buddhism of the early T'ang appealed strongly to Indian sources of authority. Therefore, the elite of this time, Buddhist and Confucian, wrote commentaries to the sutras, in particular the *i-shu*. Huang K'an's sub-commentary on the *Lun-yü* was also an *i-shu*.³⁸² The founders of the early T'ang schools of Buddhism all based their ideas on an Indian Buddhist source in translation. The canonical sources were determined by the elite of the Vinaya school and hence were catalogued. However, Chinese Buddhists gradually came to challenge the Indian authority, as when Wöñch'ük, Fa-tsang and Chih-yen of Hua-yen, Fa-pao, and Fa-ch'ung of the Lankāvatāra branch of 'Ch'an' rejected the theories about the *icchantika* and the five types of nature introduced from India by Hsüan-tsang. However, they still appealed to Indian sources, such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, or to other translators, such as Paramārtha. Confucians like Liu Tsung-yüan also began to move away from the nine divisions of human nature promulgated by Huang K'an and more to the position of a universal good nature and the potential to become a sage. Yet they too still largely appealed to the Classics.

However, this challenge to canonical authority produced a precedent, and some Buddhist groups, such as the rather more lay-oriented and lower class Sect of the Three Stages, used Chinese apocrypha as their authority. Empress Wu Tse-t'ien's example of using a forgery, or interpolations into a genuine translation, set this trend back. However, the Ch'an of this time, and earlier, produced a more liberal, even free, interpretation of the Indian texts, and created their own apocryphal scriptures. There was a progression in Ch'an from producing commentaries on the scriptures, then *lun* (or *śāstra*), to forging their own

³⁸² Probably the first *i-shu* was by Chu Fa-ch'ung of the latter half of the fourth century [Zürcher (1959), 143-144], although Ōcho Enichi thinks the first real Buddhist *shu* was by Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434). See Kenneth K. Tanaka (1990), *The Dawn of Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Doctrine: Ching-ying Hui-yüan's Commentary on the Visualization Sutra*, SUNY Press: Albany, 58-61. The *i-shu* appear to have been summaries of the meaning of the original scripture as a whole, and not of discrete sentences or particular sections. These were based on lectures given to students, and may have been connected originally to the translation process. Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung (1938/1974), 549; Makeham (2003), 86-88.

'translated sutras,' such as the *Chin-kang san-mei ching*, *Ch'an-men ching*, *Shou-leng-yen ching* and *Yüan-chüeh ching*, an activity that probably halted in the 720s to 740s. But the authors of these are still made out to be the Buddha, and it is not until the *Platform Sutra* appeared, under the name of an obscure Chinese monk, Hui-neng, that Ch'an produced its own authority. Simultaneously, works began to be produced under Chinese masters' names with the title of *yü*, such as Shen-hui's *T'an-yü* or Nan-yang Hui-chung's *yü*. These later morphed into *yü-lu*, where the master speaking was equated with a living buddha or just 'old Buddha.'³⁸³ This, however, also illustrated the Confucian dimension of Ch'an that was largely pioneered by Shen-hui, who modelled Hui-neng's life on that of Confucius. As Confucius was the prime authority and his words were best read in the *Lun-yü*, it was a foreseeable outcome that ideas about Confucius' authority and transmission would influence how Ch'an hagiographers wrote and were appreciated.

Thus, the promotion of Hui-neng led to a break from India. Although all the lineages stress the continuity of the chain of transmission from the Buddha through to Hui-neng and later, the notion that the transmission of the robe halted with Hui-neng also demonstrated that one could no longer seek authority in a physical object. In that sense, the *Platform Sutra* still had remnants of the older forms of authority, for the transmission was vested in it. The substitution of verses for the physical sutra hinted even more so that authority lay in the mind, and that one's enlightenment or values were validated or given an imprimatur not by possession of an object but by the approval of the master. The authority to speak or pontificate was 'sealed' by the Master, just as Confucius granted the imprimatur to his disciples in the account by Huang K'an. Shen-hui, and perhaps others like Liu Tsung-yüan, may have thus felt that one could 'converse' with the primal authority, whether Confucius or Buddha, by a privileged reading of their core texts. However, Shen-hui bolstered this theory by claiming a face-to-face lineage of mind, not just words and hearing. This new concept of authority freed Ch'an from the hegemony of the scriptural tradition, and resulted in a more individualistic expression and a proliferation of writings in new forms of verse, 'encounter

³⁸³ Yanagida Seizan (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 230-253 passim; Judith Berling (1987), 'Bringing the Buddha down to earth: Notes on the emergence of the *yü-lu* as a Buddhist genre,' *History of Religions* 27: 86. The phrase 'old Buddha' was used of Chao-chou in the *Chao-chou yü-lu*.

dialogue,' sermons and eventually *kung-an*. This evolution did not prevent these fossilising in their turn, but the shift in authority from the Indian Śākya Muni and his sutras to the Chinese master and his sayings forms a roughly parallel development to that of the Chinese Confucian literati's conception of authority, and may at certain stages, have preceded it. In one sense, the Confucians of the 740s to 790s were reviving or replicating the ideas of authority and authorship as exemplified in Confucius and the *Lun-yü* of ancient times, when the state(s) lacked sufficient centralised power to prevent individual interpretations. In that sense, it was a break from the recent past when the T'ang state dictated the Canon and controlled its interpretation, and writers had to put their ideas into commentaries.

However, this is not to assert, as Bol does, that this was the death of 'aristocratic medieval culture'³⁸⁴ or the end the Chinese 'Middle Ages,'³⁸⁵ for the worship of relics, a possible mark of medievalism, persisted. The aristocratic element may have faded, but not the medieval. The cult of the 'living dead,' elaborate ritual and hierarchy, did not go out with a whimper. Moreover, there was a continued tension between "the restatement of received knowledge" and "pride in singular interpretation"³⁸⁶ for a long time thereafter. Shen-hui and the authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Platform Sutra* reflect these tensions. On the one hand, they stressed transmission from the past, while on the other they made Hui-neng a singularity, virtually a fresh starting point, where the old, the robe and bowl, ends and the new begins. The Sixth Patriarch was the buddha of the here and now, residing in China. Shen-hui (who claimed to either be on the verge of buddhahood or even to equal the Tathāgata) and many of his rivals still desired to be the Seventh Patriarch, that is, a buddha-equivalent. However, after them many, such as Ju-hai and Ta-i, wished to overcome the split of North and South and begin afresh. Thus, gradually, Shen-hui and 'Northern Ch'an' were forgotten or submerged in something radically new, a Southern Lineage (*Nan-tsung*). From that time on, all of Ch'an is frequently subsumed under the name Ts'ao-ch'i, and those whose lineage could not be derived from him, gradually fell away as dying, branch lineages. The author-

³⁸⁴ Bol (1992), 147.

³⁸⁵ Owen (1996).

³⁸⁶ Owen (1996), 7.

ity now lay with Hui-neng or Ts'ao-ch'i, and less with Bodhidharma or the Śākya Muni.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (and the *Pao-lin chuan*) therefore assisted in the creation of a new authority, but still retained more archaic features such as appeal to the centre of political power and to the living presence in the relics. Such a work could not have been produced in the early T'ang, with its differing notions of authority and *wen*, and when authority lay in the metropolis and not in the deep South. However, many of their contemporaries, who were rather more conservative, did not fully accept Shen-hui and the anonymous authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Platform Sutra* and *Pao-lin chuan* as authors. They failed to meet the criteria of style and status. However, some of the more radical thinkers, who were reassessing Confucianism, and to an extent, Buddhism, men like Liu Tsung-yüan and Liu Yü-hsi, seem to have accepted these authors of the images of Hui-neng as having the authority to write. Therefore, they adopted and supported the image of Hui-neng these hagiographers had presented and used them in their own inscriptions, thus assisting the eventual successful acceptance of Hui-neng by the establishment. Thus, Shen-hui the myth-maker finally triumphed, despite being forgotten by nearly everyone.

CHAPTER SIX

BACKGROUND 2: PLACE, AUTHORITY, REGIONAL IMAGES AND THE EVOLUTION OF CH'AN HAGIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Place is critical to any hagiographer who is describing the powers of the saint's relics that were enshrined in a sanctified location. The community centred round, or connected with, the saint and his shrine produced the hagiography for the benefit of the community and the shrine. The saint thus comes to belong to the site, and possession of the site gave the community an authority to speak on the saint's behalf, and the hagiography could thus serve to maintain unity as the group or lineage grew and spread, and could be used to fend off the claims of rival groups.¹ The community of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which possessed the relic of Hui-neng, emphasised the location of the relic and Hui-neng's deeds there, whereas the *Platform Sutra*, not holding the relics, ignored them and the site of Hui-neng's activities, highlighting instead only the preaching of a sermon at Ta-fan Monastery in Shao-chou.

The significance of place for the hagiographers of Hui-neng is demonstrated by the inclusion of the location name in the title. *Ts'ao-ch'i*, the location of the monastery, heads the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, and Pao-lin, the sometime name of the monastery is in the *Pao-lin chuan*. The *Platform Sutra*, on the other hand, indicates in its subtitle only where the sutra was preached, showing place to be of lesser importance. Shen-hui, belonging neither to that monastery nor to a location associated with Hui-neng, did not use a place name at all in the start of his hagiography of Hui-neng. Rather, his authority depended on lineage, and so to distinguish himself from those followers of Bodhidharma who had influence in the North, claimed a Southern lineage. Therefore he had to use broad, general geographical indicators and not specific locations.

¹ Michel de Certeau (1988), *The Writing of History*, 272.

Therefore, place is an important issue in the evolution of the hagiographies of Hui-neng, both symbolically and in concrete fact. Thus the symbols were used to lend authority to the hagiography and its claims, while the changing sites of production indicate the shifting geographical bases of Ch'an as it expanded and became less dependent on the political and cultural centre. This probably also reflects a changing social base, with Ch'an less connected to aristocratic groups and more with regional gentry that gained influence through the increasingly meritocratic civil examination system.

Place, hierarchy and status were firmly associated in the minds of T'ang people. This is most evident in the attitude of the literati-bureaucrats to official postings. T'ang administration was ranked both by regions and by posts. As a matter of course, the highest posts were in the capital, followed by those regions closest to the metropolis. The more remote a posting, the less desirable it was. Regional administration descended in order from the circuit or province (*tao*), to the prefecture (*chou*) down to the county (*hsien*). Beneath the *hsien* were villages and districts, which were in the day-to-day hands of local petty officials who were outside the national or inner stream (*nei-liu*) of the bureaucracy. In turn, there were in each of these categories another nested hierarchy, of upper, middling and lower grades of prefectures, which in turn supervised four grades of county; upper, middle, middle lower and low, with three additional special categories. In general, the ranks of counties and prefectures were determined by population levels, and each had a commensurate rank for the prefect or magistrate. As a rule, the national bureaucracy looked down on regional posts, and the more distant the more they despised them. Demotion meant not merely dropping for example, from prefect to magistrate or lower, but also being sent to more distant postings, which only confirmed the prejudices held by the elite. Probably the least desired positions were in Ling-nan, the remote 'South of the Ranges.' Nearly all prefectural and county postings there were demotions, which led officials such as Chang Chiu-ling to complain that the area was less than well served by its national administrators. The great aristocratic clans, with their metropolitan connections, generally managed to sequester the posts in and around the capital, while those of the secondary elite were mostly sent out to regional posts. The metropolitan and contiguous regions in the North China heartlands were more populous and had a higher level of civilisation and culture, which made posts there more desirable. The more distant regions, having lower populations, had fewer

upper prefectures or counties. Ling-nan in particular was despised as semi-barbarian, pestilent, but with the possibility of riches in the regional capital, Kuang-chou, because of its international trade, which attracted the avaricious.² The geographical treatise of the *Chiu T'ang shu* displays this geographical bias most clearly. In the list of ten circuits or *tao*, the order proceeds in a circle around the capital and then moves south, with Ling-nan last. Within Ling-nan, after the regional capital of Kuang-chou, Shao-chou ranks as the next prefecture.³ It was definitely a place of peril for those banished, many of who died at the order of the court, either by suicide or execution, or through the tropical diseases such as malaria.⁴ Virtually all of those exiled or demoted to Ling-nan bewailed their fate and were nostalgic for the North and the metropolitan culture and court. "All were prisoners of their ecological lexicons."⁵

Geographical location was important in giving authority to laity and cleric alike. The very use of the broad terms, North versus South, with the latter being privileged by Shen-hui in his propaganda, is an indication of this. Hagiography, especially that concerning relics, made location of prime concern because the tomb or relic site was the place of great devotion, and the guardians gained prestige, authority and wealth from their possession. Clusters of graves or stupas could be used to forge genealogies, which in turn became the subjects of local histories or hagiographies that bore place names. Sometimes the connection with the place was invented,⁶ as was possibly the case with Bodhidharma and Seng-ts'an whose graves were 're-discovered' or 'invented' in the Christian sense of the word. Hagiographies were produced in, as well as set in, communities, in order to form a focal point for that community, thereby ensuring cohesion. The community that produced the hagiography "conveys its self conscious-

² Cf. Tsukiyama Jisaburō (1967), *Tōdai seiji seido no kenkyū*, Sōgensha: Osaka, 5, 520-529. The regional administration was fairly complex, for which see Tsukiyama (1967), *passim*, and Hsieh Tso-yün (1974), *T'ang-tai ti-fang hsing-cheng chih-tu yen-chiu*, Taiwan Shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Taipei; and brief outline in Hucker (1985), *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 31-34; Denis C. Twitchett (1976), 'Varied Patterns of Provincial Autonomy in the T'ang Dynasty,' in John Curtis Perry and Bardwell L. Smith, eds, *Essays on T'ang Society*, Brill: Leiden, 90-93, and on opportunities for wealth in the South, 101.

³ CTS 5/41/1714.

⁴ Edward H. Schafer (1967), *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South*, 38-39.

⁵ Schafer (1967), 42.

⁶ Robson (2002), 482-483, 490.

ness by associating a *figure* with a *place*.⁷ Therefore, hagiographies are "marked by a predominance of precise indicators of place over time," which distinguishes them from biographies.⁸ Consequently, the hagiographies, particularly the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, frequently allowed inaccuracies in dating, although strenuous attempts were made to simulate chronological veracity, but in contrast contain specificities of place even in the titles and in the texts. Thus Pao-lin is the monastery where Hui-neng preached, and Ts'ao-ch'i was Hui-neng's toponym. On the other hand, Wang Wei was less precise about times and places because he was remote from the community, and was writing for an audience that knew little of Hui-neng's locale beyond the prejudices generally held by the metropolitan elite. Shen-hui, at least in the Ishii text hagiography, was more precise, naming monasteries, places and times down to the month. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, being the product of a community that either possessed the relics, or would gain benefit from their veneration even if they did not possess them, was yet more precise about times and places. Because of the attempt to give time near equal billing in their accounts, these hagiographies were reflecting Chinese historiographical conventions and so are further along the continuum towards biography.

However, place is a major topic in the Ch'an hagiographies, and this concern with place ranges from the broad North-South division, the location within China, and the district inside a region such as Ling-nan, and finally the sites of the deeds and relics of Hui-neng or the relevant master within the district.

The North-South Dichotomy

A contrast of North and South would seem to have come naturally to T'ang Chinese because of the prolonged split into Northern and Southern dynasties during the period of division that stretched from around 311 until the reunification by the Sui in 589. The resultant exile of Chinese aristocrats from the North in the South produced a heightened consciousness of Chineseness in the South and attempts to preserve old ways, while the North mixed with 'barbarians.' Differ-

⁷ Michel de Certeau (1988), *The Writing of History*, 272.

⁸ de Certeau (1988), 280; Bernard Faure (1986), 'Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm,' *History of Religions* 22 (3): 191.

ences in language, customs and proclivities in literature and religion followed.⁹ Moreover, there were climatic and agricultural differences that affected lifestyles and mores. During the period of division, North meant *chiang-pei* or north of the Yangtze and South meant *chiang-nan* (Kiangnan), south of the Yangtze. Many areas of the North, such as Kuan-chung, were over half non-Chinese in population as early as 299 A.D. The invasions of the nomadic tribes meant that sixty to seventy percent of the elite families from the northern heartlands fled to Kiangnan, greatly increasing the population of the area and producing a new culture out of the rivalry of the original residents and the newcomers. The migrants continued to long for the North. The differences were most evident in the Southeast, where the locals called themselves the Wu surnames and the migrants from the North were called *ch'iao* (sojourner/migrant) surnames. The southerners saw themselves as superior and they resented the migrant powerholders. However, as the migrants began to adapt, writers like Sun Ch'o in 362 began to feel no desire to return to the North or "to abandon a pleasant country and engage in war to return to a homeland."¹⁰

This produced cultural differences. The northerners ate millet, barley, lamb and dumplings; the southerners rice and marinated raw fish. Such differences persisted into the T'ang due to the climate of the regions.¹¹ Customs and festivals diverged, and in Buddhism the southerners came to release captured animals. The northerners considered this beneath contempt, for the animals had to be captured before they were released, defeating the purpose of the practice. Northerners generally retained older customs, and were more hospitable and frank. They gave their women more freedom, and the women were active beyond the home. Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+), a Buddho-Confucian who lived in the South and then in the North, implied that the southerners were given to formality and expense, the northerners to directness and frugality. In personal address, northerners used older forms and were more inclusive about who they regarded as relatives. The southerners were finicky and particular. Importantly for the images of North and South in 'Ch'an,' the southerners were more discriminating in their

⁹ Twitchett (1979), 'Introduction,' 3-6.

¹⁰ Moriya Mitsuo (1949), 'Nanjin to Hokuin,' *Tōa ronsō* 6: 36-38, 40-41, 43-44.

¹¹ Moriya (1949), 47-48; Benn (2002), *Daily Life in Traditional China*, 119-122, for more details.

household formation. They were more individualistic, with brothers dividing resources and residences, whereas the northerners lived together, sharing resources. In the South, if a family member was disgraced, he was on his own, and the other members survived. But in the North, the downfall of one could mean the downfall of all. In the South, family members ate separately or from different bowls; in the North, families ate from the same platter.¹² Therefore, Shen-hui's 'Southern Lineage' was far more exclusive and unilinear, whereas 'Northern Ch'an' could share a succession in common. It was jointly held by Dharma brothers, such as Fa-ju, Lao-an and Shen-hsiu, for example.

Such differences spilled over into literature as well. Northerner learning was described as "profoundly interweaving the broad and the wide," or "like looking at the moon in a clear place," whereas the learning of the southerners "lucidly penetrates the fundamentals and essentials" or was "like glimpsing the sun through a lattice window." The southerners used many natural images in their writing and were quick to criticise the shortcomings of other writers. They described the poetry of the northerners as "the neighing of donkeys and horses or the barking of dogs."¹³ Such a critical attitude seems to be a feature of Shen-hui's polemic and denunciation of 'Northern Ch'an.'

The northern Confucian classical tradition, and possibly that of Buddhism also, was devoted to the minute examinations of the details of pronunciation, philology and meanings in voluminous commentaries and collections. The southerners preferred to discern the main sense of the text, and being influenced by *hsüan-hsiieh*, were more interested in metaphysics, cosmology and theory. In their search for the truth, they probably saw less of a division between Buddhism and Confucianism, a little bit like Huang K'an,¹⁴ something that seems to have rubbed off onto Shen-hui. However, by the Sui and early T'ang, the influence of southern culture permeated into the North. Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang loved southern culture, and his favoured writers mostly had origins in the South. Again, for T'ai-tsung's state project of the commentaries on the Classics, the *Wu Ching cheng-i*, most of the standard

¹² Moriya (1949), 48-50, 52, 56-57.

¹³ Moriya (1949), 50-51; Albert E. Dien (1962), 'Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+): A Buddho-Confucian,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Confucian Personalities*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 52.

¹⁴ Dien (1962), 52-55; Makeham (2003), 148-150, for some qualifications re Huang, 81-85.

theories adopted were southern, although T'ai-tsung was aiming at a unified exegesis. For the commentaries on the *Lun-yü*, those from the South were preferred.¹⁵

Elements of the southern concern with theory and the essentials can be seen reflected in the writings of Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434) on sudden enlightenment and the universality of the Buddha-nature or in the *Pien-tsung lun* of the southerner, Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433). One only has to contrast the commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāparamitā Sūtra* by Hsieh (usually attributed to Seng-chao) and those by the northerner K'uei-chi (or Tz'u-en, 632-682) to see something of this difference in approach. For the verse,

All created dharmas
Are like dreams, mirages, bubbles and shadows,
Like dew and like lightning.
One should contemplate them thus.

Hsieh wrote:

The volatile and false are not real, and if we apply principle to them, they are all empty. Emptiness is not different from change. Therefore the thusness does not move.¹⁶

K'uei-chi, pupil of Hsüan-tsang, wrote:

The transmission (*shu*) says, Vasubandhu wrote, "This is the fourth passage that explains the evolution of doubt about the elements." In saying that there is doubt, he states, "If the Buddhas and Tathāgatas constantly preach for sentient beings, how could the Tathāgata enter nirvana? In order to refute this doubt, he therefore established nine metaphors." As the *hsüan-chi* states, Asanga said, "This is the second (passage which means) that samsara is not polluted."¹⁷

In the *Chin-kang ching chieh-i*, falsely attributed to Hui-neng, but presumably from the South, the commentary is as follows in simple explanatory language:

Dreams are false selves, mirages are false thoughts, bubbles are frustrations, shadows are karmic obstructions. The karma of dreams, mirages, bubbles and shadows is called created dharmas. True reality is divorced from name and form. Those who have awakened (to this) lack the various karma.¹⁸

¹⁵ Hibino Takeo (1977), *Zusetsu Chūgoku no rekishi 4: Zui-Tō teikoku*, 78-79.

¹⁶ *Chin-kang ching chu*, HTC 38.436a10-12.

¹⁷ *Chin-kang ching tsan-shu*, HTC 38.658b11-16, translation approximate.

¹⁸ HTC 38.690a10-14.

Again, for the line, "The Buddha told Subhuti, 'All that which has form is void and false,'" Hsieh wrote:

These are the words narrated to Subhuti. Moreover, in principle the false is not form. Further, as they are provisional names, they are void, and in reality does not one rationalise them so that they become false?¹⁹

K'uei-chi once again is prolix and given to differentiation:

This is the third Buddha double-seal completion (?). 'All that which has form is void and false' means that the void and false have three (types). One is the True Thusness Dharma-kaya that lacks rising and ceasing and therefore is called true reality. All the remaining particular dharmas are named void and false. This is what this preaches. The second is that all dharmas without outflow are called true reality, and all dharmas that have outflow are called void and false. Therefore the *Chung-pien fen-pieh lun* (Madhyānta-vibhāga Śāstra) says....²⁰

A 'Northern Ch'an' text, the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men* wrote about this line in a more practical and less scholastic vein:

To view the mind as pure is called to purify the mind-ground. Do not constrict the body and mind, or unfold the body and mind. View afar in expansive release; view with an equanimity that exhausts space. The master said, "What do you see?"....²¹

The commentary attributed to Hui-neng has a simple explanation:

The Tathāgata wishes to illuminate the Dharma-kāya. Therefore he said that all forms are void and false. If one sees that all forms are void and unreal, this is to see the principle of the formlessness of the Tathāgata.²²

This 'Southern Ch'an' tendency to go directly to the core of the matter can be seen in Shen-hui's comments about the sutra, where it states:

One should know that wherever this sutra is preached, even a gatha of four lines, that place will be worshipped like a stupa-shrine (*t'a-miao*) of the Buddha by all the worlds' gods, men and asuras.

Shen-hui explained why in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*:

¹⁹ HTC 38.419b17-420a1.

²⁰ HTC 38.610b16-611a4, continues commentary on the line till 611a16.

²¹ T85.1273c4-6; cf. McRae (1986), 172-173, for a parallel passage from the *Yüan-ming lun* attributed to Shen-hsiu.

²² HTC 38.667a16-17.

Why? Wherever this sutra is located, that place is venerated. The sutra is in humans, so humans are also valued. Why? Because chanting the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāparamitā Sūtra* perfects the rarest of dharmas.²³

The 'Hui-neng' commentary is more indirect, saying that a person who preaches this sutra constantly practices the mind of no-thought and non-attaining, and who preaches without dividing the mind into the preacher and the preached, "will then in that body have the *śarīra* of the Tathāgata's golden body. Therefore it says, 'like a stupa-shrine'" etcetera.²⁴ In contrast, the commentary of K'uei-chi remains scholastic:

....Next it clarifies that in everyone it is venerated like the Buddha's stupa-shrine. Because this is the true Dharma-kāya of the buddhas of all directions, it means that the pulverised body of *śarīra* is just the body of one Nirmana-kāya buddha. The prajñā sutra is therefore the true Dharma-kāya of all the buddhas. According to Asanga's exegesis, this passage is the ninth of the eighteen discriminations....²⁵

It is clear from this that Southern Ch'an, beginning with Shen-hui, adopted the southerner style of explanation, being generally short and to the point, without the convoluted exegesis and numerical categories or appeals to earlier, largely Indian, authorities that were a feature of the northerner Buddhism. 'Northern Ch'an' seems to have had some of the features of the Buddhism and style of the North, for Shen-hsiu, as an example, and others, used what McRae called 'extended metaphors' in their 'contemplative analysis.' This involved detailed correlations, such as the "three *t'ou* and six *sheng*' of milk that the historical Buddha drank before attaining enlightenment" being equated with the "milk of the pure dharma of Suchness," and refers to three groups of pure precepts and six perfections, with the milch cow actually Vairocana.²⁶ 'Northern Ch'an' was operating in an environment where the detailed scholasticism of Fa-hsiang still had influence, and it seems to have absorbed something of the style of the writing and analysis of the North. It is possible that Shen-hui deliberately adopted more of a southern style and stance in his writing and criticism.

²³ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 36; Teng and Jung (1998), 75-77; Hu (1968), 301, and different text, 184, which is translated in Gernet (1977), 104. Cf. Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 344-345, where Schopen seems to endorse this analysis.

²⁴ HTC 38.673b8-11 etc.

²⁵ HTC 38.623a6-9, and following.

²⁶ McRae (1986), 198-209, quote from 199.

However, both the Sui and T'ang rulers tried to overcome some of these divergences in culture between North and South in order to create a new unity in the polity and a synthesis in thought and language.²⁷ That Shen-hui called on differences between North and South probably did not please the court, and he was banished away from the capital for stirring up sections of the populace with his propaganda that pitted a so-called South against the North. Certainly, Shen-hui maintained, no doubt in an attempt to gain sympathy as the underdog, that his life was threatened:

Dharma Teacher (Ch'ung-)yüan asked, "Meditation Teacher P'u-chi is famed throughout the whole country and the empire knows his reputation, with many voices equally relaying that he is remarkable. Why do you thus bitterly denounce him? Are you not making an enemy for your life?"

The Master replied, "Those who read this treatise, and do not know the meaning of it, will say it is a denial. Meditation Teacher P'u-chi is outside the Southern Lineage (*nan-tsung*). By selecting out the right and the wrong, I will settle the gist of the lineage (宗旨). Now I establish the Correct Dharma in order to broadcast Mahayana, and have all sentient beings know of it. Why begrudge my life?"

Dharma Teacher Yüan asked, "Is the preparation of this treatise not doing so to seek fame and fortune?"

The Master replied, "Since the preparer of this treatise does not begrudge even his own life, how can he be concerned with fame and fortune?"²⁸

This exchange is alleged to have taken place at an unrestricted access mass assembly in 732. Tsung-mi reported that there were three failed attempts on Shen-hui's life after this assembly, which were obstacles that prevented him from preaching. Shen-hui had most likely gone to Lo-yang, the second capital, around this time, for Tsung-mi states:

He directly entered Lo-yang around this time and had a face-to-face confrontation with the Northern patriarch, interrogating P'u-chi. (This is akin to ruffling) a dragon's scales and (cutting off) a tiger's tail and (fearlessly) endangering one's life without regard for oneself... He nearly died three times.... Because he prayed for a good omen when he was on the Huai (River), a sacred mushroom sprouted out of charcoal.²⁹ The

²⁷ McMullen (1988), 5-6, 74, 214; Ping Chen (1999), *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics*, 9-10.

²⁸ *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu Shih (1968), 293-294; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 33; Teng and Jung (1998), 57-59.

²⁹ Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 30699.31, the sign of being a sage, and receiving a king's compassion, i.e. he was invited back from exile.

gentry and commoners all saw it. So his mandate was fully established without any spirit of submission (by him).³⁰

Tsung-mi, with some embroidery and use of dynastic language, tried to confirm Shen-hui's version of events. Shen-hui supposedly had to avoid his enemies, including it seems, two magistrates, and disguised himself, undergoing many trials before being repatriated. Despite the protestations in these partisan accounts to the contrary, it would appear Shen-hui had lost the first round and was accused of stirring up trouble to aggrandise himself. Tsung-mi continued:

Because Nan-yang (Shen-hui) replied to Wei Chü about the meaning of the three carts, his name gradually came to be known among the famous and the wise. In 745, the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of War, Sung Ting, invited him to Lo-yang. Then the Correct Way was easy to propagate, while the erroneous principles were difficult to defend. Therefore the revealed meaning (*neyārtha*) of Ts'ao-ch'i was propagated greatly in Lo-yang, and the sudden-gate of Ho-tse (Shen-hui) was spread throughout the empire. However, the members of Northern Ch'an grew daily stronger, and in 753 he was indicted for gathering crowds and was ordered by the court exiled to I-yang.³¹

These last events in Lo-yang coincide with Shen-hui's building of the portrait hall in Lo-yang, the writing of a preface by Fang Kuan for the images, and the compilation of a stele called *T'ang Ts'ao-ch'i Neng Ta-shih pei* by Sung Ting.³² Tsan-ning further declared that the 'false' accusations and indictment of Shen-hui were made by the Censor, Lü I, who was "servile to P'u-chi," for gathering his followers with the intent of creating trouble, probably in 753.³³ At that time, Emperor Hsüan-tsung ordered Shen-hui to Ch'ang-an. When he arrived, the emperor was visiting the hot springs of Chao-ying. As the chronological account, the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* dates this pleasure jaunt from

³⁰ *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao*, HTC 14.553b; Gernet (1951), 47.

³¹ HTC 14. 553b commentary lines 27-31.

³² This stele is listed by Chao Ming-ch'eng (1995) in the *Chin-shih lu*, 123, item 1298, and is usually dated 748. Cf. EK, 219-220. The *Chi-ku lu-mu* also says it was written in 748, and that it was located in Hsing-chou, Hopei, with calligraphy by the famous hand of Shih Wen-tse, for whom see Morohashi (1955-1963), no. 3249.171, *Shu hsiao-shih* 10/1b, *Shu shih* 5/25b. (The latter are histories of calligraphy, and references are from the index by Fu Hsüan-tsung, Chang Ch'en-shih and Hsü I-min, 1982). See also ZSS, 185. Cf. also the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 99, and notes, 106.

³³ Date from Tsung-mi and Chia Su's epitaph for Yün-t'an written in 825, *Yang-chou Hua-lin Ssu Ta-pei Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 731/3387b26-c1; Gernet (1951), 54-55.

December 752 to January 753,³⁴ Shen-hui was probably sent into exile in March 753 after discussing the principles of the matter with the emperor.³⁵ Although misrepresented for partisan purposes to illustrate the perfidy and connections of P'u-chi (651-739), actually long dead before most of these events, it is clear that the bureaucrats considered Shen-hui a threat to public order, because he was creating divisions that subverted the imperial project for unity.³⁶

The precise connotation of *nan-tsung* (Southern Lineage) intended by Shen-hui has generated some controversy. Yanagida Seizan thought it possessed two meanings. The first, as Shen-hui indicated in the title of his treatise, the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* (Discussions on settling the correct and incorrect Southern Lineage of Bodhidharma), was that this was the Southern Lineage of Bodhidharma. Shen-hui promised he would not speak of it if there were other people who understood it, and he assumed there were none. This was a singular entrance, which admitted of no divisions into North and South, and so in Yanagida's words, was an "absolute Southern Lineage."³⁷ The second was in contrast ambiguous, for when Dharma Teacher Yüan asked,

"Why don't you allow Meditation Teacher P'u-chi be titled as being of the Southern Lineage?"

The Master replied, "Because when Master (Shen-)hsiu was alive, the students of the Way in the empire called these two masters South, (Hui-)neng and North, (Shen-)hsiu. The empire knew their reputation and so called them that. Hence there are the two lineages of South and North. Meditation Teacher P'u-chi in fact was a student of Yü-ch'üan [Monastery, where Shen-hsiu taught], and he really did not go to Shao-chou. He is now falsely titled Southern Lineage. That is why I do not allow him."

Dharma Teacher Yüan asked, "Why don't you permit Meditation Teacher P'u-chi?"

"Because Meditation Teacher P'u-chi verbally titles himself as being of the Southern Lineage, (while) he is intent on extinguishing the Southern Lineage."³⁸

³⁴ Gernet (1951), 55; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/216/6913; Hsüan-tsang was famous for his love of hot springs, making these springs 'his home away from home,' especially during the winter, even to the extent of building a mini-city there to accommodate his administrators. See Benn (2002), 81-82, for a description of the luxury there.

³⁵ SKSC, T50.755b10.

³⁶ Cf. Jorgensen (2002), 84.

³⁷ ZSS, 109-110.

³⁸ Hu Shih (1968), 288; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31; Teng and Jung (1998), 47-48.

This passage is followed immediately by the preposterous tale of Chang Hsing-ch'ang disguised as a monk trying to decapitate Hui-neng while he was alive and the slander about Wu P'ing-i erasing the stele. This geographical dimension, of North and South, is echoed in Wang Wei, when he wrote that Hui-neng left Hung-jen, "embraced the jewel and left the country to delusion, and silenced his voice in that foreign land." In other words, for a metropolitan literatus such as Wang Wei, and his intended readership, Ling-nan or Nan-hai was indeed a foreign or strange country. This geographic divide in Ch'an seems to have been Shen-hui's creation, just like his use of *Ko-Lao* as a characterisation of Hui-neng. Similarly, by merging this geographic divide with the absolute of the Southern Lineage, there was no place for a Northern Lineage, just as there are not two suns in the sky or two sovereigns in the empire. But the so-called 'Northern Ch'an,' people like P'u-chi, never used the name Northern Lineage. Rather, as Li Chih-fei in 727 wrote in his preface to Ching-chüeh's *Commentary on the Heart Sutra*,

The Trepitaka and Meditation Teacher Guṇabhadra brought the Lanka lamplight transmission from the country of Southern India and it is called the Southern Lineage. Next it was transmitted to Bodhidharma.

This stance does not appear in Ching-chüeh's earlier *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*. However, it is what Shen-hui would have called the 'incorrect Southern Lineage of Bodhidharma.' Similarly, in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* biography of Fa-ch'ung (ca. 587-666+), it is stated he studied the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* with heirs of Hui-k'o and lectured on it, and he

also met with someone who had personally received instruction from Master K'o, and came to rely on the One Vehicle essence/lineage 宗 of South India and lectured on it.³⁹

Because, according to this hagiography, the content of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as advanced by Bodhidharma was "to forget the words and forget the thoughts, and take the correct contemplation of non-obtaining as the essence 宗,"⁴⁰ it is argued by Yanagida that this indicated the San-lun School position, for Chi-tsang (549-623), the San-lun champion, called San-lun by the name 'Essence of the Correct Contemplation of Non-obtaining,' and because several of Chi-tsang's teachers consulted

³⁹ T50.666b5-6.

⁴⁰ T50.666b9.

Hui-k'o. Therefore, at the time, the Mādhyamika of Nāgārjuna from South India and the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* of South India were perceived to be identical. In Shen-hui's lifetime, Vajrabodhi (669-741) is said by his biographer to have studied the *nan-tsung* of the *Prajñāpāramitā Śāstra*, *Śata Śāstra* and *Dvādaśanikāya Śāstra*, texts of the Mādhyamika. Moreover, T'ien-t'ai's Chan-jan called San-lun the *nan-tsung*, and claimed that it began with the Satyasiddhi or Tattvasiddhi teachings. For him, what was currently called the *pei-tsung* or Northern Lineage, was Abhidharma-kośa and Vijñānavāda doctrine. T'ien-t'ai, on the other hand, he claimed, transcended both. Chü-fang (647-727) and Hsiang-mo-tsang, both learnt the *nan-tsung* before studying under Shen-hsiu. Later, Shen-ch'ing, the critic of radical Ch'an wrote; commenting on the divisions in the scriptural tradition; that the *Ta chih-tu lun* spoke of Mañjuśrī only permitting that Mahayana was correct. Later, 'Maitreya' wrote the *Yōgācārabhūmi Śāstra* in which he advanced the notion of the Three Vehicles:

Later scholars took Mañjuśrī to (represent) the Dharma-nature (*fa-hsing*), and Maitreya to (represent) the Dharma-lakṣaṇa (*fa-hsiang*), and each made boundaries for its territory and spread their own writings that boasted of their excellence. This caused the people of the far West and Eastern China down to the present to possess a difference of two lineages/essences 宗 of North and South. Therefore in the *nan-tsung* they regard emptiness, the provisional and the mean as the three contemplations, and in the *pei-tsung* they have the wholly calculated 遍計, the derived 依他 and perfected 円成 as the three natures. Hua-yen takes the embodied nature and attributes of virtue to operate throughout the Dharma-realm, and by gaining that entrance to unify North and South.⁴¹

Therefore, Shen-hui was proposing that *prajñāpāramitā* was the core of Ch'an, and this was why he replaced the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*) with the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*.⁴² However, the early *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* champions, such as Fa-ch'ung, were more likely to have seen the *nan-tsung* as deriving from the fact that Bodhidharma

⁴¹ *Pei-shan lu*, T52.580b19-581a11. Note, the idea was taken up in the works of T'an-kuang, who in a work of 838 at the earliest, linked Southern Ch'an with Mādhyamika and 'Northern Ch'an' with Fa-hsiang/Dharma-lakṣaṇa, see Jorgensen (1987), 127.

⁴² ZSS, 109-126, although one should not sharply divide the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and *Vajracchedikā* sutras, as shown by T'ang Yung-t'ung, for the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (Northern version) states its teachings came from the *prajñāpāramitā*. See T'ang Yung-t'ung (1932), 'Chu Tao-sheng yü Nieh-p'an hsüeh,' *Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh kuo-hsüeh chi-kan* 3 (1): 29.

and the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* were from South India, and would not have drawn a doctrinal divide between it and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and *Vajracchedikā* sutras.

Indeed, there was a geographic implication in all these doctrinal splits. San-lun and Satyasiddhi or Tattvasiddhi had prospered primarily in South China after the time of Kumārajīva, while the Yogācāra and Vijñānavāda prospered in North China, as did the study of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. On the other hand, for Ching-chüeh and his cohorts, the *nan-tsung* can only have been doctrinal, because Li Chih-fei described the transmission from South India going via Bodhidharma, to Tao-hsin in Tung-shan, and then to Shen-hsiu and others. These patriarchs operated in an area covering from North to South China. In Sung Tan's stele inscription for Lao-an, the term 'northern current' (*pei-liu*) is applied to Lao-an and others of Hung-jen's pupils who had moved north to Mt Sung. It was a term of praise and applied to the geography of China. But for them *nan-tsung* implied the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*'s One Vehicle that pertained to India, and so these two words were not contrasts or pairs at all.⁴³ However, Shen-hui gave *nan-tsung* and *pei-tsung* a Chinese geographic meaning in addition to the doctrinal one, for the South was Hui-neng, who was in remote Ts'ao-ch'i, and Shen-hsiu was in the North around the capital. P'u-chi could not be of the Southern Lineage, in Shen-hui's polemic, because he never went to Shao-chou where Hui-neng had been living, and only studied in Yü-ch'üan Monastery, which was to the north of the Yangtze in Ching-chou.⁴⁴

The ambiguity that Shen-hui played upon lies in the word *tsung*, which by early T'ang times referred to the Buddhist term, *siddhānta* (proposition or theme); and to the related Chinese meaning of essence or truth. In addition, by early T'ang times the traditional Chinese sense of 'ancestral lineage' entered into Buddhist vocabulary, when it was applied to both Buddhist groups and their doctrines.⁴⁵ Shen-hui may well have been reflecting the ambiguity inherent in the works of Ching-chüeh, in particular the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, on which Shen-hui seems to have drawn for some of his main themes. Firstly, Ching-chüeh, besides championing a transmission from master to

⁴³ Ishii Kōsei (2003), 78-79.

⁴⁴ Tanaka Ryōshō (1981), 'Hokushū Zen to Nanshū Zen,' 92-93.

⁴⁵ Mano Shōjun (1964), *Bukkyō ni okeru shū no kannen no seiritsu*, Risōsha: Tokyo, 209-211, 256; Jorgensen (1987), 109.

pupil (*shih-tzu*) of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, also wrote on and studied the *prajñāpāramitā* sutras, the *Heart Sutra* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra*) and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. His commentary on the *Heart Sutra* shows Mādhyamika influences.⁴⁶ It is doubtful that Ching-chüeh detected any contradictions between the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Vajracchedikā* etcetera, or between Mādhyamika and Yogacāra, because of his free interpretations.⁴⁷ Therefore, *nan-tsung* for Ching-chüeh, or his pupil Li Chih-fei, did not refer exclusively to the San-lun or Mādhyamika, and probably referred more to the transmission of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as passed on from Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma.⁴⁸ Even Shen-hsiu is depicted by Ching-chüeh as combining expertise in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the practice of *i-hsing san-mei*, as defined in the *Saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.⁴⁹ Li Chih-fei's use of *nan-tsung* contains an ambiguity; is it a proposition or *siddhānta* of the South, or a Southern Lineage of transmission of the lamplight? After all, Li Chih-fei used the word *tsung* as in, "the essential teaching (*tsung*) of the twelve-part scriptures," and stated that "the polished-patch *moṇa kaṣāya*, pitcher, bowl and staff etcetera of (Hsüan-)tse, were all left to Meditation Teacher Ching-chüeh."⁵⁰ As Ching-chüeh had provided one hagiography per generation in the master-pupil succession in his *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* from Guṇabhadra to Shen-hsiu, it has been suggested he saw this as a single line of transmission,⁵¹ although Ching-chüeh did not specify himself as the only heir. However, Ching-chüeh did use the ordinal prefix *ti* for each generation, with Shen-hsiu the seventh, but with P'u-chi, Ching-hsien, I-fu and Hui-fu as the eighth generation,⁵² sharing like brothers would in the families of the North. Li Chih-fei's preface of 727 lists a transmission of Guṇabhadra to Bodhidharma, then Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, and Hung-jen, who then transmitted the Dharma to Shen-hsiu, Tao-an and Hsüan-tse,

⁴⁶ Faure (1997), *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 136-137.

⁴⁷ Faure (1997), 138.

⁴⁸ Cf. Faure (1997), 157, 172; ZSS, 596; "Guṇabhadra used the *Lanka* to transmit the lamplight, which began from the South Indian country, and so is named *nan-tsung*."

⁴⁹ Bernard Faure (1989), *Le bouddhisme Ch'an en mal d'histoire*, 20; also for Tao-hsin, see Faure (1997), 138; Hu Shih (1968), 287; LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 298 for *i-hsing san-mei*.

⁵⁰ ZSS, 596-597.

⁵¹ Faure (1997), 172.

⁵² See LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 313.

three masters in the same generation,⁵³ an almost identical pattern. So it is possible that *tsung* was used in application to this lineage.

Shen-hui may have taken his cue, moreover, from the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* and Li Chih-fei's mention of the transmission of a robe and bowl to forge his own idea of a *nan-tsung*, in other words, a lineage, and its external manifestation through a robe.⁵⁴ However, Shen-hui then added a purely Chinese geographical dimension of North and South, and not simply a doctrinal reference, to it.⁵⁵ In this, Shen-hui was appealing to Chinese ideas that associated ideas, orthodoxy and styles with this geographic opposition. It was clearly taken as a geographic reference by contemporaries, for the Szechwan-originated *Li-tai fa-pao chi* did not refer to the geographical duality of Northern and Southern lineages, because its geographic location did not fit this dichotomy: Szechwan was neither North nor South. This is the case even in its section on Shen-hui and his "settling of the gist of the lineage."⁵⁶ The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is almost entirely unconcerned with a *nan-tsung*. The word is never used, and *pei-tsung* is used only once as a descriptor of Wu P'ing-i, a "lay disciple of the Northern Lineage,"⁵⁷ and even where it has Hung-jen condemn a perverted Dharma that attached itself to the politically powerful, which would seem to be a reference to 'Northern Ch'an,' the term *pei-tsung* is not used. Of course, it naturally does refer to the South, but only as *nan-fang*, the South.⁵⁸ The *Platform Sutra*, on the other hand, even has *nan-tsung* as the first word in its title and its final note, and links it with *mahāprajñāpāramitā*, although this is thought to be a later, possibly northern addition, as it is not found in non-Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* titles.⁵⁹ However, *nan-tsung* is used where the *Platform Sutra* designated itself as the sign of transmission:

If we are to talk about the *tsung-chih* [gist of the lineage, in Yampolsky, "pivot of his teaching"] (it lies in) the transmission of the *Platform Sutra*. Someone who does not have the *Platform Sutra* and the correct transmission of the teaching is not a disciple of the Southern Lineage (*nan-tsung*)....

⁵³ ZSS, 596; cf. Jorgensen (1987), 102-103.

⁵⁴ Tanaka (1981), 96-99; Faure (1997), 179.

⁵⁵ Cf. Faure (1997), 178.

⁵⁶ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 155.

⁵⁷ EK, 53, for *pei-tsung*, and EK, 36, for Hui-neng's words.

⁵⁸ EK, 44, "In the South there is Meditation Teacher Neng," in Kao-tsung's decree, and, "When did the South have such a prize Dharma-jewel?" the words of Yin-tsung.

⁵⁹ EK, 95-96, 390, 268.

People in the world all say: "In the South, Neng, in the North, Hsiu," but they do not know the basic reason. The Meditation Teacher Hsiu practiced as head priest of Yü-ch'üan Monastery in Tang-yang County in Ching-nan fu, the Master Hui-neng lived at Mount Ts'ao-ch'i.... The Dharma is one teaching, but people are from North and South, so Southern and Northern lineages [*tsung*, Yampolsky, "Schools"] have been established.⁶⁰

Again, the *Platform Sutra* demonstrates the same ambiguity in its use of *tsung* as seen in Shen-hui, which is why two translations of *tsung* are given above, but it does spell out that the lineage is a human artifact, and that the Southern Lineage is transmitted via the *Platform Sutra* itself. This division, encapsulated in the saying, "in the North, Shen-hsiu, in the South, Hui-neng," was adopted by many others, such as Li Hua, Chiao-jan and Liu Tsung-yüan.⁶¹

Shen-hui linked geography, lineage and doctrine in his propaganda for the Sixth Patriarch and thus, himself. Firstly, Shen-hui probably adapted some of the ideas of the Southern 'lineage' of Confucian Learning (*nan-hsüeh*) that followed Wang Su (195-256), which argued that there had to be seven ancestral temples (*miao*) to make up an 'imperial lineage' (*tsung*), and that there was only one Heaven. This contrasted with the Northern 'lineage' of Confucian scholarship (*pei-hsüeh*) that looked back to Cheng Hsüan (127-200) and claimed that there should be only five ancestral temples for an imperial lineage, and that there were six Heavens to be worshipped. The Northern Learning was in decline by the early T'ang, and in the orthodox T'ang commentaries to the Five Confucian Classics, the *Wu Ching cheng-i* of 642, the Southern Learning views prevailed. Chang Yüeh, the scholar-bureaucrat who dominated the court for a time even after the demise of Empress Wu, favoured Southern Learning, and during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung advocated the seven *miao* in an imperial *tsung* and only one Heaven. Shen-hui's theories appealed directly to this notion, and that is confirmed by the testimony of Tsung-mi.⁶² The frequent contests and assertions about who was the Seventh Patriarch were evidently based on this premise, and Shen-hui intended that people should surmise that he, Shen-hui, was that seventh, as well as being a

⁶⁰ EK, 332-333; translation modified from Yampolsky (1967), 162-163.

⁶¹ Li Hua, see EK, 497, *Kü Tso-ch'ü Ta-shih pei*, CTW 320/1453a16-19; Chiao-jan, see EK, 498; Liu Tsung-yüan, see stele for Ju-hai.

⁶² Jorgensen (1987), 109-112.

bodhisattva. It also meant that there could be only one patriarch per generation, just as there was only one Heaven.⁶³

Moreover, this division in Confucian scholarship was vaguely related to the geographic split and to style. The Northern Learning was described as deep, the Southern Learning concise, the Northern as a "relatively austere, philologically and historically oriented style of exegesis" versus the Southern "visionary, speculative" scholarship that was "inclined to discern hidden messages in the text." The Southern Learning was most likely to have appealed to Shen-hui because it attempted to "reconcile Confucianism with" *hsüan-hsüeh* 'Neo-Taoism' and Buddhism,⁶⁴ and because it discounted knowledge derived from language/texts and exalted "supersensory gnosis,"⁶⁵ which is rather akin to Shen-hui's idea of *ling-chih* or 'numinous knowing.'⁶⁶ Perhaps Shen-hui, who had studied the five Confucian Classics in detail, as well as Taoist texts, under his father's instructions,⁶⁷ drew inspiration from ideas and phrases in the works of Huang K'an (488-545), a leading figure in the later Southern Learning, such as the suspicion of the written word, no-mind (*wu-hsin*) and 'to seal' (*yin-k'o*). Huang wrote concerning the authority for disciples to write, "all were sealed by Confucius," the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* used, "what the Buddha sealed," and *yin-k'o* was used by the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*.⁶⁸ Shen-hui used *yin-k'o*,

⁶³ Jorgensen (1987), 109, 114.

⁶⁴ Van Zoeren (1991), 119.

⁶⁵ Van Zoeren (1991), 121.

⁶⁶ HTC 14.558b.

⁶⁷ SKSC, T50.756c8-10.

⁶⁸ For Huang K'an, see Makeham (2003), 114, on *wu-hsin*; 132, on limits of written language), Van Zoeren (1991), 122; on *yin-k'o*, Makeham (2003), 86; *Vimalakīrti* quote, in translation by Kumārajīva, T14.539c26, which writes of what it means to sit in meditation and enter nirvana without removing the passions or afflictions: "If one can sit like this, this is what the Buddha approves (*yin-k'o*)." As the other Chinese and Tibetan translations provide no clues to this use, Kumārajīva may have been trying to reflect an original verb related to the imprinting of approval on clay with a seal, and so found the Chinese word *yin* to be an excellent equivalent. See Simon Lawson (1982), "A catalogue of Indian Buddhist sealings in the British Museum," PhD diss., Oxford University, cited in Peter Kornicki (1988), 116, which shows that the practice of printing texts from a seal into clay was fairly common among Indian Buddhists. The term *yin-k'o* also occurs in a translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*, but I have not located it. See also LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 220. Note that Shen-hui rather taught *wu-nien* and not *wu-hsin* [Hu Shih (1968), 241, 330; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 10; Teng and Jung (1998), 154], although the ideas are similar. Note also that these seals are unlike the seals used for cures or to ward off demons, or for magical purposes, as manipulated by Taoists and Esoteric Buddhists, for which see Michel

drawing on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, which he incorporated into his lineage theory; "One who sits thus, the Buddha will seal. The six generations of patriarchal teachers transmitted from mind to mind, and therefore were divorced from letters."⁶⁹ Furthermore, Huang K'an drew upon the *Pien-tsung lun* by Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) for his conception of the One or Singular Ultimate (*i-chi* — 極), also translated as 'Reach the Ultimate at Once,' or 'Immediate Attainment.'⁷⁰ For Hsieh, this seems to have meant something like 'sudden awakening,' as he wrote, "Immediate Attainment differs from gradual awakening," for in the "embodiment of nothingness (*t'i-wu*)" the nothingness or emptiness is indivisible.⁷¹ Hsieh was attempting a compromise of Buddhism and Confucianism (with Taoist philosophy a mediator), by taking the strengths of each and discarding their weaknesses, which may have fitted with the outlooks of both Huang K'an and Shen-hui.

Like Shen-hui, Hsieh had an ambiguous relationship with state Buddhism. Hsieh wrote his *Pien-tsung lun* in 422 out of a dialogue with a group of eminent clerics who were closely involved with the Liu Sung court, a military regime. They tried to forge a state-protection Buddhism, a community of interest between the ruler and Buddhism.⁷² But when Hsieh was demoted to Yung-chia in 422, he lost confidence in this strategy and resorted to the aristocratic conceit that one could realise enlightenment by oneself and not through scholarship, faith and works. Only those with the innate capacity could achieve sudden enlightenment, while the stupid had to rely on gradual doctrinal study and faith.⁷³ Yet the notion of transcendence of existence and non-existence, Confucianism and Buddhism, also implied a harmonisation of the state law and Buddhist Law, as was proposed by Hsieh's

Strickmann (2002), *Chinese Magical Medicine*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, chapter 4, 'Ensigillation: A Buddho-Taoist Technique of Exorcism.'

⁶⁹ ZSS, 109, 472; Hu Shih (1968), 232; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 7; Teng and Jung (1998), 128, from the *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü*.

⁷⁰ Ishibashi Nariyasu (1989), 'Rongo giso to Ryōdai Bukkyō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 37 (2): 603; Makeham (2003), 151.

⁷¹ Koga Hidehiko (1996, March), 'Tongo no kōsatsu: Bensōron,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 74: 2-3.

⁷² Ogawa Fujio (1965), 'Sha Reiun to Bukkyō,' in Chūgoku shisō shūkyōshi kenkyūkai, comp., *Tōyōshigaku ronshū* 7, Fumaidō shoten: Tokyo, 26-31, 36.

⁷³ Ogawa (1965), 48; Fukunaga Mitsuji (1958), 'Sha Reiun no shisō,' *Tōhō shūkyō* 13.14: 41.

master, Tao-sheng.⁷⁴ Thus, Shen-hui contrasted sudden and gradual enlightenment, and appealed to a state-Buddhist conflation in his use of the symbol of the cakravartin kings and an imperial lineage. Moreover, both Hsieh and Shen-hui relied heavily on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, Hsieh writing a commentary on this scripture.⁷⁵ The geographical contrast drawn by Hsieh Ling-yün would also have invited Shen-hui's attention and approval.

Moreover, the South is saintly, and the North is stupid. To turn one's back on the North and face the South does not mean one stops in the North. To face the South and turn one's back on the North does not equal reaching the South. So by facing the South one can reach the South and by turning one's back on the North, one does not remain in the North. Because one does not stay in the North, one can leave stupidity behind and one can reach the South, thereby attaining enlightenment....

If by heading south one could reach Yüeh, and by turning one's back on the North one could reject Yen, one is believing that Yen is to the north and Yüeh is to the south. If by thinking of emptiness one can cleanse the mind, and by destroying existence one can disperse entanglements, then existence (is for) the stupid and emptiness (is for) the saintly. If one thus is simply diligent in *prajñā* and forgets (the passing of) the day and looks up to the road to Ying [the capital of Ch'u, in the South] and advances rapidly, why should one worry about being out of place? Is one then going to fear that advocacy of singular enlightenment will again stumble over the metaphor of North and South?⁷⁶

The *Pien-tsung lun* could be potentially suggestive for Shen-hui's thesis because it dealt with sudden and gradual enlightenment, and tried to synthesise elements from the theories of Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434) and some Confucians of the Southern Learning:

There is a gentleman of the Way [Tao-sheng] who has a new thesis that maintains, "Silent illumination is subtle and marvellous, not permitting gradations. (Because) the accumulation of learning is limitless, why shouldn't it end of itself?" Now I would reject the gradual enlightenment of the Buddhists and adopt (their proposition) that one can reach (sainthood) and I would reject the (thesis) of the Confucians that (sagehood) is just out of reach and adopt (their proposition) of the Immediate Attainment. Immediate Attainment differs from gradual enlightenment, and attainability is not the just out of reach.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ogawa (1965), 51-52.

⁷⁵ Ogawa (1965), 60 note 51.

⁷⁶ T52.225c11-14, 226c12-17; Koga (1996, March), 14-15, 28.

⁷⁷ T52.225a3-6, with the assistance of Makeham's translation, Makeham (2003), 153; Koga (1996, March), 4.

These varying theses of Buddhism and Confucianism are not simply related to sudden and gradual enlightenment or North and South, but also to Chinese and Indian:

The two teachings are not the same because the response of beings varies with the location (*fang*) and what they teach (varies) with the differences in the land. If we compare them broadly, and examine their peoples, the Chinese find it easy to see the principle, but difficult to accept instruction. Therefore they are closed off to the accumulation of learning and are open to this Immediate Attainment. The barbarians find it easy to accept instruction but difficult to see the principle. Therefore they are shut out from (Buddhism's) sudden realisation but open to its gradual enlightenment.⁷⁸

The *Pien-tsung lun* probably exercised considerable influence on Shen-hui, who similarly merged elements of Buddhism and Southern Learning Confucianism. Shen-hui may have been drawn to Hsieh and Tao-sheng through a reading of Huang, who cited Hsieh. Shen-hui's attention must have been caught by passages where Huang was dealing with the problem of whether one could become a sage or not. While Shen-hui may have ostensibly rejected Huang's position that ordinary people could not become sages, he seems to have been attracted to his idea of "natural aristocracy of the innately talented who are able to 'hear' what others cannot hear."⁷⁹ Shen-hui probably thought, in a Buddhist context, that this aristocracy included himself and those in the lamplight transmission of the 'Southern Lineage.' Moreover, he adopted the geographic determinism found in Hsieh Ling-yün's theory, and equated the North with gradual enlightenment, existence and stupidity; and the South with sudden enlightenment, emptiness and sainthood. In that sense, Hsieh provided part of the foundation for the discrimination of Northern and Southern Ch'an that was initiated by Shen-hui. This appealed also to a Chinese identity versus alien or Indian elements as symbolised by Hsüan-tsang's Fa-hsiang School, which was associated with the analysis of existence, and its notion that some beings, the *icchantikas*, lack a Buddha-nature. It could be used to attack reliance on Indian texts such as the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the Northern Lineage's supposed teaching of gradual enlightenment.

However, after initial success in his propaganda, the majority of

⁷⁸ T52.225a24-28.

⁷⁹ Makeham (2003), 146, 152.

the Ch'an movements labelled themselves Southern Lineage, as in a sense they had done previously, thereby blunting some of Shen-hui's divisiveness. Attempts were made to re-unify the movement, as in the case of Ju-hai. Other Ch'an groups appropriated some of Shen-hui's language and rhetoric, forged genealogical links with Hui-neng, and subsequently ignored Shen-hui, whose historical role was reduced to that of a bit player. This was the fate also of several of the texts, such as the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Pao-lin chuan*, but they were already so assured of the position of Hui-neng and their own lineage that they barely mentioned *nan-tsung* or North and South, reducing the broad geographic division of North versus South to single geographic locations or networks of associated and specific localities.

Regions

Chinese in T'ang times did not simply think in terms of North and South, but also in terms of major regions. For example, the great aristocratic clans were associated with the Northeast, and the imperial clan with the Northwest. Szechwan was seen as at times an isolated and independent place, with the Southeast (lower Yangtze) as a home of the former southern dynasties and their exiled aristocrats, while the far South was viewed as barbarous and pestilential, a place of punishment.⁸⁰ However, economic and political changes during the early to mid-T'ang began to transform the regional hierarchy, particularly as the economic support for the dynasty shifted southwards because of improved agricultural yields in the South and the shift of populations to avoid the chronic political turmoil of the North that began with the An Lu-shan Rebellion and continued with northern frontier regional military commissioners asserting autonomy, even rebelling, and with the predations of the Tibetans around Ch'ang-an in the 760s.⁸¹

These changes in the political and economic conditions of the regions impacted upon the authoring of the Ch'an hagiographies. The earliest layers, those of the account of conduct for Fa-ju (638-

⁸⁰ Twitchett (1979), 3-6.

⁸¹ Twitchett and Wright (1973), 35-36; Twitchett (1979), 17-19, 22-24; Hartwell (1982), 'Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,' 375-376, 385-386, tables on 369 and 375.

689), the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* (ca. 709), the steles for Ching-chüeh and Hui-neng by Wang Wei, the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (ca. 713-716), the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (ca. 713), and the works of Shen-hui (732-ca. 755), were written around the metropolitan heartlands of the North by individuals who lived in Ch'ang-an, Lo-yang and their environs, such as Mt Sung.⁸² The next layer of hagiographies are all several decades later, and came from outside the vicinity of the North China heartlands. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of 774+ was compiled somewhere in Szechwan, probably at Pao-t'ang Monastery in Ch'eng-tu, while the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was compiled in the South, either at Ts'ao-ch'i or a related territory, probably T'an-chou, around 781. The precursor of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* may have been compiled around the same year, possibly in Kuang-chou or in the Southeast. Finally, the *Pao-lin chuan* was composed sometime around 795-796, either in Pao-lin Monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i or to the north in the contiguous regions of Kiangsi and Hunan. The authors of this chronological layer were all anonymous.

The fortunes of Buddhism generally coincided with political, economic and social changes, all of which can be expressed geographically. Although there are many methodological problems with the study of geographic distribution of religious demographics diachronically,⁸³ several tendencies over space and time are clear.

⁸² Fa-ju's stele is in Shao-lin Monastery on Mt Sung (note use of 'Central March-mount' as part of name of stele, ZSS, 487); *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* written by Tu Fei, who declared he was of the capital [ZSS, 560, 48, on Tu Fei, and McRae (1986), 87]; Li Chih-fei was from Chin-chou, several hundred kms south of the capital, and in 727 says Ching-chüeh was from the capital (ZSS, 596); the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* was written by Hsüan-tse, who taught in the northern metropolises, probably soon after he entered the capital ca. 708 (ZSS, 58-59); Ching-chüeh was a 'brother' of an empress and operated around the capital [Faure (1997), 133, 172], and he states he was from the Eastern Capital, Lo-yang, but compiled the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* while in the Tai-hang Mountains about seventy kms to the northeast of Lo-yang [LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 92-93]; the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* is the record of a debate held in 732 at Hua-t'ai, about 230 kms east of Lo-yang [ZSS, 103; Hu Shih (1968), 261]; other works by Shen-hui were probably written at Nan-yang, less than 200 kms south of Lo-yang, as is evident from the titles such as *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao hsing Tan-yü* and *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* [Hu Shih (1968), 426]. Shen-hui was at Nan-yang from 720 to 745.

⁸³ Examples include definition or stipulation of region, the standards for periodisation, the sources used for data on religious individuals, the identifications of individuals with schools or sects, and the limitations of sources to only elite monks. The history of the geographical study of Chinese Buddhism began with the observations of Tokiwa Daijō during several trips sponsored by a newspaper in the 1920s, combined with

The metropolitan north

Firstly, the metropolises of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang maintained a dominant position both for political power and the Buddhist clergy from early T'ang until the events that precipitated the An Lu-shan

some literary sources, and published in summary in 1943 as *Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū*, vol. 3, Meicho Fukyūkai: Tokyo, 1979 reprint, 119-173. A landmark study was published by Yamazaki Hiroshi in his *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 1942. This was followed by Shigenoi Shizuka (1973), *Tōdai Bukkyō shiron*, Heirakuji shoten: Kyoto, in a chapter, 'Tōdai Bukkyō kyōsen no kentō,' 24-70, which asserts that as Yamazaki ignored the place of origin of the monks in his analyses, they had to be included. Yen Shang-wen (1980), *Sui-T'ang Fo-chiao tsung-p'ai yen-chiu*, Hsin wen-feng: Taipei, used the same sources, but attempted to classify the monks into schools or sects, and found the time divisions of Yamazaki too short. Yen Keng-wang (1968), 'Fo-chiao fen-pu chieh: T'ang-tai,' in Shih Chang-ju et al, *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-li* 2, *T'ang-tai jen-wu ti-li p'ien*, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh: Taipei (plus notes given to his students of which I have a photocopy), expressed doubts about using places of origin, for these referred mostly to places of origin of the elite clans (*chün-wang*) and not to the actual place of origin, although the HKSC and SKSC tend more to reflect the real places of upbringing. Lee Kit-wah (October 1979), 'T'ang-Sung Ch'an-tung chih ti-li fen-pu,' *Hsin Ya hsieh-pao* 13: 211-362, is a much broader study of Ch'an, as it includes the Sung Dynasty, and depends mainly on the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*. Hence, all of these analyses suffer major flaws and differ as to regionalisation, periodisation, sourcing and categories of monks. Yamazaki's is probably the most useful when combined with that of Yen Shang-wen.

For Ch'an, the most exhaustive studies are in the series of volumes by Suzuki Tetsuo: (1984), *Tō Godai no Zenshū: Konan Kōsei hen*; (1985), *Tō Godai Zenshū shi*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo; and (1999), *Chūgoku Zenshūshi ronkō*, Sankibō Busshorin: Tokyo. These three volumes use local gazetteers, Ch'an 'histories,' stele collections and standard histories, and in the last volume, a survey trip, to provide a more detailed analysis. The geographic units adopt the regional groupings of the mostly Ch'ing Dynasty gazetteers. Each region is described topographically and climatically, then subdivided into prefectures (not as consistently in third volume), with a brief overview of the Ch'an, the monks and their patrons, provided for each sub-region. The study is limited geographically to Hunan, Hupei, Kiangsi, Shensi, Kiangnan, Fukien, Chekiang and Kuangtung (leaves out Szechwan, Shansi, Kansu, Kwangsi and Yunnan or Nan-chao), and covers only Southern and Niu-t'ou Ch'an, which limits its use for our study. However, occasionally the geographic and political analysis is useful.

Finally, mention should be made of Kojima Taizan's theory of 'East Asian Buddhist Studies,' which asserts that there are cultural regions within the East Asian sphere that cross some 'sectarian' boundaries. In one brief article, the idea is applied to Ch'an, which is classified into fourteen areas within China. It is claimed each is not simply a region, but also manifests a particular style of behaviour and intellectual tendencies. Some seem plausible, such as the Wu-t'ai region of Ch'an thought, which had a strong Hua-yen component, but others such as the Szechwan region include conflicting tendencies in Ch'an, such as the Pao-t'ang and Ching-chung lineages. Unfortunately, the series of articles are too short to allow of sufficient analysis. For Ch'an, see Kojima Taizan (March 1995), "'Higashi Ajia Bukkyōgaku" ni yoru Chūgoku Zenshisōshi no saikōchiku,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 43 (2): 754-758.

Rebellion. Initially the capitals had overwhelming supremacy because of the centralising nature of the T'ang court and were the sites of massive translation projects that drew provincials into the centre. The next most important area was Central China, especially Ching-chou and the lower Yangtze. However, after 667, this dominance of the northern metropolises in Buddhism was weakened through to the outbreak of the An Lu-shan Rebellion because the major translation project of Hsüan-tsang had ended with his death. The death of Tao-hsüan in 666 also meant that the biographies after that time were written by Tsan-ning, who presented his work to the Sung throne in 988, and thus had less allegiance or bias towards the T'ang metropolises and their clergy, which affects our evidence.⁸⁴ Within the northern heartlands, Ch'ang-an dominated, especially up to 667, but less so from that time on as Empress Wu Tse-t'ien shifted the capital for a time to Lo-yang.

It was in this period of Empress Wu's reign, and those of the ineffectual emperors Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung, that pupils of Hung-jen such as Fa-ju, Shen-hsiu, Hsüan-tse and others entered the metropolitan districts.⁸⁵ Empress Wu actively promoted Buddhism, and gave it priority over Taoism. So-called Northern Ch'an gained a following at the court, and that permitted other monks such as Shen-hui to actively gain a hearing in the capital regions. In the period from 668 to 755, Ch'an monks came to increasing prominence, while the older scholastic schools declined or disappeared.⁸⁶ This metropolitan region not only had the greatest concentration of power, wealth and scholarship in T'ang, it also had the greatest density of population, and so was a profitable area for proselytisation. Authors, especially monks, would have been able to find more influential readers and patrons in this region than anywhere else, and success here often meant coming to the attention of the court and the most influential Buddhist prelates. Thus Fa-ju, Hsüan-tse, Shen-hsiu, P'u-chi, Ching-chüeh and Tu Fei had important patrons. Hsüan-tse was summoned to court in 708 by Emperor Chung-tsung, and he taught meditation in both capitals for the next decade.⁸⁷ His pupil, Ching-chüeh, was the younger 'brother'

⁸⁴ Yamazaki (1942), 362-363.

⁸⁵ Yamazaki (1942), 380-381, 386-388.

⁸⁶ Yen Shang-wen (1980), 300-306.

⁸⁷ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 273ff.; ZSS, 56-59; McRae (1986), 150.

of Empress Wei, the consort of Emperor Chung-tsung. His obituary by Wang Wei mentioned he had a major following among the aristocracy, and the chief mourner was Li Wei, the second son of Emperor Jui-tsung.⁸⁸ Fa-ju, after Hung-jen died, left to go north, and lived on Mt Sung in Shao-lin Monastery. He was invited to preach in the capital, Lo-yang, in 686 by an eminent monk, Hui-tan, and he had the following of quite a number of high officials.⁸⁹ Tu Fei, who wrote the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, was probably one of Fa-ju's disciples, and he had lived in Fu-hsien Monastery in Lo-yang, a monastery erected in 675 by Empress Wu for her late mother. Tu Fei wrote another work, and returned to the laity as a low-ranking national official.⁹⁰ Shen-hsiu, of course, had many patrons, for his obituary was written by Chang Yüeh, the chief minister, and a memorial requesting he be invited to court was penned by Sung Chih-wen. He was subsequently invited to court in 701 by Empress Wu, and entered riding in a palanquin while the highest courtiers and officers of state had to walk. He died in Lo-yang five or six years later.⁹¹ He had patrons in Empress Wu, Emperor Chung-tsung, Chang Yüeh, the prince Li Fan, and others, and he left behind a number of texts.⁹² Even Emperor Chung-tsung attended his funeral, which was conducted by the President of the Board of Imperial Sacrifices, a signal honour.

Shen-hui had similar patronage slightly later. In 720 he was imperially ordered to reside in Lung-hsing Monastery in Nan-yang County. As it is claimed he had dialogues with Chang Yüeh (d. 730), and with Ts'ui Jih-yung (d. 722), prefect of Ju-chou from 718 to 722,⁹³ he seems to have garnered connections with officialdom. Later, he held a mass

⁸⁸ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 20; ZSS, 90-91; McRae (1986), 192ff. But cf. Yang Tseng-wen (1999), *Tang Wu-tai Ch'an-tsung shih*, 133.

⁸⁹ P'ei Ts'ui, *Shao-lin Ssu pei*, CTW 279/1269c1; CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 390; McRae (1986), 126; Tonami Mamoru (1990), 14, 37.

⁹⁰ ZSS, 48; Yanagida Seizan (1963), 'Den hōbō ki to sono sakusha,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 53: 67.

⁹¹ Hsieh tz'u yü-shu *Ta-t'ung Ch'an-shih pei-ê chuang*, CTW 224/1011c; CTS 16/191/5109; LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 298ff, CFPC, 396ff; Chang Yüeh, *Tang Yü-ch'üan Ssu Ta-t'ung Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 231/1045b27-c12; for the invitation, Sung Chih-wen, *Wei Lo-hsia chu-seng ch'ing fa-shih ying Hsiu Ch'an-shih piao*, CTW 240/1089a; McRae (1986), 46; ZSS, 497 ff.

⁹² Lo Hsiang-lin (1955), *Tang-tai wen-hua shih*, Shang-wu shu-chü: Taipei, 139-143.

⁹³ Suzuki Daisetsu (1968), *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 3: 247; for Ts'ui, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 2: 618.

meeting or assembly in Ta-yün Monastery, Hua-chou,⁹⁴ possibly losing the debate there. He also probably confronted P'u-chi (d. 739) in Lo-yang sometime afterwards.⁹⁵ Again, he had conversations with Wang Wei and Wang Chü and many other officials, residing in Lo-yang during the 740s and early 750s. He was later summoned to the court chapel by Emperor Su-tsung around 758. His chief mourner was a prince of the imperial house, Li Chü, who at the time was Governor of Lo-yang.⁹⁶ Therefore, Shen-hui also had eminent patrons, officials and literati, and perhaps even a grateful emperor in Su-tsung.

This patronage and metropolitan location was momentous for the success of the launch of the hagiography of Hui-neng. Shen-hui, through his patrons and evangelical meetings in the metropolitan region, was able to gain a hearing for and a reading of his hagiography of Hui-neng. Moreover, he was able to recruit leading literati such as Wang Wei and high officials such as Fang Kuan and Sung Ting to write inscriptions that supported his claims. Furthermore, the metropolitan North was where all the debates over the imperial lineage or *tsung*, and Northern and Southern Learning in Confucianism were conducted, and so Shen-hui had an audience who would have appreciated the import of his claims, whether they agreed with him or not. They knew who P'u-chi was, and possibly something of the content of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, and may have read of the mention of Hui-neng in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*. Without such familiarity with the themes Shen-hui manipulated to promote his image of Hui-neng, and without the authority lent by prominent laymen, the propaganda for Hui-neng may have failed, and Hui-neng may have been sidelined as a mere footnote in Ch'an history. The metropolitan launchpad was crucial in the initial stages, but was to become less significant as time passed and its own influence waned.

⁹⁴ Hu Shih (1968), 260-261; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 17-18; Teng and Jung (1998), 5-7.

⁹⁵ Tsung-mi, *Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu (shih-i) ch'ao*, HTC 14.553b11-12; Gernet (1951), 47.

⁹⁶ Yeh Wan-sung and Shang Chih-t'an (1994), 'Lo-yang Lung-men ch'u-t'u Shen-hui t'a-ming k'ao-pien,' *Wen Wu* 11: 81-83; Shiga (1998), note by Shimazu Kyōjun, 206; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 2: 469-470, also of Hua-chou in 756, Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 2: 689.

Szechwan

However, with the continuous warfare in the North from the outbreak of the An Lu-shan Rebellion onwards, the focus of Ch'an hagiographical activity migrated elsewhere. The first place it reappeared was in Ch'eng-tu, the capital of the Szechwan region, which being ringed by mountains, was difficult to conquer from the north or east, and so at times was relatively autonomous. Ch'eng-tu was also the centre of a heavily populated basin, with the second highest concentration of people after the Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang regions. This population growth seems to have been accelerated by the An Lu-shan Rebellion.⁹⁷ The fortunes of Szechwanese Buddhism, especially that of Ch'eng-tu or I-chou as it was then known, were closely interlocked with that of Ch'ang-an and the North. During the An Lu-shan Rebellion, the court of Hsüan-tsung fled to I-chou, which helped revive the Buddhism of the region. But the majority of the monks there were thaumaturges, ascetics and hymnodists, not exegetes and scholars.⁹⁸

Szechwan was both a place of refuge during times of strife in the North and a place for political machinations and opportunism. The An Lu-shan Rebellion provided an excellent opportunity for military commissioners, politicians and officials in Szechwan to use Buddhism and their geographic advantage to further their ambitions. The Pao-t'ang School of Wu-chu, which produced the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, was supposedly supported by two of the most important Szechwan-based power brokers, Tu Hung-chien (709-769) and Chang-ch'iu Chien-ch'iung (n.d.).⁹⁹ Chang-ch'iu was a military governor of Chien-nan for the period 739 to 746, and had fought the Tibetans. He gained a position as President of the Board of Finance in 746, via Yang Kuo-chung, the father of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's favourite concubine. He invited Kim Musang to preach in Ching-chung Monastery in Ch'eng-tu.¹⁰⁰ When Hsüan-tsung fled to Szechwan, it was Chang-ch'iu who invited

⁹⁷ Cf. maps for ca. 714 census, 742 census, and ca. 765 census in Hans Bielenstein (1985), 'China's Population AD 2-1982: I, Han-T'ang,' and Hartwell (1982), 369 table 1, and maps in Mark Elvin (1973), *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, 207, 209.

⁹⁸ Yamazaki (1942), 362, 366, 439-441; Shigenoi (1973), 41-43, noted the high population and that most of the monks of the region had a bent towards magic. Cf. Yen Shang-wen (1980), 321-322.

⁹⁹ Yanagida (1983), 21.

¹⁰⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 142; CTS 16/196/5234; CTW 405/1862a, compilers' notes.

Musang, himself a former prince of Silla, to the temporary court.¹⁰¹ Musang had been falsely recruited by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* hagiographers as the transmitter of the patriarchal robe to Wu-chu.

The most wily and powerful figure was Ts'ui Kan, also known as Ts'ui Ning (ca. 720-ca. 781), who is said to have rejoiced in 'perverse arts.' He had left the regular civilian bureaucracy to become a soldier, fought against Nan-chao, and returned to Ch'eng-tu where he was promoted. Around 762, he was sent to quell a rebellion in Szechwan. He then battled against Tibetan and Ch'iang incursions. He fought and defeated a Chinese general, who was eventually deemed more loyal to the court than the fractious Ts'ui. In 766, Tu Hung-chien, the military commissioner of Szechwan, was scared to attack the difficult Ts'ui Kan, and so connived to have him promoted and virtually confirmed in his de-facto post. After Tu Hung-chien returned to court in Ch'ang-an in 767, Ts'ui took over full power and made a fortune. He violated the wives and concubines of officials in the region, and in 779 he was promoted to court posts, simply to lure him away from his power base. Eventually he was assassinated for communicating with the rebel Chu Tz'u, who had briefly taken Ch'ang-an earlier in 763.¹⁰²

Ts'ui Kan was deeply involved with Wu-chu, and he is portrayed in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* as having been the object of a supposedly fraudulent attempt in 766 to take over Musang's meditation cloister and make it into a vinaya cloister, and to have his meditation hall made into a lecture hall, by the deceivers showing Ts'ui and his wife what was reportedly the *kaśāya* of transmission. However, Ts'ui did not believe them, and called in Wu-chu and Tu Hung-chien for advice. Although the monks tried to denigrate Wu-chu by alleging that the robe was really that of a stonemason, Ts'ui threatened them by stating these were false accusations.¹⁰³ Ts'ui, although showing apparent deference to Tu Hung-chien, was clearly the de-facto power. For example, when Tu pleaded illness not to go out to meet Wu-chu, Ts'ui therefore craftily said as 'the (local) territorial lord' (*ti-chu*) he would not go out before Tu.¹⁰⁴ Again, Ts'ui, his wife of the Jen clan, and Tu Hung-chien, were

¹⁰¹ SKSC, T50.832b28-29.

¹⁰² CTS 10/117/3397-3402; Wang Shou-nan (1978), no. 906A-E; Peterson (1979), 523-524.

¹⁰³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 190-191.

¹⁰⁴ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 199.

preached a sermon by Wu-chu, and it was Ts'ui who spoke first, and then reported Tu's words to Wu-chu:

Your disciple at that time feared that as you had long been in the mountain monastery, you would be overawed and unable to converse with the Minister (Tu). I was deeply worried about the face-to-face meeting. There is not a single teacher monk of the Three Rivers (Szechwan) who could converse with the Minister. As soon as Minister Tu saw you, he said to your disciple, "He is a real person of the Way, naturally endowed and especially discerning, and is marvellously different from (ordinary) monks..." Your disciple is blessed, and was immediately relieved.¹⁰⁵

Ts'ui is the mediator, and only Wu-chu is capable of conversing with Tu, who was renowned for his Buddhist sympathies and dislike of, and incompetence in, warfare. Yet Tu stayed only a little over a year (766-767) in Szechwan, and died in December 769, taking the tonsure just before he died. He was buried Buddhist style in a stupa.¹⁰⁶ In other words, while Tu could symbolise a fervent patron from the centre, Ts'ui Kan was the power in Szechwan when the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was written. This text, moreover, denigrates all other Buddhist monks in Szechwan, with the exception of Wu-chu's claimed lineage,¹⁰⁷ which can be traced back to Lao-an, some of whose teachings, especially on sudden enlightenment, had been 'poached' by Shen-hui/Hui-neng. Wu-chu is presented as neither being of North or South,¹⁰⁸ but he was definitely closely associated with the Szechwan military government, both the officials and their wives.¹⁰⁹ Wu-chu seems to have maintained an isolationist attitude like Ts'ui Kan held.¹¹⁰ Indeed, Wu-chu's group apparently were concerned that the court would restrict the Sangha, for around 780, Li Shu-ming, the military commissioner of Chien-nan (Szechwan), memorialised that limits be placed on monasteries and the

¹⁰⁵ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 215. Adamek (1997), 297, describes this and the encompassing passages where Wu-chu is invited to leave his mountain isolation by Tu Hung-chien as "the centerpiece of the work."

¹⁰⁶ CTS 10/108/3282-3284; CTW 364/1657b compilers' notes; Wang Shou-nan (1978), nos. 264A-D, 786 no. 264D. Nishiwaki (2000), 204, says this is an example that shows the reluctance even by fervent Buddhists to be cremated; they preferred interment of the whole body.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Yanagida (1976a), 201.

¹⁰⁸ Yanagida (1976a), 231.

¹⁰⁹ Yanagida (1976a), 254-255, 273.

¹¹⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 270, in reply to Szechwan monks who wished to go to Mt Wu-t'ai to worship Mañjuśrī, he said, "Buddha is in your mind, Mañjuśrī is not far..." In other words, stay here.

number of monks for economic reasons. Wu-chu had possibly deflected such types of criticism by eliminating the costly rituals and self-serving practices characteristic of the monasteries around Ch'eng-tu, and staying in an ascetic isolation of meditation in his remote mountain hermitage.¹¹¹ In this defiant autonomy Wu-chu and Ts'ui Kan were like kindred spirits. Yet the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* spread into South China, where it influenced the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan*, and into Tun-huang, where manuscripts of it have survived, and into Tibet where a Tibetan translation was probably made.¹¹²

Szechwan provided a relatively safe sanctuary for the hagiography of Hui-neng to develop. Not only did the court retreat to the region during the An Lu-shan Rebellion, but also the lineage of Wu-chu, which was in rivalry with that of Shen-hui because it preached similar teachings and was likewise radically evangelical, wrote the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* to assert its legitimacy over the lineage of Shen-hui. Borrowing and usurping Shen-hui's propaganda, it extended the hagiography of Hui-neng. This gained a hearing, probably because of Wu-chu's powerful political connections. Furthermore, Szechwan provided a useful path of dissemination of the image of Hui-neng to regions in southern China through the river systems of the Yangtze basin.

Kiangnan (South of the Yangtze)

Of course, Szechwan was not the only place of escape from the troubles of the North around the time of the An Lu-shan Rebellion and following. The Yangtze River basin and Kiangnan saw increases in population and numbers of eminent monks.¹¹³

[I]n the pre-rebellion period the area of steadiest increase [in population] was in the Huai and lower Yangtze basins. After the rebellion this increase was greatly accelerated, and settlement also proceeded rapidly in the modern provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupei.

This population shift was accompanied by higher agricultural productivity in the South.¹¹⁴ Yamazaki included Shao-chou under his heading of Western Kiangnan (Kiangsi), even though it is in Kuangtung.

¹¹¹ Adamek (1997), 62, 74.

¹¹² Yanagida (1976a), 7-8, 31-32; Yanagida (1983), 16.

¹¹³ Yamazaki (1942), 366-367, 424.

¹¹⁴ Denis Twitchett and Arthur F. Wright (1973), 'Introduction,' in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds, *Perspectives on the Tang*, 35.

The reason seems to have been that it is linked to Nan-yüeh and to Hung-chou, leading centres in Kiangnan, by major land and river routes, and Southern Ch'an spread out from Shao-chou northwards along these communication networks.¹¹⁵ In some ways, it was easier to move goods and supplies, or troops, from Ch'ien-chou to Shao-chou, than it was to go upstream from Kuang-chou to Shao-chou.¹¹⁶ The population in the lower Yangtze delta, the Southeast, increased rapidly during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung and after the An Lu-shan Rebellion.¹¹⁷ These were areas where the governors and military commissioners remained loyal to the T'ang court, partly because the region provided a chance for enrichment without rebellion. This was then a rising and prosperous region,¹¹⁸ just as the metropolitan districts were being depopulated, overtaxed and neglected. The centre of economic power had shifted south, and with it many Buddhist monks, who required an economic surplus for their maintenance.

In this region, a number of districts are of particular interest for the development of Ch'an hagiography. To the west, in Hunan, the main centre for Ch'an was Nan-yüeh or Mt Heng, and the city further downstream, T'an-chou (modern Ch'ang-sha). In Kiangsi, the two cities of importance were Hung-chou (modern Nan-ch'ang) and Ch'ien-chou. Shao-chou and Ling-nan will be treated separately.

Hunan

Nan-yüeh was located on a major north-south route from Ling-nan to the northern capitals. The route passed via Shao-chou, Heng-chou (Nan-yüeh's administrative district), T'an-chou, Ching-chou (a major administrative centre in the central Yangtze) and then on up to the capitals.¹¹⁹ However, part of the route was very treacherous because of rapids and narrow gorges in the section between Ch'en-chou (southern Hunan) and then into the Wu-shui down to Lo-ch'ang and Shao-chou. Once the Kiangsi route over the Ta-yü Pass was opened up in 716, the route to Heng-chou became less and less used for trade and other

¹¹⁵ Yamazaki (1942), 426-431.

¹¹⁶ Huang Mei-yin (1996), *T'ang-tai Chiang-hsi ti-ch'ü k'ai-fa yen-chiu*, Kuo-li Tai-wan Ta-hsüeh wen-hsüeh-yüan: Taipei, 69, 232.

¹¹⁷ See maps of 742, 765 A.D. in Bielenstein, and Hartwell (1982), Table 1, 368.

¹¹⁸ Denis C, Twitchett (1976), 'Varied Patterns of Provincial Autonomy in the T'ang Dynasty,' 101-102.

¹¹⁹ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 3.

purposes.¹²⁰ Thus Hunan developed more slowly than neighbouring Kiangsi, and it was probably for this reason that it did not become a major Ch'an centre.

Still, Nan-yüeh was one of thirty sites selected in 601 by Emperor Wen of the Sui for the elevation of the *śāṣṭra* of the Buddha and the erection of an Aśoka stupa. This was undoubtedly because it was the Southern Marchmount that delineated a southern border of the empire, a line between Chinese and 'barbarian,' and a defense of the southern marches of the realm. It was also seen as a region of exile.¹²¹ It was a hotbed of T'ien-t'ai, Vinaya and Pure Land Buddhism, and as seen above, monks there had close connections with Liu Tsung-yüan. It attracted some of the reputed disciples of Hui-neng and Shen-hui, plus members of 'Northern Ch'an.'¹²² Therefore, it seems to have been an area where attempts were launched to synthesise or overcome the divisions into two or more streams of Ch'an, that allegedly stemming from Hui-neng and that of the Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang centred 'Northern Ch'an.' Later, the Ch'an centre in Hunan moved north to T'an-chou, as Ch'an gradually moved back into the provincial cities from the mountains. These new regional centres had been strengthened as the dynasty's dependency increased on the tax take from these southern districts and their populations increased.¹²³ A significant number of Ch'an monks lived on Nan-yüeh,¹²⁴ and there is a suggestion that the *Pao-lin chuan* was written in its Chu-ling Grotto Heaven, because it quoted many texts and there was a Tripitaka library on Nan-yüeh, and because the *Pao-lin chuan* contains some Taoistic references. Nan-yüeh was also a headquarters of Taoism.¹²⁵

T'an-chou was also the home district for several of Hui-neng's pupils or grand-pupils, as well as pupils of Shen-hui and P'u-chi. Also, Ju-hui (744-823), a native of Shao-chou and pupil of both Fa-ch'in of the Niu-t'ou lineage and of Ma-tsu Tao-i, lived in T'an-chou.¹²⁶ Moreover, Ju-hai (727-808), who attempted to harmonise the differences of the Northern and Southern lineages in Ch'an, lived there, as did one of the

¹²⁰ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 50.

¹²¹ Robson (2002), 158, 191.

¹²² Robson (1995), 243-244; Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 6.

¹²³ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 301-303.

¹²⁴ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 10-18.

¹²⁵ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 7; Robson (2002), 535-536.

¹²⁶ SKSC, T50.773b; TTC 4.88-91; Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 7-9.

pupils of Hui-neng as recorded in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Meditation Teacher Huang, who lived there from ca. 711 until 723.¹²⁷ Liu Wu-t'ien was prefect of T'an-chou sometime between 743 and 754,¹²⁸ and Li Sun (739-809), one of the friends of Liu Tsung-yüan's father, was the civil commissioner of Hunan from 792 to 797, and then of Kiangsi from 797 to 805. He was a follower of Ju-hai and prefect of T'an-chou in the period 792-797.¹²⁹ Another follower of Ju-hai was Lü Wei (735-800), who was prefect of T'an-chou from 797 to 800. This man also held discussions with Ling-ch'e's teacher, Shen-ying.¹³⁰ As I shall argue later, T'an-chou may have been where the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was composed by someone with a close link to Ts'ao-ch'i, and if the *Pao-lin chuan* was compiled at nearby Nan-yüeh, this would make Hunan a significant region for the development of the hagiography of Hui-neng.

Kiangsi

The other major route north from Ling-nan through Shao-chou was via Kiangsi. Having crossed the Ta-yü Ling, the easiest and most strategic pass out of Ling-nan, which had been greatly improved by the road-works initiated by Chang Chiu-ling, the traveller followed the Kung River down to Ch'ien-chou, then along the Kan River via Chi-chou down to the provincial capital of Hung-chou, then past the scenic Mt Lü to Chiang-chou or Chiu-chiang on the Yangtze River.¹³¹ It was along these routes that population and economic development grew the fastest, and Ch'ien-chou was the key southern link.¹³² The

¹²⁷ EK, 53-54, a.k.a. Chih-huang in TTC 1.131.

¹²⁸ HTS 13/12/4177-4178, 9/23A/2839; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2125-2126.

¹²⁹ CTS 11/123/3521-3522; HTS 8/2589; Wang Shou-nan (1978), nos. 410A-B; obituary by Ch'üan Te-yü, *T'ang ku Yin-ch'ing kuang-lu tai-fu shou li-pu shang-shu chien yü-shih tai-fu ch'ung chu-tao yen-tieh ch'uan-yün teng shih shang-chu-kuo Chao-chün K'ai-kuo kung tseng shang-shu yü-p'u-she Li kung mo-chih ming*, CTW 505/2305b-2306a; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2132; LTYCC, 1/ 6/68-69 and Liu Tsung-yüan, *Lung-an Hai Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 587/2666b2.

¹³⁰ CTS 11/137/3768; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2132; LTYCC, 1/7/69; CTW 587/2666b2; SKSC, T50.815c20; ZSS, 353.

¹³¹ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 106; for the work on the Ta-yü Ling road, see P. A. Herbert (1978), *Under the Brilliant Emperor*, 46-47, 54-56. The project started in 716, and by replacing rope bridges and narrow tracks, he made it suitable for wheeled transport, thereby opening up trade and opportunities for Shao-chou, Ling-nan and Ch'ien-chou.

¹³² Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 'T'ang-tai pei-fang chia-tsu yü Ling-nan Hsi-tung she-hui,' *T'ang yen-chiu* 2: 384.

southern prefectures of Kiangsi were places to where bureaucrats were often demoted, whereas Hung-chou was a more prestigious posting, being the headquarters of a commissioner. In this region, Ch'an monks received the patronage of such prefects and commissioners, many of whom were sharp politically.¹³³ The region was ideal in many ways for Ch'an to develop, for it had large provincial towns with mountains such as Mt Lü close by, and also mountains remote from major settlements. This permitted Ch'an monks more flexible relations with the authorities and an ability to avoid strife more easily, and enabled monks to practice in near solitude or proselytise in the busy towns.¹³⁴

It was an area of growing population and economic prosperity, criss-crossed by important trade routes, mostly waterways. This growth was not solely due to immigration from the North after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, for the population had grown earlier,¹³⁵ and it could support the growing population and the empire with its surplus paddy rice, tea, lumber, oranges, fish, sugar, alcohol, boats, paper, pottery and silver.¹³⁶ This attracted schools and capable administrators. Monasteries participated in land development and education, especially on Mt Lü.¹³⁷ The monk Chiao-jan is often mentioned in this connection. However, the area still did not produce many degree holders, even in the later T'ang, and so talent tended to be imported from elsewhere.¹³⁸ For this reason, monks may well have helped pioneer education and the desire for knowledge.

Above all, Kiangsi, especially in its north, was the pivot of the major routes of the empire.¹³⁹ Besides the Ch'ien-chou to Ta-yü Pass route; which had been improved in 716 by Chang Chiu-ling and again in 785 by Lu Szu-kung's son Lu Ying when he was made prefect of Ch'ien-chou;¹⁴⁰ it was bordered on the north by the Yangtze River that linked Szechwan to the prosperous Southeast of Yang-chou and

¹³³ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 110.

¹³⁴ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 315-316.

¹³⁵ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 80, 103.

¹³⁶ Huang Mei-yin (1996), chapter 3.

¹³⁷ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 115-116, 167, 171-176.

¹³⁸ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 193-194, 236-238.

¹³⁹ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 3.

¹⁴⁰ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 52; cf. Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2053, dates this to 787-788; HTS 15/138/4624, says ca. 785.

similar towns. From there goods could be transported up the Grand Canal and through to Lo-yang and the metropolitan region. Alternatively, one could cross the Yangtze at the Chiu-chiang ferry and pass through Ch'i-chou and Huang-mei County, where Tao-hsin and Hung-jen had their Tung-shan Fa-men monasteries, then to An-chen and through Hsiang-chou to Ch'ang-an, passing by Mt Hsiung-erh where Bodhidharma was supposedly buried. Or, one could go further up the Yangtze and proceed via Ching-chou, where Shen-hsiu had had his monastery, and Hsiang-chou on to Ch'ang-an. Thus, nearly all travellers from Ch'ang-an or Lo-yang going south came via Kiangsi. Furthermore, Kiangsi provided a major trade route for Chekiang via the Ch'ang-chiang (river) to She-chou. This was a major route for the tea trade. Further south, another road led from Hsin-chou through Yü-shan, which furnished a link to Fukien.¹⁴¹

These communication routes were of vital significance to Ch'an, for early members of the Ch'an movement, such as Tao-hsin, had been in the region, and he and Hung-jen had taught not far to the north near the opposite bank of the Yangtze. Slightly later, several disciples, or alleged disciples, of Hui-neng, resided in this area. The district around Hung-chou seems to have attracted these monks first. For example, it seems that the former general and pupil of Hung-jen who pursued Hui-neng to the Ta-yü Ling in the account of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Hui-ming, lived on a mountain to the west of the town. This account was of course likely derived from Shen-hui's stories, and has to be taken with a grain of salt. Indeed, the evidence is rather confused.¹⁴²

The founder of Ch'an activity in Hung-chou and vicinity was undoubtedly Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786), who had come from Han-chou, just to the northwest of Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan. He took the tonsure from Master T'ang of Tzu-chou, to the southeast of Ch'eng-tu. Master T'ang was Ch'u-chi (689-736?), and so the tonsure was given around 729/730, when Ma-tsu came of age.¹⁴³ Tsung-mi stated Ma-tsu was a pupil of Musang (684-762), who in turn was the lineage-heir of Ch'u-chi, although Tsung-mi may have been confused. Ma-tsu heard of the

¹⁴¹ Huang Mei-yin (1996), 51-53, 57, 71.

¹⁴² Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 124-128; EK, 36-37, 70. See Chapter 5 on doubts about the historicity of Ch'en Hui-ming, the ex-general who allegedly lived at Mt Meng.

¹⁴³ Cf. ZSS, 337.

reputation of Huai-jang (677-744), allegedly a disciple of Hui-neng, who was living on Nan-yüeh. This may have been around 734, and he is said to have resided with Huai-jang for ten years, probably until Huai-jang's death, for Ma-tsu built the stupa, although some doubt has been expressed about this.¹⁴⁴ Ma-tsu then migrated eastwards to Fu-chou, southeast of Hung-chou, then probably via the Yü-shan road to the Fo-chi Ranges, probably a monastery, in Chien-yang, which is in northwest Fukien. Later he shifted to Lin-ch'uan, which is just outside of Fu-chou, approximately a hundred kilometres southeast of Hung-chou, probably around 744. He moved again to Mt Kung-kung, which is southwest of Ch'ien-chou, and very close to the Ta-yü Ling Pass. He apparently stayed there for some time, gathering a number of pupils, including Chih-tsang, Huai-hai, Ch'i-an, Wu-ting and Tzu-tzai.¹⁴⁵ There he gained the devotion of the prefect, P'ei Hsü (719-793), who was in this post around 767.¹⁴⁶ P'ei Hsü's father, P'ei K'uan (680-755) was a mourner for P'u-chi in 739, and was noted as a Buddhist devotee. It was he who memorialised Emperor Hsüan-tsung to grant P'u-chi the posthumous title Ta-chao.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, P'ei Hsü had grown up in a devout Buddhist family. He acted to lessen harsh taxes, and showed compassion towards the people. He became the governor or commissioner of Honan, and according to Ch'üan Te-yü, who wrote the obituary for Ma-tsu in 791, was a major sponsor of Ma-tsu.¹⁴⁸ Thus, Ma-tsu and his associates and pupils (with the exception of Ta-i) probably showed less hostility to 'Northern Ch'an' than did Shen-hui and some of his disciples.

Sometime early in the Ta-li reign era (766-780), Ma-tsu was registered as a resident of the K'ai-yüan Monastery, one of the nationally sponsored or named monasteries which carried out court-ordered rituals,¹⁴⁹ in Chung-ling, just to the southeast of Hung-chou. This

¹⁴⁴ Ui Hakuju (1935), 1: 388; cf. SKSC, T50.743b25, which suggests he was in Chien-yang around 742.

¹⁴⁵ Ui Hakuju (1935), 1: 388-389.

¹⁴⁶ Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2052.

¹⁴⁷ CTS 9/100/3129-3131; CTS 16/191/5111; SKSC, T50.760c22; CTS 9/99/3106; Li Yung, *Ta-chao Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 262/1191b21; Li Fang, *Tai-p'ing kuang-chi* 2/94/625; *Yü-yang tsa-tsu* 415 [in Lan Chi-fu, comp., (1983), *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-liao ch'u-pien*]; SKSC, T50.733c9.

¹⁴⁸ CTS 11/126/3567-3569; HTS 14/130/4490; CTW 371/ 1693b, compilers' notes on P'ei Hsü; Ch'üan Te-yü, *Tang ku Chang-ching Ssu Pai-yen Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 501/ 2292c1; SKSC, T50.766b3-7.

¹⁴⁹ Weinstein (1987), 54.

was due to an imperial favour. Ma-tsu had probably been invited to this monastery by Lu Szu-kung (712-781), who personally accepted the tenets of Ma-tsu's teachings. Lu Szu-kung was the civil and military commissioner of Kiangnan from 772 to 778/9. Lu had been a military commander in the fight against the Tibetan invaders and was financially astute. He crushed a revolt in Ling-nan, where he was concurrently the commissioner from 773 to 777. However, in suppressing the uprising in Kuang-chou, he executed many merchants and shippers, confiscating millions of strings of cash, which went into his own private holdings, thereby annoying Emperor Tai-tsung. In 780, he used these ill-gotten gains as a bribe to gain promotion and relocation to Lo-yang.¹⁵⁰

Ma-tsu stayed in K'ai-yüan Monastery for about a decade, but in the Ching-chung era (780-783), an imperial decree ordered all monks return to their original place of registration, but Pao Fang, the then civil commissioner of Kiangsi (in post 780 to 783), and prefect of Hung-chou (780-782), rejected the decree and kept Ma-tsu in Chung-ling.¹⁵¹ Famous for his period as commissioner in Hung-chou and earlier in Fu-chou, Pao Fang was an incompetent general; a writer rather than a soldier.¹⁵² Around the time of Ma-tsu's death in May 786, Li Chien, a relative by marriage to Liu Tsung-yüan, protected Buddhism in Kiangsi. Li Chien was the prefect of Hung-chou from 785 to 790. He received the final teachings of Ma-tsu, and led the lay mourners at the funeral, which was one of the grandest and most attended ever held for a T'ang Dynasty monk. It was comparable to those of P'u-chi and Shan-tao, the popular Pure Land master, and has been compared to a funeral of a wealthy lay Confucian.¹⁵³ Li Chien then supported Ma-tsu's pupil, Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang.¹⁵⁴ Pao

¹⁵⁰ CTS 11/122/3499-3501; CTW 394/1797c, compilers' notes; SKSC T50.766c12-13; CTW 501/2292c2ff.

¹⁵¹ SKSC, T50.766b13-14; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 1987.

¹⁵² CTS 12/146/3956; HTS 16/159/4949; Wang Shou-nan (1978), nos 1192A-D; CTW 437/2000a, compilers' notes; Mu Yüan, *Pao Fang pei*, CTW 783/3675b-3676a.

¹⁵³ Yanagida (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 463 and note 544; see Ch'en Po-ch'üan (1982.7), 'Ma-tsu Ch'an-shih shih-han t'i-chi yü Chang Tsung-yen T'ien-shih kuang-chi,' *Wen shih* 14: 258. Cf. comment on funeral by Nishiwaki (2000), 344.

¹⁵⁴ For these events and people, SKSC, T50.766c14, b18; Ch'üan Te-yü, *T'ang ku Hung-chou K'ai-yüan Ssu Shih-men Tao-i Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 501/2292c; Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen shih-i* 4/4780c18; for Li Chien, Wang Shou-nan (1978), nos

Chi (d. 792), who was the sponsor of Ling-ch'e via the introduction from Chiao-jan, wrote the obituary stele.¹⁵⁵ Ch'üan Te-yü (759-818) was a patron of Ma-tsu also, and he stated that he had learnt the Way from Ma-tsu around 786.¹⁵⁶ He also wrote a stele inscription for the master at the request of the latter's pupils.¹⁵⁷ He is mentioned in the *Ma-tsu yü-lu* as a patron, and he associated with a number of Ma-tsu's pupils, including Huai-hui (754-815).¹⁵⁸

Ma-tsu Tao-i, during his stay in the Hung-chou district, had gained a huge following among the officials and clergy. He had many able pupils, and among them may have been Kim Taebi, the Silla monk mentioned in the *Pao-lin chuan* as the instigator of an attempt to steal Hui-neng's head. Likewise, the civilian circle around Ma-tsu created connections with Ling-ch'e, the author of the preface to the *Pao-lin chuan*.

Ma-tsu had earlier stayed at Mt Kung-kung in Ch'ien-chou, and quite a number of his pupils had been with him there, including Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang, Po-chang Huai-hai and Yen-kuan, and it appears he began to spread his message from this location.¹⁵⁹ The patronage of P'ei Hsü no doubt assisted. One of Ma-tsu's pupils, Chih-tsang (735-814), was a native of Ch'ien-chou County, in the northern part of Ch'ien-chou. He studied under Ma-tsu while still a child, and became one of Ma-tsu's messengers to Niu-t'ou Fa-ch'in (714-793) and Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774). He was apparently Ma-tsu's chief heir, receiving his robe. He then returned to Ch'ien-chou. It is said that Wei Shou, the prefect of Ch'ien-chou from 817 to 820, collected Chih-tsang's words and deeds into a *t'u-ching*, probably an illustrated text.¹⁶⁰ Wei Shou had previously been tutor to the heir-apparent, the

374A-B, and CTS 136/3751; for Ma-tsu, see Yanagida (1985), 509-520; Ui Hakuju (1935), 1: 377-396; Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 114-123.

¹⁵⁵ SKSC, T50.766c8.

¹⁵⁶ CTW 501/2291c3.

¹⁵⁷ CTW 501/2292c18-19.

¹⁵⁸ CTW 501/2291a-b; SKSC, T50.768a; Iriya Yoshitaka (1984), *Baso no Goroku*, Zen bunka kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 206, on the stele, and the stele inscription is on pp. 210-212.

¹⁵⁹ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 135-136.

¹⁶⁰ The question of what a *t'u-ching* was is complex. See Yanagida Seizan (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 406-409, 463. Adamek (1997), 210, also relates the *t'u-ching* to Tao-hsüan's visions of an ordination platform at Jetavana in 667, and connects this to objects entrusted to Śākya Muni by previous buddhas or to intermediaries, with the *t'u* diagram illustrating space and the *ching* the time of history. For Chih-tsang and Wei Shou, SKSC, T50.766c16-18; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2057.

future Emperor Mu-tsung, but was demoted to Ch'ien-chou because Emperor Hsien-tsung was displeased that he had not sufficiently disciplined the child.¹⁶¹ Wei Shou and the prefect Li Po (ca. 772-ca. 831) lobbied Mu-tsung to grant Chih-tsang an imperial posthumous title, which was granted partly no doubt because of this personal connection.¹⁶²

The Ch'ien-chou link with Ma-tsu and Chih-tsang is most significant, for besides P'ei Hsü who was a patron of Ma-tsu while prefect there, other prefects in charge while Chih-tsang resided in the area included Li Chou, author of a biography of Hui-neng, Ma Tsung, who had Hui-neng imperially granted a posthumous name, and Ts'ui Tsao, the father-in-law of Ch'üan Te-yü.¹⁶³ It is possible Li Chou was prefect there when the *Pao-lin chuan* was being prepared, for Chih-tsang, or one of his pupils, have been nominated as candidates for its author. Li Chou in particular may have had a role, for he is stated to have served Chih-tsang just as Yen Hui had served Confucius.¹⁶⁴ Chih-tsang, in his day, seems to have been one of the most influential Ch'an monks of the South, for in 874 T'ang Chi wrote that of Ma-tsu's many pupils, Wei K'uan was the core (*tsung* 宗) in the North, and Chih-tsang the core in the South, being "like Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu who had divided (the lineage) in the past."¹⁶⁵ Moreover, Chih-tsang is listed in the famous 851 stele by Li Shang-yin together with Musang, Wu-chu and Ma-tsu, as one of the four saints of Tzu-chou in Szechwan.¹⁶⁶ In addition, Chih-tsang had three Silla pupils,¹⁶⁷ which may explain the presence of Kim Taebi in the *Pao-lin chuan*, the author of which may have taken a hint from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* about an attempted theft of Hui-neng's head and his prediction of two bodhisattvas from the east who would restore Hui-neng's teachings. Yanagida Seizan thinks that Ma Tsung may have read the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, prompting him to ask Liu

¹⁶¹ CTS 13/162/4244-4245; HTS 16/160/4976-4977.

¹⁶² SKSC, T50.766c9-15; TTC 4.73-74; Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 170-182; Ishii Shūdō (Dec. 1978), 'Kōshūshū ni okeru Seitō Chizō no ichi ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 27 (1): 280-284.

¹⁶³ Ebrey (1978), *The aristocratic families*, 198; Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 2053.

¹⁶⁴ Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 181; Ishii (Dec. 1978), 281, quoting T'ang Chi's stele of 874.

¹⁶⁵ Ishii (Dec. 1978), 281.

¹⁶⁶ Ishii (Dec. 1978), 284; ZSS, 399; Li Shang-yin, *T'ang Tzu-chou Hui-i Ching-she Nan-ch'an Yüan Ssu-cheng Tang pei-ming*, CTW, 780/3653c-3654a.

¹⁶⁷ Yanagida (1985), 462, 464; Yanagida Seizan (1978), 'Shin zoku tōshi no keifu, jo 1,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 69: 28-32.

Tsung-yüan to write the stele of 815 for Hui-neng.¹⁶⁸ Liu Tsung-yüan in turn may have read the *Platform Sutra*.¹⁶⁹ However, Chih-tsang was undoubtedly the chief heir of Ma-tsu and attracted many students, in particular from distant Silla, and a considerable number of provincial officials as patrons. He influenced the Ch'an of both Hung-chou and Ch'ien-chou, and thus provided a link to the north from Ts'ao-ch'i, just over the Ta-yü Ling Pass from the monastery on Mt Kung-kung. As the successor to Ma-tsu's heritage, it was possibly he or one of his associates who had the *Pao-lin chuan* compiled.

The writer's concerns were clearly with place and authority, for the *Pao-lin chuan* is scrupulous about specifying the locations of the graves of the patriarchs, the posthumous titles they were granted by the throne,¹⁷⁰ and the official supporters and mourners. Thus, for the otherwise little known Hui-k'o,¹⁷¹ the *Pao-lin chuan* has Dharma Teacher Pien denounce him to the county magistrate, Huo Chung-k'an (taken from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*); who had Hui-k'o harmed. He then died and was buried "over seventy *li* to the northwest of Fu-yang in Tz'u-chou."¹⁷² The court chaplain of T'ang, the śramaṇa Fa-lin, wrote his stele inscription.¹⁷³ As the patriarchs moved southwards, far more detail is provided by the *Pao-lin chuan*. Tao-hsin is depicted as having been enlightened by Seng-ts'an and then taking the precepts in Chi-chou, the next prefecture north of Ch'ien-chou.¹⁷⁴ His master, Seng-ts'an, has a whole section of the *Pao-lin chuan* devoted to the discovery of the location of his tomb by court officials, such as the Viceroy of Honan (i.e. deputy governor of Lo-yang), Li Ch'ang, the rituals conducted at the tomb, the stele inscription by Fang Kuan, and the grant of a posthumous name by the emperor, as well as questions over the numbers of the patriarchs and their names. This section takes up twenty pages of the original compared to six pages for the life of Seng-ts'an himself.¹⁷⁵ Similar disproportion between the 'life' of Bodhidharma and his obituaries and other aspects of the 'afterlife' can

¹⁶⁸ Yanagida (1985), 443.

¹⁶⁹ Yanagida (1985), 450.

¹⁷⁰ Yanagida (1978), 27.

¹⁷¹ HKSC, T50.552a, has no information on Hui-k'o's tomb.

¹⁷² *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* 5: 46-47, ref. 4 by 5, south of Han-tan.

¹⁷³ *Pao-lin chuan*, 146a-b (8.29a-b).

¹⁷⁴ *Pao-lin chuan*, 149b (8.29b).

¹⁷⁵ *Pao-lin chuan*, 148c-154d (8.34a-46b).

be seen in the section on Bodhidharma.¹⁷⁶ Judging from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which is likewise heavily biased in favour of the 'after-life'; official connections, with the wholesale incorporation of decrees and memorials to the throne, miracles of death, the manufacture of the mummy, and the fate of the relics; the hagiography of Hui-neng in the *Pao-lin chuan* must have been similarly slanted towards these concerns. The hagiography of Hui-neng would have been the culmination of the *Pao-lin chuan*, for its full title was *Shuang-feng shan Ts'ao Hou ch'i Pao-lin chuan* (The Biographies of the Pao-lin [Monastery] of the Marquis Ts'ao Creek in Mt Shuang-feng), a title seen at chapter headings. Because fascicle eight included Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an, and most likely fascicle nine contained the hagiographies of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, it is probable that fascicle ten, the final section, contained the hagiography of Hui-neng, with subsidiary hagiographies of his descendants down to Ma-tsu.¹⁷⁷

The officials who backed Ma-tsu and Chih-tsang were not the highest-ranked officers of their day, but rather provincial commissioners and prefects, generally loyal to the dynasty. They could provide regional support and lobby at court for the monks they favoured, but they did not wield the influence of courtiers like Chang Yüeh, Fang Kuan, or members of the imperial clan. Therefore the *Pao-lin chuan* has the air of being a provincial product, one without imperial or metropolitan sanction, and its eventual fate indicates that this was the way it was perceived later in history, after it had served its purpose in popularising Ma-tsu's brand of Ch'an and providing a foundation for the subsequent *yü-lu* which came pouring out of this lineage.¹⁷⁸

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, many of the literati were pushed by political and economic circumstances into the South and Southeast where there were groups of poet-monks with whom they found a congenial empathy. Moreover, the increasing reliance of the court on this region for income meant more able officials loyal to the dynasty were posted there. Emperor Te-tsung's failure to regain central control and the subsequent rebel-

¹⁷⁶ *Pao-lin chuan*, 132a-142c (8.1a-22a); fourteen pages for the life, twenty-nine for the afterlife.

¹⁷⁷ The last two fascicles are lost, but citations from them have been identified by Shiina Kōyū (March 1980), 'Hōrinden kan-kyū kan-jū no itsubun,' *Shūgaku kenkyū* 22: 191-198.

¹⁷⁸ Yanagida (1978), 19; Yanagida (1985), 457-458.

lions in the Northeast from 781, the increasing role of eunuchs at court, and his distrust of the bureaucrats, led to a migration of talent into the Southeast and the South. A number of these figures became players in the elaborations on the hagiography of Hui-neng. The readership and audience for Hui-neng's hagiography had likewise shifted into the region, and so the figure of Hui-neng gained greater support in this region than in the metropolitan region, where some of the newer versions of the hagiography, such as that in the *Pao-lin chuan*, were rejected. In addition, as the southern parts of Kiangsi and Hunan were closer to the site of Hui-neng's relics and alleged deeds, the hagiographies of Hui-neng produced in the area probably gained an increased relevance to readers and possibly were also seen as more authoritative than a hagiography produced in the metropolitan region, which was not only distant but also declining in authority.

Ling-nan

The first hagiographer of Hui-neng, Shen-hui, referred in his brief account to Ling-nan five times, to crossing over the Ranges (*ling*) three times, to the Ta-yü Pass once, to the Ko-Lao natives of the region twice, and to the place names of Hsin-chou and Ts'ao-ch'i in all nine times. Therefore, he was emphasising this barbarous and remote region as a contrast to the civilised North. This was to highlight the Southern Lineage and that its doctrines could be accessed even by near-barbarians.

Ling-nan or 'South of the Range,' was remote, semi-barbarous, pestilent and foreign in the eyes of most T'ang Chinese, especially the northern elite. Not a single great clan can be found with a toponym in the region, the furthest south for them being T'an-chou in Hunan, Hung-chou in Kiangsi and Ch'üan-chou in Fukien.¹⁷⁹ Besides Hui-neng, hardly any eminent monks came out of this region, and two listed in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* may have been semi-fictitious individuals linked to the forgery of the *Shou-leng-yen ching*.¹⁸⁰ All were linked, even if tenuously in some cases, with Ch'an.¹⁸¹ One, Chih-chi/fu of the She-lun School, died in 601 before the time under consideration, but he may have met Hui-k'o after the Northern Chou Persecution of

¹⁷⁹ See Johnson (1977), *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, 65 map.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Yamazaki (1942), 426, 443-444, at Kuang-chou and Mt Lo-fou.

¹⁸¹ Yen Shang-wen (1980), 316-318, 326.

Buddhism.¹⁸² Another, Pao-hsiu, was active ca. 805, yet is curiously listed as a descendant in the lineage from Hung-jen. He was a native of Tzu-chou in Szechwan, and had his doubts removed by Dharma successors of Hung-jen in Chi-chou. Later he shifted to Mt Lo-fou in eastern Kuangtung, where a monastery was built for him. He was summoned to court by Emperor Shun-tsung and there questioned about translation. He was retained at the capital for three years, where he is said to have died.¹⁸³ Tao-hsing (731-825) is given as a possible pupil of Ma-tsu, but the biography is problematic, as there were two monks of this name, one of Li-chou who had his doubts resolved at Chung-ling, where Ma-tsu resided, and died in 820. The second was a native of K'uai-chi who heard of Ma-tsu at Nan-yüeh, and later settled on Mt Lo-fou, and he probably died in 825.¹⁸⁴ Thus two of the monks were outsiders who settled in the region, leaving only one or two T'ang Dynasty monks besides Hui-neng who were raised in the region.

Therefore, the frontier nature of Ling-nan meant that very few eminent monks and no national clans came from the region, but its very remoteness and obscurity allowed for the fabrication of texts and scriptures, as there were fewer checks, and because its main centre, Kuang-chou, was an entrepôt for products, books and ideas from the south and from India. Thus, an idea or text could easily be attributed to an import or a foreign monk whose status and even existence could not be verified by the metropolitan elites, Buddhist or bureaucratic.

During the T'ang, parts of Ling-nan experienced a rapid population growth, especially in the corridor from Kuang-chou north to Shao-chou.¹⁸⁵ The northern hills of Ling-nan developed more rapidly because the higher elevations were cooler and thus less subject to malaria.¹⁸⁶ The populations, however, were still mainly non-Chinese or partly assimilated tribals, mixed with Chinese families, some of whom had fled south, others of whom had been exiled for political reasons and were unable to return north. In other words, this was a colonial frontier,

¹⁸² HKSC, T50.431c; Jorgensen (1979), 130-132; Yen Shang-wen (1980), 355; Ibuki Atsushi (1999), 'Eka to Eika,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 48 (1): 198.

¹⁸³ SKSC, T50.768b3-10; Yen Shang-wen (1980), 400.

¹⁸⁴ SKSC, T50.839b, and Yen Shang-wen (1980), 402, cf. with SKSC, T50.841 a-b.

¹⁸⁵ See maps 6 and 7 in Elvin (1973), 207, 209; Hartwell (1982), 369, for Lingnan, East Core and Northern Periphery.

¹⁸⁶ Hartwell (1982), 392, 375 Table 2; Schafer (1967), 39, 134.

with the cities and towns such as Kuang-chou and Shao-chou 'bastions of Chinese culture.' The non-Chinese tribals who resisted retreated into the hills, while the assimilated tribespeople and Chinese settlers used Chinese agricultural techniques in the valleys. The population of Chinese culture-bearers was boosted by the elites, who came in one particularly large wave during the reign of Empress Wu.¹⁸⁷ These exiles, and a few of the more educated settlers, brought Confucian or Chinese values with them, and so in that sense were agents of the court and the metropolis.¹⁸⁸ However, the demotion and banishment of members of the elite could be counter-productive. Ling-nan was a place of extreme punishment for many who barely escaped execution, with family members of rebels enslaved as well, and those who were in the wrong clique in court factional battles found themselves and their extended families, servants and slaves, sent to rot in this hostile region. Many exiles were assassinated there because the deed would be largely unobserved and pass unnoticed.¹⁸⁹ Exile to Ling-nan was virtually equivalent to the death sentence. Such was the case with the family of Liu Shih, of whom Liu Wu-t'ien, the prefect who figures in the *Pao-lin chuan*'s tale of Kim Taebi, was the only descendent of the extended family or branch of a clan sent there in exile.

Chinese banished to Ling-nan, like Hui-neng's father in the hagiographies, were sent to live among non-Chinese natives, people thought to be a branch of the Yüeh. Many indigenes still practiced slash-and-burn agriculture, hunting and gathering, living in thatched huts raised on stilts over their pigs and cattle. A few natives in the remoter districts may still have practiced head-hunting. 'Shamanism,' spirit-worship and animism were the mainstays of local religions, and periodically the Chinese leadership tried to destroy their cult centres by burning them down or by stopping the people from sacrificing cattle and using alcoholic libations. Occasionally, Buddhist monks such as Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791) played this role, and Buddhist monasteries were built on these old sacred sites.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Herbert (1978), 14-16; Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 377-378, thinks the number in the wave may have been in the tens of thousands, as whole households, including servants and slaves were deported.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Hisayuki Miyakawa (1960), 'The Confucianization of South China,' in A. F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian persuasion*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, 39-41.

¹⁸⁹ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), *T'ang-tai Ling-nan fa-chan to ho-hsin-hsing*, 41-43; Schafer (1967), 38-39; Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 377-378, 380.

¹⁹⁰ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 1-6.

Hsi-ch'ien was born in Kao-an County, Tuan-chou, to the west of Kuang-chou. He was from a village of cave-dwelling Lao tribespeople, who feared their gods and slaughtered cattle in offerings to them. Buddhism must have been making inroads, for at birth, his mother took him to a shaman woman for blessing, but also introduced him to Buddhism, and so he later destroyed the shamanic shrine in the sacred grove, smashed up the paraphernalia and led the cattle away. He did this repeatedly, fleeing afterwards for sanctuary in the local Buddhist monastery. Persistence eventually was rewarded, and his relatives stopped making animal sacrifices. He later took tonsure on Mt Lo-fou, and afterwards became a pupil of Hsing-ssu, allegedly a pupil of Hui-neng, at Nan-yüeh.¹⁹¹

Officials who had expected a career in the metropolis hated their exile in Ling-nan. Li Te-yü (787-850) complained of chickens flying through his office and Han Yü moaned that the county seat often was little more than ten families hemmed in by the wilderness. He could not understand the local language, and often resorted to writing characters in the dirt to communicate. In fact, usually the only locals in the smaller towns with whom one could have an intelligent discussion, according to these northerners, were the Buddhist monks.¹⁹² Some northerners so despised the area they divorced their wives before departing there, and family members tried any means they could to get the corpses of their loved ones back North. They were disgusted at the natives' disregard for the funerary ceremonies of the North, for they buried the dead too quickly and without the proper rites.¹⁹³ Perhaps then Hui-neng was lacquered in an attempt to preserve him for the trip back north, either to Shao-chou or to his alleged ancestral homeland, Fan-yang, in North China.

Chinese therefore looked down on everyone from Ling-nan, with very few exceptions. The natives, the *Ko-Lao* or 'Hunting Lao' in particular, were thought of as not properly human or civilised. They were

¹⁹¹ SKSC, T50.763c21-764c22; cf. TTC 1.147-155. According to the *Tsu-t'ang chi* he is supposed also to have met Hui-neng, but this was likely a conjecture by the compilers, for which see Ui Hakuju (1935), 1: 397. I suspect the allegation of his Lao background is a similar fabrication made to link him with Hui-neng. Dating, and evidence of his Buddhist learning and literacy (he is credited with several poetic works), militate against a tribal upbringing, but this tale does indicate a role Buddhism was expected to fulfill in Ling-nan.

¹⁹² Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 44-45.

¹⁹³ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 10, 44-45.

compared to animals.¹⁹⁴ Tu Yu in his *T'ung-tien* stated:

They love to kill and harm each other, and have many enemies, so they do not dare travel far. Their nature is the same as that of the beasts. If they become extremely angry, fathers and sons do not avoid each other, but the one who has a weapon in hand will kill the other first. If he kills his father, he runs away to the outside, to catch a dog with which to appease his mother, and only then does he dare return.

They even enslave and sell each other.¹⁹⁵ Tu Yu's account was largely based on that of the 'Lao chuan' chapter of the *Wei shu*, which also notes,

If they attack another in retribution, they are sure to kill and eat him.... They customarily fear the spirits, and also venerate them with obscene worship. If the person they have killed has splendid whiskers, they will pare off the skin of the face, place it in a basket (and hang it) in bamboo. When it is dried, they call it a spirit, and drum and dance in worship of it to seek good fortune. When they have sold off all their younger relatives, wives and slaves, they sell themselves as offerings in the festivals.¹⁹⁶

Northerners so loathed anyone even remotely connected with a barbarian South that Emperor Te-tsung reviled his minister, Lu Chih (704-805),

a native of the civilized and only moderately southern town of Su-chou as 'old Lao slave.' Lu Chih was no Lao, but as a southerner he could be called a Lao in a moment of passion, as he might be called an ape or devil. If the snobbery of a northerner of the Yellow River valley could see a boor or a clodhopper (to say the least) in a native of the great lake and river system of the near south, it is easy to imagine his attitude toward the creoles—the Chinese born in Fukien, Lingnan or Kweichow: they partook of the unpleasant character of the aborigines.

This involved a moral judgment, not just one based on environment. Both indigene and creole, or rather Chinese settler or colonial, were considered to be merely greedy merchants. As Tu Yu wrote, "South of the Five Mountain Passes [Lingnan] men are commingled with the barbarian Lao, knowing nothing of education or public spirit—they

¹⁹⁴ Schafer (1967), 48-49; on hunting Lao, see P'an Chung-kuei (Feb. 1994), 'Tun-huang hsieh-pen *Liu-tsu t'an-ching chung ti Ko-Lao*,' 162-165.

¹⁹⁵ Quoted in P'an Chung-kuei (1994), 162.

¹⁹⁶ Chang Hsin-min (2003), 113. Note, however, that cannibalism was not unknown among the Chinese also, and some generals are recorded as having eaten defeated opponents. See Benn (2002), 123-124.

take wealth to be manliness."¹⁹⁷ The Lao themselves "were naturally violent and rebellious...almost the same as beasts. Of all the barbarians, they are the hardest to assimilate by the Way and righteousness."¹⁹⁸ Because they lived by hunting, were headhunters and cannibals, and made blood sacrifices to the spirits, and were thought to be virtually non-human, it is no wonder that Hung-jen, north of the Yangtze, when he first interviewed Hui-neng, said, "You are a Hunter Lao from Ling-nan. How can you become Buddha?" This of course was Shen-hui's portrayal. Wang Wei played on these themes in his stele for Hui-neng, writing of water and cave-dwellers who painted their bodies and pierced their ears in a most un-Chinese manner. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, being a local product perhaps, does not use the *Lao* word, but does claim that Hui-neng later spent five years among the hunters in the hills between Ssu-hui and Huai-chi counties, while the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* retained the term *Ko-Lao*,¹⁹⁹ suggesting that it might not have been written in Ling-nan, or was a product of a bastion of Chinese culture in the region such as Kuang-chou. For monistic Buddhists of course, to the contrary, this theme was used to highlight the universality of the Buddha-nature, and to display loyalty to an empire that was struggling to overcome ethnic and cultural divisions.

Xenophobia and a Confucian dislike of merchants and trade coloured the northerner's perspectives on Ling-nan society. On the frontiers of this territory, the native chieftains were often appointed as the prefects under a special system of official selection limited to the South, and some families held posts through the generations, rather like sub-feudatories. This was necessary because some posts were so unpopular they were unfilled for years, even places like Shao-chou.²⁰⁰ Moreover, in the vicinity of Kuang-chou in particular, the numerous Arab, Indian and Southeast Asian merchants settled and intermarried with the local population, much to the disgust of the central officialdom. These peoples, of all ethnicities, even challenged government authority, and at times became smugglers and pirates.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Schafer (1967), 58.

¹⁹⁸ Tu Yu, quoted in P'an Chung-kuei (1994), 163.

¹⁹⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 127.

²⁰⁰ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 36-40, 46, on merchants, 47-52, on official selection.

²⁰¹ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 68-72; Schafer (1967), 28.

Like many a colonial frontier, the settlement by the dominant culture was achieved via freebooters, adventurers, opportunists, exiles and convicts. Some northern elites came to "love being in the South, and did not wish to return North," because they could achieve wealth and power in the region.²⁰² Others fled South to avoid the frequent outbursts of warfare in the North, as for example in the Sui and T'ang unifications, and during the An Lu-shan Rebellion and its aftershocks. The latter especially promoted rapid growth, particularly in Shao-chou. Of course, many others took the opportunity of lax administration in the region to avoid registration and taxation, and to accumulate unreported wealth, and so the official population statistics are often greatly under-estimated. Therefore, even in the remotest districts there were northern migrants, who introduced new agricultural technology and began to transform the local culture. Intermarriage and Confucian education in the schools set up by migrants and officials, led some locals to imitate the exiled officials and literati, and many of their descendants passed the national examinations as a result.²⁰³ Paddy rice cultivation, irrigation and Confucianisation thereby created a different society such that by late T'ang it was seen even by northerners as more civilised than in the past.²⁰⁴

The results were double-edged. Some of the earlier settlers from pre-T'ang times became able administrators in the national bureaucracy who could plead the case of Ling-nan and were sympathetic to the needs of its peoples. An example is the clan of Chang Chiu-ling, whose clan was one of those pioneering Sinicisation in the region.²⁰⁵ A fair number of the exiled elite also performed a sterling service to the inhabitants by applying their talents to the local administration, eliminating some of the problems the people faced.²⁰⁶ But others were venal and cruel, bribing their way to top positions in the territory so as to extract as much wealth for themselves as possible. Many more were simply less than competent, agreeing to posts in Ling-nan that would not have been offered to them elsewhere. Eventually this combined to make the region more resistant to the claims of central control,

²⁰² Wang Ch'eng-wen (1997), 377.

²⁰³ Wang Ch'eng-wen (1997), 383-390.

²⁰⁴ Wang Ch'eng-wen (1997), 402-405.

²⁰⁵ Herbert (1978), 14-15.

²⁰⁶ Schafer (1967), 38; for example, Liu Tsung-yüan's attempts to halt child slavery in Liu-chou.

especially after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, when local magnates acted in defiance of the court.²⁰⁷

Hui-neng was cast by his hagiographers variously as the son of an exiled official and possibly a local mother, in Schafer's words, a 'creole.' While Shen-hui made his father out to be an official sent to Hsin-chou, and a member of the great aristocratic Northeast clan, the Lü of Fan-yang, Wang Wei denied this, and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* states Hui-neng was a native of Hsin-chou who was orphaned when he was three, and had a lay surname of Lü. The *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* says his father was an official at Fan-yang who was dismissed and banished as a commoner to Ling-nan.²⁰⁸ Later tradition has it that his mother was a local of the Li clan. Even to this day, Hsin-chou people say his father, Lü Hsing-t'ao, was demoted to deputy prefect/adjutant (*ssu-ma*) of Hsin-chou in 662, and that he married a local woman of the Li clan.²⁰⁹ These attributions of background no doubt served either to stress his eminent pedigree, a 'hidden king' or sage,²¹⁰ or to highlight that he was 'the local kid made good,' even a Hunting Lao or Chinese creole. Of course, hagiographers seized onto such local colour to lend their story a veneer of veracity.

Because of the tenacity of the local cults and 'shamanism,' Buddhism only gained gradual ground in Ling-nan. Fang Ch'ien-li, a geographer, wrote: "The men of the south...do not, in the main believe in Shakyas." Quite a number of those who did become monks did not keep their vows of celibacy or vegetarianism.²¹¹ Indeed, many of the

²⁰⁷ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 31, 34, 36, 39, 47.

²⁰⁸ Yampolsky (1967), 126. However, the *kuan* for 'official' here is thought, as in later texts, to be an error for *kuan*, 'registered in.' Li Shen and Fang Kuang-ch'ang (1999), 29, give 'official'; Teng and Jung (1998), 220-221, give 'official' in the text, but alter it in the note, using the SKSC, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the Hui-hsin version of the *Platform Sutra* as evidence.

²⁰⁹ Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 533, on the evidence gathered by Jao Tsung-i. There is much speculation on this point, but little concrete evidence has been provided. Examples are Schafer (1967), 92; and Wang Ch'eng-wen (1997), 382.

²¹⁰ McRae (1989/1990), 'The legend of Hui-neng and the Mandate of Heaven: An illiterate sage and the unlikely emperor,' 69-82.

²¹¹ Schafer (1967), 91-92, quoting Fang from *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 483. Yen Yao-chung (1996), 'T'ang-tai Chiang-nan ti yin-ts'u yü Fo-chiao,' *T'ang yen-chiu* 2: 51-62, shows that the Kiangnan region, a more advanced area, had a large following for 'shamanistic' worship of local gods, such as snakes and mountains etcetera, which were believed to bring rain and pestilence and so forth, and they had to be propitiated with blood sacrifices. The state, in its attempts to unify culture, had officials abolish these shrines. This was important because of Kiangnan's rising economic

lesser prefectures had no monks, and even those who were available lacked knowledge of the metropolitan culture, the rituals and mores of the North. Reliance, even for state matters, often devolved upon false or unordained monks.²¹²

On the other hand, Buddhism played a considerable role in 'civilising' the indigenous population, and as Wang Wei stated concerning Hui-neng, "For a long time, only the Dharma of Buddhism has in fact aided the imperial rulers' conversion (of the people)."²¹³ Some exiled officials, like Liu Tsung-yüan, even believed that the natives could be Sinified via Buddhism.²¹⁴ As elsewhere in the periphery, religious institutions such as monasteries were bearers of the central civilisation to those margins,²¹⁵ and exiles from the North often had recourse to them as outposts of Chinese culture. This is what Han Yü, for example, experienced when he was demoted to remote Ch'ao-chou in Kuang-tung. When he was at Yang-shan, Han found that even the local officials, undoubtedly indigenes or creole settlers, lived "in the bamboo thickets...speak like birds and look like barbarians." His only intellectual contacts were monks, as in Ch'ao-chou, where the Ch'an monk Ta-tien was the only educated person in the district, and he almost converted the arch-Confucian Han Yü.²¹⁶

Yet this did not prevent frequent outbursts of xenophobia directed towards Buddhist monks, whether indigenous to Ling-nan or foreigners. Hung-jen could, in the hagiographies, call Hui-neng a Hunting Lao, a term of abuse, and question his possession of the otherwise supposedly universal Buddha-nature.²¹⁷ The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, a text of the Pao-t'ang School in Szechwan, whose leader, Wu-chu (714-774), even claimed falsely to be the true heir of the Silla monk, Musang, has Ho-tse Shen-hui say disparagingly to one of Musang's pupils,

and demographic significance. As Buddhism was a major influence in Kiangnan, conflict arose between Buddhists and the followers of these local cults, reflecting court policy and the higher social status of Buddhists in the region. Buddhist monks accommodated local deities by converting them through the conferral of bodhisattva precepts and making them into protective deities, whom they enshrined in and around the monasteries. They then no longer received blood sacrifices but instead were given vegetarian offerings.

²¹² Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 14, quoting the *Ling-piao lu-i*.

²¹³ ZSS, 542.

²¹⁴ Schafer (1967), 91.

²¹⁵ Tambiah (1984), 69-73.

²¹⁶ Charles Hartman (1986), *Han Yü and the Tang Search for Unity*, 94 ff.

²¹⁷ Yampolsky (1967), 127.

Kāśyapa, that although he possessed a brahmin caste name, he was just a bed-wetting brahmin.²¹⁸ Although this may have been mere rhetoric, even in standard Buddhist hagiographical collections, some Silla monks, such as Wōnch'ūk (613-696) and Sun'gyōng, whom Ta-sheng Chi (K'uei-chi), Hsüan-tsang's heir, called a 'border monk,' are damned with faint praise or accused of impropriety.²¹⁹ If such was the attitude of the metropolitan elite in Buddhist circles, the attitudes of less cosmopolitan exiles who lamented their banishment to these barbarous parts, of freebooters and semi-educated carpetbaggers towards the monkhood, both indigenous and alien, was probably far worse. Yet it was undoubtedly members of this monkhood, whether migrants or natives, who wrote the new hagiographies of Hui-neng, such as those found in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* or the *Platform Sutra*. They, because of their education and residence in monasteries, possibly those connected with Hui-neng, had the requisite authority to be hagiographers. But of course, for northerners and migrant elites this was probably insufficient. They were disqualified by their place of origin or residence, and so their texts were not fully accepted in the North, at least until they were modified.

Kuang-chou

The capital and regional core of Ling-nan was the entrepôt of Kuang-chou, and the only true city south of the ranges. It had a population during the time of Hui-neng of around 200,000, over twice the size of any other urban area in Ling-nan. It was a walled city, but split into two halves, Nan-hai and P'an-yü. Merchants from as far as India simply knew it as China (*cīna*), and it had an international population of Arabs, 'Indochinese,' Indians, Persians and Malays from the archipelago. This was a merchant city that traded both internationally and regionally, producing many luxuries.²²⁰ An old city, its importance was based almost entirely on trade, and when the trade routes through Central Asia were cut by the Tibetans, or others, Kuang-chou pros-

²¹⁸ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976), 155.

²¹⁹ Tsan-ning did not mention that Wōnch'ūk was from Silla, and states he improperly listened to Hsüan-tsang's lectures and then preached on them himself, SKSC, T50.727b. For Sun'gyōng, see T50.728a-b; for further discussion, see Jorgensen (2002), 74-75, 90-91.

²²⁰ Schafer (1967), 27-29; for population figures, Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 21, for number of households, 22-23. This was probably an underestimate, as 'barbarians' were usually not counted.

pered even more.²²¹ The main hindrances to trade development were rapacious officials. However, the Chinese southwards expansion, the improvement in sailing technology, the arrival of Indian and Arab traders, and the increase in geographical knowledge and in Chinese going overseas, plus the spread of Buddhism, all worked to overcome the negative factors. While some of the central officials appointed to Kuang-chou, which was an exception to the southern official selection process for it was an important posting, were corrupt and greedy, others were able and rose in the ranks. They included people like Fang Kuan, Lu Szu-kung, Ma Tsung and Tu Yu,²²² some of whom had a role in the promotion of the hagiography of Hui-neng.

Buddhism had long been part of the Kuang-chou scene, for religion usually accompanied trade and commerce. Indeed, Buddhism was popular among merchants, and consequently, a considerable number of Buddhist monks travelled with some of the traders to Kuang-chou.²²³ By the time of the Huang Ch'ao Rebellion (874-884), there were by one count over 120,000 aliens resident in Kuang-chou, and travellers such as Chien-chen ca. 750 noted the great variety of foreigners there.²²⁴ Buddhism had been introduced into the Kuang-chou area as early as the Han Dynasty, but most of the missionary monks in later times moved north to the central sites of power.²²⁵ However, from the Eastern Chin (317-419) times, Buddhism really began to prosper in Kuang-chou.²²⁶ The most important, and possibly the oldest, monastery there was Kuang-hsiao Monastery, known in Hui-neng's time as Chih-chih Monastery or Lung-hsing Monastery. The location had been the home of the cavalry general and scholar, Yü Fan (164-237),

²²¹ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), preface, 4.

²²² Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 55-63; for a list of civil commissioners, see Wang Shou-nan (1978), 884ff; and for the prefects of Kuang-chou, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2745ff. Although prefects were less important than the commissioners, they included Sung Ching, Sung Ting, Wei Li-chien, Lu Szu-kung, and Tu Yu, as sometimes the posts were held concurrently.

²²³ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 60; cf. Pankaj N. Mohan (1999), 'Buddhism and State in Early Silla,' PhD diss., Australian National University, 57 note 17, cites literature on the importance of trade and urbanisation to the development of Buddhism, and the legitimization of merchants and the growth of Buddhism.

²²⁴ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 70-71. Huang Ch'ao sacked Kuang-chou in 879, see Robert M. Somers (1979), 'The end of the T'ang,' map on p. 738, and events and merchants, 740.

²²⁵ Schafer (1967), 90.

²²⁶ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), *T'ang-tai Kuang-chou Kuang-hsiao Ssu yü Chung-Yin chiao-t'ung chih kuan-hsi*, English summary, 9.

who was banished there late in his life.²²⁷ He planted an orchard there and taught students. Later, the area was donated to be a Buddhist monastery, first called Chih-chih Monastery. During the Eastern Chin, it was called Wang-yüan Monastery. In the Lung-an reign (397-402) of Eastern Chin, the Kāpiśa/Kashmir (Chi-p'in) monk Dharmayaśas arrived at Kuang-chou and established a large hall there, where he also translated scriptures.²²⁸

Guṇavarman (367-431), a descendant of the Kapiśa kings, who went to Śrī Lanka in 396 and later to Java, in 424 was invited to China by the Liu Sung court. He arrived in Kuang-chou that year and later went north to the capital.²²⁹ He is said by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* to have (re-)established Chih-chih Monastery. On his way to the Liu Sung capital, he stayed for over a year at Shih-hsing, a county inside Shao-chou prefecture, where he built a meditation room several *li* away from the main monastery at Mt Hu-shih, which he had renamed Ling-chiu (Divine Vulture) because it resembled Gṛdhrakūṭa in India, and he went into meditation for a period of days there.²³⁰

Much of the history of the monastery in Kuang-chou is a Ch'an

²²⁷ Herbert A. Giles (1898), *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, no. 2518.

²²⁸ KSC, T50.329b27-28; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 33-35. Note that this monk had a pupil whose father was probably an Indian who had lived for a long time in Kuang-chou. Watters (1905-1905), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India I*: 259-260; Chi Hsien-lin (1985), *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi chiao-chu*, 322-303, says that during the Nan-pei Ch'ao Period of Division, Chi-p'in referred to Kashmir, but later to Ghazni, and then in T'ang times to Kāpiśa.

²²⁹ Note that Ch'an hagiographies have confused him with Guṇabhadra (394-468), who could not have been in Kuang-chou in 420, as maintained by Lo Hsiang-lin and the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih*, a gazetteer of the monastery. This error was probably due to the *Tonsure Hair Stupa Inscription*, which likely drew its information from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, EK, 38, gives Guṇavarman as the founder of the monastery. The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* noted, as did the *Kao-seng chuan*, that Guṇabhadra arrived in Kuang-chou in 435, and soon after he went to Chien-k'ang, the Liu Sung capital, where he translated the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. See LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 93 and notes 93-97. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* castigated Ching-chüeh for making Guṇabhadra the first patriarch, see LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 59. Although the *Kao-seng chuan* mentions that Guṇabhadra came to Kuang-chou in 435, it does not mention he was at this monastery, and he probably only stayed a short time in Kuang-chou, for very soon after his arrival he was invited by Emperor T'ai-tsu to the court (T50.344a23-24). This suggests that the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih* is unreliable and has used questionable and late sources such as the *Tonsure Hair Stupa Inscription*, for it also mentions that Guṇabhadra set up a precepts platform in the monastery, something the *Kao-seng chuan* would have recorded if true, but did not. Cf. Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), English 9, Chinese 29, 35-36; Ui Hakuju (1941), *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, 2: 207-209.

²³⁰ KSC, T50.340c.

fiction, such as the tale of the brahmin Trepitaka called Chih-yao who arrived in 502 from Nālandā to worship at Mt Wu-t'ai, even though pilgrimage to and worship at Wu-t'ai had not really commenced according to Chinese records.²³¹ Once again, the *Tonsure Hair Stupa Inscription* is responsible for the connection with Kuang-hsiao Monastery, and for the story that Chih-yao planted a bodhi tree in front of its precepts platform. The only other mention of Chih-yao is in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, where he named Pao-lin Monastery. This misinformation about Kuang-hsiao has been widely accepted.²³² The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, to the contrary, states that the bodhi tree was planted beside the precepts platform by Paramārtha (499-569), who predicted a bodhisattva monk would preach beneath the tree. There were indeed, according to the testimony of Chien-chen, two *haritaki* trees in this monastery, then known by the name of Ta-yün Monastery, the name given it by decree of Empress Wu.²³³

Paramārtha in fact came to Kuang-chou in 546, where he stayed for two years, and again when he attempted to return to India in 562, but had to stop at Chih-chih Monastery where he lectured on and translated a number of texts, including the *She-lun*, before shifting to Hsien-ming Monastery, also in Kuang-chou. This is where he died.²³⁴ Chih-chih Monastery and Kuang-chou therefore became a focus for monks wishing to study the *She-lun* doctrines. Paramārtha is reported to have left behind over two hundred cases of tala-leaf Sanskrit texts untranslated before his death there, and these were copied onto paper. Thus the monastery became the main centre for translation in the far South, and a *She-lun* and Vijñānavāda centre for generations, away from the Mādhyamika dominance of the sites to the north. However, *She-lun* teachings were spread from Kuang-chou and into Ch'ang-an and Szechwan by T'ang times.²³⁵ Later, other famous translators were associated with Chih-chih Monastery. The Esoteric Buddhist translator Amoghavajra (Pu-kung, 705-774) and his teacher Vajrabodhi (669-741) both stayed there briefly, Vajrabodhi while on route from India

²³¹ Raoul Birnbaum (1989-1990), 'Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: The Caves of Wu-t'ai Shan,' *Cahiers d'Extrême-Orient* 5: 116-140.

²³² Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), English, 9; Tokiwa Daijō (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 617; Schafer (1967), 170. For doubts about these records see Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 20-23, 36 notes 4 and 5.

²³³ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 124.

²³⁴ EK, 73; HKSC, T50.429c17-18, 430a17-18; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 37-38.

²³⁵ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 39-69, for details.

to Ch'ang-an in 718. Amoghavajra taught many people there during his brief sojourn in the early T'ien-pao era, ca. 742.²³⁶

The reputation of this monastery for translation activities; plus its remoteness from the metropolitan centre; provided opportunities for various forms of forgery and fabrication of texts. No Vinaya School cataloguers operated in the region to check the authenticity of a 'translated' sutra as existed in the capital district. The metropolitan cataloguer could not interview some obscure, alleged Indian translator about whether or not this text circulated in India or ask to see the original Indian manuscript or hear it recited. This was difficult enough in the capital, where the political machinations of a ruler such as Empress Wu Tse-t'ien could distort the evidence.²³⁷ An example of the problem of verification of materials sourced or translated in this region can be illustrated by the activities of I-ching, who in 689 returned from Śrīvijaya, a state in Sumatra, to Kuang-chou, ostensibly because he failed to disembark from the China-bound boat to which he was delivering letters that were requesting ink and paper upon which to write out his extracts and translations, and to hire a hand to correct his work.²³⁸ He then stayed at Chih-chih Monastery, where he had stayed on his outward journey in 671. The suspicion is that I-ching left Kuang-chou again for Śrīvijaya in order to give his writings on India "the authority of composition outside China in order to legitimate the practices described."²³⁹ Moreover, while in Chih-chih Monastery, I-ching gained a number of disciples, the most important of whom was (Meng) Chen-ku. I-ching had lamented to the assembly at Chih-chih Monastery that a vast number of texts were not available in China, but he had seen them in Śrīvijaya. This meant he had to

²³⁶ T50.292c15-18; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 126-128. The Fa-hsing Monastery mentioned here is the name given to the monastery in 645, for which see Ui Hakuju (1941), 2: 206; EK, 70b. This is the name used in the *Platform Sutra*, but the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* treats Fa-hsing and Chih-chih as separate monasteries, but they appear elsewhere to have been the same, EK, 72b, or to have merged. This is a further indication that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was not compiled in Kuang-chou, and lacked certain detailed information about Kuang-chou.

²³⁷ See Antonino Forte (1990), 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism: Chih-sheng's Indictment of Shih-li and the Proscription of the *Dharma Mirror Sūtra*,' 242-247.

²³⁸ *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü ch'iu-fa Kao-seng chuan*, T51.11a25-29; Tim Barrett (1998), 'Did I-Ching go to India?' *Buddhist Studies Review* 15 (2): 149, 153; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 115-116.

²³⁹ Barrett (1998), 154; note his comment on sacralizing space.

return to that country, but as he had aged and was well over fifty, he needed the assistance of an amanuensis. He was told that Chen-ku lived nearby and was well versed in the vinaya and would be a good companion.²⁴⁰ Chen-ku and three other monks accompanied I-ching back to Śrīvijaya, but only Chen-ku and one other returned. Chen-ku taught vinaya for three years and then died in the Tripitaka centre (*San-tsang tao-chang*) in Kuang-chou.²⁴¹ Consequently there was little chance to question I-ching's associates about what was produced in Śrīvijaya to bolster Empress Wu's Buddhist pretensions. It is likely that the influence of I-ching and his pupils remained at Chih-chih Monastery for some time. Therefore, Chih-chih Monastery had at least three major streams of Buddhist activity; translation, vinaya of the I-ching lineage, and She-lun. That both Paramārtha and I-ching brought untranslated Sanskrit texts there provided the opportunity for claims that a forgery was a translation from some of that material.²⁴²

'Ch'an' leaders allegedly had connections with Chih-chih Monastery and the activities there from earliest times. In the biography of Fa-t'ai, a pupil of Paramārtha, there is an account of a Hui-ko 惠可, who would appear to be Bodhidharma's pupil Hui-k'o 惠可, there being only a slight difference in the second character of the name. The time period is identical, with both monks encountering the Northern Chou Persecution, both having a foreign master, and both probably having knowledge of or acquaintance with T'an-lin. In addition, later tradition asserts that Hui-k'o met Seng-ts'an, the 'Third Patriarch,' on Mt Ssu-k'ung in Shu-chou.²⁴³ The Fa-t'ai biography in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* notes that

At that time there was the śramaṇa Chih-chi [most texts have Chih-fu] of P'ing-teng Monastery in Hsün-chou [who studied under Chih-k'ai and Paramārtha]. In the second month of the eleventh year of the T'ai-chen era (579), there was a certain Hui-ko, a pupil of the Trepitaka Teacher Pa-mo-li, who had lived originally in the Central Plains. He there ran into the persecution of Buddhism by (Emperor) Wu of Chou,

²⁴⁰ *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü ch'ü-fa Kao-seng chuan*, T51.11a28-b7.

²⁴¹ T51.12b1-6; this probably indicated Chih-chih Monastery because of its role in translation, see T51.11a4-5.

²⁴² Cf. HKSC, T50.430b21ff.

²⁴³ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 167-168, CFPC, 372; Jorgensen (1979), 130-133, 165, deals with this issue. For a more recent work on Hui-k'o and Hui-ko, see Ibuki (1999), 196-202, who also noted that a Hui-k'o is listed as a donor, along with a Chih-ts'an (Seng-ts'an?) for a statue of 572.

fled his country and came to Ch'en. Later he accompanied the envoy Liu Chang to Nan-hai (i.e. Kuang-chou). He had obtained a copy of the *Nirvāṇa Śāstra*. Fu (Chih-chi) had been preaching this sutra, so he sought (Ko's) assistance. Then (Ko) began to preach it, but they only got through the Preface and the Germinal Nature Sections of the first half of the Profound Meaning of the Thirteen Chapters.

Later Ko returned to Mt Hao-ling in Yü-chang [close to Hung-chou], and Fu (Chih-chi?) and Dharma Teacher Chi [not same as Chih-chi] accompanied him. So he continued on to preach the Third Section. They got through all of the 'Ten Oceans and Ten Paths' and they proceeded onto the remaining text. Because Ko fell ill, he was not fit to teach, so he ordered Fu to go to the capital....(to learn) the meaning of the śāstra in full.

In the fourteenth year (of T'ai-chen, 582), Fu went to Chien-yeh. He did not find the man he was looking for, but he came across the Meditation Teacher Hsiao of Hsi-hsüan Monastery,²⁴⁴ who gave him T'an-lin's *Chieh Nieh-p'an shu* (Commentary Explaining the Nirvāṇa), which comments on the latter half of the sutra.....In this year (593), Fu was ordered responsible for the monks of Kuang and Hsün prefectures....He wrote a record of Paramārtha's translations.²⁴⁵

It is unclear which *Nieh-p'an lun* is referred to here, but there was a *Nirvāṇa Sūtra Śāstra* by Vasubandhu that was translated by Dharmabodhi, possibly in the 550s or slightly earlier in the Northern Wei.²⁴⁶ The extant work with that title, T26.277c-281a, does not equal the text translated by Dharmabodhi, which the *Chung-ching mu-lu* declares was eleven pages, but it is too short to contain all the sections, and the 'thirteen chapters' mentioned in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, nor is there any 'ten oceans and ten paths' in it. It cannot be divided into thirteen coherent sections. The extant text is probably only a fragment of the original, which may have commented on the thirteen chapters of the Dharmakṣema translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*,²⁴⁷ for the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*, another catalogue, notes that

there is also a *Nieh-p'an lun* in three fascicles, also captioned Dharmabodhi's translation. On investigation of the text, (I find that) it is a commentary

²⁴⁴ Probably Hui-hsiao who was a friend of Pao-kung, HKSC, T50.512c, and this monastery was where Hui-hsiao lived, and cf. T50.503c, where it is recorded another of Paramārtha's pupils, Hui-k'ung, came to live after 583.

²⁴⁵ HKSC, T50.431c16-432a4; cf. Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 76-77.

²⁴⁶ *Chung-ching mu-lu*, T55.186a13; Tao-hsüan, *Ta P'ang nei-tien lu*, T55.270b13-15; T'ang Yung-t'ung (1938), *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih*, Feng supplement (1974), 39, gives period of Dharmabodhi.

²⁴⁷ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung (1938/1974), 607 ff.

on the former *lun*, or I suspect that this person (Dharmabodhi) made it.²⁴⁸

There was probably a confluence of interest between Hui-k'o, T'an-lin and the group around Paramārtha. Paramārtha translated a *Ta-nieh-p'an ching lun* at Chih-chih Monastery, which was copied out by Hui-k'ai.²⁴⁹ According to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was the scripture that Hui-neng listened to the nun Wu-chin-tsang chant, and from which he learnt of the principles of the Buddha-nature. Moreover, according to Wang Wei, the monk who tonsured Hui-neng, the Vinaya master Yin-tsung, was a lecturer on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Hui-neng debates Yin-tsung on the topic of the Buddha-nature, with Hui-neng making reference to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Moreover, the identity of meditation and *prajñā*, which appears in the *Platform Sutra*, was derived from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*,²⁵⁰ and as a precepts sutra, where the *Platform Sutra* preaches the formless precepts,²⁵¹ a presupposition of the sutra would have been the line from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* which follows on from the proposition that 'all sentient beings possess the Buddha-nature.' This line declares that one must accept the bodhisattva precepts for,

If one accepts the śrāvaka precepts, then know that that person will not see the Buddha-nature and the Thus Come. If one accepts and keeps the bodhisattva precepts, then know that that person will attain the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* (supreme enlightenment) and be able to see the Buddha-nature, the Thus Come and Nirvana.²⁵²

It is possible that Ch'an then absorbed much of the She-lun theories of the Tathāgathagarbha and mind-only into its teachings and hagiographies,²⁵³ which may explain why Paramārtha and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* appear in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.

Moreover, Ch'an was implicated in the forgery of a 'sutra' which was allegedly translated at Chih-chih Monastery before 730, perhaps

²⁴⁸ T55.543c1-3; for further discussion, Jorgensen (1979), 130-134, 170-172.

²⁴⁹ *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*, T55.365a1; cf. *Ta T'ang nei-tien lu*, T55.373b20; *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*, T55.546a2, and 546c6-9, on numbers of text.

²⁵⁰ Yampolsky (1967), 115, 135.

²⁵¹ Yampolsky (1967), 117-118, 125, 145-146; cf. Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 77-81.

²⁵² Dharmakṣema's translation of 421, the *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching*, T12.529a-b, cited in Satō Tetsugen (1970), 'Chūgoku ni okeru Daijōkai no tenkai—sanshūjōkai ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18 (2): 328.

²⁵³ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 69.

around 705. The text, the *Ta fo-ting ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-cheng liao-i chu-pu-sa wan-hsing Shou-leng-yen ching*, known variously as the (pseudo-) *Śūrangama Sūtra* or *Buddhoṣṇīṣa Sūtra* (Sutra of the Buddha's Uṣṇīṣa), is listed in two catalogues published in 730, both by Chih-sheng (d.u.), a Vinaya scholar. The first is in his *Hsü Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*, which was a continuation of a catalogue by Ching-mai. Ching-mai's catalogue of ca. 645 to 650 was used to document the translations and lives of translators from earliest times up until Hsüan-tsang, and the 'portraits' of the translators and the lists of their translations were painted on the walls of the translation cloister of Ta tz'u-en Monastery, hence the title "Pictures and Records of the Ancient and Modern Translations of Sutras" (*Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*). Chih-sheng's intention was to supplement Ching-mai's catalogue by adding the translations and translators after the time of Hsüan-tsang.²⁵⁴ Chih-sheng wrote:

Pāramiti²⁵⁵...travelled around converting till he reached Cīna [note in original: Indian countries colloquially call Kuang-fu Cīna, and name the capital Mahācīna], and then stayed in Chih-chih Monastery. The assembly knew he was widely learned and prayed (to him) for many things....On the 18th June 705 he therefore read out a work from the Abhiṣekha division (of the Tripitaka), named the *Ta fo-ting ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-cheng liao-i chu-pu-sa wan-hsing Shou-leng-yen ching* [ten fascicles]. The Uddiyāna śrāmaṇera, Meghaśikha(ra)...translated the words. The bodhisattva-precepts disciple and former Grand Master of Remonstrance and Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat and the Chancellery, Fang Jung of Ch'ing-ho, was the amanuensis. The śramaṇa Huai-t'i of Nan-lou Monastery on Mt Lo-fou in Hsün-chou verified the meaning. Once this monk (Pāramiti) had finished the work of transmitting the sutra he sailed back to the West. It was due to an envoy to the South that (the sutra) circulated here (in Ch'ang-an).²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ T55.367c26-29; cf. Ts'ao Shih-pang (1966), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-chuan yü mu-lü yüan-ch'u lü-hsüeh sha-men chih t'an-t'ai, hsia,' *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 7 (2): 110; Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-hsüeh shih*, 280-281.

²⁵⁵ Transcription of name varies; Lancaster (1979), *The Korean Buddhist Canon*, 147, K426, gives this transcription; Paul Demiéville (1952), *Le Concile de Lhasa*, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris, 43, gives Pramiti; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 39-40, gives Pāramātrā, which equals Pan-tz'u mi-ti, which does not seem to correspond to the Sanskrit reconstructions. *Pan* = pā, but *tz'u* seems to be an error for *la*. The Chinese translation, *Chi-liang* or 'ultimate measure' could possibly be rendered by Pāra = utmost or Pra = very (before adjectives), + miti = measure. The compound Pramiti or Pramīti does not seem likely, as they mean 'measuring' or 'correct notion,' and 'ruin' respectively. Pāramātrā would give the translated meaning, but the *mi-ti* then would not correspond.

²⁵⁶ T55.371c24-372a6; cf. Demiéville (1952), 44.

Soon thereafter, in the same year of 730, Chih-sheng completed his authoritative *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*, incorporating the nineteen biographies and so forth from the *Hsü Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* into fascicles eight and nine of the later catalogue. In fact, a note at the end of the *Hsü Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* states:

What is written in the former record (i.e. *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*) has relied on old catalogues and compilations, so there are some mistakes in it. (Here) I have not deleted them or corrected them. If you desire to write it on the wall, please rely on the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*. With the exception of the collection of works written here (in China), the rest is to be the veritable record.²⁵⁷

In other words, the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu* was the more authoritative of the two catalogues, and it included only translated works, and not those composed in China.²⁵⁸ Therefore, Chih-sheng amended his record concerned with the *Shou-leng-yen ching*, eliminating what he regarded as unreliable. The information may have been distorted during the transmission over a long distance and through several sources.²⁵⁹ Therefore, under the heading of this sutra, which he had seen, Chih-sheng wrote:

The śramaṇa Huai-t'i, a person of Hsün-chou, lived in Nan-lou Monastery on Mt Lo-fou in that prefecture. This mountain is a place where immortals and saints roamed and dwelt. Huai-t'i had long studied the sūtras and śāstras, and was very learned in many....But as he dwelt in (Nan-)hai and (P'an-)yü (Kuang-chou), there were quite a number of Indian monks who travelled and stayed there. Huai-t'i studied their writings and language (with them), and was able to comprehend them all completely. In the past, the Trepitaka Bodhiruci was translating the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*, and he summoned Huai-t'i from afar to come to fill the role of verifier of the meaning. When the task was completed, he returned to his home town. Later, as he had travelled to Kuang-fu, he met an Indian monk [note, I did not get his name] who had brought a case of a sutra in Sanskrit, and asked him to join in translating it. When written out it came to ten fascicles. This is the *Ta-fo-ting wan-hsing Shou-leng-yen ching*. Huai-t'i received the gist of the sutra and also put the text into a literary style. Once this Indian monk had transmitted the sutra and the

²⁵⁷ T55.372c7-8.

²⁵⁸ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1966), 110-111. For the influence of Chih-sheng's work, see Kyoko Tokuno (1990), 'The Evolution of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues,' in Robert Buswell, Jr, ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 52-58.

²⁵⁹ Tso Sze-bong (1966), 111.

work was completed, it is not known where he went. It was due to an envoy to the South that the sutra was circulated here.²⁶⁰

The translation of the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* by Bodhiruci started in 705 and was completed in 713, so the text of the *Shou-leng-yen ching* can only have been written after 713, if we believe this later account.²⁶¹ In any case, the *Shou-leng-yen ching* is definitely a forgery, for it contains numerous references to Chinese ideas and terms, some of Taoist origin.²⁶² What is certain is that the forgery existed before 730, came from Kuang-chou, and was probably connected with Chih-chih Monastery because of its association with translation activities. Fang Jung (d. 705) had been demoted immediately after Empress Wu abdicated in February 705. He was imprisoned, then deported on the 3rd or 4th of March to Kao-chou, two hundred kilometres southwest of Kuang-chou, where he died almost immediately.²⁶³ As Fang Jung's son, Fang Kuan (697-763) was coming to prominence in the capital under the patronage of Chang Yüeh after 725,²⁶⁴ he may have informed Chih-sheng that his father had nothing to do with the translation. However, despite Chih-sheng's emendation to the entry, the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* of 988 adopted the *Hsü Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* account, with some additions.²⁶⁵ Elsewhere Tsan-ning added that when Wei-ch'üeh visited Fang Jung's former home in the capital he was told that when Fang Jung was Acting Selector for Southern Candidates in Nan-hai (Kuang-chou), he assisted as translator. Wei-ch'üeh made a commentary on the sutra in 766.²⁶⁶ One theory reported by Tsan-ning was that the text of the

²⁶⁰ T55.571c17-26.

²⁶¹ Tso Sze-bong (1966), 112; and explains Lo Hsiang-lin's idea (1960), 103. Note, in the *Hsü Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi*, T55.371c6-7, Chih-sheng does not list Huai-t'i among the verifiers of meaning of the *Ratnakūṭa*, but in the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*, T55.570c4-5, lists him as such. This is about the only change for this entry.

²⁶² Demiéville (1952), 49; Jorgensen (1990), 139, on *hun* and *p'o*, the distinctive Chinese material and spiritual souls, and *ching-shen* (T19.147c16-17), or *ching-ming*, probably derived from the Chinese *shen-ming* or soul and a confusion between the Buddha-nature and the soul, taking a cue from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*'s line, "the Buddha-nature is eternally present." Yanagida Seizan (1979), 'Shin to Butsu: Chūgoku no ba'ai,' *Bukkyō shisōshi* 1: 169, 174-175, has suggested that the author of the *Shou-leng-yen ching* was here basing his ideas on *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* 39.

²⁶³ Demiéville (1952), 44; HTS 15/139/4625; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/207/6574, 6581.

²⁶⁴ CTS 10/111/3320-3321.

²⁶⁵ SKSC, T50.718c3-17; this was also retained in Shen-ch'ing's *Pei-shan lu*, T52.611b.

²⁶⁶ SKSC, T50.738b19-26.

sutra had first been obtained by Shen-hsiu of Tu-men Monastery in Ching-chou when he was at court.²⁶⁷

There are many hints of a Ch'an involvement, despite various ruses to cover up its origins. Pāramiti is removed by Chih-sheng and becomes a nameless Indian monk, who conveniently disappears immediately after he transmitted the sutra. Fang Jung died in disgrace in remotest Ling-nan where he could not be questioned, and his son probably had remained in the metropolitan region with relatives. Huai-t'i, who had a reputation sufficient to be invited to participate in the translation of the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* between 706 and 713, could be attributed with the translation of the *Shou-leng-yen ching* because of his standing and because he had left for remote Hsün-chou, again away from the probing investigation of the central authorities. However, Shen-hui is supposed to have held a dialogue with a Huai-t'i of Mt Lo-fou, with Huai-t'i asking, "(If) all sentient beings are basically pure, why are they stained by the dharmas of saṃsāra (life and death) and cannot escape from the three realms?"²⁶⁸ This dialogue is probably a fabrication. Firstly, Huai-t'i had returned to Lo-fou in 713 and there is no mention of his return north.²⁶⁹ Secondly, there is no evidence that Shen-hui was in the metropolitan region around 713 or earlier, and it is unlikely he went to Ling-nan.

Rather, as the mention of Shen-hsiu finding the text of the *Shou-leng-yen ching* at court, and Shen-hui's supposed exchange with Huai-t'i, suggest, there was a competition among the branches of the Ch'an movement to link themselves with this text. This contest probably originated before the split in Ch'an over gradual and sudden enlightenment occurred due to Shen-hui's propaganda of 732 and later, for the sutra states about the removal of the five skandhas or aggregates:

They come into existence due to consciousness, and are extinguished through the removal of matter. In principle then, one is enlightened sud-

²⁶⁷ SKSC, T50.738c4-5; Dōchū, *Zenrin shokisen*, 600, claimed that this was a distortion, though he accepted that Shen-hsiu may have copied the short dhāraṇī section of the sutra.

²⁶⁸ Hu Shih (1968), 136; Suzuki and Koda (1934), Ishii text, 30 (no. 28); Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 84. The Hu Shih original is full of errors and lacunae. Cf. question Huai-t'i asked and that in the *Shou-leng-yen ching*, Charles Luk (1966), *The Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, 176; T19.143a15-19. Note this follows straight after a mention of sudden enlightenment.

²⁶⁹ See his biography in SKSC, T50.720c13-23, which is based very closely on the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu*.

denly and by grace of that enlightenment (they should) all be destroyed, (but) in practice they are not suddenly removed, and are eliminated in stages.²⁷⁰

The text drew upon an attempt to overcome the differences between the ideas of Fa-hsiang (Vijñānavāda) or *hsiang* and those of Hua-yen or more broadly Tathāgatagarbha or *hsing*.²⁷¹ The forgers of the sutra relied on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and ideas such as the *amālavijñāna*,²⁷² which had been attributed to the She-lun School and Paramārtha,²⁷³ and upon a *dhāraṇī*, the Sanskrit text of which may have been made known to monks in Kuang-chou by I-ching.²⁷⁴ The author also probably drew upon the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*, a text supposedly translated by Paramārtha.²⁷⁵

Therefore, there was a history of scriptural forgeries or alterations associated with Chih-chih Monastery, which may have inspired some partisan of Hui-neng from the district to create his own *Platform Sutra*. Not only did Chih-chih Monastery have an ordination platform, it also

²⁷⁰ Demiéville (1952), 51, translation modified; T19.155a7-9.

²⁷¹ Demiéville (1952), 47-48; Tsung-mi equated *hsing* or Dharmatā lineage with Hua-yen, and Fa-hsiang with Dharmalakṣāṇa, for which see Jeffrey L. Broughton (1975), 'Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings,' PhD diss., Columbia University, 75. The former included the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

²⁷² Cf. T19.121a24, 123c15.

²⁷³ Jorgensen (1979), 89-92. The ninth *vijñāna*, the *amāla*, was attributed to Paramārtha due to an error by Wōnch'ūk, for which see Yuki Reimon (1937), 'Shina Yuishiki gakushijō ni okeru Ryōgashi no chi'i,' *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 1 (1): 32-35, 38-41. Sō Tōksōn (1996), 'Enjiki no Geshinmikyōso ni okeru hasshiki setsu ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 44 (2): 814-812, says Wōnch'ūk claimed that the *ādāna-vijñāna* was simply another name for *ālaya-vijñāna*, and so there were only eight *vijñānas*. Sō thus thinks Paramārtha's translation of a verse was faulty and that he actually posited a separate *ādāna-vijñāna*.

²⁷⁴ This is the *dhāraṇī* of Sitāpatra in fascicle seven of the sutra, which is identical to a *dhāraṇī* by Amoghavajra of post-746, see Demiéville (1952), 46; Mochizuki Shinkō (1946), *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron*, 500-501, suggests the compiler took hints from a text translated by Atikūṭa and mentions by I-ching of a *dhāraṇī* being used at Nālandā, plus the genuine *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, to create the setting for the sutra.

²⁷⁵ Mochizuki (1946), 503; for his views on the origins of the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*, 532-641. Volumes have been written on the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*, so controversial and difficult a topic it has proved. I will not add to it, except to mention that another text related to the *Ch'i-hsin lun*, and which was based on it, had a cult that was very popular in Kuang-chou and was suppressed in 593. See on *Ch'i-hsin lun* debate and the *Chan-ch'a ching*, Whalen Lai (1990), 'The *Chan-ch'a ching*: Religion and Magic in Medieval China,' in Buswell, ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 175-206, esp. 177, 186-193, and Buswell, 'Introduction,' 18, in the same volume, on William Grosnick's theory that the *Ch'i-hsin lun* may have been composed by Paramārtha.

had come to be associated with Bodhidharma, who allegedly discovered a well there.²⁷⁶ The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was the first source to assert that Hui-neng went to Chih-chih Monastery in Nan-hai (Kuang-chou) after seventeen years hiding among the laity, where he came upon Yin-tsung lecturing on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and it also quoted from the *Shou-leng-yen ching*:

The *Buddhoṣṇā Sūtra* said, "At that time the Thus Come broadly declared to the great assembly and Ānanda, saying, 'You who are studying (the Way of) the pratyeka-buddha and the śrāvaka, today turn your minds towards *mahābodhi*, the supreme marvellous awareness. I have now already spoken of the method of the true cultivation of practice, but you still do not know the subtle doings of Māra (a demon of temptation) in the cultivation of *śamatha* and *vīpaśyanā*. When the sense-data of Māra appear before you, you are unable to recognise them. (If) cleansing the mind is not (done) correctly, you will fall into evil views, or (encounter) your skandha Māra, the returning heavenly Māras, or the possession of ghosts or encounter with demons. If you are unclear in mind, you will recognise (these) thieves as your sons. Again, in this, you may take little (progress) to be sufficient, like the non-listening bhikṣu who reaching the fourth dhyāna, falsely said he had realised sainthood. Once his heavenly recompense had finished, the signs of decay appeared before him, and he abused the arhats, so that his person experienced a later existence (rebirth) and he consequently fell into the Avīci hell.'"

Therefore the Śākya Thus Come transmitted the gold-embroidered *kaṣāya* and had Mahākāśyapa wait for Maitreya on Mt Kukkuṭapāda....At present in this evil age, many study meditation. Our Meditation Teacher Dharma consequently transmitted the *kaṣāya* to express the correctness of his Dharma, and to make sure that later students would correctly receive the teaching.²⁷⁷

Immediately following this, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* tells the story of Hung-jen and Hui-neng. Thus, the *Shou-leng-yen ching* is used here as a warning against the delusions encountered in meditation, and is linked to the transmission of the robe as a guarantor against the false teaching of such meditation. If a monk of Kuang-chou had read this in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, he may well have decided to use the connection of

²⁷⁶ Date is uncertain for origin of the tradition, but it was probably late. See Schafer (1967), 90, for the Dharma-well; Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 73-75, quotes the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih*, 2, on the well, saying that the water in Kuang-chou had been salty, but Bodhidharma indicated that the well concealed gold, so people fought to dig it up, but they reached sweet water instead.

²⁷⁷ LTFCP, Yanagida (1976a), 123, for monastery, 39 and 108-109, for quotes of T19.147a22-147b1.

Hui-neng with Chih-chih Monastery and the idea of a text instead of a robe to ensure the orthopraxis of Ch'an as the bases upon which to forge a Hui-neng sutra, the *Platform Sutra*.

It is not surprising then to find that there is at least one passage in the *Platform Sutra* that seems to reflect the themes introduced by the *Shou-leng-yen ching*:

The Master (Hui-neng) got up and hit Shen-hui three times. Then he asked:

"Shen-hui, when I hit you, did it hurt or didn't it?"

Shen-hui answered; "It hurt and it didn't hurt....If it did not hurt, I would be the same as a an insentient tree or rock. If it did hurt, I would be the same as a common person, and resentment would arise."

The Master said, "The seeing and non-seeing you asked me about just now is dualistic; hurting and not hurting are birth and destruction. You don't even see your own nature."²⁷⁸

The *Shou-leng-yen ching*, in discussing various meditations, has a pupil of the Buddha say how he entered on the Path:

Unawares on the road, a poisonous thorn injured my foot, and I hurt over my entire body. I thought that I had knowledge that knew this deep hurt. Although I was aware that I was aware of the hurt, I (was also) aware of the pure mind, that has no illness or hurt-(awareness). I again considered, "In such a single body, how can there be two aware-nesses?" I controlled my thoughts for a short while, and the body and mind were suddenly empty, and in twenty-one days...I became an arhat and personally obtained (the Buddha's) seal 印記...²⁷⁹

The point in both texts is that there is one underlying nature, which does not have a duality, for perception does not reside in the subject or in the object, or in their contact, or in the mind. They all go back to an original source, the self-nature, which should be seen.²⁸⁰ This and related problems became major topics of controversy in early Ch'an, ideas which were attacked by Nan-yang Hui-chung after 761 as appearing in a vulgarising and confusing *Platform Sutra* of the South,²⁸¹ probably an earlier *Platform Sutra* than the Tun-huang text,²⁸² possibly

²⁷⁸ Yampolsky (1967), 169. Note there is a very similar passage in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, EK, 43. See further discussion in Chapter 7.

²⁷⁹ T19.126b22-26; cf. Charles Luk (1966), 125-126.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Demiéville (1952), 48, 50-51.

²⁸¹ *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a1-6, in the *yü* of Hui-chung.

²⁸² Yanagida (1985), 407-408, although here the version was allegedly written by Shen-hui or his followers.

that by a group associated with the community around Ma-tsu or Niu-t'ou Ch'an, perhaps indicating Fa-hai, who definitely lived into the 770s, as the author of this version.²⁸³ Wu-chen, the pupil of Fa-hai's disciple Tao-ts'an, may well have been the Wu-chen who was active in Tun-huang where manuscripts of the Tun-huang version of the *Platform Sutra* (of ca. 781) were copied and found. This is despite the fact that the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* states that, "Wu-chen resides at the Fa-hsing Monastery 法興寺 at Mt Ts'ao-ch'i in Ling-nan."²⁸⁴ This version was copied from a text of ca. 820 sometime between 830 and 860, or later, in the second half of the ninth century,²⁸⁵ and a Wu-chen lived in Tun-huang in the Ta-chung era (847-860), writing a preface to a collection of poems in 851 and holding a number of high positions and awards, and also copying a work on genealogy in 836.²⁸⁶ As there was no Fa-hsing (Dharma Prospering) Monastery in Shao-chou as far as we know, and only one in Kuang-chou with a similar pronunciation but different meaning, Fa-hsing (Dharma Nature) Monastery, which was probably Chih-chih Monastery,²⁸⁷ it is most likely that the author or transcriber of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* was ignorant of conditions in Ling-nan. This makes Yanagida Seizan think that the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* was written near Lo-yang by someone connected with Shen-hui, based on the testimony of Wei Ch'u-hou's stele for Ta-i.²⁸⁸ However, I suspect from the use of the name Wu-chen, that this version may have been created in Tun-huang, possibly trading on the reputation of the eminent local, Wu-chen. The author or copyist then likely confused the characters for the monastery and its location. In any case, it is clear that the text

²⁸³ Yanagida (1979), 'Shin to Butsu: Chūgoku no ba'ai,' *Bukkyō shisōshi* 1: 173-174; Yanagida (1985), 412, 414; ZSS, 165, 187-188, 196-204, 253-260: for Fa-hai, see SKSC, T50.738c25-739a5; Li Hua, *Jun-chou Hao-lin Ssu ku Ching-shan Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 320/1456a21-23; Jorgensen (1990), 134ff.

²⁸⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 182, 91 note 4. Teng and Jung (1998), 425; Li and Fang (1999), 67.

²⁸⁵ Yampolsky (1967), 90-91, and John Jorgensen (2003), 'The *Platform Sutra* and the Corpus of Shen-hui: Recent critical text editions and studies,' *Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie* 2002: 404, based on Teng and Jung (1998), 20-30.

²⁸⁶ Demiéville (1952), 168 footnote, 236, 251 footnote; Johnson (1977), 66, 219. Chen Tsu-lung (1966), *La vie et les oeuvres de Wou-Tchen (816-895): Contribution à l'histoire culturelle de T'ouen-houang*, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient LX: Paris.

²⁸⁷ EK, 72b; ZSS, 232, 260.

²⁸⁸ ZSS, 265-266.

of the extant *Platform Sutra* is not immediately related to Kuang-chou or even Ling-nan, and may have been several stages removed from a proposed pre-774 original, which may well have been written at Chih-chih Monastery, also known as Fa-hsing Monastery, to compete with the claims of the community at Pao-lin Monastery near Shao-chou, which apparently possessed both the robe of transmission and the mummy-relic of Hui-neng. Thus the community at Chih-chih Monastery had to create their own authority to legitimate their claims, which they may have done by forging a *Platform Sutra* in the name of Hui-neng, a *Dharma-sarīra* to compete with the bodily *sarīra* of an incarnate buddha of Pao-lin Monastery.²⁸⁹ Chih-chih Monastery may have drawn on its resources as a 'translation *bodhimāṇḍala*' and site of textual production to fabricate its own sutra, one connected to its 'platform' where Hui-neng allegedly was tonsured by Yin-tsung. It took clues from the *Nīrvāṇa Sūtra*, She-lun scholasticism and the *Shou-leng-yen ching* to form the doctrinal content, and possibly added some elements about Hui-neng's connections with Chih-chih Monastery, as can be seen from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, to create some biographical data as a frame. However, it was probably only later that the 'Pao-lin Monastery' elements were added to the *Platform Sutra*, especially to the title.²⁹⁰

The contest between the two monastic communities must have continued for a long time, for a stupa and an inscription for the hair of Hui-neng supposedly shaved off by Yin-tsung in the monastery were created, perhaps as late as 1636 when the stupa was allegedly repaired, probably to invent a rival set of relics to those at Ts'ao-ch'i. The inscription was supposedly written in 676, but this is most doubtful as it even uses the late name Kuang-hsiao Monastery in its title. Furthermore, an image of Hui-neng was engraved on a stele in 1324, on the back of which is an image of Bodhidharma, and there is even a pond in which Fang Jung supposedly washed his inkstone while copying out the *Shou-leng-yen ching*.²⁹¹

Chih-chih Monastery was not the only monastery in Kuang-chou. In the T'ang Dynasty, at least eleven other monasteries are mentioned,

²⁸⁹ Cf. Faure (1992), 177-178; cf. Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 23.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Yampolsky (1967), 61-62.

²⁹¹ Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 28; Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 18-23, 36 note 5.

one of which, Hua-lin Monastery, is by tradition where Bodhidharma first stayed when he arrived in Kuang-chou.²⁹²

Kuang-chou was also in frequent communication with Mt Lo-fou in nearby Hsün-chou. This long rugged massiff reaches over four thousand feet, and legend said it floated there as two peaks. It had strong Taoist associations, but Huai-t'i established a monastery there, and it was considered a safe but sparsely populated area.²⁹³ Also, in earlier times, Chih-chi/fu had come from Hsün-chou.²⁹⁴ Moreover, Seng-ts'an and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien are both believed to have travelled or lived in the area.²⁹⁵

However, Chih-chih Monastery, also known as Fa-hsing Monastery, was more significant and was used in relation to the elaboration of the hagiography of Hui-neng because it was a centre of Buddhist authority and influence. The place had resonances with famous foreign monks who could predict the advent of Hui-neng, and whose ideas and alleged translations of sutras could provide doctrinal content or backing for various teachings attributed to Hui-neng. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, taking its cue from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, has Hui-neng encounter and defeat Yin-tsung, a master of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, at this famed monastery, in order to confirm Hui-neng's authority, both via the robe and in doctrine. It also lent authority to Hui-neng as a monk, because he supposedly took the tonsure there on a precepts platform established by Guṇavarman. The text even allegedly quotes from the 'Biography of Paramārtha.' Therefore, Kuang-chou and its Chih-chih Monastery were important to their hagiography of Hui-neng because it gave Hui-neng sanction through the predictions of Hui-neng's bodhisattva status and the verification by two Indian arhats.²⁹⁶ In a sense, Hui-neng was confirmed as a buddha or buddha-to-be both by the transmission of the robe from the Buddha in India and by the Indian monks who were authoritative verifiers of Hui-neng's status. Kuang-chou was a good place to write that this happened there because of

²⁹² Lo Hsiang-lin (1960), 174-184. For description of one of the monasteries, Liu-yung Monastery, earlier called Pao-chuang-yen Monastery, which had a bronze statue of Hui-neng in its Sixth Patriarch Hall, possibly modelled on the engraved image at Chih-chih/Kuang-hsiao Monastery, see Tokiwa (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 614-615.

²⁹³ Schafer (1967), 140-141, 76, 88, 92.

²⁹⁴ HKSC, T50.431c2-3.

²⁹⁵ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 25.

²⁹⁶ EK, 41.

its cosmopolitan population, which included considerable numbers of 'Indians.'

Shao-chou/Ts'ao-ch'i

The third largest town in Ling-nan, with a population approximately a third of that of Kuang-chou, but seriously under-reported, was Shao-chou.²⁹⁷ It was a place of relatively early settlement and was favoured by being on the best route out of Ling-nan and located in the much cooler higher elevations where Chinese preferred to reside.²⁹⁸ The prefecture and its capital were named after the Stones of Shao, "two great craggy rocks standing opposite each other on the road leading down from" Ta-yü Ling Pass. This was the entrance to the far South. The capital, also known as Ch'ü-chiang or 'Bent River' had a wall built by the 'aboriginal magnate Teng Wen-chin' who surrendered to the T'ang in 622. It was famed for its beauty. "Indeed the region was a fairyland of religious establishments."²⁹⁹

The most famous monastery in the vicinity was Pao-lin Monastery, later known as Nan-hua Monastery, on Ts'ao Creek, sixty *li* (about twenty-six kilometres) to the south of Ch'ü-chiang. It is situated at the foot of the Hsiang Ridge on a curve in the creek. Its origins are legendary, for it was the key site for the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Pao-lin chuan*, and for later texts such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and the 'Brief Preface' to the *Platform Sutra*. The name Pao-lin occurs in the titles of both the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (the full title) and the *Pao-lin chuan*. The former, being fully extant, provides the only details. Remarkably, in contrast the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* does not mention the monastery, noting only that Hui-neng had lived in Ts'ao-ch'i, and that he taught the sutra in the otherwise unknown Ta-fan Monastery in Shao-chou,³⁰⁰ suggesting once again it was alien to Pao-lin Monastery.

²⁹⁷ Tsang Wah-moon (1973), 23, 21, for population figures; Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 385. The second largest town was Kuei-chou. A good many households were unregistered in Shao-chou, and there were probably around 18,000 households. CTS 41/5/1714 gives a population of 40,416, and for the T'ien-pao era, 168,948.

²⁹⁸ Schafer (1967), 134.

²⁹⁹ Schafer (1967), 25.

³⁰⁰ For Ta-fan Monastery, see Yampolsky (1967), 93 note 14. There are late records, the 1874 *Shao-chou fu chih* and the 1875 *Ch'ü-chiang hsien chih*, which state that it was founded in 714 by Tsung-hsi and was also called K'ai-yüan Monastery. Ui Hakuju (1941), 2: 214, suggests it may have been within the walls of Ch'ü-chiang;

Nagai has canvassed three possibilities: that Ta-fan Monastery existed in the time of Hui-neng; or that at the time of the composition of the *Platform Sutra* a monastery known by this name existed in Shao-chou; or that the *Platform Sutra* was written elsewhere than Shao-chou and that the name is a complete fabrication. Nagai dismissed the last option. There is evidence that a pupil of Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949) came from this monastery. According to a record by a Li K'uei, possibly the governor of Shao-chou from 1069, five *li* to the west of the city there was an institution called K'ai-yüan Monastery, which at the end of the T'ang Dynasty came to be called Ta-fan Monastery, where Hui-neng had preached.³⁰¹ The lateness of this tradition, to the contrary, suggests that this name appeared only after the *Platform Sutra* was produced.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* opens its account with the arrival of the Indian Trepitaka Chih-yao from Nālandā, who came in 502 to a village at the mouth of Ts'ao Creek in Shao-chou. He stated that upstream there was a site suitable for a monastery, and eventually he had Pao-lin Monastery built there. When an order of the Liang court came in 506 to have famous monks sent to the court chapel, the prefect of Shao-chou, a Lord Hou, called in the *Pao-lin chuan* Hou Ching-chung, sent Chih-yao to court. Chih-yao made a prediction to the imperial envoy that one hundred and seventy years later, a Dharma-jewel (monk) would preach there and have students as numerous as trees in a forest, hence the name Pao-lin (Jewel Forest). The Liang court then recognised the monastery by this name and it was granted fifty *ch'ing* of fields. In 617, the monastery's buildings were destroyed in the turmoil at the end of the Sui.³⁰² The *Pao-lin chuan*, in fragments of it quoted elsewhere, added that in the Hsien-heng reign era (670-674), the great-great-great-grandson of the Marquis Wu of the Chin Dynasty,³⁰³ one Ts'ao Shu-liang had lived beside Pao-lin Monastery,

cf. Nagai Masashi (2000), *Chūgoku Zenshū kyōdan to minshū*, 527. See Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 31, for more details and later name changes. For mentions of Ts'ao-ch'i in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, see Yampolsky (1967), 162, "thirty-five *li* east of the capital of Shao-chou."

³⁰¹ Nagai (2000), 530-531.

³⁰² EK, 28-29; for Hou Ching-chung, see Ishii Shūdō (March 1988), 'Sōkei daishiden kō,' *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 46: 107-109 note 4.

³⁰³ Hsü Wen-kan (1989), 'Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh chuan chiao-chu,' 562 note 4, identifies Marquis Wu with Ts'ao Ts'ao, and a tradition that this man had lived there, and so it was called Marquis Ts'ao Village. Some doubts must be entertained, as Ts'ao Ts'ao did not live during the Chin Dynasty, and there are no records of

and so people then called it Marquis Ts'ao Stream. In the I-feng era (late 676-679), Ts'ao Shu-liang gave land to Hui-neng, where he then lived. The *Pao-lin chuan* further lists the name changes of the monastery from the 503 (*Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* gives 506) memorial by Hou Ching-chung to the throne requesting that the throne grant it the name Pao-lin. It should be noted that a clan by the name of Hou were important local magnates in Shih-feng and Ch'ü-chiang, i.e. in the Shao-chou region, who provided prefects there for generations.³⁰⁴ The next name change was made by Emperor Chung-tsung, this time to Chung-hsing Monastery, probably in 705. The next was in the Shen-lung era (705-707) to Kuang-kuo, and then in the K'ai-yüan era (713-742) to Chien-hsing, and finally in the Shang-yüan era (760-762) to Kuo-ning Monastery.³⁰⁵

In 670, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* states that Hui-neng came to Ts'ao-ch'i, where he heard the nun Wu-chin-tsang preach the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and then in 674 he left for Hung-jen's monastery.³⁰⁶ The story seems to imply that he went to Pao-lin Monastery after receiving his tonsure in 676 from Yin-tsung (627?-713).³⁰⁷ By 707, the story informs that the monastery was called Chung-hsing and had a sutra repository, and the emperor gave the monastery a plaque calling the repository Fa-ch'üan Monastery in December 707.³⁰⁸ In 759, the name was changed from Chien-hsing Monastery to Kuo-ning Monastery.³⁰⁹ Later evidence has it that in 978 the Sung emperor, T'ai-tsu decreed it be called Nan-hua after having had it repaired in 976.³¹⁰ This

him being in Ling-nan. He was really known as the Marquis Wu-p'ing; see Giles (1898), 761-763.

³⁰⁴ Yao Ssu-lien (1972), *Ch'en shu*, 2 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 1/8/143.

³⁰⁵ Ishii (1988), 109; Ui Hakuju (1941), 2: 75, 212-213. Weinstein (1987), 48, states that on his accession to the throne, Chung-tsung ordered each prefecture to have a Buddhist monastery called Chung-hsing. However, in 707 he ordered that the names of these monasteries be replaced with Lung-hsing. This is what happened at Chih-chih Monastery, and was what it was called when the author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was writing, EK, 38.

³⁰⁶ EK, 29-32.

³⁰⁷ EK, 43.

³⁰⁸ EK, 48; Ishii (1988), 123 note 35, for an identical passage in the *Pao-lin chuan*.

³⁰⁹ EK, 80a, where it quotes the *Kuang-tung lu*, which in turn cites a *Nan-yüeh chi*, which states the monastery was called Kuang-kuo in ca. 710, and Chien-hsing in 721. Eventually, Emperor Hsien-tsung (r. 806-821) called it Nan-hua.

³¹⁰ Ui Hakuju (1941), 2: 213; Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 31, gives the date as 970.

revived its fortunes, after the conflagrations during the downfall of the Southern Han Dynasty. The monastery was again destroyed in the late Yüan Dynasty, and it was still in ruins during the Hung-wu era (1368-1398). It was slightly restored in the Yung-le reign (1403-1424), and in 1477 the wooden stupa was rebuilt in brick. Buildings were added and others repaired over the next century, but by 1600 Han-shan Te-ch'ing had to do much to restore it. His mummy is still kept there, now next to that of Hui-neng. However, once again Nan-hua Monastery fell on hard times at the end of the Ming Dynasty, but the new Ch'ing Dynasty conducted repairs from 1647. In 1688, it was entirely rebuilt on the order of a Manchu prince, but it again declined along with the dynasty. It was not until 1934 that the famous Hsü-yün revived its fortunes. It was bombed once by the Japanese invaders, but after two of the bombers collided mid-air, the Japanese left the monastery untouched. However, again the monastery and its monks met with problems due to the anti-religious movements of the Chinese Communist Party. However, following the Cultural Revolution, some heritage restoration has been performed.³¹¹ The monastery was visited in 1928 by Tokiwa Daijō, who observed that the first gate had Nan-hua Monastery written on a plaque, but that the next gate had Pao-lin on its signboard.³¹²

After the myth-making of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan*, it seems the reputation of Pao-lin Monastery was secure, and this is confirmed by the reports of pilgrims coming from as far as Silla Korea. No doubt at various later stages, more myths were engendered, such as those of the 'Brief Preface' to the *Platform Sutra*. By the time the 'Brief Preface' was written, not long before 1316, the *Platform Sutra* had shed its aversion to the name Pao-lin or Nan-hua Monastery.³¹³ For example, in this account, Hui-neng saw that the monastery was cramped for space, so to enlarge it he said to Ch'en Ya-hsien, a native of the village, that he desired a plot of land the extent to which he

³¹¹ Kuang-tung sheng Po-wu-kuan (1990), 1-2, 5-7; Jy Din Sakya (2002), *Empty Cloud: The Teachings of Xu Yun and A Remembrance of the Great Chinese Master*, The Corporate Body of the Educational Foundation: Taipei, 3-4, 10-12, 14.

³¹² For the rest of his description, Tokiwa (1938), *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*, 624-629, mostly concentrating on the stelae, secondary relics and legends. For other descriptions of stelae, reproductions and likely fakes, see Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 30-35.

³¹³ EK, 93, for the date; 271, 336, for these names in the Tsung-pao of 1291 and the Te-i of 1290 versions of the *Platform Sutra*. They had already appeared in the SKSC, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

could spread his meditation mat. The mat was shown to Ch'en, who saw it normal size, but when Hui-neng spread it out the mat magically covered all of Ts'ao-ch'i. Ch'en agreed, but on condition that the grave of his ancestors in the area was exempted and the land was not flattened due to geomantic considerations. To this day, the ancestral tomb or shrine to Ch'en Ya-hsien is to be found on the edge of the monastery.³¹⁴ The story of covering the earth with the mat is reminiscent of the donation of the Jetavana orchard to the Buddha. A minister of Śrāvastī, Sudatta, gave unlimited wealth to aid the poor, and so he was called Anāthapindika (Giver to Orphans and Widows). Later he bought the heir-apparent's Jetavana garden, by covering it with gold for an extent of eighty *ch'ing*.³¹⁵ In addition to this hallowed precedent, the folklore motif of meditation mats in China having magical properties is not unknown. During Paramārtha's enforced stay in Kuang-chou, he retreated to an islet. When a student wished to meet him, the mountainous waves deterred him from going. Paramārtha then unrolled his mat, placed it on the waters and sat on it as if it was a boat. He floated over the billows to the shore, and the mat was not even wet. Sometimes he did this with lotus leaves.³¹⁶

Therefore, while the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was displaced and disappeared in China, possibly because of its ties to only one locality, the fortunes of Pao-lin Monastery were established and prosecuted through successor texts. This was despite the fact that the pre-Yüan Dynasty versions of the *Platform Sutra* offered virtually no support. While the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* were connected with and promoted the monastery, they did not have to have been written there to have propaganda value for the monastery itself, and for other heirs to its tradition, even if they were located elsewhere. It is possible that a monk from Ts'ao-ch'i wrote the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, but it was not necessarily so. After all, the *Pao-lin chuan* was most certainly written elsewhere, yet benefited the monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i. Others

³¹⁴ Yampolsky (1967), 61-62. For present site, see Faure (1992), 174.

³¹⁵ *Shih-chia shih p'u*, T50.96c27-97a3. A *ch'ing* was roughly 5.7 hectares or 14 acres.

³¹⁶ HKSC, T50.430a22-26. This is reminiscent of the later tale of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a rush. See Charles Lachman (1993), 'Why Did the Patriarch Cross the River?' 237 *passim*. The Buddha did not even need these props, for he not only crossed the Ganges without such aids, he also transported an entire congregation across. See Samuel Beal (1883), trans, *The Fo-sho Hing-Tsan King: A Life of Buddha*, 251.

could prosper in parallel with the monastery because of genealogical linkages, or pilgrims passing through their own centres, and even from the reflected glory for Ch'an monks in general. Yet once the reputation of the relics was guaranteed, the need for the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* faded, and they almost vanished completely.

Their authors remained anonymous, perhaps deliberately so. Some were probably local monks, perhaps without any national or even provincial standing, and their literary skills were probably not those of the national elite, although the authors may have aspired to it. Their authority then probably lay more with connections to specific monasteries and lineages, which supposedly had connections to Hui-neng. They had the greatest claim to authority because they seemed to have belonged to the community that possessed the relics of Hui-neng, and hence had the implicit sanction of Hui-neng himself. They made claim, however, to the aura of national authority by creating signs of imperial approval such as imperial decrees, plaques with names provided by the ruler, and tombs or stupas with posthumous names granted by the throne, and imperial summonses of resident monks or relics to the court. Moreover, the imposition of a name such as Chung-hsing Monastery made known to everyone that the monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i was the premier Buddhist institution in the prefecture, and perhaps in most of northern Ling-nan. Hence the later name, Nan-hua or South China Monastery.

Hsin-chou

The third Hui-neng site in Ling-nan was Hsin-chou. This was a small prefecture by area about one hundred and twenty kilometres southwest of Kuang-chou. It was established in 621 when the T'ang conquered the region. It had a population of 35,025 in the K'ai-yüan census, and in the T'ien-pao era, only slightly higher,³¹⁷ making it a medium-sized prefecture in Ling-nan terms. All sources, following the lead of Shen-hui, made Hsin-chou the birthplace of Hui-neng, and the place to where his father was banished as a minor official,³¹⁸ although the 'Brief Preface' does, in trying to specify a year, nominate one that was at least a year before the district was named Hsin-chou.³¹⁹ It should be noted that the earliest named prefect of Hsin-chou was

³¹⁷ CTS 5/41/1718.

³¹⁸ EK, 102.

³¹⁹ Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 382.

a Kao Piao-jen, who was mentioned in 631.³²⁰ He, coincidentally, had the same surname as Shen-hui. The local gazetteer, the *Hsin-chou hsien chih* of the Ch'ien-lung reign (1736-1796), identified Hui-neng's birthplace, and the tomb of his grandparents and parents as being in Jen-p'ing tou-hsia lü. Jao Tsung-i, a Hong Kong-based scholar, who made a visit to study the area, stated that the graveyard has a plaque with the words, 'Plaque granted in the Shen-lung era (705-710) of T'ang,'³²¹ which is probably a later pious fraud built upon the pious fraud of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and its epigones that claimed the connection with Emperor Chung-tsung. Jao also found that according to local tradition, Hui-neng's father was demoted to deputy prefect or adjutant of Hsin-chou in 662, and was named Lü Hsing-t'ao. His mother was reportedly a native of Hsin-hsing County and a member of the Li clan.³²² Again, this seems to be based on the stories in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, which had filtered into local folk knowledge. Every opportunity seems to have been exploited by locals to create pilgrimage sites in the area, for another gazetteer of the district, the *Chao-ch'ing fu chih* stated that the Yung-ning Monastery, which is next to Lang Village³²³ south of Hsin-hsing County, was where Hui-neng farewelled his mother when he left to see Hung-jen, and next to it is the 'stone of farewelling mother.' It also states that a Sixth Patriarch Hermitage is at the base of Fu-lü Mountain to the east of Ssu-hui County, and it is where Hui-neng avoided the difficulties that ensued after he left his tutelage under Hung-jen. It was built later by people to commemorate him.³²⁴ Nearby there is a Sixth Patriarch Crag in Huai-chi County.³²⁵

Yet again, following the lead of Shen-hui, at least in the Ishii text, all later works concur that in 711 Hui-neng sent his pupils to build a stupa in his former residence on Mt Lung in Hsin-chou, where he went to die in 713, and that the monastery there was Kuo-en Monastery.³²⁶

³²⁰ Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2798.

³²¹ Wang Ch'eng-wen (1996), 382.

³²² Hsü Wen-kan (1989), 533.

³²³ Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien p'ien-wei hui (1991), *Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien*, 616, four kilometres south, now called Chiu-lang. It notes this was where Hui-neng left his mother.

³²⁴ Ting Fu-bao (1922), tsa-chi 7; cf. Hsü Wen-kan (1989), 551-552.

³²⁵ Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien p'ien-wei hui (1991), 880, which says it was celebrated in a poem of 1906.

³²⁶ EK, 188.

According to Jao Tsung-i's investigations, the Lung-shan Monastery, Hui-neng's former home, is located seventy-three kilometres south of Hsin-hsing, and local tradition has it that the monastery was built in 683, and that in 706 (707 according to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*) Emperor Chung-tsung conferred the plaque naming the monastery Kuo-en. This plaque is supposedly still there. Next to the monastery is Pao-en Stupa, erected in 712 by Hui-neng's disciples from Pao-lin Monastery. When Hui-neng was travelling on his way from Ts'ao-ch'i to Hsin-chou, he passed through Chao-ch'ing (i.e. Tuan-chou). Later people built a Plum Hermitage (Mei Yüan) there, for tradition had it that Hui-neng planted a plum tree in that place. A well called the Sixth Patriarch's well is also to be found there. Above and to the left of Kuo-en Monastery there is a lichee tree believed to have been planted by the hand of Hui-neng. Nearby there is a Pavilion Reminiscing of Home and a Pao-en Hall. The foundations of the stupa still exist in the grounds of Kuo-en Monastery.³²⁷ The *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* states that Mt Lung is thirty *li* to the south of Hsin-hsing, and the mountain coils like a dragon for fifty *li*. The old residence is supposedly in front of Lung-shan Monastery, which is on Ssu-lung Mountain. The monastery is also known as Kuo-en or T'ien-ning Monastery, the latter a name granted in the Sung Dynasty.

There is some confusion, however, about where Hui-neng died, for the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* states it was in Kuang-kuo Monastery in Hsin-chou, and there is even a stele titled *Kuang-kuo Ssu Neng Ta-shih pei* composed by Wu P'ing-i, whom the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, following Shen-hui, claimed had erected another stele in 719 after erasing that by Wei Ch'ü.³²⁸ This Kuang-kuo Monastery remains a mystery, for all other evidence points to Kuo-en Monastery as the death place. The error may have been due to confusion with the Kuang-kuo Monastery of Shao-chou.³²⁹

³²⁷ Hsü Wen-kan (1989), 551-552. For the Plum Hermitage, see Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien p'ien-wei hui (1991), 881, which says the plum was planted in 662, and that later a Chih-yüan built the hermitage to celebrate this, probably in 996. It was later built into a substantial monastery. Note, according to Dōgen, lichees were not to be over-indulged in by monks. These were cautions in the Ch'an monasteries he visited while in China; see Suzuki Tetsuo (1999), 287-288.

³²⁸ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 26.

³²⁹ EK, 78a, 205-206; on evidence of a poem by Sung Chih-wen, which is probably a forgery, and the *Chiu Tang shu* biography of Hui-neng, which states he "lived in Kuang-kuo Monastery in Shao-chou." Cf. Hsü Wen-kan (1989), 553-554.

The people of Hsin-chou had to struggle to maintain a linkage with Hui-neng, for they had fewer resources than Pao-lin Monastery. Although Hsin-chou was the birthplace and site of death of Hui-neng, the people there lost the battle to keep the bodily relics of Hui-neng, which went back to Shao-chou. Theirs was a poorer district, with a smaller population and less influential officials, and so could not compete on the same scale. Hsin-chou was not on an important transport route either, being to the south of Kuang-chou. Therefore the people of Hsin-chou made the most of connections suggested in the various hagiographies to glean some subsidiary benefit from this sainted son, who, being largely conjured up and invented by outsiders from negligible evidence, was difficult to authenticate on the basis of local testimony. Geographically, politically and in terms of relics, Hsin-chou was the weakest of the three Hui-neng sites in Ling-nan, and so never prospered or attained the fame Buddhistically as had Shao-chou's Pao-lin Monastery or Kuang-chou's Chih-chih Monastery. Its Kuo-en Monastery was fated to never become a national pilgrimage site, and no authoritative texts were issued from there. The lack of a textual authority also doomed it to relative obscurity on the periphery of the Chinese empire, and to being marginalised by the nearby Kuang-chou, the regional capital. Perhaps they did not have someone of sufficient authority to author a hagiography championing the Hsin-chou claims to Hui-neng because they had lost the relic and because there were no authorities like Indian monks to sanction their accounts.

Conclusion

The process of fabricating an attractive relic and authoritative hagiography for an otherwise obscure monk such as Hui-neng depended eventually upon the resources and status of the forgers, which was in turn related to place. Shen-hui, located near the metropolitan heartlands, worked his way into a position of influence at court and amongst the elite literati, gaining the support of powerful court officials such as Fang Kuan and lesser assistance from Wang Wei, whose literary fame, however, guaranteed a hearing. Shen-hui's efforts achieved imperial sanction, at least for a time. However, once the dominance of the imperial centre was weakened, the mantle of forger then was taken up in Szechwan by a lineage closely involved with a virtually independent satrap, Ts'ui Kan. The resultant *Li-tai fa-pao chi* built upon Shen-hui's propaganda to create its own version

of events. Although it too largely sunk out of sight, its influence was spread through an association with important provincial powers and through the outmigration of a considerable number of Szechwanese monks into the mid-reaches of the Yangtze and then into Ling-nan. There the invention was elaborated upon with the help of scholar-officials, a number with national reputations as authors and reformers of literature, whose works could therefore broadcast elements of the hagiography. These literati-bureaucrats, being resident in these locations away from the capital, gave the propaganda local authority and a reflected legitimacy. Changing notions of authority advanced by these post-An Lu-shan Rebellion and post Shen-hui figures were consonant with the production of some of these monkish inventions and Ch'an Buddhist theories of text creation. This was paralleled by a loss of political power and influence in the metropolitan centre and the rise of more autonomous local forces. Ch'an echoed these developments by spreading along the major transport routes from the metropolis all the way down to Kuang-chou. At the same time, the contests between district monasteries, many located near the main trade routes, resulted in the fabrication of site-based hagiographies and the perpetration of pious frauds, even the theft of relics. Therefore, it may have been a 'Northern Ch'an' monk such as Ch'ü-fang (647-727) from Wu-t'ai who reportedly stole the invented sandal of Mt Sung for his own community, or perhaps it was taken by Shen-ying, a pupil of Shen-hui, to complement the realisation of the building of the grand vision he had on Wu-t'ai.³³⁰ But the most likely perpetrator was Meditation Teacher Niu-yün, who venerated Ching-chüeh as his master and died in 735. He lived at Hua-yen Monastery on Wu-t'ai.³³¹ This theft was reported in the *Pao-lin chuan*, which states that in 727 the sandal was spirited away to be worshipped in Hua-yen Monastery.³³² The hagiographers of the South in the 780s and 790s were evidently aware of the problem of relic theft, for they had shifted their focus towards the deaths and afterlives of their subjects, and mentioning that a theft, usually failed, had taken

³³⁰ Cf. *Kuang Ch'ing-liang chuan*, T51.1112c22ff. McRae (2003), 'Shen-hui as Evangelist,' 5, dates the meeting with Shen-hui to 716-717. Cf. T50.843a11 and Robson (2002), 510, who mentions Shen-ying supposedly met Shen-hui at Nan-yüeh, but this seems problematic.

³³¹ T51.1110cff.

³³² *Pao-lin chuan*, 135a.

place, only further enhanced the value of the relic. At the same time, this made the hagiographies more localised, attached as they were to a single monastery or a network of monasteries along the communication routes. Those without such relics, or who neglected to invent the appropriate relics of their Ch'an teachers, failed to gain prominence. Yet that very invention required a certain place and status, leaving districts such as Hsin-chou, not on an important route, labouring to create their own sacred sites. However, without the resources of an author with status or a community with influence, they could not forge their own hagiographies or relics. Eventually, however, as time passed, other communities created new forms of hagiography, more akin to the *yü-lu* or collected sayings, in which the enlightenment incidents and words were reported, and the lineages branched and flourished, expanding both in numbers of members and numbers of sites. These texts, such as the *Tsu-t'ang chi* of 952, were less exclusive, and so concentrated less on the afterlife and more on the sparks of enlightenment, and the exchanges of enlightening communications between masters and pupils. They were written at a time when there was no centre, either because the T'ang court was virtually powerless, or because China had been split into rival states, much in the way that Ch'an had been split into different families.

Power, place, and authority all were imbricated with Ch'an hagiography, and the transformations in these over the course of the T'ang Dynasty were manifested in the places where the hagiographies were written, the changes in the types of authors, and the shifts in the style and format of the hagiographies themselves. In the course of these changes, the image of Hui-neng shifted from that of an obscure teacher known only by name, to a Sixth Patriarch whose role was to pave the way for an 'imperial lineage,' and eventually into a relic whose potent presence made its monastery prosperous, and into a buddha who preached a sutra. However, with the exception of the audacious Shen-hui, who had metropolitan support, the authors of these hagiographies and their images remain anonymous and unknown probably by intention, although this may simply have been an artifact of faulty transmission, for they lacked sufficient authority as individuals to bolster their claims. Despite this apparent lack of authority, if the case of India is any guide, the forest renunciants or those meditators living in the peripheral regions, because they were less institutionalised, could be more innovative. They could more easily critique or subvert the establishment and introduce ideas more attuned with the aspirations of the

common people.³³³ Thus, among the Ch'an hagiographers, the innovations in format and content mainly developed in areas increasingly away from the centre as the T'ang Dynasty became more schlerotic. Moreover, as the products of communities asserted to be associated with the potent presence of Hui-neng, their hagiographies obtained a greater aura of authority. The distance of Hui-neng's activities and relics from the centre permitted greater innovation, even by Shen-hui, who while in the metropolitan region, was manipulating a name to which he attributed ideas that were difficult to verify. The remoteness of Hui-neng meant the establishment, Buddhist and lay, were less able to monitor if he and his teachings were real. Therefore the place name Ts'ao-ch'i was the key to the authority of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, just as Pao-lin was to the *Pao-lin chuan*, for this appealed to place and not just to the concept of genealogy and transmission as the earlier and later hagiographies claimed through their titles. Moreover, the postface to the *Pao-lin chuan* seems to have concluded with the origins of the name Ts'ao-ch'i, reinforcing this identification with place.³³⁴

³³³ Ray (1994), 439.

³³⁴ Shiina Kōyū (Dec. 1980), 'Hōrinden itsubun no kenkyū,' *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 11: 249, 255.

SECTION B

THE CH'AN HAGIOGRAPHIES: AUTHORS AND PLACES

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVOLUTION OF THE HAGIOGRAPHIES

For early 'Ch'an' at least, hagiography was probably its prime means for propaganda, and even later in its history, the hagiographical 'lamp-light transmission' texts were likely a major source of attraction and recruitment into the Order. While the dialogues and *yü-lu*, with their pithy and witty language attracted some, they probably remained puzzling to many, and the hagiographies provided a clearer guidance on key doctrines such as the transmission through mind to mind from the Buddha to the current generation of masters, and on indications of the triggers to enlightenment through 'encounter dialogues.' This was the *raison d'être* for the Ch'an lineage; without that genealogical connection it had no legitimacy. It is what distinguished Ch'an from other Buddhist 'schools.' To demonstrate that distinction required a definite linkage of the leaders of the community of the Ch'an hagiographers back to the Buddha. However, the mere assertion of a genealogy in a list was soon rendered impotent as other communities, such as T'ien-t'ai, Fa-hsiang and Esoteric Buddhism began doing the same, sometimes even co-opting elements of the Ch'an lineage claims.¹ Such outside forces, plus the internal battles to promote a particular lineage, especially after the outrageous claims by Shen-hui, which ignited a heightened sectarianism, induced changes to the nature and form of Ch'an hagiography. Therefore, we need to understand the evolution of the hagiographies to comprehend much of the history of early Ch'an. And as Hui-neng was made the key link in the genealogical chain, special attention was devoted to his hagiography, which evolved rapidly.

At least three stages can be discerned in the hagiographical production of Ch'an in its nascent period. Stage one involved the hagiographies written by identified authors, and stage two is a period of anonymous authorship, which concentrated more on the afterlives of their saints. The *Shen-hui yü-lu* and *Li-tai fa-pao chi* are a transition between these two stages. The third stage was a return to identified

¹ Tanaka (1983), *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 638-647; and Hai-yün (834), *Liang-pu Ta-fa hsing-ch'eng shih-tzu fu-fa chi*, T51.783c-787b.

authors, but with a shift in content towards enlightenment episodes, dialogues or anecdotes and reported speech, with interlarded verses and comments.

Stage One: the initial phase

Stage one includes the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*. Their authors are named, and both texts circulated in the North. The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* has a preface by Tu Fei, a supporter of Shen-hsiu,² who also gives his place of origin and his lay name, Tu Fang-ming. Contemporaries in the metropolitan region would surely have been able to identify him, given his connections, some of whom urged him to write the text in the form of an 'annals.'³ Shen-hui surely would have known Tu Fei's identity given his attack on the text.⁴ Tu Fei was probably the author of the entire text, and after the preface provided what is akin to a table of contents, listing the patriarch's name, dynasty, and monastery or mountain of main residence.⁵ No special emphasis is placed on the burial location. Rather, the concern is almost entirely with the transmission. The 'biographies' themselves contain very little doctrinal matter, and concentrate instead on the relationships between the master and his disciples.⁶ There is, however, a relatively lengthy postface on doctrinal issues, and then an appended stupa text for Shen-hsiu, the last of the patriarchs, which may have been added later,⁷ although there is a final title, *Ch'uan-fa chi ch'i-tsu* (Annals of Transmission of the Jewel [through] the Seven Patriarchs) in one fascicle,⁸ suggesting the complete text had included the stupa inscription. The text was probably composed around 712 or 713.⁹ In all cases, the biographies are relatively brief. The *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* was influenced, without acknowledgment, by the anonymous account of conduct for Fa-ju.¹⁰ Shen-hsiu's master is made out to have been

² CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 424; McRae (1986), *The Northern School and the formation of early Ch'an Buddhism*, 269.

³ McRae (1986), 269, 87, drawing on Yanagida (1971), 25-26, 328; ZSS, 48, 57, 424.

⁴ McRae (1987), 87.

⁵ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 353.

⁶ McRae (1986), 89.

⁷ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 416; McRae (1986), 45, 287 note 96.

⁸ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 435.

⁹ McRae (1986), 45; Yanagida (1971), 24-25.

¹⁰ McRae (1986), 86-87.

Fa-ju.¹¹ It gives authority for its last master, Shen-hsiu, by including mention of his appearance at the court of Empress Wu, the building of a monastery for him by Emperor Chung-tsung, and the grant of the posthumous name Ta-t'ung, and the repairs to the monastery by Emperor Jui-tsung.¹²

Because Shen-hui attacked the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* as a product of the urgings of P'u-chi, it has been the subject of some controversy as to its composition. Tu Fei had used earlier biographies because their subjects left only evidence of where they taught in the worldly realm. Tu also used 'portrait diagrams' to create his annals, but even these were barely distinguishable from the portraits of ordinary individuals. He asserted that this meant he could not exhibit his subjects' saintly understanding or charisma. Therefore he lamented that his biographies had to be brief.¹³ T. Griffith Foulk, accepting Shen-hui's claim that Tu Fei had edited the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* at the instigation of P'u-chi in order to add the hagiography of Shen-hsiu to an earlier collection of six patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Fa-ju and had erected a 'hall of the seven patriarchs' at Shao-lin Monastery, concludes that there was an earlier layer to the text. This layer supposedly was meant to validate the lineage found in Fa-ju's 'account of conduct' stele. Tu Fei's version then

is at pains to put Shen-hsiu on an equal footing with Fa-ju and to make a case that Shen-hsiu took over Hung-jen's lineage after Fa-ju died.¹⁴

The claim is based on a theory that Hung-jen clearly transmitted the Dharma to Fa-ju. This claim is found both in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* biography of Hung-jen, where Shen-hsiu is not mentioned, and in Fa-ju's biography, where he "secretly had the Dharma-seal transmitted to him" after he had nearly drowned.¹⁵ Apparently, in this

¹¹ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 390; McRae (1986), 51, who dismisses the CFPC claim that Shen-hsiu refrained from teaching until 689 in deference to Fa-ju, but Yüan Te-ling (2001), 'Fa-ju Shen-hsiu yü Pei-tsung Ch'an ti chao-shih,' *Tun-huang yen-chiu* 67 (1): 72, thinks Shen-hsiu did really study under Fa-ju. This conclusion is not based solely on the CFPC, but also on the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsün-chüeh*, a text Yüan attributes to Fa-ju. However, it should be noted Shen-hsiu was older than Fa-ju.

¹² CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 403; McRae (1986), 266.

¹³ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 346.

¹⁴ T. Griffith Foulk (1992), 'The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?' *The Pacific World*, New Series 8: 21.

¹⁵ Foulk (1992), 30 notes 12, 13; CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 386, 390.

scenario, Tu Fei inserted Shen-hsiu into the lineage by saying that Hung-jen 'transmitted' the Dharma lineage to Fa-ju, but only that Fa-ju "ceded it to Shen-hsiu."¹⁶ Later, Tu Fei wrote that Fa-ju said to his disciples that they should go to study with Shen-hsiu after his own death, something Foulk thinks was simply tacked on to the end of Fa-ju's biography so that he could then append the hagiography of Shen-hsiu.¹⁷ Could Tu Fei's references to the brief biographies and portrait diagrams then be to the earlier collection of six hagiographies and images in a hall for seven patriarchs at Shao-lin Monastery and that Shen-hui's allegations were fact?

Yüan Te-ling thinks not. He accepts that Shen-hsiu had studied under Hung-jen and then with Fa-ju. This he based on the evidence of the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh*, a text appended to Hung-jen's *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* in Pelliot 3559 from Tun-huang. This manuscript contains in order the *Yüan-ming lun*, attributed to Shen-hsiu by McRae, then Hung-jen's *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun*, followed by the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh*, then the *Yeh-tso hao*, next the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and so on. Unlike Yanagida and others who think the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh* is simply another name for the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun*, Yüan Te-ling thinks it is Fa-ju's summary of Hung-jen's teachings and not a work by Shen-hsiu.¹⁸ Ibuki Atsushi regards both the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* and the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh* as by Fa-ju's group, and thinks that the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* was not by Hung-jen, for while the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* quoted the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* without naming this source, it does deny that Hung-jen ever wrote anything. Both texts teach similar ideas about the meditation experience, and so had the same provenance, but were separate.¹⁹ Following the title of the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh* are the words:

First Bodhidharma transmitted this learning to Hui-k'o, who transmitted it to Seng-ts'an, who transmitted it to Tao-hsin, who (transmitted it) to Master Hung-jen, who transmitted it to Fa-ju, who transmitted it to his pupil Tao-hsiu and others. This (content is according) to the stele text

¹⁶ Foulk (1992), 30 note 13; the verb *chi* 及 here specifically refers to when a younger brother (Shen-hsiu), here in terms of discipleship and not age, succeeds to the elder brother (Fa-ju) on the latter's death. See Morohashi 3118 meaning 6, quoting the *Kung-yang chuan*. All other meanings mean 'and,' 'together' or 'reach'.

¹⁷ Foulk (1992), 30 note 13.

¹⁸ Yüan Te-ling (2001), 74-75; cf. Yanagida Seizan (1963), '*Denhōbōki to sono sakusha*,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 53: 48; and McRae (1986), 321.

¹⁹ Ibuki Atsushi (1991, Dec), '*Hō'nyōha ni tsuite*,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 40 (1): 111.

(*wen*) written by Tu Cheng-lun for Tao-hsin. This text (*wen*) was what Master Jen and his pupils heard and transmitted.²⁰

This is followed by the text as exposition, then questions and answers about its content.²¹ Here Tao-hsiu is Shen-hsiu, and the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* biography of Tao-hsin states that Tu Cheng-lun wrote a text of a stele and verses praising the virtues of Tao-hsin.²² This could mean that the first part of the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsün-chüeh* is Tao-hsin's teachings conveyed by Tu Cheng-lun,²³ and that the questions and answers were those exchanged between Hung-jen and his pupils, such as Fa-ju or Tao-hsiu/Shen-hsiu. Possibly some of this may have been included in the *Pai-hang chang* 百行章 (Text in 100 lines?) by Tu Cheng-lun found at Tun-huang.²⁴ It is tempting to speculate that the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsün-chüeh* is another text by Tu Fei or members of his circle, but in it the transmission (*chuan*) is from Fa-ju to Shen-hsiu, while in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu are seen as equals, both in the same generation, with an inheritance from older to younger brother.²⁵ Certainly both texts culminate with Tao-hsiu, but which is earlier is unclear, although the core of the *Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsün-chüeh* would appear to be older, with the lineage added possibly when the manuscript was copied.

Tu Fei was probably not a pupil of Shen-hsiu, for he started as a monk in Ta fu-hsien Monastery in Lo-yang. This monastery had been founded by Empress Wu for her late mother in 675, and took this name from 691. It was later a centre of 'Northern Ch'an' activity. Sometime around 684, Tu taught I-fu, and possibly P'u-chi, and he apparently recommended that they go study with Fa-ju. However, as Fa-ju died in 689, these students studied instead under Shen-hsiu. Tu Fei did not remain a monk permanently, for he seems to have returned to the laity, probably after the death of Empress Wu in 705, following which time he also wrote a two-fascicle work, possibly a biography, of Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu, a founder of T'ien-t'ai.²⁶

²⁰ Yanagida (1963), 48; ZSS, plate 11, from Pelliot 3559. Ibuki lists it as P 3664. For Ibuki's stemma for the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun*, see Ibuki (1991, Dec), 112.

²¹ ZSS, plate 11a-b; longer than the extract in Yanagida (1963), 49.

²² CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 380.

²³ ZSS, 83.

²⁴ Stein 1920; unfortunately I have not been able to investigate this at present.

²⁵ Yüan Te-ling (2001), 73.

²⁶ Yanagida (1971), 28; Yanagida (1963), 66-68; Jinhua Chen (1999), 'One Name; Three Monks,' 62-65.

Tu asserts that it had been "(an) intimate friend/s who had me compile this transmission record," and they may have been Shen-hsiu's pupils, for Tu states; "Now the pupils of Ta-t'ung (posthumous title of Shen-hsiu) are the beams of the Dharma (house) that have no weakness."²⁷ Yanagida has suggested they were probably Tu's former students, I-fu and P'u-chi.²⁸ As Shao-lin Monastery was only about seventy kilometres from Lo-yang where Ta fu-hsien Monastery was located,²⁹ and Tu Fei was probably a devotee of Fa-ju and likely knew Shen-hsiu from when he was at the court of Empress Wu, he may well have accepted that Fa-ju was like an elder brother in the Dharma to Shen-hsiu. Moreover, he had recommended Fa-ju to his pupils as a master, and when Fa-ju died they went to Shen-hsiu. In addition, Tu admitted there were other enlightened masters, but

since they were not of the transmission conferral (lineage), they therefore are separately ordered in *lieh-chuan*, which shows that this Dharma school has many leaders.³⁰

Hence, Tu Fei was stressing the lineage of Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu, and referring his readers to texts like the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* (to which he was hostile) or possibly to Hsüan-tse's *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* of 709 for the biographies of other 'Ch'an' monks. However, by mentioning that others could also be perfectly enlightened, he was emphasising the transmission, not the enlightenment. In that respect, it is possible that two masters, Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu, could share the transmission, and that it did not have to go via generations, but also through Dharma brothers.

While Shen-hui may have been able to play on differences in 'Northern Ch'an' over the lineage, the allegation about a 'hall of seven patriarchs' on Mt Sung, possibly at Shao-lin Monastery, seems to be unfounded because there is no independent record of it anywhere, despite Shao-lin Monastery being very well documented.³¹ Even in the 728 stele by P'ei Ts'ui (665?-736), which includes a mention of Bodhidharma's disciple Hui-k'o living on the mountain and of Fa-ju, the 'chief of the Samadhi-gate' (定門之首) who "transmitted the

²⁷ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 424.

²⁸ Yanagida (1971), 425.

²⁹ Jinhua Chen (1999), 66.

³⁰ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 346.

³¹ See Tonami Mamoru (1990), *The Shaolin Monastery Stele on Mount Song*; Washio Junkyō, ed. (1932), *Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan*; Chao Pao-chun (1982), *Shao-lin Ssu*, Shanghai jen-min ch'u-p'an she: Shanghai.

lamplight's marvellous principles" and his pupil Hui-chao who wrote brilliantly, no such hall is even hinted at.³² Moreover, a patron of Shen-hsiu, the chief minister Chang Yüeh, signed a stele dated 723 for Shao-lin Monastery, and Chang was a sponsor of P'ei Tsui.³³ If Shen-hsiu had been commemorated in such a hall, Chang and his protégé would probably have mentioned this, just as Fa-ju had been mentioned. But surely Shen-hui's statement could be verified by members of his audience simply visiting Mt Sung. If so, the hall may have been erected after 728 and before 730, or Shen-hui was talking about some obscure hall on that large mountain area that could be confused for one listing seven patriarchs. As usual, it seems Shen-hui was taking liberties with the facts.

So while Tu Fei belonged resolutely in the 'Northern Ch'an' camp, it seems he did not deliberately distort the lineage transmission, but simply reflected the circumstances of his own pupils who had wished to study under Fa-ju, but instead went to Shen-hsiu because Fa-ju had died. Although there may have been earlier biographies of some of the patriarchs, it is unlikely that Tu Fei simply appended the biography of Shen-hsiu onto an earlier set of hagiographies. The theme that runs through all of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* biographies, that of the perils suffered by the masters in the transmission, is confirmed also with Shen-hsiu, who is depicted at the age of thirteen encountering the chaos and famine caused by Wang Shih-ch'ung's rebellion, but after studying with Hung-jen and having a realisation others did not know about, was exiled for some 'crime' and had to hide in lay attire.³⁴ This suggests that Tu Fei composed the text as a whole and did not simply tack on the account of Shen-hsiu. Moreover, as other sources such as the earlier *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* attest that Shen-hsiu was a pupil of Hung-jen, the only problem is Shen-hsiu's relation to Fa-ju. As Fa-ju studied with Hung-jen from ca. 658 to 674 when Hung-jen died, he may well have been acknowledged as Hung-jen's senior heir once Shen-hsiu had been laicized, possibly around 662, and was only re-ordained officially sometime between 676 and 679, after Hung-jen's death. He may have not taught openly for sometime for reasons of politics or seniority as a monk, and so deferred to Fa-ju until the latter's death in 689.³⁵

³² Tonami (1990), 31, translation, 37.

³³ Tonami (1990), 25, 42.

³⁴ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 396.

³⁵ Cf. CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 396; McRae (1986), 44-51, although he does not

Tu Fei, a layperson with a post in the bureaucracy as Aide to the Court of Imperial Regalia, connected to the palace guards, a former monk and a hagiographer who wrote on subjects beyond 'Northern Ch'an,' was therefore of sufficient standing to be credible, and it is likely he did not have to fabricate a connection between Shen-hsiu and Fa-ju at the urgings of an erstwhile pupil. His *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, although influenced by earlier writings, was probably written as an entire composition in the *lieh-chuan* format to some extent and not as simply a justification of the lineage of Shen-hsiu by appending it to an existing hagiographical series.

Yet while the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* contains no mention of Hui-neng and so belongs in the prehistory of the Hui-neng hagiography, it did contribute to Shen-hui's formulation of Hui-neng's image. Shen-hui attacked it by name and reacted against its lineage claims, which suggested there were seven patriarchs, even though they did not conform strictly to a transmission of one patriarch per generation. Its other contribution was that of a sense of crisis, with patriarch after patriarch having his life threatened, and so the transmission of the true Dharma was endangered.³⁶ Although it was not the first Ch'an work to be a collection of hagiographies, an honour that goes to Hsüan-tse's *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih*, which possibly contained at least the hagiographies of Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu and Lao-an, we do not know how many more hagiographies were in Hsüan-tse's composition.³⁷ The *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* biographies, as extant in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, appear to have been short and simple.³⁸ This may have been because it was an extension of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* account of the Bodhidharma lineage and championed the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* adherents to distinguish them from those who promulgated the *Lotus*, *Vajracchedika* and *Avatamsaka* sutras. Their lives were detailed in texts that had the name of the sutra plus *chuan* or *chi* (record) in their titles.³⁹ As the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* was

accept that Shen-hsiu refrained from teaching. According to Tao-hsüan, a Ho-shang had to have been a monk for a full ten years after taking the full precepts to have had this title and be a teacher. See *Ssu-fen lü shan-fan pu-ch'ieh hsing-shih ch'ao*, T40.32b9ff. Of course, other qualities were expected. The same applied in India, see Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 28.

³⁶ Yanagida (1971), 358.

³⁷ Yanagida (1971), 278; ZSS, 59.

³⁸ ZSS, 42.

³⁹ ZSS, 60.

hostile to the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*,⁴⁰ it, like the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih*, was attempting to assert an independence from the 'biographies of eminent monks' (*kao-seng chuan*) style of hagiography written by Vinaya monks that covered all categories and lineages (or schools) of Buddhist monks. However, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* seems to have been more radical, for by stressing the lineage and not a sutra, it was making a stronger claim to independence via transmission of the Dharma.

The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* is a much longer and more complex text, which opens with a ritualistic invocation or 'introit.' This is followed by a long, doctrinally-oriented preface by the author, Ching-chüeh,⁴¹ and at the start of the body of the text it is declared that the text was "compiled at Ling-ch'üan Valley, on Mt T'ai-hang, where the monk Ching-chüeh of the Eastern Capital (Lo-yang) was residing."⁴² Ching-chüeh, as the 'younger brother' of an empress, was immediately identifiable in the metropolitan region.⁴³ The 'biographical' entries are mostly long quotes from texts supposedly by the subject or reported sermons and minor dialogues.⁴⁴ Virtually no attention is paid to graves. No mentions are made of the graves of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and Tao-hsin, and for Seng-ts'an it merely states, "He ended at Wan-kung Monastery, in which one can see a shrine and portrait (*miao-ying*)."⁴⁵ There are several lines on Hung-jen's death, his stupa, a portrait and an encomium,⁴⁶ and a couple of lines on Shen-hsiu's date and place of death, his three-word last testimony, age and an unnamed author of a funerary dirge.⁴⁷ This is followed by the decrees issued by Emperor Chung-tsung granting Shen-hsiu the posthumous name of Ta-t'ung and a plaque for his monastery.⁴⁸ There follows a few of Shen-hsiu's sayings and questions,⁴⁹ and finally a brief entry on his four disciples, with the conclusion of the text summing up as follows:

⁴⁰ ZSS, 54; Faure (1989), 66.

⁴¹ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 49, 52.

⁴² LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 93; Faure (1989), *Le bouddhisme Ch'an*, 100.

⁴³ For a biography, see Faure (1997), 130-136; McRae (1986), 88-89.

⁴⁴ For sources, see list in McRae (1986), 90-91.

⁴⁵ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 168; Faure (1989), 132-133, and note 9, for discussion.

⁴⁶ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 273; Faure (1989), 167-168, 164 note 19, on importance of funerary stupas, etc, but that was not really the case here.

⁴⁷ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 303; Faure (1989), 174.

⁴⁸ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 307; Faure (1989), 174-176.

⁴⁹ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 312-313; Faure (1989), 177-178; McRae (1986), 93.

From the (Liu) Sung Dynasty onwards, the bhadantas and meditation masters succeeded each other through the generations, beginning from Trepitaka Guṇabhadra of the Sung, the transmission of the lamplight passed through the generations down to the T'ang Dynasty, in all eight generations (*tai*), and those who attained the Way and gained the fruit were twenty-four people.⁵⁰

It is possible that the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* was made up of several expanded versions, with Bernard Faure positing at least four editorial layers, finalised before 716. It is also suggested that the entry on the four disciples; P'u-chi, Ching-hsien, I-fu and Hui-fu; because it shifts from one master per generation to four in a generation, and repeated information on Shen-hsiu's posthumous name, is a later interpolation.⁵¹ Yet that ignores the fact that Ching-chüeh earlier acknowledged that Hung-jen gave the prediction of discipleship and succession to only ten pupils, and that Shen-hsiu, Hsüan-tse and Lao-an were in the seventh generation and were the National Teachers of Empress Wu, the Emperor Chung-tsung and the heir-apparent, the future Jui-tsung.⁵² In addition, Ching-chüeh states that he himself was taught by Shen-hsiu and gained partial enlightenment, and that he gained full understanding under Hsüan-tse, also a 'predicted' disciple of Hung-jen,⁵³ and he uses Hsüan-tse's *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* to provide information on Shen-hsiu.⁵⁴ Moreover, it is equally possible, given that all the four pupils of Shen-hsiu were then alive and residing in the metropolitan area, that this was an acknowledgment of their importance in the continuation of the lineage. It provided a conclusion of sorts to a text that otherwise would have ended with Shen-hsiu asking,

The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* preaches, "A bodhisattva of limitless body came from the east (*tung-fang*).” Since the extent of the bodhisattva's body was limit-

⁵⁰ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 320; for calculation of the twenty-four, Yanagida (1971), 326; Faure (1989), 181-182.

⁵¹ Faure (1997), *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 172-173, thinks this last section of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* is problematic, opining this change from one master per generation to four in one generation is suspicious, and possibly a later interpolation by 'Northern Ch'an' adherents. However, I am not convinced, for otherwise without this last section, the text would end with a quote from Shen-hsiu's teaching in which he quotes a line from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, thereby leaving no conclusion to the book.

⁵² LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 295; cf. Shiina Kōyū (1980), 'Zenshū tōshi no seiritsu to hatten,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 64, 68.

⁵³ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 52, 57.

⁵⁴ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 298.

less, how then can he have come from the east? Why did he not come from the west, the south, or the north? Should it not be impossible?⁵⁵

This would have been a rather abrupt finale for a book that has a clear introduction and structure, even if it was constituted largely of a collection of source materials. Ending with such a questioning or 'encounter dialogue' would have violated the need to have an outer frame for the text. The entry on the four disciples of Shen-hsiu then put the book in the context of a continuing transmission of the teaching, and may have also been an acknowledgment of the political reality of the place where it was intended to be circulated, the capitals. Ching-chüeh was possibly under great political pressure if the book was written between 713 and 716, for his clan had been decimated after his 'sister,' the Empress Wei, attempted to take power in 710 at the death of Emperor Chung-tsung, and he probably had to avoid making exclusive lineage claims for himself alone, and thus acknowledged the other pupils of Shen-hsiu who were in favour in the capital region.⁵⁶ Moreover, it is similar to the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* in permitting Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu to be patriarchs in the same generation.

The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, continuing on as it did with the genre of the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih*, maintains the emphasis on the persons rather than the transmission, and was more indebted, and so was less hostile, to the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*.⁵⁷ In fact, it may have added Guṇabhadra, translator of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, to the lineage, on the suggestion of the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* biography of Fa-ch'ung.⁵⁸ It was thus more conservative and downplayed the threats to the lineage transmission, as it was more accepting of, and attempted perhaps to incorporate more of, the teachings of other meditators.⁵⁹ However, unlike the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, which had minimal doctrinal themes other than transmission and radical meditation methods mentioned in its hagiographies,

⁵⁵ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 313; Faure (1989), 178; McRae (1986), 93. Compare this with the passage in the Tao-hsin entry, LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 205, for other similar *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* passages. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was in fact an important doctrinal source in this work. Note also the idea of the bodhisattva from the east and Hui-neng's prediction about the revival of his teaching by 'bodhisattvas from the east.'

⁵⁶ Faure (1997), 133-134, 172. He used the posthumous title of Chung-tsung, LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 57, notes on 297; cf. McRae (1986), 89 and Shiina (1980), 64.

⁵⁷ Yanagida (1971), 130-131, 139-140, 144-145, 165; ZSS, 62.

⁵⁸ ZSS, 74.

⁵⁹ Faure (1989), 66.

reserving its main doctrinal statements to Tu Fei's preface and his 'discussion' (*lun*) or postface;⁶⁰ the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* incorporated long quotes from texts attributed to the subjects of the hagiographies, in addition to a long preface.⁶¹ Thus it included the entire *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* in Bodhidharma's hagiography; long quotes from sutras and the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* in the 'sermons' of Hui-k'o; a commentary on Hui-ming's *Hsiang-hsüan chuan* attributed to Seng-ts'an (despite earlier stating Seng-ts'an wrote nothing),⁶² long 'sermons,' dialogues and comments on the statements of others, and instructions on meditation by Tao-hsin; and 'sermons' and dialogues by Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu. Although not always clearly marked as sermons by the use of words like, 'Tao-hsin said,' and possibly being quoted from texts, long sections partake of the nature of sermons. Moreover, it even invents a sermon for Guṇabhadra.⁶³ In this sense, the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* provided a model for the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and for the *Platform Sutra*, which has a long sermon following the 'autobiographical' introduction attributed to Hui-neng. Secondly, in the hagiography of Shen-hsiu in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, it quotes from the imperial decrees by Chung-tsung and dialogues with Empress Wu.⁶⁴ In this aspect, it was a model for the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* in particular. The incorporation of these long sermons also moved it away from the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* format, and so highlighted the doctrinal strengths of Ch'an, rather than only meditation.

Another aspect, also missing from the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* and *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, was that of the imprimatur or sanction (*yin-k'o*). Tao-hsin is reported as having said that those teachers who have

not realised the ultimate Dharma, and who guide sentient beings for the fame and benefits, and who do not know the abilities, conditions and intellect (of their students, whenever these students) show something akin to being out of the ordinary, they then seal them all. How pitiful!⁶⁵

This passage reflects Huang K'an's discussion of the *Lun-yü*, where he says not all of its words are those of the Master, but are also

⁶⁰ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 330-351, 408-426.

⁶¹ LCSTC preface, Yanagida (1971), 52-90.

⁶² LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 167, 173-174, on Seng-ts'an.

⁶³ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 102, on Guṇabhadra.

⁶⁴ Yanagida (1971), 298, 302, 306-307.

⁶⁵ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 220.

those of the disciples and the vulgar, but they were sealed (*yin-k'o*) by Confucius so that the conversations could be included in the *Lun-yü*.⁶⁶ But Ching-chüeh in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* clearly distinguished this indiscriminate seal of approval from the proper sealing, in which Seng-ts'an sealed Tao-hsin, and Hung-jen sealed his students, probably including Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, because they had "clearly seen the Buddha-nature."⁶⁷ This then became a key in Shen-hui's campaign, with the need to see the Buddha-nature also derived from the same source, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and the seal image taken from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*'s "one who sits like this the Buddha then seals."⁶⁸ Therefore the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* contributed much to the development of the Ch'an hagiography, in particular the incorporation of sermons and quotes from imperial decrees displaying approval and legitimacy in the eyes of the state, and also the notion of the imprimatur or sanction of disciples.

However, while the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* provided significant pointers for the later development of Ch'an, in particular records of dialogues and questioning,⁶⁹ and for Shen-hui to develop with respect of lineage transmission, it retained the generation-by-generation concern with transmission and doctrine, and has no emphasis on the afterlives of the saints or their relics and tombs. Yet, it was the first text to mention the name of Hui-neng, and so provided the starting point or cue for the development of the hagiography of Hui-neng.

In a transitional phase, Shen-hui, the 'inventor' of the Hui-neng hagiography, was aware of these two earlier texts, for he attacked the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* by name and indirectly criticised the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* by stating that in the transmission there was nothing else besides the robe of Bodhidharma, thereby denying that the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* was the item transmitted.⁷⁰ This marks his works as products of the North.

Shen-hui's attacks were made openly from 730 and were written out in the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* of 732 at Hua-t'ai.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *Lun-yü i-shu*, 1/1b.

⁶⁷ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 167, 287, and comment by Yanagida, 170, 294.

⁶⁸ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 25, 30, 7; ZSS, 109, 472, see above Chapter 5.

⁶⁹ Faure (1997), 173-174; McRae (1986), 91-93.

⁷⁰ Suzuki Tetsuo (1980), 'Nanshū tōshi no shuchō,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, 81.

⁷¹ Suzuki Tetsuo (1980), 79; Hu Shih (1968), 260; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 17; Teng and Jung (1998), 5.

The criticism was of the lineage claims of P'u-chi:

Moreover, now Meditation Teacher P'u-chi has erected a stele inscription on Mt Sung, erected a Hall of the Seven Patriarchs, and compiled the (*Ch'uan*) *fa-pao chi* in which he orders the seven generations by number, but we do not see written therein (the name of) Meditation Teacher (Hui-)neng. Meditation Teacher Neng was the person who received the conferral as heir, and is a teacher of men and gods, renown throughout the entire country, and yet we do not see it written there. Meditation Teacher (Fa-)ju was a fellow student together with Meditation Teacher (Shen-)hsiu, and moreover was not a person who received the conferral as heir, and was not a teacher of men and gods, was not renown in the empire. What correct transmission of the teaching does he have, and how can he act as the sixth generation (patriarch)? Meditation Teacher P'u-chi erected a stele inscription for Master (Shen-)hsiu, and established Master Hsiu as the sixth generation. Now he has compiled the (*Ch'uan*) *fa-pao chi*, which also establishes Meditation Teacher (Fa-)ju as the sixth generation (patriarch). I do not know that as each of two bhaddantas have been established as the sixth generation, which is the right (one) and which is the false (one). I request Meditation Teacher P'u(-chi) to try and think about this carefully.⁷²

But P'u-chi did not champion the cause of Fa-ju, as this was probably the personal cause of Tu Fei,⁷³ and Fa-ju was renown in the empire, not Hui-neng. Notice that Shen-hui does not directly attack Shen-hsiu, under whom he had studied, but P'u-chi, Shen-hsiu's heir. However, P'u-chi had also consulted Dharma Teacher (Tu) Fei,⁷⁴ which may have been the basis of Shen-hui's craftily fabricated allegations.

On the other hand, Shen-hui was constrained in attacking the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* by name because it contained similar doctrines, or was based on scriptural sources identical with those Shen-hui himself was promoting. The criticism of it then was suggested by Shen-hui's definitive removal of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as a doctrinal authority and symbol of transmission, and by excluding Guṇabhadra from the list of the patriarchs.⁷⁵

Shen-hui also attacked P'u-chi for allegedly using his considerable influence to silence critics:

⁷² Hu Shih (1968), 289-290, cf. 284; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 31-32, 29; Teng and Jung (1998), 49-50, 38; and Tanaka Ryōshō, translator (1989), 'Bodaidaruma Nanshū tei zehi ron,' 225-226.

⁷³ Suzuki Tetsuo (1980), 84.

⁷⁴ Yanagida (1971), 425, 25.

⁷⁵ Suzuki Tetsuo (1980), 81-82, 84.

Dharma Master Yüan asked, "Since Meditation Teacher P'u-chi began teaching the Dharma more than a couple of decades ago, why didn't you earlier discuss (this) with him, and settle the gist of the lineage?"

The Master replied, "The students of the Way in the empire all go (to P'u-chi) to remove their doubts. If they ask of the gist of the true lineage, they are all dragged away by the followers called out by Meditation Teacher P'u-chi relying on the authorities. Even if one had doubts, one did not dare present one's question."⁷⁶

Here Shen-hui is implying that he was earlier obstructed by the officials and literati who were supporters of P'u-chi and that he himself was the oppressed underdog who was challenging the metropolitan authority. Tsung-mi even suggested that at times Shen-hui had to go about in mufti to avoid persecution by the magistrates of Pai-ma and Wei-nan.⁷⁷ The protagonist of T'ien-t'ai and critic of Ch'an, Liang Su (753-793), wrote a stele for two T'ien-t'ai nuns sometime between 774 and 780, after he became a supporter of the T'ien-t'ai revivalist, Chan-jan,⁷⁸ and while he was living in Ch'ang-chou. In it, he claimed that even two nuns of a T'ien-t'ai persuasion, could assert that P'u-chi's teachings were not perfect, but because of his power, were unable to challenge him. Moreover, P'u-chi's "follower, a person of high rank, heard of this (criticism) and hated them for it, so he memorialised seeking they be expelled," but after they were questioned by the famous I-hsing (d. 727), himself a pupil of P'u-chi and student of T'ien-t'ai.⁷⁹ As the stele was in Ch'ang-chou, the nuns' birthplace, far from Ch'ang-an where these events occurred, and as it was written by Liang Su, a partisan of T'ien-t'ai who was writing almost fifty years later, the slander directed at P'u-chi has probably to be regarded with suspicion, as reflecting a sectarian dispute with Ch'an and a reiteration of Shen-hui's propaganda, not the reverse.⁸⁰ (As we shall see, there were disputes with T'ien-t'ai over the lineage of patriarchs that developed from around the 750s.) However, Shen-hui himself began to gather politically powerful backers, and made

⁷⁶ Hu Shih (1968), 290; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 32; Teng and Jung (1998), 50; Tanaka (1989), 226.

⁷⁷ HTC 14.553b12-13.

⁷⁸ For dates, see Kanda Kiichirō (1972), 'Ryō Shuku nenpu,' *Tōhōgaku ronshū* (Tōhō Gakkai sōritsu nijūgoshunen kinen), 266-269.

⁷⁹ Üich'ōn, *Sōkwōn sarim*, HPC (1982), 4.663c17ff.

⁸⁰ Bernard Faure (1998a, Dec.), 'Voices of Dissent: Women in Early Chan and Tiantai,' 29-30, 35-36. Üich'ōn was also a T'ien-t'ai partisan.

allegations of impropriety and baseless teachings against his opponents. Thus, Tu-ku P'ei in the postface to the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* wrote:

The *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* describes the conferral from teacher to teacher over the six generations of badhantas and the transmission of the seal of the Dharma, which was received generation after generation, with no interruption of the basic lineage. From the time of Master Bodhidharma, only one person was permitted per generation. If there happened to be two or three within (any one generation), this was an erroneous practice of the Buddha-Dharma. And moreover, today numberless people are teaching meditation in the empire, but hardly any learn meditation. They all lack the correct transmission of the teaching. On what basis do they establish their teaching?...Our Master belonged to the days when the Correct Dharma was in decay, and the perverse Dharma had (created) disorder. He knew if one wished to practice the basic prescriptions of the later doctors, one should discard the pap medicine of the previous doctors,⁸¹ and again elevate the true teaching and halt the world's babbling.

Tu-ku P'ei continues, once again using geographical metaphors and references to the influence of P'u-chi and the virtue of Shen-hui in overcoming it:

Alas! The surety transmitted through the six generations is now in Shao-chou and the four groups of students vainly travel to the Sung Ranges. It can be said that fish swim in water, but these students cast their nets on the high mountains. At times there are fellow students who say to each other, "Master (P'u-)chi of Mt Sung is a buddha who has appeared in the world and the teacher of the emperor and princes, whose virtue the empire reverences, and whom the whole of China takes refuge in. Who would dare correct (him)? Who would dare deny it to him?" Again, among the fellow students there was one elder who replied, "Stop! Such a thing is something you don't know about....You simply know about valuing the ears and devaluing the eyes, respecting the past and despising the present...."

In the past, on the fifteenth day of the first month of the twentieth year of the K'ai-yüan era (15th Feb. 732), (Shen-hui) discussed this with Dharma Teacher Yüan. He briefly exposed the mind-ground, moved the atmosphere and surmounted the clouds, and his pronouncements shocked the assembly. The monks and laity said to each other, "A later

⁸¹ This is a reference to Fa-hsien's translation of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.862b-863b, see Komazawa Daigaku Zengaku daijiten hensansho, comp. (1977), *Zengaku daijiten*, 987b.

incarnation of (Bodhi-)dharma!" The replies and questions, and resonant phrases were thus compiled into this *lun*.⁸²

Although an exact date for the debate is provided, it is uncertain exactly when Tu-ku P'ei compiled this record or digest, for in the final verse he wrote:

This *lun* began
In the twentieth year (*tsai*) of K'ai-yüan,
By which time there was decay
And in this year the Dharma was established.
The fundamental origin is pure
And unrelated to cumulative practice.
To mount the seat on the other shore
Is by sudden entry through the meditation entrance.
His virtue transcended the Yellow and Lo (rivers),
And his fragrance (fame) circulated through the capital.
The bright moon hung alone in the sky,
The stars unable to match it.⁸³

However, Hu Shih thought that if the use of the year marker *tsai* instead of *nien* by Tu-ku P'ei for the year of the version of the debate was correct, it would mean this text had to have been written down by him after 744.⁸⁴ Yet it is unclear where it was compiled, for Tu-ku P'ei included a puzzling comment immediately following the above:

The *lun* wrote, "The setting up of today's unimpeded great assembly is not for merit; it is for the students in the empire to settle right and wrong, and is for those who use their minds in the empire to distinguish heterodox and orthodox." Right and wrong, heterodox and orthodox are fully recorded in this clear text. And it describes the basic lineage, to transmit it to later generations. Even though Master (P'u-)chi saves beings in the world, he is not the equal of Ts'ao-ch'i in this. Therefore the *lun* described (the lineage as being) in the South.⁸⁵

Perhaps then Tu-ku P'ei later wrote this account down from notes

⁸² Hu Shih (1968), 314-316; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 42-43; Teng and Jung (1998), 98-104; Tanaka (1989), 246-248.

⁸³ Hu Shih (1968), 318; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 45; Teng and Jung (1998), 106; Tanaka (1989), 250.

⁸⁴ Hu Shih (1968), 370; cf. change in use of these markers, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/215/6863.

⁸⁵ Hu Shih (1968), 316; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 43-44; Teng and Jung (1998), 104; Tanaka (1989), 248, and 431 note 92. Tanaka says he is unsure what the last line ("the *lun* is described in the South") means, for the *lun* or debate was carried out at Hua-t'ai, which cannot be said to be in the South.

taken between 730 and 732 at Hua-t'ai, and that he compiled them into this form after 744 while he was in the South, or was he merely referring to the lineage?

However, the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* only lists the names of the patriarchs in the lineage, and with the exception of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, gives no hagiographical information. Therefore, to flesh out this lineage, it appears that sometime after the 732 debates, a *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan* was produced:

From the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth years of the K'ai-yüan (era) this *lun* text was not settled at all, and as the editing was not completed, the words of the *lun* were not the same (in the different versions). Now I have taken the twentieth-year text to be the decisive (form). Later, there was a *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, which also circulated in the world.⁸⁶

In other words, there were three texts of the debate, plus a set of hagiographies that appeared after 732, which means that the polishing or compilation of the extant *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* post-dated the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*.

A later text, of undetermined date, compiled by a Liu Ch'eng, the registrar of T'ang-shan Prefecture,⁸⁷ with the title *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, was in formulation sometime before 791-792, for a copy was made from it in the far Northwest of China after that date, probably in 813.⁸⁸ The copy was made by a monk, Pao-chen, and an assistant to the Regional Military Commissioner, Chao Hsiu-lin (or K'an-lin) at the Pei-t'ing military office. The commissioner was a certain Grand Master (*tai-fu*) Chang. Because there is a discrepancy in the dates between the reign year and the cyclical year, the suspicion is that the last person referred to was Chang Yen-shang, the military commander of that district until 785 (Chen-yüan era, first year) and who died in 787. The outpost of Pei-t'ing was attacked by the Tibetans in 786 or thereabouts. A stele inscription was written for this commander Chang by Chao Tsan,⁸⁹ who may have been a relative of Chao Hsiu-lin. No other commander, or even prefect, surnamed

⁸⁶ Hu Shih (1968), 260; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 17; Teng and Jung (1998), 5; Tanaka (1989), 205, 418 note 1, says this probably corresponds to the section on the biographies of the six patriarchs at the end of the Ishii text. See following.

⁸⁷ Yü-hang Commandery, Hang-chou. Hu Shih (1968), 491 note 2.

⁸⁸ Hu Shih (1968), 412.

⁸⁹ Chao Tsan, *T'ang ku tseng T'ai-pao Chang kung shen-tao pei*, CTW 526/2401 b-c.

Chang, was near the area at the time. The text, called the Ishii text after its Japanese owner, ends:

In the eighth year of the Chen-yüan era of T'ang (792), in the *wei* [eighth of the twelve branches in the cycle] year (791), the śramaṇa Pao-chen and Chao Hsiu-lin, the adjutant to the military commissioner in Pei-t'ing, received Grand Master Chang's instructions 處分 ordering them to collate it. By this year, winter, the twenty-second day of the tenth month, it was recorded.

T'ang, *kuei-ssu* year (813), twenty-third day of the tenth month, the bhikṣu has recorded this.⁹⁰

The reason for the delay between the order in 791-792, and 813, the date of the final recording, and the reason for the mistakes in the year, was an interruption caused by the fall of the garrison town of Pei-t'ing (Bechbalik, near modern Urumchi) to the Tibetans in 786.⁹¹ The Grand Master Chang can only be Chang Yen-shang (726-787), who was military commander of this region until 785. He received the position of chief minister and chief censor in that year, and so was entitled to be called Grand Master, a title restricted at that time to top court officials, although it was often given as an honorary title. No other person surnamed Chang with any claim to the title Grand Master was in the area at least until Chang I-ch'ao (d. 872) began the conquest of the Tibetan occupied areas in the Turfan Basin and Tun-huang in 848.⁹² Therefore, the office, which by 791 must have been somewhere besides Pei-t'ing because the Tibetans had expelled the Chinese forces, or was under Tibetan subjection, did not yet know of Chang Yen-shang's death. The collators too, were in confusion

⁹⁰ A number of problems exist here. Firstly, the punctuation. Both Hu Shih (1968), 412, and Suzuki and Koda (1934), Ishii text, 67, punctuate the text as 命令勸訖, "ordered the collation finished," which is probably correct. Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 114, drops the word 'ordered,' and gives the date as 813. The closest *kuei-ssu* year is 813, which is the eighth year of the Yüan-ho reign. Yet the nearest *wei* year to Chen-yüan 8 is the year before, 791. If this is correct, the bhikṣu wrote out the text the day after the collation was finished. The collation thus took until 813. Cf. Suzuki Tetsuo, translator (1989), 'Nan-yō Wa-sho mondo zatsu chō-gi,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, et al, *Daigyō Butten: Chūgoku Nihon hen 1: Tonkō* 2, 201, 417 note 245, who concludes 813 as the most likely date.

⁹¹ For this fall, see Wang Shou-nan (1978), *T'ang-tai fan-chen yü chung-yang kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu*, 27, as in Chen-yüan 6 or 786, and Demiéville (1952), 182 note 3, who gives the date as 790. Jacques Gernet (1954), 'Complément aux 'Entretiens du Maître de Dhyāna Chen-houei,' *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 2: 454, (also reprinted in Gernet, 1977) calls the place Bichbalik, but gives no date.

⁹² Demiéville (1952), 167-168.

due to the Tibetan invasion, and so could not complete the work, which they eventually did in 813, probably still under the Tibetan administration, for the Ishii manuscript originated from Tun-huang. The original was a scroll of tough paper, typical of that used during the occupation.⁹³

This was a period of intense interest in Ch'an in that region, for Mo-ho-yen, a 'Northern Ch'an' monk who had adopted a more radical position closer to those of Shen-hui or Wu-chu in Szechwan, was debating the Indian 'gradualists' in bSam-yas or Lhasa at the time, and the king of Tibet, Khri-srong lde-brtsan, requested the monk T'an-kuang respond to his questions on related topics. In 794, Mo-ho-yen probably returned from Lhasa to Tun-huang. This explains why so many Ch'an texts were copied in Tun-huang during this period.⁹⁴ Even after this time, in 934, a monk, Tao-chen, from San-chieh Monastery in Sha-chou (Tun-huang) wrote a catalogue of texts containing a hundred and eighty-four items, demonstrating that monasteries kept reasonably large collections. Furthermore, an Indian-style book in the *pothi* shape dating from the Chang clan administration period (ca. 848-ca. 914) was found at Tun-huang.⁹⁵ The latter had ninety-three leaves, and included the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, the *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü*, both works by Shen-hui; the *Nan-tsung tun-wu tsui-shang Ta-sheng t'an ching* (the *Platform Sutra*) and Ching-chüeh's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* with a preface by Li Chih-fei, the Aide to the Area Command of Ching-chou. The book ends with a postface by the bhikṣu Kuang-fan, who found a copy at Hua-jui, that is, Hua-t'ai, and decided to make a woodblock print of it.⁹⁶

⁹³ See Suzuki and Koda (1934), *kaisetsu* 3; for description of papers typical of the period, see Fujieda Akira (1966), 'The Tun-huang Manuscripts: A General Description, Part 1,' *Ōbun* 9: 22, 'Part 2,' *Ōbun* 10: 36.

⁹⁴ Yamaguchi Zuihō (1988), 'Toban no shihai jidai,' in Enoki Kazuo, ed., *Tonkō no rekishi*, (Kōza Tonkō 2), Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 228-229; Demiéville (1952), 177-184; and Yamaguchi Zuihō (1988), 'Makaen no Zen,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, (Kōza Tonkō 8), Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 379, dates Mo-ho-yen's return as 796 after he had been in Tibet for ten years, and 393-396, for the similarity with the thought of Shen-hui and Wu-chu, although major differences still remained.

⁹⁵ For the *pothi*, see Fujieda (1966), 26.

⁹⁶ Hsiang Ta (1957), *Tang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming*, 368-369; cf. Tanaka Ryōshō (1983), *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 31; Teng and Jung (1998), 'Foreword,' 28-29, and 487-488; Jorgensen (2003), 432 note 100, on the misreading of the date of the book, and 404, on the dating of the book.

In addition, there are three copies of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* from Tun-huang,⁹⁷ the Ishii text (collated and published by Suzuki and Koda), and Stein 6557.⁹⁸ This 813 version (the Ishii text) has appended the biographies of the six patriarchs to what was probably an earlier version, that of Liu Ch'eng, which may have ended with the dialogue between Shen-hui and the otherwise unknown pupil of a Central Indian monk, Kalamitra Trepitaka.⁹⁹ The 813 text begins the scroll with the words, "This writing 文字 lacks the start. Later there was a widely read person of the Way who sought out the original text 本 and continued it." This suggests that the earlier dialogues were lost.¹⁰⁰ Pelliot 3047 starts with at least five dialogues before Stein 6557 commences,¹⁰¹ and the Ishii text starts slightly later than the Stein, but on the same topic of the existence or coming into existence of the Buddha-nature according to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.¹⁰² Hu Shih suspected the extra lines in Stein 6557 were possibly added later by Shen-hui, and that the Stein 6557 and Ishii texts were closer.¹⁰³ Yet the Stein text has part of the preface by Liu Ch'eng, which provided the title, and that has not been taken into the Ishii text.¹⁰⁴ Suzuki Tetsuo thinks that the compiler of the Ishii text, as he had added the six biographies and the *Ta-sheng tun-chiao sung* (Hymns of the Sudden Teaching of Mahāyāna) with preface, felt no need to include the crude preface by Liu Ch'eng. Moreover, as Shen-hui had been invited to Ho-tse Monastery in 745, he would no longer have been titled Nan-yang

⁹⁷ Hu Shih (1968), 91 ff.

⁹⁸ In Hu Shih (1968), 426 ff, notes; for this see Suzuki Tetsuo (1989), 381-382 and note 1. Stein 6557 ends less than half way through the Ishii texts; cf. Hu Shih (1968), 452, with Suzuki and Koda (1934), 16, no. 14; and Pelliot 3047 has a different text from Ishii 49 (no. 45, what Hu Shih called no. 49), and comes to what Hu Shih (1968), 152, in red ink noted is a verse that is the end of the first conversation, and it seems that nothing is missing thereafter. The Ishii manuscript copyists lacked the first section of Pelliot 3047 (at least five 'chapters,' see Hu Shih (1968), 91), as does Stein 6557, Hu Shih (1968), 427. Yang Tseng-wen (1996) includes the Stein 6557, Ishii and Pelliot 3047 texts.

⁹⁹ Hu Shih (1968), 148; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 63 note 1.

¹⁰⁰ Suzuki and Koda (1934), *kaisetsu* 13; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 63 note 1.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Hu Shih (1968), 97-103, 427; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 115-119, for the five dialogues, and start of Stein 6557.

¹⁰² Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku* 1; cf. Hu Shih (1968), 429 no. 16; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 60.

¹⁰³ Hu Shih (1968), 492-493, notes 4 and 5.

¹⁰⁴ Hu Shih (1968), 412-414.

Ho-shang (The Master of Nan-yang), as in *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, but rather Ho-tse Ho-shang, as he is elsewhere. Because of the inclusion of the biographies etcetera, it was not simply a series of questions and answers on various topics, so that element of the title was also removed. Ennin's catalogue of 838 gives the title as *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, compiled by Liu Ch'eng, but he also lists a text titled *Ho-tse Ho-shang ch'an-yao*, which might correspond to the Ishii text.¹⁰⁵

The Pelliot text skipped quite a number of characters, and contains many miscopies,¹⁰⁶ and so Hu Shih thought that the Ishii text was based on the Stein and not the Pelliot version.¹⁰⁷ Hu Shih concluded that the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, with a preface by Liu Ch'eng, was written after 732, but before Shen-hui shifted to Ho-tse Monastery. This would date it around 744-745, and is represented by the Stein manuscript. After the shift to Ho-tse Monastery in 745, additions were made and the title possibly changed to *Nan-tsung Ho-tse Ch'an-shih wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, and its ending is extant. Moreover, it is immediately followed in the Pelliot manuscript by the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*. It has also excluded some material found in the Stein text that had probably been abstracted from the latter. Finally, the Ishii text was formed by adding some new entries, including some abstracts from the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, besides the six biographies and the hymns.¹⁰⁸ Hu Shih thought that the biographies of the six patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng attached to this text were abstracted from Shen-hui's *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, which Tu-kü P'ei mentioned circulated publicly as a separate work sometime after 732.¹⁰⁹ But it is more likely, given a date and a prediction found in the Ishii text hagiography of Hui-neng, that this part was taken from the texts in the hall of the patriarchs erected by Shen-hui in 752:

You will come to know this over forty years after my decease. The person who establishes the *tsung* will be the one (who succeeds as heir).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Suzuki Tetsuo (1989), 381-382. Cf. Hu Shih (1968), 406, quoting Iriya Yoshitaka.

¹⁰⁶ Suzuki and Koda (1934), *kaisetsu* 5.

¹⁰⁷ Hu Shih (1968), 410-411.

¹⁰⁸ Hu Shih (1968), 416-418.

¹⁰⁹ Hu Shih (1968), 260, for the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan* reference.

¹¹⁰ Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 62; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 68-69.

As Hui-neng supposedly died in 713, another forty years would bring the date to 752-753, the date for the hall. This correspondence between the prediction and the building of the hall, suggests that this set of hagiographies was compiled from material dating from around 752, and not from the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, which apparently predates 744. This is not to say that the hall's biographies were not derived from the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*.¹¹¹

The hagiographies have very little reported speech, and no use of colloquial language such as that used in the dialogue with Chang Yüeh earlier in the *Wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* section.¹¹² The main concerns are with the transmission through the six patriarchs of the robe and the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*. For the first three patriarchs, very little interest is shown in the locations of the tombs or the dates of death, although more details are provided for the three later patriarchs. However, only Hui-neng has miracles recorded associated with his death. But as before, the real focus is on the transmission of the robe, and comparison with the prediction-making by the Buddha. In fact, the entire hagiography section is introduced by the questions from Dharma Teacher Yüan about the transmission which are in more colloquial language:

Dharma Teacher Yüan asked, "Meditation Teacher, you orally pronounce the gist of the lineage of (Bodhi-)dharma. I didn't know that the entry via meditation 禪門 has a transmission by conferral. Tell me about this."

(Shen-hui) replied, "From the beginning (上, here Bodhidharma?) onwards, there was a complete transmission by conferral."

He again asked, "Then how many generations did it pass through till now?"

"It has passed through six generations up till now. (You) request (I) speak of who the six generations of bhaddantas were 是誰. I will also describe the reason for the transmission."¹¹³

Other texts are not cited in the hagiographies, though reference is made to the supposed stele written by Emperor Wu of Liang for Bodhidharma, which was at Shao-lin Monastery (section 55), and to

¹¹¹ For the Hall of the Patriarchs, with a stele inscription by Sung Ting, preface by Shen-hui on his lineage, portraits with a preface by Fang Kuan, see Jorgensen (1987), 121; SKSC, T50.755b10 ff; Wen Yü-ch'eng (1984), 79; ZSS, 184-185; Hu Shih (1968), 19, note in red ink.

¹¹² See Suzuki and Koda (1934), 11, or Li Shun dialogue, 10, for colloquial; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 68-69.

¹¹³ Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 52-53; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 103.

the tale of Hui-k'o's death, which was allegedly recorded in the tenth fascicle of the *Yang Leng-ch'ieh Yeh-tu ku-shih*.¹¹⁴ For Tao-hsin, the stele by Tu Cheng-lun, and for Hung-jen a stele by Lü-ch'iu Chün on Mt Huang-mei, are mentioned. For Hui-neng, there is the story of Wei Ch'ü's stele and the alterations to it, and the stele was supposed to be in Ts'ao-ch'i. However, the conclusion reverts to the question of the transmission of the robe.

Moreover, there is virtually no mention made of connections with the court or with the authorities, and even the invented exchange between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu of Liang is lacking. Therefore, these hagiographies were rather brief outlines of the transmission, and so probably belonged originally to the Hall of the Patriarchs. These hagiographies were then included in a collated text, a digest of the teachings of Shen-hui, possibly made at the request of Chang Yen-shang, who may have been interested in the issue because of the rising concern with Ch'an in the region as the debate over Ch'an in Tibet commenced. However, Chang Yen-shang died in the capital region in 787, and so the order took some years to reach Pao-chen in the Pei-t'ing office, which was not unusual in these distant frontier garrisons during times of trouble when the lines of communication could be interrupted.¹¹⁵ Chang Yen-shang had Ch'an connections, for Tu-kü Chi records that around 772 Chang was involved in writing the stele inscription for the tomb of Seng-ts'an, while he was stationed in Yang-chou.¹¹⁶ His father-in-law was Miao Chin-ch'ing (d. 765), who when a Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Personnel from 741, asked questions of Shen-hui.¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is probable that Chang was interested in obtaining a copy of a work by Shen-hui.

¹¹⁴ Section 56; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 104-105; cf. also *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 78, 50 notes; probably read as Yang Leng-ch'ieh's *Tales of Yeh*.

¹¹⁵ *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/233/7520-7521, shows that Pei-t'ing messengers in late 789 had to go through Uighur territories to communicate with the court, and the garrison was under frequent attack by the Tibetans, and fell soon thereafter. For the time communications could take, see the case of Chang I-ch'ao. It took years for reports to be received from the Tun-huang region. See Hsiang Ta (1957), 418-419.

¹¹⁶ *Shu-chou Shan-ku Ssu Chüeh-chi t'a Sui ku Ching-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 390/1783a18; *Shu-chou Shan-ku Ssu Shang-fang Ch'an-men ti-san tsu Ts'an Ta-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 392/1791a10-11; ZSS, 325; Gernet (1977), 44; Chen Jinhua (1999), 'One Name: Three Monks,' 18, says he was the head of the Yang-chou Area Command, and so the memorial requesting the court to approve the Northern Ch'an monk Chan-jan's petition for Seng-ts'an's imperial recognition was in Chang's name.

¹¹⁷ For biography of Chang Yen-shang, see CTS 11/129/3607-3610; obituar-

Shen-hui's most important contributions to Ch'an hagiography were the invention of the image of Hui-neng based on the structure of the life of Confucius and placing him at the head of an orthodox 'Southern Lineage' (*nan-tsung*) stretching back to the Buddha. This creation of six patriarchs in China increased the rivalry with 'Northern Ch'an,' leading to the formation of a sectarian environment of charge and counter-charge, with the adherents of P'u-chi, for example, asserting in 742 that P'u-chi was in the seventh generation via Shen-hsiu, and a possibly earlier text, written after 739, claiming he was *the seventh* patriarch. Echoing Shen-hui's use of Confucius, it began,

Only Heaven is great, and Yao alone modelled himself on it; Only the Buddha is holy, and Ch'an alone succeeded to Him. Therefore, in the West, the Indian succession of five suns illuminated the past mornings, and in the East, the Chinese (*Hsia*) transmission of the lamplight of seven patriarchs lit up the imperial fortune.¹¹⁸

The 'five suns' probably refer to five patriarchs after the Buddha, but it may also be a sly dig at Shen-hui's use of the Confucian Southern Learning theory of only one Heaven and Confucius' saying there was only one sun in heaven, by recalling the Confucian Northern Learning line that there are six Heavens to be worshipped (here Bodhidharma would make up the sixth Heaven or sun) and five ancestral temples in an imperial lineage.¹¹⁹ However, Shen-hui did not stop with the six patriarchs in China; he also listed eight patriarchs in India. When Ch'ung-yüan challenged Shen-hui in the debates at Hua-t'ai over why P'u-chi was not the legitimate heir, asking,

"Bodhidharma was the first in China (*T'ang-kuo*), so who did Bodhidharma succeed to in the West, and how many generations did it pass through?"

"In the Western Countries Bodhidharma succeeded to Sangharakṣa, who succeeded Śubhamitra, who succeeded Upagupta, who succeeded Śaṇavāsa, who succeeded Madhyāntika, who succeeded Ānanda, who succeeded (Mahā)Kāśyapa, who received the succession from the Thus Come. In China Bodhidharma was the first, in the Western Countries he was the eighth generation. In the West, Prajñātara succeeded Bodhidharma

ies CTW 526/2401b-c; for Miao Chin-ch'ing, CTS 10/13/3349-3352; Hu Shih (1968), 123; Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 17; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 74.

¹¹⁸ Tanaka (1983), 554-555, discussion of meaning of 'five suns,' 559-562.

¹¹⁹ Jorgensen (1987), 104, 111.

and in China Hui-k'o succeeded. From the Thus Come's transmission in the West and in China, in all there were fourteen generations.

This Shen-hui based on the eight generations of a Sārvastivādin lineage listed in the *Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching*,¹²⁰ but with considerable liberty (and conceding there could be two patriarchs in a generation, Prajñātara and Hui-k'o, a 'Buddhism in one country' doctrine). The *Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching* had supposedly been translated by Buddhahadra (359-429) around 410 on Mt Lü, and had been used in the 'account of conduct' of Fa-ju and in the preface to the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, in this case for lineage.¹²¹ But Shen-hui had upped the ante by claiming a singular lineage from the Buddha to Hui-neng and himself. Moreover, this increased the rivalry with other Buddhist schools, which had also asserted similar lineages, although based on the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* of 472 A.D., which listed twenty-three generations until Simha bhikṣu. The T'ien-t'ai asserted this lineage of twenty-three or twenty-four patriarchs in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* of 594 by Chih-i (538-597), and the lineage was extended by his heir, Kuan-ting (561-632), to include Hui-wen, Hui-ssu and Chih-i, although there was a gap between Hui-wen and the last Indian patriarch. Chi-tsang (549-623) of San-lun, tried to create a lineage for himself back to Kumārajīva.¹²² A twenty-four generation lineage had been carved into a cave by the famous Ling-yu (518-605), in a third generation from Hui-kuang, at Ling-ch'uan Monastery, Honan, in 589, based on the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*. (This rivalry may explain why Hui-kuang was made one of the poisoners of Bodhidharma by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*.) This engraving was repeated at Lung-men during the reign of Empress Wu. Nearby at Lung-men also, about twelve kilometres from Lo-yang, around 732, another cave was carved, this time containing twenty-nine patriarchs, all arhats. This probably reflected a 'Northern Ch'an' or T'ien-t'ai formulation, for in 754, Li Hua wrote a stele inscription of Hsüan-lang of Tien-t'ai that mentioned twenty-nine generations.¹²³ Shen-hui was surely aware of the twenty-three/four and possibly of

¹²⁰ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 33-34; ZSS, 123-124; Yampolsky (1967), 29-30 and tables on 8-9; Teng and Jung (1998), 59-62, who note that one manuscript has 13 generations, but if Bodhidharma is counted, it makes 14.

¹²¹ ZSS, 38, 45 note 5, 49; Tanaka (1983), 558.

¹²² Jorgensen (1987), 98, 100.

¹²³ Tanaka (1983), 66-67, 73-75, see later for reason for nominating 'Northern Ch'an.'

the twenty-nine generation theories, for he was active in the region of these caves, but he ignored those theories, possibly because these lineages were not specifically referring to meditators or bodhisattvas. Therefore he created his own thirteen/fourteen generation lineage, but without any discontinuities.

Despite the weakness of his theory, Shen-hui initiated the 'lamplight transmission' theory of Ch'an proper, and the notion of the Southern Lineage that was the name for that genealogy. This was to have a profound impact on Ch'an hagiographies, which now all vigorously asserted lineage claims, even though Shen-hui's fourteen generations assertion was immediately abandoned as not being feasible given the long period of time that had elapsed since the death of the Buddha. Thus the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* adopted a twenty-nine patriarch theory, which was followed by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Platform Sutra* and *Pao-lin chuan*, but with twenty-eight generations.¹²⁴

In any case, as the Hall of the Patriarchs was established by Shen-hui in the capital, with the assistance and undoubted approval of the highest officials in the land at that time, the collection of six hagiographies from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng had authority and circulated both in the North and in Szechwan, if not further afield. Shen-hui's propaganda had force, but its authority began to disappear once some of his chief supporters lost their influence or died. However, the influence of this collection of hagiographies definitely reached Szechwan, which was also linked both to the capital and to Tun-huang, and was a region where there was contact, peaceful and otherwise, with Tibet and Nan-chao. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, written by some of Wu-chu's pupils soon after his death in 774, was concerned primarily with appropriating to itself the influential Ching-chung 'Ch'an' of Kim Musang (684-762), championing the formless precepts and mass ordination, incorporating and transcending the theories of Shen-hui related to the transmission of the Dharma as symbolised by a robe, and attacking the Szechwan Taoists.¹²⁵ Yanagida has described it as 'a

¹²⁴ Tanaka (1983), 76; Yampolsky (1967), table on 8-9. Of course, many accepted, at least in India, that saints could live extremely long lives, Ray (1994), 57, 369. Given the Chinese ideas about the Taoist 'immortals,' this would not seem surprising.

¹²⁵ Yanagida (1976a), 16-17, 26; Yanagida (1983), 'The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an doctrine of sudden awakening,' 22. Adamek (1997), 'Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as seen through the "Lidai fabaoji"...', 83, 317-318, speculates that the authors may have been two female disciples of Wu-chu, and suggests this contributed

family history' with considerable political ambitions, and as a "record of the sayings of Wu-chu under the guise of a history of the Ch'an patriarchs."¹²⁶ The lineage claims of this text are opportunistic, with Wu-chu linked to every significant lineage; fraudulently to the locally influential lineage of Kim Musang and to whose lineage Wu-chu claimed to be the sole legitimate heir, and nationally by creating an association with Hui-neng, the lineage propounded by Shen-hui. The book thus ignores Wu-chu's actual lineage, which was not famous, while it attacks the lineage claims of the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*.¹²⁷ Signs of the dissonance this produced can be detected in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. For example, the transmission of the symbolic robe was not even direct, for it went from Hui-neng to Chih-shen through the mediation of Empress Wu, and then secretly via Ch'u-chi's 'houseman' Wang Huang¹²⁸ to Musang, although Ch'u-chi and Musang had met, and then Musang supposedly sent the robe with the artisan Tung Hsüan to give to Wu-chu, whom Musang had never met and never did.¹²⁹ Moreover, it even relied on a forged sutra of 'Northern Ch'an' origins, the *Ch'an-men ching*, to provide a basis of its own lineage claims, using Bodhidharmatrāta instead of Bodhidharma.¹³⁰

Like the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, the main title of the book suggests that the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* is a record (*chi*) written to demonstrate that Wu-chu was the transmitter of the orthodox Jewel of the Dharma (*fa-pao*) through the generations of patriarchs (*li-tai*). Its subtitles have appropriated the book titles of Shen-hui outright, using *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, or partially, as in *Ting shih-fei ts'ui-hsüeh hsien-cheng p'o-huai i-ch'ieh hsin chuan*.¹³¹ It thereby demonstrates Shen-hui's influence, which probably was due to a combination of his rhetorical power and his role in replenishing the court's treasury, which had been exhausted by the An

to the anonymity of the work. Two items militate against this: the bad reputation of Ts'ui Kan, who figures strongly in the text as a defender of Wu-chu, for violating the women of officials in the region; and the anonymity of following Ch'an works of this type. Moreover, the language seems at times unseemly for pious women.

¹²⁶ Yanagida (1983), 21.

¹²⁷ Yanagida (1983), 21, 23-24.

¹²⁸ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 140.

¹²⁹ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 143, 171; Tanaka Ryōshō (1980), 'Zenshū tōshi no hatten,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 104.

¹³⁰ Tanaka (1980), 105.

¹³¹ Yanagida (1983), 25-26. It was also written in the *Li-tai* era, and so played on 歷 versus 曆.

Lu-shan Rebellion from 755.¹³² At the same time, it was attempting to assert that it was both different from and superior to the lineage claimed by Shen-hui and those of his 'Northern Ch'an' opponents. For a start, it had as its ancestor Chih-shen, who was really part of the 'Northern Ch'an' grouping, and yet the robe of Bodhidharma passed from Hui-neng to Chih-shen, showing the superiority of its destination, Pao-t'ang Ch'an, over Ho-tse or Shen-hui's Ch'an. Moreover, this lineage had begun differentiation before the so-called split of Northern and Southern Ch'an.¹³³

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* not only borrowed extensively from the ideas and claims of Shen-hui, it also demonstrates similarities in style and concerns with the hagiographies of the patriarchs promoted by Shen-hui and the dialogues and sermons of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*. Firstly, most of its hagiographies are very brief, and there is a stronger focus on the transmission of the robe than with the deaths and tombs of the patriarchs and teachers. However, unlike Shen-hui, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* openly and strongly attacks Ching-chüeh and his *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* for confusing students with its false assertions about Guṇabhadra, whom it claims was a Hinayanist and not a meditation teacher.¹³⁴ This was no doubt possible in the region of Szechwan, away from the metropolitan power bases of 'Northern Ch'an' and the clan of Ching-chüeh, and because the rebellion had altered the balance of power at court. Moreover, it attempts to give a longer and more detailed lineage of Indian patriarchs than the impossible eight generations from Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma maintained by Shen-hui, by making Bodhidharmatrāta the twenty-ninth patriarch, basing itself on the *Fu fa-tsang ching* (i.e. the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*).¹³⁵ In addition, it attempts to provide a theoretical justification for the lineage coming to China. It begins by providing reasons why the Buddha was not born in China, and then stating that the people of China were qualified to receive the teachings. However, a prime reason for making

¹³² Yanagida (1983), 31; Adamek (1997), 189, states it was more taken with the drama of Shen-hui's accounts of persecution, and less with his "abstract ideological justification."

¹³³ Hirai Shun'ei (1980), 'Guzushū to Hotōshū,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, 215.

¹³⁴ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 59-60.

¹³⁵ Compare *P'u-l'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Hu Shih (1968), 294-295, and *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 59. There are many studies of these lineage claims, esp. ZSS, 306-313.

these statements was to show that Taoism was inferior, which is why Mahākāśyapa was incarnated as Lao tzu, while two other Buddhist princes, Mānava and Cadrāprabha(-kumāra),¹³⁶ who were not part of the lineage, were incarnated as Confucius and Yen Hui.¹³⁷ Moreover, China is depicted, on the basis of a quote from the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, in which the Buddha is speaking to Śāriputra, as the next place where Buddhism will prosper after the Buddha's nirvana: "After my nirvana, it will gradually prosper (beginning) from the north and moving to the northeast." This would happen in the last five hundred years of the interval between the time of Buddha until the advent of Maitreya, and "in the north-eastern region, Buddhist works will be greatly performed."¹³⁸

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, while accepting almost all the information or inventions about the six patriarchs of China, added some inventions of its own, partly to attack the rivals of Wu-chu in Szechwan, namely the Vinayists and lecturers on the sutras. Therefore it accused the translator Bodhiruci and the Vinayist Controller Kuang (Hui-kuang) of poisoning Bodhidharma. It also accused them or their party of harming Hui-k'o. Furthermore, it introduced into the hagiographies of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen imperial invitations to the court, which they both declined. In the hagiography of Hui-neng, the new fabrications are the famous dialogue with Yin-tsung about the flag and the wind, and the interference by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien in the transmission of the robe.¹³⁹ The reference to Yin-tsung, which did not exist in Shen-hui's hagiography of Hui-neng, shows that the author of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* had access to Wang Wei's stele for Hui-neng, but developed it further for doctrinal reasons.

An unusual feature is that Hui-neng's hagiography is split into two sections, which are separated by an account of the differences between the Buddhism of formal practice and formless Buddhism, using sutra quotes, mostly forgeries, one of which, notably, is the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa Sūtra* or *Shou-leng-yen ching*. This passage deals with differences in meditation between the śrāvaka and Mahayana practices. The section concludes

¹³⁶ For the history of these, see E. Zürcher (1959), 314-315, and (1982), 'Prince Moonlight: Messianism and eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism,' 23-25; ZSS, 300.

¹³⁷ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 39-40, 53.

¹³⁸ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 58-59.

¹³⁹ ZSS, 313-315.

with the mention of the gold-embroidered robe of Mahākāśyapa and that of Bodhidharma, both of which were used as a guarantee of the correct practice of meditation.¹⁴⁰ This conclusion was derived in wording and meaning from Shen-hui's hagiography of Hui-neng.¹⁴¹ Indeed, the entire first section of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* hagiography is a minor summary and occasional rearrangement of the hagiography of Hui-neng advanced by Shen-hui.¹⁴² The second section begins with background on the situation at Hung-jen's monastery and the list of his ten disciples. Hui-neng is introduced, repeating some of the information and phrases found in the former section. It then brings in new information such as Hui-neng living in seclusion in the mountains among the laity for seventeen years, and that after this he went to Chih-chih Monastery in Nan-hai, where he encountered Yin-tsung who was lecturing on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. This was clearly based on Wang Wei's stele, which wrote the seclusion lasted sixteen years and placed Yin-tsung in Nan-hai. However, the following dialogue on what is moving, the flag, wind or mind, plus the assertion that Yin-tsung became a pupil of Hui-neng, was entirely new, probably the invention of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author.¹⁴³ This was used to introduce the section on the appropriation of the robe by Empress Wu.

Another feature of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* hagiographies of the six patriarchs in China, is that the names of all the authors of stele inscriptions for each of the patriarchs are given, unlike in the Shen-hui hagiographies, where there is no information at all on the tomb of Hui-k'o, no name for the stele writer for Seng-ts'an, and the addition of a stele by Sung Ting for Hui-neng to those listed elsewhere. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* provides detailed information on the location of Hui-k'o's stele, which was in Ch'eng-an County, northeast of Hsiang-chou, near modern An-yang. The stele was reported to have been by Fa-lin (572-640),

¹⁴⁰ Intervening section, LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 107-109.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 63-64; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 111.

¹⁴² Cf. Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 60-63; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 109-110; LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 98-99; only major differences are the deletion of some of the miracles at Hui-neng's birth, the insertion of some extra information on Hui-neng and a prediction that a woman (Empress Wu) would take the robe away, and a change of prediction of the establishment of the lineage from forty years to twenty years in the future. Some of this may have been in the *Shih-tzu hsieh-mo chuan*, and been edited out of the 752 inscription or the Ishii text.

¹⁴³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 122-123.

a monk famous for defending Buddhism against attacks by Taoists. For Seng-ts'an, whose cause supposedly had initially been promoted by Shen-hui, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* adds that the stele had been written by Hsieh Tao-heng (538-607?), a famous writer who penned obituaries for a number of eminent monks. This information can only have come from a stele and petition written by Tu-ku Chi, who started a movement to promote Seng-ts'an in 770. While Tu-ku Chi recognised the existence of the stele by Fang Kuan for Seng-ts'an, which was possibly written to back Shen-hui's own campaign on behalf of Seng-ts'an, Tu-ku Chi introduced Hsieh Tao-heng as the first obituary writer. This latter movement was supported by individuals associated with 'Northern Ch'an,' and dismissed Hui-neng's lineage as inactive in contrast to the popularity of the school of P'u-chi and his disciple Hung-cheng.¹⁴⁴

Although the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* acknowledges neither Wang Wei nor Tu-ku Chi, by quoting frequently from a great variety of sources, including genuine and forged sutras, the author attempted to give its claims, which would have been impossible to substantiate, an appearance of authority. These references, even when unnamed, would have induced a feeling of familiarity and veracity in the minds of contemporary readers, or at least overcome some of their misgivings. However, it gave little detail on the tombs and afterlives of the patriarchs, and for its falsely claimed genealogy, which was really the lineage of Musang. Thus it only gives dates of death for Chih-shen and Ch'u-chi, but no information on the places of death or tombs. Rather, these entries give more information on the circumstances of the transmission of the robe and when that occurred.¹⁴⁵ These 'biographies' were merely vehicles to support the robe-transmission claims, and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author/s either lacked the information on these tomb-sites because s/he was not properly a member of that Musang lineage, or because the evidence in the tomb inscriptions would not support his claims. As no such obituaries or tombs have been found, it could also be that they had been lost or were obscure even in the eighth century. Yet, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* also noted that Musang never quoted Chih-shen and Ch'u-chi, for they did not preach the revealed

¹⁴⁴ See more detailed analysis in ZSS, 320-326, and Chen Jinhua (1999), 4-24, esp. 10, where Chen doubts that Shen-hui initiated a campaign for Seng-ts'an.

¹⁴⁵ LTFC, Yanagida (1976a), 137, 140.

teaching, but rather simply received the robe of surety. Thus, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was attempting to overcome Shen-hui's assertion that the robe would not be transmitted beyond Hui-neng.¹⁴⁶ Once again, this reveals that the author did not belong to Musang's lineage, and was ignorant of the lives of Chih-shen and Ch'u-chi.

It is clear that the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was written in Szechwan for a local readership, as Wu-chu's connections were, with the exception of a fleeting acquaintance with Tu Hung-chien, primarily with the regional satraps and local officials. Most of the lay people named are minor officials who have not been identified, and thus probably did not belong to the national bureaucracy, only to the locally recruited officers who were in the outer stream (*wai-liu*). Although the author drew upon well-known materials by famed authors such as Wang Wei and Tu-ku Chi, and upon Ch'an texts produced around the metropolitan region, works such as the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, *Ch'an-men ching* and the works of Shen-hui, plus many sutras and other texts, this did not spare it from savage criticism, firstly from Shen-ch'ing and later from Tsung-mi, both of whom were natives of Szechwan. Shen-ch'ing had studied in the school of Musang, whom he seems to have contrasted positively with Wu-chu, especially in that Musang's school did not "speak about the strange and excite the laity." In the *Pei-shan lu* of ca. 797, he accused the 'other theory' (*i-shuo*) of claiming that their own teachers were supreme, and that their Ch'an was that of the *Shou-leng-yen* (*ching*). His examination or ridicule of these strange theories were that

the *Fu fa(-sang) chuan* has only twenty-four people, and the four people such as Śaṇavāsa etc after Simha are the distorted theories of the other school. Furthermore, (their) twenty-ninth patriarch is named Dharmatrāta, and not Bodhidharma. They have included śrāvakas such as Mahākāśyapa among the saints who transmitted the Dharma. How could he transmit the Buddha's mind seal?....

The other theory states, "In transmitting the Dharma, Dharma(trāta) sent his two pupils to the land of the Han...." The other theory says, "Dharma's food was covertly poisoned six times by Bodhiruci and Controller Kuang. Five times he spat it out, but on the sixth occasion, he did not spit it out and died. He also said to his followers, 'The life of my lineage until the sixth generation will hang like a thread....'"

The examiner says, "If the perverse is involved with the correct, the correct eventually becomes the perverse. If mistaken people talk of the

¹⁴⁶ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 144; Adamek (1997), 255.

true, the true to the contrary becomes false.... Their intention is to use virtue and eminence, but (it invites) envy (from) others. They profoundly use this to highlight themselves, not knowing that they are harming themselves."¹⁴⁷

As Yanagida Seizan has indicated, this scholarly diatribe is directed against the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, rather than the *Pao-lin chuan* as the commentator Hui-pao has assumed.¹⁴⁸ Finally, Tsung-mi (780-841) denounced the practices of Wu-chu, although he does not refer by name to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and some of its claims. He stated that Wu-chu first met Ch'en Ch'u-chang who led him to enlightenment, but

later he travelled to Shu (Szechwan) where he met Master Kim (Musang). There he developed his meditation and also participated in his assembly. He simply made further enquiries, but his views did not alter (the realisations of) his earlier enlightenment. He wished to transmit this to those who had not yet heard of it, and (as) his intention was to give the correct transmission of the teaching to lay people, he feared that this (lineage from Layman Ch'en) would not be beneficial. Consequently he recognised Master Kim as his teacher, and indicated that his sense of the Dharma was generally the same. But the ceremonial of transmission was completely different from that of Kim's school.¹⁴⁹

However, even before these criticisms were levelled, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* exerted considerable influence. As Emperor Hsüan-tsung had fled to Szechwan in 755, and several appointees to the position of military commissioner in the area were Wu-chu's patrons, attention was drawn to the ideas of Wu-chu and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which expounded his lineage claims.¹⁵⁰ This potent combination of the rhetorical authority of Shen-hui,¹⁵¹ with the political associations of Wu-chu, meant that the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* became known both in China and Tibet,¹⁵² and it influenced the writing of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the *Pao-lin chuan* of Ma-tsu Tao-i's Hung-chou School,¹⁵³ and the *Platform Sutra*.¹⁵⁴ It shares many of the rhetorical techniques of Shen-hui, using colloquial

¹⁴⁷ T52.611b-612a.

¹⁴⁸ ZSS, 315-316; cf. with passage in LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 67-69.

¹⁴⁹ HTC 14.556b1-5.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Yanagida (1983), 21.

¹⁵¹ See Paul E. Corcoran (1979), *Political language and rhetoric*, 6, concerning the political lie.

¹⁵² Yanagida (1983), 43.

¹⁵³ Yanagida (1983), 16-18.

¹⁵⁴ Yanagida (1983), 39.

language and strong statements in its teaching.¹⁵⁵ Wu-chu even puts into Shen-hui's mouth a denunciation of a foreign monk, Kāśyapa, who claims to have studied Ch'an teacher Kim Musang's teachings:

Don't speak such specious words. Your surname is Kāśyapa, and you are of the brahmin caste, so one would expect you had sharp faculties, but you are just a bed-wetting brahmin.¹⁵⁶

This tendency during the transitional stage and thereafter to put vernacular sermons into a written form reflects the shift of the sermon from a clerical audience towards the wider public, and consequently a greater need for rhetoric.¹⁵⁷ This rhetoric has to be an argument for it is presented to a judging audience, and the "rhetoric is an articulation of conflict over power,"¹⁵⁸ as is evident in Shen-hui's public attacks on the 'Northern Lineage' of Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi. Shen-hui used his ordination platform for his rhetoric in the manner of most evangelists, to inspire and attract followers more than to inculcate a strict practice.¹⁵⁹ The language had to be vernacular, or rather a vulgate, for the audience to understand the arguments, and for some of them to participate in the debate, at least by asking questions.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, if we are to believe the texts, Shen-hui and Wu-chu used colloquial language, and large portions of the texts extant in their names are

¹⁵⁵ Yanagida (1983), 39. For example, see LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 270, use of *shih-mei* 是沒, *chih-mei* 只沒, 233, *tso-wu-sheng* 作勿生, *ju-ssu i-mei* Ch'an 如似異沒禪 and the 'bed-wetting brahman' analogy, which also appears in Wu-chu's version of Shen-hui's polemic at Hua-t'ai (155), and in which Shen-hui's claim that his mind is the equivalent of that of the Buddha is repeated. For Shen-hui, see Hu Shih (1968), 276; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 24; Teng and Jung (1998), 25. For the use of colloquial by Shen-hui, see Hu Shih (1968) 114-115, and 443-444, or Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 68-69, for use of *tso-mei-sheng* 作沒生, *chih-mei* 只沒, *huan tso shih-mei-wu* 喚作是沒, and *tso-wu-sheng* 作勿生. See also a report of a dialogue of (Lao-)an of Mt Sung, who calls monks, "a man of the way who avails himself of rice gruel" and "a man of the way who begrudges (or collects) rice gruel," suggesting, as Wu-chu was an heir of Lao-an's lineage, that this group tended to use strong language.

¹⁵⁶ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 156. Kāśyapa may also be related to the foundation of Buddhism in Nan-chao, for which see Wang Ning-sheng (1991), 'Ta-li Pai-tsu li-shih yü Fo-chiao wen-hua,' in Lan Chi-fu, ed., *Yün-nan Ta-li Fo-chiao lun-wen chi*, Fo-kuang ch'u-pan she: Kao-hsiung, 8.

¹⁵⁷ Corcoran (1979), 120, on the religious sermon and the Protestant Reformation.

¹⁵⁸ Corcoran (1979), 44, on power and argument, and, 45, on the audience as judge.

¹⁵⁹ McRae (1998), 'Shen-hui's vocation on the ordination platform,' 56, 58-59, 64.

¹⁶⁰ Corcoran (1979), 127-129.

in the form of dialogues with the audience.¹⁶¹ This is also related to a general move towards the greater reproduction of texts, which forced the orator to perform and entertain the crowd, using forceful language. Audiences may have been drawn by the reputation of the preacher, a reputation spread through the written word.¹⁶²

Related to the above is the advent of a new form of literature, the *pien-wen*, during the reign of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (r.712-756).¹⁶³ This genre developed from popular lectures on the sutras and their illustrations. They were popularisations of the lectures meant for clerics on the sutras, and these sermons were called *su-chiang*.¹⁶⁴ These were used at mass meetings of both clerics and the general public (*wu-che ta-hui*), which is the type of assembly Shen-hui held at Hua-t'ai.¹⁶⁵

Like the sermons of Shen-hui and Wu-chu, parts of these *pien-wen* were in a relatively easily understood language. Some of Shen-hui's dialogues were truly in the colloquial, but most of his sermons were more akin to the vulgate of the *pien-wen*, which used a mixture of simple Classical Chinese, verse, and colloquial particles.¹⁶⁶

The *su-chiang* gave rise to the *pien-wen* form, and the *pien-wen* were

¹⁶¹ Cf. Faure (1993), *Chan Insights and Oversights*, 233, who suggests that Ch'an texts are really written, and not necessarily what they purport to be, 'recordings of verbal performances.'

¹⁶² Corcoran (1979), 124, 130.

¹⁶³ Thomas Edward Graham (1975), 'The reconstruction of popular Buddhism in medieval China using selected "pien-wen" from Tun-huang,' 87.

¹⁶⁴ Graham (1975), 138-139; Hirano Kenshō (1978), *Tōdai bungaku to Bukkyō no kenkyū*, Hōyū: Kyoto, 229, 231.

¹⁶⁵ For *wu-che ta-hui* and *su-chiang*, see Sawada Mizuho (1975), *Bukkyō to Chūgoku bungaku*, 19; for *wu-che ta-hui* see also Guisso (1978), 46, which states that these 'no-barrier' rites date back to Emperor Wu of Liang and involved "free mingling of social classes." These were also held, at great expense, during the reign of Empress Wu. For the term *wu-che ta-hui* for Shen-hui's meeting, see Hu Shih (1968), 267.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Graham (1975), 49, for characterisations of *pien-wen* language; "vernacular for literary purposes," the prose a mixture of highly literary Classical parallel prose and colloquial speech with more grammatical particles, and wordier (65-68); an artificial, simple language as if written by a "village schoolmaster" (84). Kin Bunkyo (2000), 'Tonkō henbun no buntai,' *Tōhō gakuho* 72: 263-264, concludes from an examination that it is a complex style, with three prose elements and a verse element in set orders. These styles were like those that literati from the mid-T'ang on were versed in, and were required for the exams. However, being a little freer, the authors, Kin concludes, were probably lower class intellectuals. In many respects, Kin sees the style as similar to that of the *T'ü-hsien k'ü*. For the more formal language of the sermons, or rather the replies given after probably what were lectures on the sutras by Shen-hui, see Hu Shih (1968), 431-435, on the topic of the *Nieh-p'an ching* (*Nirvāṇa Sūtra*), or 297-314, and Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 61-63.

closely allied to the *pien-hsiang*, illustrations of the scenes (*pien*) in the sutras and jātika stories which could be found on temple walls or perhaps portable paintings used by the religious story-tellers.¹⁶⁷ Such stories became so popular that with an increasingly literate population, the *pien* were written down in *pien-wen* to meet this demand.¹⁶⁸ This was something the 'Ch'an' propagandists were acutely aware of, for the scene of the mythical clash of verses between Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu was a wall about to be covered with *pien-hsiang* paintings illustrating the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the transmission of the robe to Hung-jen.¹⁶⁹

It is likely then that the rise of literacy and propaganda during this period had an effect on the performances of 'Ch'an' monks and on the styles of hagiographies that they wrote. Mass copies were made of core propaganda texts, both by the state and the religious.¹⁷⁰ There was also great merit in the copying of sutras in particular, which hastened the rise of printing in China.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the earliest printed works in

¹⁶⁷ Sawada (1975), 40-42; Eugene Chen Eoyang (1971), 'Word of mouth: Oral storytelling in the *pien-wen*,' PhD diss., Indiana University, 189, on *pien* as 'scene,' an idea taken from Demiéville. The *pien-wen* then were the written expression of the extemporaneous stories told in, or to, illustration, which became prompt books. See Eoyang (1971), 201, 205. See also Mair (1983), 3, 5-6, 9; and Victor H. Mair (1988), *Painting and Performance: Chinese picture recitation and its Indian genesis*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ Eoyang (1971), 194-195.

¹⁶⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 129. This is probably an anachronism, there being little or no evidence of *pien-hsiang* before the 700s.

¹⁷⁰ Guisso (1978), 36, notes that the *Ta-yün ching* in 690 had to be sent to monasteries of that name (note Shen-hui's 732 meeting was in a Ta-yün Monastery) throughout the country, requiring one thousand monks to preach it in those places. It was "one of the most ambitious attempts in medieval China to mold men's minds." Cf. also Antonino Forte (1976), *Political propaganda and ideology in China at the end of the seventh century*, 9, which states that there was one Ta-yün Monastery in every of the more than a thousand prefectures in the empire. This Forte, 159, claims was "the most suitable means of widespread divulgation." Fujieda (1969), 24-26, shows that the government established a 'copying office' at Tun-huang as early as 511-514 to copy the Tripitaka for the local monasteries. Nearly thirty copies of sutras (the *Lotus* and *Diamond*) were made by the Ch'ang-an court copying office and reached Tun-huang between 671 and 677, so thousands of copies had to have been made in Ch'ang-an for distribution throughout the empire (31, 34). Fujieda, 35, also notes that the standard commentary on the Confucian canon, the *Wu Ching cheng-i* had also to be copied and distributed to government schools all over the country, some 400 schools in 635.

¹⁷¹ Graham (1975), 34.

the world are of Chinese Buddhist texts,¹⁷² and the *Commentary on the Heart Sutra* by Ching-chüeh was probably made into a woodblock print after Li Chih-fei wrote his preface for it in 727 and before the Tun-huang Museum copy of the text was made in the latter half of the ninth century from a woodblock print made by Kuang-fan after he obtained a copy of the manuscript at Hua-t'ai. The Tun-huang Museum text is a copy of that print.¹⁷³

These copies of sermons, whether in manuscript or print, could be used in polemics, and forced the orators to be more authoritative and assertive,¹⁷⁴ something found in 'Ch'an' from the time of Shen-hui's polemics of 732 and in Wu-chu's sermons in particular. This growing importance of the written medium may have enhanced the oral aspects of rhetoric,¹⁷⁵ and so the more oral a text appears, the greater the internalisation of literacy and its concomitant intellectualism.¹⁷⁶

But the vulgarity of these sermons and their *pien-wen* counterparts meant that these texts were despised by the elite, for the *pien-wen*

¹⁷² Tsien Tsuen-hsüan (1985), *Science and civilisation in China, vol. 5, part 1: Paper and printing*, ed. by Joseph Needham, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 149-151. The earliest is a print of a dhāraṇī of ca. 751 discovered in Kyōngju. The world's earliest extant wood-block printed book is the *Diamond Sutra* of 868 from Tun-huang, with a frontispiece illustration. It was made for merit and universal distribution. The Buddhist Vinaya was probably printed before 845 (p. 154). It should be noted that most pre-Sung Dynasty references to printing are to the Szechwan area where Wu-chu operated. But Tsien's assertion that the Kyōngju dhāraṇī print was made in China (p. 150) is not accepted by Ch'ōn Hyebong (1980), *Na-Yō insoesul ūi yōn'gu*, Kyōng'in munhwasa: Seoul, 25-26, who points out that the same dhāraṇī was already enshrined in Hwangbuk Monastery near Kyōngju in 706, not long after the dhāraṇī was translated in 704. In this instance it was probably a manuscript. Given that Silla had the paper, ink and the technology, it is likely that Koreans, as the Japanese did in 764 with the possible printing of a million dhāraṇī copies for insertion in miniature stupas for merit [cf. Tsien (1985), 150], had printed mass copies of dhāraṇīs in a form of stamp print. Ch'ōn (1980), 29, suspects this form of printing dates back to around 700 A.D. in China, and that the dhāraṇī printing was transitional to full book printing. He notes that even in Japan there are records of 740 indicating such small size prints were made (p. 31). In China, full size prints of the *Lotus Sutra* may have been made around 802 A.D. (p. 33). Jinhua Chen (2002a), 'Śāriṃ and scepter,' 115-116, thinks that these 706 prints may have been exported from China, and were part of an attempt to honour the spirit of Empress Wu, for the dhāraṇī text was associated with the funerary rites for the empress.

¹⁷³ Teng and Jung (1998), 'Foreword,' 20, and text, 487-488.

¹⁷⁴ Corcoran (1979), 132.

¹⁷⁵ Faure (1993), 228.

¹⁷⁶ Faure (1993), 226, using the verses of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng to illustrate this.

for example were associated with "stories told by singing girls and monks."¹⁷⁷ They would have been classified as 'insignificant tales' (*hsiao-shuo*), for the *pien-wen* embroidered on or fabricated dialogues from incidents found in popular sutras such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, or from the lives of the Buddha, his pupils and their royal patrons. Others were tales and conversations adopted from events in Chinese history.¹⁷⁸ They were thus not included in the official Buddhist Canon, and often were ignored by the compilers of the various *Kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) as mere 'entertainment',¹⁷⁹ and later on as 'fiction',¹⁸⁰ although Buddhist miracle stories were acceptable.¹⁸¹

Tsan-ning, the 'official' Buddhist historian who wrote on this period, accepted that *hsiao-shuo* were the stories of the common experience, of the petty people, but even some of the Buddhistic *hsiao-shuo* he probably could not stomach fully. He certainly did distinguish Buddhist divine powers (*shen-t'ung*) from worldly prodigies and monstrosities (*k'uai*), for the former are due to the cultivation of the Dharma, the latter to excessive human emotions, which are decried by Buddhists and were often the subject of *hsiao-shuo*.¹⁸² Thus Wu-chu, for his excesses, was not given a biography in Tsan-ning's *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, nor was his real teacher, Ch'en Ch'u-chang. This is despite the fact Wu-chu must have been known via the attacks on his teachings made by Tsung-mi (780-841) and Shen-ch'ing.¹⁸³ Shen-hui's divisive ideas are mentioned briefly by Tsan-ning, and the second half of his biography of Shen-hui is dominated by his dealings with the court. In his 'summation' or 'judgement,' written for the Sung emperor, Tsan-ning is also apologetic over Shen-hui's conduct, pleading that if one knows

¹⁷⁷ Graham (1975), 48.

¹⁷⁸ Ch'iu Chen-ching (1970), *Tun-huang pien-wen lun*, Taiwan shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Taipei, 27-63. However, Kin Bunkyo (2000), 243-245, in contrast, states only eight texts can truly be called *pien-wen*. Two of the texts are on demons, another on a lady of the court of King Bimbisāra, one on the eight scenes in the life of the Buddha, one on Maudgalyāyana rescuing his mother from hell, one on a Han Dynasty general (Wang Ling), another on Shun-tzu, and one on Prince Liu. There are another seven in the same style.

¹⁷⁹ Wright (1954), 'Biography and hagiography,' 386, on Hui-chiao's attitude to the *Sou-shen chi*, a collection of mirabilia.

¹⁸⁰ Wright (1954), 358, on the idea of fiction being distinguished from history by Liu Chih-chi (661-721) in the *Shih-t'ung*, and the *Hsin T'ang shu* distinction of *hsiao-shuo* from history.

¹⁸¹ Shinohara (1988), 'Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies,' 129-131.

¹⁸² Ts'ao Shih-pang (1966), 'Chung-kuo Fo-chiao...hsia,' 138-139.

¹⁸³ Yanagida (1983), 23, 31-34.

the difficulties of conversion and proselytising one would not blame Shen-hui too much.¹⁸⁴

One aspect of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*; besides the incorporation of strong colloquial language and dialogues into the hagiographies; that was to have a lasting influence on Ch'an hagiography was its adaptation of the twenty-nine generation patriarchal lineage. As we have seen, this was criticised by Shen-ch'ing. The twenty-nine generation theory was advanced by T'ien-t'ai, in particular by Li Hua in 754, on behalf of his master, the T'ien-t'ai teacher, Hsüan-lang (673-754). As this inscription by Li Hua listed four 'Ch'an' lineages, including two 'Northern' lineages, one Southern lineage to Hui-neng, and the Niu-t'ou lineage, plus two branches of the T'ien-t'ai lineage, it was sure to have attracted the attention of the 'Ch'an' movement, especially the authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. Li Hua stated that the Buddha had four great disciples, including Mahākāśyapa who was adept at ascetic practices and Śāriputra who excelled in wisdom. They were all part of the Highest Vehicle, which was divided into streams (*liu*) but united in essence. As Śāriputra had died before the Buddha, the Buddha

transmitted the Dharma mentally to Mahākāśyapa, and that transmission from him totalled twenty-nine generations through to the bodhisattva monk of the Liang and Wei period, Bodhidharma, who transmitted the Lanka Dharma through eight generations to Meditation Teacher Hung-cheng of Sheng-shou Monastery in the Eastern Capital. This is the current Northern Lineage....Also, in the fifth generation from Bodhidharma it came to Meditation Teacher Ts'an, who again conferred it on Meditation Teacher Neng. This is the current Southern Lineage.¹⁸⁵

Although the penultimate line contains some errors, it is likely Li Hua or Hsüan-lang took the information from an earlier source, such as from Hung-cheng (n.d.), who probably died around the same time as Hsüan-lang if we can judge from the dates of his two pupils.¹⁸⁶ After all, T'ien-t'ai had no need of a twenty-nine patriarch lineage culminating in Bodhidharma, and may have claimed derivation from the tradition of Śāriputra. In other words, the twenty-nine patriarch theory was probably derived from a 'Northern Ch'an' source that had used the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*, a source like the *Hsi-kuo Fō-tsu tai-tai hsiang-ch'eng ch'uan-fa chi*, which may have also had some T'ien-t'ai

¹⁸⁴ SKSC, T50.757a21-22; passage is difficult to understand in parts.

¹⁸⁵ CTW 320/1453a15-22.

¹⁸⁶ Chen Jinhua (1999), 23.

connections.¹⁸⁷ The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* author seems to have had reason to attack Hsüan-lang and 'Northern Ch'an,' for Hsüan-lang is stated by Li Hua to have studied and discussed vinaya with Yin-tsung of K'uai-chi before Yin-tsung retreated to Ts'ao-ch'i, something backed by Tsan-ning.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, Hung-cheng appears to have been a serious rival for Wu-chu, the core personage of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, for this book depicts Hung-cheng's student, T'i-wu, also of Lo-yang, together with Li Ch'ü-t'ai, a deputy prefect of Kuang-tu County in Ch'eng-tu,¹⁸⁹ and Chou Hsia (whom I suspect may have been the future Lung-an Ju-hai, was connected to Niu-t'ou and 'Northern Ch'an,' and may have authored the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*) and two other officials, visiting Wu-chu. T'i-wu questioned Wu-chu about his lineage and about attacks on Wu-chu's teaching for just being hypocritical cant. In the partisan *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s scene of this confrontation, T'i-wu faced an embarrassing loss. He cited the *Lotus Sutra*'s Three Vehicles theory, to which Wu-chu responded that the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* stated that the Three Vehicles were for stupid people.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, the *Lotus Sutra* reference may also have been an indirect attack on Hsüan-lang, who wrote a work on the divisions of the *Lotus Sutra*.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Hung-cheng seems to have had another pupil in the 'Northern Ch'an' monk Chan-jan, who was involved in the campaign to glorify Seng-ts'an's tomb. Hung-cheng in turn was an heir to P'u-chi.¹⁹²

Therefore, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* was just as sectarian and strident, if not more so, than Shen-hui, and responded to a sectarian challenge from T'ien-t'ai. Even if it did not originate the twenty-nine Indian patriarch theory, it spread the idea widely, and so can be held primarily responsible for the response in the form of the twenty-eight patriarch theory that has held sway in Ch'an genealogies ever since.

¹⁸⁷ Yampolsky (1967), 38-39; Ibuki (1997.6), 'Saichō ga tsutaeta shoki Zenshū bunken ni tsuite,' 152-160, concluded that this work dated from before the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and after Shen-hui (d. 758), but if Li Hua took it from 'Northern Ch'an,' it has to predate 754.

¹⁸⁸ CTW 320/1453a11; SKSC T50.875c8-9, who states he discussed the secret essentials, but he either did not understand or think Yin-tsung's teaching universal, and so later studied T'ien-t'ai.

¹⁸⁹ For Li Ch'ü-t'ai, see compilers' notes in CTW 444/2030b, which says he wrote a stele for the Three Teaching's Monastery on behalf of the prefect of Tzu-chou in 767 or 771; cf. Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2678.

¹⁹⁰ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 226.

¹⁹¹ SKSC T50.876a9.

¹⁹² Chen Jinhua (1999), 21-22.

Another element the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* introduced into the hagiography of Hui-neng was the scene of Yin-tsung debating with Hui-neng over the flag, wind and mind. Although Yin-tsung had first been mentioned in Wang Wei's stele for Hui-neng, the key to his manipulation by the authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* probably resided in the use of him to counter the claims of Hsüan-lang and T'ien-t'ai, and to attack the vinaya teachers of Szechwan. Yin-tsung, a vinaya master, was thus subordinated to Hui-neng, while the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* account, probably based on another text (possibly the *T'ien-t'ai Shan wu-tsu Tso-ch'i Ho-shang chuan*, which is no longer extant),¹⁹³ has Hsüan-lang unable to fully understand Yin-tsung's 'secret essentials' (or not accepting them as universal). Thus Yin-tsung could be the superior to Hsüan-lang, who was thus no match for Hui-neng. Moreover, to judge from the later *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* entry on the same topic, which introduces the term 'insentient' for the flag and wind, perhaps this invented dialogue was an attack on Shen-hui and T'ien-t'ai Chan-jan, who both maintained the doctrine of the Buddha-nature of the insentient.¹⁹⁴ Therefore Yin-tsung was a mere pawn used for sectarian motives of one-upmanship.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* continued the format introduced by the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* and *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* in collecting together hagiographies. Like the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, which concluded with a stupa inscription for Shen-hsiu, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* ended with an encomium on Wu-chu's portrait. It included lengthy dialogues and quotes like the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* had done, and used appeals to the throne to justify the claim to possess the robe of transmission. Yet no heir is named and no mention is made of what was to happen to the robe. This may be because the portrait-encomium was by a more learned hand and had been composed earlier.¹⁹⁵ While no mention of the robe had been made by Tu Fei or Ching-chüeh, the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* does indicate a group of four heirs, and the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* notes that there were many heirs to Fa-ju and Shen-hsiu.¹⁹⁶ In addition the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* also adopted the colloquial language and occasional

¹⁹³ Penkower (1993), 'T'ien-t'ai during the T'ang dynasty,' 190; note use of *wu-tsu* or 'fifth patriarch.'

¹⁹⁴ Text in EK, 153-154; Hu (1968), 139; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 87; cf. Penkower (1993), 364-371; Jorgensen (1989), 23-26, 208-209; ZSS, 167.

¹⁹⁵ Adamek (2003), 45, 55.

¹⁹⁶ CFPC, Yanagida (1971), 420, 424.

abuse or argumentative tone of Shen-hui, and promoted a patently invented lineage in a strident sectarian fashion. Therefore it invited a response, countering its claims in calmer tones, with a reassertion that Hui-neng held a robe at Pao-lin Monastery, which was the true source of legitimacy and heir to Hui-neng's legacy. This was because the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, like the ideas of Shen-hui and the *pien-wen*, spread rapidly among Buddhists.

The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which was written at the earliest in 774, was countered in part almost immediately by the 781 *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which was probably written either in T'an-chou (modern Ch'ang-sha) or Shao-chou (northern Kuangtung).¹⁹⁷ The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* influenced the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* of ca. 781, was known to the Tibetans, possibly as early as the 780s,¹⁹⁸ and existed in a number of copies at Tun-huang.¹⁹⁹ Evidently popular despite its parochial claims, it helped usher in a new form of 'pien-wen-style' hagiographies that captivated 'Ch'an' audiences.

Stage Two: Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan, Platform Sutra and Pao-lin chuan

Stage two in the evolution of the hagiographical production of Ch'an, and in particular the image of Hui-neng, was both a response to, and an extension of, the transitional phase, that of the *Shen-hui yü-lu* and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. It is represented by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the *Platform Sutra* in its earlier versions, and the *Pao-lin chuan*, which were all by anonymous authors and are concentrated on Hui-neng as the sole or major focus. Moreover, they were probably all produced south of the Yangtze River, and not in the metropolitan region. The two *chuan* highlighted the tombs of the patriarchs and the relationships of these monks and their supporters with the political authorities, especially emperors. Although one is the hagiography of a single monk, Hui-neng, and his relics, and the other *chuan* is a lineage text involving patriarchs from the Buddha through to Hui-neng and his disciples, they are closely interrelated in themes, places and possibly network of authors. The *Sutra* also has a hagiographical component, but as it has replaced the robe and the relics with itself, it differs from

¹⁹⁷ I prefer the T'an-chou provenance. See later.

¹⁹⁸ Yanagida (1983), 16, 22.

¹⁹⁹ Yanagida (1983), 44.

the two *chuan* texts. However, its use of verses of transmission clearly inspired the *Pao-lin chuan* to make the verses the major symbol of the transmission up until Hui-neng and his disciples, and the only symbol thereafter. On the other hand, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Platform Sutra* were rivals claiming the same mantle, but by different means and most likely from different places.

Yet the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Platform Sutra* shared more than just the topic of Hui-neng. They both had very long titles, plus subtitles. For example, the full title of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is, 'The Record of the Essential Tenets of the Dharma Transmitted by the Sixth Patriarch, Master Hui-neng of Kuo-ning Monastery on Mt Pao-lin in Ts'ao-ch'i, Shao-chou, of the T'ang, and the imperial decree of the Great Emperor Kao-tsung, together with the gifts He bestowed and the nameplate that changed the monastery's name, plus the students given imprimatur by the Master, together with the six types of auspicious scenes of the time of his passing over, and the prediction made by Trepitaka Chih-yao.' The *Platform Sutra* is titled, 'Southern Lineage Sudden Teaching Highest Mahāyāna Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra, that is the Dharma of the Platform Sutra in one fascicle delivered at Ta-fan Monastery in Shao-chou by the Sixth Patriarch, the Master Hui-neng, together with the conferral of the formless [gap in original] precepts, collected and recorded by Fa-hai, the disciple who propagated the Dharma.' But the first indicates it is a record or biography (*chuan*); the latter that it is a sutra (*ching*), which has overtones of autobiography.

Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* belongs to a special sub-category of the *chuan* genre. The *chuan*, as 'biography,' began with Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 145-ca. 86 B.C.) in his *Shih chi*. This history was constituted of 'basic annals' (*pen-chi*) and 'connected records' (*lieh-chuan*). As Liu Chih-chi (661-721) wrote in his *Shih-t'ung*, the basic annals gathered all sorts of materials and placed them in an annals form, centred on the emperor, whereas the 'connected records' recorded the 'accounts of conduct' (*hsing-chuang*) of the subjects, probably in summary. This Liu Chih-chi compared to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*; the basic annals being the Classic (*ching*) recorded by Confucius, the records being the commentaries such as the *Tso-chuan* that interpreted and explained the Classic. Thus *chuan* meant to transmit information and to comment or explain. The *Shih chi* had ten categories of *chuan*, including biographies, which seems

to have influenced the ten classes (*k'o*) of the various *kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks). However, the *lieh-chuan* were not just biographies, but even included records of foreign countries, and so really were commentaries on, or supplements to, the basic annals. However, as many *lieh-chuan* dealt with individuals, they tended to become independent, as biographies. Some authors then realised that people made history, and so recorded lives of individuals, though usually in groups of like individuals such as virtuous women, hermits and loyal ministers. Liu Chih-chi called these *pieh-chuan* because they were independent from annals. Yet these were still like the collective biographies of the *Shih chi*. As time passed, in the aristocratic Period of Division, there was greater classification and evaluation of people. Eventually, biographies were written even of single individuals, such as that of the Buddhist monk, Shan Tao-k'ai, the *Tao-jen Shan Tao-k'ai chuan* composed ca. 359 by K'ang Hung. By the Liang Dynasty, the increasing influence of Buddhism at court and the need for monks to be literate in the secular arts, meant they began to write collective hagiographies of monks.²⁰⁰

In Japan, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was, at least in Tokugawa times, titled the *Sōkei Daishi betsuden*.²⁰¹ Here *betsuden* or *pieh-chuan* means something different to Liu Chih-chi's term. Rather, it now means the biography of an individual, not part of a series of biographies or *lieh-chuan*. Of the 175 biographies of individuals listed in the *Sui shu* catalogue, history section, many are called *pieh-chuan*, and eight were simply called *chuan*, including one of the eminent monk Chih-tun (314-366).²⁰² In China, a number of such works were composed for Buddhist saints, including one on the Buddha, the *Shih-chia p'u* by Seng-yu (445-518). Seng-yu composed this work, partly because one of his teachers, Fa-hsien, could not reach India and brought back verbal accounts of India heard from others and a tooth of the Buddha from Khotan. The *Shih-chia p'u* was a compilation from a broad range of sources, and preceded the translation of the *Buddhacarita* into Chinese by Jñānagupta (d. ca. 603-604). The earlier works were either too brief and fragmentary, or contradictory. When the *Buddhacarita* was

²⁰⁰ Ts'ao Shih-pang (1999), *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao shih-hsüeh shih*, 2-11. For *chuan*, see also Pei-Yi Wu (1990), *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China*, 4.

²⁰¹ ZSS, 219; EK, 9-11.

²⁰² Ts'ao (1999), 157-158.

translated, it was too long, and so Seng-yu's text was read often, and Tao-hsüan further abridged this into the *Shih-chia shih p'u*.²⁰³

The first extended *pieh-chuan* about a Chinese monk that is extant is the biography of a founder of T'ien-t'ai, Chih-i (538-597), the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che Ta-shih pieh-chuan*, written by his pupil Kuan-ting (561-632) in 605 as an 'account of conduct.'²⁰⁴ The word *pieh* here indicates that it is the hagiography of a single master, and so *pieh-chuan* was likely part of the original title.²⁰⁵

Another biography by a person who knew his subject personally was the very long *Ta T'ang Ta-tz'u-en Ssu San-tsang Fa-shih chuan* by Hui-li (d. 664+), which was expanded by Yen-tsung (ca. 648-686). This is a biography of Trepitaka Hsüan-tsang (600-664) in nearly 80,000 characters, the longest biography till that time and for quite a time afterwards.²⁰⁶ The modern English translation by Li Rongxi (1995) is 350 pages. While the hagiography of Chih-i is a little less than seven pages in the Taisho Tripitaka edition, that of Hsüan-tsang is around sixty pages. Most of the information came from Hsüan-tsang himself and would appear to be an 'authorised biography,' but Hui-li hid his account till just before his death, and then Yen-tsung added additional material, possibly doubling the length of the account.²⁰⁷ In the sense that Hsüan-tsang related most of the information, this begins to approach an autobiography.

Another *pieh-chuan*, again by Yen-tsung, was the *T'ang hu-fa sha-men Fa-lin pieh-chuan*. This was a biography of Fa-lin (572-640), who courageously fought to protect Buddhism against the attacks by Fu I (554-639). A broadly renowned figure, Fa-lin criticised Lao tzu, whom the T'ang imperial clan falsely claimed as an ancestor. Accused by the Taoist Ch'in Shih-ying of slandering the imperial lineage, Fa-lin was arrested and interrogated in 639. He asserted that the T'ang Li clan were actually descended from the Turkic T'o-pa clan, and not from the Li clan of Lao tzu, something he demonstrated with textual evidence. Banished, Fa-lin felt like Ch'ü Yüan of the *Li-sao* fame, who was similarly disgraced and exiled. Tragically, he died soon afterwards.

²⁰³ Ts'ao (1999), 149-153.

²⁰⁴ Koichi Shinohara (1992), 'Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition,' 98, 107-108.

²⁰⁵ Ts'ao (1999), 154.

²⁰⁶ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 7-8; Ts'ao (1999), 154.

²⁰⁷ Ts'ao (1999), 154-155.

As we have seen, the biography by Yen-tsung was banned, along with the apocryphal *Han fa-pen nei chuan*. However, these texts survived in underground copies,²⁰⁸ so the latter was quoted by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. In contrast, Tao-hsüan was very cautious, so in his *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* hagiography of Fa-lin, he only wrote a brief *lieh-chuan* and did not include details of the dispute. This pusillanimity inspired Yen-tsung to write his *pieh-chuan*, a separate account,²⁰⁹ of about fifteen pages in the Taisho Tripitaka. This made Fa-lin so famous, despite the prohibition, that the *Pao-lin chuan* claimed Fa-lin wrote a stele inscription for the second patriarch, Hui-k'o.²¹⁰

A feature of both the *pieh-chuan* of Chih-i and of Fa-lin, is the considerable use of textual records, such as imperial proclamations, memorials, replies and letters. Yen-tsung quoted these extensively, in particular to record the content of the debates and to show how Fa-lin protected the Dharma. In this sense it follows in the tradition of Seng-yu's compilation of the *Hung-ming chi*. Kuan-ting also quoted imperial decrees, proclamations, and letters between Chih-i and secular authorities. In particular, he appended documents concerning the miracles after Chih-i's death and surrounding his tomb.²¹¹ In three respects, this hagiography of Chih-i resembles the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*: it quotes imperial letters and decrees; it was a record of miracles and

might have been intended and understood by contemporaries as an attempt to expand this emerging tradition about his death and grave into a larger story of all the miracles that occurred throughout Chih-i's life.²¹²

Moreover, the hero of the hagiography is depicted as predestined to found or complete a major monastery.²¹³ Thus, Chih-i founded Kuo-ch'ing Monastery and Hui-neng established the reputation of Pao-lin Monastery. However, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* is more concerned with the 'mummy' relic of Hui-neng, which survived, whereas the body or relics of Chih-i eventually disintegrated and disappeared on the second opening of his tomb, and as no miracle happened on that occasion,

²⁰⁸ Tonami Mamoru (1999), *Zui-Tō no Bukkyō to kokka*, 59, 62, 65-69.

²⁰⁹ Ts'ao (1999), 156-157.

²¹⁰ Tonami (1999), 78 note 48; *Pao-lin chuan* 146b (8.29b).

²¹¹ T50.196c-197b, summarised in Shinohara (1992), 108-110.

²¹² Shinohara (1992), 110; transcription altered for consistency.

²¹³ Shinohara (1992), 128-129.

the preoccupation with miracles seems to have given way to the composition of his biography and the raising of an imperially sponsored inscription describing Chih-i's life at Kuo-ch'ing Ssu.²¹⁴

There was a major preoccupation though in both these texts with the complete body (*ch'üan-shen*) of the religious hero. Chih-i's body reportedly was left outside in a seated position before being placed in a portable shrine or mausoleum (*ch'an-k'an*) and shifted to its final resting place. Moreover, it looked as it was still alive.²¹⁵ This may well have reminded readers of the account of the *Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu*, in which Chih-i's grave was opened, just like the stupa was opened by Śākya Muni to reveal the *ch'üan-shen* of Prabhūtaratna as mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra*, and the later discovery that the body of Chih-i was unchanged by death, and that it later disappeared, as if it had been transformed.²¹⁶

The authors of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* may have been attracted to the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che Ta-shih pieh-chuan* as a model. Firstly, it and the associated *Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu* were part of an attempt by Kuan-ting to link the life and death of Chih-i with the support for and promotion of Kuo-ch'ing Monastery on Mt T'ien-t'ai.²¹⁷ Similarly, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* promoted the monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i and Hui-neng's closer association with it than any of the rival monasteries, just as Kuo-ch'ing Monastery had a rival in Yü-ch'üan Monastery.

Finally, both texts linked their hero with a lineage, something that would have attracted the author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* to the *pieh-chuan* of Chih-i, for the T'ien-t'ai lineage was both the main rival to, and inspiration for, the 'lamplight' transmission genealogy of Ch'an. Although the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che Ta-shih pieh-chuan* lineage was soon superseded by another lineage drawn up by Kuan-ting, which had a lineage from Nāgārjuna to Hui-wen, Hui-ssu and Chih-i, it characterised the linkage to a northern meditative tradition via

Buddha(-bhadra) and Hsüan-kao (who) developed meditation (*ting*) and wisdom (*hui*) in tandem. Later, their (teachings) deteriorated and became like a one-wheeled (cart) and single-winged [bird]. So the situation

²¹⁴ Shinohara (1992), 128; transcription altered for consistency.

²¹⁵ Shinohara (1992), 113 note 10, 127.

²¹⁶ Shinohara (1992), 102, 106, 128.

²¹⁷ Linda Penkower (2000), 'In the Beginning...Guanding (561-632) and the Creation of Early Tiantai,' 275.

remained] until it was righted and revived by (Hui-ssu of) Nan-yüeh, and reached its prosperity here [with Chih-i].²¹⁸

This balance of meditation and insight is reminiscent of the teachings of Hui-neng as portrayed in the *Platform Sutra*.²¹⁹ It would appear then, despite some differences, that the author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was familiar with Kuan-ting's *pieh-chuan* for Chih-i. Furthermore, the reaction of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* to a T'ien-t'ai lineage assertion may have suggested to the author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* that an examination of the T'ien-t'ai hagiography was in order.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* can be dated fairly accurately. The copyist finished the text that Saichō brought back or copied from, on 9th March 803.²²⁰ The final date of any event recorded in the body of the text is 765.²²¹ However, it records a discussion about the flag, the wind and the mind that Yin-tsung overheard at Chih-chih Monastery,²²² which was undoubtedly adopted from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* that was written in 774 or soon thereafter. Finally, there is a prediction made by Hui-neng in this text that seventy years after his death, which occurred in 712 or 713,²²³ that two bodhisattvas would come from the east to repair his monastery buildings and re-erect his teaching.²²⁴ This gives a date of 782 or 783. However, another entry, following the attempted theft of his head, says that Hui-neng died in 713 or 712, and states that from then until the second year of the Chien-chung era (781), totalled seventy-one years. Although there is a miscalculation here, 781 is generally thought to be the date of composition.²²⁵ While the author of this text was aware of Shen-hui's theories; for example, that Hui-neng gave his former residence in Hsin-chou to be a monastery; it used another name, probably that of a monastery in Shao-chou, for Hui-neng's place of death.²²⁶ Moreover, the author ignored the use

²¹⁸ Penkower (2000), 281, translation modified; T50.192c21-23.

²¹⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 115.

²²⁰ EK, 20-21, 59, 81a.

²²¹ EK, 57.

²²² EK, 38.

²²³ The text gives 2nd year of Hsien-t'ien, which as 713, but cyclical year *jen-tzu*, which is 1st year of Hsien-t'ien or 712. See EK, 49, and dates, see *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/210/6670.

²²⁴ EK, 49, 77b.

²²⁵ EK, 52; Ishii Shūdō (1988, March), 'Sōkei Daishiden kō,' note 42; ZSS, 222-223.

²²⁶ ZSS, 235.

of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* as the cause of Hui-neng's initial awakening that had been championed by Shen-hui's later propaganda, and also by the *Platform Sutra*, and maintained that the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* was the trigger and main basis for Hui-neng's awakening and theories.²²⁷

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was written with three main aims. The first was to advertise the monastery at Mt Pao-lin by stressing that the monastery held the relics of Hui-neng; his mummy and the robe of transmission; and thereby to display its lineage superiority. Although it strengthened Hui-neng's authority by claiming that the famous Vinaya Master and lecturer on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, Yin-tsung,²²⁸ had abandoned his previous ideas and followed Hui-neng, it did not have to write a lengthy account of all the patriarchs, for the pivot of the lineage theories from the time of Shen-hui's propanganda had been established as residing in Hui-neng. All the author had to do was forcefully assert, by means of the fabricated imperial decrees, that Hui-neng and the monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i held the robe. These forgeries, being so lengthy, contrived and repeated, show that this was a major move to counter the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* claims that the robe had passed via Empress Wu to Chih-shen and eventually to Wu-chu. Perhaps this explains why Empress Wu's husband, Emperor Kao-tsung, is used as the author of the earliest decree, which in fact should, according to the dates given, be Emperor Chung-tsung, who succeeded Empress Wu to the throne.²²⁹ Empress Wu is thus written out of this account altogether. To give more contemporary proof that the robe was held at Ts'ao-ch'i, a decree of 758 has Emperor Su-tsung command that the *kaṣāya* be brought to court, and it is written that Emperor Tai-tsung returned it in 762.²³⁰ Moreover, the superiority of Hui-neng over rival claimants is demonstrated by 'Kao-tsung' stating in his decree that he had summoned the important meditation teachers to

²²⁷ ZSS, 223-224.

²²⁸ For this proficiency, see SKSC, T50.731b.

²²⁹ Cf. EK, 44, 74b; Ishii (1988), note 30. Kao-tsung died in 683, but the date given for the decree is 13th February 705.

²³⁰ EK, 54, 57. Ishii (1988), note 48, shows that there is a confusion by the author of dates via a misuse of reign eras, that the Shang-yüan 2 or 762 of the text, should be Ch'ien-yüan 1 or 758, for immediately after in Ch'ien-yüan 2 (759), the monk summoned, declined to come. Secondly, the Wei Li-chien who is ordered to escort the robe and Hui-neng's pupils, only held the post of prefect and commissioner of Kuang-chou until 758, when he was replaced by Chang Wan-ch'ing. See Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2758; Wang Shou-nan (1978), 599.

the palace, and that (Lao-)an and (Shen-)hsiu, who were made the chiefs of the monks,

repeatedly recommended that in the South there is Meditation Teacher (Hui-)neng, who secretly received the prediction from Master (Hung-)jen and transmits the robe and bowl of (Bodhi-)dharma as a surety of the Dharma...Now he lives on Mt Ts'ao-ch'i in Shao-chou.²³¹

This passage was probably derived from the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*.²³² Lao-an (581?-708) was the real founder of the Pao-t'ang lineage, and teacher of Wu-chu's actual master, the layman Ch'en Ch'u-chang. Lao-an was a pupil of Hung-jen. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* listed him as one of the masters invited to the imperial chapel by Empress Wu when the robe was given to Chih-shen.²³³ To further counter the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s claims, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has appropriated to itself the imperial commissioner, Hsieh Chien, who appears in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* as the man dispatched to orally inform Hui-neng that Bodhidharma's robe had been presented to Chih-shen, and to present Hui-neng a polished-silk robe as a replacement.²³⁴ In

²³¹ EK, 44.

²³² ZSS, 238.

²³³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 92, 122, 129; cf. Tsung-mi's account, HTC 14.556a16-17. For more biographical information, see Sung Tan, *Sung-shan Hui-shan Ssu ku Ta-te Tao-an Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 396/1813a-1813c, and Washio Junkyō (1932/1981), *Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan*, 41-44; McRae (1986), 145.

²³⁴ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 130, 136 notes. The date given is December 707, but the Empress died in the eleventh lunar month of 705. Hsieh Chien was a real person, for he is named as General-in-chief of the Right Palace Gate Guard in the *Chiu Tang shu* 5/8/166, and as having protected the court's interests at Chün-chou when Empress Wei poisoned Emperor Chung-tsung in 710. Cf. Yang Tseng-wen (1993), 249. There is confusion here, for the name should be Hsieh Ch'ung-chien, see CTS 7/51/2174, but CTS 1/7/150 uses only Hsieh Chien, so he may have been known by both names. The son of Princess T'ai-p'ing, Hsieh Ch'ung-chien aided the future emperor, Hsüan-tsung in a plot to take the throne, CTS 1/8/166. It is clear that this is the same person. In the CTS 5/7/150, Hsieh Chien is said to have led 500 men to Chün-chou, and TCTC mentions him at 207/6578 (705) as Hsieh Ssu-hsing, where he is General-in-chief of the Awesome Guards, and at 209/6643 (710) as a General-in-chief of the Right Palace Gate Guards named Hsieh Ssu-chien leading the 500 men, and at 210/6685 (713) as Hsieh Ch'ung-chien, who counselled against his mother's policy, and the grant of the imperial surname Li for his assistance in Hsüan-tsung's coup of the same year. His appearance in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* then could be construed as meaning he was in sympathy with the opposition to the Buddhism of Empress Wu and the women who attempted to control the throne. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* gives his title as Palace Attendant General, similar to the post he held in 710 according to the TCTC.

the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, 'Kao-tsung' sent Hsieh Chien to invite Hui-neng to court, and this man took the opportunity to ask Hui-neng about meditation and the Buddha-nature. This mini-dialogue is like an extended version of those exchanges that appear in the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*. Hsieh Chien then supposedly took these teachings back to the emperor.²³⁵ Interestingly, this is the longest dialogue-cum-sermon in the entire text. In the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, even Shen-hui is made a precocious pupil, and not the principal heir, although he 'secretly received the conferral' rather like Hui-neng did from Hung-jen.²³⁶ Finally, it countered the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s assertion of twenty-nine Indian patriarchs with twenty-eight patriarchs, but it retained the name Dharmatrāta.²³⁷

The second aim was to connect the name of the monastery, and of course, Hui-neng himself and his local pupils, to the T'ang imperial house, with the intention of countering the links that 'Northern Ch'an' really did have with the court.²³⁸ This again was achieved by the use of forged imperial decrees. Indeed, the full title of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* includes 'the plaque that changed the monastery's name,' and in the first entry on the foundation of the monastery by Trepitaka Chih-yao, it has Chih-yao being summoned in 506 to the court of Emperor Wu of Liang. In response to a question about the name of the monastery, Chih-yao predicted that one hundred and seventy years later, "there will be an unsurpassed Dharma-jewel who will proselytise in this place, and there will be students like a forest," hence the name Jewel Forest (Pao-lin).²³⁹ The plaque of course is that granted by 'Kao-tsung' naming the monastery Fa-ch'üan Monastery (Fountain of the Dharma).²⁴⁰ Again, Emperor Su-tsung changed the name in 759 and made other gifts.²⁴¹

The third aim was to depict the miraculous powers of Hui-neng's relics and the potent afterlife of the saint. To this end, repeated miracles are mentioned in relation to the death of Hui-neng, the attempted

²³⁵ EK, 44-47.

²³⁶ EK, 42-44.

²³⁷ EK, 68b; Tanaka Ryōshō (1983), *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 634.

²³⁸ ZSS, 235.

²³⁹ EK, 29.

²⁴⁰ EK, 48, 27a. Chien-chen, when he passed Shao-chou in 748, says he "was welcomed by the officials of Shao-chou to Fa-ch'üan Monastery, which was built by Empress Wu for Hui-neng," T51.991c21-23.

²⁴¹ EK, 55.

theft of Hui-neng's head is thwarted, and six kinds of miraculous signs traditionally associated with Hui-neng when he was alive and after his death are reported at the conclusion of the text.²⁴²

All of the above would suggest that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was written by a resident of Pao-lin Monastery, where the community would be able to benefit from this local focus in the promotion campaign. As demonstrated earlier, the text was unlikely to have been written in Kuang-chou. However, two items would seem to indicate that the text was not written in Ling-nan or at Shao-chou. Firstly, Wei Li-chien, who was commissioner and prefect of Kuang-chou from 757 until 758, is said to have memorialised the throne in 761, while he was Commissioner of Kuang-chou, that Hui-neng's pupil Hsing-t'ao and the patriarchal robe should be sent to the court.²⁴³ But Wei Li-chien was Commissioner of Kuang-chou from 757 to 758, when he abandoned the city and fled in the face of an attack by Arabs and Persians, surely a memorable incident for the residents of Kuang-chou and Shao-chou, especially if the text was only written in 781.²⁴⁴ Although there are some confusions in the dates, with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* often two or three years out in its calculations and dating,²⁴⁵ the reply from the emperor is dated 16th January 763, and it mentioned Wei Li-chien, maintaining this time discrepancy. Secondly, there is the problem of the name given to Hui-neng's place of death in Hsin-chou, Kuang-kuo Monastery.²⁴⁶ Earlier the hagiography stated that Hui-neng returned to his former residence, called Kuo-en Monastery, in Hsin-chou.²⁴⁷ Afterwards, it also says that the leaders at Hsin-chou wished to retain Hui-neng's corpse at Kuo-en Monastery.²⁴⁸ Yet the *Chiu T'ang shu* declared that Hui-neng lived in Kuang-kuo Monastery in Shao-chou, and the Shen-hui hagiography of Hui-neng in the Ishii version stated that Hui-neng died in Kuo-en Monastery, his old home in Hsin-chou. Yet the only known Kuang-kuo Monastery was in Shao-chou, which suggests the author has confused Kuang-kuo Monastery in Shao-chou

²⁴² EK, 50-52, 58.

²⁴³ EK, 54.

²⁴⁴ For dates and events, see Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2758; Wang Shou-nan (1978), 886; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/220/7062, Ch'ien-yüan 1, ninth month.

²⁴⁵ EK, 17; Ishii (1998), note 9, says dating is often out by three years.

²⁴⁶ EK, 51.

²⁴⁷ EK, 48.

²⁴⁸ EK, 51.

with Kuo-en Monastery in Hsin-chou.²⁴⁹ This militates against the text having been written by a resident of Pao-lin Monastery or that the author was a local from the Shao-chou region. The only other explanation could be that this is a copyist's error, but the difference in script between Kuang-kuo and Kuo-en would make this unlikely. These two items suggest rather that the text was not written in Shao-chou or Ling-nan.

An explanation could be that the text was written by someone who had been at Pao-lin Monastery, but had left many years earlier. The person had to have had a claim to have been in a lineage from Hui-neng and to have benefited from the writing of the hagiography, or had been commissioned to write the text by his former colleagues at Pao-lin Monastery. This suggests that the author was a pupil of one of the disciples of Hui-neng mentioned in the text. The most likely candidate would at first glance appear to be Hui-hsiang, the pupil of Hsing-t'ao. The text described Hsing-t'ao as the senior disciple who protected the robe for forty-five years until his death in 759.²⁵⁰ Under the name Ling-t'ao, this monk is described in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, but this part of the account is clearly derived ultimately from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, with some later changes.²⁵¹ It is probable that Hsing-t'ao died at Ts'ao-ch'i. Hui-hsiang is otherwise unknown. Hsing-t'ao was probably the stupa guardian, and Hui-hsiang his successor, who is described as having received a purple silk-gauze robe from Emperor Su-tsung. Hui-hsiang also accompanied the imperial commissioner with the robe up to the capital, and he also requested its return.²⁵² However, Hui-hsiang was unlikely to have been the author given the two problematic items concerning local knowledge detected above.

The text of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* has a number of disjunctions, which may provide clues. Firstly, there is the account of the origins of the monastery and the predictions about Hui-neng. This

²⁴⁹ EK, 78a; Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 'Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih pieh-chuan chiao-chu,' 553-554; EK, 205-206; Suzuki and Koda (1934), *Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku*, 62-63; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 111; ZSS, 235, 250 note 17, quoting an 858 catalogue which listed a text, 'The stele inscription of the Enlightened Buddha of Insightful Views, the late Meditation Teacher Neng of Kuang-kuo Monastery of Shao-chou of the Great T'ang,' T51.991c28-29 for Chien-chen; CTS 16/191/5110.

²⁵⁰ EK, 52, 55.

²⁵¹ T50.755b28-c3; his pupil is called Ming-hsiang.

²⁵² EK, 55-56.

continues on with the hagiography of Hui-neng until his illness. This is then followed by a question about whom the heir would be, and the transmission of the robe, and Hui-neng's predictions about the arrival of the two bodhisattvas from the east who would resurrect his monastery and teachings. Then there is an account of his death and the accompanying miracles, the death of his pupil Ling-chen, the lacquering of Hui-neng's corpse and translation of it back to Ts'ao-ch'i, and the attempted theft. Next follows the item on Hsing-t'ao as the guardian and the alteration made by Wu P'ing-i to the stele text. There is then a relatively long section on the belated enlightenment of Meditation Teacher Huang of T'an-chou (Ch'ang-sha). According to this account, Huang had served Hung-jen and then moved to T'an-chou. He practiced meditation for thirty years in vain, until Ta-jung, a pupil of Hui-neng, came and enlightened him to the proper meaning of dhyāna or Ju-lai Ch'an. Huang then went to Hui-neng, returning to T'an-chou in 711. This account concludes:

That night there was a voice from out of the sky that told the commoners of the whole city,
 "Meditation Teacher Huang has gained the Way tonight."
 They were all disciples of Master (Hui-)neng.²⁵³

The entry then abruptly shifts the topic to Wei Li-chien's memorial to the throne and the sending of the robe to court. This disjunction suggests that the last section is an addition to the original draft, and that Meditation Teacher Huang was a popular local figure in T'an-chou, for the account is based on what was probably a local oral tradition (世人傳). He may have been the Chih-huang mentioned in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Tsung-ching lu*.²⁵⁴ In the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, Huang is introduced under the date of K'ai-yüan eleventh year (723), but no reason can be found in the text for this date, as it is unconnected to any event. Moreover, the date and incident of the attempted theft of Hui-neng's head, 739, occurs a few lines earlier, so it is not part of a strict chronological sequence. Again, this hints that the text is either corrupt, or has not been properly edited to smooth out inconsistencies created by inserting extra material or deleting some. Indeed, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* entry, under the name of Chih-ts'e 智策 (a possible confusion for Ta-jung 大榮, the last characters being similar), which takes up

²⁵³ EK, 53-54.

²⁵⁴ EK, 79b; TTC 1.131.2ff, 66a2ff; *Tsung-ching lu*, T48.941a.

most of the entry, struggled to deal with this question. The text of the exchange and its aftermath is clearly based on the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* or a related text. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* states that when the two pupils of Hui-neng met, Chih-huang had practiced dhyāna for eleven years,²⁵⁵ rather than the thirty years of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*,²⁵⁶ reflecting a difficulty with the date of K'ai-yüan eleven.

There are indications that it was a member of this T'an-chou lineage, rather than that of Hsing-t'ao, who wrote the hagiography. Although the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* does not itself name the thief or the authorities involved in the incident of theft of 739,²⁵⁷ the mention of Liu Wu-t'ien by the *Pao-lin chuan* hints that the hagiography may have had a T'an-chou provenance. Liu Wu-t'ien was governor and prefect of T'an-chou after 743 and before 754.²⁵⁸ Moreover, Saichō (767-822) probably obtained the original of the extant copy of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* from a Niu-t'ou monk on Mt T'ien-t'ai around 804.²⁵⁹ He mentioned incidents which indicate he obtained recent knowledge of Ling-nan and the patriarchal robe, probably via a T'an-chou Ch'an community with close links to Niu-t'ou Ch'an.²⁶⁰

The only Niu-t'ou tendency Ch'an monk known to have lived near T'an-chou in this period more than just temporarily was Lung-an Ju-hai (727-808).²⁶¹ Ju-hai, when still a layman, went to Ch'eng-tu as a registrar about the time the An Lu-shan Rebellion exploded, ca. 755, which prompted his return to Ch'ang-an. Given his surname, Chou, and low official rank, perhaps he was Chou Hsia, an administrative assistant for a military commissioner (*p'an-kuan*). According to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Chou Hsia met Wu-chu (714-774), who did not arrive in Szechwan until early 759. Chou was accompanied by the 'Northern

²⁵⁵ TTC 1.131.2.

²⁵⁶ Other changes were made, as in the reporting of the enlightenment, here announced by a dragon god to his donors. TTC 1.131.14-1.132.1.

²⁵⁷ EK, 52.

²⁵⁸ Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 5: 2125-2126.

²⁵⁹ ZSS, 173; probably it is the very *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* listed in his *Dengyō Daishi shōrai Esshū roku*, T55.1059b17.

²⁶⁰ For these details, see Jorgensen (2005), at about note 155.

²⁶¹ Kuan-tsung (731-809) may have been in the region from the 760s to the late 780s at the very latest (calculations based on date of death, 809, and became a monk in 759/760, then studied Buddhist texts, and only after that went to Nan-yüeh; and from visits of officials in Ming-chou where he later lived, began ca. 788). See Hu Ti, *Ta T'ang ku T'ai-po Ch'an-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 721/3331b, and Yü Hsien-hao (1987), 4: 1782. Cf. Robson (2002), 'Imagining Nanyue,' 507-508. Kuan-tsung supposedly was a pupil of an unknown disciple of Hui-neng.

Ch'an' monk T'i-wu at this meeting. This was while he was at Ch'ing-ch'eng. But Ch'ing-ch'eng is where the Silla monk Kim Musang (684-762) had lived,²⁶² not Wu-chu. So Ju-hai, if he was Chou Hsia, may have had a chance to meet Musang or one of his pupils. Moreover, as the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* is most unreliable, often appropriating for Wu-chu the lineage and associates of Musang, it is possible that Chou Hsia or Ju-hai, who had become a monk around 755-756, later came to meet Musang after having studied Ch'an under the Niu-t'ou monk Ma-su. Ma-su was probably the Niu-t'ou lineage monk Hsüan-su, surnamed Ma, who died in 752. Consequently, Ju-hai must have studied under Hsüan-su while Ju-hai was still a junior and unwilling bureaucrat. Ju-hai had only entered the bureaucracy due to his father's insistence. Chou Hsia met T'i-wu, pupil of the 'Northern Ch'an' teacher Hung-cheng.²⁶³ Hung-cheng was also involved with Tu-ku Chi and Chang Yen-shang in the promotion of the stupa inscription and posthumous title for Seng-ts'an.²⁶⁴ Ju-hai also went to Mt Heng where he studied with Hui-yin, a pupil of the 'Northern Ch'an' teacher Chiang-mo-tsang (fl. 707-710). Given these commonalities, it is highly probable that Ju-hai had been known as Chou Hsia in his earlier civic life. Later, Ju-hai had many important patrons, including Liu Tsung-yüan.²⁶⁵ Ju-hai may thus have had links with the Korean Musang, was resident near T'an-chou, possibly belonged to the Niu-t'ou branch of Ch'an, and had a patron in Liu Tsung-yüan who was related to Liu Wu-t'ien. Ju-hai's residence on Mt Heng also would have familiarised him with T'ien-t'ai ideas and its hagiographies. Furthermore, in the hagiography of Ch'eng-kuang (717-798) by Liu Yü-hsi, a Ju-hai is said to have been a pupil who helped build the stupa for the master on Mt Yang-chi in Yüan-chou, right on the border between Kiangsi and Hunan. Although this connection was not mentioned in the stele for Ju-hai by Liu Tsung-yüan, this identification has been made by Satō

²⁶² LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 170, 230, for Chou Hsia, 226. Note that a Chou, as *p'an-kuan*, is mentioned as being in Chen-chiang; see Fu Hsüan-tsung, Chang Ch'en-shih and Hsü I-min, comps (1982), *T'ang Wu-tai jen-wu chuan-chi tzu-liao tsung ho so-yin*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 670.

²⁶³ LTFPC, Yanagida (1976a), 226; Hung-cheng is mentioned by Li Hua as a pupil of P'u-chi.

²⁶⁴ ZSS, 325-326.

²⁶⁵ Biography of Ju-hai based on *Lung-an Hai Ch'an-shih pei*, CTW 587/2666a-b, and LTYCC, 1/7/69. His father was Chou Tse-chiao and uncle Chou Tse-ts'ung, listed in HTS 10/74B/3183.

Yoshihiro.²⁶⁶ Ch'eng-kuang was a native of Ling-nan, who studied under Shen-hui around 747, and he, or his pupil, Chen-shu, may have been authors of an early layer of the *Platform Sutra*, as I will suggest later. However, the identification of the two entries as the one Ju-hai is not certain. But, if it were so, then the possibility is that the *Ts'ao-chi Ta-shih chuan* and *Platform Sutra* came from a branch of the Shen-hui lineage that was actively incorporating elements from other lineages in the South and had close connections with T'an-chou.

The author of the *Ts'ao-chi Ta-shih chuan* had to have seen both the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the hagiography of Hui-neng by Shen-hui, and was particularly concerned to counter the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*'s version of events, suggesting he had knowledge of Szechwan. Moreover, the author probably was not a long-term resident of Shao-chou or Ling-nan given the errors in the knowledge of the locality and major incidents there. On the other hand, some knowledge of the T'an-chou traditions may have been needed. As the *Ts'ao-chi Ta-shih chuan* does not openly attack 'Northern Ch'an,' mentioning the term only once in a description of Wu P'ing-i, and has both Shen-hsiu and Lao-an recommend Hui-neng to Emperor 'Kao-tsung,' this suggests it was trying to overcome the split in the Ch'an movement, just as Ju-hai declared he was doing.²⁶⁷ Moreover, as Ju-hai is depicted as promoting a lineage of patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa through to Dharma, with importance given to Simha in the twenty-third generation,²⁶⁸ that seems compatible with the lineage of the *Ts'ao-chi Ta-shih chuan*, which promoted the theory of twenty-eight patriarchs and is probably derived from a strict reading of the *Fu-fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, via his patrons, such as Lü Wei and Liu Tsung-yüan, Ju-hai's works may have reached Ling-ch'ue, who was involved with the *Pao-lin chuan*, which was greatly indebted to the *Ts'ao-chi Ta-shih chuan*.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ In Shiga (1998), 243; *Yüan-chou P'ing-hsiang hsien Yang-chi Shan ku Kuang Ch'an-shih pei* CTW 610/2767a16; *Liu Yü-hsi ch'üan-chi*, 34.

²⁶⁷ LTYCC, 1/7/68.

²⁶⁸ LTYCC, 1/7/68.

²⁶⁹ EK, 34-35; for table of patriarchs, see endpiece in ZSS, which shows Simha is given as the 23rd patriarch in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, but as 24th in the *Pao-lin chuan*, but 23rd also in Saichō's text of 819, the *Naishō Buppō sōjō ketsumyaku fu*, and in the works of Tsung-mi. Cf. Yampolsky (1967), 8-9, table 1 and 39 note 132, and Penkower (1993), 153, 223; Tanaka (1983), 66, 73, for possible 'Northern Ch'an' origin of the 28-patriarch theory.

²⁷⁰ LTYCC, 1/7/69; CTW 587/2666b; SKSC, T50.815c20; ZSS, 353.

The other qualification to be author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* would be some familiarity with the forms of bureaucratic discourse in order to fabricate the imperial decrees. Although these forgeries may occasionally not conform to the wording of genuine imperial decrees,²⁷¹ and make glaring errors in dating and (deliberately?) confused emperor Kao-tsung with Chung-tsung, there is still sufficient technical bureaucratic vocabulary to suggest someone who had a limited training in this style.²⁷² The use of the word *ch'ih* 勅 here indicates an imperial intention. However, we have almost no primary examples of *ch'ih-shu* from the T'ang—they are all in secondary collections, although there are several in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*,²⁷³ and these have similarities in vocabulary with other imperial letters.²⁷⁴ There were four types of *ch'ih-shu*, and the replies to these were *piao* 表, which is what we find here in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.²⁷⁵ The imperial reply to a *piao* by an individual was a *ch'ih-p'i* 勅批, which again is what is found with the emperor's reply to Hui-hsiang.²⁷⁶ Similarly, the reply to the *ch'ih-shu* attributed to Kao-tsung uses the set formula at the conclusion of 'bowing my head' (*tun-shou tun-shou*) and 'respectfully' or 'heedful' (*ch'in* 謹).²⁷⁷ Similarly, the dating (though here at the end and not the start of the document) follows the correct pattern, with *hsia* 下 or 'set down' at the end of the date.²⁷⁸ Moreover, the term for the imperial emissary, *chung-shih*, was one of the correct terms.²⁷⁹ The type of *ch'ih* here is the *shou-ch'ih*, a private letter from the emperor to an individual, often containing rewards and praises, which uses, for example, the verb *k'o*, 'you may'.²⁸⁰ To receive such an honour was highly prized and was usually recorded by the receiving party.²⁸¹ We

²⁷¹ ZSS, 238.

²⁷² Use of the imperial first person, *ch'in* and 'to send down' 降至, EK, 44, and 下 at the end of a decree, EK, 55.

²⁷³ LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 302, 306-307.

²⁷⁴ Cf. the use of 指不多 in LCSTC, Yanagida (1971), 302, and in an imperial letter to Ch'üan Te-yü with respect to a monastery in Szechwan, 指不多及, in Nakamura Hiroichi (1991a), *Tōdai seichoku no kenkyū*, Kyūko shoin: Tokyo, 341, 579.

²⁷⁵ Nakamura (1991a), 19, 34; cf. EK, 47, 54-55.

²⁷⁶ Nakamura (1991a), 34; EK, 56.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Nakamura (1991a), 342; EK, 45.

²⁷⁸ Nakamura (1991a), 580; EK, 44.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Nakamura (1991a), 659; EK, 45.

²⁸⁰ Nakamura (1991a), 680-681; cf. EK, 44, 57; contrast Yanagida's opinion, ZSS, 238.

²⁸¹ Nakamura (1991a), 682.

cannot truly judge the conformity of these materials in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* to the conventions of imperial correspondence, because the *shou-ch'ih*, which were in the emperor's hand and so not draughted by officials like other forms of *ch'ih-shu*, were not in a set format. Moreover, forgery of rescripts and decrees was undoubtedly a serious offence. Even the post of composing imperial rescripts was "politically fraught" and "demanded a high degree of learning and intellect."²⁸² Thus the composer of this forgery had to have been trained in the bureaucratic documentary styles, and to have been confident of not being detected.

The author also had to have been familiar with the movement for Seng-ts'an headed by Tu-ku Chi and to possibly have read the stele for Hui-neng by Wang Wei and the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che Ta-shih pieh-chuan* by Kuan-ting, as well as have an acquaintance with Buddhist texts, terms and practices. As Ju-hai had been a junior bureaucrat before becoming a monk, he would have been sufficiently versed in bureaucratic form to make an attempt at duplication of imperial decrees and letters something like twenty-five years later, but not well enough to keep errors from creeping in. After all, the drafters of imperial decrees were among the elite of the examination graduates for literary style.²⁸³ Finally, the community at T'an-chou, being on a major route through to Shao-chou and Kuang-chou, could have benefited indirectly from the promotion of the relics of Hui-neng at Ts'ao-ch'i. Or possibly he wrote it for the monks of Pao-lin Monastery on request or commission.

However, without further evidence, it is difficult to assert positively whether the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* came out of Shao-chou or T'an-chou. If it was written at Shao-chou, then the author showed little comprehension of his local circumstances, and it may have been a rather rushed job. The other alternative to T'an-chou, was that it was written by someone attempting to aggrandise two individuals, 'bodhisattvas from the east,' who would rebuild the monastery and the teaching in the 780s. Perhaps then a Korean monk was the author, which might explain the dating errors and so forth, and a certain lack of familiarity with the local conditions in Shao-chou and Ling-nan.

²⁸² McMullen (1988), *State and scholars in T'ang China*, 14.

²⁸³ McMullen (1988), 14, 16.

That would in turn provide a link with the *Pao-lin chuan* and the story of the aborted theft initiated by Kim Taebi. On balance, however, I would favour T'an-chou as the provenance of the author, who was possibly Ju-hai or one of his circle. However, this remains in the realm of speculation.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*'s contribution to Ch'an hagiography was made via the *Pao-lin chuan*, and possibly as a stimulus to the creation of the 'autobiographical' section of the *Platform Sutra*. It inaugurated the aura of Pao-lin Monastery, which has remained famous to the present day, and provided a textual authorisation for the 'mummy' of Hui-neng. However, its extensive use of forged imperial documents was undoubtedly risky, and although emulated, at least for earlier patriarchs, by the *Pao-lin chuan*, this may have been perceived as counter-productive. Moreover, its extensive format, the *pieh-chuan*, was rarely used again, as the Ch'an hagiography tended more towards the shortened forms of the *lieh-chuan*, which were adapted to the needs of the 'transmission of the lamplight' genre that removed many of the details of the life and concentrated on the enlightenment of the subject and a few of his key sayings or dialogues. As the Ch'an movement expanded and generated many lineages, its concentration on one single place may have been a handicap to its spread, and it was also gradually excluded from attention by the eventually more popular *Platform Sutra*. However, this hagiography had made possession of the material relics of Hui-neng, whether the bodily relic or the robe of transmission, the most important symbol of inheritance from Hui-neng.

Platform Sutra

Such themes made the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* a rival for the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, whose authors or compilers felt they had to overcome its influence. The *Platform Sutra* in its later manifestations was a cardinal scripture of Ch'an Buddhism, for it was classified as a sutra, a work that was preached by a buddha. This buddha was supposedly none other than Hui-neng, whose 'autobiography,' like that of the Śākya Muni in some sutras, introduced the author of the sermon and its occasion. Therefore, this was an audacious claim by the Ch'an inventors of this text, and it did produce a reaction, as when a Liao emperor, who ordered two monks to re-define the Tripitaka, had the *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan* burnt in order to remove delusion, probably

sometime after 983.²⁸⁴ Yet its message was too appealing for it to be eliminated completely, and so it survived elsewhere and was modified instead. Therefore, it continued on in an altered form, whereas the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* almost disappeared but for one manuscript held in far-off Japan. The *Platform Sutra* became the prime hagiography of Hui-neng, which survived because it was not attached to one place and was linked to a fairly sophisticated sermon.

A great deal of ink has been spilt on the subject of the origins, layers of texts and amendments to the *Platform Sutra*, so much so another book would be needed to treat them. Yet, the evidence is fairly meagre.

1. *Early copies and their relationships*

There are four manuscript copies of the *Platform Sutra* from the T'ang Dynasty. The earliest copy is the Tun-huang Museum text, which was in an Indian-style book of the *pothi* shape with 'butterfly binding.' The book of 93 pages contained the following texts in order: the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, the *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü*, the *Nan-tsung ting hsieh-cheng wu-keng ch'uan*, all by Shen-hui and his disciples; the *Nan-tsung tun-chiao tsui-shang Ta-sheng t'an-ching* or *Platform Sutra*; and the *Chu Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin ching*, the commentary on the *Heart Sutra* by Ching-chüeh. Interestingly, the postface by Kuang-fan at the end of the *Chu Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin ching* mentions that he had located this profound text and had it published in a woodblock form at Hua-jui. Hua-jui was the Hua-t'ai where Shen-hui had launched his campaign against 'Northern Ch'an' in 732. This suggests that Kuang-fan may have been from the Lo-yang region, and that parts of the 93-page book had been copied from Kuang-fan's woodblock prints. The Ching-chüeh commentary was probably combined at Tun-huang with the Shen-hui corpus and the *Platform Sutra*, for at the end of the eighth century in Tun-huang, Mo-ho-yen (d.u.), a pupil of Shen-hui, tried to harmonise 'Northern Ch'an,' of which Ching-chüeh was a member, with the Southern Ch'an of Shen-hui and the *Platform Sutra*. Also, in the early period of the Chang clan administration of the Kuei-i Army in Tun-huang (ca. 848-ca. 914), there were moves to unite Southern and 'Northern Ch'an.'

²⁸⁴ Chikusa Masaaki (2000), *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, Kyūko shoin: Tokyo, 102.

A second manuscript from Tun-huang, a scroll with the *Platform Sutra* written on the reverse of an 'apocryphal sutra,' the *Wu-liang-shou tsung-yao ching* copied by Chang Liang-yu, is kept in the Peking Library. It is incomplete, with both ends of the *Platform Sutra* broken off, and it is possible the copyist was confused or was transcribing from a faulty copy. Only about a third of the *Platform Sutra* remains. It was probably copied a little later than the Tun-huang Museum text.

A third manuscript from Tun-huang was taken by the Ōtani expedition led by Ōtani Kōzui. It ended up in the Lu-shun Museum, and was in a pothī shaped butterfly-bound book of 45 sheets folded into 90 pages, and dated 959. Unfortunately, it is now lost, and only the first and last pages exist in photographs held in Ryukoku University Library. There was appended another sutra, the *Ta-pien hsieh-cheng ching*, only known in copies from Tun-huang, plus another brief text on meditation.

The last copy from Tun-huang is the well-known Stein manuscript, S 5475, a 52-page booklet with six blank pages. It was the basis of Philip Yampolsky's English translation, and has been reproduced a number of times.

All of these copies can be estimated to have been about the same length, around 12,000 characters, and to be closely related. This contrasts with the conjectured Hui-hsin text of the *Platform Sutra* of 967, which had an estimated 14,000 characters, and the postulated Ch'i-sung text of 1056 and Tsung-pao (1291) or Te-i (1290) versions, which have approximately 20,000 characters.

Textual and phonological evidence suggest that the Stein and Lu-shun Museum texts are later, probably dating from the Ts'ao clan administration of the Kuei-i Army at Tun-huang. The Ts'ao struggled with the Chang for control from 914, and they fell to the Tangut Hsi-hsia state soon after Ts'ao Yen-lu was assassinated in 1002.

As another scroll from Tun-huang, Pelliot 2045, contains the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, the *Nan-tsung Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing Tan-yü* and the *Nan-tsung ting hsieh-cheng wu-keng ch'uan* in the same order as the Tun-huang Museum book, and dates from the Tibetan administration time (781-848, or in another theory, 763-857), it seems that books of related Ch'an texts were created during that era, possibly for private libraries.²⁸⁵ Moreover, as we

²⁸⁵ John Jorgensen (2003), 'The *Platform Sutra* and the Corpus of Shen-hui: Recent

have seen, Chang Yen-shang (726-787), the commander of the nearby Pei-t'ing region, ordered a copy of Shen-hui's work around 785. This also indicates the elite there had an interest in Ch'an, and they had books of Ch'an texts compiled. As the cult of Hui-neng grew, with celebrations of his birthday being fêted from at least 832 onwards,²⁸⁶ monasteries began to make cheaper copies, and the texts were altered to allow easier comprehension in the local Ho-hsi dialect, which is evident in the Stein copy especially.²⁸⁷

However, these four manuscripts came only from the remote northwest of China at Tun-huang, and seem to have had some connections with a lineage from Shen-hui. There is conjecture that other versions of the *Platform Sutra* existed in the T'ang period. For example, in a catalogue of works he brought from China in 847, Ennin listed a *Ts'ao-ch'i shan Ti-liu tsu Hui-neng Ta-shih shuo chien-hsing tun-chiao chi-hao ch'eng-fu chüeh-ting wu-i Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* in one fascicle, translated by the śramaṇa Ju-fa.²⁸⁸ In 1207, Pojo Chinul's pupil Tammuk gained a copy of a *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* and was about to publish it. Tammuk asked Chinul (d. 1210) to write the postface. In 1256, An'gi mentioned a book of a similar title to that listed by Ennin, but with *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* at the start and not the end. Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744), who had considerable knowledge about Korea,²⁸⁹ stated that the *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* was an old print sent to 'Koryō' in 826. This apparently had the same title as in Ennin's catalogue, but with the words 'sha-men Fa-hai chi' or compiled by the śramaṇa Fa-hai at the end, instead of the curious 'translated by the śramaṇa Ju-fa.' In Chinul's postface, he wrote saying how delighted he was that Tammuk was going to publish it, but then noted:

But I have a doubt about a passage in (the *Platform Sutra*). National Teacher Nan-yang Hui-chung said to a Ch'an visitor, "For me here the body and mind are one Thusness, for there is nothing besides the mind. Therefore the entirety does not rise or cease. For (you) southerners, the body is non-eternal, but the soul-nature is eternal. Therefore, half rises

critical text editions and studies,' 399-404; and Teng and Jung (1998), 20-30; Li Shen and Fang Kuang-ch'ang, eds (1999), *Tun-huang T'an-ching ho-chiao chien-chu*, 15-17.

²⁸⁶ Paul Magnin (1987), 'Pratique religieuse et manuscrits datés,' 139; though the evidence for this is unclear.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Teng and Jung (1998), 'Foreword,' 23-26.

²⁸⁸ T55.1083b7-8.

²⁸⁹ See John Jorgensen (2004), 'Zen scholarship: Mujaku Dōchū and his contemporaries,' *Zen bunka kenkyūsho kiyō*, 27: 38-39.

and half ceases, and half does not rise or cease." He also said, "I recently travelled around and often saw this tendency, which has of late flourished even more." He took that 他 *Platform Sutra* and said, "This import of the lineage of the South has added and mixed in vulgar/frontier (*pi* 鄙) talk and removed the saintly intent, confusing later followers."

Now the text you (Tammuk) have obtained is truly the original, proper text, and not this corrupted record (*chi*). Therefore it is exempt from the National Teacher's criticism. But if one examines the original text carefully, it also has the sense of the body rising and ceasing, and the mind not rising and ceasing, such as where it says, "The thought (*nien*) that is of itself generated by the True Thusness nature, is not that which can be thought of (*nien*) by the eye, ear, nose and tongue," which is exactly what the National Teacher criticised.²⁹⁰

Chinul is thus declaring that the text Tammuk possessed was not that criticised by Hui-chung, but that there were elements in it that Hui-chung could criticise, and Chinul then proceeds to show how misunderstandings of the passages could be overcome.

The thought (*nien*) that is of itself generated by the True Thusness nature, is not that which can be thought of by the eye, ear, nose and tongue,

does not exist in the Tun-huang manuscripts, but does appear in editions of the Hui-hsin (967), the Daijōji manuscript, allegedly transmitted by Dōgen, and the Kōshōji woodblock, and in the Te-i version. It is also possible Chinul saw the Ch'i-sung version of 1056.²⁹¹

Thus, it is possible that Chinul saw a later version of the *Platform Sutra*, and not the text Ennin possessed. Moreover, Ennin's copy was in one fascicle, that of Hui-hsin in two fascicles and eleven sections. But the text Tammuk brought was in one fascicle, while the Ch'i-sung version was probably in three fascicles,²⁹² and the structures of the Tun-huang and Hui-hsin versions are closer to each other than to the Ch'i-sung and later versions. Yet this evidence suggests that at least two versions of the *Platform Sutra* circulated in the T'ang period.

In the Tun-huang version, the crucial point is who is to succeed

²⁹⁰ *Yukjo pōpbo tan'gyōng pal*, HPC 4.739b. This is a rearrangement and slight paraphrase of the passage in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, in sequence, T51.438c5-7, minor change, and T51.438a1-3, leaving out several words.

²⁹¹ For this see Jorgensen (2003), 416-419, and In'gyōng (2000), *Mongsan Tōg'i wa Koryō hugi Sōn sasang yōn'gu*, Pur'il ch'ulpansa: Songgwang Sa and Seoul, 299-311. Cf. opinion of Morten Schlütter (1989), 'A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sutra*,' *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions* 2: 74, 93, 96 figure 9.

²⁹² EK, 400.

Hung-jen as the next patriarch, Hui-neng or Shen-hsiu. Hui-hsin's version emphasised Hung-jen's secret concern for Hui-neng, and in the sermon, has much interest in 'self-nature' and 'the production of the self-nature.' On the other hand, the Tun-huang version emphasised 'seeing the nature' and not 'the function rising from the nature.' The Tun-huang version and that of Hui-hsin differ as to the content and function of the nature. The Tun-huang says the *trikāya* (three bodies of Buddha) exist in the nature, but for Hui-hsin they are instead born from the nature. In the Tun-huang text, this innateness is used as a contrast to Shen-hsiu's ideas about making an effort to achieve enlightenment. With Hui-hsin, the idea is that the *trikāya* can function in daily life, something reflecting an influence. In'gyōng claims, from Hung-chou Ch'an of letting the self-nature function rather than discovering it. This *hsing-ch'i* (nature-arising) thought is a core idea of the *Hua-yen ching* (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*) and in Hui-hsin's analysis, the 'True Thusness nature' equals the *tathāgatagarbha* and the nature, and all are a function of the production of the nature. The *hsing-ch'i* function also appears in the Tun-huang version as a way to overcome a perceived duality in things, but Hui-hsin has more detail and concrete examples. There are also elements of dualistic thought in the Hui-hsin version, such as, "if a thought of the True Thusness rises, that is not (due to) the senses." Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774) criticised this, something Chinul also noted. The Tun-huang and Hui-hsin share the Dharma-robe as the proof of succession, along with the *Platform Sutra* itself, but later versions altered this.²⁹³

Therefore, although the Tun-huang version and the Hui-hsin version are the closest of all the versions, they do display a number of differences. The *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* mentioned by Ennin in 847 and said by Dōchū to have gone to Koryō in 826 was possibly an earlier version of the Hui-hsin stemmata, and was possibly linked to Fa-hai, for his close friend Chiao-jan subscribed to a form of *hsing-ch'i* doctrine. Ennin obtained his copy of the *Platform Sutra* and several other works of the Ch'an tradition, including one from the Shen-hui faction, the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* compiled by Liu Ch'eng, in Ch'ang-an.²⁹⁴ He obtained the *Pao-lin chuan* while in Yang-chou.²⁹⁵ While doctrinally the Hui-hsin version seems to display some of the characteristics of Ma-

²⁹³ Jorgensen (2003): 412-414; In'gyōng (2000), 116-122, 136.

²⁹⁴ T55.1078c-1084c.

²⁹⁵ T55.1086c20.

tsu's Hung-chou Ch'an, geographically and contextually the evidence from Ennin suggests that the text he gained in Ch'ang-an was closer to the Tun-huang version and that of the Shen-hui lineage.

There are other problems. Hui-hsin wrote that the 'old text' he based his edition on 'was in a prolix style' (*wen-fan*), although Chou Shao-liang suggests that Hui-hsin meant that the style was vexatious. Li Shen, on the contrary, thinks this most unlikely, and that Hui-hsin abridged the text. But Hui-hsin's text is longer than the Tun-huang version, so either the term *wen-fan* means 'the text was vexatious' or confusing, or there was an earlier, longer version than the Tun-huang manuscripts.²⁹⁶ Shih-wen thinks that a copy of the *Platform Sutra* was kept at Ts'ao-ch'i, and was the basis of the longer versions, and this is what Hui-hsin and Ch'i-sung called 'the old text of Ts'ao-ch'i.' He believes that the Tun-huang text was a shortened version, and that Nan-yang Hui-chung and Wei Ch'u-hou attacked this altered, shorter, Tun-huang version.²⁹⁷

However, it is likely that Hui-hsin meant by *wen-fan* that the text was troublesome or difficult to read. Lang Chien, who wrote a preface to the 1056 Ch'i-sung version, stated that the *Platform Sutra*'s "characters were vulgarised (*pi-h*), and made numerous and vexatious (*fan-tsa*)."²⁹⁸ This may reflect the changes made in the later Tun-huang copies like the Stein manuscript, which has changed characters to suit the Ho-hsi dialect, and not that of Ch'ang-an or the South. If this was the case, Hui-hsin may have not shortened the text, but replaced the problematic characters, while adding some material of his own to the text.

Yet Ennin's evidence, and that of Dōchū, proves that a *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching*, a version with a title different to that of the Tun-huang manuscripts, was in circulation before any of the extant Tun-huang manuscripts were copied. The title is unusual, reflecting possibly the hagiographical section (*fa-pao chi*), as in the earlier hagiographical collections like the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. To this was added the 'platform sutra,' or sermon section. Moreover, the title differs from the Tun-huang version in that it stressed 'seeing the nature' and 'becoming Buddha' rather than the 'Mahāprajñāpāramitā' and 'Supreme Vehicle.' Thus,

²⁹⁶ Li and Fang (1999), 13 note 1.

²⁹⁷ Shih-wen (1982), "'Tun-huang hsieh-pen t'an-ching" shih tsui-ch'u ti "Tan-ching" ma,' reprinted in Li and Fang (1999), 100-108.

²⁹⁸ Chou Shao-liang, in Teng and Jung (1998), 22; EK, 523.

three versions of the *Platform Sutra* at least circulated during the T'ang Dynasty, one found in Ch'ang-an, another in Tun-huang, and yet another in the South or Ts'ao-ch'i.

2. The 'corrupted' Platform Sutra: two theories

Other than the above evidence, there are only two obscure and contested references to a 'platform sutra'; one in the sayings of Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774), in a comment found only in the 1004 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* version of them; the other in a stele by Wei Ch'u-hou (773-828) for Ta-i (746-818), a disciple of Ma-tsu Tao-i, which hints that the followers of Shen-hui changed the sutra for the worse.²⁹⁹ The latter may perhaps reflect Ta-i's troubles at the capital after the failure of the 805 plans of the Wang Shu-wen clique. It has also been suggested that the attack on some southerners for bowdlerising the *Platform Sutra* allegedly made by Hui-chung was in fact posthumously attributed to him in response to Wei Ch'u-hou's aspersions in the stele he wrote, and so reflected internal divisions among Ma-tsu's followers. The faction not associated with Ta-i were supposedly unhappy with the genealogy asserted in the *Pao-lin chuan*, and so attacked the faction associated with that text. The *Pao-lin chuan* claimed a list of patriarchs slightly different to that carried in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, and perhaps it was this latter genealogy that Ta-i criticised. Moreover, Chang-ching Huai-hui and Hsing-shen Wei-k'uan did not support the *Pao-lin chuan*'s lineage claims. One possible target for the attack by Ta-i, or at least his obituary author, may have been Chen-shu (d. 820). Chen-shu appears to have studied under Ch'eng-kuang (717-798), who was a member of the Shen-hui lineage, and under Ma-tsu, whose pupil he is generally held to have been. Some of the sayings attributed to him suggest that Chen-shu was also the butt of the denunciation allegedly made by Hui-chung. If so, the attack was probably put into the mouth of Hui-chung by later residents of Yang-shan in Yüan-chou, Kiangsi, which was close to Chen-shu's monastic mountain, Mt Yang-chi, also in Yüan-chou. Such a resident may have been Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883), who saw himself as the true but

²⁹⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 97-98, indicates some of the problems that exist in interpreting both sets of comments. See *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a and Wei Ch'u-hou, *Hsing-fu Ssu Nei-chang Kung-feng Ta-te Ta-i Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 715/3301a9.

distant heir of Hui-neng, and who was a native of Shao-chou and supporter of Hui-neng's image as projected in the *Pao-lin chuan*.³⁰⁰

Nan-yang Hui-chung also plays a key role in a theory advanced by Yanagida Seizan. Both Hui-chung and Shen-hui were residents of monasteries in Nan-yang and used that as their toponym. Both were granted the title of National Teacher. Both claimed to be pupils of Hui-neng, but Hui-chung is not listed as such in the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra*, unlike Shen-hui. After having lived on Mt Pai-ya for forty years, where he studied the Tripitaka, Hui-chung, like Shen-hui, gained the patronage of Wang Chü (ca. 690s -ca. 746), a very powerful man who was the personal friend of Emperor Hsüan-tsung and helped prevent the coup planned and directed by Princess T'ai-p'ing.³⁰¹ This patronage brought Hui-chung to live at Lung-hsing Monastery in Nan-yang during the K'ai-yüan era (713-742). Shen-hui lived there, also with the patronage of Wang Chü, after 720. It appears that once Shen-hui departed for Lo-yang and Hua-t'ai, Hui-chung inherited Shen-hui's erstwhile patrons and quietly pursued his studies. After Shen-hui died in 758, Emperor Su-tsung ordered Hui-chung come to live in Ch'ang-an in 762, possibly to replace Shen-hui.

A funerary stele was erected in 765 giving Shen-hui the title of National Teacher and Seventh Patriarch of Ch'an. Hui-chung died in January 774. There was a distinct rivalry between these two monks who were so closely associated, and it seems Hui-chung tried to gain the ascendancy. He considered Shen-hui a Judas for claiming a monopoly on the orthodox lineage from Hui-neng (if there was such a thing), and so in 773 he memorialised Emperor Tai-tsung requesting a determination on this Southern Lineage (*nan-tsung*) and who was to be

³⁰⁰ Theory summarised from Ishii Shūdō (1988a), 'Nanyō Echū no nampō shūshi no hihan ni tsuite,' in *Kamata Shigeo Hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū: Chūgoku Bukkyō to bunka*, Daizō shuppansha: Tokyo, 315-344, esp. 333-336. For some of Hui-chung's criticisms from a slightly different perspective, see Jorgensen (1990), where the criticisms are accepted as Hui-chung's own, and the 'platform sutra' is thought to have been created by a group associated with Ma-tsu. For Yang-shan Hui-chi and Hui-neng, see Ishii Shūdō (1984), 'Kyōzan Eijaku to Rokuso dankyō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 36 (2): 748-755. Hui-chi lived on Yang-shan, 130 kms from Yang-chi shan, where Chen-shu lived. Hui-chung's pupil, T'an-yüan Chen-ying lived on a nearby mountain, and Hui-chi learned Hui-chung's teachings. See Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), *Tō-Godai no Zenshū: Konan Kōsei hen*, 128-131, 164-166.

³⁰¹ Wang's biography is in CTS 10/106/3448-3451; CTW 280/1273c, compilers' notes.

its seventh patriarch. But a pupil of Shen-hui, Hui-chien (719-792), whose patron was Li Chü, the Successor Prince of Kuo (ssu Kuo-wang, d. 759), who had buried Shen-hui, built a commemorative hall containing the images of the seven patriarchs, probably with Shen-hui as the seventh, at imperial expense.

Therefore, Yanagida argues that the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* text, which contains Hui-chung's criticisms of a butchered 'platform sutra,' was likely directed against Shen-hui, and that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* dropped that section from its entry because Hui-chung's criticism no longer had relevance. He thinks that the criticism was unconcerned with doctrinal issues, and was rather directed at Shen-hui's mass mobilisation campaign, which, being superficial to suit the laity, was destroying Buddhism from within because the teachings closely resembled heresies and the lay followers were unable to discriminate the orthodox from the heretical.³⁰²

3. *Comparisons of Platform Sutra with Shen-hui corpus and the issue of the Diamond Sutra*

If Shen-hui, or one of his disciples, influenced the composition of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, it should be obvious from a comparison of the *Platform Sutra* with the works of Shen-hui. Comparisons with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the slightly later *Pao-lin chuan* could shed further light. Yet even the evolutionary stages of Shen-hui's corpus have been contested and argued over. Some scholars assume that the toponyms, Nan-yang and Ho-tse, indicate the time Shen-hui preached the material. It is assumed that there were no interpolations or cross-contamination from other materials, or even mistaken transposals of the toponyms etcetera. But other scholars contest the sequences based on toponyms because they think that there were interpolations made by Shen-hui's disciples. However, even then, it is unclear what was interpolated, when, and by whom. Moreover, as Tu-ku P'ei admitted, there were several versions of the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, which may well have differentially influenced the later texts. We only have Tu-ku P'ei's version, so it is difficult to determine that the alleged interpolations into these allegedly later texts were from ideas Shen-hui had late in his career or were made by his pupils. Another

³⁰² Yanagida Seizan (1989), 'Kataku Jinne to Nanyō Echū,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38 (1): 247-254.

approach then is to examine Shen-hui's work for evidence of changes in his posture towards 'Northern Ch'an' and to identify which sutras he quoted.³⁰³

For example, Suzuki Tetsuo argues that the *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao T'an-yü* is a coherent, unified work written after 720 that did not attack 'Northern Ch'an' and primarily quotes the *Nirvāṇa* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* sutras. The *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, compiled after 732, used the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* as a counter to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, and attacked 'Northern Ch'an' on doctrinal and lineage grounds. This was probably a response to the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*. The *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* contains dialogues with some interlocutors identified as belonging to the T'ien-pao era (742-756), and continues the attacks in various forms. The *Tun-wu wu-sheng po-jo sung* was probably a later development because in it there is an attempt to reconcile the *Nirvāṇa* and *Vajracchedikā* sūtras.³⁰⁴

However, Ogawa Takashi and Takeuchi Kōdō have asserted that some of Shen-hui's pupils added passages lauding the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* to the *Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, the Ishii text of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i* (or *Shen-hui yü-lu*) and into the hagiographies appended to the Ishii text,³⁰⁵ wherein each of the six patriarchs in the hagiographies are said to have attained the insight of the Tathāgatas based on the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* and transmitted Bodhidharma's robe.³⁰⁶ Moreover, Takeuchi considered that the latter half of the *Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* containing the references to the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* was originally separate and called the *Tun-wu tsui-shang-sheng lun*.³⁰⁷ Again, to further complicate matters, Takeuchi has hypothesised that the *Chin-kang ching chieh-i* (Explanation of the Meaning of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*) attributed to Hui-neng, was written before 822 because it lacks sixty-two characters that were added to Kumārajīva's translation of

³⁰³ Teng and Jung (1998), 29; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 114, 192-200 passim. For Tu-ku P'ei's mention of the different textual versions of the debate, see Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 17; Hu (1968), 260; Teng and Jung (1998), 5. For more details, see Jorgensen (2003), 426-427.

³⁰⁴ Suzuki Tetsuo (1980), 'Nanshū tōshi no shuchō,' 80-82.

³⁰⁵ Ogawa Takashi (1990), 'Rokuso dankyō no seiritsu katei ni tsuite,' *Fo-kuang Shan kuo-chi Ch'an-hsüeh hui-i shih-lu*, Fo Kuang ch'u-pan she: Kao-hsiung, 132-144.

³⁰⁶ Takeuchi Kōdō (1990), 'Jinne to Rokuso dankyō,' *Fo-kuang Shan kuo-chi Ch'an-hsüeh hui-i shih-lu*, Fo Kuang ch'u-pan she: Kao-hsiung, 236-243.

³⁰⁷ Takeuchi Kōdō (1983), 'Shoki Zenshū to Kongōhannyakyō,' *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō* 15: 132-143.

the sutra in that year. Based on comparisons of this commentary with the *Platform Sutra* and the Ishii text, he concluded that the *Chin-kang ching chieh-i* was produced by the lineage of Nan-yang Hui-chung.³⁰⁸ Takeuchi later proposed that it dates from just before the time of Shen-hui's death.³⁰⁹ From the above data, Takeuchi reasoned that there was a close relationship between the latter half of the *Platform Sutra*, which advocated the use of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* and the Ishii redaction of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*.³¹⁰ Ogawa Takashi argued on the basis of *prajñāpāramitā* and the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* material in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* that there was an older layer influenced by Shen-hui and a later layer influenced by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. The first section is divided into the *mahā prajñāpāramitā* element and a platform element on formless precepts (20-23), then a part on the promotion of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* (26-28).³¹¹

Kim Yongdu states that comparison of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* with Shen-hui's *Nan-yang Ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing T'an-yü* and the *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* shows they are related, and that the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* was not interpolated and was important to both Shen-hui and the *Platform Sutra*.³¹²

All of these contending positions show no clear basis for deciding which is correct. The arguments about contamination and interpolation do not seem to be able to resolve the issue of what was interpolated, by whom, or even when. Therefore they do not provide a sequence for Shen-hui's corpus and hence for identification of the sources and provenance of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*. Given the intractable nature of the evidence, it is preferable to examine the context and content of Shen-hui's work.

For instance, Yang Tseng-wen thinks that Hui-neng's *Platform Sutra* made use of the *Vajracchedikā* name and ideas, something also found in the works of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. Yang considers that Shen-hui developed this use much further because of its increased

³⁰⁸ Takeuchi Kōdō (1982), 'Enō-sen *Kongōkyō kaigi ni tsuite*,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 31 (1): 144-145.

³⁰⁹ Takeuchi (1990).

³¹⁰ Takeuchi (1990).

³¹¹ Ogawa Takashi (1987, March), 'Tonkōbon *Rokuso dankyō ni okeru hannya ni tsuite*,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 35 (2): 641-643.

³¹² Kim Yongdu (1989), 'Yukjo *Tan'gyōng kwa Kūmganggyōng yōn'gu*,' in Kim Ch'i'gyōn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 299-316. For a longer summary of the arguments of these scholars, see Jorgensen (2003), 427-428.

popularity due to imperial sponsorship of the *Vajracchedikā* from 732, and that Shen-hui hoped to gain court approval thereby.³¹³ Indeed, the *Vajracchedikā* was most popular in the T'ang, with at least several thousand copies or fragments found in the Tun-huang collections. Besides the most popular translation made by Kumārajīva of 402, there had been a series of translations, the most recent before Shen-hui's polemic being the translation by I-ching made in 703. In addition, there were a series of commentaries by famous Indian Mahayana scholars, such as Asanga and Vasubandhu. The most recent translations were by I-ching in 711, although the work favoured by scholars was one by Vasubandhu allegedly translated by Bodhiruci in 509 (actually translated by Paramārtha and retranslated by I-ching). Furthermore, a Sung Dynasty source stated that there were over eight hundred Chinese commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā* by the T'ang, and over eighty commentaries were found at Tun-huang. Most of the main founders of T'ang scholastically oriented 'schools' produced commentaries on it, the majority with a Vijñānavāda tendency in interpretation. Popularly, the *Vajracchedikā* was recited and kept as a text that could produce miracles if one were sufficiently devoted to it. Liturgies and rituals were produced for it, and one of the most popular was that bearing the name of Fu Ta-shih (497-569), who was later adopted into Ch'an. In 735, Emperor Hsüan-tsung wrote a commentary for it, and 736 Tao-yin, a Fa-hsiang scholar added his commentary.³¹⁴

Given the number of translations, plus the similarities with passages of other prajñāpāramitā sutras, it is no wonder that Shen-hui sometimes was loose in his quotations, but at times he seems to have deliberately altered the texts slightly but significantly to suit his own purpose. Moreover, he increasingly placed emphasis on the *Vajracchedikā* above all other texts.³¹⁵ Of course, Shen-hui was well aware, if we accept that these are not interpolations, of the commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā*. For example, in the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, he replied to a question by Dharma Master Ch'ien-kuang about the

³¹³ Yang Tseng-wen (1993), 274-275.

³¹⁴ Summarised from Hirai Yūkei (1984), 'Kongohannya-kyō,' in Makita Tairyō and Fukui Fumimasa, eds, *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō*, Tonkō Kōza 7, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 17-30. For the problem with the so-called Bodhiruci translation, see Fang Kuang-ch'ang (1995), 'Tun-huang wen-hsien chung ti *Chin-kang ching* chi ch'i chu-shu,' *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 1: 73-80.

³¹⁵ Awaya Ryōdō (1987), 'Kataku Jinne ni okeru *Kongohannya kyō* sen'yō no haikai,' *Shūkyō kenkyū* 3: 1-23, esp. 8.

meaning of a gatha in the *Vajracchedikā* by mentioning the various interpretations, and concluded by citing Asanga and refuting those who misinterpret him.³¹⁶ This is in reference to that critical passage in the *Vajracchedikā* that allows identification of the reciter with the Buddha or Dharmakāya.³¹⁷ This no doubt permitted Shen-hui to adopt the hubris of the identification he made of himself with the Tathāgata at the assembly at Hua-t'ai.³¹⁸ Such an identification surely attracted attacks from Shen-hui's opponents, and so even in the opening to the debate at Hua-t'ai, according to Tu-ku P'ei's preface, Dharma Master Ch'ung-yüan challenged Shen-hui over his dislike of an official attending by using the *Vajracchedikā* line, "The Thus Come preached that an ornament is not an ornament." This develops into a debate over whether laymen can attain the Way, the legitimacy of certain sutras and of the "ornamented site of the Way (*tao-chang*)" that Shen-hui was setting up for his assembly, and into a challenge between the two monks. When Ch'ung-yüan is defeated, Ch'ien-kuang is inspired to challenge Shen-hui.³¹⁹

Shen-hui seems to have been responding to rival interpretations of the *Vajracchedikā*. For example, he used the story of Bodhidharma dismissing Emperor Wu of Liang's 'material Buddhism' of statuary and monastery building to attack 'Northern Ch'an' and the Buddhism of Empress Wu. He cited the *Vajracchedikā* as a justification for this, and was probably riding on the coattails of a Confucian offensive against expensive funerals and transference of merit to the deceased, and against Empress Wu's Buddhism. Shen-hui may have been inspired in this by the commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* by Hsieh Ling-yün, which could represent a 'Southern' perspective as against the 'Northern' perspectives of the Fa-hsiang and other scholars.³²⁰ That the state had sanctioned what seems to have been a rival, Fa-hsiang commentary

³¹⁶ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 76-77; Hu (1968), 126; Gernet (1977), 47, cites some of the sources.

³¹⁷ Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 344-345.

³¹⁸ *P'u-t'i Ta-mo Nan-tung ting shih-fei lun*, Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 40; Hu (1968), 310; Teng and Jung (1998), 93. Discussed also in the 'Worship of the Mummy' section of Chapter 3.

³¹⁹ Yang (1996), 19-20; Gernet (1977), 87-89; Teng and Jung (1998), 14-21; Hu (1968), 264-268.

³²⁰ The anti-materialist use of the *Vajracchedikā* is discussed in the first part of Chapter 4, and the differing commentaries of North and South in the early part of Chapter 6.

can be seen in the events surrounding the commissioning of Tao-yin's commentary. Tao-yin had been introduced to Emperor Hsüan-tsung by I-hsing, an alleged pupil of P'u-chi.³²¹ At I-hsing's funeral in 727, Chang Yüeh, the elder statesman and patron of Shen-hsiu and 'Northern Ch'an,' grasped Tao-yin's hand and encouraged him to write the commentary and to counter Taoist influence on the emperor.³²² Thus this commentary may have been considered by Shen-hui as tainted with 'Northern Ch'an,' and although it was published after Shen-hui's initial onslaught against 'Northern Ch'an,' Shen-hui may have been responding to similar interpretations of the *Vajracchedikā*, such as the *Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang po-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh* of 712 by Hou-mou Ch'en Yen (660-714), a pupil first of Lao-an and then Shen-hsiu, who gave him the Dharma name Chih-ta. A layman, he taught sudden enlightenment and possibly a transmission through twenty-four saints from Buddha to Bodhidharma, and another eight from Bodhidharma to Shen-hsiu or himself.³²³ This would have made Shen-hui very attentive to the interpretation of the *Vajracchedikā*.

Shen-hui's use of the *Vajracchedikā* shows he was also aware of the 'popular' conceptions of the magical properties of the sutra. In response to a question from Ch'ien-kuang, he states that a reader or reciter of the *Vajracchedikā* can remove all previous evil karma and gain supreme insight (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).³²⁴ He mentions its magic properties as a great dharani and mantra, and that by faithfully accepting it one will have limitless merit. He called it the mother of all sutras and the "patriarchal teacher of all the dharmas." Only by reciting it could one directly enter into the *i-hsing san-mei* (samadhi) etcetera.³²⁵

Thus the *Vajracchedikā* was integral to Shen-hui's thought and was a response to his environment, and so is unlikely to have been interpolated. Some of his ideas based on the *Vajracchedikā* also appear in the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra*. In the 'autobiographical' section of the *Platform Sutra*, Hui-neng says he was awakened by hearing the *Vajracchedikā* being recited. When he asked the person reciting about it, that man

³²¹ Weinstein (1987), *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 167 note 18; ZSS, 126, note 12.

³²² SKSC T50.734c22-735a2.

³²³ Bernard Faure (1986a), 'Le maître de dhyāna Chih-ta et le "subitisme" de l'école du Nord,' 123-132; Tanaka Ryōshō (Dec. 1998), 'Jinme tōmei to Kōbo Chin sutōmei no shutsugen to sono igi,' 221-236.

³²⁴ Yang (1996), 78; Hu (1968), 127-128; Gernet (1977), 49.

³²⁵ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 35-36; Hu (1968), 297-301; Teng and Jung (1998), 66-73; Gernet (1977), 99-103.

told him that Hung-jen had said if they only recited the single volume of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, "they could see their own natures and with direct apprehension become Buddha."³²⁶ The hagiographies of the patriarchs in the Ishii text all state that the patriarchs transmitted the *Vajracchedikā* and received and recited it, gaining enlightenment thereby because it "is the knowledge and views of the Thus Come."³²⁷ As Shen-hui said to Ch'ung-yüan, the practise of prajñāpāramitā is the basis of all practices, and "the *Vajra-prajñāpāramitā* is the most venerable, supreme, ultimate...and all the buddhas are produced from it." Therefore, if "you wish to gain the realisation and discernment of the deepest realm of the Dharma...you must first recite and remember the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*."³²⁸ The *Platform Sutra* also praises the *Vajracchedikā* as enabling one to enter samādhi directly and as having great merit for the person who uses it.³²⁹ Moreover, the scene in the *Platform Sutra* of the aftermath of Shen-hsiu writing his verse has Hung-jen dismiss the painter of illustrations of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* on the grounds that the *Vajracchedikā* asserts that all forms are unreal.³³⁰ This echoes Shen-hui's attack on 'material Buddhism' and the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*.

Finally, the *Platform Sutra* asserts several times that the sutras and Buddhist canon are all within the nature of human beings, and that Hui-neng had seen that (Buddha-)nature by hearing the *Vajracchedikā* just once.³³¹ Moreover, Hui-neng states that those who gain his teaching "will always see that my Dharmabody is not apart from where they are" and that if "they are able to encounter the *Platform Sutra*, it will be as if they received the teaching personally from me."³³² This would seem to be based on the *Vajracchedikā* line about the reciter of the text, even a stanza, being assimilated with the Buddha, and Shen-hui's take on it: "The sutra is in humans, so humans are valued. Why?

³²⁶ Yampolsky (1967), 127, translation slightly modified.

³²⁷ Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 105, on Hui-k'o in particular; 110, on Hui-neng, but it does not allude to the incident about Hui-neng hearing the sutra in his youth. This may accord more with a latter passage in the *Platform Sutra*, for which see Yampolsky (1967), 151.

³²⁸ Yang (1996), 34-35; Teng and Jung (1998), 66; Gernet (1977), 99-100.

³²⁹ Yampolsky (1967), 149.

³³⁰ Yampolsky (1967), 130.

³³¹ Yampolsky (1967), 150-152.

³³² Yampolsky (1967), 153, 173.

Because the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is to perfect the rarest of dharmas.³³³

Therefore, although it is not possible to definitely produce a sequence in Shen-hui's corpus, it is most unlikely that the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* was interpolated into his works. Rather, it was a core foundation for his practice, and it therefore came to influence some elements of the creation of the *Platform Sutra*, at least in its Tun-huang and later versions.

4. Other theories

Given such a plethora of theories, it is necessary to turn to another basis of analysis. If Nan-yang Hui-chung's assertions are genuine, and escaped the editorial desire to exclude materials damaging to the 'Ch'an cause,' then a *Platform Sutra* produced by someone in the South existed before Hui-chung's death in 774, and possibly after 762, when Hui-chung went to Ch'ang-an. It may have been produced in association with Chih-chih Monastery, which was famed for its precepts platform, and in cognisance of the *Shou-leng-yen ching*, which was linked to that monastery.³³⁴ This could account for Hui-chung's allegations of heresies in this 'platform sutra,' and it being of a southern provenance. Moreover, it is likely to have drawn upon the Wang Wei stele for Hui-neng if it incorporated any hagiographical material on him. Doctrinally, it was probably concerned with the formless precepts, possibly of Niu-t'ou or even Hua-yen origin.³³⁵

Following Hui-chung's criticisms, which did not specify Shen-hui or his lineage, a response was required, not only to Hui-chung's critiques, but also to the claims of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of 774 or thereabouts and to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781. As this 'response text' also influenced the *Pao-lin chuan*, it had to have been written between 781 and 795.³³⁶ The relic worship at Ts'ao-ch'i's Pao-lin Monastery was

³³³ *P'u-t'i ta-mo Nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*, Yang (1996), 36; Hu (1968), 301; Teng and Jung (1998), 75-77. The sutra line is also quoted in *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*, Yang (1996), 73.

³³⁴ Cf. ZSS, 233-234, in relation to this and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.

³³⁵ On Niu-t'ou etc, see ZSS, 253. On Hua-yen elements, see Kojima Taizan (1989), 'Rokuso dankyō to Kegonkyōgaku,' 467-492, esp. 470-473 and 491-492. I suspect this Hua-yen element is later than Kojima suggests, for Chiao-jan also taught the Hua-yen doctrine of *hsing-ch'i* which is at issue here, and was friends with Fa-hai, who is listed as the sutra's compiler.

³³⁶ Latter date is mine, although Tokiwa Daijō suggested the same year. Cf. ZSS,

already thriving by this time if we believe the evidence of Chien-chen of ca. 748, Tsang-yung in the Chen-chung era (780-784) and Ma-tsu's pupil Wu-yeh.³³⁷ Therefore, those monks outside of Ts'ao-ch'i claiming a lineage from Hui-neng had to counter claims of legitimation through the possession of Hui-neng's relics or the robe of Bodhidharma, by finding a substitute symbol, less physical and more portable, such as a text itself or verses. Moreover, as there appears to have been a shift away from Shen-hui's one patriarch per generation claims because lineages split and masters had more capable students, something that could be easily produced and proliferated was required. A robe and a mummy could only be shared via fragmentation, something undesirable on Chinese ethical grounds with respect to the body and which had limits with respect to the robe. The use of verses would appear best, for they are mentally portable and require no certification by listing the name of the disciple and the date they received the *Platform Sutra* in the 'family register.'³³⁸ Both strategies were attempted by the authors of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*.³³⁹ The verses or hymns were introduced in connection with the statement made by Hui-neng to Fa-hai that the transmission of the robe had ended and that over twenty years after Hui-neng's own death (713), a person would establish the correct lineage and end the confusion. This would indicate Shen-hui's Hua-t'ai campaign of 732. As the robe had been passed through the generations by the patriarchs, always accompanied by a verse of Dharma conferral, and as the robe was no longer to be used as the investiture of legitimacy, the verses alone should be chanted.³⁴⁰ Thus the robe and the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* of the late-career Shen-hui, were replaced by the transmission verses.³⁴¹ The verses would seem

254, and Ishii Shūdō (1990), 'Sōkei Daishiden to Rokuso dankyō'/'The Ts'ao-Chi Ta-Shih Chuan and the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch,' paper given at International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism at Fo Kuang Shan in 1989, Proceedings, 92-93, suggests the Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan was composed at once in 781, whereas the Tun-huang Platform Sutra was an evolving project.

³³⁷ ZSS, 229 note 3, citing SKSC, T50.803a, and Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, T51.257a, respectively.

³³⁸ Cf. ZSS, 258, where it is suggested that this only appeared in the second or third generation after Hui-neng, and could not have been Hui-neng's own specification.

³³⁹ Cf. ZSS, 263-265, where Yanagida argues that the verse transmission was added later, in another layer, and comments on the double-layered means of transmission as an attempt to distance itself from the claims of the Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan.

³⁴⁰ Ishii Shūdō (1980), 'Denpō ge,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, 283-284; cf. Yampolsky (1967), 176ff.

³⁴¹ ZSS, 263-264; Ishii (1980), 284.

to be a superfluous duplication, but they were developed out of the famous gatha contest between the senior Shen-hsiu and the postulant Hui-neng depicted within the *Platform Sutra*'s hagiography of Hui-neng. Curiously, Hui-neng has two verses here,³⁴² possibly indicating different textual layers and currents of thought.³⁴³ The verse contest is used for dramatic effect to highlight the doctrinal divisions of Northern and Southern Ch'an, which the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* had downplayed by having Shen-hsiu and Lao-an recommend Hui-neng to the emperor. The *Platform Sutra* then reflects an attempt to revive the supposed divisions, although Shen-hui had attacked P'u-chi and not Shen-hsiu, who was after all, his former teacher.³⁴⁴ However, the winning verse seems to reflect a discussion held in the Ishii version of the *Nan-yang Ho-shang wen-ta tsa-cheng-i*,³⁴⁵ and the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* also reflects two tendencies of the Southeast and the South, the rise of poet-monks and the popularity of precepts platforms.³⁴⁶

Such information led Yanagida to propose that the identity of the compiler, Fa-hai, indicated that the *Platform Sutra* had Niu-t'ou Ch'an origins, and that the attitude towards the formless precepts was closer to that of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, a Niu-t'ou text, than to Shen-hui's attitude, which was more like that of 'Northern Ch'an'.³⁴⁷ Yet the 'autobiography' of Hui-neng in the *Platform Sutra* was a development of Shen-hui's hagiography of Hui-neng as reflected in the Ishii text.³⁴⁸ Therefore, for analytical purposes, particularly as our main concern is with the hagiography, we need to separate the 'autobiographical' section from the sermon section, which has older, possibly pre-774 elements in it. However, the doctrinal themes in the sermon section may also provide some clues to the dating and authorship.

5. *Autobiographical Section of the Platform Sutra*

Separate biographies (*pieh-chuan*) of monks, even feigned ones, were very rare at this time, the few existing examples being those of Chih-i, Fa-lin and of Hsüan-tsang. Even then the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che*

³⁴² ZSS, 264; Ishii (1980), 285.

³⁴³ See Jorgensen (2003), 409-411, for a discussion of the problems of the verses.

³⁴⁴ ZSS, 261.

³⁴⁵ ZSS, 262.

³⁴⁶ ZSS, 255-256, 263.

³⁴⁷ ZSS, 256.

³⁴⁸ ZSS, 261.

Ta-shih pieh-chuan of 605 by Kuan-ting,³⁴⁹ which was used to portray Chih-i as a religious personality and the founder of a school, may originally have been called a *hsing-chuang* or 'account of conduct,' at least in the first draft. The author of the earliest extant commentary, T'an-chao, who wrote around 1119-1120, thought *pieh* meant the 'separate' as distinct from 'general,' in order to distinguish the first 'account of conduct' from the other biographies, such as those in the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan*, which T'an-chao labelled the 'general' biography. T'an-chao was probably incorrect, but the original title may well have been *T'ien-t'ai Chih-che (Ch'an-shih) hsing-chuang*.³⁵⁰ However, T'an-chao had a point, for *hsing-chuang* were funerary inscriptions that had commemorative purposes and were compiled for the family or group of private individuals who mourned and knew the subject or who were commissioned to write an account based on the testimony of the group. As such they were far more detailed than *lieh-chuan* or 'connected traditions,' of which the *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* is a Buddhist collection. Of course, they were didactic and eulogistic.³⁵¹ A *hsing-chuang* was prepared before a tomb inscription was made, and they were often used to be presented to the History Office and then the Court of Imperial Sacrifices when requests were made to the court for posthumous titles. Although this latter process of canonisation in the T'ang applied to officials of the third grade and above, it seems to have applied to eminent monks also, for volume 50 of the Taisho Tripitaka contains *hsing-chuang* of Hsüan-tsang, Śubhākarasimha (Shan-wu-wei), Amoghavjra (Pu-k'ung) and Hui-kuo. Nakamura Hiroichi thinks though that these texts would not meet the requirements for an official's account of conduct.³⁵² As *hsing-chuang* date back to the Han Dynasty, they were used in Kuan-ting's time. It is stated that Kuan-ting presented his draft to the emperor, and it may have been

³⁴⁹ Shinohara (1992), 108.

³⁵⁰ Yamauchi Shun'yū (1986), *Zen to Tendai shikan: 'Zazengi' to 'Tendai shoshikan' to no hikyō kenkyū*, Daizō shuppan: Tokyo, 500, 506-509, 512, 538-539; cf. Shinohara (1992), 104, 112.

³⁵¹ Twitchett (1962), 'Problems of Chinese Biography,' 25, 27-29; Shinohara (1988), 'Two sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories,' 124.

³⁵² Nakamura Hiroichi (1991a), *Tōdai kanbunsho kenkyū*, 350-372. Moreover, a *hsing-chuang* for Amoghavjra (705-774) by Chao Ch'ien, usually considered the earliest account, may date from after 961, having been written based on Fei-hsi's stele inscription of 774. See Iwamoto Hiroshi (1996, Dec), 'Fukū Sanzō gyōjō no seiritsu o megutte,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 45 (1): 92-94.

distributed on imperial orders to the various prefectures.³⁵³ Indeed, the *Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che Ta-shih pieh-chuan* concludes with the words needed to conclude a *hsing-chuang* presented to the court, *chin-chuang* 謹狀.³⁵⁴ As Kuan-ting had political motives to gain closer ties with the Sui court, this *hsing-chuang* contained political elements, and was used to link Chih-i's life to his doctrines.³⁵⁵ Indeed, it was possibly later amended to falsely state that the Sui emperor granted Chih-i a posthumous title.³⁵⁶ The text even claims that Emperor Yang ordered Chih-tsao to bring a copy of the account of conduct to the court.³⁵⁷

In contrast to biographies, there were virtually no precedents of monk autobiographies, with the possible exception of the Buddha, Hui-ssu (515-577) in a vow of ca. 559, and of Kuan-ting at the end of his *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching hsüan-i* of ca. 619.³⁵⁸ Chinese 'autobiography' was usually known as *tzu-hsü*, 'self-written introduction' accounts, which were in the form of an introduction to, and explanation of, the attached work. These were not 'representations of a life,' for like Chinese biography, they were intended to illustrate a principle and convey something of worth to posterity. As such, it was not part of literature (*wen*) but of history (*shih*). Material for the biography or 'autobiography' had to be "ostensibly documentable from archival materials or secondhand sources, facts that were public and exemplary or cautionary." The inner life had to be excluded as unverifiable.³⁵⁹

The first *tzu-hsü* (or work of the same genre but under a different name) was the postface to the *Shih chi* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Basically it gave his genealogy in detail and the reasons for writing his history.³⁶⁰ Liu Chih-chi (661-721) claimed that the *tzu-hsü* really began with Ch'ü Yüan (340?-278? B.C.) in his *Li-sao*, and then by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (179-117 B.C.), who made this form into a *chuan*. However, Liu

³⁵³ Yamauchi (1986), 511, quoting the *Kuo-ch'ing pai-lu* and a preface to a Tokugawa period commentary, the *Zui Tendai Chisha Daishi betsuden kudoku* by Kankoku, of 1778. Cf. Shinohara (1992), 106.

³⁵⁴ Yamauchi (1986), 518; T50.197c; cf. Nakamura (1991), 362.

³⁵⁵ Yamauchi (1986), 500, 510.

³⁵⁶ Yamauchi (1986), 540.

³⁵⁷ Shinohara (1992), 104.

³⁵⁸ T38.14b20-15a8; cf. Penkower (2000), 292; Chen Jinhua (1998), 'Stories from the Life of Chi-tsang and their use in T'ien-t'ai Sectarian Historiography,' *Asia Major* Third Series 11 (2): 76-77; both call this Kuan-ting's 'autobiography'; and Robson (2002), 398.

³⁵⁹ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 4-6.

³⁶⁰ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 42-43.

Chih-chi criticised Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju for not mentioning his ancestry, although he did add information on his childhood. Despite the existence of these and other *tzu-hsü*, Liu Chih-chi modelled his own *tzu-hsü* on that of Ssu-ma Ch'ien.³⁶¹

These 'autobiographies' differ from those of the West in that there was no conscious divulgence of one's real self, and a detailed genealogy was thought necessary to locate the writer. In one sense, these were a biography of the clan and not the individual. Secondly, an 'objective' stance was taken; one wrote of oneself as if one was writing of others, and the first person was generally avoided. There was nothing to distinguish biography from autobiography. Moreover, this writing was a public act, a form of history, and not an analysis of the private or subjective self, something that was reserved for *wen*, such as poetry, and not *shih* (history) or its sub-genre, *chuan*. Thirdly, it was almost always appended to the author's magnum opus, as an explanation of the work's origins, structure, and time of compilation. Often, it was also a lament of the author's poor fortune, meant to invite sympathy for the work. Ssu-ma Ch'ien even hints that Confucius wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the primal history classic, when he was in dire straits between Ch'en and Ts'ai.³⁶² As the *Li chi* wrote, "The creator is called a saint; the transmitter the clarifier," a truly creative writer was hubristically a sage, but the philosopher and commentator only a transmitter, something even Confucius declared he was. The author, conscious of his creativity, could reflect on his creation, which needed an explanation or clarification.³⁶³ Writing therefore had to be valuable and correct, and avoid the ego being exposed, at least in history.

Interestingly, exceptions to these tendencies included Ch'ü Yüan in the *Li-sao*, from whom Liu Chih-chi claimed a collateral descent, and the *Yu-hsien k'u* attributed to Chang Wen-ch'eng (657-ca. 730). Both wrote in the first person.³⁶⁴ The *Pao-lin chuan*, significantly, makes Chang Wen-ch'eng out to have been the author of a stele for Mahākāśyapa. This may not have been an unreasonable suggestion, given that Chang wrote a stele inscription for the image of Śākya Muni in which a brief biography appears.³⁶⁵ Such an interest in narration

³⁶¹ Nishiwaki (2000), *Tōdai no shisō to bunka*, 8; Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 50-53.

³⁶² Nishiwaki (2000), 6-12, 117, 120; Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 5-6.

³⁶³ Nishiwaki (2000), 25 note 10.

³⁶⁴ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 53.

³⁶⁵ ZSS, 388-389.

and 'autobiography' would seem to have penetrated the circles of the Ch'an hagiographers.

Liu Chih-chi may have been another influence on Ch'an hagiographers, for he removed his own genealogy from his *tzu-hsü* and made his *tzu-hsü* fairly long.³⁶⁶ Similarly, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Platform Sutra* provide only the scantiest information on Hui-neng's background but more on his education, or lack thereof. Certainly, Buddhist monks such as Tsan-ning, author of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, and the Ch'an monk Hui-hung (1071-1128), compiler of the *Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan*, were conscious of Liu Chih-chi's *Shih-t'ung* and its views. Tsan-ning was opposed to Liu Chih-chi's ideas, whereas Hui-hung criticised the historiography of Tsan-ning's *Sung Kao-seng chuan*.³⁶⁷ Given the literary activities of the poet-monks who were connected with the Ch'an hagiographers of the 780s to 790s, it is conceivable that they drew upon Liu Chih-chi's theories and examples when they composed or assisted in such activities.

The earliest extant 'autobiography' by a monk is the *Nan-yüeh Ssu Ta-ch'an-shih li-shih yüan-wen* of 559 by the teacher of the famous Chih-i of T'ien-t'ai, Hui-ssu. This work is primarily a vow to seek buddhahood in a period of the End of the Dharma (*mo-fa*), one of danger and crisis rather akin to the millennial year 1000 for Western Christendom. The structure of the vow is unusual. It opens with, "Thus I have heard," then quotes a sutra that gives the dates of birth and death of Śākya Muni as a basis for the calculation of the timeframes of the Three Periods of the Law and the arrival of Candraprabha Bodhisattva (Yüeh-kuang P'u-sa) in China. Hui-ssu then vows to live billions of years so as to meet the coming buddha, Maitreya, and he submits to buddhas, bodhisattvas and other beings. Next he calculates that he, Hui-ssu, was born in the eighty-second year of *mo-fa*. This starts the 'autobiographical' part. He gives his place and date of birth, and states that he had started practice as a monk at the age of fifteen and continued on to twenty, when he witnessed great numbers of deaths, realised the mortality of the body and the lack of a self, and the endless suffering of birth and death, with its concomitant fear. Hui-ssu thus vows to gain wisdom and the powers to save beings.

Then he describes how he travelled through the state of Northern

³⁶⁶ Nishiwaki (2000), 13, 15.

³⁶⁷ Nishiwaki (2000), 58, 66, 69-71.

Ch'i to study Mahayana with dhyāna teachers and lived in the wilds meditating. When he was thirty-four, he was on the borders of Yen-chou in Honan, and was engaged in debate. There he encountered evil monks who tried to forcefully poison him, but despite the ravages to his body and teetering on the verge of death, he realised he should travel to the south of the Yellow River and learn from meditation teachers there. However, on the road he was again poisoned and so could not cross the river. Instead, he entered the mountains, but the local magistrate had him teach for three years, so he decided to head south again and he left the assembly behind. This was when he was about thirty-eight. By the age of thirty-nine he had crossed over into Huai-nan, in the hundred and twentieth year of *mo-fa*. In Ying-chou he discussed Mahayana with the local prefect, but this incurred the jealous wrath of other teachers, five of whom poisoned him, and three of his companions died. For a week he could hardly breathe, so he confessed to the buddhas and managed to expel the poison. Remarkably, he was poisoned several more times, and by the age of forty he was in Kuang-chou 光州, where he lectured for the next two years, but once again met with the jealousy of evil monks, "but I (*wo*) then thought compassionately" of them and vowed to produce a gold-lettered *prajñāparamitā* text for them so that they would gain faith. At the age of forty-three he was in Ting-chou preaching, and yet again he encountered evil commentary masters (*lun-shih*) who tried to prevent people bringing him food. Again he vowed to produce the text. When he was forty-four he returned to Kuang-chou, preached and gained sponsors to buy the gold colour for the lettering of the text.³⁶⁸ This is followed by the verse text of his vow, which covers several pages, then a prose section. Finally he states:

I will now enter the mountain (Nan-yüeh) to cultivate ascetic practices....I pray that all the saints and sages will assist me, so that I may obtain superior mushrooms, herbs, and numinous elixirs, in order to heal all illness and rid myself of hunger and thirst. In this way I shall be able to practice continually the way of the sutras and practice meditation....Thus with the aid of external elixirs I will be able to cultivate the inner elixir. In order to bring peace to others one must first bring peace to oneself.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ T46.786b-787c.

³⁶⁹ Robson (2002), 404-405, slightly modified; T46.791c11-17.

Hui-ssu then shifted to verse:

Through the power of this vow to seek the Way,
I will become a long-living immortal who will see Maitreya.
I do not crave life in making this vow.³⁷⁰

This sense of crisis and danger is reminiscent of the theory that 'autobiography' was a product of misfortune and lament. Yet it contains no genealogy, as other autobiographies had done. Interestingly, when Hui-ssu is talking of himself, he uses his own name, Hui-ssu, but he shifts to the first person singular *wo* when he is making the vow or quoting an earlier vow.

A second T'ien-t'ai 'autobiography' by a monk is that of Kuan-ting, written by him in 619. Again, this 'autobiography' is not labelled as such. Rather, it is part of a history (*yüan-ch'i* or 'causation') of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and of the commentary that Kuan-ting wrote for it, the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching shu*. This *yüan-ch'i* is appended to his general exposition on the themes in the sutra, the *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching hsüan-i*. Therefore, this is rather like the traditional *tzu-hsü*, an explanation of the origins of a major work. However, Kuan-ting included no genealogy and used the first person singular, *yü* 余. His text begins, "The history of the commentary: In my youth I was made an attendant on She-ching, who gave me the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*," and after recounting a number of events in his life, returns to the topic of the commentary.³⁷¹ It is very brief, only about 780 characters, and spends much of that space on Kuan-ting's attempts to understand the text and write the commentary by reading earlier commentaries and hearing Chih-i's explanations. As such, it was probably not an inspiration for Hui-neng's 'autobiography.'

Another 'autobiography' was produced by Huai-su, a famous calligrapher, whose dates are given as 737-799 or 725-785. His biography was written by Lu Yü (ca. 733-804), and deals almost exclusively with his calligraphy and his relations with literati such as Yen Chen-ch'ing.³⁷² Famed widely for his draft script calligraphy, supposedly done when

³⁷⁰ T46.791c18-19.

³⁷¹ T38.14b20-21, 15a3-4.

³⁷² Lu Yü, *Seng Huai-su chuan*, CTW 433/1985a-b; see notes by Ch'u Chung-chün in Fu Hsüan-tsung, comp. and ed. (1987), *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan chiao-chien*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 553-554. Interestingly, this monk from T'an-chou (Ch'ang-sha), visited Kuang-chou sometime in the period 767-768.

drunk,³⁷³ the *Tzu-hsü t'ieh* of 777 seems to be a piece of self-promotion. Huai-su claims he had served Buddha since he was young, and that he had an uncle, the Ch'an Teacher Hui-jung. This man may be the Hui-jung of Mt Sung, who in 772, together with a monk, K'ai-wu, compiled the teachings of the seven generations of teachers after Seng-ts'an. It possibly had a 'Northern Ch'an' content.³⁷⁴ Huai-su claimed that in his rest from the study of scriptures and meditation, he loved to practise calligraphy. Yet he gives virtually no other details of his family, and quotes extensively from the appreciations of his works by his peers, especially Yen Chen-ch'ing and even Li Chou.³⁷⁵ Thus his 'autobiography' would not have provided a model for Hui-neng's 'autobiography,' but it does demonstrate a tendency in this circle towards the composing of autobiographies.

However, another category of 'autobiography' or *tzu-hsü* that was likely more influential on the composition of the 'autobiographical' section of the *Platform Sutra* was the 'pseudo-autobiography.' This genre began with T'ao Yüan-ming (365-427), who wrote a disguised autobiography under the pseudonym Mr Five Willows in his *Wu-liu hsien-sheng chuan*. It was generally accepted in China that T'ao was writing of his ideal self.³⁷⁶ Yet T'ao's work owed much to the *Kao-shih chuan*, the 'Biographies of Lofty Recluses,' although he did not succumb to the aristocratic concern with genealogy. But the 'pseudo-autobiographical' element is similar to the autobiographical elements in poetry, of which T'ao was a master. This is almost a form of *wen* (literature) disguised as *shih* (history). T'ao's fame made this an example for many to follow, by those who wished to create an 'alter ego' or imagined persona. This shift from reality devalued these works as autobiography; they became more of a pose, which conceals rather than reveals.³⁷⁷ Considerable numbers of these pseudo-autobiographies were written, such as that

³⁷³ Praised by Li Po and Yen Chen-ch'ing, himself a famous calligrapher. See Ch'en Chih-mai (1966), *Chinese Calligraphers and their Art*, Melbourne University Press: Carlton, 92-96, which also reproduces some of Huai-su's calligraphy, including part of his 'autobiography,' the *Tzu-hsü t'ieh*.

³⁷⁴ Ch'u Chung-chün, in Fu Hsüan-tsung (1987), 553; Jinhua Chen (1999), 12 note 32; Tu-ku Chi, *Shu-chou Shan-ku Ssu Chüeh-chi t'a Sui ku Ching-chih Ch'an-shih pei-ming*, CTW 390/1783a15-16.

³⁷⁵ Huai-su, *Tzu-hsü t'ieh*, in Lü Hsin-yüan, *T'ang-wen shih-i* 49/4910a-b.

³⁷⁶ Nishiwaki (2000), 118, 120; Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 15.

³⁷⁷ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 15-19.

by the early T'ang hermit Wang Chi (?-644), the *Wu-hsin tzu chuan*, and the works by Po Chü-i (772-846) and Lu Yü (ca. 733-804).

Lu Yü mixed with the poet-monks of the lower Yangtze region, such as Chiao-jan, and moved in the salons of scholar-literati such as Yen Chen-ch'ing. Yen even recalled dialogues between Lu Yü and P'ei Hsiu, famous in Ch'an for his association with Huang-po Hsi-yün and Tsung-mi, which resembled Ch'an repartee. In 761, at the young age of twenty-nine (*sui*), Lu wrote a *Lu Wen-hsüeh tzu chuan* (CTW 433), all in the third person. In it, Lu Yü pretends not to know which is his name (*ming*) and which his style (*tzu*). Lu Yü had been a monk, having been brought up by monks from the age of three, so he denied the self in the Buddhist sense of the term. He also does not include a genealogy, possibly because of his obscure origins. But he also had a considerable sense of humour, and liked to play act.³⁷⁸ Indeed, Lu Yü came into contact with Ling-ch'e,³⁷⁹ the author of the preface of the *Pao-lin chuan*, and with Fa-hai, the friend of Chiao-jan to whom a version of the *Platform Sutra* is attributed. Like the hagiographical Hui-neng, he was orphaned early, was ugly, swept the monastery grounds and cleaned the privies and performed other such menial chores. Unlike Hui-neng, he studied Buddhist and Confucian texts, but pictured himself as lacking paper (like Huai-su) and so he learnt to write characters on bamboo while sitting astride an ox. Later, he became a poet and author, and he listed his own works, among which were a work on the genealogies of four clans from south of the Yangtze, 'biographies' of people from North and South, and the *Ch'a ching* or *Classic of Tea*,³⁸⁰ a title redolent of the *T'an-ching*. These concerns with genealogy or the lineage, North and South, and the use of *ching*, have some commonalities with the *Platform Sutra*. Moreover, Lu travelled widely and stayed in major centres of Ch'an activity, such as Heng-chou (ca. 788-789) and possibly Kuang-chou during the time of Ma

³⁷⁸ Nishiwaki (2000), 125, 128, 132-133. Hsin Wen-fang (1304) and the annotators Ch'u Chung-chün and Ch'en Yao-tung to the *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan* say Lu was raised by the Ch'an Teacher Chih-chi of Ching-ling who found him as a baby on a river bank, in Fu Hsüan-tsung (1987), 622-623.

³⁷⁹ Ch'u Chung-chün and Ch'en Yao-tung, in Fu Hsüan-tsung (1987), 616, with a date of around 792.

³⁸⁰ Nishiwaki (2000), 126-127; for a translation of the classic, see Francis Ross Carpenter (1974), *The Classic of Tea by Lu Yü*, Little, Brown and Co: Boston and Toronto.

Tsung's governorship (ca. 786-792), and later he went to Hua-chou where Shen-hui had preached.³⁸¹

Another figure closely associated with the campaign to promote Hui-neng, and who was a pupil of Chiao-jan, Ling-ch'e and other poet monks, Liu Yü-hsi (772-842), also wrote an 'autobiography,' the *Tzu Liu-tzu tzu-chuan*. This was written just before his death, and he used both the first and the third persons for himself. He particularly used the first person in relating his political involvement with Wang Shu-wen.³⁸²

All of this suggests that the circles associated with the writing of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Platform Sutra* were interested in 'autobiography' and 'pseudo-autobiography.' Of course, the 'autobiography' in the *Platform Sutra* is not an autobiography or even a pseudo-autobiography, but a biography or hagiography disguised as an 'autobiography.' While Buddhist monks, especially the Ch'an monks, may be presumed to have been free from the restraints of secular biography and hagiography, they were in fact constrained by Confucian precedents. Ch'an biographers and would-be autobiographers probably faced additional limits. Firstly, the notion of sudden enlightenment, or of original awareness, would tend to preclude any idea of a gradual progress towards enlightenment, and therefore of autobiographical accounts of spiritual progress. Secondly, Ch'an monks were not supposed to proclaim their enlightenment, although such restraints were finally broken by the thirteenth century.³⁸³ However, interestingly, the development of Ch'an sermons and true hagiographies are linked by Pei-Yi Wu to the rise of the popular theatre.³⁸⁴ Perhaps the Ch'an biographies and pretend autobiography were related to the rise of the

³⁸¹ Ch'u Chung-chün and Ch'en Yao-tung, in Fu Hsüan-tsung (1987), 628-629.

³⁸² Nishiwaki (2000), 142, 148, 178-181.

³⁸³ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 71-74; but I do not accept Wu's apparent acceptance that the *Platform Sutra* was Hui-neng's own words. Moreover, some of the evidence cited for non-proclamation of enlightenment is very late, in fact from the seventeenth century.

³⁸⁴ Pei-Yi Wu (1990), 84-85; again, I do not fully accept the idea that Hui-neng would have had to use 'the decorous obliquity of the literati,' especially given the language to be found in the works of Shen-hui and in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. The offense of 'praising oneself and denigrating others,' as Shen-hui had done by comparing himself to a tenth-stage bodhisattva [Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 24], under the rules of the Order incurred automatic expulsion; see Mochizuki (1954-1963), 5: 4273.

pien-wen, but it is more likely that the secular interest in the 'self-account' was more important. However, there was another source.

The prime example of such an autobiographical move is in the sutras, where the Buddha spoke of the circumstances leading to his enlightenment, his teachings, even to the extent of relating his previous lives.³⁸⁵ For example, the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* is titled as spoken by the Buddha (*Fo-shuo*) and opens, "the Buddha said."³⁸⁶ Again, while the *Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching*, translated by Guṇabhadra, opens with the formula, "Thus I have heard," meaning this is what the narrator had heard, it proceeds to say that the Buddha responded to a request at the 'lecture hall' to hear about the past causation of the Buddha. The Buddha then relates his past lives, using the third person, as in Shan-hui for an earlier incarnation, and the first person *wo* for himself when he informs the gods that "I should be born into Jambudvīpa..."³⁸⁷ He continues to relate his own life as 'the bodhisattva' and 'the heir-apparent' or 'Thus Come.' Thus, *wo* or I is used in reported speech, but the general narrative is in the royal third person. The text concludes, "At that time, the World Honoured, told these monks."³⁸⁸ Therefore, this and other works such as the *P'u-yao ching* or *Lalitavistara*, also spoken by the Buddha,³⁸⁹ were usually placed in a framework made by the putative 'hearer' who declares, "This I have heard," and details the occasion and reason for the preaching or 'autobiography.' While it is most unlikely that the Buddha actually narrated these biographical details, elements of a biography were contained in the vinaya texts, along with a lineage, and were later gathered together, as in the massive *Fo pen-hsing chi ching* translated by Jñānagupta.³⁹⁰ Details of the Buddha's life were probably needed to give authentication and context to the promulgation of the vinaya rules.³⁹¹ Therefore, Hui-neng, as a Chinese buddha, would be required

³⁸⁵ Reynolds (1976), 'The many lives of Buddha,' 42-43.

³⁸⁶ T3 (no. 185).472c.

³⁸⁷ T3.620c and 623c27.

³⁸⁸ T3.653b12.

³⁸⁹ T3.483.

³⁹⁰ T3 (no. 190).655-932a; Frauwallner (1956), *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, 45-50.

³⁹¹ Cf. Frauwallner (1956), 52-53; and Juliane Schober (1997), 'Trajectories in Buddhist Sacred Biography,' in Juliane Schober, ed., *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 2, and Mark R. Woodward (1997), 'The Biographical Imperative in Theravāda Buddhism,' 44, in same volume, dealing with the reason for keeping only one bowl.

to have a biographical frame for his sermon, which was inside a sutra or *ching*. However, possibly under the influence of Liu Chih-chi and several other authors of *tzu-hsü*, the genealogical component was largely omitted.

Again, that 'Hui-neng' provided an 'autobiography' is intimately interwoven with the creation of a *Platform Sutra*, for without this, it would have been difficult to establish any sutra. Indeed, the 'autobiographical' or 'hagiographical' element was probably attached to the doctrinal sermon after the sermon was initially circulated in a written copy, and so forms the second stage in the production of the *Platform Sutra*. The author then, if he wrote the entire *Platform Sutra*, was probably versed in Buddhist hagiography, fiction, secular biographical and autobiographical literature, Buddhist gathas and sutras, and had knowledge of the circumstances of Ch'an in the Southeast and South, and knew something of the bodhisattva-precepts movement and the *hsing-ch'i* theories of Hua-yen, the ideas of Ma-tsu Tao-i and the hagiographies by Shen-hui. Moreover, this author was probably not directly familiar with Shao-chou or even Ling-nan.³⁹²

6. *Author/s of the Platform Sutra*

A possible candidate for the author may be Chen-shu (d. 820), who studied under Ma-tsu Tao-i, and took the full platform ceremony beforehand. He later shifted to live on Mt Yang-chi in Yüan-chou. Here he studied with Ch'eng-kuang (717-798), who became a pupil of Shen-hui in Ho-tse Monastery, Lo-yang after 745. Chen-shu probably maintained a foot in both camps, because his obituary was written by Chih-hsien, a pupil of Ma-tsu.³⁹³ The sermon found in the obituary has some resemblance to the ideas alleged by Hui-chung to have been in the 'platform sutra' of the Southerner:

The original source of all the spiritual intelligences (*ling*) is conventionally named Buddha. When the body is ended and the form extinguished, it (*ling*) does not cease. Gold flows but the ore is dispersed and yet it (gold) is always present. When there is no wind on the ocean of the nature, the golden waves naturally rise up. When the intellect of the mind (*hsin-ling*) eliminates signs, the myriad images are all displayed. If one comprehends this principle, one traverses innumerable realms without moving, and

³⁹² ZSS, 265-266 note 10, although Yanagida thinks that the author was from around Lo-yang, using as his evidence Wei Ch'u-hou's stele for Ta-i.

³⁹³ Cf. Ui Hakuju (1935), *Zenshūshi kenkyū* 1: 388.

without functioning, improves the profound transformations. How can one turn one's back on awareness or oppose merging with the trouble of the contaminants? One mistakenly imprisons oneself in the realm of the skandhas. The body is the same as the moon reflected in water; its waves leave traces as humans or gods.³⁹⁴

The "golden waves that naturally rise up" are reminiscent of *hsing-ch'i*, nature-rising, and the *ling* surviving the destruction of the body is a phrase reminiscent of Hui-chung's allegations:

The mind-nature from beginningless time has never risen or ceased. The rising and ceasing of the body is like...the snake shedding its skin or a person leaving his former home. The body is not eternal; its nature is eternal.³⁹⁵

Furthermore, Hui-chung continued on from the above passage:

If that is so, there is no difference between this and the heretic Śrenika. He said, "In this body I have a soul-nature. This nature knows pain and itching. When the body is destroyed, the soul departs. It is like a householder leaving his blazing house. The house is not eternal but the householder is."

Hui-chung linked this directly to the Southern 'platform sutra,'³⁹⁶ and accused it of the heresy of Śrenika Vatsagotra, who appears in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*,³⁹⁷ and by implication, the heresy of Samkhya.³⁹⁸ The confusion of a soul and an eternal Buddha-nature had been common in the South, with Emperor Wu of Liang making that very error.³⁹⁹ Moreover, some of Hui-chung's language seems to have been a critique of Ma-tsu's ideas, especially where his interlocutor states that the masters of the South teach,

This very mind is the Buddha. Buddha means awareness. Now you are all endowed with a seeing, hearing, perceiving and knowing nature. This nature can well raise eyebrows, blink eyes, go and come, and operate throughout the entire body. (Thus), if one bumps one's head, the head

³⁹⁴ Chih-hsien, *Yang-ch'i shan Chen-shu Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 919/4297c15-19; cf. SKSC, T50.770b-c. The SKSC entry is almost word for word from Chih-hsien's stele.

³⁹⁵ *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.437c23-25.

³⁹⁶ T51.437c26-29.

³⁹⁷ T12.594a23-b2; ZSS, 174 note 2.

³⁹⁸ Jorgensen (1990), 'Nan-yang Hui-chung and the heresies of the *Platform Sutra*,' 121-123.

³⁹⁹ Jorgensen (1990), 126-127.

knows. If one bumps one's foot, the foot knows. Therefore it is called correct, universal knowing.⁴⁰⁰

Thus Tsung-mi writes of Ma-tsu's Ch'an that,

Giving rise to the mind and moving thoughts, snapping fingers and moving the eyes...are all the functions of the entire substratum 體 of the Buddha-nature, and there is no other function. The entire substratum craves, hates, and is stupid....This all is the Buddha-nature.⁴⁰¹

In the *Ma-tsu yü-lu* we find the following passage:

This mind has never risen, it has never ceased....Bring to an end the body of the four elements, and see that it has rising and ceasing; (see) that the nature of intelligent awareness (*ling-chüeh chih hsing*) really lacks rising and ceasing....The present seeing, hearing, perceiving and knowing fundamentally is your basic nature. There are no other buddhas apart from this. This mind originally exists; it is not temporarily constructed.⁴⁰²

Therefore, the relationship between an eternal and permanent nature and the sensations of the body was a crucial topic in the South. As we have seen earlier in Chapter 6, this was also a topic in the *Shou-leng-yen ching*,⁴⁰³ and it is reflected in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* where Hui-neng questions Shen-hui about the pain of a blow Hui-neng had delivered to him. A similar passage appears in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, when Hui-neng likewise struck Shen-hui. Hui-neng asked,

"When I hit you, did the Buddha-nature feel it or not?"

"The Buddha-nature lacks feeling."

The Master said, "Do you know pain?"

The śrāmaṇera replied, "I know pain."

The Master asked, "Since you know pain, how can you say that the Buddha-nature lacks feeling?"

"How can it be the same as trees and stones (that are insentient)? Even though it hurts, the mind-nature does not feel it."

⁴⁰⁰ T51.437c19-22.

⁴⁰¹ *Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi tu*, in Kamata (1971), *Zen no Goroku 9: Zengen shosenshū tojo*, 307; ZSS, 174; Jorgensen (1990), 136.

⁴⁰² Iriya Yoshitaka (1984), *Baso no goroku*, 198; cf. *Tsung-ching lu*, T48.492c. Suyama Chōji (1990), 'Baso Dōitsu no Zen shisō,' 675-676, thinks this was the object of Hui-chung's criticism. He notes that similar words appear in the *Hsüeh-mo lun*, which defines Buddha as "aware nature, and that awareness is *ling-chüeh*, which relates to people/things in accord with occasions. Raising eyebrows and blinking eyes, moving hands and feet, all are one's own nature of intelligent awareness. That very nature is the Buddha, the mind is the Buddha."

⁴⁰³ T19.126b22-26.

The Master said, "... (Even though) you now were beaten, the mind-nature did not feel it. If you feel the various sensations as if with the insightful realisation, you have attained the true, correct-feeling samādhi."⁴⁰⁴

This suggests that the *Shou-leng-yen ching* introduced a theme that was taken up by Ch'an followers in Ling-nan, from where it spread.

If this doctrine of the Buddha-nature were linked to *hsing-ch'i*, the implication could be taken that there was no need to practice, as the nature was eternal and the realisation would simply just occur in its own good time. This was undoubtedly one of Hui-chung's criticisms, possibly even of Shen-hui.

I surmise from this evidence that initially a text that Hui-chung called a 'platform sutra,' probably connected to a sermon by Hui-neng, was produced. However, later, changes were made due to a misunderstanding of the doctrine. It was this altered text Hui-chung criticised before 774 as the corrupted text containing a Southern heresy. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* have linked some of this with Shen-hui, and perhaps Ta-i in turn was attacking this material as a product of Shen-hui's followers. It is possible then that this text was compiled by Chen-shu or Ch'eng-kuang, leaders of the southern branch of Shen-hui's lineage.

Chen-shu became the chief disciple of Ch'eng-kuang, who also lived on Mt Yang-chi.⁴⁰⁵ Ch'eng-kuang, whose funerary inscription was composed by Liu Yü-hsi in 807, was a native of Yung-chou in Ling-nan, studied Confucianism, and then began his study of Buddhism in Heng-yang (Heng-chou), where he studied with Mr Hsiang of T'ien-chu (Peak) in Nan-yüeh. He may have encountered T'ien-t'ai and Vinaya teachings there. Later he went to Lo-yang where he took the precepts from Shen-hui around 745+. He must have returned to Ling-nan, for it is written that he then came north over the Range, followed the Hsiang River, and came to Mt Yang-chi, for which he felt an affinity, and began preaching to those "southern descendants who had not heard the Buddhist sutras." He taught:

One begins by seeing the nature and ends by attaining freedom. He always said that abilities vary in depth, but the Dharma has no hierarchy. The division into the two themes/lineages (*tsung*) are due to sentient

⁴⁰⁴ EK, 43.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *Wen-yüan ying-hua*, 867/4574d7, and *Tang ku Heng-yüeh Lü Ta-shih Hsiang-t'an Tang-hsing Ssu Yen kung pei*, CTW 610/2767a16, as Chen-sheng.

beings maintaining the theories of sudden and gradual, while the theory of the Three Vehicles are the entrances via expedient means the Buddha taught. The names are arrived at externally, so therefore there is the production of discrimination. The Way is based on internal realisation, so it has no similarities or differences.

Ch'eng-kuang's disciples seem to have been very important in the South. As I have mentioned, they may have included Lung-an Ju-hai and Tao-chin (or Tao-t'ung), a man who was allegedly a disciple of Hui-neng and who taught Kuan-tsung (730-809).⁴⁰⁶ All of these three monks resided for a time on the Southern Marchmount, Nan-yüeh or in T'an-chou. Clearly Ch'eng-kuang and his heirs must have played a major role in the region, for significantly, Liu Yü-hsi's eulogy concluded:

The seventh generation had no heirs, so the demons moved into action. The Buddha's robe produced dust (trouble) and the Buddha-Dharma (hung) like a thread. Our Master was an Awakened One...and received the secret seal....Those who came for the Dharma numbered in the hundreds and thousands....His house stored Buddhist books....What currently is extinguished is the body, what is eternal and perfect is the nature.⁴⁰⁷

This again suggests that Ch'eng-kuang taught ideas that hinted at an eternal substrate, such as the Buddha-nature reified. Again, Liu Yü-hsi mentioned that,

since the white horse came east (i.e. Buddhism was introduced to China), people knew the image (Resemblance) teaching. When the Buddha's robe was first transmitted, people knew the mind Dharma.⁴⁰⁸

Ch'eng-kuang appears to have been a pivotal figure in the region and a promoter of Shen-hui's lineage and the ideas of sudden and gradual enlightenment, and he affirmed the importance of 'seeing the nature,' a crucial theme in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*. He apparently saw himself as the heir of the seventh generation patriarch, namely Shen-hui, and realised that the dispute over the robe of transmission had created difficulties for Buddhists. In addition, he was a scholar of Buddhism. Furthermore, one of his pupils was Ju-hai, a possible

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Robson (2002), 507; Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), 14; Satō Yoshihiro in Shiga (1998), 235 note; the stele inscription itself, preceding the characters Yüan-chi, gives Tao-t'ung, but another version gives Tao-chin.

⁴⁰⁷ CTW 610/2766c26-2767b4.

⁴⁰⁸ CTW 610/2766c20-21.

author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Although this has to remain conjectural, is it possible that Ch'eng-kuang or his disciple Chên-shu rewrote the *Platform Sutra* after another of the pupils, Ju-hai, had written the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*? Moreover, Yüan-chou, in which Mt Yang-chi is located, was centrally placed. It lay not far off the Hsiang River route which linked Shao-chou via Ch'ien-chou and Chi-chou to Hung-chou, and it also lay on the route from Hung-chou westwards to T'an-chou or Mt Heng/Nan-yüeh. It was probably no coincidence that the *Pao-lin chuan*, which was written by the Ma-tsu community, possibly in Ch'ien-chou, Hung-chou or Nan-yüeh, was made to counter some of the claims of the *Platform Sutra* and took the notion of the verses of transmission to their pinnacle of development.

Although the text produced between 781 and 795 may not necessarily be the version represented by the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, it was probably very similar. Ta-i's criticism, which was probably made after the downfall of the Wang Shu-wen clique in 805, seems to suggest that the *Platform Sutra* was the product of Shen-hui's students.

Ta-i, a pupil of Ma-tsu, gained favour with the court after mid-796,⁴⁰⁹ but was expelled from the capital in 805. It is conceivable that the Shen-hui lineage had been for some time sanctioned as orthodox, for Tsung-mi alleged that in 796, when Emperor Te-tsung gathered monks in Ch'ang-an to examine which was the orthodox or legitimate lineage of Ch'an and which were the subordinate lineages, he designated the Shen-hui lineage orthodox. After all, Shen-hui had loyally served the court of Su-tsung by gathering donations for the treasury and had been honoured by Emperor Su-tsung in 758. Moreover, according to an 806 stele inscription by Hsü Tai, during the Ta-li reign (766-780), Emperor Tai-tsung ordered Hui-chien (719-792), a pupil of Shen-hui, to build a lineage hall for the seven patriarchs of Ch'an, and as the inscription names Shen-hui as the seventh patriarch, Tsung-mi's claim seems to be confirmed. Moreover, Hsü Tai also noted that early in the Chen-yüan era, probably around 785, Hui-chien was summoned to court by Emperor Tai-tsung and

received the imperial command to debate the heterodoxy and orthodoxy of the Buddha-Dharma with the elders and confirm the Ch'an teachers of the lineages of North and South.

⁴⁰⁹ Chen Jinhua (1999), 199.

Perhaps Tsung-mi confused the dates, or there were two debates, the earlier perhaps being inconclusive.⁴¹⁰

Ling-ch'e apparently denied the Shen-hui lineage the sanction of orthodoxy and so was banished from Ch'ang-an around 796. After this, Ta-i gained favour with the heir-apparent, later to be the short-reigning Emperor Shun-tsung (r. 805). However, Ta-i probably lost that patronage around 805 with the rise of the Wang Shu-wen faction and the later death of the emperor. As we have seen, some of Ma-tsu's pupils may have disagreed with the lineage proclaimed in the *Pao-lin chuan*. Other pupils of Ma-tsu, such as Chen-shu (d. 820), also claimed to be heirs of Shen-hui, hinting at a possible attempt by them to compromise with, or ride on the coat-tails of, the imperially sanctioned orthodoxy of the Shen-hui lineage.⁴¹¹ This may be reflected in the obituary for Ta-i. According to Wei Ch'u-hou, Ta-i asserted:

In the time of Emperor Kao-tsung, Hui-neng took the finger pointing at the moon as a trap.⁴¹² From him on, the lineage unraveled like a fraying thread. One hid himself in Ch'in (Ch'ang-an), another resided in Lo(-yang), another went to Wu and another was in Ch'u. The one in Ch'in was (Shen-)hsiu, who used expedient means for clarification, and P'u-chi was his lineal heir. The one in Lo(-yang) was (Shen-)hui, who attained the seal of the dhāraṇī (keeper of the truth). He alone illuminated the lustrous pearl. (His) followers were deluded about that truth, and the orange bush (of the South) transformed itself into the thorn bush (of the North). Eventually they formed the *Platform Sutra* to transmit the lineage, and to assess excellence and inferiority. The one in Wu was (Fa-)jung, who was famed as Niu-t'ou, and Ching-shan (Fa-ch'in, 635-702) was his heir. The one in Ch'u was (Ma-tsu) Tao-i, who used the Mahayana to unite them. The Master (Ta-i) was of this party. The virtues of the three patriarchs came (to him?).... After them [the three Chinese patriarchs, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen and Hui-neng], people were deluded to direction and were mired in the traces, and (accusations) of right and wrong appeared one after the other; them and us were not eliminated. If one takes the South to be correct and the North to be perverse, or to have the North as existence and the South as emptiness, that is not knowing that the mind of the North was produced from the same (source as that of) the South. When the views of the North were extinguished, then there was an excess of the South.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 'The "Imperial" lineage...', 117-120.

⁴¹¹ Ishii Shūdō (1988), 'Nanyō Echū...', 333-336.

⁴¹² Allusion to *Chuang-tzu* passage, where a fish trap is discarded once the fish are caught, and to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* on the delusion of mistaking the finger that points at the object, the moon, pointed at. I.e., confusion of means for ends.

⁴¹³ CTW 717/ 3301a.

Wei Ch'u-hou, on behalf of Ta-i, was here championing Ta-i and his lineage for re-unifying North and South, so he is unlikely to have been praising the assertions of the *Platform Sutra* by Shen-hui's lineage, or those of his pupils. Wei Ch'u-hou is certainly praising Shen-hui for "alone illuminating the illustrious pearl,"⁴¹⁴ that is, for his evangelism, but he is also attacking Shen-hui's theories about the South being orthodox or correct, or that the North represented existence and the South emptiness. Most commentators have assumed that Shen-hui's pupils altered the teachings of Hui-neng and created the *Platform Sutra* to be the guarantor of the transmission, and in so doing converted the productive teaching of Hui-neng, the orange, into the sterile thorn bush in the North, possibly in reference to 'Northern Ch'an.'⁴¹⁵ The parallelism of the passage shows that it was the heirs of Shen-hui who were meant, for all the other masters have their disciples named immediately following descriptions of the master's role. Moreover, the attack here at the end of the quote is directed at the denigration by Shen-hui of 'Northern Ch'an,' and at his 'followers' for their (mis)use of the *Platform Sutra*, for making the *Platform Sutra* the guarantor of the transmission.

7. *Analyses of Ta-i's evidence and theories on the evolution of the Platform Sutra*

The ambiguities in this passage have given rise to conflicting hypotheses about the authorship of the *Platform Sutra*, and the stages of its development, between Koga Hidehiko and Ibuki Atsushi. Koga accepts the

⁴¹⁴ Chen Jinhua (1999), 37 note 11.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Yampolsky (1967), 37-38. The phrase in the Wei Ch'u-hou stele, 'the orange tree changed into a thorn bush,' refers to the fact that the orange grows only in the South and changes into a different tree when transplanted in the North. See Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 15551.50; Joseph Needham, Lu Gwei-Djen and Huang Hsing-Tsung (1986), *Science and Civilisation in China: Vol. 6, Biology and Biological Technology, Part 1, Botany*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 103-106; Owen (1981), 142; Edward Schafer (1967), *The Vermilion Bird: Tang Images of the South*, 119. This implies that the original sutra was from the South, and that it had been vulgarised when brought North, possibly by the insertion of a hagiography of Hui-neng. Kiangsi was famed from Eastern Han times for its oranges, and four prefectures in particular: Chiang, Chi, Ch'ien and Hung-chou. See Huang Mei-yin (1996), *Tang-tai Chiang-hsi ti-ch'ü k'ai-fa yen-chiu*, 128-129. I suspect then that this was meant to hint at a possible Kiangsi origin for the *Platform Sutra*, although Orange Isle referred to an island in the Hsiang River at T'an-chou [Murck (2000), *Painting and Poetry*, 185], which could indicate that region as the site of origin. However, this is less likely. Note, I have summarised some of the readings of the above passage in Jorgensen (2003), 421-422.

testimonies of Wei Ch'u-hou and Nan-yang Hui-chung, and concludes there was an original, no-longer extant text with the title *Platform Sutra* or something similar written by Shen-hui between 745 and 755, which attacked 'Northern Ch'an.' Later, after 761, Nan-yang Hui-chung criticised the vulgarisation of a *Platform Sutra*⁴¹⁶ because it depicted an unseemly dispute between two of Hung-jen's disciples, Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. These vulgarisations were possibly made by radical followers, possibly Fa-hai, or at least were attributed to Fa-hai. This Fa-hai text was allegedly the original of the Tun-huang version, although much of Shen-hui's text remained. However, Fa-hai or these radical followers, removed the vehement words of Shen-hui as seen in the appendix to the Ishii text from the *Platform Sutra*, but they retained the references in the *Platform Sutra* to Shen-hui.⁴¹⁷ Later, Fa-hai's text, the ancestor of the Tun-huang version, was modified in response to Hui-chung's criticisms. This revised edition was criticised by Ta-i.⁴¹⁸

Ibuki Atsushi instead argued that Fa-hai originally recorded a sermon by Hui-neng, which had no traces of Shen-hui's ideas. Shen-hui's pupils later inserted Shen-hui's ideas, invented dialogues between Hui-neng and his disciples, and then a hagiography of Hui-neng, which predicted the emergence of Shen-hui. This hagiography of Hui-neng was like that found in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, but chronologically precedes that in the Ishii text of the hagiographies of the six patriarchs. Next, the recollections of Hui-neng and the twenty-eight or twenty-nine patriarch theory were added, and so the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* was born. In the final stage, the verses of transmission and the emphasis on Shen-hui were interpolated, forming the Tun-huang version of the *Platform Sutra*. Ibuki also claims that the lineage of Wu-chen was a total fabrication made by the lineage of Shen-hui in order to promote the distribution of the sutra, and Hui-chung's accusations were forged to attack the doctrines of another lineage.⁴¹⁹

However, it is unlikely that Shen-hui wrote the *Platform Sutra*, for there are criticisms of Shen-hui, and his core teaching of *wu-nien*, in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* and there was a separate lineage headed by

⁴¹⁶ Koga Hidehiko (Sept. 1998), 'Jinne to sono nochi no tōshi,' *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 41 (1): 20-37.

⁴¹⁷ Koga (1996), 'Dankyō Jinne genbon e,' *Hanazono Daigaku Bungakubu kenkyū kiyō* 28: 37-38; Koga (1994), 'Rokuso dankyō kenkyū kidan,' 1-19.

⁴¹⁸ Koga (1994), 1-19.

⁴¹⁹ Ibuki Atsushi (Dec. 1995), 'Tonkōbon Dankyō no keisei,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 44 (1): 77-81.

Fa-hai.⁴²⁰ This also makes it less likely that pupils of Shen-hui wrote those parts of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, for it implied a direct criticism of their master's core ideas. However, some inadequacies of Shen-hui's theories may have been exposed by critics, and so the followers of Shen-hui had to take these criticisms into account.

Therefore, the *Platform Sutra*, at least in its Tun-huang version, was not written by Shen-hui, and yet it was likely used by Shen-hui's disciples, if not composed by them. Possibly these students were connected with Wu-chen, the last name in the transmission list from Fa-hai in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*. A monk named Wu-chen (816-895) was renowned in Tun-huang and elsewhere, especially Ch'ang-an,⁴²¹ and it was in Tun-huang that we find the earliest extant copies of the *Platform Sutra*.

But who then was Fa-hai? There are a number of monks called Fa-hai mentioned in T'ang literature, but only Fa-hai of Tan-yang, a member of the Niu-t'ou lineage who lived at Hao-lin Monastery and allegedly became a pupil of Hui-neng, can be independently verified outside of the evidence of the *Platform Sutra* itself. As we have seen, Hao-lin Fa-hai was well known in the literary circles of the Southeast. This Fa-hai was unlikely to have been a pupil of Hui-neng, for he was the stupa-guardian or keeper of Hsüan-su's remains.⁴²²

It seems then that Ta-i was attacking the partisans of Shen-hui, who may have engineered Ta-i's expulsion from the capital because he attacked them in relation to the *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan*. As the dates of Ta-i's arrival and Ling-ch'e's expulsion closely coincide, perhaps the issue was lineage and the status of Shen-hui in that lineage. The *Pao-lin chuan*, championed by Ling-ch'e, had incorporated Shen-hui, probably falsely, into a campaign to promote Seng-ts'an, the

⁴²⁰ Ogawa Takashi (1989), 'Tonkō bon *Rokuso dankyō* no seiritsu ni tsuite (no ni),' *Komazawa Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nempō* 22, quoted in Kondō Akimasa (Dec. 1999), '*Rokuso dankyō* no ichi kōsatsu,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 48 (1): 203. For *wu-nien*, Matsumoto Shirō (1994), *Zen shisō no hihan-teki kenkyū*, Daizō shuppansha: Tokyo, cited in Kondō (1999), 203, and Yampolsky (1967), 138. Note, more detailed summaries of the theories of Ibuki, Koga and others can be found in Jorgensen (2003), 423-424.

⁴²¹ Yampolsky (1967), 182, 91 note 4; Chen Tsu-lung (1966), *La vie et les oeuvres de Wou-Tchen (816-895)*, passim; Li and Fang (1999), 67.

⁴²² Li Hua, *Jun-chou Hao-lin Ssu ku Ching-shan Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 320/1456a21-22; Fu-lin, *Tang Hu-chou Chu-shan Chiao-jan chuan*, CTW 919/4297a; Yen Chen-ch'ing, *Hu-chou Wu-ch'eng hsien Chu-shan Miao-hsi Ssu pei-ming*, CTW 339/1540b1-13. I have summarised the evidence on all the evidence for various Fa-hai in Jorgensen (2003), 425-426.

so-called third patriarch. This campaign had been led by a 'Northern Ch'an' master, Chan-jan,⁴²³ so the connection may have instead been anathema to Shen-hui partisans. In 796, shortly after his arrival and Ling-ch'e's banishment, Ta-i attacked this 'Northern Ch'an' monk Chan-jan, who died soon after.⁴²⁴ It is possible Ta-i opposed Ling-ch'e and the *Pao-lin chuan* for supporting this 'Northern Ch'an' teacher in his campaign, and perhaps for the less than enthusiastic backing it gave to Shen-hui. Moreover, Ling-ch'e was associated, via his teacher Chiao-jan, with Fa-hai, an intimate friend of Chiao-jan. As Fa-hai was named as the compiler of the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra*, perhaps Ta-i supported Shen-hui and Ma-tsu as leaders of orthodox lineages, and so attacked the 'corrupted' *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan* that tainted Shen-hui with insinuations of a 'Northern Ch'an' connection. Of course, as seen by his implied criticism of Shen-hui's divisiveness, Ta-i did not fully support Shen-hui, but he was probably confronting some followers of Shen-hui in his attempts to unify Ch'an.

It should be noted also that the 'Northern Ch'an' monk, Chan-jan, in his 796 debate with Ta-i, used the words "southern frontiersmen (*nan-pi*) are deceiving later students," an almost identical terminology to that used by Nan-yang Hui-chung in attacking his opponents,⁴²⁵ suggesting perhaps that Ta-i or an older associate was also the object of Hui-chung's polemic, and that Ta-i was countering with his own assessment. In fact, the term 'southern frontiersmen' could be used of Ta-i and others from Kiangsi. For example, Liu P'ei, the father of Liu K'o (n.d.), is said to have been a Confucian farmer in the 750s, travelled around the margins (*pien*), and shifted his residence of registration to 'the southern frontier' (*nan-pi*). In this text, written by Liu K'o, who took his degree in 817, after having been a monk when young, the term was disparaging, for it is said that one should be truthful and respectful, even though living among the barbarians, in order to be a model for them.⁴²⁶ Ta-i himself came from Ch'ü-chou in eastern

⁴²³ Chen Jinhua (1999), 9-10, 77.

⁴²⁴ Chen Jinhua (1999), 32-33.

⁴²⁵ CTW 717/3301b3-4; *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a2-3.

⁴²⁶ Huang Mei-yin (1996), *T'ang-tai Chiang-hsi ti-ch'ü k'ai-fa yen-chiu*, 199-200; *Shang-tso chu shu*, CTW 742/3443c24ff. This is in a letter to his monk teacher, and is reminiscent of a phrase in Wang Wei's stele for Hui-neng, cf. ZSS, 545, cf. CTW 742/3443c27. The last lines are from the *Lun-yü* XV.v.2, Legge (1972), 1: 295. Note, Liu K'o wrote stelae inscriptions for many Southern Ch'an monks, including T'ien-jan (T50.773c), Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (T50.764c20) and Ju-hui (T50.773b14; TTC 4.91).

Chekiang, which was on the Yü-shan road out of Kiangsi, and studied with Ma-tsu in Hung-chou, the 'capital' of Kiangsi. Moreover, his monastery at Mt E-hu, was near Shang-jao County close to the Yü-shan route in eastern Kiangsi. Therefore, while Ta-i implied that the *Platform Sutra* was a northern product, possibly by Shen-hui's lineage, Hui-chung said the alterations were made in the South, where Ta-i came from, possibly Kiangsi.

Conclusion

To conclude from this welter of conflicting information, while Shen-hui influenced the ideas of the *Platform Sutra*, it is unlikely he was the author. If we accept Hui-chung's testimony as recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, a *Platform Sutra* existed before 774, but had already been altered by 'southern frontiersmen.' Because Chih-chih Monastery in Kuang-chou was renowned for its ordination platform and was associated with the *Shou-leng-yen ching*, which shares some themes with the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* and the object of Hui-chung's criticism, it is possible that Kuang-chou was the source of an 'original' *Platform Sutra* that contained little more than a sermon attributed to Hui-neng, possibly written under the influence of Shen-hui's *T'an-yü*. However, this was later influenced by ideas from the *Shou-leng-yen ching* and old, southern misconceptions about the Buddha-nature derived from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. This may have been produced by Ch'eng-kuang (717-798) while he was in Ling-nan or on Mt Yang-chi, and he may have introduced the ideas from the *Shou-leng-yen ching* and those of his teacher, Shen-hui. This was excoriated by Hui-chung before 774 as the work of heretical, 'southern frontiersmen.'

Later, this 'Ch'eng-kuang' version may have been slyly attacked in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* through the belittling of the loquacious śrāmaṇera, Shen-hui. This may have been done by Ju-hai, a pupil of Ch'eng-kuang who could not directly criticise his own master or Shen-hui, but who was also influenced by Niu-t'ou and 'Northern Ch'an.' In response, other followers of Shen-hui and Ch'eng-kuang, such as Chen-shu (d. 820), who was probably influenced by the teachings of Ma-tsu, may have yet again rewritten the text to incorporate Ma-tsu's ideas and to counter the lineage claims of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and possibly the powerful attraction of the relic of Hui-neng as promoted in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. It is possible Chen-shu, or his associates, collaborated with, or used the name of, Fa-hai, when they added the 'autobiographical' component, thereby forming a *Fa-pao*

chi t'an-ching. Ta-i may have been defending this version around 796 against the attacks of the 'Northern Ch'an' monk Chan-jan (d. 796), who, like Hui-chung, castigated 'southern frontiersmen.' It is possible that Hui-chung maintained some of the doctrines and practices of the Tung-shan Fa-men, and had not been fully converted to the 'Southern Ch'an' of Shen-hui or similar teachings, and so may have been in rough agreement with Chan-jan. In contrast, Ta-i attacked a northern version of the *Platform Sutra* associated with other pupils of Shen-hui for making the *Platform Sutra* a symbol of transmission and incorporating the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* material from the late works of Shen-hui, thereby downgrading and removing the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Thus, Ta-i, probably between 786 and 806, alleged also that a *Platform Sutra* was formed or 'created' by followers of Shen-hui. It is tempting to read "the orange tree (of the South) transformed itself into the thorn bush (of the North)" to apply to the following sentence about the creation (*ch'eng*) of a *Platform Sutra* to transmit the lineage, but it could apply to the 'truth' Shen-hui brought north, which then became sterile. However, the followers of Shen-hui did not all reside in the North, with those like Chen-shu (d. 820) living in western Kiangsi, and so could be called 'southern frontiersmen.' It is likely then that Hui-chung and Ta-i were referring to different versions of a *Platform Sutra*, Hui-chung to a southern version, and Ta-i to a Ch'ang-an version. One of these may have evolved into the Tun-huang version of the 850s to 880s, the other into the *Fa-pao-chi* version mentioned by Dōchū as being sent to Korea in 826 and brought to Japan in 847. Both may have been attributed to Fa-hai, the Tun-huang text also misusing the name of the famous Wu-chen in its hunger to promote it. The southern *Platform Sutra* may also have been influenced in the Southeast or 'southern frontier' by a group linked to Fa-hai (active 772), Lu Yü and Chen-shu, which provided some doctrinal and pseudo-autobiographical elements.

The *Fa-pao-chi* version has probably left its traces in the Ch'i-sung, Daijōji and Kōshōji versions. For example, Lang Chien called his 1056 preface to the Ch'i-sung text the *Liu-tsu Ta-shih fa-pao-chi hsü*, and in it wrote,

and Hung-jen transmitted it to Hui-neng, and also produced Shen-hsiu. Neng was the sixth generation from (Bodhi-)Dharma in China, so therefore the world called him the Sixth Patriarch. The *Fa-pao-chi* is the Dharma taught by the Sixth Patriarch.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ EK, 523; Yanagida (1976c), 'Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūZō,' 235a-b.

Lang Chien further claimed that Ch'i-sung obtained an old text of Ts'ao-ch'i and collated it to make three fascicles.⁴²⁸ Moreover, the Kōshōji and Daijōji texts include a passage concerning Hui-neng hiding out with hunters that clearly derived from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* or *Pao-lin chuan*, and not from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.⁴²⁹ However, the Kōshōji mentions the second stele for Hui-neng, that by Liu Yü-hsi of 819,⁴³⁰ and both it and the Daijōji show influences from the 1004 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.⁴³¹ Interestingly, they also both focus more on Shen-hui. In the related passage, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* calls Shen-hui a "small śrāmaṇera of Ho-tse Monastery,"⁴³² a place Shen-hui was not registered in until 745, whereas the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* just says he was a native of Nan-yang, but the Daijōji and Kōshōji state he was from Yü-ch'üan Monastery and aged only thirteen.⁴³³ This is not from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.⁴³⁴ The Daijōji also makes Hui-neng forecast that twenty years after his death and Fa-hai's recording of a *Fa-pao t'an-ching* that a man of Nan-yang would come and fearlessly establish the lineage and spread the teaching around Lo-yang. Such specificity does not occur in the Tun-huang version.⁴³⁵ This suggests, despite some rewriting based on the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, that the Daijōji and Kōshōji contain traces of the earlier *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching*, for Hui-hsin had no need to highlight a controversy no longer of concern.⁴³⁶ Likely written after the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781, but before 826, it contained a greater stress on the identity of Shen-hui, and so may have been the Ch'ang-an version criticised by Ta-i. The Kōshōji, with its references to Liu Yü-hsi, gives itself away as a post-819 product, although this could be the result of contamination.

Other evidence suggests that the *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* was a response to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Mujaku Dōchū's note that Hui-neng

passed over in the *jen-tzu* year of the second year of the Hsien-t'ien era, which is 127 years until the *ping-wu* year of the second year of the Pao-li era,

⁴²⁸ Yanagida (1976c), 235c.

⁴²⁹ Cf. EK, 289, 37, and T51.235c1.

⁴³⁰ EK, 388.

⁴³¹ Cf. Kōshōji, in EK, 290, and the CTCTL, T51.235c2ff, for example, the mention of Fa-hsing Monastery.

⁴³² EK, 42.

⁴³³ EK, 365.

⁴³⁴ T51.245a16ff. says he was fourteen.

⁴³⁵ EK, 377-378; Schlütter (1989), 74.

⁴³⁶ Schlütter (1989), 74.

although an error in calculation (there was no second year of Hsien-t'ien, or 713, and *jen-tzu* should be 712; and Pao-li second year or 826 is not 127 years later), reflects the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*'s statement,

He passed over in the *jen-tzu* year, the second year of the Hsien-t'ien era. Until the second year of the Chien-chung era of the T'ang, that totals seventy-one years.⁴³⁷

The other text, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, which was influenced by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Pao-lin chuan*, also states that Hui-neng died in the second year of Hsien-t'ien, although in the *kuei-ch'ou* year, "which is 229 years up to the present (Southern) T'ang tenth year of the Pao-ta era, the *jen-tzu* year."⁴³⁸ Of all the versions of the *Platform Sutra*, only the early versions use "the second year of Hsien-t'ien," but not *jen-tzu* or the calculation. Therefore, the *Fa-pao-chi t'an-ching* version was reflective of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.

Furthermore, Chinul's quotes in his postscript, and in his *Chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun* of 1190, have commonalities in part with both the Tun-huang and Hui-hsin versions. This suggests that Chinul's *Fa-pao-chi* version was similar to the version Hui-hsin used, but not the same as the Tun-huang version.⁴³⁹

Therefore, the earliest *Platform Sutra* was probably a sermon written in Kuang-chou and attributed to Hui-neng. This was then expanded and altered in Ling-nan or Kiangsi, possibly by Ch'eng-kuang, a pupil of Shen-hui. The expanded text was attacked by Hui-chung not long before his death in Ch'ang-an in 774 for containing heresies. A response version was produced, possibly after the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* also challenged this 'Ch'eng-kuang version' by belittling Shen-hui. This response text may have been made by Chen-shu, who added an 'autobiographical' component to form the basis of the *Fa-pao-chi* version of the *Platform Sutra*. This version was then attacked by Chan-jan as a product of 'southern frontiersmen,' in an echo of Hui-chung's words, but it was defended by Ta-i. Ta-i alleged that yet another version had been produced in the North by deluded descendants of Shen-hui. This may have been the ancestor of the Tun-huang version. It may have been more assertive of the North versus South divide, and

⁴³⁷ Dōchū's quote, see Pak Sangguk (1989), '*Yukjo Tan'gyŏng ūi kanhaeng kwa yutong*,' in Kim Ch'gyŏn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyŏng ūi se'gye*, 172; EK, 52; Schlütter (1989), 57.

⁴³⁸ TTC 1.99.6-10. The formula used in Dōchū's quote is closest to that in the TTC, both using, "up till now...get xx years."

⁴³⁹ Schlütter (1989), 74-75, 94-95.

more conservative in that it harked back to the original ideas of Shen-hui, and so shunned some of the compromise or synthesis produced by the southern branch of the Shen-hui lineage. As Ta-i was in the capital when he made his criticism, it was likely that the Tun-huang version was a local product, while the *Fa-pao-chi* version came from the South. The declining influence of the Shen-hui lineage and the rising power of the Ma-tsu lineage probably brought the *Fa-pao-chi* version to Ch'ang-an, and pushed the Tun-huang text out to the Northwest, where it was only discovered after the Tun-huang caves were opened,⁴⁴⁰ having been greatly marginalised.

Despite this marginalisation, the hagiographical component of the *Platform Sutra* continued to build the momentum for the broad acceptance of the image of Hui-neng as the legitimate sixth patriarch, the illiterate frontiersman who came to found the Southern Lineage and became the font of Ch'an. In the earliest form of the *Platform Sutra* hagiography, the key issue was that Hui-neng and not Shen-hsiu succeeded to the fifth patriarch. This shows that this transmission was still disputed, but the influence of the *Platform Sutra* over time solidified acceptance of this lineage. Furthermore, the 'hagiographical' or 'autobiographical' section was required to complete the sermon as a sutra, for it introduced the sermon in a similar way to what the Buddha did in his sutras. This, however, also used the Chinese idea of a *tzu-hsü*, a self-introduction justifying the following work. In many respects, this made the *Platform Sutra* a unique text, a hagiography and a sermon combined into a scripture independent of a series of hagiographies. It thus further increased the stakes, for it ventured into risky territory. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* had gambled by incorporating forged imperial decrees and letters, the *Platform Sutra* heightened the risk by claiming the title of sutra for a work by a rank outsider, a déclassé associate of headhunters from the remote South. It had arrogated to this figure the status of a buddha. Thus the inventions were increasingly daring and innovative, and had shifted from placing Hui-neng in a series of hagiographies of the patriarchs, to him being the only patriarch that truly counted.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Schlütter (1989), 96 figure 9. For the Ma-tsu lineage monks at court (other than Ta-i), see biographies of Huai-hui (756-816), at court in 808 (SKSC, T50.767c-768a; TTC 4.69-71; Ch'üan Te-yü, *T'ang ku Chang-ching Ssu Pai-yen Ta-shih pei-ming*, CTW 501/2291b17-19) and Wei-k'uan (755-817), ordered to court in 809 (SKSC, T50.768a-b; Po Chü-i, *Hsi-ching Hsing-shan Ssu Ch'uan-fa T'ang pei-ming*, CTW 678/3110c15-16).

Proposed Development of the Platform Sutra

Urtext or 'sermon text'
(Kuang-chou)

Influence of *Shou-leng-yen*
ching, post 761

Corrupted 'sermon text'
by Ch'eng-kuang?

Criticised by Hui-chung, before
774

Influence of *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih*
chuan, 781.

Response 'autobiographical text'
Southern Shen-hui (Ch'eng-kuang or Chen-shu)

'Northern Shen-hui' *Fa-pao-chi t'an ching*

Criticised by Ta-i
(ca. 796+)

Tun-huang
(Fa-hai to Wu-chen)

Ch'ang-an
847 to Japan

Criticised
by Chan-jan
'old Ts'ao-ch'i'
826 to Korea

Hui-hsin

Ch'i-sung

Pao-lin chuan

The *Pao-lin chuan* responded to the challenges issued by the *Platform Sutra*. In particular, it fleshed out the biographies for each of the patriarchs from the Buddha through to the pupils of Hui-neng, making them the framework for the verse of transmission that was allocated to each. In so doing, it extended the *Platform Sutra*'s use of the transmission verses in association with the transmission of the robe.⁴⁴¹ On the other hand, the *Pao-lin chuan* has a number of characteristics in common with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Although it differs in format, being a 'lamplight history,' in other words, a chronologically ordered series of hagiographies, in contrast to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which is the hagiography of just one saint, the *Pao-lin chuan*

⁴⁴¹ Ishii (1980), 'Denpōge,' 286-288.

does similarly attempt to gain credibility by incorporating imperial edicts and providing (spuriously) detailed dates for events. Above all, it shares a major focus on relics. In particular, it was motivated to promote knowledge of the locations of the tombs and stupas of the six patriarchs.⁴⁴²

Given these similarities, it is apparent that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* influenced the *Pao-lin chuan*. From the fragments of the *Pao-lin chuan* related to the hagiography of Hui-neng collected by Shiina Kōyū, Ishii Shūdō has argued that the *Pao-lin chuan* took from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* passages and ideas about Pao-lin Monastery; the meeting of Hui-neng, Liu Chih-lüeh and the nun Wu-chin-tsang; Hui-neng's encounter with Yin-tsung; Emperor Chung-tsung's decree ordering Hui-neng to attend the imperial court and Hui-neng's refusal; the dialogue of Hui-neng and Hsieh Chien; the imperial decree ordering the construction of Fa-ch'üan Monastery; and the return of the robe of transmission by Yang Ch'ung-ching. In contrast, the influence from the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* was restricted to the teaching of the single practice samādhi (*i-hsing san-mei*) and the verses of transmission by the patriarchs.⁴⁴³ This suggests that the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* were written by closely connected groups, both doctrinally and geographically, with similar interests. In contrast, the *Platform Sutra* was more partisan, attempting to prolong a rift created by Shen-hui between 'North' and 'South,' and between sudden and gradual enlightenment.

The *Pao-lin chuan*, although only partially extant, is known to have traced a lineage up to Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786) from the Buddha, or perhaps the seven ancient buddhas, through twenty-eight patriarchs, who are all provided with comprehensive and dated hagiographies, via Bodhidharma to Hui-neng and eventually Ma-tsu via Nan-yüeh Huai-jiang, thereby covering up Ma-tsu's discipleship under Kim Musang.⁴⁴⁴ It also includes hagiographies for Nan-yüeh Huai-jiang, allegedly a pupil

⁴⁴² Yanagida Seizan (Nov. 1978), 'Shin zokutōshi no keifu, jo 1' *Zengaku kenkyū* 59: 24-26, and Yanagida Seizan (1984), 'Sodōshū kaidai,' 1603.

⁴⁴³ Ishii (March 1990), 'Enshū Yōgisan o meguru Nanshū Zen no jūkō,' 666-672; and (1990), English paper of Fo Kuang shan Conference, 94-95; Shiina Kōyū (1980, Dec), 'Hōrinden itsubun no kenkyū,' 246-247 (nos 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 56, 57?, 58, 59?).

⁴⁴⁴ ZSS, 412-413, 415; 359-360.

of Hui-neng, who had earlier consulted Lao-an on Mt Sung and then travelled to Ts'ao-ch'i and spent thirteen years with Hui-neng. He then went to Mt Lo-fou, but visited Hui-neng in 712-713, staying for two years.⁴⁴⁵ There was also an entry for Nan-yang Hui-chung and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien.⁴⁴⁶ It was partly written to counter the claims of the (Tun-huang) *Platform Sutra*, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, by downplaying the robe transmission and asserting that rhymed verses of transmission and predictions passed through all the patriarchs, which legitimated the lineage.⁴⁴⁷ Yet it attempted to accommodate at least one or two 'branch lineages,' one of which was Niu-tou,⁴⁴⁸ with which Ma-tsu Ch'an seems to have had frequent dealings and some common understanding.⁴⁴⁹ Moreover, it was not overly critical, it appears, of the *Platform Sutra* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, products of other 'branch lineages.' It therefore had a more 'ecumenical' tendency, attempting, it appears, to incorporate most of the lineages that claimed descent through Hui-neng, including that to Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou, possibly Shen-hui, his rival Nan-yang Hui-chung, and to the Ling-t'ao (or Hsing-t'ao) of Ts'ao-ch'i.

The real enemy for the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* was the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the imperially supported claims of Shen-hui's heirs to the 'orthodox' genealogy. The preface to the *Pao-lin chuan* was written by Ling-ch'e of K'uai-chi (746-816), possibly around 796, probably with the aim of defending Ma-tsu's claim to inherit the legacy of Hui-neng.⁴⁵⁰ To do this, the *Pao-lin chuan* purported to be a history of the

⁴⁴⁵ Shiina (1980, Dec), 248. The dating, as usual in the *Pao-lin chuan*, is out by two years.

⁴⁴⁶ Shiina (1980, Dec), 247-249; Robson (2002), 'Imagining Nanyue,' 513-514; Shiina Kōyū (March 1980), 'Hōrinden kan-kyū kan-jū no itsubun,' 193, 195. The final fascicle contained the hagiographies of six of Hui-neng's pupils and of two second-generation pupils.

⁴⁴⁷ ZSS, 355; see Min Yōnggyu (1993), 'Chungguk Sōn kwa Han'guk Sōn,' 32.

⁴⁴⁸ ZSS, 376-377. The other lineage appears to have been centred on the Lower Yangtze River region, and was possibly associated with Ling-ch'e.

⁴⁴⁹ For example, Chih-tsang, Ma-tsu's pupil, often had exchanges with Niu-t'ou Fa-ch'in (*Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.73-74; SKSC T50.766c11-12), and Ju-hui, the supposed recorder of Ma-tsu's sermons, had connections with Fa-ch'in (*Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.88-91; SKSC T50.773b). I have noticed other connections via the hagiography of Hui-neng. Cf. also Ishii (1990), 666-672.

⁴⁵⁰ Tosaki Tetsuhiko (1987), 'Hōrinden no josha Reitetsu to shisō Reitetsu,' 47-48, 45.

origins of Pao-lin Monastery in Ts'ao-ch'i,⁴⁵¹ and by producing new images of Buddha, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng, formed the basic patterns for all future hagiographies of these figures.⁴⁵²

On one more major point, the *Pao-lin chuan* further developed the hints in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* in relation to relic worship. As the (Tun-huang) *Platform Sutra* was trying to supersede or negate the veneration of Hui-neng's relics by adopting itself as the surety of transmission and validation of the orthodoxy of the genealogy, it has no mention of this aspect of relic worship and the attempted *furtum sacrum* at all. The *Pao-lin chuan*, usually dated 801, was more openly aware than the authors of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of the activities of Silla monks in China, for it mentions Kim Taebi as the instigator of the theft of Hui-neng's skull, as well as specifying that Liu Wu-t'ien and Yang K'uang (other texts correct K'uang 況 to K'an 侃)⁴⁵³ were the local officials. Yang K'an's son, Yang Wan (-ca. 777), showed sympathy for Niu-t'ou when he praised Fa-ch'in (714-793), a chief disciple of Hsüan-su.⁴⁵⁴ Although the *Pao-lin chuan* would thus seem to have a possible Niu-t'ou Ch'an origin, it traces instead a lineage up to Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786) and to Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791), and not to any Niu-t'ou monk. Moreover, the preface by Ling-ch'e (746-816) was written ca. 796 as an element in the defence of Ma-tsu Ch'an's claim to be the legitimate lineage from Hui-neng against attacks by the imperially supported Ho-tse Shen-hui lineage which asserted genealogical orthodoxy,⁴⁵⁵ and whom Ta-i may have confronted to his detriment.

⁴⁵¹ This is revealed by its full title, for which see ZSS, 358; in this respect it was a rival of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, and by its postface, see Shiina (1980, Dec), 249.

⁴⁵² ZSS, 412.

⁴⁵³ EK, 214, 391 for the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and *Platform Sutra* mentions. Yang K'an, also known as Yang Fu-chün, was a native of Hua-yin, Hung-nung. He died in Ho-nan Prefecture in 737, aged 54. This information is contained in a small fragment of a stele reproduced in *Chung-kuo li-tai mu-chih ta-kuan*, 4 vols (Taipei: T'ung-shu-chü, 1985), vol. 3, no. 764 and Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan chin-shih tsu comp., (1989), *Pei-ching T'u-shu-kuan tsang Chung-kuo li-tai shih-k'e kou-pen hui-pien*, Chung-chou ku-chi ch'u-pan she: Cheng-chou, Honan, vol. 23: 13. Another Yang K'an is mentioned in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, but lived too late.

⁴⁵⁴ SKSC, T50.764b13-15; CTW 512/ 6599d.

⁴⁵⁵ Tosaki (1987), 47-48, for the preface, 45, for the defence of the Ma-tsu lineage. The latest date found in the text is ca. 790, and the *Shih-shih t'ung-chen* of 1354 dates the *Pao-lin chuan* to 801.

Authorship and dating of the Pao-lin chuan

The dating of the *Pao-lin chuan* is highly problematic, despite much later references which state that the *Pao-lin chuan* was compiled by the monk Hui-chü of Chin-ling along with an Indian monk who collated the verses during the Chen-yüan era (785-804) at Ts'ao-ch'i.⁴⁵⁶ This reference is in the *Ta-tsang ching kang-mu t'i-yao lu* of 1103 by Wei-pai, and the latest date found in the *Pao-lin chuan* itself is 790. The first specific date, 801, for the *Pao-lin chuan* was not recorded until 1270.⁴⁵⁷ However, the catalogues of texts brought to Japan by Ennin, which are dated 839 and 847, do not specify a date or name an author of the book, only the author of the preface. Although the partial copy (fascicle six) discovered by Tokiwa Daijō in 1932 in the Shōren-in has a note asserting it was compiled or collected by Chih-chü of Chu-ling, this copy was probably made of the version edited in 1094 by Eichō (1014-1095) and presented to the Shōren-in, for the manuscript is of late Heian vintage. Eichō probably obtained this information about the author and place from the *I-ch'u liu-tieh* of 954 by I-ch'u (902-975), who noted that the *Pao-lin chuan* was "composed by Chih-chü of Chu-ling during the Sung, along with a preface by the monk Ling-ch'e," for all the other texts, with two exceptions, the *Hsin T'ang shu* of 1060 and the late Yüan dynasty *Chih-yüan fa-pao k'an-t'ung lu*, wrote it was by "Hui-chü of Chin-ling." The *Hsin T'ang shu* gives Chih-chü and the Yüan work has the Sung-ling monk, Chih-chü.⁴⁵⁸ Confusion reigns in these attributions. I-ch'u's use of Sung for the time period is far too late. Perhaps this was an error introduced long after I-ch'u presented his work to Emperor Shih-tsung of the Later Chou in 955. In content, it has even been confused by Sung commentators with the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*.⁴⁵⁹ Moreover, the use of Chu-ling for the place

⁴⁵⁶ ZSS, 351-352.

⁴⁵⁷ ZSS, 351-352, 357.

⁴⁵⁸ HTS 5/59/1528; ZSS, 351-352, 361; Tokiwa Daijō (1934), *Hōrinden no kenkyū*, 3-7, 39; Chōng Sōngbon (1991), *Chunguk Sōnjong ūi sōngnipsa yōn'gu*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 756-760. Shiina Kōyū (2000), 'Hōrinden no ihon,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 49 (1): 68-72, thinks there are three stemmata: that from the T'ang Dynasty, which is the Shōren-in text and which is quoted in the *I-ch'u liu-tieh*; another coming from the Sung Tripitaka via the Chin Tripitaka; and a Sung stemmata coming via the *Keitoku dentōroku shōchū* of 1316+.

⁴⁵⁹ ZSS, 316 and note 15 on 319, for the commentator on the *Pei-shan lu*, Hui-pao of Szechwan, who lived in the reigns of the Sung emperors Chen-tsung (998-1022) and Jen-tsung (1023-1063).

in the Shōren-in manuscript etcetera, does not necessarily indicate the Chu-ling Grotto on Nan-yüeh,⁴⁶⁰ but may be an error for other graphically similar names for Chin-ling.⁴⁶¹ Chin-ling, a former capital of southern dynasties, was surrounded by famous Buddhist monasteries and so had more status as a Buddhist place than Nan-yüeh in literary terms. It was also much closer to K'uai-chi, where Ling-ch'e was listed as coming from. It was also a Niu-t'ou Ch'an stronghold. Yet the original location may have been Chu-ling, a place less known to Buddhist authors. Moreover, Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien; according to the *Nan-yüeh tsung-sheng chi*, a work on Nan-yüeh by a Taoist author and dated 1163; frequented the Chu-ling Grotto.⁴⁶² But it may have been those Taoist connections that discredited any attribution of authorship to someone who resided in this location, the site of a Taoist abbey. Even more suspect, but required to 'verify' the 'authenticity of the verses,' is where some sources state that a mysterious Indian monk-translator, Sheng-ch'ih (* Śrīdhāra) was involved in the compilation and editing of the verses. Given that the early cataloguers give only the name of the preface writer, and that the first time an author is named is in 955, and even then there is some confusion, it is quite likely that there was no author specified in the early copies and that it was undated.

Moreover, the content clearly links Ma-tsu Ch'an and Silla monks. Perhaps then the provenance of authorship was Ch'ien-chou, the residence of Tao-i's pupil Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang (735-814), who taught at least three Silla monks. One of these monks, Toŭi, has been nominated a candidate for the author of the *Pao-lin chuan*. However, the evidence for this is extremely speculative and thin.⁴⁶³

Chih-tsang (735-814) had followed Tao-i since he was a child, but he had also frequently consulted Fa-ch'in (714-793) of the Niu-t'ou lineage, probably when Fa-ch'in resided on Mt Ching (744-766).⁴⁶⁴ Fa-ch'in, who may have met Lung-an Ju-hai and taught Chih-tsang, seems to have been engaged in merging the teachings of Niu-t'ou

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Tosaki (1987), 33-36.

⁴⁶¹ Yanagida Seizan (1978), 'Shin zokutōshi no keifu, jo 1,' 24.

⁴⁶² T51.1080a17-18; Robson (2002), 529.

⁴⁶³ Yanagida (1978), 24. I have explored this theory at length in Jorgensen (2005).

⁴⁶⁴ *Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.73-74; SKSC, T50.766c11-12. Note Fa-ch'in, like Hui-neng, had his corpse preserved in a stupa, T50.765a6-10.

and Ma-tsu Ch'an. Similarly, according to Liu Tsung-yüan, Ju-hai was attempting to reconcile Northern and Southern Ch'an. Note that another pupil of Fa-ch'in and a friend of the poet-monk Chiao-jan, was Fa-hai. This group seems to have engaged in the syncretic, literary activities that could have produced a work like the *Pao-lin chuan*. Given the above factors, it is possible that the *Pao-lin chuan* was written by one of Chih-tsang's pupils, building on the foundations of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* with its possible T'an-chou and Niu-t'ou-influenced provenance, by using a Silla connection, a linkage with Liu Wu-t'ien and T'an-chou, and with Yang K'an from Niu-t'ou. Moreover, the monk Ju-hui (d. 823), who probably recorded the sayings and deeds of Tao-i, and who was a native of Shao-chou and a student of Fa-ch'in earlier around 773, lived in T'an-chou.⁴⁶⁵ Perhaps then Ju-hui was an intermediary between the T'an-chou tradition of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* that may have been authored by Ju-hai, and a posited Ch'ien-chou author of the *Pao-lin chuan*.

Further, the vignette in the *Pao-lin chuan* about the attempted theft of Hui-neng's head could not be attacking Ma-tsu's Hung-chou Ch'an via the person of Kim Taebi, for the book championed Tao-i's lineage. Rather, Kim Taebi is portrayed as venerating Hui-neng's relics and as acting on behalf of the Silla community.⁴⁶⁶ Perhaps then the author, at least of the story, was a Silla Korean, and this was then incorporated by a Chinese compiler from Ch'ien-chou who had Silla associates.

Yet it is also possible that the *Pao-lin chuan* was compiled at Chu-ling Grotto in Nan-yüeh, as the Shōren-in copy and I-ch'ü noted. Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien had frequented the area until his death in 791, Huai-jiang had lived there, and Ma-tsu had studied under Huai-jiang there from 734 to 742. Several of Ma-tsu's pupils also stayed for a time on Nan-yüeh, and there appears to have been considerable exchange between Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou.⁴⁶⁷ Moreover, the conciliatory tone taken towards

⁴⁶⁵ *Tsu-t'ang chi* 4 . 88-91; SKSC, T50.773b.

⁴⁶⁶ Chōn Posam (1989), 'Yukjo chōngsang ūi tongnaesöl kwa kŭ sin'angjōk ūi,' 324-325, claims that the use of the term 'devotee' or 'mourner' (literally, filial son) by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, *Pao-lin chuan*, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and later recensions of the *Platform Sutra* shows that the theft was seen as a positive deed motivated by a desire to worship it, as is confirmed by Ling-t'ao and the verse prediction, "On my head worship the parent." Cf. EK, 214, for Ling-t'ao in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

⁴⁶⁷ Robson (2002), 509, 516-518, quoting SKSC T50.764a. However, some, such as Huai-hui, probably stayed only a short time.

Taoism, the existence of a library at Chu-ling Grotto, and the fact that the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* was written by Wei-ching (fl. 907) at Nan-yüeh, suggests the *Pao-lin chuan* just may have been compiled on Nan-yüeh. And Ling-ch'e may have resided for a time at Nan-yüeh,⁴⁶⁸ but when is uncertain, and it is possible this is a misattribution.

What is certain is that the author of the *Pao-lin chuan* had a good knowledge of the Shao-chou region and the legends of Pao-lin Monastery, clearly derived mostly from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. For example, in the section on the attempted theft of Hui-neng's mummified head, it mentions that Chang Hsing-man was captured at Shih-chieh Village, some twenty kilometres south of Ch'ü-chiang County.⁴⁶⁹ This reference was not found in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, yet being such an obscure place, the reference must have been derived from local knowledge. Moreover, unlike the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Platform Sutra*, the *Pao-lin chuan* gave a different date for the death of Hui-neng and stated that his stupa was in P'an-yü, that is, Kuang-chou.⁴⁷⁰ This may have been the stupa referred to as the Stupa of the Sixth Patriarch. It also recorded that on the 17th December 786 that the cypresses in front of the stupa had cones like rice-cakes strung together, a phenomenon lasting three years.⁴⁷¹ This possibly was the stupa called the Yüan-ho Ling-chao Stupa. Thus the *Pao-lin chuan* may have been attempting a geographical inclusiveness also, permitting Kuang-chou a role in addition to Ts'ao-ch'i, and the regions of the disciples as well. Perhaps the author saw the potential of incorporating references to Silla also, which may indicate it had origins in groups that were in contact with Silla monks.

Furthermore, by providing hagiographies of the Indian patriarchs for the first time and not just naming them, the *Pao-lin chuan* was not only reinforcing the lineage claims, but also appealing to the court's new-found fascination with Indian masters, such as the Esoteric teacher Pu-k'ung or Amoghavajra, that rose after the An Lu-shan Rebellion. Perhaps it was taking advantage of Pu-k'ung's ca. 772 report to Emperor Tai-tsung that Śākya Muni had predicted true Buddhism would flourish in China under a sage emperor,⁴⁷² to demonstrate that

⁴⁶⁸ Robson (2002), 535-536; Tosaki (1987), 31, 33-35.

⁴⁶⁹ Shiina (1980, March), 247; see Chapter 4 note 5.

⁴⁷⁰ Shiina (1980, March), 247, 252.

⁴⁷¹ Shiina (1980, March), 247.

⁴⁷² Weinstein (1987), *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 77-78, 81-82.

the Ch'an lineage was the true Buddhism, as was sanctioned by pro-Buddhist emperors such as Emperor Wu of Liang. Its production also coincided with a period of renewed translations from Indian sutras and the arrival of an envoy from Odra in East India.⁴⁷³ Perhaps the *Pao-lin chuan* was attempting to stake a major claim to authority by showing it had a broader sphere and connections than just a minor lineage of meditators from the far south of China and was contesting a new rival claiming to be true Buddhism.

This new rival was the monk Prajñā from Kāpiśa, who had studied at Nālandā, visited the eight stupas containing Śākya Muni's relics and learnt his Mantrayana in South India. Hearing that Mañjuśrī resided in China, he travelled by sea to Kuang-chou, arriving around 780 with new Sanskrit texts.⁴⁷⁴ Around the same time, a Muniśrī arrived from Nālandā and came to Ch'ang-an, and Kūkai reported Prajñā as having said,

I was born in the country of Kapiśa and entered the Path when young.
I travelled around all of India and constantly vowed to *transmit the lamp-light*,

using the image of *ch'uan-teng* that had been a Ch'an monopoly. This lineage also claimed to go back to a secret transmission from Nagārjuna in South India.⁴⁷⁵ Moreover, there is a possibility that this Prajñā had arrived in 758, but returned to India temporarily, for a Prajñā(li) is mentioned in an appendix to the biography of Huai-t'i of Mt Lo-fou.⁴⁷⁶ As we have seen, Huai-t'i was supposedly involved with the *Shou-leng-yen ching* and Shen-hui.⁴⁷⁷ Not only could these Esoteric Buddhists from India boast a rival lineage, they also claimed that theirs was the most immediate or sudden teaching of enlightenment or becoming Buddha.⁴⁷⁸ This rivalry seems to have later been acknowledged by Tsan-ning, who divided the teachings into Exoteric, with a primal Chinese patriarch in Kāśyapa Matanga; an Esoteric Teaching with a primal Chinese patriarch in Vajrabodhi; and Ch'an

⁴⁷³ Weinstein (1987), 98.

⁴⁷⁴ Yoritomi Motohiro (1979), *Chūgoku Mikkyō no kenkyū*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 8-13.

⁴⁷⁵ Yoritomi (1979), 21-22.

⁴⁷⁶ Yoritomi (1979), 33.

⁴⁷⁷ SKSC T50.720c.

⁴⁷⁸ Yoritomi (1979), 137; see also Hai-yün, *Liang-pu Ta-fa hsiang-ch'eng shih-tzu fu-fa chi* of 834, T51.783b-784a, with a lineage via South India and Nagārjuna back to Vairocana Buddha, manifested as Śākya Muni.

with a first patriarch in Bodhidharma.⁴⁷⁹ Although the latter may have been Tsan-ning's own perception, it is possible that the compiler of the *Pao-lin chuan* had similar thoughts, and so fleshed out his account of Pao-lin Monastery at Ts'ao-ch'i by including hagiographies of all the Indian patriarchs. Moreover, coincidentally, this Esoteric Buddhist group at court also boasted Silla monk adherents such as Hye'il and Ojin who arrived in 781. Ojin later travelled to India, and his body (*chen-shen*) may have been brought to court.⁴⁸⁰

Whoever the author was, the *Pao-lin chuan* seems to have excited opposition to it in the metropolitan region, most likely from partisans of Shen-hui and possibly a rival sub-branch of the Ma-tsu school and from adherents of Esoteric Buddhism, who were heavily backed by the eunuchs.⁴⁸¹ It suffered from constant attacks in some quarters, for by the time it was incorporated into the Northern Sung Tripitaka of 998, fascicles two and ten had already been lost. It was burnt by the Liao and attacked by the Korean cataloguer Ŭich'ŏn as an apocryphal book, and never regained its status.⁴⁸²

Conclusion

One reason for the demise of the *Pao-lin chuan* was its style, which was clearly unlike the officially approved *lieh-chuan* format seen in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*. It was so obviously in error on so many dates and individuals that it had to be critiqued and superseded by later, more sober works such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The stories it contained, like those of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and Shen-hui, all of which writings had vanished by the Sung only to be rescued from the caves of Tun-huang in recent times, were too offensive to other Buddhists. Even the great Ch'an master Ch'i-sung (1011-1072) had to attack the allegations that Bodhiruci, the important translator, poisoned Bodhidharma, as being too vulgar, and he did not adopt that story. He said of the tale of the supposed 'Northern Ch'an' assassination of Hui-neng, "How could this have been Shen-hsiu's idea? It follows clearly that Bodhiruci did not do so either." As Ch'i-sung has named the *Pao-lin chuan* here

⁴⁷⁹ Yoritomi (1979), 143; SKSC T50.724b.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ta T'ang Ching-lung Ssu San-ch'ao Kung-feng Ta-te hsing-chuang*, T50.295b-c; note it starts with a mention of South India, 294c.

⁴⁸¹ Yoritomi (1979), 14-15; Weinstein (1987), 86, 95-97.

⁴⁸² Yampolsky (1967), 52; Chikusa (2000), 102.

as the source,⁴⁸³ he is accusing it of un-Buddhist or ungentlemanly behaviour, and so by inference that the *Pao-lin chuan* is not worthy of being considered an authoritative history of Ch'an.

Elsewhere, Ch'i-sung wrote concerning the source of a story about a pupil of Hui-neng, one Chih-pen, who said that T'an-yao during the Northern Wei persecution of Buddhism kept a record of the names of the patriarchs, that:

If (the source) is the *Pao-lin chuan*, then although its written style is vulgar, its order confused, and is not categorised as the book of a scholar, yet the matters in it have some system (*pen-mo*). The generation numbers and names also have some reason (*so-i*). So although I would wish to adopt it, when I trace back its sources, I find at times where it indicates its secular (source) books that they did not exist, and where it indicates Buddhist works, there are some that do not exist in the Tripitaka catalogues....I constantly suspect that it lacks evidence, and do not dare arbitrarily evaluate (or argue for its theories).⁴⁸⁴

Gentleman scholars of Ch'an like Ch'i-sung, who associated and debated with the Confucian elite of Northern Sung,⁴⁸⁵ had to protect the integrity and dignity of their scholastic, court-centred Ch'an from the taint of the vulgar and popular 'entertainments' such as those seen in the *Pao-lin chuan*. Clearly the author had been too free with his inventions and had failed to use attested sources. His claimed lineage and the invented proofs for it, could not stand scrutiny.

It may well have been the attempt to present the *Pao-lin chuan* to the court that brought it such close examination. Lineage rivals, Ch'an and non-Ch'an, may well have disputed its genealogy and mobilised influential people around the court to have its promoter, Ling-ch'e, expelled. Although Shen-hui had been interrogated for his claims by Emperor Hsüan-tsung and exiled, the fortunate intervention of the An Lu-shan Rebellion seems to have saved his assertions from further testing, and he died soon after. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* remained a regional product and so its inventions did not have to undergo interrogation. The same applied, it seems, to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, but the *Platform Sutra* in some forms was questioned by Ch'an masters at court. Thus their images of Hui-neng remained largely unchallenged outside

⁴⁸³ *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi*, T51.744a12-20.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi*, T51.774b9-14.

⁴⁸⁵ Jorgensen (1989), 'Sensibility of the insensible,' 238, 249, 70ff; associates included Ou-yang Hsiu and the Lu-ling School of Confucianism.

of the inner circles of Ch'an, while that of the *Pao-lin chuan* was challenged. Ch'an may have thus suffered a setback in its genealogical claims and assertions about Hui-neng, but as central authority lessened, the Ch'an production of hagiographies continued without reference to the state, and fundamentally extended the work of the *Pao-lin chuan*, but subtly altering the style of (re)presentation.

Stage Three: from the Pao-lin chuan to the Tsu-t'ang chi

Despite its eventual disappearance from the scene, the *Pao-lin chuan* left a lasting legacy in the major text of the beginnings of the third stage. This text, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, had an even closer association with 'Korea,' and was itself a major force in the development of the Ch'an hagiography as a vehicle for enlightenment exchanges. The linkage between the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was probably aided by Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883).⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, a considerable number of texts, hagiographical and genealogical, existed between the time of the ca. 796 *Pao-lin chuan* and the 952 *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

However, they were mostly brief, ending either with Bodhidharma or Hui-neng, and contained nothing particularly new. Thus, after a flurry of writings from the first decades of the eighth century to its last decade, in the next century there was a dearth of important works, almost as if the *Pao-lin chuan* had either exhausted the field or proved so creative that it left little more to be written. Or perhaps it was because a new genre was gaining popularity. This was the *yü* or *yü-pen* or *yü-yao*, which eventually became the *yü-lu*, and which may have crowded out the serial hagiographies. These *yü* texts began among the pupils of Ma-tsu. They may have been promoted by the example of the *Platform Sutra* and the *Pao-lin chuan*, which incorporated the *Sutra in Forty-two Chapters* into its hagiography of the Buddha, almost as if it were a *yü-lu* of the Buddha, and thus provided a model for the *yü-pen*.⁴⁸⁷ Perhaps then the *yü* collections of the various teachers in the lineages from Hui-neng could be seen as supplementary chapters to the *Pao-lin chuan*. These were later possibly summarised or abstracted from to create the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

The first of the hagiographical and genealogical works of this period

⁴⁸⁶ Ishii (1990), 666-672.

⁴⁸⁷ Yanagida (1985), 229-234, 457-458.

was probably the brief *Tsu-shih ch'uan-chiao: Hsi-t'ien nien-pa tsu T'ang lai liu tsu* (Patriarchal Teachers' Transmission of the Teaching: Twenty-eight Indian Patriarchs and Six Patriarchs who Came to T'ang), which asserts that the robe was not transmitted after the thirty-third generation, or Hui-neng. However, the text stops with Bodhidharma reaching Shao-lin Monastery. It was clearly based on the *Pao-lin chuan*, but in a summary form, giving the patriarch's generation, name, place of origin and time via Chinese emperor's names. It does differ from the *Pao-lin chuan* on the date of Bodhidharma's arrival in China, so it did have some new theories. It differs from another similar lineage text, the *Fen-teng chih lu-ching ts'ung-shang Hsi-t'ien (nien-)pa tsu shou-chi T'ang-lai liu tsu-shih mi-ch'uan hsin-yin* (The Continuous Passing of the Sharing of the Lamplight from the Start [Buddha] through the Twenty-eight Patriarchs of India who Received the Prediction and the Six Generations of Patriarchal Teachers of T'ang who Secretly Transmitted the Mind Seal), which includes material on the six Chinese patriarchs, but rather concentrates on the transmission of the Dharma-gathas at the time of death, and states that the transmission of the robe of surety was declared by Hui-neng to halt with him. In this, the latter text is closer to the *Pao-lin chuan* and may be a little earlier in time.⁴⁸⁸ In 899, the *Sheng-chou chi* (Collection of the Saint's Descendants) by Hsüan-wei appeared, also having drawn on the *Pao-lin chuan*. In 998, when the *Pao-lin chuan* was to be placed in the Tripitaka, the translator-monk Yün-sheng of Ch'ang-an found that the *Pao-lin chuan* was missing fascicles two and ten, and so used the *Sheng-chou chi* to make up for the missing portion in fascicle two. The *Sheng-chou chi* was based on the *Pao-lin chuan* for the gathas of the seven primordial buddhas and twenty-eight patriarchs to create the lineage. Its primary focus was on Bodhidharma, who was probably conceived of as an incarnation of Kuan-yin and was called Master Sheng-chou, as in the title, and appears not to have had entries on any of the patriarchs after Bodhidharma.⁴⁸⁹

Because the *Sheng-chou chi* probably ended with Bodhidharma and the *Pao-lin chuan* with the people around Ma-tsu Tao-i, the need was

⁴⁸⁸ Tanaka Ryōshō (1983), *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, 108-119.

⁴⁸⁹ Tanaka (1983), 121-132, on problems of various copies and quotes dealt with; the title *Sheng-chou* was derived from the *Pao-lin chuan*, see ZSS, 395, 400, from the dirge by Heir-Apparent Chao-ming of the Liang. Main text fragment is given in Yanagida Seizan (Oct. 1958), 'Genmon Shōchūji ni tsuite,' *Bukkyō shigaku* 7 (3): 44-57.

felt for a continuation. This need was met by the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* written by Wei-ching ca. 907-910.⁴⁹⁰ Unfortunately it is not extant. Coincidentally, Wei-ching lived on Nan-yüeh and was in a branch of Ch'an from Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791) that clearly favoured the composition of poetry and hymns, possibly as inspired by the *Pao-lin chuan*. One of these authors in this branch was Sheng-teng, the abbot of the monastery during the time of the composition of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in 952.

Soon after 944, Sheng-teng wrote the *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsien-chu chu-tsu-shih sung*,⁴⁹¹ a series of hymns praising the thirty-three patriarchs as well as Huai-jang, Hsing-ssu, Nan-yang Hui-chung, Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien and Ma-tsu Tao-i. The preface to it was written by Hui-kuan of Mt Chung-nan, near Ch'ang-an:

Mr (Hsüan-)t'ai of Nan-yüeh wrote five paeans and ten hymns, and at that time they were praised with beautiful words. Then there were Le-fu and Hsiang-yen, who further extended his hymns. This then was the beginning of the assistance (in practicing) the Way. For the patriarchs, the conferral of the lamplight began with Kāśyapa and ended with Ts'ao-ch'i, in all thirty-three patriarchs. After the robe of surety, (the conferral) reached several people. I was also pained at the fact that some of the previous sages had not been praised (in verse). Although the *Pao-lin (chuan)* described their affairs as patriarchs, and one can read it with assurance, how can one forget the occasions (機 of enlightenment)? Yet the lazy sometimes despise their memory, of the distant (past). In an evening in late autumn, I attained the former idea, and requested Ch'an Teacher Ch'ien-fo (Sheng-)teng....⁴⁹²

It is clear from this that quite a number of Ch'an monks composed verses in praise of the patriarchs,⁴⁹³ and not just at times of conferral or awakening as the *Platform Sutra* and *Pao-lin chuan* depicted. While one reading of this passage seems to imply that the robe came to several people after Hui-neng,⁴⁹⁴ the verse for Hui-neng in this collection maintains that the robe was not transmitted by him:

⁴⁹⁰ Tanaka (1983), 126.

⁴⁹¹ Stein 1634, in T85, no. 2861.

⁴⁹² Text in ZSS, 397; T85.1320c14-20; amended according to Pa Chou (1965), *Tun-huang yün-wen chi*, Fo-chiao wen-hua fu-wu ch'u yin-hang: Taipei, 136, as the Taisho text has a number of errors. It could also read, "I was requested by Ch'ien-fo (Sheng-)teng to write a preface..."

⁴⁹³ ZSS, 396-398.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Tanaka (1983), 117. Translation in ZSS, 397, and a later translation in Yanagida Seizan (1990), *Sodōshū: Daijō Butten: Chūgoku Nihon hen*, vol 13, Chūō kōronsha: Tokyo, 469.

The Teacher went to Huang-mei,
 Gained the gist and came South.
 There, through the meaning of the flag,
 He greatly reverberated the Dharma-thunder.
 Tao-ming met with him
 And Shen-hsiu was hesitant.
 Although the robe was not conferred,
 The flowers of the empire bloomed.⁴⁹⁵

Yanagida Seizan thinks that these hymns provided the inspiration for and a core around which the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was first constructed. He therefore posited several layers to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the early part built around the verses of Wen-teng. Indeed, Sheng-teng (a.k.a Wen-teng) is quoted at forty-six places in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.⁴⁹⁶ It is likely that there were several strata because the text is so long (over 200,000 characters), and because it was first circulated in a shorter one-fascicle version, which was later expanded into as possibly as many as twenty fascicles. The course of development would then lead from the *Pao-lin chuan*, through the hymns by Sheng-teng, to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.⁴⁹⁷

The tendencies of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* can be ascertained by reading its material on Hui-neng, which is not confined to his hagiography, but also appears in the hagiographies of Hung-jen and Hui-chi. Even more so than the previous hagiographies, such as those by Shen-hui, in the *Platform Sutra* or the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* hagiography of Hui-neng has adapted to the Chinese value system. Thus, it provides the personal name of Hui-neng's father, Hsing-t'ao,⁴⁹⁸ surely an appropriation of the name of one of Hui-neng's chief disciples according to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Significantly, it gives space for an account of Hui-neng providing for his widowed mother whom he had supported by selling firewood in the Nan-hai marketplace. He gained two hundred taels of silver from An Tao-cheng, a wealthy customer for his wood, which Hui-neng used to secure his mother's livelihood while he left to see Hung-jen, which place he reached in a little over a month. No doubt this was to answer the ethical dilemma of an only son leaving his widowed mother for the monkhood, a question surely posed by Confucian critics. Coincidentally, in this account,

⁴⁹⁵ Pa Chou (1965), 143: cf. T85.1322b11-13.

⁴⁹⁶ Ishii Shūdō (1987), *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 71.

⁴⁹⁷ Yanagida (1990), 468-477. For more details, see Appendix 2.

⁴⁹⁸ EK, 103.

Hui-neng was moved to study under Hung-jen because he was woken by An Tao-cheng's recitation of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*.⁴⁹⁹ Thus Hui-neng acted the role of a responsible and filial son, and was not seen as abandoning his familial duty of care.

Secondly, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* hagiography of Hui-neng was less concerned with recording imperial support for the lineage. Although it reproduced the imperial decree requesting Hui-neng attend court almost word for word, and in full, from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*,⁵⁰⁰ elsewhere it ignores the posthumous stelae, imperial decrees, court commissioners and imperial gifts that were crucial to the thrust of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*.⁵⁰¹ This was probably because the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was written after the T'ang, when China was divided into rival kingdoms, and imperial favour was less important. However, it has been careful to amend dates to appear more correct, and it removed the name of Emperor Kao-tsung from the decree of invitation and substituted the name of Empress Wu Tse-t'ien in order to avoid an anachronism and because the hostility to her had been forgotten. Yet it made another glaring error in having Emperor Chung-tsung award Hui-neng a posthumous title. That was impossible, for by its own reckoning, Hui-neng died in 713, and Chung-tsung died in 710.⁵⁰²

Moreover, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* shows little more than perfunctory concern with miracles, listing a mere two in a rather conventional way; 'a stream of white light' and a fragrance at Hui-neng's death. This may have been due to the fact that Hui-neng's position and authority were firmly fixed and the genealogy well and truly decided, so there was no need to artificially boost him via records of miracles.⁵⁰³ It may also owe something to a lessening of the medieval interest in the miraculous and relics, and was an attempt to make Hui-neng more human, more Chinese perhaps. Because miracles are social acts, in that they must have audiences and witnesses who respond with wonder and awe, and who have "socially shared expectations concerning what ought to happen" and "a common sense view of the normal way of things, from which the miraculous by definition deviates,"⁵⁰⁴ should

⁴⁹⁹ EK, 105, 112, 114-115.

⁵⁰⁰ EK, 181.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. EK, 217, 227.

⁵⁰² EK, 234.

⁵⁰³ EK, 208.

⁵⁰⁴ Richard H. Davis (1998), 'Introduction: Miracles as Social Acts,' in Richard

the audiences change their attitudes, the sense of what constitutes a miracle must change. Ch'an had gained state or official patronage in Wu-Yüeh and Southern T'ang, the region where the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was produced. The settings of the patriarchal transmission and Ch'an activities were increasingly quotidian and less supramundane, "lending an air of down-to-earth realism to things miraculous and imbuing even ordinary events with extraordinary significance."⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, as miracles are often manifestations of conflicting belief systems and spiritual authority,⁵⁰⁶ once Ch'an was firmly established in a region, the hagiographers no longer needed to resort to miracles in order to attract the literate. Rather, the emphasis shifted more to a mixture of realism and doctrine.

This tendency appears in the increased use of reported dialogues, primitive or *mini-yü-lu* and sermons inserted into the hagiography. Although this was not particularly new, it is more evident here. Thus, when Hung-jen and Hui-neng cross the Yangtze, they engage in a debate over who should take the oar of the boat. The language is colloquial, using the second person pronoun *ni*.⁵⁰⁷ Doctrinal issues are introduced through sermons that use the occasion of other events as a reason for their preaching. Thus, when Hui-neng's former home in Hsin-chou is made into a monastery, Hui-neng delivers a sermon on one's own mind being Buddha and the *i-hsing san-mei*.⁵⁰⁸ The *Tsu-t'ang chi* reflects later doctrinal issues through these specific sermons, which do not appear in the previous hagiographies of Hui-neng (sermons of course are given in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan*, but not these sermons). Even slight emendations import fresh doctrinal elements. Thus, in the dialogue with Hung-jen over the Buddha-nature of Ling-nan people, Hui-neng replied, "The Tathāgatagarbha-nature extends to ants, so how can it not be in the Hunting Lao alone?"⁵⁰⁹ While this may have been to give greater dramatic effect to the point about the universality of the Buddha-nature, it may also have reflected

H. Davis, ed., *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, Westview Press: Boulder, 4-5.

⁵⁰⁵ T. Griffith Foulk (1993), 'Myth, ritual, and monastic practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism,' in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds, *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 153.

⁵⁰⁶ Davis (1998), 6.

⁵⁰⁷ EK, 139; TTC 1.86.8-11.

⁵⁰⁸ EK, 183, cf. 200; TTC 1.96.5ff.

⁵⁰⁹ EK, 116, 118; TTC 1.91.3.

debates within Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai on whether the Buddha-nature extended to the insentient. Similarly, the emendation of a line in the second verse by Hui-neng in the gatha-contest with Shen-hsiu to "Originally there was not a single thing,"⁵¹⁰ suggests a doctrinal dispute was lurking in the background.

Yet another feature of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is the use of verse, something that began in the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* and developed in the *Pao-lin chuan*. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* takes it a step further, and rather like the *shih-hua* genre (literally, 'talks on poetry,' which evaluated poetic works through citations and comments by others), quoted verses and comments by other monks on incidents and sayings that occur in the hagiography of a monk. For the transmission gatha of Hui-neng, another monk's views are 'taken up' in evaluation.⁵¹¹ 'Old cases' are raised, and substitute replies are given. Dialogues between others on the same topic are 'quoted,' rather like the evaluations in the later collections of *kung-an* (public cases) such as the *Pi-yen lu*. Another example of this is Hui-chi's dialogue with Ling-yu over the prediction made by Hui-neng, in verse, of the bungled attempt to steal his head. Moreover, Sheng-teng is quoted, including the entire verse on Hui-neng from his *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih sung*,⁵¹² without attribution.

Given all these features, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is transitional between the T'ang Dynasty lineage and hagiographical texts, and the Sung Dynasty *kung-an* collections and 'enlightenment episode exchange dialogues' known under the rubric of 'lamplight transmission' histories. It no longer champions a single lineage, but includes the *logia* of members of different family branches. Following a tendency begun in the *Pao-lin chuan*, it shifts from the purely vertical lineage towards a familial lineage that permits horizontal relationships, and it uses familial terminology such as uncle and nephew, grandfather and grandson. Picking up elements from Shen-hui's 'imperial lineage,' it adapted clan rules based on filial piety, and so by implication repudiates the description of lineages or houses of Ch'an as being like enemies or the mutual conquest of fire and water made by Tsung-mi (780-841).⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ EK, 129; TTC 1.85.3-4 (no introduction of Chang Jih-yung here); Jorgensen (2003), 410-411, summarises the debates on this question. Some suggest that the line is from the Hung-chou Ch'an of Ma-tsu in opposition to a 'constantly pure nature' of the Tun-huang version of the *Platform Sutra* supported by the Shen-hui lineage.

⁵¹¹ EK, 200; TTC 1.97.12ff.

⁵¹² EK, 221; TTC 1.99.11-12.

⁵¹³ Min Yönggyu (1993), 'Chungguk Sön kwa Han'guk Sön,' 29-32; cf. quote

The *Tsu-t'ang chi* account resembles a series of disconnected incidents, dialogues or scenes quoted from a *yü-pen* (book of sayings) or *yü-lu* (logia record) of the masters put inside a minimal biographical frame.⁵¹⁴ In this aspect it greatly resembles the *Lun-yü*. Indeed, the frame really was dispensable, for the *Tsu-t'ang chi* frequently states at the end of its 'biographical entries' that "we have not seen their veritable records, and cannot determine the circumstances of their conversion," or "we have not seen their account of conduct." While Yanagida thinks the texts referred to were records of their encounter dialogues and enlightenment occasions,⁵¹⁵ these terms are those used in obituaries and more biographical materials, derived as they are from 'Confucian' forms. For the laity at least, an account of conduct was required by the court before any consideration could be given to dignifying the late person with a posthumous name or title, or even with a tomb inscription.⁵¹⁶ Thus, Fa-ju's stele was called an 'account of conduct.' In other words, even when no biography was available, some dialogues or sermons were sufficient to illustrate the monk's saintliness and qualification for inclusion in this 'Collection from the Hall of the Patriarchs.' This positive approval of language play in response to the circumstances undoubtedly dates back to Ma-tsu and was possibly recorded in a *yü-pen* by his disciple Ju-hui.⁵¹⁷

As the *Tsu-t'ang chi* drew upon the *Pao-lin chuan*, a product of Ma-tsu's lineage, it probably also imbibed the style of dialogue and interpersonal cross-referencing that came out of that community.⁵¹⁸ It also reflected the growing role of literature and poetry in Ch'an, something that flourished especially in the succeeding Sung Dynasty. As such,

from Tsung-mi, Kamata (1971), *Zen no Goroku 9: Zengen shosen shū tojo*, 48-49. Note that Tsung-mi here defines *tsung* as to *pieh* or 'differentiate.'

⁵¹⁴ For a definition of *yü-lu*, see Yanagida (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 227-228. The first references to *yü-lu* are to those of Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen and Huang-po Hsi-yün in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, Yanagida (1985), 229-230. For its representations of various lineages, possibly to flatter the rulers of Southern T'ang, see the suggestion by Foulk (1992), 'The Ch'an Tsung in Medieval China,' 27. But to what extent these lineages were added after the 952 original is unclear. See Appendix 2.

⁵¹⁵ Yanagida (1985), 526, 530-533.

⁵¹⁶ Nakamura Hiroichi (1991), 350-352, 361-362, 364, on the formats of these, which were clearly fixed, and they went through a set bureaucratic procedure via the History Office.

⁵¹⁷ Yanagida (1985), 232.

⁵¹⁸ This is a reference to the 'this mind is Buddha,' and 'not mind not Buddha' etcetera, for which see Suzuki Tetsuo (1999), *Chūgoku Zenshūshi ronko*, 193-195; and Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), *Tō-Godai Zenshūshi*, 377-381.

the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was at the forefront of a new type of Ch'an literature, and yet it was soon lost in China, overtaken and pushed into peripheral obscurity by works of the early Sung Dynasty that had imperial sanction and backing, works such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and its epigones. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* lacked such eminent sponsors and thus did not maintain an equivalent authority, and so barely survived in the mountain fastnesses of Haein Monastery in Korea. This was despite the fact that its hagiography of Hui-neng, with its strong affirmation of Confucian moral values and its greater sense of the sanctity of the mundane, should have met with greater public and official approval. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* then was truly a confirmation of the invention of Hui-neng on the structural model of Confucius in the *Shih chi* biography that had been achieved by Shen-hui nearly two centuries earlier. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, however, did provide the model for some aspects of the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004) and *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi* of 1061 by Ch'i-sung that provided the standard hagiographies of Hui-neng.⁵¹⁹ This represented the final stage in the Confucianisation of the chief Chinese patriarch of Ch'an.

Analysis of the historical trajectory

The case of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* once again demonstrates the importance of being on the periphery for survival. If a theory or text could not be made successful in the metropolitan region, it had little chance of survival unless it was retained in some margin of the empire or beyond. Shen-hui's works (which had temporary success in the capital districts of T'ang China, with one altered exception) only survived in the caves of Tun-huang in the empire's remote north-western portal to Central Asia. Other superseded works, such as the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* and *Li-tai fa-pao chi* likewise are only extant in manuscripts from Tun-huang or fragmentary translations into Tibetan. However, after this time, the major works of the second or third stages in the evolution of Ch'an hagiography no longer appear in the western fringes of China such as Tun-huang (the exceptions are some minor works or fragments of the *Sheng-chou chi*), but in the countries beyond China's borders where Ch'an was exported, namely

⁵¹⁹ In particular, on the name of Hui-neng's father and on the provisions for his mother, see EK, 103, 112.

Korea and Japan. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* survived because of a single copy brought by Saichō to Japan; the *Tsu-t'ang chi* because of a woodblock kept in Haein Monastery as a supplement to the Koryō Tripitaka. The *Pao-lin chuan* was known from a manuscript kept in Kyoto and a few sections found in the Tripitaka of the Chin, again a kingdom that was only partly Chinese by conquest and so could be counted as marginal. Without this evidence coming out of the margins of Chinese civilisation, the evolution of the hagiography of Hui-neng would have remained a mystery, leaving only the material found in the stelae by literati such as Wang Wei, Liu Tsung-yüan and Liu Yü-hsi, and the 'autobiography' in the later versions of the *Platform Sutra* and the biography in the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* as a guide. It is fortunate for historians that these peripheral sanctuaries existed, enabling the main contributions to the formation of the mature hagiography to be recognised. Peripheral places, once more, managed to subvert the status of the centre. Without remote places, the homogenising and censorious centre that was backed by imperial power would have erased much of the history of the hagiography from the records.

Moreover, the evolution in the fabrication of the hagiography of Hui-neng coincided with changes in the acceptance of Ch'an by the elite and the literate, transformations in social values and intellectual trends, and the formations of new genres of literature. Therefore, new images of Hui-neng were constantly being fabricated and updated. Therefore, in the T'ang Dynasty, despite the apparent acceptance of the comparison of Hui-neng with Confucius by the Buddho-Confucian elite; by scholars such as Wang Wei, Liu Tsung-yüan, and Liu Yü-hsi (772-842) who all wrote stelae for Hui-neng; with recognition by the emperors of the 'imperial lineage' claim (by Tai-tsung ca. 770, and Hsien-tsung in 815), and the erection of a Hall of the Patriarchs;⁵²⁰ and by leading clerics such as Tsung-mi; the *Platform Sutra* that proved Hui-neng was a 'living buddha'⁵²¹ and the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* that promoted a cult of his relics, were repeatedly and thoroughly ignored or spurned by those T'ang clerics and distinguished laymen. Therefore it is not possible to discover the exact origin of the *Platform Sutra*, for all mentions of a *Platform Sutra* are ambiguous and obscure.⁵²² Those

⁵²⁰ Jorgensen (1987), 119-121.

⁵²¹ Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 'Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi sōngnip kwa chemunje,' in Kim Ch'i'gyōn, ed, *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, 254.

⁵²² Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 257, 269.

references to the *Platform Sutra*, without naming their source, that do date from the T'ang, are only to the stanzas of the verse contest,⁵²³ and those to the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* were to the attempted theft of the relic and the decrees of the emperors. A similar conclusion then can be reached about the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, which otherwise was only ever noted in catalogues.

According to the analysis by Chǒng Sǒngbon, the author of the *Ur-Platform Sutra* created a comprehensive hagiography of Hui-neng as a charismatic hero, writing in a popular and vulgar style. He added dramatic scenes of a barbarian southerner besting the aristocratic northerner Shen-hsiu, and of desperate efforts to preserve the robe. Although verse contests were a common pastime of the elite, the text itself bordered on being *pien-wen* literature in language, style and content, so it was probably written by a member of the marginal intelligentsia or elite. But this vulgar or vulgate popularity explains why in T'ang times the *Platform Sutra* was criticised, pointedly not referred to favourably, or cited. It cannot even be ascertained whether or not the *Platform Sutra* named in these denigrations is the extant Tun-huang text, or whether it is an earlier manifestation, a point hotly disputed in academic circles.⁵²⁴

However, the *Platform Sutra's* popularity as a religious novella grew along with the popularity of similar literature and shifts of emphasis in the Ch'an movement. So early Northern Sung Dynasty Ch'an monks such as Hui-hsin in 967 and Ch'i-sung in 1056 amended it and highlighted the sermons rather than the pseudo-autobiographical hagiography. Thus the image of Hui-neng shifted from the hero of a religious drama to a set, fixed pattern as a patriarch.⁵²⁵

Perhaps the use of the word *ching* (sutra) in the title of the *Platform Sutra* or *Liu-tsu t'an ching* was consonant, not with the usage of the elite who generally restricted it to the teachings of the Confucian sages, or with that of the Vinayists and other normative Buddhist opinion that

⁵²³ Chǒng Sǒngbon (1989), 268. Cf. EK, 129-130; the clearest reference is by Ch'eng-kuan (738-839). See Yanagida Seizan (1980), 'Tonkō bon *Rokuso dankyō* to shomondai,' in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds, *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, Daitō shuppansha: Tokyo, 35; Jorgensen (2003), 411, for this issue.

⁵²⁴ For such disputes, see above and the contrasting views of Chǒng Sǒngbon (1989), 249; Koga (1994), 3-5; and review by Jorgensen (2003).

⁵²⁵ Chǒng Sǒngbon (1989), 265-276. There were also changes in doctrine that made the sutra more moderate, for which theory see Koga (1994), 5, 17-18.

limited the term to texts preached by the Buddha or buddhas,⁵²⁶ but rather with the popular usage in the *pien-wen* literature, where titles such as *T'ai-tzu ch'eng-tao ching* (*Ching of the Crown Prince Perfecting the Way*—a hagiography of Gautama Buddha) can be found.⁵²⁷ But it was acceptable to use *ching* for a work about the Buddha, in other words, a hagiography, and Hui-neng was popularly seen as a 'living buddha'.⁵²⁸

The *Platform Sutra* was well known among ordinary people where it was read probably as a form of Buddhist improving 'entertainment'.⁵²⁹ Therefore, for the *Platform Sutra* to be included in the Tripitaka, the *Ta tsang ching* (Great Storehouse of *Ching*), which incorporated many texts not titled *ching*,⁵³⁰ the text had to be polished and 'vulgar additions' removed, and the use of characters regularised.⁵³¹ As some authoritative commentaries on the words of the Buddha, called *upadeśa*, were accepted as *ching*, on the basis that "[i]f the Buddha's disciples explain the teaching of the Buddha's *ching* in accordance with the Buddha's essential meaning, the Buddha then permits [the explanations] to be called *upadeśa*,"⁵³² so too could other teachings that similarly entered into the Buddha-Dharma. But this still only applied to thoroughly versed commentators, whose works were classified as *lun-i ching*.⁵³³ Therefore, the Ch'an elite of the early Northern Sung, in their attempts to be made the orthodox form of Buddhism,⁵³⁴ not only reworked the *Platform Sutra* to emphasise the sermons, but also to redefine Hui-neng, bringing to the popular understanding of Hui-neng as a 'living buddha' or a religious hero, a more elitist interpretation of Hui-neng.

⁵²⁶ An exception to the rule seems to be the *Heart Sutra* or 'gist' sutra, according to Jan Nattier (1992), 'The *Heart Sutra*: A Chinese apocryphal text?' *Journal of the Association of Buddhist Studies* 15 (2): 153-223.

⁵²⁷ Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 253.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Corless (1975-1976), 'The meaning of *ching* (sutra?) in Buddhist Chinese,' 67.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 271-272; Magnin (1987), 139, states that Hui-neng's birthday was celebrated from at least 832 onwards. It is possible then that parts of the *Platform Sutra* were read on these occasions.

⁵³⁰ Corless (1975-1976), 68.

⁵³¹ Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 269-270, 273, referring to Hui-hsin's preface of 967, and Lang Chien's preface of 1056. As Koga (1994), 10-16, has shown, the doctrine was also brought into accord with commonplace Buddhist understanding.

⁵³² Corless (1975-1976), 69, quoting Tan-luan (488-554), T40.826b20-23.

⁵³³ Corless (1975-1976), 69.

⁵³⁴ Foulk (1987), 'The "Ch'an School" and its place in the Buddhist monastic tradition,' 50-51, 72-73, but 389.

Yen-shou (904-975), in his voluminous *Tsung-ching lu*, began by justifying his use of sutra literature, in which he reinterpreted the patriarchs:

It is furthermore just like the first patriarchal teacher of India in the West. He was the original teacher, the Śākya Muni Buddha who headed the transmission, of which that (transmission) to Mahākāśyapa was the first. The patriarchs then in order transmitted (the Dharma) from one to the other down to the sixth patriarch of this land. All were pupils of the Buddha. Now I draw upon the original teacher's words to instruct the pupils....To personally be enlightened to the Buddha's intent, is to obtain the tenet and enter into the ranks of the patriarchs...if one sees the (Buddha)-nature and manifestly realises the perfect understanding, how can one designate an order to the rank? If so, how are they different?⁵³⁵

He proceeds to quote Tsung-mi (780-841):

The first patriarch of all the *tsung* (lineages) was the Śākya, and the *ching* (sutras) are the Buddha's words, and Ch'an/meditation is the Buddha's intent. The thoughts and sayings (*hsin k'ou*) of the buddhas definitely cannot differ. The patriarchs confer on each other the fundamentals and source, which is the Buddha's personal conferral.⁵³⁶

If then there is no difference in order between the original teacher and the Sixth Patriarch, and the sayings of the buddhas do not differ, the inference could be drawn that Hui-neng had equal status to the Buddha and so could preach a *sutra*.

Therefore, Ch'i-sung claimed "that the *Liu Tsu T'an Ching* is a *ching* because Hui-neng properly understood the essential meaning of the Buddha's *ching*, such that, 'his preaching ...is basically no different from the Buddha's preaching of the sutras.'"⁵³⁷

Like Huang K'an with Confucius, Hui-neng was privileged to be able to 'hold a conversation' with the Buddha through his sutras. In

⁵³⁵ T48.418a22-28.

⁵³⁶ T48.418b5-7.

⁵³⁷ Corless (1975-1976), 69; cf. T48.347b27-c3, in his preface where Yen-shou writes of depending on 'fully revealed sutras' (*liao-i ching*) for they exhaust principle, and what bodhisattvas preach is the same as in the sutra. See also, "The Platform Sutra is the perfected person (Hui-neng)'s exposition of his mind. What mind? The marvellous mind transmitted by the Buddha," T48.346a13-14, and "Great indeed is the work (function) of the Platform Sutra. Its basis is correct, and its traces are effective. Its cause is true, its result is not erroneous. The former saint is the latter saint," T48.346c26-27.

this way, the elite interpretation triumphed over the popular version of the hagiography, aided no doubt by the Sung state and the elite's control of printing and imprimatur of orthodoxy.⁵³⁸ It is no surprise then to find that Yen-shou was responsible for printing many sutra, dhāraṇīs and pictures, some of them in numbers of up to 140,000. This he did in Hang-chou, sometime between 939 and 975.⁵³⁹ He was thus popularising his form of Buddhism, which included a reworked *Platform Sutra*.

Moves had begun to include Ch'an works in the Tripitaka, so in 807 there are indications that Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun* was being prepared for inclusion. The *Pao-lin chuan*, by intentionally taking on the trappings of a sutra in the form of its chapter headings, was also aiming to be included, which it eventually was, in 998, and it may well have been printed in an early Sung 'Continued Tripitaka.' There are signs also that the *Platform Sutra*, in its 'bowdlerised' version (the Kōshōji recension) was printed during the Sung as part of the 'Continued Tripitaka.'⁵⁴⁰ Indeed, as Shiina has suggested, these newly authorised books were repeatedly printed, although that of Hui-hsin was not. The *Platform Sutra* was printed seven times during the Sung, the first time in 1012, printed on commission by Chou Hsi-ku in Szechwan. This is not surprising, given that Szechwan was perhaps the most important centre for printing in Northern Sung.⁵⁴¹ And it was due to a promotion of Hui-neng by Chao-chüeh Monastery in Ch'eng-tu from 1008 that the printing may have been provoked there.⁵⁴²

This then was part of an attempt to create a 'literati Buddhism,' for the Sung state had the Tripitaka published in Ch'eng-tu in order to use Buddhism to tie this fractious, isolated and Buddhistically vulgar

⁵³⁸ The Sung printing of the Confucian texts made them available [John W. Chaffee (1985), *The thorny gates of learning in Sung China*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 14], but also served imperial interests (47). Thus the spread of printing and education, and of textually accurate, officially edited texts aided the centralised state (74, 226 note 44).

⁵³⁹ Tsien Tsuen-hsuei (1985), *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 5, part 1: *Paper and printing*, 158.

⁵⁴⁰ Yanagida (1976), 'Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyūZō,' 725-726, and Shiina Kōyū (1989), 'Sōdai Rokuso dankyō kanbon kō,' in Kim Chi'gyōn, ed., *Yukjo Tan'gyōng ūi se'gye*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 141.

⁵⁴¹ Shiina (1989), 136-141; cf. Tsien (1985), 159-162; Thomas Francis Carter (1955), *The invention of printing in China and its spread westward*, 2nd edn, Ronald Press: New York, 68, 89.

⁵⁴² Shiina (1989) 142.

or antinomian region to the centre, and as a result, the local elite attempted to use literary pursuits to gain acceptance by the state. Indeed, "scholar officials must have played an influential role in the selection of Buddhist texts" for printing, and Ch'an masters produced 'refined literary writings' on the model of the secular literati, with the hope that the work would be printed in the Tripitaka.⁵⁴³ Thereafter a number of other printings of the *Platform Sutra* appeared, but of course the 'literary Buddhists' by now have control.

Certainly, the hagiography and the sermons were expanded in the *Platform Sutra*, with a greater emphasis on confession, gathas of transmission, prajñāpāramitā, official contacts and pupils. The hagiography was added to from earlier sources, in particular the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, as the literary 'entertainment' aspect had become more acceptable by Sung times. The dialogue with pupils made the book more of a *yü-lu*, and akin to the dialogues between the Buddha and his pupils. The greater emphasis on confession, gathas of transmission and the pupils was an attempt to be more inclusive, more catholic, while the connections with officialdom were highlighted to give it more authority in the eyes of the literati. Thus the text was in the process of being standardised in accordance with the literati impulse, and with increased literacy, perhaps the *Platform Sutra* became the authority rather than the clergy for many.⁵⁴⁴

The *Platform Sutra* had an appeal in the Northern Sung because it was attractive to many in that broad elite that had developed in the period;⁵⁴⁵ for example to the 200,000 students known to have existed in the early twelfth century and to the many more clerks who served the regular bureaucracy,⁵⁴⁶ and to the monks and literate merchants and artisans. To them, Hui-neng represented a case of meritocratic achievement, rising as he did to the patriarchate from the lowest level of society, an illiterate, semi-barbarian from the deep South. As the early

⁵⁴³ Evelyn Ding-hwa Hsieh (1994), 'Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's (1063-1135) teaching of Ch'an *kung-an* practice: A transition from the literary study of Ch'an *kung-an* to the practical *k'an-hua* Ch'an,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17 (1): 71, and also 68-71.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Corcoran (1979), *Political language and rhetoric*, 127-128, on the changes in Europe and the rise of Protestantism, for increased literacy.

⁵⁴⁵ Chaffee (1985), 170, on the usual "overly narrow definition of the elite and its culture."

⁵⁴⁶ Chaffee (1985), 6, on student numbers, 21 on clerks, who in 1001 were proposed to be reduced by 195,000 persons, suggesting perhaps a clerk population of around 2,000,000.

Northern Sung state was advocating a form of meritocracy through the examination system at a time when the south of China was continuing its development that had begun in the T'ang, but whose aspiring officials were still hampered by the influence of the old aristocratic northern clans and still looked down upon, Hui-neng could symbolise their hopes and dreams.⁵⁴⁷ Therefore, the *Platform Sutra* needed to be 'authorised' and standardised, and so came, perhaps, to be included in the 'Continued Tripitaka' as a canonised text.

The importance of this authorisation of the *Platform Sutra* can be seen when we compare its fate with that of a contemporary hagiography, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Although it contained a stress on linkages with the T'ang court⁵⁴⁸ and popular themes such as shocking attempts to steal Hui-neng's relics, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* was soon overshadowed, sinking without trace except in Japan.⁵⁴⁹ Other hagiographies, such as those by Shen-hui, which were popularising accounts of Hui-neng, and works such as the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and eventually the *Pao-lin chuan*, attracted little attention from the elite (and that notice was negative), meaning they survived only in remote monasteries or in lost libraries.

Several reasons can be proposed for this trend. Chōng Sōngbon suggests that the assertions made in these hagiographies that fell into obscurity, of physical items such as robes or bowls made seals of legitimate transmission, offended sincere (elite) Buddhists who believed material objects were of no consequence.⁵⁵⁰ But perhaps as the survival of the 'mummy' of Hui-neng and his contact relics at Nan-hua Monastery and elsewhere suggests, the answer rather lies in genre distinctions and the growth of literacy and printing, during which time the elite had to struggle harder to protect their privileged bailiwick.⁵⁵¹ The contamination of the image of the august figure of

⁵⁴⁷ For attempts to create a meritocracy, see Chaffee (1985), 47, 182, and on North-South development, 119, and on antagonism between the two regions, 120, on the traditional dominance of the North, 122, and on the perceptions that still existed of the South being barbarous, 140.

⁵⁴⁸ ZSS, 219.

⁵⁴⁹ Ishii Shūdō (1981), 'Sōdai Zenshūshijō ni mirareru Rokuso Enō zō,' in Furuta Shokin koki kinenronshū, comp. *Bukkyō no rekishiteki tenkai ni miru shokeitai*, Sōbunsha: Tokyo, 276-277.

⁵⁵⁰ Chōng Sōngbon (1989), 271.

⁵⁵¹ Note Chaffee's (1985) comment, 183, that the spread of learning, aided by printing, and education "resulted in the contraction of opportunity and the growth of privilege," leading in a sense to a more elitist society.

Confucius by the vulgar *pien-wen* style of these hagiographies may have upset the elite. Popular *pien-wen*, in which a child, Hsiang T'o, bests Confucius in a dialogue,⁵⁵² must have been distasteful to the elite, and so the Tun-huang *Platform Sutra* and similar hagiographies of Hui-neng were implicated, partly by association, in the diminution of the person of Confucius, who was, at the time Shen-hui and his heirs were propagandising, gaining greater state support, Confucius being posthumously awarded the title of *wang* or king in 739.⁵⁵³

To counter this impression, the champions of Hui-neng changed the image and the genre in the face of the *ku-wen* or *fu-ku* movements. They rationalised the *Platform Sutra* as a *ching* proper, and put the hagiography more into a *lieh-chuan* form. Thus, the comparison of Hui-neng with Confucius was acceptable so long as it remained in the respectable *lieh-chuan* and 'accounts of conduct' form, as a variety of 'standard history,' although even then it may have been suspect. Therefore, the overt comparison of Hui-neng with Confucius appears in the stele inscriptions written by elite bureaucrats and poets of the T'ang, such as Wang Wei, Liu Tsung-yüan and Liu Yü-hsi, or in the early Sung Buddhist hagiographical collections like the *Sung Kao-seng chuan* and *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* that had the court imprimatur. The comparison could survive in some of the obscure Ch'an hagiographical collections such as the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* that had a vague semblance structurally to the *lieh-chuan*. But the popular hagiographical works in colloquial language, which were overly sensational or vulgar, were not acceptable and had to be ignored. Only in the Sung Dynasty, with the broadening of Confucianism philosophically, the strengthening of Ch'an, and the wider use of a vulgate in entertainment literature,⁵⁵⁴ were these hagiographies sanctioned, albeit in expurgated forms.

But it was the power of the cultural pattern; of which Confucius was the prime exemplar; that permitted the image of Hui-neng as seen in the *Platform Sutra* to persist and be restored to respectability in the Sung Dynasty and later. The other power; that of the relics; persisted in tandem with the text, to provide a counter to the cult of the book.

⁵⁵² Wang Chung-min et al (1984), *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, Jen-min wen-hsüeh: Peking, 1: 233.

⁵⁵³ Legge (1972), 1: 91. Cf. Chou Hsün-ch'u (1987), *T'ang yü-lin chiao-cheng*, 2 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 2: 458.

⁵⁵⁴ Chaffee (1985), 169, on the spread of writing among the elite.



CONCLUSION

The image of Hui-neng invented by Shen-hui and his imitators was used to change the trajectory of the series of movements claiming to inherit the legacy of Bodhidharma and which began by giving primacy to meditation in the tradition of the forest ascetics of Indian Buddhism. These groups had evolved into the Tung-shan Fa-men or 'Northern Ch'an' that had grown into a more settled monastic environment with some occasional links to the court and metropolis, and which taught a rich variety of meditative practices and free scriptural interpretation to suit both meditation specialists and lay people. This success provoked some jealousy, which Shen-hui precipitated into a Southern Ch'an symbolised by Hui-neng. However, to forge that image of Hui-neng, Shen-hui used the elements of the ideal of the Chinese saint by structurally modelling the invented life of Hui-neng upon that of Confucius and portraying Hui-neng as a forest meditator from the distant South of China. The ramifications of this were profound, for the figure of Confucius was a mainstay of Chinese culture and had various implications and associations, the most important of which was transmission. Although transmission was important in Indian Buddhism, in the Chinese context Shen-hui used it as the unifying theme that distinguished Ch'an from other Buddhism and gave it legitimacy as the true inheritance from the Buddha. This genealogical move, although adopting hints from the Indian Buddhist 'tradition' of meditation and vinaya, was given its greatest thrust by putting that transmission into the framework of a Chinese imperial lineage of ancestor worship.

Shen-hui and those involved in his project, whether fully in accord with Shen-hui or not, were thus combining the images of the saints of two cultures; those of the forest renunciants of Indian Buddhism and the sage of Chinese civilisation, Confucius. Because this image of the saint and his lineage was the backbone of Shen-hui's propaganda, it had to take on the form of a hagiography and a genealogy. As this hagiography was still not fully fleshed out by Shen-hui in his evangelical polemics, later writers added to Shen-hui's skeletal hagiography, and by a process of inflation and accumulation of new features to meet fresh demands, it grew into a number of longish hagiographies; the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and the 'autobiographical' section of the

Platform Sutra, or into the *Pao-lin chuan*, a collection of hagiographies of all the saints from the Buddha up to the pupils of Hui-neng. These works in turn provided foundation stones for all subsequent Ch'an. Because these works were written in China, under a centralising state jealous of its authority, most of these hagiographies took on characteristics less seen in Indian Buddhist hagiographies, such as appeal to state patronage and the deeds of their subjects being largely restricted to monastic institutions. But it also meant that the more adventurous later hagiographies were written in the remoter provinces away from establishment supervision.

On the other hand, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* in particular reflected a major theme of Indian Buddhism, the worship of relics at a stupa. Although Shen-hui had contributed to a cult of relics by making a robe a guarantee of the transferral of the patriarchate and by having Hui-neng's image worshipped in an ancestral hall akin to that used for the veneration of Confucius and his disciples or the deceased emperors in their ancestral shrines, the worship of the mummy or full-body relic of Hui-neng as championed by the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* had justifications in a scene from the *Lotus Sutra* and from precedents in China for the worship of saints preserved in lacquer casts. These saints had been equated with Kuan-yin, a very popular bodhisattva.

However, in the contest for control over the image of Hui-neng and thus for the power derived from a perceived legitimacy, a rival interpretation appeared in the form of the *Platform Sutra*. The authors of this text, implying that Hui-neng was a buddha, called it a *sutra/ching*, and whole-heartedly adopted the stance of the Indian Buddhist cult of the book, which saw itself as superior to the cult of relics. Therefore the *Platform Sutra* completely ignored the alleged relics of Hui-neng, for its authors or supporters did not possess the relics of Hui-neng or had no association with them. The *Platform Sutra* was therefore making a return to a position closer to that of Shen-hui, which tended to support the cult of the book as evidenced in his use of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. This last sutra had provided an authority for Shen-hui to identify himself with the Tathāgata or Buddha, or at the very least, with a bodhisattva. Thus the *Platform Sutra* and Shen-hui subscribed to the cult of the book in Buddhism, while the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* belonged more to the cult of relics.

Similarly, the *Platform Sutra*, like Shen-hui, stressed the difference of

'Northern' and Southern Ch'an, and the victory of Hui-neng's sudden enlightenment or teaching over the 'gradualism' of Shen-hsiu and 'Northern Ch'an'. The contrast between North and South was a product of Chinese culture, and had no resonance with Indian Buddhism. Shen-hui, although claiming the Southern Lineage was something that went back to Bodhidharma from South India, was relying even more on associations North and South had for Chinese in cultural and geographical terms. He drew upon the works of the noted poet Hsieh Ling-yün to associate sudden enlightenment with the South and Hui-neng, and the North with gradual enlightenment and Shen-hsiu or P'u-chi. Likewise, the concept of the 'imperial lineage' adopted notions from the Southern Learning of Confucianism, and the seal of approval for transmission of the patriarchate in that lineage was derived from a combination of the imprimatur that Huang K'an, a leading Southern Learning commentator, stated was given by Confucius to his disciples and others to record the *Lun-yü*, and the seal given by the Buddha to those who meditated properly as mentioned in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, the sutra of a layman. In Shen-hui's day, the perceptions of the South held a cultural hegemony in elite and court circles, which assisted the success of Shen-hui's campaign, even if Shen-hui did not gain all its benefits because the supporters of 'Northern Ch'an,' his self-made rivals, still had influence.

However, society was changing rapidly through this period, partly due to the An Lu-shan Rebellion, at the end of which Shen-hui died. One of the consequences was that the sites of Ch'an hagiographical endeavours shifted away from the metropolitan North where Shen-hui operated, initially to Szechwan, because this is where the court fled, and then rapidly down the Yangtze and its tributaries into Kiangsi and Hunan, and even into distant Ling-nan, the home province of Hui-neng. Following Shen-hui's death in 758, a rapid succession of Ch'an hagiographical texts that carried images of Hui-neng were written: the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* of 774+ in Szechwan; the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781 from Shao-chou in Ling-nan or T'an-chou in Hunan; the *Platform Sutra* that evolved from the 760s to the 780s or later, beginning probably in Kuang-chou in Ling-nan; and the *Pao-lin chuan* of 795-796, probably from Kiangsi or Nan-yüeh. Thus the foundations for the image of Hui-neng and the Ch'an genealogical 'history' were laid within the space of seventy years from Shen-hui's initial forays in 730 to the *Pao-lin chuan* in 795-796.

Each of these texts had different emphases and motives, partly due

to their place of composition. Shen-hui arrogantly, in the manner of a dynastic succession, stressed the single lineage of transmission to Hui-neng and to himself. In his vision, Hui-neng was an antithesis to the aristocratic representatives of 'Northern Ch'an' centred round the metropolis. Hui-neng was made an illiterate child of déclassé parents who lived among semi-barbarians in the remote South, yet was still a buddha, rising from obscurity to the rank of an 'uncrowned king' like Confucius. In this way Hui-neng simultaneously represented meritocracy and a natural aristocracy of the enlightened. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* used Shen-hui's device of the robe to show that its hero, Wu-chu, was the rightful heir to the lineage, who succeeded Hui-neng only indirectly via the robe and not by face-to-face transmission. It, coming from Szechwan, had no place for North or South, and largely based its hagiography of Hui-neng on the works of Shen-hui. The *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, in reaction to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* claims, asserted that the robe and the relics of Hui-neng were at Pao-lin Monastery in Ts'ao-ch'i, and by implication that possession of these relics made its community leaders the proper heirs to the lineage, something it claimed was acknowledged by the throne. Again, it barely mentioned the North and South, for it was the hagiography for the relic at Pao-lin Monastery. Slightly later, the *Pao-lin chuan* largely supported these claims, but recognising that the lineages claiming descent from Hui-neng had proliferated and spread geographically, tried to be more inclusive, and fleshed out the lineages with hagiographies back to the Buddha. The *Platform Sutra*, probably a product of southern branches of Shen-hui's lineage, opposed these claims by totally ignoring the relics of Hui-neng and asserting that the transmission of the robe was now ended and so meaningless. Instead, access to Hui-neng was through his sutra, the *Platform Sutra*, and transmission approval was given by verses.

The eventual success of the *Platform Sutra* after the T'ang Dynasty would seem to suggest that the influence of the relics was over. However, that was definitely not the case, for the mummy of Hui-neng survives to this day in Pao-lin/Nan-hua Monastery, and its potency can be tracked through the centuries from imagery, records of pilgrims, the reflections of literati like Su Shih on the meaning of the participatory vision of the relics, and even the decrees of emperors and the attacks of religious and secular opponents. Its popularity is attested by the diatribes against it of the Jesuit missionaries, Ricci and Longobardo, who knew people came from all over China to worship

the relic, and by its occasional use as a state palladium. Relic worship remained stubbornly popular, no matter what the iconoclasts thought. Thus, although the main text that 'authenticated' the relics, the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, vanished, not to reappear in China again till the 1920s, it had performed its task. If survival or proliferation of texts were the criterion for victory, the cult of the book would have won, because the *Platform Sutra* was expanded and thrived, whereas the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* disappeared in China. However, the cult of the relics retained enduring popularity, despite the absence of its main authenticating text. The beliefs in the potency of the mummy of Hui-neng did not die, and successive abbots and restorers had faith in its presence and powers. It even attracted devotees from as far away as Silla Korea in the ninth century, and in the teens of the twentieth century, the stories of an attempted theft of the head of the relic that originated in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* and *Pao-lin chuan* were used to invent a translation of a fragment of that relic to Ssanggye Monastery in Korea. Hence, Pao-lin Monastery retained its function as a reliquary and place of devotion, whereas the sites associated with 'Northern Ch'an,' such as Shao-lin Monastery, or those of Shen-hui or Wu-chu, either lost such functions or fell into ruins.

In contrast, the secondary relics of 'Hui-neng' have been almost forgotten, although several items allegedly belonging to Hui-neng are still kept at Pao-lin Monastery. Besides being secondary, the reason they have fallen into obscurity is that there were numerous contradictions in the tales of the robes of the Buddha and Bodhidharma. Stories relating that the bowl of the Buddha had been destroyed and were made of stone, unlike the bowl in Pao-lin Monastery, probably undermined the credibility of that item. Above all, the texts mostly stated that the transmission of the robe ended with Hui-neng, and the Dharma was not inherent in it. The transmission no longer depended on these physical items, so they soon lost much of their aura and no longer were objects of contention, unlike the relic of Hui-neng himself.

Unlike the physical relics, the texts reflect the biographical imperative of Chinese historiography, which became an integral part of Ch'an. The *chuan* or biography/transmission genre dates back to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the 'grand historian' who also crafted the first biography of Confucius. Unlike in India, where the hagiographies tended to be poorly situated in place and time, in China the demand was for a simulation of a real life, and so even hagiographies like those of Hui-neng, based on nothing more than a name and a place, had to invent exact times

for events, definite sites, and players with whom the constructed saint could interact. These players were either actual historical actors or figures who resembled them. These individuals were selected for their political, religious and moral associations, and most can be traced via the secular histories and records of the time. Moreover, well-known laymen also had input into the formation of the mature image of Hui-neng, sometimes directly by writing inscriptions about him, and at other times indirectly through their evidence about certain hagiographies of Hui-neng. Moreover, the ideas of these literati about authority, authorship and transmission that derived largely from Confucianism and the interpretations by Huang K'an, formed a context in which the hagiographies were written and had some bearing on the success or failure of a hagiography to gain significant readership and their consequent survival. Hence, through a combination of the study of the literary tropes of the hagiographies and the biographies of monks and lay people, plus the historical context as recorded in the histories and belles-lettres, it is possible to obtain a more responsible and coherent picture of the formation of Ch'an, and of the protagonists of Hui-neng and their production of his image. While the boundaries between hagiography and biography in medieval China were blurred, ranging along a continuum from the entirely constructed hagiographies of Hui-neng and the Buddha to the more historically grounded biographies of Chang Yüeh or Liu Tsung-yüan and funerary inscriptions for Shen-hui and Ch'eng-kuang, with the 'biography' of Confucius somewhere in between, we cannot succumb to the timidity of stagnating with literary images or tropes alone, for that would invalidate virtually all of pre-modern Chinese history. After all, these biographies of individuals were mostly based on obituaries, part of the ancestral worship that demanded 'accounts of conduct' for the grave stele. Because many of these 'accounts of conduct' were used for canonisation, that is, for a posthumous title granted by the state, these biographies, although laudatory and inflated, were far more reliable than hagiographies. Therefore we cannot cavalierly dismiss their content as mere literary tropes. Thus, we must take genre into account and clearly distinguish between the image constructed almost entirely on the basis of literary tropes and allusions, as seen in Wang Wei's inscription for Hui-neng, and the more 'factual' records that can often be buttressed by other sources. Moreover, to treat all the accounts as literary tropes and as collective representations would open the floodgates to the irresponsible interpretations that have made Hui-neng into a revolutionary

and a reactionary, a Chinese everyman and a member of a national minority, a Sinifier and a dissident.

Yet what we have of Hui-neng are only hagiographical images and a relic, but with careful examination we can see how and why that image and relic were formed. Knowing something of how that image was created tells us much about the history of the early development of Ch'an, about the motivations of certain actors, and how themes such as the 'lamplight transmission' came into being. It shows how images of the periphery were used by someone from the centre, like Shen-hui, and how the periphery soon succeeded in using those images to its own benefit. As a consequence, most of our evidence for the history of early Ch'an, and the image of Hui-neng in particular, has come from the margins of China.

But that does not make the image of Hui-neng marginal; indeed, it lies at the core of Ch'an, and has succeeded to a number of ancient themes in Buddhism, the image of the forest meditator saint, the cult of relics and the cult of the book. These in turn have been married with the characteristics of the Chinese sage, Confucius, to form a most productive fiction that inspired many thereafter in East Asia. Therefore we cannot conceive of Hui-neng and early Ch'an outside of the context of a form of Buddhism from India merging with the local Chinese culture. Significantly, this marriage of two cultures in the guise of Hui-neng proved to be a turning point in Ch'an, and thus, to a lesser extent, in East Asian cultural history.

APPENDIX ONE

THE TRANSLATIONS

A: *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*

The Record 云 of the essential tenets of the Dharma transmitted by Master Hui-neng of Kuo-ning Monastery on Mt Pao-lin in Ts'ao-ch'i, Shao-chou of the T'ang, and the imperial decree of the Great Emperor Kao-tsung, together with the gifts he bestowed and the plaque that changed the monastery's name, plus the students given the imprimatur by the Master, together with the six types of auspicious scenes at the time of his passing over, and the prediction made by Trepitaka Chih-yao.

On the fifth day of the first month of the first year *jen-wu* of the T'ien-chien reign era of Liang (28th January 502), the brahmin Trepitaka styled Chih-yao, a badhanta¹ of Nālandā Monastery in Central India,² farewelled the king of that country, to come to Mt Wu-t'ai and worship Mañjuśrī.³ He brought several tens of disciples in accompaniment. The Trepitaka was widely erudite and learned, and was well versed in the sutras, śāstras and astronomy. His ambition was to spread Mahayana, and he travelled through various countries, traversed far across the blue waves, taking a boat (to China) and then coming to the village at the mouth of Ts'ao Creek in Shao-chou.⁴ He said to the villagers,

¹ The combination of terms Trepitaka and badhanta indicate that the monk was a translator and a scholar.

² This passage suggests a reference to the *Liang shu*, which, under the entry for Central India, states that an emissary of the Indian king, Gupta came to Liang at the start of the T'ien-chien era and praised the Chinese ruler in a memorial: "He is just like a great cloud, that is especially superior in that (land of) China.... There is a succession of kings without interruption." Yao Ch'a and Yao Ssu-lien (1973), *Liang shu*, 3 vols, Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 3/54/799. The wording of Chih-yao here is similar in its reference to superiority and uninterrupted generations of monks.

³ This date for worship at Wu-t'ai seems rather early, for the first monasteries that identified the mountain with this bodhisattva probably did not appear until the 490s. Cf. Raoul Birnbaum, (1989-1990), 'Secret Halls of the Mountain Lords: The Caves of Wu-t'ai Shan,' 116-140; Hibino Takeo and Ono Katsutoshi (1942), *Godaisan*, Zayuhō kankōkai: Tokyo.

⁴ Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), '*Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih pieh-chuan chiao-chu*,' 562, says there is a

If you search out the source of the water, it is sure to be a superior place, suitable for monks to reside at, where there will be eminent monks generation after generation without a break. I wish to locate it.

He went directly to Ts'ao-ch'i and urged the villagers to build a residence (for them). When five years had passed, he called this monastery Pao-lin. It was respected by humans and gods, and (gained) the devotion of the Chinese empire.

On the fifteenth day of the second month of the fifth year of the T'ien-chien era (24th March 506), an imperial decree ordered the (authorities of the) prefectures and counties where the famous monks and badhantas of the (Liang) empire were resident, to send (those monks) to the court chapel (where they were to be) made offerings. At the time the prefect of Shao-chou, Mr Hou, memorialised (the throne) and sent the Trepitaka to court. The imperial emissary⁵ asked the Trepitaka, "Why did you call this monastery Pao-lin?"

He replied, "One hundred and seventy years after my departure, there will be a supreme Dharma jewel (*fa-pao*) who will proselytize in this place, and there will be students like a forest (*lin*). Therefore I named it Pao-lin (Jewel Forest)."

At the start of the fourth month, the Trepitaka gained a reply to his memorial⁶ for it to be made Pao-lin Monastery, and a decree bestowing fifty *ch'ing*⁷ of fields on it. In the tenth year of T'ien-chien (511), the Trepitaka entered Mt (Wu)-t'ai⁸ and then returned to his home country.⁹

In the thirteenth year of the Ta-yeh reign of Sui (617), the empire

tradition that this village was where Ts'ao Ts'ao once lived, and so gained the name of the Village of Marquis Ts'ao. But see earlier for evidence against this.

⁵ EK has 侯君, Ishii Shūdō (1988), '*Sōkei Daishiden kō*,' *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 46 [hereafter Ishii (1988)] has 使君, a respectful term for a person sent on imperial orders to various places on a mission. Examination of the photograph of the manuscript shows Ishii to be correct. But, Ishii (1988), 107-109, note 4, states that a fragment of the *Pao-lin chuan* gives his name as 侯敬中. A clan by the name of Hou was important in Shih-hsing, Ch'ü-chiang, which is in Shao-chou. They provided prefects in the region for generations. See Yao Ssu-lien, *Ch'en shu* 1/8/143.

⁶ 對奏, cf. 奏對. The latter is a reply made to the emperor in an audience. Ishii (1988), 82, has "he was summoned by the emperor, and he reported and received the name of Pao-lin Monastery."

⁷ EK, 65b, 290.16 hectares or just under 700 acres.

⁸ Text only has 台山, so could it be T'ien-t'ai shan?

⁹ Hsü (1989), 531, notes the similarities and differences of this with the prediction in the later prefaces to the *Platform Sutra* and the *Tonsure Hair Stupa* inscription, thinking that they have a common source.

was in ruin and confusion, and the monastery's buildings were destroyed. In the first year of the T'ien-p'ing reign (534),¹⁰ the magistrate of Le-ch'ang County,¹¹ Li Tsang-chih requested a plaque for Pao-lin Monastery and (with it) established a monastery in Ling-ch'i Village in Le-ch'ang.¹²

The first year of Hsien-heng (670). At the time, there was a Master Hui-neng, whose lay surname was Lü, a native of Hsin-chou, who had lost his parents when young and was orphaned at three *sui*. Even though he lived among the many comrades, he alone had the determination to go beyond the bounds.¹³ In that year the Master travelled to Ts'ao-ch'i, and he became a sworn brother with a villager, Liu Chih-lüeh.¹⁴ At the time he was thirty.¹⁵

(Liu Chih-)lueh had an aunt who had entered the Order, and was allocated to Shan-chien Monastery.¹⁶ Her name was Wu-chin-tsang. She constantly chanted the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. The master laboured together with Chih-lueh during the day, and at night he listened to the sutra. The next day he explicated the meaning of the sutra for the nun Wu-chin-tsang. She brought out the sutra and gave it to him to read. The Master said, "I cannot read." The nun said, "Since you cannot read, how can you explicate its meaning?" The Master said, "The principle of the Buddha-nature can be explained without relation to the written word. Why be amazed now that I do not know how to read?" The assembly members heard about this, and all exclaimed,

¹⁰ This is the Eastern Wei reign year.

¹¹ EK, 64b, lists this county as being in Shao-chou, but the *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, vol 4: 32-33, shows it as being just to the northwest of Kuang-chou as Le-ch'ang Commandery during the Southern Ch'i and Liang dynasties. But in the T'ang, the *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* 5: 69-70, locates it to the northwest of Shao-chou. Hsiao Tzu-hsien, *Nan Ch'i shu* 1/14/264-265, says Le-ch'ang Commandery contained Shih-ch'ang, and this last place was known as Le-ch'ang during the T'ang. CTS 5/41/1714, has Le-ch'ang as a county in Shao-chou.

¹² Ling-ch'i ts'un, possibly the village of Ling-ch'i hsiang on northeast border with Shih-hsing County, see *Kuang-tung sheng chin-ku ti-ming tz'u-tien*, 198. But this would place it outside the Le-ch'ang district.

¹³ This refers to Hui-yüan's famous characterisation of a monk as 'a guest beyond the bounds' of secular society. Cf. Murakami Yoshimi (1962), 'Eon no hōgai shisō.'

¹⁴ Ishii (1988), note 9, notes that the *Pao-lin chuan* has a different character for Chih. EK, 66b, mentions a theory that he is the son of Liu Chih-tao, but Uchi Hakuju (1941), *Zenshūshi kenkyū* 2: 190, thinks this whole story unreliable.

¹⁵ Another version has thirty-three. Ishii (1988), note 9, says the dating in this text is often out by three years.

¹⁶ Otherwise unknown; or, a monastery of the mountain streams.

Such understanding is self-enlightenment due to an innate capacity and is not something that (ordinary) humans can achieve.¹⁷ It is fitting that you should become a monk and live here in Pao-lin Monastery.

The Master then lived at this monastery, and practiced the Way for three years. This corresponded exactly to the time of Chih-yao's predictions of one hundred and seventy years (later). At the time the Master was thirty-three (thirty-six).

Later he heard that there was a Meditation Teacher Yüan¹⁸ in the stone caves to the west of Le-ch'ang County. He then joined him to learn sitting in meditation. The Master had never learned to read and so never opened or searched a sutra or śāstra. At that time there was a Meditation Teacher Hui-chi who chanted the *Dhūta Sūtra*.¹⁹ The Master listened to the sutra and sighed, "The sutra's meaning being like this, what am I doing now sitting in vain?"

In the fifth year of Hsien-heng (674) the Master was thirty-four (thirty-seven). Meditation Teacher Hui-chi said to the Master, "For a long time I have heard that Meditation Teacher (Hung-)jen of Huang-

¹⁷ Does this mean that his enlightenment was not achieved by effort? The term used here, *t'ien-chi*, goes back to *Chuang-tzu*, with the sense of the natural or heavenly mechanism or capacity. Here, being contrasted to humans, it could mean a divine capacity. The term *chi* was also deeply implicated in the debates over the Buddha-nature that had centred round the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. For example, Ta-sheng Chi, the chief pupil of Hsüan-tsang, wrote that the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* states that there is only one *chi*, which seems to be equivalent of the Buddha-nature. See Tokiwa Daijō (1930), *Bussō no kenkyū*, Kokusho kankōkai: Tokyo, 1973 reprint, 248-249. Ishii Kōsei (2000.3), 'Rōan hibun ga shimesu shisōteki shomondai,' 86-87, concludes that this innate or heavenly provided nature or ability was part of a Ch'an elitism, that claimed those who had this ability could realise buddhahood straight away without a need for practice.

¹⁸ Ishii (1988), note 13, remarks that all later texts call this person Chih-yüan, probably following the *Pao-lin chuan*. There is a person by this name in Ts'ao Yin et al (1707) *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, 12/850/9621.

¹⁹ 投陀經 Sutra unknown. May have been a generic name for a scripture on ascetic practice. From the characters 投陀經 it seems to resemble the *Fo wei Hsin-wang P'u-sa shuo t'ou-t'a ching*, Stein 2474, the first fascicle of which is in T85.1401c-1403b, annotated by a Meditation Teacher Hui-pien. This appears to be a Ch'an text. It is less likely it was the *Dvādaśadhuta Sūtra* or *Fo-shuo shih-erh t'ou-t'a ching*, 頭陀經 T no. 783, allegedly translated in the Liu Sung by Guṇabhadra. In it the Buddha addressed the assembly headed by the elder Mahākāśyapa, who asks the reason why the Buddha was smiling. The sutra is the Buddha's reply, which is about the twelve dhutas or method of the *aranya* or forest ascetics. T17.720b-722a. Enomoto Masaaki (1997, Dec), 'Bussetsu jūni zudakyō to Daichidōron,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 46 (1): 247-251, suggests it may have been compiled from the *Ta chih-tu lun* of ca. 402-405, to advocate a return to vigorous discipline and meditation. However, it was not popular and was ignored by most authors who wrote on dhūta. Cf. Ray (1994), *Buddhist Saints in India*, 308.

mei Mountain in Ch'i-chou²⁰ has opened a meditation school 禪門. You should go there and learn."

On the third day of the first month of that year (14th Feb. 674) the Master left Shao-chou to go to Tung-shan²¹ to seek out Master (Hung-) jen. He used a staff and walked the roads bare-footed, travelling all alone. When he reached the East Road of Hung-chou, there were many ferocious tigers there at the time, but the Master travelled on alone through the mountain forests without trepidation. Subsequently he arrived at Tung-shan where he had an interview with Master (Hung-) jen. Master Jen asked, "Have you come to convert people?"

Neng replied, "I have come only seeking to become a buddha."

Jen asked, "Where are you a native of?"

Neng replied, "I am of Hsin-chou in Ling-nan."

Jen said, "Since you are a man of Hsin-chou in Ling-nan, how could you become a buddha?"

Neng replied, "What difference is there between the Buddha-nature of a person of Hsin-chou in Ling-nan and your Buddha-nature?"²²

Master Jen asked no further questions.

One should say that he knew his own Buddha-nature and was suddenly awakened to True Thusness. Wonder deeply at him, wonder at him.

There were very many pupils on Master Jen's mountain, and wherever one looked they were all virtuosos.²³ So he had Neng go out into the kitchen to perform service. For eight months Neng did not shirk hard labour. If suddenly while doing his duties others made fun of him, he remained aloof and did not take it to heart for he had forgotten himself for the Way. Still he trod the pestle, and hating the

²⁰ EK, 67a, Ch'i-chou is in southeast Hupei Province. Mt Huang-mei is the Eastern Mountain (*tung shan*) of the Eastern Peak of Mt Shuang-feng. It is not the same as the mountain now known as Huang-mei, which is to the east of Huang-mei county. Cf. CTS 5/40/1578.

²¹ EK, 67a, Mt P'ing-mao. There is a Chen-hui Monastery on the mountain, which is where Hung-jen resided after Tao-hsin died.

²² Ishii (1988), 112-113, notes that the dialogue is very similar to those in the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, the *Tun-huang Platform Sutra* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

²³ Literally, dragon elephants or huge elephants. Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 563, quotes the *Ta chih-tu lun* 3, "Nāgas are called dragons or elephants. These are the five thousand arhats. The strongest of the innumerable arhats are therefore said to be like dragons or elephants." To a Mahayana reader, this means they are still not bodhisattvas or buddhas, and as Hui-neng bests them, he must belong in one of the two latter categories.

fact that he was light, he tied a large rock to his waist to give the pestle extra downward force, thereby harming his waist and feet. Master Jen consequently went to the place of the rice pestle and asked, "You have harmed your waist and feet in order to perform service; what is it that hurts?"

Neng answered, "I do not perceive that there is a body. Who says it hurts?"

When night fell, Master Jen commanded Neng come to his room. The Master asked, "When you first came you answered me, 'What difference is there between the Buddha-nature of a Ling-nan person and your Buddha-nature?' Who taught you?"

"The Buddha-nature is not partial, and there is no difference between you and me, and since all sentient beings share it, there is even less difference. It is simply due to capacity (whether or not) it is manifested or obscured."

Master Jen inquired, "Since the Buddha-nature has no shape, what (do you mean by) manifested or obscured?"

Neng replied, "(As) the Buddha-nature has no shape, (if one is) enlightened then it is manifested, (if one is) deluded then it is obscured."

At the time, Master Jen's pupils saw Neng and their Master discussing the meaning of the Buddha-nature. The master, knowing that his pupils would not understand, had the assembly disperse. Master Jen told Neng, "(When) the Thus Come approached Mahā(pari)nirvāṇa, he conferred the most profound prajñāpāramitā-dharma on Mahākāśyapa, and Kāśyapa conferred it on Ānanda, Ānanda on Śānavāsa, and Śānavāsa on Upagupta. Thereafter it circulated in transmission from one to the other through twenty-eight patriarchs in the Western Countries till it came to Master Dharmatara.²⁴ He was the first patriarch of the Han lands, and he conferred it on Hui-k'o, and K'o on (Seng-) ts'an, Ts'an on (Tao-)hsin of Shuang-feng, and Hsin gave it to me! Now I am about to pass away, the Dharma is conferred on you. You protect it, and do not allow (the transmission) to be interrupted."

Neng said, "I am a Southerner, and could not transmit the Buddha-nature. Here (in this assembly) there are plenty of virtuosos."

Master Jen said, "Although there are many excellent pupils here, I

²⁴ EK, 68b, this is the Dharmatrāta who was championed by the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. As Hsü (1989), 539, notes, this name came from the *Ta-mo to-lo ch'an ching*, Taisho no. 618. This clearly shows the influence of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, for all other sources have Bodhidharma as the twenty-eighth patriarch.

know the depths of them all. They are just like rabbits and horses, and I can only confer it on an elephant king."²⁵

Master Jen then took the *kaṣāya* that had been transmitted and gave it to Neng. The Master (Neng) then received it elevated over his head.²⁶ Master (Neng) then asked the Teacher, "The Dharma has no letters, and is transmitted from mind to mind, and is transmitted from Dharma to Dharma, (so) why use this *kaṣāya*?"

Master Jen said, "The robe is the token²⁷ of the Dharma, the Dharma is the lineage of the robe.²⁸ It has been transmitted from the beginning,²⁹ and nothing else has been conferred. If not for the robe, there would be no transmission of the Dharma; if not for the Dharma, there would be no transmission of the robe. The robe was transmitted from Venerable Simha of the Western Country so that the Buddha-Dharma would not be extinguished.³⁰ The Dharma is the Thus Come's most profound prajñā. If one knows that prajñā is empty quiescence and non-persistence, this is to directly realise the Dharmakāya. If one sees the Buddha-nature is empty quiescence and non-persistence, that is true liberation. Take this robe and go."

So he then received it and could not dare oppose the command. And so this Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* is a Central Indian cloth, in Sanskrit *bāraṇa*, in Chinese 'the best quality silk.' It is made of the flower of the cotton tree, which people of the time did not know about, and so they erroneously said it was silk cloth.

Master Jen told Neng, "Go quickly. I will escort you." They subsequently reached the Chiu-chiang Stage³¹ in Ch'i-chou. Master Jen told Neng, "You are the person of the Dharma transmission. Later you will encounter many difficulties."³²

²⁵ EK, 68-69, quotes the *Upāsakāśīla Sūtra*, T24.1038b, and *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, T49.74c, which say that the rabbit equals the śrāvaka, the horse the pratyeka-buddha and the bodhisattva the elephant.

²⁶ Term seen in *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, T12.651c. Sanskrit *śīrṣā-udvāhana*, to lift above the head on receiving something.

²⁷ 信, token of confidence, elsewhere translated as surety.

²⁸ 宗 is ambiguous, possibly also meaning essence.

²⁹ 上, in Chinese can mean the emperor. Here indicates the Buddha.

³⁰ The Ch'an conceit that Buddhism can only survive via a transmission, here in its own lineage.

³¹ Chiu-chiang County, cf. CTS 5/40/1608. *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, 5: 54, map reference (6) 3.

³² This may be a reference to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, "How does one know that the Māras will make difficulties for the assembly?" Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 21808.139.

Neng asked the Master, "Why will there be many difficulties?"

Jen said, "Later a perverted Dharma will compete to rise, closely attaching itself to the princes and great ministers in order to bury our Correct Dharma. Go well."

Neng then respectfully took his leave and headed south.

Once Master Jen had sent him off, he returned to Tung-shan and said nothing at all. The students were perplexed and asked, "Teacher, why don't you speak?"

The Master told the assembly, "You are to disperse. There is no Buddha-Dharma here. The Buddha-Dharma has already gone to the South. Later you will know (why) I now do not speak."

After a delay of three days since Master Jen parted from Master Neng, he again told his pupils, "The Great Dharma has already been enacted, and I will now depart!" Master Jen then died. All the birds cried sadly, and an unusual fragrance perfumed (the air), the sun lacked its brilliant light, and the wind and the rain broke the trees.

At the time there was a fourth-grade official with the lay surname of Ch'en. He had abandoned the laity and became a monk. He served the Teacher and was named Hui-ming.³³ Hearing that Master Neng had taken the robe and bowl away, he then pursued him to the South, and subsequently caught up with him at the Ta-yü Range (Pass), where he saw Master Neng. The Master was carrying the robe and the bowl, which he handed over to (Hui-)ming. Ming said, "I did not come for the robe and bowl. I wonder³⁴ if when the Teacher first made the conferral, did he also have a verbal teaching.³⁵ Please favour me with the instruction."

Master Neng then transmitted and conferred the private words³⁶ on

³³ EK, 70a. In the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 199, and SKSC, T50.233c, he is called Hui-ming of Meng-shan in Yüan-chou. Ishii (1988), note 21, gives all the source texts. The first mention is in the *Shen-hui yü-lu*.

³⁴ 不審, a word with a long history. Richard Mather (1976), *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World by Liu I-ch'ing*, University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 49, II 37, translates as "not having ascertained..." Shimura Ryōji (1984), *Chūgoku chūsei gohōshi kenkyū*, Santōsha: Tokyo, 32, 37, says that in *pien-wen* that this was a greeting, 'Good day.' Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko (1991), *Zengo jiten*, 397, quote the *Seng shih lüeh*: "When monks meet, they bow, place their hands together and utter *pu-shen*. These are a showing of respect and trust in the three karmic actions (i.e., deeds, words and thoughts)." A greeting.

³⁵ Yanagida (1985), 'Goroku no rekishi,' 234 ff. refers to the *Tsu-t'ang chi* where it means a text, but in Shen-hui's works it is literally a verbal teaching.

³⁶ EK, 70a, absolutely profound words. *Mi* here is personal, not secret. Cf. Tsung-mi, T48.401b.

Meditation Teacher Ming, who, assenting, received the teaching, and then respectfully took his leave. Ming said to Neng, "Hurry away, hurry away! Behind me a great number of people are coming to chase after you."

Master Neng then headed south. By the next morning there really were several hundred people who had arrived at the pass. They saw Meditation Teacher Ming, who said, "I arrived here first, but I did not see this person. I asked those coming from the south, but they also had not seen (him). He had injured his feet, so I guess that he has not passed here. You (should) go back north and look for him."

Although Meditation Teacher Ming had obtained the verbal teaching, still he was not enlightened. He withdrew and lived in Feng-ting Monastery on Mt Lü³⁷ for three years, and then he was awakened to the private sayings. Ming later lived on Mt Meng³⁸ and broadly converted all classes of people.

Master Neng returned to the South, and when he had almost reached Ts'ao-ch'i, someone caught up with him, so then he evaded the difficulties by passing five years³⁹ living among hunters on the borders between the counties of Ssu-hui and Huai-chi in Kuang-chou.⁴⁰

The Master was thirty-nine. By the start of the first year of the I-feng era (676), at Chih-chih Monastery, he listened to Dharma Teacher Yin-tsung lecture on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. The Dharma Teacher was a native of Chiang-tung. This Chih-chih Monastery was established by the Trepitaka Guṇavarman⁴¹ of the Sung Dynasty. It is the pres-

³⁷ EK, 70a; where Meditation Teacher Fa-kuei of the Liang dynasty had lived (HKSC, T50.551a), and where Chih-i came and lived together with Ta-chih in 590 (HKSC, T50.682b).

³⁸ Other records use another character for Meng. The latter is in I-ch'un County, Lü-ling Circuit, Kiangsi. But geographical dictionaries and maps list mountains by this name in southern Shantung, Ching-men County in Hupeh and in Hsin-yü County, Kiangsi. Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 564, opts for the last. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 99, says it is the same as Mt Hsiang, which is the Meng-shan in Hupeh.

³⁹ Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 542. Wang Wei and Liu Tsung-yüan say sixteen years.

⁴⁰ Ishii (1988), note 22, this is the first appearance of these names. Both counties are within Chao-ch'ing fu, separated by a considerable distance. See *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, 5: 69-70, map reference (4) 8.

⁴¹ EK, 70b. Guṇavarman (367-431), a translator of Vinaya texts, was founder of a precepts platform in Nan-lin Monastery in Chien-kang. There is no mention in the histories of his connection with Chih-chih Monastery. Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 564, says he arrived in Kuang-chou in 424.

ent Lung-hsing Monastery⁴² in Kuang-chou. The Dharma Teacher always encouraged the students to deliberate and debate. Because the date was the fifteenth day of the first month⁴³ a flag was hung out. Some people that night discussed the meaning of the flag. The Dharma Teacher listened to it through the wall along the corridor. The first discussant had it that the flag is insentient, and moves (thus) due to the wind. The second person criticised this, saying, "The wind and the flag are both insentient, so how can they move?" The third person held that they move because of the concatenation of causes and conditions. The fourth person (said), "The flag does not move, the wind merely moves of itself." The members of the assembly contended noisily without stopping. Master Neng, in a loud voice, stopped them, saying, "The flag is unlike the other forms of movement. What is meant by movement is the mind of the person moving itself." Once Dharma Teacher Yin-tsung had heard this, on the next day, following his lecture (on the sutra), as he was about to finish, he asked the full assembly, "Last night there was a discussion in a certain room. Who was the last person (to speak)? He is certain to receive the command⁴⁴ to become an excellent master." In (the assembly) a person from that same room said, "It was postulant⁴⁵ Lü of Hsin-chou." The Dharma Teacher said, "Ask the postulant to drop by (my) room." The Dharma Teacher (then) asked him, "Whom did you serve?" Neng replied, "I served Master Jen of Tung-shan in Ch'i-chou to the north of the Range." The Dharma Teacher again asked, "When Master Jen approached

⁴² EK, 71a, one of the official monasteries in each prefecture to carry out state rituals. Was given this name in 707 when Chung-tsung was restored to the throne. However, there is no mention of a monastery of this name in Kuang-chou or the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih*. For account of events leading to this name, see Weinstein (1987), 48.

⁴³ Probably 4th Feb. 676. Ishii (1988), note 23, says this also in *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. EK, 71a, suggests this was a major occasion for a maigre feast. These were usually held on the fifteenth of the first, third and ninth months.

⁴⁴ 稟承. EK, 71a, to correctly receive the transmission of the Buddha's truth from master to pupil. Quotes Kuan-ting's *Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching shu*, "The Buddha is the lord of the correct transmission 稟承主...."

⁴⁵ EK, 71b, a postulant is one who has taken only the five precepts and has not yet been tonsured, but who lives in the monastery and carries out various duties. In T'ang and in Ch'an, they had their family name attached to the title. Moroto Tatsuo (1990), *Chūgoku Bukkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, 236, quotes the *Zenrin shokisen*, to the effect that these men sought the tonsure, but could not buy a monk certificate, and so retained their hair and lived in the monastery like a monk.

his end, he said the Buddha-Dharma is heading South. Doesn't that indicate you, sir?"⁴⁶

Neng replied, "Yes."

"Since you have said yes, you must have the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya*. Please let me look at it for a moment."

Once Yin-tsung had seen the *kaṣāya*, he revered it with great care, and mentally he was much delighted, and he sighed, "Who could believe that the South has such a supreme Dharma-jewel!"

The Dharma Teacher said, "(When) Master Jen made the conferral, what verbal teaching did he direct (you with)?"

Master Neng replied, "He only discussed seeing the nature; he did not discuss dhyāna and liberation, or the inactive and unpolluted."⁴⁷

The Dharma Teacher said, "Why didn't he discuss dhyāna and liberation or the inactive and unpolluted?"

Neng replied, "Because these are multiple dharmas, and are not the Buddha-nature. The Buddha-nature is a non-dual dharma. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* makes it clear that this Buddha-nature is a non-dual dharma, which is this dhyāna."⁴⁸

The Dharma Teacher also asked, "What is meant by the Buddha-nature being a non-dual dharma?"

Neng said, "In the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the bodhisattva, King Kao-kuei-te⁴⁹ reported to the Buddha, "World-Honoured, is the Buddha-nature (of people who) violate the four serious prohibitions⁵⁰ and commit the five irredeemable sins,⁵¹ and the icchantika etcetera, and are certain to extinguish their capacity for good, changed or not?" The Buddha told the bodhisattva, King Kao-kuei-te, "There are two capacities for good; one is eternal, the other is inconstant. The Buddha-nature is neither eternal nor non-eternal. Therefore it is not extinguished, and is called non-dual. One is good, the second is not good. The Buddha-nature is neither good nor not good. Therefore it is not extinguished, and is

⁴⁶ EK, 71 b, the term of address, 賢者, means an elder or saint, and was used to address the Buddha.

⁴⁷ These last two probably indicate nirvana.

⁴⁸ 此禪, EK, 71b, says this is a distinctive doctrine of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, that the non-dual dharma of the Buddha-nature is dhyāna.

⁴⁹ EK, 71b, see T12.736c-737b.

⁵⁰ EK, 72a; not to kill, steal, fornicate or lie.

⁵¹ EK, 72a; to kill father, mother, arhats, or destroy the Buddha, Dharma or Sangha, or spill a buddha's blood. These lead to the worst of the hells.

called non-dual.⁵² It also says, "The skandhas (senses) and their dhātu (realms) are seen as two by the ordinary person, the wise discern that the nature has no duality, and that the non-dual nature is the real nature. The ordinary person sees light and ignorance as two, the wise discern that their nature has no duality, and that this non-dual nature is the real nature, the real nature having no duality."

Master Neng said to the Dharma Teacher, "Therefore know that the Buddha-nature is a non-dual dharma."

When Yin-tsung heard this explanation, he genuflected devoutly, and asked to serve as his pupil. The next day following the lecture, he told the assembly, "What has made me happy? That I am an ordinary person who has not had to wait to sit beneath a Dharmakāya bodhisattva. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* that I have preached to you is just like tiles and gravel. Last night I asked postulant Lü to come by my room to discuss its meaning, which was just like gold and jade. Do you believe or not? But this sage⁵³ is the person to whom Master Jen of Tung-shan transmitted the Dharma. If you will not believe, ask the postulant to take the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* and show it to you."

Once they had seen it, they bowed to the ground and all gave birth to a deep faith.

On the seventeenth day of the first month of the first year of the I-feng era (6th Feb. 676), Yin-tsung gave the tonsure to Master Neng. On the eighth day of the second month (26th Feb.) at Fa-hsing Monastery⁵⁴ he received the (full) precepts. The precepts platform was established by Trepitaka Guṇavarman in the Sung Dynasty. At that time he made a prediction for the distant future; "Later there will be an arhat who will mount this platform, and a bodhisattva there upon will receive the precepts." Now Master Neng has received the precepts, which accords with the prediction. [Note: this comes from the *Kao-seng chuan*.]⁵⁵

Master Neng's reception of the precepts (was from) the Teacher Chih-kuang, Vinaya Teacher of Tsung-ch'ih Monastery in the Western

⁵² T12.651a.

⁵³ 賢者

⁵⁴ EK, 72b. This is the first mention of a Tung-shan Fa-men monastery as Fa-hsing Monastery. Not the same as Chih-chih Monastery according to the *Ts'ao-ch'z Ta-shih chuan*, but the predictions of Guṇavarman and Paramārtha would make them the same.

⁵⁵ EK, 72b, this does not appear in the extant *Kao-seng chuan*.

Capital; the Kamācarya Hui-ching, Vinaya Teacher of Ling-kuang Monastery in Su-chou; and the Doctrinal Conferring Ācārya Tao-ying, Vinaya Teacher of T'ien-huang Monastery in Ching-chou.⁵⁶ Later, these three teachers all learned the Way at Master Neng's place and ended their lives in Ts'ao-ch'i. The badhantas who verified the precepts were Vinaya Teacher *Gītara⁵⁷ of Central India and Trepitaka Mitra. These two badhantas were both arhats, who were erudite in the Tripitaka, and were excellent at the speech of China and the peripheral (countries).⁵⁸ Dharma Teacher Yin-tsung asked them to be the venerable verifiers. Furthermore, at the end of the Hsiao (clan) Liang (Dynasty), there was Trepitaka Paramārtha, who planted two cuttings of the bodhi-tree on the sides of the platform. He told the assembly of monks, "Look well on these trees. Later there will be a bodhisattva monk who will expound on the supreme vehicle beneath this tree." Later Master Neng sat beneath this tree, and taught the Tung-shan Fa-men in accordance with the prediction of Trepitaka Paramārtha. [Note: from the Biography of Trepitaka Paramārtha.]

On the eighth day of the fourth month of this year,⁵⁹ the Master for the first time taught the Fa-men for the full assembly, saying, "I have a Dharma that is nameless and unlettered, eyeless and earless, bodiless and mindless, wordless and signless, headless and tailless, without exterior or interior, nor with in-between, not going or coming, not green, yellow, red, white or black, neither existent nor non-existent, neither cause nor result."⁶⁰

The Master asked, "What is this?"

The full assembly looked at each other in pairs, and did not dare reply. At the time there was a small śrāmaṇera,⁶¹ Shen-hui of Ho-tse

⁵⁶ None of these men identified. These are the three masters required for the ceremony, one of whom confers the precepts, the second reads the announcement text of the karma, and the third leads the ceremony.

⁵⁷ A translator called Gītāmitra existed, and it is possible both names were derived from this one person.

⁵⁸ 中邊言. Could this be a reference to the San-lun doctrine, or is it to Wang Wei's stele for Hui-neng, ZSS, 540, "The Dharma has no centre or extremes; and he did not dwell in the Chinese heartlands"?

⁵⁹ 25th May, 676. This fell on the anniversary of the birth of the Buddha in one theory, or on the day that he became a monk. See Mochizuki (1954-1963), *Bukkyō Daijiten* 6: *nenpyō*, intro. 19.

⁶⁰ EK, 73b, sees some similarities to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

⁶¹ EK, 73b, thinks this is a humble expression, used for contrast with Hui-neng. There were three kinds according to age; those of seven to thirteen, those of fourteen to nineteen, and those above twenty.

Monastery, just in his thirteenth year,⁶² who answered, "This is the original source of the Buddha."⁶³

The Master asked, "What is the original source?"

The śrāmaṇera replied, "The original source is the original nature of the buddhas."

The Master said, "I preached the nameless and unlettered. How can you say the Buddha-nature has name and letters?"

The śrāmaṇera said, "The Buddha-nature is nameless. It was your question that gave it a name. When the name is correct, that is nameless."

The Master hit the śrāmaṇera several times. The full assembly respectfully apologised, "The śrāmaṇera is a minor, and has irritated the Teacher."

The Master said, "The full assembly disperse now. Leave behind that loquacious śrāmaṇera."

When night came, the Master asked the śrāmaṇera, "When I hit you, did the Buddha-nature feel it or not?"

"The Buddha-nature lacks feeling."

The Master asked, "Do you know pain?"

The śrāmaṇera replied, "I know pain."

The Master asked, "Since you know pain, how can you say that the Buddha-nature lacks feeling?"

The śrāmaṇera replied, "How can it be the same as trees and stones? Even though it hurts, the mind-nature does not feel it."

The Master said to the śrāmaṇera, "When you are dissected piece by piece, and you do not give birth to anger and resentment,⁶⁴ that is called lacking feeling. I have forgotten my body for the Way.⁶⁵ I trod the pestle right up until I overcame (the bodily pain), and I did not think it painful. That is what is called lacking feeling. (Even though) you now were beaten, the mind-nature did not feel it. If you feel the various sensations as if with the insightful realisation,⁶⁶ you have attained the true correct-feeling samādhi."

⁶² If the date of this event was 676, then this was before Shen-hui (684-758) was born.

⁶³ EK, 74a, sees similarities here with the *Fan-wang ching*.

⁶⁴ EK, 74a, cf. *I-chiao ching*, T12.1111b. This is also found in the text of the *Ta-mo Ch'an-shih lun*.

⁶⁵ EK, 74a, relates this to samādhi.

⁶⁶ To realise nirvana by correct insight, that is, enlightenment. In *Vimalakīrtinīr-deśa*, T14.540b.

The śrāmaṇera secretly received the conferral.

The Master had become a monk, taught the Dharma and received the (full) precepts. When he reached forty years of age, Dharma Teacher Yin-tsung asked the Master to return to Chih-chih Monastery, which is currently the sutra repository cloister of Lung-hsing Monastery.⁶⁷ It was the Dharma Hall founded by the Master. The Dharma Teacher asked Master Neng, "Where have you been for so long?"

The Master said, "At the former Pao-lin Monastery in Ts'ao-ch'i Village, which is fifty *li* south from Ch'ü County, Shao-chou."

Once the Dharma Teacher had finished lecturing on the sutra, he sent off the Master with the three thousand monks and laity back to Ts'ao-ch'i. Through this, he opened wide the Ch'an gate, and (had) a huge number of trainees.

On the fifteenth day of the first month of the first year of the Shen-lung era,⁶⁸ an imperial letter invited the Master to the palace. His reply (to the emperor) declined, and he did not go. The Great Emperor Kao-tsung's imperial letter⁶⁹ read,

I devoutly admire the Way and adore the Ch'an gate. I summoned the meditation teachers of the famous mountains (monasteries) of the various prefectures and gathered them in the palace mandala (chapel) to make offerings (to them). The two virtuous (monks) An and Hsiu,⁷⁰ being superior were made the chiefs of the monks. Each time I enquired, they repeatedly recommended that in the South 南方 there is Meditation Teacher Neng, who privately received the prediction (of buddhahood) from Master Jen, and transmits the robe and bowl of (Bodhi-)dharma as a surety of the Dharma. He was suddenly awakened to the Superior Vehicle, and clearly saw the Buddha-nature. Now he lives on Mt Ts'ao-ch'i in Shao-chou, (where) he instructs sentient beings, "This mind is Buddha." I have heard that the Thus Come, by transmission from mind to mind, conferred (the succession) on Kāśyapa, and Kāśyapa circulated

⁶⁷ Or Ching-tsang Cloister. This claim of identity between Chih-chih and Lung-hsing monasteries may have been to give the authority of an official monastery to Hui-neng. Cf. EK, 74b. ZSS, 232, thinks the emphasis on Chih-chih Monastery may have been to gain a link with the *Shou-leng-yen ching*. If the *Platform Sutra* was written at this monastery, perhaps the authors of the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* were trying to subvert its authority by demonstrating the superiority of the Pao-lin Monastery tradition.

⁶⁸ 13th Feb. 705. Note recurrence of the fifteenth of the month for significant events.

⁶⁹ EK, 74 b. Kao-tsung reigned 649-683, and was more inclined to Taoism than to Buddhism. As Ishii (1988), note 30, observes, the first year of Shen-lung is the reign of Chung-tsung. Once again contradictions in its dating.

⁷⁰ Lao or Hui-an (581?-708) and Shen-hsiu.

it in transmission from one to another until it came to Dharma(-tara), whose teaching covered the Eastern Land. It has been transmitted from generation to generation till the present without interruption. Since you, Teacher, have received the command (of the correct transmission) and are reliable, you should come to the capital⁷¹ to proselytise. The clerics and laity will take refuge (in you), and gods and men⁷² will look (up to you) with reverence. Therefore I have dispatched the Imperial Commissioner Hsieh Chien⁷³ to invite you. I hope you will submit soon. Set down on the fifteenth day of the first month of the first year of the Shen-lung era.

The reply of Śākya Hui-neng⁷⁴ of Mt Ts'ao-ch'i, Shao-chou, declining on grounds of illness:

I, Hui-neng, was born in a peripheral region. When young I admired the Way, and I was favoured to receive the conferral of the Thus Come's mind seal from Master Jen, and to transmit the robe and bowl of the Western Country, and receive the Buddha-mind of the Eastern Land. I have had the honour to receive the Imperial favour of the dispatch of the Imperial Commissioner Hsieh Chien summoning me to enter the palace. (But) I have long dwelt in the mountain forests, and being aged have had a stroke. Your majesty's *virtus* encompasses the metaphysical, and your Way courses through the masses of people. You nourish the populace, and are humanely compassionate to the common people. You intend to spread the Great Teaching, and you esteem Buddhism. Please forgive me for living on the mountain and nursing my illness, cultivating and maintaining the work of the Way, which I offer up in recompense to your August favour, and down to the princes and the heir-apparent. I respectfully offer up this reply. Śākya Hui-neng bows and bows.

The Imperial Commissioner Hsieh Chien asked the Master, "The badhanta meditation teachers of the capital teach people that they

⁷¹ ZSS, 238, thinks this is not language appropriate to a decree; but see earlier for a contrary opinion.

⁷² Or deities. But as an epithet of the Buddha is 'teacher of men and gods,' I take this to be the reference.

⁷³ An imperial commissioner was a representative of the emperor. This man appears also in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 130, as the Palace Attendant General sent in 707, supposedly by the already deceased Empress Wu. Probably Hsieh Ch'ung-chien, see above and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/207/6579. He held the rank of Left General of the Awesome Guards. Dating and names could easily be confused, for a reading of *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/207/6578-6580 shows this was a period of great turmoil.

⁷⁴ EK, 75a. Since the time of Tao-an it was common to use *Shih* 釋 as the surname for a monk, but no other example has been found of using Śākya 釋迦. This emphasises his Buddha status. Ishii (1988), note 32, says the passage of the report is very close to the wording in the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

need to depend on sitting in meditation, and that if they do not follow dhyāna, there will be no such thing as liberation and gaining the Way.”

The Master said, “The Way is due to the mind’s enlightenment. How can it be in sitting? The *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* (says) that ‘if a person says the Thus Come sits or lies down, that person does not understand the meaning of what I preach. A Thus Come has no place to come from and no place where he goes, therefore he is called the Thus Come.’⁷⁵ No place to come from is called birth, no place to go to is called cessation. If there is no birth or cessation, that is the Thus Come’s pure, calm meditation. (When) dharmas are empty, that is sitting.”

The Master told the Imperial Commissioner, “Ultimately there is no gaining and no realisation of the Way, so why prefer sitting in meditation?”

Hsieh Chien said, “If I go to the court, the Holy One⁷⁶ is sure to question (me), so I humbly request you, Teacher, to instruct me in the mental essentials,⁷⁷ so I can transmit them to the Holy One and to the students of the Way in the capital, so that it will be like a lamp spreading light and all those in the dark will be illuminated with light after light without end.”⁷⁸

The Master said, “The Way lacks light and dark.⁷⁹ Light and dark imply replacement for each other. Light upon light without end also has an end, their mutual dependence giving them this name. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* says, ‘The Dharma does not have comparisons, because there is no mutual dependence.’”⁸⁰

Hsieh Chien said, “Light is a metaphor for insight, the dark is a simile for frustrations (*kleśa*). If a practitioner of the Way does not use insight to illuminate samsāra and frustrations, how can one escape from them?”

The Master said, “Frustrations are bodhi, they are not two and not different. (If) you see that there is an insight that can illuminate, this

⁷⁵ T8.766a.

⁷⁶ The emperor.

⁷⁷ 心要, essentials of the mind or the teachings that were transmitted from mind to mind.

⁷⁸ EK, 75b, compares this with the ‘endless lamp’ of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, T14.543b.

⁷⁹ EK, 75b, compares this with Shen-hui’s *T’an-yü*, Hu Shih (1968), 244; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 11; Teng and Jung (1998), 161.

⁸⁰ T14.540a.

is an interpretation of the Two Vehicles (level of understanding). No people with wisdom are like this."

Hsieh Chien said, "Master, what is the Great Vehicle (Mahayana) interpretation?"

The Master said, "The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, 'Light (enlightenment) and non-light (ignorance) are seen by ordinary people as two; the wise discern that their nature has no duality. The non-dual nature is the real nature.'⁸¹ The real nature is the Buddha-nature.⁸² In the ordinary person the Buddha-nature is not lessened, and in the saints and sages it is not increased, it is in the frustrations and yet is not polluted, and it is in dhyāna and yet it is not purified. It is not extinguished, it is not eternal, it does not come and it does not go, nor is it in between or internal or external, it does not rise or cease, its nature and characteristics are eternally present, it is constant and does not change." Hsieh Chien asked, "How is your preaching of not rising and not ceasing different to (the teaching of) the heretics, (for) the heretics also preach not rising and not ceasing?"

The Master replied, "(When) the heretics preach not rising and not ceasing, they take rising to halt ceasing, (so) ceasing is just like not ceasing."⁸³ My preaching of originally itself not rising is here 今即 non-cessation, and is not the same as that of the heretics. The heretics do not have anything special. Therefore there is a difference."

The Master told Hsieh Chien, "If you wish to take the mental essential, (it is that) one should not consider any good or evil at all."⁸⁴ The substance of the mind is profoundly quiescent, and its responsive function is free."

At these words Hsieh Chien was greatly enlightened, and said, "Master, today for the first time I know that we originally possess the Buddha-nature. In the past I took it to be very distant. Today, for the first time I know that the Supreme Way is not far,⁸⁵ and if one

⁸¹ T12.651c. EK, 76a, also compares this with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, T14.551a.

⁸² EK, 76a, compares this with a line from the *Cheng-tao ke*, T48.395c.

⁸³ Ishii (1988), 98, translates this as, "rising (is changed to cessation, and temporarily) becomes ceasing, but even if it is called rising, it is still (cessation in contrast to arising, and) is not (true) cessation."

⁸⁴ EK, 76a, the same phrase is in Shen-hui's *T'an-yü*, Hu Shih (1968), 236; Yang Tseng-wen (1996), 9; Teng and Jung (1998), 140.

⁸⁵ EK, 76b, notes that this closely resembles the 'Pu chen k'ung lun' section of the *Chao-lun*, T45.153a. Cf. Hirai Shunei (1976), *Chūgoku hannya shisōshi kenkyū*, 698.

practices it, that is right 即是.⁸⁶ Today for the first time I know that nirvana is not far, and that all one sees is bodhi. Today is the first time I know that the Buddha-nature is not mindful of good and evil, and is without thinking and without mindfulness (*wu-nien*), is without knowing and without action and not persisting.⁸⁷ Today for the first time I know that the Buddha-nature is eternal, constant and unchanging, and is not shifted by the delusions.”

The Imperial Commissioner respectfully farewelled the Master, and took the report back to the capital. The Great Emperor Kao-tsung gifted a polished patch *kaṣāya* and five hundred bolts of silk (on Hui-neng). The imperial letter said,

It is decreed that you (may while) old and ill practice the Way for Me, and be the state's field of merit. You are like Vimalakīrti in making a pretext of illness, who⁸⁸ disseminated and spread the Great Dharma, transmitted the mind of the Buddhas, and talked of the theory of non-duality. He kept his mouth shut at Vaiśālī, was abused by the śrāvakas, and the bodhisattva retreated. You are like him. Hsieh Chien transmitted the Thus Come knowledge and views that you instructed (him in), that if one does not consider good or evil at all, one naturally will gain entry into the substance of the mind, (which will be) profoundly eternal and quiescent, and (its) marvellous functions (will be as) numerous as the sands of the Ganges. I have accumulated good (deeds) and my family (has had) a surfeit of good fortune, and having planted good causes in the past, have been able to encounter your appearance in the world⁸⁹ and receive your blessing of the sudden Superior Vehicle Buddha-mind as primal. I am grateful for your favour, will reverentially cultivate the practice and never ever (let it) perish. I present you with a polished-patch robe and five hundred bolts of silk as an offering to you, Master. Set down on the second day of the fourth month of the third year of the Shen-lung era (7th May, 707).

Again, on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the third year of the Shen-lung era (16th Dec., 707), an imperial decree was handed down to the commoners of Shao-chou, (saying), “You must repair the Buddha-hall of the Master's Chung-hsing Monastery⁹⁰ and the Master's

⁸⁶ Iriya and Koga (1991), 273a. That is, enlightenment is possible.

⁸⁷ 無作不住, cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, T14.539b.

⁸⁸ Golden Grain, a title of Vimalakīrti in a previous incarnation. See Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 568.

⁸⁹ This implies the emperor is recognising Hui-neng as a buddha, one whom it is most difficult to encounter as they appear rarely, once an eon.

⁹⁰ EK, 48, reads it rather as “repair the Buddha-hall of the monastery the Master

sutra store.” (The emperor) bestowed a plaque naming it Fa-ch’üan Monastery,⁹¹ and the old residence in Hsin-chou, being the place where the Master was born, was made into Kuo-en Monastery.⁹²

In the first year of the Yen-ho era (712), the Master (thought of) returning to Hsin-chou to repair Kuo-en Monastery. His pupils asked, “Teacher, (if) you go to repair the monastery, finally you are unlikely to return here. Who else is there we can consult?”

The Master said, “Even though the monk Ling-chen of Weng-shan Monastery⁹³ has injured his feet and is lame, he is not lame in mind. You, my students, request (Ling-)chen to preach the Dharma.”

Again they asked the Master, “When can you return?”

“There is no day for my return.”

One day in the second year of the Ching-yün era (711), the Master in Ts’ao-ch’i beforehand built a reliquary stupa.⁹⁴ Later, in the seventh month of the second year of the Hsien-t’ien era,⁹⁵ when the eaves⁹⁶ were not yet completed, he insisted on it being finished early. “I will go!” The students still did not wake up to his meaning.

In the eighth month of that year, the Master caught an illness. His pupils asked, “Who will your Dharma be conferred on?”

“The Dharma is not to be conferred, nor will any person obtain it.”

had restored (*chung-hsing*).” But it could be applied to a Chung-hsing Monastery that was established near the start of the reign of Chung-tsung (705-710), which was later changed to Lung-hsing Monastery, for which see Weinstein (1987), 48. EK, 77a, notes the importance of the Buddha-hall in Ch’an, and the early appearance of the term here. The sutra store should be the sutra-repository cloister mentioned earlier.

⁹¹ EK, 77a, a signboard for the building attached to Pao-lin Monastery where Hui-neng stayed. Chien-chen visited Fa-ch’üan Monastery on his fifth attempt to cross over to Japan, which he said was built by Empress Wu for Hui-neng, and Hui-neng’s image survived there, T51.991c.

⁹² For this monastery, see Hsü Wen-k’an (1989), 551-552. Issue considered earlier. See also EK, 185.

⁹³ A Mt Weng exists near Weng-yüan County, just to south of Shih-hsing. See *Chung-kuo ti-ming ta-tz’u-tien*, 747d, which says it was also called Mt Ling-ti. *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t’u chi*, 5: 69-70, map reference (3) 10. CTS 5/41/1714, mentions that Weng-yüan was placed under Shao-chou in 627. Ling-chen is otherwise unknown.

⁹⁴ *K’an-t’a* 龕塔, a niche-stupa. EK, 77b, originally a *k’an* 龕 was a room carved out of a cliff to enshrine a statue. Has the sense of a coffin. It was a niche made to enshrine the relics of a monk.

⁹⁵ 713. There was no second year of Hsien-t’ien that had a seventh month. See *Tzu-chih t’ung-tien* 8/210/6679.

⁹⁶ EK, 77b, covers on tops of windows and doors for a corridor, eaves. These were eaves on the stupa, which suggests it was a wooden construction.

Shen-hui asked, "Master, why won't the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* be transmitted?"

"If I transmit this robe, the person to whom the Dharma is transmitted will have a short life. If I do not transmit this robe, my Dharma will spread and flourish. Keep (it) and guard it (at) Ts'ao-ch'i. Seventy years after my demise, there will be two bodhisattvas from the East. One will be a lay bodhisattva who will repair and build monasteries and vihāras, the other will be a monk bodhisattva who will rebuild my teaching."

The pupils asked the Master, "Why will there be a shortened life if this robe is transmitted?"

"When I held this robe, assassins came three times to take my life. My life was like a hanging thread. I fear that the later people who transmit the Dharma will be harmed. Therefore I will not hand it over."

Despite his illness, the Master encouraged his followers and had them seek the Way, forgetting themselves, and to be simply diligent in preparatory practice⁹⁷ and directly hasten towards bodhi.

On the third day of this month,⁹⁸ he suddenly passed away while sitting upright. He was seventy-six years old. On the day of his passing over, mists and clouds arose violently, springs and ponds dried up, the watercourses and mountain streams stopped flowing, and a bright rainbow threaded the sun. To the east of the cliffs there was suddenly a flock of birds in their thousands, sadly crying in the trees. Also, to the west of the monastery there was a white air that (looked) like blanchéd silk, over a *li* in the length; the colour of the sky was bright and clear, (so that it stood out) solitarily and upright, and it lasted for five days before it dispersed. Again there was a five-coloured cloud seen to the southwest. On this day there were no clouds in any direction, when suddenly there were several gusts of cool breezes that blew into the monastery buildings from the southeast. In an instant, a fragrance heavily permeated the corridors. All the ground shook, and the mountain precipices collapsed and crumbled.

The Master died in Hsin-chou's Kuang-kuo Monastery.⁹⁹ To the

⁹⁷ EK, 78a, preparatory means and methods to approach bodhi, zealous practice. *Prayoga*.

⁹⁸ 29th July, 713.

⁹⁹ EK, 78a, the Ishii text has Hui-neng die at Kuo-en Monastery, his former residence in Hsin-chou. Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 553, mentions that the CTS says that Hui-neng died at Kuang-kuo Monastery in Shao-chou. There is confusion here.

west of the monastery, three rainbows lasted for ten days. Furthermore at Ch'eng-t'ou Estate¹⁰⁰ in front of the monastery a rainbow lasted for one hundred days. Flocks of birds cried sadly, and the spring water was like a thick gruel and did not flow for several days.

Also, (when) Meditation Teacher (Ling-)chen of Weng-shan Monastery preached the Dharma during the night in front of his rooms for the assembly, there was a rainbow, which entered his room from the south. The Meditation Teacher told the assembly, "The Teacher was sure to die in Hsin-chou. This rainbow is the spiritual sign of the Teacher." (The authorities at) Hsin-chou soon had a letter reporting the death, and the pupils at Ts'ao-ch'i expressed their grief. Consequently the rainbow suddenly faded, and the spring waters flowed. (When) the letter reached Weng-shan, Meditation Teacher (Ling-)chen made known his grief and he set up a twenty-one day abstinence.¹⁰¹ At night, when the clergy and laity had finally gathered, a rainbow suddenly came forth from his room. Meditation Teacher (Ling-)chen told the assembly, "I will not remain long. A sutra¹⁰² says, 'Since the great elephant has departed, the small elephant will also follow.'" That evening in the middle watch of the night, he lay down on his right side and his life ended.¹⁰³

The students of Ts'ao-ch'i (wanted to) welcome the entire body of the Master back to Ts'ao-ch'i. At that time the leader (of Hsin-chou) would not assent to its release, and wanting it to be kept at Kuo-en Monastery, raised up a stupa (where it would be) worshipped. At the time, a pupil, the monk Ch'ung-i, and others met with the prefect and discussed the issue. (They) then returned (with the body) to Ts'ao-ch'i. The Master's neck had previously been encased in iron leaf and his entire body was glued and varnished. In that year, on the thirteenth day of the eleventh month (24th Dec., 713), his spirit¹⁰⁴ was translated into the reliquary.

In the twenty-seventh year of the K'ai-yüan era (739), an assassin

¹⁰⁰ Ishii (1988), 101, translates as "village on the outskirts of the town," and Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 5120.126, estate by the town wall.

¹⁰¹ 三七齋, EK, 78a, the mourning of the twenty-one days of *antarābhava* (between death and rebirth).

¹⁰² EK, 78a, suggests this is based on *Ta chih-tu lun*, T25.69a.

¹⁰³ EK, 78a-b, the lion lies on its right side with its head to the north. This is from the story of Śākyā Muni's death.

¹⁰⁴ See Faure (1991), *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 152 note 8. Here meaning the corpse.

came to take the head, and he shifted the Master out into the courtyard and tried to behead it with a sword several times. The assembly heard the sounds of the iron (being struck) and were startled awake. They saw a mourner¹⁰⁵ running hurriedly out of the monastery, and they sought nearby but could not catch him.

When the Master was alive he gave the precepts, taught the Dharma, and liberated people for thirty-six years. He passed over in the *jen-tzu* year, the second year of the Hsien-t'ien era.¹⁰⁶ Until the second year of the Chien-chung era of T'ang, that totals seventy-one years.¹⁰⁷ In that year, the assembly requested that the senior pupil, Hsing-t'ao, protect the robe of transmission, and (thus) forty-five years passed. A Palace Attendant Censor, Wei Ch'ü¹⁰⁸ erected a stele for the Master. Later, a lay pupil of the Northern Lineage, Wu P'ing-i, in the seventh year of the K'ai-yüan era (719) erased Wei Ch'ü's stele text, and wrote his own text.¹⁰⁹

In the eleventh year of the K'ai-yüan era (723), there was a Meditation Teacher Huang¹¹⁰ of T'an-chou who had served Master Jen. Later he returned to the Lü-shan Monastery in Ch'ang-sha.¹¹¹ He always practiced sitting in meditation, and was often entering samādhi. He was famed near and far. At the time there was a Meditation Teacher Ta-jung¹¹² who lived at Ts'ao-ch'i and had served the Master for

¹⁰⁵ 孝子, Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 6952.94.2, word used by a person for himself in mourning for parents. An assassin because the mummy was thought to be 'alive'?

¹⁰⁶ Ishii (1988), note 42, observes that the *jen-tzu* would make it the first year of Hsien-t'ien, or 712. This is confirmed by *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/210/6670.

¹⁰⁷ Ishii (1988), note 43, this usually thought to be the date (781) of writing of this text. Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 556, notes this should be sixty-eight years.

¹⁰⁸ The title differs from that he is given in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, Yanagida (1976a), 99. EK, 79a, says this man a lay pupil of Hui-neng, who received formless mind-ground precepts at Ta-fan Monastery when the *Platform Sutra* was preached. He also appears in the *Shen-hui yü-lu* with Fa-hai. He was probably modelled on the Mr Wei mentioned in CTW 293 by Chang Chiu-ling. Cf. ZSS, 204, and Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 557. See earlier for my comments. Of doubtful historicity.

¹⁰⁹ Ishii (1988), note 45, says a fragment of the *Pao-lin chuan* quotes from the supposed stele of Kuang-kuo Monastery. For Wu P'ing-i, see EK, 79a, and earlier in this book.

¹¹⁰ EK, 79a, reports that there is a Chih-huang in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* biography of Chih-ts'e, TTC 1.131 or 62a2ff, and in the *Tsung-ching lu*, T48.941a.

¹¹¹ EK, 79b. This probably a mistake, using homophone Lü 祿. Lü-shan Monastery was founded in Ch'ang-sha in 355 and had various names.

¹¹² EK, 79b. 大榮, possibly equals Tung-yang Hsüan-ts'e 玄策, who was friends with Hsüan-ling and Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh. Is the Chih-ts'e of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, who is listed as a pupil of Hui-neng, meant here? Cf. ZSS, 277.

thirty years. The Master constantly had said to (Ta-)jung, "You can convert sentient beings." (Ta-)jung then respectfully took his leave and returned north. On the road he dropped in at Meditation Teacher Huang's place. (Ta-)jung bowed and asked Huang, "I have heard that you, Teacher, always enter samādhi. Do you have a mind when you going to enter samādhi, or do you have no mind? If you have a mind, (since) all sentient beings have mind, they should all be able to enter samādhi. If you have no mind, (then) grass, trees, tiles and gravel should also be able to enter samādhi."

Huang replied, "(When) I enter samādhi, there is none of this having or not having a mind."

Jung asked, "If you are without this having or not having a mind, this is to always be in samādhi."¹¹³ (If) one is always in samādhi, there is no entering or leaving (samādhi)."

Huang then had no reply. Huang asked, "You have come from Master Neng's place. What Dharma did the Master teach you?"

Jung replied, "The Master taught that not samādhi (settled) and not to be confused, not sitting and not dhyāna, is the Thus Come Dhyāna."

Huang was enlightened at these words, and said, "The five skandhas do not exist, the six sense objects are in substance empty. Neither quiescent nor illumining, apart from existence and apart from emptiness, not dwelling in between, without action (karma) and without merit, the responding functions free, the Buddha-nature is perfectly comprehensive."

He sighed, "I have just spent thirty years sitting in vain. I shall go to Ts'ao-ch'i and take refuge in the Master and learn the Way."

Popularly it was said, "Meditation Teacher Huang sat in meditation for thirty years, and only recently began to make up his mind to practice the Way."

In the second year of the Ching-yün era he returned to his old residence in Ch'ang-sha, and on the night of the eighth day of the second month he was enlightened to the Way.¹¹⁴ That night there was a voice from out of the sky that told the commoners of the whole city,

¹¹³ 常定, *sadā-samāhita*, found in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. To be constantly in samādhi.

¹¹⁴ 1st March, 711. This is one of the days it was said was the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment, birth, or becoming a monk. See Mochizuki (1954-1963), 6, intro, p. 9.

"Meditation Teacher Huang has gained the Way tonight."

They are all 皆是 disciples of Master Neng.¹¹⁵

In the second year of the Shang-yüan era,¹¹⁶ the governor of Kuang-chou, Wei Li-chien, memorialised (the throne requesting) that the monk Hsing-t'ao and the *kaṣāya* of transmission (be allowed to) enter the palace. Emperor Hsiao-kan¹¹⁷ in accordance with the memorial wrote out an imperial letter, stating:

I decree that the transmission of the Dharma *kaṣāya* of the Sixth Patriarch of Mt Ts'ao-ch'i, and the monk Hsing-t'ao, together with five lay pupils, and (Wei) Li-chien, be provided with public transport by water and land.¹¹⁸ They are to be accompanied by the Imperial Commissioner Liu Ch'u-chiang to come up to the capital. Set down on the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of the Shang-yüan era (16th Jan., 763).

Furthermore, on the first day of the first month of the second year of the Ch'ien-yüan era (3rd Feb., 759),¹¹⁹ Teacher (Hsing-)t'ao replied, declining (on the grounds) of age and illness, and dispatched his senior-most disciple Hui-hsiang and houseman Yung-ho to escort the Dharma-transmission *kaṣāya* to the court, accompanied by the Imperial Commissioner Liu Ch'u-chiang up to the capital. On the eighth day of the fourth month (9th May 759) they gained a reply (to the report). Teacher T'ao died on the seventeenth day of the first month (19th Feb. 759), aged eighty-nine years. A decree bestowed Hui-hsiang with a purple silk-gauze *kaṣāya*,¹²⁰ and to the houseman Yung-ho (the emperor) separately decreed the bestowal of a (monk)

¹¹⁵ Is this a concluding comment of the author, referring to all the people referred to previously, or is it part of the speech of the voice, or does it refer to the people of Ch'ang-sha? The first seems the most natural.

¹¹⁶ This is 762. But Ishii (1988), note 48, says that as earlier it mentioned forty-five years after 713, that Hsing-t'ao kept the robe, this should be the first year of the Ch'ien-yüan era or 758, for that was the death year of Hsing-t'ao.

¹¹⁷ EK, 80a, equals Su-tsong (r. 756-762).

¹¹⁸ Hsü Wen-k'an (1989), 568, notes that this meant the stage system maintained by the state. There were stages every thirty *li* on land.

¹¹⁹ Here the dates are confused, as the decree summons comes after the report of decline.

¹²⁰ *Zenrin shokisen*, 702-703, mentions that these were first given by Empress Wu to the monk Fa-lang and her favourite Hsieh Huai-i (who was made a monk). Mujaku Dōchū here cites the *Seng shih lüeh* and CTS 14/183/4742. It was the prerogative of the court and was given to the emperor's favourites.

certificate and allocated him to the home monastery. He changed Chien-hsing into Kuo-ning Monastery.¹²¹ (The decree) changed the Teacher's (Hsing-t'ao) hermitage, and decreed it be bestowed the plaque as Pao-fu Monastery.

Furthermore, when the monk Hui-hsiang, accompanied by the Imperial Commissioner Liu Ch'u-chiang, had taken the robe up to the capital, he reported his leave-taking in a reply:

Your servant,¹²² the śramaṇa Hui-hsiang, says: Your servant is a lowly person of the periphery, (but) has enjoyed a connection with Buddhism, and has happily dwelt in the mountain forests, and respectfully maintained the holy teaching. The robe and bowl items before you have been transmitted continuously ever since Dharma(-tara), and at each age have been venerated in the empire; the innumerable realms take refuge in them, and gods and men look up (to them) with reverence, causing later students to think of the persons when they look at (these) objects. Even though your servant is not brilliant, I have been generously favoured with the conferral.¹²³ As recently as last year I received your gracious command, which decreed that (they) be sent to the imperial palace, and I personally brought them in my keep, so that they will never be lost. I am sorry my gratitude cannot go beyond this. This is (from) knowing that the robe of the Great Dharma will not decay for ten thousand eons. The clergy of the capital city proceeded with it reverentially elevated over their heads. However, my master, Hsing-t'ao has transmitted the seal of the Dharma for a long time, and has protected this robe and bowl, just as if he was guarding a pomade pearl.¹²⁴ Several times he received the imperial voice and did not dare contradict the command, but one morning he died, suddenly abandoning your age of enlightenment. Your servant now wishes to return there, inform his spirit, proclaim and narrate the imperial feelings, state the course of the presentation (to you) of the robe, the change of the (name of the) monastery, and narrate a

¹²¹ This is seen as part of the name of the text. EK, 80a, notes this, and that it was usually called Pao-lin Monastery. The *Kuang-teng lu* quotes the *Nan-yüeh chi*, which says, "In the Shen-lung era it was called Chung-hsing and Fa-ch'üan, and three years later it was called Kuang-kuo, and in the ninth year of K'ai-yüan it was called Chien-hsing Monastery. Su-tsung called it Kuo-ning Monastery, and Hsüan-tung called it Nan-hua."

¹²² EK, 80b, the use of the word 'servant' here for a monk to a ruler, is quoted by Tsan-ning in his *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh* as the first example of the usage in addressing a ruler, T54.251c. Demonstrates the desire of the author of this hagiography to ingratiate his group and their subject with the court.

¹²³ This seems to contradict the expressed wishes of Hui-neng that it not be conferred.

¹²⁴ EK, 80b, pearl in the hairdo, one of the seven similes in the *Lotus Sutra* for the One Vehicle, T9.38c.

statement of the memories of the past and sympathy for the present. (If I can do this) your servant will die satisfied. I am overcome by the extreme of tearfully longing after him and by earnest lamentation, and I offer up my report of departure for your information. The śramaṇa Hui-hsiang with sincere sadness and sincere longing. I bow and bow. Respectfully stated.

The August Emperor Hsiao-kan replied to monk Hui-hsiang's report. The imperial letter said:

Your master Hsing-t'ao, was pure and compliant in his conduct and precepts, and in the work of virtue was outstandingly accomplished. He has transmitted the robe and bowl conferred by the previous masters, and has kept it in the tropical South, and in the frequent change over of the years, it was never lost. I devoutly admire the Way, and sent a commissioner to seek it from afar. You have traversed a long, dangerous path, reverentially conveying (them), and complying with My earnest wish. How can I console you like this? Although the person of Hsing-t'ao can be said to have departed, his spirit is as if present. When you return there, report it in full to his soul. Know that my reverence and esteem will never, never falter. May you go well.

Again, on the twelfth day of the eleventh month of the Ch'ien-yüan era (23rd Dec. 760), the August Emperor Hsiao-kan, dispatched the Imperial Commissioner Ch'eng Ching-ch'i¹²⁵ sending a compound incense to be offered in worship before Master Neng's reliquary. He (the commissioner) proclaimed the decree orally and burnt the incense, and a rainbow went directly upwards for several tens of feet from out of the reliquary. Commissioner Ch'eng saw the light and danced around together with the villagers, and recorded this in a report memorial.

Again, the August Emperor in the first year of the Pao-ying era,¹²⁶ sent the Dharma-transmission *kaśāya* back to Ts'ao-ch'i. The imperial letter wrote [note: the *kaśāya* had been installed in the capital's Tsung-ch'ih Monastery¹²⁷ for seven years.]:

¹²⁵ EK, 81a, says otherwise unknown. But the name Ch'eng Ching-chi 程京杞 is similar in all but one character, a homophone, to a 程荆杞 listed in the *T'ang Yü-shih-t'ai ch'ing-she t'i-ming k'ao* by Chao Yüeh and Lao Ko of the Ch'ing (Chübun shuppansha: 1978, reproduction), 2/55a, the location of which suggests the latter was a censor in the later reign of Hsüan-tsung or into the reign of Su-tsung.

¹²⁶ EK, 81a, and Ishii, 106, say this has to be Emperor Tai-tsung (r. 762-799), but this has to be Su-tsung, for in the fourth month of 762, the reign name was changed to Pao-ying. See *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 8/222/7118.

¹²⁷ EK, 81a, in Yung-yang Ward in Ch'ang-an. First called Ch'an-ting Monastery

It was imperially written: Sir Yang Chien,¹²⁸ you have long been in the tropical South. How have you been? I have been moved to dream of sending the Dharma-transmission *kaśāya* of Meditation Teacher Neng back to Ts'ao-ch'i, and then I dispatched the Imperial Commissioner and Generalissimo Defender of the State Yang Ch'ung-ching¹²⁹ to reverentially carry and escort (them back). The Dharma-transmission *kaśāya* is a state treasure. You, sir should install it according to the Dharma in the home monastery of Master Neng. Only send monks of the assembly who have personally received the gist of the lineage 宗旨 to guard and protect it so that it will not be lost. I am personally inquiring about this. Set down on the seventh day of the fifth month of the first year of the Yung-t'ai era (31st May 765).¹³⁰

When the Sixth Patriarch, the Master, was alive, and after his passing over, six kinds of spiritual signs have been reported. When the Master was alive, there was a tile-kiln worker who scalded a chicken at the water source, polluting and dirtying the water, and for ten days it did not flow. The Master instructed 處分 the tile maker, ordering him to set up a food offering at the water site and burn incense. As soon as he had finished, bowing down to the ground and making an announcement (of confession), the water then flowed forth.

Again, inside the monastery on around two occasions, cavalry passed through and the water was fouled and for several days the water had dried up. After the army had retreated and dispersed, he burnt incense and respectfully apologised, and the water gushed forth providing itself for use.

Yet again, the Master lived in Kuo-ning Monastery and Kuo-en Monastery in Hsin-chou. Up until now, there have been no swallows, sparrows, crows or kites in the two monasteries.

Also, at the Master's yearly anniversary on the third day of the

in 613, which was erected by Emperor Yang of the Sui for his father, Wen-tsung. The name was changed in 618.

¹²⁸ Sir, or *ch'ing* was a title of address for Chief Ministers (heads of departments, and sometimes their deputies). 楊鑑, here, but in much later texts different characters. A Yang Chien was prefect of Hu-chou, in the Southeast, possibly in the latter half of the reign of Hsüan-tsung, possibly in mid 750s. He was a nephew of the father of Yang Kuei-fei, Hsüan-tsung's favourite concubine. See HTS 8/71b/2362; and Yü Hsien-hao (1987) 4: 1706.

¹²⁹ EK, 81a. Unknown. Later texts use Liu as the surname. The title, while elevated, may have been merely honorific.

¹³⁰ This is actually in the reign of Tai-tsung. This is three years after the date at the introduction to the decree, which may again be a miscalculation. Alternatively the imperial letter may have been delayed.

eighth month,¹³¹ the men and women of the village and town gathered in droves, and an offering of food was conducted in the monastery. When the food offering was finished, the assembly all bowed farewell at the stupa. In a split second, a zephyr suddenly arose, and a strange perfume assaulted people. Misty clouds covered the monastery, and the heavens sent down heavy rain, washing clean the monastic complex. (But) the rain did not fall on the monastery or the village.

Again, after the Master's decease, the Dharma-robe was twice stolen away by people, but in less than no time, it was found and sent back. The thieves could not get away.

Further, after the Master's decease, his refined spirit was constantly present, almost as if it could be seen. In the reliquary stupa there was always a marvellous perfume. Sometimes (the spirit) entered people's dreams.

These few auspicious omens are not one in number, and cover a long time span, and cannot all be recorded.

Finished on the thirteenth day of the second month of Chen(-yüan) nineteen.¹³²

B: Stele of the late Meditation Teacher Chin'gam of Haedong in the T'ang

The stele inscription of the late Meditation Teacher, bestowed the posthumous title of Chin'gam, of Ssanggye Monastery in Mt Chiri, of the T'ang period Silla Country, together with a preface. The former Western Country Campaign Commander Inspector, the Gentleman for Rendering Service and Attendant Censor Auxiliary, awarded the purple-and-gold fish-pouch, Your servant, Ch'oe Ch'iwön, receiving Your (Majesty's) instruction, composed (this) and wrote out the tablet (heading) in seal script.

The Way is not distant from humans,¹³³ and humans do not differ (due to) country. Therefore, the sons of the easterners are certain to become Buddhists or Confucians. They float west over the great

¹³¹ A yearly commemorative service held after fifty years have passed, and each year thereafter.

¹³² Probably 9th March 803. EK, 81a, various theories exist about this date. 803 was the year before Saichō came to China, so this may be a transcription from an original copy. See bibliographical notes.

¹³³ *Chung Yung* 13, Legge (1972), 1 and 2: 393.

ocean, and doubly translating pursue their studies, their lives dependent upon hollowed out wood,¹³⁴ their hearts hanging onto the Jewelled Continent,¹³⁵ going empty they returned full.¹³⁶ At first there were difficulties, and after they had attainment,¹³⁷ just like those who gather jade did not dread the heights of the K'un Hills,¹³⁸ (or like) those who seek pearls did not shrink from the depths of the gorge of the black dragon.¹³⁹ Subsequently they gain the torch of insight, and then its light suffuses the five vehicles.¹⁴⁰ (As for the) delicacies,¹⁴¹ they tasted and surfeited on the six texts.¹⁴² They competed to make the thousand households enter into goodness, so that they could make the whole country become humane.¹⁴³

Yet students sometimes say, "Establishing the teaching of India and that of Ch'üeh Village¹⁴⁴ will divide the current and differentiate the body (of the humane Way, they being akin to) a circular chisel (socket) and a square handle (which will not fit),¹⁴⁵ and they will conflict with each other, (for each) protect their own corner." In attempting to

¹³⁴ To scoop out wood to make a canoe, a discovery attributed to the Yellow Emperor, who saw a leaf and used it as his model. *I ching*, Hsi-tz'u chuan, cf. Richard Wilhelm, trans (1968), *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 332, "they scooped out tree trunks for boats."

¹³⁵ Based on the *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi*, where it is used to indicate the Western Countries such as India etc, but here from vantage of Korea, means China.

¹³⁶ *Chuang-tzu*, 'Te-ch'ung fu,' see Burton Watson (1968), *The Complete Works of Chuang tzu*, 68, and A.C. Graham, trans (1981), *Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and other writings from the book Chuang-tzu*, 76, writing of going to the sage.

¹³⁷ *Lun-yü*, Yung-yeh, 6: xx, on *jen* and definition of a person of humaneness. See Legge (1972), 1: 191, and Arthur Waley (1938), *The Analects of Confucius*, Vintage Books: New York, reprint, 120.

¹³⁸ The *Chih-shui ching* says, "Jade comes out of the K'un-Range," or "The K'un-lun Mountains are fifty thousand *li* high....there are many gems and much jade there."

¹³⁹ *Chuang-tzu*, Lieh Yü-k'ou, Watson (1968), 360.

¹⁴⁰ These vehicles are those of the śrāvaka, humans, gods, pratyeka buddha, and bodhisattva.

¹⁴¹ *Li chi*, James Legge, trans (1885, 1967), *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2: 82, "However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, he does not know its goodness." The course is the Way.

¹⁴² Unclear whether Confucian classics or Buddhist standard texts.

¹⁴³ Reference to the *Ta-hsüeh*, Legge (1972), 1 and 2: 370, "If one family is humane, the whole country produces humaneness."

¹⁴⁴ Home of Confucius in Ch'ü-fu.

¹⁴⁵ From *Li-sao*. See David Hawkes (1962), *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*, Beacon Press: Boston, 25, line 5, "How can the round and square ever fit together?/ How can different ways of life ever be reconciled?"

debate this, (I would like to point out that) "the speaker of the *Shih* (*ching*, Odes) does not use the text to do violence to the verse, and does not use the verse to do violence to its intention."¹⁴⁶ This is what the *Li(chi)* means by, "How can a word have only one principle since each has that to which it applies."¹⁴⁷ Therefore, Hui-yüan of Lü Peak wrote a treatise, which says that "although the Thus Come, (the Duke of) Chou and Confucius enunciated different principles, they revert to one consideration, because the embodiment of the ultimate does not respond dually, and because people cannot receive it dually."¹⁴⁸ Shen Yüeh once said, "Confucius enunciated its beginning, Śākya perfected its principle."¹⁴⁹ He (Shen Yüeh) really can be called someone who knew the big (picture), and was the first with whom one could speak of the Supreme Way.¹⁵⁰ (When) it comes to (words) like the mental dharma spoken of by the Buddha,¹⁵¹ (or) "darken it and further darken it,"¹⁵² "the name that cannot be named," "the preaching that cannot be preached"; although they obtain the moon, the finger perhaps is to be forgotten.¹⁵³ In the end (this) resembles binding the wind, and the difficulty in seizing a shadow. So a long trip starts from close by. What harm is there in adopting this metaphor? Furthermore, Confucius said to his disciples, "I wish to be without words. Does Heaven speak?"¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶ Quote from *Meng-tzu*, Wan shang (A), V, Pt. I, v. 2; Legge (1972), 1 and 2: 383, "those who explain the odes may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope."

¹⁴⁷ *Li chi* 22, Tsai-i. Legge (1967), 2: 214, "Should words be understood only in one way? Each saying has its own appropriate application."

¹⁴⁸ A paraphrase of the *Seng-men pu-ching wang-che lun* (A monk does not bow to a ruler), by Hui-yüan (335-417), T52.31b5-6, 31a8, made in the *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.361a7-9, which is what is quoted by Ch'oe. The passage is translated in Yoshikawa Tadao, trans. (1988), *Daijō Butten 4: Gumyōshū. Kōgumyōshū*, 78. The word translated 'dually' could also be rendered as 'separately' or 'jointly.'

¹⁴⁹ Shen Yüeh (441-513), a poet, and scholar of rhyme and phonology, wrote a *Nei-tien hsü*, which is found in the *Kuang Hung-ming chi*, T52.232a18.

¹⁵⁰ *Lun-yü* 1. XV.3; Legge (1972), 1: 144, on the first disciple Confucius could speak with about the Odes.

¹⁵¹ *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, Guṇabhadra translation, T16.480a. Suzuki Teitaro Daisetsu, trans. (1932/1973), *The Lankavatara Sutra*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 193.

¹⁵² *Lao-tzu* 1.

¹⁵³ 坐忘, sitting in forgetfulness, cf. Watson (1968), 90; Graham (1981), 92. This passage is replete with references to the *Lao-tzu*, Buddhist wisdom texts, and the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*.

¹⁵⁴ *Lun-yü*, Yang Huo, XVII.19; Legge (1972), 1: 326; Arthur Waley (1938), *The Analects of Confucius*, 214.

Then there is their Vimalakīrti's silence in response to Mañjuśrī, and the Sugata (Buddha's) secret transmission to Kāśyapa. They did not labour and rouse the tongue, (and yet) they could harmonise with the seal of the mind. If one says, "Heaven does not speak," and one abandons this, who can go to obtain the transmission of the marvellous Way from afar to widely brighten our homeland? Who else could it be but the Meditation Teacher?

The Meditation Teacher's Dharma taboo name was Hyeso, his lay clan name was Ch'oe. His ancestors were Chinese, who were officials in Shantung. When the Sui army attacked the Liao (region), many were killed by the (Kogu)ryō tribes. (His ancestor) made a decision to surrender and to become a remote vassal. By the holy T'ang (Dynasty), they were incorporated into the four commanderies.¹⁵⁵ Now (the master) is a native of Kūmma in Chōnju.¹⁵⁶ His father was called Changwōn. He practiced the monastic life while still a layman. His mother was of the Ko clan. Once, while resting in bed during the day, she dreamt of a Brahmin monk, who said to her, "I wish to be your, *ami* [dialect, means mother]'s child." He therefore used a lapis lazuli glass jar as a trust. Before long she was pregnant with the Meditation Teacher. When he was born he did not cry. So she had given birth to an excellent shoot who muffled his voice and desisted from speaking.¹⁵⁷ When he was a child, in play he was sure to burn leaves as incense, pick flowers for offerings, or sit cross-legged facing west, and (even though) the shadow shifted he did not shift his posture. This was to make known that the roots of his good, which had originally been planted one hundred thousand eons previously, could not be anticipated even at a stretch. From the time he was a child until he came of age, he was intensely determined to repay his parents (mother), not forgetting this for even half a step. But their house did not have even a peck (of grain) in store, nor even a foot of soil (to till), so he would

¹⁵⁵ The four commanderies were those established in the area of what was to become Koguryō by Han China around 108-107 B.C. The Sui attack was probably that of 612, and suffering a major defeat, perhaps this ancestor became a border guard or soldier settler for Koguryō. Later, Silla, after T'ang had combined forces with it to defeat Koguryō, in 676 expelled the Chinese.

¹⁵⁶ This is the modern Iksan. It could mean that his ancestors were brought together with the defeated Koguryō forces headed by Ansūng, son of a concubine of King Pojang, in 670.

¹⁵⁷ *Chuang-tzu*, Tse-yang. Watson (1968), 285, said of a sage: "His reputation fades away but his determination knows no end."

have to steal from Heaven and the seasons¹⁵⁸ to provide the necessities of life, and he could only exert himself in this regard.¹⁵⁹ So he was a small trader of fish,¹⁶⁰ doing this work in order to provide delicacies (for his parents). His hand did not labour at weaving the nets, for his mind was already attuned with the forgetting of the (fish) trap.¹⁶¹ He could abundantly provide bean soup¹⁶² and sincerely harmonised the songs of plucking orchids.¹⁶³ In the end he met with grief (their funerals) and he heaped up earth to form the grave. Then he said, "(For) the favour of being raised, I simply used my (physical) strength in repayment; should not the subtlety of the tenets¹⁶⁴ be sought by my mind? How could I be a bitter gourd,¹⁶⁵ and in my able-bodied years block my own path?" Consequently, in the twentieth year of the Chen-yüan era (804) he visited the annual tribute envoy, seeking to become a boatman, and he lodged his feet on the westwards sailing. He often performed menial tasks, looked on the dangers as if they were easy, and wielded the oar of the ship of compassion, crossing

¹⁵⁸ *Lieh-tzu*, T'ien-jui. See Chuang Wan-shou, trans. (1979), *Lieh-tzu tu-pen*, San-min shu-chü: Taipei, 69-70. This refers to the story of a poor farmer who asked a rich farmer how this wealth was achieved. The rich man said he was good at thieving. The poor man misunderstood the metaphor and later often stole, but he was caught and punished, losing all his property. When he abused the rich farmer, he was told one had to steal from Nature and use its benefits by being a skilled farmer.

¹⁵⁹ *Tso-chuan*, 24th year of Duke Hsi (He). Legge (1972), 5: 188 and 191; "Charged to remove the danger of my ruler, I regarded but how I might be able to do it."

¹⁶⁰ The word used here, *chü-yü*, according to Richard Mather (1976), *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, 415, was used by the south-western Man barbarians.

¹⁶¹ The work of fishing was forbidden to Buddhists. Forgetting the fish trap once the fish have been caught originates in *Chuang-tzu*, for which see Watson (1968), 302. It was taken up by the famous Tao-sheng, for which see *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.266c16. One commentary on this inscription thinks this passage means simply that he forgot the words once he had understood their meaning, but also that although he traded in fish, he did not think of catching them, and so he did not violate the Buddhist precept against killing.

¹⁶² Bean soup, a reference to *Li chi*, Tan-kung B, on poverty of Tzu-lu. Legge (1967), 1: 182; "Alas for the poor..." Confucius said, 'Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents be made happy, may be pronounced filial piety.'

¹⁶³ According to Korean commentators, this is a reference to the *Shih ching*, meaning to sing songs for parents by a filial son. The reference does not carry the sense suggested, and so rather may have come from an Eastern Chin poet.

¹⁶⁴ *Lao-tzu* 14; Arthur Waley (1934/1977), *The Way and its Power*, "rarefied and infinitesimal."

¹⁶⁵ Unused. *Lun-yü*, Yang Huo, XVII. 7; Legge (1972), 1: 321; Waley (1938), *Analects*, 211, is the most appropriate, "Am I indeed to be forever like the bitter gourd that is only fit to be hung up, but not to eat?" that is, not receive a post.

over and cutting across the sea of suffering to reach the other shore. He told the state envoy, "Each person has their own determination, and I request to be released from this (work)."

Subsequently he went to Ts'ang-chou and consulted Master Shen-chien. When he had half-finished full-body obeisance, the Master, pleased, said, "The sad separation has not been long, I am happy to meet you again."¹⁶⁶ Accordingly, he ordered that he (take) the tonsure and dyed (monastic robes). He bowed and received the mudrā. It was like fire burning dry artemisia, or water flowing to lower ground. The followers (of Shen-chien) looked at each other and said, "Again we see here a saint of the East."¹⁶⁷

The Meditation Teacher's appearance was very dark, and the assembly did not call him (by that name) but in their eyes they saw him as the Black Dhūta, and so he sought the dark (mystery) and dwelt in silence. He really was a later incarnation of the Lacquer Man of the Way.¹⁶⁸ How could he (not) be compared to the Dark in the city's midst who could comfort the minds of the masses (assembly) and that is all?¹⁶⁹ Eternally, he should, along with the red-bearded and blue-eyed, be clearly indicated (as a master) by his colour characteristics.¹⁷⁰

In the fifth year of the Yüan-ho era (810), he received the full precepts at the Lapis Lazuli Platform of Shao-lin Monastery on Mt Sung. This fully conforms to the earlier dream of his mother.¹⁷¹ Once he had brightened the pearl of the precepts and again returned to the ocean of learning, when he heard one (thing) he knew ten, and was redder (than the) madder (from which it is made) and bluer (than the) indigo

¹⁶⁶ Reference to the *Kao-seng chuan* biography of Kumārajīva, T50.332c21-23: "Also, there was a bhikṣu P'ei-tu at P'eng-ch'eng, who heard that Kumārajīva was in Ch'ang-an, and he lamented, 'He and I have been sadly separated for over three hundred years...'"

¹⁶⁷ This 'again' probably refers back to Toüi, who visited China in 784.

¹⁶⁸ Black Dhūta and Lacquer Man of the Way refer to Tao-an (312-385), *Kao-seng chuan*, T50.351c20, who invited Kumārajīva, set up the first monastic regulations, etc.

¹⁶⁹ *Tso-chuan*, IX, 17th year of Duke Hsiang, Legge (1972), 5: 474-475, "The Black in the city's midst, would comfort our hearts," a reference to Tzu-han.

¹⁷⁰ Red-bearded is a reference to Buddhayaśas, KSC, T50.334b12-13, and blue-eyed to the Vinaya monk Vimalākṣa, again just before the above entry in the KSC, T50.333c14. This is not a reference to Bodhidharma, as some commentators would have it.

¹⁷¹ 聖善, *Shih ching*, Legge (1972), 4: 50, "our mother is wise and good." Here, the correspondence is between the name of the precepts platform and the glass bottle given by the stranger monk to his mother as a trust or sign.

(from which blue is produced).¹⁷² Although his mind was as clear as still water, he was still (aimless like) a scattered cloud that covered its traces.¹⁷³ Now there was a homeland (Silla) monk, Toŭi, who had previously enquired of the Way in China. They met unexpectedly, which corresponded with his desires. To the southwest one gains a friend,¹⁷⁴ and searching in all the distant directions, he (now) realised the knowledge and views of the Buddha. Toŭi had earlier returned to his home country, and the Meditation Teacher then entered the Chung-nan (Mountains) and climbed an eighty-thousand foot high peak. He fed on pine nuts and (practiced) *śamatha-vipaśyanā* in total calm and silence for three years. Later he left the Purple Pavilion.¹⁷⁵ When he was on the crossroads he wove straw-hemp sandals and donated them widely. He was unsettled for another three years. By then he had already cultivated the austere practices and he had travelled to the other regions. Although he can be said to have contemplated emptiness, how can one forget one's origin? So then in the fourth year of the T'ai-ho era (830) he came back (to Silla), and the Great Awareness Supreme Vehicle illuminated our Domain of Humaneness (Silla). King Hŭngdŏk rapidly wrote to welcome and reward him, saying,

Meditation Teacher Toŭi, who has recently returned to stay, and now you, who have returned next, are two bodhisattvas. I have heard that in the past there were the (two) black-clothed prodigies and now I see the patch-clothed heroes. To fill the heavens¹⁷⁶ with compassionate dignity and have the entire country happily reliant, I will now make the territory of East Kyerim (Silla) the residence of the Felicitous One (Bhagavat).

At first (the Master) stopped and resided in Changbaek Monastery

¹⁷² The pupil is better than the teacher. This is from *Hsün-tzu*, Encouraging Learning; Burton Watson, trans (1964), *Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings*, 15: "The gentleman says: Learning should never cease. Blue comes from the indigo plant but is bluer than the plant itself." Korean commentary by Yi Usŏng (1995), *Silla Sasan pimyŏng*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, 133, refers to the *Huai-nan tzu* for this.

¹⁷³ Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 17482.37, quotes a poem by Li Po for this. To wander around without a guide or aim.

¹⁷⁴ *I ching*, Wilhelm (1968), 11, "It is favourable to find friends in the west and south."

¹⁷⁵ Another name of the Chung-nan Mountains. It is one of the peaks in the range, which is to the south of Ch'ang-an.

¹⁷⁶ A reference to Tao-an (312-385), who used these words in a witty reply that applied to himself. See KSC, T50.352c5-6. Could it read, "Tao-an's (Your) compassionate dignity was happily relied upon by the whole country."

on Mt No in Sangju.¹⁷⁷ At the doctor's gate there were many sick,¹⁷⁸ and those who came were like clouds. Although his abbot's room was spacious, the feelings of people themselves (made it) narrow. So he walked to Mt Chiri in Kangju. There several tigers roared and guided him up front, avoiding the dangerous places and following the even (ground), being no different to the Yü rider.¹⁷⁹ The followers had nothing to fear, as if (the tigers) were domestic pigs or dogs. This is identical to the incidents of Trepitaka Shan-wu-wei, who when he spent the summer retreat (*varṣa*) on the Numinous Mountain, was led along the path by ferocious beasts and entered deep into a mountain cave, where he saw a standing statue of (Śākya) Muni,¹⁸⁰ or to that of Chu Tan-yu, who tapped the head of a sleeping tiger to make it listen to the scriptures.¹⁸¹ These are not the only praises in the history of monks. Consequently, he constructed halls and buildings on the remaining foundations of the hermitage of the late Teacher Sanbōp. They were awesome as the city of transformation.¹⁸² In the third year of the K'ai-ch'eng era (839), King Min'ae violently ascended to the treasured rank.¹⁸³ He relied deeply on the profound compassion, and sent down an imperially sealed letter offering the expenses for a vegetarian offering, and he especially desired to seek an interview. The Meditation Teacher said, "In diligently cultivating good government, what use is there in this desire?" The emissary returned to the king, who was embarrassed when he heard this, and he regarded the Meditation Teacher as having eliminated matter and

¹⁷⁷ The ruins of the monastery are still at Yŏnwŏndong 511, Naesŏ-myŏn, Sangju-gun.

¹⁷⁸ *Chuang-tzu*, Shih-chien jen; Watson (1968), 54: "At the doctor's gate are many sick men."

¹⁷⁹ Cited in *Wen hsüan*, Tso-ssu, Wu-tu fu. See David Knechtges (1982), *Wen xuan*, 406: "The Yu rider..." and 472, "The 'Yu rider' refers to the goblin Yu'er mentioned in the *Guanzi*...: 'The Yu rider gallops over the road; The south-pointing chariot shows the direction.'" I.e., to clear the road ahead, show the way.

¹⁸⁰ Shan-wu-wei, or Śubhakarasiṃha, went to Gṛdhrakūṭa, see SKSC, T50.714c21-23.

¹⁸¹ KSC, T50.396a2-4; this monk also famed for the fact that when he died sitting up in the mountains, his corpse did not decay, and people flocked to see it. Died in 390s.

¹⁸² *Lotus Sutra*, T9.22aff.

¹⁸³ The throne. Kim Myŏng killed King Hŭigang and put himself on the throne. Kim Yang and others attacked and executed him and put King Shinmu on the throne. Kim Myŏng was given the posthumous title of Min'ae. Cf. Kim Pusik (1929), *Samguk sagi* 10/122.

emptiness together, and of being perfected both in dhyāna and prajñā. He sent the emissary to bestow the title Hyeso on him. The character so 昭 was the imperial ancestor's shrine taboo name that had to be avoided, and so they changed it.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, he was registered as (a monk) of Tae Hwangnyōng Monastery,¹⁸⁵ and he was summoned to visit the capital. The royal emissaries going and returning crossed reins¹⁸⁶ on the road, but as his eminence stood his ground they could not budge his determination. In the past Seng-ch'ou¹⁸⁷ refused three summonses from the Yüan Wei court, saying, "One does not miss the Great Thoroughfare while in the mountains practicing the Way." He dwelt in obscurity and nurtured eminence, and although of a different age, was of the same tendency. When he lived there for several years, those requesting benefits were lined up like paddy rice or hemp plants, without even the slightest gap (between them). Therefore, he went about to seek an extraordinary place. He found one on the slopes south of the ranges, where the land was elevated and dry, most suitable for living. He measured out and commenced with a meditation hut. It reclined on the misty peaks and looked down over the cloudy gorges. For those with the field of clear sight, it was delineated by rivers and distant peaks; for those with the sense of sharp hearing, (it was delineated by) the scattering stones and flying torrents.¹⁸⁸ When spring came, the creek beds were in flower, and in summer the paths (were lined with) pines, in autumn the moon (shone over) the gulches, and in winter the ridge lines (were covered) in snow.

¹⁸⁴ Here the problem lies in the characters so, 昭 and 照. There is some evidence that King Hyoso's (r. 692-702) name was originally written with 照, for that is found in an inscription on a bronze reliquary found at Hwangbuk Monastery, Kyōngju. But Ch'oe Yōngsōng (1987), *Chuhae Sasan pimyōng*, 115-116, here argues that they changed the character of the monk to 照. This is undermined by the fact that all texts of the inscription for Chin'gam use 昭. However, in Ch'oe Ch'iwōn's stele for Tohōn, the character 照 is used for Hyeso (Ch'oe, 170, 181 note 107). Impossible to decide which is correct.

¹⁸⁵ This was the royal monastery of Kyōngju that symbolised the state and royal family.

¹⁸⁶ *I-li*. Cf. John Steele, trans, (1917), *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonies*, Probsthain: London, 2 vols, 2: 80. At the funeral, "they (horses) enter the door and are set facing north, the reins being joined together." Here, to encounter one another.

¹⁸⁷ Seng-ch'ou (485-560), a famous meditator and scholar, HKSC, T50.554a9-10, for incident.

¹⁸⁸ Possible reference to the *Lotus Sutra*, T9.47c, "with the physical eyes one was given by one's parents, one can see the great-trichiliocosm world..." and T9.48a, talks of sound.

The four seasons transformed the situation, and the myriad images matched themselves to their light. The hundred windpipes hummed in harmony, the thousand cliffs competed for excellence. When those who had travelled to the Western Land came here, they stared in awe, saying that the Eastern Forest (Tung-lin Monastery) of (Hui-)yüan had shifted back to (the land) beyond the sea (Silla). The world of the lotus flower¹⁸⁹ cannot be compared by ordinary conceptions, for only if one is in the pot will one believe there is another world in there.¹⁹⁰ (The site) supported bamboo and attracted the currents; it was ringed with steps and by four flows (of water). At first he used Okch'ön (Jade Spring) on the signboard. Counting on one's fingers his Dharma ancestry, he was the great grandson of Ts'ao-ch'i (Hui-neng). For this reason, he built a portrait hall of the Sixth Patriarch, and its decorated, plastered wall extensively assisted with instruction. This is what the sutra calls pleasing sentient beings.¹⁹¹ Therefore it was beautifully inlaid with paintings of many scenes.

In the fourth year of the Ta-chung era, on the dawn of the ninth day of the first month (24th Feb. 850), he told his students, "The myriad dharmas are all empty. I am going to go! The One Mind is the basis, you should make an effort (for) it. Do not conceal my body in a stupa, do not record my career with an inscription." When he finished speaking, he sat (in meditation) and passed away. His years of recompense were seventy-seven, and his accumulation of summers (as a monk) was forty-one. At that time the heavens lacked even the slightest clouds, (and yet) wind and thunder suddenly rose; the tigers and wolves roared and howled; the cryptomeria and juniper changed

¹⁸⁹ 蓮華世界 = 蓮華藏世界, the Pure Land of Vairocana Buddha as preached in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, T10.768c ff.

¹⁹⁰ Yi Usōng's (1995) commentary, 137, refers to the *Lieh-hsien chuan* story of a man called Fei Chang-fang, who saw an old medicine peddler in the market who hung a pot up over his store. When the market closed, he entered the pot. Only Fei saw him, and so he offered him food and alcohol, and they both entered the pot. There he saw magnificent halls and ate delicacies and drink. They then left. Later, they entered a deep mountain amidst ferocious tigers, but Fei was not afraid and lay down in the cave...The old man said, "I can teach you." Later he had him eat the insects in dung, but Fei hated the filth, and so the old man said, "You almost gained the Way, but because you dislike this you cannot perfect it." Therefore he had him return home, and the old man turned into a dragon.

¹⁹¹ *Lotus Sutra*, T9.52b1, and T9.52a29-b1: "The buddhas save the worlds by dwelling in great miraculous powers, and in order to please sentient beings, manifest immeasurable divine powers."

into mourning (white); and then suddenly purple clouds covered the sky. In the sky there was the sound of snapping fingers, and everyone who had gathered for the funeral heard it. The history of the Liang records that Palace Attendant Ch'u Hsiang once invited a śramaṇa to pray for his sick mother. They heard the snap of fingers in the sky, and the divine was moved and subtly responded.¹⁹² How then can this be a (false) rumour? All those determined for the Way asked others to inquire and convey condolences. Those who were not lost in their emotions restrained themselves from crying out of grief. That gods and men were pained and mourned should definitely be known. The spirit casket and the grave tunnel¹⁹³ were prepared in full beforehand. His disciples Pōmnyang and others, wailing, elevated his physical body, and in less than a day put him into a grave on the top of an eastern peak, honouring his last testament. The Meditation Teacher by nature did not lose his simple innocence, and his words were not due to machinations. He wore warm but rough hempen clothing.¹⁹⁴ He ate and enjoyed poor quality wheat, chestnut oak and pulses mixed together, and his vegetables and accompanying rice were not separated. When the noble and accomplished arrived,¹⁹⁵ they were not provided with special food. The students, because of the soiled stomachs (due to sand in their food), found it difficult to offer it to (the guests). So he said, "Since they have a mind to come here, despite the (food) being coarse, what harm is there (in offering it to them)?" Venerable and humble, aged and young, all were received equally. (When) king's men and mounted couriers transmitting commands, often came from afar to pray for the power of the Dharma, then he would say,

Who of all those living on the royal land and supporting the Buddha-sun, do not devote their minds to maintaining mindfulness so as to store up good fortune for the ruler? What necessity is there also in distantly staining the silken words (of the king)¹⁹⁶ midst these withered trees and

¹⁹² Yao Ssu-lien, *Liang shu*, 3/41/586. The snap of the fingers is a reference to the *Lotus Sutra*, T9.52b4-5, "and the sound of (the Buddha's) snapping fingers is heard all around the countries in every direction."

¹⁹³ Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 9205.271, literally a deep hole from which wind emerges. Yi Usōng (1995), 139 note 154, notes that "this was the path beneath the tomb of an emperor. Now that ministers and ordinary people at their funerals call it a *sui*, shows that the age lack the rules of propriety." The tunnel into the mausoleum.

¹⁹⁴ Chuang Wan-shou (1979), *Lieh-tzu tu-pen*, Yang Chu, 243.

¹⁹⁵ Translation uncertain, 貴達時至.

¹⁹⁶ *Li chi*, Legge (1967), 2: 354, "The king's words are (at first) as threads of silk;

rotten stumps? We must, alas, be mindful that the transmitting riders and horses are starving and cannot (even) chew, are thirsty and cannot even drink.

Some also brought foreign incense as gifts. So he used tiles to carry the hot ashes, not making them into pills and burning them, saying, "I do not know what smell this is, but it makes the mind sincere and that is all." Some also offered Chinese tea. He brought wood to stew it in a stone cauldron, boiling it without any care, saying, "I do not know what flavour it has, but it moistens the mouth and that's all." His maintenance of the true and disregard of the worldly were all like this.

He was always skilled at Buddhist hymns, precious indeed was his voice! The sympathetic tunes and flying sounds were brisk, quick, sad and lonely, and could cause the gods to rejoice. They were forever spread to distant lands. The pupils filled the hall and he instructed them tirelessly. Right up to present day Tongguk (Korea), the practitioners of the marvels of Mt Yü,¹⁹⁷ compete to be like him by blocking their noses,¹⁹⁸ and imitated the lingering echoes of Okch'ön (Hyeso). How can this not be the transformation (teaching) that liberated the śrāvakas?¹⁹⁹

The Meditation Teacher's nirvana was during the court of King Munsōng (r. 839-857). The king was saddened in mind, and so favoured (the Master) with the bestowal of a pure posthumous name, and he listened to his last admonitions. He was ashamed and stopped (doing) what was shameful. After a period of three generations,²⁰⁰ his students were anxious about changes in the world, and those disciples who had a desire for the Dharma, raised (the issue) of the cause of

but when given forth, they become as cords...Therefore the great man does not take the lead in idle speaking."

¹⁹⁷ A mountain in Shantung where Ts'ao Chih (192-232) chanted excellent hymns. He went travelling to Mt Yü, where he suddenly heard the sound of Brahma in the sky, with clear sounds and sad tunes that moved his heart. In response, he wrote out Buddhist hymns and music. Cf. Zürcher (1959), *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 56. A piece of Buddhist propaganda from the *Fo-Tao Lun-heng*.

¹⁹⁸ The Eastern Chin minister Hsieh An (320-385) was famous for singing a certain song, but he once had an illness which blocked his nose. His admirers tried to imitate the nasal sound, but could only do so by blocking their nose with their fingers. See Fang Hsüan-ling, *Chin shu* 79. A metaphor for total imitation and admiration.

¹⁹⁹ Literally, the listeners or pupils of the Buddha, here a pun.

²⁰⁰ Thirty-six years, i.e. 886.

non-decay, and the Court Auxiliary and Ilgilgan²⁰¹ Yang Chinbang and the Institute for the Veneration of Literature's Chǒng Sun'il were indivisibly determined and made a request (that the Master's history) be engraved in stone. King Hǒn'gang (875-886) broadcast widely the supreme teaching, and revered the true tenets (真宗/ lineage). So he posthumously titled him Meditation Teacher Chin'gam, and his stupa Spirit of Great Emptiness. Then he permitted these be engraved in seal script in order to eternally extend his posthumous reputation.

Virtuous indeed was the sun that came out of the Valley of Sunshine (Silla); there was no gloom he did not illuminate. On this ocean shore he planted incense, which after a long time filled (the air) with fragrance. Someone said, "The Meditation Teacher handed down an admonition against (making an) inscription or a stupa (for) him, and yet when it came down to the followers of Hsi-ho (West River)²⁰² (his disciples), they were unable to respect their former (Master's) decisions. Did they seek it, or was it given to them (by the king)?²⁰³ This alone is enough to be a flaw in the white mace (of office)."²⁰⁴ Alas, those who criticise are certainly wrong.²⁰⁵ Even if he did not pursue fame, the fame is made manifest due to the lingering recompense for the power of dhyāna. How is it better to be extinguished ashes and interrupted lightning than to achieve what is achievable at the achievable time, and make his (reputation) shake the major chiliocosm?

And before the turtle (plinth) bore the stone (of the inscription), the dragon (king) abruptly ascended to Heaven (died). The current ruler²⁰⁶ subsequently rose (to the throne), and as the ocarina and flutes were in accord,²⁰⁷ the idea was consequently inherited. The approval was in concurrence with this.

²⁰¹ Seventh rank in the Silla bureaucracy, equals Ilgilch'an.

²⁰² *Shih chi* 7/67/2203, biography of Confucius, "Tzu-hsia lived at the West River and there instructed..." I.e., his disciples.

²⁰³ *Lun-yü*, Hsüeh-erh; Legge (1972), 1: 142, "When our master comes to any country he does not fail to learn about its government. Does he ask his information? Or is it given to him?" The Korean commentators think the verbs apply to the pupils.

²⁰⁴ *Shih ching*, Ta-ya; Legge (1972), 4: 513, "A flaw in a mace of white jade/ May be ground away,/ But for a flaw in speech/ Nothing can be done."

²⁰⁵ *Meng-tzu*, Liang Hui wang 2; Legge (1972) 1 and 2: 158: "to condemn their superiors is wrong, but when the superiors of the people do not make enjoyment a thing common to the people and themselves, they also do wrong." In other words, to criticise the king, the Master's followers, and Ch'oe himself, is wrong on all counts.

²⁰⁶ Chǒnggang, r. 886-888.

²⁰⁷ *Shih ching*, Hsiao-ya, Ho jen szu; Legge (1972), 4: 346. The ocarina was

As the monasteries of the neighbouring peaks had the title of Okch'ŏn, they were tied by the name, which caused confusion to hearers. This made (the monastery's assembly) discard this identity and go for difference, so it was appropriate they abandoned the old and followed the new. This made them examine the place the monastery rested on, and since it had a gate that overlooked a pair of torrents, (the king) conferred a title of Ssanggye (Twin Creeks) on it. He gave a further command to his ministers, saying, "The Master used his conduct to illumine. I use literature to make an offering, so it is appropriate that an inscription be made." I, Ch'iwŏn, saluted, palms together, saying, "Yes, yes." I retreated and thought about this. Recently I had gained a name in China, where I chewed on the sweetmeats of literary works, but was unable to be completely intoxicated by the wine jugs on the highways,²⁰⁸ for I was merely ashamed (like the frog) who slipped deep into the mud and tile (crevices of a well).²⁰⁹ How much more (ashamed am I given) that the Dharma is divorced from letters and there is (thus) no place to deploy words. If I should speak of it, the north(-pointing) carriage will go to Ying (in the South).²¹⁰ It is only due to the external protection of the lord of the state and the great vows of the students (that I do this). If it were not for the letters, I could not make it clear to all eyes. Consequently I personally dare to follow the two employments,²¹¹ and devoted myself to the five capabilities.²¹² Although it is stone, perhaps I can rely on

played by the elder, and the flute by the younger, here referring to the late and current kings.

²⁰⁸ Reference to the *Huai-nan tzu*, where the alcohol provided is a metaphor for the Way of the Sage, and each drinker obtains what is appropriate to him.

²⁰⁹ *Chuang-tzu*, Autumn Floods; Watson (1968), "Haven't you heard about the frog in the caved-in well. He said to the great turtle of the Eastern Sea, 'What fun I have! I come out and hop around the railing of the well, or I go back in and take a rest where a tile has fallen out.'"

²¹⁰ Ying was a name of a district in the southern state of Ch'u. One Korean commentator points to a poem by Po Chü-i for a reference. The meaning is that Ch'oe will completely miss the point with his writing.

²¹¹ There are various theories on the meanings and sources of this; oral and written, stele narrative and poetic verse, or a Confucian at the service of Buddhism. One commentator thinks it refers to a bat, which has one body but is part bird and part rodent. I suspect it is based on *Hsün-tzu*, Watson (1964), 18, "He who serves two masters will please neither..."

²¹² The Korean commentators indicate the five skills of the flying squirrel [Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 48441.6] in *Hsün-tzu*. Cf. Watson (1963), "The flying squirrel has many talents but finds itself hard pressed." The *Shuo-wen* lists the five skills of this

it.²¹³ I should be ashamed and apprehensive, yet the Way is forcibly named.²¹⁴ What is correct and which is wrong? (Yet) the worn-out brush conceals sharp points,²¹⁵ so then how could Your subject dare (not write)?

I reiterate the sense of the above, and respectfully write the inscription:

The unspoken dhyāna (teacher)
 Devoted his mind to the Buddha.
 The mature-facultied bodhisattva
 Who spread it was none other (than he).
 He fiercely sought out the tiger cave,
 And sailed afar over the leviathan waves.
 He left to transmit the secret seal,
 He came to convert Silla.
 He sought the profound and selected the superior,
 And (there) divined and built on the precipices and cliffs.
 The moon in water (there) cleanses thoughts.
 The spring in the snow (there) conveys evocations.
 The mountain and (his) nature were calm.
 The valley and his Sanskrit (hymns) echoed.
 All the sense realms were unimpeded.
 The halting of the machinations (of the mind) is realisation.
 His Way (was) praised (by) the five courts,²¹⁶
 His dignity destroyed the hordes of demons.
 His silence lowered the shade of compassion.
 He clearly refused the excellent (royal) invitation.
 The sea naturally tosses and turns,
 (But) do the mountains move and shake?
 He lacked mentation and anxiety.
 He was uncut and uncarved.
 He did not eat combined tastes,
 He did not need clothes in a full outfit.
 Wind and rain are (as dark) as night,²¹⁷

squirrel as being incomplete, as it can fly but cannot cross over a roof, and so forth. In other words, Ch'oe has many skills, but none are perfect or complete.

²¹³ *Tso-chuan*, Duke Shao, eighth year; Legge (1972), 5: 620, 622, "Stones cannot speak. Perhaps this was possessed (by a spirit)."

²¹⁴ Last part is *Lao-tzu* 25 line.

²¹⁵ Morohashi (1955-1960), no. 12264.35, cites the *Tung-kuan yü lun*, "...The stone was hard and difficult to carve, and moreover it was split by water. Therefore the characters lacked the sharp points, as if written by a used-up brush."

²¹⁶ Kings Hōndōk, Hūngdōk, Hūi'yang, Shinmu and Munsōng.

²¹⁷ *Shih ching*, Legge (1972), 4: 143, "Through the wind and rain all looks dark/ And the cock crows without ceasing." A metaphor for negative times.

Beginning and end are united.
 The sprout of insight then flourished,
 (But) the ridge-pole of the Dharma suddenly collapsed.
 The caves and caverns were coldly desolate,
 The misted vines were haggard from grief.
 The person perished but the Way survived,
 But he can never be forgotten.
 The superior gentlemen expressed their desire,
 And the Great Lord issued forth his grace.
 The lamplight was transmitted to the ocean's bounds,
 And his stupa soared out of the clouded rocks,
 Eternally glorifying the Pine Gate.²¹⁸

Erected on a day of the seventh month of the third year of the Kuang-ch'i era (887). The monk Hwan'yōng carved the text.

C: *Inscription on the Stupa in which the Tonsured Hair (is buried) of Kuang-hsiao Monastery*²¹⁹

It is not accidental that there is confidence (in) the buddhas and patriarchs when they appear in the world. In the past, the Trepitaka Guṇabhadra of the Sung Dynasty, built this precepts platform, making the prediction, "Later there will be a bodhisattva in the flesh body who will receive the precepts on it." In the first year of the T'ien-chien era of Liang (502), there was also an Indian monk, the Trepitaka Chih-yao, who sailed here across the ocean. He brought a bodhi-tree from India to the West with him, and he planted it in front of the precepts platform. He erected a stele, which stated,

One hundred and sixty years after I have gone, there will be a bodhi-sattva in the flesh body who will come to beneath this bodhi-tree and preach the Superior Vehicle, liberating a limitless assembly. He is truly the Dharma-king who transmits the Buddha's mind seal.

²¹⁸ A metaphor for a monastery, or by a pun, for Buddhism.

²¹⁹ The title according to the *Yüeh-tung chin-shih lüeh* by Weng T'an-ch'i, chapter 1 (Kuang-chou fu chin-shih 1), folio 5a, has, "The record of the hair stupa and bodhi-tree of Kuang-hsiao Monastery." It states that, "the record was engraved in stone in the first year of I-feng, ping-tzu, and erected by the abbot of Fa-hsing Monastery, the monk Fa-ts'ai. It is recorded in the *Ts'ao-ch'i chih*. This gazetteer states, 'This stele is preserved in the provincial capital's Kuang-hsiao Monastery, beneath the bodhi-tree. So it is a T'ang engraving. But the stone currently beneath the tree is a re-engraving of the Wan-li era of Ming, in the *jen-tzu* (year, 1612).'"

Now Meditation Teacher Neng arrived here on the eighth day of the first month, and as a consequence debated the words on the wind and the flag, and talked about the Supreme Path with Dharma Teacher Tsung. Tsung danced with joy at his good fortune in finally investigating the correct causes of obtaining the Dharma, something he had not heard before. On the fifteenth day, the universal assembly of the four congregations had the Teacher tonsured. On the eighth day of the second month, the renowned virtuous (monks) gathered, and he received the full precepts (as a monk). Once done, beneath the bodhi-tree he revealed the tenets of the lone transmission, exactly as had been predicted in the past.

Fa-ts'ai consequently collected subscriptions from the assembly and erected this stupa, in which he interred the Meditation Teacher's hair. Suddenly it was completed, the eight sides majestic and clean. It soared into the air for seven stories, straight upright as if it had erupted forth.²²⁰

Impressive was the Meditation Teacher! The generosity of his power in the Dharma completed things in a snap of the fingers; and the excellent plans of the ancients (in him) were pre-eminent and not erased. Therefore I have written this summary. As for the date of this record, it is the first year of the I-feng era, in the year cycle *ping-tzu* (676), on the birth date anniversary of our Buddha.

Respectfully recorded by the abbot of Fa-hsing Monastery, Fa-ts'ai.

D: *Bibliographical Notes on the Texts*

Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan

The earliest copy, and source of all other editions, is the scroll brought by Saichō (767-822) from China to Japan. Saichō arrived in T'ang China in the seventh month of 804, and returned to Japan in the eighth month of the following year. In that time, he had studied at Lung-hsing Monastery on Mt T'ien-t'ai. There he learnt T'ien-t'ai, Esoteric Buddhism, Ch'an and the precepts. He is said to have

²²⁰ Reference to the *Lotus Sutra* chapter 11, on the stupa. Cf. Leon Hurvitz (1976), *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 183. This inscription has many resonances with this chapter.

received Niu-t'ou Ch'an from Yu-jan of Ch'an-lin Monastery on Mt T'ien-t'ai on the thirteenth day of the tenth month of 804. He also claimed to be in a lineage of Northern Ch'an, via P'u-chi, Dōsen, and Gyōhyō. When he was thirteen, he had received this teaching from Gyōhyō of Daian Monastery. It is clear that he was interested in Ch'an, for he lists a number of Ch'an works in the catalogue of items he brought back to Japan. These included the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*, the Niu-t'ou *Chieh-kuan lun* and a *Ta-mo hsi-t'u* [see Ibuki (1997.6), 179-188, and Chapter 5], probably a lineage chart. The hagiography is catalogued under this abbreviated title in his *Dengyō Daishi shōrai Esshū roku* (T55.1059b). As this catalogue exists in Saichō's own handwriting, and is kept at Enryakuji along with the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* scroll, there is no doubt as to the authenticity of the text. Some scholars, such as Matsumoto Bunsaburo and Ushiba Shingen thought it was in Saichō's own handwriting, but this was denied by Naitō Kōnan and D. T. Suzuki. The latter position would appear to be correct, for at the end of the scroll, on a blank sheet pasted onto the end (there are eleven sheets, nine vertically lined sheets for the body of the text, and two for the cover and colophons etc), there is written 貞十九二月十三畢. Next to it are the seals of Hiei-ji, and a mark saying it was sealed up by Saichō 最澄封. The date given then is probably 貞元十九 or 803, and is a note of the copyist. This would mean that this was copied before Saichō arrived in China, and that he purchased or was given a copy.

If the calculations of the date of the original *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of 781 are correct, that would mean it had been composed only twenty-three years before Saichō arrived, and so the Hieizan manuscript was probably not an amended text. The calculation of the date comes from a reference to Hui-neng's death as being in the *jen-tzu* year, the second year of Hsien-t'ien. The *jen-tzu* year was 713, and the second year of Hsien-t'ien would have to have been 714. The reference says that until the second year of the Chien-chung era (781), seventy-one years had passed. Although that should be sixty-nine years, this is still a useful indication of its date of composition.

A copy of the manuscript was made by the greatest Zen philologist and encyclopaedist, Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744) in 1734. He tried to duplicate it exactly, including the Hiei-ji seal and Saichō's mark. But he tried to improve the text with added punctuation and corrections (noted in the margins), although unusually, he was sometimes wrong. This was probably because he had access to the original manuscript for

a very short time, and so he was rushed. But he was also eighty-two, and his advanced age may have contributed to some of the errors. This copy is held in the Library of Kyoto University.

There is mention that a copy of the manuscript was made in 1725 by two Edo Confucians, Yamada Masatomo (1712-1735) and Amano Kei'in (1678-1748), but none has been found. While Dōchū met them in 1726 [for this see Iida Rigyō (1986), *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, Zenbunka Kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 218-224], he seems not to have seen their copy. They were probably interested in it for linguistic reasons as much as for the figure of Hui-neng.

In 1762, Kōshōji, a Rinzai monastery to the north of Kyoto, which had earlier belonged to the Tendai Sect, made a woodblock printing. The woodblocks still exist. It was printed by Sōhō (1722-1806), a monk of the same Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen as Dōchū. Sōhō had a deep interest in Hui-neng, but as he had been rejected by Dōchū as a pupil, he did not acknowledge Dōchū's scholarship, even though his edition is a direct copy from that by Dōchū. He may have even implied that Dōchū's copy was made from that of Yamada, for it is only on Sōhō's testimony that there is any evidence Yamada copied or even saw the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan*. Indeed, we owe to Sōhō the Japanese name for the text, the *Rokuso Daishi betsuden*. The printing has *kaeriten* and *okurigana* to assist Japanese readers.

This text was then printed, with emendations probably made by collation with the Hieizan manuscript, in the *Dai Nihon manji Zoku Zōkyō* (1905-1912), Kyoto.

[Based on EK, 8-24. Photo-reproduction of manuscript in front of EK. A Kokeisō 古徑莊 collotype print was made in 1936 of the manuscript (with an explanation by Suzuki Daisetsu and Ninomiya Moribito), and this is reproduced in Yanagida Seizan, comp. (1976), *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei*, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto, 405-424].

Chin'gam Stele Inscription by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn

This stele for Hyeso was written on royal command in 887 by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-?), one of the finest writers of the Silla period. Born into an elite family, the Ch'oe of Kyōngju, he had two brothers, the elder of whom was a monk. His father was probably an official. At the age of twelve (*sui*), he took a boat to T'ang China in order to study, with his father's warning in his ears: "If you do not pass the examinations in ten years, you are not my son." In six years, at the

age of eighteen, he passed the *pin-kung* examination, which was for non-Chinese. This was in 874, and in 876 he took a minor post in Kiangsu Province as a subordinate officer in a county office. In order to prepare for a higher examination in literature, in 877 he resigned his post and became a hermit in the mountains. But because the news of his literary talents spread, he again took office, around 880. This was during the disastrous Huang Ch'ao Rebellion (874-884), and he was made an assistant to Kao P'ien, the military governor of Huainan, who was one of the leading loyalist generals. In that post, Ch'oe wrote documents and decrees, for which he was awarded honorary titles and a position of Attendant at Court in 884. When he personally met Emperor Hsi-tsung, he was sent as an emissary of the T'ang as a conveyer of best wishes to the Silla court. Arriving in 885, he was given a series of posts in the Silla court as a courtier-scholar, but the jealousy of others curbed his ambitions and he became a district governor for a number of years. Soon thereafter, rebellions broke the remnant power of the Silla court, and in 898 he resigned his posts and retreated into the mountains and buried himself in books and writing. He shifted to various places, including Ssanggye Monastery, and ended up at Haein Monastery with his elder brother. Sometime after that he died, but the circumstances and date are unknown.

According to Chinese and Korean sources, plus a preface to one of his works, he wrote three collections of poetry in different genres, a collection of memorials to the throne, two works of belles-lettres and an historical chronicle of the Silla that greatly influenced the *Samguk sagi* by Kim Pusik, the standard history of pre-Koryŏ Korea. However, only his *Kyewŏn P'ilgyŏng* in twenty fascicles is extant, plus a few poems in the *Tongmun sŏn*.

The *Kyewŏn P'ilgyŏng* was first printed in 1834, and editions were not published until 1926 by Ch'oe Kuksul. The *Sasan pimyŏng*, our main source, is a collection of four Buddhist inscriptions, three obituaries for monks and the fourth a text for a monastery, which were extracted from the *Kyewŏn P'ilgyŏng*. This was done by Chunggwan Hae'an (1567-?), a pupil of Sŏsan Hyujŏng (1520-1604), who like his master, led a monk army against the Japanese invasion directed by Hideyoshi (1536-1598) from 1596. Hae'an selected these texts for advanced monk students, and provided them with a commentary to assist in the reading exercises. The name he chose for the collection, *Sasan pimyŏng* reflects the four mountain monasteries (*sasan*) for which the stele inscriptions (*pimyŏng*) were named. All were written on royal command after Ch'oe had

returned from T'ang. This book proved very popular, and in 1782 Mong'an of Hwa'öm Monastery, not too distant from Ssanggye Sa, wrote a far more detailed commentary with Korean *kugyöl* phonetics for pronunciation to help the readers. The commentary was needed because the texts were packed with allusions that would have been difficult for the monks. Another commentary came from a hermitage of Ssanggye Monastery in 1895. Another commentary was discovered in 1930 by Imanishi Ryū in Mokpo, another has *hyōngt'o* (Korean written in Chinese characters), and yet another is written in *han'gŭl*, the native Korean alphabet. This last was possibly by Kyōng'un (1852-1936) of Sōn'am Monastery. The famous scholarly monk, Pak Han'yong (1870-1948), wrote a *Kyewōn yuhyang*, possibly also the *Sanggyo Sasan pimyōng chuhae*, in 1931. Probably the most influential commentary in modern times, because it appeared in Yi Nūnghwa's 1918 general history of Korean Buddhism, the *Chosōn Pulgyo t'ongsa*, was that of the layman Hong Kyōngmo, who, in the first half of the nineteenth century was friends with the eminent monk P'aekp'a Kūngsōn (1767-1852). Pak Han'yong corrected some of Hong's errors.

Although originally intended as an advanced exercise reader for monks, the *Sasan pimyōng* also became popular among lay students, and many more commentaries probably exist. The reason for its popularity was that it could be used, with a commentary, as an entry into the difficult style of parallel prose called *p'ien-wen* or *p'ien-li*, in which "metrical identity...and syntactical parallelism occur between corresponding lines," making it very akin to poetry. Highly artificial, it was a style favoured in the Six Dynasties and Late T'ang China, but was opposed by the *ku-wen* proponents for its figurative language and great artificiality. A highly aristocratic style, it was championed by Liu Hsieh in his *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* and by Hsiao T'ung in his preface to the *Wen-hsüan*. It was used throughout the T'ang as part of the examinations, and had to be mastered by all national bureaucrats. The special erudition required led to the creation of an examination for advanced specialists in this style, called the *po-hsiieh hung-tz'u* (polymath and resonant prose exam), which is what Ch'oe Ch'iwōn had prepared for. This paralleled the reappearance in the Late T'ang of a new style of parallel prose, the 4-6 (*ssu-liu*) style. (One of Ch'oe's works, not co-incidentally, was called the *Ssu-liu chi*).

Ch'oe Ch'iwōn owed much to the style as found in the *Wen hsüan*, but because the *p'ien-wen* style lost favour in China and Korea, by the early-to-mid Koryō, many scholars, even the erudite, found Ch'oe's

style difficult. Later, Sō Kōjōng (1420-1488) found there were many passages in it he could not understand, as did Sōng Hyōn (1439-1504). Of course, Ch'oe had used the opportunity to display his literary skills and virtuosity when he was ordered by the king or queen to write an inscription. This explains why commentaries were needed, and because three of the stelae are obituaries for Sōn monks who played important roles in the success of the school in Silla Korea, they were greatly appreciated by Sōn monks.

The textual history of the commentaries is not well known, but the obituary texts are well-established, for the originals still exist, and where weathering and damage has occurred (and that only to a minor extent), these sections can be reconstructed from the many rubbings and the manuscripts that were made of them in the past. A number of detailed, modern editions exist. Those consulted were Ch'oe Yōngsōng, annotator and translator (1987), *Chuhae Sasan pimyōng*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, which has photographs and rubbings of the stelae. Also see Ch'oe Yōngsōng (1990), *Ch'oe Ch'iwōn ūi sasang yōn'gu: purok: Sasan pimyōng chipju*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, which has texts plus commentary in Classical Chinese; Yi Usōng, collator and translator (1995), *Silla Sasan pimyōng*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, also has photographs and rubbings, plus detailed notes on all variants of thirteen texts, plus a commentary in Classical Chinese based on those of earlier commentaries, plus translation. In volume two of Ch'oe Chun'ok, comp. (1982), *Kug'yōk Kō'un Sōnsaeng munjip*, 2 vols, Poryōn kak: Seoul, 2: 145-271, there is a text with Classical Chinese commentary, primarily that of Hong Kyōngmo and backed with that of the *Kyewōn yuhang*, and various translations into Korean. The four stelae are also annotated, with a translation, by Yi Chi'gwan (1994), *Yōkdae Kosūng pimun: Silla p'yōn*, Kasan mun'go: Seoul, revised edn.

[The above compiled based on Ch'oe Yōngsōng (1987), 1-27 and Yi Usōng (1995), preface, ii-iii, and entry on *p'ien-wen* in William H. Nienhauser, Jr, ed. and comp., (1986), *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 656-659.]

Inscription on the Stupa in which the Tonsured Hair (is buried) of Kuang-hsiao Monastery

As was made clear by Weng T'an-ch'i (Fang-kang, 1733-1818) in his *Yüeh-tung chin-shih lüeh* chapter 1, "the stone currently beneath

the tree is a re-engraving of the Wan-li era of Ming, in the *jen-tzu* (year, 1612)," which would cast doubt that it "was engraved in stone in the first year of I-feng, *ping-tzu*, (676) and erected by the abbot of Fa-hsing Monastery, the monk Fa-ts'ai." He also says "It is recorded in the *Ts'ao-ch'i chih*. This gazetteer states, 'This stele is preserved in the provincial capital's Kuang-hsiao Monastery, beneath the bodhi-tree.' So it is a T'ang engraving." Weng wrote his work while he was a director of education in Kuang-tung between 1764 and 1771 [Benjamin A. Elman (1984), *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 190]. However, the gazetteer Weng referred to is probably the 1672 *Ts'ao-ch'i t'ung chih* (EK, 628), but it does not have this text included in it. Rather, it is to be found in the *Kuang-hsiao Ssu chih* of 1765 and the *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* (ZSS, 535; EK, 84, 628), which was begun in 1819 [see Elman (1984), 110-111]. The only other source was the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* of 1814 compiled by Tung Kao (1740-1818) and others. It is in fascicle 912. Unfortunately, the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* does not indicate its sources, and has included material that was evidently forged after the T'ang, such as a summons from Emperor Chung-tsung to attend court (CTW 17) and the decree from Emperor Tai-tsung sending back the robe and bowl. Its texts for these are identical with those in the 1004 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, and not those in the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* (ZSS, 238; EK, 628). Moreover, because of its indiscriminate or naïve selection of texts as belonging to the T'ang, it made errors. It sometimes takes one person and makes two out of them, and similar such errors, as the authors of an index of T'ang people have indicated [Fu Hsüan-tsung, Chang Ch'en-shih, and Hsü I-min, comps (1982), *T'ang Wu-tai jen-wu ch'uan-chi tzu-liao tsung-ho so-yin*, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, preface, 11]. The stupa inscription is not quoted by name in any documents predating these, and so the earliest proof of its existence is the year 1612. This is why a number of scholars have doubted its authenticity.

For it to be genuine, its information had to have reached Wang Wei about Yin-tsung, and the authors of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* about the flag and wind debate, and then the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* about the predictions of Chih-yao and the date of the tonsure as 676, all independently, without acknowledgment, and without Wang Wei mentioning the other matters (flag and wind, Chih-yao, 676), and without the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* mentioning Chih-yao. This, plus the fact it uses the

name Kuang-hsiao Monastery in its title, a name which dates from Ming times (EK, 95, 184ff), is clumsily dated and has a usage of 'flesh body' not seen elsewhere in T'ang materials (ZSS, 536-537), suggests that it is a late forgery, definitely not of T'ang vintage. (Edition used is that in ZSS, 535-538)

APPENDIX TWO

KOREA AND THE COMPILATION OF THE *TSU-T'ANG CHI*

The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, a collection of short hagiographies, enlightenment cases, *logia* and verses of two hundred and fifty-three Ch'an monks and patriarchs, was, according to its first preface, compiled in 952 A.D. by two monks, Yü and Ching while they were residing at Chao-ch'ing Monastery in Ch'üan-chou under the abbacy of Sheng-teng (884-972), the author of the preface. Ch'üan-chou, an international port city in Fukien, had been under the rule of the Kingdom of Min until 945 when it fell into the hands of a local warlord and became part of Southern T'ang. The kingdoms of Min, Southern T'ang, and Wu-Yüeh to the north in Chekiang, were ruled by pro-Buddhist clans, which attracted many Ch'an monks to the region. This area was dominated by the Ch'an lineage of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908), which prompted Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen (778-897), the only other Ch'an master acknowledged by contemporaries as the equal of I-ts'un (a popular saying of the day was, "In the North there is Chao-chou; in the South Hsüeh-feng"), to remark, "My place is merely a refugee camp; the Buddha Dharma is all in the South."¹ While this reinforced the geographical divisions, it also reflected the political realities of the time. This collection consequently is important for reconstructing the history of late T'ang and Five Dynasties' Ch'an Buddhism, especially in South China, for it also apparently escaped the homogenising constraints evident in slightly later texts such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004), which had its origins in the former Wu-Yüeh region and the Fa-yen branch of the Hsüeh-feng lineage, and the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* (1029) or *Ch'uan-teng yü-ying chi* (1034). All of these later texts were edited or written by senior bureaucrat laymen with close connections to the Sung imperial house.² In particular, these bureaucrats

¹ Yanagida Seizan (1974a), 'Sodōshū ni tsuite,' in *Sodōshū*, Zengaku sōsho 4, Chūbun shuppansha: Kyoto, 1.

² Yang I, a native of the Min region and the editor of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, who added mentions of fifty Hsüeh-feng lineage monks to Tao-yüan's original text, was also editor of imperial projects such as the *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*; Li Tsun-hsü (d.

may have edited out the hagiographies and logia of Korean monks who were given prominent entries in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, leaving behind only a few lines or just the name of these Korean monks, with the exception of one monk, Yŏngjo (d. ca. 947), who lived in the Wu-Yüeh capital of Hang-chou.³

Although the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is also a key resource for understanding the development of Chinese medieval colloquial language, escaping the Sung Dynasty editors who standardised the Ch'an patois,⁴ the presence of the hagiographies of seven of the traditional nine founders of Korean Sŏn (Ch'an) lineages stemming from Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786) makes it a significant source for Korean Buddhist history. And it is this Korea-related material that provides clues to the authorship and history of the book itself. Some suggestions have even been forwarded that the authors were Korean.⁵ But two of the Koreans who studied under members of the Ma-tsu lineage are given only very short entries; three others have skeleton biographies with virtually no *logia*; and two, Pom'il and Muyŏm, have entries that are half basic biography plus some short *logia* or dialogue. This is most atypical, for the usual entry in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* is made up primarily of *logia*, dialogues, substitute replies for other Ch'an conundrums, and verses.⁶ As the preface by Sheng-teng states that the object of the compilers was to gather the records of the Dharma-essentials (*fa-yao*) of the enlightenment transmission by the masters and the oral teachings and repartee between

1038) was married to a princess, and Emperor Jen-tsung personally wrote a preface for his relative's *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*; Wang Sui (?- ca. 1035), a prime minister and author of the *Ch'uan-teng yü-ying chi*, wrote this work for lay people. See Yanagida Seizan (1976), 'Daizōkyō to zenroku no nyūZō,' 725-728. These activities are what Yanagida described as 'officially compiled Buddhism' (*kansen Bukkyō*) in Yokoi Seizan (1953), 'Sodōshū no shiryō kachi,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 44: 35.

³ Kim Yŏngt'ae (1977), 'Chungguk munhŏn-jūng ūi Han'guk Pulgyo saryo II,' *Pulgyo hakbo* 14, has extracted the Korea-related materials from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (hereafter CTCTL) and *Tsu-t'ang chi* (hereafter TTC), pp. 267-289. The TTC is on pp. 267-283; CTCTL bottom p. 283 to p. 289, two pages of which are lists of names only, and Yŏngjo takes up a fraction over one page, while in the TTC he is given slightly in excess of two pages.

⁴ Paul Demiéville (1970), 'Le Recueil de la Salle des Patriarches—Tsou-T'ang Tsi,' *T'oung Pao* 56: 264. Unfortunately, most of the studies of the grammar of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* have ignored the problems of layers in the text.

⁵ Demiéville (1970), 268, citing another article by Yanagida Seizan; and Shiina Kōyū (1979), 'Sodōshū no hensei,' *Shūgaku kenkyū* 21: 70.

⁶ Shiina (1979), 71.

the masters and their pupils,⁷ this dearth of *logia* for the Silla heirs of Ma-tsu Ch'an indicates either inadequate sources for these Korean monks or a lack of concern because of their foreign origin or even that they are later interpolations by Korean compilers. But the same comment cannot be applied to the Korean pupils of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un; Yǒngjo and Hyōnnul; or to Sunji, pupil of Yang-shan Hui-chi; for their entries are predominantly made up of *logia*.

Kim Tujin has therefore argued that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* has been supplemented in Korea, if not entirely written by Koreans. Firstly, the text has only survived in Korea, and the Korean monk Kwangjun who supervised the printing of the book in 1245, added a notice, a list of contents, and divided the text into twenty fascicles.⁸ Secondly, it has entries on seven of the nine Sōn lineage founders. One of the two not included, Tohōn, never went to China (this suggests contrary to Kim Tujin, that the work was compiled in China), and the other, Yiōm (869-936) may not have been known to the compilers. Moreover, the record of the *logia* of Sunji has far greater detail than for any of the Chinese masters with the exception of his own teacher Hui-chi,⁹ four-fifths of fascicle twenty.¹⁰

However, although the book has survived only in Korea, it had been known and read in China, being referred to by Ch'i-sung (1007-1072) and Chang Fang-p'ing (1007-1091) of Ch'an, and by Chih-li (960-1028) of T'ien-t'ai,¹¹ and was probably kept in the Sung imperial library. Although the book may possibly have been brought from Koryō Korea into Sung China, the predominance of Chinese masters in the hagiographies, the lack of *logia* for some of the Korean masters and the absence of Tohōn from the text militates against Korean authorship, as do the attributions and specific locations given by Sheng-teng's preface and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* for the place where it was compiled.

Yet the inclusion of the seven Sōn patriarchs and the long entry for Sunji hints at a connection with the Korean peninsula. At least three entries confirm that some of the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* had in their possession materials that could only have been obtained from Korea, which was something of a feat given the compilers' frequent

⁷ TTC 1.1; Demiéville (1970)'s translation, 268-269.

⁸ TTC 1.1; Demiéville (1970), 269.

⁹ Kim Tujin (1975), 'Yō'o Sōnsa Sunji ūi Sōn sasang,' *Yōksa hakbo* 65: 4.

¹⁰ Shiina (1979), 71.

¹¹ Yanagida Seizan (1984), 'Sodōshū kaidai,' in his *Sodōshū sakuin*, 3: 1593-1594.

lament that they could not find records or biographies of many monks, undoubtedly because of the disturbances within, and political fragmentation of, China. It seems that they gleaned most of their materials locally from the various Ch'an lineages present in the Min, Southern T'ang and Wu-Yüeh territories, perhaps while on pilgrimage.¹² Some of these materials probably came from the portrait halls of the patriarchs (*tsu-t'ang*),¹³ which were likely accompanied by explanatory texts and sample *logia*. This means that the compilers must have had close connections with Korea in order to obtain this information on monks who died in Korea, or possessed an earlier source of materials relating to Korean monks. Perhaps one of the compilers was Korean, interpolating this material.

The first entry that proves a connection is in the biography of Muyö'm (799/800-888). It contains an unacknowledged quote from a funerary inscription written by Ch'oe Ch'iwön (857-?) for Muyö'm at the queen of Silla's request in 890. Ch'oe reported the words of Ma-ku Pao-ch'e, a disciple of Ma-tsu Tao-i, when he conferred the seal of transmission on Muyö'm. This is quoted almost verbatim, and the detailed description of Muyö'm's ancestry and unusual birth, plus his posthumous title and stupa name, all have been derived from Ch'oe's stele.¹⁴ The differences are the deletion by the *Tsu-t'ang chi* compilers of the erudite passages so typical of Ch'oe's prose and the addition of some dialogue, which may have come from a common source.

Secondly, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* hagiography of Toüi, who arrived in China in 784, concludes with the statement, "The rest is as in the stele inscription." This epitaph engraved in stone was located in Chinjön Monastery on Mt Sörak on the east coast of Korea. Therefore, this remark suggests that the compilers expected that perhaps some of their intended readership would be able to gain direct access to the epitaph itself, or at least a copy. Yet there are indications that the compilers of the extant text had a copy of the stele text, because of the distinctive legend of this monk's birth they included.

¹² Yokoi (1953), 66-67.

¹³ See T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf (1993-1994), 'On the ritual use of Ch'an portraiture in medieval China,' 170, 176-177.

¹⁴ Compare TTC 5.17-5.19, and *Yu Tang Silla kuk ko yangcho kuksa kyosi Taeryang-hye Hwasang Paegwöl po'gwang chi t'ap pimyöng* in Ch'oe Yöngsöng (1987), *Chuhae Sasan pimyo'ng*, Asea munhwasa: Seoul, 53-54. The wording of some passages is so distinctive there is no doubt the stele is the TTC's source.

Before he was conceived, his father saw a white rainbow enter the room, and his mother in a dream saw a monk share her bed and sleep with her, and when she awoke she smelt a fragrance. His parents were startled and spoke to each other saying, "According to this auspicious omen we are certain to obtain a holy child." After half a month had passed they knew there was a foetus, and subsequently he was in the womb for thirty-nine months and only then was he born. On the morning of parturition, suddenly a strange monk came to the door and said, "The child you gave birth to today should be placed on the cliffs near the river." Once he had spoken he suddenly could not be seen, so they followed the monk's words and covered up the baby. A large deer came and protected it for a whole year without leaving. People who passed by saw that it did not have a mind to harm the baby, so it would be fortunate for him to become a monk, and his Dharma title was Myōngjōk.¹⁵

This legend marks Toŭi out as a founding hero, and he has in fact been described as the true founder of Sŏn.¹⁶ It is typical of the founding myths of Korea, such as those of the states of Puyŏ and Koguryŏ, and is similar to the folk legend of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn or the hagiography of the Hwa'ŏm scholar Kyunyŏ (923-973).¹⁷ However, the motif of impregnation by light, long pregnancy, abandonment of the baby and its protection by an animal was known beyond Korea, and can be found in texts as early as the *Shih ching*.¹⁸ Yet such a story must have been recorded in an encomium such as the inscription at Chinjŏn Monastery, for Toŭi would not have brought such a tale to China.

Thirdly, in the entry for Sunji, who has the second longest entry in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the official, posthumous titles of Sunji's patrons, the father and grandmother of Wang Kŏn, the founder of Koryŏ, are given. These titles were granted in 919,¹⁹ and would have been of little moment to Chinese Ch'an monks, but were contained in the

¹⁵ TTC 5.8.

¹⁶ Yanagida Seizan (1978), 'Shin zokutōshi no keifu, jo 1,' *Zengaku kenkyū* 59: 31, quoting Dōgen.

¹⁷ Cf. Chang Tōk-sun (1977), 'Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and legendary literature,' *Korea Journal* 17 (8): 58, 60; for Kyunyŏ see a translation of a hagiography written in 1074-1075, Adrian Buzo and Tony Prince (1993), *Kyunyŏ-jŏn: The life, times and songs of a Tenth Century Korean monk*, Wild Peony: Broadway, 25.

¹⁸ Kenneth H. J. Gardiner (1982), 'The legends of Koguryŏ (II),' *Korea Journal* 22 (2): 32-33, including the account of T'an-shih-huai, a Hsien-pi ruler, 36-37, 43.

¹⁹ Michael C. Rogers (1982-1983), 'P'yŏnnyŏn Tongnok: The foundation legend of the Koryŏ state,' *Journal of Korean Studies* 9 (Seattle): 4-5; *Koryŏ sa*, Se'gye 1a or 1: 6a and Se'gye 7a or 1: 9a.

937 stele inscription for Sunji commissioned by Wang Kŏn, who aided many Sŏn monk returnees.²⁰ The entry also notes that Sunji was a native of P'aegang, born of a family who were border-guard leaders. The account states that Sunji went to China in 858, where he studied under Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883). It compares the relations of Sunji and Hui-chi to those between Yen Hui and Confucius or Kāśyapa and Śākya Muni. Finally, it notes that in 874, Sunji's patrons, Queen Wŏnch'ang and her son, the Great King Ŭimu, made Sunji abbot of Yŏng'ŏm Monastery on Mt O'gwan in Song'ak Commandery. The monastery at the time of writing had come to be known as Sŏ'un Monastery.²¹

The information on Sunji's patrons is derived via the 937 stele from the foundation legend of the Koryŏ royal clan, and Kim Tujin even speculates that the legend is imbricated with the 'reversion of the three into one' philosophy of Sunji, for it parallels the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms by Wang Kŏn.²² Mt O'gwan figures prominently in the legend, Song'ak Commandery was Wang Kŏn's place of birth,²³ and P'aegang was one of Wang Kŏn's fortress strongholds.²⁴ Sunji was thus closely involved with Wang Kŏn and the Koryŏ court, and by giving Sunji such a prominent place in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, the compilers may have been angling to gain favourable notice from that kingdom. This may also explain why Yang-shan Hui-chi, Sunji's Ch'an teacher, is given the longest hagiography and set of *logia* in the book, plus an insight into an event that linked Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch of Ch'an, to Silla Korea.

The *Tsu-t'ang chi* claims that Hui-chi offered a very definite analysis of the verse prediction made by Hui-neng concerning the attempt to steal his *usŏŏsa* carried out by Chang Ching-man at the urging of the Silla monk Kim Taebi. This analysis is made in a dialogue with Hui-chi's master, Wei-shan Ling-yu (771-853). Hui-chi's interpretation was:

²⁰ Han Kimun (1986), 'Koryŏ Taejo ŭi Pulgyo chŏngch'aek,' in Pulgyo sahak hoe, comp., *Koryŏ ch'ŏgi Pulgyo sanon*, Minjok sa: Seoul, 138-139. I have not seen the fragments of this stele.

²¹ TTC 5.113-114.

²² Kim Tujin (1975), 5-14.

²³ Rogers (1982-1983), 31.

²⁴ Pak Hansŏl (1981), 'Hu Samguk ŭi sŏngnip,' in Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏn hoe, comp., *Han'guk sa*, 24 vols, vol. 3 *Kodae minjok ŭi t'ongil*, Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏn hoe: Seoul, 632. P'aegang was located at the mouth of the Taedong River.

"Meet with the difficulty of satiety (*man*)" indicates Chang Ching-man of Ju-chou, who was employed by the Silla monk Kim Taebi for money to cut off the Sixth Patriarch's head and steal his robe and bowl. "Yang and Liu will be the officials" (means) that Yang is the prefect of Shao-chou and Liu the magistrate of Ch'ü-chiang.²⁵

Hui-chi, a native of Shao-chou, held great significance for the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, for in his funerary inscription, not recorded in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Hui-chi was alleged to have been the true Seventh Patriarch, even though he was not an immediate pupil of Hui-neng. Hui-chi, or the epitaph author, was apparently infused with this hubris that Hui-chi was Hui-neng's distant but true spiritual heir because of hints gleaned from the *Ts'ao-ch'i Ta-shih chuan* of ca. 781 and the *Pao-lin chuan*.²⁶ Perhaps Lu Hsi-sheng, the author of the stele inscription for Hui-chi, declared Hui-chi the seventh generation (*yeh*) patriarch because Hui-chi was a resident of Shao-chou, where Hui-neng was enshrined, with the surname Yeh. He also claims that Hui-chi was enlightened by National Teacher Hui-chung.²⁷

The legacy of Hui-chi was also potent for a time during the Koryŏ Dynasty, for Hui-chi was venerated by at least one Sŏn lineage. For example, Hui-chi is accorded a prominent place in the *Chongmun wŏnsang chip* of 1209 that was compiled by Chi'kyŏm (1145-1229). This collection includes a text virtually identical with the Sunji entry of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. The start of the 'quote' connects Hui-chi to Hui-neng via Nan-yang Hui-chung (d. 774), who was allegedly a pupil of Hui-neng, and Hui-chung's disciple T'an-yüan (n.d.). T'an-yüan purportedly transmitted ninety-seven circle images used by Hui-neng in his teaching to Hui-chi:

Hui-chi was an attendant with Hui-chung for a long time. Later, he went to the school of T'an-yüan. T'an-yüan said to Yang-shan (Hui-chi), "At that time the National Teacher (Hui-chung) transmitted ninety-seven circular diagrams he had obtained from the six generations of patriarchal teachers and conferred them on me. When Hui-chung was about to die, he said to me, 'In the South thirty years after my decease, a novice will come and greatly reveal the Dharma. So that the transmission will not be interrupted, I now give it to you.'..."

²⁵ TTC 5.67-68.

²⁶ Ishii Shūdō (1984), 'Kyōzan Eijaku to Rokuso dankyō,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 36 (2): 748-755, esp. 755, which states that Hui-chi's promotion of Hui-neng was probably based on the image in the *Pao-lin chuan*.

²⁷ Lu Hsi-sheng, *Yang-shan Tung-chih Ta-shih t'a-ming*, CTW 813/3839b.

He then took that book and passed it on to Yang-shan. Yang-shan took one look at it and burned it. One day (T'an-yüan) asked after those diagrams, regretting that they still remained secret and not understood. Yang-shan said, "I read them, then burned them."

T'an-yüan said, "No-one can understand this Dharma; only the previous masters, patriarchal teachers or great saints could...So why did you burn them?"

Hui-chi replied, "Once I had scanned them, I knew their import, so there was no use in retaining the book."

As a consequence of T'an-yüan's inquiry, Hui-chi recompiled the text from memory and presented it to T'an-yüan.²⁸

This account, and parts of those entries in the book dealing with China, were based on the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao (chi)* that was written before 1133, and on the *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu* of 1071, which was probably the true source of this story.²⁹

More notably, further on in the *Chongmun wönsang chip* there is a long section devoted to Sunji, which is identical to that contained in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, with minor textual improvements and some augmentations from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.³⁰ This may mean that Chi'kyö'm revived the Wei-Yang lineage (named after Wei-shan Ling-yu and Yang-shan Hui-chi) tradition in Koryö³¹ from a Chinese lineage or

²⁸ Chi'kyö'm, *Chongmun wönsang chip*, woodblock print reproduced in Hwang Suyöng, ed. (1985), *Hyosöng Sönsaeng palsip songju Koryö Puljök chipjil*, Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulp'an bu: Seoul, 63-64; or in movable type, *Han'guk Pulgyo chönsö* 6: 71a. Note TTC 1.155, confirms that T'an-yüan studied under Ma-tsu Tao-i, then Hui-chung, and taught using circular diagrams.

²⁹ The *Tsung-men t'ung-yao chi* is a collection of kung-an compiled by Tsung-yung in 1135. See Yanagida Seizan (1974c), '*Zenseki kaidai*,' item 226. But according to Ishii Shüdö (1987), *Södai Zenshüshi no kenkyü*, 100, the *Tsung-men t'ung-yao* was reprinted in 1133. For the no-longer extant *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu*, which was written by Hsi-yü Kung-ch'en in 1071, see Min Yönggyu (1988), 'Koryö Puljök chipjil ch'algi,' in Hyosöng Cho Myönggi Paksa ch'umo Pulgyo sahak nonmunjip kanhaeng wiwön hoe, comp., *Hyosöng Cho Myönggi Paksa ch'umo Pulgyo sahak nonmunjip*, Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulp'an bu: Seoul, 412-414. Min denies the influence of the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu* of 1188. For the *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu*, see also Ishii (1987), 27-29. Note that the preface to this text by Chang Fang-p'ing mentions the *Pao-lin chuan* and the TTC (p. 28).

³⁰ Compare TTC 5.114-122, and *Chongmun wönsang chip*, in Hwang Suyöng (1985), 84-94, and in HPC 6: 75a-77a. An example of textual rectification is the replacement of 重種 in TTC 5.119/11 with 薰種 [Hwang (1985), 91, HPC 6: 76b11]. An augmentation from the Sung edition of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* [Yanagida Seizan, ed., (1976), *Keitoku dentōroku Sōban Kōraibon*, Zengaku sōsho 6, 101] is found in Hwang (1985), 95, with some circular diagrams modified.

³¹ Cf. Yi Chaech'ang (1984), 'Koryö hugi chönt'ong Sön üi tongt'ae,' in Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yön'guwön, comp., *Han'guk Sön sasang yön'gu*, Tongguk

textual transmission which included the *Pao-lin chuan* to *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* to *Tsu-t'ang chi* to *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* to *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu* to *Chongmun wönsang chip*. Muyö'm apparently also respected Hui-chi, supposedly quoting his reply to a question about speech ('tongue') both in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Sönmun Pojangnok* of 1293.³²

This perpetuation of respect for Sunji and his master Hui-chi in Koryö, plus the many entries on Sön monks, may explain why the *Tsu-t'ang chi* survived in Korea and was appended to the Koryö Tripitaka. Could this imply that in 1245 when Kwangjun reordered the *Tsu-t'ang chi* by dividing it and adding a table of contents, he also interpolated the entries on the Korean monks of the Ma-tsu lineage, including Hui-chi's interpretation of the Hui-neng prediction about Kim Taebi, because he was in a lineage from Sunji? The compilers of the Koryö edition of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* similarly expanded their text, though their purpose was rather to correct errors in the text by reference to other sources.³³ If this extrapolation is correct, it would be evidence of a lineage, albeit discontinuous, such as Śākya Buddha...Hui-neng to Nan-yang Hui-chung/Wei-shan Ling-yu/T'an-yüan to Hui-chi (lesser Śākya Buddha) to Sunji (Mahākāśyapa) to Yönggwang...Kwangjun.³⁴

Moreover, in the entry on Nan-yang Hui-chung, Arthur Waley located a geographical term for Ling-nan, i.e. Kuang-nan, which was only introduced by the Sung Dynasty in 997, and a character used to replace a Sung Dynasty taboo. This suggests then that this part of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* at least was written or edited after 997.³⁵ Furthermore,

Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu: Seoul, 182. Hō Hūngsik (1986), *Koryō Pulgyosa yŏn'gu*, Iljokak: Seoul, 168, 243-244, states that Ch'ikyōm was conversant with Sön, and yet was abbot of both Sön and Ch'önt'ae monasteries, and, p. 430, was made a national teacher in 1212.

³² Ch'oe Yöngsöng (1987), 286; cf. TTC 5.18.12.

³³ The idea about the expansion of the TTC and the parallel expansion of the Koryö CTCTL was provided by Shiina (1979), 71-72. However, Nishiguchi Yoshio (1984), 'Kōraibon Keitoku dentōroku ni tsuite,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 32 (2): 390, suggests that the expansion of the CTCTL was instead a correction of errors made by reference to Kung-ch'en's *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu*, which has a preface by Chang Fang-p'ing. See Ishii (1987), 26-28, 39-40 note 11, for the preservation of a selection from the *Tsu-yüan t'ung-lu* made by a Korean monk in 1529.

³⁴ The first part of the lineage was suggested by Shiina (1979), 72. The reason behind the suggestion lies in the TTC comparison of the relations of Sunji and Hui-chi to those between the Buddha and Mahākāśyapa; TTC 5.113-114. For Yönggwang as a pupil of Sunji, see the information from the 937 stele, in Hō Hūngsik (1986), 231.

³⁵ Arthur Waley (1968), 'Two Posthumous Articles. (I) A Sung Colloquial Story

there seems to be a clumsy insertion of material about a Korean monk, Ssangbong, into the hagiography of Yang-shan Hui-chi, which has cut off an expected reply.³⁶ Moreover, an expected introduction to another tradition about a case is missing in the Yang-shan entry.³⁷ This suggests then that someone with a vested interest in a lineage to Yang-shan Hui-chi and on to Sunji and perhaps Yōnggwang made these interpolations. Yet the notion of insertions into the entry for Hui-chi suggests that Hui-chi had an entry in the earlier version or layer. However, it is unclear whether that entry was in the original by Yü and Ching, or in a post-952 Sung Dynasty expanded version as suggested by the Sung Dynasty place name in Hui-chung's entry.

Yanagida Seizan suggests there were layers to the text. Soon after 944, Sheng-teng wrote the brief *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsün-chu chu-tsu-shih sung*. These were hymns on the twenty-eight patriarchs up to Bodhidharma, then the six Chinese patriarchs to Hui-neng, thirty-three in all. These hymns were based on the *Pao-lin chuan*.³⁸ To this he added entries on Nan-yüeh Huai-jang, Chi-chou Hsing-ssu, heirs of Hui-neng; and Nan-yang Hui-chung and Shih-t'ou, pupils of Hsing-ssu; and finally Ma-tsu Tao-i, heir of Huai-jang. These may also have come from the *Pao-lin chuan*. A number of the hymns by Sheng-teng are quoted in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* under his honorific name, Ching-hsiu, which was granted after 945. Therefore, Yanagida thinks that the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsün-chu chu-tsu-shih sung* provided the framework for the first layer of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.³⁹ The *Tsu-t'ang chi* then summarised the *Pao-lin chuan* up until the end of the biography of Hui-neng, which concludes, "up till the present tenth year of the Pao-ta reign of the (Southern) T'ang, the *jen-tzu* year, is 239 years. Ch'an Master Ching-hsiu's praises read," and that quote ends the chapter. The verses of the *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsün-chu chu-tsu-shih sung* provided hints for several of the pupils of Hui-neng and their direct heirs, again likely derived from the *Pao-lin chuan*. Yet, as only the first two fascicles use the formula, "to the present Pao-ta reign of T'ang, the *jen-tzu* year is xx years,"⁴⁰ it is possible this was the first

from the *Tsu-T'ang Chi*, *Asia Major* New Series 14: 243; Kinugawa Kenji (Dec. 1998), 'Sodōshū satsuki,' *Zenbunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 24: 115.

³⁶ Kinugawa (1998), 120; TTC 5.55.8-9.

³⁷ Kinugawa (1998), 120.

³⁸ T85.1320c16-18.

³⁹ Yanagida (1990), 473-477.

⁴⁰ TTC 1.26.14, 1.80.11, 1.81.12, 1.89.8, 1.99.9.

part drafted. I suspect this was later expanded, perhaps by Yü and Ching, to include members of the lineages up until just before they were writing, including Sheng-teng, whose biography is in fascicle thirteen.⁴¹ Sheng-teng probably would not have written a preface for a work including his own hagiography, so the compilers may have added it later. It seems they just "produced it out of their sleeves" to show him, and asked for a preface, and Sheng-teng obliged.

Yet this composition came out in one fascicle, for all the Chinese bibliographical records refer to only one fascicle. However, Kinugawa believes that one fascicle would be far too short to contain so much material. He suggests, based on the preface by Kwangjun in an early copy from the woodblocks (made before the blocks began to deteriorate with re-use), that the preface read:

The above preface and one fascicle *Tsu-t'ang chi* previously circulated in this land (Korea). But later ten fascicles all arrived (*ch'i-tao*, 齊到). I carefully relied on this complete book. Because I wanted to make new print blocks and to widely distribute it, I divided it into twenty fascicles.

Most scholars have read the text as, "later one fascicle complete arrived," but it makes better sense if it is ten fascicles for them to have 'all arrived.' Very recently, after an examination of various copies and the original blocks themselves, Kinugawa has found that the number was definitely 'ten.'⁴²

This could mean there were three stages. Kinugawa suggests that the first layer was the initial two fascicles written in 952 by Yü and Ching, and that following this a large scale expansion was made in the early Sung at Chao-ch'ing Monastery, bringing it up to ten fascicles. Kinugawa thinks Ch'i-sung quoted from this expanded version between 1064 and 1067 with respect to the exchanges between Han Yü and Ta-tien. Finally, Kwangjun added Korean material and expanded in to twenty fascicles.⁴³ As there are clear references, such as avoidance of early Sung Dynasty taboo characters, and to place names, the expansion had to have been made after 997. This includes sections in fascicles 3, 10 and 13, and may reflect the influences of the Wei-Yang lineage. But some passages seem to have attempted restoration once the taboos were no longer in force, and suggest the

⁴¹ TTC 4.21.14-4.29.10; Kinugawa (1998), 116-117.

⁴² Kinugawa Kenji (2003), 'Sodōshū no kōri,' *Tōyō bunka* 83: 141.

⁴³ Kinugawa (2003), 147-148.

hand of the Korean editor, who may have also added chronological accounts of at least five Silla monks, and praises directed at these monks by Chih-tsang, Ju-man and Ma-ku, especially in fascicles 17 and 20.⁴⁴ However, some of these praises came from earlier sources, such as the stelae by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.

Yet if the first layer was only the initial two fascicles in their present form, that would include only the hagiographies of the seven ancient Buddhas and the patriarchs up to and including Hui-neng, which were already available in the *Pao-lin chuan*, and not include all of those monks mentioned in Sheng-teng's *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih sung*, such as Hui-neng's heirs or Ma-tsu. These are found in fascicles 3, 4 and 14. This suggests that there was more than the first two fascicles in the initial layer, and that sections were interlarded and perhaps reworked in the expansion during the early Sung, and later by Kwangjun. Therefore, there was probably an initial layer in one fascicle, which included monks up until the time of Sheng-teng; an expanded ten-fascicle text, possibly compiled by Yü and Ching or their heirs, for Kinugawa suggests there was an linguistic evolution of the interrogative *shen-mo* in it that predates the forms found in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* of 1004 to 1009; and the expanded twenty fascicle text of Kwangjun. Unfortunately, nothing is known of this monk, although something is known of several of the donors who sponsored individual blocks of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* printing. Most of them were members of the Koryŏ court,⁴⁵ many with posts connected with the reprint of the Tripitaka.

Despite bracketing the question of the extent of the Korean editor's changes to the *Tsu-t'ang chi* as unanswerable due to the lack of sufficient evidence, it seems that the original compilers of the book had not only access to materials concerning Korean monks, some of whom must have been contemporaries known to the compilers, but also had a respect for Hui-chi, who has the longest entry. Moreover, Hui-chi also figures predominantly in the dialogues of his master Ling-yu whose entry is in a different chapter, and in those of his fellow pupils under Ling-yu whose entries occupy over half the space in fascicle nineteen.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Kinugawa (2003), 142-145.

⁴⁵ Kim Yun'gon (2002), *Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng ŭi saeroŭn ihae*, Pulgyo sidaesa: Seoul, 264-266, 283, 289-290, 291 and 295, 301 and 303, 328.

⁴⁶ TTC 4.125-132, for Ling-yu; TTC 5.81-98, for fellow disciples; and TTC 5.110-111, for a pupil of Hui-chi.

Although Yang-shan Hui-chi belongs to the Ma-tsu lineage, to which most of the Korean monks in fascicle seventeen also belonged, the Ma-tsu lineage is given comparatively short shrift in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, for only seven fascicles are devoted to that lineage, while ten fascicles cover the rival lineage from Shih-t'ou. The former has seventy-nine members with entries; the latter a hundred and three. In addition, the final Ma-tsu lineage member recorded died in 895, while members of the Shih-t'ou lineage are recorded right up until 952, the date of the preface. This imbalance may have been created due to a scarcity of sources and a necessary reliance on the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* for material on the Ma-tsu lineage,⁴⁷ but it does suggest a bias towards the Shih-t'ou lineage. However, the inclusion of material on rival lineages suggests that the authors had a catholic or ecumenical outlook that was due in part to the gathering together of lineages from various regions into the kingdoms of South China where the authors lived.⁴⁸

Such evidence may provide clues as to the identities of Yü and Ching, the compilers of the original *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Yanagida Seizan proposed that the authors were Korean monks closely associated with the lineage of Yün-yen T'an-sheng (780?-841) and Tung-shan Liang-chieh (807-869) because the book contains much commentary or alternative answers to questions made by Yao-shen Wei-yen (751-834), Yün-yen's master, and material on Tung-shan.⁴⁹ But that fails to account for the prominence given to Hui-chi, Sunji and the pupils of Ling-yu, all members of the Ma-tsu lineage, or to the importance of the lineage of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, to which Sheng-teng, the author of the preface to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, belonged. The Hsüeh-feng lineage is a branch of that from Shih-t'ou, and it had two Korean members, Yöngjo and Hyönnul, whose entries are in fascicle eleven along with other chief disciples of I-ts'un, including that for Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (?-928), Sheng-teng's master. Their entries are nearly all dialogue. And why, if the Ma-tsu lineage was deliberately downplayed, should seven Korean monks, all of whom returned to Korea and so provided no known lineal successors in China, take up approximately one quarter of fascicle seventeen in the book? Interestingly, the Korean monks in fascicle seventeen, unlike those in fascicle eleven, are given virtually

⁴⁷ Shiina (1979), 69-70.

⁴⁸ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 177-178.

⁴⁹ Ishii (1987), 62.

no dialogue, and their entries are almost entirely on royal protection after they returned to Korea, and read like they are all based on stele obituaries. They are also praised by Chinese monks, with specific references made in these praises to their Korean ethnicity. This suggests that these entries were written in Korea and so were included by Kwangjun from much earlier Korean inscriptions.⁵⁰ None of the Korean monks with distinct entries belong to Tung-shan's lineage, although one, Yō'ōm, is mentioned in the Yōngjo entry.⁵¹

Other evidence indicates that the original compilers had close associations with, if not membership of, the Hsüeh-feng lineage. For example, in the catalogue of entries that was added when the 1245 print was prepared, the two Silla pupils of I-ts'un do not have the word 'Haedong' or Korea prefixed to their names, unlike all the other Korean monks. These two pupils of I-ts'un were either still alive or only recently deceased at the time of the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* before or during 952, and had not returned to Korea, unlike all the other Korean monks who died in Silla and are provided with dates of death. Sunji is not given a date of death, but only an age on death in years.

Furthermore, Ch'üan-chou, where the book was compiled, and the city of Fu-chou about a hundred and fifty kilometres to the north along the coast, were centres of Hsüeh-feng Ch'an influence. Sheng-teng, the abbot of the monastery in which the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was written, traced his lineage through Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan, who is frequently mentioned, to I-ts'un. Sheng-teng was born in 884 in Yü-hsien County, which is located about halfway between Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou. He first studied Vinaya and doctrine, but soon took up Ch'an. He visited P'eng-shan Shen-yen (863-939), Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng (854-932) and Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (835-908), all pupils of I-ts'un, but he failed to obtain enlightenment under their guidance. Eventually he met Ts'ung-chan, probably in 917, in Chang-chou's Pao-fu Cloister, approximately hundred kilometres southwest of Ch'üan-chou. Sheng-teng was later invited to be the abbot of Ch'ien-fo Cloister in K'ai-yüan Monastery, Ch'üan-chou, by the local governor, Wang Yen-pin (?-930), sometime between 926 and 930. Sheng-teng remained there

⁵⁰ Kinugawa (1998), 119.

⁵¹ TTC 3.101.1.

for a decade, writing the *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih sung* (Hymns to the patriarchal teachers newly written in Ch'ien-fo [Cloister], Ch'üan-chou) while in residence.

The rulers of Min (a short-lived state that ruled over Ch'üan-chou and Fu-chou), the Wang clan, maintained close connections with the Hsüeh-feng lineage. In particular, the branch of the Wang clan who were de facto autonomous rulers in Ch'üan-chou, promoted the Ch'an of Hui-leng by building Chao-ch'ing Cloister for him. Wang Yen-pin thereby tried to make Ch'üan-chou the main Ch'an centre in the region, at the expense of his relatives who ruled Min from Fu-chou.⁵² Sheng-teng benefited out of this relationship, for Wang Yen-pin was a prominent member of the Wang clan, who personally controlled Ch'üan-chou for the period 904 to 930. The following year, Wang Yen-pin's son succeeded to the post, and then in 934 Yen-pin's younger brother Yen-mi took over. In 935 a cousin, Yen-wu inherited the position.⁵³ Thereafter internecine warfare broke out among the Wang clan, causing frequent changes of governor in Ch'üan-chou. In 944, Huang Shao-p'o took the governorship and invited Sheng-teng to stay in Chao-ch'ing Cloister. But attempts to restore the deposed Wang clan led to great disruption in Ch'üan-chou, and Chao-ch'ing Cloister was razed during one of the local battles. Sheng-teng had been abbot for only nine months. Just as the Wang were restored to power, the neighbouring state of Southern T'ang attacked. Ch'üan-chou and the kingdom of Min fell in 945 and Liu Ts'ung-hsiao (905-962), a popular local warlord, killed Huang and thereafter ruled Ch'üan-chou until his death. Fu-chou in the meantime fell into Wu-Yüeh hands. It was during the rule of the frugal and beloved Liu⁵⁴ that the 'original' *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled. Chao-ch'ing Cloister had been rebuilt on the same site, and it was here that the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* worked and requested Sheng-teng to write the preface in 952. Sheng-teng later received high honours under the Southern T'ang, and died in 972.⁵⁵

⁵² Hugh R. Clark (1982), 'Quanzhou (Fujian) during the Tang-Song interregnum, 879-978,' *T'oung Pao* 68 (1-3): 138-139, 141.

⁵³ Clark (1982), 139-140.

⁵⁴ For Liu, see Wu Jen-ch'en (1983), *Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* (hereafter SKCC) 4 vols, Chung-hua shu-chü: Peking, 3/93/1349-1350.

⁵⁵ Biography reconstructed from Ishii (1987): 63-73, and Yokoi (1953), 39-41. For background, see also Yanagida's revised biography in Zen no bunka kenkyūban,

The kingdom of Min had trading and diplomatic relations with Koryō, perhaps because both royal families had the surname Wang. Min received emissaries from Koryō between 936 and 939, as well as many foreign merchants.⁵⁶ Moreover, Ch'üan-chou in particular seems to have developed rapidly into a major international trading port with a foreign resident community, and Wang Yen-pin was famed for his promotion of trade with the South Seas.⁵⁷

One of I-ts'un's students, the Korean Wōnnap, known as Hyōnnul in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, lived at Nan-an near Ch'üan-chou, probably during the 920s and 930s. He was given the toponym Kao-li (Koryō) and had links with Wang Yen-pin, the 'prefect' who appointed Sheng-teng abbot of Ch'ien-fo Cloister.⁵⁸ I-ts'un's other Korean pupil, Yōngjo, who lived first in Mu-chou and later in Hang-chou in the kingdom of Wu-Yüeh, died ca. 947.⁵⁹ It is probable from comparison with Yōngjo's lifespan, that Hyōnnul lived to the time when the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled, for his date of death is not indicated. Therefore Hyōnnul was probably the chief informant for Yü and Ching on matters Korean.

The presence of some of the material on the seven Silla monks who were members of Ma-tsu's lineage may also be explained by the links the Hsüeh-feng branch had to that lineage, and not solely by the suggestion that Kwangjun interpolated all of it. This connection probably came via the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* written by Pao-wan Wei-ching, ca. 907-910. Wei-ching was a pupil of I-ts'un. Wei-ching is mentioned in the *Hsüan-sha kuang-lu* in the same passage as Yōngjo,

comp. (1988), *Zen no bunka: Zenrin sōbōden*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho: Kyoto, 72-82; Ishii Shūdō (1987), 62-73.

⁵⁶ SKCC 3/96/1385, biography of Wang T'an, states that the emissaries came from Silla, but as that state was defunct in 935, this is in error. Hibino Kaisaburō (1984), *Tōyōshigaku ronshū*, Sanichi shobō: Tokyo, vol. 9: 54-55, notes that Korean emissaries went to Wu and Southern T'ang, and 9: 47-48, that monks from Later Paekche arrived in Wu or Min areas in the period 885 to ca. 900. For the merchants, see Yokoi (1953), 37.

⁵⁷ Clark (1982), 145-146.

⁵⁸ SKCC 3/99/1419, for Wōnnap and 3/94/1363-1364, for Wang Yen-pin. Known as Hyōnnul in TTC 3.102-104, where he is stated to have been a native of the Eastern Country Korea, a pupil of I-ts'un and on friendly terms with the governor of Ch'üan-chou.

⁵⁹ SKCC 3/89/1284, states he was from Koryō, and there is a long entry for him in TTC 3.95-101. See also SKSC, T50.788a6-17, which mentions he was from Koryō and was an ascetic interested in translation who kept a relic of Fu Ta-shih in his monastery. See also CTCTL, T51.352a-c, which gives his death date as ca. 947. Cf. Yokoi (1953), 75-76.

Ts'ung-chan and Sheng-teng, as having met I-ts'un. In 907, Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (835-908), Wei-ching, Ts'ung-chan and Yōngjo visited Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng in Ch'üan-chou. Afterwards, at least until 908, it seems that Wei-ching lived in Fu-chou where he may have written the first outlines of the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan*, before moving on to Nan-yüeh in the modern Ch'ang-sha region.⁶⁰ The *Pao-lin chuan*, which championed the cause of Ma-tsu's lineage of Ch'an, has been suspected of having had a Korean author.⁶¹ As the *Pao-lin chuan* may have been written in Nan-yüeh,⁶² and Wei-ching probably completed there what he indicates is the Continuation (*Hsü*) of the *Pao-lin chuan*, the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* may well have contained hagiographies of the Silla pupils of Ma-tsu's disciples. Moreover, Nan-yüeh was often seen as the birthplace of the Ma-tsu lineage, for Ma-tsu Tao-i's claimed master was Huai-jang of Nan-yüeh.⁶³ As Chih-hsien, the last of the Ma-tsu lineage monks by date recorded in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* died in 895 and was buried about one hundred kilometres north of Nan-yüeh,⁶⁴ and the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* was completed by 910, perhaps Chih-hsien was the last Ma-tsu lineage monk recorded in the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan*, although the *Tsu-t'ang chi* compilers complain that they had not seen his record of conduct.⁶⁵ It is likely then that the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* was the source for some of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*'s entries on the Ma-tsu lineage Silla monks.⁶⁶

Thus, the original compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* must have been members of the Hsüeh-feng branch of the lineage from Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-791), rather than from the Yao-shan and Tung-shan branch. Although most of the Silla monks belonged to the rival Ma-tsu lineage, the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* of Wei-ching provided a bridge between

⁶⁰ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), *Tō Godai Zenshūshi*, Sankibō busshorin: Tokyo, 477-478.

⁶¹ For the Ma-tsu lineage origins and motives of the *Pao-lin chuan*, see Tosaki Tetsuhiko (1987), 'Hōrinden no jōsha Reitetsu to shisō Reitetsu,' 45; and for a possible Korean author, perhaps Toūi, see Yanagida (1978), 'Shin zoku tōshi no keifu, jo 1,' 24.

⁶² As seen above, there is some dispute as to where the *Pao-lin chuan* was written; either in Chin-ling or Nan-yüeh. See Yanagida (1978), 24, and Tosaki (1987), 33-36.

⁶³ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 301.

⁶⁴ Shiina (1979), 70; TTC 5.139.

⁶⁵ TTC 5.135 last line.

⁶⁶ Shiina (1979), 69.

the two lineages and a pipeline of information for the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

One further linkage must be made; that between the lineage of Wei-shan Ling-yu/Yang-shan Hui-chi and that of Hsüeh-feng. An individual who seems to have belonged to both camps was Ling-yün Chih-ch'in, a native of Fu-chou. He was a pupil of Wei-shan Ling-yu, who was also from Fu-chou. After being enlightened via Ling-yu on Mt Wei in Hunan, he returned to Min and lived on Mt Ling-yün near Fu-chou. There he engaged in frequent dialogues with Hsüan-sha Shih-pei and I-ts'un.⁶⁷ Another intermediary may have been Fu-chou Ta-an (793-883), who assisted Ling-yu on Mt Wei. After Ling-yu's death, he returned to Fu-chou in 866, where he taught for eighteen years, leaving at least two pupils in Fu-chou, and another, Ling-shu Ju-min (?-918) who moved from Fu-chou to Shao-chou.⁶⁸

Therefore, the authors, Yü and Ching, were certainly members of the Hsüeh-feng lineage, possessed information via the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan* on the Ma-tsu lineage, could have met members of the Wei-shan Ling-yu lineage, and had Korean contacts. These Korean contacts may also have taken pride in the Korean connections in all of these lineages. For example, according to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, Yang-shan Hui-chi not only had a Korean pupil in Sunji, but he also talked with a certain Chōng'yuk at length on lineage matters and the transmission of samādhi.⁶⁹ It would appear then that the Korean informants were closely tied both to the Hsüeh-feng and the Wei-shan Ling-yu lineages.

It has been proposed that the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* were Ta-kuan Chih-yü 達觀智筠 (906-969) or Hsiang-chou Shih-men Yü and Hsiang-shan Yu-yen Chih-ching.⁷⁰ The latter pair seem implausible candidates given the geographical distance of the monasteries of these monks from Ch'üan-chou and the absence of the names of Korean monks in their branches of the Tung-shan lineage⁷¹ and of Koreans

⁶⁷ TTC 5.95-97; Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 477-478.

⁶⁸ Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 84-86, 54, 564; for Ta-an, TTC 5.2-7; for Ling-shu, TTC 5.107-108. This traditional biography has been amended in the light of a recently discovered reverse side of a stele from Hsi-ch'an Monastery, I-shan, near Fu-chou. The stele was written for the late Ta-an by a pupil in 884. See Ishii Shūdō (1991), 'Isan kyōdan no dōkō ni tsuite—Fukushū Daian no *shinjingi* no shōkai ni chinande,' *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 40 (1): 90-96.

⁶⁹ TTC 5.77-80.

⁷⁰ Ishii (1987), 84 note 1.

⁷¹ Hsiang-chou is in northern Hupei Province. See the genealogical charts in

who were members of the Tung-shan lineage in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

On the other hand, Ta-kuan Chih-yü was a Ch'an specialist who lived on Mt Lü. He was invited in 965 by Li Yü (r. 961-975), king of Southern T'ang, to live in Ching-te Cloister in Chin-ling (Nanking), the capital of that state.⁷² Li Yü was so enamoured of Buddhism that historians accused him of neglecting government.⁷³ Li Yü probably thus desired to attract eminent monks of the region to his capital. In fact, it was Li Yü's father, Li Ching (r. 943-961), who probably requested the compilation of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* in 951.⁷⁴ Indeed, the authors do seem to have preened the imperial pretensions of the Southern T'ang kings to be the heirs of the T'ang Dynasty and its patronage of Ch'an.⁷⁵ Chih-yü had previously visited monks in Fu-chou (not the 'sister city' of Ch'üan-chou, but another town in the hinterland of Kiangsi) and consulted Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958) in Chin-ling before proceeding to Mt Lü, where he later returned and stayed until his death in 969. As he had been a monk since 921, and may have met the Koryö monk Tobong Hyegö, also a pupil of Wen-i,⁷⁶ Chih-yü plausibly had an opportunity to stay for a time in Ch'üan-chou and hear about some Korean monks. If he was a compiler of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, that may explain the invitation by Li Yü.

The other compiler may have been Ch'eng-ching 澄靜 of Fu-chou. He was a pupil of Chang-ch'ing Hui-leng (854-932), and a grand-pupil of I-ts'un. Ch'eng-ching may have been in the same assembly under Hui-leng as the Silla monk Kuei-shan, whose toponym is that of a mountain just to the north of Ch'üan-chou.⁷⁷

Therefore, Ch'eng-ching and Chih-yü are possible candidates for compilers of the 'original' *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Both may have lived in the Ch'üan-chou or Fu-chou region, and both were members of the Hsüeh-feng lineage. Chih-yü's master, Fa-yen Wen-i, had lived at

Komazawa Daigaku Zengaku Daijiten hensanjo, comp. (1977), *Zengaku Daijiten*, Vol. 3, bekken, Zenshühō keifu, p. 7, for the lineage. On the other hand, there were many Korean monks among the pupils of Yün-chü Tao-ying (?-902) of Kiangsi, but none are mentioned in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

⁷² SKCC 1/33/470, says in era 961-975; the CTCTL, T51.250c3-4, says 965.

⁷³ SKCC 1/17/257.

⁷⁴ Yanagida (1984), 'Sodōshū no kaidai,' 3: 1589. I do not know the evidence for this assertion.

⁷⁵ Foulk and Sharf (1993-1994), 178.

⁷⁶ CTCTL, T51.250a-d; Suzuki Tetsuo (1985), 291-292.

⁷⁷ CTCTL, T51.202a-b.

Chang-chou, not far to the south of Ch'üan-chou, up until ca. 937.⁷⁸ This was also very close to the monastery of Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan, the teacher of Sheng-teng. As Chih-yü had been a monk since 921, he may have been active in the Ch'üan-chou region until around 952. He could have thus teamed up with Ch'eng-ching, who lived in Fu-chou, and whose master Hui-leng taught in the Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou regions. Moreover, Chih-yü's master Wen-i had consulted Ch'eng-ching's master, Hui-leng,⁷⁹ who was abbot of Chao-ch'ing Cloister in Ch'üan-chou, which cloister had been built for Hui-leng by Wang Yen-pin in 906.⁸⁰

Hyönnul was also active in the region during this period, as was Yöngjo, and so there was no shortage of informants about Korea. Wei-ching was also a fellow pupil with Hui-leng. Wei-ching, via the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan*, probably provided information on the Ma-tsu lineage. Members of the Wei-shan lineage were also active in Fu-chou, where they could provide Yü and Ching with information about Yang-shan Hui-chi, Sunji and Chöng'yuk.

The lineage of Ling-yu, Hui-chi and Sunji may have been allocated a priority in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* because of their roles in reviving Ch'an and Sön Buddhism via their connections with imperial and royal courts. After the Hui-ch'ang Persecution of Buddhism (842-846), Ling-yu gained the patronage of powerful officials who initiated a restoration in 847 by putting Hsüan-tsung on the throne. This emperor, who allegedly spent time as a monk to escape the clutches of his treacherous relatives,⁸¹ reconstructed the monastery on Mt Wei where Ling-yu resided.⁸² Hui-chi subsequently formed Ling-yu's 1,500 strong monk followers into a school, with the assistance of Ta-an.⁸³ Hui-chi led this assembly to fame, gaining the respect due to a teacher from eleven military governors of various districts.⁸⁴ One of Hui-chi's fellow pupils

⁷⁸ *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, T50.788b3-5; based on the date of the first ruler of Southern T'ang, 937.

⁷⁹ SKSC, T50.788a26.

⁸⁰ SKSC, T50.787a11; Yokoi (1953), 41 and Ishii (1987), 69.

⁸¹ Stanley Weinstein (1987), *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 137, 201 note 3, doubts the veracity of the story that Hsüan-tsung had been a Buddhist monk. The story appears in the CTCTL, which makes Hsüan-tsung an heir in the Dharma of Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan. It states that he was an acolyte under Hang-chou Yen-kuan, a pupil of Ma-tsu Tao-i.

⁸² Yanagida Seizan (1967a), 'Chügoku Zenshüshi,' 257-258.

⁸³ Yanagida (1967a), 263.

⁸⁴ TTC 5.51.10-11.

under Ling-yu, one Ch'ing-shan Hung-yin (?-901) was the teacher of a 'king' in the area that was to become the state of Wu-Yüeh.⁸⁵ Finally, Sunji had the patronage of the progenitors and the founder of the Koryŏ Dynasty. This school was influential through its catholicity and inclusion of philosophy, as seen in the use of circular diagrams, and its stress on the discipline of monks.⁸⁶

Connections were maintained between the lineages of Hsüeh-feng and Wei-shan via Fu-chou. Ling-yu was a native of the city, and several of his pupils either originated from or ended up living in Fu-chou. These pupils then were the conduits for the information on the Korean monks in the Wei-Yang lineage. Moreover, Wei-ching, a pupil of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, probably transmitted the hagiographies of the Silla monks of the Ma-tsu lineage, which explains their general poverty of *logia*, for there was no need to replicate in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* the material that was presumably available in the *Hsü Pao-lin chuan*.

Furthermore, Hyönnul or Yöngjo may have offered more recent information on the monks of the lineage from Yang-shan Hui-chi, a lineage with close associations to the Hsüeh-feng lineage via Fu-chou.

If the early form of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* had much of this and these connections, Kwangjun only had to add very limited material on Korean monks into the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Ch'eng-ching and Chih-yü were the most likely original compilers, for they lived in the Min and Southern T'ang milieu, were members of the Hsüeh-feng lineage, and probably had ready access to current materials on Korean Buddhism. These two compilers may have highlighted the *logia* of Sunji and his master Hui-chi because Sunji had the patronage of the Koryŏ founder, Wang Kŏn (d. 943). Perhaps the compilers, based in ports that traded with Korea and being members of lineages important in the states of Southern T'ang and Wu-Yüeh that had diplomatic relations with Koryŏ, were attempting to seduce the Koryŏ court into becoming patrons of their lineage as part of a missionary effort.

It is no coincidence then that the Fa-yen sub-branch of the Hsüeh-feng lineage became the favourite of the rulers of Southern T'ang, Wu-Yüeh and finally Koryŏ. In Southern T'ang, Fa-yen Wen-i and

⁸⁵ TTC 5.93.3. The regional 'king' or prince was titled Great Prince Shang-fu of Liang Che.

⁸⁶ For example, Ling-yu used Pure Land techniques, and a text, the 'Warnings of Wei-shan' was current as far away as Tun-huang in the 980s. See Suzuki Tetsuo (1984), *Tō Godai no Zenshū: Konan Kōsei hen*, 33-34.

three or four of his pupils had the patronage of the kings Li Ching and Li Yü.⁸⁷ In Wu-Yüeh, T'ien-t'ai Te-shao and his pupil Yung-ming Yen-shou, plus at least four other pupils of Fa-yen Wen-i and two pupils of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un, had royal patronage.⁸⁸ And of course, in Koryŏ, Fa-yen Ch'an (Kor. Pöb'an Sŏn) had the support of King Kwangjong. This sub-branch of the Hsüeh-feng lineage was encouraged by Kwangjong, especially from 959, the probable year in which this king sent monks to study Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai under Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975). Yen-shou and his master Te-shao had the patronage of the king of Wu-Yüeh, Chung-i (929-988), which gave this exchange a semi-diplomatic status. Kwangjong evidently preferred the philosophical tendencies discernible in the Fa-yen mixture of Ch'an and Hua-yen Buddhism,⁸⁹ and he likewise may have delighted in the diagrams of Sunji, which may have suggested a doctrine of unity and centralisation harmonious with his political ambitions.

The 'original' *Tsu-t'ang chi* was finished in 952, the third year of Kwangjong's reign (950-976). Koryŏ monks stopped going to China, in particular to the state of Wu-Yüeh, the centre of Fa-yen Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai Buddhism, at the end of Kwangjong's reign, which coincided with the rise to dominance of the Sung Dynasty in South China. Wu-Yüeh capitulated to the Sung in 978 and Southern T'ang surrendered in 975. The last years of Kwangjong's reign parallels the disruption of Buddhist relations between Korea and China, which lasted some time. The timing suggests that much of the Korea-related content in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* could have been inserted around the time of the initial compilation as a means to attract the sponsorship of the Koryŏ court and as a bridge between Southern T'ang and Koryŏ.

Once that patronage was granted, in particular to the Fa-yen lineage, by Kwangjong, this branch of Sŏn flourished. When Kwangjong's rule ended, the Sung Dynasty Chinese Ch'an texts of a Fa-yen provenance, such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* of 1004, had less reason to incorporate details of the *logia* and lives of Koryŏ monks. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, which has recorded verses and substitute replies predominantly made by members of the Hsüeh-feng lineage, was replaced by the *Ching-te*

⁸⁷ SKCC 1/33/467-470.

⁸⁸ SKCC 2/89/1284; Ishii (1987), 82.

⁸⁹ Kim Tujin (1986), 'Koryŏ Kwangjong-dae Pöb'anjong ūi tŭngjang kwa kŭ sŏnggyŏk,' in Pulgyo sahak hoe, comp., *Koryŏ ch'ŏgi Pulgyo sanon*, Minjoksa: Seoul, 296-298 passim.

ch'uan-teng lu, which records such cases and verses almost entirely by members of the Fa-yen sub-branch.⁹⁰ This was despite the fact that Fa-yen Wen-i had probably met Sheng-teng and had resided in Fuchou for a time.⁹¹ Thus, after the 'original' *Tsu-t'ang chi* was issued, it is possible that Te-shao of Wu-Yüeh harnessed the influence of this book to the benefit of the Ch'an missionary effort in Koryŏ, as well as to enhance the Ch'an image in China. Once that was successful, Te-shao may have been able to have the *Tsu-t'ang chi* superseded by using his status as a National Teacher of Wu-Yüeh, a status he held from 947, to sway the Koryŏ court to follow the Fa-yen sub-branch rather than the Hsüeh-feng lineage that produced the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. After all, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* contains an entry on Sheng-teng, but lacks one for Wen-i. Once that displacement had eventuated, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was rapidly forgotten in China and generally neglected in Koryŏ where it was replaced by the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.⁹² There may have been an attempt to revise the *Tsu-t'ang chi* after 997, with Sung Dynasty geographical names used in some places, and the entries on Sheng-teng (d. 972) and several late figures known to Yü and Ching added. This may have been expanded to ten fascicles, although evidence from bibliographies suggests this version was rarely circulated (if it ever existed). The *Tsu-t'ang chi* was revived, and it seems, referred to, only once again in the Koryŏ period, on the occasion of the 1245 recompilation and printing, during a national crisis. It, like the work

⁹⁰ Ishii (1987), 73-74.

⁹¹ Ishii (1987), 78-79.

⁹² It appears that the CTCTL was used in monastic exams in Korea soon after it was published in Sung China. Cf. Robert E. Buswell Jr, trans. and introduction (1983), *The Korean Approach to Zen: The collected works of Chinul*, University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 81. It was widely quoted by Chinul, starting in 1190 (p. 97), even though Üich'ŏn (1055-1101) thought it should be burned (p. 80). Therefore the CTCTL was printed with a royal contribution in 1316; Yi Chi'gwan (1979), *Han'guk Pulgyo so'ui kyŏngjŏn yŏn'gu*, 385. There were printings thereafter in 1372, 1536, 1568, 1573, 1614, 1682, 1687 etc. See Kim Tujong (1980), *Han'guk ko'insoe kisul sa*, Tamgudang: Seoul, passim, and Sŏshi Kaku'ichi (1988), *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu ku-yu ming-tz'u so-yin*, Ta-hua shu-chü: Taipei, 1. It should be noted that the monastic examinations in Koryŏ were initiated by Kwangjong and the earliest example mentioned is that of Chijong (930-1018) taking the exam in 959. See Hŏ Hŭngsik (1986), 366, 389. Chijong was a student of T'ien-t'ai who studied from 959 to 961 under Yung-ming Yen-shou for two years at the encouragement of the Sŏn monk, Ch'anyu. See Kim Sanghyŏn (1983), 'Koryŏ ch'ŏgi ūi Ch'ŏnt'aehak kwa kŭ sajŏk ūiui,' in Pulgyo Munhwa yŏn'guso, comp., *Han'guk Ch'ŏnt'ae sasang yŏn'gu*, Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpan bu: Seoul, 112-117.

of Iryŏn on the five ranks of Ts'ao-tung, disappeared after the printing of the Koryŏ Tripitaka, possibly because it traced Sŏn history back to the Silla, something the new Sŏn of the later Koryŏ period could not accept. It was unacceptable because it depicted a Silla Sŏn that had diverged from that of China, and Koryŏ Sŏn was attempting to assert its orthodoxy by strictly following that of Sung China.⁹³

⁹³ Min Yŏnggyu (1993), 'Chungguk Sŏn kwa Han'guk Sŏn,' 35-36.

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