

The Formation of the *Linji lu*: An Examination of the *Guangdeng lu/Sijia yulu* and *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* Versions of the *Linji lu* in Historical Context

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I. Introduction

The *Linji yulu* (J. *Rinzai goroku*), or *Discourse Records of Linji* (often abbreviated as *Linji lu*, J. *Rinzai roku*; *Record of Linji*) is among the most revered works in the Chan and Zen traditions.¹ The most popular version of the text is the one compiled by Yuanjue Zongyan (d.u.) in 1120, over two hundred and fifty years after Linji's passing. It remains common to read the *Record of Linji* transparently, as if it contained records of Linji's actual teachings and activities, eyewitness accounts scribbled down by students and observers, passed down and recorded in a modified form by compilers of later collections of Chan writings. Nothing could be further from the truth. Linji's reputation as a Chan master, the importance of teachings attributed to him, and the very nature of the teachings themselves, suggest that *Linji* is the product of a collective Chan consciousness.²

The first mention of Linji occurs in the *Zutang ji*, compiled in 952, already eighty-six years after Linji's death in 866. The social and political chaos at the end of the Tang and continuing through the early decades of the tenth century prevented the collection of cultural records, not to mention their survival, and the memory of Linji and his teachings had passed through three or four generations before being recorded. In their first instance, they are not

¹ The full title is *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (*Discourse Records of Chan Master Huizhao of Linji in Zhenzhou*). The only serious rivals to the *Linji lu* as paradigmatic Chan/Zen are, perhaps, the *Platform Sūtra* attributed to the sixth patriarch Huineng, or *gong'an* (kōan) collections like the *Wumen guan* (J. *Mumonkan*).

² In this regard, Linji's reputation and teachings might be compared instructively to other major figures in the Chan tradition like Bodhidharma and Huineng. On Bodhidharma, see especially, Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25-3 (1986): 187-198; on Huineng, see John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005).

regarded as especially noteworthy. Linji's reputation is such that he warrants an entry in the *Zutang ji*, no small achievement, but there is otherwise little to distinguish him among the two hundred and fifty plus masters with entries included. While the *Zutang ji* honors the legacy of Mazu and the Hongzhou faction as Chan orthodoxy, it champions a faction descended from Xuefeng Yicun, not from Linji, as heir to this legacy.³

When the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled over fifty years later, in 1004, Linji's reputation was clearly on the rise, but he was still not regarded as the central figure to Chan's self-understanding that he would become. After the consolidation of the empire by the Song dynasty, need was felt to provide a similar consolidation of Chan's regional factions. While the southern-based Fayen faction clearly dominated the early Chan scene, by the time the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled, the influence of the Linji faction was clearly felt. Although the *Chuandeng lu* was compiled by a member of the Fayen lineage, the record was issued only after undergoing editorial revision by the leading Song literati figure, Yang Yi, whose own Chan preferences reflect growing support for the Linji faction at the Song court.⁴ While the Fayen faction remains in the position of orthodoxy among the competing lineages documented in the *Chuandeng lu*, the claims of Linji faction members are beginning to emerge. Aside from invoking Linji faction concepts and rhetoric in Yang Yi's preface, the influence of the emerging Linji faction is felt strongly in fascicle 28, a kind of appendix to the main body of *Chuandeng lu*. Fascicle 28 includes the "Extensive Discourses" (*guangyu*), allegedly excerpts of sermons of twelve Chan masters deemed prominent by compilers of the *Chuandeng lu*. In one regard, the contents of fascicle 28 are hardly distinguishable from the main body of the work, fascicles 1 through 26, which contain numerous purported sermon extracts among the contents of masters' teachings recorded. What is noteworthy about fascicle 28, in addition to the fact that the contents are exclusively sermon extracts, is the

³ Albert Welter, *Monks, rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapter 4: "Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the Patriarch's Hall Anthology (*Zutang ji*)," pp. 59-113.

⁴ Ibid. Chapter 5: "Chan Transmission and Factional Motives in the *Jingde [Era] Transmission of the Lamp (Jingde Chuandeng lu)*," pp. 115-160.

names and affiliations of the masters included. The twelve Chan masters isolated here for special mention suggest an elite corps of teachers.⁵ Linji is among them.

The assertion of Linji faction supremacy in the Song appears with the publication of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*. Not only was it compiled by a well-connected member of the imperial family, Li Zunxu, the text bore the reign title, *tiansheng*, of the current emperor, Renzong (r. 1022-1063), who personally contributed a preface.⁶ The *Guangdeng lu* was admitted to the Buddhist canon upon completion, following the precedent of the *Chuangdeng lu* before it. With the *Guangdeng lu*, Linji's reputation takes a further leap. Supported by a cadre of Linji Chan masters active in the early Song, Linji emerges from the pack of elite Chan teachers to serve as a major Chan patriarch, the conduit for orthodox transmission of Chan teaching established by Mazu and the Hongzhou school. Not only does the record of Linji's teachings appear in the *Guangdeng lu* in complete form for the first time,⁷ Linji is aligned in a sequence of masters positing the transmission of dharma from Mazu to Linji via Baizhang and Huangbo. As discussed earlier, Huangbo was not the only, or even the best candidate as Linji's Dharma-master. Nor was the route to Linji the only possible choice for Chan orthodoxy.

Confirmation of the arrangement in the *Guangdeng lu* comes with the publication of the *Sijia yulu* (Discourse Records of the Four Masters), allegedly compiled by Huanglong Huinan (1002-1069), and reflecting the rising influence of the Huanglong faction of the Linji lineage in the early Song. The current edition of the text, however, dates from thirty-fifth year of *wanli* (1607) in the Ming dynasty, with a preface by Yang Jie dated the eighth year of *yuanfeng* (1085), reprinted in the Japanese edition dated the first year of *keian* (1648). As the order of presentation of Linji's teachings in the *Sijia yulu* is the same as the *Guangdeng lu*, save for very minor variation, the two versions may be treated as essentially identical, at least

⁵ The twelve are: Nanyang Huizhong, Heze Shenhui, Mazu Daoyi, Yaoshan Weiyuan, Dazhu Huihai, Dade Wuyue, Nanquan Puyuan, Zhaozhou Congshen, Linji Yixuan, Xuansha Shibe, Zhangzhou Guichen, and Fayuan Wenyi.

⁶ On Renzong's preface, including a translation, see Welter, *The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 186-188.

⁷ The close connection between the *Guangdeng lu* and the emerging *yulu* genre is typified by the case of Linji.

as currently received.⁸ The *Sijia yulu* version also compresses the two fascicles of Linji's teachings in the *Guangdeng lu* into one fascicle. The major innovation of the *Sijia yulu*, however, is the explicit inclusion of Linji and his teachings alongside the major patriarchs of Tang Chan (according to the Song Linji faction): Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo.⁹

Full confirmation of Linji's new status comes with compilation of the *Linji lu*, the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu*, as an independent text in 1120. The compiler, Yuanjue Zongyan (d.u.), was a member of the Yunmen faction and also reissued the *Discourse Records of Yunmen (Yunmen yulu)* around the same time. While the contents of Zongyan's text are, with minor exception, the same as the versions of the *Linji lu* contained in both the *Guangdeng lu* and *Sijia yulu*, the sequence of presentation has been substantially changed. The motives behind Zongyan's alterations are examined below. More significant is the appearance of the *Linji lu* in separate format. It signals Linji's status as one of Chan's major patriarchs, worthy of an independent record of his teachings. It also reflects the changing nature of Song Chan and the new status accorded *yulu* genre texts. Ever since the publication of contemporary Chan master's Discourse Records in the early Song, like the *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* of Fenyang Shanzhao (947-1024) compiled by his disciple Shishuang Chuyuan (987-1040), with a preface by Yang Yi (974-1020),¹⁰ the *yulu* genre began to assume precedence over earlier Chan literary forms (eg. *denglu*). Linji's elevation to this stature was a defacto presumption of patriarchal status by contemporary Song masters, whose Discourse Records were increasingly circulated as independent texts reflecting the new Song orthodoxy. It was only a matter of time before teachings of the lineage's founder, Linji, would acquire similar standing.

⁸ Two variations exist between the GDL and SJYL texts. The SJYL lacks the death gatha (as does the LJYL) that is contained in the GDL (468a9-16; compare SJYL: 58b19-59a3). The episode involving Linji and a nun in the GDL (474b15-16) is moved to the very end of the SJYL text (70b16-17).

⁹ In the case of the *yulu* of Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo, the records in the GDL are much shorter (roughly half the size) for Mazu and Huangbo than their counterparts in the SJYL. Only Baizhang's record is of comparable size in the two versions. Like the case of Linji, the sequence of the first fascicle of Baizhang's record is different in the two versions (GDL 8 [450b2-451c19] and SJYL 2). The second fascicle, Baizhang *Guangyu* (GDL 9 and SJYL 3), is a virtually exact match.

¹⁰ Renditions are found in the *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* (T 47-1992.594b-629c; for Yang Yi's preface, see 595a6-595b21), and *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* (XZJ 120.83a-160a; for Yang Yi's preface, see 84a-85a).

In order to understand the Song context behind Linji's rise in status and the appearance of the *Linji lu* as a major text representing Chan orthodoxy, I now turn to examination of the circumstances associated with the compilation of Linji's teachings in the *Guangdeng lu* and *Sijia yulu*, and their standardized form as the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu*, or simply *Linji yulu*.

II. Linji's Discourse Records in the *Guangdeng lu*: Background Considerations

The *Guangdeng lu* was compiled as a tribute to contemporary Linji Chan masters in the early Song. Compiled twenty-five years after the *Chuandeng lu*, the *Guangdeng lu* was more than just an appendix to the earlier work. It was designed to set the record straight, and affirm the true lineage of Chan orthodoxy. Although the *Chuandeng lu* might be said to be leaning in a Linji Chan inspired direction, the thrust of the work clearly affirms the orthodoxy of the Fayan faction.¹¹ As the Song dynasty gained its footing, literati interest in Chan shifted away from the conciliatory and doctrinally conservative approach suggested by Fayan faction teaching, and toward the innovative approach offered by a group of influential Linji faction masters.¹² Linji Chan was virtually created from the ambitions of these early Song Linji masters. Who were they?¹³

While the inspiration for the Linji Chan faction was, of course Linji Yixuan, the real founder of the movement was Shoushan (or Baoying) Shengnian (926-993), a fourth generation descendant. According to an epitaph composed for one of Shengnian's prominent disciples, Guyin Yuncong (965-1032), by Lin Zunxu, the *Guangdeng lu* was compiled

¹¹ Albert Welter, "Lineage and Context in the *Patriarch's Hall Anthology* and the *Transmission of the Lamp*," Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 137-179.

¹² As I have suggested elsewhere (Welter, *Monks, rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*, Chapter 7: "Literati Interpretations of Chan Buddhism in Early Song China," pp. 209-219), the changing Chan preferences among literati reflect current aims to create an innovative literary form, a uniquely Song expression of *wen*. The new Chan *yulu* style genre was seen as contributing to this mission.

¹³ What follows is treated more fully in Welter, *Monks, rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 186-207.

specifically to authenticate the success of Shengnian and his disciples.¹⁴ While each of the *denglu* records compiled in the Five Dynasties and early Song--the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Guangdeng lu*--exhibit the influence of the *yulu* literary genre in Chan circles, contrary to the esteem accorded to the former, the *Guangdeng lu* is most noteworthy in this regard. The *Guangdeng lu* may rightly be regarded as a *yulu* style text in the guise of a *denglu*, and records much material associated with leading Chan masters' teachings for the first time. Above all, it tended to assume the *yulu* style as the special (though not exclusive) preserve of Linji affiliated masters. It also asserted that orthodox Chan transmission passed via Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, and Huangbo Xiyun, to Linji Yixuan, thus turning Linji into a major Chan patriarch and endorsing the claims of Shengnian and his students.

Li Zunxu's eminence cannot be overstated. He was the son-in-law of emperor Taizong, brother-in-law of emperor Zhenzong, and an elder relative of emperor Renzong. Not only was the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* imperially sanctioned, it was personally compiled by a member of the imperial family who was an intimate devotee of a prominent Linji faction Chan master, Guyin Lancong (965-1032).

Shengnian was the disciple of Fengxue Yanzhao (896-973); he hailed from Laizhou (Shandong) and received his initial Buddhist training at the local Nanchan (Southern Chan) Monastery. His first two appointments were at brand new institutions, at the Shoushan Monastery in Ruzhou and the Guangjiao (Spread the Teaching) Monastery on Mt. Baoan (Precious Peace), where Shengnian served as founding abbot.¹⁵ Comments attributed to Shengnian at the opening of Shoushan commend the support of the local elite for perpetuating the Buddha-dharma passed down through Mah~kaV~y~pa.¹⁶ It is safe to assume that the purveyors of the true Dharma preserved here are members of the Linji lineage, currently represented by Shengnian himself.

¹⁴ A copy of the epitaph is appended to Yuncong's record in the GDL (ZZ 78.501a9-b20; esp. 501b16-17).

¹⁵ He ended his career as the third generation head of the Baoying (Receiving the Treasure) Monastery. For Shengnian's appointments, see CDL 13 (T 51.304a11-13 & 304c24-26); GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493c20-22).

¹⁶ GDL 16 (ZZ 78.493a21-23); the same address, with slightly variant phrasing, is contained in CDL 13 (T 51.304a16-19). It is interesting to note that while the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* provide essentially the same information regarding Shengnian's address, it has been arranged so that it commands the most prominent place at the outset of Shengnian's remarks in the *Guangdeng lu*.

Shengnian's teacher, Fengxue Yanzhao (896-973), was also a prominent master in Ruzhou (Henan). When Ruzhou was besieged, Fengxue fled to Yingzhou (Hubei); he was befriended by Li Shijun, who housed him in the district office (*yanei*). The Prefectural Head (*zhouzhu*) and Controller-general (*tongpan*) in Yingzhou attended his lectures and engaged him in conversation.¹⁷ Later, Grand Preceptor Song Hou converted his residence in Ruzhou into a temple, and invited Fengxue to live in it.¹⁸ Court officials also reportedly attended his lectures in Ruzhou, where Fengxue addressed the issue of Buddhist-secular relations openly, inferring that Chan monks spread their teachings openly, unimpeded by the presence of secular authority.¹⁹

Other noteworthy support for Fengxue came from Vice Director (*shilang*) Ouyang Hui (896-971) of the kingdom of Western Shu (934-965). After the Western Shu kingdom recapitulated to Song authority, Ouyang Hui served in Song Taizu's bureaucracy and was appointed to the Hanlin Academy. Ouyang Hui's prominence at the newly formed Song court suggests how the prestige attained by the Linji lineage in Ruzhou found representation at the Song court.²⁰

Shengnian's students built on the prestige thus far achieved and succeeded in establishing Linji Chan as the new orthodoxy.²¹ Their success was predicated on support from the secular establishment. Fenyang Shanzhao (947-1024) had unparalleled access to the Song elite. He achieved fame for his teaching at the Taizi (Imperial Prince) Cloister in the Dazhong (Great Center) Monastery in Fenzhou (Shanxi), a monastery named for a reign era title of emperor Zhenzong (r. 998-1022). The Taizi Cloister was named in honor of the future

¹⁷ ZZ 78.489c6-14. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles* (no. 7497), the *tongpan* was "... a central government official delegated to serve as resident overseer of the work of the Prefect..."

¹⁸ ZJT 112c.

¹⁹ Based on Fengxue's remarks in ZZ 78.490a21-22; also recorded in CDL 13 (T 51.303a5-8).

When the master (Fengxue) stayed in the imperial office in Ruzhou, he entered the [Lecture] Hall. A monk asked: "What happens when the ruler of people and the ruler of Dharma meet each other?"

Fengxue responded: "[Even though] they dance grandly in circles around the spring in the trees, there is no joy or sorrow in the world."

The monk continued: "What will they discuss together?"

Fengxue responded: "[Even while] tigers and leopards sit boldly and contentedly in front of the cliff, peregrine falcons spread the true teaching (*zhenzong*) in broad daylight."

²⁰ SGCQ 52.777.

²¹ For Shengnian's students, see GDL 16 & 17 (ZZ 78.495a24-502c8).

emperor Renzong (r. 1023-1063). In effect, Shanzhao imparted an imperially sanctioned teaching from the seat of a similarly sponsored institution. When Li Zunxu invited Shanzhao to preach at Chengtian (Accepting Heaven) Chan Cloister in Luzhou, the officials and people of the region reportedly thronged to hear him.²² Shanzhao's *Discourse Records* (*yulu*) were compiled by his student, Chuyuan; the illustrious Song literatus Yang Yi contributed a preface.²³ This is the first instance of the publication of a contemporary master's *yulu* in the Song. It established a precedent for the flood of independent *yulu* texts that followed. The status of *yulu* texts as representative of the teachings of a living Buddha derived from the authority assumed by masters like Shanzhao. During Shanzhao's life, he was honored with a purple robe. After death, he was granted the posthumous title *Wude Chanshi* (Chan Master Beyond Virtue).²⁴

Guyin Yuncong (965-1032) was also feted among the Song elite. His early appointments to Mt. Shimen (Stone Gate) in Xiangzhou (1006) and the Taiping xingguo (Promoting a Country of Great Peace) Chan Monastery on Mt. Guyin (1020), came from the requests of local prefects, Cha Dao (955-1018) and Xia Song (985-1051).²⁵ The name Taiping xingguo, taken from a reign title of emperor Taizong (r. 976-997), bears the mark of imperial sanction. Cha Dao, the man who first brought Yuncong to public attention, was a devout Buddhist. In his youth, he is reported to have copied Buddhist scriptures using his own blood as an act of merit generating devotion in an attempt to seek a cure for his ailing mother. When his mother died, he gave up his ambition to become an official, and traveled to the sacred Mt. Wutai with the intention of shaving his hair and becoming a monk. When he displayed calm in the face of violent earthquakes and thunder, the monks of the temple all urged him to serve as an official.²⁶ After serving as Minister of Public Works in the Southern

²² ZZ 78.499a1-2.

²³ *Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* (T 47-1992.594b-629c; for Yang Yi's preface, see 595a6-595b21), and *Fenyang Shanzhao Chanshi yulu* (XZJ 120.83a-160a; for Yang Yi's preface, see 84a-85a).

²⁴ ZJT 690d-691a.

²⁵ GDL 17 (ZZ 78. 499a12-b17).

²⁶ SS 296.9878.

Tang, he later went on to distinguish himself by attaining the *jinshi* degree (988), and working on the defining Song literary project, the *Cefu yuangui* (1008).²⁷

Xia Song, the prefect who commissioned Yuncong to assume his tenure at Taiping xingguo Monastery, was also a major literary figure of this period. Unlike Yang Yi and Liu Yun (see below) who championed a refined literary style that continued to emulate Tang precedents, Xia Song epitomized the use of literary skill for political ends rather than artful embellishment. The purpose of literary writing, he contended, was to serve the interests of the court in securing a civil order (as Xia himself put it, “the emperor is expecting transformation through the *wen* of man”).²⁸ His studies ranged over a broad spectrum of topics, focusing primarily on “orthodox” works (classics, histories, the writings of the “hundred schools,” writings on *yin* and *yang*, legal works, and almanacs), but also extended to Buddhist and Daoist writings.²⁹ For the likes of Xia Song, the champion of a renewed literary tradition that held the promise of political transformation, Buddhism could only be adapted to the extent that it fit this larger agenda.

Yuncong also maintained close relations with Hanlin Academicians Yang Yi and Liu Yun, important officials of the central government and key figures in the Song *wen* revival.³⁰ Yang Yi and Liu Yun are credited with initiating the Song literary style, albeit one that was later rejected by Neo-Confucians as too ornate.³¹ Liu Yun also played a formative role in initiating the revival of Confucianism. At emperor Zhenzong’s request, Liu Yun collected the literary works of various Confucian authors. This collection served as the “canon” for Confucian studies for the generation of Liu’s contemporaries. Emperor Zhenzong is said to have enjoyed Liu’s poems, odes, and songs. Liu Yun was also a contributor in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui*, the encyclopedic project for which Yang Yi served as a chief editor.³² Yuncong was also friendly with Li Zunxu, who composed his

²⁷ SS 296.9877-9879.

²⁸ Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, p. 162 (the quote is taken from Xia Song’s *jinshi* degree examination of 1007, *Wenzhuang ji* 12.1a).

²⁹ SS 283.9571.

³⁰ ZZ 78.501b3-4.

³¹ See Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 29.

³² SS 305.10088-89.

epitaph.³³ He was granted the posthumous title *Cizhao* (Compassion and Illumination) Chan Master.

Shengnian's student Zhenhui (Guanghui) Yuanlian (951-1036) was considered Yang Yi's master, responsible for Yang Yi's "conversion" from the Fayan to the Linji lineage. Yuanlian hailed from the Pujiang district of Quanzhou (Fujian). He left home at age fifteen, entering the Baoqu Cloister. He is said to have visited over fifty teachers in the Min region before attaining awakening under Shengnian. From the first year of the *jingde* era (1004), Yuanlian lived at the Guanghui (Expanding Wisdom) Monastery in Ruzhou (Henan), where he received visits from officials like Yang Yi. He was granted the posthumous title *Zhenhui Chanshi* (Chan Master of True Wisdom).³⁴

Another student of Shengnian, Guangjiao Guisheng (d.u.), hailed from Jizhou (Hebei), left home and became ordained at the Baoshou (Preserve Longevity) Monastery in Yizhou. Later, he traveled south, where he met Chan master Shengnian in Ruzhou, and experienced awakening.³⁵ Subsequently, he began his teaching career at Guangjiao Monastery in Yexuan, Ruzhou. He achieved considerable renown, and was the recipient of a prestigious purple robe honor awarded by the central government. Other than these meager details, we know nothing of Guisheng's life. The record of his teaching, however, provides important insight into the way Linji faction teaching was being represented in the early decades of the tenth century. In one recorded sermon, Guisheng reportedly states: "Each and every one of you possess the flash [of enlightenment] (*guang*). All the more reason to take the meaning of [Bodhidharma's] coming from the west to be 'a separate transmission outside the teaching' (*jiaowai biechuan*). When the Way [that one practices] tacitly agrees with this single phrase, you will act freely in every situation."³⁶ The meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west appears as a frequent topic of discussion in "lamp records" like the *Guangdeng lu*. It appears most often as a question posed by students to a

³³ ZZ 78.500c18-20 & 501a8-b20. A version of Yuncong's "Recorded Sayings" is contained in *Shimen shan Cizhao Chanshi Fengyan ji*, recorded in fascicle 9 of the *Guzunsu yulu* (XZJ 118.257a-269a).

³⁴ ZJT 300b.

³⁵ ZZ 78.495b6-8.

³⁶ See the sermon recorded at ZZ 78.496a23-b3.

master, as an apparent way of gauging a master's teaching and assessing his effectiveness. According to the records, various responses were proffered, from the ubiquitous hitting and yelling, to pithy non-sequiturs like "the planet Venus revolves" or "while the white moon burns, the earth sleeps; while flames engulf the night, the earth reclines."³⁷ During the Tang, Bodhidharma's teaching was commonly associated with the slogans "directly point to the human mind; see one's nature and become a buddha." In the early Song, the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west increasingly came to be understood in terms of "a separate transmission outside the teaching." A variant of this phrase, "a separate practice outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biexing*), was the distinguishing feature of Chan teaching for Yang Yi and Li Zunxu in the *Chuangdeng lu* and *Guangdeng lu*.³⁸ Ultimately, "a separate practice outside the teaching" became a catchphrase of the Song Linji faction, and a crowning definition of Linji Chan identity.

The phrase "a separate transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*) also appears prominently in a sermon by another contemporary Linji faction master, Nanyuan (or Shishuang) Chuyuan (987-1040).³⁹ Chuyuan consciously connected the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the west and his directive to "directly point to the human mind, see one's nature and become a buddha" with "a separate transmission outside the teaching." Moreover, it was through Chuyuan's influence that the Linji Chan legacy flourished. Chuyuan was the teacher of both Yangqi Fanghui (992-1049) and Huanglong Huinan (1002-1069), the heads of the two branches of the Linji faction that became dominant in the Song, and beyond.

³⁷ Responses by Yuanlian (ZZ 78.502b4) and Dongchan Shouzhi (503c17-18), respectively.

³⁸ T 51.196b and ZZ 78.426b9.

³⁹ GDL 18 (ZZ 78.504c7-10). Chuyuan was also on friendly terms with Li Zunxu; Chuyuan reportedly composed verses for Li Zunxu as death approached (SS 464.13569).

III. A Comparison of the Contents of the *Linji lu*:
Guangdeng lu (GDL 10 & 11) vs. *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (LJYL)

As mentioned previously, the first complete edition of the *Linji lu* was not the standard version, *Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (T no. 1985, v. 47: 495a-506c), but the version included in fascicles 10 and 11 of the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (XZJ no. 1553, v. 78: 464b22-474c21). While there are few differences in the actual contents recorded between the two versions, there are substantial differences in the order that the contents are recorded.

What do the different orders of the contents of the *Linji lu* tell us about the motives of their compilers? Whereas the LJYL may be divided by sub-headings into sections: Dharma Hall Sermons (*shangtang*), Instructing [members of] the Assembly (*shizhong*), Investigating and Assessing (*kanbian*), and Record of Activities (*xinglu*), no explicit sections are provided in the GDL.⁴⁰ One of the most striking differences in the ordering of the contents is the way each version begins. Following brief biographical details, the GDL version begins with a series of episodes involving Linji's relationship with Huangbo Xiyun, whereas the LJYL version, opens with lectures given by Linji at the request of the Prefect Governor (*fuzhu*) and other officials. In the LJYL, biographical details regarding Linji -- his origins in the city of Nanhua in Caozhou, his family name Xing, his exceptional brilliance as a child, and so on -- appear at the end of the text in a greatly expanded fashion (discussed below).

The alternate arrangement of the text's contents is instructive. By placing episodes detailing Linji's relationship with Huangbo first, especially the critical episode at the outset determining Linji's primary allegiance of Huangbo over Dayu, the GDL is weighing in on Linji's Dharma affiliation. Making Huangbo Linji's primary teacher was the claim of Linji faction affiliates in the early Song dynasty. It was done so to strengthen their claim to authority as the orthodox interpretation of Chan by linking Linji to the most illustrious

⁴⁰ Only the *kanbian* and *xinglu* sections are explicitly demarcated in the LJYL text; *shangtang* and *shizong* sections are implicit in the text's arrangement. The *shangtang* section covers pp. 496b11-497a21; the *shizong* section pp. 497a22-503a15, the *kanbian* section pp. 503a16-504b25, and the *xinglu* section pp. 504b26-506c7. In addition, the LJYL has a brief "biographical" account, pp. 506c8-25.

representatives of the so-called Hongzhou faction: Mazu Daoyi, Baizhang Huaihai, and Huangbo Xiyun. The assertion of this claim is implicit in the GDL ordering of the records of these four masters in sequential order: fascicle 8 (Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo), fascicle 9 (Baizhang), fascicles 10 and 11 (Linji).⁴¹ The implicit claim of the GDL is rendered explicitly in the *Sijia yulu* (Records of Saying of Four Masters), compiled by Linji faction master Huanglong Huinan (1002-1069). The GDL and *Sijia yulu* claims rendered the Song dynasty Linji faction as true heirs to the legacy of Chan orthodoxy inspired by Mazu and the Tang dynasty Hongzhou faction. By placing Linji's crucial episodes with Huangbo in the final *xinglu* section of the text, the LJYL reflects a lessened concern in Chan circles over Linji's lineage affiliation.

When the LJYL was issued later in the Song, Linji's reputation as the founder of Chan's major faction was assured. Linji stood as a major Chan figure, the founder of an illustrious lineage, and did not need to remain in the protective shadow cast by Mazu. The LJYL is a testament to this stature. Issued as an independent record, the LJYL stood on its own as a major statement of orthodox Chan teaching, without linkage to any other Chan figures. Its implicit message was that the Linji faction had indeed arrived as the preeminent interpretation of Chan. It is hardly surprising in this context that Linji's associations with literati officials would take precedence. No longer preoccupied with internal debates over transmission, Linji Chan was now in a position to suggest the role of the Chan master as teacher and spiritual advisor to secular authorities. Episodes where Linji is seen to fulfill this function are now brought front and center in the LJYL arrangement of the text's contents.

IV. The *Sijia yulu* Text of the *Linji lu*

As mentioned above, the current edition of the *Sijia yulu* dates from thirty-fifth year of *wanli* (1607) in the Ming dynasty. A preface by Yang Jie, reprinted in a Japanese edition dated the first year of *keian* (1648), dates from the eighth year of *yuanyfeng* (1085). The order of

⁴¹ For Mazu's record, see pp. 448b20-450b1; for Baizhang, see pp. 450b2-451c19 & 456b6-464b16; for Huangbo, see pp. 451c20-456a23; for Linji, see pp. 464b24-474c20.

presentation of Linji's teachings in the *Sijia yulu* is the same as the *Guangdeng lu*, save for very minor variation, and the two versions may be treated as essentially identical. What the *Sijia yulu* does accomplish, however, is a clear aligning of Linji alongside his major Chan forbears--- Mazu, Baizhang, and Huangbo--- to serve as a major standard bearer of Chan orthodoxy. From this pedestal, Linji came to represent the innovative vigor of a distinctive Chan tradition, and a focal point of Song Chan identity.

The point of the *Sijia yulu* was to link Linji to the Mazu, Hongzhou Chan legacy. Mazu and the Hongzhou lineage came to dominate Tang Chan. Linkage to Mazu became essential to any claims to orthodoxy, in a way not dissimilar to the position that Huineng came to occupy in the wake of controversies surrounding the determination of the sixth patriarch.⁴² According to Yang Jie's preface, the person responsible for compiling the *Sijia yulu* was a certain Jicui Laonan, a reference to the prominent Song dynasty Linji Chan master Huanglong Huinan (1002-1069).⁴³ The name Jicui ("abundant green") refers to a hermitage once occupied by Huanglong Huinan on Mt. Huangbo, and subsequently an honorific title granted to Huanglong Huinan in 1066 by the prefect of Yuzhang (Jiangxi), Cheng Pi.⁴⁴ Given the way that Huanglong Huinan is referred to here (as Jicui Laonan), it is reasonable to infer that the *Sijia yulu* was compiled between 1066 and the time of Huinan's death in 1069.

It is also clear that Chan orthodoxy was still contested territory at the time Huanglong Huinan compiled his *Sijia yulu*. Another text, the *Deshan Sijia lu*, appeared around the same time, suggesting that Chan factions other than Linji lineage descendants had similar ambitions.⁴⁵ Deshan Xuanjian (780-865) was a contemporary of Linji descended from the sixth patriarch via a different lineage that included (in order of succession):

⁴² Strong evidence for this claim is provided by the *Zutang ji*. While Zhaoqing Wendeng is clearly descended from a lineage distinct from Mazu's (Wendeng descended from Huineng's alleged disciple Qingyuan Xingsi via Shitou Xiqian and Xufeng Yicun; Mazu was the disciple of another of Huineng's students, Nanyue Huairang), it is just as clear that Wendeng invoked Mazu's Chan teaching to legitimize his own. See Welter, *The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*, pp. 65-70.

⁴³ Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shike goroku, Goke goroku* (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983), p. 1b17.

⁴⁴ X 79 n. 1560, p.535a23-24; Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p. 281. Huinan retreated to Mt. Huangbo following blame and imprisonment he incurred for a fire that destroyed the main hall at Guizong monastery (X 79 n. 1560, p. 535a21-23).

⁴⁵ The *Deshan Sijia lu* is no longer extant, but mentioned in the *Linjian lu* (X 87 n. 1624, p. 256a11).

Qingyuan Xingsi, Shitou Xiqian, Tianhuang Daowu, and Longtan Chongxin. On the assumption that Deshan Xuanjian's discourse record was the first one in the collection, it has been suggested that the *Deshan Sijia lu* included the additional discourse records of Yantou Quanhao (828-887), Xuefeng Yicun (822-908), and Xuansha Shibei (835-908).⁴⁶ In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Deshan's descendants expanded through different branches. One of the branches in particular, made prominent by Xuefeng Yicun, created a strong legacy in the Song, including both the Yunmen and Fayan lineages.

Moreover, Chan *yulu* collections that included a series of masters became an important literary phenomenon during the Song. In the wake of these initial *Sijia yulu* collections, others were compiled in an attempt to further later claims to orthodoxy. In addition to the *Sijia yulu* (also known as the *Mazu Sijia yulu* to distinguish it from others) and the *Deshan Sijia lu*, another collection, the *Huanglong Sijia lu* was compiled in 1141 and the *Ciming Sijia lu* was compiled in 1153. The *Huanglong Sijia lu* was compiled by a fourth generation descendant of Huanglong Huinan, Huiquan, and was dedicated to furthering Huanglong lineage claims to Linji faction orthodoxy. In addition to the discourse records of Huanglong Huinan, it also included those of Baojue (or Huitang) Zuxin (1025-1100), Sixin Wuxin (1044-1115), and Zhaozong Huifang (1073-1129), stretching to the teacher of contemporary Huanglong faction masters.⁴⁷ The *Ciming Sijia lu* included the discourse records of four other Linji masters, Ciming (or Shishuang) Chuyuan (986-1039), Yangqi Fanghui (992-1049), Baiyun Shouduan (1025-1072), and Wuzu Fayan (1024?-1104), factional rivals for the mantle of Linji Chan orthodoxy.⁴⁸ In addition there is the *Hou* (Later) *Sijia yulu*, which includes the discourse records of Tiantong (Hongzhi) Zhengjue (1091-1157), Xuedou (Wenan) Sizong (1085-1152), Touzi Yiqing (1032-1083), and Danxia Zichun

⁴⁶ Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," *Zen bunken no kenkyū, jō*, p. 384.

⁴⁷ An extant version of the *Huanglong Sijia lu* is found in the XZJ collection.

⁴⁸ The *Ciming Sijia lu* itself is non-extant, but with the exception of Baiyun Shoudan, the masters teachings in question survive in other collections. It was compiled by Zheng Tangbian; the preface by Zhang Zong (dated 1153) survives. For a discussion see Shiina Kōyū, "Sō han Jimyō Shike roku to sono shūhen," *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 13 (1982) CHECK; also see references to the *Ciming Sijia lu* in Shiina, *Sō Gen han Zenseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), p. 95 and 564.

(1064-1117).⁴⁹ The *Hou Sijia lu* was apparently intended to suggest Chan orthodoxy for a re-emergent Caodong faction during the Song, as its rivals had for different Linji Chan factions.⁵⁰

Much later, in the Ming Dynasty, an assembled compilation of a different sort, the *Wujia yulu*, appeared as a validation of the so-called “five houses” (*wujia*) of the Chan school.⁵¹ Ecumenically, rather than factionally driven, the *Wujia yulu* included the discourse records of (in order), Linji, Guishan and Yangshan, Dongshan and Caoshan, Fayan, and Yunmen, masters presumed responsible for the five factions of “classic” Chan.⁵² This ecumenically driven retrospective is the product of a later age, after the intense factional rivalries that drove Song Chan, a heyday of Chan dominance, had faded, and the concern was to recapture the memory of classic Chan teachings, broadly conceived.⁵³

As a result, it is clear that *Sijia yulu* compilations were conceived in a context of intra and inter factional rivalries. During the Song dynasty, as Chan emerged as the major Buddhist denomination bolstered by support from powerful patrons, it became ripe territory for such rivalries. In addition to augmenting factional claims through the compilation of associated discourse records like the various *Sijia yulu* anthologies, Chan proponents promoted the discourse records of individual masters issued as independent texts. As the alleged founder of Song Chan’s most illustrious faction, it was inevitable that Linji’s discourse record would be issued independently.

⁴⁹ Shiina, *Sō Gen han Zenseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1993), p. 483 and 485; see also Shiina, “Gen han *Shike roku* to sono jiryō,” *Komazawa daigaku bukkō gakubu ronshū* 10 (1979). CHECK

⁵⁰ On the reemergence of Caodong in the Song, see Morten Schlutter, “Silent Illumination, Kung-an Introspection, and the Competition for Lay Patronage in Sung Dynasty Ch’an,” in Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 109-147.

⁵¹ The *Wujia yulu* text, compiled by Yufeng Yuanxin (preface dated 1630) and Guoning, is contained in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shike goroku, Goke goroku* (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1983), pp. 71-212.

⁵² Following the *Linji zongshi* compiled by Huihong, the *Wujia yulu* contains: the discourse records of Linji Yixuan (Yuanjue Zonyan’s “standardized” version) (one fascicle); Guishan Lingyou and Yangshan Huiji (one fascicle); Dongshan Liangjie and Caoshan Benji (one fascicle); Fayan Wenyi (one fascicle); and Yunmen Wenyi (one fascicle). Yunmen’s discourse record, it should be noted, takes up nearly half of the entire pages of the *Wujia yulu* text.

⁵³ In Yanagida Seizan’s opinion, the *Wujia yulu*, even though existing in a late edition, represents an “original” depiction of the discourse records in question; see Yanagida, “*Shike roku* to *Wuke roku*,” in Yanagida, *Zen bunken no kenkyū, jō*, pp. 578-608. I take up this question in more detail below.

V. Yuanjue Zongyan's Revised Edition of the *Linji Yulu*

In the year 1120 (the second year of the *xuanhe* era), a new and revised edition of the *Linji lu* was issued, the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao Chanshi yulu* (The Discourse Records of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou). This became the standard text of the *Linji yulu*, and has remained the primary source for knowledge of Linji's teachings down to the present day. As stated above, the contents of the text differ little from the earliest known complete versions of Linji's teachings recorded in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* and *Mazu Sijia lu*. Two things distinguish Yuanjue Zongyan's edition of the *Linji lu* from these earlier versions: the rearrangement of the text's contents, and the addition of a preface and memorial inscription. In both cases, the alterations can be linked to Chan *yulu* production in the Song context.

Zongyan's edition of the *Linji lu* displaced the priority given the *xinglu* (Record of Activities) section materials in the GDL and SJYL editions, in favor of *shangtang*, or Dharma Hall sermons. Zongyan's new arrangement of the *Linji yulu* divided the text into four sections, in the following order: Dharma Hall Sermons (*shangtang*), Instructing [members of] the Assembly (*shizhong*), Investigating and Assessing (*kanbian*), and Record of Activities (*xinglu*).⁵⁴ This arrangement reflects the standard Song arrangement for Chan *yulu* texts. Another *yulu* text edited and issued by Zongyan at the same time, the *Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu*, follows the same general format.⁵⁵ This is the general pattern found for all Chan *yulu* issued in the Song.

Yanagida Seizan implies that Song reformulations of *yulu* represent deviations from presumably original arrangements, but it is more accurate to characterize prior arrangements of the texts as earlier, rather than original.⁵⁶ Japanese Rinzai scholarship in general considers that teachings attributed to Linji are considered fairly reliable, if repackaged, renditions. This is in keeping with the prevalent view that *yulu* origins rest with student transcriptions, not

⁵⁴ As noted above, the *shangtang* section covers pp. 496b11-497a21; the *shizong* section pp. 497a22-503a15, the *kanbian* section pp. 503a16-504b25, and the *xinglu* section pp. 504b26-506c7. In addition, the LJYL has a brief "biographical" account, pp. 506c8-25.

⁵⁵ T 47-1988. While there are more and sometimes different headings, the similarity of format is unmistakable.

⁵⁶ See his comments in such works as "*Goroku no rekishi*," and the "Kaidai" section of his annotated translation, *Rinzai roku* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1972).

only of sermons, but also of oral exchanges from the “back rooms,” the abbot’s quarters and other private areas.⁵⁷ In the previous chapter, I suggested an alternate origin for encounter dialogues, not as transcriptions of actual events, but as creations designed to meet contemporary concerns and to bolster the new Chan identity.

Mature Song *yulu* were no longer designed with questions of internal sectarian identity in mind. Earlier questions regarding correct lineage and orthodox principles had been resolved by Zongyan’s time. The issue for Zongyan was the appeal Chan held for Song literati and officials. For this reason, it was best to present Chan masters primarily as public prelates, dispensing sermons in the lecture hall before congregations including lay disciples. Most especially, it was useful to illustrate how Chan teachings in the lecture hall were delivered at the bequest of local overlords and officials. Hence, Zongyan’s arrangement of the *Linji yulu* begins with the stipulation that Linji delivered his sermon at the bequest of the prefectural head, by the name of Wang, and various officials.⁵⁸ Rather than an innovation, the stipulation that Chan master’s sermons be delivered at the request of local overlords, officials, etc., is traceable at least as far back as the *Platform Scripture*, where Huineng allegedly spoke at the request of the prefect of Shaozhou, Wei Qu, some thirty officials and thirty Confucian scholars.⁵⁹ Rather than any presumed historical accuracy, this stipulation is best viewed as a set piece of the Chan drama. A Chan sermon presided over by officials implies official sanction and support, enhancing the Chan cause. The fact that officials would request and listen to Chan sermons in such fashion suggests approval of the Chan master delivering the sermon, support for the institution that the master presides over, and sanction for the teaching delivered.

The delivery of sermons in this manner also represents the institutional reality of Chan monasteries in the Song. With the success of Chan in the Song, monasteries thrived on official support. Public lectures delivered at the request of official invitation became a

⁵⁷ See John R. McRae, *Seeing Through Zen* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 98-100.

⁵⁸ T 47.496b11. Yanagida tentatively identifies the prefectural head with Wang Shaoyi, military governor (*jiedu shi*) of Chengde prefecture from 857 to 866, “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Eastern Buddhist: New Series 2* (1972), pp. 79-80.

⁵⁹ Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 125-126.

regular feature of monastic life, and *shangtang* sermons were frequent and regularly scheduled events on the monastic calendar.

Other innovations first found in Zongyan's edition of the *Linji yulu* text are the addition of a preface and memorial inscription. Other sources, the *Zutang ji*, *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, and *Chuandeng lu*, all note the existence of Linji's stūpa.⁶⁰ There is no independent mention of a stūpa inscription, but the fact of its occurrence is not unusual, as it was customary practice that such an inscription would be composed. In most cases, inscriptions of deceased monks were composed by literati figures. In the case of Linji, the inscription is attributed to a dharma-heir, Yanzhao of Baozhou monastery in Zhenzhou.⁶¹ Yanzhao is usually identified as Fengxue Yanzhao (896-973), a fourth generation descendent (Linji → Xinghua Cunjiang → Nanyuan Huiyong → Fengxue Yanzhao) who lived roughly one-hundred years after Linji. It was not actually identified as a memorial inscription (*taji*) until the *Guzunsu yulu* (Discourse Records of Ancient Worthies), a late Song compilation that currently exists only in a Ming edition.⁶² As such, it hardly qualifies as a memorial inscription, since it was not etched in stone and erected as a memorial at Linji's death,⁶³ but composed as a tribute to a factional founder by a devoted follower. It was compiled, presumably, to make up for the actual absence of a memorial inscription. The lack of a memorial inscription was unbecoming of someone of the stature that Linji had assumed. Yanzhao's inscription was designed to fill this gap.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ ZTJ 19: 721.7; SGSZ 12 (T 50.779b3-4); CDL 12 (T 51.291a). The ZTJ and SGSZ claim the stūpa was called Chengxu (Pure Void); the CDL says it was called Chengling (Pure Spirit).

⁶¹ T 47.506c24-25.

⁶² Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzai roku*, p. 275 note. Yanagida believes that the information here identified as Linji's memorial inscription, was originally part of Linji's *Xinglu*. See also, Yanagida, "The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan," p. 71. On the authenticity of the memorial inscription, see Yanagida, "Kōke Zonshō no shiden to sono goroku," *Zengaku kenkyū* 48 (1958), pp. 54-92; and "Rinzai saishō no wa to Fuketsu Enshō no shussho," *ibid.*, 51 (1961), pp. 45-58.

⁶³ Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rinzai roku* (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1989), p. 215, n. 2.

⁶⁴ This is not to suggest that there was not an earlier inscription of some sort, as information contained in the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Song Gaoseng zhuan* was presumably based in part on some sort of information like this. The *Zutang ji* mentions the existence of a *Guang lu* for Linji (ZTJ 19: 721.6), and the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.779b4) mentions the circulation of Linji's *Yanjiao*. The inscription attributed to Yanzhao makes reference to Linji's *Xinglu* (T 47.506c12). Either the sources for this information were not contained in the form of an inscription (quite likely), or if they were, were either lost, or the information contained was deemed unworthy for someone of Linji's current stature.

Yanagida Seizan, however, claims that the identity of Yanzhao is uncertain, but that “from the wording [of the inscription] he would seem to be a direct disciple of Linji.”⁶⁵ In my view, this places far too much trust in *Linji lu* (and by extension the inscription) as an accurate record of Linji’s actual words. The content of the “inscription” reflects the circumstances and concerns of the later time in which Fengxue Yanzhao lived, and quite possibly later. As I see it, there are three possibilities regarding the “inscription”: a) that it was actually written by Fengxue Yanzhao; b) that it was written by a disciple or descendant of Fengxue Yanzhao and attributed back to him; or c) that it was written by a Linji faction proponent and attributed to some conveniently unknown disciple of Linji, Baozhou Yanzhao. In any of these cases, the “inscription” becomes, in fact, a composition reflecting the concerns and aspirations of the Song dynasty Linji faction. The circumstances suggesting the “inscription” as a Song compilation can be described as follows.

The first is the role ascribed in the inscription to Dayu. While Dayu’s influence is mentioned, the inscription clearly maintains that Linji received the dharma-seal from Huangbo, suggesting that the issue of Linji’s dharma inheritance had already been settled. From the *Zutang ji* (discussed in a previous chapter), it is easy to infer that it was not.⁶⁶

More revealing is the way the “inscription” suggests close ties between Linji and local overlords. It claims that Defender-in-Chief (*taiwei*) Mo Junhe relinquished his own house to serve as Linji’s temple when fighting forced Linji to abandon his residence outside the city walls. There is, in fact, no possible linkage between Linji and Mo Junhe, who was born around the year of Linji’s death.⁶⁷ As Yanagida suggests, the most likely explanation for associating Linji with Mo Junhe, a famous local hero in the Zhenzhou region, was “with

⁶⁵ “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” p. 86, n. 37.

⁶⁶ The “inscription” also clearly links Linji to a monk by the name of Puhua (d. 861?), the disciple of Panshan Baoji (720?-814?). Little is known regarding Puhua; on Puhua, see ZTJ 17 (635.7-637.1), CDL 10 (T 51.280b-c), SGSZ 20 (T 50.837b), and relevant sections of the LJYL. Very little biographical information can be gleaned from these sources. He is regarded as the founder of the Puhua faction (*Puhua zong*). Paoshan Baoji was a dharma-heir of Mazu Daoyi; on Paoshan Baoji, see ZTJ 15 (557.8-559.11) and CDL 7 (T 51.253b-c). He figures prominently in some episodes in the *Linji lu*, and the mention in the inscription is clearly indebted to these. They suggest how Linji succeeded Puhua as resident master in Zhenzhou, shortly before Puhua’s passing.

⁶⁷ Regarding the possible identity of Mo Junhe as the Mo Junhe, mentioned in *Taiping Guangji* 192 and the problems with such an identification, see Yanagida, *Rinzai roku*, p. 277 note, and “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” p. 82.

the deliberate intent of enhancing the prestige of the Linji School in Hebei... and thus, by implication, with that of his powerful patron, the King of Zhao.”⁶⁸ Although it is unclear when Mo Junhe passed away, it is clear that his reputation was established only in the last decade of the ninth century, making it impossible to invoke a linkage to Linji with any reasonable degree of credibility until well into the tenth.

The “inscription” also mentions how Prefectural Head Wang welcomed Linji and treated him as his teacher, when Linji returned south, to He prefecture (Henan) where Linji originally hailed from. It is inconceivable, however, that Linji would be meeting Wang here in Henan for the first time when Wang has already been introduced as the official who sponsored his lectures while in Zhenzhou.⁶⁹ Regardless of the dubious historical merit of such claims, they contribute to the inscription’s purpose to bolster Linji’s reputation as the recipient of official favor and recognition. The attempt in the “inscription” to link Linji with Prefectural Head Wang concurs with Zongyan’s rearrangement of the *Linji lu*, which highlights Linji’s sermons delivered at Wang’s request as the most significant episodes of his teaching career. In this way, the inscription reflects Song realities and aspirations regarding the associations of Chan masters with literati and officials projected back on to the image of Linji.

Finally, and perhaps most telling, is the use of the phrase “a special transmission outside the scriptures” (*jiaowai biechuan*) in the “inscription” to Linji himself. It describes how Linji initially studied the vinaya assiduously and read widely and diligently from the scriptures and treatises, before abruptly turning to Chan.

⁶⁸ “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” p. 83; Wade-Giles romanization changed to pinyin. The “King of Zhao” refers to Wang Rung (874-921), the Ruler of Zhenzhou who Mo Junhe rescued in 893 through his daring deeds (see *Jiu Wudai shi* 54).

⁶⁹ As indicated by Yanagida Seizan, “The Life of Lin-chi I-hsuan,” p. 88f, it is inconceivable that Linji would be meeting Wang here for the first time when Wang has already been introduced as the official who sponsored his lectures while in Zhenzhou. Yanagida speculates that Chiang Shen, who became Regional Commander of Hezhongfu in 861, is intended here.

He suddenly sighed and said, “These are prescriptions for saving the world. They do not point to *a special transmission outside the scriptures*.” He subsequently changed his robes and set off to journey elsewhere.⁷⁰

“A special transmission outside the scriptures” and variant phrasings served as leading slogans of Linji Chan identity in the early Song, promoted by the actual founder of the Linji faction, Shoushan Shengnian (926-993), and his students.⁷¹ These slogans were featured as trademarks of Linji Chan identity by Yang Yi and Li Zunxu in the above mentioned transmission records.⁷² In terms of Linji’s alleged memorial inscription, the point is that there is no verifiable usage of the term *jiaowai biechuan* until well after the end of the Tang dynasty, and it did not achieve common status until the Song. It clearly represents a retrospective attribution by Song Linji faction proponents on to their alleged founding patriarch, used as a device to affirm contemporary factional identity.

The preface added to Zongyan’s edition of the *Linji yulu* is also intended to confirm literati support for Linji Chan during the Song. The author, Ma Fang, bears a long list of illustrious titles, but is otherwise unknown. It is curious that one otherwise so impressive is unrecognized elsewhere. Adding to suspicion is the fact that most of the phrases appearing in the preface are drawn directly from the text itself. While these factors do not preclude that the preface is an authentic work, it makes one wary of accepting the preface at face value. In any case, the intention of the preface is clear – to recommend the *Linji lu* to an audience that included people that Ma Fang himself represented, literati and officials. No self-respecting work purporting to represent the teachings of one of Chan’s illustrious champions could appear without such recommendation.

⁷⁰ T 47.506c10-11, emphasis mine.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 197-204.

⁷² On the significance of this, see *ibid.*, pp. 209-219.

VI. Concluding Remarks

None of the versions of the *Linji lu* are intended to present Linji's career chronologically. The arrangement of the text's contents was subject to the concerns of those who compiled it. What is highlighted in each case is that which is deemed most important, and that which is deemed as most important is a function of the time and circumstances under which the compilation took place.

The *Guangdeng lu* text of the *Linji lu* begins with episodes involving Linji's relationship with Huangbo, and highlight the latter's role in precipitating Linji's awakening. This arrangement confirms Linji as a disciple and dharma-heir of Huangbo. This resolved lineage issues clearly in Song Linji faction favor. It asserted that the Chan orthodoxy reserved for the Tang Mazu lineage had passed to them via their factional founder, Linji. The *Sijia yulu* edition, the Discourse Records of the Four Masters -- Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji – preserves this contention.

The reissue of the *Linji lu* by Zongyan in 1120 became the standard edition of the text. While the contents remained the same, their order of presentation was altered. Prominence was ceded to those portions of the texts where Linji allegedly delivered sermons at the request of prominent local officials. This arrangement underscores Linji's role as official prelate of the Zhenzhou region, and sanctions his teachings with official recognition. The addition of a preface by a prominent, but otherwise unknown official, Ma Fang, also served to maintain the importance that Linji's teachings had for contemporary officials. An alleged memorial inscription by a certain Yanzhao of Baozhou monastery in Zhenzhou, appearing in Zongyan's reissue of the *Linji lu* for the first time, provides a necessary, but hitherto lacking, aspect to the Linji legacy. No one of the stature assumed by Linji by the Song could be seen to be without such an inscription marking the event of his passing.