

# Chan Master Hanyue's Attitude toward Sutra Teachings in the Ming

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## Abstract

Historically, a number of Chan masters are regarded as advocates of *sūtra* learning as a supplement to Chan. Despite this commonality, they all have different approaches and demonstrate varying degrees of reliance on *sūtra* teachings. This article aims at understanding Chan Master Hanyue's 漢月 (1573–1635) attitude toward *sūtra* teachings in the late Ming. Hanyue's work, *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*, represents a mature and confident attitude towards *sūtra* teachings on the part of a Chan master during this late stage of development in imperial China.

## Introduction

Although the claims that Chan is separate from the *sūtra* teachings (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) and is not reliant upon the written word (*buli wenzi* 不立文字) are part of a famous slogan for the Chan school, *sūtra* teachings still play an important role in the works of some Chan monks. The early famous examples are Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (784–841) in the Tang, and Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) in the Five Dynasties.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, *sūtra* teachings

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<sup>1</sup> Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002; Albert Welter, *Yongming Yanshou's Concept of Chan in the Zongjing Lu*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

are also transmitted through different genres of Chan literature such as lamp records (*denglu* 燈錄), recorded sayings (*yulu* 語錄), and collections of *gongans* (*gongan ji* 公案集).

In the Song, Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128), an influential Chan master, coined the term “literary Chan” (*wenzi chan* 文字禪) to emphasize learning Chan through written words.<sup>2</sup> Huihong also wrote the *Zhizheng zhuan* 智證傳 (*A commentary on wisdom and enlightenment*) to explain *sūtra* teachings and demonstrate their value. During the Ming dynasty, Zibo Zhenke 紫柏真可 (1543–1603) praised Huihong’s *Zhizheng zhuan* and republished it. Later, the famous late Ming Chan master Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573–1635) taught the *Zhizheng zhuan* at his monastery. These lectures were compiled and published by one of his disciples in a work entitled *Hanyue’s Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* (*Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* 於密滲提寂音尊者智證傳).

The *Zhizheng zhuan*, therefore, serves as an excellent example for illustrating the role of *sūtra* teachings in Chan Buddhism due to its long lasting influence from the Song to the Ming dynasties. By using Huihong’s *Zhizheng zhuan* and Hanyue’s *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* as source material for the present study, several questions will be addressed: If the Chan school’s identity requires independence from the *sūtra* teachings, why did Huihong and Hanyue not give up *sūtra* teachings? What are the value and function of *sūtra* teachings explained in their works? Do they treat *sūtra* teachings with the same attitude? The author hopes to answer these questions and clarify the relationship between Chan and *sūtra* teachings according to Huihong and Hanyue in the Song and the Ming respectively.

As Hanyue is seen as one of the most prominent Chan masters in late imperial China, his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* represents a mature and confident attitude held by a Chan master toward *sūtra* teachings during this period.<sup>3</sup> Hanyue’s use of this text to attract and convert Confucian literati also demonstrates how *sūtra* teachings were used as a crucial bridge between clerics and elite lay followers in Chinese society.

<sup>2</sup> George Albert Keyworth, “Transmitting the lamp of learning in classical Chan Buddhism: Juefan Huihong (1071–1128) and literary Chan.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Yūkei Hasebe 長谷部幽蹊 states that Hanyue’s *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* could be seen as the direct cause for the controversy between him and his master Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566–1642), see his “Sanhō ichimon no ryūtai” 三峰一門の隆替, *Aichi kagaku daigaku ronsō ippan kyōiku kenkyū* 愛知學院大學論叢一般教育研究, 32.1, 1984: 109.

### Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan*

The *Zhizheng zhuan* is a collection of 109 quoted passages combined with Huihong's comments. Sixty-two of the passages come from twenty different *sūtras* and *śāstras*. Forty-six passages come from thirty-three works by Chinese Buddhist masters, including those of some Chan masters. There is also one passage that comes from the *Book of Changes*. Huihong adds his comments after each quoted passage, which places the *Zhizheng zhuan* stylistically between traditional Chinese Buddhist commentaries and Chan *gongan* literature.<sup>4</sup> The most frequently cited *sūtras* in the *Zhizheng zhuan* are the *Avataṃsaka*, *Lotus*, and *Lankāvatāra sūtras*; *śāstras* are the *Po sexin lun* 破色心論 (*Śāstra of Refuting Form and Mind*),<sup>5</sup> *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmi*), and *Qixin lun* 起信論 (The Awakening of Faith). The Chinese Buddhist masters most frequently cited are Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (665-712), Linji 臨濟 (?-867), Dongshan 洞山 (807-869), Caoshan 曹山 (840-901) and Yongming Yanshou. Judging by the frequency of citations, *sūtras* and *śāstras* are his preferred type of material. Additionally, in his own comments Huihong quotes many other *sūtras*, *śāstras* and works by Chinese masters.

However, there is no preface written by Huihong, and therefore no explanation why he, a Chan master, chose to include so many *sūtras* and *śāstras* in his *Zhizheng zhuan*. The only clue we can find is a passage he quotes from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* containing the term *zhizheng* 智證. In a discussion about not avoiding entanglement with sound and form, that *sūtra* says,

所見色與盲等，所聞聲與響等，所嗅香與風等，  
所食味不分別，受諸觸如智證，知諸法如幻相。<sup>6</sup>  
The forms you see are equivalent to [what] the blind [see]; the  
sounds you hear are equivalent to echoes; the fragrances you  
smell are equivalent to the wind; the flavors you eat should not

<sup>4</sup> George Albert Keyworth, "Transmitting the lamp of learning in classical Chan Buddhism: Juefan Huihong (1071-1128) and literary Chan," pp. 359-367; Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Songseng Huihong xinglu zhushu biannian zongan* 宋僧惠洪行履著述編年總案, Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe 高等教育出版社, 2010, p. 145; Lin Boqian 林伯謙 and Chen Hongxue 陳弘學, *Biaodian zhushi zhizheng zhuan* 標點註釋智證傳, Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji 秀威資訊科技, 2004, pp. 35-76.

<sup>5</sup> The *Po sexin lun* is also called *Weishi lun* 唯識論 (T31, no. 1588). According to the Taishō edition, it is written by Vasubandhu and translated by Bodhiruci.

<sup>6</sup> *Wemojie suoshuo jing*, T14, no. 475, p. 540b3-5.

be discriminated; your tactile sensations are like *the realizations of wisdom*; and you should understand that the dharmas are like phantasms.<sup>7</sup>

In the *Zhizheng zhuan*, Huihong cites this passage to explain Chan Master Caoshan's assertion that one should not avoid the entanglement of sound and form, because one could use sound and form sensed by him as opportunities to realize that dharmas are like phantasms, and thus attain wisdom (*zhizheng*).<sup>8</sup>

Although there is no way to be sure that this definition from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* is the reason that Huihong chose the title for the text, the concept of wisdom does play an important role in his *Zhizheng zhuan*. Huihong emphasizes the meaning and function of wisdom for Chan practitioners as follows:

今禪學者馳求之狂，欺詐之病，不以知見之慧鍛之。<sup>9</sup>  
Now, Chan practitioners seek madly and are afflicted by dishonesty.  
This is because they cannot refine themselves with wise intellection.

Wise intellection is the best way to solve Chan practitioners' tendencies toward unchecked seeking and dishonesty. Otherwise, Huihong comments that they will have no chance to rest their minds and achieve freedom:

禪者不能以智慧之力破滅無明，至老死而不暇。<sup>10</sup>  
If Chan practitioners cannot employ the power of wisdom to refute  
and eliminate ignorance, they will remain frantic for the rest of  
their lives.

To Huihong, the teaching from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* shows that wisdom can be attained by understanding the meaning of emptiness through any sound or form. This wisdom also cures Chan practitioners' mad seeking and tendencies toward dishonesty, so that they can rest their minds and achieve freedom.

Huihong's concept of wisdom, stated clearly in his *Zhizheng zhuan*, led to attacks from other Chan masters. After the *Zhizheng zhuan* was published, it was mentioned in the *Congli gonglun* 叢林公論 (*Public comments on Chan*

<sup>7</sup> Emphasis added. My translation is based on *The Sutra Preached by Vimalakīrti*, tr. by John R. McRae (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation, 2004), pp. 87-88.

<sup>8</sup> *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 175b22-24.

<sup>9</sup> *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 189c15-16.

<sup>10</sup> *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 187b6-8.

monasteries), compiled in 1189. Huibing 惠彬, the author of this work, harshly criticizes the *Zhizheng zhuan*. Huibin lists six examples of how Huihong misunderstands the teachings of the Buddha and patriarchs.<sup>11</sup> Considering how much the other monks' works benefited from the *Zhizheng zhuan*, the modern Buddhist historian Lin Boqian 林伯謙 cannot refrain from remarking that Huibin's comment cannot be considered a "fair comment" (*gonglun* 公論), because Huibin only lists six examples without providing any explanation or correction.<sup>12</sup>

After the Song, for reasons unknown, the *Zhizheng zhuan* was not included in the early editions of the Ming canon, such as the Hongwu 洪武 and Yongle 永樂 editions, but was privately carved, printed and circulated. The monk Mizang Daokai 密藏道開 (active 1560-1595) records in his catalogue *Zangyi jingshu biaomu* 藏逸經書標目 that Lengyan si 楞嚴寺, located in Xiushue 秀水, published three of Huihong's works: *Zhizheng zhuan*, *Sengbao zhuan* 僧寶傳 and *Linjian lu* 林間錄.<sup>13</sup> Most importantly, the *Zhizheng zhuan* became widely circulated through its inclusion in the Jiaying 嘉興 canon, which was probably due to Zibo Zhenke's involvement in its publication.

### **Zibo and the publication of *Zhizheng zhuan* in the Ming**

Master Zibo is regarded as an eminent monk in the late Ming, and is also known for believing that a serious Chan practitioner must combine the practice of meditation with other forms of Buddhist practice, including doctrinal studies.<sup>14</sup> Of particular importance is the fact that Zibo was responsible for raising funds for the Jiaying canon and deciding on the string-bound style of binding. This reduced costs and made the books easy to handle in comparison with accordion-style binding. This contributed greatly to the propagation of Buddhist teachings in the late Ming and early Qing.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Conglin gonglun*, X64, no. 1268, p. 772a7-9.

<sup>12</sup> Lin Boqian, *Biaodian zhushi zhizheng zhuan*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>13</sup> *Zangyi jingshu biaomu* 藏逸經書標目, B14, no. 84, p. 442b12-16. The Lengyan si at Xiushue was one of important printing centers in the late Ming, see Chen Yunu 陳玉女, *Mingdai fomen neiwai sengsu jiaoshe de changyu* 明代佛門內外僧俗交涉的場域. Taipei: Daoxiang chuban she, 2010, pp. 228-235.

<sup>14</sup> Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Darui Long, "Managing the Dharma Treasure: Collation, Carving, Printing, and Distribution of Canon in Late Imperial China." In *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia: The Formation and*

A clue about Zibo's motivation for publishing Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* is provided in Hanyue's preface to his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*. The text was found by Zibo's disciple Jieru 介如 in a pile of discarded paper and presented to Zibo.

萬曆間，介如□公偶於爆紙中購得此書，乃呈之紫柏<sup>16</sup> 老人，老人曰：「吁嗟乎！臨濟兒孫猶在耶！」遂命開公梓而公之天下後世。<sup>17</sup>

During the Wanli era (1573-1620), the Elder Jieru obtained this text unintentionally when he bought a pile of discarded paper. He then presented it to Master Zibo. The Master sighed, "How fortunate! There is still a disciple of Linji!" The Master then asked the Elder Kai to print and circulate it in order to make it available to the public and later generations.

Master Zibo considered Huihong to be a true disciple of Master Linji and asked his other disciple Mizang Daokai to publish it with Huihong's two other texts, the *Sengbao zhuan* and *Linjian lu*, in order to make it available to the public.<sup>18</sup>

In his "Preface to the Reprint of the *Zhizheng zhuan*", written in 1585, Zibo lamented that the reason why Buddhism was in a state of decline was because Chan masters were not clear about the principle of Chan; fortunately, Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* could rectify this problem. Zibo writes,

有宋·覺範禪師於是乎懼，乃離合宗教，引事比類，

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*Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015, pp. 224-231.

<sup>16</sup> I have emended the original text, which reads "柴□," to "紫柏" (Zibo), based on context, as Jieru was Zibo's disciple.

<sup>17</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* 於密滲提寂音尊者智證傳, p.2. The *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* is a rare book from Shanghai library. A photo copy of this rare book could also be found in the Collection of Buddhist Rare Books from the Ming and Qing (*Mingqing xijian wenxian* 明清佛教稀見文獻), v. 3, the Center for Buddhist Studies 佛教研究中心, Fo Guang University 佛光大學, Taiwan.

<sup>18</sup> Daokai was responsible for moving the Jiaying Canon from Mount Wutai to Jizhao an 寂照庵 at Jingshan si 徑山寺 in 1593. For more information on Minzang Daokai, see the *Mizang kai chanshi yigao* 密藏開禪師遺稿, J23, no. B118, p. 34b1-c4; the *Xinxu gaosengzhuan* 新續高僧傳, B27, no. 151, p. 86a6-16; Ryuzo Nakajima 中嶋隆藏, "Kakō nyuzō button to mitsuzō dōkai no tachiba" 嘉興入藏仏典と密藏道開の立場. *Tōhōgaku* 東方学113, 2007: 34-50.

折衷五家宗旨，至發其所祕，犯其所忌而不惜。<sup>19</sup>  
 The Chan Master Juefan [Huihong] of the Song dynasty was very concerned about this issue. He brought Chan and the teachings together, citing passages to show where they matched, and reconciled the tenets of the five houses. He revealed the secrets of the Chan school without concern for whether this would offend the masters of the Chan school.

Zibo explains that what Huihong does in the *Zhizheng zhuan* is matching Chan and Buddhist teachings by citing passages to integrate them. He even admits that by doing this Huihong is revealing the secrets of the Chan school without concern for whether this offends other Chan masters.

As for the meaning of *zhizheng*, Zibo disapproves of the definition from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* as “your tactile sensations are like the realizations of wisdom”. He offers his own explanation as follows:

書以「智證」名，非智不足以辨邪正，非證不足以行賞罰。  
 蓋照用全，方能荷大法也。充覺範之心，即天下有一人焉能  
 讀此書，直究綱宗，行祖令，斯不負著書之意。<sup>20</sup>

The title of the text is *zhizheng*, meaning that without wisdom, one is not able to distinguish right from wrong; without enlightenment, one is not able to carry out reward and punishment. Only when one has both wisdom and enlightenment is one able to represent the Great Dharma. Juefan [Huihong] hopes that as long as there is one person in the world who has a chance to read this text, understand the principle, and carry out the patriarchs' teaching, he did not write it in vain.

Zibo's interpretation extends the meaning of *zhizheng* beyond the personal spiritual experience of enlightenment through wisdom to the qualifications a Chan master needs to teach others. For Zibo, a Chan master should have wisdom (*zhi*), so that he or she is able to distinguish right from wrong; furthermore, only when the Chan master is enlightened (*zheng*) is he or she able to carry out “reward and punishment”, which means making correct judgements and responses about his or her disciples' states of realization.

<sup>19</sup> See Zibo's preface “Chongke zhizheng zhuang yin” 重刻智證傳引 in the *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 170 b6-12.

<sup>20</sup> *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 170 b13-16.



Zibo's devotion to the publication of the Jiaxing canon and his decision to reprint Huihong's works illustrate his belief that the tenet of the Chan school can be revealed through the *sūtra* teachings. Furthermore, as Zibo states in his preface for the reprint of the *Zhizheng zhuan*, as long as there is one person in this world who has a chance to read it, understand the principle, and carry out the patriarchs' teaching, Huihong did not write this text in vain. As we look at the history now, there is at least one person who truly appreciated Huihong and Zibo's efforts in the late Ming: Hanyue Fazang.

### Hanyue and his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*

According to Hanyue's chronological biography, he was born in a Confucian family at Liangxi 梁溪 (current Wuxi 無錫 in Jiangsu). He left the household life at age 15, became a novice at age 19 and received full ordination at 37 years of age. In this early stage, he went on a pilgrimage to visit many monasteries, but failed to find a master that suited him. He finally settled down at a remote temple on Yushan 虞山 (in current Changshu 常熟), which later became the famous monastery, Sanfeng qingliang chanyuan 三峰清涼禪院. At age 40, he entered a one hundred day silent and solitary "death retreat" (*buyu siguan* 不語死關) and finally obtained enlightenment without a master's guidance.<sup>21</sup>

Four years after his enlightenment, in the summer retreat of 1616, he decided to use Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* as teaching material. He explained one or two of Huihong's passages and comments each day. Since there are 109 cases in the *Zhizheng zhuan*, and Hanyue had some health problems, it took him four years to finish teaching the text, and so his lectures ended in 1620. Hanyue's teaching was recorded by his disciple Guangmin 廣敏, and was published with the sponsorship of a loyal lay follower named Yan Zhang 嚴樟 in 1624.<sup>22</sup>

Also in 1624, Hanyue visited Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566-1642), who was regarded as an authentic lineage holder in the Linji school. After their encounter, Miyun confirmed without hesitation that Hanyue could be included in the lineage of the Linji school (*chengsi yuanliu* 承嗣源流). Hanyue, however, did not accept Miyun's Dharma transmission until three years later.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>21</sup> *Zanfeng zang heshang yulu* 三峰藏和尚語錄, J34, no. B299, p. 207b10-16; Shi Jianyi 釋見一, *Hanyue fazang zhi chanfa yanjiu* 漢月法藏之禪法研究. Taipei: Fagu wenhua 法鼓文化, 1998, pp. 9-12.

<sup>22</sup> The preface of *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* and fascicle 1, p.1 and p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Lian Ruizhi 連瑞枝, "Hanyue fazang (1573-1635) yu wanming sanfeng zongpai de jianli" 漢月



relationship between Miyun and Hanyue started with an awkward encounter and ended with an unpleasant argument. The controversy began with the publication of Hanyue's work the *Wuzong yuan* 五宗原 (*Origin of the five Chan schools*) in 1628 and deteriorated when Hanyue started teaching the *Zhizheng zhuan* again at several monasteries in 1631.

In modern scholarship, discussions of the dispute between Miyun and Hanyue have mainly focused on the *Wuzong yuan*, because Hanyue's *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* has long been unavailable. I have discovered that this text is held in the Shanghai Library and the old Buddhist library (*cangjing lou* 藏經樓) at Xiyuan si 西園寺 in Suzhou 蘇州. Its complete title is *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* 於密滲提寂音尊者智證傳. A variation of its title recorded in Hanyue's recorded sayings is simply *Yumi chanshi ti zhizheng zhuan* 於密禪師提智證傳.<sup>24</sup> The term "Yumi" 於密 is Hanyue's style name and the character *ti* 提 indicates that this text is Hanyue's "guiding words" (*tiyu* 提語) to Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan*. The additional character *shen* 滲, found in both editions, is a puzzle, and its meaning is not explained either in Hanyue's preface or in his introduction.

The character *shen*, however, also appears in the titles of other works by Hanyue<sup>25</sup> and has a negative connotation in those contexts.<sup>26</sup> In the preface to his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*, he explains that despite his own arrogance and superficiality (*kuanglou* 狂陋), it is necessary for him to pick up Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* and add his own guiding words in order to teach his disciples.<sup>27</sup> Therefore a possible explanation for the character *shen* in the titles of his works could simply indicate that Hanyue considers his teachings as imperfect or containing "infiltrations" (*shenlou* 滲漏), an expression of his humble attitude.

法藏 (1573-1635) 與晚明三峰宗派的建立. *Zhonghua foxue xuebo* 中華佛學學報 9, 1996: 167-208.

<sup>24</sup> *Zanfeng zang heshang yulu*, J34, no. B299, p. 207b16.

<sup>25</sup> The character "shen" 滲 also appears in the titles of Hanyue's other works such as *Yumi shen chanbing ji* 於密滲禪病偈 (compiled in 1619), *Yumi shen songyuan sanzunsu zuogongfu yinyuan xiezhengzhu* 於密滲宋元三尊宿做工夫因緣邪正註, and *Yumi shen shishi zhigai* 於密滲施食旨槩 (X59, no. 1082). The first two texts are rare books from Shanghai Library and now can also be found in the Collection of Buddhist Rare Books from the Ming and Qing v. 38, the Center for Buddhist Studies, Fo Guang University.

<sup>26</sup> It can be found in Hanyue's recorded sayings when he describes that there are three kinds of "infiltrations" (*shenlou* 滲漏), or flaws: emotional (*qing* 情), views (*jian* 見) and language (*yu* 語), *Zanfeng zang heshang yulu*, J34, no. B299, p. 157b8-9.

<sup>27</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, "preface," p. 3.

Hanyue's *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* contains four parts: 1. Hanyue's preface written for the initial publication of the text; 2. Zibo's preface to the reprint of *Zhizheng zhuan*; 3. Hanyue's introduction to his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*; and 4. the main body of the work. There are 109 cases in Huihong's *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* but the Shanghai Library edition of Hanyue's text only contains cases 1 to 57. Fortunately the author has recently discovered the second part of Huihong's *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* in the old Buddhist library at Xiyuan Si in Suzhou.<sup>28</sup>

Judging from information in Hanyue's introduction and main body, Hanyue taught the *Zhizheng zhuan* before his disciples in the meditation hall. Several passages from the main body indicate that the text records things Hanyue said after shouting at his disciples (*he yun* 喝云) or hitting the ground with his staff (*zhuo zhuzhang yixia yun* 卓拄杖一下云).

As seen in the text, Hanyue provides his guiding words first, which are then followed by full quotations of the cases from Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan*. This is similar to the "pointer" (*chuishì* 垂示) in the *Blue Cliff Record* (*biyan lu* 碧巖錄).<sup>29</sup> The woodblock printing uses a triangle sign (△) to indicate Hanyue's guiding words. Hanyue's guiding words are followed by the corresponding passage in Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan*, which is followed by Huihong's comments. Furthermore, the woodblock printing adopts the standard format of Chinese commentary tradition to indent Hanyue's guiding words and Huihong's comment one character lower from the top boundary line (pl. 1 and pl. 2).

The historical context of Hanyue's teachings on Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* is clearly explained in his introduction to the text. Hanyue writes that in 1616, while he was giving summer retreat lectures at Sanfeng si, he talked all day but taught them nothing because he did not have anything effective to teach. As a result, he picked up the *Zhizheng zhuan*.

三峯今年結夏，下手全無柄橦，終日商量，不曾說一句話。…如其不會，不免提起葛藤，與大眾翻騰一上，舉寂音尊者《智證傳》。

<sup>28</sup> A photocopy of the complete version of Huihong's *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* now can be found in the Collection of Buddhist Rare Books from the Ming and Qing, v. 101, the Center for Buddhist Studies, Fo Guang University, Taiwan.

<sup>29</sup> *Foguo yuanwu chanshi biyanlu* 佛果圓悟禪師碧巖錄, T48, no. 2003, p. 140a12.

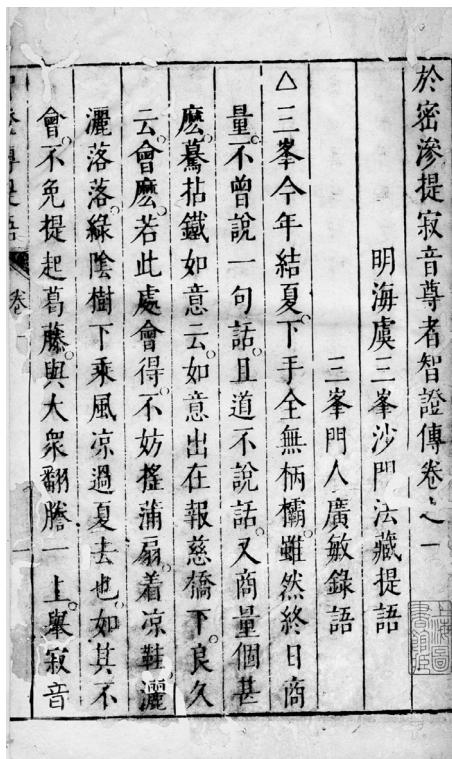
Title: *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan* 於密滲提寂音尊者智證傳

Author: Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573-1635)

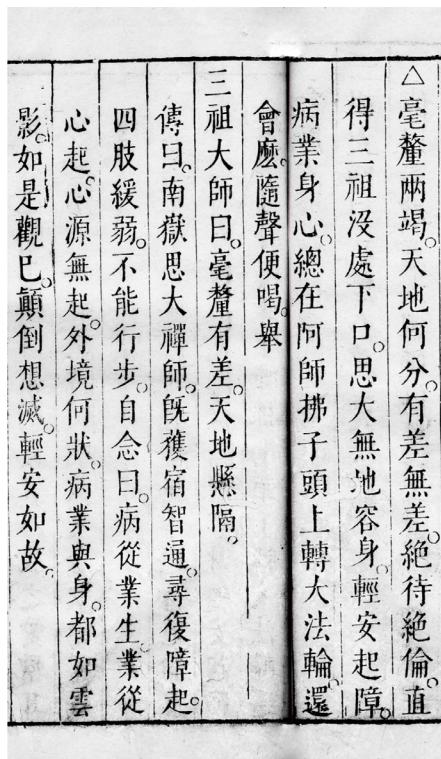
Date: 1624

Page: 15.2 x 25.5 cm, 9 columns of 19 characters. Woodblock

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(Pl. 1) introduction



(Pl. 2) the sixth case

In the summer retreat at the Sanfeng this year, I could not find anything effective to teach. I talked all day, but did not say a word. ... If you still do not understand it, I have to pick up arrowroots and vines to stir up your thought. Therefore I picked up the Venerable Jiyin's *Zhizheng zhuan*.

It is worth noticing that Hanyue used the term “arrowroots and vines” (*geteng* 葛藤) to refer to the *Zhizheng zhuan*. This is like Chan Master Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183-1260) referring to *gongans* as bricks to knock on the door in his *Gateless Barrier* (*Wumen guan* 無門關).<sup>30</sup> This shows the general attitude of Chan masters who see everything in the world, including the *gongan*, as expedient means in order to realize the ultimate truth.

The main reason why Hanyue favors the *Zhizheng zhuan* is closely related to his own personal experience. Hanyue recalls in his *Wuzong yuan*:

吾嘗參三玄之旨有深得，欲求決諸方，而難其人。忽見師著《臨濟宗旨》及《智證傳》之臨濟兩堂首座同喝語，今古心心，如覲面相印。復檢其法嗣，未有續之者，因願遙嗣其宗旨。<sup>31</sup>  
When I was young, I investigated the meaning of [Linji's] three mysteries and gained deep insight. I then visited many masters in order to confirm my realization, but failed to find one who could. I came across the Master's (Huihong) work *Linji zongzhi* 臨濟宗旨, as well as his *Zhizheng zhuan*, which contains the spontaneous shouting exchange between the head monks of two halls at Linji si. Suddenly, my contemporary mind met the Master's ancient mind as if we were facing each other in person. I checked to see if he had any Dharma heirs, but found none. Therefore, I made a vow to carry on Huihong's essential teaching through transmission by remote succession.

After trying unsuccessfully for many years to find a master to confirm his enlightenment, Hanyue claimed to be Huihong's Dharma heir. This phenomenon of “transmission by remote succession” (*yaosi* 遙嗣), is defined by Jiang Wu as “a monk declar[ing] himself the master's legitimate Dharma heir without

<sup>30</sup> Wumen Huikai calls *koans* “*qiaomen wazi* 敲門瓦子” in the *Wumen guan*, T48, no. 2005, p. 292b17-18.

<sup>31</sup> *Wozong yuan*, X65, no. 1279, p. 104a9-12.

meeting the master in person.” This type of transmission was common in the late Ming when Chan masters could not find a proper teacher in their own time.<sup>32</sup>

In Hanyue's case, in addition to declaring himself Huihong's Dharma successor, he also used Huihong's works to verify the authenticity of his own enlightenment. In the introduction to his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*, Hanyue emphasizes, “from now on, people who attain enlightenment without a master (*wushi ziwu* 無師自悟) can use this text to verify their enlightenment (*yuci zhengzhi* 於此證之).”<sup>33</sup> The *Zhizheng zhuan* was used by Hanyue and could also be used by other Chan practitioners as material to verify self-enlightenment.

Nevertheless, this kind of self-enlightenment is considered by Hanyue to be a last resort. Hanyue still highly respects the role and function of a master, as seen in his explanation of the title of the *Zhizheng zhuan*:

尊者引經作傳，正調佛法盛時，弟啐師啄，因智而證，以證證智，燈燈相續。<sup>34</sup>

When the venerable [Huihong] collected *sūtras* and compiled his [*Zhizheng*] *zhuan*, the Buddha Dharma was flourishing. Disciples worked hard and masters helped them. People attained enlightenment through wisdom; their wisdom was verified by their enlightenment. This is how the lamps [of Chan] are transmitted.

Hanyue strongly believes that even for disciples who work hard in their practice, help from the master is also necessary. This is probably one of the reasons why at age 52, when he had his own monastery with his own disciples and was well respected as a Chan master, Hanyue still went to Miyun for a Dharma transmission.

Although subsequent generations present conflicting accounts of Hanyue's first encounter with Miyun, we can say that it did have a beneficial impact on Hanyue. After that time, Hanyue was invited to reside and teach at several monasteries in Hangzhou and Suzhou. Notably, in 1631 Hanyue started teaching the *Zhizheng zhuan* at Anyin Si 安隱寺 and then in 1633 at Zhenru Si 真如寺. A common feature of the audiences at both monasteries was the presence of many literati. Hanyue describes his motivation for teaching the *Zhizheng zhuan*

<sup>32</sup> Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, preface, p. 1.

in a public talk (*pushuo* 普說) entitled “Commenting on the *Zhizheng zhuan* at Anyin Si” (*Anyinsi ti Zhizheng zhuan* 安隱寺提智證傳):

「老僧于安隱凡三赴其請，前兩期上堂已委曲指示五家宗要，未能徹上徹下，禪教相印，以收諸種根器，今乃為提覺範禪師《智證傳》。」凡四十餘日。<sup>35</sup>

[Hanyue said,] “This is the third time I have been invited to Anyin. The first two times, I tried my best to lecture on the main ideas of the five houses. However, I was not able to help people of all capacities to understand how Chan and the teachings verify each other and to benefit people of different capacities. This time, I will teach and provide guiding words on Chan Master Juefan’s *Zhizheng zhuan*.” The lecture lasted more than 40 days.

Obviously, when Hanyue taught the main ideas of Chan’s five houses in his first two visits to Anyin Si, not everyone could understand. The third time, Hanyue decided to add *sūtra* teachings in order to supplement his instructions on Chan so that he could include and benefit people of different capacities. For this particular purpose, he chose to lecture on the *Zhizheng zhuan*. Hanyue’s motivation and purpose is finally clear to us now that his *Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* is available for research.

Hanyue’s decision to teach the *Zhizheng zhuan* caused his master Miyun to launch severe attacks against him. In 1634, in the seventh letter he wrote to Hanyue, Miyun accused Hanyue of turning Chan monasteries (*chanyuan* 禪院) into lecture monasteries (*jiangsi* 講席) by teaching the *Zhizheng zhuan* at several monasteries.<sup>36</sup> Miyun criticized Hanyue for violating the Chan taboo (*daji* 大忌) of causing more cognitive hindrances (*suozhi zhang* 所知障) for his audience.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Zanfeng zang heshang yulu*, J34, no. B299, p. 156a21-26.

<sup>36</sup> *Miyun yunwu chanshi tiantong zhishuo* 密雲圓悟禪師天童直說, fascicle 1, p. 5, in the Collection of Rare Books from the Ming and Qing, v. 1, the Center for Buddhist Studies, Fo Guang University; *Miyun chanshi yulu* 密雲圓悟禪師語錄, J10, no. A158, p. 83c20-28.

<sup>37</sup> *Miyun yunwu chanshi tiantong zhishuo*, fascicle 1, p. 5, in the Collection of Rare Books from the Ming and Qing at the Center for Buddhist Studies, v.1, Fo Guang University; *Miyun chanshi yulu*, J10, no. A158, p. 83c20-28. Further readings on this topic, see Lian Reizhi, “Hanyue fazang (15573-1635) yu wanming sanfeng zongpai de jianli.” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 9, 1996: 167-208; Liao Chaoheng 廖肇亨, “Huihong juefan zai mingdai 惠洪覺範在明代.” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊75.4, 2004: 797-837.



Hanyue's attitude, however, is consistent with literary Chan, defined by Robert Gimello as encompassing those who "encouraged the combination of spiritual discipline with literacy and learning" and were critical of "anti-intellectual Chan".<sup>38</sup> Ironically, this literary characteristic, which irritated Miyun the most, helped Hanyue attract many Confucian literati to become his disciples or lay followers.<sup>39</sup> Extant records contain lists of literati who attended Hanyue's lectures on the *Zhizheng zhuan* in Hangzhou, including such figures as Zhang Xiuchu 張秀初, Feng Yangong 馮儼公, Weng Jixiang 翁季祥, Jiang Dao'an 江道闇, and his brother.<sup>40</sup> For Hanyue, teaching Confucian literati requires more sophisticated contents, which is exactly what the *Zhizheng zhuan* could offer.

As a result, despite Miyun's criticisms, Hanyue continued to teach the *Zhizheng zhuan* until the last year of his life. In the spring of 1635, he was invited to give talks at Shengshou si 聖壽寺. A lay follower named Zhou Yongnian 周永年 wrote an essay describing Hanyue's teaching on the *Zhizheng zhuan* at that monastery.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in Zhou's postface to the *Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Sanfeng [Hanyue Fa] Zang Abiding at Shengshou Si*, he provides other details of Hanyue's talks. Zhou records that Hanyue said, "I made a vow to teach this [*Zhizheng zhuan*] ten times in my life. I will count this as several times in order to fulfill my vow." Hanyue passed away in July after this talk, and Zhou recalled that Hanyue's teaching of the *Zhizheng zhuan* at Shengshou si was like the Buddha's teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* before he entered *nirvana*, because the cases Hanyue raised and his guiding words were the essentials (*xinyao* 心要) of the Chan patriarchs' teachings to practitioners.<sup>42</sup> Zhou's postface clearly displays how much Hanyue's teaching of the *Zhizheng zhuan* impressed the literati in Hangzhou.

In summary, the most important significance of Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan* for Hanyue is that Hanyue verified the authenticity of his enlightenment with its contents and thereby claimed to be Huihong's Dharma heir in the Linji lineage.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Gimello, "Mārga and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch'an." In *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Transformation in Buddhist Thought*, edited by R. E. Buswell, Jr. and R. M. Gimello. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992, p. 381.

<sup>39</sup> Ren Yimin 任宜敏, *Zhongguo fojiaoshi (Qingdai)* 中國佛教史·清代. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2015, pp. 252-287.

<sup>40</sup> *Sanfeng zang heshang yulu*, J34, no. B299, p. 209c10-11.

<sup>41</sup> See Zhou's essay entitled "Chunri shengshou si cangyun tang ting sanfeng heshang ti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan" 春日聖壽寺藏雲堂聽三峯和尚提寂音尊者智證傳 in the *Wudu facheng* 吳都法乘, B34, no. 193, p. 499a12-b3.

<sup>42</sup> See Zhou's postface "Sanfeng zang chanshi singling shengshou si cangyun tang yulu houxu 三峯藏禪師松陵聖壽寺藏雲堂語錄後序" in the *Wudu facheng*, B34, no. 193, pp. 748b14-749a4.



Hanyue's statement that "People attained enlightenment through wisdom; their wisdom was verified by their enlightenment" becomes the best explanation of his understanding of the term "*zhizheng*". Notably, based on his teaching experience, Hanyue felt that witty Confucian literati who were fond of Chan particularly needed *sūtra* teachings to supplement their understanding of Chan. That is why Hanyue taught the *Zhizheng zhuan* at several monasteries in Hangzhou from 1631 to his death. This decision caused severe counterattacks from his master Miyun, who criticized Hanyue for violating the Chan taboo of creating more cognitive hindrances in his audience, a common complaint about literary Chan in Chinese Buddhist history. In the following discussion, we will look at the content of *Hanyue's Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* in order to find out the reason why Huihong and Hanyue dared to violate this Chan taboo.

### From Huihong to Hanyue

Hanyue was born about 500 years after Huihong, and both of them represent a type of Chan master who emphasizes the importance of *sūtra* teachings and wisdom. Typically, such masters were born in Confucian families, received a good education and were well read. This does not mean they were against the concept of enlightenment, as their opponents often accused. Rather, they simply believed that wisdom from the *sūtras* is important for achieving enlightenment and it is not necessary for Chan to be separated from the doctrinal teachings.<sup>43</sup> They do however hold varying attitudes toward *sūtra* teachings and show varying degrees of reliance on those teachings.

To demonstrate how differently Huihong and Hanyue incorporate *sūtra* teachings into Chan, the following passage is an example from *Hanyue's Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan* which includes all three elements—Hanyue's guiding words, the original case cited by Huihong, and Huihong's comment—in their original order.

〔漢月提語〕

△「棒起虛空迸地開，一時生死合歸來。…拈來擲向人前看，雪裏暗<sup>44</sup> 香初綻梅。」以拄杖卓一下云：「若會得

<sup>43</sup> George Albert Keyworth, "Transmitting the lamp of learning in classical Chan Buddhism: Juefan Huihong (1071-1128) and literary Chan," p. 285; Robert Gimello, "Mārga and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Ch'an," p. 381.

<sup>44</sup> This character is missing in the original text. I have added the character "暗" based on

遮一下子，便會得賓主句子，便會得同喝句子，便會得四賓主句子，便會得三玄三要句子，便會得四喝句子，乃至照用、料揀一切句子，一時會盡。…要之總不出乎安心數語，…此處不會，便學時人於門頭戶腦，說個塗毒鼓子，礙在悟處，法我立根，四相亂起而不自知也。…」喝一喝！問大眾：「如何是臨濟源流？」眾無語，乃哭云：「蒼天！蒼天！」喝一喝！舉：<sup>45</sup>

**[Hanyue's guiding words]**

△“Raise a staff to hit the empty sky, the earth cracks open, At once, birth and death come back together. ... Pick up an old case and throw it in front of the assembly, A subtle fragrance in the snow becomes the first plum bloom.” [The master] hits the ground with his staff and says, “If you understand this now, you will then understand the meanings of host and guest,<sup>46</sup> simultaneous shouts,<sup>47</sup> four host-guest relations, three mysteries and three essentials,<sup>48</sup> four kinds of shout,<sup>49</sup> illumination and functioning,<sup>50</sup> and [four] principles,<sup>51</sup> all at once. ... In fact, these are all just ways of pacifying the mind. ... However, if you don't understand them, I have to be like other people of our day who stand in front of you and talk about things like the poison-smeared drum. What they do not know is that

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context.

<sup>45</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>46</sup> The host and guest relation can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* 臨濟禪師語錄 of *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 version, X68, no. 1315, p. 32 b21-23; see also the *Record of Linji*, translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975, p.245.

<sup>47</sup> “Simultaneous shouts” can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* of *Guzunsu yulu* version, X68, no. 1315, p. 23b19-21; see also the *Record of Linji*, translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, p.133.

<sup>48</sup> “Three mysteries and three essentials” can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* of *Guzunsu yulu* version, X68, no. 1315, p. 23c20-21; see also the *Record of Linji*, translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, p. 148.

<sup>49</sup> “Four kinds of shout” can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* of *Guzunsu yulu* version, X68, no. 1315, p. 504a26-28; see also the *Record of Linji*, translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, p. 308

<sup>50</sup> “Illumination and functioning” can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* of *Guzunsu yulu* version, X68, no. 1315, p.32c21-33a2.

<sup>51</sup> “Four principles” can be found in the *Linji chanshi yulu* of *Guzunsu yulu* version, X68, no. 1315, pp. 23c23-24c5; see also the *Record of Linji*, translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, p. 150.

by doing this, they obstruct you from attaining enlightenment, planting the concepts of self and dharmas in your head which give rise to the four false conceptions of personhood.” ... The master shouts and asks the assembly, “What is the origin of Linji?” The assembly is quiet. The master cries, “For shame! For shame!” He then raises the case:

〔惠洪舉〕

《涅槃經》曰：「譬如有人，以雜毒藥用塗大鼓，於衆人中擊之發聲，雖無心欲聞，聞之皆死，唯除一人不橫死者。是大乘典《大涅槃經》亦復如是，在在處處，諸行衆中，有聞聲者，所有貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡悉皆滅盡。其中雖有無心思念，是《大涅槃》因緣力故，能滅煩惱，諸結自滅。犯四重禁及五無間，聞是經已，亦作無上菩提因緣，漸斷煩惱，除不橫死一闡提也。」<sup>52</sup> ...

**[Case raised by Huìhōng]**

The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says, “Suppose a person smears poison on a large drum, and then, in the company of other people, beats the drum, which makes a sound. Although no one intentionally wishes to hear this sound, whoever hears it, dies, except for one type of person. The same is true for this Mahāyāna scripture, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Any type of person, in any place, who hears it will have their greed, anger and ignorance destroyed completely. Although some had no intention of thinking about [these matters], the causal power of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* destroys their afflictions so that their fetters break of their own accord. When a person who has committed one of the four serious offenses or one of the five heinous crimes hears this *sūtra*, causation will be created that leads to supreme Bodhi, and they will gradually become free of afflictions. The only exception is the *icchāntika*, who suffers no such death.”<sup>53</sup> ...

<sup>52</sup> *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T12, no. 375, p. 661a20-28; *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 1, pp. 3-4.

<sup>53</sup> My translation was done with reference to Mark Blum, trans., *The Nirvana Sutra* (Moraga: BDK America, 2015, pdf edition), p. 291.

〔惠洪〕

傳曰：巖頭禪師嘗曰：「《涅槃經》此三段義，略似宗門。」夫言似則非宗門旨要明矣！然宗門旨要，雖即文字語言不可見，離文字語言亦安能見哉？臨濟曰：「大凡舉唱，須一句中具三玄，一玄中具三要，有玄有要。」此塗毒鼓聲也。臨濟歿二百年，尚有聞而死者。...<sup>54</sup>

**[Huihong's] Comment:**

Chan master Yantou Huo once said, "The three divisions in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* are similar to the essential teaching of Chan."<sup>55</sup> Because he said they are "similar", it is clear that the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is not the same as the essential teaching of Chan. Although the essential teaching of Chan cannot be understood with words and speech, can it be understood without words or speech? It is for this reason that Linji said, "Each statement raised by a master must include three mysteries and each mystery must include three essentials." What Linji said above is like the sound of the poison-smeared drum. Even though Linji has been dead for two hundred years, there are still people who die when they hear his words.

One way to understand the above material is to read the case raised by Huihong first. He cites a passage from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* saying that the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is like a poison-smeared drum that kills people's greed, anger and ignorance when they hear it. Huihong comments that Chan master Yantou Quanhao 巖頭全谿 (828-887) likens this idea from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* to the essential teachings of the Chan school.<sup>56</sup> Huihong, however, emphasizes that when the master says that they are similar, it means they are not the same. Nevertheless, Huihong believes that Linji's teaching of the three mysteries and three essentials has the same "killing" effect as the sound of the poison-smeared drum. In short, Huihong makes an effort to connect the teaching of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* with Linji's Chan teaching in his comment.

Then, in the late Ming, Hanyue's work first provides his guiding words,

<sup>54</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 1, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> A similar passage can be found in the biography of Chan master Yantou Quanhao 巖頭全谿 in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T51, no. 2076, p. 326b18-19.

<sup>56</sup> See further references in his biography, "Ezhou yantou quanhuo chanshi" 鄂州巖頭全谿禪師 from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T51, no. 2076, p. 326b18-26.

followed by Huihong's passage from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and Huihong's comment. Additionally, and unlike Huihong's comment, Hanyue does not even mention the title of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in his guiding words. He starts with a verse, then strikes the ground with his staff and says that if people understand this right now, they also understand Linji's teachings about host and guest, shouts, three mysteries and three essentials, illumination and functioning, and four principles all at once. To Hanyue, understanding these teachings of Linji is all about pacifying the mind (*anxin* 安心). However, if people cannot understand this, then Hanyue has to teach them something like the "poison-smeared drum". Although Hanyue adopts the same simile from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, he insists that giving *sūtra* teachings still obstructs people from attaining enlightenment by planting the concepts of self and dharmas in their minds. Nonetheless, he has no choice but to use *sūtra* teachings because people cannot understand Chan in a sudden manner.

Huihong's and Hanyue's attitudes toward *sūtra* teachings differ in that while Huihong agrees that the *sūtra* teachings have the same effects as Chan, Hanyue considers *sūtra* teachings to be necessary expedient means for some people. He still insists that *sūtra* teachings would also obstruct people from attaining enlightenment if they lack proper guidance. As a result, in Hanyue's guiding words, he cites a much smaller number of *sūtras* and *śāstras* than Huihong, and does not provide detailed explanations of concepts such as karma and merit like Huihong. For example, in the third case of the *Zhizheng zhuan*, Huihong's comment elaborates on the story of Sudhana 善財 learning meditation from the holy man 仙人 Pimu 毘目 in the *Huayan jing*. By contrast, Hanyue's guiding words warn his readers not to follow Huihong's explanation, otherwise they would become entangled by "arrowroots and vines".<sup>57</sup>

Hanyue not only holds this kind of critical attitude toward *sūtra* teachings, but also challenges some Chan masters who are fond of *sūtra* teachings, for example Zongmi. In the case 3 of the *Zhizheng zhuan*, Huihong cites a passage from Zongmi about maintaining the correct mind at the last moment of death:

圭峯密禪師偈曰：「作有義事是惺悟心，作無義事是散亂心。  
散亂隨情轉，臨終被業牽。惺悟不由情，臨終能轉業。」<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Huayan jing*, T10, no. 279, pp. 345c18-346a4; *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 1, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> This statement can be found in the biography of Zongmi (*zhongnanshan guifeng zongmi chanshi zhuan* 終南山圭峯宗密禪師傳 from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T51, no. 2076, p. 308b6-13.

A verse from Master Guifeng [Zong]mi: "When people are aware of the purpose of what they are doing, this is known as awakened mind; When they are not aware of the purpose of what they are doing, this is called scattered mind. People with scattered minds are driven by their emotions and will be led by their karma when they die. On the contrary, people with awakened minds will not be driven by their emotions, and can change their karma when they die."

In Huihong's comment, he tells a story about a woman who became a widow at age 19, decided not to remarry, recited the *Lotus Sūtra*, had a clear mind every moment for the rest of her remaining 50 years, and was able to foresee the time of her death.<sup>59</sup> Huihong uses this woman's story to exemplify how a person could have control of his or her mind. However, while reflecting on Zongmi's words, Huihong doubts that Zongmi had great freedom when he died because he was still obstructed by intellectuality (*lizhang* 理障).

With similar judgement, Hanyue in his guiding words directly calls Zongmi a patriarch from a non-standard branch of Chan (*pangchu* 傍出) and represents the "losing side's" (*fuduo* 負墮)<sup>60</sup> view of Chan.

此舉祖家傍出道理，禪負墮之宗旨也。旁出者透徹如來禪，不墮有無四句之法，而能曲盡法奧，未得大用現前，故但見理性而不能出格。如僧那牛頭、永嘉、鳥窠、忠國師之類，雖竭玄妙，然義事未絕。故神會之下，圭峯悟圓覺妙義，而其言語偏枯如此，參禪人不可以了義之義為究竟也。<sup>61</sup>

This is a patriarchal teaching from a non-standard branch of Chan; it is the losing side's view of Chan. Those masters from the non-standard branch understand *tathāgata* Chan thoroughly and do not fall into the tetralemma about existence and non-existence. Although they penetrate the profound meaning of Dharma, they are not able to obtain and carry out the great function. That is why they only realize the truth with reasoning, but cannot surpass this.

<sup>59</sup> *Zhizheng zhuan*, X63, no. 1235, p. 171b8-9.

<sup>60</sup> The term "losing side" is also found in the *Blue Cliff Record*. In doctrinal disputes in India the winner holds a red flag in his hand, while the loser turns his clothes inside out and departs through a side door. *Foguo yunwu chanshi biyan lu*, T48, no. 2003, p. 154a10-12; *Blue Cliff Record*, translated by Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary, Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2005, p. 89.

<sup>61</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 1, p. 6.

For example, monks like Niutou, Yongjia, Niaochao and National Master Zhong could exhaust mystery, but could not understand doctrine thoroughly. By contrast, in the lineage of Shenhui, Guifeng [Zongmi] realizes the profound meaning of perfect enlightenment, but his language is excessively dry (*pianku* 偏枯). Chan practitioners must not take the meaning of the ultimate teaching as ultimate.

For Zongmi, the *dhyāna* of the highest vehicle is known as *tathāgata*-purity *dhyāna* (*rulai qingjing chan* 如來清淨禪), believing “that one’s own mind is from the outset pure, that the depravities have never existed, that the nature of the wisdom without outflows is from the outset complete, that the mind is Buddha.”<sup>62</sup> To Hanyue, Zongmi only realizes truth with reasoning (*lixing* 理性) and understands the profound meaning of perfect enlightenment through *sūtra* teachings. Furthermore, Hanyue warns Chan practitioners that they should not take the meaning of ultimate teaching (*liaoyi zhi yi* 了義之義) taught in the *sūtras* as ultimate (*jiujing* 究竟). Zongmi’s *tathāgata*-purity *dhyāna* advocating a clear and pure mind with the understanding of doctrine is still not a free mind.

Hanyue’s critical attitude towards *sūtra* teachings, as well as toward Zongmi and Huihong, helps us to understand the reason why, in contrast to Huihong, who adds his comments after the cited passages, Hanyue puts his guiding words before the cited passages and Huihong’s comments. By doing this, he ensures that his audience hears his guiding words first. His guiding words usually do not repeat the cited passages or Huihong’s comments, but just point out general principles in understanding the contents in a way that is more consistent with Chan thought. This is similar with the guidelines Hanyue provides for Chan masters about how to cite passages from the *sūtras* when they teach Chan practice.

引教言參禪，須情理兩絕，無所攀緣…今學者欲以講說意度通，豈不謬哉？<sup>63</sup>

Whenever you cite *sūtra* teachings to explain Chan practice, you must first eliminate emotion and reasoning so that you are without

<sup>62</sup> Zongmi’s *Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu* 禪源諸詮集都序, T48, no. 2015, p. 399b16-19; Jeffrey Broughton’s “Translation of the *Chan Prolegomenon*” from *Zongmi on Chan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, p. 103.

<sup>63</sup> *Yumi shenti jiyin zunzhe zhizheng zhuan*, fascicle 2, p. 7.



attachment. ... Now, however, some intellectuals think they can penetrate Chan simply by explaining and speculating. Isn't this ridiculous?

To Hanyue, Chan masters should not cite *sūtra* teachings to explain Chan practice like lecture masters. *Sūtra* teachings could be used to supplement Chan practice only when the Chan master has eliminated his or her emotion and reasoning and has no attachment.<sup>64</sup> This is why Hanyue insisted on teaching the *Zhizheng zhuan* up to the last year of his life despite harsh criticisms from his master Miyun.

## Conclusion

Historically, many Chan masters have been regarded as defending *sūtra* teachings. Despite this, they have different approaches. Taking Zongmi and Yanshou as examples, it is easy to find long passages cited from the *sūtras* in their works. Zongmi has even written commentaries on several *sūtras*. *Sūtra* teachings and Chan are usually treated as two coexistent entities in their works. After them, in the Song, the Chan master Huihong cites a considerable number of passages from the *sūtras* and *śāstras* in his *Zhizheng zhuan* without hesitation. He looks at *sūtra* teachings as being “similar” to Chan, and in effect uses them to introduce important Buddhist concepts and tries to explain them with Chan teachings. In the late Ming, by using Huihong's *Zhizheng zhuan*, Hanyue on the one hand understands the importance and function of *sūtra* teachings well and decides to teach them; on the other hand, standing firmly on the ground of Chan, he states that Chan practitioners should not have attachment to anything, including *sūtra* teachings, because the meaning of ultimate teachings taught in the *sūtras* is not ultimate.

Of the Chan masters identified as defenders of *sūtra* teachings, Hanyue in fact has the most detached attitude. The recently discovered text, *Hanyue's Guiding Words on the Zhizheng zhuan*, first helps us to understand Hanyue's claim that the *Zhizheng zhuan* could be used to verify the authenticity of one's own enlightenment due to the lack of confirmation from a master, which was a common problem in Chan Buddhism during the late Ming. It

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<sup>64</sup> Similarly, at age 62, when Hanyue gave a public talk at Guangfu yuan 廣福院 in 1634, he emphasized that Chan practitioners should not “read” or rely on the *Zhizheng zhuan* before they attain enlightenment, *Sanfeng zangheshang yulu*, J34, no. B299, p. 157b18-19.

also shows how Hanyue uses *sūtra* teachings in response to the needs of literati in the late Ming. This is an important characteristic of Chan and *sūtra* teachings, serving as a crucial bridge between clerics and lay followers in Chinese society.

Another important characteristic of Ming dynasty Chan is Hanyue's way of dealing with *sūtra* teachings. Without separating Chan from *sūtra* teachings or equating *sūtra* teachings with Chan like Zongmi, Hanyue places Chan higher than the *sūtra* teachings and demonstrates a confident attitude by using the teachings to supplement Chan teaching or verify enlightenment experience. However, Hanyue is not the only Chan master who holds this kind of attitude. Many other Chan masters also interpret *Yogācāra*, Tiantai, Huyan, and Pure Land with Chan thought in the Ming.<sup>65</sup> This is an interesting topic that we should continue to research, using the many recently discovered rare books from the Ming and Qing dynasties, in order to complete the picture of Chan studies during this period.

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<sup>65</sup> For example, see Lin Chen-kuo's 林鎮國 paper on "When Chan Meets the Logicians: Miyun Yunwu's (1566-1642) Response in the Debate on No-Motion" presented in the International Conference on "Texts and Studies on East Asian Buddhism from the 16th to 19th Centuries (近世東亞佛教的文獻和研究)" held by Center for Buddhist Studies, Fo Guang University, Taiwan, June 2-3, 2018.

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