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Disorienting Medicine:
Fayan Wenyi's *Ten Admonishments for the Lineage*

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Abstract

This article is a study and annotated translation of the *Ten Admonishments for the Lineage* (*Zongmen shi gui lun* 宗門十規論), a ten-point critique of Chan clerics attributed to the tenth-century Chan master Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958). The introduction situates the text in its historical context, provides a brief biographical sketch of its putative author, and explores some of the text's central themes. An attempt has also been made to trace the historical transmission of the *Ten Admonishments* from its first known printing in China during the Southern Song to modern editions published in Japan during the Meiji and Taishō eras.

Keywords:
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Southern Tang, Chan, Fayan Wenyi, *Ten Admonishments for the Lineage*

瞑眩
——法眼文益之《宗門十規論》

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摘要

本文介紹並註釋翻譯十世紀禪師法眼文益（885–958）批判禪僧的《宗門十規論》。在導論中推究此論的歷史背景，提供作者的簡要傳略，並探討此論的中心主題。同時也嘗試追溯此論的傳播過程，從其南宋第一個印刷版本開始，至日本明治、大正時期為止所出版之近代版本的歷史。

關鍵詞：
五代十國、南唐、禪、法眼文益、《宗門十規論》

In the middle of the tenth century, the prominent Chan cleric Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958) diagnosed some of his contemporaries as infected with a debilitating illness. The symptoms, Wenyi wrote, were ignorance, avarice, pride, belligerence, incoherence, sectarianism, laziness, delusions of grandeur, and deceit. The cure was a regimen of strong and bitter medicine prescribed in his *Ten Admonishments for the Lineage* (*Zongmen shi gui lun* 宗門十規論), a short text that offers a rare and critical perspective on the Chan movement during a pivotal period in its development.

Born in 885, at the tail end of Tang dynasty (618–907), Fayan Wenyi came of age just as the empire was in its death throes.[1] The Tang was officially overthrown in 907, but the court had relinquished control of the provinces more than two decades earlier. In the absence of centralized rule, warlords eventually remade former provinces into autonomous states. The emergence of these new polities marked the onset of the era known as the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (trad. 907–960), when a series of five "dynasties" rapidly succeeded one another in northern China and several smaller "kingdoms" simultaneously occupied the south. Prosperity and stability varied from state to state and from year to year until the Song dynasty (960–1279) succeeded in its efforts to reunify most of the former empire in 979. Wenyi's life thus spanned a time of heightened anxiety and anticipation, but he appears to have thrived under the circumstances. He was, in many ways, rather fortunate. As a young monk, he lived in the relatively secure and prosperous state of Wuyue 吳越 (907–978). As a mature master, he served the imperial family of the Southern Tang 南唐 (937–975), one of the largest and most powerful kingdoms in southern China at that time. Secure in these states' well-funded monasteries, Wenyi was spared much of the violence and deprivation that plagued other regions of China during his lifetime.[2]

The end of centralized rule and the emergence of multiple sovereign kingdoms at the turn of the tenth century disrupted and destroyed centuries-old political, economic, and social systems, but the Tang-Five Dynasties transition also had the salutary effects of valorizing native traditions, strengthening regional economies, and elevating local talent. As part of this process, Chan clerics, who had been concentrated in southeastern China

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1 For biographical sources on Fayan Wenyi, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* (788a19–b16) and *Jingde chuan deng lu* (398b2–400a11). For detailed discussions of Fayan Wenyi, his lineage, and Chan during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, see Welter (2006) and Brose (2015).

2 The histories of the Ten Kingdoms are surveyed in Clark (2009).

throughout the Tang, quickly transitioned from marginal to mainstream figures in the state-sanctioned Buddhist establishments of nascent southeastern states. Members of Chan lineages in these areas were regularly recruited by regional rulers, officials, and affluent lay families to oversee extensive monastic estates, urban temples, and important ancestral shrines. This was thus a defining moment for the fledgling Chan movement. The distinctive literary styles, lineages schemes, pedagogical methods, and institutional structures that took shape during the tenth century formed the foundation for what would become the authoritative Chan traditions of the Song dynasty.

Fayan Wenyi's career, while unique in its particulars, is representative of some of the broader patterns in the collective ascent of Chan clerics during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms. He had initially studied the monastic regulations with one of the most prominent clerics in his native region, a monk by the name of Xijue 希覺 (864–948).[3] Apparently unsatisfied with what was on offer in the capital of Wuyue, Wenyi headed south to the city of Fuzhou 福州, the capital of the neighboring kingdom of Min 閩 (909–946). At that time, Min was developing into a major center of the burgeoning Chan movement, with monks from throughout China traveling to urban and rural monasteries to study under Chan master Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908) and his senior disciples. Wenyi first joined the assembly of Xuefeng Yicun's disciple Changqing Huileng 長慶慧稜 (854–932) in Fuzhou and then took up with one of Xuefeng Yicun's grand-disciples, Luohan Guichen 羅漢桂琛 (867–928), stationed just outside the capital. Sometime later—the precise chronology is unclear—Wenyi completed his training, left the kingdom of Min, and relocated to the neighboring state of the Southern Tang.[4]

The area within the Southern Tang's borders had long served as a stronghold for the Chan movement, and the kingdom's rulers consistently appointed Chan clerics to the abbacies of major monasteries in their territory. Significantly, many of these monks were the disciples and grand-disciples of Xuefeng Yicun. Fayan Wenyi thus belonged to an elite network of clerics, many of whom had close ties to regional rulers not just in the kingdoms of

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3 Xijue belonged to a network of Vinaya masters that was prominent in Chang'an at the end of the Tang and had subsequently entered the service of Wuyue's first king after the fall of the dynasty. For Xijue's biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* (810b16–c22).

4 Depending on when Wenyi left Min, he either entered into territory controlled by the kingdom of Wu 吳 (902–937) or, if after 937, its successor the Southern Tang (937–975).

Min and the Southern Tang, but also in the bordering states of the Southern Han and Wuyue.

Shortly after Wenyi crossed into Southern Tang territory, the governor of Linchuan 臨川, a city located just south of Lake Poyang in what is now northern Jiangxi province, appointed him abbot of Chongshou yuan 崇壽院. There, Wenyi is said to have attracted no fewer than one thousand monks (*Jingde chuan deng lu,* 398b16–c1). He later received an imperial summons and accordingly relocated to the Southern Tang capital. In the capital city of Jinling (present-day Nanjing), Wenyi first presided over Baoen chanyuan 報恩禪院, a monastery that also functioned as an ancestral shrine for the imperial family, and then assumed the abbacy of Qingliang si 清涼寺, a temple within the imperial precincts that was frequented by the imperial family, Southern Tang officials, and guests of the court.[5] At least seven of Wenyi's disciples went on to receive the support of Southern Tang emperors and another seven were patronized by the rulers of Wuyue. As heir to the legacy of Xuefeng Yicun and ancestor to later generations of prominent Chan clerics, Wenyi stood at the center of one of the most powerful monastic networks of the tenth century.

Wenyi was one of many Chan monks to occupy positions of significant political and cultural influence during this period. His *Ten Admonishments* suggest, however, that he was not necessarily optimistic about the future of the movement he had come to represent. The popularity of Chan clerics among the laity meant that men with insufficient training and questionable motives were often invested with unwarranted authority. Ill-equipped to adequately train disciples and unsuited to the task of representing the saṅgha to society at large, these monks, Wenyi feared, were sullying the reputation of the Buddhist clergy in general and Chan clerics in particular. Wenyi seems to have worried that the people of the Southern Tang would be unable to distinguish between authentic Chan masters and imposters who exploited the piety of laypeople for their own personal gain.

An abundance of resources and good faith may have threatened to erode monastic discipline and lay support at home, but a more immediate danger was looming on the Southern Tang's northern border, a mere 200 kilometers north of the capital. The Later Zhou dynasty 後周 (951–960)—the last of the five dynasties to occupy northern China before Song unification—had seized control from the Later Han dynasty 後漢 (946–950) in 951.[6] That same year,

5 On the history of Qingliang si, see *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (46: 8a–10a).

6 For a historical survey of the five northern dynasties, see Standen (2009).

the Southern Tang, emboldened by their successful invasion and annexation of large portions the kingdom of Min five years earlier, launched an assault on the kingdom of Chu 楚 (927–951) to their west. Later Zhou rulers, alarmed by these imperialist incursions and the growing military strength of the Southern Tang, declared war in 955. After three years of fighting, the Southern Tang was seriously crippled but still standing. In return for the withdrawal of Later Zhou troops, the Southern Tang court agreed to cede all provinces north of the Yangzi river, the center of the lucrative salt trade, and accept vassal status. The year of the Southern Tang's submission, 958, was the year that Fayan Wenyi died.

That the Southern Tang came so near to collapse must have been disquieting for those who, like Wenyi, were closely aligned with the ruler and his court. But the encroachment of the Later Zhou into Southern Tang territory would have been particularly troublesome to Southern Tang clerics for yet another reason. In 955, the same year that he launched his offensive against the Southern Tang, the Later Zhou emperor Shizong 世宗 (954–959), citing monastic transgressions and economic necessities, initiated a major suppression of the saṅgha in his realm. All told, over 30,000 temples and shrines were abolished and tens of thousands of monks and nuns were laicized (*Wudai huiyao*, 16: 6a–b). Strict regulations were imposed on those clerics that remained. Shizong's purge, coming only a century after Tang emperor Wuzong's 武宗 (840–846) devastating persecution of clergy in the mid-ninth century, undoubtedly alarmed monastics and lay devotees throughout China. With Later Zhou troops pushing farther and farther into Southern Tang territory, clerics in that kingdom would have been especially uneasy. Given these looming threats, the *Ten Admonishments* might be read as an attempt to instill stricter discipline among monastics with the hope of averting another persecution.

Fayan Wenyi was not the only Chan monk intent on reigning in wayward clerics during this period. The *Ten Admonishments* belongs to a literary tradition that can be traced back at least as far as Tang emperor Wuzong's persecutions, when the Chan monk Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853) wrote a similar critique of the transgressive behavior of Buddhist monks—*Guishan's Admonitions* (*Guishan jingce* 溈山警策).[7] Some years later, the Southern Tang monk Wuyin 無殷 (884–960), a former student—though not a dharma heir—of Xuefeng Yicun, also composed a series of ten

7 The earliest surviving edition of Guishan's text dates to 936. See Kirchner (2006) and Poceski (2006).

admonishments (*jie* 誡). According to the *Jingde-Era Record of the Transmission of the Flame*, monks "from all directions sighed and submitted [to them]. Everyone said that Heshan [Wuyin] was a model for the monastic community" (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 342c16–343a20).

Wuyin's text has not survived, but the works by Guishan Lingyou and Fayan Wenyi both preserve broad critiques of monastic behavior. As such, they are only tangentially related to the better known genre of monastic regulations composed by Chan monks and other clerics during roughly this same period. These regulations or "pure rules" (*qinggui* 清規) functioned as supplements to the Buddhist monastic code and addressed the specific concerns of monastic institutions.[8] The Chan monk Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) is famously (though probably spuriously) credited with creating the first such Chan monastic code, and sets of regulations also appear to have been written by Baizhang's dharma-nephew Furong Lingxun 芙蓉靈訓 (d.u.) and Furong Lingxun's disciple Xuefeng Yicun.[9] There was thus an established tradition of instituting monastic regulations both within Fayan Wenyi's lineage and in the regions where he trained and taught.

It seems likely that some such code was in place in the monasteries where Wenyi served as abbot, but the *Ten Admonishments* fulfilled a different function. In this text, Wenyi issues his appraisal of the (mis)behavior of the community of Chan clerics rather than detailed rules to be followed within his monastery. By the time of his death, Wenyi had recognized a large number disciples—sixty-three according to the *Jingde-Era Record of the Transmission of the Flame*—many of whom went on to occupy the abbacies of monasteries throughout southeastern China. The *Ten Admonishments* reads like a list of cautions intended for his dharma heirs—advice to monks just beginning their careers as teachers and monastic officers. This work does not, therefore, focus on issues of doctrine, practice, or administration. Its primary concern is to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic Chan masters and to outline the proper conduct of monks holding high-ranking positions within major monastic institutions.

Thus far, I have been referring to the *Ten Admonishments* unproblematically as the work of Fayan Wenyi, but there is some question

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8 On the history and development of Buddhist monastic codes in China, see Yifa (2002) and Foulk (2004).

9 Xuefeng Yicun's regulations, which he modeled on those of Furong Lingxun, have been translated by Poceski (2003). On Xuefeng's relationship with Lingxun, see Brose (2015, 51–2).

about authorship. The attribution of the *Ten Admonishments* to Wenyi has, to my knowledge, never been doubted despite the fact that the first reference to the text comes in a thirteenth-century *gong'an* (J. *kōan*) collection, the *Record of Equanimity* (*Congrong lu* 從容錄), composed nearly 300 years after Wenyi's death. Wenyi's entry in the *Jingde-Era Record of the Transmission of the Flame*, moreover, records that his "teachings from three places [Chongshou, Baoen, and Qingliang temples], *gāthās*, hymns, eulogies, inscriptions, notes, etc. amounted to several tens of thousands of words," and that "students copied and circulated them throughout the world," but neither this nor any other of his biographies or discourse records mention the *Ten Admonishments* (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 400a10–11). This raises the troubling possibility that the text was not actually written by Wenyi but was attributed to him at some later date. Barring the discovery of new evidence, this is an issue that cannot be fully resolved. Aside from the absence of any earlier references to the work, however, there is nothing in the text itself that calls Wenyi's authorship into question. On the contrary, some of the phrasing, teachings, and textual references in the *Ten Admonishments* have close parallels in Wenyi's early biographies and discourse records. If it is a forgery, it is skillfully done. My own suspicion is that the text originated as an internal document that initially passed among Fayan Wenyi's disciples and grand-disciples and only later entered into broader circulation. This is one possible explanation for why it is not mentioned in Song dynasty catalogs and why it was not included in any Buddhist canonical collections prior to the *Supplement to the Canon* (*Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經) published in Japan in 1912.

To be sure, the first mention of the *Ten Admonishments* unequivocally attributes it to Fayan Wenyi. In his commentary on the sixty-fourth case in the *Record of Equanimity*, Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166–1246) explains that Fayan Wenyi was inspired to compose the *Ten Admonishments* to correct the misunderstanding of one of his dharma-brothers. The monk Zizhao 子昭 (d.u.) had studied with Changqing Huileng in Min together with Wenyi, and he reportedly accused Wenyi of turning his back on their late teacher by becoming the disciple and heir of Luohan Guichen. In his commentary, Wansong defends Wenyi, arguing that the bond between teacher and disciple had little to do with duration of study and could not in any case be evaluated by outsiders. Zizhao, in Wansong's estimation, was only guarding his own family tradition without understanding the real meaning of the teachings. "At that time," Wansong wrote, "Fayan deeply pitied those who were so obstructed and wrote the *Ten Admonishments* to caution them." Wansong,

apparently concerned that the clerics of his own day were prone to the same errors, urged his students to read the text (*Congrong lu*, 267a14–b6).

Wansong's endorsement of the *Ten Admonishments* several centuries after it was composed is a testament to its enduring appeal. Despite my own attempts to fill in historical background and infer authorial intentions, it is worth remembering that for most readers the work's content mattered far more than its context. The issues addressed in the *Ten Admonishments*—indolence, arrogance, ignorance—were, of course, hardly unique to southeastern China during tenth century nor were they resolved through Wenyi's efforts. These critiques undoubtedly retained their relevance long after the Five Dynasties.[10]

This kind of trans-historical and trans-regional appeal notwithstanding, the *Ten Admonishments* is one of very few tenth-century Chan texts to have come down to us, and it offers intriguing insights into the state of Chan communities and their teachings in southeastern China during this period. We know that Buddhist communities continued to flourish after the fall of the Tang dynasty, and, as the text states, Chan groups in particular were thriving in southeastern regions. It should be noted, however, that the word "*chan*" is used only once in this work (in reference to *dhyāna*, or meditation, societies—*chanshe* 禪社). The movement is described instead as a network of clerics belonging to an exclusive lineage (*zong* 宗) of ancestors (*zu* 祖), all of whom had ostensibly inherited the awakened mind of the Buddha. The term *zongmen* 宗門 in the text's title, then, has a double meaning: it refers to the members of a lineage, but it also indicates the *source* of the Buddhist teachings as opposed to more conventional teachings (*jiaomen* 教門), which Wenyi and others understood as *expressions* of that source.[11] The *Ten Admonishments* asserts that both the source and its expressions (represented throughout the text by a series of binaries: principle and phenomena, ultimate and conventional, impartial and partial, substance and function) were indispensable. Those who privilege one over the other, the text warns, either cling blindly to the forms of the

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10 The celebrated modern Korean Sŏn master, Ven. Sŏngch'ŏl, for example, gave dharma talks on the *Ten Admonishments* in the 1980s (Sŏngch'ŏl 1989). I am grateful to Sujung Kim for this reference. Incidentally, but perhaps not surprisingly, the critiques voiced in the *Ten Admonishments* have parallels with those of monastic traditions outside of East Asia. When Pope Francis recently addressed the Roman Curia, for instance, he identified fifteen "curial diseases" afflicting the Catholic church, including pathologies of power, rivalry, gossip, spiritual inertia, obsequiousness, materialism, and factionalism (Francis 2014).

11 On the multivalence of the term *zong*, see Foulk (1992) and Welter (2011, chap. 2).

teachings or are lost in the void of formlessness. Despite the fundamental truth of non-duality, the *Ten Admonishments* argues that it is still necessary to distinguish right from wrong and purity from defilement. The fact of sudden awakening, moreover, does not negate the need for strenuous and sustained study and practice, just as doctrinal and ritual proficiency cannot substitute for awakening.

Wenyi's position on the complementary nature of *zong* and *jiao* places him in an intellectual lineage of Chan masters that reaches back most famously to Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841) and would be carried forward by clerics like Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), Juefan Huihong 覺範惠洪 (1071–1128), and Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655). Such ecumenical, inclusive teachings situate Chan not in opposition to or outside of more conventional approaches to Buddhist teachings, but as the pinnacle of the entire Buddhist tradition, the peak to which all paths should eventually lead.

Wenyi saw himself as preserving and propagating the original intention or mind of the Buddha, but it is clear that he and other Chan clerics of his generation were innovating new forms of teaching and practice. While the *Ten Admonishments* makes ample reference to classic Buddhist sūtras and commentaries, it also frequently cites the sayings of influential Chan masters. Other tenth-century sources confirm that discourse records of prominent Chan monks were in circulation during this period and that Chan teachers regularly quoted and commented on the sayings of their peers and predecessors. We also know that collections of questions and answers between Chan masters and their disciples (*zhufang yuyao* 諸方語要) and compilations of alternate responses offered by other Chan masters (*niangu daibie* 拈古代別) were being compiled in the Southern Tang during Wenyi's life. It appears that Wenyi and clerics in his circle were at the forefront of developing these new kinds of pedagogical and literary practices.[12]

The unique qualities of Chan literature, lineages, and teachings, coupled with the historical circumstances of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms,

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12 According to the *Transmission of the Flame*, Yunmen Wenyan's disciple Qingbing 清稟 (d.u.) assembled a digest of sayings from prominent Chan monks at the behest of the Southern Tang ruler, and Fayan Wenyi's grand-disciple Daoqi 道齊 (929–997) edited collections of dialogues and alternate answers to questions posed to Chan masters (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 390a28–b1 and 428c18–19). On the role of Wenyi's heirs in the development of Chan literature, see Brose (2015, 81–2) and the scholarship citied therein.

helped to catapult Chan monks into positions of unprecedented authority and influence. This success opened up a range of opportunities for members of Chan lineages, and Wenyi must have taken some pride in the recognition and respect he and other like-minded Chan clerics were receiving from rulers, officials, and other lay people. But the *Ten Admonishments* is more castigation than celebration. Precisely because Chan monks were in such high demand, Wenyi worried that many were being recruited to the abbacies of temples before they had acquired the proper experience and credentials.

Throughout Fayan Wenyi's own career, he had been appointed to the abbacies of a series of temples first by local officials and later by the emperor of the Southern Tang. These sorts of appointments were common for prominent Chan monks in southeastern China during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms. Like secular officials, capable clerics were often moved from temple to temple, and the trajectory of their monastic careers was determined in large part by decisions of local governors and ultimately the emperor. This kind of system was distinct from the more conventional "hereditary" (*jiayi* 甲乙) temple model that dominated during the Tang. In hereditary temples, the post of abbot was inherited by senior members of former abbots' tonsure lineage. The abbacies of major monasteries in the Southern Tang and neighboring kingdoms, by contrast, were regularly filled by clerics who had been selected by government officials. In recorded cases of imperial appointments in these kingdoms, moreover, abbacies were awarded almost exclusively to members of Chan lineage families. As such, many of the large monastic institutions in southeastern China during the tenth century seem to have functioned much like the "ten directions" (*shifang* 十方), or "public," monasteries that were institutionalized and became ubiquitous during the Northern Song.[13]

The emergence of a new style of state-sanctioned, sectarian monastery during this period may help to explain some of Wenyi's anxieties about the misconduct of certain Chan clerics. With government officials selecting or at the very least approving the abbots of important monasteries, and with Chan lineage credentials serving as one of the qualifications for occupying these powerful and prestigious posts, it was possible that charismatic or well-connected but unqualified monks would be placed in positions of authority and that Chan training and transmission would become simply a means of securing high office. These concerns run throughout the *Ten Admonishments*,

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13 For an excellent discussion of the development of public Chan monasteries during the Song, see Schlütter (2008, chap. 2).

but are made most explicit in the first and last sections. In the first, Wenyi complains that some monks "only know how to strive to become abbots. Unscrupulously calling themselves accomplished masters, they covet empty titles" (*Zongmen shi gui lun*, 37a14–15) In the last, he castigates "those who are on the lookout for inheritance [in order to] usurp the position of abbot" (*Zongmen shi gui lun*, 38c16–17). Such people, he warns, only wear the robes of the Buddha to exploit the piety (and presumably the credulity) of regional rulers.

The abbots of some monasteries, in Wenyi's evaluation, had not been diligent enough in their training and lacked the foundation required to effectively train disciples. These monks cited scriptures and teachings without having fully understood their meaning. They composed amateurish poetry in which vulgar speech substituted for true literary skill. They slavishly clung to the conventions of their own traditions without realizing the principles those techniques were developed to express. The words and actions of these men, Wenyi charged, were mere affectation. They mimicked the demeanor and expressions of past masters but lacked their intuition and insight. To the untrained eye, however, such performances could be convincing, and Wenyi feared that if young monks, lay devotees, and donors conflated these charlatans and inept teachers with authentic Chan patriarchs, the reputation of the entire movement would be compromised.

By the mid-tenth century, different groups of monks, descended from different patriarchs, had become associated with distinct "family traditions" (*menfeng* 門風). The *Ten Admonishments* singles out several of these groups by name—Deshan 德山, Linji 林際, Guiyang 溈仰, Caodong 曹洞, Xuefeng 雪峰, and Yunmen 雲門—but these were not, as is sometimes assumed, indicative of the institutionalized scheme of five Chan houses that developed later in the Song.[14] What is clear, however, is that several Chan lineages, distinguished by name and associated with particular pedagogical practices, were recognized during the Five Dynasties. Wenyi laments that monks from different lineages were working at cross purposes and thus weakening the larger Chan movement. Factions had formed, leading to misguided and damaging sectarian rivalry. This antagonism was almost certainly aggravated by the patronage practices of regional rulers who tended to ally themselves with monks from specific lineages. Throughout the *Ten Admonishments*, Wenyi chastises monks for privileging their own tradition without realizing

14 On the retrospective division of Chan into five houses, see Suzuki (1985, 428–9) and Schlütter, (2008, 20–4).

that "the streams of the Dharma have a single flavor" (*Zongmen shi gui lun*, 37b4). The teachings of various Chan masters, in other words, were just different expressions of the same fundamental truth. Generous as this sentiment is, it is worth remembering that Wenyi belonged to one of the most prestigious and successful Chan lineages of the tenth century. His forebears had served the kings of Min, he and his disciples were supported by the emperors of the Southern Tang, and his disciples and grand-disciples would become closely aligned with the royal family of Wuyue. It was with his own position and legacy secured that he called on other clerics to stop their unseemly striving for power and influence.

Wenyi knew that his critiques would be controversial. The illness he sought to treat, however, was acute, and his medicine was accordingly bitter and disorienting. At the close of the *Ten Admonishments*, he writes that he is willing to accept the anger and slander that his words would inevitably incite. But if Wenyi's work earned the enmity of some of his peers, it also won the admiration of later generations of monks and lay people. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), the celebrated Song dynasty Confucian scholar, for instance, favorably compared the straightforward, "principled" teachings of Wenyi and his disciples with the nonsensical "three pounds of hemp" and "dried shit stick" sayings of other Chan teachers (*Zhuzi yulei*, 126: 3018). One of Zhu Xi's contemporaries, the Chan monk Huiyan Zhizhao 晦巖智昭 (fl. 1188), by contrast, praised Wenyi precisely because he did not limit himself to any single approach, straightforward or otherwise. The style of the Fayan house, he wrote, was simply to "prescribe medicine according to the illness, to tailor clothes to fit the body"(*Rentian yanmu*, 325a5).

Textual history

The version of the *Ten Admonishments* translated here has come down to us thanks to the efforts of generations of monks, nuns, and laypeople in both China and Japan. The first reference to the text, as we have seen, places it in northern China in 1244, when the *Record of Equanimity* was first issued. If the edition that Wansong and his students were reading was printed, it likely derived from Mt. Jing 徑山 in the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou, where printing blocks for the *Ten Admonishments* were stored. When Kublai Khan's forces invaded and destroyed Hangzhou in 1276, the blocks, together with the city's major monastic complexes, were destroyed. Fortunately, at least one copy of the text survived, and this version served as the basis for a new set of

printing blocks carved seventy years later. A colophon written by the Chan monk Wuyun Shuzhong 無慍恕中 (1309–1386) records the circumstances of the new printing: "During the *bingxu* year of the Yuan [1346], Librarian Yue 悅藏主 of [Mt.] Nanping 南屏 [in southern Hangzhou] produced this text and asked me to copy it. The woodblocks [had been kept] in the Jizhao Stupa Cloister 寂照塔院 on Mt. Jing 徑山. When Mt. Jing was captured during the war, the blocks were burned. The eminent Min 旻 from [Mt.] Weiyu 委羽 in Tai[zhou] 台[州] has contributed his own funds and a new edition has been printed using old rubbings." [15] At Librarian Yue's request, Wuyun calligraphed a new copy of the *Ten Admonishments* based on an earlier edition that had survived the sack of Hangzhou. A layman from coastal Zhejiang paid to have Wuyun's copy carved on new printing blocks, and in 1346 a new edition was printed together with Wuyun's colophon. No copies of this printing are known to have survived in China, and judging from the dearth of references to the text in subsequent Chan literature, the *Ten Admonishments* does not appear to have been a particularly influential text among later generations of monks in China and was eventually lost. Fortunately, however, the *Ten Admonishments* was preserved in Japan.

It is not known when the *Ten Admonishments* was first transmitted to Japan, but the earliest Japanese printing was carried out in 1361—just fifteen years after the new blocks were carved in Hangzhou. In northern Kyoto, a nun by the name of Myōshin 明心 paid for the production of new printing blocks, which were made at Sankō-an 三光庵, a subtemple within the Myōkō-ji 妙光寺 complex. Given the frequency of trade between China and Japan during

15 The colophon, "Ti chongkan *Shi gui lun* hou" 題重刊十規論後, is included in Wuyun Shuzhong's discourse record (*Shuzhong Wuyun chanshi yulu*, 443c10–444a1). All extant editions of the *Ten Admonishments* reproduce Wuyun's colophon, noting that it was discovered in a library in Korea and subsequently appended to the text. The date of this discovery is not indicated. The use of the word "*ta*" 搨 (rubbing) in the colophon is intriguing. It suggests that the text was produced not through printing but by means of a "rubbing" from stone. We know that at least one other short text by a Chan monk within Fayan Wenyi's lineage was carved on stone and erected at a temple in the kingdom of Wuyue during this same period; Yongming Yanshou had Xuefeng Yicun's regulations (*Shi gui zhi* 師規制) carved on a stele at Yongming si 永明寺 in Hangzhou sometime between 961 and 976 (*Xuefeng Zhenjue chanshi yulu*, 85c5–86a8). It is possible that someone also had Wenyi's text engraved in stone and that this stele was the source of a rubbing seen by Wuyun, but here is no evidence to verify this. The colophon, moreover, is clear that the *Ten Admonishments* had been printed from wooden blocks previously and was now being "re-printed."

this period and the close ties between Chan monasteries in Hangzhou and Zen temples in Kyoto, it seems likely that one of the transiting Chinese or Japanese clerics carried the new edition of the *Ten Admonishments* from Hangzhou to Kyoto sometime between 1346 and 1361.[16]

The next known printings of the *Ten Admonishments* in Japan were not made until four centuries later. The first of these contains a preface dated to 1756 by the Sōtō Zen monk Hōkan Daien 寶鑑大圓 (d.u.) of Morin-zenji 茂林禪寺 at Seiryūzan 青龍山 (in present-day Gunma-ken).[17] Just a few years later, in 1761, a second printing was carried out in Edo (present-day Tokyo) with a preface by another Sōtō cleric, Shigetsu E'in 指月慧印 (1689–1764).[18] Aside from their different prefaces, these two editions of the text are identical and reproduce the same scribal errors. Both versions are extant today through reprints made during the Meiji period. The 1761 edition, with Shigetsu E'in's preface, was first reprinted in Kyoto in June of 1879 by the publisher Izumoji Bunjirō 出雲寺文治郎.[19] Just two months later, in August of 1879, the *Ten Admonishments* with Shigetsu E'in's preface was printed once again, this time by Morie Sashichi 森江佐七 in Tokyo.[20] The Morie Sashichi edition was the first to include annotations, which were the work of the Sōtō monk Furuta

16 For a chronicle of exchanges between China and Japan during this period, see Taigai Kankeishi Sōgōnempyō Henshū Iinkai (1999, 274–80). In his *Zenrin Kokuhōki* 善隣國寶記, Zuikei Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1391–1473) recorded that since the Mongol invasion in 1281, official envoys between China and Japan had ceased but "Japanese and Chinese merchant ships crossed back and forth [between the two countries] freely" (von Verscher [2002, 437]). On Sino-Japanese exchange, see von Verschuer (2002) and the work of Enomoto Wataru (2007 and 2013).

17 The author of the preface signs his name as "Old Man Kan Daien" 鑑大圓叟, but in his introduction to the Kokuyaku edition, Kōyō Dōjin identifies the author as Hōkan Daien. I have been unable to find any additional information on this monk. (The Rinzai cleric Gudō Tōshoku 愚堂東寔 [1577–1661] had the posthumous title of Daien Hōkan 大圓寶鑑, but his dates and biographical details rule him out as the author of this preface.) In his own preface, Hōkan Daien mentions that he and his fellow Sōtō monk Hōsen Itsudō 鳳仙乙堂 (a.k.a. Itsudō Kanchū 乙堂喚丑 [d. 1760]) jointly decided to print the text. On Itsudō, see Sugawara (2012).

18 Shigetsu E'in recorded that his printing was done at the behest of monks from Tokyo's Kichijō-zenji 吉祥禪寺.

19 *Jūkan Hōgen zenji jikkiron*. The version of the text included in the *Zokuzōkyō* appears to derive from this edition.

20 *Hōgen zenji jikkiron: hyōchū*.

Bonsen 古田梵仙 (d. 1899).[21] Back in Kyoto, Izumoji Bunjirō published a second edition of the text in 1881, this one including Hōkan Daien's preface from 1756 and the annotations of the cleric Nōnin Gidō 能仁義道 (d.u.), who was at that time serving as abbot of Seiryū-ji 青龍寺, a Tendai temple in the city of Otsu 大津 just outside of Kyoto.[22] Finally, the Japanese *yomikudashi* translation of the *Ten Admonishments*, published in the *Kokuyaku Zengaku taisei* 國譯禅学大成 in 1929, reproduces Hōkan Daien's preface, but contains new annotations by Kōyō Dōjin 黄楊道人 (d.u.).[23] Thus, while the texts of all three extant editions appear to derive from the same original source, there are three different sets of annotations—one by Furuta Bonsen (1879), another by Nōnin Gidō (1881), and a third by Kōyō Dōjin (1929). There is also one unannotated English translation, published by Thomas Cleary in 1997 (131–44).

Ten Admonishments for the Lineage

Author's Introduction

When [I,] Wenyi, was young, I broke free of many cages.[24] Growing older, I heard the essentials of the Dharma and spent nearly thirty years meeting accomplished masters. The ancestral streams are vast and are particularly abundant in the south, yet accomplished masters are hard to find. Although principle is suddenly illuminated, phenomena must be gradually realized. [Different] families have established different methods of instruction, but in benefiting beings in accord with circumstances, they all return to the same

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21 Furuta Bonsen was also from Kichijō [Zen]ji, the same temple mentioned above in connection with Shigetsu E'in.

22 *Hōgen zenji jikkiron: zōhyō bōchū*. It is not clear to me why three new editions of this text were printed in such quick succession during the period between 1879 and 1881. One possibility is that Yun Shuzhong's colophon was discovered in Korea during this period, renewing interest in the text. The first Japanese Buddhist missionaries were sent to Korea by the Ōtani-ha in 1877 (Kim 2012, 77), but I have not found any evidence to confirm that the colophon was discovered at this time.

23 *Kokuyaku Jōe Hōgen zenji jikkiron*.

24 A similar phrase occurs near the beginning of Fayan Wenyi's entry in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*: after receiving the complete precepts, "he shook out his robes and took leave of worldly concerns. Emerging from his cage, he spread his wings" (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, 788a21–22).

principle.[25] If someone has not read the sūtras and commentaries, they will have difficulty breaking through ordinary cognition. Right views will be driven down dark roads and false teachings will be mixed up with great truths. Later generations will be impeded and needlessly re-enter the cycle of saṃsāra.

[I,] Wenyi, have taken the measure [of these problems], and they run quite deep. Rectifying them is beyond my power. The heart to resist the chariot is courageous in vain; the wisdom of the mole at the river has not endured.[26] In the midst of wordlessness, I firmly set forth these words; where there is no dharma, I firmly bring forth this dharma. The ailments of our lineage are diagnosed in ten brief sections. By means of these comments on the foolish words [of others, I hope to] save people from the maladies of our era.[27]

1. On those whose mind-ground is not illuminated yet who presumptuously set themselves up as teachers.

The dharma gate of the mind-ground is the root of all studies. What is the mind-ground? It is the great awakened nature of the Tathāgata.[28] From time immemorial, with one perverted thought people mistake things as their self.

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25 This passage evokes *Mencius*: Emperor Shun and Emperor Wen were separated by more than a thousand miles and a thousand years, "but in enacting their will in the Middle Kingdom, they were like the matching halves of a tally. Former sages and later sages share the same principles" (*Mencius*, IV.b.1). Cf. Lau (1984, 158–9).

26 The author is alluding here to two passages in the *Zhuangzi*. The first is from the "In the World of Men" chapter: "Don't you know about the praying mantis? It angrily waved its arms in front of a chariot, not knowing that it wasn't equal to the task. Such was the high opinion it had of its talents." Cf. Watson (1964, 59) and Graham (2001, 72). The second reference is to the "Free and Easy Wandering" chapter: "When the mouse drinks at the river, he takes only enough to fill his belly." Cf. Watson (1964, 26) and Graham (2001, 45).

27 Reading *bi* 弊 for *bi* 獘.

28 The compound "mind-ground" (*xindi* 心地) equates the mind with the earth. Just as the earth produces grains and fruits, the mind produces thoughts. The verse attributed to Huineng's 慧能 (trad. 638–713) master Hongren 弘忍 (ca. 600–674) in the *Patriarch's Hall Collection* (*Zutang ji*) explains: "The mind-ground contains the various seeds. When the rain falls, they all sprout. Awakening suddenly, the flower is already opened. The fruit of *bodhi* naturally ripens" (*Zutang ji*, fascicle 2, 90). The *Platform Sūtra* (*Liuzu tan jing*) famously reinterprets the three aspects of Buddhist practice—*śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*—in terms of the mind-ground: "The mind-ground free of doubt is the *śīla* of self-nature; the mind-ground free of disorder is the *samādhi* of self-nature; the mind-ground free of ignorance is the *prajñā* of self-nature" Cf. Yampolsky (1967, 164).

Desire is enflamed and they drift through birth and death.[29] The radiance of awakening is obscured, covered over by ignorance. The wheel of karma keeps turning and freedom cannot be obtained. Once the human body is lost, it will be difficult to regain for eons. Therefore, all buddhas who appear in the world make use of various expedient means. If people get stuck on phrases or seek after words, they will fall into [the false views of] permanence and impermanence. The ancestors took pity on us and transmitted the mind seal individually so that without passing through stages one could suddenly go beyond commoner and sage. They only instructed others to awaken themselves, severing the root of doubt forever.

People today are lazy. Although they enter a monastery, they are lax in their training. Even if they concentrate their minds, they do not choose a master.[30] Like false and incompetent teachers, they miss the point. Since they do not understand [the functioning of] the sense faculties and their objects, their understanding is distorted. They enter into demonic realms and completely forfeit the direct cause [of awakening].[31] They only know how to strive to become abbots. Unscrupulously calling themselves accomplished masters, they covet empty titles. Needless to say, they bring calamity on themselves, deafen and blind later generations, and restrain and weaken the teachings. For ascending the broad seat of the Dharma King, they will end up

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29 Cf. *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*: "Having lost true nature, actions are chaotic. If the nature of mind loses what is true, things will be mistaken for the self and one will wander through the cycle of saṃsāra" (*Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing*, 110a5–6).

30 Reading *huo* 或 for *cheng* 成.

31 The direct cause (*zhengyin* 正因) refers to inherent Buddha-nature. According to Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), this is one of three causes of Buddha-nature, the other two being the revealing cause (*liaoyin* 了因), which reveals Buddha-nature within, and the conditional cause (*yuanyin* 緣因), which refers to practices that culminate in the realization of Buddha-nature (*Profound Meaning of the Sūtra of Golden Light* [*Jingang mingjing xuanyi*], 4a4–9). In the *Record of the Source Mirror*, Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) explains that "the direct cause is the source of all phenomena. The ignorance of sentient beings comes from [their true nature] being hidden by adventitious defilements. It is like gold within ore. The existence of the gold may not be apparent. If you want make use of its value, you must refine it into usable gold. This direct cause is Buddha-nature" (*Zongjing lu*, 857c24–26).

prostrate on an iron bed.[32] Receiving Cunda's final offering, they suddenly drink molten copper.[33] Convulsed with shaking, they will know no peace. Slandering the Great Vehicle is no small offense!

2. On guarding family traditions without understanding debates.

The ancestral teacher [Bodhidharma] did not come from the West because there was some dharma that could be transmitted here. He only pointed directly to people's minds [enabling them to] see their nature and become buddhas.[34] How could there be a family tradition to uphold? There are differences among the teachings established by past generations of masters and these have been passed down. Like the two masters [Hui]neng and [Shen]xiu, they came from the same ancestor but their understandings differed. Therefore, people speak about the Southern and Northern lineages. After [Hui]neng, the two ancestors [Xing]si[35] and [Huai]rang[36] carried on his teachings. [Xing]si produced Master [Yi]qian while [Huai]rang produced Mazu[37]; they were called Shitou and Jiangxi [respectively]. From these two branches came various divisions, each occupying a place. The source and course [of these lineages] cannot be recorded in full.[38] As for Deshan,[39]

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32 In descriptions of Buddhist hells, some sufferers (particularly those guilty of sexual misconduct) are made to lie on an iron bed whereupon they are covered with boiling oil.

33 Cunda is the famous lay disciple of the Buddha whose food offering was the proximate cause of the Buddha's death. The meaning of these two lines seems to be that although some monks may represent themselves as living buddhas, they are in fact guilty of crimes that will result in hellish tortures.

34 The well-known phrase "pointing directly to people's minds so that they see their nature and become buddhas" (直指人心見性成佛) first appears in Pei Xiu's 裴休 (797–870) record of Huangbo Xiyun's 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850) teachings, *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* (*Huangbo shan Duanji chanshi chuanxin fayao*, 384a5–6). In that text, Pei Xiu records Huangbo quoting Huineng's description of Bodhidharma as one who "pointed directly to people's minds so that they see could their nature and become buddhas." Cf. McRae's translation in *Zen Texts* (2005, 41).

35 Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (671–741).

36 Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744).

37 Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788).

38 Reading *dan* 殫 for *dan* 彈.

39 Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (782–865).

Linji,[40] Guiyang,[41] Caodong,[42] Xuefeng,[43] Yunmen,[44] and others, they have all established teachings that distinguish superior and inferior.

[But] the sons and grandsons [of these masters] guard their own lineage and divide the ancestors into factions. If ultimate truth is not the source, many branches, contradictions, and accusations will ensue. Black will not be distinguished from white. Alas! Such people do not realize that the great Way has no location and the streams of the Dharma have a single flavor.[45] They color empty space and press needles into iron and stone. They lock horns and consider it supernormal power. They flap their lips and tongues and call it samādhi. "Right" and "wrong" are raised up like swords; "self" and "other" tower up like mountains. Their fury is that of *asuras*; their understanding that of heretics. If they do not meet a good friend it will be hard for them to escape this morass. Although their intentions are good, they invite bad results.

3. On issuing commands and giving teachings without knowledge of the bloodlines.

There are those who want to extol the ancestral vehicle and teach the essentials of the Dharma, but if they have no knowledge of the bloodlines, it is all just presumptuous talk and false views. There are some who first comment and then raise [an example].[46] They modulate their voices when teaching and

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40 Linji 林際, a.k.a. Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866). Curiously, the *Zongmen shi gui lun* renders Linji's name with both sets of characters.

41 The lineage stemming from Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853) and Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883).

42 The lineage stemming from Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869) and Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901).

43 Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908).

44 Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949).

45 The equation of the one goal of Buddhist cultivation with the single taste of the Dharma also occurs in Pāli sources: "As the vast ocean, oh monks, is impregnated with a single taste, the taste of salt, so too, monks, is my Dharma and Vinaya impregnated with but a single taste, the taste of liberation" (*Cullavagga* ix.14; translated in Buswell [1989, 120]). The notion that diverse Buddhist teachings share a single taste is a central argument of the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*, a late seventh-century apocryphon that Robert E. Buswell (1989, chap. 4) has argued reflected key doctrinal positions of the nascent Chan movement.

46 Typically, a master first raises (*ti* 提) an example and then offers comments (*chang* 唱), thus the compound *tichang* (J. *teishō* 提唱).

pause and transition to prod [their students].[47] To carry out the work of the ancestors is to hold life and death in one's hands. Sometimes one is a thousand foot cliff that no water can penetrate. Sometimes one suddenly permits passage, "drifting with the waves."[48] Like a king gripping his sword, cherish the attainment of freedom. Acting when the time is right, release and capture like a battalion commander. Waves surge, peaks tower, lightning strikes, and the wind races. The great elephant king strolls and the true lion roars.

I have seen many who cannot fathom their own strength [so they] steal the words of others. They only know how to give, not how to receive. Although they have life, they do not have death. Slave and master are not distinguished. True and false are not differentiated.[49] Such people disgrace the ancients and bury the essential principle. Most people draw conclusions on the basis of conscious thought, but they are only searching in the shadow realms.[50] They are ignorant of *bodhi* before their eyes. They only acquire a semblance of *prajñā*.[51] To erect a dharma-banner in original non-abiding or to represent the Buddha in propagating [the teachings]—how could these be easy?[52] Have you not heard great master Yunmen's saying, "In all of the great Tang it is difficult to find a single person who can uphold the words [of the

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47 The type of response indicated here, *jifeng* 機鋒, indicates a sharp, pointed rejoinder intended to stimulate or agitate the questioner.

48 This phrase was used by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) in his poem *Waves Washing the Sand* (*Lang tao sha* 浪淘沙): "Drifting with the waves to the ends of the earth, this banished official returns west where families are few" (*Yuding quan Tang shi*, 28: 17a). The line "drifting with the waves" was later adopted by Chan monks, most notably Yunmen Wenyan and his disciple Deshan Yuanmi 德山緣密 (d.u.), to indicate a master's ability to adapt his teachings to the capacities of his audience—going with the flow of circumstances.

49 Cf. *Record of the Source Mirror*: "If slave and master are not distinguished, how will truth be separated from deception?" (*Zongjing lu*, 560b1–2).

50 The shadow, or *yin*, realm (*yinjie* 陰界) consists of the five *skandhas* (form, feeling, perception, impulse, and consciousness) and the eighteen realms (the six sense faculties, their six objects, and the six consciousnesses).

51 Semblance *prajñā*, or wisdom, (*xiangsi bore* 相似般若) refers to that which appears to be genuine wisdom but is merely the façade of wisdom.

52 Here the author is evoking the famous passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* where the layman Vimalakīrti explains to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī that "all dharmas are established in original non-abiding." *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, 547c21–22. Cf. Watson's translation (1997, 86).

ancestors]”?[53] And have you not heard the monk Huangbo’s words, “Great Master Ma produced over eighty wise and knowledgeable [students], but when questioned they were all mediocre. Only the monk Lushan rose above the rest”?[54] From this we know that those who can issue commands and give teachings are consummate masters. How will we know them? Have you not heard the old adage, “The ground is assessed by what it sprouts. People are known by what they say”?[55] Even if you blink your eyes or raise your eyebrows, you are being examined from the start. When serving as a model, how could you not be circumspect?

4. On responding without considering the occasion and without the eye of the ancestors.

Ordinarily, a master of our lineage first distinguishes wrong from right. Once wrong and right are distinguished, they can ascertain the occasion.[56] The eye of the ancestors must be apparent in one’s words, so that whether confronting or responding, there will be no contradiction. In this way, although the words are impartial, one is able to make objective distinctions using provisional

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53 This phrase is traditionally associated not with Yunmen Wenyan but with Fayan Wenyi’s dharma-grandfather, Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835–908). See *Fuzhou Xuansha Zongyi chanshi yulu,* 19b23–24.

54 A similar story is also recorded in Yuanwu Keqin’s 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) discourse record: “A monk asked, ‘What is this monk’s single flavor Chan?’ [Gui]zong hit him. Huangbo heard about this and said, “Great Master Ma produced eighty-four wise and knowledgeable [students] but when questioned they were all mediocre. Only [Lushan] Guizong seemed to rise above the rest.” *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu*, 742a01–03.

55 This appears to have been a popular saying among Chan monks. Variations appear in the recorded sayings of Baizhang in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, 457c18–19; in the *Extensive Record of Yunmen* (*Yunmen kuangzhen chanshi guanglu*), 572c7–8; and in Touzi Datong’s 投子大同 (819–914) entry in the *Jingde chuan deng lu* (319b28–29).

56 The importance of ascertaining the occasion, or more literally the time and season, was emphasized in Dharmakṣema’s (Tanmochen 曇無讖; 385–433) translation of the *Mahāyāna Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: “If you want to see Buddha-nature, you should observe occasions and appearances” (*Da banniepan jing*, 532a18). In Fayan Wenyi’s entry in the *Transmission of the Flame*, he expands on this point during a sermon: “Monks: Simply follow the time and season and you will realize that cold is cold and hot is hot. If you want to know the meaning of Buddha-nature, you should observe the causes and conditions of the times and seasons” (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 399b3–5).

language. Caodong uses "knocking and responding" as its function.[57] Linji uses "exchange" as its pivot.[58] Shaoyang [Yunmen] uses "encompass [heaven and earth]" and "stop the flow."[59] Guiyang uses "the silent accord of squares and circles."[60] Like sound echoing through a valley or like the two sides of a tally, although there are differences in their regulations and rites, they meet without obstruction.

These days, masters of our lineage have lost their basis and students are not examined. They fight [one another] with a [false] sense of self. They take arising and cessation as attainment. Where is the mind that touches all things? They disdain the wisdom that destroys false views. Haphazardly hitting and shouting, they say they have studied [the ways of] Dejiao [Deshan] or Linji.[61] Drawing circles for each other, they say they alone have deeply understood Guishan and Yangshan.[62] When responding, they do not distinguish the

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57 This approach, *qiao chang* 敲唱, is alluded to in a poem attributed to Dongshan Liangjie entitled "Knocking and responding occur together" (*qiao chang ju xing* 敲唱俱行) (*Yunzhou Dongshan Wuben chanshi yulu*, 515c27–29). "Knocking" refers to a student's question, while "responding" indicates the teacher's reply. The ideal expressed in Dongshan's poem and throughout later Chan literature is that these two acts should occur simultaneously with no gap between the asking of the question and its answer.

58 The compound *huhuan* 互換, translated here as "exchange," is not found in the *Record of Linji* or in other early accounts of Linji Yixuan's life and teaching. In the *Jianzhong Jingguo xudenglu* (795b4) and later Chan literature, however, the teaching of the Linji school is characterized as the "exchange of guest and host" (*bin zhu huhuan* 賓主互換), indicating the ability of a master and an advanced student to assume the other's role and perspective.

59 According to the *Transmission of the Flame*, Yunmen Wenyan's disciple Deshan Yuanmi turned three of Yunmen's phrases into teaching devices: encompass heaven and earth 函蓋乾坤; follow the waves 隨波逐浪; and stop the flow 截斷眾流 (*Jingde chuan deng lu,* 384c24–25).

60 "The silent according of squares and circles" (*fangyuan moqi* 方圓默契) is likely a reference to the mutual identity of relative (*fang*) absolute (*yuan*) truths.

61 Dejiao 德嶠 is another name for Deshan Xuanjian.

62 This was an old critique. Yangshan Huiji's stupa inscription, written by Lu Xisheng in 895, noted that Yangshan's students often missed the point of his enigmatic instructions: "Raising eyebrows, twinkling eyes, knocking with a wooden stick, and pointing to objects, they imitated each other, little short of making fun. This was not the Master's fault" (*Qinding quan Tang wen*, 813: 9b; translated in Jia [2006, 50]). According to the *Rentian yanmu* (321c10–322a6), national teacher Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (d. 775) was the first to make use of circles—as symbols of awakening—in his teachings. He passed it on to his

fundamental, so in their actions how could the essential eye be realized? This small group of deceptive jokers obscures the virtuous sages. They are rightly ridiculed by observers and will suffer retribution in the present life.[63] This is why the Awakened Guest of One Night said, "If you do not want to incur the karma that leads to unending hell, do not slander the true dharma-wheel of the Tathāgata."[64] These kinds of people cannot all be discussed.[65] They have abandoned their inheritance from their masters and lack insight of their own. They have no foundation to rely on and their karmic consciousness knows no bounds.[66] It's a pity that it is so difficult to get through to them.

5. On disassociating principle and phenomena but not distinguishing between defilement and purity.

In most cases, the lineage of ancestral buddhas makes use of principle and phenomena. Phenomena are established by means of principle. Principle is illuminated by means of phenomena. Principle and phenomena support one another like eyes and feet. If there are phenomena without principle, then one gets bogged down and is unable to pass through. If there is principle without phenomena, then one is set adrift and unable to return. If you do not want these to be divided, you should honor their complete merging. It is like the family tradition of the Caodong house. They have partial and impartial, revealed and hidden. Linji has host and guest, substance and function. [These families] have established different teaching methods but their bloodlines

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attendant Danyuan 耽源 (d.u.), who in turn transmitted it to Yangshan. It subsequently came to be closely associated with monks of the Guiyang lineage.

63 Karmic retribution is said to be of three types: retribution in the present life (*xianbao* 現報), in the next life (*shengbao* 生報), and in subsequent lives (*houbao* 後報).

64 This line is traditionally attributed to Yongjia 永嘉 (665–713), the monk who reportedly had his awakening confirmed by Huineng during the single day that he spent at Caoxi, thus his nickname "Awakened Guest of One Night." Yongjia's encounter with Huineng is described in the *Liuzu tan jing* (357b29–c18), but the line quoted here probably derives from the *Zheng dao ge* (396b27–28), a long poem (almost certainly falsely) attributed to Yongjia.

65 Reading *dan* 殫 for *dan* 彈.

66 "Karmic consciousness" (*yeshi* 業識) refers to the unawakened state of mind that eventually gives rise to the aspiration for awakening. A variation of the sentence used here—"karmic consciousness is vast, there is no foundation to rely on"—is found in the *Transmission of the Flame* entries for Fayan Wenyi's dharma-grandfather, Xuansha Shibei, and Yangshan Huiji (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 345b24 and 283a19).

converge. Nothing is extraneous; their activities all coalesce. It is also like the discussion of principle and phenomena in the *Contemplation of the Dharma Realm*, which cuts through intrinsic form and emptiness.[67] The nature of the ocean is boundless, yet it is contained on the tip of a hair. Mount Sumeru is immense, but is hidden within a mustard seed.[68] It is not the capacity of sages that makes it so—the true way is unified. It also has nothing to do with supernormal powers or miraculous transformations—these are deceptions.[69] Do not seek it elsewhere; everything is created from the mind. Buddhas and sentient beings are equal.

If this point is not understood and [the Dharma] is discussed presumptuously, defilement and purity will not be differentiated, and argument and error will not be distinguished. "Partial" and "impartial" will be impeded by interpenetration; "substance" and "function" will be muddled by self-existence (*ziran* 自然). This is called: if a single dharma is unclear, fine dust covers the eyes. If you're unable to treat your own illness, how can you cure the diseases of others? This must be examined in detail; it is no small matter!

6. On subjectively passing judgment on the sayings of the past and present without having purified oneself.

After entering a monastery, those who want to engage in study must first choose a master and then find close companions. A master will point out the way while companions are valuable for exchanging views. If you merely want to awaken yourself, how will you inspire later generations to be vigorous in

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67 The *Contemplation of the Dharma Realm* (*Xiu da fang guang fo huayan fajie guan men* 修大方廣佛華嚴法界觀門), written by Du Xun 杜順 (558–641), is contained within Zongmi's 宗密 (780–841) commentary *Zhu huayan fajie guan men*. The text is divided into three parts: contemplation of pure emptiness; contemplation of unobstructed principle and phenomena; and contemplation of total containment.

68 Cf. *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*: "If a bodhisattva abides in emancipation, she can place the mass of Mount Sumeru in a mustard seed without increasing [the seed] or decreasing [the mountain]. Sumeru, king of mountains, will maintain its original form…[This bodhisattva] can take the four great seas and pour them into the pore of a single hair and all the fish, turtles, alligators, and other water creatures would not be disturbed. The great seas will maintain their original form. The dragons, ghosts, spirits, and *asuras* will not realize or know where they have gone, and these beings will not be disturbed" (*Weimojie suoshuo jing,* 546b24–c3). Cf. Watson's translation (1997, 78).

69 Reading *xing* 性 for *sheng* 生.

their training? Where is the intention to benefit all beings in accord with circumstances? See how ancient worthies climbed mountains and crossed oceans, never evading death or birth. If there was the slightest doubt regarding the revolutions of cause and effect, the matter had to be resolved. They cherished clarity and warned their companions against false views. Obtaining the eye of humans and devas, they raised high the seal of the lineage and broadly established the true teachings. They noted the rights and wrongs of earlier generations and were relentless with unresolved cases (*gongan* 公案).

If one subjectively passes judgment on the [sayings of] the past and present without having purified themselves, how is this different from dancing with the *tai'e* [sword] without having studied swordsmanship, or foolishly fording [a river] without knowing its depth?[70] Can you avoid wounding your hand or stepping into disaster? Those who grasp this well are like the King of Geese separating milk [from water].[71] Those who do not grasp it well are like the numinous tortoise covering its tracks.[72] There are techniques of opposing and complying and there is the language of interpenetration, but to come into this life and then retreat is simply death. To be on the verge of truth and then turn away is to be sent through a side gate.[73] If you indulge this mad mind, you will be unable to fathom the minds of sages. The dharma-gate of the single word is established in 10,000 different ways.[74] How could you not be careful about them all in order to safeguard future generations?

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70 Tai'e 太阿 is the name of a legendary ancient sword.

71 The King of Geese is the Buddha, who is said to have had webbed hands and feet. His ability to separate milk from water represents the separation of the essential from the inessential.

72 This refers to a turtle that covers its tracks with its tail yet unknowingly still leaves a trail. This was a popular analogy in later Chan literature, used to critique conventional teachings. The example cited by Yuanwu in his commentary on the *Blue Cliff Record*, for example, draws from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. In the sūtra, Mañjuśri uses words to explain to Vimalakīrti that words must be abandoned. Yuanwu Keqin comments: "Mañjuśri did not realize that a numinous turtle dragging its tail in the mud also leaves a trace. It is like using a broom to sweep away dust. The dust might be removed but the marks of the broom remain" (*Biyan lu*, 209c10–12).

73 Reading *zheng* 正 for *sheng* 生. Those who violated the monastic rules were traditionally ejected from the side gates of monasteries.

74 Cf. Zongmi's *Chan Preface*: "The one word 'awareness' (*zhi* 知) is the gateway to myriad wonders" (*Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu*, 403a1–2).

7. On memorizing words without understanding their marvelous functions in particular situations.

Students of *prajñā* are not without their master's dharma. Once they have obtained their master's dharma, it is essential that they manifest it in their great function. Only then will they have a little bit of intimacy. If they only guard their masters' teachings by memorizing phrases, nothing [they say] will [express] superb awakening; it will all be ordinary knowledge.[75] This is why an ancient said, "If one's insight is equal to one's master, then the master's virtue is reduced by half. If one's insight exceeds one's master, then one can uphold his master's teaching."[76] The Sixth Patriarch also said to Head Student Ming, "There is nothing secret in anything I have said to you. The secret is on your side."[77] Furthermore, Yantou said to Xuefeng, "All things flow forth from your mind."[78] From this we know that words, strikes, and shouts are not artifice inherited from one's master. The marvelous function is unconstrained. How could it be sought from another? Neglected, pearls and gold lose their luster. Praised, tiles and pebbles glimmer. Doing what can be done, principle and phenomena are both cultivated. Using what should be used, there is not the slightest error.

The abilities of true men are not the affairs of little boys and girls. By all means, avoid taking inherited words and stagnant phrases as the teaching of the lineage or mistaking the beating and flapping of lips for marvelous understanding. This [understanding] cannot be entered by means of traps and snares; it cannot be known by means of thought.[79] Wisdom emerges from the

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75 *Jianzhi* 見知, literally seeing and knowing, is an abbreviation of the four means by which external stimuli are received: seeing, hearing, perception, and knowledge. See the *Yujia shidi lun* (289b13–21).

76 These words are attributed to Guishan Lingyou in the *Record of Linji* (*Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu*, 506a5–6), and to Baizhang Huaihai in his own discourse record (*Baizhang Huaihai chanshi yulu*, 6a16).

77 Cf. *Liuzu tan jing* (349b25–28).

78 This phrase later found its way into the twenty-second case of the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu*, 162c28–29).

79 Cf. *Zhuangzi*: "The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you've gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you've gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of the meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten words so I can have a word with him?" (Translation from Watson [1964, 140]).

vast countryside; the spirit gathers in unfathomable realms. "Where dragons and elephants tread, asses cannot follow."[80]

8. On not understanding the scriptures yet haphazardly drawing on their authority.

Those who wish to uphold the ancestral vehicle by citing the teachings must first be clear about the intentions of the buddhas and then accord with the minds of the ancestors. After that they can raise up [the teachings] and [put them into] practice, comparing the thin with the thick. If someone is ignorant of principle, they can only guard their family tradition. If they presumptuously cite [scriptures], they invite derision. The treasury of the sūtras all point to the traces. The perfect, sudden, and supreme vehicle is the same as a reflection of the moon.[81] Even if you were able to explain hundreds of thousands of samādhis or teachings as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, it would only increase your labor; it would have no [bearing on] others' affairs. Gather up the provisional and return to the real.[82] Take hold of the remote and return to the source. In the pure and perfect realm, not a single speck of dust is admitted; in the affairs of buddhas, not a single dharma is excluded.[83]

It is unavoidable that some will [attempt to] determine the truth on the basis of emotions or [try to] reach the substance by resolving confusion, but these have nothing to do with our ancestral lineage. There are many great scholars who are widely read in the scriptures and conversant with ancient [texts]. Their boastful tongues are like sharp swords in debate. Their hurried studies pile up like grain in a granary. When they arrive here, they must be instructed in silence, which the way of words does not easily reach. All along their memorization of words and phrases has only taken stock of others'

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80 A phrase from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*Weimojie suoshuo jing*, 547a25–26).

81 Reading *yue* 月 for *mu* 目. A similar statement is found in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*: "The collection of sūtras is like a reflection of the moon. If you turn around and look at the moon, you will realize that the reflection is actually not the moon" (*Da fang guang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing,* 917a27–28).

82 Compare with Chengguan's 澄觀 (738–839) commentary to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*: "Buddha lands of the ten directions have only a single Dharma-vehicle, not two, not three. To gather up the three and return to the one is to gather up the provisional and return to the real" (*Da fang guang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, 375b1–2).

83 This statement was popular in Chan literature, particularly during the Song, and can be found in Guishan Lingyou's entry in the *Jingde chuan deng lu* (265a1–2) and Yongming Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* (720b11–12).

treasures. Once they begin to have faith in the excellence of this teaching—that it is a separate transmission outside the teachings—later generations of disciples will not be stifled by the sneers of others or disgrace their family traditions. Do not say that you do not need cultivation and then consider a little to be enough. If the branches are not known, how can the roots be illuminated?

9. On having no concern for prosody and no mastery of [literary] principles yet being fond of composing verse.[84]

There are many styles of verse in our lineage. Some are short, some long; some are new and some old. Some use sound and form to demonstrate function. Some rely on phenomena to express the pivotal point. Some follow principle to discuss the truth. Some counter phenomena to rectify what is coarse. Although their tendencies are different, how could there be a difference in what they elicit? They always point to the cause of the one great matter.[85] They praise the *samādhi* of all buddhas. Whether rousing young students or ridiculing former sages, ideas are [expressed] in language. How could such expressions be careless?

[Yet] a quick look [reveals that] various masters and advanced students take verses casually and see their composition as a trivial matter. They impulsively spit out all manner of wild talk. Arbitrarily composed, their [verse] is just like common speech. They say that they are not restrained by what is coarse and do not distance themselves from what is ugly and weak. They are only imitating others who have written vernacular verse, signaling that they have returned to absolute truth. The knowledgeable look at them and laugh, but the ignorant believe and circulate [their work]. These people cause names and principles to gradually disappear, weakening the teachings. Have they not seen the tens of thousands of verses of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* or the thousands of poems of the ancestors? They are all brilliant and unrestrained, completely pure and uncomplicated. How could they be mixed up with what is vulgar or

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84 The term translated here simply as "verse" (*gesong* 歌頌) can be more specifically glossed as verse in praise of buddhas and ancestors—similar to the more familiar *gāthā* (偈他 or 偈頌). For a detailed discussion of Chan *gāthā*, see Suzuki (1985, 502–60).

85 The causes and conditions of the one great matter (*yi dashi zhi yuanyin* 一大事之因緣) are the reasons buddhas appear in the world: to become awakened themselves and then guide all beings to awakening. See the "Expedient Means" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing,* 7a21–28; Watson [1993, 31]).

be compared with silly games? [The ancestors] forged a path for later generations, turning ordinary speech into truth. It is necessary to study the ancient ways and then accord with them as appropriate. If people lack natural ability, then they should just take pleasure in being honest but dull. What need is there to clamor for eminence or to long to be a sage? What they present is unsightly and clumsy; it disorders the teachings. What they sew is fraud and error; it bequeaths sorrow. Without doubt, this foolishness will increase the shame of later [generations].

10. On defending one's shortcomings while being fond of competition.

Buddhist monasteries are flourishing throughout the realm. Chan groups are most numerous, with assemblies of no less than 500. Some of these lack the proper conditions for [propagating] the Dharma. In such places there may be some who embrace the Way and are pure in conduct, who temporarily submit to the will of the assembly and exert themselves to maintain the ancestral seats.[86] Gathering together brothers from the ten directions, they establish a place of practice. Inquiring in the morning and convening in the evening, they are not afraid of hard work. They only wish to continue the Buddha's life of wisdom and to guide beginners along the Way. They do not rush after fame or clamor after fortune. Like bells waiting to be struck, when they encounter an illness, they treat it. Bringing down the Dharma rain, they do not distinguish between large and small. Sounding the Dharma thunder, they draw responses far and near. Those who are flourishing are naturally differentiated from those who are withering. Those on the move are duly distinguished from those in hibernation. [These masters] are certainly not making sentimental choices or practicing the way of acceptance or rejection.

[In contrast,] there are those who are on the lookout for inheritance [in order to] usurp the position of abbot. They egotistically claim that they have already obtained the highest vehicle and gone beyond the ways of the world. They defend their own shortcomings while slandering the strengths of others. They are wrapped in their deceptions like a silkworm in its cocoon.[87] They

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86 This may allude to the selection of a new abbot by senior monks in the region—a characteristic of public Chan monasteries during the Northern Song. For a description of this process, see Schlütter (2008, 40).

87 Cf. *Mahāyāna Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: "Wrapped in defilements, [living beings] are / like silkworms inside their cocoons. / What person of wisdom / would find pleasure in such a state? / This body, where pain and suffering is collected, / where everything is impure, / confined, subject to ulcers, and more, / it is

smack their lips at the butcher stall. They advertise their status and brag about their eloquence. They consider exposing the faults of others to be compassion. They consider aimlessness to be virtuous action. They break the Buddha's precepts and abandon the conduct of monks. They rush back to the two vehicles [of the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas] and reject the three disciplines [of precepts, meditation, and wisdom]. Without having investigated the main point, they praise themselves as people of realization. At the end of the age of semblance Dharma, demons are strong and the Dharma is weak.[88] The robes of the Tathāgata are worn in order to steal the benevolence and might of kings. With their mouths people talk about the causes of liberation while in their minds they do the deeds of ghosts and spirits. Since they have no shame, how can they avoid committing offenses?

I have discussed these people because future [generations] must be forewarned. Encountering the conditions for *prajñā* is no small matter. Choosing the path of a qualified master is most difficult. Those able to maintain these [guidelines] will become great vessels. I firmly dispense this disorienting medicine and willingly accept slander and ill will in order to assist my fellow wayfarers.[89]

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fundamentally without value" (*Da banniepan jing*, 373b10–13). Translation from Blum (2013, 39).

88 Cf. *Song of Realizing the Way*: "Alas it is the wicked age of the end of the Dharma. Living beings are unhappy and control is difficult. The sage has long passed and false views are deep. The demons are strong and the Dharma is weak. Fear and injury abound" (*Zheng dao ge*, 396b24–25).

89 Cf. Xixuan's 子璿 (965–1038) commentary to the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*: "If the medicine is not disorienting, the illness will not be cured" (*Shoulengyan yishu zhu jing*, 838c6–7). According to Fayan Wenyi's entry in the *Transmission of the Flame*, "the Master adjusted his teachings to suit the circumstances, removing obstacles and eliminating confusion. He usually praised the teachings [of masters] from all regions. Sometimes entering the room to present an explanation, sometimes questioning fiercely to elicit a response—he dispensed medicine based on the illness. Those he brought to awakening in accord with their [individual] capacities cannot be counted" (*Jingde chuan deng lu*, 399c27–29).

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.

X *Wan xu zang jing* 卍續藏經. Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1977. Reprint of the *Dainippon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經. Kyōto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1905–1912.

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