

The Life of Lin-chi I-hsüan

YANAGIDA SEIZAN

ACCOUNTS of the life of Lin-chi I-hsüan 臨濟義玄 (Rinzai Gigen)¹ are found in such standard Ch'an biographical collections as the *Chodang chip* 祖堂集 (*Sodō shū*), *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Keitoku densō roku*), *Sung kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Sō kōshō den*), *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (*Tenshō kōrō roku*), *Ch'uan-fa cheng-trung chi* 傳法正宗記 (*Denbōshōjū ki*), and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* 五燈會元 (*Gōrōegen*).² However, with the possible exception of the account in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, which, though a biography in the true sense, is disappointingly terse, all these accounts are less concerned with the facts of Lin-chi's life than with his sermons and mondos, anecdotes associated with him, the lineage of the Lin-chi School, and the transmission of its teachings and practices. Actually the only date appearing in any of the biographies is that of Lin-chi's death, and there is some disagreement on this point, as we shall later see. If we would construct a chronology of the Master's life, it must be a tentative chronology only, based for the most part upon traditional material, rather than upon facts that can be substantiated with historical accuracy.

Aside from the biographical collections, the principal source for the life of

¹ Lin-chi I-hsüan (d. 866) is the full name of the master with whom the *Lin-chi lu* 臨濟錄 (*Rinzai roku*) is concerned. "I-hsüan" is his religious name, either received from his teacher or taken by himself when he became a monk. "Lin-chi" derives from the name of the temple where he spent his mature years. Thus, accurately rendered, the name should be "I-hsüan of the Lin-chi-[yüan]."

² These works are hereafter abbreviated in the footnotes, CC, CTL, SKS, TKT, CCT, and WTH, respectively.

Lin-chi I-hsüan is the *Lin-chi lu* itself, the third and last section of which, the *Hsing-lu* 行錄 (*Anroku*) or "Record of Pilgrimage," concludes with a brief summary of the Master's life. The fact that in *chüan* 5 of the *Ku-tsun-su yü-lu* 古尊宿語錄 (*Kosonboku goroku*), where this same summary is also found, it is preceded by the title "Memorial Tower Inscription of Lin-chi Hui-chao Ch'an-shih,"³ has led to the traditional assumption that the summary was taken from an actual inscription prepared by Lin-chi's disciples for the tower they erected in his memory. Examination of the contents of the summary—hereafter referred to as the "Memorial Inscription"—reveals, however, that in a number of instances the facts recorded in it differ considerably from those in other accounts of the Master's life. It is therefore questionable whether the "Memorial Inscription" as we have it today was actually composed by Lin-chi's immediate disciples, and it would seem well not to place too much confidence in statements contained in it which are not verified elsewhere.⁴

A more reliable—and certainly older—source for Lin-chi's biography is to be found in such reminiscences of earlier days as the Master occasionally permitted himself in the course of sermons and talks delivered during the latter part of his life and recorded in the *Lin-chi lu*. These, together with the biographical information contained in the earliest account devoted to him, that in the *Chodang chip*, would seem to constitute the most trustworthy materials for reconstructing the history of his life.

All the sources agree that Lin-chi's family name was Ching 邢, and that he was a native of Nan-hua 南華 in Ts'ao 曹 Prefecture, or of Ts'ao-nan 曹南, as the *Chodang-chip* puts it, combining the two names. This region, corresponding to modern Yen-chou-fu 兗州府 in Shantung Province, was situated just south of the Yellow River. In Lin-chi's time it was part of the Ho-nan-tao 河南道 or "South of the River March." No exact date for Lin-chi's birth can

³ *Lin-chi Hui-chao ch'an-shih p'a-chi* 臨濟慧照禪師塔記 (*Rinzai Esbô zenji toki*) [ZZ 2: 23.2. 111c-d].

⁴ On the authorship and authenticity of the "Memorial Inscription," cf. the following two articles by Yanagida Seizan: "*Kôke Zonshô no shiden to sono goroku*" (The Biography and Record of Kôke Zonshô), in *Zengaku kenkyû*, No. 48 (Mar. 1958), pp. 54-92; and "*Rinzai saishô no wa to Fuketsu Enshô no shu'sho*" (The Phrase 'Rinzai Plants Pine Trees' and the Rise of Fuketsu Enshô), *ibid.*, No. 51 (Feb. 1961), pp. 45-58.

be determined, but from other facts we may surmise that it took place during the Yuan-ho 元和 era of T'ang (806–820), probably as early as 810, though certainly not later than 815.

The biographies provide us with no information concerning Lin-chi's earliest years. The "Memorial Inscription," summarizing these in the stereotyped phraseology characteristic of this style of writing, states only: "As a child he was exceptionally bright, and when he became older he was known for his filial piety." The *Cb'uan-teng lu*, in the same fashion, says merely: "In his childhood he had the desire to leave the dusts of the world." Nor do we know at what age or under what circumstances Lin-chi became a monk, for the "Memorial Inscription" immediately continues: "After shaving his head and receiving the full commandments, he frequented the lecture halls; he mastered the Vinaya and made a thorough study of the sūtras and śāstras." We may assume, however, that Lin-chi entered the religious life at about twenty, the usual age at that time, and that for some years thereafter, probably five or six, studied the standard Buddhist and Mahayana texts and doctrines. The Master himself says in one of his sermons: "I started out devoting myself to the Vinaya and also delved into the sūtras and śāstras"—a passage with which the author of the "Memorial Inscription" obviously was familiar. How thoroughly grounded Lin-chi was in this literature and teaching is clear from the fact that in his sermons we find him frequently quoting from various Buddhist texts. Furthermore, we can discern in his teachings the influence of works of the Hua-yen 華嚴 and Wei-shih 唯識 schools. In fact, from the *Chodang chip* account of his life, it would seem that he may have regarded himself as something of an expert on the doctrines of the latter school, since we are told that, on his first visit to the Ch'an monk Ta-yü 大愚:⁵ "When night came he sat before Ta-yü talking about the *Tü-chia lun* 瑜伽論, speaking of the *Wei-shih [lun]*, and raising difficult questions."⁶

⁵ Ta-yü 大愚 (Daigu, n. d.), in the *CTL*, ch. 10 [T. 51: 273c. 27], is listed as an heir of Chih-ch'ang 智常 (Chijo, n. d.) of the Kuei-tsung-ssu 歸宗寺 (Kisū-ji), who was himself an heir of Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (Baso Dōitsu, 709–788). This, together with the statements about Ta-yü in the "Record of Pilgrimage," and the CC biography of Lin-chi, constitute all our information concerning this Ch'an monk.

⁶ CC, ch. 19; V. 100. 3–4.

However, in the sermon quoted above, after having spoken of his early study of the Buddhist scriptures, the Master immediately goes on to say: "But later, when I realized that they were only medicines for salvation and displays of opinion, I threw them all away. Then in my search for Tao, I turned to Ch'an." The "Memorial Inscription," paraphrasing the Master's words, says of this momentous decision: "Suddenly one day he said with a sigh, 'These are prescriptions for the salvation of the world, not the principles of the separate transmission outside the scriptures.' Then he changed his robe and started on his travels."

Such a sudden and dramatic shift of interest from the texts and doctrines of earlier Buddhism to the newer teachings of the Ch'an School seems to have characterized the careers of many of the men who later became famous Ch'an masters. Thus we have similar accounts telling how the young Te-shan Hsüan-chien 德山宣鑑 (780/82-865),⁷ when his interest turned to Ch'an, burned his collection of commentaries on the *Chin-kang ching* 金剛經 (Diamond Sutra), and how Hsiang-yen Chih-hsien 香嚴智閑 (9th cent.),⁸ in a similar gesture, threw away the huge mass of exegetical material on the sutras that he had painstakingly gathered together.

Leaving the district of Ho-nan 河南 where he was born, and travelling southward, Lin-chi eventually came to Chiang-nan 江南, the region "South

⁷ Te-shan Hsüan-chien was in the 5th generation of the Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu 青原行思 (Seigen Gyōshi, d. 740) line, and the direct heir of Lung-t'an Ch'ung-hsin 龍潭崇信 (Ryōtan Sushin, n. d.).

⁸ Hsiang-yen Chih-hsien was in the 5th generation of the Nan-yüeh Huai-jiang 南嶽懷讓 (Nangaku Ejō, 677-744) line, and the direct heir of Kuei-shan Ling-yü 烏山靈祐 (Isan Reiyū, 771-853). Nothing is known of his early life, but he is said to have been unusually intelligent and well-read. Kuei-shan recognized his ability, and said to him one day: "I do not ask you about your knowledge of the scriptures and other sacred writings, but speak a word about the time while you were still in your mother's womb and before you could distinguish east from west." After searching through the mass of sutras and commentaries he had collected, but to no avail, he said to himself: "Painted food does not allay hunger," threw away all his books, and retired to the abandoned hermitage of Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (Nan-yō Echū, d. 775) on Po-yai shan 白崖山 (Hakugaizan) in Ho-nan 河南 (Kanan). One day, while clearing weeds, he happened to toss a piece of broken tile against the stem of a bamboo. At the sound of the tile striking the tree, Chih-hsien suddenly attained enlightenment. He was well-known for his religious verse.

of the Yangtze," where the famous Ch'an master Hsi-yün 希運 (*d.ca.850*)⁹ was already attracting students from all over the empire. If we follow our tentative chronology, the meeting of Master and disciple must have taken place between 836 and 841, when Lin-chi was perhaps in his twenty-sixth year. Hsi-yün was then living at the Ta-an-ssu 大安寺, a temple in Hung-chou 洪州, the capital city of the province of the same name, where he had taken up his residence about 833. It was only in 842 that Hsi-yün met the eminent official and ardent lay convert to Buddhism P'ei Hsiu 裴休 (797-870),¹⁰ then newly appointed Governor of Chung-ling 鍾陵. A year or two later P'ei Hsiu, now Hsi-yün's devoted disciple, had installed the Master in the temple which he had constructed for him on Huang-po-shan 黃蘗山. From this mountain derived the name by which Hsi-yün was thereafter generally known and by which we shall from now on refer to him.

⁹ Huang-po Hsi-yün was in the 4th generation of the line of Nan-yüeh and the direct heir of Po-chang Huai-hai 百丈懷海 (Hyakujō Ekai, 720-814). He travelled to Chiang-hai 江西 (Kōsei) to study with Ma-tsu, but found upon reaching there that he had already died; he then went on to Ma-tsu's heir Po-chang Huai-hai. After studying with him, he inherited that master's Dharma. About 833 he seems to have taken up his residence at the Ta-an-ssu in the city of Hung-chou. While living there he met the eminent official and Buddhist devotee P'ei Hsiu who had been appointed Governor of Chung-ling 鍾陵 (Shōryō), in present Kiangsi, in 842. P'ei Hsiu became Hsi-yün's ardent disciple, and a year or two later constructed a temple for him in the mountains of Kao-an-hsien 高安縣 (Kōan-ken), in the western part of Hung-chou 洪州 (Kōshū). There Huang-po instructed many disciples, among them Lin-chi I-hsüan.

¹⁰ P'ei Hsiu 裴休 (Hsi Kyū, 797-870), style Kung-mei 公美 (Kōbi), was an eminent official of the late T'ang and a famous lay devotee of Buddhism. He first studied Buddhism under Kuei-feng Tsung-mi 圭峰宗密 (Keiō Shūmitsu, 780-841), fifth patriarch of the Ho-tse 荷澤 (Kataku) School of Ch'an, and the fifth and last patriarch of the Hua-yen Sect. In 842 he was appointed Governor of the region of Chung-ling, and in 848 to the same office in the district of Wan-lang 宛陵 (Enryō), both in present Kiangsi. In the former office he met Huang-po Hsi-yün, became his devoted disciple, and built for him a temple at Huang-po-shan. The *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* 傳心法要 (*Denbin Hōyō*), with his own preface dated October 29, 857, is the record he compiled of Huang-po's teachings as he had received them. P'ei Hsiu's Buddhist fervor seems to have bordered on the eccentric. He is said never to have taken meat or wine; in place of official dress he habitually wore a priest's robe, but made of silk, and with bowl in hand he went begging to the houses of the singing girls. [*Cf. Po-meng so-yen* 北夢瑣言 (*Hokumō zagen*), ch. 6.]

For the first few years after he had joined Huang-po's assembly, Lin-chi seems to have attracted little attention. During this time, therefore, we may imagine him devoting himself diligently and whole-heartedly to meditation and such other activities as were participated in by the students surrounding Huang-po. This period of preparation, which the "Record of Pilgrimage" in the *Lin-chi lu* specifically states to have lasted three years, was brought to a close by Lin-chi's "great enlightenment." The account of this event as given in the "Record of Pilgrimage" is repeated in most of the biographies of Lin-chi contained in other works. Only the *Cbodang chip*, of which we shall speak in a moment, offers a different version.

According to the "Record of Pilgrimage," at the suggestion of the head monk of Huang-po's temple,¹¹ Lin-chi three times questioned Huang-po on the cardinal meaning of the Buddha-dharma and three times was struck by him. Apologizing for his inability to grasp the meaning of the Master's blows, Lin-chi prepared to leave the temple. The Master then urged him to visit a monk named Ta-yü who, he said, would explain everything to him. Accordingly Lin-chi went to see Ta-yü, and, after an exchange of a few words, attained enlightenment. "So there's not much to Huang-po's Buddha-dharma after all!" are the famous words in which Lin-chi is said to have expressed his understanding. He now returned to Huang-po and recounted what had taken

¹¹ Neither the *Lin-chi lu* nor the older biographical collections mention by name the head monk who urged Lin-chi to question Huang-po. He is first identified as Ch'en Tsun-ku 陳尊宿 (Chin Sonshuku) in *cb.* 23 of the *Sbib-men wen-tzu ch'ien* 石門文字圖 (*Sekimen monji zen*), a work by Chüeh-fan Hui-hung 覺範惠洪 (Kakuhan Ekō, 1071-1128). So late an identification must be held somewhat suspect. Later compilations, however, such as the *Pi-yen lu* 碧巖錄 (*Hekigan roku*), Case 11 [T 48 : 151c. 28], the *Lien-teng hui-yao* 聯燈會要 (*Renō eyō*), *cb.* 8 [ZZ 2 乙 : 9.3.285b.18], and the *W'u-chia cheng-tung tsun* 五家正宗贊 (*Goke shōjū sen*), *cb.* 1 [ZZ 2 乙 : 8.5.458c.4], undoubtedly following Ekō, also refer to him thus, but give in addition his full religious name, Mu-chou Tao-tsung, or Tao-ming 睦州道明, or 道明 (Bokujū Dōshō, or Dōmyō, n. d.). He studied under Huang-po and became one of that master's heirs. Later, he removed to the Lung-hsing-ssu 龍興寺 (Ryūkō-ji), a temple later texts give as K'ai-yüan-ssu 開元寺 (Kaigen-ji). There people called him Ch'en P'u-hsieh 陳蒲鞋 (Chin Hoai), or "Rush-sandal Ch'en," from the fact that he occupied himself making rush sandals, which he hung under the eaves of the temple and gave or sold to passers-by. His methods of handling such students as came to him are described as eccentric, even violent, but he was much respected among his contemporaries.

place. In a spirited encounter with the Master, Lin-chi slapped Huang-po's face. "You lunatic, coming back here to pull the tiger's whiskers!" cried the Master. To which Lin-chi responded with a roaring "Ho!", the exclamation which from that moment on was associated with his name and style of Ch'an. After this he resumed his place in Huang-po's assembly.

According to the *Chodang chip*, Lin-chi went to visit Ta-yü, a monk living in a mountain hermitage not far away, after hearing Huang-po mention that he and Ta-yü had been fellow-disciples under Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (709-788).¹² On his first meeting with Ta-yü, Lin-chi attempted to impress the old monk by discoursing all night on various Buddhist scriptures and doctrines. At dawn Ta-yü, who had listened in silence throughout the night, berated the young monk and pushed him out of the door. When Lin-chi returned and reported to Huang-po on his visit, he was reprimanded for not having made better use of the opportunity. He then set off to visit Ta-yü again. Again he was scolded and driven out of the door, but this time he returned to Huang-po convinced that he had achieved understanding. When some ten days later he went once more to see Ta-yü, he anticipated the old monk's efforts to drive him away by knocking him down and beating him. Whereupon Ta-yü acknowledged Lin-chi as his disciple.

Which of these versions is nearer the truth, it is, of course, impossible to determine at this date. The Master himself, in his later years, in the sermon already quoted from above, thus recalled his period of study under Huang-po: "Still later I met a great teacher. Then, indeed, my Dharma-eye became clear and for the first time I was able to understand all the old teachers of the world and to tell the true from the false. It is not that I understood from the moment I was born of my mother, but that after exhaustive training and practice, in one instant I knew for myself." And in another of his sermons he says: "Twenty years ago, when I was with Huang-po, my deceased teacher, three times I asked him specifically about the cardinal meaning of the Buddha-dharma, and three times he favored me with blows from his stick. But it was as though he were patting me with a branch of mugwort."

A number of anecdotes pertaining to Lin-chi's life in Huang-po's community

¹² Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (Baso Dōitsu, 709-788), was in the 2nd generation of the Nan-yüeh Huai-jang line, and that master's direct heir.

after his enlightenment are related in the succeeding portions of the "Record of Pilgrimage," and two appear in the section preceding it in the *Lin-chi lu*, that entitled *K'an-pien* 勘辨, or "Critical Investigations." On the basis of these anecdotes we would be justified in believing that for some years after his enlightenment Lin-chi pursued his practice and study continuously under Huang-po. However, the *Chodang chip* account, which we cannot dismiss, tells us that after this event Lin-chi served Ta-yü until the old monk's death ten years later. The probability is that during the ten years following his enlightenment, Lin-chi frequently journeyed back and forth between Huang-po's temple and Ta-yü's hermitage, with occasional trips at Huang-po's request, as suggested by the anecdotes referred to above, to the monasteries of Te-shan in Lang-chou, Kuei-shan Ling-yü in T'an-chou,¹³ and that at Ching-shan 徑山 (Kinzan) in Hang-chou.¹⁴

Since it was during this period that Emperor Wu-tsung decreed the abolishment of all Buddhist establishments and the suppression of the religion, it would be natural to suppose that Lin-chi was affected by the order. No account of his life, however, mentions the proscription or suggests that it had any influence upon his activities. In view of the statements in the *Chodang chip*, we may, perhaps, be permitted to surmise that during the worst of the persecution at least, Lin-chi was staying with Ta-yü in his mountain hut, quite unnoticed and undisturbed by the events taking place in the outside world.

Some years after the persecution had ended, perhaps 849-850, Lin-chi left Huang-po's community and set out on a pilgrimage. Ten or twelve years had passed since his enlightenment, and he was now a mature man of forty. From the anecdotes in the first part of the "Record of Pilgrimage," it would seem that after Ta-yü's death Lin-chi had settled down for a time at Huang-po-shan, where Hsi-yün had returned when the proscription was lifted. The

¹³ Kuei-shan Ling-yü 龜山靈祐 (Isan Reiyū, 771-853), was the direct heir of Po-chang, and thus in the 4th generation of the Nan-yüeh line. With his own heir Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (Kyozan Ejaku, 807-883), he was the co-founder of the Kuei-yang 龜仰 (Igyō) School of Ch'an.

¹⁴ A temple was first built in Ching-shan in mid-T'ang by Tao-ch'in 道欽 (Dōkin, 715-793) of the Niu-t'ou 牛頭 (Gozu), or "Ox Head," School of Ch'an. It became very famous, numbering among its successive abbots many eminent masters.

leave-taking between Master and disciple is described in some detail in both the "Record of Pilgrimage" and the *Cb'uan-teng lu* biography. Two men, now of equal attainment, stand face to face. The older, mellowed with years, receives the blow administered by the younger with a laugh in which pride and regard undoubtedly mingled. The Master offers the disciple mementos he had received from his teacher Po-chang, material signs of the transmission of the Dharma; the younger in the full flush of his power, confident that one who has become the living Dharma has no need of such things, arrogantly orders them burned. "Take them along anyway," urges the old Master, "in the future you'll cut off the tongue of every man in the world."

The *Cbodang chip* and the *Sung kao-seng chuan* tell us nothing regarding Lin-chi's subsequent pilgrimage. In the *Cb'uan-teng lu*, however, his departure from Huang-po-shan is immediately followed by the story of his visit to Bodhi-dharma's Memorial Tower in Ho-nan, and the "Record of Pilgrimage" records this and other incidents obviously related to the journey. This long pilgrimage, which Lin-chi must have made on foot, was for him a period of testing his own understanding against that of other masters. The anecdotes make very clear that he reached the north certain that few men, if any, could match him and none could surpass him.

Lin-chi's pilgrimage came to an end, perhaps a year later, with his arrival in Chen Prefecture (Chen-chou 陳州),¹⁵ in the Ho-pei 河北 area. There, according to the "Memorial Inscription," he became the master of a small temple that stood near the southeast corner of the walls of the city of Chen-chou, the capital of Chen Prefecture. Because of its location on the banks of the Hu-t'o 滹沱 River, the temple was called the Lin-chi-yüan 臨濟院, or "Temple Overlooking the Ford." The statements in the *Cb'uan-teng lu* and the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, though more brief, are virtually the same, but both introduce one interesting fact not to be found in the "Memorial Inscription," namely that it was at the invitation of a "man of Chao" 趙人 that Lin-chi settled in the city of Chen-chou.

¹⁵ In Lin-chi's time, Chen-chou was one of the four prefectures (*chow* 州 *shü*) of which the "Superior Prefecture" (*fu* 府 *fu*) of Ch'eng-te 成德 (Seitoku), also known as Ho-pei-fu 河北府 (Kahoku-fu), was comprised. The office of Regional Commander of Ch'eng-te-fu was then held, as it had already been held for several generations, by a member of the Wang 王 (Ō) family.

Who this "man of Chao" actually was we do not know. During the Warring States (Chan-kuo 戰國) period (403 B.C.-221 B.C.), the entire area, of which later the prefectures of Chao and Chen were a part, was known as Chao 趙. Considering the tendency through ensuing centuries to continue the use of old names for places to which succeeding dynasties had given new designations, it is possible that "Chao" may here have been used in its ancient meaning, and thus to refer to the Chen-chou of Lin-chi's time. If we accept this possibility, the "man of Chao" must have been a contemporary of Lin-chi living in the Chen-chou district.

Furthermore, whoever he was, he must have been a person of eminence there, since it is unlikely that anyone but an important official would have issued such an invitation. Now, though the "man of Chao" is not again referred to in the two abovementioned biographies, or, in fact, elsewhere, the first sermon in the *Lin-chi lu* opens with the words: "The Governor of the Prefecture, the Counselor Wang, and all the officials of his staff requested the Master to take the high seat and address them." The second sermon, also, was given at the request of this same official, the Fu-chu Wang Ch'ang-shih,¹⁶ and a friendly conversation between himself and the Master is recorded in the "Critical Investigations" section. Is it possible that the "man of Chao" and the Governor of the Prefecture, Wang, were one and the same person? Let us see what is known of the Wang family of Chen-chou.

From middle T'ang times on the region of which Chen-chou was a part had constituted a virtually independent political unit. All actual power was in the hands of the Wang family, who wielded it much as they pleased in defiance of the orders of the central government.¹⁷ In the 11th month of the 8th

¹⁶ Fu-chu Wang Ch'ang-shih 府主王常侍 (Fushu Ō Jōji): *Fu-chu*, here translated as "Governor," was a title for the chief administrator of a superior prefecture (府), in this case Ch'eng-te-fu. The title, an informal rather than official one, was used by the subordinates of such an administrator when referring to their officer-in-chief. Cf. *Marabishi*, IV, No. 9283. 45. The title *ch'ang-shih*, here translated as "Counselor," is an abbrev. of a longer title which may be rendered as "cavalry officer continuously at the disposition [of the emperor], but with no specific duties." At this time it was any honorary title, exacting no duties. Several members of the Wang family were recipients of this title.

¹⁷ Eugene Feifel, S. V. D., in his *Po-chü-i as a Centur*, pp. 115-155, gives a detailed account of the rebellion of Wang Ch'eng-tsung 王承宗 (Ō Shōshū, d. 820) against the Throne*

year of T'ai-ho 太和, that is, 834, Wang T'ing-ts'ou 王庭湊 (*d.* 834), the then Regional Commander of Ch'eng-te-fu 成德府, within whose jurisdiction Chen-chou was included, was succeeded in his post by his son Wang Yüan-k'uei 王元逵 (*d.* 855). Wang Yüan-k'uei is said to have "reformed the ways of his father and carried out his duties to the central Court with the greatest propriety."¹⁸ Because of his respectful attitude, Emperor Wen-tsung 文宗 (*r.* 826-840) rewarded him by giving him a daughter of the Imperial family, Princess Shou-an 壽安, as his wife.¹⁹ No doubt the Emperor hoped in this way to regain a measure of control over the independent-minded Wang family.

The eldest son of this union, Wang Shao-ting 王紹鼎 (*d.* 857), succeeded his father in the post of Regional Commander in the 9th year of Ta-chung (856), only to die two years later. Shao-ting, in turn, was succeeded by his youngest brother, Wang Shao-i 王紹懿 (*d.* 866), who served as Regional Commander until 866, the 7th year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通, the probable year of Lin-chi's death. On the basis of these dates it is possible, of course, for Lin-chi's patron to have been either Wang Yüan-k'uei or one of these two sons who succeeded him. But since only the life of the youngest son, Wang Shao-i, spanned the length of Lin-chi's stay in Chen-chou and since the statements in the text mentioning Wang Ch'ang-shih all clearly refer to the same person, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it was Wang Shao-i who was the patron and friend of Lin-chi as long as the Master remained in Chen-chou,²⁰ and may even have been the "man of Chao" who originally invited

*in 809. A year later, with no decisive victory in sight for the Imperial armies, Emperor Hsien-tsung (*r.* 805-820), finally yielding to the advice of his ministers, called the war to a halt and reinstated Wang Ch'eng-tsung in all his former offices. From that time on the power of the Wang family in the Ho-pei area went unchallenged for nearly a century.

¹⁸ *Tzu-chib t'ang-chien* 資治通鑑 (*Shicbi tsūgan*), ch. 245.

¹⁹ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 408.

²⁰ From Sung times on, Lin-chi's patron Wang Ch'ang-shih has been mistakenly identified with a certain Wang Ching-ch'u [Ch'ang-shih] 王敬初 [常侍] (*Ō Keishō*, *n. d.*). This mistaken identification first appeared in the *Lien-teng hui-yuan* 聯燈會要 (*Renrō eyō*) compiled in 1183. A section of *chüan* 8 in this work [22 2 乙: 9.3.285a.13-b13] is devoted to a lay-disciple of Kuei-shan Ling-yü, whose full name is given as Hsiang-chou Ch'ang-shih Wang kung Ching-[ch'u] 襄州常侍王公敬 [初] (*Joshū Jōji Ō kō Kei [shō]*). One of the three episodes in this section is identical with Episode 12 in the "Critical Examinations" section*

him to take up his residence in the Lin-chi-yüan. But whether or not we may identify him with the "man of Chao" or with Wang Shao-i, the "Counselor" Wang was obviously of great assistance to Lin-chi in his efforts to propagate the doctrines of Ch'an in the region of Chen-chou.

A second person who seems to have been of importance to Lin-chi in his work was the Ch'an monk P'u-hua 普化 (*n.d.*),²¹ one of the fascinating eccentrics in Chinese Ch'an history. The ninth anecdote in the "Record of Pilgrimage" mentions a prophecy made to Lin-chi by Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (807-883)²² on the occasion of Lin-chi's taking a letter from Huang-po to Yang-shan's teacher Kuei-shan: "Later on you will go to the north.... and there will be a certain man there who will help you." Whether this story has any basis in fact or not, it has traditionally been taken to refer to P'u-hua. The "Memorial Inscription" alone states that P'u-hua was already in Chen-chou when Lin-chi reached there, that he was of help to the Master, but that after the latter's teaching began to flourish he disappeared. However, the several anecdotes centering round P'u-hua in the "Critical Investigations" section support the statements in the "Memorial Inscription," and these statements are further substantiated by the accounts, meager though they are, under P'u-hua's name in the various biographical collections. Though the dates and, indeed, even the historicity of a figure as shadowy as P'u-hua remain a matter of doubt, nevertheless the anecdotes connected with his name

*of the *Lin-chi lu*, the episode in which Wang Ch'ang-shih appears. From its inclusion here, it is clear the compiler believed the Wang Ch'ang-shih of the *Lin-chi lu* to be the same person as the Wang Ching-ch'u who was Kuei-shan's disciple. According to the CC, ch. 19, and the CTL, ch. 11, Kuei-shan's disciple Wang Ching-ch'u lived in Hsiang-chou 襄州 (Jōshū), Hu-pei 湖北 (Kohaku). There is no evidence to indicate that he was ever Regional Commander of Ch'eng-te-fu, or had any relationship with Lin-chi.

²¹ Chen-chou P'u-hua 陳州普化 (Chinshū Fuke, *n. d.*), was a disciple of P'an-shan Pao-ch'i of Yu-chou 幽州蓟山寶積 (Yūshū Banzan Hōshaku, *n. d.*), who, in turn, was one of the many heirs of Ma-tsu. P'u-hua is noted for his eccentric behavior, but very little is known of his life. Related biographical accounts are found in CC, ch. 17 [V: 13.7-17]; CTL, ch. 10 [T 51: 280b. 12-c.12]; and SKS, ch. 20 [T50: 837b 14-27], but they consist of little more than the anecdotes in which P'u-hua appears in the "Critical Investigations" section of the *Lin-chi lu*.

²² Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (Kyōzan Ejaku, 807-883) was the co-founder with his master Kuei-shan Ling-yü of the Kuei-yang 龜仰 (Igyō) School of Ch'an.

serve to sum up some of the important characteristics of the Hopch style of Ch'an, and he is therefore an important figure in the history of the Lin-chi School.

After mentioning P'u-hua's assistance to Lin-chi, the "Memorial Inscription" continues: "It happened that local fighting broke out and Lin-chi abandoned the temple. The Grand Marshal Mo Chün-ho gave up his house inside the town walls and made it into a temple. Hanging a plaque there inscribed with the words *Lin-chi*, he invited the Master to make it his residence."

Tradition has accepted this statement unconditionally, even though the facts recounted in it are not corroborated by any of the other sources on Lin-chi's life. Recent scholarship, however, has rediscovered what seems already to have been recognized in Sung times, namely that the "Grand Marshal" Mo Chün-ho 默君和 of the "Memorial Inscription" was undoubtedly the man known to history as Mo Chün-ho 墨君和 (there is only a slight difference in the writing of the family name). Further research has established the fact that the historical Mo Chün-ho was born about the year that Lin-chi died, thus making any connection between the two men impossible.

According to the *Chiu Wu-tai shih* 舊五代史, 54, the life of Wang Jung 王鎔 (874-921), the young Regional Commander of Chen-chou, was saved in 893 under dramatic circumstances by a butcher named Mo Chün-ho. Mo Chün-ho's daring exploit and subsequent rise to riches and fame, made of him a popular, even fabulous, hero in the Chen-chou area, and his renown was augmented by his connection with Wang Jung, often called the "King of Chao" 趙王.²³

Though a number of possible reasons for the inclusion of this statement in the "Memorial Inscription" might be advanced, no really tangible evidence

²³ Wang Jung is not accorded this title in the Chinese histories, but in the list of Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen's disciples in the *CTL*, ch. 11 [*T* 51: 281c. 27], we find the names of Chen-chou Chao-wang 鎮州趙王 (Chinshū Jō'o) and Yu-chou Yen-wang 幽州燕王 (Yūshū En'o). The former name refers to Wang Jung, the latter, in all probability to Li K'ang-wei, the dictator of Yu-chou who later attempted the assassination of young Wang Jung, though we have no absolute proof of this. Both these men, under these titles, are mentioned several times, separately and together, as the "two kings" in the *Chao-chou yü-lu*, e. g., 22 2: 23.2.153a-c.

exists to substantiate them. The simplest explanation, and perhaps the most likely, is that the writers of the "Inscription," disregarding historical fact, inserted the statement in their summary of the Founder's life with the deliberate intent of enhancing the prestige of the Lin-chi School in Ho-pei through linking the Master's name with that of a popular local hero, and thus, by implication, with that of his powerful patron, the King of Chao. Therefore, unless other concrete evidence appears, we must content ourselves with the probability that it was at the little temple on the river bank that the Master spent the years of his sojourn in Chen-chou, and that there he "carried on his work of conversion in Ho-pei."²⁴

Lin-chi I-hsüan's career as a teacher was relatively short, probably not more than ten or eleven years at the most. Twenty-two sermons attributed to this period form the body of the *Lin-chi lu*. Though they can represent but a small portion of those the Master must actually have given during these years, and though they have certainly been subjected to the hands of more than one note-taking disciple and compiler, yet they provide us with an account of the man and his teaching unparalleled in Ch'an literature for its vividness and forcefulness. These sermons were delivered during the middle years of the Master's life and while he was at the height of his powers. The arrogance which he had shown during his leave-taking of Huang-po and which is clearly evident in his interviews with various masters in the course of his pilgrimage, had now been replaced by an unshakeable self-confidence based upon complete faith in the truth and profundity of his personal religious experience. But beneath his outspoken, harsh, and, at times, even crude manner of expression may be sensed a compassionate urgency to convince his listeners of the necessity of their finding within themselves the "true man of no rank."²⁵ Lin-chi's complete familiarity with the essentials of Mahāyāna and Ch'an doctrines is apparent on every page, but his free and creative mind constantly illumines them with new insights, and invents new, if enigmatic, formulas for conveying their inner meaning. The *Chodang chip* correctly says of him: "His demonstration of the main principle was swift, his presentation

²⁴ CC, ch. 19 [V: 98.12].

²⁵ 一無位真人。

of the teaching profound; as for the innermost meaning of these, it is inexpressible and ineffable."²⁶

Before whom were these sermons delivered? On at least two occasions, as we have noted, the Governor of the Prefecture and the officials of his staff requested the Master to take the high seat and expound the Buddha-dharma to them. Perhaps some of the townspeople also came to listen. From time to time a visiting Ch'an monk or a lecture-master of another sect seems to have dropped in at this insignificant temple in the remote northern city, or a wandering monk or nun on their way to Wu-t'ai-shan 五臺山 to worship the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.²⁷ And P'u-hua was there, during the early years at least. But for the most part the audience must have been made up of the assembly of monks who had come to study under the Master. That this group was never very large is clear from the fact that nowhere do we read, as in the case of many other famous Ch'an masters, of "clouds of students" or of an assembly "numbering never less than several hundreds of disciples."

One of the prominent Ch'an men who visited Lin-chi was Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen 趙州從諗 (778-897),²⁸ mentioned briefly in an anecdote in the "Critical Investigations" section of the *Lin-chi lu*.²⁹ Anecdotes in the same section also mention visits from Ma-yü 麻谷 (n. d.),³⁰ Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍

²⁶ CC, ch. 19 [V: 98. 12-13].

²⁷ The city of Chen-chou lay on the main road to Wu-t'ai-shan (Godaizan), in northern Shansi, where the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was believed to reside. From early times this had been a famous and popular place of pilgrimage. In the late spring of 849, the Japanese monk Ennin passed through Chen-chou on his way to Wu-t'ai-shan, and, according to his diary, reached the mountain just a week later. Cf. *Ennin's Diary*, by Edwin O. Reischauer, pp. 214-266.

²⁸ Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen 趙州從諗 (Jōshū Jūshin, 778-897), 4th generation in the Nan-yüeh line, and direct heir of Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan 南泉普願 (Nansen Fugan, 748-835).

²⁹ It is interesting to note that this same anecdote is found in the *Chao-chou yü-tu* [op. cit. 165d. 12-15], with the rather important difference that the roles of the two men are reversed.

³⁰ Ma-yü 麻谷 (Mayoku), i. e. a monk living at Mount Ma-yü in P'u-chou 蒲州 (Ho-shü), in the southern part of modern Shansi. Certain old commentators have taken this person to be Pao-ch'e 寶徹 (Hōtetsu, n. d.), the first patriarch of Ma-yü and disciple of Ma-tsu. Since this Ma-yü would have had to be of very advanced age when he met Lin-*

牙居遠 (835-923),³¹ Ta-chüeh 大覺 (n. d.),³² and Hsing-shan Chien-hung 杏山鑑洪 (n. d.).³³ Another episode in this section speaks of the elders Ho-yang 河陽 and Mu-t'a 木塔. Since there is no mention whatsoever of them elsewhere, we can only surmise that they were two old monks from the neighborhood with whom the Master was on familiar terms.

As to whether or not Lin-chi continued to have any relations with other Ch'an masters of his time, masters whom he had met while under Huang-po or later, the *Lin-chi lu* is silent, except in the case of Te-shan Hsüan-chien 德山宣鑑. Lin-chi himself had once visited Te-shan, probably on Huang-po's orders, and in the later years of his stay in Chen-chou he sent his own young attendant Le-p'u to Hu-nan to observe and question Te-shan. But the fact that from early times the names of the two masters were often linked together deserves particular notice. They belonged to two different streams of teaching, Te-shan being in the 5th generation of the Ch'ing-yüan line and Lin-chi in the 5th generation of the Nan-yüeh line, and one lived south of the Yangtze and the other on the northern borders of the empire. Yet the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, speaking of Lin-chi, could still say: "In showing the essentials of Mind, his methods were much like those of Te-shan."³⁴ Furthermore, the *Cheng-fa-yen-tsang* 正法眼藏 and the *Lien-teng hui-yao* both record a sermon by Te-shan which is strikingly similar to the sermons of Lin-chi.³⁵ Indeed, so close are the

*chi, other commentators, including the compiler of the CTL, have believed this Ma-yü to be Pao-ch'ê's disciple, who presumably bore the title of Second Patriarch of Ma-yü.

³¹ Lung-ya Chü-run 龍牙居遠 (Ryūge Koton, 835-923), 6th generation of the Ch'ing-yüan line, and direct heir of Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良价 (Tōzan Ryōkai, 807-869), one of the founders of the Ts'ao-tung 曹洞 (Sōtō) School of Ch'an.

³² Ta-chüeh 大覺 (Daikaku, n. d.), known only by this name, which derives from the fact he is recorded to have lived at the Ta-chüeh ssu of Wei-fu 魏府 (Gifu), in southeastern Ho-pei.

³³ Hsing-shan Chien-hung 杏山鑑洪 (Anzan Kankō, n. d.) was 5th generation of the Ch'ing-yüan line, and direct disciple of Yün-yen T'an-sheng 雲巖曇晟 (Ungan Donjō, 789?-841?).

³⁴ SKS, ch. 12 [T 50: 779b. 2].

³⁵ The *Cheng-fa-yen-tsang* 正法眼藏 (Shōbōgenzō), is a collection of old koans and mon-dos compiled between 1147 and 1150 by Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲 (Daie Sōkō, 1089-1163) [ZZ 2: 23.1.19a.3-20d.14]. The *Lien-teng hui-yao* was compiled in 1183 by Hui-weng Wu-ming 晦菴悟明 (Maidō Gōmyō, n. d.), three generations later than Ta-hui in the same line [ZZ 2 乙: 9.4.379a.3-380d.15].

sermons of the two men in thought and wording that it would almost seem that one was influenced by the other. However that may be, it was certainly recognized from early times that their teachings and training methods were very much alike, and it became customary to refer to "the stick of Te-shan and the shout of Lin-chi."

As for the Master's disciples, the names of only a few are mentioned in the *Lin-chi lu*. To San-sheng Hui-jan 三聖慧然 (Sanshō Enen, *n.d.*)³⁶ the Master is recorded to have addressed his famous last words. At the end of the text, that is, of the untitled "Memorial Inscription" with which it concludes, the name of Yen-chao Pao-shou 保壽延沼 (Hōjū Enshō, *n.d.*) appears as the "humble heir" who inscribed it.³⁷ Pao-shou's name is followed—in most editions after an end-title—by that of Hsing-hua Ts'ung-chiang 興化存獎 (Kōke Zonshō, 830–888),³⁸ who signs himself as the "humble heir" who collated and compared it. The young disciple Le-p'u 樂普 (Rakuho, 834–898),³⁹ who appears in three episodes, in one of these is mentioned as attending the Master. Later, he went to the south and became one of the heirs of Chia-shan Shan-hui 夾山善會 (805–881)⁴⁰ in the Ch'ing-yüan line. Ta-chüeh, who is merely a visitor in the anecdote in the "Critical Investigations" section mentioned above, and, in the earlier biographical works, is regarded as an heir of Huang-po, in later works is listed as one of Lin-chi's heirs. One other name only appears in the text, that of Ting Shang-tso 定上座 (*n.d.*), "Ting of the Upper Seat." Who this man was we do not know, but the episode concerning

³⁶ San-sheng Hui-jan 三聖慧然 (Sanshō Enen, *n.d.*). Little is known of Hui-jan other than that he was a disciple of Lin-chi and later lived at San-sheng-yüan 三聖院 (Sanshō-in) in Chen-chou.

³⁷ The identity of the person who designated himself as the "humble heir Yen-chao who lived at the Pao-shou in Chen-chou" 住鎮州保壽嗣法小師延沼 is uncertain, though from the wording he would seem to be a direct disciple of Lin-chi.

³⁸ Hsing-hua Ts'ung-chiang 興化存獎 (Kōke Zonshō, 830–888), was the direct heir of Lin-chi I-hsüan, and second patriarch of the Lin-chi School. His surname was K'ung 孔. About 861 he went to visit Lin-chi in Chen-chou. After remaining with the Master for a time—how long is not clear, but probably a year or more—he made an extended pilgrimage, later rejoining the Master and remaining in attendance until the latter's death, probably in 866.

³⁹ Le-p'u Yüan-an 樂普 [洛浦] 元安 (Rakuho Gen'an, 834–898).

⁴⁰ Chia-shan Shan-hui 夾山善會 (Kassan Zenne, 805–881) was a monk in the fifth gen-*

him in the "Critical Investigations" section is repeated in several other texts,⁴¹ and in at least one instance Ting is recorded as having taken part with others in a discussion on Lin-chi's "true man of no rank."⁴² Among these disciples, the most important have always been considered to be San-sheng, Ta-chüeh, and Hsing-hua, who, in later times, was regarded as the second patriarch of the Lin-chi School.

The *Chodang chip* discusses only three of Lin-chi's heirs, Pao-shou, Hsing-hua, and a certain Kuan-hsi Chih-hsien 灌溪志閑 (d. 895).⁴³ The *Ch'uan-teng lu*, on the other hand, gives the names of twenty-two heirs.⁴⁴ This list includes all the disciples mentioned in the *Lin-chi lu* and the *Chodang chip* with the exception of Le-p'u and Ting Shang-tao. For sixteen of these men, this work gives accounts that are less biographies than records of mondos with which their names have been associated. The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*⁴⁵ and the *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsuang chi*⁴⁶ give the names of all those mentioned in the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, but bring the number of heirs up to twenty-four by adding Ting Shang-tao and another unknown person by the name of Hua Shang-tso 黃上座. If these longer lists seem somewhat contrived, this can undoubtedly be attributed to the desire of later adherents of the Lin-chi School to endow the Founder with as much prestige as possible. Also, with few exceptions, these men, if they did not come from the Ho-pei area originally, later settled in temples there. So whether they were long subjected to the Master's severe discipline or not, at least by propagating his teachings in the region north of the Yellow River, they helped to lay the foundations of his school of Ch'an.

What brought Lin-chi's period of teaching in Chen-chou to a close has long been an unanswered question. The biographies tell us nothing; in fact they do not even mention that he ever left the Lin-chi-yüan. The "Memorial In-

*creation of the Ch'ing-yüan line.

⁴¹ E.g., *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, ch. 13 [ZZ 2 乙: 8.4.360c.18-d. 18]; and *Lien-teng sui-yao*, ch. 10 [ibid., 8. 4. 303d. 14-304b. 8].

⁴² Cf. the *Pi-yen lu*, Case 32 [T 48: 171b. 26-c. 2].

⁴³ Kuan-hsi Chih-hsien 灌溪志閑 (Kankei Shikan, d. 895) was a disciple of Lin-chi during the Master's later years.

⁴⁴ Cf. T 51: 289b. 10-23.

⁴⁵ Cf. ZZ 2 乙: 8.4.298d.14-299a.11.

⁴⁶ Cf. T 51: 754a.18-20.

scription" says merely: "Later the Master tucked up his robes and, journeying southward, reached the prefecture of Ho. The Governor of the Prefecture, the Ch'ang-shih Wang, received him with the honors due a teacher. After staying a short while, the Master went to the Hsing-hua-ssu in Ta-ming Prefecture, where he lived in the Eastern Hall."

Again the facts recorded here present several difficulties. But before trying to resolve them, let us turn to the *Wei-chou ku ch'an-ta-te Chiang kung t'a-pei* 魏州故禪大德英公塔碑,⁴⁷ the stele inscription written for Lin-chi's heir Hsing-hua Ts'un-chiang by Kung-ch'eng I 公乘僊 (n.d.),⁴⁸ a source which may be regarded as of reasonable historical accuracy. According to this stele inscription, after his period of study under Lin-chi, Ts'un-chiang had set forth, probably in the autumn of 862 or the spring of 863, on a pilgrimage to the south. After recounting in some detail incidents of this pilgrimage, the inscription goes on to say that, while Ts'un-chiang was visiting Yang-shan Hui-chi in Chung-ling, in present Kiangsi Province: "Of a sudden he heard that Lin-chi Ta-shih had already accepted an invitation from the Prime Minister Lord Chiang of P'u.⁴⁹ He immediately determined to attend [his former teacher] himself, and hastened to take up his staff. He overtook [the Ta-shih] at Chung-t'iao, and from then on could accompany him.... As they were about to cross [the ford] at Po-ma, they were met on the road by a special messenger sent to welcome Lin-chi Ta-shih by the Late Grand Marshal and President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat, Lord Ho. With [Ts'un-chiang] acting as reverent attendant, they pressed forward without stopping until they

⁴⁷ Cf. *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 813.

⁴⁸ Kung-ch'eng I 公乘僊 (Kōjō Oku) received his *chin-shih* 進士 degree in 871, and later he served on the staff of Lo Yen-chen 樂彦輔 (Raku Gentei, d. 888), Regional Commandant of Wei-po 魏博 (Gihaku), i.e., Wei-chou. He is noted for his literary works. For the stele inscription, cf. the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 813.

⁴⁹ P'u hsiang Chiang kung 廣相襄公 (Hoshō Shōkō). Though the stele inscription for Kōke Zonshō gives us no further information concerning this person, it seems possible to identify him with Chiang Shen 蔣伸 (Shō Shin, n. d.), a high official and scholar of late T'ang, member of the Hanlin Academy, appointed Regional Commandant of Ho-chung 河中 (Kachū), with his seat of government at P'u-chou 蒲州 (Hoshū), in 861, the second year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通. Chiang Shen's biography is to be found in the *Chü T'ang shu* 149 and the *Hsin T'ang shu* 132.

arrived at [Wei]-fu. There they took up their residence in the Chiang-hsi ch'an-yüan of the Kuan-yin-ssu."

Returning to the difficulties presented by the "Memorial Inscription," the first that presents itself is the identity of the "prefecture of Ho" 河府. Since Lin-chi is described as having gone south, commentators in the past, none of whom seem to have taken the stele inscription for Ts'un-chiang into consideration, have believed that the prefecture referred to was Ho-nan 河南, the region south of the Yellow River where Lin-chi was born. Now the Ch'ang-shih Wang, whom the "Memorial Inscription" states met Lin-chi and received him with honor, was, as has been explained above, the Regional Commander of Ch'eng-te-fu, the area which included the prefecture of Chen-chou, where Lin-chi had up to this time been residing. To be received by this dignitary the Master had no need to go south to another prefecture. Nor is the situation made any more reasonable by assuming that the "prefecture of Ho" refers to Ho-pei 河北, where Lin-chi, living in Chen-chou, had been all the time. Moreover, the order of the narrative here implies that Lin-chi met the Ch'ang-shih Wang only after he had been preaching in Chen-chou for ten years or more. But from the fact that the *Lin-chi lu* opens with the Ch'ang-shih and his staff requesting the Master to address them, it is clear that the compilers of this text believed that the Master's meeting with that official had taken place soon after his arrival in Chen-chou.

The statements in the "Memorial Inscription" immediately become more acceptable, however, if we read them in conjunction with those of the stele inscription. If by the "prefecture of Ho" we understand Ho-chung-fu 河中府, and if we regard the Memorial Inscription's statement that Lin-chi was received by the Ch'ang-shih Wang as untenable, and therefore disregard it, all the problems seem possible of solution. On the basis of the stele inscription, together with facts in the life of the official Chiang Shen 蔣伸 (d. ca. 867), whom it would seem not impossible to identify with the "Prime Minister Lord Chiang of P'u" 蒲相蔣公, what took place between the time the Master left Chen-chou and his arrival in Wei-fu may be reconstructed without stretching the probabilities too far.

We know from the stele inscription that Ts'un-chiang did not come to study with Lin-chi until sometime in 861. That he stayed with the Master

for perhaps a year or more before leaving on his pilgrimage to the south seems more than likely, since the relation between Master and disciple was apparently an intimate one. After Ts'un-chiang's departure, Lin-chi received an invitation from Lord Chiang, that is Chiang Shen, who in 861 had been appointed Regional Commander of Ho-chung-fu 河中府, which included P'u-chou 蒲州. In order to accept this invitation, which according to the stele inscription Lin-chi had done, the Master had to journey to P'u-chou in Ho-chung-fu, a district in the great bend of the Yellow River, in what is today the southwest corner of Shansi, and thus at a considerable distance to the south and west of Chen-chou.

When the Master set out on this journey, we do not know, but we may surmise this was some time in 863 or 864—the spring of this latter year seems the more likely—and journeyed south, meeting Ts'un-chiang on the road before reaching the city of P'u-chou itself. Whether Lord Chiang was in P'u-chou and personally received the Master, or whether this important official had already moved to his next assignment, K'ai-feng-fu 開封府 in Ho-nan, cannot be determined. It would seem probable that they did not meet, for, though the Master must have spent some time, perhaps a year or even more, in the P'u-chou area, there is no indication of a meeting between himself and Lord Chiang or that the Master settled down anywhere for any length of time. And, of course, if Lord Chiang had already gone on to another post, Lin-chi no longer had an important official as patron and protector in P'u-chou. This may have been the reason for the Master, together with Ts'un-chiang and a party, starting eastward, probably in the spring or early summer of 865. Whether their goal was Wei-fu or not, we do not know. But that they were not far from that city when the messenger from Lord Ho 何公⁵⁰ of Wei-fu met them at what seems to have been the river-crossing of Po-ma 白馬 is

⁵⁰ Hsien t'ai-wei chung-[shu]-ling Ho kung 先太尉中 [書] 令何公 (Sen taii chū [sho] rei Ka kō, d. 866), *idem* Ho Hung-ching 何弘敬 (Ka Kōkei). Hung-ching, whose real name was Ch'ung-shun 重順 (Chōjun), became Regional Commandant of Wei-chou in 840, and in 843 the Emperor Wu-tsung bestowed the name of Hung-ching upon him. Later he refused to obey the orders of the Imperial Court and, backed by his own army, assumed independent control of his area. His biography is to be found in the *Chiu T'ang shu* 149 and the *Hsin T'ang shu* 132.

clear from the fact that a day's forced journey brought them to Wei-fu and the temple where the Master was to spend his last days.

The name "Ta-ming-fu" 大名府 mentioned in the "Memorial Inscription" offers no difficulty, for though it was not adopted for the region called Wei-fu until after T'ang, there is evidence that the name was in unofficial use for that district much earlier. Nor does the discrepancy in temple names present a real problem. We know nothing about the Chiang-hsi ch'an-yüan 江西禪院 mentioned in the stele inscription. It may have been it was a smaller temple within the larger Kuan-yin-ssu 觀音寺, or even that Kuan-yin-ssu was a place name. It is also possible that the Chiang-hsi ch'an-yüan was another name for the Hsing-hua-ssu 興化寺, though this seems less likely. The stele inscription tells us that some years after Lin-chi's death, in 875 to be exact, a splendid temple was erected for Ts'un-chiang in the city of Wei-fu under the patronage of an uncle of Lord Han 韓公.⁵¹ (Lord Han had become Prefectural Governor of Wei-fu in 870, only to die four years later.) Though the actual name of this temple is nowhere stated, since in later years Ts'un-chiang was always called Hsing-hua Ts'un-chiang, the temple's official name has been assumed to have been the Hsing-hua-ssu. It seems not unreasonable therefore, to believe that, since Lin-chi spent his last days with Ts'un-chiang, the name of the temple later so closely associated with this disciple was confused by the writers of the "Memorial Inscription" with that of the temple at which the Master actually stayed. The mention of the "Eastern Hall" need not detain us. This was the title customarily given to the building which served as the residence of the former head of a temple after his retirement.

Of the events of the last period of Lin-chi's life, neither the "Memorial Inscription" nor the biographies tell us anything. The stele inscription for Ts'un-chiang, however, says that after the Master had settled himself in Wei-fu, with Ts'un-chiang always in devoted attendance upon him, high officials, monks, and laymen came in a continuous stream to call upon him. But this

⁵¹ Han Yün-chung 韓允忠 (Kan Inchū, 814-874), was born in Wei-chou and his original name was Chün-hsiung 君雄 (Kun'yu). He achieved military distinction under the Regional Commandant of Wei-chou, Ho Hung-chung, to whom he is said to have been related, and on the death of Ho's son Ch'uan-kao in 870, was chosen Deputy Regional Commandant of that prefecture. His biography is found in the *Chin T'ang shu* 181, and *Hsin T'ang shu* 210.

was not for long. Before a year had passed, the Master's life came to an end. Though Ma Fang,⁵² in describing this last period of Lin-chi's life in his preface to the *Lin-chi lu*, permits poetic fancy to guide his brush, he, too, says, "[the Master] had not long sat facing the wall when the secret transmission neared its end."

Speaking of Lin-chi's death, the "Memorial Inscription" says: "Suddenly one day, the Master, although not ill, adjusted his robes, seated himself, and, when his conversation with San-sheng was finished, quietly died. This was the tenth day of the first month in the eighth year of Hsien-t'ung (February 18, 867) of the T'ang dynasty."

This "conversation with San-sheng," that is, the disciple San-sheng Hui-jan, is recorded at the end of the "Record of Pilgrimage," and just before the "Memorial Inscription." In later times it was regarded as a very important piece of evidence in establishing the filiation of the Lin-chi School. It should be noted, however, that it is mentioned only in these two places. The *Cbodang chip* states simply: "The Master died on the tenth day of the fourth month in the seventh year of the Hsien-t'ung era (May 27, 866)." The *Cb'uan-teng lu* follows the same wording, adding only a "transmission verse" which the Master composed before passing away. Not only do these two accounts contain no reference to the disciple San-sheng, but the date of the Master's death differs by about eight months from that given in the "Memorial Inscription." Such works as the *Cbodang chip* and the *Cb'uan-teng lu* were written by men who were particularly anxious to record as correctly as possible the lineage of the transmission of the Dharma. The fact that they make no mention of Lin-chi's conversation with San-sheng and differ as to the date of the Master's death, would indicate that they were written without any knowledge of the account given in the "Memorial Inscription." Or, as is perhaps more likely, it may be that the "Memorial Inscription" was composed either at a later date or by men of a different branch of Lin-chi's teaching line from

⁵² Ma Fang 馬防 (Ba Bo), a Sung dynasty imperial Court official about whom nothing at all is known. His preface to the *Lin-chi lu*, dated September 9, 1120, is written in elegant four-character phrases summarizing the principal anecdotes and doctrines of the text. It has been highly esteemed in China and Japan and has been included in almost all editions of the work.

that which provided the materials for these biographies. Therefore, though the date given in the "Memorial Inscription" has traditionally been accepted for Lin-chi's death, more sound consideration would seem to favor that recorded in the *Chodang chip* and the *Ch'uan-teng lu*, namely May 27, 866.

The final paragraph of the "Memorial Inscription" states that: "His disciples built a memorial tower for the Master's body in the northwest part of Ta-ming Prefecture. The Emperor decreed that the Master be given the posthumous title Hui-chao Ch'an shih 慧照禪師, and his memorial tower be called Ch'eng-ling 澄靈."

All the biographies agree that Lin-chi I-hsüan's posthumous title was Hui-chao Ch'an-shih; the *Chodang chip* and the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, however, give the name of the memorial tower as Ch'eng-hsü 澄虛.

In conclusion, the stele inscription for Ts'un-chiang again provides us with a few more details than are available elsewhere. After the Master's death, it tells us, "Ts'un-chiang carried out the mourning observances with heartfelt reverence and deep feeling. He did not deviate from the rules for constructing the tomb enclosure, and was able to complete all the rites of cremation." This would seem to contradict the "Memorial Inscription's" statement that Lin-chi's body was entombed. Later, in speaking of Ts'un-chiang's death, the stele inscription states that his "memorial tower was erected at Hsün-feng-li in the southern part of the Kuei-hsiang district of [Wei]-fu, next to the memorial tower of the Master's former teacher [Lin-chi Ta-shih]," a final small disagreement with the "Memorial Inscription," which placed the Master's tomb in the northwest of the prefecture.

Lin-chi I-hsüan did not reach the advanced age of so many of the illustrious Ch'an men of his time. He died relatively young, probably in his early or middle fifties. Nor did he leave a large body of notable disciples to disseminate his style of Ch'an. Only Hsing-hua Ts'un-chiang's line of transmission proved vigorous enough to survive. Of Ts'un-chiang's immediate heir, Nan-yüan Hui-yung 南院慧願 (d. 930), third patriarch of the Lin-chi line, nothing is recorded other than the fact that he lived at the Pao-ying-yüan 寶應院 in Ju-chou 汝州, and a few mondos in which he took part. Nan-yüan's heir, Feng-hsüeh Yen-chao 風穴延沼 (896-973), the fourth patriarch, continued to live in the Yellow River region, as did his successors Shou-shan Sheng-nien 首山省念 (926-993), the fifth patriarch, and Fen-yang Shan-chao 汾陽善昭

(947-1024), the sixth patriarch. Fen-yang's heir, Shih-shuang Ch'u-yüan 石霜楚圓 (986-1039), was the first in the line of Lin-chi patriarchs to spread the doctrines of the school in Hu-nan, in the south. Under Shih-shuang Ch'u-yüan the Lin-chi School achieved a position of widespread eminence and prosperity. This master left two eminent heirs, Yang-ch'i Fang-hui 楊岐方會 (992-1049) and Huang-lung Hui-nan 黃龍慧南 (1002-1069), who became the founders of the Yang-ch'i and Huang-lung lines of Lin-chi Ch'an respectively. Through later generations of disciples in the lines of these two men, some of whom instructed Japanese monks in China and some of whom themselves came to Japan, the Rinzai masters in Japan today trace their lineage directly back to the founder Lin-chi I-hsüan.

By the end of the 10th century, Chinese Ch'an had been divided into the so-called "Five Houses" (*wu-chia* 五家 *gokke*), five clearly differentiated schools or lines of teaching, of which four, those of Lin-chi, Ts'ao-tung 曹洞, Yün-men 雲門 and Kuei-yang are already distinguished in the *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun* 宗門十規論 of Fa-yen Wen-i 法眼文益 (885-958). Somewhat later, Fa-yen's own distinctive teaching line was acknowledged as the fifth of the "Five Houses." During the Sung dynasty the Yün-men, Kuei-yang, and Fa-yen schools were absorbed into the Lin-chi Sect; the Ts'ao-tung school kept its individuality into Ming times, but only with difficulty. Then it, too, succumbed to the syncretic movement that produced an all-embracing Chinese Buddhism, to which the name Ch'an is generally given, and even at times that of Lin-chi Ch'an.

Translated by Ruth F. Sasaki