

# The Education of Linji

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要旨：臨濟義玄（?～866年）は、これまでの禅宗の伝統の中で、最も影響力があり、歴史的に重要な宗の一つ臨濟宗の開祖として最も著名な禅師の一人である。

本稿は、『鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語録』（『臨濟録』）で使われている仏教教理の用語・術語の研究である。研究方法は、語録の原文から特定の用語やフレーズを取り出し、『大正新脩大藏經』のデータバンクの中でそれらの用語を検索し、インド経典や漢訳経典に出典が確認できるかどうか見極める。研究者の中には、臨濟は華嚴教学と唯識教学にかなり精通していたと主張するものもいるが、本稿ではその主張に関して疑問を提起した。さらに、『臨濟録』の中に、これまで報告されていない経典や論・疏の参照が新たに十以上も見つけられた。本研究では、『臨濟録』は単なる語録だという通説に対する提案をいくつか述べ、それが創造的な取り組みだったと理解すべきことを提案する。

## Introduction:<sup>1</sup>

Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄(d.866), was an outstanding Chan master who birthed one of the most influential and historically significant schools within the overall tradition. His life, teachings and the development of his school have received copious attention by East Asian scholars for many decades and have yielded volumes of commentaries by Chan/Zen masters through the ages. It is therefore surprising that western language scholarly studies amount to only a handful of works. There are over ten translations of Linji's teachings but most of these were produced for the popular market and only a few

are scholarly in nature.

The present article is a study of the terminology used in the *Zhenzhou linji huizhao chanshi yulu* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄 (aka. *Linji lu*)<sup>2</sup>, the “recorded sayings” of the master. My methodology has been to isolate particular terms and phrases found in the text and then use data-bank searches to first, determine if an Indian sutra or *śāstra* source can be located for the term in the Chinese translations found in the Taisho Tripitaka. The parameters of this study do not encompass terms and phrases that are ubiquitous within the Chinese Buddhist tradition. This would include terms such as Buddha, *Dharmakāya*, and the like; these were eliminated for obvious reasons. Some very interesting terms or phrases originating in non-Buddhist sources were also eliminated from this study, since it is focused on the Buddhist terminology. The context of the term or phrase in the text was a key determining factor in the selection process. Technical terms or terminology indicating a technical usage (such as a paraphrase), uncommonness of the expression, and the imagery invoked by the wording were also considerations. Second, some of the isolated terms or phrases originate in the Chinese commentarial tradition that predate *Linji* were also identified in this study.<sup>3</sup>

Historically, this article attempts to present information from the earliest sutra or *śāstra* translated into Chinese as the original reference for a term or phrase in the Chinese Buddhist vocabulary. This, regardless of the possible fact that a particular term’s or phrases’ popularity within the Chinese milieu may stem from a different text or that its use in the *Linji lu* originates in a different text. In fact, it is often impossible to determine the exact source and spread of a popular term in much of the early Chinese generated materials because of a host of problems. These include obvious lacuna in the textual records, the editing and re-editing of texts, and the fact that most of the Indic language original texts are either missing (thus comparisons cannot be made) or the extant edition was produced a millennium after the Chinese translation was undertaken. The closer in time we get to our own period the more mitigated these problems become, and future

research into Buddhist terms in the last millennium may well prove more fruitful. Within the *Linji lu*, as will be seen immediately below, the author(s) of the text have not hesitated to use information garnered from the Chinese commentarial tradition. Those exegetic texts are themselves full of quotations and technical language found in the root texts under investigation. Thus, it is possible that a term originating in a sutra is replicated in a Chinese commentary that is the actual source for the term or phrase in the *Linji lu*. In either case, in this article the most probable original root source is identified.

A list of all the terms or phrases searched is not provided in this article because the majority of identified items yielded unsuccessful searches. One of the interesting aspects of the *Linji Lu* is that it sometimes coins new terminology. Searches performed on some of these terms clearly demonstrated that there was no earlier use of the term or phrase but that later writers found the articulation useful in their own writings. Over 170 terms or phrases were initially searched; those with positive results that were not disqualified for the reasons I have described are presented below. Approximately thirty terms or phrases provided citation information that did not allow for a conclusion to be reached. In most cases, there were a number of possible sources and no way to clearly determine which of the possibilities may have been influential.

### **Linji's Life and Teachings:**

Most scholars agree that Linji's family name was Xing (邢) and that he was from what is now Shandong Province's Yanzhou (兖州) area. His exact birth date is not known but is speculated to be between 810 and 815, thus in the second half of the Tang dynasty. We also do not know at what age he became a monk. He tells us in his teachings that he began by studying the vinaya and then the sutras and *sāstras*. Thus Linji was literate, but at what age he studied the literary language we do not know. His literacy would distinguish him from the vast majority of his fellow countrymen. It would appear that like most monastics in the Tang he attended various lectures broadening his

understanding of Buddhist topics. In general, he is thought to have a grounding in Huayen thought but was particularly well educated in the Weishi (唯識 = Yogācāra) philosophy. This in itself is interesting because by Linji's time this school of thought was no longer popular, and mostly retained an academic appeal for members of other traditions. He is said to have suddenly given up on his scholarly pursuits and became engaged in Chan while on pilgrimage. How credible the various accounts are is highly questionable; as noted by Yanagida Seizan,<sup>4</sup> these traditional accounts lack factual information. Yanagida speculates that Linji may have studied for five or six years. This would indicate that Linji's education could not have been extensive. Let us begin by speculating that for a gifted individual it would take about one and a half years to learn the vinaya and memorize the texts used in rituals. This would then leave him about four and a half years to master Yogācāra thought and the extensive Huayen tradition. Given that education in this period meant memorization, this would be ambitious. Information garnered from the *Linji lu* is discussed below. The trope of suddenly abandoning one's studies and turning to Chan is encountered in the "biographies" of a number of masters.

Linji encountered the Chan master Huangbo Xiyun (黃檗希運/d. 850) in the Hongjhou (洪州) lineage, who had become quite famous by this time. After three years of diligent practice, Linji gained awakening while visiting one of Huangbo's brother monks. Huangbo recognized his experience and Linji remained in Huangbo's assembly for about eleven years. He then traveled around testing his insight against other masters until he reached Hebei, where he settled in a temple named Linji Yuan (臨濟院), from whence he acquired his name. The master taught for about ten years. Later accounts speak of Linji gaining local fame and give lists of his disciples. Modern scholarship has raised serious questions about the alleged disciples, and generally consider the beginnings of this line of Chan to have been more humble than what the later accounts suggest.

### **The *Linji Lu*:**

Building on Japanese scholarship that developed a critical appraisal of the *Linji lu*, Professor Albert Welter has offered his own analysis of this seminal work and placed it within the larger context of the Chan tradition's "Recorded Sayings" literature.<sup>5</sup> Welter's study, one of a limited number of English works that take a highly critical approach to the Chan/Zen schools traditional self-view, is uniquely focused on the *Linji lu*. His findings are most useful for the purposes of the present article because of the bearing they have on understanding the terminology in the text.

Welter traces Linji's rise to prominence within the Chan tradition through various textual sources, beginning with the *Zutang ji* /祖堂集,<sup>6</sup> published in 952, almost one hundred years after the master's death. Linji's tradition gained supremacy in the Song dynasty, as witnessed by the inclusion of the *Linji lu* in the *Tainsheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄, a Chan Lamp collection compiled by the government official and imperial family member Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988-1038), who prevailed upon the emperor to write a preface to the work. Other editions of the *Linji lu* followed over the centuries, with the current one used in this investigation being compiled in 1120. Although the various editions are generally similar one can trace editorial changes and some variations. The 1120 redaction basically agrees with the earlier versions except for the arrangement of the content and the inclusion of a memorial and a preface.

Linji's era, the Tang dynasty, has long been considered the Golden Age of Zen, with colorful masters and the vibrant formation of Chan branches. Most scholars now reject this depiction and are focusing their attention on the Song dynasty and the positioning of the various branches in the shifting sands of the Song intellectual tradition. The fact that the Linji faction had as one of its spokespersons a member of the imperial family undoubtedly played an important role in gaining supremacy for the faction's teachings, but mere political influence would have been ineffectual if the teachings themselves did

not speak to the interests of both the monastic elite and the literati. Thus, the text presenting these teachings had to be creative and at the same time faithful to the parameters established in the Song for the Chan tradition.

Welter contextualizes the *Linji lu* by examining similar literature associated with other masters both in and out of the Linji lineage. His conclusion is that earlier works are vying with each other in an attempt to bolster the claim to orthodoxy of their respective lineages. Thus editing is not simply an act of improving the literary quality of a text but, through arranging and framing, it is a political tool in terms of both the inter-Buddhist dialogue and the greater intellectual/political world of elite China. The later editions of the *Linji lu* were rearranged to bring to the fore contemporaneous concerns after the orthodoxy question was no longer pressing.

However, Welter's other insights into these "records" are perhaps more far-reaching. In several places throughout his volume Welter develops the argument that the "Recorded Sayings" literature, and in particular the *Linji lu*, are designed to present the Chan master as a "public prelate," dispensing wisdom to the elite and powerful in public lectures. Welter sees the "Recorded Sayings" literature in this context as a kind of creative fiction, a masterpiece of public relations. He bolsters his argument by showing that the historic information in the *Linji lu* is inaccurate, thus bringing into question the whole of the work as an accurate recording of the master's teachings.

Welter notes that the "intellectual climate [in the Tang-Five Dynasties periods] produced an appetite for sagely innovation...and radical "new-critical" approaches."<sup>77</sup> The re-editing of the *Linji lu* met this need, producing a work by means of which the "encounter dialogue was created to provide access to the private world that inspired Chan truth."<sup>78</sup>

If, however, the *Linji lu* is not an actual record of the historic encounters between master and disciples, if it is a narrative proven to address concerns of a later period, then at its earliest level would it also not have the possibility of being equally a literary

creation? Welter has answered this question in general by stating that in an earlier edition the concern addressed by the text was with regard to orthodoxy, as noted above.

Applying this insight to the current study, particular terms, phrases and quotations in the text would have been selected to show the formation of the Linji lineage in a particular light. Which texts used as sources would have been selected with an eye to their appeal to popular trends within the Buddhist world, to the Buddhist elite, or to certain factions within the Buddhist intellectual tradition. Since the text has stayed relatively unaltered in content and has mostly undergone editorial changes, the terminology is something reflecting the earliest stage in the creation of this narrative.

## The Text:

### Quotations:

As noted above, previous scholars have argued that Linji was educated in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and the Yogācāra school of thought. This is based on information garnered from the *Linji lu*.<sup>9</sup> According to Kirchner's edition of the translated *Linji lu*, there are six quotations or references to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in this text,<sup>10</sup> as well as a paraphrase from the sutra.<sup>11</sup> Of interest is the fact that both the earlier and the later translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* acted as sources for these citations (see below). There are also references from the Chinese commentarial tradition on this sutra.

The same source identifies nine quotations from the *Lotus Sutra*, with a possibility of two further ones.<sup>12</sup> The *Nirvana Sutra* is referenced,<sup>13</sup> as are the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*,<sup>14</sup> the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*,<sup>15</sup> the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*,<sup>16</sup> the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*,<sup>17</sup> and others. Thus the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is not the sutra of primary influence. In fact, according to Kirchner's work, the *Lotus Sutra* is referenced the most. Further, the total of references to other sutras is about four times that of references to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.

Yogācāra concepts were first introduced to Chinese readers through translations of

sūtras such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, with translators working in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries; the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, with translators working in the fourth century and seventh-eighth centuries; the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*, with translators working in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries; and others. The corpus of *śāstra* literature that consolidates the Yogācāra position was translated sporadically into Chinese. Maitreyanatha's (or Asanga's) *Madhyāntavibhāga kārikā*<sup>18</sup> was translated in the seventh century, but Vasubandhu's *īkā*<sup>19</sup> to this work was translated in the sixth century. The most influential translator of Yogācāra texts was probably the sixth-century Indian monk Paramārtha (499-569). He translated major Yogācāra works like the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*,<sup>20</sup> the *Vimśatikākārikā*,<sup>21</sup> the *Mahāyānaśaṃgraha*,<sup>22</sup> the *Mahāyānaśaṃgrahabhāṣya*,<sup>23</sup> and the *Madhyāntavibhangaīkā*.<sup>24</sup>

Following Paramārtha, the Yogācāra School, as with other imported schools, began losing popularity as the truly Chinese traditions began to express themselves. Although these traditions did incorporate much of the teachings found in the Indian schools, they were formulated by and for the Chinese cultural setting. However, with the return of Xuanzang (玄奘) from India in 645 the fortunes of the Yogācāra Schools were revised briefly owing to his advocacy and translation efforts. Xuanzang retranslated works like *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*<sup>25</sup> and the *Vimśatikākārikā*,<sup>26</sup> but more importantly he added to the body of Yogācāra treatises in Chinese with translations like the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*<sup>27</sup> and others. Thus, by the time of Linji the major Yogācāra sūtras and *śāstras* were all available in Chinese translations.

In Kirchner's edition of the *Linji lu* we find a quote from the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi śāstra*, translated by Xuanzang,<sup>28</sup> a reference to the *Mahāyānaśatadharmā-prakāśamukhaśāstra (Baifa lun)*<sup>29</sup>, and a paraphrase of a passage from a Chinese commentary by one of Xuanzang's disciples.<sup>30</sup> All in all, this seems a rather meager sampling, considering that Linji was supposedly well educated in Yogācāra thought and considering the wealth of Yogācāra texts that were available in Chinese at that time. Thus further research is needed.

## Quotations and Paraphrases:

### Sutra Sources:

In the following, I have listed the terms and phrases and their earliest usage in Chinese translations of Indic originals. Both the line in the *Linji lu* and the source in the sutra is provided in the annotations. The following items are not indicated in previously published works in English.

\*“Freely goes or stays”/ *qu zhu zi you* (去住自由),<sup>31</sup> a characteristic of the awakened person; found in the *Śūrangama Sūtra*<sup>32</sup>

\*“Birth-death Māra”/ *sheng si mo* (生死魔),<sup>33</sup> a being who plagues a bodhisattva in doubt; probably from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.<sup>34</sup>

\*“All the Buddhas of the ten directions appearing in front”/ *shi fang zhufo xian qian* (十方諸仏現前),<sup>35</sup> used to note that a true adept would not be moved by the Buddhas’ appearance; the wording is found in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* translated in eighth century by Prajñā.<sup>36</sup> It is also found in a commentary to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* by Cheng guan (澄觀) composed in the latter half of the eighth century.<sup>37</sup>

\*“No Buddha-- no Dharma, no cultivation-- no realization” /*wu fo wu fa. wu xiu wu zheng* (無仏無法 . 無修無證),<sup>38</sup> this is interesting in that the first clause is found in a number of sutras, with the most likely source being the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*,<sup>39</sup> but the exact wording of the second clause seems to originate from the *Paramārthasamvṛttisatyānirdeśa Sūtra*.<sup>40</sup>

\*“Unawareness (Sk. *avidyā*)-tree”/ *wu ming shu* (無明樹),<sup>41</sup> a pun on the significance and imagery of the Bodhi-tree that the Buddha Śākyamuni sat under in Bodhgaya; the term is found in both Śikṣānanda’s translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*<sup>42</sup> in the late seventh century and Prajñā’s translation<sup>43</sup> in the eighth century. One should not forget that the image of the Bodhi tree is key to understanding both sudden awakening as understood in Chan/Zen and the division between the North and South schools as

depicted in the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*.

\*“Bodhi has no dwelling place”/ *pu ti wu zhu chu* (菩提無住處);<sup>44</sup> appears in several sutras including the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*<sup>45</sup> translated in the fourth century and the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*<sup>46</sup> translated in the sixth century.

\*“Do not attach a name”/ *mo zhao ming zi* (莫著名字);<sup>47</sup> a quotation from the *Ratnamegha Sūtra*,<sup>48</sup> translated in sixth century.

\*“First honor the Buddha”/ *xian li fo* (先禮佛);<sup>49</sup> found in an *Avatamsaka Sūtra*<sup>50</sup> passage explaining a bodhisattva’s activities. The passage reads: “Good Son, if that bodhisattva enters an assembly of a *saṃghārāma*, first he/she honors the Buddha’s pagoda progressing up to all the images.” Similar instructions are found in the *Ratnamegha Sūtra*: “A *śmāsānika bhikṣu* arrives at a monastery, first he honors the Buddha’s pagoda.”<sup>51</sup> Both of these sutras have been referred to before in the *Linji lu*. Given the argument below, perhaps the *Ratnamegha Sūtra* is the more likely choice.

### Śāstra Sources:

\*“Dependent transformations”/ *yi bian* (依變);<sup>52</sup> appears in several Yogācāra works such as Bandhuprabha’s *Buddhabhūmisūtraśāstra*,<sup>53</sup> Dharmapāla’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi śāstra*,<sup>54</sup> and Asaṅga’s *Xian yang sheng jiao lun* (顯揚聖教論),<sup>55</sup> all translated in the seventh century by Xuanzang.

\*“The Three realms are only mind” / *san jie wei xin* (三界唯心);<sup>56</sup> found in several of Xuanzang’s disciple Kuiji’s (窺基) commentaries.<sup>57</sup> “Only Mind” is common in the Yogācāra related material and is found in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*.

### Paraphrases:

\*“Dharma realm without birth”/ *wu sheng fa jie* (無生法界);<sup>58</sup> although first appearing in the *Pu sa ying luo jing* (菩薩瓔珞經)<sup>59</sup> translated in the mid-fourth century, it is more likely that it is a slight paraphrase from the *Mahaprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* translated in the

mid-seventh century by Xuanzang, because this text is cited elsewhere whereas the first is not.<sup>60</sup>

### Critical Reflections:

Linji is presented as the protagonist in an exchange involving the phrase “Don’t drive a stake into the empty sky” and the disciple being struck; however, the same phrase and action appear in an exchange between two of Linji’s contemporaries found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄<sup>61</sup>).<sup>62</sup> Yunmen Wenyan uses the same list of activities (defecating, urinating, wearing cloths) as Linji in a Dharma talk about daily life for the followers of Chan.<sup>63</sup> Linji and Deshan Xuanjian both speak about liberation in the same terms and with similar connotations.<sup>64</sup> In yet another passage on “sacred” being merely a name, Linji and Deshan Xuanjian use exactly the same words.<sup>65</sup> There are more such examples, but let these suffice in support of the discussion below.

The problem here is that the Dharma talks, given either in reply or as original expositions, are supposed to be spontaneous responses to a situation or an original expression of the master’s awakened state. The fact that several masters living about the same time but in different locations use the same words implies either that they were so familiar with each other’s vocal expressions that they borrowed one from the other, that they were all borrowing from an unknown source, or that there has been narrative borrowing in the composition of the text. Since the text was composed well after the master’s death, none of these three options would lead one to conclude that the “recorded sayings” are in every aspect an actual record of spontaneous expressions. Ancient Chinese sensibilities regarding copyright and plagiarism being markedly different from current ones, such borrowings, additions, and rewordings are found throughout the literary record. Already in 1967 Yampolsky notified the English speaking world about the significant differences between the way some of the best-known passages in the Chan/Zen tradition appear in the early Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sutra of the*

*Sixth Patriarch* versus the way they appear in the later, classical version of this work.<sup>66</sup> This bears testimony to the freedom that people had within the tradition respecting their own texts.

Kirchner's edition of the English translation of the *Linji lu* and the work undertaken for this article both show that some of the quotations come from all three of the translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*: Buddhahadra's (fourth-fifth centuries) in sixty chapters,<sup>67</sup> Śikṣānanda's (seventh-eighth centuries) in eighty chapters<sup>68</sup> and Prajñā's (eighth century) in forty chapters (also called the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*).<sup>69</sup> Given the length of each of these translations and remembering education at that time meant significant memorization, it seems highly unlikely that Linji would have been able to quote verbatim from all three versions, considering he only studied for a few years before turning to Chan.

That same edition documents six references to the sutra, as noted above. Three of those use terminology originating in the sutra, one of the remaining is merely a repeat reference, and two are very general. The first of the three uses the term "lotus womb realm". This is found in all three translations of the sutra as well as in the *Da fang guang fo hua yan jing shu* (大方廣華嚴經疏)<sup>70</sup> and the *Da fang guang fo hua yan jing sui shu yan yi chao* (大方廣華嚴經隨疏演義鈔),<sup>71</sup> both by Cheng-guan (澄觀) in the eighth century. The second reference is to the Three Eye realm. This term is found in Buddhahadra's translation, but in neither of the above commentaries. The third term, "only mind," representing Yogācāra thought, also comes from the sutra as it's well known that the sutra presents material on this ideology. "Only mind" is discussed in both of the commentaries by Cheng-guan.

Regarding the new information above in relation to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, "birth death Mara" and "unawareness tree" are both found in the translation made by Buddhahadra. "All Buddhas in the ten directions appear in front" is found in Cheng-guan's *Da fang guang fo hua yan jing sui shu yan yi chao*. This commentary is lengthy

but still requires less study than the other two translations of the sutra. This leaves “first praise the Buddha” as the only selected phrase that is not found in either Buddhahadra’s translation or the commentaries by Cheng-guan. However, since this phrase is found elsewhere one could argue that the source in Linji’s text is not necessarily the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.

This would then indicate that the author(s) of the text was not a master of all three translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, but was probably familiar with the sixty-chapter translation made by Buddhahadra and was also familiar with at least one commentary made by Cheng-guan.

## **Conclusion:**

This article presents the findings of a research project that used data bank searches in Chinese, with a focus on particular terms and phrases selected from a seminal text. It grew out of other investigations into key Buddhist concepts moving from India to China by means of translations. Those investigations were across multiple texts and took into consideration various contexts from both the Indian and Chinese cultural spheres. The present study was narrower in design and worked within one particular text. Overall the project was to find some of the original sources for the teachings of Linji as recorded in the *Linji lu*. Using various criteria for the selection of terms to be researched, a list of more than 170 terms was compiled. Most of these were eventually eliminated because of being unique to the *Linji lu*, too ubiquitous within the literature to make a clear determination, or for other reasons. Overall, this methodology does yield results and is suitable for further deployment in research on Buddhism.

The *Linji Lu* was selected for this project because of its status as one of the most important texts in the development of the Chan tradition. The text is an exposition on Chan presented as a collection of recorded teachings. Although it is a foundational text and still forms part of a living tradition, it has received limited attention within the

scholarly community in the West; studies in Japanese, Chinese, and other Asian languages are more extensive. Moreover, the text is inherently of interest in terms of such things as expressions found within, concepts developed, and ideas and language that stem from it. Or, as in this study, as a snapshot in time to determine what aspects of Buddhism were influential during that era.

Determining the sources for particular terms and phrases within a text provides the researcher with additional annotation but it can also do much more. Although Linji lived in the ninth century, it was almost one hundred years later, in 952, that his teachings were gathered into the version of the *Linji lu* appearing in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集. Further, as Welters has argued, the text has remained consistent in terms of content but has changed in terms of arrangement over the centuries. This editorial work was not to correct mistakes or improve the presentation but was designed to contribute to the changing dialogue within Chan circles and with the literati. Welter has shown that the earlier arrangement addressed the question of orthodoxy whereas the later arrangement acted as a window into to the private world of Chan as articulated by the master and creates a dynamic that allows for a Chan master to dispense wisdom not just to a monastic audience and devoted adherents but to the elite of society as well. In so arguing, Welter has documented that the text is not historically accurate. The insight that the text is not history but narrative is the principle used in interpreting the findings from the data bank searches presented in this article.

Other researchers have stated that Linji was well versed in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and *Yogācāra* philosophy. In the *Linji lu*, the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is only one of seven sutras that act as a significant source of inspiration through quotations or by other means. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is neither the most quoted sutra, as the *Lotus Sutra* holds that distinction, nor is it the most influential over all, as total references to the other sutras far outnumber references to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. This statistical information should raise questions as to how deeply educated in *Avataṃsaka* thought Linji or the author(s) of the

text may have been. Yogācāra philosophy was well known in China by the time of Linji. However, previously available information clearly shows that the *Linji lu* references only three primary Yogācāra texts in translation and one Chinese commentary.

The present study adds information on some of the sources that influence the *Linji lu*. More than ten new references are presented. Most of these come from the sutra tradition, including: the *Śūrangama Sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, *Paramārthasaṃvṛttisatyānirdeśa Sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* or *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, *Ratnamegha Sūtra*, and *Mahaprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Further references to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* were also found; these required more research than the other sutra sources because the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is a large sutra with three translations, any one of which may have been referenced. I also discovered some phrases which appear in several primary treatises of the Yogācāra School, but as these texts were all translated in the seventh century by Xuanzang, determining which particular text is the source of the quotation is at this point impossible. There is also the fact that part of two Yogācāra phrases can be attributed to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and Kuiji's commentaries to Yogācāra works making exact identification of the source difficult.

In classic times, unlike today, ideas of copyright and plagiarization did not exist in China. The fact that the *Linji lu* contains some of the same stories and same phrases as those found in the records of Linji's contemporaries adds weight to the argument that the *Linji lu* is not an actual "record" but a narrative composition. However, it is equally possible that the narrative was woven around a kernel of actual records of encounters that had been passed down from previous generations. Determining this will have to wait for a further study.

Most importantly, it was shown that it was highly improbable that Linji studied all three translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* to the degree necessary to quote verbatim from them. Exploring deeper, it was determined that all references to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* located by other researchers and the new references discovered in the present

study come from one of two likely sources: Buddhahadra's (fourth-fifth centuries) translation of the sutra and Cheng-guan's *Da fang guang fo hua yan jing sui shu yan yi chao* (大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔).

Whatever historical reality may be preserved in the *Linji lu*, there is sufficient reason to question the hypothesis that the text, taken as a whole, is simply a record of various teachings by one of the most important Chan masters in the tradition. Not only was the text edited to respond to contemporaneous issues over the centuries, but there is evidence suggesting that even in its inception, at least in part, the text is a creative effort by the hand or hands that were responsible.

#### Notes:

- (1) I would like thank the International Research Institute of Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University for their generous support of the research used in this article.
- (2) T47 #1985.
- (3) App, Urs. 1993. *Concordance to the Record of Linji (Rinzai)*. Kyoto: International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University, has also been a source in the selection process.
- (4) Kirchner, Thomas Yūhō ed., and Sasaki, Ruth Fuller, trans. 2009. *The Record of Linji*. 65. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. He also notes that these sources must be approached critically and cautiously.
- (5) Welter, Albert. 2008. *Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy: The Development of Chan's Records of Sayings Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- (6) This text is considered the oldest and "somewhat" reliable source of information.
- (7) Welter, 2008, 154.
- (8) Welter, 2008, 154.
- (9) For example see: (Kirchner, 2009, 235-236). Further historic sources are also available but they too seem mostly connected to the *Linji lu* for information which often is not collaborated by other sources.
- (10) Kirchner, 2009, 196, 209, 229-230, 231, 254, 285-286.

- (11) Kirchner, 2009, 95-96.
- (12) Kirchner, 2009, 118,135?, 159, 169?, 209, 231, 270, 271, 283, 302, 325.
- (13) Kirchner, 2009, 211?, 282, 314?.
- (14) Kirchner, 2009, 191, 201-202?.
- (15) Kirchner, 2009, 170, 240, 287, 291?.
- (16) Kirchner, 2009, 165, 175, 328, 338.
- (17) Kirchner, 2009, 126, 242, 273, 278, 280?.
- (18) T31, #1601, translated by Xuanzang (602-664).
- (19) T31, #1599, translated by Paramārtha (499-569) also see the translation by Xuanzang T31, #1600.
- (20) T16, #677.
- (21) T31, #1589.
- (22) T31, #1593.
- (23) T31, #1595.
- (24) T31, #1599.
- (25) T16, #676.
- (26) T31, #1590.
- (27) T30, #1597.
- (28) T31, #1585. (Kirchner, 2009, 229)
- (29) T31, #1614. (Kirchner, 2009, 229); questionably ascribed to Vasubandhu and translated by Xuanzang.
- (30) T45, #1861. (Kirchner, 2009, 162)
- (31) T47 #1985 p.497c4.
- (32) T19 #945 p.148b7, translated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century/ doubtfully of Indic origin but traditionally counted as such.
- (33) T47 #1985 p.499a23.
- (34) T10 #279 p.309a18 translated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Also found in other earlier works, e.g.: *Da cheng li qu liu bo luo mi duo jing* (大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經) T8 #261 p.910c15 translated 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- (35) T47 #1985 p.500a17.

- (36) T10 #293 p.776a13.
- (37) T36 #1736 p.34a12.
- (38) T47 #1985 p.500c4.
- (39) T12 #374 p.396a1, T12 #375 p.636a28; but also see T10 #309 p.1037b27 *Zhu sheng wen pus sa shi zhu chu gou duan jie jing* (最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經) trans. 4<sup>th</sup> century., T15 #650 p.751a23 *Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśa Sūtra* trans. 4<sup>th</sup> century, and T32 #1668 p.620b29 *Shi mo he yan lun* (釋摩訶衍論) by Nagarjuna and trans 5<sup>th</sup> century.
- (40) T24 #1490 p.1081c26 translated in the Tang Dynasty. But also is found in T38 #1776 p.486a20 *Wei mo yi ji* (維摩義記) a 4<sup>th</sup> century commentary.
- (41) T47 #1985 p.500c21.
- (42) T10 #279 p.430b1.
- (43) T10 #293 p.825c14.
- (44) T47 #1985 p.500c27.
- (45) T14 #475 p.548c17.
- (46) T8 #233 p.735b10; but also see *Avaiartikacakra Sūtra* T9 #267 p. 245a6, *Sarvabudd haṃṣāyāvatarajñānālokālamkāra Sūtra* T12 #357 p.246a6.
- (47) T47 #1985 p.500c28.
- (48) T16 #659 p.281a23.
- (49) T47 #1985 p.506a7.
- (50) T10 #293 p.816b20-21.
- (51) T16 #658 p.232c4.
- (52) T47 #1985 p.499b2.
- (53) T26 #1530 p.319b7; but it also appears in native Chinese commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra and the Diamond Sutra*.
- (54) T31 #1585c12.
- (55) T31 #1602, p.560a19.
- (56) T47 #1985 p.500a19.
- (57) See: T33 #1695 p.26b3, T43 #1830 p.230c1, T43 #1834 p.1007c29.
- (58) T47 #1985 p.498b29.
- (59) T16 #656 p.24a5.

- (60) T5 #220b p. 601c7 or 602a23.
- (61) T51 #2076.
- (62) Kirchner, 2009, 121.
- (63) Kirchner, 2009, 185.
- (64) Kirchner, 2009, 198.
- (65) Kirchner, 2009, 202.
- (66) Yampolsky, Philip B. 1967. *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- (67) T9 #278.
- (68) T10 #279.
- (69) T10 #293.
- (70) T35 #1735.
- (71) T36 #1736.

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