
A word of praise is comparable to bestowing a princely robe; a word of blame is as severe as capital punishment. (KONG YINGDA 孔頎達, Chunqiu zhengyi)\(^1\)

Even among hagiographers, the Lidai fabao ji 历代法寶記 has been labeled a fabric of self-promoting fictions.\(^2\) This opinion was first expressed shortly after the work was written in the late eighth century, and negative appraisals continue even now. The sharpest contemporary criticism is to be found in the Beishan lu 北山錄 (Record of North Mountain) composed by Shengqing 神慶 (died 814), who admittely had sectarian motivations.\(^3\) According to a more recent assessment by historian of Chan John McRae, among texts of early Chan that indulge in “patent fabrications and questionable attributions,” the Lidai fabao ji “is undoubtedly the most egregious of all.”\(^4\) In this article I will argue that at least one of the Lidai fabao ji’s false

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\(^2\) This article is based on a paper presented at the 1995 Association for Asian Studies annual meeting, in the panel “Topics in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Hagiography.” Regarding the title of the text, it is not clear why the Dunhuang manuscripts of the Lidai fabao ji use 历代 rather than the standard 历代. Chan scholar Yanagida Seizan 藤田聖山 said he once speculated that this was a clue that the text was written during the Dali 大理 era (766–79), but then he changed his mind and thought it must simply be a Dunhuang variant usage. (From a conversation at the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Kyoto, 1990.)

\(^3\) T. 52 (2113) 611b = Taishō shinshō daizōkyō 大正新修大蔵経, 85 vols. (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kai, 1922–33), vol. 52 (no. 2113), p. 611b.


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claims faithfully reflects hidden issues involved in Chan polemics of the late eighth century, even though this claim did not necessarily serve the best interests of the school that the text was designed to promote. In other words, I wish to show that the Lidai fabao ji’s fabrications should not be discarded lightly.

It is clear that the Lidai fabao ji’s divergent account of the Chan transmission of the Dharma was deployed as part of a strategy to claim authority. The question remains, however—what kind of authority? Whose standards of legitimacy were recognized by the author or authors of the text? I believe that this question does not have a single answer and that the Lidai fabao ji reveals at least two conflicting forces at work. On the one hand, we can see the growing influence of the newly formulated Chan genealogical discourse; on the other hand, we also discern doctrinal quandaries and succession anxieties unique to the Bao Tang 孝誼, the Chan school responsible for the text.\(^5\)

It is beyond the scope of this article to explicate fully either eighth-century Chan genealogical issues or the concerns of the Bao Tang “school.” However, to put it in a nutshell, the Bao Tang attempted to establish legitimacy by claiming that the founder of their school, the Chan master Wuzhu 孫住 (714–74), was in possession of the key Chan talisman, the robe that the fifth patriarch Hongren 孔融 (602–75) was said to have conferred upon the sixth patriarch Huineng 聖能 (638–713). The Lidai fabao ji author(s) stated that the robe had been given by the Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (reigned 684–705) to a master in the lineage claimed by the Bao Tang school. In contrast, the accepted belief was that the robe was enshrined at Huineng’s temple in Shaozhou 郭州, far to the south.\(^6\) At the same time, in the Lidai fabao ji the most prominent of Wuzhu’s teachings in antinstitutional antinomianism, and the most prominent of his ordained disciples is a woman. The text ends with no indication of the fate of the robe or the succession at Wuzhu’s death.

These matters are dealt with more fully in my dissertation; here, by explicating one of the spurious claims in the Lidai fabao ji, I hope to elucidate underlying contradictions in “Southern School” ideology in general.

\(^5\) Use of the term “school” for the loosely defined affiliations of the eighth century is vexed; the designations are usually retrospective and often motivated by later sectarian considerations. Nevertheless, this convention is difficult to avoid entirely.

\(^6\) The earliest extant text claiming that Huineng received the robe is the Putidamou nanzong ding shifei lun 布提達摩兩宗定是非論 (Treatise determining the true and false about the Southern School of Bodhidharma), a record of Shenhui’s 神會 (684–758) 732 debate, written by Dagu Pei 趙州, in this text, Shenhui states that it was not necessary to transmit the robe after Huineng and that the robe was in Shaozhou. See Hu Shih 胡適, Shenhui heshang yizhi 神會和尚遺集 (Surviving works of Master Shenhui) (Taipei: Hu Shih jinian guan, 1930; reprint, 1970), pp. 289–81.
and the Lidai fabao ji in particular. These contradictions or fissures reveal the depth of resonance between Chan sectarian politics and Tang imperial theurgy. In both of the examples examined here, the Lidai fabao ji appropriation of Chan genealogical symbolism and Empress Wu Zetian’s manipulation of Buddhist symbolism, I will analyze the ways in which the given discourse of authority is used to bend that discourse in a direction antithetical to its constitutive principles.

THE Lidai fabao ji IN CONTEXT

The Lidai fabao ji (ca. 780) was composed somewhere near Chengdu by an anonymous disciple or disciples of the above-mentioned Bao Tang founder, Wuzhu. Wuzhu claimed Dharma descent from the charismatic Korean Chan master Wuxiang (684–762), who was well known as the founder of the Jingzhong “school,” but the Bao Tang cannot be traced as an independent line beyond the generation of Wuzhu’s immediate disciples. The Lidai fabao ji was preserved in three nearly complete manuscripts and five smaller fragments among the Stein, Pelliot, and Ishii collections of Dunhuang materials. Except in one instance there is no way to know the circumstances in which the text survived until the eleventh century, when the cave-temple cache was sealed. The manuscripts and fragments are not substantially different, which suggests that they may be relatively faithful to the original. The Lidai fabao ji thus provides a rare opportunity to shed light on the ways in which historical contingencies shape sectarian identity. The fact that the Bao Tang school was so short-lived and that its remains were hermetically sealed makes it, for all its fabrications, a more accurate reflection of the Buddhist world of the eighth and ninth centuries, the so-called golden age of Chan, than the au-

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7 For a fuller discussion of these issues, see my dissertation, “Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as Seen through the Lidai fabao ji (Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Ages)” (Stanford University, 1997), or my forthcoming book, Transmission and Authority in Medieval Chinese Buddhism.

8 Among the manuscripts of the Lidai fabao ji, P. 2125, P. 3717 (P = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Pelliot collection in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) and S. 516 (S = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Stein collection in London, British Library) are nearly complete; P. 3727, S. 5916, S. 1611, S. 1776, and the text from the Ishii collection are fragments. For my translations I used (1) the Taitoku edition, T. 51 (2075) 179a–196b, based on S. 516 with notes on the variations found in P. 2125, and (2) Yanagida Seizan’s edition of the text based on P. 2125, with his annotated Japanese translation: Yanagida Seizan, Shoki no zenshi II: Rekishi kōbōki 初期の禅史—秦代法宝記 (Early Chan history II: Lidai fabao ji) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1976). I was recently alerted to the existence of a previously unknown copy of the Lidai fabao ji that has turned up in the collection of the Tianjin art museum, but I have not yet had a chance to examine this manuscript.

9 The exception is the listing of the Lidai fabao ji in a catalog of the library of the Sanjie 三界 monastery at Dunhuang, the Jian yi qi ru zhaogong mula 見一切入観公目録, written by the monk Daozhen 道真 in 934. The catalog is now in the Beijing Library collection; see published edition by Oda Yoshishia 小田義久, “Tenkō Sankaichi no ‘Ken issai nyūzōkyō moukuroku’ 敦煌三界寺の「見一切入観品目録’,” Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū 龍谷大学論集, no. 434–35 (1989): 555–76; the entry of the title “Lidai fabao ji” occurs on p. 560.

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thoritative eleventh- and twelfth-century accounts. Indeed, the canonical accounts may be no more truthful than the *Lidai fabao ji*, merely more successful.

The *Lidai fabao ji* is one of a scant handful of Chan texts from roughly the same period, each possessing unique features that were absorbed and/or superseded by the official Chan genealogy, the *Jingde chuanzeng lu* (Record of the transmission of the lamp compiled in the Jingde era) compiled in 1004.\(^{10}\) The lore of the Chan patriarchy was reworked in numerous iterations over the course of several centuries, such that most traces of the particular historical valuations and tensions from which it had originally emerged were erased or submerged. The historicity of the biographies and lineages of renowned Chan masters has been undermined not only by Dunhuang finds but also by scholarly recognition that these biographical genealogies are by and large products of a period when Chan enjoyed the prestige of an established religious and cultural institution and the privilege of canonizing a romanticized view of its origins.\(^{11}\) Examination of the Dunhuang cache and subsequent re-examination of earlier materials have given scholars a glimpse of lost sketches and a few of the cruder attempts, such as the *Lidai fabao ji*, that nevertheless contributed to the polished and confident style of Song dynasty (960–1279) Chan literature.

The *Lidai fabao ji* authors' romanticized view of the origins of their school retains many traces of the historical tensions from which it emerged, traces that perhaps contributed to its relegation to "the deposit of sacred waste" at Dunhuang and certainly contribute to its interest for scholars today.\(^{12}\) Provisionally assigned a role as representative of Chan's golden

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\(^{10}\) T. 51 (2076). This and other Song dynasty Chan texts drew from the following eighth- and ninth-century Chan sectarian histories: (1) the *Baolin zhuan* (Transmission of the Baolin [temple]) of 801, Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōzō ichin Hōrin den* (Dentō gyokui shū 三教選集宝林傳 傳浄王英伝) (Tokyo: Chūbun shuppansha, 1975); (2) the above-mentioned *Beishan lu*; (3) the *Caogi dashi bie zhuan* (Separate biography of the great master at Caogi) of 781, Nakano Tatsue 中野達雄, ed., *Daibyō nippon zokushū* (hereafter ZZ) (Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905–12), 146:483–88; and (4) early versions of the *Liejī tân jing* (Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch), ca. late eighth century. See Philip Yampolsky, trans., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).


\(^{12}\) "Deposit of sacred waste" is a phrase of Aurel Stein's, quoted in Faure, *La volonté d'orthodoxie dans le bouddhisme chinois*, p. 16, n. 19.
age that never was, the *Lidai fabao ji* displays a distinctly hybrid character. Themes and texts associated with disparate modes of Buddhist discourse are juxtaposed within the *Lidai fabao ji*, and I suggest that this in part reflects a broader social and religious transition.

This transition was signaled most dramatically by the 755 rebellion of the general An Lushan 安禄山 against the Tang ruling clans but is discernible even before this critical turning point. Warring agendas in the *Lidai fabao ji* can be seen as a reflection in microcosm of a more extensive crisis of faith in the religious and secular structures of authority inherited from the early Tang. Rhetoric regarding patriarchal robes thus becomes a window on the complex relationship between Tang politics and Chan sectarian rivalries in the latter half of the eighth century.

During the century preceding the An Lushan rebellion, the Buddhist monastic establishments, clustered in and around the two Tang capitals of Chang’an and Luoyang, had grown into a collective force to be reckoned with. The power of the Buddhist church was maintained through relations of sometimes strained interdependence with the imperial court in a milieu of rivalry with court Daoism, and successive emperors struggled to co-opt and/or control its increasingly pervasive influence. This kind of institutional, esoteric-scholastic Buddhism reached the height of its power under the Empress Wu Zetian 武则天 (reigned 684–705), who created a network of monasteries to promulgate Buddhist teachings in support of her reign and continually invited exemplary monks to court in order to pay her respects to them. After Empress Wu, the next ruler to have a significant impact on institutional Buddhism was Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (reigned 712–56), whose reign effectively ended with the An Lushan rebellion. Even though the Tang forces subsequently rallied, the war effort resulted in the strengthening of the peripheries at the expense of the center.13

Politically as well as culturally, the eighth century saw a great deal of oscillation between the time-honored and the experimental. In particular, the nonhereditary bureaucratic class formed by the exam system began to make inroads into the labyrinth of privilege previously negotiated by the imperial household, Buddhist and/or Daoist monastic institutions, and aristocratic factions. More significant, with the disintegration of periphery-center tribute relations, decrease in central control of the military, and greater freedom for interprovince commerce, the middle-level officials and military governors became increasingly independent administrators in the provinces. Before the end of the dynasty in 907 there were several attempts to reinforce imperial authority, but some provincial centers such as Chengdu, the birthplace of the *Lidai fabao ji*, became nearly autonomous. There was also a trend toward secularization of social values with-

in the newly powerful and increasingly competitive bureaucratic class. These factors all contributed to create a milieu in which received genres and cultural paradigms were seen as inadequate or decadent.  

The shifting of the balance of power from center to peripheries also weakened the influence of the Buddhist monastic complexes of the capitals that were heavily implicated in Tang imperial politics. Decrease in resources for the older institutions of the central region, combined with new opportunities for patronage in the provinces, clearly had much to do with the development of the so-called Southern School of Chan to which the Lidao fabao ji 立道法寶記 claimed allegiance. Discussion of “sudden awakening” (duanwu 誕悟) in Chinese Buddhist texts predates the appropriation of this soteriology as the hallmark “Southern School” doctrine. However, the polemical context that gave birth to the “Southern School” has been linked to the Chan master Shenhuī's 神會 (684–758) attacks, beginning in 730, against the successors of the Chan master Shenxiú 神秀 (died 706), who had been highly revered by Empress Wu and the entire Chang'an/Luoyang establishment.  

Shenhuī had a decisive role in creating the symbolism and the narratives that were to change what it meant to be a Chan master (Chenshī 檀師) in the eighth century. Claiming to represent the teachings of Hui-neng, Shenhuī advocated direct realization of the truth of one’s own Buddha-Nature and (falsely) contended that the teachings of Shenxiú’s followers were “gradualist” and nurtured the delusion that awakening was a condition to be achieved, rather than one’s inherent reality. Implicated in Shenhuī’s claims was the centuries-old struggle over Buddhist elitism, an elitism that engendered and was engendered by imperial and popular enchantment with the mystique of the adept who gained numinous power through asceticism, ritual worship, and scriptural recitation.

Although Shenhuī himself did not go so far as to disavow any form of Buddhist activity whatsoever, he and subsequent Chan masters became increasingly attentive to the contradiction involved in teaching and practicing (which are inherently gradualistic) according to the orthodoxy of

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the “sudden.” This sudden-gradual doctrinal divide is key for understanding the hybrid nature of the *Lidai fabao ji*. Although it has features usually associated with the so-called gradual or Northern School trends that flourished through court patronage in the eighth century, it is most heavily influenced by Shenhuǐ’s “Southern School” writings. Conspicuously, it is the only text to take Shenhuǐ’s doctrine to its logical extreme by advocating radically antinomian “formless” practice. It was also the only text in which Bodhidharma’s robe continued to play a role beyond the sixth generation of patriarchs.

**THE ROBE IN QUESTION**

The *Lidai fabao ji* fabrication most frequently singled out for criticism is the story that in 692 Bodhidharma’s robe, which verified the monk Huineng’s status as sixth Chan patriarch, was sent by Huineng to court at Luoyang on the request of the Empress Wu Zetian. The empress was said to have later bestowed it on the monk Zhishen 智誥 (609–702), who was thus claimed to be the seventh patriarch in the lineage of the Bao Tang school. One of the aims of the present study is to reinvest this key transmission claim with some of the dignity of its presumption. Let us turn first to the passage in the *Lidao fabao ji* that puts forth this claim.

The monk Zhishen has been invited to Empress Wu’s court, where he encounters the challenge of an Indian Trepitaka (Tripiṭaka master) with magical powers. The Trepitaka reads Zhishen’s mind and, detecting that the Chan master is pining for home, taunts him about his attachment. The Trepitaka boasts that he can identify anything that Zhishen can bring to mind, and Zhishen amiably agrees. Zhishen then defeats the Indian master in an exchange reminiscent of the classic meeting between the shaman and Huizi that is related in the *Zhuangzi*. His success brings him to the attention of the empress with whom he engages in a kind of encounter dialogue. The following passage begins in the middle of the mind-reading contest:

[Zhishen] imagined himself dressed in layman’s garb looking toward the section office of the western market. That Trepitaka said, “How can [you], a worthy (bhadanta) monk, wear layman’s clothing and gaze into the midst of the market?” Shen [i.e., Zhishen] said, “Very good, try it again.” [Another similar scenario follows.] Shen said, “This time will be really good, try once more.” Then, right where he was, by relying on the Dharma he produced no thoughts at all. That Trepitaka searched throughout the Three Worlds, but in vain. The Trepitaka brahmin was

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filled with reverence and respect, and he bowed his head down at Shen’s feet, telling the Venerable, “I did not know that in the country of Tang there was Mahāyāna Buddh-dharma . . . .”

[Empress Wu] Zetian saw that the Trepjaka had taken refuge in Chan Master Shen. Zetian submitted a question to all the bhadanta: “Do the Venerables have any desires?” Shenxiu 慈秀, Xuanyue 玄約, Laoan 老安 and Xuanze 玄則 all said, “We have no desires.” Zetian asked Chan Master Shen, “Does the Venerable have any desires?” Chan Master Shen, fearing that he would not be allowed to return home, complied with the will of Zetian and replied, “I have desires.” Zetian further asked, “How can you have desires?” Shen replied, “That which is born has desire. That which is not born has no desire.” At these words, Zetian was awakened.18

When Zhishen insists on leaving, the empress gives him Bodhidharma/ Huiyeng’s robe and other gifts, including an embroidered image of Maitreya. It is significant that bestowal of the robe takes place in the context of an awakening experience signaling Dharma transmission, or mutual understanding between master and pupil, which was a frequent motif in Chan hagiographies. Here, however, the transmission is characterized by several kinds of inversion. First, the transmission of the sudden teaching, the identity between Buddha-Nature and ordinary function that is beyond words, finds its voice as the antinomian affirmation of desire. Second, it is the bestower who is awakened by the recipient. Third, a worldly ruler stands in for the Dharma ruler, Huiyeng, who is still alive at the time and is subsequently informed by the empress of the fate of his robe. Finally, the bestower is a woman and an empress, a lusus naturae—who, perhaps not incidentally, was known for her sexual appetites and also for having had her lover ordained the better to bestow upon him legitimacy and favors.

Through these interesting devices—the affirmation of desire and a woman’s gifts—the Lidai fabao ji author(s) got the robe into their own patriarchal narrative and eventually into the hands of their master, Wuzhu. In order to understand why they would risk such an incredible story, we must understand that this kind of coup de théâtre was not unprecedented and had worked for another Chan dramaturge, namely Shenhui. We may also call the robe “Shenhui’s robe,” for although Southern School claims hinge on Huiyeng’s possession of Bodhidharma’s robe, modern Chan scholars have shown that these claims refer back to the symbolic framework created by Shenhui.19 Integral to this framework is Shenhui’s unique claim regarding the Chan patriarchy. Shenhui fused diverse historical and

18 T. 51 (2075) 184a25–b9.
19 I am particularly indebted to the invaluable article by the late Anna Seidel, titled “Dën’e” (Chuangyi 傳衣, Transmission of the robe), to be included in the forthcoming Hôôgïrin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Maison franco-japonaise); English translation to appear in a forthcoming selection of Seidel’s works.
doctrinal material to support his notion of an exclusive patriarchal succession in which only one patriarch in each generation received mind-to-mind transmission of the true Dharma from the previous patriarch, linking back to Śākyamuni’s transmission to Mahākāśyapa. According to Shenhuì, the Indian master Bodhidharma was the first to bring this transmission to China, and he concomitantly transmitted his robe as verification of succession. Shenhuì claimed that the Dharma and robe had been passed through six generations to Huineng, as follows: from Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (died ca. 530), to Huike 慧可 (487–593), Sengcan 僧璨 (died ca. 606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), Hongren 弘忍 (602–75), and finally Huineng 慧能 (638–713). In fashioning his version of the lineage and biographies of these six ancestral patriarchs of the Chan school, Shenhuì drew from two slightly different genealogies in the early eighth century “proto-Chan” Chuan fabao ji 法寶紀 (Chronicle of the transmission of the Dharma-Jewel) T. 85 (2838), and Lengqie shizi ji 樂詰師資記 (Record of the masters and disciples of the Lanka [āvatāra-sūtra]) T. 85 (2837). The authors of these works had been influenced in turn by notions of patriarchal succession put forth in a late seventh-century epitaph for the monk Faru 法如 (638–89). Faru’s epitaph is the earliest extant work to claim that the so-called East Mountain (Dongshan 東山) transmission from Hongren and Daoxin was linked, through Sengcan, to the “Lanka” masters Bodhidharma and Huike.

Shenhuì disputed Shenxiu’s pride of place in the Chuan fabao ji and Lengqie shizi ji as one of the most prominent of Hongren’s heirs by claiming that Hongren had, in fact, secretly transmitted the Dharma and robe solely to Shenhuì’s own master, Huineng. The historical circumstances that contributed to the eventual success of Shenhuì’s version have been discussed at length elsewhere, but as rapidly as Shenhuì’s genealogical and doctrinal claims became accepted, they were equally as rapidly modified and superseded.

The so-called Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch story of the Dharma and robe transmission from Hongren to Huineng was the version that even-

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20 The most complete extant version of Shenhuì’s exposition on the transmission is a variant of P. 3047, the above-mentioned Putidamou nanzong ding shìfēi lun; this variant includes biographies of the patriarchs. See Suzuki Daizetsu and Kōda Rentarō 公田遠太郎, eds., Tonkō shisshūdō Kataki Jinme zenshi gogoku 敦煌出土寺記善寺史話 (Discourse record of the Heze Shenhuì found at Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Morie Shoten, 1934), pp. 53–64.
22 In the biography of Bodhidharma, included in the mid-seventh century Xu Gaoseng zhuan 錫光僧傳 (Continued biographies of eminent monks), he is portrayed as transmitting the Lanka [āvatāra-sūtra] to Huike: T. 50 (2060) 552b.
23 See n. 15 above.
tually became official and is the one most familiar today. A late version of the *Platform Sūtra* story was incorporated in the above-mentioned *Jingde chuandeng lu*, thus becoming the first Chan history to receive imperial sanction. The earliest extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* itself, however, are Dunhuang manuscripts dating from roughly the same time as the *Lidai fabao ji*.

I would like to quote corresponding passages from the *Platform Sūtra* and the *Lidai fabao ji*, passages that illustrate the relative similarity of their accounts of Huineng’s inheritance of the robe and their complete divergence regarding transmission after Huineng. The first-person narrator of the *Platform Sūtra* is Huineng: “At midnight the Fifth Patriarch called me into the hall and expounded the *Diamond Sūtra* to me. Hearing it but once, I was immediately awakened, and that night I received the Dharma. None of the others knew anything about it. Then he transmitted to me the Dharma of Sudden Enlightenment and the robe, saying: ‘I make you the Sixth Patriarch. The robe is the proof and is to be handed down from generation to generation. My Dharma must be transmitted from mind to mind. You must make people awaken to themselves. . . If you stay here there are people who will harm you. You must leave at once.’” The corresponding passage from the *Lidai fabao ji* is as follows: “In the night [Huineng] was secretly summoned to [the Master’s] room, and when they had spoken together for three days and three nights, [Hongren] entrusted [Huineng] with the Dharma and robe, [saying] ‘You are to be the Great Master of this world, and thus I command you to depart quickly.’”

In the *Platform Sūtra*, when Huineng is on the point of death and has been asked who will inherit the robe and the Dharma, he says: “The robe may not be handed down. In case you do not trust in me, I shall recite the verses of the preceding five patriarchs, composed when they transmitted the robe and the Dharma. If you depend on the meaning of the verse of the First Patriarch, Bodhidharma, then there is no need to hand down the robe,” And in the *Lidai fabao ji*, “Do not ask. After this, hardships will arise in great profusion. How often have I faced death on account of this robe? At Master Xin’s (i.e., Daoxin’s) place it was stolen three times, at Master Ren’s (i.e., Hongren’s) place it was stolen three times, and now at my place it has been stolen six times. But at last no one will steal this robe of mine, for a woman has taken it away. So don’t ask me any more.”

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26 T. 51 (2075) 182b13–16.
27 Yampolsky, p. 176.
28 T. 51 (2075) 182c4–8.
The woman is the Empress Wu, who is to give the robe to Zhisen, the great-grandfather in the Dharma of the Bao Tang founder Wuzhu. The genealogical implications are complicated by the fact that although Zhisen is actually a disciple of the fifth patriarch Hongren, he receives Huineng’s robe from the empress and passes it on to his disciple Chuji 稀寂 (669–736), who passes it to Wuxiang. Except for this interesting claim, the Lidai fabao ji passages having to do with the robe and the patriarchal succession in China are largely identical to Shenhuī’s. Shenhuī is quoted much more frequently in it than in the Platform Sūtra, even though the Platform Sūtra was to become the standard version of “Southern School” Chan transmission.

To understand the significance of the addition of the line “a woman has taken it away,” we must grapple with complex issues surrounding the legacy of the Empress Wu. Before discussing the empress directly, however, let us take a look at the Vajrasamādhi-sūtra, an apocryphal text that was probably composed during her reign. In the guise of an Indian sūtra, this work points toward the signature subitism of eighth-century Chan, and it also reflects incipient criticism of the traditional trappings of Buddhist authority. Shenhuī was clearly inspired by this text, and I suggest that his simplification and amplification of its message was partly due to the lingering effects of Empress Wu's reign.

SHENHUI’S ROBE AND THE Vajrasamādhi-sūtra

Let us briefly review the opinions of the foremost Chan authority Yanagida Seizan 柳田國山 regarding the relationship between Shenhuī and the Platform Sūtra. Yanagida has offered different theories over the years, arguing first (in 1967) that although the Platform Sūtra has obvious affinities with Shenhuī’s writings, it is actually the product of a member or members of the Niutou 鷲頭 school lineage who reworked Shenhuī’s symbolic and rhetorical framework and used it to promote a variant (and more sophisticated) doctrine and lineage. He surmised next (in 1985) that it was written by a third-generation, legitimate successor to Huineng as a direct challenge to Shenhuī’s claim to Huineng’s doctrine and lineage. More recently Yanagida has stated that whatever the origins of the Platform Sūtra, there are no traces of Huineng’s doctrine and lineage that can be separated from Shenhuī’s writings. Yanagida became intrigued instead by the apparent links between Shenhuī’s thought and the apocryphal Vajrasamādhi-sūtra.

31 Jin'gang sammei jing 金刚三昧经, T. 9 (273). For the following discussion I am indebted to Yanagida’s lectures at the International Institute for Zen Buddhism in Kyoto, 1993.
There are several instances in Shenhui’s writings in which passages and lines are taken from the Vajrasamādhi and yet not identified as quotations. In one of the most interesting of these, a section of the Ding shifei lun is composed of a pastiche of passages from the second and third fascicles of the Vajrasamādhi, but the section is identified instead as a quotation from a Prajñāpāramitā text, the Sheng Tian Wang banruo [poloumbai] jing 肆天王般若【波羅蜜】經. The passages from the Vajrasamādhi are grafted onto an abbreviated section from the second fascicle of the Sheng Tian Wang banruo jing. Furthermore, the Vajrasamādhi text has been changed slightly in places, apparently to render it more compatible with Shenhui’s doctrine of sudden practice. One wonders if perhaps the misleading attribution of the quotation in Shenhui’s text points to the fact that the Vajrasamādhi, even though by then included in an official catalog of scriptures, was still regarded as somewhat dubious.

Robert Buswell has convincingly argued that the Vajrasamādhi was composed in Silla in the latter decades of the seventh century, during which time there were close cultural ties between the Korean peninsula and mainland China. The text weaves together tathāgatagarbha thought and teachings associated with the East Mountain school, all rendered so convincingly in authentic sūtra style that it was considered a translation of a lost Sanskrit original until this century. Although the Vajrasamādhi was probably composed before or during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian, it was still listed as “non-extant” in the Buddhist canon produced under her auspices in 695, and yet it was apparently widely known and officially accepted in China by the time of its inclusion in the Kaiyuan canon of 730.

There are elements in the text that would perhaps have been more fully appreciated after Wu Zetian’s era. Consider the following passage

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32 On the Ding shifei lun, see notes 6 and 20 above. Compare the Vajrasamādhi, passages, T. 9 (273) 366c21–23; 367a4–6; 367c20–24; 368a18–21, to the Ding shifei lun, Suzuki and Kōda, eds., p. 52.


34 For example, consider the Vajrasamādhi line, T. 9 (273) 366c23: De wu fah lei, shì wei daheng 判五法論·是謂大乘. “Attaining purification of the five dharmas, this is called the Mahāyāna.” In the Ding shifei lun, “five dharmas” is changed to “the Dharma-Eye” fayan 眼法門, Suzuki and Kōda, eds., p. 52. Line 9. The difference is not great, but while purification of the five dharmas (another term for the five aggregates, the physical and mental elements constituting the phenomenal world) connotes gradual practice, purification of the Dharma-Eye (inherent wisdom) connotes the integral, undifferentiated qualities associated with sudden practice.

35 Buswell, pp. 171–81.

36 This “reappearance” is due to the common seventh- and eighth-century practice of choosing the title for a work composed in China from among works listed in the catalogs as no longer extant. See ibid., pp. 33–40.
concerning "the robe of the tathāgatas," or "thus-come-ones," the realized Buddha or buddhas:

Although he does not go forth into homelessness (pravrajita) he is no longer part of the household. For this reason, while he does not wear the dharma-robe and neither observes all the Prātimokṣa precepts [monk’s disciplinary rules] nor participates in the Pūjakā [fortnightly religious observance], he does not engage in personal licentiousness in his own mind and obtains the fruition of sainthood... Taeryōk Bodhisatva remarked, "This is inconceivable! Even though such a person has not gone forth into homelessness, he cannot but have gone forth. Why is this? He has entered the domicile of nirvāṇa, where he dons the robe of the tathāgatas and sits on the bodhi-seat (bodhimandā). Such a person should be worshipped respectfully even by śramaṇas."37

The figure who wears the "robe of the tathāgatas" is not "an exception who proves the rule," such as the super layman Vimalakirti, yet neither is he an exemplary monk who observes the precepts. The robe worn by this figure of ambiguous status is likewise inconceivable—what, after all, does a Buddha body wear? I believe that the mystique of legitimacy enveloping Shenhuī/Huineng/Bodhidharma’s robe is patterned after this inconceivable "robe of the tathāgatas." Furthermore, the kind of figure Shenhuī promoted in the sixth patriarch Huineng embodies some of the same ambiguous qualities of the "one who has not gone forth and cannot but have gone forth"—to whom monks in ordinary Dharma robes should pay homage.

In both Shenhuī’s writings and the Lidaifabao ji, Huineng does not become ordained until after he has received transmission from Hongren and then does so only when importuned by an eminent monk who wishes to become his disciple. This loosening of the link between ordination and status as a realized person is exaggerated even further in the Lidaifabao ji. The protagonist Wuzhu disdains activities associated with the ordinary śramaṇa, and the Chan master Zongmi (780–841) faulted the Bao Tang school precisely for tonsuring and conferring robes on people without requiring of them any evidence of Buddhist practice.38 The Lidaifabao ji author(s) and Zongmi were perhaps the most explicit of the disputants over the antinomian implications of Shenhuī’s writings, but they articulated a tension that was far more comprehensive.

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37 Ibid., p. 220.
38 Zongmi’s critique occurs in his summary and evaluation of the different Chan schools of his day. He first describes Bao Tang ordination and practices, or lack thereof, and characterizes the Bao Tang as a school that preaches “extinguishing consciousness” (mieszhi 虚識). Yuanjue jing dashu chao 圆覺經大疏抄 (Subcommentary to the scripture of perfect enlightenment), ZZ. 14:278d. See Kamata Shigeo 鏡矢盛男, Zengen shosenshi tojo 碧源証叢集序 (Tokyo: Chikuma sho, 1971), pp. 306-7. The Bao Tang school is then included in Zongmi’s more extensive criticism of the nihilistic and antinomian tendencies of the Hongzhou and Niutou schools. ZZ. 14:279a-c; Kamata, pp. 312-15.
I suggest that the appeal of the “one who has not gone forth and cannot but have gone forth” reflects a certain disenchantment with the garb of the ordinary monk, a disenchantment that followed the restoration of the Tang after the reign of Empress Wu, was given direction by the Emperor Xuanzong, and was accelerated by the An Lushan rebellion. In order to understand the devaluation of the status of the ordinary monk in the late eighth century, I believe we must consider it as part of the critical response to Wu Zetian’s attempted fashioning of a new order of Buddhist elites. Therefore, let us now consider the Buddhist fashions for which the empress was most infamous.

THE MANY ROBES OF THE EMPRESS WU ZETIAN

In 690, Empress Wu set a precedent by bestowing purple kāṣāya robes upon a group of monks, including her lover Huaiyi 懐義, as a mark of special favor. The earliest source for the event is the Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 (Old Tang history): “Huaiyi, Faming and others made the Dayun jīng, in which was displayed a series of signs [concerning the Heavenly] Mandate and in which it was said that Zetian was Maitreya who had descended to be born and act as head of the Jambudvīpa... Huaiyi, Faming and others, nine people, were all enfeoffed dukes of a subprefecture and were given different objects: all were given the purple kāṣāya and a ‘silver bag for the tortoise.’” 39

This investiture enfolds Chinese patents of nobility within and around a gesture born of Indian Buddhist mythology. The princely robe, imperial talisman, and sīh were indigenous Chinese symbols and substance of enfranchisement, granting permission to enter into the ritual arena constituted by the interplay of ancestral merit, heavenly sanction, and material privilege. The conferral of a robe signified imperial favor but was not one of the talismans of imperial legitimacy. However, in Indian Buddhist Maitreya mythology, transfer of the kāṣāya robe evokes the inhumanly vast cycles of succession from Buddha to Buddha. The giving of meritorious gifts by the ruler to the community of monks also recalls the Cakravartin “wheel-turning king” mythology of ideal confluence between world monarch and world salvation.

Wu Zetian’s gesture thus reflects the intricate interplay of signs characteristic of her reign. Her efforts on the one hand were directed toward fashioning a dynastic identity in the time-honored manner, through the relationship of names (such as the Zhou 周) and symbols (such as the tortoise) intended to evoke harmonious reverberations in the sanctioned

terms of Han-derived cosmology. On the other hand, she and her trusted advisors among the Buddhist clergy strove to build a new kind of empire, not through expansion of borders but rather by investing the entire realm in a rich (and expensive) overlay of institutional Buddhism. Other Chinese rulers before her, notably Emperor Wu 武 (reigned 502–49) of the Liang 梁 and Emperor Wen 文 (reigned 581–604) of the Sui 隋, had been taken with variations on the theme of the ruler as bodhisattva ruling for the benefit of sentient beings. Wu Zetian’s state ideology was replete with complex Cakravartin and bodhisattva symbolism, but, as evidenced in the passage from the Jiu Tang shu quoted above, she is remembered in official history as the one who dared to take upon herself the mantle of Maitreya, the future Buddha.

In Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century, the eminent sinologist Antonino Forte presents a more nuanced picture. He shows that the subtle manipulation of Maitreya symbolism stemmed from Wu Zetian’s cadre of monk advisors, who can be credited at least provisionally for their sincere belief in the advent of a utopian Buddhist realm inaugurated by their empress. The commentary to the Dayun jing 大雲經 (Māheśvara-sūtra) that they produced does claim that Wu Zetian is Maitreya—softened by a note that maitreya merely means one who is compassionate or benevolent. Forte puts forth the interesting argument that the monks responsible for this commentary were playing on the popular appeal of Maitreya but were also wary of the subversive aspects of millenarian Maitreyism. In other words, they were attempting to win popular support and yet avoid becoming overly involved with the kind of messianic Maitreyism advocated in the banned apocrypha of the Sui, which might raise expectations too high and trigger a full-scale uprising. In concrete political terms, they were trying to shift the balance of power from the aristocracy to the military and civil bureaucracy. This is seen, for example, in the commentators’ quotation from the so-called Guang Wu ming 廣武銘 (Inscription magnifying [Empress] Wu): “All the people will be happy; it will be learned that civilians and soldiers will develop.” [Commentary:] Here it is made clear that the ‘hundred offices’ of the civil and military administration will be extended

40 See Forte, p. 156. The commentary is the Dayun jing Shenhuang shouji yishu 大雲經神皇授記義疏 (Commentary on the meaning of the prophecy about [her majesty] Shenhuang in the Great Cloud Scripture), S. 6502; translated in Forte, pp. 183–238.

41 Jan Nattier points out that notions of Maitreya as a world ruler stem from the Chinese apocrypha (influenced no doubt by Chinese political praxis), whereas in Indian Buddhist canonical sources there is no blending of spiritual and political rule, the latter remaining strictly subordinate. This is symbolized by the disappearance of the seven jewel talismans of the Cakravartin’s rule when Maitreya is enlightened. See Jan Nattier, “The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis,” in Maitreya, the Future Buddha, ed. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 34.

from now on.43 These efforts of the empress’s advisors can be said to have had mixed results, for in spite of the dynastic reversion back to the Tang neither the uprising nor the shift in balance were avoided.

Wu Zetian’s legacy is a complex subject, but it is the lasting association between the empress and messianic Maitreyaism, spoken of with distaste in official sources, that is of concern here. Later Buddhists, including the influential Zanning (919–1001), took pains to disparage the activities of the monks who supported the empress.44 However, there must have been others for whom, in retrospect, her reign seemed as it was advertised—the advent of a Buddhist utopia wherein monks were enfranchised as the aristocracy.

The Lidai fabao ji author(s) seem to have been susceptible to this nostalgia insofar as their lineage claim hinges on Wu Zetian’s power to bestowed Huineng’s robe, and by implication the patriarchy, on Zhishen. At the same time, the author(s) must have been well aware that their Shenhuì-derived doctrine and practice were based on the repudiation of monks whom Wu Zetian had sponsored. The Lidai fabao ji account of Zhishen’s sojourn at court and his defeat of the Trepitaka is designed to showcase the empress’s acknowledgment of the superiority of the doctrine of no-thought over the old-fashioned magic of her former favorites. Yet we also see evidence of ambivalence toward the ruler as mediator of Buddhist legitimacy, an ambivalence that in the Lidai fabao ji is neither erased nor entirely resolved.

Note that in addition to Huineng’s robe the empress gives Zhishen other gifts, including an embroidered image of Maitreya. I believe this additional gift is not included merely to underline Wu Zetian’s generosity. To further entangle the threads of conferral, let us examine Wu Zetian’s role as intermediary in light of the transfer of robes involved in Maitreya mythology.

There are many versions of the legend that the Buddha gave his robe to his chief disciple Mahākāśyapa, or exchanged robes with him, in order for Mahākāśyapa to convey the robe to Maitreya when he becomes the next Buddha.45 The famous Tang pilgrim Xuanzang (602–64) relates a version of the Buddha-Mahākāśyapa conferral in his Da Tang xiyu ji 大唐西域記 (Tang Dynasty account of the western regions), a version that has been shown to be quite different from both Indian and Chinese

43 For a discussion of this prophetic stone inscription “discovered” in 688, see ibid., p. 191, n. 50. The quotation is from Forte’s translation of the Commentary, pp. 199–200.

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canonical sources.46 The legend of the Buddha’s robe as told by Xuanzang is a possible source for a pattern favored in the Lidai fabao ji, whereby an intermediary conveys the robe and authority between two links in a chain that are not in direct contact. Here we must focus neither on the robe nor the bearer-wearers but on the legerdemain, the pattern of transmission. It is repeated twice in the Lidai fabao ji: the transmission of the robe from Huineng to Zhishen via Empress Wu prefigures the transmission of the robe and Dharma from Wuxiang to Wuzhu via a servant of Wuxiang’s.

In Xuanzang’s version the Buddha, about to enter nirvāṇa, entrusts his gold-embroidered kāṣāya to his disciple Mahākāśyapa and at the same time publicly invests him as leader of the community and successor to the transmission of the true Dharma. The Buddha then predicts that twenty years after the first assembly, when Mahākāśyapa will in turn be about to enter nirvāṇa, he will enter Mount Kukkuṭapāda and will stand holding Śākyamuni’s robe in his arms. The mountain will enclose him and he will thus await Maitreya. When the future Buddha comes, the mountain will open of itself and Mahākāśyapa will transmit the robe to Maitreya in view of the assembled crowd, and thereafter he will ascend into the air and self-combust, entering nirvāṇa.47

The distinctive element in Xuanzang’s version is that the robe that the Buddha entrusts to Mahākāśyapa is a gold-embroidered kāṣāya, the gift of the Buddha’s aunt Mahāprajāpatī, the first Buddhist nun and also the woman who raised him after his mother died. The Buddha’s royal aunt and fostermother is an ambiguous figure, for her ordination is most famously associated with the Buddha’s prediction that women’s admission to the order will cause the Dharma to last only five hundred instead of one thousand years.48 Xuanzang’s identification of the entrusted robe conflicts with a separate set of Indian sūtra stories concerning Mahāprajāpatī’s gift. Jonathan Silk, in his dissertation on the Mahāratnakūṭa tradition, says of these stories, “I know of no version in which Śākyamuni himself actually accepts the proffered robes.”49 Both Shenhui and the Lidai fabao ji author(s) refer to the robe entrusted to Mahākāśyapa as “gold-embroidered,” which is the usual Chinese description of the Mahāprajāpatī’s gift but not of Śākyamuni’s transmission to Mahākāśyapa. Given the fact that Mahāprajāpatī’s admission to the Saṅgha is strongly linked to the theme of the decline of the Dharma, it is somewhat ironic that the Lidai fabao ji author(s), following Shenhui’s lead, cite conferral of the gold-embroidered

46 Silk, p. 61.
47 Da Tung xiyu ji, T. 51 (2087) 919b24–c24.
49 Silk, p. 62. For another discussion of the versions of Mahāprajāpatī’s gift, see Jaini.
robe as the precedent for the power of the transmission of Bodhidharma’s robe to guard against decline of the Dharma.\textsuperscript{50}

The recurring motif in the stories of Mahāprajāpāti’s gift is the Buddha’s refusal, but Silk notes related variants in which, on being refused, “Mahāprajāpāti wanders into the assembly looking for a monk to accept the robes, and all refuse—except Maitreya.” Silk comments: “This version, of course, which omits Mahākāśyapa completely, provides a direct link between Śākyamuni and Maitreya.”\textsuperscript{51} For our purposes, the main interest of the story lies in the fact that the link is not direct, that the robe is conveyed to Maitreya through the mediation of Mahāprajāpāti.

Although the Lidai fabao ji account of the empress conveying Bodhidharma’s robe between patriarchs makes her a kind of interregnum regent homologous to Mahākāśyapa, her bestowal of princely robes recalls, whether welcome or not, the premature ending of Śākyamuni’s Dharma “dynasty” associated with Mahāprajāpāti. Although this was not the sort of symbolism the empress would have appreciated, in the complex web of associations involved in the above-mentioned Dayun jing ideology, Mahāprajāpāti appears, perhaps an inadvertent shadow, in the company of Wu Zetian’s opposites and doubles. Mahāprajāpāti is the “matriarch” of the order of nuns and as such takes her place in a trinity heading the great assembly described at the opening of the Dayun jing.\textsuperscript{52} She is beside Mahākāśyapa, who represents the order of monks and the “Great Cloud Matrix” Bodhisattva (Dayun mirang 大雲密藏) who represents the bodhisattvas. In the Dayun jing this bodhisattva is the Buddha’s interlocutor, and he also serves as a foil for the Devī who would-be-queen identified as the empress in the Dayun jing commentary.

The Dayun jing prophecy that the Devī Jingguang 涓光 would become a female Buddhist ruler was one of the central supports of Wu Zetian’s ideology. In the following passage from the Dayun jing included in the commentary, the Buddha praises Devī Jingguang—which causes her to feel “ashamed in her heart”—and then he foretells her future conditions: “Excellent! Excellent! Shame is the good Dharma robe of the many beings. . . . On my appearing in the world you have once more listened to the profound and good [Dharma]. When you abandon this Devī-form you shall, with the body of a woman, rule over the territory of a country and obtain one quarter of the places governed by a Cakravartin king.”\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} Ding shifei lun, Suzuki and Kōda, eds. (n. 20 above), p. 63; Lidai fabao ji. T. 51 (2075) 183b26–c1.
\textsuperscript{51} Silk, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{52} Forte (n. 39 above), p. 253.
\textsuperscript{53} S. 6502, reproduced in Forte, plate 1. Translation adapted from Forte’s in ibid., p. 185. The inability to obtain rebirth as Mahābrahman, Indra, Māra, a Cakravartin, or a Buddha constituted the “five obstacles” of female form, here circumvented by the proviso that the territory ruled.
In the Zhengmingjing 證明経 (Attestation scripture), an apocryphal scripture also used to support Wu Zetian’s reign, there is an apocalyptic vision of the birth of a Buddhist kingdom in China. In the scripture the bodhisattva Samantabhadra has the role of avenging angel and protective midwife, and in one passage Samantabhadra is called Mahāprajāpati. This stītra was quoted in the commentary to the Dayunjing to encourage people to connect the utopian realm prophesied by Samantabhadra with the reign of Devi Jingguang as Wu Zetian.

Perhaps fittingly, while weaving a mantle of scriptural prophecy to bestow on their empress, the cadre of monks captured not only a blushing Devi but also the more ambiguous shades of a willful Mahāprajāpati and a punitive Samantabhadra. Although in the Dayunjing the Buddha praises “shame” as the Dharma robe of all beings, it is hubris for which Wu Zetian is most consistently remembered by Chinese historians. Thus, the precedent she established of bestowing robes on monks became a dubious honor, resonant with the story of Mahāprajāpati, locus classicus for the trope of the monk who refuses to give up his tattered robes and accept fine clothing from a wealthy lay devotee. Although Buddhist literature abounds with words of praise and evocations of merit for those who give food, clothing, bedding, and medicine for the use of the Saṅgha, there was ambivalence toward laypersons who gave costly and personal gifts to individual monks.

Wu Zetian’s attempt to raise permanently the level of the Saṅgha perhaps catalyzed the will to transcend even the monk’s status once it became so unequivocally a cloak of worldly power. Emperor Wu of the Liang had donned monk’s robes and then had his minister ransom him and his divested royal raiment back from the monastery, establishing an “inexhaustible” and independent financial base for the Saṅgha. In contrast, Wu Zetian’s edifice and her lavish gifts reached toward monarchical assumption of the power to confer legitimacy on monks. Thus the Vajrasamādhi-stītra invocation of an immaterial “robe of the tathāgatas” may have resonated with a current of feeling against the empress’s presumption.

THE REFORMS OF EMPEROR XUANZONG

The issue of the distinction between material Buddhism and formlessness became even more vexed during the era of Shenhui’s activities, the reign

will be only a quarter of that of a Cakravartin. However, by taking the title “Divine Sovereign of the Golden Wheel” (金輪聖神皇帝) in 693, Wu Zetian was clearly identifying herself with a Golden-Wheel Cakravartin.

54 Puxian pusa shuo ci zhengmingjing 菩賢菩薩說此學明經 (Scripture of attestation spoken by the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra). T. 85 (2879). For textual analysis and partial translation, see Forte, pp. 271–80.

55 Forte, p. 276. Mahāprajāpati’s name was translated into Chinese as Dasheng zhu 大生主 (Great lord of beings), an epithet of Samantabhadra.

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of the Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (reigned 712–56). According to the Song Buddhist historian Zanning 贞宁 (919–1001), the practice of bestowing the purple robe (ziyi 紫衣) did not occur during the reigns of the pious emperors Zhongzong 中宗 (705–10) or Ruizong 睿宗 (710–12) but was taken up again by Xuanzong.56 Xuanzong was notably ambivalent about Buddhism, well aware of its role in the renegade reign of Wu Zetian and the attempted coup of the Taiping Princess 太平公主 (died 713), but he supported the clergy in a clearly defined and limited capacity. It has been argued that during the reign of Xuanzong we see the first signs of a different kind of imperial attitude toward Buddhism.57 This attitude differs from earlier attempts to control Buddhism by outright persecution, differs from the massive scale of Wu Zetian’s co-option, and differs again from imperial policy that suffered Buddhism to flourish as a kind of side bet alongside the dominant Confucian ritual and archival concerns. With Xuanzong we see attempts to persuade the loose network of Buddhist institutions to enforce critical standards that were arguably of benefit to the network itself.

Xuanzong’s decrees proscribed marketplace proselytization, curbed irregular ordination and temple building, prohibited merchants from casting images and copying scriptures for profit, and strictly limited fraternization between lay and ordained.58 These measures contributed to greater monastic control and yet at the same time “routinized the charisma” such that the center shifted toward decorum and ritual, an atmosphere in which Daoist priests and Tantric masters thrived. It is noteworthy that after centuries of protest against imperial attempts to require clergy to pay obeisance to the emperor and their parents, there is no record of clerical resistance to Xuanzong’s 733 decree to that effect.59

This is certainly not to claim that no emperor before Xuanzong had ever managed to control monks. Yet previous policies had aimed primarily to

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56 _Du Song sengshi lue_ 大宋僧史略 (Song Dynasty compendium of monastic history), T. 54 (2176) 248c-249a. However, Du Guangting’s _Zhuang hua_ (850–933) history of imperial support of Daoism, the _Lidai chongdai ji_ 歴代崇道紀, claims an earlier Tang precedent and states that Taizong conferred a purple robe on the priest Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知. Weinstein (n. 13 above), pp. 6, 153, n. 2. Moreover, Zanning’s other main work includes at least one example of a purple robe bestowed by Zhongzong, who is said to have given one to Huijian 惠範 in 706. See Song gaogou zhuan, T. 50 (2061) 823c11–12. For a history of the bestowal of the purple robe, see Huang Minzhi 黄敏智, _Songdai fazhao shenhui jingji shi lunji_ 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (A collection of essays concerning Song Dynasty Buddhist socioeconomies) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1989), pp. 443–511.


59 Tonami, pp. 39–45. Faure cites a record of protest against such an edict in 714, early in Xuanzong’s reign. The record is in the _Tang huiyao_ _juan_ 47 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1974), p. 836; see Faure, _The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Ch'an Buddhism_, p. 76. However, Tonami claims that “there is not a trace of resistance” to the edict of 733.
curb Buddhism from without, whereas eighth-century edicts seem more successfully designed to set centralized administrative standards to work within the monastic network. For example, in 724 Xuanzong issued an edict instituting an exam system for the clergy and ordered that those who could not memorize and recite the requisite amount of scripture be laicized. The decree further stipulated that skill in meditation would not be an acceptable substitute.60

At the same time, Xuanzong is also well known for his predilection for masters of esoteric Buddhism and their thaumaturgic powers. Outside of the sphere of these favorites, however, the ordinary monk was beginning to be regularized, acquiring worldly status that put him on a par with an official but steadily losing the otherworldly status that allowed him to look benevolently down upon the emperor.

Shenhui’s robe rhetoric may have been an attempt to regain this special separate status. In an insightful article, John Jorgensen draws connections between Shenhui’s notions of patriarchal succession and the complex issues surrounding Tang imperial succession that were current in Shenhui’s day. Jorgensen discusses Zongmi’s commentary correlating Chan patriarchal succession and Chinese ancestral rites, in which a founder and six linear descendants are necessary in order to establish the ancestral temple of a clan or dynasty. In the aftermath of Empress Wu’s interregnum there were disputes over the sequence of the tablets in the Tang ancestral temple, and Jorgensen demonstrates that Shenhui’s rhetoric echoed, or perhaps even inspired, so-called “Southern Learning” (nanxue 南學) factionalists at court who were moving toward unequivocal ritual erasure of her reign.61

Jorgensen says:

If Tsung-mi correctly interpreted the ideas of Shen-hui, then Shen-hui is making a two-pronged attack on Northern Ch’an by associating it with the Empress Wu. Firstly he alleges that Northern Ch’an was an illegitimate succession like that of Empress Wu who reigned while Emperors Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung were still alive, with two masters per generation, or two suns in the sky. Secondly there was guilt by association with the perverted “materialistic” Buddhism of her times, a perversion that was probably due to a woman being on the throne.

There was another political dimension to Shenhui’s emphasis on the sixth generation. Yangida Seizan has suggested that a comparison was being made by Shenhui with the lineage of the T’ang house itself. If Empress Wu is eliminated as being illegitimate, ruling while two former emperors were still alive, this would make Hsüan-tsung the sixth emperor.62

60 Weinstein, pp. 110–11, 188–89, nn. 20–22.
62 Ibid., p. 108.
It was precisely during Shenhui's generation that fixing the identity of a sixth patriarch or sixth Tang emperor became a crucial issue, for this would determine the composition of the foundational ancestral phalanx. Bodhidharma's robe qua the robe of the tathāgatas can therefore be seen to serve as talisman for Shenhui's implicit claim to be the seventh ancestor in the restored dynasty of the "Southern School." Shenhui writes: "The robe is the verification of the Dharma and the Dharma is en-doctrinization of the robe." Robe and Dharma mutually transfer and are handed down without alteration. Without the robe one does not spread forth the Dharma; without the Dharma one does not receive the robe. . . . To know empty quietude is to fully realize the Dharma-body, and to be truly liberated." 64

Empress Wu's luxurious robes and Emperor Xuanzong's livery both threatened to bind the spiritual to the political realm, and Shenhui took up Bodhidharma's empty robe in order to reestablish the Chan patriarchs in the dharmakāya realm of nonduality where they reigned supreme. 65 The Lidai fabao ji is more faithful to Shenhui's doctrine, practice, and rhetoric than any of its rivals for "Southern School" legitimacy. Yet, in letting Bodhidharma's robe pass through Wu Zetian's hands, it allows the primary symbol of that legitimacy to pass through the milieu that was the focus of Shenhui's most vehement attack.

**THE BODHISATTVA'S NEW CLOTHES**

Perhaps the Lidai fabao ji author(s) were inadvertently correct in acknowledging the pivotal role that the empress's mixed blessing played in the formation of the "Southern School." In tandem with her lavish support of the Saṅgha, her ideological projects set the realm reverberating with the apocalyptic tones and imagery of immanence. Her realm of the Dharma was two-tiered, at once temporal and metaphysical. Shenhui's sudden teaching was immanent in two mutually contradictory yet interdependent absolutes, for it was realized exclusively in its patriarchal bearers and inclusively in each individual devotee. The danger was that the ordinary devotee might fail to see the difference and point out the nakedness of Buddha-Nature in both the patriarch and his pupils.

63 Yi wei fa xin fa shi yi zong 衣為法信法是衣宗.
64 Dunwu wushang banruo song 顿悟无生般若颂 (Hymn to the birthless wisdom of sudden awakening), S. 468, in Hu Shi (n. 6 above), p. 195.
65 It is therefore somewhat ironic that, in order to quell the disputes that Shenhui's claims precipitated within the Saṅgha, his heir Zongmi appealed to a 796 edict by the Emperor Dezong 德宗 confirming Shenhui's status as seventh patriarch. See Yuanjue jing dashu chao, ZZ, 14:277b–c. The earliest source to refer to Shenhui as the seventh patriarch is the Longmen stele of 765. See McRae, "Shen-hui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Ch'ān Buddhism" (n. 15 above), p. 237.
Let us consider a passage from the above-mentioned Zhengming jing, in which homage to the empress's new mandate, like that rendered the invisible robe of the tathāgatas, serves to distinguish the ordinary from the discerning who alone are able to see the "luminous king of the Dharma": "Then in the Sahā [world] there will not be the five kinds of people. All corruption will be cured, and all will be given the names of Bodhisattvas... The countries will be Buddhist countries, the regions will be Buddhist regions, the commanderies will be Buddhist commanderies, the districts will be Buddhist districts, the villages will be Buddhist villages, the neighborhoods will be Buddhist neighborhoods. All will assemble in the Transformation City... and they will be able to see this Luminous King... If there are distrustful people they will not be able to see this Dharma."\textsuperscript{66}

Wu Zetian's "material Buddhism" and its utopian underpinnings disturbingly blurred the fine line between visible and invisible Buddhist realms. Shenhui's concept of the patriarchy was an attempt to redraw that line, and his patriarchal robe was a self-contained tathāgata realm with a monarchy separate from both secular and ordinary institutional Buddhist authority. His success is attested by the number of rivals who arose to lay claim to this new territory.

The Lidai fabao ji author(s) apparently evoked the empress as a source of legitimacy separate from the pettiness of Chan infighting alluded to in the lament over frequent thefts of the robe. Yet perhaps this was not such a retrogression as it might seem. One of the more intriguing points in the Lidai fabao ji is the passage on Wuzhu's female disciple Liaoqianxing 了見性 (Completely seeing the [Buddha] nature), who receives the most detailed treatment of any of the ordained disciples.\textsuperscript{67} In this passage, it is said that Liaoqianxing became a nun simply by donning robes and tonsuring herself, flaunting both Buddhist and imperial authority in a perfect enactment of Wuzhu's teachings.\textsuperscript{68}

There is no other record of this person, and we can only speculate as to why neither she nor any other disciple was named as Wuzhu's successor. Was it because his closest disciples were laypersons and women, or was it because his radical interpretation of sudden practice was incompatible with any form, including that of transmission? If the latter, then why is so much of the Lidai fabao ji invested in establishing a claim to legitimacy in conventional (and fabricated) terms? Perhaps the story of the empress,

\textsuperscript{66} Zhengming jing, T. 85 (2879) 1366b9–17. Adapted from partial translation in Forte (n. 39 above), p. 280.
\textsuperscript{67} The Lidai fabao ji also highlights Wuzhu's relationship with the prominent imperial minister in Sichuan, Du Hongjian 杜鴻堅 (709–69). Although he is considered to have been Wuzhu's follower, his role is that of primary patron rather than close personal disciple.
\textsuperscript{68} Lidai fabao ji, T. 51 (2075) 192a24–b20.

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who used the imperial system to establish a position not recognized by that system, struck a sympathetic chord among certain of Wuzhu's disciples. By including Wu Zetian, briefly and fictitiously, in its chronicle of Chan succession, the *Lidai fabao ji* allows us a tantalizing glimpse of many fissures hidden beneath a reflective surface of historical verisimilitude. Whatever the aspirations and fears of Wuzhu's antinomian followers may have been, they were soon lost in the gathering momentum of "Southern School" Chan orthodoxy.

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