

Lü Meng-cheng in the *Tsung-men wu-k'u*

The recorded sayings (*yü-lu* 語錄) of Ch'an masters that were zealously compiled during the Sung (960-1279) contain both religious and secular information important for the study of Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> Because they were systematically transmitted and adequately preserved they also provide rich sources for the study of the lives and experiences of the Ch'an masters themselves, many of whom often led active social and political lives and attracted large groups of disciples, members of which ranged from crown prince to commoner.

In a previous article I tried to reconstruct the history and features of *ts'an-ch'ing* 參請 storytelling during the Southern Sung (1127-1279) by making extensive use of the Sung-era *yü-lu*.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I discuss a version of the Lü Meng-cheng 呂蒙正 story recorded in *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih tsung-men wu-k'u* 大慧普覺禪師宗門武庫 (for convenience referred to as *Tsung-men wu-k'u*), a collection of sayings by Tsung-kao 宗杲 (1089-1163).

This version has so far escaped the attention of most scholars, who basically have not realized the full value of *yü-lu* as historical sources.<sup>3</sup> Though there are quite a few studies of the influence of Ch'an Buddhism on T'ang and Sung poetry, literary criticism, and Sung neo-Confucianism that take due note of the *yü-lu*,<sup>4</sup> their attention is centered around *kung-an*

<sup>1</sup> For the background of such compilations, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1964; rpt. 1972), pp. 403-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Wang Ch'iu-kuei, "On 'Shuo Ts'an-Ch'ing,'" *AM* 3d ser. 1.2 (1988), pp. 65-76.

<sup>3</sup> A notable exception is Ch'en Yüan 陳垣. See his "Yü-lu yü Shun-chih kung-t'ing" 語錄與順治宮廷 (1939), rev. and rpt. in idem, *Ch'en Yüan hsüeh-shu lun-wen chi ti-i chi* 陳垣學術論文集第一集 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980), pp. 517-32, and idem, *Ming-mo T'ien-Ch'ien fo-chiao k'ao* 明末滇黔佛教考 (1940; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1962). I am grateful to Professor Yü Ying-shih for drawing my attention to these two works.

<sup>4</sup> For studies of the influence of Ch'an Buddhism on literature, see Nan Huai-chin 南懷瑾, *Ch'an yü tao kai-lun* 禪與道概論 (Taipei: Chen-shan-mei, 1968), pp. 90-106; Tu Sung-po 杜松柏, *Ch'an-hsüeh yü T'ang Sung shih-hsüeh* 禪學與唐宋詩學 (Taipei: Li-ming, 1976); Ch'ien Chung-lien 錢仲聯, "Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo ku-tai wen-hsüeh te kuan-hsi" 佛教與中國古代文學的關係, in idem, *Meng-tiao-an Ch'ing-tai wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 夢苕庵清代文學論集 (Tsinan: Ch'i-lu, 1983), pp. 182-203, esp. pp. 195-203; Chang Chung-hsing 張中行, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh* 佛教與中國文學 (Ho-fei: An-hui chiao-yü, 1984), esp. pp. 36-44; Sun Ch'ang-wu 孫昌武, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao* 唐代文學與佛教 (Stan: Shan-hsi jen-min, 1985), esp. pp. 214-19; Fang T'ien-li 方天立, *Chung-kuo fo-chiao yü ch'uan-f'ung wen-hua* 中國佛教與傳統文化 (Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min, 1988), esp. pp. 324-28, 336-43; Su Yüan-lei 蘇淵雷, "Ch'an-feng hsüeh-feng wen-feng: Wu-teng hui-yüan hsün-t'an" 禪風學風文風五燈會元新探, in idem, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo ch'uan-f'ung wen-hua* (Changsha: Hu-nan chiao-yü,

公案, riddles posed by a master to his disciples during a Ch'an session,<sup>5</sup> rather than the anecdotal material. And even when traditional historians discuss a historical figure's association with Ch'an masters, they often fail to make full use of the *yü-lu*.<sup>6</sup> Yet the latter contain so many anecdotes about religious and secular incidents that they may well be considered a subgenre of the *pi-chi* 筆記, or collections of miscellaneous notes by the literati.<sup>7</sup>

Before comparing the *Tsung-men wu-k'u* version of the Lü Meng-cheng story with other versions recorded in Sung-era *pi-chi*, we should learn about Tsung-kao himself, and the composition of his *Tsung-men wu-k'u*.

## TSUNG-KAO'S LIFE

Biographical information about Tsung-kao can be found in a succession of standard biographies of Buddhist monks and Ch'an masters.<sup>8</sup> Two works by one of his disciples, Hsiao-ying 曉瑩 (d. after 1155),<sup>9</sup> and finally Tsu-

ying's 祖祿 1183 compilation *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih nien-p'u* 大慧普覺禪師年譜 round out the sources.<sup>10</sup> Based on these sources I present the essentials of Tsung-kao's life, with special attention to his association with scholar-officials.

Tsung-kao was born in 1089 in Hsüan-chou 宣州 (present Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城, Anhwei); his family was surnamed Hsi 奚. He began village school in 1101 and became a monk in 1105. After traveling to a number of monasteries and studying with various masters, he gradually established himself in a small temple. In 1116 he visited Chang Shang-ying 張商英 (1043-1122), a former Grand Councilor and famous patron and lay disciple of Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>11</sup> Chang was impressed with Tsung-kao's ease of demeanor and expression and named Tsung-kao's temple Miao-hsi 妙喜, which Tsung-kao used as his *hao* throughout his life.

In 1125 Tsung-kao went to Pien-liang 汴梁 (present K'ai-feng 開封) to study with Master Yüan-wu 圓悟 (1062-1135),<sup>12</sup> who had earlier been recommended by both Master Chun 準, one of his former teachers, and Chang Shang-ying. Tsung-kao quickly rose in the ranks and became Yüan-wu's deputy. Assistant Director of the Right Lü Hao-wen 呂好問 (ca. 1064-1131)<sup>13</sup> submitted a petition to Emperor Ch'in-tsung 欽宗 in 1126 and obtained for him the honorary title Master of the Purple Robe,<sup>14</sup> with the name Fo-jih 佛日. He left Pien-liang for Yangchow in the same year and in the following eleven moved about to Kiangsi, Hunan, and southern Fukien, where he settled. He eventually attracted a large group of disciples,

1988), pp. 80-95. For studies of the influence of Ch'an Buddhism on neo-Confucianism, see Nan, *Ch'an yü tao*, pp. 81-90; Kuo P'eng 郭朋, *Sung Yüan fo-chiao* 宋元佛教 (Fochow: Fu-chien jen-min, 1981), pp. 73-101; idem, "Fo-chiao Ch'an-tsung yü Ch'eng Chu li-hsüeh" 佛教禪宗與程朱理學, in *Chung-kuo tsung-chiao hsüeh-hui* 中國宗教學會, ed., *Chung-kuo fo-hsüeh lun-wen chi* (Sian: Shan-hsi jen-min, 1984), pp. 109-48.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief discussion of *kung-an*, see Ch'en, *Buddhism*, p. 359. For a detailed discussion, see Chün-fang Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao and kung-an ch'an," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 6.2 (1979), pp. 219-24. I am grateful to Professor James Liu for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Ch'eng Kuang-yü 程光裕, "Wang An-shih chih Yin shih chih chih-chi yü fo-yüan" 王安石知鄴時之治績與佛緣, in Kuo-chia wen-i chi-chin hui 國家文藝基金會 and Kuo-li Chengchi ta-hsüeh 國立政治大學, eds., *Chi-mien Ssu-ma Kuang Wang An-shih shih-shih chiu-pai chou-nien hsüeh-shu yen-t'ao hui lun-wen chi* 紀念司馬光王安石逝世九百年學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Wen-shih-che, 1986), pp. 141-66.

<sup>7</sup> For a brief discussion of *pi-chi*, see C. K. Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng in Yüan and Ming Drama," *MS* 36 (1984-85), p. 314, n. 36.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Tsu-hsiu 祖秀 (d. after 1127), *Seng-pao cheng-hsiü chuan* 僧寶正續傳, in *Zoku zōkyō* 續藏經 (hereafter Z), *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *t'ao* 10, *ts'e* 4 (vol. 137) 6, pp. 305b-7a; P'u-chi 普濟, *Wu-teng hui-yüan* 五燈會元 (pref. 1232; Su Yüan-lei 蘇淵雷, ed. [Peking: Chung-hua, 1984]), vol. 3, *ch.* 19, pp. 1272-78; Nien-ch'ang 念常, *Fo-sü li-tai t'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載 (pref. 1344), in *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新編大藏經 (hereafter T), no. 2036 (vol. 50), *ch.* 4, pp. 689c-91a; Chüeh-an 覺岸, *Shih-shih chi-ku lüeh* 釋氏稽古略 (pref. 1355), T no. 2037 (vol. 50) 4, pp. 891b-c; Ju-hsing 如惺, *Ta-Ming kao-seng chuan* 大明高僧傳 (pref. 1617), T no. 2062 (vol. 50), pp. 915c-16b; and Tzu-jung 自融, *Nan-Sung Yüan Ming ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan* 南宋元明禪林僧寶傳 (pref. 1785), Z, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *t'ao* 10, *ts'e* 4 (vol. 137) 3, pp. 325b-27a.

Biographical information concerning Tsung-kao is also in various local gazetteers. See, e.g., Lo Chun 羅椿 (d. after 1228), *Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming chih* 寶慶四明志 (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edn.) 9, pp. 45b-46a; Ch'ien Yüeh-yün 喬悅 (ca. 1200-1280), *Hsien-ch'ün Lin-an chih* 咸淳臨安志 (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu edn.) 70, pp. 21a-22b; and Sung K'uei-kuang 宋奎光, *Ching-shan chih* 徑山志 (1624 edn.) 1, pp. 14a-39a.

<sup>9</sup> These are *Lo-hu yeh-lu* 蘿湖野錄 (pref. 1155), in Z, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *t'ao* 15, *ts'e* 5 (vol. 142), and *Yün-wo chi-t'an* 雲臥紀談, Z, *chi* 1, *pien* 2, *t'ao* 21, *ts'e* 1 (vol. 148).

<sup>10</sup> The *nien-p'u* survives in several edns. (see Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan 駒沢大学圖書館, ed., *Shinsan zenseki mokuroku* 新纂禪集目錄 [Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan, 1962], pp. 289b-c). I use the edn. revised by Tsung-yen 宗演 in 1205 in the light of comments in Hsiao-ying, *Yün-wo* B, pp. 23a-26a. It is available in a Ming edn. by Pao Ch'eng-fang 包禪芳 of Chia-hsing 嘉興, which was included in the *Chia-hsing Tripitaka* (see National Central Library, ed., *Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu kuan shan-pen shu-mu* 國立中央圖書館善本書目 [Taipei: National Central Library, 1986], vol. 2, p. 795). Facsimile rpts. are in *Chung-hua ta-tsang ching* 中華大藏經 (Taipei: Hsiu-ting Chung-hua ta-tsang ching hui 修訂中華大藏經會, 1968), 2d ser., no. 42, and *Ming-pan Chia-hsing ta-tsang ching* 明版嘉興大藏經 (Taipei: Hsin-wen feng, 1987), vol. 1, no. 42. I am grateful to Professor Chün-fang Yü for drawing my attention to the *Chung-hua ta-tsang ching* rpt. and providing a copy.

<sup>11</sup> For a biography of Chang, see *Sung-shih* 宋史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1977; hereafter SS) 351, pp. 11095-98. For his association with Ch'an Buddhism, see Abe Choichi 阿部肇一, *Chūgoku zenshushi no kenkyū* 中國禪宗史の研究, rev. edn. (Tokyo: Sei'in shobō, 1986), trans. Kuan Shih-ch'ien 關世謙, *Chung-kuo ch'an-tsung shih* 中國禪宗史 (Taipei: San-min, 1988), pp. 586-88.

<sup>12</sup> For his life and associations with scholar-officials, see Abe, *Zenshushi*, pp. 660-83.

<sup>13</sup> For his biography, see SS 362, pp. 11329-32.

<sup>14</sup> For this title, see Huang Min-chih 黃敏枝, "Sung-tai te tzu-i shih-hao" 宋代的紫衣師號, in idem, *Sung-tai fo-chiao she-hui ching-chi shih lun-chi* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng, 1988), pp. 443-60.

including both monks and lay practitioners. The most notable among his lay disciples was Vice Grand Councilor Li Ping 李昉 (c.s. 1106).<sup>16</sup>

In 1137 Tsung-kao was appointed by the throne to be abbot of the Neng-jen Monastery 能仁禪院 in Ching-shan 徑山,<sup>16</sup> an important center of the Lin-chi 臨濟 school of Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>17</sup> He had more than 1,700 disciples and one of the most notable political figures with whom he associated closely at that time was Vice Minister Chang Chiu-ch'eng 張九成 (1092-1159).<sup>18</sup> In 1141 both men were banished from the capital to Heng-chou 衡州 (present Heng-yang 衡陽 in Hunan) because a sensitive political topic was mentioned in a Ch'an session held by Tsung-kao in memory of Chang Chiu-ch'eng's recently deceased father.<sup>19</sup> While in Heng-chou, Tsung-kao compiled *Cheng-fa yen-tsang* 正法眼藏 to expound his way of teaching.<sup>20</sup>

In 1150 he was further banished to Mei-chou 梅州 (present Mei-hsien 梅縣) in Kwangtung where he stayed until 1155, when he was recalled to Hangchow. He was reappointed abbot of the Neng-jen Monastery in 1158. When Emperor Hsiao-tsung 孝宗 ascended the throne in 1162 he conferred upon Tsung-kao the title Ta-hui 大慧. The Master died the following year and was granted the posthumous title P'u-chüeh 普覺. Chang Chün 張浚 (1086-1154), a former Grand Councilor and Duke of Wei, wrote the epitaph for the pagoda that housed the remains of the Master,<sup>21</sup> and more

<sup>16</sup> For his biography, see SS 375, pp. 11606-9.

<sup>17</sup> It is situated in Yü-hang 餘杭縣 near Hangchow. See Wu Tzu-mu 吳自牧, *Meng-liang lu* 夢梁錄 (pref. 1274), in the now standard edn., *Tung-chün meng-hua lu wai-szu-chung* 東京夢華錄外四種 (Shanghai: Ku-tien, 1958) ch. 15, p. 258. A description is in Sung, *Ching-shan chih* 7B, pp. 1a-24a; and a history in *ibid.* 12, pp. 1a-2a. The original name Ching-shan ssu was changed to Ch'ien-fu chen-kuo yüan 乾符鎮國院 in 879, to Ch'eng-t'ien Ch'an-yüan 承天禪院 in 1001, and Neng-jen ch'an-yüan in 1117. The estate of the monastery covered tens of thousands of acres, and its income was tax free. See Li Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳 (1166-1243), *Chien-yen i-lai ch'ao-yeh tsu-lu* 建炎以來朝野雜錄 (Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu 適園叢書 edn.), *chia-chi* 甲集, ch. 16, p. 7b. Cf. Sung, *Ching-shan chih* 4, pp. 1b-2a. For Sung monastery estates, see Huang Min-chih, "Sung-tai ssu-t'ien te lai-yüan yü ch'eng-li 宋代寺田的來源與成立" and "Sung-tai ssu-t'ien te ching-ying yü kuan-li 經營與管理," in Huang, *Sung-tai fo-chiao*, pp. 19-90 and 91-117.

<sup>17</sup> For a concise description of this school, see Huang Ts'an-hua 黃懋華, "Lin-chi tsung," in Chung-kuo fo-chiao hsieh-hui 中國佛教協會, eds., *Chung-kuo fo-chiao* 中國佛教 (Peking: Chih-shih, 1980) 1, pp. 329-33.

<sup>18</sup> For his biography, see SS 374, pp. 11577-79.

<sup>19</sup> The topic in question is a special weapon, "Shen-pi kung" 神臂弓 ("divine-arm bow"), which was an oblique reference to the court's seeking a truce with the Jurchen Chin. See Tsu-yung, *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih nien-p'u*, as given in the Tsung-yen edn., pp. 40a-b (see n. 10, above); Chüeh-an, *Chi-ku lüeh* 4, pp. 889c, 891b. Cf. Abe, *Zenshushi*, p. 703, and Yü, "Tsung-kao," p. 231, n. 17.

<sup>20</sup> See 之, vol. 118.

<sup>21</sup> The text can be found in Hui-jih 慧日, *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (pref. 1171), in T. 1998 (vol. 47), 6, pp. 836b-837b, and Sung, *Ching-shan chih* 6, pp. 1a-5a. For Chang Chün, see SS 369, pp. 1146a-7b.

than forty high officials wrote the obituaries.<sup>22</sup> Very few Ch'an masters had received such great honor.<sup>23</sup>

After his death, Tsung-kao's recorded sayings, including his written replies to questions from lay disciples — most of them officials in high positions — were collected by his successor, Abbot Hui-jih 慧日, and presented to the throne in 1171.<sup>24</sup> There is yet another collection of Tsung-kao's sayings that has received much less attention. That is *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih tsung-men wu-k'u*, the subject of this article.

#### TSUNG-MEN WU-K'U

The collection *Tsung-men wu-k'u* is easily available in at least four editions:

1. *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih tsung-men wu-k'u* in one *chüan*, compiled by Tao-ch'ien 道謙 with a preface by Li Yung 李泳 dated 1186. This is reprinted in *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 (vol. 142), pp. 460b-75a.
2. *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* (alternative title *Ta-hui ch'an-shih ch'an-tsung tsa-tu-hai* 禪宗雜毒海) in two *chüan*, compiled by Fa-hung 法宏 and Tao-ch'ien with a preface by Tsu-ch'ing 祖慶 dated 1188, and a postface also by Tsu-ch'ing dated 1190. This is reprinted in *Zokuzōkyō* (vol. 149), pp. 24a-51b.
3. *Ta-hui ch'an-shih tsung-men wu-k'u* in one *chüan*, compiled by Tao-ch'ien. There is no preface or any indication of dates. A Ming edition is reprinted in *Taishō* 大正新修大藏經, no. 1998 (vol. 47), pp. 943b-57c.
4. *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih tsung-men wu-k'u*, 1881 edition by Ch'ang-shu k'e-ching ch'u 常熟刻經處. This is reprinted in *Chung-kuo fo-chiao ssu-hsiang tsu-liao hsüan-pien* 中國佛教思想資料選編, compiled by Shih Chün 石峻 et al. (Peking: Chung-hua, 1987), pp. 440-74.<sup>25</sup>

The 1881 edition (no. 4 above) appears to have been derived from the Ming edition (no. 2), which is identical in the main text to the one prefaced by Li Yung (no. 1). The three editions thus belong to one system, which

<sup>22</sup> These are collected in Fa-hung 法宏 and Tao-ch'ien 道謙, comps., *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* (pref. 1188), in *Z, chi 1, pien 2, tao 26, ts'e 1* (vol. 149) B, pp. 38a-44b.

<sup>23</sup> Another biography of Tsung-kao, in English, is in Yü, "Tsung-kao," pp. 213-17.

<sup>24</sup> Entitled *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih ch'u Ching-shan Neng-jen ch'an-yüan yü-lu* (short title: *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu*) in thirty *chüan*, it was included by imperial decree in the Buddhist Tripitaka in 1172. The letters occupy *chüan* 24-30.

<sup>25</sup> See *Zenshi mokuroku*, pp. 288b-c, for other edns. of *Tsung-men wu-k'u*, and pp. 288a-90a for a bibliography of Tsung-kao's works.

differs from the *Ch'an-tsung tsa-tu-hai* not only in the division of *chüan* but also in the contents. While the *Tsung-men wu-k'u* collection contains some entries not found in the *Ch'an-tsung tsa-tu-hai*, the latter collects in *chüan* B obituaries for Tsung-kao written by high officials, Tsung-kao's remarks on earlier masters, and portraits of his lay disciples that are totally absent in the former.

According to Hsiao-ying's letter to Master Wu-yen 無言, appended to *Yün-wo chi-t'an* 雲臥紀談,<sup>26</sup> *Tsung-men wu-k'u* was originally compiled in 1140. But one discreet disciple remarked that like "Shen-pi kung,"<sup>27</sup> "wu-k'u" had a dangerous political overtone, and suggested that it be changed to "tsa-lu" 雜錄. A preface attributed to Li Ping and dated 1141 was also forged and attached to the collection. Tsung-kao had been kept in the dark all the time until 1150 when he saw a manuscript copy of the book in Heng-yang. Opposing the use of *wu-k'u* in the title, he promised his disciples that he would relate one hundred anecdotes to be collected under another title. But then he was further banished to Mei-chou. In 1153, chief disciple Hsia-hung 夏宏 reminded the Master of his promise and Tsung-kao told the disciples fifty-five anecdotes, all of which were duly recorded by Hsia-hung. Later another disciple from Foochow came to help with the compilation and added more entries gleaned from the Master's sayings during his sojourn in Fukien. The title of the collection was then changed to *Tsa-tu-hai*. According to *Lo-hu yeh-lu* 羅湖野錄, another book by Hsiao-ying,<sup>28</sup> the term *tsa-tu* (miscellaneous poison) was first used by the Master in 1134: "Once miscellaneous poison enters the mind . . . it can never be extracted."

The account above explains why there are different editions of *Tsung-men wu-k'u*. Since all four texts of the Lü Meng-cheng story are identical in the four editions of the book, I refrain from further textual comparisons. The story appears to be among the fifty-five entries related by the Master, and thus datable to 1153.

## THE STORY OF LÜ MENG-CHENG

The following is a full translation of the story contained in all four editions.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hsiao-ying, *Yün-wo chi-t'an* B, pp. 23b-24a.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 19, above. <sup>28</sup> Hsiao-ying, *Lo-hu yeh-lu* A, p. 490b.

<sup>29</sup> The story occurs in edn. 1 (see sect. above, "*Tsung-men wu-k'u*," for the list of edns.), on p. 466a; in edn. 2, ch. A, pp. 32b-33a; in edn. 3, p. 948c; and edn. 4, pp. 452-53.

The Grand Councilor, His Honor Lü Meng-cheng, was from Lo-yang. Once, when he was still a commoner and living in reduced circumstances, there was a great snowstorm that lasted for more than a month. He contacted powerful figures all around but there were few who would come to his aid. He wrote a poem that reads in part:

Of ten vermilion gates that I call upon, nine do not open;  
My body covered by the wind-blown snow, I return home;  
Entering my door, I am reluctant to look at the faces of my wife and  
children;  
All night long I stir the ashes in our cold stove.

十謁朱門九不開  
滿身風雪又歸來  
入門懶親妻兒面  
撥盡寒爐一夜灰

One can well imagine [what his feelings must have been].

Along the road, he encountered a monk who took pity on him because of his dire straits and invited him back to his temple. Providing Lü with food and clothing, the monk gave him some money and sent him off. After barely a month, Lü's resources were once again exhausted, so he went back to visit the monk. The monk said to him, "This is not a good plan for the long run. You may move your family into the corridors around our courtyard. At meal times, follow along with the others and we shall give you congee and rice. This way, perhaps you can survive."

Lü did as he was told. Since he was no longer constrained by the bare necessities, he keenly determined to study. That year he stood for and passed the provincial examination. The monk bought a horse and hired a servant for him and further provided him with clothing. Lü then traveled to the capital. There he was chosen in the metropolitan examinations to compete for the palace examination and emerged from it as the Principal Graduate.

His first appointment was as Controller General of the Western Capital (Lo-yang), where he met with the monk as usual. Within ten years he held the reins of government. Whenever there was a state sacrifice, he would have his allotted emolument kept in the Palace Treasury [instead of drawing on it for his own use]. One day T'ai-tung 太宗 asked him: "You have taken part in many state sacrifices, but why

haven't you requested your allotted emoluments?" Lü responded, "I have a personal favor that has not yet been repaid." The emperor inquired about the details and Lü told him the true story. The emperor sighed and said, "To think that among monks there is such a fine person! Now that I have been informed of his real name, I shall bestow upon him the purple robe and confer upon him a religious title to praise his distinction."

Lü estimated that his accumulated emoluments amounted to several ten-thousand strings of cash. He sent an official dispatch to the Western Capital asking the monk to request the disbursement of the sum of money for the remodeling of the monastery and the support of the monks. The monastery was originally the T'ieh-ma ying 鐵馬營 (Iron Horse Encampment), where both T'ai-tsu 太祖 and T'ai-tsung had been born. Already during T'ai-tsu's reign a temple, the name of which I do not recall, had been built there and the monk [who had helped Lü] was its abbot. T'ai-tsu made an additional grant of funds for the reconstruction of the triple gates and personally inscribed a plaque, which was granted to the monk.

His Honor Lü every day arose early to worship the Buddha. He would pray thus: "May there never be born in my family anyone who does not believe in the Three Jewels. May my descendants for generation after generation be stipendiaries of the court and, outside of it, be protectors of the Buddhist law." His nephew I-chien 夷簡, who was Duke of Shen 申國公, would always pay his respects in the family temple on New Year's Day and, offering incense, would send a letter to Master Lien 璉 of Kuang-hui 廣慧 expressing his profound respect. I-chien's son Kung-chu 公著, who also became the Duke of Shen, would send a letter to Master Huai 懷 of T'ien-i 天衣 on New Year's Day. Assistant Director of the Right Hao-wen 好問, who was Kung-chu's grandson, would send a letter to Master Yüan-chao 圓照 on New Year's Day. Hao-wen's son Yung-chung 用中 would send a letter to Master Kao 杲 on New Year's Day. We may say that there was a natural cause for Lü's family to believe sincerely in and earnestly respect Buddhism for generation after generation. Hence I have recorded this to admonish later generations.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to Professor Victor Mair for his help in the translation of this account. An abbreviated version of it can be found in Hsin-ta'i 心泰, comp., *Fo-fa chin-t'ang pien* 佛法金湯編 (pref. 1391), in *Zhi chi* 1, *p'ien* 2, *t'ao* 21, *ts'ê* 5 (vol. 148) 11, pp. 466b-67a, where the source is given as *Wu-k'u*.

A few points covering this account should be made.

1. While lines from the poem composed by Lü Meng-cheng appear in several Yüan *tsa-chü* 雜劇, the whole poem only occurs in a Ming *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇 entitled *P'o-yao chi* 破窰記.<sup>31</sup> We now know an earlier source of the poem. The poem indicates that Meng-cheng had already been married before he achieved fame and wealth. This is in keeping with the versions of his story as presented in the dramatic tradition. But both the historical and the *pi-chi* traditions claim that Meng-cheng lived with his divorced mother in poverty. There is not even the slightest hint of a wife to share his dire circumstances.<sup>32</sup> Most likely, Tsung-kao picked up the information from some popular tradition that was later passed on to the dramatic tradition.
2. *Pi-shu lu-hua* 避暑錄話, by Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 (1077-1148), states that the abbot of Li-she yüan 利涉院 invited Lü Meng-cheng to study in the monastery and that he stayed there for nine years before he went to take the civil examination.<sup>33</sup> According to *Shao-shih wen-chien lu* 邵氏聞見錄 by Shao Po-wen 邵伯溫 (1132), the monastery is situated in Lung-men 龍門.<sup>34</sup> The inscription "Lü Wen-mu kung Meng-cheng shen-tao pei" 呂文穆公蒙正神道碑, written by Fu Pi 富弼 (1004-1083) in 1068, also states that Meng-cheng and his mother lived in the seclusion of Lung-men shan, where he studied hard while managing to support her.<sup>35</sup> Traditional historical sources, however, never mention any monk. And of all the *pi-chi* versions of the Lü Meng-cheng story, only the one in *Pi-shu lu-hua* specifically refers to the help offered by the monk. This monk plays a bigger role in the *Tsung-men wu-k'u* version and an even bigger role would await him in the dramatic tradition.<sup>36</sup>
3. Tsung-kao is wrong in referring to Meng-cheng's first appointment as Controller General of the Western Capital (Loyang). Meng-cheng was first assigned to Sheng-chou 昇州 (in present Kiangsu), not to Loyang. And it was twelve, not ten, years later that Meng-cheng rose to be Grand Councilor.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," p. 386. In the dramatic tradition the "man-shen" 滿身 of 1. 2 is changed to "man-t'ou" 滿頭, and "lan-tu" 懶觀 of 1. 3 is changed to "hsiu-tu" 羞觀.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318-26. <sup>33</sup> *Pi-shu lu-hua* (Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan edn.) B, p. 36a.

<sup>34</sup> *Shao-shih wen-chien lu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1983) 7, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> The *shen-tao pei* is preserved in Tu Ta-kuei 杜大珪, comp., *Hsin-k'o ming-ch'ên pei-chuan wan-yen chih chi* 新刻名臣碑傳琬琰之集 (1194). See *Wan-yen chi shan-t'is'un* 刪存 (Pei-p'ing: Yenching, 1938) 1, pp. 50b-53b.

<sup>36</sup> See Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," pp. 330 ff.

<sup>37</sup> See SS 265, pp. 9145-46. Cf. Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," pp. 318-19.

4. In the state sacrifice, the Grand Councilor was the master of ceremony.<sup>38</sup> And indeed emolument allotted Meng-cheng was made in the form of cash.<sup>39</sup> During the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsung (976-996) the state sacrifice was held five times: in 978, 981, 984, 993, and 996.<sup>40</sup> Since Meng-cheng was Grand Councilor in 988-991, 993-995, and in 1001,<sup>41</sup> he could only have served as master of ceremony in the 993 state sacrifice. But actually the sacrifice was held on the second day of the New Year, when Meng-cheng had not yet been reappointed Grand Councilor. What Tsung-kao said about the allotted emoluments was therefore based on hearsay rather than historical truth.
5. Tsung-kao said the monastery was originally on the site of the Iron Horse Encampment, the birthplace of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung. During the reign of T'ai-tsu (960-975), a monastery had already been constructed, the name of which he forgot. He was not only short of memory but also mistaken. According to Yeh Meng-te's *Shih-lin yen-yü* 石林燕語 (preface 1128), during the T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo 太平興國 reign period (976-983) a Ch'i-sheng ch'an-yüan 啓聖禪院 was constructed on the site of T'ai-tsung's birthplace. T'ai-tsu was born elsewhere — in the Shan-tzu Encampment (山子營). But no one knew the exact place. During the reign of Chen-tsung 真宗 (998-1022), people were sent to look for it. Some suggested that it was in the clearing near the stable of the Hsiao-sheng Encampment (驍勝營), which was hidden by two hills. A Ying-t'ien ch'an-yüan 應天禪院 was then built there.<sup>42</sup> Sung Min-ch'iu's 宋敏求 *Ch'un-ming t'ui-ch'ao lu* 春明退朝錄 confirms the names of the two monasteries.<sup>43</sup> Hsin-t'ai's 心泰 *Fo-fa chin-t'ang pien* 佛法金湯編, however, has "K'ai-sheng ch'an-ssu" 開聖禪寺 for "Ch'i-sheng ch'an-yüan," and the date of construction is there given as 980.<sup>44</sup> But the two Sung accounts should be more trustworthy than Hsin-t'ai's version of 1391. Whatever the monastery is, it is changed to Po-ma ssu 百馬寺 in the *tsa-chü* version of the Lü Meng-cheng story.<sup>45</sup>

6. According to the monk Wen-ying's 文瑩 *Yü-hu ch'ing-hua* 玉壺清話 (preface 1078), Meng-cheng's son Chü-chien once told him personal matters about Meng-cheng.<sup>46</sup> Meng-cheng's nephew I-chien (978-1043) was keenly interested in Ch'an Buddhism. According to Hsü Tu 徐度 (d. ca. 1156), when I-chien became Grand Councilor he got along only with Ch'an devotees. To win his favor, people with political ambitions would frequent monasteries, mix with monks, and engage in discourse on Ch'an.<sup>47</sup> Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) also ridiculed I-chien's dabbling in Buddhism, as mentioned in his family biographies.<sup>48</sup> In *Fo-fa chin-t'ang pien* 佛法金湯編, under the entries for Lü Kung-chu (1018-1081) and Lü Pen-chung 本中 (1084-1145),<sup>49</sup> we may find the interest shown by Meng-cheng's other descendants in Ch'an Buddhism. Considering the general trend during the Sung, in which most scholar-officials associated with Ch'an masters,<sup>50</sup> we would tend to believe Tsung-kao's account, even though his last remark may have been a little exaggerated.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing discussion is a supplement to my earlier study of the Lü Meng-cheng story, "Lü Meng-cheng in Yüan and Ming Drama."<sup>51</sup> But it also serves to demonstrate the nature of the information found in *yü-lu* accounts, so that other scholars might recognize their historical value.

Like *pi-chi* accounts, *yü-lu* often contain fabricated and even legendary elements. There are also obvious distortions of historical facts, which in itself points to popular origins. But unlike the *pi-chi* form, *yü-lu* have been in most cases neglected by scholars. Considering the wealth of information contained in them, it is a pity they have been used so little. Decidedly, the information they offer is much less trustworthy than that in gazetteers, inscriptions, or genealogies. But it is significant, nonetheless. The *Tsung-men wu-k'u* version of the Lü Meng-cheng story is undoubtedly of value in the

<sup>38</sup> See Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), *Ch'un-ming t'ui-ch'ao lu* 春明退朝錄 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) A, p. 1b.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Li, *Chien-yen i-lai, chia-chi*, ch. 17, pp. 1a-b.

<sup>40</sup> See Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨 (1254-1325), *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 (Palace edn.) 72 (*chiaoshe* 郊社 5), p. 55a.

<sup>41</sup> See Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," pp. 319-20.

<sup>42</sup> Yeh, *Shih-lin yen-yü* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984) 1, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Sung, *Ch'un-ming* A, pp. 4-5. <sup>44</sup> Hsin-t'ai, *Fo-fa* 11, p. 464a.

<sup>45</sup> Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," p. 338.

<sup>46</sup> Wen-ying, *Yü-hu ch'ing-hua* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984) 3, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> See Hsü Tu, *Ch'üeh-sao pien* 却掃編 (ca. early Chien-yen [1127-1130]; Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan edn.) A, p. 29b.

<sup>48</sup> Chu Hsi's remark occurs in a letter to Ch'en Ming-chung 陳明仲, in Chu's posthumous collection *Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen-kung wen-chi* 晦菴先生朱公文集 (SPTK ch'u-pien edn.) 43, p. 2a. I am grateful to Professor Yü Ying-shih for calling my attention to this and the reference to *Ch'üeh-sao pien*.

<sup>49</sup> These are in Hsin-t'ai, *Fo-fa* 11, p. 468a; and 14, p. 481a, respectively. There is also an entry for Lü I-chien at 11, p. 467b.

<sup>50</sup> See Abe, *Zenshushi*, pp. 381 ff. <sup>51</sup> See n. 7, above.

study of its tradition. In some respects it leaves the story in a form better suited to eventual popularization than did the *pi-chi* versions. The version's use of the poem attributed to Meng-cheng gives us a good example of the tenacity of popular traditions.

*LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

- SS *Sung-shih* 宋史  
T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經  
Z *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經