

## The Process of Establishing and Justifying the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

[p. 22]<sup>1</sup> China's Lotus school (*liánzōng* 蓮宗) is also called the Pure Land school (*jìngtǔ zōng* 淨土宗). The term "Lotus school" evolved from the name of the Lotus Society (*liánshè* 蓮社) founded by the Great Master Huiyuan of Mt. Lu in China; the term "Pure Land school" was recently imported into China from Japan.<sup>2</sup> The patriarchal masters (*zǔshī* 祖師) of China's Lotus school were recognized posthumously by those who came later, and by 1940 a common list of thirteen was established. Their names and sequence are as follows:

1. Huiyuan of Mt. Lu 廬山慧遠, 334–416
2. Guangming Shandao 光明善導, 613–681?
3. Banzhou Chengyuan 般舟承遠, 712–802
4. Zhulin Fazhao 竹林法照, ca. 740–838<sup>3</sup>

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1. Bracketed page numbers correspond to the original essay: Chen Chienhuang 陳劍鎧, 蓮宗十三位祖師的確立過程及其釋疑 (The Process of Establishing and Justifying the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School), from *Wúshàng fāngbiàn yǔ xiànxíng fǎlè: Mítóu jìngtǔ yǔ rénjiān jìngtǔ de bāngguān guānxì* 無上方便與現行法樂：彌陀淨土與人間淨土的周邊關係 (The Highest Expedient Means and Enacting of Dharma-Joy: The Common Boundary of Amitābha's Pure Land and Humanistic Pure Land) (Taipei: Xianghai wenhua 香海文化, 2016), 22–33.

2. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Míngmò fójiào yánjiū* 明末佛教研究 (Taipei: Dongchu Publishing 東初出版社, 1987), chap. 2, 85.

3. Fazhao's birth and death dates have hitherto been unclear. Recently scholars have examined documents unearthed at Dunhuang for evidence, and their theories are enumerated here:

5. Wulong Shaokang 烏龍少康, 736–806
6. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, 904–975
7. Zhaoqing Xingchang 昭慶省常, 959–1020
8. Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏, 1535–1615
9. Lingfeng Zhixu 靈峰智旭, 1599–1655
10. Puren Xingce 普仁行策, 1626–1682
11. Fantian Xing'an 梵天省庵, 1686–1734
12. Zifu Chewu 資福徹悟, 1740–1810
13. Lingyan Yinguang 靈巖印光, 1861–1940<sup>4</sup>

(1) Liu Changdong 劉長東 believes that Fazhao was born in 746 and died in 838 at the age of 93. See Liu Changdong, *Jin-Tang Mituo jingtu xinyang yanjiu* 晉唐彌陀淨土信仰研究 (Chengdu 成都: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社, 2000), 383; Liu Changdong, “Fazhao shiji xin kao” 法照事蹟新考, in *Dunhuang wenxue lunji* 敦煌文學論集 (Chengdu 成都: Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1997), 38–45.

(2) Shi Pingting 施萍婷 thinks that Fazhao was probably born around 751 and died in 838 at the age of 88. See Shi Pingting, “Fazhao yu Dunhuang wenxue” 法照與敦煌文學, in *Sheke zongheng* 社科縱橫, no. 4 (1994): 12–15; see esp. 13.

(3) Gao Guofan 高國藩 believes that Fazhao was born in 747 and died in 821 at the age of 75. See Gao Guofan, “Dunhuang qu Fazhao ‘chujia yue’ ji qi yi shengxue de linian” 敦煌曲法照‘出家樂’及其依聖學的理念, in *Ningxia shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 寧夏師範學院學報(社會科學), no. 4 (2009): 62–65; see esp. 62.

(4) From the travel diary that the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin (圓仁, 794–864) kept when he went to China in search of the dharma, Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 calculated that Fazhao died in 822, but he did not propose a birth date. See Mochizuki Shinkō, *Zhongguo jingtu jiaoli shi* 中國淨土教理史, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., trans. Shi Yin Hai 釋印海 (Taipei: Zhengwen chubanshe 正聞出版社, 1991), 186.

(5) Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 thought that Fazhao was born in 741 and died in 838 aged 98. See Tsukamoto Zenryū, “Daisan : Tō chūki no Jōdokyō : tokuni Hōshō Zenji no kenkyū” 第三：唐中期の淨土教——特に法照禪師の研究, in *Chūgoku Jōdokyō shi kenkyū* 中国淨土教史研究, compiled within *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集, vol. 4 (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1976), 359–371. [Translator’s note: Online versions of this chapter omit this note.]

4. See Shi Miaozhen 釋妙真 and Shi Desen 釋德森, eds., and Shi Yinguang 釋印光, supervising ed., *Lingyan shan si niansong yigui* 靈巖山寺念誦儀規 (Hong Kong: Xianggang fojing liutongchu 香港佛經流通處, 1997; rpt. Suzhou Lingyan shan si zangban 蘇州靈巖山寺藏版), 173–189.

This listing of thirteen patriarchs has penetrated the Chinese Buddhist world since 1940. Throughout mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan a booklet called *Brief Biographies to the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School* (*Lianzong shisan zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗十三祖傳略) has been in circulation, bringing together brief biographies of these thirteen figures into a pamphlet based on this theory. [p. 23] This pamphlet has been reprinted and circulated widely by the Buddhist Studies Bookstore in Shanghai (上海佛學書局), the Buddhist Sutra Propagation Office in Hong Kong (香港佛經流通處), and by every Pure [Land] School Society (淨宗學會)<sup>5</sup> and major sutra printing and distribution office. Everywhere that it has enjoyed influence it has put the theory of the thirteen patriarchs into wide circulation. However, before this list of thirteen patriarchs was established, several views had already been set forth for establishing a list of patriarchs from the Song dynasty onwards. In what follows, I will try to address two topics: the process by which successive lists of patriarchs were set up, and the questions that they engendered.

## 2. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO PATRIARCHAL LISTS SINCE THE SONG DYNASTY

The process whereby a system of patriarchs was established for the Lotus school is quite complicated, and the various lists do not completely agree. The first to bring out a scheme of patriarchs was Shizhi Zongxiao (石芝宗曉, 1151–1214) of the Southern Song (1127–1279). In his *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, he named Huiyuan of Mt. Lu (Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠) as the first patriarch, followed by the following five figures: Shandao (善導), Fazhao (法照), Shaokang (少康), Xingchang (省常), and Changlu Zongze (長蘆宗蹟, dates unknown) for a total of six patriarchs.<sup>6</sup> Later, Siming Zhipan (四明志磐, dates unknown) changed this to a list of seven in his *Fozu tongji* (佛祖統記): Huiyuan, Shandao, Chengyuan (承遠), Fazhao, Shaokang, Yanshou (延壽), and Xingchang.<sup>7</sup> He differed from Zongxiao in some places

5. [Translator's note: According to a web search, the phrase 淨宗學會 often translates as "Amitābha Society" or "Amida Society."]

6. See Shi Zongxiao 釋宗曉, *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, T. 47:192c–193c.

7. Shi Zhipan 釋志磐 of the Song 宋, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記, "Jingtu lijiao zhi" 淨土立教志, T. 49:260c. Note: According to Zhipan's explanation, this list of seven patriarchs follows the views of Zongxiao. He says, "The master Siming

by adding Chengyuan and Yanshou while removing Zongze. After this, other schemes for setting up lists of patriarchs appeared from time to time. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), both Anqu Dayou (庵蘧大佑, 1334–1407) in his *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集 and Zhengji (正寂, dates unknown) in his *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註 listed eight patriarchs,<sup>8</sup> while Zhengji's contemporary Shoujiao (受教, dates unknown; dharma-grandson of Youxi Chuandeng 幽溪傳燈), in his *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記 [p. 24] listed seven.<sup>9</sup> In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征 compiled by Ruizhang (瑞璋, dates unknown) listed nine patriarchs.<sup>10</sup> The mid-Qing figure Wukai (悟開, ?–1830) also lists nine patriarchs in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略.<sup>11</sup> At the end

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Shizhi Xiao (四明石芝曉) picked men from different eras who practiced the same pure karma, whose virtue was high and lofty, and listed them as the seven patriarchs, so now we revere them, and regard them as the masters of the Pure Land teaching gate” (ibid., 260c). Actually, Zongxiao only named six patriarchs. When Zhipan says “listed them as the seven patriarchs, so now we revere them,” he might mean to say that he respected Zongxiao's intention to “pick men from different eras who practiced the same pure karma [and] whose virtue was high and lofty” in his own selection of patriarchs for the Pure Land school who enabled later generations of Pure Land students to have models to emulate. Thus he himself picked out seven patriarchs.

8. See Shi Daoyou 釋大佑 of the Ming, *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集, “Yuanjiao men 1” 原教門第一, *Wanzi xu zangjing* (hereafter XZJ) 108:60b; Shi Zhengji 釋正寂 of the Ming, *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註, XZJ 109:2b.

9. See Shi Shoujiao 釋受教 of the Ming, *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記, XZJ 109:20a–b.

10. See Shi Ruizhang 釋瑞璋 of the Qing, *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征, XZJ vol. 135. The patriarchs appear individually on the following pages: first patriarch Huiyuan, 235b; second patriarch Shandao, 240b; third patriarch Chengyuan, 241b; fourth patriarch Fazhao, 242b; fifth patriarch Shaokang, 242b; sixth patriarch Yanshou, 244b; seventh patriarch Xingchang, 245a; eighth patriarch Zongze, 246b; ninth patriarch Lianchi 蓮池, 250b.

11. See Shi Wukai 釋悟開, *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略 (Jiangbei 江北: Fazang Temple Scriptural Press 法藏寺刻經處, 1927; repr., Taipei 臺北: Guanzhao fojing shu yinzeng chu 觀照佛經書印贈處, 1995). Note: The title of this book is sometimes *Lianzong shi zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗十祖傳略 (*Brief Biographies of the Ten Patriarchs of the Lotus School*) because people subsequently added Chewu 徹悟 as the tenth patriarch to the nine described by Wukai. The Fazang Temple Scriptural Press gives the reason for this is an epilogue (*ba 跋*) on 72. See also Su Jinren 蘇晉仁, “A Summary of Buddhist Biographies”

of the Qing, Yang Renshan (楊仁山, 1837–1911) listed six patriarchs in his *Shizong lüeshuo* 十宗略說.<sup>12</sup> In the modern period, the great master Yinguang (印光大師) enumerated twelve patriarchs in his *Lianzong shi'er zu zansong* 蓮宗十二祖讚頌,<sup>13</sup> while the *Niansong yigui* 念誦儀規 published by the Lingyanshan Temple 靈巖山寺 in Suzhou lists thirteen patriarchs.<sup>14</sup> The following chart [see table 1] summarizes all of the patriarchal lists of each author described above. [p. 25]

### 3. ANSWERING QUALMS ABOUT THE SUCCESSIVE SCHEMES FOR IDENTIFYING PATRIARCHS

1. As the above table demonstrates, after the appearance of the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, the identification of Huiyuan, Shandao, Chengyuan, Fazhao, Shaokang, Yanshou, and Xingchang as the first seven patriarchs did not undergo much change. Only Zongze's place appears unsteady; sometimes he was included and sometimes he was left out. For instance, Dayou, Zhengji, and Ruizhang all counted him as the eighth patriarch, but Shoujiao, Wukai, Yang Renshan, and Yinguang did not put him on their lists at all. This may be for the same reason that Tanluan (曇鸞, 476–542) and Daochuo (道綽, 562–645) were not included among the patriarchs of the Lotus school. As Ven. Yanpei (演培法師, 1917–1996) pointed out in his essay “Tanluan and Daochuo” (曇鸞與道綽), the fact that Tanluan and Daochuo were not listed

(“Fojiao zhuanji zongshu” 佛教傳記綜述), in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 1 (1985): 1–28. See esp. 15.

12. See Yang Renshan 楊仁山 of the Qing, “Shizong lüeshuo” 十宗略說, in *Yang Renshan jushi yizhu* 楊仁山居士遺著 (Taipei 臺北: Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1993), 108.

13. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Lianzong shi'er zu zansong” 蓮宗十二祖讚頌, in *Yinguang dashi quanji* 印光大師全集 (Taipei 臺北: The Buddhist Bookstore 佛教書局, 1991), 2:1323–1327. Note: The *Collected Works of Great Master Yinguang* consists of seven volumes. For this and other multivolume works, the volume and page numbers will be indicated together as here, separated by a colon.

14. “Lianzong shisan zu jiri gongyi” 蓮宗十三祖寂日供儀, in *Lingyanshansi niansong yigui* 靈巖山寺念誦儀規, 175–189.

TABLE 1

	Lebang wenlei 樂邦文類	Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀	Jingtu zhigui 淨土指歸集	Jingtu sheng wusheng lun 淨土生無生論註	Sheng wu- sheng qinwen 生無生論親 聞記	Xifang hui- zheng 西徂彙 征	Lianzong jiu zu zhuan 蓮宗九祖 傳略	Shizong lueshuo 十宗略說	Lianzong shi er zu zansong 蓮宗十二祖 讚頌	Lingyan shan si niansong yigui 靈巖山寺念誦 儀規
1	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠
2	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Tanluan 曇鸞	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導
3	Fazhao 法照	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Daochuo 道綽	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠
4	Shaokang 少康	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Shandao 善導	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照
5	Xingchang 省常	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Yanshou 延壽	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康
6	Zongze 宗臚	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Zhuhong 株宏	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽
7		Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常		Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常
8		Zongze 宗臚	Zongze 宗臚	Zongze 宗臚		Zongze 宗臚	Zhuhong 株宏		Zhuhong 株宏	Zhuhong 株宏
9						Zhuhong 株宏	Xing'an 省庵		Zhixu 智旭	Zhixu 智旭
10									Xingce 行策	Xingce 行策
11									Xing'an 省庵	Xing'an 省庵
12									Chewu 徹悟	Chewu 徹悟
13									Yingguang 印光	Yingguang 印光

as Pure Land patriarchs “is somewhat hard to understand” and “somewhat hard to follow.”<sup>15</sup> In an epilogue to this essay, his teacher Ven. Yinshun (印順, 1906–2005) explained: because Tanluan and Daochuo’s advocacy only emphasized *nianfo* for the attainment of rebirth and did not say anything about the cultivation of morality, meditation, or wisdom, Zongxiao found them lacking and left them off his list of patriarchs.<sup>16</sup> Aside from this, Yang Renshan’s inclusion of Tanluan and Daochuo among the patriarchs in his *Shizong lüeshuo* 十宗略說 largely mirrors the list of five patriarchs—Tanluan, Daochuo, Shandao, Huaigan (懷感), and Shaokang—included in the list of five patriarchs formulated by Jodoshū (淨土宗) founder Hōnen (法然, 1133–1212). Yang’s views have some relation to his personal contact with Japanese people and absorption of their theories. Although in his later years Yang energetically opposed the Jōdo shinshū (淨土真宗) founded by Hōnen’s disciple Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1262),<sup>17</sup> his systematization of the Pure Land patriarchate hewed much closer to the Japanese tradition than to the Chinese, and so he included Tanluan and Daochuo.

2. We do not know when or by whom Zhuhong was first named eighth patriarch. It is generally thought that one of his disciples put him forward after his passing. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that he was universally accepted as the eighth patriarch during the early years of the Qing dynasty. At the end of the Ming, neither Zhengji’s *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註 [p. 26] nor Shoujiao’s *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記 included Zhuhong. Only at the beginning of the Qing do we see Zhuhong clearly identified as the eighth patriarch in the *Jingtu quan shu* 淨土全書 (1664) of Yu Xingmin 俞行敏 (dates unknown).<sup>18</sup> By the Daoguang 道

15. “有點不大理解”，“有點想不通”。See Shi Yanpei 釋演培, “Tanluan yu Daochuo” (“曇鸞與道綽”), in Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, ed. *Jingtuzong shilun* 淨土宗史論, Xiandai fojiao xueshu congkan 現代佛教學術叢刊, 65 (Taipei 臺北: Mahayana Cultural Press 大乘文化出版社, 1979), 227–237; see esp. 227, 235.

16. Shi Yanpei 釋演培, “Tanluan yu Daochuo” (“曇鸞與道綽”), 237–238.

17. See Lan Jifu 藍吉富, “Yang Renshan yu xiandai zhongguo fojiao” 楊仁山與現代中國佛教, in *Yang Renshan wenji* 楊仁山文集 (Taipei 臺北: Manjusri Publications 文殊出版社, 1987), 7–33. See esp. 21–24.

18. The *Jingtu quan shu* 淨土全書 of Yu Xingmin 俞行敏 states: “The great master Lianchi (Lianchi dashi 蓮池大師, i.e., Zhuhong) [...] is recognized by the world as the eighth patriarch.” See XZJ 109:232b–233a [translator’s note: see also CBETA X62n1176\_p0171a070–171b14]. Thus we can see that by the

光 reign period (1821–1850), the *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略 by Wukai 悟開 also listed Zhuhong as the eighth patriarch,<sup>19</sup> and later on Yinguang followed this model (see below). Wukai further included Xing'an 省庵 as the ninth patriarch,<sup>20</sup> making this work the earliest text to list Xing'an as a patriarch.<sup>21</sup>

3. Ouyi [Zhixu] 邁益[智旭] and Chewu 徹悟 were recognized very late. Below are two points to help explain this:

A. After having praised Yinguang for receiving the mantle of Xing'an, Ding Fubao (丁福保, 1874–1962) put him forward as the

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early Qing Zhuhong was universally accepted as the eighth patriarch of the Lotus school. However, we noted above that he was considered the ninth patriarch in the *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征 of Ruizhang 瑞璋 largely because of the insertion of Zongze 宗蹟, which pushed Zhuhong into the ninth position. Regardless of his numbering on the list, the fact remains that he was widely recognized as one of the patriarchs.

19. See Wukai 悟開 of the Qing dynasty, *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略, 38–42.

20. See *ibid.*, 42–63.

21. See Zhang Wuji 張悟基 of the Qing, “Preface” (*xu* 序), in *The Recorded Sayings of Master Xing'an* (*Xing'an fashi yulu* 省庵法師語錄), XZJ 109:295b; Chen Wuhou 陳悟候 of the Qing, “Preface” (*xu* 序), in *ibid.*, XZJ 109:295b–296a; Bei Yong 貝壙 of the Qing, “Postscript” (*ba* 跋), in *ibid.*, XZJ 109:322a. [*Translator's note*: This text is also found at CBETA X.1179, vol. 62.] All three of these examples mention Wukai's inclusion of Xing'an as one of the patriarchs in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略. This should be enough to demonstrate that Wukai's addition of Xing'an to the list of patriarchs received widespread approval, in particular among Xing'an's disciples who revered him and attached special importance to Wukai in this matter. We should also note the fact that Wukai himself considered Xing'an to be important. The answer to the 72nd entry in his *One Hundred Questions about Nianfo* (*Nianfo bai wen* 念佛百問) says, “In action they seek simplicity; but their merit must be considered profound. Spilling over into [too] many different directions, one has the name but not the reality. Nowadays, within the Buddhist gate, [...] there are only these three: Chan master Yongming [Yan]shou, the great master Lianchi, and master Xing'an” (XZJ 109:405b). Also see his answer to the 56th entry: “An incomplete edition of Longshu omitted any statements about generating *bodhicitta*. Yunqi [Zhuhong] corrected this and Master Xing'an, with great zeal on this, wrote the ‘Essay Counseling the Arousing of *Bodhicitta*’ (*Quan fa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文). He was extremely devout” (XZJ 109:404b). [*Translator's note*: This text is also found as CBETA X.1184, vol. 62.]



foremost figure of the Lotus school. At that time, Yinguang wrote him a letter in which he said,

How could I be promoted as foremost after Xing'an? If I were able to put on Xing'an's shoes, I would not even be able to stumble my way through his way of life; how much less could my writings supplant his? [...] I know that you [i.e., Ding Fubao] hold me in fond regard, but how could you say such a thing about me! You should be aware that after Xing'an there were [other] great and lofty men; one dare not jump to any conclusions about whether they surpass Xing'an or not based on feelings. If there is anyone that could stand shoulder to shoulder [with Xing'an] in terms of scholarship, insight, ability to manage affairs, and moral character, it would be the Chan master Chewu. The tenth patriarch of the Lotus school fully deserves the honor. I cannot even claim to have descended from him; how much less could I say that I am of the same rank?<sup>22</sup>

From the contents [p. 27] of this letter, we may infer that Yinguang still lived in the Fayu Temple (*Fayu si* 法雨寺).<sup>23</sup> Thus we can say that prior to 1928 Ouyi and Chewu had not yet been recognized as patriarchs of the Lotus school. Since at that time Yinguang still thinks that Chewu is the successor to Xing'an, he promoted him as the tenth patriarch.

B. Toward the end of 1932, Yinguang referred to Xing'an as the ninth patriarch in a letter to a disciple.<sup>24</sup> Thus we can say that up to this

22. See Yinguang 印光, "Response to Ding Fubao 2" ("Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu" (2) 復丁福保居士書[二]), in *Complete Works*, 3:83.

23. This letter brings up several laymen who contributed money for the printing of the *Yinguang fashi wenchao* 印光法師文鈔 for free distribution. He says, "Yesterday I received a letter from [Zhang] Yunlei ([張]雲雷) saying that he had printed five hundred copies of the *Wenchao* for me. [...] Today the Great Master Kaixiang of the Fayu [Temple] arrived in Shanghai, and I have asked him to send one hundred dollars to [Zhang] Yunlei." (Yinguang 印光, "Response to Ding Fubao 2" ["Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu" (2) 復丁福保居士書(二)], in *Complete Works*, 3:84.) On this evidence we know that Yinguang was still at the Fayu Temple on Mt. Putuo. Only in 1928 did he leave the Fayu Temple to move to the Taiping Temple 太平寺 in Shanghai. From this we can infer that this letter was written prior to 1928.

24. See Yinguang 印光, "Response to Layman Zhou Shanchang 4" 復周善昌居士書四, in *Yinguang fashi wenchao sanbian* 印光法師文鈔三編, ed. Luo Hongtao 羅鴻濤 (Taichung 臺中: Taizhong lianshe 臺中蓮社, 1992), 181. The letter reads in part: 明道師死, 弘化社亦歸光主持。[...] 賢即蓮宗九祖思齊實賢大師。大師《勸發菩提心文》, 好極。 ("Ven. Mingdao has passed away,

time, Yinguang still adhered to Wukai's nine-patriarch scheme and did not regard Ouyi or Chewu as patriarchs of the Lotus sect.

4. Yinguang's addition of Xingce 行策 to the list of patriarchs probably took place between 1937 and 1939. I offer the following two points of evidence in support:

A. During the Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty (1736–1795), Peng Jiqing (彭際清, 1740–1796) told his nephew 姪 Peng Xisu (彭希涑, 1760–1793) to compile the *Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄, completed in 1783), which gathered together over five hundred biographies. By the end of the Daoguang period 道光 (1821–1850), Hu Ting (胡珽, dates unknown) collected over 160 additional rebirth stories from after the Qianlong period under the title *Continued Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu xubian* 淨土聖賢錄續編). In 1933, Yinguang told his disciple Desen (德森, 1883–1962) to compile another 230 stories of those who attained rebirth after the Xianfeng period (咸豐, 1851–1861) under the title *Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land, Third Collection* (*Jingtu shengxian lu sanbian* 淨土聖賢錄三編). After Yinguang revised and corrected these three *Records of Sages and Worthies*, he published them as a single volume and released them in 1933.<sup>25</sup> The table of contents of this edition has the names of the patriarchs with small characters under each one indicating his place in the order of patriarchs thus [p. 28]:

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and leadership of the Propagation Society has devolved upon me. [...] Xian, i.e., the ninth patriarch of the Lotus Society, is Great Master Siqu Shixian (i.e., Xing'an). The Great Master's *Counsels to Bodhicitta* is extremely good.") Note: Ven. Mingdao passed away on October 19th, 1932; see *ibid.*, 206. At this time Yinguang still considered Xing'an the ninth patriarch, and Yinguang had not yet put Ouyi and Chewu in his list.

25. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Preface," *Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu xu* 淨土聖賢錄序) in his *Collected Works*, 2:1171. See also Shi Desen 釋德森, "Account of the Genesis of the Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land" ("Jingtu shengxian lu yuanqi shuoming" 淨土聖賢錄緣起說明), in *Single-Volume Edition of the Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu [hebianben]* 淨土聖賢錄[合編本]) (Kaohsiung 高雄: Gaoxiong jingzong xuehui 高雄淨宗學會, 1993), 469–470.

TABLE 2

Volume	Fascicle	Name	Notation underneath name
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 2	Huiyuan of the Jin	1st patriarch of the Lotus
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 2	Shandao of the Tang	2nd patriarch of the Lotus
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Chengyuan of the Tang	3rd
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Fazhao of the Tang	4th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Shaokang of the Tang	5th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Yanshou of the Song	6th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Xingchang of the Song	7th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 5	Zhuhong of the Ming	8th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Zhixu of the Qing	9th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Xingce of the Qing	No notation
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Shixian [Xing'an] of the Qing	10th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 1	Jixing [Chewu] of the Qing	11th

The small notations under each name indicate that the ordering of the patriarchs was Yinguang's idea.<sup>26</sup> That is how we can know that by 1933, the list of patriarchs as conceived by Yinguang still consisted of only eleven names. Xingce had not yet been entered, while Ouyi (Zhixu) and Jixing (Chewu) had.

B. Within Yinguang's *Wenchao* there is a text entitled "Praises for the Hall of the Patriarchs of the Pure Land Lineage" (*Jingtu zong zutang zan* 淨土宗祖堂讚) with a note indicating that it was composed in 1938.<sup>27</sup> There is also a text called "Eulogies for the Twelve Patriarchs of the Lotus Lineage" (*Lianzong shier zu zansong* 十二祖贊頌), and although there is no indication of its year of composition, we may infer from a letter written to Zhang Jueming 張覺明 that the "Eulogies" was composed around the end of 1938 or the beginning of 1939.<sup>28</sup> We can see from this that Yinguang finalized his list of twelve patriarchs somewhere between 1938 and 1939. As he states clearly in his letter to Zhang Jueming,

The twelve patriarchs [p. 29] consist of the nine patriarchs generally recognized, but after the eighth patriarch Lianchi [i.e., Zhuhong] I add Ouyi as the ninth, Jieliu 截流 as the tenth, take the previous ninth patriarch Sīqi (Shi)xian 思齊(實)賢 [i.e., Xing'an] as the eleventh patriarch, and add Chan master Chewu as the twelfth.<sup>29</sup>

When he says "the nine patriarchs generally recognized," his basis is the nine patriarchs selected by Wukai in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuanlüe* 蓮宗九祖傳略. When he says "I add Ouyi as the ninth, Jieliu as the

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26. The version of this text in the XZJ (卍新纂續藏經) does not include these phrases. See the *Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄, XZJ 135:96a-97a; *Jingtu shengxian lu xubian* 淨土聖賢錄續編, 135:194b. Ven. Shengyan has stated that the Japanese scholar Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀 (1903-1985) said in his *Chūgoku kinsei Jōdokyō shi no kenkyū* 中國近世淨土教史の研究 that Ouyi was listed as the ninth patriarch in the *Jingtu shengxian lu*, but he found no evidence of this when he looked at the text. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo zhongguo fojiao zhi yanjiu* 明末中國佛教之研究, trans. Guan Shiqian 關世謙 (Taipei 臺北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1988), 159. In reality, Ven. Shengyan consulted the XZJ edition, while Ogasawara might have been looking at the combined edited by Yinguang.

27. See *Jingtu zong zutang zan* 淨土宗祖堂讚, in CW, 2:1323.

28. See "Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu qi" 復張覺明女居士書七, in *Third Collection*, 510.

29. See *ibid.*, 514.

tenth...,” this shows very clearly that Xingce 行策 (i.e., Jieliu) now has a definite place among the patriarchs.

5. Yinguang’s listing of Ouyi Zhixu as the ninth patriarch has already been called into question. Ven. Shengyan (1930–2009) raised doubts when he said:

At present, the theory of thirteen patriarchs circulating throughout the Chinese Buddhist world consists of the following figures: (1) Huiyuan, (2) Shandao, (3) Chengyuan, (4) Fazhao, (5) Shaokang, (6) Yanshou, (7) Xingchang, (8) Zongze, (9) Zhuhong (Lianchi), (10) Zhixu (Ouyi), (11) Xing’an, (12) Jixing (Chewu), and (13) Yinguang. In reality, Zhixu is the tenth patriarch here. If we were to remove Zongze from the list in accordance with the *Fozu tongji*, the *Sheng wu sheng lun zhu*, and the *Jiu zu zhuan lüe*, then Zhixu would be the ninth patriarch.<sup>30</sup>

However, this challenge has a few problems of its own. First, it is unclear what Shengyan’s list of thirteen patriarchs is based upon. The currently accepted list of thirteen Pure Land patriarchs should be as described in the first section of this essay. Shengyan left out Xingce and added Zongze. Furthermore, in order to push Ouyi back to the position of ninth patriarch, Shengyan took Zongze out, but Zongze had already been removed, leaving a list of only twelve patriarchs, so this is something he failed to observe. Moreover, the question of whether or not Ouyi should be considered the ninth patriarch was not the main point Shengyan wished to make. His main purpose was to overturn the clause “not within the Tiantai lineage” within a statement made by Hongyi (弘一, 1880–1941): “Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage” (清蓮宗九祖非天台宗下智旭大師).<sup>31</sup> He says:

30. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu* 明末佛教研究, 161.

31. Hongyi’s writings include the book *Chronology of Great Master Ouyi* (*Ouyi dashi nianpu* 藕益大師年譜) that has a portrait of Zhixu on its first page with the caption “Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage” next to it and a eulogy entitled “In Praise of the Ninth Patriarch of the Lotus School” (*Lianzong jiu zu song* 蓮宗九祖頌) underneath. (See *Anthology of Great Master Hongyi’s Teachings* [*Hongyi dashi faji* 弘一大師法集], ed. Niansheng 念生 [Taipei 臺北: Xinwenfeng 新文豐出版公司, n.d.], 2:1081.) Ven. Shengyan did not accept this statement. (See Shi Shengyan, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 161.)

The list of Pure Land patriarchs that Zhixu records in his *Ru shi zong chuan qie yi* 儒釋宗傳竊議 is not the same. It consists of these twelve: Huiyuan, Zhiyi (智顛, 538–597), Zunshi (遵式, 964–1032), Feixi (飛錫, ca. 705–806), Weize (唯則, 1286–1354), Fanqi (梵琦, 1296–1370), Miaoye (妙叶, dates unknown), Chuandeng (傳燈, 1554–1628), [p. 30] Zhuhong, and Deqing (德清, 1546–1623).<sup>32</sup> I think it is possible that this [list] uses [these figures’] thought and writings as the basis for selection. If it were done by someone who really admired Zhixu and his Pure Land thought, then they would have taken Zhixu and placed him as the ninth patriarch. Truthfully, this is not an appropriate way of going about it.<sup>33</sup>

This should be the most significant reason for Ven. Shengyan’s disagreement. However, basing his list of patriarchs upon [these figures’] thought and writings was simply Ouyi’s own opinion. It should not conflict with anyone else wishing to list Ouyi as a patriarch of Pure Land. At any rate the list of Pure Land patriarchs has changed right through its history, and everyone who has established a roll of patriarchs has had his own point of view. Hongyi’s views on establishing patriarchs was based on Yinguang,<sup>34</sup> which we may take as one point of view among modern practitioners of Pure Land.

Apart from this, was Ouyi definitely part of the Tiantai lineage? If part of the Tiantai lineage, could he not also be part of the patriarchate of the Lotus school? This is debatable. Ven. Shengyan has offered these comments on Ouyi: “[Ouyi] Zhixu placed the Pure Land dharmagate above all other dharmagates because [...] even if one did not have the *Tiantai zhiguan* 天台止觀, one need only *nianfo* and it would be all right. He thought this would be of primary importance to all the

32. *Translator’s note*: Although in this quotation Ven. Shengyan refers to a list of twelve patriarchs, in fact there are only ten names here. The author has not abridged the quotation; this is how it appears in Shengyan’s book.

33. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 161.

34. This is because the image selected for the frontispiece of Hongyi’s *Ouyi dashi nianpu* 藕益大師年譜 is one that Yinguang asked Zhang Jueming 張覺明 to draw. (Refer to Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 7” 復張覺明女居士書七, in *Third Collection*, 510–511; “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 10” 復張覺明女居士書十, in *Third Collection*, 514–515; “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 11” 復張覺明女居士書十一, in *Third Collection*, 515. See also Yinguang’s *Lianzong jiu zu song* 蓮宗九祖頌, in *Collected Works*, 2:1326.

dharma-gates. We should see this as the final crystallization of Zhixu's Buddhist faith."<sup>35</sup> He also says,

The superior skillful teaching of the "lateral escape from the triple world" is simply the practice of the *nianfo* of oral invocation spoken of by the Buddha Amitābha. The *nianfo samādhi* is a "vertical escape from the triple world," a kind of Chan contemplation that depends upon one's own power to eliminate the delusions and defilements step by step. Through it one gains the three bodies and four lands [of a buddha]. The oral invocation *nianfo* leading to the "lateral escape from the triple world" is rooted in the power of the Buddha Amitābha's fundamental vows by which one is conducted to rebirth in the Land of Utmost Bliss. [...] As for Zhixu himself, although he put a lot of effort into encouraging practice of the *nianfo samādhi*, prior to the age of fifty he mainly promoted the joint practice of Chan, doctrine, and precepts. Late in his life, the Pure Land flavor became even more pronounced, and he completely threw himself into the "lateral escape from the triple world" of the supreme skillful means of rebirth through other-power.<sup>36</sup>

As the results of Ven. Shengyan's own research into Ouyi indicate, as Ouyi grew older, his emphasis [p. 31] on the *nianfo* of "holding the name" increased to the point where he dedicated himself completely to the practice. This being the case, then it was appropriate for Yinguang to rank him among the patriarchs of the Pure Land. Moreover, Ven. Shengyan himself has said that the basis of Ouyi's thought was not centered on the *Lotus Sutra*; he simply made use of Tiantai methods in exegeting sutras and discourses while presenting his own distinctive thought. Thus, one should not label Ouyi as part of the Tiantai lineage.<sup>37</sup> Based on this, Hongyi's dictum, "Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage," is apropos, and one need entertain no qualms about ranking him among the patriarchs of the Lotus school.

Besides, the Japanese scholar Makita Tairyō (牧田諦亮, 1912–2011) believes that the "seven patriarchs of the Lotus school" established by Zhipan in his *Fozu tongji* represented those who could best pass on Shandao's method of *nianfo* by holding to the name. The eighth patriarch Zhuhong and the ninth patriarch Ouyi were not necessarily of this

35. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 99.

36. *Ibid.*, 443–444.

37. *Ibid.*, "Author's Preface."

kind. The thirteenth patriarch Yinguang was the most insistent about transmitting Shandao's method of holding the name.<sup>38</sup> Yinguang certainly was the keenest on the *nianfo* of holding the name, but we must realize that in his eyes Ouyi was also a true transmitter and promoter of holding the name style *nianfo*. Yinguang had a deep understanding of Ouyi's thought and writings, and often used Ouyi's explanations in his own writings on this form of practice. Ouyi was second only to Chewu in receiving Yinguang's appreciation and respect.

6. How did Yinguang come to be regarded as a Pure Land patriarch? The process by which Yinguang received recognition as a patriarch was very simple. During his lifetime, his lay and clerical disciples often spoke of him and all of the other patriarchs together,<sup>39</sup> and referred to him as "the pillar and guide (*taidou* 泰斗) of contemporary Pure Land,"<sup>40</sup> "the builder of Pure Land school" (*jingtu zong jiang* 淨土宗匠),<sup>41</sup> or revered him as the foremost figure after Xing'an.<sup>42</sup> Not long after Yinguang passed away, Yang Shisun 楊石蓀 of Fujian made the proposal that Yinguang be honored as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school,<sup>43</sup> a proposal that was accepted by a great many people. Because of this, Yinguang's status as a patriarch was virtually assured. However, some people had a different idea at that time and raised the following question to Li Bingnan (李炳南, 1889–1986):

[p. 32] After his rebirth [in the Pure Land], Yinguang should only be listed as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school provisionally.

38. See Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, "Zendō daishi to chūgoku jōdokyō" 善導大師と中国浄土教, in *Chūgoku bukkyōshi kenkyū* 中国仏教史研究, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1984), 319–371. See esp. the section "The Seven Patriarchs and the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School" 蓮宗七祖・蓮宗十三祖, 350–366.

39. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Fu Li Deming jushi shu er" 復李德明居士書二, in *Collected Works*, 2:962; "Yu Wei Meisun jushi shu shiliu" 與魏梅蓀居士書十六, in *Collected Works*, 2:1036.

40. Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Fu Shengzhao jushi shu" 復聖照居士書, in *Collected Works*, 3a:211.

41. Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Fu Chen Qichang jushi shu" 復陳其昌居士書, in *Collected Works*, 2:956.

42. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu 2" 復丁福保居士書二, in *Collected Works*, 3a:83.

43. See Yang Shisun 楊石蓀, "Ni zun Lingfeng dashi wei lianzong di shisan zu yi" 擬尊靈巖大師為蓮宗第十三祖議, in *Collected Works*, 5:2491–2492.



The reason it should not be settled is that the eminent monks Great Master Xuyun, abbot of the Yongquan Temple on Drum Mountain in Fuzhou, and the Great Master Yuanying have not yet passed away. We should wait until after these two eminent monks have attained rebirth and only then let the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China have the final say.

Li responded:

His status has already been agreed and people have made up their minds. How can we say first one thing and then another [朝三暮四], changing our minds on a whim? Furthermore, Master Xu[yun] is regarded as a great contemporary Chan virtuoso, and already has status within his own tradition. Master [Yuan]ying performs the paired practice of Chan and Pure Land like Zibo, Hanshan, and other masters. Later, people will revere him as a patriarch, but without giving him a number in a sequence.<sup>44</sup>

This inquiry indicates that at that time there still were some differences of opinion, but in the end Yinguang's place among the patriarchs came to be established by public acclamation. Apart from this, it is worth noting in passing that Ven. Daoyuan (Daoyuan zhanglao 道源長老, 1900–1988) proposed Ven. Cizhou (慈舟, 1877–1958) as the fourteenth patriarch in 1954,<sup>45</sup> but this proposal was not generally picked up in Buddhist circles. Also, Mao Lingyun (毛凌雲, 1910– ) called on all the followers of the Pure Land teachings to honor Daoyuan as the fourteenth patriarch of the Lotus school,<sup>46</sup> but without gaining widespread approval. From these two examples we can see that anyone desiring to propose someone as a patriarch needs to go through a

44. Li Bingnan 李炳南, "Foxue wenda leibian" 佛學問答類編, in *Jingtu congshu* 淨土叢書, 15 (Taipei 台北: Taiwan yinjingchu 台灣印經處, 1981), 624. (Translator's note: Li Bingnan was a very important figure in the history of Buddhism in Taiwan. For more on him, see Charles B. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State 1660–1990* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999], 122–124.)

45. See Shi Daoyuan 釋道源, "Jingtu zong yu fojiao zhi shijiehua" 淨土宗與佛教之世界化, in Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, ed. *Jingtu sixiang lunji* 1 淨土思想論集 (一), *Xiandai fojiao xueshu congkan* 現代佛教學術叢刊, 66 (Taipei: Dasheng wenhua chubanshe 大乘文化出版社, 1973), 329–336. See esp. 330–333.

46. See Mao Lingyun 毛凌雲, "Lianzong shisi zu Daoyuan dashi zhuan" 蓮宗十四祖道源大師傳, in *Shizihou* 獅子吼 27, no. 8 (August 1988): 18–19.

confirmation process within the entire community. Only then will he gain acceptance.

Taixu's (太虛, 1889–1947) remarks may be taken as representative of the clergy who honored Yinguang as the thirteenth patriarch. He pointed out in his “Inscription for the Pagoda of Great Master Yinguang, Thirteenth Patriarch of the Lotus School” (Lianzong shisan zu Yinguang dashi taming 蓮宗十三祖印光大師塔銘):

The Master [i.e., Yinguang] was pure and devout in his intentions and conduct, dignified and diligent. One who receives his teaching in person or peruses his writings feels profoundly grateful and is strengthened by the power of his great virtue. He influenced others without speaking and commanded reverence through his amiability. As the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school, he was indeed worthy!<sup>47</sup>

[p. 33] Taixu enjoyed profound exchanges with Yinguang<sup>48</sup> and was deeply impressed with him, so when he expressed his veneration of Yinguang by saying, “as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school, he was indeed worthy,” he was not speaking merely of ordinary social interactions. Furthermore, Taixu wrote this text in the fall of 1943, only three years after Yinguang’s passing. That Taixu was willing to affirm Yinguang’s patriarchal status only three years later shows that Yinguang’s place as a patriarch was accepted within the religious community at large.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Ever since Shizhi Zongxiao 石芝宗曉 set forth the six patriarchs of the Lotus school in his *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, one person after another has proposed great masters who contributed [to Pure Land] as patriarchs right up to the present day, and in this way the theory of thirteen patriarchs took form. Prior to 1939, the process was in disarray, with

47. Shi Taixu 釋太虛, “Lianzong shisan zu Yinguang dashi ta ming” 蓮宗十三祖印光大師塔銘, in *Collected Works*, 7:4.

48. *Ibid.* In this text Taixu describes the circumstances of his association with Yinguang (p. 4); Xia Jinhua 夏金華, “Yinguang yu Xuyun, Taixu he Hongyi de jiaowang” 印光與虛雲、太虛和弘一的交往, in *Neiming* 內明, no. 288 (March 1996): 34–37; see esp. 36–37; Shi Yinshun 釋印順, *Taixu dashi nianpu* 太虛大師年譜, in his *Miaoyunji* B.6. 妙雲集 (中編之六) (Taipei台北: Zhengwen chubanshe 正聞出版社, 1992), 2–3, 38, 47–48, 73–74.

lists circulating that counted between eight and twelve slots and contained different sets of names. In the end, it was Yinguang who determined the outcome. When Yinguang passed away, his disciples put him forward as the thirteenth patriarch, meaning that the list achieved its final form in 1940, the year of his death.

Moreover, this list of thirteen patriarchs has never consisted of figures with master-disciple relations. For instance, the second patriarch Shandao 善導 is separated from the first patriarch Huiyuan 慧遠 by some two hundred years, and the style and substance of Shandao's Pure Land thought, inherited from Tanluan and Daochuo, differs from those of Huiyuan. The seventh patriarch Xingchang 省常 passed away in 1020, while the eighth patriarch Lianchi 蓮池 was not even born until 1532, meaning that there is a five hundred year gap between them. From this we can see that the purposes of the list of patriarchs was to honor the merit of great past masters and enable people in later times to give them due reverence and receive encouragement in their own progress. Thus, the significance of succession in this list differs from that of other schools (such as Chan and Tiantai).

