

CHAN BUDDHISM IN
RITUAL CONTEXT

Edited by Bernard Faure



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CHAN BUDDHISM IN RITUAL CONTEXT

The essays in this volume attempt to place the Chan and Zen traditions in their ritual and cultural contexts, looking at various aspects heretofore largely (and unduly) ignored. In particular, they show the extent to which these traditions, despite their claim to uniqueness, were indebted to larger trends in East Asian Buddhism, such as the cults of icons, relics and the monastic robe.

The book emphasises the importance of ritual for a proper understanding of this allegedly anti-ritualistic form of Buddhism. In doing so, it deconstructs the Chan/Zen 'rhetoric of immediacy' and its ideological underpinnings.

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1

CHAN AND ZEN STUDIES

The state of the field(s)

Bernard Faure

The following comments focus on a certain number of works which, despite the vague nature of their object, can be grouped under the name Chan/Zen. I have retained, in the abundant and unequal literature relative to this domain, only the most significant contributions of the last four decades, and it goes without saying that these notes do not claim to be objective or exhaustive. As any exercise of this kind, these comments reflect the normative conceptions of their author.

Brought to the attention of the sinological world by the work of the Chinese historian Hu Shi in the 1930s, Chan/Zen studies truly blossomed only after the Second World War, that is, almost half a century after the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Apart from a few exceptions, Chan/Zen has remained the territory of Japanese and American scholars. Before presenting the works of the latter, a few words about their European precursors are in order.

As early as 1923, Paul Pelliot, in a seminal essay modestly entitled 'Notes on some artists of the Six Dynasties and the Tang', examined the background of the legend of Bodhidharma. In 1947, Paul Demiéville published *The Mirror of the Mind*, in which he compared the use of the mirror metaphor in the Chinese and Western philosophical tradition. This article, which inaugurated a series of studies on 'subitism' and 'gradualism', has exerted a profound influence on the development of Chan studies in the US.

In 1949, Jacques Gernet, stimulated by Hu Shi's works, published a translation of Shenhui's *Dialogues*; then, in a rich article published in 1951, he described the eventful biography of this figure. The following year, Demiéville published his monumental *Le Concile de Lhasa*, in which he attempted to unveil the

history of the controversy over ‘subitism’, which animated the enigmatic Council of Tibet (which some scholars today localize, not in Lhasa, but in the bSam yas Monastery, while others deny that such Council ever took place). This work, divided into two parts (doctrinal and historical), is a precious source of information on early Chan, and in particular on the Northern School, to which the Chinese protagonist in the controversy, Moheyan, was heir. It is regrettable that Demiéville did not follow up on his initial project, which was to dedicate a second volume to a study of the Chan doctrine. However, in subsequent years, he continued to give lectures at the Collège de France and to publish articles on this topic. It is curious, however, that while his influence in France remained small, despite the publication in 1973 of two volumes of his collected essays on Chinese Buddhism and sinology, he was beginning to be read in Japan and in the United States. Among the repercussions of his work in France, we must nevertheless mention the publication in 1970 of a special issue of *Hermès* on Chan, a second edition of which, greatly expanded (1985), includes not only the translation of basic Chan/Zen texts, but a few important articles on Chinese Chan (by Paul Demiéville, Nicole Vandier-Nicolas and Catherine Despeux) and its influence in Tibet (Guilaine Mala).

In the United States, the work of Walter Liebenthal on Shenhui (1953) and the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*, despite (or because of) its originality, is on the whole unreliable. It is only with the translation of the *Platform Sūtra* by Philip Yampolsky in 1967, accompanied by a scholarly introduction on the legend and the genesis of the Chan patriarchal tradition, that the study of Chan earned its academic credentials. Yampolsky was the first to introduce to American scholars the recent research of Yanagida Seizan – who published, the same year, his monumental study on the historical works of early Chan (*Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*). It was also the collaboration of Yanagida and Iriya Yoshitaka that allowed Ruth Fuller Sasaki and Miura Isshū to edit *Zen Dust*, a work rich in information on Chan/Zen, but difficult to use because of its hybrid character. Another scholar influenced by Japanese scholarship was Heinrich Dumoulin, whose *History of Zen Buddhism* (1963) provided a useful introduction to the history of Chan/Zen. This history, augmented and revised, has recently been reedited and published in two volumes (Dumoulin 1988–90).

However, it is during the last two decades that studies have multiplied, still strongly influenced by Yanagida’s work. These

studies were also written in reaction against the appropriation of Zen by the counter-culture of the 1960s. The first task was to free Zen from its association, spread by Suzuki Daisetsu and his epigons, the kind of ‘Oriental mysticism’ denounced in France by René Etiemble under the name of ‘Zaine’.

To understand the direction taken by these studies, we must first place ourselves in the postwar context. The study of the Chan manuscripts from Dunhuang experienced a revival when the Chinese historian Hu Shi, after a long political interlude, took up again his research on Shenhui and Chan. Very soon, however, his historicist approach led him to run up against Suzuki, who had not forgotten the severe review of his ‘Essays on Zen’ almost twenty-five years earlier – an anonymous critique published in *The Times Literary Supplement* which he had wrongly attributed to Hu Shi (see Barrett 1989). At any rate, Suzuki reproached Hu Shi for his historicism in a debate which opposed him (in 1953) to the Chinese historian in the columns of the journal *Philosophy East and West*. The positions of the two protagonists were deeply entrenched: according to Hu Shi, Chan is merely one religious movement among others, and its development was an integral part of the political history of the Tang. According to Suzuki, however, Zen transcends history, and historians are by definition reductionists (Suzuki 1953; Hu Shi 1953).

It was in order to go beyond this rather sterile antinomy that Yanagida began to publish his works. Although he seems to have at first taken side with Hu Shi, he was nevertheless not content with the latter’s historicism. Hu Shi was actually well aware of these divergences when, in a letter addressed to Yanagida, he compared the latter’s Buddhist ideal to his own atheism. The originality of Yanagida’s position soon asserted itself, when he criticized the excesses of the historicist critique of Chan made by Sekiguchi Shindai, a Tendai historian who insisted on showing that all the ‘histories’ of Chan are fraudulent. For Yanagida, although traditional Chan historiography cannot claim the status of a truthful narrative, neither can it be dismissed as an empty fabrication. Yanagida criticized both the mythifying narrative of the ‘Histories of the Lamp’ and the demythifying history of hyper-historicism, and attempted to emphasize the religious creativity of those ‘inventions’. True, his *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* seems, through its rigorous application of textual criticism, to belong in the historicist tradition, but Yanagida takes care to nuance his position in the preface to this work.

Early Chan

Western scholars who have taken their cues from Yanagida have, however, essentially retained his historical critique of the origins of Chan. What mattered, above all, was a consolidation of the results of this revisionist history which allowed, in the light of the documents from Dunhuang, for a retrieval, to bring out of the dungeons of oblivion actors famous in their own time, like Shenhui, Shenxiu, and other masters of the Northern School; but this also led to a denouncement of the myth of Chan origins. As characteristic products of this phase, we can mention the works of John McRae, Jeffrey Broughton and Bernard Faure on Northern Chan, of Robert Buswell on the apocryphal *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*, and the various collections of essays published by the Kuroda Institute under the direction of Peter Gregory. Griffith Foulk also questioned the still prevailing image of an early Chan largely independent of Tang Buddhist institutions (Foulk 1987).

Furthered by the reproduction on microfilm of the Dunhuang manuscripts, the study of early Chan rapidly became a fecund domain. We must note, however, that despite the existence of microfilm collections in several American universities, such as Berkeley and Cornell, and the publication a few years ago in Taiwan of a photographic edition of the *Dunhuang baozang*, American scholars, contrary to their Chinese, Japanese and French scholars, have not yet made a concerted effort in the critical study of these manuscripts. For different reasons, Chan studies and 'Dunhuangology' have remained separate fields on both sides of the Atlantic.

Among the important contributions to the American discovery of Chan, let us mention *Early Chan in Tibet and China* (Lai and Lancaster 1983), and *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Gregory 1987a). The first work contains, among others, the translation of two important articles by Yanagida, one concerning the *Lidai fabao ji* and the Chan school in Sichuan (Yanagida 1983a), and another on the emergence of the 'Recorded Sayings' (*yulu*) of classical Chan (Yanagida 1983b), as well as a survey of the studies on Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang by Ueyama Daishun. The second work opens with a translation of essays by Demiéville and R. A. Stein on Chinese and Tibetan 'subitism'.

The question of the relationship between Chan and Tibetan Buddhism was also the object of a number of studies, for instance Jeffrey Broughton's 'Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet' (Broughton

1983). The collection in which this essay appeared, *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, edited by Gregory and Gimello, also contained essays by Luis Gómez on the teaching of Moheyan (the Chan master studied by Demiéville in *Le concile de Lhasa*) and by John McRae on the Niutou (Oxhead) School (Gimello and Gregory 1983).

In 1986, Gregory edited another volume dealing with the reciprocal influences of various Chinese Buddhist schools regarding meditation. The lion's share was nevertheless given to Chan, with essays on Chan and Pure Land (Chappell), on the 'One-Practice samādhi' (Faure), on the 'secret' of Chan meditation (Bielefeldt), and on the *kōan* technique in Korean Sōn (Buswell).

While bearing testimony to the increasing erudition of Chan studies, these works still represent by and large an essentially doctrinal approach of the Buddhist tradition, and in the end make little effort to place Chan in its broader socioreligious context. The same is true for the work of McRae on the Northern School and the formation of Chan, published the same year (McRae 1986). In this well-documented study, McRae attempted to rehabilitate Northern Chan, which was accused by Shenhui of representing a form of gradualism and merely a collateral lineage of Chan, thus inferior to the direct lineage of the Southern School, represented by Shenhui and his master Huineng. McRae showed that the Northern School had nothing to envy in its rival regarding subitism or legitimacy (on this question, see also Faure 1988).

McRae's recent work on Shenhui provides a synthesis of former studies in the light of archeological and iconographic discoveries concerning Shenhui. Following Yanagida, McRae uses in particular the recently discovered portrait of Shenhui to analyse the development of Chan in the Buddhist kingdom of Nanzhao (modern Yunnan). Furthermore, he undertakes an annotated translation of Shenhui's complete works, which will supersede the partial translation by Gernet.

Shenhui's colourful personality could not fail to arouse the interest of historians, from Hu Shi and Yanagida to Gernet and McRae. This attention was soon attracted to another complex figure, which was a self-proclaimed heir to Shenhui and a contemporary of Linji Yixuan – thus located at the divide between early Chan (represented by Dunhuang manuscripts) and 'classical' Chan (known by the 'Recorded Sayings' and the 'Histories of the Lamp') – namely Guifeng Zongmi (780–841), the first 'historian' of Chan and a patriarch of both Huayan and the Southern School. As early as 1975, Jeffrey Broughton offered a

translation, unfortunately still unpublished, of Zongmi's major work on Chan, his *General Preface* to the Chan canon which he planned to (and perhaps did) compile (Broughton 1975). Other studies on Zongmi have been published by Jan Yün-hua and Peter Gregory (Jan 1972, 1977; Gregory 1987b). The latter has also recently published two important books, which locate Zongmi not only in the religious tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but more broadly in the Chinese intellectual tradition – by analyzing in particular his critique of Confucianism and Daoism (Gregory 1991, 1995).

In contrast with the relative abundance of studies on early Chan, based on the Dunhuang documents, there are for the time being only a few studies concerning classical Chan. Let us mention, however, William Powell's work on Dongshan Liangjie and Caoshan Benji, the founders of the Caodong school (better known under its Japanese form, Sōtō); and of Urs App on Yunmen Wen'yan, founder of the Yunmen school (Powell 1986; App 1989). For some obscure reason, Linji Yixuan (d. 867), who had been so well studied (and translated) by Yanagida and Demiéville, has not yet been the object of any in-depth study in English. More generally, the same is true for the entire literature of 'Recorded Sayings' – whose difficulty, it is true, is sufficient to make the bravest hesitate. The situation might, however, be about to change. Judith Berling, in a 1987 article, tackled the *yulu* as a particular literary genre, while Daniel Gardner attempted to place the Chan *dicta* against the background of Confucian *yulu*. In both cases, the *yulu* of Chan lose a part of their specificity (Berling 1987; Gardner 1991; see also Yanagida 1983b and McRae 1992). In his study on the Chan master Jiefan Huihong, Robert Gimello showed the close relationship between adepts of 'literary Chan' (*wenzi chan*) and Confucian circles during the Song. A similar impression can be drawn from the dissertation of one of his students, Huang Chichiang, on another great Song master, Qisong. The dissertation of Miriam Levering on Dahui Zonggao examines the lay context of the teaching of this master, who played such a particular role in the systematization of the *kōan* maieutics (Levering 1987a).

The tendency to integrate Chan into more general problematics, noted in the case of the *yulu*, can also be observed in several conference volumes, which take as their themes pilgrimages and sacred sites in China, religious change from the Tang to the Song, Buddhist soteriology, apocrypha in Chinese Buddhism, Buddhist hermeneutics, or Korean Buddhism in East Asian context. Studies

dealing with Chan during the later periods (Yuan, Ming, Qing) are still too rare. We will note, however, Yü Chün-fang's article on Zhongfeng Mingben, her monograph on Zhuhong (Yü 1981, 1982; see also Hurvitz 1970), and Hsü Sung-pen's work on Hanshan Deqing (Hsü 1979, see also Wu Pei-yi 1975).

Studies on Dōgen

The second pole of early Chan/Zen studies is indeniably the work and thought of Dōgen (1200–1253), the founder of the Japanese Sōtō school. Actually, the works of many Western specialists of Dōgen belong as much to the domain of comparative philosophy as to that of Chan/Zen studies proper.

Until the late 1960s, the work of Dōgen was practically unknown in the West, and the man himself had been eclipsed in the Rinzai version of Zen history spread by Suzuki. Then came the academic discovery of Dōgen by Kim Hee-jin and Abe Masao. This discovery was made possible by the thesis of Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960), taken up by most Japanese scholars, which posited that this medieval Zen master was one of the greatest Japanese thinkers of all times.

In his *Dōgen Kigen: Mystical Realist*, Kim Hee-jin studied Dōgen according to the perspectives of modern philosophy, thus initiating a tendency that would find its expression in *Dōgen Studies*, edited by William LaFleur (LaFleur 1985). But it was, above all, Abe Masao who, while continuing the missionary work of Suzuki, contributed to the reinterpretation of Dōgen according to the philosophical perspective of the 'Kyōto school'. By trying to 'free' Dōgen from 'centuries of fundamentally blind and hagiolatric treatment', to use LaFleur's formula, scholars have too often been content with seeing him as primarily a philosopher (or even *the* 'incomparable philosopher', in Thomas Kasulis's terms), rather than as the historical founder of the Sōtō sect.

In his preface to *Dōgen Studies*, LaFleur advocated a diversified approach to Dōgen and his thought – relying on the methodologies not only of philosophy, but also of history, literary criticism, sociology, linguistics, and anthropology. However, with the exception of Carl Bielefeldt's historical analysis and of the concluding remarks, of a sociological content, by Robert Bellah, contributions to this volume remained of an essentially philosophical nature. How could one imagine, when reading these essays, that Dōgen, this allegedly 'rationalist' thinker, was also the author of various texts describing the supernatural events he witnessed?

Dōgen has thus been associated too rapidly with the Kyōto school, not to mention recuperated by it, and studied almost exclusively from the viewpoint of comparative philosophy. The interest for the Kyōto school was also stimulated by the translation of various works by Nishida Kitarō and his disciple Nishitani Keiji. LaFleur recently edited a volume of essays by Abe Masao, the main representative of this school in the United States. Abe himself also recently published a collection of his essays on Dōgen (Abe 1992). Although the philosophical interpretation of Dōgen's thought is perfectly legitimate, and sometimes fecund (see for instance Maraldo 1985, Stambaugh 1990), it tends to relegate to a position of secondary importance other interpretations, just as legitimate, which have at least the merit of not idealizing Dōgen and which attempt to restore this figure in all his existential complexity.

An alternative to this philosophical reductionism is offered by Carl Bielefeldt, who remains truthful to Yanagida's approach when he tries to interpret Dōgen's thought within the intellectual and historical context of his time. Recently, following Yanagida, several Japanese scholars have begun to question the traditional account of the origins of Sōtō Zen, showing in particular the importance of a movement which was carefully occluded by Dōgen and his partisans, that of the 'Bodhidharma school' (Darumashū) – several texts of which have been discovered recently. On the basis of these documents, we can now attempt to place Dōgen in its proper cultural context (see Faure 1987b; Heine 1994a).

Regarding translations of this author, we must first mention the precise, if not always elegant, translations of several fascicles of the *Shōbō genzō* by Norman Waddell – some in collaboration with Abe Masao; two translations of Dōgen's diary while in China, the *Hōkyōki*, by Waddell and James Kōdera, respectively; and the translation of Dōgen's meditation manual, the *Fukan zazen gi*, by Bielefeldt. The translation of the *Shōbō genzō* by Kosen Nishiyama and John Stevens, while it has the merit of being complete, is unfortunately of a mediocre quality; the same is true of Yokoi Yūhō's translation. Another partial translation by the latter is of interest for its regrouping of certain particularly ritualistic fascicles that represent Dōgen's doctrine toward the end of his life and give of him a decidedly less 'philosophical' image (Yokoi 1976). The same is true of the recent translation of his 'Pure Rule', the *Eihei shingi* (Leighton and Okumura 1996).

Other themes

Just like the revision of early Chan history, which led to a questioning of 'classical' Chan and the Recorded Sayings, the study of the historical background of Dōgen has led to a reevaluation of Zen during Kamakura and later periods. After a long infatuation with Dōgen and other great reformers of Kamakura Buddhism (Shinran, Nichiren), we are now witnessing a progressive shift of research toward less conspicuous figures, who were nonetheless important for the society of the time, like Dainichi Nōnin, Yōsai (var. Eisai), Shinchi Kakushin, Enni Ben'en, and Keizan Jōkin. David Pollack compared two Zen masters of the fourteenth century, Musō Soseki and Kokan Shiren, and translated the most representative poems of the Five Mountains literature. Kenneth Kraft has also published a monograph on the Rinzai master Daitō Kokushi, while Faure has published a study on the visionary elements in Keizan's life and work. For the following periods, several studies and translations already exist concerning the poet-monks Ikkyū Sōjun and Ryōkan (Arntzen, Sanford, Covell, Yuasa, Abe Ryūichi), and Hakuin Ekaku, Suzuki Shōsan, Bankei Dōtaku, Mujaku Dōchū (Yampolsky, Tyler, Waddell, App). Although the Zen of the Muromachi and Edo periods is still relatively unknown, the situation is rapidly changing. In particular, the important work of William Bodiford on the expansion and the popularization of Sōtō in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sheds light on the relationships between this school and popular culture (Bodiford 1993). In a 1992 article, Bodiford also studied the various conceptions regarding transmission in Sōtō Zen.

As we can see, the works published on Zen, like those on Chan, tend to be characterized by a 'methodological individualism', which approaches Chan/Zen through its most well-known or original representatives. However, new objects, or even new methods, are progressively emerging. Thus, although her approach cannot be characterized as feminist, Miriam Levering focuses on the role of women in the Chan tradition, and in particular in the school of Dahui Zonggao. Other scholars have undertaken to write an institutional history of Chan/Zen. The first attempt of the kind was published years ago by Martin Collcutt, who studied the Zen institution of the 'Five Mountains', the great Zen monasteries in Kyoto and Kamakura. Despite its qualities, Collcutt's work still remained a tributary of the Japanese conception of an originally pure Zen, whereas Griffith Foulk has shown the ideological nature of this conception of Zen origins.

The work of Robert Buswell has begun to fill the gap in regard to Korean Sŏn. Judged heterodox by Buddhist ideologues and historians such as Nukariya Kaiten, Sŏn has been ignored for far too long. Buswell has contributed greatly to a better knowledge of that form of Chan, first by translating the works of Chinul, the main Sŏn representative, then by revealing the Korean origins of a Chan apocryphal scripture already studied by Walter Liebenthal, namely the *Vajrasamādhī-sūtra*; and by publishing an ‘ethnographic’ study of Sŏn monastic life.

However, the major lacuna is still the absence of a general history of Chan in China and neighbouring countries, which would include the most recent data and problematics. Regarding Japan, Dumoulin’s recent attempt, although laudable, still relies on many traditional clichés – such as that of the Indian origins of Zen, reflected in the very title of his work – and a too historicist and teleological vision of the tradition (Dumoulin 1988–1990). His book, with its rich documentation, remains essentially a work of reference, contributing to spreading certain aspects of Yanagida’s work among a Western academic audience.

Questions of method

Chan/Zen studies are, on the whole, divided between textual/philological and historical approaches on the one hand, and hermeneutical and philosophical approaches on the other. In this sense, they have not succeeded in going beyond the paradigm established by Hu Shi and Suzuki in their well-known controversy. The philological-historical approach remains predominant in the field of Buddhist studies. It emphasizes literati traditions and tends to rely heavily on Sino-Japanese erudition. Many Ph.D. dissertations are still monographs of the ‘Life and works of so-and-so’ variety.

The hermeneutical approach, influenced by Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, is characteristic of Religious Studies as it developed in the United States. It focuses on the interpretations of religious phenomena and on the meaning of symbols. It has not on the whole greatly influenced Chan/Zen historians. On the other hand, several scholars, such as Peter Gregory, David Chappell and Robert Buswell, have focused on a properly Buddhist or Zen hermeneutics. Gregory has studied in great detail the hermeneutic system of doctrinal classification (*panjiao*) elaborated by Zongmi. The question of hermeneutics was at the centre of a conference

organized by Donald Lopez in 1984, which led to the publication of *Buddhist Hermeneutics* (Lopez 1988).

The philosophical approach remains the main method used to understand Buddhist and Confucian texts, and this approach sometimes hinders the development of other methods. Some of the major texts of the Buddhist tradition, and in particular Chan texts or texts related to Chan, have been in this way reduced to a philosophical perspective that is alien to them. One example of half-baked philosophical comparativism is Edward Shaner's *The Bodymind Experience in Japanese Buddhism*, which turns the founders of Shingon and Sōtō into precursors (or disciples?) of Husserl.

Perspectives

At the present time, we are still lacking works considering Chan and Zen as complex cultural systems and trying to place them *in situ*. We may hope that the evolution of Chan/Zen studies will go in that direction, as is already the case for the study of other religious trends (see for instance Grapard 1992). Long considered as a province of Buddhology or of Orientalism (in their sinological or japanological versions), Chan/Zen studies are now opening to current debates active in the History of Religions and human or social sciences (in particular literary criticism and anthropology).

It has become obvious that traditional disciplines (such as Sinology or History of Religions) must face a rapid dissolution of their object (the self-contained culture of Chinese elites, or the experience of some *homo religiosus*), and the constant pressure of external methodologies (in particular those imported from sciences). The borders between various disciplines are being questioned in the name of an interdisciplinary approach (which too often remains a pious wish), while their ideological implications are submitted to criticism (witness the debate on Orientalism initiated by Edward Said). Thus, Chan/Zen studies must learn to accept these challenges, by making good use of methods and confronting theories which were until now alien to them.

The impact of the hermeneutical approach on Buddhist studies has led several scholars, such as John Maraldo, Carl Bielefeldt, Griffith Foulk, and Dale Wright, to question the Sino-Japanese historiographical tradition. Maraldo examined the historicist presuppositions of several Japanese historians of early Chan, and advocated a more inclusive approach that would take into account

what Gadamer called the ‘history of effects’ (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the Buddhist tradition. Taking his cues from Yanagida, Maraldo also emphasized the need to consider ‘historical documents’ as literary artefacts. A similar viewpoint was proposed by Dale Wright (1991). Finally, a survey of the main methodological alternatives is made in two publications by Faure (1991a and 1993a).

The anthropological aspects of Chan/Zen are discussed by Sharf and Faure, who show in particular the importance of the cult of relics and study the role played by mummies and other ‘figures of the double’ in Chan (Sharf 1992; Faure 1991). Sharf also shows the centrality of rituals such as ‘ascending the Hall’, while Faure studies the evolution of Chan/Zen attitudes toward death. Bodiford, likewise, focuses on the funerary rituals of the Sōtō school (Bodiford 1992).

These tendencies are less dependent on traditional Japanese perspectives. Such is the case in particular with the anthropological approach represented in this volume, which, demarcating itself from purely textual studies, tries to study the relationships between Chan/Zen and local or popular religion, or of various studies dealing with Chan/Zen ritual or monastic institutions. Aiming essentially at placing this tradition in the context of Sino-Japanese Buddhism and local cults, this approach is in reaction against the spiritualist tendency of traditional historiography and against historicist reductionism. Indeed, Chan emerged as an orthodoxy by excluding the diversity of local cults and by paradoxically constituting a new textual canon – the ‘Recorded Sayings’ and other ‘Histories of the Lamp’. Admittedly, we have not even begun to understand this literature, and it is at this task that Japanese scholars like Yanagida are working. But it is also important, in parallel, to attempt to recover the voices which have been silenced, either within this canonical literature itself, or outside of it. In order to do this, we must turn toward critical methods other than traditional hermeneutics, and to other documents (such as ritual texts, manuals of monastic discipline, epigraphic documents, hagiographical records, *kirigami* and other transmission documents, iconography, etc.). In his *Studies*, Yanagida started from a hagiographical collection outside Chan, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks). We must now return to these hagiographical collections, so rich in many respects (and not only from the historiographical viewpoint).

This article originally appeared in a special issue of the *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* on Chan/Zen, published as a special tribute to Professor Yanagida Seizan. Since then, a number of important essays have been written. I can just mention a few here. On early Chan, the most important work is undoubtedly Wendi Adamek's dissertation, which sheds new light on the *Lidai fabao ji*.

John Kieschnick's study of the eminent monks (Kieschnick 1997), although not focused on Chan proper, provides a lot of fascinating materials on early Chan monks. Regarding Dōgen, there have been a few new translations of the *Shōbō genzō*, but they may soon be rendered obsolete with the completion of the major translation project undertaken by Carl Bielefeldt, William Bodiford, Griffith Foulk and Stanley Weinstein under the auspices of the Sōtō Shūmuchō. This project aims at no less than presenting the first truly scholarly translation of the main scriptures of Sōtō Zen. And, of course, it is no longer possible to think of the Kyōto school without taking into account the sharp criticisms (and in particular Sharf's criticism) of this school, as presented in *Rude Awakenings* (Sharf 1994).

Among recent works on Zen, a study on the Ōbaku school by Helen Baroni stands out. Although Baroni's book remains rather traditional in its conception, it brings together, for the first time in any language (including Japanese), a wealth of materials concerning the unduly neglected third school of Japanese Zen. In this context, let me also mention the forthcoming work by the late Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy*. Although not concerned with Zen proper, it traces back one of the two main strands of divinatory strips (*omikuji*) to the headquarters of the Ōbaku school, Manpukuji, and, through it, to Chinese popular culture of the Fujian region (the province where Huangbo shan is located), as it was introduced in Japan in the seventeenth century through Chinese monks belonging to that school.

Theoretically more sophisticated, Steve Heine's recent book, *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text*, while still indebted to the hermeneutical approach, reaches a new level of sophistication, and attempts to read Zen doctrine together with folkloric motifs such as 'fox lore'. Along the same line, we find a collection of essays edited by Heine and Wright on the Zen kōan. We have come a long way since Ruth Fuller Sasaki's work on the same topic. There is no room to discuss individual essays here, but I would like to single out the contribution by the late Ishikawa Rikizan on *kirigami*. Ishikawa is one of the Japanese scholars who have contributed the

most to open the field of Zen studies to the influence of popular culture and to move it beyond sectarianism. Two western scholars indebted to his work are William Bodiford and Bernard Faure. Along the same lines, the work of historians such as Kuroda Toshio and Amino Yoshihiko has fostered a new generation of Japanese historians such as Taira Masayuki and Satō Hiroo, whose work on medieval Japan has greatly modified our perception of the so-called new schools of Kamakura Buddhism, and has led in particular to reconsider the status of Zen, Ritsu and Ji monks. The effects of this revisionist history are just beginning to be felt in Western scholarship, but they are clearly going to be momentous.

The present volume is an attempt to reexamine Chan and Zen in light of some of the agendas defined above. It is always somewhat artificial to attempt to find a common theme to essays which were written independently. However, it is no exaggeration to say that the essays collected here resonate with each other. They all contribute to questioning the traditional understanding of 'pure' Zen. Even the most textually oriented, Bielefeldt's essay, deconstructs Zen lineage and spiritual claims, and constitutes an ideological critique. Several of them emphasize the material culture of Chan and Zen (portraits, *kāṣāya*, but also medicine). They also reflect the impact of ritual and popular beliefs on a school which has ritually been represented as elitist and antiritualistic.

Contributors to the present volume have focused on the ways in which Chan/Zen's iconoclastic and radical teachings are intertwined with a panoply of votive, apotropaic and propitiatory forms of practice. Thus, Bernard Faure and James Robson elucidate the role of mummies of Chan masters in the development of Chan sectarianism, Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf examine the uses of Chan master portraits in the Song dynasty, William Bodiford writes on 'the enlightenment of kamis and ghosts', and Duncan Williams discusses medicine and the biographies of Dōgen.

Wendi Adamek has examined the role played by the portrait of Wuzhu (714–774), the founder of the Bao Tang school in Sichuan. Adamek's analysis and translation of the *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy illustrates topics that are examined from a number of different perspectives in this volume. For example, key themes include the recasting of indigenous/local concepts and practices in Chan/Zen modes, and Chan uses of the notion of representation.

According to his followers, some time soon after his death a portrait was painted of the Chan Master Wuzhu. A description of the portrait appears in the portrait-eulogy (*zhenzan*) included at the

end of the *Lidai fabao ji*. The *Lidai fabao ji* is preserved in a total of twelve manuscripts and fragments from the Dunhuang cache of materials and one fragment from Turfan, but the fate of the portrait is unknown. Adamek introduces the *Lidai fabao ji* and discusses the background of eighth century memorials and eulogies written for Chan masters, and then reviews the different types of images of Buddhist masters and the development of the portrait-eulogy genre in the Chan context. Finally, she examines the conflicting soteriological paradigms invested in the portrait, through an analysis of the assertions made in the eulogy.

This study is part of Adamek's research on the relationships between the ideological representations of the 'Southern School' Chan orthodoxy, particularly as regards the 'formless' teaching, and the forms of literary, artistic and devotional practice that were developed to express this formlessness. Thus, it draws on a growing body of scholarship, well-represented in the present volume, that questions sectarian constructions of Chan history. The orthodox Chan/Zen account of opposing 'Northern' and 'Southern' Chan schools in the eighth century has been effectively challenged, and most scholars now recognize that discussion of 'sudden awakening' (*dunwu*) and related concepts in Chinese Buddhist texts predates the appropriation of this soteriology as the hallmark 'Southern School' doctrine.

The icon of Wuzhu's master, the Korean priest Wuxiang (684–762), is also one of the cases of Chan/Zen portraiture (*chinzō*) studied by Sharf and Foulk. Examining the religious function of these portraits, the authors call into question the notion that *chinzō* served to authenticate the transmission from master to disciple. They also question the narrowly normative study of such portraits from the standpoint of Art History, and raise a number of theoretical and methodological questions which should have an impact on the history of Asian art. (On this point, see also Faure 1998a). After studying the semantic field of related terms such as *xiang* (image), *zhen* (portrait, truth [in painting]), and *dingxiang* (Jpn. *chinzō*), they examine the institutional, ritual and literary meaning of Buddhist portraits in China. They show in particular that references to portraits of eminent monks, prior to the Song, occur in the context of the cult of a Buddhist saint or of the funerals of a master. After the Tang, with the technique of dry lacquer, the distinction between relic and effigy disappears, and the saint's corpse become a true 'flesh icon'. The best known case is of course that of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng (d. 713), but another

interesting case has resurfaced lately, that of Shitou Xiqian, studied in this volume by Robson. Foulk and Sharf also analyse the ‘portrait halls’ (*yingtang*) and their role in the constitution of a Chan lineage (*zong*), in particular in the so-called Northern school. A case in point is the ‘Hall of the Seven Patriarchs’ (*qizu tang*), mentioned in a chronicle of that school, the *Chuan fabao ji*. Here, the portraits clearly serve not only to prove sectarian affiliation, but to assert the religious orthodoxy of specific groups.

The proscription of Buddhism in 845 was to have important repercussions on the production and distribution of Buddhist portraits during the Song and the Yuan. As Chan developed along less sectarian lines, it also became the authorized representative of Chinese Buddhism and official monasteries were increasingly redefined imperially as ‘Chan monasteries’. These monasteries usually possessed a Hall of the Patriarchs, in which the portraits of abbots gradually superseded those of the patriarchs. Thus, the portraits came to represent, not the lineage of a master, but that of the monastery itself. The plea by Baiyun Shouduan (1025–1072) in favour of the portraits of the two patriarchs Bodhidharma and Baizhang must be placed in this context, as an attempt to restore partially the status of those patriarchs. The same disposition is found in Japanese monasteries, where the portraits of the patriarchs are disposed next to those of the abbots. But another important phenomenon is the apparition of portraits of live masters, called ‘images of long life’ (*shouxiang*).

After examining the way in which the disposition of the portraits in the patriarchal halls served to legitimize certain lineages, Foulk and Sharf examine the ritual, and more precisely funerary, function of these portraits. In conformity with Chinese funerary rituals, the portrait of the deceased was perceived as the seat of his spirit, and played the same role as his funerary tablet. The Chan patriarchs and abbots were therefore worshipped as ancestors. However, eminent monks also came to be considered as living buddhas, and a new category appeared, that of the worthies (*zunzu*) whose words were recorded for posterity. This status finds its most achieved expression in the *shangtang* (‘Ascending the Hall’) ritual during which an abbot identifies ritually with the Buddha. As ‘images’ of buddhahood, the icon of the Buddha, the person of the abbot, and his portrait, are virtually interchangeable.

Apart from their funerary function, the portraits of abbots were also disseminated among disciples and followers. In the ritual and institutional context of Chan monachism, these portraits played

the same role as icons of the Buddha, and, like the latter, they were 'animated' through the presence of relics. On the other hand, they do not seem to have played a role in Dharma transmission, as is generally assumed.

Fouk and Sharf also point out that this cultic role of the worship was criticized within Chan, inasmuch as the 'truth' (*zhen*) of the master cannot be expressed in a portrait (also *zhen*). They conclude by questioning a number of theories usually accepted by art historians. Thus, the term *chinzō* cannot be limited to portraits of Chan and Zen masters. Likewise, the distinction between portraits of patriarchs and of abbots (the latter only receiving the name *chinzō*) does not seem justified from the standpoint of their grouping in patriarchal halls. Finally, the claim that portraits served as 'proofs of Dharma transmission' does not seem substantiated. As Faure suggested, their diffusion allowed a kind of 'transmission of charisma' of the same kind as that achieved through relics, based on their initial function as funerary objects. However, Fouk and Sharf do not think that the formal Dharma transmission is only one extreme case of transmission of charisma otherwise achieved through dissemination of relics and of portraits. Contrary to Faure, they see there a difference of nature, not only of degree. As religious icon, the portrait was functionally equivalent to the relics, the mummies, or the stūpas: it meant the presence of the Buddha in his very absence. Such is the context in which the alleged 'realism' or 'naturalism' of Chan portraiture must be studied.

The ultimate *chinzō* is, paradoxically, the mummy of the Chan master. The importance of mummies in Chan has already been pointed out by Faure and Sharf. Taking his cues from their work, and in particular from Faure's earlier discussion of Shitou's mummy (Faure 1991a), James Robson tracks down the origins of this mummy and comes up with some surprising conclusions. Robson's essay has all the ingredients of a modern detective story, describing how the body of a man who died centuries ago can still be an object of desire, smuggled through international borders and leading to a confusion of names, places, people, confessional rivalry and nationalistic claims, worship and profanation. The 'metaphysics of presence' which was at the origin of the cult has given way to rather sordid manipulations. It shows also the fine line between traditional Chan hagiography and the revival of a popular cult – almost a 'new religion' – in post-revolutionary China. It is also a study in cultural memory, showing how such memories are as much created as remembered, and manipulated by

local and provincial authorities through the use of the media. It raises the question of the extent to which the revival of the cult, and the local memories that go with it, have been provoked by the investigators. It also raises the role of the Western scholars who have attracted attention to this mummy by writing about it and photographing it. It shows that Chan and Zen cannot be studied as mere objects or as a set of ideas, but that their very study is a kind of performative scholarship that transform its object, animates it in a way reminiscent of the way in which East Asian Buddhists animated the icons and portraits of their masters.

The importance of sectarian consciousness, obvious in the Sichuan school studied by Adamek, is also emphasized in Carl Bielfeldt's essay, which shows the background of such sectarian developments in the Japanese context. In the traditional account, the 'official' introduction of Zen in Japan, during the Kamakura period, with the two Rinzai and Sōtō schools, is described as a passage from 'joint practice' to 'pure' Zen. However, our understanding of Zen depends on the meaning given to the term *shū*, usually translated as 'school', and sometimes as 'sect'. It is all too easy to project anachronistic models like that of 'sect' onto a medieval phenomenon. The notion of *shū* was at the centre of debates that agitated Kamakura Buddhism. For instance, the petition of the priest Jōkei (1155–1213) to proscribe the Pure Land teaching of Hōnen was based, among other things, on Hōnen's attempt to establish a 'new school'.

Bielefeldt examines a text attributed to the founder of Tōfukuji, Enni Ben'en, the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, which classifies the ten schools of Japanese Buddhism and attempts to give the highest rank to Zen as the 'school of the mind'. He places this work in the context of similar works, which already had a long tradition in the Tendai and Shingon schools, or in the Kegon school, with the famous *Hasshū kōyō*; as well as in Zen itself, with Eisai's *Kōzen gokokuron* and Dōgen's *Bendōwa*. Enni's well-tempered sectarianism provides a picture of 'syncretistic' Zen that differs radically from the traditional conception of Zen.

The 'syncretistic' approach, which formed the basis of the *kenmitsu* ('exoteric-esoteric') Buddhism described by the Japanese historian Kuroda Toshio, is well illustrated in the *Shaseki shū* (*Collection of Sand and Pebbles*) by Enni's disciple Mujū Ichien (1226–1312). Significantly, Mujū's work opens on a discussion of Ise Shrine in terms of Ryōbu Shintō, and criticizes in particular the Pure Land school for having disparaged the local gods or *kami*. The

importance of the *kami* in Japanese Zen, and particularly in the Sōtō tradition (which in theory adhered to Dōgen's pure Zen) is emphasized by William Bodiford's essay.

Bodiford focuses on a very important, although largely ignored, aspect of the Sōtō Zen tradition: legends regarding local gods. Like Chinese Chan, the Sōtō school of Japanese Zen established itself in the provinces, far from the aristocratic circles of the capital. However, Sōtō monks, in their proselytism, seem to have pushed further than their Chinese predecessors the adaptation of their doctrine to local customs. Ordination, in particular, soon perceived like a ritual repetition of the awakening of the Buddha, eventually turned into a quasi-magical affiliation to the lineage of the Buddha, symbolized by a 'lineage chart' (*kechimyaku*, lit. 'blood line') whose possessor, whether a cleric or layperson, was considered a legitimate heir to the Buddha. In this way, Sōtō monks disposed of an efficacious means for conversions, and they also became mediators between various social and political actors.

On the spiritual plane, the Zen teaching was confronted with local beliefs and practices, and traces of that confrontation have been preserved in hagiographical records. Here, folkloric motifs are reinterpreted according to Zen symbolism. To give an example, the exorcism performed by Gennō Shinshō against the 'killing stone' (*sesshō seki*), a nefarious stone widely represented in legends and literature, is here presented as a typically Zen initiation, during which Gennō converts through the use of a kōan the evil fox spirit dwelling in the stone. Kōans are an essential element in such encounters, in which a Zen master converts a supernatural being. Bodiford's discussion of the ritualistic use of the kōan provides a much-needed antidote against the hermeneutical interpretation that has dominated the field since the pious verbiage of D. T. Suzuki (see also some of the essays in Heine and Wright 2000).

A case frequently encountered in these legends is the conversion of a *kami* or a local spirit through the transmission of the Buddhist precepts. Such ordinations allowed local population to convert to Zen without abandoning their traditional beliefs. These encounters between a monk and a local deity often led to the discovery of a spring, a vital element for any temple foundation. Bodiford examines the social background of such legends through which a local Zen temple received the blessings of local deities, guardians of the springs, and at the same time assured the prosperity of the community. Incidentally, like their Chinese predecessors studied by

Michel Soymié, Sōtō monks were often renowned as water diviners (Soymié 1961).

Another characteristic of such stories is the power of Zen masters – and their monastic precepts – to deliver, and therefore placate, vengeful ghosts. This power led to the association of Zen precepts and funerals, since these ghosts are often the result of an untimely death. Many stories describe how a ghost is saved through the ordination performed by a Zen master.

Similar ordinations were available for people. These collective and quasi-magical ordinations, which were received in the hope of obtaining worldly benefits, constitute another radical departure from the demythologized and ethical interpretation found in most studies on Vinaya.

These legends of supernatural encounters, which associate the monks' charisma with the power of Buddhist precepts, reflect the popularization of Sōtō ordination rituals. This popularization occurred between the foundation of local temples and the beginning of the Edo period, during which most of these stories were written down. During this process of acculturation of Zen, the magic power of ordinations relegated spiritual practice to the second position, and allowed old cults to survive under the aegis of Zen.

Another essay that reflects the intense symbolic reinterpretation that went on in Sōtō (and to a lesser extent in other schools of Japanese Zen) is Faure's study of the symbolism of the monastic robe (Sanskrit. *kāṣaya*; Jpn. *kesa*). The transmission of the robe in Chinese Chan was studied years ago by the late Anna Seidel, in a seminal essay unfortunately yet unpublished, and more recently by Wendi Adamek. Faure pursues this question in the case of medieval Japan, but follows another line of inquiry – namely: Why did the monastic robe become the symbol par excellence of the Dharma, superseding other symbols and relics to occupy a preeminent place in Buddhist imagination? The chapter relies on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, as well as on later texts, in particular initiatic documents known as *kirigami*, strongly influenced by esoteric Buddhism. Dōgen was influenced, not only by the Chan tradition regarding the patriarchal robe, but also, in reactive fashion, by Vinaya conceptions stemming from Daoxuan (596–667) and Yijing (635–713). He was also well aware of the established tradition that assimilated monastic ordination and royal enthronement ritual (*sokui kanjō*).

Dōgen not only inherits the symbolic meaning of the robe, he turns the latter into an absolute symbol, completely detached from

material realities. All the robes become quasi-magical, and able to bring about salvation. This is true not only of Buddha's robe, as in early Chan, but of any *kāśāya* as well. The robe has become a kind of monastic regalia. In later texts of the Sōtō tradition, all the physical characteristics of the robe (size, etc.) receive additional symbolic value. To give just one example, the patches of the robe are given cosmological significance, and the robe thus becomes a textile maṇḍala. The robe is described as functionally similar to a stūpa, a Buddha-relic, or even the Buddha himself. The *kesa* is also assimilated to the placenta (ordination being a rebirth, the newly ordained monk is a newborn baby). Yet this extreme symbolization of the robe, which was allowed by a shift in material from discarded cloth and linen to silk, met some resistance, in particular on the part of Vinaya masters, who advocated a return to simplicity and emphasized the contradiction which a silk *kesa* (whose fabrication required the massive killing of silkworms) posed to the traditional Buddhist precept against taking life. As Faure shows, the *kesa* was at the heart of a continuing debate between Vinaya and Zen.

If Dōgen is often presented as someone who, unlike his successor Keizan Jōkin, downplayed the importance of local gods, it is ironic that the later Sōtō tradition chose to emphasize how its founder, having fallen ill during his trip to China, was cured by the Japanese god Inari. The essay by Duncan Williams, which opens with this story, focuses on the intersection between the institutional history of Sōtō Zen Buddhism and the social history of medicine, or more precisely, the sale of a herbal medicine manufactured at a Sōtō Zen-affiliated pharmacy in Kyoto. He argues that the growth of the Sōtō sect during the Tokugawa period had less to do with Zen meditation or the study of classical Zen texts, than with the temples offering practical benefits (*genze riyaku*) to laypeople. One of the most appealing benefits was the prevention and healing of illnesses.

Williams' essay draws on documents he discovered at Eihei-ji Temple, now catalogued as the *Doshōan monjo* collection. They provide detailed evidence for the sale of herbal medicines, especially one produced at Dōshōan, a Kyoto pharmacy, called Gedokuen, literally 'poison-dissolving round [pill]'. Dōshōan, which had an exclusive contract with the Sōtō sect, sold the medicine both directly to temples (most often from head temples to branch temples on down to parishioners) and to high-ranking monks who visited Kyoto. The reason for the exclusive contract

was that it had purportedly saved Dōgen's life when he became gravely ill on his way back from China.

This popular medicine gave Sōtō Zen temples a powerful alternative to other herbal medicines, such as *Daranisuke* (sold by the Shingon-affiliated Kōya *hijiri*), which appealed to the vast majority of villagers who did not have access to the expensive town doctors of Edo or Nagasaki. The popularity of the medicine is attested to by Williams' analysis of the incidents of counterfeit pills appearing in different regions of Japan as well as of various instructions on how to administer the medicine (including how to treat ailments of farm animals). Through the study of this herbal medicine, Williams' essay shows how Sōtō Zen institutions participated in Edo-period medical practices, and also how medical practices shaped the character of the sect.

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IMAGINING THE PORTRAIT OF A CHAN MASTER

Wendi Adamek

Introduction

First, a word about the title, ‘Imagining the portrait of a Chan master’ – as most know, Chinese ‘Chan’ is the same as Japanese ‘Zen’, a transliteration of *dhyaṇa*, meditation. Yet in the eighth century, Chan masters were no longer simply meditation masters and they had not yet become Zen masters, those enigmatic eccentrics who have made their mark in contemporary popular culture. It is actually quite difficult to imagine an eighth-century Chan master, as we shall see.

According to his followers, some time soon after his death a portrait was painted of the Chan Master Wuzhu (714–774), founder of the Bao Tang (Protect the Tang Dynasty) sect.¹ This assertion and a description of the portrait appears in the portrait-eulogy (*zhenzan*) included at the end of the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Ages). The *Lidai fabao ji* is the sole remaining relic of the Bao Tang, and the fate of the portrait is unknown.²

In this article I examine the antecedents of the *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy and discuss its functions. Following a brief introduction of the *Lidai fabao ji*, I turn to a consideration of different types of portraits and images of Buddhist masters. I then compare the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy with selected examples of other eighth-century eulogies, and discuss the development of the portrait-eulogy genre in the Chan context. Finally, I examine the convergence of conflicting soteriological paradigms in the (imagined) portrait in light of assertions made in the eulogy. Broadly speaking, this study is an exploration of the relationship between the unique doctrinal

representations of the emerging Chan orthodoxy, particularly as regards ‘formless’ teaching, and the artistic and literary forms that were developed to express this formlessness.

The *Lidai fabao ji* was probably composed some time between 774 and 780 at the Bao Tang monastery in Zizhou, Jiannan (modern-day Sichuan), by an anonymous disciple or disciples of the above-mentioned Bao Tang founder, Wuzhu.³ Wuzhu claimed Dharma descent from the charismatic Korean Chan master Wuxiang (684–762), who was well known as the founder of the Jingzhong sect of Chengdu. The Bao Tang, however, cannot be traced as an independent line beyond the generation of Wuzhu’s immediate disciples, who were known to be active into the early ninth century.

The *Lidai fabao ji* is one of a handful of Chan texts from roughly the same period, each possessing unique features that were absorbed and/or superseded by the official Chan genealogies of the Song dynasty. The lore of the Chan patriarchy was reworked in numerous iterations over the course of several centuries. However, the historicity of the biographies and lineages of renowned Chan masters has been undermined by scholarly recognition that the Chan biographical genealogies were by and large products of a period when Chan was at the height of its institutional power and prestige, and had the privilege of canonizing a romanticized view of its origins. Our view of Chan has also been altered by the discovery of a large number of Chan manuscripts in the ‘hidden library’ in one of the Mogao caves, near the Silk Road oasis at Dunhuang. Examination of the seventh to tenth century materials in the Dunhuang cache and subsequent reexamination of earlier materials has given scholars a glimpse of 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 doctrines of the ‘Southern School’ of Chan to which the Bao Tang claimed allegiance inspired radical reinterpretation of many traditional Buddhist teachings and genres during the eighth and ninth centuries. Scholarly analysis of the Northern School/Southern School Chan controversy has gone through many iterations, and I will sketch it as quickly as possible here.⁴ Discussion of ‘sudden awakening’ (*dumwu*) and related concepts in Chinese Buddhist texts predates the appropriation of this soteriology as the hallmark ‘Southern School’ doctrine. The polemical context that gave birth to the ‘Southern School’ has been linked to the Chan master Heze Shenhui’s (684–758)⁵ attacks, beginning in 730, against the

successors of the revered Chan master Shenxiu (d. 706). Claiming to represent the teachings of an obscure monk named Huineng (638–713), Shenhui advocated direct realization of the truth of one’s own Buddha-nature (i.e. sudden awakening) and criticized the practice of Shenxiu’s followers, who he said upheld a false ‘gradual’ or mediated teaching. Although Shenhui himself did not disavow all traditional forms of Buddhist activity, he and subsequent Chan masters became increasingly attentive to the contradiction involved in teaching and practising (which are inherently gradualistic) according to the orthodoxy of the ‘sudden’. The *Lidai fabao ji* authors were heavily influenced by this subitist trend; conspicuously, it is the only text to take Shenhui’s doctrine to its logical extreme by advocating radically antinomian ‘formless’ practice.⁶ Until the discovery of the *Lidai fabao ji*, the Bao Tang sect was known only through the criticisms of near-contemporaries who condemned its followers’ abandonment of standard Buddhist practices.

Priestly portraiture

The *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy evokes Wuzhu through the portrait of him that the Bao Tang disciples apparently had painted immediately after his death. How might one imagine this portrait? References to commemorative portraits of monks appear in works as early as the sixth century, but the practice of making portraits of Buddhist masters appears to have increased in the latter half of the eighth century. Dunhuang specialist Jiang Boqin contends that from the ninth century onwards, the development of portrait arts was closely tied to commemorative practices in Buddhist monasteries. There are records of monks who were known as skilled portrait-painters, and monks also contributed to the development of the genre of ‘appreciations’ (*zan*) for both portraits and Buddhist images. Portraits of eminent monks and prominent lay figures were used in funeral rituals, and were also sometimes displayed in monasteries while the subject was still alive.⁷

In the eighth century, portraits may have been implicated in polemical lineage claims; the ‘Southern School’ advocate Shenhui denounced Shenxiu’s disciple Puji (651–739) for setting up a Hall of Seven Patriarchs (*qizu tang*) without including Shenhui’s teacher Huineng.⁸ In their article entitled ‘On the Ritual Use of Ch’an Portraiture in Medieval China’, Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf surmise that the hall in question contained spirit tablets and possibly images of the patriarchs. Other references to the placement

of portraits in portrait-halls (*zhentang* or *yingtang*) in the eighth and ninth centuries indicate that they were patterned after ancestral shrines and that there was a connection between the arrangement of the portraits or tablets in the hall and the configuration of biographies in the Chan sectarian histories.⁹ By the time of the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries) of 1103, there is an elaborate funeral protocol for Chan abbots in which the abbot's portrait becomes the focus for mourning devotions open to the public, in contrast to the devotions of close disciples who keep vigil over the body. After the funeral, the portrait was enshrined in the portrait-hall and received regular offerings and devotions appropriate to a powerful icon.¹⁰

In the Tang, a variety of memorial media were used to represent deceased monks and nuns: painted scrolls and murals, statues of clay, lacquer, and stone, and images and inscriptions engraved on tablets. In the eighth and ninth centuries, clay mixed with the ashes of the deceased was a favoured medium in which to capture the likeness of an individual revered monk. Attested by inscriptions and niches at Dunhuang, and references in the mid-ninth century *Sita ji* (Record of Temples and Stūpas), these individual images were often placed in a separate niche or memorial chapel.¹¹ The *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Song Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Monks) features a striking story about just such a clay-and-relics portrait statue of Wuzhu's master Wuxiang, to which we will return below.¹²

The earliest extant examples of portrait paintings of Chinese monks are preserved in Japan. These are the paintings of the so-called five patriarchs of the Zhenyan (Esoteric) sect, brought back from China by the Japanese monk Kūkai (774–835) and now held in the Tōji temple treasury in Kyoto. This group includes portraits of Wuzhu's contemporary Bukong (a.k.a. Amoghavajra, 707–774) and Bukong's Dharma 'family'.¹³ As these portraits are the closest contemporary examples remaining, we cannot help but turn to them for suggestions as to how Wuzhu's portrait might have looked. The portraits are by the artist Li Zhen, who was active in the late eighth century. The portrait of Bukong is the only original that is still well-preserved. In it we see the master kneeling on a small platform with his hands raised in obeisance. He is fully shaven and his face is seen in three-quarters view. He has a rather large nose; Bukong was said to be from South India, and it is difficult to say whether this was an actual feature or an exaggeration typical in portrayals of foreigners.¹⁴

Although the painting of Bukong is from the same period as the lost portrait of Wuzhu, there are no clues in the eulogy as to the format and size of Wuzhu's portrait, nor of the posture in which he was portrayed. Nevertheless, Wuzhu's portrait probably resembled the Zhenyan patriarchs' portraits more than it resembled the typical Chan or Zen priest portrait familiar from a number of thirteenth to sixteenth century examples, one of which we will consider shortly.

Wuzhu's portrait was presumably painted with colour on silk, but there is an impressive example of the early use of monochrome ink on paper to produce the image of a monk, found in the Stein collection of Dunhuang painting scrolls.¹⁵ Based on stylistic features it has been dated to the late ninth or early tenth century, and it displays the artist's confident use of line alone to produce a finished image. The monk is shown seated on a mat on the ground with his wallet and rosary hanging on a tree behind him, his water jar beside him, and his shoes placed in front of him on the mat. These objects correspond to the accoutrements painted on the walls behind the Dunhuang niches that once held portrait statues. Given Wuzhu's penchant for meditation *alfresco* it might not be inappropriate to imagine him in this manner, seated in meditation posture under a tree. Although Helmut Brinker calls the open-air portrait 'the most informal kind of Zen Buddhist imagery', this may be more true of Song examples modelled after idealized images of gentlemen in relaxed postures amidst natural scenes.¹⁶ The Dunhuang drawing reflects the more formal iconography of reliquary statues in painted niches, and it may also have evoked images of the Arhats in wilderness settings, to be discussed further below. There is evidence that there was a demand for copies of portraits of revered monks, and it is possible that this line drawing is a copy of a more elaborate portrait mural or even a statue.¹⁷ Jiang Boqin argues that this drawing was intended as a finished portrait, and he cites a portrait-eulogy by the monk-poet Jiaoran (b. 720?, a.k.a. Qing Zhou) in order to demonstrate how the drawing accords with Jiaoran's description of the ideal portrait:

The painting is in accord with principle, it sounds the depths of feeling and comprehends discriminating awareness. The two bodies (i.e. painting and subject) are not different, the [close correspondence between them, as if of] 'eyebrows and lashes' is just perfect. What does he want to say, what is he thinking of doing? Sitting alone on the bed, his implements of the Way have long accompanied him – the water pitcher he

holds could be poured, and the rosary turns as if it's moving. A clear breeze blows his plain garments, as if straightening his majestic demeanor.¹⁸

Praise for the quality of *presence* in the painting draws attention to the unfathomable surfacing between subject and artist. As early as the *Zhuangzi* (albeit in one of the 'outer chapters') we encounter the notion that the ability to capture the spirit of the subject in a portrait was reflected in the unconventional behaviour of the painter. Note that this unconventionality was portrayed not as flamboyance, but obliviousness to etiquette:

When Prince Yuan of Song was about to have a portrait painted, all official painters came, bowed, and at the royal command stood waiting, licking their brushes and mixing their ink. Half of them were outside the room. One official came late. He sauntered in without hurrying himself, bowed at the royal command, and would not remain standing. Thereupon he was given lodging. The prince sent a man to see what he did. He took off his clothes and squatted down bare-backed. The ruler said, 'He will do. He is a true painter'.¹⁹

It is beyond the scope of the present study to delve into the role of the artist, but this sketch of the 'true painter' does raise the question of modes of production, and the related question of style.²⁰ According to seventeenth century arbiters of aesthetics, 'professional' religious paintings were to be considered stylistically and genealogically distinct from amateur or 'literati' paintings, and the Chan terminology of 'Northern School' and 'Southern School' was marshalled to make this distinction. However, it is likely that in the Tang and Song the same artist could have employed a variety of styles. In the Song, professionals produced and sold monochrome ink-on-paper originals and copies of paintings on typical literati and 'Chan' themes (Bodhidharma, Hanshan and Shide, gibbons, landscapes, etc.), and amateurs also produced colour-on-silk, iconographically correct depictions of Buddhas and bodhisattvas like those commissioned by donors from professional artists.²¹ Nevertheless, Chinese aesthetic canons inherited from the Ming have given pride of place to the brush unconstrained by necessity or overmuch colour.

Traditions of Chinese painting associate a broken-contour, spontaneous brush style developed in tenth-century Chengdu with the artist Shi Ke, who was said to have influenced the use of

experimental brushwork styles for Chan subjects.²² Thus, we might well contemplate the famous paired paintings ‘Two Patriarchs Harmonizing the Mind’ (*Erzu tiaoxin*), considered to be representative of the *yipin* (untrammelled brush) style. The paintings are from a thirteenth-century handscroll copy, including what is purported to be a copy of the signatory inscription by Shi Ke in 963. The subjects are clearly related to the popular Song ‘four sleepers’ theme, in which the Chan eccentric friends Shide, Hanshan, and Fenggan are shown snoozing in a heap with Fenggan’s tiger.²³ However, these masterful ink-blots invite a host of free-associations. Wuxiang, in popular legend, came to be linked with a tiger companion, and the *Lidai fabao ji* describes Wuzhu and Wuxiang sharing a rapport and a fondness for ‘sitting in vacuity’ even though separated. Thus, for me these paintings have become unintentional evocations of the estranged but empathetic Bao Tang master and disciple; they are dreaming, perhaps, of each other.

We might also consider the influence of the popular images of the Buddha’s important disciples, the Sixteen (or Eighteen) Arhats (Luohan). These apparently highly individualistic ‘portraits’ reflect a long tradition of depicting foreigners with exaggerated facial features. Though Song Chan master portraits show figures clearly meant to look Chinese, in the Luohan images individualized ‘foreign’ features are emphasized to the point of caricature, playing on the mystique of the otherness and uncanny powers of the Buddha’s disciples. Arhats and Chan patriarchs are explicitly juxtaposed in the magnificent ‘Long Roll’ or ‘Dali Scroll’ of Buddhist images important to the state cult of an independent kingdom in Yunnan that was known successively as Nanzhao (728–898), Dali (937–1004) and Hou Li (1096–1253). Dated ca. 1175, the scroll is fifty-one feet long and includes a depiction of the emperor who had the painting made, sixteen Arhats, sixteen Chan patriarchs, scenes of the *Maitreya Sūtra* and the vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru, numerous forms of Avalokiteśvara, ‘wrathful’ protector deities, the sixteen kings of the *Renwang jing* (Scripture of Humane Kings), and much, much more.²⁴ The Arhats ‘count down’ in more or less standard iconographic order to Piṇḍola, followed by an image of Śākyamuni, from whom the Chan patriarchs ‘count up’ in chronological order from Kāśyapa and Ānanda, then the six patriarchs in China followed by Shenhui (all designated ‘Great Master’) and the monk Zhang Weizhong.

This last figure provides a link with Sichuan Chan. Zhang Weizhong was also known as Nanyin (d. 821) and was a successor

of Jingzhong Shenhui (720–794), though he may also have studied with the ‘seventh patriarch’ Heze Shenhui. Jingzhong Shenhui, unlike Bao Tang Wuzhu, was acknowledged by posterity as Wuxiang’s successor. Zhang Weizhong’s presence in the scroll reflects the connection between Jingzhong Shenhui and the Military Governor of Jiannan West, Wei Gao (d. 805), the architect of an alliance between the Nanzhao kingdom and the Tang.²⁵ The final six figures in the group of patriarchs are all presumably Yunnan notables, two of whom are known from other sources.²⁶ The scroll is thus a good illustration of how collateral local traditions were grafted onto the ‘trunk’ of the lineal six Chan patriarchs.²⁷

In his annotation to Helen Chapin’s pioneering work on the ‘Long Roll’, art historian Alexander Soper states his conviction that those portions of the scroll that were not clearly copied from Song models were probably copied from Tang models, long since lost.²⁸ Whether or not they were stylistically similar, there is one feature that the portraits of the Chan patriarchs of the ‘Long Roll’ share with the portrait of Wuzhu: the images themselves are clearly meant to be powerful. The Chan patriarchs appear among other images of protector figures, especially the various forms of Avalokiteśvara. The ‘Long Roll’ is in fact a visual roll-call of guardians of the state, from the emperor who commissioned the work at the beginning of the scroll, to the wrathful deities and sixteen great kings at the end.²⁹

In the Song, portraits of Chan abbots could be commissioned by disciples, and, according to Dōgen (1200–1253), were sometimes fraudulently retailed in Japan as proof of authentic Dharma transmission.³⁰ The finishing touch was given to these commissioned portraits by the subjects themselves; as we shall see, auto-inscribed ‘portrait-eulogies’ survive in great numbers. Stylistic distinctions between funerary portraits and these personalized effects remain to be explored.

We may take the superb portrait of Wuzhun Shifan (1178–1249) as a prime example of the Chan priest portrait genre, known as *dingxiang* or *zhenxiang* (Jap. *chinzō*). Wuzhun Shifan’s elegant, polished portrait was painted in ink and colour on silk, presumably by a professional. In 1238, Master Wuzhun gave this portrait to his Japanese disciple Enni (1202–1280), who took it to Japan, where it now resides in the Tōfukuji collection in Kyoto. Wuzhun is portrayed on the occasion when he was summoned to court and gave a Dharma talk for the Southern Song Emperor Lizong in 1233, when he received an honorary title and the gold-embroidered kaśaya he is wearing in the portrait.³¹ Typically, in such portraits

the master is in full monastic robes seated in lotus posture in a chair, with his shoes neatly placed on a footstool before him and his right hand holding an implement such as a whisk or staff, and he may be shown with hair and a beard.³²

In a final appearance of the Chan master portrait, let us consider an anonymous Ming painting in which the gentleman-connoisseur is the subject, and the priest has become the *objet d'art*. From a seventeenth-century series depicting the 'four accomplishments of the gentleman' – zither, chess, calligraphy, and painting – the scroll on 'painting' shows a cluster of gentlemen appreciating a Chan master's portrait.³³ In this 'portrait' the master is shown seated on a chair, and facing him is a gentleman layman, presumably a disciple appreciating the master's discourse. From behind the painted painting peeks the pretty face of the boy attendant who is apparently holding up the scroll with a stick. The scroll is displayed against a background of collector's rocks and miniature trees, a secular counterpart to the stylized natural settings painted in portrait-statue niches at Dunhuang.

By commissioning a portrait of their master, the Bao Tang followers were participating in a respected form of memorialization, but Chan priest portraiture was not yet the social mannerism or even tongue-in-cheek practice that it eventually became. Furthermore, from the examples above one can see that the nature of 'Chan painting' is rather difficult to define. 'Chan painting' included formal memorial portraits, and it also included paintings on Chan subjects executed in 'spontaneous' styles by both professionals and non-professionals, all of which were treasured and collected in both religious and secular milieux. The contrasting types of images (formal and spontaneous) exemplify a complementarity we will also see in the styles of portrait-eulogies considered in the next section. If we recognize that Chan genres do not describe spontaneous encounters but script them, then we can also appreciate that the performative work is successful insofar as it comments on its own dangerous unreliability.³⁴ The repeated breakdown of received form became a necessary part of Chan continuity and viability, thanks in no small part to artistic, literary and doctrinal experimentation in ninth-century Sichuan.

Portrait-eulogies

The *Lidai fabao ji* is a pastiche of textual formats that anticipated the genres of mature Chan, i.e. the Chan sectarian account of

Buddhist history (with an emphasis on ‘schools’ and affiliations), the *chuandeng lu* or ‘transmission of the lamp’ genealogy of biographies of Chan patriarchs, and the *yulu* or ‘discourse records’ of a master’s sermons and his dialogues with disciples and visitors. Focusing here on the portrait-eulogy (*zhenzan*) genre, we will take a look at correspondences between the *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy and other eighth-century examples of memorial appreciations, and then compare these with the style of the Chan *zhenzan* of the Song dynasty.

A full translation of the *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy is included at the end of this article. The piece precedes an account of Wuzhu’s death, which is portrayed in the standard manner of Buddhist hagiography and closes the *Lidai fabao ji*. The preface to the eulogy praises Wuzhu’s teachings and gives the reasons for having a portrait made, and the eulogy itself praises the Dharma and the portrait. The preface begins with identification of the author: ‘The mountain man Sun Huan’. The piece echoes Wuzhu’s sermons as given in other sections of the *Lidai fabao ji*, but is written in a more polished style than that of the person or persons who wrote the rest of the text. In the preface Wuzhu is referred to as ‘our teacher’, so the writer identifies himself as a Bao Tang follower. Sun Huan is otherwise unknown, but he seems to have been a retired scholar and lay disciple with a Daoist background. It is possible that the preface and eulogy are earlier than the rest of the text, if they were in fact written immediately after Wuzhu’s death.

Before turning to the *zhenzan* genre, let us first take a look at correspondences between our portrait-eulogy and a related genre of praise, *beiming*, epitaphs or memorial inscriptions. Reconstruction of the history of Chan owes a great deal to surviving *beiming*; much of Shenhui’s attack on the ‘Northern School’ was focused on claims made in epitaphs for Shenxiu and his disciples, especially Puji (651–739). In the following passage from an epitaph for Puji, the Chan patriarchs are put on a par with the mythical founder of Chinese civilization, the emperor Yao:

Only Heaven is great, and Yao alone corresponded to it. Only the Buddha is saintly, and Chan [teachings] alone succeed to it. Therefore in the West the Indian [masters] handed down the trust, five suns illuminating the early days, and in the East the Chinese [masters] transmitted the lamp, seven patriarchs brightening imperial fortunes. Our seventh patriarch, State Preceptor of three courts, the Venerable Dazhao, has departed

from the two extremes, transcended all *bhūmis*, attained the compassion of the Tathāgatas, and entered into the super-knowledges of the Buddhas.³⁵

Sun Huan's style in the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy is more akin to such eighth-century *beiming* for Northern School Chan masters than it is to the eccentric, yet also formulaic, Song Chan *zhenzan* that we will examine shortly. Like Puji's memorialist, Sun Huan places his subject within the exalted lineage of the Chan patriarchy:

The highest vehicle of the Dharma is neither principle nor phenomena. The many gates of the good teaching all return to the non-dual. [Mahā]kāśyapa attained it and it spread westward to Buddha-regions, [Bodhi]dharma received it and it flowed eastward to the land of the Han. These are matters spanning over one thousand years, the holy ones for thirty-four generations have directly inherited it one from the other and have passed it down from one to the next. The Dharma they obtained tallies with the Dao's source, the robe they transmitted clearly shows true and false. Our teacher secretly received it and graciously displayed it, opening the mysterious gates of the Buddhas and revealing the complete meaning of the Mahāyāna.³⁶

In his eulogy, Sun Huan makes a strong claim for Wuzhu's singular authority. Whether or not the eulogy was originally written to stand alone, in the context in which it is preserved the battle over this claim to authority has already been clarified – or obfuscated – in the preceding text of the *Lidai fabao ji*. In the eulogy the central concern of the *Lidai fabao ji* is alluded to, namely Wuzhu's contested possession of the true Dharma transmission and Bodhidharma's robe, but neither in the *Lidai fabao ji* nor in the eulogy are there any hints about Dharma succession.

This claim to lineage and authority within the Mahāyāna clan is framed within the literary conventions of the *zhenzan*, which, like the conventions of *beiming*, were adapted to fit Buddhist concerns. The earliest known reference to a eulogy for a monk's portrait is in the sixth century *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks) entry for Kang Senghui (d. 280): 'Therefore, his portrait was drawn, and it has been passed down to this day. Sun Chao composed the eulogy (*zan*) [inscribed on the portrait].'³⁷

A number of Tang *zhenzan* for ordained and lay Buddhist subjects are extant, and the Dunhuang materials include a rich trove of late Tang and Five Dynasties examples. Let us look at what may be the earliest of the Dunhuang *zhenzan*, probably written within a few decades of the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy, entitled *Gu qian shimen dufalu jingzhao Du heshang xie zhenzan* (Portrait-Eulogy for the Late Buddhist Head Preceptor, Venerable Du of the Capital).³⁸

Five hundred successive births, and in one ascent he becomes a sage-worthy. When very young he studied the Way, and all mouths praised him. He criticized treatises, kept the Vinaya, and was most able in the practice of meditation. Because he maintained chastity, he was enrolled in the ranks of eminent monks. He is like Luoshe of old, or the Moteng of his day.³⁹ The three carts are all traces, all return to the one vehicle. The pearls of the precepts are constantly bright, his pure conduct is like clear ice. A thousand [surrounding] layers of dark rooms rely on one bright light; aiding the Buddha in preaching and converting, he is the ‘legs and arms’ (assistant) of the Dharma-King. The pond skimmed [of weeds] is tranquil and hidden, the depths remain frozen (unmoving). [Since he has] abandoned the evil world and returned to purity, who will further the Buddhist teachings? An unlucky sign (*buxiang ruiying*) – the branches of the twin trees snapped. This morning the [corresponding] appearance (*xiang*) was revealed, those of the Vinaya announced the death of their prince. The followers weep together, ‘What can we rely on?’ He takes leave of this corrupt age, the Pure Land has summoned him to be received. Now that he has returned to ultimate joy, the triple world is without illumination. The fragrant wind leads the way, a thousand monks run quickly [to pay last respects.] He is in the first assembly of the dragon flower,⁴⁰ and barefoot he ascends ahead. The poem:

‘His [karmic] endowment contained true wisdom, when very young he had already tired of worldly glories. He did not seek vermilion and purple honors (official rank), and adamantly refused the imperial court. He took the tonsure and purified the sense-spheres, wore black and walked as far as the sea. He has already saved all beings; he has reached nirvāṇa and entered the lotus.’⁴¹

It is notable that the portrait itself is not mentioned; the *xiang* here refers to the manifestation of an omen, itself a reference to the Buddha's parinirvāṇa under paired trees. Many *zhenzan* praise the artist for capturing living qualities of the subject, and some allude to a personal relationship with the subject; we see both of these qualities in the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy. In contrast, the *zhenzan* for the Venerable Du gives an impression of formality and even impersonality. Perhaps his death was sudden, and the monk Zhizhao (d.u.), who appears to have been prominent at Dunhuang in his day, was requested to write the eulogy for the funeral ceremony while the portrait was still in preparation. Nor can we assume that all *zhenzan* refer to actual portraits. I hope that my projected thorough study of the Dunhuang *zhenzan* will enable me to make more concrete speculations, but for the time being I must content myself with pointing out the contrasts presented by the following secular *zhenzan*, also from the latter part of the eighth century. This is the *Shangshu youcheng Xu gong xie zhentuzan bing xu* (Portrait-Eulogy, with Preface, for the Right Assistant Director of the Department of State Affairs, Gentleman Xu), by Dugu Ji (725–777).⁴²

The Attendant Censor Gentleman Han reaches purity; through the excellence of his study of the arts and his painting, he is everywhere renowned. In the third month of the *xinchou* year (761), he was at Yuzhang⁴³ in the office of Examiner of Wastefulness in Princely Affairs, and he resided with the former⁴⁴ Right Assistant Director of the Department of State Affairs, Gentleman Xu, in the Pure Rooms (*jingshi*) of Huiming monastery. [Gentleman Han] once spent a day of leisure tearing plain [silk or paper] and scattering [ink] from the brush, and painted Gentleman Xu's portrait. It was hung in that gentleman's sitting-nook, and his beautiful eyes and square mouth, his harmonious disposition and refined bones (i.e. intrinsic nature) are [portrayed] without the least divergence, as if discerning his form in a mirror. Some of those coming in from the outside want to kneel reverently and fold their hands, bow down and pay obeisance, not knowing it is a painting. The exclamations of all the gentlemen⁴⁵ are not sufficient, so I frame words to eulogize its beauty, aspiring to carry on singing [its praises] to later [generations]. Thus I eulogize:

The master artist conveys his conception, natural graces are made complete; although he borrows the essence of the brush,

he is in truth engaging the spirit. He spontaneously accomplishes the image, as suddenly as parting the fog. Looking reverently at his spirit-[brush] tip is like spying into an armory [of fine weapons]. [Gentleman Xu] is genially eminent, proudly standing forth alone, [like] the highest lone pine, the white egret on the empty bank. His look of not having transgressed is because of having been able to criticize himself. Who knows its transformations? It is also in brush and silk.

In contrast with the Zhizhao's *zhenzan* for the Venerable Du, which was clearly designed for memorialization of a personage, Dugu Ji's magnificent yet intimate eulogy focuses on the artist and the qualities of the portrait, and is only secondarily concerned with the merits of the subject. The Venerable Du's eulogy was composed for his funeral, while Gentleman Xu's portrait was informally produced as an expression of friendship and was displayed in his room while he was still alive.⁴⁶ Zhizhao's piece presents a shiny surface of moral rectitude, but Dugu Ji emphasizes the blending of aesthetic, spiritual, and personal qualities, making only a faint reference to moral shadings. In Sun Huan's *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy we see elements of all these qualities: formal (even generic) memorialization of the subject's character, praise of the artist's achievement insofar as it imparts the living qualities of the subject, and allusion to personal relationship. What we might call the 'aesthetic of immediacy' in Sun Huan's and Dugu Ji's eulogies resonates with the nostalgia expressed by Zhang Yanyuan (815?-875?) in his *Lidai minghua ji* (Record of Famous Paintings Through the Ages): 'Ancient paintings could pass down the semblance [of the subject] and its inner nature, seeking to depict it with what is beyond semblance; this is very difficult to explain to an ordinary person. Present-day paintings achieve semblance, but they don't produce *qiyun* (spirit-vitality-tone). If they sought to depict it with *qiyun*, then the semblance would be there in its midst.'⁴⁷ Sun Huan enshrines this *qiyun*, this presence or immediacy, within a virtuoso glorification of Wuzhu's teachings; we will return to this point in the subsequent discussion of the significance of the 'response body' (*yingshen*).

Song Chan portrait-eulogies

Foulk and Sharf point out that *zhenzan* became a standard feature included at the end of Song Chan *yulu* (discourse records), but the

first example they mention dates from the eleventh century.⁴⁸ The *Lidai fabao ji* appears to be the earliest Chan work in which we find biography, discourse records, and portrait-eulogy conjoined. By the eleventh century it was not unknown to have hundreds of portrait eulogies collected at the end of the discourse record of a famous Chan master.⁴⁹ These eulogies were incorporated into the *yulu* from the autograph inscriptions that the master in question had written on various portraits of himself, thus differing from the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy written by a disciple.

The Song practice may have been an echo of the model of transmission found in the early ninth century *Baolin zhuan*, in which each master transmits his Dharma through a gāthā he has composed.⁵⁰ However, contrary to a widespread misapprehension, portraits were not used as proof of Dharma transmission. Instead, Foulk and Sharf assert that the written inscription by the master on the portrait was meant to establish a connection between the master, the image and the recipient, ‘enlivening the portrait just as relics were used to enliven sculptural effigies of Buddhist saints’.⁵¹

In this regard, we might consider Helmut Brinker’s discussion of the aesthetics of re-creation as articulated in Song literati circles:

Already traditional Chinese art theories call signatures on ancient masterpieces of writing or painting ‘seals of the mind’, *xinyin*. These theories emphasize the possibility to enter into virtually mystic contact not only with the work, but with its creator, by meditative empathy and the aesthetic act of re-creating, *rushen*, ‘to penetrate the spirit’, in such a way that the viewer and the viewed object would fuse into one. This intense experience of ‘complete absorption’ was also called *shenhui*, ‘spiritual communion’, by the literati of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵²

Although this passage is somewhat ambiguously worded, the supporting examples show that these ‘traditional’ art theories reflect rather than anticipate Chan sensibilities. Nevertheless, the currency of such an aesthetic in the Song underscores the appropriateness of the auto-inscription as a Chan medium of expression. How better to enact the Chan axiom ‘not one, not two?’

In fact, the inscribed Chan abbot portrait seems to have been only a little more exclusive than the autographed photo of a movie star. In the section on priests’ portraits, we glanced at the ‘typical’ Chan priest portrait given by Wuzhun Shifan to Enni in 1238; the

auto-inscription is a good example of the social uses of the genre. Diplomatic and witty, it flatters the guest and disparages the host by means of elegant literary allusions.⁵³

It also became a trope for Chan masters to complain in their portrait inscriptions about the practice of having portraits made and being requested to write portrait inscriptions. In these complaints, the characteristic Chan fine line is applied with greater or lesser degrees of skill. In a *gāthā* by Gaofeng Yuanmiao (1238–1295) that was inscribed on a portrait given to his disciple Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323), we can appreciate the light handling of the complementarity between the impossibility of representing emptiness and the assertion of representation-as-emptiness: ‘My face is inconceivable, even Buddhas and patriarchs cannot have a glimpse. I allow this no-good son alone to have a peep at half of my nose.’⁵⁴

Whether mystic, politic, or ironic, the language of the Song auto-inscription portrait eulogy differed greatly from the panegyric mode employed by the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogist Sun Huan. The Song inscriptions often reflected the Chan ‘encounter dialogue’ language of vivid put-downs and flagrant eccentricity. Consider this example from the discourse record of the master Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049): ‘A mouth like a beggar’s open sack; a nose like a shit ladle in the garden! This gentleman troubled himself, applying his talented brush to the completion [of this portrait].’⁵⁵

The language of Sun Huan’s *zhenzan* clearly reflects the conventions of Tang eulogistic genres and bears no resemblance to Song Chan auto-*zhenzan*, but his piece does reflect a developing sensibility of immanence-in-representation. In the excerpt below, the evocation of Wuzhu’s gaze emphasizes the lively, scintillating qualities of the image; it is as if produced by the brush of Wu Daozi (*fl.* 710–760),⁵⁶ the legendary Tang artist said to have produced, in miraculous bursts of spontaneous brushwork, paintings with mysterious effects on the beholder and the power to come to life.

Accordingly we summoned the fine artist, secretly he made the painting. [The artist] pushed the brush and produced the characteristics, and gazing at the majestic response-body (*yingshen*) separate from characteristics and emptied of words, we see the expansive vessel of the Dharma. His virtue is like a gift from Heaven, his bones (i.e. intrinsic qualities) are not like those of this world. How silently mysterious and fine! [The portrait] seems to be truly breathing, the face quivers

and wants to speak, the eyes dance and are about to see.
 'I look up and it is ever loftier, I venerate and it is ever more
 dear.'⁵⁷

Having evoked this life-like 'response-body', let us turn to a consideration of its function in the *Lidai fabao ji* and in the economy of charisma of late eighth-century Chan.

The response-body

The portrait of Wuzhu does not appear to have functioned for the Bao Tang followers in the same way as the later Chan abbot portraits of the Song. Wuzhu's portrait is treated as unique, not one portrait among many commissioned by disciples during the master's lifetime; nor does it seem to have been a mortuary image to be included in a lineage hall of patriarchs.⁵⁸ This tempers previously-held notions of Chan portraiture such as stated by Helmut Brinker in *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings*: 'As one might suspect, the portrait group rather than the single portrait is the oldest category in the development of Zen Buddhist portrait painting'.⁵⁹ There are references in Song dynasty works to Chan patriarchal portrait series made in the eighth and ninth centuries. However, in the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy, Wuzhu's portrait is approached as if it were an individual relic, empowered like a portrait-statue, rather than the central piece in a genealogical set. Though the eulogy makes claims about Wuzhu's lineage, the portrait is a unique site of direct contact with Wuzhu's Dharma: 'Those who gaze at the portrait are able to destroy evil, those who rely on the Dharma are able to attain the mystery.'⁶⁰

The ancestral portraits of abbots of later Chan practice hovered somewhere on the borderline between sacralized signifiers of the notion of the 'living Buddha' and analogues to household ancestral spirits or local deities, settling towards the latter plane as time went on.⁶¹ The portrait of Wuzhu seems to have resided more in the realm of the special sacred relic, perhaps standing in for that mysteriously absent 'contact relic', the disputed robe. However, it is not claimed that the portrait is a seal of transmission.

Sun Huan's repeated reference to the secrecy of the process may reflect the notion, alluded to in both Zhang Yanyuan's critique and Dugu Ji's *zhenzan*, above, that the artist aimed to capture or engage the numinous essence of the subject's intrinsic nature. Many of the Dunhuang *zhenzan* specify that the portrait was done while the

subject was still alive, and in some cases it is clear that the painter was summoned when death seemed imminent.⁶² In later Song Chan monasteries, the aura of the numinous was institutionalized. Foulk and Sharf tell us: ‘Song monastic rules stipulated that as an abbot approached death, his portrait was to be painted, since a portrait of the deceased was necessary for the upcoming funeral rites. . . . Song biographical chronicles confirm that portraits were indeed produced just prior to or, if need be, soon after an abbot’s death.’⁶³

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts there is an interesting monastic memo regarding an upcoming funerary procession, affording us some notion of the manner in which the portrait of a deceased eminent monk was used in funerary ritual. The funeral protocol in the *Chanyuan qinggui* (dated 1103), noted above, prescribes the following for a Chan abbot’s procession: ‘prepare the portable shrines for the portrait and the incense, as well as the music, the flowers, and the banners’.⁶⁴ The Dunhuang memo, P. 2856, dated 895, bears out many of the features described in the *Chanyuan qinggui*. Thus, we catch a glimpse of the antecedents of funerary portrait ritual, which the Chan sect made more elaborate in order to transfer its abbots through the liminal postmortem period into their new abode in the portrait hall.

Funeral Arrangements Notice: The Venerable ‘Monastic Controller’ (*sengtong*) has died, and the funeral will be on the 14th day of this month. We have prepared the ordering of the procession according to funeral ritual, in the following divisions. The spirit-carriage (i.e. carrying the coffin) will be attended by the entire – pan Association, the Vinaya Master Ciyin, and the Vinaya [Master] Xiqing. The incense sedan chair will be attended by the Qinqing Association,⁶⁵ the Vinaya Master Cihui, and the Vinaya Master Qingguo. The portrait⁶⁶ sedan chair will be attended by the disciples, the Vinaya Master Qingxiu, and the Vinaya Master Zhigang. The bell-carriage will be attended by Zhang Su, Li Titi, and Zhu Shende of the Middle Regiment. The drum-carriage will be attended by Shi Xingzi and Zhang Xingsheng of the Western Regiment. The Nine Ranks of Future Birth sedan-chair [will be attended by] a representative from each of the monasteries and convents. The life-department⁶⁷ sedan-chair will be attended by [members of] this monastery. The paper pennants will be continuous along the way, colored [*mo*] *na* (fine

cotton) [will be used to pay?] Vinaya Master Xiji [to officiate as?] Daoji. There will be two large banners, one of a dragon and one of a lotus. There will be a pair of pennants each from Jingtū [monastery] and Kaiyuan [monastery]. The foregoing who have been asked to be involved in these capacities [should keep in mind that] the destined funeral day fast approaches, you cannot be lax, it is urgent that you live according to the Dharma, you cannot do anything contrary to [an attitude of] reverence.

The 11th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of the Qianning era (895). [Endorsed by:] Monastic Administrator, Chief Monastic Registrar, Chief Monastic Registrar Xianzhao, Monastic Administrator, Monastic Administrator.⁶⁸

In the Chan abbot funerary protocol set forth in the *Chanyuan qinggui*, prior to the funeral the disciples are sequestered with the body, and in the procession they follow immediately behind the coffin with the first group. Before the funeral procession, the portrait was to be placed in the public portion of the Dharma Hall to receive the obeisance of lay mourners, and it is not clear where it was carried in the procession.⁶⁹ In the Dunhuang memo, we see a lay society accompanying the body, while the sedan-chair carrying the portrait is attended by the deceased's disciples.

Sociologist Nancy Jay argues persuasively that in many cultures we find a connection between restrictions on the persons and manner of participating in sacrificial ritual, and the need to maintain a patrilineage.⁷⁰ There are a number of provocative studies analysing the ways in which Buddhist mortuary practices were adapted to reflect Chinese patriarchal sacrificial rituals.⁷¹ Here I focus on a single aspect: by highlighting the ritual placement of the deceased's disciples at the funeral, we see that in both the *Chanyuan qinggui* and the Dunhuang memo P. 2856, the relationship between the corpse and its painted substitute is mediated by oppositions between private and public, and between monastic disciples and lay devotees. In both texts we see the group of disciples and the group of lay devotees interposed between the hidden body and the displayed portrait, but they are assigned to different posts. The fact that the disciples are made custodians of the portrait in the Dunhuang document suggests, using Jay's logic of sacrificial definition of lineage, that the portrait is intended to serve as a future site of offerings and that the deceased's disciples are identified through their involvement with this site.

The alternative possibility is that the portrait was intended to be destroyed. Rong Xinjiang has suggested that portraits might have been burned, either accompanying the body or substituting for it. This would account for the total absence of portraits of monks in the Dunhuang cache, though many portrait-eulogies remain.⁷² One may also surmise that the immolation of a portrait could refer to a more dramatic cultic form of sacrifice: Alan Cole points out that later Chan cremation ritual appropriated the vocabulary of fiery self-immolation, after the manner of the ritual suicides inspired by the image of the cosmic self-offering of Bhaiṣajyarāja in the *Lotus Sūtra*.⁷³ The fate of the Dunhuang portrait remains an intriguing mystery; what is clear from P. 2856 is that both the external order and the internal state of mind of the participants was a serious matter, and that the relationships enacted through the funeral had ramifications for the entire community, involving the monasteries, the lay societies, and even the military in a cooperative effort.

In both the *Chanyuan qinggui* and the Dunhuang memo, the portrait of the high-ranking monk plays a key role in the performance of continuity, lineage, and community. In the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy, the portrait of Wuzhu, whether or not it figured in a funeral ritual, becomes the sole reference to the continuity of Wuzhu's teachings and his assembly of disciples. The eulogy ends with a chill breath of the 'decline of the Dharma' sensibility that wafts through the work as a whole: 'Without our master, this Dharma will sink'.⁷⁴ At the same time, the preface claims that his portrait has magical and soteriological effect. This claim is all the more striking because much of the *Lidai fabao ji* has to do with the drama of patriarchal transmission and the story of Wuzhu's inheritance of the true Dharma and Bodhidharma's robe. Yet at the scene of Wuzhu's death no Dharma heir is named and the robe is conspicuously absent. Instead, the manifestation of Wuzhu's Dharma becomes this singular painted likeness.

Bernard Faure writes of the power ascribed to the *śarīra* (relics) and mummies of Chan masters:

They symbolize (or effect) sudden awakening; the ultimate realization or 'transformation' of the saint; a reincorporation into a higher, absolute, ontological plane; but they also achieve mediation for the worshipers by channeling the saint's power and bringing it down to earth. To the extent that this transformative power, ritually activated, allows the

practitioner to achieve a spiritual breakthrough, the relics have a soteriological function.⁷⁵

Faure claims that relics and images mediate both conceptually and soteriologically, symbolizing (or effecting) and channelling the experience of direct encounter with the master, saint, or Buddha. However, in the *Lidai fabao ji* the emphasis is placed on direct effect, and Wuzhu's portrait is itself a 'response-body (*yingshen*) separate from characteristics and emptied of words'. Not incidentally, *yingshen* is a term that is sometimes used to translate *nirmāṇakaya* (the 'teaching' manifestations of the Buddha) and sometimes used to translate *sambhogakāya* (the 'reward' manifestations), a point that will be discussed further below.

First, however, I would like to make a broader comparison between this 'response-body' (which is related to Chinese Buddhist notions of sympathetic resonance, *ganying*, and supernormal powers, *gantong*) and the South Asian notion of *darśan*. Reginald Ray defines *darśan* as follows: 'The receiving of *darśan* (*darśana*; P., *dassana*), a physical-spiritual seeing and being seen, whereby the devotee may participate in the Buddha's enlightened charisma. . . . The Buddha presents himself to be seen by the suppliant, and the suppliant responds by opening himself – in the imagery of the text, opening his eyes wide – and taking in the spiritual energy of the Buddha.'⁷⁶ Ray, however, adopts and only slightly adapts a 'two-tiered' perspective wherein the *darśan* of relics and images are considered cheap imitations consumed by lay devotees who are unable to meditate in the forest or sit at the feet of a master. On the contrary, Gregory Schopen's work with the dedicatory inscriptions at early Buddhist stūpas (reliquary mounds or edifices) and cave-temple sites has shown that monks and nuns sought contact with and guarded access to the *darśan* of relics more fervently than did the lay devotees, and perhaps more fervently than they guarded access to living monks.⁷⁷

It is difficult to represent the manner in which relics or images function soteriologically, how they provide 'physical-spiritual seeing and being-seen'. Perhaps this is not because it is impossible to imaginatively 'fuse horizons', but because it is difficult to fuse genres of representation. In the *Lidai fabao ji* portrait-eulogy, memorialization and presence are 'not one, not two'. Sun Huan tells us that when Wuzhu's disciples looked at his portrait it reminded them of what they had lost; at the same time, it directly met the needs of the individual devotee. Within the constraints of

the representations of religious studies, steering a wobbly course between the Scylla and Charybdis of Cartesian and post-Cartesian forms of hegemonist discourse, the subject, the devotee, is ‘not us, not other’. On the one hand, we may say that the image or the relic, even more than the living teacher, provides an unlimited field for the votary’s projections; the image provides the zenith of the solipsistic orbital through which the practitioner fuels the content and the force of his or her own transformative experience. On the other hand, having myself received the transformative *darśan* of a Rothko exhibit last year in New York, my faith in the geometry of the closed loop has been shaken.⁷⁸

Let us return from the horizons to the ground, and look at an example of an image with powers that are more tangible and thus easier to place in the distance. It is common in East Asian hagiographies and temple records to find stories of the power of images to provide aid and work miracles, such as the *Song gaoseng zhuan* story of an image of Wuzhu’s master, the Korean master Wuxiang (684–762). In the biography of Wuxiang, it is said that a clay image mixed with his ashes performed a miracle during the restoration of Buddhism after the persecution of the Huichang era (841–846). Wuxiang’s former seat, the Jingzhong monastery, was destroyed, but its bell had been saved and was to be moved back to the reconstructed temple. When the bell was returned to its old home with miraculous ease, it was found that the image of Wuxiang was covered with sweat, thus proving that its power had aided in the bell’s quick return.⁷⁹

Faure points out that it is ironic that a master named Wuxiang ‘formless’ or ‘no-characteristics’ should then become a form-icon.⁸⁰ However, it may be appropriate that the Dharma of a master named Wuzhu, non-abiding, should be considered to abide in his portrait. As noted, one of the recurrent themes in the autograph inscriptions of Song Chan abbots is the idea that the true form of no-form is representation. The representation signs that it is impossible to render the true image, the *zhenxiang* or portrait of the awakening, and at the same time the image functions as emptiness functions, as the multi-faceted transformations of *upāya*, or skilful means. Foulk and Sharf write: ‘According to the ritual logic of Sung Buddhist monasteries, the icon of the Buddha, the living person of the abbot, and the abbot’s portrait were largely interchangeable. It would seem that the body of the living abbot, like his portrait, had come to be regarded as the ‘simulacrum’ (*xiang*) of Buddhahood.’⁸¹

The notion that the abbot and his image are equally simulacra, virtual Buddhas, has roots in the ninth-century notion of the Chan master as a ‘living Buddha’. This is in turn a sacralization of the ‘sudden’ teaching of intrinsic Buddha nature, the realization of the virtual or contingent as the ultimate truth. This is expressed in the *Platform Sūtra* teaching that the true self is the Trikāya, the Three Bodies of the Buddha.⁸² Regarding Chinese theories of the nature of the Buddha, Sharf emphasizes the importance of understanding the matrix of indigenous thought within which such theories were engendered. He regards an understanding of the notion of *ganying*, sympathetic resonance, as crucial to any meaningful explication of eighth-century Trikāya and Buddha-Nature theory.

In the following passage, Sharf reflects on the use of the terms *yingshen* and *huashen* (transformation body) in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (*Hebu jin’guangming jing*):⁸³

In the present text, only *yingshen* refers to manifestations of Buddha in the form of a Buddha with the major and minor marks characteristic of a Tathāgata. As the *yingshen* would appear to be visible only to bodhisattvas well advanced on the path, one would suppose that the *yingshen* translates, or is functionally equivalent to the saṃbhogakāya. The *huashen* or transformation body can take virtually any form, depending upon circumstances. ... One might suppose it a relatively simple task to trace the Sanskrit term or terms behind the Chinese *yingshen*. Curiously, we lack the Sanskrit original for virtually every occurrence of the Chinese term *yingshen*. Even in the case of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, for which a Sanskrit manuscript has been found, the specific section dealing with the Buddha-bodies is found only in the Chinese.⁸⁴

Clearly, we are meant to consider it as more than ‘curious’. Sharf goes on to explicate other examples, taken from Chinese commentaries, Chinese apocrypha, and the *Qixin lun* (Awakening of Faith), generally considered a Central Asian apocryphon.⁸⁵ For our purposes, the point is that by the eighth century, notions of *yingshen* and *huashen* were integral to a lively and complex Chinese Buddhist discourse on the nature of the Buddha, in which there was little consensus and no clear derivation from Indian sources. Indeed, this serves as an example of Sharf’s contention that Chinese Buddhism is more like foreclosure than ‘conquest’ by an

alien discourse.⁸⁶ In other words, Chinese patterns of thought and Chinese concerns dictated the terms of what appeared to be a joint venture, and they remained in secure possession of the cultural terrain.

Thus, while notions of *yingshen* and *huashen* may have been associated with Indian Trikāya theory, they reveal a striking family resemblance to *ganying*. Sharf relates the notion of *ganying* and the ‘five phases’ (*wuxing*) theories of the Han, wherein things affect each other through patterns and cycles of categorical affinities. This system renders what would appear to be supernatural occurrences (for example, rain in response to sacrifice or an omen prefiguring death) apprehensible as natural processes of mutual influence between corollaries. This is illustrated by the ‘sympathetic’ tone made by an instrument spontaneously sounding in response to another being struck or plucked.⁸⁷

When we examine the *Lidai fabao ji* author/s’ use of the *yingshen* and *huashen* terminology, we also discern an amalgamation of elements that refer to different soteriological paradigms. For example, the following passage reveals a chimera that bears the marks of classic Buddhist iconography, functions according to sympathetic resonance, and has subitist yearnings. Here, Wuzhu hears of Wuxiang for the first time, upon being told by a travelling merchant that they share a curious resemblance:

[The merchant] Xiang said, ‘Your features are exactly like those of the Venerable Kim. You have a mole above the bridge of your nose, and the shape of your face so resembles that of the Venerable in our locale that one could even say there is no difference. It must be [manifestation] of a transformation-body (*huashen*).’

The Venerable [Wuzhu] asked, ‘So the layman has come from Jiannan. [Tell me], what doctrine does that Venerable preach?’

Cao Xiang replied, ‘No-recollection, no-thought, and not being deluded (*wuyi wunian mowang*)’. . . . When the Venerable heard this teaching he understood clearly, and from afar he met the Venerable Kim face-to-face.⁸⁸

Here we see overt reference to multiple salvific emanations characteristic of Buddhist Trikāya doctrine, and the ‘marks of the Buddha’ are evoked by the placement of the mole where the *ūrṇā*⁸⁹ would appear. At the same time, the close physical resemblance

shows that Wuzhu and Wuxiang belong to the same family of phenomena, which explains their mutual resonance, like musical instruments, even when apart. This quality is vividly evoked in other *Lidai fabao ji* passages about Wuzhu and Wuxiang, always in conjunction with the note of destiny and the preordained nature of their connection. Moreover, the sound of the teaching of ‘no-thought’ becomes the medium through which Wuzhu meets Wuxiang ‘face-to-face’, immediately.

Similarly, the *Lidai fabao ji* eulogy’s characterization of Wuzhu’s portrait as a ‘response-body separate from characteristics and emptied of words’ at once evokes a votive image, a site of power that is nevertheless a natural phenomenon, and a manifestation of no-thought. We may also consider this an early example of the soteriological and ritual logic of representation as the ‘form’ of emptiness that would later become institutionalized in Song Chan monastic practice. Then again, it may be neither so sophisticated nor so empty.

Formless practice

As a means of returning to the paradox of the image as the true form of no form, let us consider the dominant theme of the *Lidai fabao ji* – formless practice. As mentioned earlier, the Bao Tang sect was best known for its antinomianism. Much of my work has been centred on the background and ramifications of Wuzhu’s teaching of the formless precepts, but here I will focus on the related issue of Wuzhu’s iconoclasm.

Wuzhu tends to focus on monastic etiquette and scriptural recitation as the prime examples of delusive formal practice, but his deconstruction of such activities as daily devotions, confession and repentance would have also implicated devotion to images. In the following passage he criticizes the popular practice of pilgrimage to Wutai shan, disparaging the pilgrims’ delusory identification of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī with a particular site:

Another time, [some] masters and monks of Jiannan wanted to go to [Wu]tai shan to pay obeisance, and they took their leave of the Venerable [Wuzhu].

The Venerable asked, ‘Worthies, where are you going?’

The monks replied, ‘To pay our respects to Mañjuśrī’.

The Venerable said, ‘Worthies, the Buddha is in body and mind, Mañjuśrī is not far. When deluded thoughts are not

produced, this then is seeing the Buddha, why take the trouble to go so far?’

The masters and monks wanted to leave. The Venerable expounded a *gāthā* for them: ‘Lost children restlessly dashing like waves, circling the mountain and paying obeisance to a pile of earth. Mañjuśrī is right here, you are climbing the Buddha’s back to search for Amitābha.’⁹⁰

In another passage Wuzhu redefines the construction of sacred space as ‘no-thought’: ‘Regard direct mind as the *bodhimāṇḍa* (seat of enlightenment, *daochang*). . . . Regard no-thought as the precepts, non-action and nothing to attain as meditation, and non-duality as wisdom. Do not regard the constructed ritual arena as the *bodhimāṇḍa*.’⁹¹ The thrust of both the pilgrimage and *bodhimāṇḍa* passages is that it is delusory to locate the Buddha and Dharma outside of one’s true nature, the mind of no-thought. Naturally, then, one might wonder why the Bao Tang followers saw nothing amiss in attributing the power of the Dharma to an external image.

That Wuzhu’s disciples did not balk at iconization of their teacher’s iconoclasm is perhaps a manifestation of the recovery or revenge of the conventional level that Faure claims was the inevitable ‘other power’ at work within Chan ideology: ‘Chan/Zen monks were in fact trying to limit the proliferation of sacred symbols and to reserve for themselves the privilege of the possession of selected symbols or icons such as *śarīra* and mummies. Their iconoclasm was therefore a relative one, although the most radical among them, carried away by the rhetoric of immediacy, attempted to deny any symbolic mediation.’⁹²

Whether or not Wuzhu’s followers intended to make a didactic ‘no-point’ in attributing the power of his Dharma to a votive image, it is significant that the Bao Tang sect, with a reputation as being ‘the most radical among them’, may have influenced the form of Chan literary-funerary ritual more than they influenced the shape of formless practice. As noted, regular offerings and devotions to images of patriarchal masters became a part of the Song Chan monastic code. Taking an unintentional step in this direction, Wuzhu weaned his followers away from devotional practices centred on Buddhist images only to become a focus of devotion himself, and this was both the logical and the paradoxical consequence of the doctrine of intrinsic Buddha-nature. In the subsequent development of Chan, the antinomianism and iconoclasm became ever more antic and literary. For example, would

Wuzhu's teachings have been better served if his disciples' response to his death had been recorded in the following manner?

When Ziming died, the monks sent a letter to the master, gathered the assembly together, hung the [master's] portrait and grieved. . . . [When the memorial offerings were set out, Yangqi] went before the portrait, clenched both hands into fists and rested them on top of his head, took his sitting cloth and folded it once, drew a circle [in the air] and burnt incense. He then withdrew three steps and prostrated himself in the manner of a woman (*zuo nuren bai*).⁹³

Somehow, the fervent eulogy in the *Lidai fabao ji* seems less formal. Nevertheless, Sun Huan's *zhenzan* and this Song example both emphasize the contrast between the performance and the *pro forma*, reflecting the paradox of separation and surfaces intrinsic to transformative devotion. In both eulogies, engaging the representations and necessary excess of devotionism becomes the act of devotion. It is clear that paradoxes and ironies that were unintentional in the *Lidai fabao ji* had become all too familiar in the Song, but we cannot therefore assume that the Bao Tang followers were naive and Song Chan monks such as Yangqi Fanghui were cynical.

Conclusion

The huge repository of Chan lore owes much to Wuzhu's disciples, one or several of whom created the written portrait of the master whose spirit lives on in the *Lidai fabao ji* as a whole. The *Lidai fabao ji* modified received genres or introduced new stylistic features in ways that would shape the standard genres of Song Chan literature – *chuandeng lu*, *yulu*, and *zhenzan*. Furthermore, the *Lidai fabao ji* version of the Indian line of patriarchs was the source for the version that became official. Many anecdotes that have their origins in the *Lidai fabao ji* found their way into the official annals of Chan. Yet the *Lidai fabao ji* itself was repudiated and all but forgotten.

The elements of the *Lidai fabao ji* that were incorporated into the mainstream of Chan underwent a trimming process in which the eccentric qualities, particularly the antinomianism, were excised. In this process Wuzhu's portrait was also lost. That there is no surviving painting is of course no surprise – few Tang

paintings of any kind remain. However, through the conventional language of Sun Huan's *zhenzan* we may still attune ourselves to the resonances that bound together the image of the master, the eulogist, and the Bao Tang community. The mysterious portrait balances on the same crux that characterizes the *Lidai fabao ji* as a whole, because those responsible for creating it treated it both conventionally and absolutely, both gradually and suddenly, as an icon and as a representation of iconoclasm. It combined many qualities and abided in none – it was at once a memorial portrait, a sacred relic, a response-body, representation as the true face of the Dharma, and the lasting image of a unique and ephemeral group of devotees. Wuzhu became for his followers the form of the formless practice he taught, and whether this was the revenge of suppressed devotionism or a demonstration of his disciples' true understanding of the emptiness of reverence, we must leave it for Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom, to decide.

**Portrait-eulogy, with preface, for the Venerable of the
Dali Bao Tang Monastery, a disciple of the Chan sect
(Chanmen *menren*) who transmitted sudden awakening
in the Mahāyāna**

The mountain man Sun Huan states: 'The Dao is nameless'.⁹⁴ Those who awaken to the Dao only then know attainment of the origin. The Dharma is without characteristics, those who recognize the Dharma then penetrate its source. Attaining the origin is precisely the Dao; one knows that the essence of the Dao mysteriously produces being and non-being. Recognizing the Dharma is precisely the source; one sees that the Dharma nature is perfectly bright and free. Existence is without anything that exists, existence is not the direction of 'that' or 'this'. Birth is without anything that is born, birth is not the limit of being or non-being.

Therefore, the twelve divisions of scripture that Śākyamuni Buddha preached are complete in the mind, so preaching is without anything preached. As our Venerable pointed to eighty-thousand gates of the mound of dust⁹⁵ he was directly teaching 'seeing the nature', so pointing is without anything at which to point. Know even more that the Dharma is separate from the Dharma of verbal preaching; it is not that verbal preaching is unilluminating. The Dharma is separate from the Dharma of seeing and hearing; it is not that seeing and hearing do not make it manifest. 'Rely on words to make the meaning manifest, and having gotten the meaning forget

the words'.⁹⁶ For this reason, those who follow verbal preaching manifest words and forget the Dharma, while on the contrary those who see and hear forget the words and manifest the Dharma. Without words there is no 'I', without 'I' there is non-doing. The substance of non-doing is suchness, the principle of suchness is not one; not one and no-self, this is truly bodhi. 'Surpassingly pure and bright mind encompasses the Dharmadhātu'.

Just so did our Venerable ground his teachings and transmit his Dharma. He displayed the meaning of no-thought, not moving and not still. He preached the teaching of sudden awakening, no-recollection and no-thought. He often told his disciples, 'The Dharma is just this, not something verbal preaching can reach. Our Ancestral Master Dharmatrāta (Bodhidharma) transmitted these essentials of the Dharma, directly given from one to the next. This is the secret teaching of the Buddhas, this is the Prajñāpāramitā. It is also called "the one true meaning", "the non-dual teaching", "seeing the nature", "tathatā", "nirvāṇa", and "the Chan teaching". Names such as these are the provisional teachings of the Buddha-Tathāgatas of the past; the meaning of true reality has no name.'

Sometimes we disciples, obtaining the teaching and practising according to his words, would get a taste – and then we would sigh to each other, 'How magnificent! It is like gazing at the empty expanse of the Great Void, without particle or speck of dust. How oceanic! It is as if looking out over the utter limitlessness of the Vast Deep, without boundary or shore. Words do not reach deep knowledge of the Dao, the subtle mystery without name. We are full of gratitude toward our Great Master for having pity on our delusion and dullness, for showing us the true Dharma not through gradual steps but directly arriving at bodhi. If we meet other students we must turn about and show [the true Dharma], but without the characteristics of our master, how are we to manifest it?'

Accordingly, we secretly summoned a fine artist to paint [our master's] portrait (*zhenji*). [The Venerable Wuzhu's] appearance [in the portrait] is lustrous, his characteristics are fine and successfully realized. Those who gaze at the portrait are able to destroy evil, those who rely on the Dharma are able to attain the mystery. The deeper places [of his Dharma] I have not yet fathomed. Bowing my head to the ground and raising my gaze with reverence, I exert my strength to speak this eulogy:

'The highest vehicle of the Dharma is neither principle nor phenomena. The many gates of the good teaching all return to the non-dual. [Mahā]kāśyapa attained it and it spread westward to

Buddha-regions, [Bodhi]dharma received it and it flowed eastward to the land of the Han. These are matters spanning over one thousand years, the holy ones for thirty-four generations have directly inherited it one from the other and have passed it down from one to the next. The Dharma they obtained tallies with the Dao's source, the robe they transmitted clearly shows true and false. Our teacher secretly received it and graciously displayed it, opening the mysterious gates of the Buddhas and revealing the complete meaning of the Mahāyāna.

Not following being and non-being, not relying on *avyākṛta*,⁹⁷ separated from qualities and from characteristics, not 'dull' and not 'wise', the true meaning is not being or non-being, being and non-being are not the true meaning. Opposite from the mind of the ordinary man, going beyond the intent of the virtuous holy ones, [our] practice exceeds the three vehicles and suddenly leaps over the ten *bhūmis*. It is neither cause nor result, it has neither other nor self. Function is without birth or death, separate from both reflection and substance. Seeing is without bright or dark, no-thought is precisely this.

Accordingly we summoned the fine artist, secretly he made the painting. [The artist] pushed the brush and produced the characteristics, and gazing at the majestic response-body separate from characteristics and emptied of words, we see the expansive vessel of the Dharma. His virtue is like a gift from Heaven, his bones (intrinsic qualities) are not like those of this world. How silently mysterious and fine! [The portrait] seems to be truly breathing, the face quivers and wants to speak, the eyes dance and are about to see. 'I look up and it is ever loftier, I venerate and it is ever more dear.'⁹⁸ 'Without our master, this Dharma will sink'.⁹⁹

Notes

- 1 Wuzhu and his disciples were later designated as the 'Bao Tang' lineage, derived from the name of the temple they occupied, the Dali Bao Tang si. In connection with this name, Yanagida Seizan surmises that Wuzhu's patron, the imperial minister Du Hongjian (709-769) may have been responsible for installing Wuzhu in a temple with an imperial designation, and possibly imperial support. See Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū (Research on Early Chan Historiographical Texts)* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 286-287.
- 2 A translation of the portrait-eulogy is included at the end of this article.
- 3 The *Lidai fabao ji* was preserved only among the materials that were walled up in the early eleventh century in one of the caves of the Mogao complex near the Silk Road oasis of Dunhuang in Northwest

China, rediscovered early in this century. The complete or nearly complete texts are: P. 2125 (P. = Dunhuang ms. in the Pelliot collection, Bibliothèque Nationale); S. 516 (S. = Dunhuang ms. in the Stein collection, British Library); P. 3717; and Jinyi 304 (Jinyi = Dunhuang ms. in the collection of the Tianjin Museum of Art). The fragments are: S. 5916; S. 1611; S. 1776; S. 11014; part of P. 3727; Jinyi 103; the ms. from the collection of Ishii Mitsuo; Ch. 3934r (a fragment from Turfan collected during the German expeditions of 1902–1914, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin); and F. 261 (a fragment at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian* (Dunhuang Documents Held in Russia), vol. 5, pp. 42–43). For the Tianjin ms., see *Tianjinshi yishu bowuguan cang Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian* (Dunhuang and Turfan documents held at the Tianjin Art Museum), vol. 4, pp. 324–349 and vol. 2, p. 199. On the texts and fragments known before 1997, including fragments newly identified by Rong Xinjiang, see his ‘Dunhuang ben Chanzong dengshi canjuan shiyi (Recovering Remnants of Dunhuang Manuscripts of Chan Sect Lamp Histories)’, in *Zhou Shaoliang Xiansheng xinkaijiuzhi qingshou wenji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997). On the Turfan fragment, see Nishiwaki Tsuneki, ‘Guanyu Bolin suo zang Tulufan shoujipin zhong de Chanji ziliao (Regarding Chan Text Materials in the Turfan Collection Stored in Berlin)’, translated into Chinese by Qiu Yunqing, *Suyuyan yanjiu* 4 (1997), pp. 136–139. My translation of the *Lidai fabao ji* is based on Yanagida Seizan’s 1976 redaction of P. 2125, which includes corrections based on comparison with the other *Lidai fabao ji* manuscripts, in *Shoki no zenshi II: Rekidai hōbōki* (Early Chan History II: *Lidai fabao ji*). However, I will cite the page and line numbers in the *Taishō* edition, T. 51 (2075) 179a–196b. I do so because it is the standard source for the Chinese canon, and the most readily available, but its *Lidai fabao ji* is not the best redaction. The *Taishō* editors claim that P. 2125 was their base text, with notes on the variations in S. 516, but there are a number of misprints and places where the text was changed without annotation. See Kondō Ryōichi, ‘*Rekidai hōbō ki no shōshahon ni tsuite* (Regarding the manuscripts of the *Lidai fabao ji*)’, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 21(2) (1974), pp. 313–318.

- 4 See Hu Shi, ‘The Development of Zen Buddhism in China’, *The Chinese and Political Science Review* 15(4) (1932), pp. 475–505, and ‘Ch’an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method: Is Ch’an (Zen) Beyond Understanding?’ *Philosophy East and West* 3(1) (1953), pp. 3–24; Jacques Gernet, *Entretiens du maître dhyāna Chen-houei du Ho-tsō (668–760)* (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient [1949] 1977); Yampolsky 1967, *op. cit.*; John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986) and ‘Shen-hui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Ch’an Buddhism’, in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1987) pp. 232–237; T. Griffith Foulk, *The Ch’an School and Its Place in the Buddhist*

- Monastic Tradition (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987); Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997; this is a translation and revision of Faure's 1984 dissertation and subsequent revisions published in French), *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Wendi Adamek, 'Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as Seen through the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Ages)', (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1997). For Yanagida Seizan's extensive work on this topic, see Bernard Faure's 'Bibliographie succincte de Yanagida Seizan', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1994), pp. 45–50.
- 5 These dates are based on the recently discovered Longmen stele of 765. See Takeuchi Kōdō, 'Shinshutsu no Katakū Jinne tōmei ni tsuite (On the Recently Found Stele Inscription of Heze Shenhui)', *Shūgaku kenkyū* 27 (1985), pp. 313–325.
 - 6 See Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–65.
 - 7 Jiang Boqin, *Dunhuang yishu zongjiao yu liyue wenming* (Dunhuang Arts, Religion, and 'Rites and Music' Civilization) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1996), pp. 77–92.
 - 8 In the *Ding shifei lun*, Shenhui fulminates against Puji for setting up a Hall of Seven Patriarchs on Mt. Song and following the *Chuan fabao ji* in placing both Faru and Shenxiu in the sixth generation with no mention of Huineng. See *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (Treatise Determining the True and False about the Southern School of Bodhidharma), in Hu Shi, *Xinjiading de Dunhuangxieben Shenhui beshang yizhu liangzhong* (A New Collation of Two Dunhuang Manuscripts Authored by the Venerable Shenhui) (Taipei: Hu Shi jinian guan [1958] 1970), pp. 288–289.
 - 9 Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf, 'On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1994), pp. 172–177. For a discussion of the placement of portraits of monks and prominent secular figures in monastery portrait halls, see Jiang, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–86.
 - 10 See Alan Cole, 'Upside Down/Right Side Up: A Revisionist History of Buddhist Funerals in China', *History of Religions* 35(4) (1996), pp. 310–312.
 - 11 The oldest extant example is the statue of the abbot Hongbian (restored to Mogao Cave 17), whose reliquary portrait-statue was made around the time of his death in 861. On this statue and portrait-statues in general, see Ma Shichang, 'Guanyu Dunhuang Cangjing dong de jige wenti' (Some Questions Concerning the Library Cave at Dunhuang), *Wenwu* 12 (1978), pp. 21–33; Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang, Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road* (London: Textile and Art Publications, 1995), pp. 329–331; Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zürich: Artibus Asiae, 1996), pp. 83–93. On the related practice of venerating mummies of Buddhist masters, see Robert Sharf, 'The

- Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China', *History of Religions* 23(1) (1992), pp. 1–31; Bernard Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–178; his 'Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites', in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 150–189; and his article in this volume.
- 12 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50 (2061) 832c24–833a3. A reference to a clay portrait done of Huineng while he was still alive occurs in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Compiled in the Jingde Era) compiled in 1004, see T. 51 (2076) 755b.
 - 13 Namely, Vajrabodhi (669–741), Subhakarasiṃha (637–735), Bukong (705–774), Yixing 673–727), and Huiguo (746–805). See Shi Shuqing, 'Ribenguo shoucang de Tangdai Yixing deng renhuaxiang' (Portraits of [Master] Yixing *et al.* Stored in Japan), *Wenwu* (1976) 3, pp. 31–35.
 - 14 All the portraits are 212.7 × 150.9 cm, in colour on silk. See Shi, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (London: Lund Humphries, 1956) vol. 3, p. 113; *Tōyō bijutsu* (Asiatic Art in Japanese Collections) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1967), vol. 1, p. 6.
 - 15 Stein painting 163; see Roderick Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia: the Stein Collection in the British Museum* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982), vol. 2, pl. 51 and pp. 330–331.
 - 16 Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zürich: Artibus Asiae, 1996), p. 157.
 - 17 See Shi, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
 - 18 *Dayunsi Yi gong xie zhenzan* (Portrait-Eulogy for Gentleman Yi at Dayun Monastery). *Quan Tang wen* (hereafter *QTW*) 917.13 (Zhonghua shuju, 1983: 9557). See Jiang, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
 - 19 *Zhuangzi*, Ch. 21, 7: 36b; trans. Wing-tsit Chan, *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 210. As it is taken from one of the 'outer chapters' this passage could be as late as the fourth century, and does indeed seem akin to a *qingtan* (pure conversation) anecdote.
 - 20 For a fuller discussion of the aesthetics and economics of the artist's function, see Sarah Fraser, 'The Artist's Practice in Tang Dynasty China, (8th–10th centuries)', Ph.D. diss., (University of California, Berkeley, 1996), revised for a forthcoming publication, *Performing the Visual: the Wall Painter's Practice in 8th–10th c. China*.
 - 21 See James Cahill, 'Tung Chi'i-ch'ang's "Southern and Northern Schools" in the History and Theory of Painting: A Reconsideration', in Peter Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), pp. 429–446; Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, revised edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 140–143; Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–45.
 - 22 Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–158.
 - 23 Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–124, 143–148, 218–219.
 - 24 Held in the National Palace Museum collection in Taiwan, the scroll is known as the *Dali guo Fanxiang juan* (Picture of Buddhist Images from

- the Country of Dali). See Li Lincan, *A Study of the Nan-chao and Ta-li Kingdoms in the Light of Art Materials Found in Various Museums* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982); Helen B. Chapin, *A Long Roll of Buddhist Images* [Articles pub. In 1936–1938, revised and annotated by Alexander Soper] (Asconda: Artibus Asiae, 1971).
- 25 Nanyin may have used the name Weizhong in order to be taken for Heze Shenhui's disciple of that name (dates 705–782), and thus may be the source of the confusion over Zongmi's claim to be Heze Shenhui's successor through Nanyin/Weizhong. See Yanagida, 'Jinne no shōzō (The Portrait of Shenhui)', *Zenbunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 15 (1988), pp. 215–242; Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 33–52.
 - 26 The Worthy Mai? Cha, the Great Master Chuntuo (Cunda), the monk Faguang, Mahārāja (a king of Nan Zhao), the monk Candragupta (a ninth-century Buddhist missionary to Nan Zhao), and an unidentified śramaṇa. Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–263; Li, *op. cit.* pp. 27–28.
 - 27 A somewhat similar row of eight monks is featured in an early tenth-century Dunhuang painting and may also reflect the arrangement of a local lineage, though these are probably symbolic donor figures rather than portraits. The monks appear at the bottom of a scroll painting of Amitābha's Pure Land (MG 17673, 141 cm × 84.2 cm), their identifying cartouches are not filled in (which was not unusual), and they occupy the register normally used to portray those who commissioned the painting and the deceased to whom the painting was dedicated. See Jacques Giès, ed., *Les arts de l'Asie centrale: la collection Paul Pelliot du musée national des arts asiatiques-Guimet* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), vol. 1, pl. 19, pp. 320–321.
 - 28 In Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
 - 29 See Patricia Berger, 'Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China', in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, (University of Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 89–123; John McRae, 'The Portrait of Shen-hui (684–758): Hagiography and Politics in the Nan-chao/Ta-li Kingdom', in Bernard Hung-Kay Luk, ed., *Contacts between Cultures: Eastern Asia: History and Social Sciences*, vol. 4 (Lewiston: the Edwin Mellon Press, 1990).
 - 30 Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27.
 - 31 *Zengaku Daijiten* (Tokyo: Daishukan shoten, 1985), p. 1074d.
 - 32 See Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–166.
 - 33 Anon., colour on silk, collection of the Yale University Art Gallery.
 - 34 An example of this is the famous Case 19 in the *Biyān lu* (Blue Cliff Record), T. 48 (2003). The 'Case' states: 'Whenever anything was asked, Master Zhu Di would just raise one finger.' The lengthy commentary then informs us, 'This kind of Chan is easy to approach but hard to understand. People these days who just hold up a finger or a fist as soon as they're questioned are just indulging their spirits. It is still necessary to pierce the bone, penetrate to the marrow, and see all the way through in order to get it. At Zhu Di's hermitage there was a servant boy. While he was away from the hermitage, he was asked, 'What method does your master usually use to teach people?' The

- servant boy held up a finger. When he returned, he happened to mention this to the Master. Zhu Di took a knife and cut off the boy's finger; as he ran out screaming, Zhu Di called to him. The boy looked back, whereupon Zhu Di raised his finger; the boy opened up and attained understanding. Tell me, what truth did he see?' See Thomas Cleary and J. C. Cleary, trans., *The Blue Cliff Record*, 3 vols. (Boulder: Shambhala, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 123–128.
- 35 *Diqizu Dazhao heshang jimie ri qizan wen*, S. 2512. In Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū* (*A Study of Tun-huang Zen Manuscripts*) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983), p. 555.
- 36 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 196a13–18.
- 37 T. 50 (2059) 326b4–5.
- 38 P. 3726. See Rao Zongyi, ed., *Dunhuang miaozhenzan jiaolu bing yanjiu* (Critical Edition and Study of Dunhuang Portrait-Eulogies), (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1994), pp. 133–134. The piece begins with identification of the compiler: 'Composed by the Buddhist Military Commission Officer of the Great Fan (i.e. the period of Tibetan rule, 786–848), Guan [zhou] and Sha [zhou] Frontier Prefect of Two States, Assistant Secret Envoy Zhizhao'. Zhizhao's name appears on a number of Dunhuang ms., but he is otherwise unknown. Regarding the official titles, both Zhizhao's military title and the Venerable Du's clerical title were established during the Tibetan period; the Venerable Du's title (Du falu) was a high clerical office. See Zheng Binglin, *Dunhuang beimingzan jishi* (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu, 1992), pp. 221–223 n. 2, 4 and 5. Rong Xinjiang surmises that P. 3726 ought to have been the first page of P. 4660, which is a collection of *zhenzan* for prominent clerics and laymen of Dunhuang. Ikeda On has dated P. 4660 to the early ninth century; Rong suggests instead that it was not all compiled at the same time, but was a collection of individual sheets arranged in chronological order. The Venerable Du may be the same as a monk listed with the same surname in P. 2729, which is dated 788. See appendix, 'Dunhuang miaozhenzan niandai kao', in Rao, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 39 I.e., the great translator Kumarāṣīva (344–413), and Kāśyapamātāṅga (d. 73?), the legendary first Buddhist monk in China.
- 40 *Longhua yihui* refers to the version of the legend of Maitreya found in the *Pusa chu tai jing* (abbreviated title), T. 12 (384). When Maitreya descends from Tuṣita and is born in the next age, he will attain enlightenment under the Longhua tree (Nāgapuṣpa, *Mesuma ferrea* L.), and preach to three successive assemblies; the first assembly will contain those of the highest level.
- 41 There are three alternate versions of this poem used in other Dunhuang *zhenzan*, see Rao, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 134 n. 13.
- 42 QTW 389: (14), *Zhonghua shuju*, 1983, p. 3956.
- 43 I.e. Hongzhou, present-day Nanchang, capital of Jiangxi; about a decade after this piece was written, Mazu Daoyi (709–788) would take up residence there.
- 44 'Former' (*qian*) here probably designates his former office rather than indicating that he was no longer alive at the time the piece was written. In any event, the portrait was painted and displayed while he was still alive.
- 45 Possibly referring to poems written on the painting by others.

- 46 There are other inscriptions referring to this practice, see Jiang, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Early occasional portraits of this type do not survive, but there is a contemporary tomb mural portrait of the court official Gao Yuanguì (d. 756); he is shown seated in a chair, flanked by a female attendant. See Zhang Hongxiu, *Zhongguo Tangmu bishua ji* (A Collection of China's Tang Dynasty Tomb Murals), (Lingnan Art Publishing House, 1995), pp. 148–153.
- 47 'Lun hua liu fa (On the Six Methods of Painting)', *Lidai minghua ji* 1.22, compiled in 847; *SKQS* vol. 812, p. 289.
- 48 Foulk and Sharf, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
- 49 For a discussion of the genres of image-inscriptions included in *yulu*, see Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–132.
- 50 *Baolin zhuan* (The Transmission of the Baolin [Temple]) compiled 801, Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sōzō ichin Hōrinden, Dentō gyokuei shū* (Tokyo: Chūbun shuppansha, 1975).
- 51 Foulk and Sharf, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
- 52 Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 53 For a translation, see *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 55 Foulk and Sharf, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 196.
- 56 See Fraser 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–238.
- 57 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 196a22–26.
- 58 For a discussion of the use of portraits in 'Patriarchs' Halls' (*zutang*) and the controversy over the function of individually owned portraits, see Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–118.
- 59 Brinker and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- 60 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 196a11–12.
- 61 Foulk and Sharf, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
- 62 See Jiang, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81.
- 63 Foulk and Sharf, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 64 Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
- 65 A lay association also mentioned in other Dunhuang documents; see Ji Xianlin, ed. in chief, *Dunhuangxue dacidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu, 1998), p. 428.
- 66 *Mao* cognate used in Dunhuang texts.
- 67 *Shengyi*. I have not yet been able to locate this term, but it might be another type of image of the deceased, as *zhenyi* was another designation for 'portrait' in Dunhuang texts. *Shengyi* could possibly refer to an earlier portrait done while the monk was still alive, as in a phrase from P. 4600: *Hui shengqian zhi yingxiang*. See Jiang, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85, for a discussion of the different types of portrait designations.
- 68 P. 2856v; in Tang Gengou and Lu Xiongxi, eds., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenyi shilu* (Annotated Catalogue of Photos of the Social and Economic Documents of Dunhuang), 5 vols. (Beijing: Centre for Microfilm Copying of Documents, National Library, 1986–1990), vol. 4, pp. 123–124.
- 69 Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–312.
- 70 Nancy Jay, 'Sacrifice as Remedy for Having Been Born of Women', in Elizabeth A. Castelli, ed., *Women, Gender, Religion: A Reader* (New York: Palgrave 2001), pp. 174–194.

- 71 See, for example, Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Bernard Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–208; Alan Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 72 From a conversation in Peking University, spring 2001.
- 73 Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–314.
- 74 *Ladai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 196a26.
- 75 Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137; on relics and mummies in Chan, see pp. 132–178.
- 76 Reginald A. Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values and Orientations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 52. See also Diana Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India* (Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books, 1981).
- 77 Schopen, Gregory, ‘The Suppression of Nuns and the Ritual Murder of Their Special Dead in Two Buddhist Monastic Texts’. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 24 (1996), pp. 596, 583. Faure has made similar points with regard to the competition over the ‘flesh-bodies’ or mummified remains of Chan and Zen masters.
- 78 Similarly, Robert Sharf discusses the difficulty of distinguishing ‘epistemological from ontological readings’ of the term *ganfo* (affect the Buddha) among Chinese exegetes, whose interpretations do not resolve its meaning in terms acceptable to Western Cartesian discourse. However, (Sharf argues) our recognition of this disinclination to draw a rigorous distinction between subjective experience and objective moving (or being moved by) something outside of oneself should not lead us to assume that medieval Chinese exegetes lacked awareness of the possibility of subjective error, but should make us aware that there is an alternative conception of the relationship between epistemology and ontology at work. See ‘The “Treasure-Store Treatise” (Pao-tsang Iun) and the Sinification of Buddhism in Eighth Century China’, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991), pp. 217–218.
- 79 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50 (2061) 832c24–833a3. See Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 Foulk and Sharf 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
- 82 See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–143.
- 83 T. 16 (663; 664; 665). See Sharf 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–196; 238 n. 51. Sharf notes that the text became popular in East Asia due to the last translation, T. 16 (665), done by Yijing in 703.
- 84 Sharf 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196. In other examples, *huashen* is one of the categories of the Nirmānakaya, *yingshen*. The inconsistencies and elaborations point to the richness of the discourse and the interest that it held for Chinese exegetes.
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. 184–203.
- 86 *Ibid.*, pp. 127–132. I cannot say I endorse Sharf’s point to the extent that it is argued in his dissertation, but it is clearly important and should supersede previously held conceptions of Chinese assimilation of Indian Buddhism.
- 87 *Ibid.*, pp. 163–177.
- 88 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 186b8–17.

- 89 A curl of hair above the bridge of the nose, one of the marks of the Buddha.
- 90 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 193a26–193b2.
- 91 *Ibid.*, T. 51 (2075) 185c29–186a5.
- 92 Faure 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–178.
- 93 *Yangqi fanghui heshang boulu*, T. 47 (1994) 642b5–13, trans. Foulk and Sharf, *op. cit.*, p. 203. However, I have substituted ‘portrait’ for Foulk and Sharf’s translation, ‘true image’, because I think by the Song *zhenxiang* simply meant portrait.
- 94 *Daode jing*, 72. See D. C. Lau, trans., *Tao te ching* (Penguin Books, 1963), p. 91.
- 95 In other words, expedient means to eradicate defilements.
- 96 Based on the *Zhuangzi*. See Burton Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 140.
- 97 This is a technical term from Abhidharma exegesis on the moral qualities of dharmas, meaning morally neutral, not subject to karmic retribution. This is a subject in one of Wuzhu’s talks; see *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 190a7–21.
- 98 Adaptation of Yan Hui’s praise of virtue in the *Lunyu*, 9.10. See Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1938) p. 140.
- 99 *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51 (2075) 195c14–196a26.

ON THE RITUAL USE OF CHAN PORTRAITURE IN MEDIEVAL CHINA*

T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf

Introduction

Many historical surveys of Japanese art, including both those written in Japanese and their largely derivative Western-language counterparts, contain a section devoted to a distinct genre of painting called *chinzō* (also pronounced *chinsō*, Chin: *dingxiang*), comprising portraits of Chan and Zen Buddhist monks. The *chinzō* genre, such surveys explain, flourished in Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) China and was first introduced to Japan during the Kamakura period (1185–1333) in conjunction with the wholesale transmission of Chan (Zen) Buddhist institutions and practices. By all accounts, the oldest and finest surviving examples of *chinzō* include more than a dozen portraits of eminent Chan masters produced in China and brought to Japan by returning Japanese pilgrims. Among these, the portrait of Wuzhun Shifan (1178–1249) carried to Japan in 1241 by Wuzhun's Japanese disciple Enni Ben'en (1202–1280), and several portraits of Zhongfeng Mingben (1264–1325) that found their way to Japan in similar fashion, are often cited as paradigmatic of this genre.¹ In addition to these Chinese works, there is also a body of extant portraits produced in Japan following continental models that are considered worthy of art-historical note by dint of their antiquity, state of preservation, and perceived artistic quality. Altogether, some seventy Chinese and Japanese *chinzō* dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries are designated 'National Treasures' (*kokuhō*) or 'Important Cultural Properties' (*jūyō bunkazai*). The total number of *chinzō* held as valuable works of

art in Japanese museums and temple collections today, including those with no official designation and a great many that were produced during the Tokugawa period (1615–1868), is roughly ten times that number.²

The portraits included in this genre tend to follow a readily identifiable compositional formula: the monk is depicted seated cross-legged on a chair with shoes placed neatly in front on a footstool (Jpn: *tōjō*, Chin: *tachuang*). The figure is dressed in full ceremonial costume, comprising an inner and outer robe (Jpn: *hōe*, Chin: *fayi*) and a *kaṣāya* or surplice (Jpn: *kesa*, Chin: *jiasha*) draped over the left shoulder. The surplice of Chan and Zen lineage abbots is held together with a conspicuous ornamental ring (Jpn: *hekikan*, Chin: *bihuan*) that rests over the area of the heart. The priest is generally presented holding an implement in his proper right hand, typically a whisk (Jpn: *hossu*, Chin: *fuzi*), scepter (Jpn: *nyoi*, Chin: *ruyi*), staff (Jpn: *shujō*, Chin: *zhuzhang*), or bamboo staff (Jpn: *shippei*, Chin: *zhubi*), all of which are regalia proper to the office of abbot. The staff is often propped up against the chair. The chair itself may be high- or low-backed, straight or with curvilinear arms, and is sometimes draped with an elaborately figured textile.

While the portrait subject is usually seated in three-quarter view, modern scholars also include a number of variant compositions in the *chinzō* genre. These include portraits in which a seated patriarch is presented frontally, and half-figure compositions in which the portrait subject is presented facing left, right, or straight ahead against the blank ground of the silk or paper, occasionally circumscribed within a circular frame. Somewhat less common are *chinzō* portraying a monk in a landscape setting, either seated or standing with hands clasped in front in formal ‘walking’ posture (Jpn: *kinhin*, Chin: *jingxing*). Finally, portraits regarded by scholars as *chinzō* are usually inscribed with a eulogy or ‘appreciation’ (Jpn: *san*, Chin: *zan*) in free verse, followed by a dedication recounting the circumstances of the production of the portrait and eulogy. Indeed, the presence of such formal eulogies and dedications is treated by some scholars as a distinguishing characteristic of the *chinzō* genre, a genre commonly distinguished from *soshizō* – portraits of ‘legendary’ patriarchs from the more distant past.

Some years ago Elizabeth Horton Sharf, an art historian, raised some questions with the authors of this article, both Buddhologists, concerning the religious function of portraits classified as *chinzō*. All three of us had serious doubts concerning the accuracy of the oft-repeated notion that *chinzō* were used as certificates of Chan

and Zen enlightenment or proof of dharma transmission (Jpn: *denbō*, Chin: *chuanfa*).³ A good way to test this claim, we reasoned, would be to search the voluminous historical records of East Asian Buddhism for occurrences of the term *chinzō*. Analyses of the contexts in which the term appeared, we hoped, would shed light on the production and religious use of such portraits.

Accordingly, we undertook an extensive survey of the relevant literature, including biographical collections (Jpn: *kōsōden*, Chin: *gaoseng zhuan*), discourse records (Jpn: *goroku*, Chin: *yulu*), 'records of the transmission of the flame' (Jpn: *dentōroku*, Chin: *chuandeng lu*), monastic codes (Jpn: *shingi*, Chin: *qinggui*), koan collections (Jpn: *kōan*, Chin: *gong'an*), pilgrims' diaries, medieval texts on painting, and painting inscriptions. As intended, our investigation enabled us to check the historical accuracy of various claims made about Chan and Zen portraiture by art historians. But it did far more than that, as we found ourselves forced to reconsider the very basis of the modern art-historical delineation of a *chinzō* genre. What we discovered, in brief, is that in medieval China and Japan the term *chinzō* referred to a broad range of portrait objects, and that its use to designate a precisely circumscribed genre of 'Zen' portraiture is, in fact, a relatively recent art-historical convention of dubious utility. Indeed, modern definitions of *chinzō* are not merely descriptive of an existing body of portraiture, but actually function in a normative and stipulative way to delineate a corpus and create a genre for art-historical study. Accordingly, our study of the ritual function of objects commonly subsumed under the designation *chinzō* led us to a comprehensive investigation of the etiology of the modern construction of a *chinzō* genre, which in turn raised a host of theoretical and methodological issues bearing on category formation and classification in the field of Asian art history.

Our initial investigation resulted in a jointly authored paper delivered at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in 1990, in which we argued that there is virtually no textual or art-historical evidence that portraits now classified as *chinzō* were ever used in and of themselves as certificates of enlightenment or proof of dharma inheritance. Rather, the wealth of medieval sources at our disposal suggested that the function of such portraits is best understood in the larger ritual context of East Asian Buddhist funerals and memorial rites.⁴ As we continued our investigation, it soon became clear that it would not be possible to present the entirety of our research on the subject within the confines of a single article. Accordingly, the present article, by two of the three

scholars involved in this project, focuses on one aspect of our collaborative effort, namely, the religious significance and ritual function of portraits of eminent Chan monks in medieval China.⁵ Along the way, we will take a long excursus into the evolution of the monastic structure known as the ‘patriarch hall’ or ‘portrait hall’. As we will see, an understanding of this facility – the architectural counterpart to the Chinese Buddhist notion of a ‘spiritual genealogy’ or ‘dharma lineage’ – is essential to our reconstruction of the meaning and function of Chan portraiture.

Representation and reality: terminological issues

In Chinese Buddhist literature of the medieval period, three terms are used virtually interchangeably to refer to portraits of patriarchs: *xiang*, *zhen*, and *dingxiang*. The latter and somewhat less common expression, *dingxiang*, is exclusively Buddhist, and it seems to have come into use during the tenth century – a time when significant changes were beginning to take place in the production and use of Buddhist portraits. We will explore the import of the term *dingxiang* in some detail below, but first we will turn our attention to the terms *xiang* and *zhen*, both of which are common designations for portraiture in all genres of early Chinese writing. A brief examination of these terms should suffice to show the complex philosophical, cosmological, and even ‘magical’ significations associated with rendering a person’s likeness in early China.

The term *xiang* – ‘to resemble’, ‘portrait’, ‘figure’, ‘form’, ‘image’, ‘representation’, and so on – is virtually interchangeable with the homophone *xiang* from which it is derived. The latter character originated in ancient China as a pictograph of an elephant (as is evident from bone inscriptions), and came to be used early on not only for ‘elephant’, but also for ‘ivory’, and ‘ivory figurine’. The early use of *xiang* to denote a carved figurine may explain its derivative use for ‘representation’ in general, and for the cosmic ‘patterns’, or ‘configurations’ perceived in the heavens in particular.⁶

These heavenly configurations, which are somewhat analogous to our ‘constellations’, had iconic counterparts or ‘doubles’ on earth. The *Shi ji*, for example, speaks of the twelve ‘*xiang* of the ancients’ (*guren zhi xiang*) that were worn on the robes of the kings, comprising the sun, moon, constellations, mountains, dragons, pheasants, bronze libation cups, water weeds, flames, seeds of grain, ax, and the *fu*-symbol.⁷ Wechsler suggests that the word *xiang* is ‘perhaps the closest approximation in pre-modern Chinese for our

words ‘symbol’ or ‘symbolize’ in the sense of substitution for or representation of physical or emblematic objects’ (1985: 33). But, as Edward Schafer has argued, the translation ‘symbol’ does not fully capture the significance of these markings, which must be understood in connection with the ‘theory of correspondences’ – the *xiang* adorning the robes of the king served to reinforce the correlations between the ruler’s ritual activity and the movements of the heavens.⁸ Schafer prefers to render the term *xiang* as ‘effigy’, ‘simulacrum’, ‘analogue’, ‘counterpart’, ‘equivalent’, or ‘other-identity’. ‘Celestial events are the “counterparts” or “simulacra” of terrestrial events; sky things have doppelgängers below, with which they are closely attuned.’⁹ This reading of *xiang* finds further support in the *Yi jing* or *Book of Changes*, where the term is used for the configurations of *yin* and *yang* lines that comprise the hexagrams. These configurations are ‘images’ of the patterns found in the heavens and on earth. The *Xici zhuan* commentary to the *Yi jing* informs us that the sages were able to survey all the confused diversities under heaven. They observed forms and phenomena and made images of things and their attributes. Thus they are called ‘images’.¹⁰ The fact that the ‘images’ (*xiang*) are ‘representations’ (*xiang*) of the patterns of heaven above is reiterated later in the same treatise: ‘Thus the *Changes* consists of “images”, and the images are ‘representations’.¹¹ Schafer would seem to be correct when he objects to the use of ‘symbol’ as an equivalent for *xiang*, and suggests instead ‘simulacrum’, ‘counterpart’, and so on, since the *xiang* are in essence devoid of substance and form (Schafer 1977: 5, 292 n. 8).

The etymology of *xiang*, and the use of the term in texts such as the *Yi jing* and the *Daode jing*, suggests the sense of mystery and creative power associated with the iconic reduplication of reality in ancient China. This is corroborated by the mystique of bronze mirrors – occult devices used to discern, reproduce, and divine reality. The inscribed backside of a bronze mirror was as much a reflection of the cosmos as was the polished front surface; the back of the mirror imaged the world through a set of ‘icons’ or *xiang* arranged in geometric *maṇḍala*-like patterns.¹² For the Chinese, the act of representing or reflecting reality was closely associated with the ability to discern and iconically manipulate the structures or patterns underlying manifest phenomena.¹³

The etymological associations of the second common word for portrait in China, *zhen*, similarly allude to the gnostic element involved in representation: the literal meaning of *zhen* is ‘true’,

‘real’, or ‘genuine’. This term was used for portraiture as early as the Six Dynasties period, apparently because the task of the portraitist was to capture accurately the ‘living spirit’ (*shen*) of the subject, rather than his mere outward appearance (Shi 1988: 69). This exalted understanding of the craft of portrait-painting was given formal expression by the painter Gu Kaizhi (c. 345–406), who spoke of ‘transmitting the spirit’ (*chuan shen*), and ‘using form to depict the spirit’ (*yi xing xie shen*).¹⁴

The notion that portraits should be concerned with transmitting the ‘spirit vitality’ (*shenqi*) was later canonized in the somewhat obscure ‘six principles’ (or ‘six laws’, *liufa*) of painting, enumerated by the portraitist Xie He (active c. 500–535). The first and arguably the most important of Xie He’s six principles concerns the ‘spirit resonance’ (*qiyun*, or *shenyun*). While there is considerable debate among both traditional commentators and modern scholars concerning the precise meaning of these binomes, all agree that the first principle concerns the importance of transcending the inorganic media of brush and ink or pigment in order to bring the subject matter ‘to life’. In the case of a portrait, this meant capturing the vital and unique spirit or soul of the portrait subject.¹⁵ According to medieval theorists, once the artist succeeds in capturing ‘spirit resonance’, formal likeness or verisimilitude will follow naturally. The *Lidai minghua ji*, a ninth-century compendium on painting history and theory by Zhang Yanyuan, explains this principle as follows:

The painters of Antiquity were sometimes able to transmit formal likeness while endowing it with a noble vitality. They sought for what was beyond formal likeness in their painting. This is very difficult to discuss with vulgar people. As for today’s painters, even if they attain formal likeness, they do not generate spirit resonance. If they were to explore painting through spirit resonance, then inevitably formal likeness would reside in it.¹⁶

It would appear that the use of the term *zhen* for portraiture emerged in conjunction with this understanding of the artist’s task: traditional sources agree that the *zhen* or ‘truth’ of the portrait lay not in surface realism, but rather in the ability of the portrait to capture the sitter’s innermost being.

In later catalogues of imperial art collections, the term *zhen* is commonly used to designate formal portraits – primarily memorial

portraits – of emperors and high officials. Moreover, *zhen* is not usually used for images of legendary figures and heroes; the common term for such images in medieval sources is the more generic *xiang*.¹⁷ Thus *zhen* appears to have been the preferred term for portraits for which the pretence, if not the actuality, of being executed from life could be maintained. We shall see below that *zhen* is perhaps the single most common term for a portrait in medieval Buddhist sources, which is not surprising, as virtually all of the patriarchs, who comprise the subject matter of most Buddhist portraiture, were considered historical personages. Be that as it may, it is virtually impossible to sharply differentiate the common Chinese terms for portraiture on the basis of depicted subject matter, ritual context, function, or style. We will return to this point below.

Unlike the terms *xiang* and *zhen*, the compound term *dingxiang* (Jpn: *chinzō*) is a Chinese Buddhist neologism. It was originally coined as a translation for the technical Sanskrit term *uṣṇīṣa* – the fleshy protuberance on top of the Buddha’s head.¹⁸ The *uṣṇīṣa* is commonly included among the thirty-two ‘attributes’ or ‘marks’ (Sk. *lakṣaṇa*) of a Tathāgata, and it is one of the distinctive and readily recognizable iconographic features of Śākyamuni Buddha.¹⁹ Buddhist sources differ markedly in their treatment and understanding of the Buddha’s *uṣṇīṣa*, but the scholastic complexity of the topic precludes a thorough examination here. Of immediate concern to our investigation is the doctrine of the ‘invisible *uṣṇīṣa*’ – the belief that, iconographic conventions aside, living beings are unable to see the true *uṣṇīṣa* of the Tathāgata.

The term used to refer to the invisible *uṣṇīṣa* in Chinese is *wujian dingxiang*, the Sanskrit of which has been restored from the Tibetan by Wogihara as *anavalokitamūrdhatā*. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* includes the *wujian dingxiang* in a list of the eighty secondary marks, and thus treats it as a separate mark from the corporeal *uṣṇīṣa* included in the list of thirty-two major marks.²⁰ There is also a tradition, represented by the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, which treats the invisible *uṣṇīṣa* as identical to the ‘major-mark *uṣṇīṣa*’.²¹ The *Mahāyānasamgraha* differs from both of the above traditions in treating the *wujian dingxiang* as a characteristic of the Buddha that is independent of either the major or minor marks. The key passage occurs in the exegesis of ‘the mastery (*vibhūtvā*) of the dharmabody’ which is attained through the ‘revolution of the aggregate of form (*rūpa*)’: ‘It is through the revolution of form that one attains mastery over the Buddha-land, the body, the [thirty-two] major

marks, and [eighty] secondary marks, the boundless voice, and the invisible *uṣṇīṣa*'.²²

Canonical sources offer various explanations for the fact that the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* cannot be seen by living beings. According to some texts, the light emanating from the *uṣṇīṣa* is greater even than the light of the sun, and thus cannot be viewed directly. The tradition most familiar to the Chinese, however, explained the *uṣṇīṣa*'s invisibility as stemming from the fact that none stand above the Buddha: living beings are always gazing up at his eminence, a position that precludes a view of the crowning *uṣṇīṣa*. Some sources go further and claim that the Buddha is unimaginably tall, with his head reaching to the sky.²³

The use of the term *dingxiang* to refer to a portrait is not, to our knowledge, attested until the Northern Song dynasty. One of the problems we confronted when we began our research was the following: how did a scholastic Chinese term for the invisible protuberance on the head of a Buddha come to be used in the Song to refer to portraits of Buddhist monks? Our solution to this puzzle involved an examination of the institutional, ritual, and literary significance of Buddhist portraits in medieval China. It is to this topic that we now turn our attention.

The portrait as holy relic

References to portraits of eminent monks in Tang and pre-Tang Buddhist sources are typically found in the context of (1) the cultic worship of a particularly charismatic Buddhist saint, and/or (2) the funeral rites for a deceased master. In most instances the two categories – devotional and funerary – coincide, and a portrait produced in conjunction with the mortuary rites for an eminent monk functions as the focus for continued devotional activity, including ritual offerings to the spirit of the departed.

There are only a handful of early instances in which the portrait of an eminent monk is used as the focus for worship prior to the death of the depicted subject. One such case is that of the Eastern Qin Buddhist master Daoan (d. 385) whose community is known to have had strong devotional tendencies centred around religious images. In 378 political events forced Daoan to move his community from Xiangyang to the Shangming monastery in Jiangling, which soon became the centre for 'Daoan worship'. According to the *Gaoseng zhuan* biography of Tanhui (323–395), an early follower of Daoan, Tanhui made a portrait of Daoan that

he used as the focus for meditative reflection and worship. Following the production of this image, ‘all the gentlemen and ladies of Jiangling [bowed] to the west and paid homage to the Bodhisattva with the sealed hand [i.e. Daoan]’.²⁴

Another early case in which an image was used in conjunction with the worship of a living master is that of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* exegete Tanyan (516–588). The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* reports that during the Jiande period (572–578), the Chen dynasty scholar Zhou Hongzheng visited the court of the Northern Zhou. Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou arranged a debate between Zhou Hongzheng and his court scholars. When Zhou Hongzheng defeated the first two representatives of the Northern Zhou, Tanyan came to the rescue, besting Zhou Hongzheng in debate. As a result, ‘when it came time for [Zhou Hongzheng] to return to Chen, he recorded Tan’s teachings and his image, in order to bring them back to his own country. [Thereafter] every evening [Zhou] faced north and worshipped, because the bodhisattva Tanyan resided there’.²⁵

Such anecdotes aside, the use of a portrait in conjunction with a devotional cult to a living master is rarely attested in early sources. Far more common are situations in which the portrait is associated with mortuary and commemorative rites, in which case the portrait functions variously as a resting place for the departed spirit, as a focus for ritual offerings, as a means of remembering the deceased, and as a means of identifying the site of entombment. In fact, there is considerable textual evidence that Buddhist portraiture emerged in China in conjunction with developments in the treatment of the remains of eminent monks.²⁶

The Buddhist fascination with the relics of the ‘special dead’ is well attested and requires only brief mention here. From the dawn of Buddhism in India, the relics of enlightened Buddhist saints – strands of hair, fingernails, or bits of crystallized bone and ash gathered from the funeral pyre – were zealously collected, enshrined in *stūpas* and on altars, and worshipped by Buddhists of every persuasion. Indian scriptural, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence leaves little doubt that such relics were considered to be living entities; as Gregory Schopen puts it, ‘they were “informed”, “*parfumées*”, “saturated”, “pervaded”, “imbued” with just those characteristics which defined the living Buddha’ (Schopen 1987: 204). Moreover, Schopen has demonstrated that Buddhist relics were considered ‘legal persons’ who enjoyed rights of property. As objects of worship, the relics were functionally equivalent to a living Tathāgata, insofar as the merit accrued was identical in either case.²⁷

Closely associated with the cult of relics is the notion that the body of a deceased saint is free from defilement and thus naturally resistant to putrefaction. The miraculous 'incurruptibility' of the remains of an eminent master had long been considered a sign of high spiritual attainment in many parts of Asia, including Buddhist China, and Chinese Buddhist hagiographies record numerous such cases. For months and years following their death their unembalmed bodies, imbued with a stock of purity and merit acquired through a lifetime of meditative practice, were said to resist decay and to retain a healthy and lifelike countenance.²⁸

In the Six Dynasties period, when the miraculously preserved corpses of Buddhist saints were typically interred on a mountain-side or in a suburban cemetery, the burial site was often marked with a *stūpa* or small chapel. In a significant number of cases, we find that the chapel was outfitted with a portrait or effigy of the deceased. A classic example is that of Huishi, whose biography is preserved in the *Shilao zhi*:

During the Taiyan period (435–440), as [Huishi] approached his end in the Bajiao monastery, he fasted and purified himself and sat upright and, with his monkish followers crowded by his side, calm and concentrated he expired. The corpse was kept for more than ten days. It remained seated without change, and its form and color were as before, and the whole world marveled thereat. Finally he was buried within the temple. In the sixth year of the Zhenjun period (445), when it was decreed that no bodies were to be left buried within the city wall, he was reinterred outside the southern extremity. He had been dead just ten years. When the tomb was opened, he was solemn and not in the least decomposed. Those who accompanied his funeral procession were more than six thousand, and there was none who did not mourn him profoundly. The Secretariat Supervisor Gao Yun composed a biography in which he lauded his virtuous acts. Over Huishi's tomb was set a stone, and in a chapel his portrait was drawn. Throughout the time of the persecution of the dharma (446–452) it still stood whole.²⁹

Another early example is that of Zhu Tanyou, a mountain-dwelling practitioner of *dhyaṇa*, possessed of considerable thaumaturgical powers. When he died in his mountain grotto in 385, his seated body proved to be impervious to decay and retained a

healthy countenance. Sometime between the years 479 and 482 the monk Huiming visited the mountain retreat and found Tanyou's remains still perfectly preserved, but his meditation hut was thickly overgrown. Huiming hired some men to clear the overgrowth and rebuild the structure, and he then enshrined a reclining Buddha image and a portrait of Tanyou on the site.³⁰

This practice persists into the Tang, where we continue to find mention of portraits and effigies placed in *stūpa*-mausoleums along with the corpses of Buddhist saints. When the *dhyāna* practitioner Faqin died in 773, for example, his body was placed in an earthen burial jar and enshrined in a *stūpa* along with a lifelike effigy of the master leaning realistically against a small table. When *stūpa* and effigy were discovered in 902, the jar was opened and his body was found to be fully preserved.³¹ To these instances we may add that of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng (638–713): according to a late account, a portrait was placed in his *stūpa* along with his embalmed body and several other objects. We will return to Huineng's case below.

We have also found a singularly suggestive case in which a portrait was used to *replace* the incorruptible corpse of a Buddhist master. This story is found in the *Gaoseng zhuan* biography of Bo Sengguang, a mountain-dwelling hermit and wonder-working Chan master who died in 385. According to the *Gaoseng zhuan* account, Bai Sengguang's body remained seated after death as if still alive, showing no change in colour. (In fact, it took his disciples a full week to realize that the master had died, which they surmised only after noticing that he was no longer breathing.) Seventy years later, Guo Hong visited the mountain retreat to pay obeisance to the master's remains. He tried striking the chest of the corpse with his sceptre, whereupon there arose a great gust of wind scattering Bai Sengguang's robes and leaving only bare white bones. Guo Hong, greatly astonished, placed the bones in a grotto which he sealed with brick and plaster. He then drew Bai Sengguang's image and left it at the site. According to Huijiao (497–554), the compiler of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, the portrait was still there at the time of writing in 530/531.³² The account suggests that the 'incorruptibility' of Bai Sengguang's corpse did not stand the test of time, and his mortal remains, which had previously served as the focus of worship, came to be replaced by a portrait.

The notion that the body of a spiritually advanced Buddhist master is naturally resistant to putrefaction led to attempts to artificially preserve the corpse through mummification. As Robert

Sharf has argued elsewhere, the process of mummification was originally intended as a mere augmentation of the natural incorruptibility of the corpse of a saint – a conceit made plausible by the fact that mummification was itself a difficult and uncertain process.³³ The preferred method involved desiccating the corpse and then wrapping it in multiple layers of cloth made of hemp or ramie soaked in lacquer. In some cases it appears that the lacquer cloth was applied directly on top of the monk's ceremonial vestments, or the vestments were carved into the dry lacquer surface afterwards. The finished mummy could then be gilded, dressed in fine robes, and adorned with the regalia proper to the monk's position, such as a whisk or sceptre. With the perfection of dry-lacquer technology in the Tang, the corpse of a particularly eminent sage could (with skill and luck) be transformed into a veritable 'flesh-icon', thereby negating the distance between holy relic and true-to-life effigy.

There are numerous references to such lacquered mummies in Buddhist hagiographical collections, but a single example should suffice for our purposes here. The mummy of the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng, already mentioned above, is perhaps the single most famous mummy in China. (The presence of the mummy at the Nanhua temple in Caoqi has rendered this temple an important pilgrimage site down to the present day.)³⁴ According to the biography of Huineng found in the *Jingde chuangeng lu* (1004), Huineng, knowing that he was about to die, took a bath and passed away peacefully in seated posture surrounded by his disciples. The master's disciples then applied lacquered cloth to his corpse in order to protect it from harm:

His disciples, recalling the Master's prediction that someone would take his head, put an iron band and a lacquered cloth about his neck to protect it. Inside the *stūpa* was placed the 'testimonial robe' handed down by Bodhidharma, the robe and bowl presented by Emperor Zhongzong, a portrait of the Master modeled in clay (*suzhen*) by Fangbian, and various Buddhist implements. The *stūpa* attendant was placed in charge of these.³⁵

We also learn that the *stūpa*-mausoleum was completely destroyed by fire at the beginning of the Kaibao period (968–975), but Huineng's body was protected by the monk in charge and survived unharmed. The mummified body of Huineng,

showing, incidentally, no trace of an iron collar or damage to the neck, can still be seen at the Nanhua temple today.³⁶

The lacquering process used to preserve the remains of Buddhist saints was costly, time-consuming, and dangerous owing to the toxicity of raw lacquer. And most significantly, the lacquer technology used to turn a corpse into an imperishable icon was essentially the same as that used to produce dry-lacquer portrait sculpture in the Tang. The dry-lacquer technique involved the application of layer upon layer of lacquer-saturated hempen cloth onto an armature of wood or clay. Each layer took considerable time to dry, such that the entire process could take upwards of many months, but the result was a lacquer coating of sufficient thickness and pliability to allow it to be finely modelled and delicately carved. The sculpture, like the lacquered mummy, was then painted or gilded, and if a clay core was used it was dug out once the sculpture was complete.³⁷

Although difficult to prove, evidence suggests that this time-consuming and highly sophisticated technique, which produced some of the finest Buddhist statuary found in East Asia, arose as a corollary to dry-lacquer mummifications: a wood or clay skeleton was found to be a suitable replacement for a corpse that refused to cooperate in the embalming process. Thus we find that dry-lacquer mummies and dry-lacquer portrait sculptures first appear in historical records in roughly the same period (late Six Dynasties to early Tang), and the application and modelling of dry-lacquer is essentially identical, whether it is applied to a desiccated corpse or to a fabricated armature. Furthermore, there are a number of instances in which attempts at dry-lacquer mummification seem to have gone awry, and in at least one such case a dry-lacquer sculpture was produced as a substitute for a dry-lacquer mummy that began to decompose.³⁸ Nevertheless, the fragmentary nature of our sources renders such a historical reconstruction highly speculative.

Our argument need not rest upon such speculation, however, for the lacquer mummy was but one strategy among many through which Chinese Buddhists sought to eliminate the distance between effigy and relic. There are, for example, several recorded cases in which the ash and bone relics of a cremated saint were mixed with clay, and the resulting amalgam used to model an image of the deceased. Although there are no known surviving examples of such 'images of bone and ash' (*gu hui xiang*), three cases are reported in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, all dating to the Tang period. The earliest is that of the Korean Chan master Wuxiang (Korean: Musang,

684–756), whose clay effigy, mixed with his relics, flowed with sweat for days following the completion of the image.³⁹

Another variation on the same theme involved depositing the relics of the deceased inside his portrait sculpture. One well-known example is the clay statue enshrined on a low platform in Cave 17 at Dunhuang portraying Hongbian, Buddhist Controller for the Hexi district (Hexi dusengtong) for the years 851 to 861. The rear of the statue has a small opening sealed with clay, in which was found a silk bag containing what are presumed to be Hongbian's ashes. We might also mention the case of the Tendai priest Enchin (814–891). The so-called Okotsu Daishi image of Enchin enshrined in the patriarch hall at Onjōji contains what are presumed to be Enchin's ash relics. Although produced in Japan, this image, usually dated to the early Heian, is clearly modelled on Tang prototypes such as Enchin would have seen during his years in China (853–858).⁴⁰ Indeed, this practice appears to have been widespread in Japan: we have examples from virtually every major Buddhist school, including the image of the Zen master Shinchi Kakushin (1207–1298) in Kōkokuji (Wakayama), which is considered one of the earliest extant *chinzō* sculptures in Japan.⁴¹ A full discussion of such images here would take us too far afield. Suffice it to say that there were a variety of strategies for rendering a portrait functionally equivalent to the exalted relics of a saint.

Portraits of Buddhist saints, whether sculpted or painted, need not have been brought into immediate contact with the saint's remains in order to render the image an object of devotion and source of miracles. The biographies of many Sui and Tang masters record how their tombs became the foci of devotional cults following their death, with a portrait of the deceased master serving as holy icon. In a comprehensive article on the subject, Kobayashi Taichirō discusses the devotional use of a variety of portraits, including those of Tiantai Zhiyi (538–597), the Vinaya master Daoxuan (596–667), the Pure Land patriarch Shandao (613–681), the Faxiang patriarch Cien (632–682), the Tantric master Shanwuwei (636–735), and the Chan patriarchs Huineng and Faqin discussed above (Kobayashi 1954). In each case, a series of miraculous events was associated with both the remains of the deceased master and his image, and the image came to serve as spirit-effigy and object of worship. Finally, note that the ritual use of such portraits was by no means exclusive to the Chan school: virtually every major Chinese Buddhist tradition is represented in the abbreviated list above.

Chan portrait halls in the Sui and Tang dynasties

Numerous sources dating to the Sui and Tang dynasties attest to the existence of halls within monastic compounds containing portraits of eminent Chinese monks. While the origins of such facilities are far from clear, it is possible that they evolved from the small *stūpa*-mausoleums, attested in Six Dynasties sources, that were built to enshrine the remains of charismatic saints.⁴² It seems that these modest mausoleums were originally built on remote mountain tops or in outlying suburban cemeteries, owing in part to early Chinese prohibitions pertaining to the disposal of bodies within city walls. As we saw above, early Buddhist mausoleums often housed a painted portrait or sculpted effigy of the dead. As the image came to be identified with the physical remains of the master – an identification fostered through various methods of integrating relic and image – the ritual focus of the mausoleum shifted from relic to holy icon. With the memorial *stūpa* centred upon an icon rather than a corpse, the structure itself could be moved to the monastic precincts proper without transgressing Chinese taboos. Once inside the monastery, these sanctuaries – known variously as ‘memorial halls’ (*chongtang*), ‘image halls’ (*yingtang*), ‘portrait halls’ (*zhentang*), or ‘patriarch halls’ (*zutang*) – no longer had to be dedicated to a single saint, but could be used to enshrine the images of any number of eminent personages associated in one way or another with the institution.

Unfortunately, we do not possess any detailed ritual manuals or architectural plans for portrait halls dating from the Sui-Tang period. Our historical reconstruction of the function of Tang portrait halls must rely on: (1) a few cursory accounts preserved in manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang, (2) chance references in the writings of Japanese pilgrims such as Kūkai (774–835), who studied in China from 804 to 806, and Ennin (792–862), who travelled in China from 838 to 847, and (3) passing references to portrait halls of an earlier era in Song and Yuan materials. Sparse as it may be, the evidence available is sufficient to allow us to speculate on the evolution of a distinctively ‘Chan’ style of portrait hall in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The most common groupings of memorial portraits housed in Sui and Tang monasteries were those depicting the patriarchs or ‘ancestors’ (*zu*) of a particular doctrinal school or lineage (*zong*). As such, these groupings of portraits tend to be associated with specific monasteries or cloisters (*yuan*) within a larger monastic

complex, which were renowned as centres for the practice and/or study of a particular ritual or exegetical tradition. There is some evidence from Japanese pilgrims' accounts that Chinese Zhenyan (Jpn: Shingon) monasteries employed such sets. According to the *Goshōrai mokuroku* – a memorial by Kūkai presenting a list of newly imported scriptures and ritual objects – Kūkai returned from China with images of the following Buddhist masters: (1) Śubhākarasiṃha (Shanwuwei, 637–735); (2) Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi, 671–741); (3) Yixing (683–727), a student of both Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi; (4) Amoghavajra (Bukong, 705–774), a student of Vajrabodhi; and (5) Huiguo (746–805), a disciple of Amoghavajra famed in Japan as Kūkai's own master (*T.* 2161: 55.1064b17–21). These figures were all associated with the Zhenyan school that flourished under imperial patronage at the Daxingshan Monastery and Qinglong Monastery in Chang'an. While Kūkai claimed to have inherited a Shingon lineage of dharma transmission extending from the Buddha Mahāvairocana down through Vajrasattva, Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Huiguo, it is nevertheless clear that the patriarchs depicted in these portraits do not comprise a unilineal line of dharma succession. According to Kūkai's own account, Śubhākarasiṃha was not part of the Zhenyan initiatory lineage, and Yixing and Amoghavajra were related as 'dharma brothers' – both occupied the same generation of disciples of Vajrabodhi. Moreover, according to Chinese sources, Amoghavajra's chief heir was not Huiguo, but rather the monk Huilang. Thus, if there is any truth at all to Kūkai's claim that Huiguo was a recognized 'heir' to Amoghavajra, then at least two figures (Huiguo and Huilang) should have occupied the generation following Amoghavajra.

Kūkai's account of this lineage must be read with caution, designed as it was to elevate his own status as ninth patriarch of an esteemed Zhenyan lineage. Nonetheless, it is clear that the portraits of Tantric patriarchs brought back by Kūkai were not exceptional: Ennin also reports that portraits of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were enshrined at cloisters used for Tantric initiations. Moreover, Ennin encountered analogous portrait arrangements in cloisters devoted to the practice of Tiantai rituals, with the obvious difference that at Tiantai sites the portraits depicted Tiantai masters such as Huisi (515–577) and Zhiyi.⁴³

Guests at such a cloister, from monks on pilgrimage to casual lay visitors, would have paid their respects to the patriarchal lineage of the establishment by making offerings to their portraits. Such

worship not only lent legitimacy and sanctity to the exegetical or ritual traditions of the cloister, but also strengthened the ties between the enshrined lineage of distinguished patriarchs and the surrounding monastery. We do not want to suggest, however, that possession of a set of patriarchal portraits, whether enshrined in a portrait hall or some other appropriate sanctuary, would have rendered a cloister or monastery a formal 'affiliate' of a self-conscious Buddhist 'school' or 'sect'. Such establishments were, rather, places where Buddhist monks could specialize in a particular exegetical or ritual tradition, and it was this tradition that was symbolized by the enshrined portraits. In any case, with quasi-genealogical groupings such as these, sanctuaries containing the images of holy monks revered by a particular school would have begun to resemble Confucian family temples.

Although the Zhenyan and Tiantai schools posited lineages of patriarchs that extended back to India, the movements within Tang Buddhism that were most concerned with defining and legitimizing themselves on the basis of lineage were those that claimed spiritual descent from the Indian monk Bodhidharma (or, according to one variant, Bodhidharmatrāta; Yampolsky 1967: 8–9). One of the first such movements to flourish was the school of Shenxiu (606?–706), later known as the Northern lineage (*beizong*) of Chan. The oldest text delineating the genealogy of this lineage, the *Chuan fabao ji* (c. 713), is a collection of biographies of seven patriarchs: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin (580–651), Hongren (600–674), Faru (638–689), and Shenxiu.⁴⁴ Although the text does not use ordinal numbers to designate the patriarchs ('first', 'second', etc.), it clearly presents the first five as constituting an unbroken lineage of master-to-disciple transmission through five generations. Faru and Shenxiu, on the other hand, are 'dharma brothers', jointly occupying the sixth generation as heirs to Hongren. We further learn from another text discovered at Dunhuang that Shenxiu's leading disciple, Puji (651–739), set up memorial stelae and a 'hall of seven patriarchs' (*qizutang*) at the Shaolin Monastery on (Mt. Song), honouring the seven patriarchs eulogized in the *Chuan fabao ji*.⁴⁵ We may presume that the texts on these stelae were modelled upon the *Chuan fabao ji* hagiographies and that the hall contained spirit tablets and/or images for each of the figures enshrined.

By publicly displaying Shenxiu's lineage in a specially constructed patriarch hall at the Shaolin Monastery, Puji clearly sought to advance his own position, since his status as 'seventh patriarch' in Bodhidharma's line depended upon the public acceptance of

Shenxiu as a legitimate sixth-generation heir. While our historical reconstruction of this case is somewhat involved, it is worth relating in some detail, as it bears upon the earliest attested portrait hall associated with an early 'Chan' lineage.

The choice of the Shaolin Monastery, located near the eastern capital Luoyang, is itself significant, for we know from the *Chuan fabao ji* and other contemporary records that the Shaolin Monastery was not the centre of Shenxiu's movement at the end of the seventh century. Rather, this monastery was the home of Faru and his followers. According to legend, this was also the site to which Bodhidharma retired soon after his arrival in China and the place in which he transmitted the dharma to his successor Huike. However, the earliest extant text linking Bodhidharma with the Shaolin Monastery is none other than the *Chuan fabao ji*; no earlier biographies of the Indian monk, including the influential account appearing in the *Xu gaosong zhuan* (compiled in 644), make any mention of the place (Sekiguchi 1967: 133). It would seem that the link between Bodhidharma and the Shaolin Monastery was first made during the period in which Faru lived at the site, or, at the latest, shortly following Faru's death in 689. Also note that Faru's epitaph, written soon after his decease, contains the earliest formulation known to us of a lineage stemming from Bodhidharma:

It was the *Tripitaka* master of south India, Dharma Master Bodhidharma, who inherited the teaching (*zong*) and marched [with it to this] country in the East. The Biographies (*zhuan*) say: 'His inspired transformation [of sentient beings] (i.e., his ability as a teacher) being mysterious and profound, [Bodhidharma] entered the Wei [regime of north China] and transmitted [the teachings to Hui]ke, [Hui]ke transmitted them to [Seng]can, [Seng]can transmitted them to [Dao]xin, [Dao]xin transmitted them to [Hong]ren, and [Hong]ren transmitted them to [Fa]ru'.

(Yanagida 1967: 488; trans. McRae 1986: 85–86)

Taking all of these facts into account, we may infer that the idea of a lineage of dharma transmission extending from Hongren back to Bodhidharma originated with Faru and his followers at the Shaolin Monastery in the late seventh century.

It is curious that during this period Shenxiu, later extolled as the chief dharma heir of Hongren, was apparently residing at the

Yuquan Monastery and Dumen Monastery in Jingzhou. In fact, it was not until the year 700 that Shenxiu began teaching in the capitals Luoyang and Chang'an, where he remained until his death in 706. Shenxiu's mortal remains, moreover, were sent back to the Dumen Monastery, where a grand *stūpa* was supposedly built for him by the emperor Ruizong (r. 710–712; McRae 1986: 55, Faure 1997: 34). It would seem that Shenxiu's elevation to the status of 'sixth patriarch' was engineered by his disciples, Puji chief among them. This was no easy feat, as Faru was apparently known to have been the chief heir of the fifth patriarch. Puji's strategy involved (1) the compilation of the *Chuan fabao ji*, in which earlier materials were reworked to incorporate Shenxiu's biography and *stūpa* inscription, and (2) setting up the aforementioned 'hall of seven patriarchs' at the Shaolin Monastery in which *two* patriarchs – Shenxiu and Faru – occupied the sixth generation.

It would take us too far afield to detail our analysis of the manner in which the *Chuan fabao ji* came into being.⁴⁶ For our immediate purposes it is sufficient to note that Du Fei, the compiler of the surviving recension of the *Chuan fabao ji*, was apparently enjoined by Puji to alter the text in such a way as to elevate Shenxiu to the status of dharma heir in the Bodhidharma lineage.⁴⁷ This was accomplished by making Shenxiu an heir to Hongren's dharma. But Du Fei could not afford to ignore an already established tradition that considered Faru the legitimate successor to Hongren. The result was a genealogy with two 'sixth patriarchs', a 'compromise' that was given graphic form in the patriarch hall at the Shaolin Monastery. It seems that Puji turned to the medium of memorial ritual and to the contrivance of a 'hall of seven patriarchs' to appropriate Faru's lineage myth, just as he enjoined his surrogate Du Fei to do the same through the medium of biography.

The polemical use of portrait halls to lay claim to Bodhidharma's lineage continued with Heze Shenhui and his followers. Shenhui is well known to modern Chan scholars for his role in promoting his own teacher Huineng as the legitimate successor to the fifth patriarch Hongren. This entailed a sustained attack on Puji and other followers of the 'Northern lineage', who were accused of falsely proffering Shenxiu as Hongren's principal heir. Shenhui criticized Puji for editing the *Chuan fabao ji* such that two patriarchs emerged in the sixth generation and for establishing a 'hall of seven patriarchs' at Shaolin Monastery (Hu Shi 1968: 284, 289). Shenhui clearly understood that Puji's intention was to wrest the prestige of Bodhidharma's lineage from Faru, but it did not

serve Shenhui's interests to refute the claims of Shenxiu's followers by reestablishing Faru as Hongren's true heir. Instead, Shenhui drew attention to the contradictory nature of the lineage claims made in the *Chuan fabao ji* and insisted that Huineng was the sole legitimate successor to the fifth patriarch.⁴⁸

Around the year 752, Shenhui, much as Puji before him, substantiated his claim to Bodhidharma's lineage by constructing a portrait hall (*zhentang*) memorializing the successive generations of Indian and Chinese patriarchs. According to the biography of Huineng found in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Shenhui, unlike Puji, built the hall at his own monastery in Luoyang (the Heze si) and allowed only a single patriarch per generation (T. 2061: 50.755b10 ff.). Song Ding, a high official in the Bureau of Military Appointments, is said to have written the text for the stele marking the site, and Shenhui himself added a preface detailing the uninterrupted 'bloodline' of the lineage (*zongmo*). Images (*ying*) were painted for each of the patriarchs and placed in the hall, and the Defender-in-Chief Fang Guan (697–763) produced a 'preface to the portraits of the six generations' (*Liuye tu xu*; T. 2061: 50.755b13). While we may question the accuracy of some of the historical details in this account, it does suggest that Buddhist portrait halls in the Tang were developing into substantial structures housing multiple portraits and commemorative stelae. Such buildings served to establish the credentials of the monastery and the resident abbot, in part by attracting recognition and support from high-ranking government officials.

According to the Chan historian Zongmi (780–841), a self-proclaimed heir to Heze Shenhui's lineage, five years following Shenhui's death in 758 the emperor built the Baoying Monastery at the site of the master's *stūpa* in Longmen (near Luoyang).⁴⁹ In 770, the emperor Daizong (r. 763–780) presented the monastery with an entrance plaque for the patriarch hall (*zutang*) which read: 'Hall of the Transmission of the Dharma of the Wisdom of the True Lineage' (*Zhenzong banruo chuanfa zhi tang*).⁵⁰ We find mention of another hall containing portraits of the seven patriarchs in a memorial stele erected by Xu Dai in 806 for Huijian (719–792), a disciple of Shenhui. The stele refers to Shenhui as the 'seventh patriarch' and says that money donated from the imperial treasury was used to build a Guanyin hall that featured portraits of all seven patriarchs (Jorgensen 1987: 119–120).

Jorgensen points out the degree to which these early Buddhist portrait halls, each of which enshrined seven generations of

patriarchs, reiterated the physical arrangement of imperial ancestral shrines (Jorgensen 1987: 110). The imperial shrines were arranged according to the 'Regulations of the King' (*Wangzhi*) chapter of the *Li ji*: 'The Son of Heaven [has] seven *miao*: three *zhao*, and three *mu*, which, together with the *miao* of the primal ancestor, make seven. The dukes have five *miao*: two *chao* and two *mu*, which, together with the *miao* of the primal ancestor, make five...' The seven *miao* were separate shrines, each housing the spirit of a single lineal ancestor. The shrine of the primal ancestor was situated in the centre, while those of the second, fourth, and sixth generations were arrayed sequentially to the left, and those of the third, fifth, and seventh generations were arrayed to the right. The shrines on the left (even numbers) were called *zhao*, while those on the right (odd numbers) were called *mu*.

It is clear from the language used by Zongmi and other proponents of Chan genealogies that by the early ninth century it was not uncommon to speak of Chan ancestral lines in terms borrowed from Confucian memorial ritual. Zongmi, for example, justified the notion of a lineage of seven patriarchs ending with Shenhui by explicitly equating it with the arrangement of seven *miao* in imperial ancestral temples.⁵¹ Furthermore, in his critique of the 'Nanshan Chan lineage' (*Nanshan chanzong*) situated in Szechuan, Zongmi says that, beyond the name of the founder of this lineage and the identities of a few of his disciples, its patriarchal succession and *zhaomu* were unknown to him (ZZ.14.279c10–12; Jorgensen 1987: 110).

Shenhui himself, as we have seen, was content to establish the principle of one patriarch per generation, and to identify Huineng as the sole legitimate heir of the fifth patriarch. Shenhui's followers went further, developing the analogy between the lineage of Bodhidharma and that of the imperial clan by reproducing the arrangement of the imperial ancestral temples in their patriarch halls. By the late eighth and early ninth centuries they found themselves successful in their bid for official sanction and patronage. But as the notion of a spiritual genealogy tracing itself back to Bodhidharma took hold, rival branches, all claiming descent from Huineng, continued to appear and to compete among themselves. Followers of the so-called Hongzhou lineage, for example, promulgated a genealogy extending from Huineng through an obscure monk named Nanyue Huairang (677–744) to their own teacher Mazu Daoyi (709–788). At the same time, the followers of Shitou Xiqian (700–790) traced their genealogy back to Huineng

through Shitou's teacher Qingyuan Xingsi (d. 740). Historical sources bearing upon these movements are scarce, however, and we are unable to determine the extent to which they used portrait halls to bolster their genealogical claims. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that some if not all of them may have utilized such facilities in their attempt to secure spiritual legitimacy and lay patronage.

The Chan emphasis on spiritual genealogy would seem to be one of the primary forces behind the fully developed patriarch halls or portrait halls that become a ubiquitous feature of Chinese Buddhist monasteries in the Song. While other Tang Buddhist traditions, such as Zhenyan and Tiantai, did enshrine the portraits of eminent masters together in specialized sanctuaries, these masters were not necessarily thought to constitute a lineal genealogy of master-disciple relationships in the strict sense. But with the rise in competition among Buddhist lineages tracing their ancestry back to Bodhidharma, we see a new emphasis on spiritual 'bloodlines'. These lines were conceived as analogues to secular, and especially imperial, genealogies. Accordingly, the patriarch halls to which they gave rise resembled, in both physical arrangement and ritual function, traditional Chinese ancestral shrines (*miao*). Such halls also attest to the close relationship between portraiture and biography in the Chan tradition: there was often a one-to-one correspondence between the arrangement of patriarchs in a particular Chan portrait hall and the arrangement of patriarchs in a biographical collection such as the *Chuan fabao ji*. As such, Chan portrait halls were not only emblematic of the denominational affiliations of a particular monastery but also functioned to affirm religious orthodoxy on historical (i.e. genealogical) grounds and to provide a stage for the public ritual sanctification of such claims.

The evolution of Chan portrait halls in the Song and Yuan

The severe suppression of Buddhism carried out by imperial edict during the Huichang era (841–846) resulted in the damage or destruction of numerous monastic facilities, including *stūpas* and patriarch halls. Accordingly, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 847–860), in the aftermath of the suppression, ordered that 'all the monasteries in the empire repair and put in order the *stūpas* of the patriarchal teachers' (*zushi ta*).⁵² Whatever the nature and extent of those repairs, the dissolution of Tang power and the ensuing half-century of political fragmentation commonly referred to as the Five

Dynasties period (906–960) marks a watershed in the evolution of Buddhist monastic institutions in general, and the organization of patriarch halls in particular. The changes in the conception and arrangement of patriarch halls, in turn, had a major impact on the production and distribution of Buddhist portraiture.

We have seen that during the Tang the so-called Chan school actually consisted of numerous competing movements, many of which were related by little more than their recourse to a common genealogical myth used to legitimize their spiritual authority: all claimed direct descent from Śākyamuni Buddha through the Indian *dhyāna* master Bodhidharma. During the first half of the tenth century, however, while much of northern China was torn by strife, a new and more ecumenical understanding of Bodhidharma's lineage emerged in the kingdoms of the southeast.⁵³ As Yanagida Seizan has pointed out, these kingdoms were havens of relative peace and prosperity in a troubled age and were often governed by rulers sympathetic to Buddhism (Yanagida 1984b: 1–5). It is, then, not surprising that Buddhist monks from all over China took refuge there, bringing with them the lineage claims and hagiographical lore of numerous regional schools. This situation gave rise to a more catholic conception of the Chan family tree that was willing to embrace anyone and everyone who traced their spiritual heritage back to Bodhidharma.

The 'one-patriarch-per-generation' principle of dharma succession previously emphasized by Shenhui was still visible in the trunk of the family tree, which comprised a lineal succession of thirty-three Indian and Chinese patriarchs culminating in Huineng. But according to the new consensus, the genealogy divided into two main branches (the lineages of Qingyuan and Nanyue) and multiple sub-branches in the generations following Huineng. All such branches came to be accepted within the Chan fold, as were earlier collateral branches such as those of Niutou (594–657) and Shenxiu, stemming from the fourth and fifth patriarchs respectively.

The oldest extant text to embody such a multi-branched Chan genealogy is the *Zutang ji* or 'Patriarch Hall Collection', compiled in 952 during the Southern Tang in the port city of Quanzhou (present-day Fukien province).⁵⁴ The kings of the Southern Tang, like those of rival Chinese kingdoms during this period, fancied themselves the rulers of a magnificent empire in the image of the great Tang. In their lavish patronage of Buddhism, these rulers sought to emulate and appropriate the prestige of their illustrious Tang predecessors. The *Zutang ji* obliged their grandiose pretensions

by incorporating Chan lines from all over China and by depicting the Chan masters of the Fukien region (i.e., the Southern Tang) as the guardians of the flame of Tang Buddhism.

The Southern Tang fell some twenty-three years after the compilation of the *Zutang ji*, which itself disappeared from China within 150 years or so of its publication (to be preserved only in Korea). Nevertheless, the catholic conception of Bodhidharma's lineage reflected in the *Zutang ji* found expression in other biographical compilations known generically as the 'records of the transmission of the flame', the oldest and most influential of which was the *Jingde chuandeng lu* of 1004. The 'transmission of the flame' collections allowed Chan ideologues to bring together a host of regional movements, giving each a place within the extended Chan 'family', and to present this family to the court as the standard bearer of Chinese Buddhism. Their success is seen in the fact that such collections were sanctioned by the Song court and incorporated into imperial collections of the Buddhist canon. As such, the Chan version of Buddhist history, centred as it was upon the myth of an unbroken mind-to-mind transmission originating with Śākyamuni Buddha, was granted official court authorization.

The Song court did more than sanction Chan lineage claims as embodied in Chan biographical compilations: it reserved the abbacies of many of the large state-supported monasteries or 'monasteries of the ten directions' (*shifangcha*) for dharma heirs in the Chan lineage. Many of the monasteries in question had had long and distinguished histories and enjoyed imperial recognition and patronage under previous dynasties. But prior to the Song there had been no officially designated 'Chan' monasteries. The fact that the court transformed many of the great state monasteries into 'Chan monasteries' (*chansi*, or *chanyuan*) by imperial proclamation attests to the prominence of Chan under the Song. The transformation typically involved renaming the institution, issuing an imperial plaque bearing the new name for display above the main gate, appointing a new abbot (regarded as the *kaishan* or 'founding abbot') from among those monks who had received dharma transmission in the Chan line, and refurbishing the portrait hall.⁵⁵

In comparison with earlier periods, we possess a relative wealth of historical documentation bearing upon the organization and function of portrait halls in the Song.⁵⁶ Each major Song Buddhist monastery had such a hall, variously known as a 'portrait hall' (*zhentang*), a 'patriarch hall' (*zutang*), or a 'patriarchal teacher

hall' (*zushitang*), located to the west of the Buddha hall or dharma hall. The Buddha and dharma halls were aligned (together with the abbot's quarters and main gate) along a central north-south axis. The earth spirit hall (*tuditang*) was positioned on the east side of this axis, directly opposite the portrait hall on the west, resulting in a highly symmetrical arrangement.

The earth spirit hall housed images or tablets for two classes of deities, both of non-Buddhist origin: (1) the earth spirit (*tudi shen*), being the local deity for the area in which the monastery was built, and (2) the various protector deities of the monastery (*qielan shen*). The symmetrical placement of the portrait hall across from the earth spirit hall is significant, for it suggests that the various ancestral and autochthonous spirits enshrined in these sanctuaries were regarded as roughly equivalent in spiritual rank and function. These spirits were clearly lower in status than the central figure(s) enshrined in the Buddha hall (typically Śākyamuni, Vairocana, or a triad featuring Amitābha, Śākyamuni, and/or Maitreya). Moreover, the enshrined patriarchs, the earth spirit, and the protector deities all served as symbols of the founding and filiation of the monastery in which they dwelled, and all of them were worshipped on a regular basis in order to ensure the safety and prosperity of the monastic establishment. We will return to this point below.

The most striking difference between Song Chan portrait halls and their precursors of earlier times is the fact that, in addition to the images of the traditional patriarchs, the Song facilities enshrined images of the 'founding abbot' and his successors (called 'the successive generations of patriarchs', *lidai zu*). Indeed, we have seen that this was one of the means by which a public monastery with no previous sectarian affiliation could be transformed into a Chan institution. Moreover, it became common practice in many monasteries to abbreviate the ancestral lineage (eliminating figures in intervening generations of the early Chan patriarchs), while maintaining in proper sequence the portraits of former abbots. Some monasteries seem to have done away with images of the early patriarchs altogether (see below).

It is not difficult to imagine the process by which the portraits of abbots began to encroach upon, and eventually supplant, the portraits of the early Chan patriarchs. The images in earlier Chan patriarch halls graphically displayed the unbroken Chan lineage, attesting to the cloister's illustrious spiritual endowment. With the emergence of a more inclusive understanding of the Chan lineage in the interregnum between Tang and Song, however, it would have

been increasingly difficult to represent the entire extended Chan family tree in a single portrait hall. The *Zutang ji* already contained more than 200 biographies, and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* boasted some 1,700 major and minor entries. The challenge was to limit the number of patriarchs portrayed in the hall and yet still effectively represent the spiritual patrimony of the monastery.

One solution to this problem lay in restricting the group of patriarchs enshrined in the hall to the abbot's own spiritual ancestors, disregarding all collateral lines. While our reconstruction must remain tentative owing to the fragmentary nature of our sources, there is some evidence that this organizational principle was used in the early Song. Thus, when a public monastery was first declared a 'Chan monastery' and a new founding abbot was enshrined in the patriarch hall, he was enshrined along with portraits of the past masters in the abbot's own line, i.e. the line connecting him to Huineng and Bodhidharma. The portraits, one per generation, would have been arrayed according to the ancient organizational principles of *chao* and *mu* seen in the Tang halls discussed above.⁵⁷

Patriarch halls organized around the lineal genealogy of the abbot could not have lasted long, however. The Song rules for public Chan monasteries stipulated that abbots be selected from among those who had received dharma transmission in an authorized Chan lineage. The rules did not, however, specify that the new abbot must be chosen from among the dharma heirs of the previous abbot; the new abbot could be a lineage holder in any number of collateral branches comprising the extended Chan family tree. Indeed, this was a matter of principle, as abbots of public monasteries in the Song were supposed to be selected on the basis of merit alone.⁵⁸ As a result, it was the exception, rather than the rule, for the abbot of a public monastery to be a lineal descendent of the previous occupants of his office. Moreover, owing to the high turnover of abbots (most monks served only a few years before they retired or were promoted to a more prestigious abbacy), the number of images of former abbots would have multiplied rapidly. Needless to say, it was virtually impossible to enshrine all of the spiritual ancestors of each successive abbot, and even if such a practice were practically feasible, it would have resulted in considerable confusion in the portrait hall. The solution was to enshrine only the abbots themselves, omitting their individual descent lines.

As a result, the patriarch hall came to represent not the genealogy of a particular individual, but the genealogy of the monastery itself.

While the images of the first six Chinese patriarchs may have occasionally been housed in the patriarch hall along with the enshrined abbots, this was by no means the norm. It was taken for granted, of course, that the lineage of each abbot could individually be traced back to Bodhidharma through Huineng. Beyond this, however, there was no necessary master–disciple relationship among the abbots of a single monastery. Another consequence wrought by these changes was that the portraits of any single abbot might be enshrined in any number of portrait halls, depending upon the number of abbacies he occupied during his career. The obvious advantage of this new arrangement was that it allowed the patriarch hall to continue to be organized according to the principles of *zhao* and *mu*, since it resulted in a unilineal succession of patriarchs (one patriarch per generation).

Our understanding of this transformation is based on limited but nonetheless compelling evidence. One critical source is the ‘Preface to the Rules for the Patriarch Hall’ (*Zutang gangji xu*) composed by Baiyun Shouduan (1025–1072) and dated 1070.⁵⁹ The text begins as follows:

It is thanks to the principles established by the first patriarch Bodhidharma that the way [of the Chan school] flourishes in this land. It is thanks to Baizhang Dazhi that the regulations for Chan monasteries have been established here. These facts are common knowledge throughout the empire, but, alas, in patriarch halls throughout the empire the founding abbots and their successors are regarded as the [principal] patriarchs.
(ZZ.120.209b2–4)

After lamenting the general neglect of the teachings of the early patriarchs, Shouduan goes on to say: ‘It is my desire that in patriarch halls throughout the empire Bodhidharma and [Baizhang] Dazhi be treated as primary and the founding abbots and their successors be treated as secondary’ (ZZ.120.209b11–12). It appears that by the mid-eleventh century the portrait halls in many Chan monasteries had ceased to enshrine images of the early patriarchs in favour of former abbots. Shouduan believes that in failing to venerate the founders of Chan, there was a danger that fundamental Chan principles would be forgotten. Thus, while he does not object to enshrining the founding abbot and his successors, he insists that they be ritually subordinated to Bodhidharma and Baizhang.

Shouduan's selection of Bodhidharma and Baizhang for special attention is most significant. The choice of Bodhidharma requires little comment: he was the 'primal ancestor' of Chinese Chan, and membership in his lineage was required of all who aspired to become abbots of Chan monasteries. The second patriarch mentioned by Shouduan, Baizhang Huaihai (749–814, also known by his posthumous title Dazhi Chanshi), was venerated in the Song as the founder of the first independent Chan monastery and the author of the first Chan monastic code. T. Griffith Foulk has shown elsewhere that the legends depicting Baizhang as the founder of Chan monasticism are apocryphal. Nonetheless, the legend was widely promulgated in the Song and served both to explain and to legitimize Chan's domination of Chinese Buddhist monasticism (Foulk 1987: 328–383; Foulk 1993).

Baizhang was an ideal figure to mediate between two competing notions of lineage: the master–disciple lineage exemplified by the first six patriarchs, and the lineage of abbots related by virtue of the office they held. Both conceptions of patriarchal lineage made compelling demands for representation in Chan portrait halls, and the figure of Baizhang served in part to bring the two together. As the founder of the first Chan monastery, Baizhang served as the 'primal ancestor' (*taizu*, or *dazu*) of Chan monasticism, a role analogous to that of Bodhidharma. At the same time, Baizhang was the archtypical 'founding abbot'.

The inclusion of Baizhang in the patriarch hall also conveniently obscured the identities of the true founders of the many monasteries that only became 'Chan' institutions by imperial proclamation in the Song. The Lingyin Monastery on Mt. Bei, for example, had been an important monastic centre since the Tang. But it was not until 1007, when it was given the rank of a 'monastery of the ten directions', that the Lingyin Monastery was officially designated a 'Chan' institution (Mochizuki 1933–36: 5.5025b–5026a). Numerous distinguished monks served as abbots of the Lingyin Monastery in its long history, but those who served prior to its designation as a Chan institution had no necessary connection with the line of Bodhidharma. They were thus omitted from the genealogical record represented in the patriarch hall, and Baizhang was used to link the current line of Chan abbots to the Chan patriarchal transmission of the Tang. The array of portraits in the patriarch halls thus served to veil the process by which many Chan monasteries had come into existence.

Presumably, the 'rules for the patriarch hall' for which Shouduan wrote his preface were the ones used at the Ganming

Chan Cloister on Mt. Longmen during his abbacy. While the rules themselves no longer survive, we can learn something about them from later Chan historians who treat Shouduan's rules as authoritative. In fact, there is evidence that the arrangement used in Shouduan's patriarch hall became the model for Chan monasteries throughout the Song and Yuan. The Chan monk historian Juefan Huihong (1071–1128), for example, cites Shouduan in his *Linjian lu* (published 1107) to the effect that:

It is due to the power of Chan Master [Baizhang] Dazhi that monasteries flourish in the land. In the patriarch hall, an image (*xiang*) of the first patriarch Bodhidharma should be set up in the center, an image of Chan Master Dazhi should face west, and images of the founding abbot and other venerables [i.e., former abbots] should face east. Do not set up the images of the founding abbot and venerables alone, leaving out the patriarchal line.

(ZZ.148.299a)

We cannot tell if Huihong is quoting directly from Shouduan's lost rules or if he was simply extrapolating from the preface that survives today. He may well have been quoting, however, as a nearly identical passage in the *Fozu tongji* is also attributed to Shouduan, along with Huihong's judgement that this arrangement should be the norm throughout the empire (T. 2035: 49.422a9–12; cf. T. 2035: 49.464b19–21).

We know from a Yuan-dynasty Chan monastic code, the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (compiled in 1311), that Shouduan's model did in fact become the standard one. The text includes detailed ritual procedures and verses for the dedication of merit for the following annual observances: the memorial service for the patriarch Bodhidharma (*Damo zushi ji*), the memorial service for the patriarch Baizhang (*Baizhang zushi ji*), the memorial service for the founding abbot (*kaishanzu ji*), and memorial services for the various patriarchs (i.e., the former abbots, *zhuzu ji*, ZZ.112.312d–313d). In each of these services a portrait (*zhen*) was brought out of the patriarch hall and set up in the dharma hall where it served as the focal point for offerings and prayers. Note that the list of patriarchs honoured in this manner is the same as that recommended by Shouduan for enshrinement in a patriarch hall. This is not mere coincidence: when we come to the instructions for Baizhang's annual memorial service in the same code, we find

Shouduan's 'Preface to the Rules for the Patriarch Hall' reproduced in full.

Another influential Chan monastic code of the Yuan, the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*, similarly cites Shouduan's 'Preface' as authoritative, and endorses his arrangement of images (T. 2025: 48.1117c16–18). This code, which had a great impact on the organization and operation of Zen monasteries in medieval Japan, contains similar procedural guidelines and liturgical texts for the annual Bodhidharma memorial service (*Damo ji*), the memorial service for Baizhang (*Baizhang ji*), and the memorial services for the founding abbot and his successors (*kaishan lidaizu ji*; T. 2025: 48.1117c19–1119a21).

With a single exception, all of the memorial services outlined in the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* and the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* are for persons or classes of persons mentioned in Shouduan's preface. The single exception is the memorial service for the teacher from whom the current abbot inherited the dharma (*sifashi*). As we have seen, it was rare for the abbot of a public monastery to have received dharma transmission from the previous abbot; a new abbot was generally selected from 'outside'. Nonetheless, as head of the monastery the abbot was responsible for conducting memorial services for all former abbots – persons with whom he may have had no personal relationship. Given Chinese conceptions of filial duty, it would have been inconceivable for the abbot to venerate the teachers of others while neglecting his own. Thus, in addition to memorial services for the figures in Shouduan's list, the abbot was responsible for holding services for his own spiritual father. The abbot would have kept a portrait of his teacher among his personal possessions to be used for this rite.

Another important piece of evidence concerning the arrangement of portraits in Chan patriarch halls may be found in the *Gozan jissatsu zu*, a text containing detailed ground plans and architectural drawings for several large public monasteries in the vicinity of Hangzhou in the Southern Song.⁶⁰ The text includes complete plans for three monasteries: the aforementioned Lingyin Monastery on Mt. Bei, the Jingde Monastery on Mt. Tiantong, and the Wannian Monastery on Mt. Tiantai. The first two were affiliated with the Chan school, while the third was not, but, as mentioned above, all three appear essentially the same. We are fortunate in that the schematic diagram of the Lingyin monastic complex shows the interior arrangement of the patriarch hall, which was located just to the west of the dharma hall and across from the donors hall (*tanna tang*).

The plan of the Lingyin patriarch hall indicates a large structure containing portraits arrayed along the north wall in the following order (moving west to east): (1) the first generation abbot (*diyidai*), (2) Baizhang, (3) the founding patriarch Bodhidharma, (4) the second patriarch Huike, (5) the founding abbot, and (6) the second generation abbot.⁶¹ In this particular case, it appears that the images were arranged in such a way that the former abbots in even-numbered generations were lined up to the right of Bodhidharma, and the abbots in odd-numbered generations were lined up to the left – an apparent reversal of established norms.⁶² While the plan specifies only the placement of the portraits of the first three generations of abbots, it is clear that this represents an abbreviation necessitated by lack of space on the plan. In fact, the hall enshrined all subsequent generations of former abbots as well. And although there are some details not found in Shouduan's or Huihong's injunctions, such as the presence of Huike, the principles underlying the arrangement of portraits in this hall are in full conformity with Shouduan's paradigm.

We suggested above that the ancestral spirits enshrined in the patriarch hall and the autochthonous spirits enshrined in the earth spirit hall were associated with each other not only by virtue of their symmetrical placement within the monastic compound, but also by their religious function. We find evidence in support of this hypothesis in the writings of Shouduan and Huihong, who insist that Baizhang is to be worshipped because it is his 'power' (*li*) that enables a monastery to flourish. This is not mere metaphor: we will see below that the spirits of the patriarchs were treated as if they were present long after their physical death. The spirits of Baizhang and other ancestors enshrined in the patriarch hall required daily care – typically offerings of *sūtras*, food, and incense – in order to ensure the continued prosperity of the institution, just as did the earth spirits and protector deities.

While our concerns in this section lay with portrait halls associated with Chan, we must note that the organization of Song portrait halls, and the rituals performed therein, were essentially identical regardless of the school of Buddhism to which a monastery belonged. In fact, the same is true for almost all of the buildings comprising a major Song monastery. The physical structure and function of the *samgha* hall, the dharma hall, the Buddha hall, the main gate, the abbot's quarters, and so on, were largely the same from one institution to the next, regardless of whether the abbacy was reserved for monks in the Chan, Tiantai, or Vinaya lineages. The only significant difference between the portrait halls of these

various schools lay in the identity of the enshrined patriarchs: Chan portrait halls housed the spirits of Chan patriarchs, Tiantai portrait halls housed Tiantai patriarchs, and Vinaya portrait halls housed Vinaya patriarchs.⁶³

Thus when we turn to descriptions of the patriarch halls of public Tiantai monasteries (commonly called ‘Teaching monasteries’, *jiaoyuan*), for example, we find the same emphasis placed on the position of the founding abbot and his successors.⁶⁴ Indeed, even the same nomenclature is used (*kaishan lidaizu*). It was also common for images of Zhiyi and Zhanran (711–782), the fourth and ninth patriarchs in the ‘orthodox line’ (*zhengtong*) of the Tiantai ‘Mountain school’ (*shanjia*), to be enshrined along with the line of abbots.⁶⁵ These two patriarchs were considered responsible for formulating and systematizing Tiantai doctrine and practice, and their stature in Tiantai was roughly analogous to that of Bodhidharma and Baizhang in Chan. There is also some indication that all nine patriarchs may have been included in the patriarch halls of some monasteries.⁶⁶ In any case, the procedures for the annual memorial services for Zhiyi, Zhanran, and the former abbots as detailed in Tiantai monastic codes are largely identical to those used at Chan establishments. And the same situation holds for Vinaya monasteries (*lüyuan*), where the line of abbots shared the portrait halls with the nine patriarchs in the Vinaya lineage of Daoxuan (d. 667).⁶⁷ We believe that the organizational principles manifest in these halls, which allowed the line of abbots to be spliced onto the early patriarchal line, can be traced to the dominance and pervasive influence of Chan in the Song period.

The development described above, in which the patriarch hall came to represent the lineage of abbots rather than the lineage of any particular individual, had a tremendous impact on the production and use of Buddhist portraiture in China. Most importantly, it necessitated the production of memorial portraits of abbots while they were still alive – a practice scarcely known in the Tang period. Song monastic rules stipulated that as an abbot approached death, his portrait was to be painted, since a portrait of the deceased was necessary for the upcoming funeral rites (see below). Moreover, once the rites were over, the portrait was needed for the patriarch hall and for annual memorial services. Song biographical chronicles confirm that portraits were indeed produced just prior to or, if need be, soon after an abbot’s death. But as particularly prominent monks became increasingly mobile, moving from one abbacy to another, it was no longer practical to wait until

death approached to have such a portrait drawn; each monastery at which an abbot served required his portrait for its portrait hall, whether he was still resident at the time of his death or not. Accordingly, it became imperative to have the portrait produced while the abbot was available, often many years in advance of his death. This portrait remained behind after the abbot moved on, for eventual enshrinement in the patriarch hall. Such portraits came to be known as ‘longevity images’ (*shouxiang*), to distinguish them from portraits produced at the time of death, just as the term ‘longevity *stūpa*’ (*shouta*) was used to designate a *stūpa* built for an eminent monk who was still alive.

The historical record is far from clear as to when the ‘longevity image’ of a former abbot – an abbot who had taken up a position elsewhere – was to be formally installed in the patriarch hall. There is evidence, however, that the installation did not have to wait until the abbot’s death. Since the portraits were arrayed in the order in which abbots held office, and since there was no guarantee that former abbots would die in the same order in which they served, in many cases the ranks of the more recent former abbots arrayed in a patriarch hall would have included portraits of patriarchs (literally: ‘ancestors’, *zu*) who were still alive and well, interspersed among the portraits of the dead.

Such ‘longevity images’ were clearly a sign of considerable status: presumably only members of the elite abbot class would have had such ‘memorial’ portraits painted while still alive. Such a portrait indicated that the depicted abbot belonged to an exalted and officially sanctioned line of enlightened patriarchs. In time, the memorial portraits of prominent living abbots came to be treated as holy icons, produced in large numbers for purposes other than enshrinement in a patriarch hall. As we shall see below, by the Southern Song such portraits were widely available to disciples and lay patrons alike, to be used as veritable talismans and tokens of a connection, however tenuous, with a living patriarch. Before we turn to the ritual use and distribution of such portraits, let us look briefly at the evidence that survives in Japan bearing on the ritual arrangement of patriarchal portrait sets in China.

Japanese evidence for Song and Yuan Chan portrait hall arrangements

The portrait hall arrangement advocated by Shouduan, as we have seen, consisted of Bodhidharma, Baizhang, the founding abbot of

the monastery, and the succeeding former abbots. While this was clearly a common layout in Chan public monasteries, there is also evidence attesting to the use of alternative groupings, particularly within private ‘disciple-lineage’ cloisters (*jiayi tudiyuan*), the abbacies of which were passed down from master to disciple. We know, for example, that numerous portrait sets of the first six patriarchs (Bodhidharma through Huineng) were produced during the Song and Yuan periods. Some sets of portraits were engraved on stone, while others were executed on paper or silk, or reproduced by woodblock printing. It is possible that such portrait sets were occasionally enshrined in Song and Yuan patriarch halls along with the portraits of former abbots. However, Chinese literary sources provide little evidence one way or the other, and the art-historical evidence available to us is indirect, coming as it does from Japan.

The evidence we do possess is nonetheless suggestive. Chinese catalogues of stele inscriptions and ink rubbings preserved in Japan show that some Song and Yuan monasteries possessed stelae engraved with images of the six patriarchs. A Japanese monk by the name of Hakuun Egyō (1223–1297) travelled to Song China in 1266 and returned in 1279 with such a set taken from the Yanqing Monastery in Chekiang.⁶⁸ The six stelae from which the rubbings were made evidently stood in close proximity to each other, for the portraits adhere to the orthodox conventions of *zhao* and *mu*. Thus, the first patriarch Bodhidharma, the third patriarch Sengcan, and the fifth patriarch Hongren are all depicted facing proper right (only the subject’s left ear is visible), while the second patriarch Huike, the fourth patriarch Daoxin, and the sixth patriarch Huineng are all depicted facing proper left. From the standpoint of someone viewing the set, the portraits would have been arrayed in the following sequence (arrows indicate direction in which subject’s head is turned):

6 → 4 → 2 → ← 1 ← 3 ← -5

For each patriarch, the half-figure composition is used, with the hands clasped together in front of the chest, partially or entirely covered by the sleeves of the robe. Inscribed above each portrait is a title identifying the figure and his place in the patriarchal succession (e.g. ‘Fourth Patriarch Xin Dashi’ (*Sizu Xin dashi*), followed by a eulogy consisting of a brief biography taken almost verbatim from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Chinese script is ordinarily

written in vertical columns aligned in sequence from right to left, and such is the case with the inscriptions on the portraits of the second, fourth, and sixth patriarchs. However, the arrangement of columns is reversed on the portraits of the first, third, and fifth patriarchs, and must be read from left to right. This reversal was evidently intended to enhance the mirror-like symmetry of the arrangement and leaves no doubt as to the order in which the stelae were erected and the rubbings were to be hung.

In all likelihood, the set of six stelae from which the rubbings were taken stood outdoors on the grounds of the Yanqing Monastery. These were not the kind of images used in annual memorial services – such services were centred on painted portraits that were temporarily transferred from the patriarch hall to the dharma hall. Rather, the set of engraved patriarchal images at Yanqing monastery likely functioned as a permanent display of the illustrious paternity of the monastery, and provided an inexpensive means of reproducing sets of patriarchal portraits for pilgrims and guests. It is possible that rubbings from the set were occasionally enshrined in patriarch halls, but we have no positive evidence that this was ever the case.

A nearly identical set of six rubbings, produced in the early fourteenth century from a set of stelae at the Jingde Chan Monastery in Hupeh, is preserved in Japan at Enpukuji in Takada (Ōita Prefecture). We do not know whether the similarities between the two sets are due to the fact that one of them was copied from the other or to the fact that both were derived from a common source. In any event, once such patriarchal sets were engraved in stone, the images could be widely circulated through the medium of ink rubbings, and the rubbings, in turn, would have provided models for new engravings, as well as for paintings.⁶⁹

We know from Chan discourse records that painted and inscribed portrait sets of the six patriarchs were produced throughout Song and Yuan China. The records give no indication, however, as to where the sets were hung or how they were used. In fact, were it not for medieval examples of sets executed in Japan based on Chinese models we would have little idea as to how the sets actually appeared. Of particular value in this regard are two sets inscribed in Japan in the early fourteenth century by the Chinese Chan monk Xijian Zutan (1249–1306). One is the so-called *rokudai soshizu* preserved at Myōshinji in Kyōto, and the other is a similar set that survives at Shōfukuji in Fukuoka (see Shimada and Iriya, eds. 1987: 93–98). Both sets are noteworthy for their

depiction of the six patriarchs seated on curvilinear chairs, in much the same manner as the portraits of Song abbots that art historians designate *chinzō*. The six eulogies brushed by Xijian, like those found on the aforementioned ink rubbings, all consist of short biographies derived largely from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. These portraits adhere to the same conventions of *zhao* and *mu* as do the set of ink rubbings diagrammed above, which is significant, as it indicates that they were almost certainly designed to be installed together. But again, we have no positive evidence that such sets were ever enshrined in Chinese patriarch halls.

In addition to the sets of the six patriarchs discussed above, we find medieval Japanese portrait sets, also presumably based on Chinese models, which depict each successive patriarch in the dharma lineage of a founding abbot beginning with Bodhidharma. The two oldest surviving sets of this type were produced by the painter Minchō (1352–1431; see Sakakibara 1985). The earliest of the two is known as the ‘Shaka Triad with Portraits of Thirty Patriarchs’ (*Shaka sanzō oyobi sanjūso zō*) preserved at the Rokuō-in in Kyōto. Painted by Minchō in 1425, the set consists of seven scrolls: a central scroll depicting the Buddha Śākyamuni and two attendant figures, and six flanking scrolls (three on each side) each depicting five patriarchs. The entire set portrays, in addition to the central triad, a total of thirty patriarchs representing a single line of dharma transmission extending from Bodhidharma in the first generation to the Song Chan master Wuzhun Shifan in the twenty-sixth generation, Wuxue Zuyuan (1226–1286) in the twenty-seventh generation, his Japanese disciple Kōhō Kennichi (1241–1316) in the twenty-eighth generation, Musō Soseki (1275–1351) in the twenty-ninth generation, and Musō’s dharma heir Shun’oku Myōha (1311–1388) in the thirtieth generation. The arrangement is as follows:

scroll #4
Shaka Triad

scroll #5
10 8 6 4 2

scroll #3
1 3 5 7 9

scroll #6
20 18 16 14 12

scroll #2
11 13 15 17 19

scroll #7
30 28 26 24 22

scroll #1
21 23 25 27 29

Once again, all the patriarchs in the odd-numbered generations, beginning on scroll #3 with Bodhidharma (1), Sengcan (3), Hongren (5), Nanyue (7), and Baizhang (9), are depicted facing proper right, while the patriarchs in the even-numbered generations, beginning on scroll #5 with Huike (2), Daoxin (4), Huineng (6), Mazu (8), and Huangbo (10), are depicted facing proper left, such that all the depicted patriarchs are shown turned toward the centre. As with the sets of six patriarchs discussed above, each of the thirty patriarchs is afforded a brief biographical eulogy inscribed in the space above his head. And like the images on the stone stelae, each patriarch is presented in half-figure, with hands folded on the chest covered wholly or in part by the sleeves of his robe.

Both the total number of scrolls (seven) and the arrangement is highly suggestive of earlier Chinese models based on the seven *miao* of the imperial ancestral temples. Significantly, in this set of paintings the central position of ‘primal ancestor’ is occupied by Śākyamuni. This may tell us something about the sets examined above, each of which depicts the six patriarchs, including Bodhidharma, with heads turned toward the centre of the array as if they were looking toward a central, seventh figure: perhaps these sets were also originally conceived as flanking images. It is quite possible that the stelae portraying the six patriarchs at the Yanqing and Jingde Chan Monasteries were arrayed on either side of a central Buddha image, perhaps fashioned in stone or bronze. Similarly, the sets of patriarchal portraits inscribed by Xijian may have been intended to be hung on an altar on either side of a painted or sculpted image of the Buddha.⁷⁰

Minchō’s ‘Shaka Triad with Portraits of Thirty Patriarchs’ was clearly produced to illustrate the dharma lineage of the thirtieth and last of the patriarchs depicted – Zen Master Shun’oku Myōha (Fumyō Kokushi). In 1380, the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), built a monastery in Kyōto called the Daifukuden Hōshōji and installed Shun’oku as the founding abbot. In 1387, a year before Shun’oku’s death, Yoshimitsu built a memorial cloister (*tasho*, literally a ‘*stūpa* site’) for Shun’oku in the grounds of the monastery. Minchō’s ‘Shaka Triad with Portraits of Thirty Patriarchs’ seems to have been commissioned to hang in that cloister, the Rokuō-in, and it has remained there to the present day.

Rokuō-in is an example of a specific type of patriarch hall known in Japanese Zen as a ‘founders hall’ (*kaisandō*). While such halls are known to have existed at Chan monasteries in the Yuan and Ming periods, they were not associated with the major public

monasteries in which abbots were appointed ‘from outside’. The Japanese monasteries founded by Musō Soseki and his disciples with Ashikaga patronage were ‘disciple-lineage cloisters’ (*tsuchien* or *toteiin*), in which the abbacy was passed from master to disciple in Musō’s line.⁷¹ Since all of the succeeding generations of abbots at the Daifukuden Hōshōji were in Musō and Shun’oku’s lineage, the line of patriarchs enshrined in the founder’s hall would have represented the spiritual ancestry of all subsequent Daifukuden Hōshōji abbots.

The second surviving set of patriarchal portraits produced by Minchō consists of a total of forty separate works produced in 1427, now housed at Tōfukuji. The figures portrayed are identical to the ‘Shaka Triad with Portraits of Thirty Patriarchs’ from the first patriarch Bodhidharma up through Wuzhun Shifan in the twenty-sixth generation, but in the twenty-seventh generation it features Wuzhun’s Japanese disciple Enni Ben’en (1202–1280), the founding abbot of Tōfukuji. The patriarchs in the twenty-eighth to the fortieth generations are Enni Ben’en’s successors to the abbacy of Tōfukuji. Since Tōfukuji was a disciple-lineage cloister, in which the abbacy was reserved for dharma heirs in Enni’s line, the single set of portraits simultaneously depicts the dharma lineage of the founding abbot and each of his thirteen immediate successors. This was only possible, of course, in a ‘private’ monastery, in which the genealogical lineage of the monastery itself coincided with the lineage of each of the abbots. While this situation would have been virtually unknown in the public monasteries of medieval China, it would have been the rule, rather than the exception, at disciple-lineage cloisters. It is thus quite possible that the Tōfukuji set of patriarchal portraits by Minchō was inspired by Song or Yuan dynasty models.

The use of patriarchal portraits in monastic ritual

In the sections above we reviewed evidence bearing on the historical development of Chan patriarch halls. In particular, we were concerned with the conception of ‘lineage’ embodied in the selection and arrangement of portraits enshrined in those halls, and how those halls came to be used to legitimize denominational claims to the abbacies of specific monasteries. We will now turn our attention to the ritual use of the portraits enshrined in those halls, as these portraits played a pivotal role in Buddhist funerary rites and memorial services.

The funeral rites for a deceased abbot were centred not so much on his lifeless corpse as on his portrait. This portrait was typically produced shortly prior to, or immediately following, the abbot's death, sometimes at the abbot's own behest. One of the earliest descriptions of the funeral rites for a Chan abbot can be found in the *Chanyuan qinggui* of 1103, the single most influential Song Chan monastic code:

When three days have passed [following the death of the abbot] put the body in the casket following the same procedure as that used for [ordinary] deceased monks. When putting the body in the casket, invite a venerable elder to carry the spirit seat (*lingzuo*). At this time dharma verses are recited [by the elder]. Place the casket on the west side of the dharma hall and on the east side set up a cot and robe rack with the personal implements [belonging to the deceased]. Hang the portrait [of the deceased] on the dharma seat [in the centre of the hall]. A ritual site for the ceremony should be prepared in the dharma hall with a plain curtain, white flowers, a lamp and candle set, and offerings placed in front of the portrait. The disciples remain behind the casket screen at the foot of the banners in their mourning robes and guard the casket.⁷²

The *Chanyuan qinggui* goes on to describe the funeral in considerable detail, making frequent mention of the all-important portrait. Having been placed in the dharma seat in the middle of the dharma hall, the abbot's portrait becomes the focus of offerings of incense and prostrations by all of the resident monks. Outsiders are also provided with an opportunity to make offerings and to prostrate before the master's effigy. Later, the portrait is placed in its own litter and carried to the site of cremation or interment, where it is again installed on an altar to serve as a focus for worship. Upon the return to the monastery it is reinstalled in the dharma hall following which there is another round of offerings. It is then removed to the abbot's quarters where once again all the members of the monastic community make prostrations. The portrait is offered food and incense twice a day by the chief officers and close disciples of the deceased abbot. (The times of the food offerings coincide with the two main meals in the monastery.) When a new abbot takes up residence, the portrait is moved to the patriarch hall.⁷³ It would seem that the portrait served not only to

represent the spirit of the deceased abbot, but also, in some sense, to embody it. Moreover, the ritual procedures suggest that the spirit of the deceased continued to occupy the post of abbot and continued to reside in the abbot's quarters, until such time that a new abbot could be installed. Only then would his spirit join the ranks of former abbots enshrined in the patriarch hall.

The description of funeral rites found in the Song and Yuan monastic codes largely conforms to the general pattern of Chinese funeral practices (with the notable exception that in the Buddhist case cremation was common). Numerous accounts of non-Buddhist Chinese funerals confirm the important place occupied by the portrait as home to the soul of the deceased from the moment that the corpse is sealed in the casket.⁷⁴ De Groot describes this practice in a description of upper-class funerals as he observed them in nineteenth-century Amoy:

If [the artist] can manage to have it ready before the burial, the family hang [the portrait of the deceased] on the wall just over the coffin, the idea being that it may serve the same purpose as the wooden soul-tablet, *viz.* as a seat for the spirit of the dead, an *alter ego* doing duty for the body now shut up in the coffin. With a view to this object, the family are always very anxious to obtain a good portrait. Hence the painter is in many instances compelled to do the face over and over again, until he succeeds in convincing them that the likeness is perfect.

(De Groot 1982: 1.113)

As we saw above, Buddhist materials give clear indication that the portrait of the deceased abbot was indeed intended to function as a dwelling place for his soul or *ling*. The portrait occupies the abbot's ceremonial meditation seat and receives offerings of incense and prostrations in the same manner as did the living abbot. The funeral rites even include a formal 'debate' to be held with the abbot's spirit:

In the dharma hall arrange seats in front of the portrait for [the ceremony of] a minor convocation with the spirit [of the deceased]. When the evening bell rings, sound the drum and gather the assembly. The procedure for [officers of] the [east and west] ranks to leave their places [and come forward before the abbot to engage in debate] follows the usual practice [i.e. the practice followed in minor convocations overseen by a living abbot].⁷⁵

The funeral portrait is then functionally equivalent to the ancestral tablet or *weipai*, usually a small wooden tablet upon which is carved the name of the deceased. This identification of ancestral tablet and portrait is made explicit in an ‘old commentary’ cited by the Edo period Zen scholar Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) in his commentary to the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui*: ‘According to the ancient worthies, if the portrait has an inscription in which appears the name [of the deceased], then do not also use a memorial tablet’ (Mujaku 1979: 484). It is interesting to note the pivotal importance placed upon the written name of the deceased in rendering the tablet or portrait ritually efficacious.

In Chan patriarch halls, spirit tablets or *weipai* do not seem to have been placed in front of the portraits – a practice commonly associated with Confucian funeral and memorial rites – until late in the Southern Song (Matsuura 1976: 471). Nevertheless, in most other respects the ritual implements used in the hall, and the offerings of food and drink to the ancestral spirits, were similar to their Confucian counterparts. Following Confucian models, memorial services for each of the ancient patriarchs and former abbots were centred on the anniversaries of their death. On the day before the anniversary the portrait was hung on the lecture platform in the dharma hall, and offering vessels were arranged on a table set before it. That evening the assembly of monks gathered and chanted the *Śūramgama dhāraṇī*, offering the merit produced to the spirit of the deceased. On the following morning postulants lit candles and incense on the offering table and set out the morning gruel.

At the main memorial service, held around the time of the forenoon meal, the current abbot personally lit the incense and set out offerings of hot water, tea, and food, while the monks chanted *sūtras* and *dhāraṇī* to produce merit for dedication. The senior monastic officers came forward one by one to offer incense, and the ceremony closed with the entire assembly making prostrations. The portrait was then returned to the patriarch hall and on the following day the abbot and officers congregated there after the morning meal to prostrate and make further offerings of incense, tea, and snacks.⁷⁶ The memorial service was clearly based on the guest–host model underlying all Buddhist invocation rites: an honoured guest is received into one’s abode, feted, and sent off with gifts. But while such ‘tantric-style’ rites are usually dedicated to the worship of a celestial bodhisattva or Tathāgata, in this instance the honoured guest is none other than the spirit of the deceased patriarch.

The explicit purpose of the offerings, as stated in the verses for the dedication of merit, was to ‘raise the enlightened spirit to a more exalted status’ (ZZ.112.24a). The social status of the Chan patriarchs was a matter of real concern to living members of the Chan lineage, for it was the prestige of the mythological lineage that afforded them their privileged position in the Buddhist monastic institution at large. The exalted status to which the verses refer, however, was not status in this world, but in the realm of the ancestral spirits – that vast celestial bureaucracy in which every family hoped to place its members. As Shouduan stressed, the monastery could not be expected to prosper should it fail in its obligation to nurture the ancestral spirits who looked after the monastery’s interests.

One other use of a patriarchal portrait, specifically a portrait of Bodhidharma, is mentioned in monastic codes in conjunction with the ceremony known as ‘entering the [abbot’s] room’ (*rushi*). In this formal procedure the abbot’s disciples would come before him one at a time to receive his instruction in a semi-private setting. Bodhidharma’s portrait, variously referred to as a *dingxiang* or *xiang*, was hung in the abbot’s outer quarters with an offering table set before it. At the start of the ceremony, before withdrawing to his room, the abbot himself would make prostrations before the portrait. Prior to entering the abbot’s room each disciple would face the portrait and make an offering of incense and prostrations, whereupon he would enter the room, approach the abbot, bow, and stand respectfully at the southwest corner of the abbot’s seat. The disciple would then ‘speak his mind’ and wait for the abbot’s instruction.⁷⁷

The portrait of the first patriarch Bodhidharma, sitting outside the abbot’s room, not only served as a reminder of the exalted spiritual patrimony of the abbot, but it also helped to frame the mythic context of the rite: the exchange between the abbot and his disciple ritually re-enacted the countless dialogues recorded in Chan biographical collections, in which the redoubtable masters of old sought to test the fortitude and insight of their students. We do not know whether the portrait of Bodhidharma used on this occasion was the same as the one enshrined with Baizhang in the patriarch hall, or indeed if it even resembled the portraits housed in those halls. But we do know that the portrait used in the *rushi* ritual was often called a *dingxiang* – the same term used to refer to patriarchal portraits used in other ritual contexts.

The portrayed: Ancestors dead and alive

A brief word is in order concerning the subjects of the portraits under consideration here. Only those who received dharma transmission (*chuanfa*), and thereby entered the extended dharma ‘family’ tracing itself back to Śākyamuni Buddha, were considered proper candidates for formal commemorative portraits. Doctrinally speaking, it mattered little whether the monk lived in the distant past, was recently deceased, or was still alive: once a monk received transmission he joined the ranks of the ‘patriarchs’ or ‘ancestors’ (*zu*) and became a fitting object for ritual devotion and a worthy subject for a commemorative portrait.

As we saw above, longevity images – commemorative portraits produced while the subjects were still alive – appeared as the lineage of former abbots came to supplant the line of ancient patriarchs enshrined in the portrait hall, a development that resulted in a demand for an abbot’s formal portrait well in advance of his death. The emergence of longevity images was accompanied by a fundamental shift in the perceived status of eminent Buddhist monks, both living and dead: famous Buddhist monks came to be regarded not as mere saints or wonder-workers, but as living Chinese Buddhas.

While such notions were originally nurtured within the Chan school, they soon spread to all branches of the Buddhist tradition in the Song. The growing emphasis on the ritual role of the abbot-*qua*-Buddha, and the concomitant ‘institutionalization of enlightenment’, gave rise to a new elite within the Buddhist order. This elite, comprising current and retired abbots, was known in Song and Yuan China as the ‘venerables’ (*zunsu*), a term used more or less interchangeably with *zu* in the context of Buddhist mortuary ritual.⁷⁸ The elaborate funeral and memorial rites for the venerables outlined above were quite unlike those performed for common monks (whose funerals tended to be perfunctory and did not require memorial portraits). Moreover, the venerables were the only monks who qualified for the abbacies of public monasteries and the only monks whose words and deeds were recorded for posterity in discourse records.

The exalted religious status associated with the rank of ‘abbot’ or ‘venerable’ is vividly manifest in the ritual known as ‘ascending the hall’ (*shangtang*) – perhaps the single most important rite performed by abbots of public monasteries in the Song period. During this rite the abbot, accompanied by much pomp and

ceremony, would ascend an ornate throne (the ‘high seat’ or ‘*dhyāna* seat’) installed on an altar in the centre of the dharma hall. After receiving obeisance and offerings from the community, the abbot delivered a short and highly mannered sermon which was meant to signify the spontaneous discourse of an awakened Buddha.⁷⁹ The significance of this rite, in which the abbot ascended an altar functionally homologous to the altar occupied by a Buddha icon, was unambiguous: the abbot was rendered the spiritual equal of a Tathāgata.

The identification of abbot and Buddha is made explicit in the earliest Chan monastic code, the *Chanmen guishi*, which claims that the central Buddha icon in the Buddha hall – the focal point of Chinese Buddhist monastic ritual – was replaced in Tang Chan monasteries by the living person of the abbot, thereby obviating the need for a Buddha hall altogether.⁸⁰ Moreover, as we have seen above, during the funeral and memorial rites for a deceased abbot his portrait was installed in the dharma hall on the same throne used during the *shangtang* rite. According to the ritual logic of Song Buddhist monasteries, the icon of the Buddha, the living person of the abbot, and the abbot’s portrait were largely interchangeable. It would seem that the body of the living abbot, like his portrait, had come to be regarded as the ‘simulacrum’ (*xiang*) of Buddhahood.

The distribution of portraits and records of portrait inscriptions

As we have seen, one of the primary functions of Chinese Buddhist portraiture was mortuary: an abbot’s portrait would be produced around the time of his death to serve as a resting place for his spirit during and after the funeral ceremonies. But we also know that by the Song, portraits of abbots came to be used outside the immediate context of funeral rites and memorial services. In fact, for some abbots, and perhaps for the majority of them, dozens and even hundreds of portraits were produced by and for a variety of persons, ranging from high-ranking monastic officers to lay postulants and transient guests.

Relatively few examples of such portraits survive to the present day; what we have instead are records of ‘eulogies’ or ‘appreciations’ (*zan*) consisting of verse inscriptions brushed by abbots onto their own portraits, portraits of their disciples, portraits of their teachers, and portraits of a variety of other patriarchs and worthies.⁸¹ Such

eulogies were collected and included at the end of an abbot's discourse record and were singly or collectively prefaced with a brief colophon identifying the portrait subject and the owner of the portrait. Thousands of such eulogies and colophons survive to the present day, providing us with an invaluable source for the study of medieval Buddhist portraiture.

One of the earliest extant discourse records to preserve portrait inscriptions is that of Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049).⁸² In the appendix to Yangqi's discourse record we find four eulogies recorded under the heading 'autograph portrait eulogies' (*zishu zhenzan*, inscribed by Yangqi on portraits of himself).⁸³ The first eulogy might tentatively be rendered as follows:

A mouth like a beggar's open sack;
 A nose like a shit ladle in the garden!
 This gentleman troubled himself, applying his talented
 brush to the completion [of this portrait];
 I entrust it to the world's judgment.

The honorific tone of the third line indicates that the image was produced by someone other than the abbot who then sought out the abbot's inscription. The first two lines, however, pertain to the abbot's own face as depicted in the portrait. Yangqi is indulging in a ruse common to the genre of 'self-eulogies' (*zizan*, Jpn: *jisan*, verses in which the abbot eulogizes himself, typically inscribed on his own portrait). Chan discourse records contain countless similar portrait inscriptions in which an abbot drolly pokes fun at his own visage. This literary convention is well known from Chan autobiographical writings; by ridiculing himself in verse or prose as ugly, inept, or doltish, a Chan abbot could unabashedly flaunt his freedom from vanity, egotism, and worldly norms.⁸⁴

The phrase 'self-eulogy' is found in several other early discourse records, including the *Huanglong Huinan chanshi yulu*,⁸⁵ and the *Fayan chanshi yulu*.⁸⁶ In addition to two eulogies brushed on what we take to be portraits of Yangqi himself, the latter text records an early example of an abbot's inscription placed on a portrait of someone else. In this case the portrait is that of the abbot's own teacher, Baiyun Shouduan. Fayan's inscription on Shouduan's portrait is interesting for the manner in which he plays with the meaning of the word *zhen*. It begins, 'The reflection of the single moon in the sky is captured in all the water [on earth]. The truth [*zhen*] of the teacher's portrait [*zhen*] is neither moon nor water'

(T. 1995: 47.666b15–17). We will explore the significance of such wordplay in detail below.

By the middle of the eleventh century it was common for Chan discourse records to contain a section entitled *zhen zan*, or ‘portrait eulogies’, generally placed near the end of the work. Early collections of portrait inscriptions, such as the one found at the end of Yangqi’s record, or the record of Yangqi’s contemporary Xuedou Zhongxian (980–1052), contain but a handful of eulogies.⁸⁷ By the latter half of the eleventh century, however, it was not uncommon for a single abbot’s discourse record to record literally hundreds of such inscriptions, most of which were ‘self-eulogies’ inscribed by the abbot on his own portrait.

As the number of recorded self-eulogies grows, we begin to learn something about the people who arranged to have portraits autographed. Many of the eulogies are prefaced with a short formulaic colophon that reads: ‘[so and so] requested [my] inscription’ (*qingzan*), or ‘[so and so] sought [my] inscription’ (*qiuzan*). While the portrait subject is not always identified, the fact that the inscription is taken from a portrait of the abbot can often be gleaned either from the content of the verse, or from the colophon itself.⁸⁸

Even a cursory survey of the surviving self-eulogies readily shows the tremendous variety of individuals who approached the abbot requesting inscriptions. The colophons to the inscriptions include mention of virtually every position in the monastic hierarchy. The *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu*, to choose but one typical example, contains portrait eulogies written at the request of the chief seat (*shouzu*), the rector (*weina*), the *sūtra* prefect (*zhizang*), the scribe (*shuji*), the controller (*jiansi*), and various and sundry disciples mentioned under the rubric of ‘Chan practitioner’ (*chanzhe*), ‘a man of Chan’ (*chanren*), and ‘disciple’ (*xiaoshi*).⁸⁹ Nor is the distribution of such inscriptions limited to ranking officers and ordained monks: it is not uncommon to find among the recipients ‘lay postulants’ (*xingzhe*), ‘lay devotees’ (*xinshi*), and ‘laymen’ (*jushi*).⁹⁰ The record of Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163) is particularly illuminating, as it contains the personal names of many of those who received inscriptions for portraits of Dahui. Judging from the names alone, at least twelve of the forty-one self-eulogies recorded here were distributed to laymen.⁹¹

Perhaps the most valuable resource for the study of portrait inscriptions is the *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu*, a massive compendium recording the sermons and writings of the prolific master Zhengjue,

known posthumously as Hongzhi (1091–1157). This text contains hundreds of such inscriptions spanning several fascicles, and the sheer volume of eulogies gives us an idea of the range of persons who acquired autographed portraits. Among those identified in the record we find mention of monastic officers, miscellaneous Chan monks, laypersons, and visitors to the monasteries in which Hongzhi served as abbot. But the most striking feature of this record is the fact that so many portraits were distributed somewhat anonymously. There is mention, for example, of a congregation of lay postulants who made a portrait of the abbot and requested an inscription *en masse*.⁹² And in fascicle 7 of the text over eighty eulogies are grouped together under the single colophon: ‘eulogies sought by men of Chan who drew [my] portrait’ (*chanren xiezhen qiuzan*; T. 2001: 48.79a22–82a10).

But perhaps the most outstanding example of the profligate distribution of abbots’ portraits in medieval times is found in fascicle 9 of Hongzhi’s record, in which some four hundred portrait eulogies are recorded under the single generic heading: ‘eulogies requested by men of Chan and travelling evangelists’ (*chanren ping huazhu xiezhen qiuzan*; T. 2001: 48.103b10–119a2). The term ‘men of Chan’ (*chanren*) seems to have been used somewhat generally to refer to followers of the Chan school, chiefly monastic but possibly including lay practitioners. The term we translate ‘travelling evangelist’ (*huazhu*), on the other hand, originally referred to an abbot or ‘head preacher’, but here it denotes the monastic officer responsible for fund raising outside the monastic environs. The travelling evangelist functioned as an emissary of the monastery, charged with preaching the dharma, converting the populace, targeting potential patrons, and soliciting funds.⁹³ It would appear that he embarked on his journeys well supplied with pre-inscribed autographed portraits of the abbot to be distributed to generous patrons and influential officials, or perhaps even to be sold to raise funds.

Although Hongzhi may be the most prolific writer of eulogies on record, the practice of inscribing large numbers of portraits on request for a wide variety of persons is well attested in the *yulu* materials.⁹⁴ It is difficult to know what to make of this practice, and the discourse records tell us virtually nothing about the manner in which such portraits were produced. We may surmise, however, that the financial wherewithal to procure a portrait, and the social status required to get such a portrait signed, were criteria equal in importance to spiritual attainment in determining who gained

possession. When a request for a portrait dedication came from a generous lay patron, or a politically powerful official, it would have been difficult for the abbot of a major Chan monastery to refuse.

Confirmation of this hypothesis can be found in the discourse record of Xiyan Liaohui (1198–1262). The *Zan fo zu* ('eulogies for Buddhas and patriarchs') section of this text contains a verse eulogy prefaced with the following colophon: '[Eulogy for someone who] donated money for the construction of a pavilion in the Shendu temple' (*Shaqian jiang Shendu si*).⁹⁵ Appended to the colophon we find the following note: '[He] drew a portrait of the master and himself relaxing together under a pine and begged for an inscription.' This unnamed patron, who had the impertinence to portray himself as an intimate of the master, was likely a man of considerable means. In any case, it is evident that an abbot could be cajoled into inscribing a portrait in return for a generous donation to the *sangha*.

The personally autographed portrait of a Chan abbot would no doubt have been a cherished possession and an object of reverence in medieval China. As we have seen, the abbot of a major Chan establishment in the Song was venerated as the living descendant and local representative of a sacred lineage of enlightened patriarchs who traced their ancestry back to the Buddha. Indeed, the abbot's primary religious duty consisted in ritually enacting the role of Buddha. Given the institutional and ritual context of Song Chan monasticism, the portrait of a respected abbot was, for all intents and purposes, a sacred icon, to be venerated as one would an image of the Buddha. The added presence of the master's written inscription would have established an effective connection between the abbot's image and his sacred presence, enlivening the portrait just as relics were used to enliven sculptural effigies of Buddhist saints. The difference, then, between the funeral portrait and the countless portraits that circulated among the disciples and patrons of the master both before and after his death, was one of degree, not one of kind: in both cases the portrait was used to ritually affirm the continued presence of the enlightened patriarch in his absence.⁹⁶

Before moving on, it is interesting to note that our extensive survey of the primary literature pertaining to Chan Buddhist portraiture failed to uncover a single instance in which an abbot presented his own portrait to an advanced disciple as a certificate of enlightenment or dharma transmission. Indeed, most scholars who advance the notion that portraits of abbots were used as

symbols of transmission seem to feel it unnecessary to cite any corroborating evidence whatsoever. Occasionally, the *Shisho* ('inheritance certificate') chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō* by the Japanese monk Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253) is cited in support of the claim.⁹⁷ Yet when we turn to the text of *Shisho* we find that Dōgen emphatically *denies* that *chinzō* were to be used as proof of transmission. In fact, the entire chapter is devoted to an exposition of the legitimate certificate of transmission, namely the *shisho*, and Dōgen confirms that *chinzō*, unlike *shisho*, were widely available in China, given out freely to laymen, novices, merchants and the like (T. 2582: 82.69b).

One other case occasionally cited as evidence for this oft-repeated notion is that of Dainichi(bō) Nōnin (d.u.). Nōnin, a popular Japanese Buddhist master who flourished toward the end of the twelfth century, is said to have been assailed by his rivals because he lacked dharma transmission. Nōnin responded by sending two of his disciples, Renchū and Shōben, to Song China in 1189 bearing a letter and gifts to be presented to the Chan master Zhuoan Deguang (1121–1203), along with a request that Zhuoan acknowledge his enlightenment. According to the account in fascicle 19 of the *Honchō kōsōden*, Deguang acknowledged Nōnin's awakening by presenting him with a dharma name, a robe, and an inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma. Nōnin's two enterprising disciples then had a portrait of Zhuoan made and requested Zhuoan's inscription.⁹⁸

It is odd that this account should be cited as evidence that *chinzō* were used to signify dharma transmission, since the text is clear that this function was served by the robe and portrait of Bodhidharma. The portrait of Zhuoan, on the other hand, was commissioned and inscribed at the behest of Nōnin's disciples, and it is not included among the objects explicitly mentioned as attesting to Nōnin's accomplishment. But there is a more serious problem with this account: the *Honchō kōsōden* is a late compilation of biographies edited by Mangen Shiban (1626–1710) in 1702. When we turn to extant biographies of Nōnin predating the Tokugawa period, we find that the robe and portrait of Bodhidharma are duly mentioned, but there is no word of a portrait of Zhuoan. Once again, due to limitations of space, we will have to defer our detailed analysis of the sources bearing on this case to our full report.

In fact, the closest we have come to anything resembling the 'oft-repeated notion' is a passage in the biography of the Chan master Touzi Yiqing (1032–1083), in which he is reported to have received

a portrait from his teacher at the time he was made lineage heir. Upon closer examination, however, the story presents a number of problems, not least of which is the fact that the portrait presented to Touzi, and the Chan lineage represented by the portrait, were not those of his teacher Fushan Fayuan (991–1067), who belonged to the line of Linji Yixuan (d. 866). Rather, the portrait was that of Dayang Jingxuan (943–1027), dharma heir of Liangshan Yuan-guan (d.u.) in the Caodong line. Moreover, a careful analysis of the textual record reveals that the portrait of Dayang itself did not play a vital role in symbolizing transmission: that function was served by Dayang's leather shoes and ceremonial robes.⁹⁹

In fact, this is the only instance known to us in which an abbot's portrait appears in the context of dharma transmission in China. This is not surprising, for a portrait of an abbot did not readily lend itself to signifying dharma inheritance. We have seen that autographed portraits of Chan abbots could be readily obtained by a wide variety of persons, and it is unlikely that many of those in possession of such a portrait could claim any serious personal accomplishment in Chan. The possession of a master's ceremonial robes, leather shoes, or other personal belongings, on the other hand, could be proffered forth quite plausibly as evidence of a close personal relationship with a master – perhaps even proof of dharma transmission. Insofar as the portrait of Dayang was of value in this specific instance, it was precisely because the two figures involved had never met each other: Dayang had died seven years before Touzi was born. Possession of the portrait in such circumstances would indeed be of some significance, as it symbolically rendered Touzi a member of Dayang's community.

In any event, Touzi's biography does not constitute evidence that abbots ever presented *their own* portraits to disciples as proof of mastery attained. The portrait that Fushan transmitted to Touzi was that of a dead master who left the world without a dharma heir to continue his line. It was, in effect, a funerary portrait in need of a home. Fushan was charged with finding someone to assume the duties of Dayang's heir – someone to make regular offerings and to perform the annual memorial rites not only for Dayang's spirit, but for Dayang's lineal predecessors as well.

Representation and deconstruction in Chan exegesis

The sources examined above all point to the fact that Chinese Buddhists treated the portrait of an abbot as a focus for ritual

offerings, as a means of establishing and maintaining a personal relationship with a living Buddha, and, following an abbot's death, as a resting place for his spirit. But texts belonging to the Chan 'transmission of the flame' and 'discourse record' genres also engage in a rather 'Channish' deconstruction of the memorial portrait. This deconstruction plays with the literal meaning of one common term for a portrait in Buddhist materials – *zhen* or 'truth'. A *zhen* was ideally a filial representation or likeness of the departed, so as best to serve as a substitute for the abbot's physical presence. Chan anecdotes playfully mock the notion that the *zhen* or truth of the abbot could be located in the abbot's 'form' or physical body. How then could 'truth' (which is identified in Chan sources with *foxing* or 'Buddha nature') be successfully captured in a portrait? Chan texts illustrate their point by punning on the meaning of *zhen*, shifting the sense between 'portrait' which is an embodiment of form in form, and 'truth' which remains necessarily formless.

One of the earliest examples of this punning is found in the *Zutang ji* of 952 (note that we have translated *zhen* 'true image' in the quotations that follow in order to bring out the polyvalence of the term):

When the teacher was approaching the time of his death he addressed his congregation and said: 'Is there one among you who can render my true image? If there is one here who can render my true image then present it to this old monk to see'. The congregation all proceeded to draw his true image and then presented them to the abbot. The teacher gave them all a beating. Then one disciple, Puhua, came forward and said: 'I have rendered the teacher's true image'. The teacher said: 'Give it to this old monk to see'. Puhua did a somersault and left.¹⁰⁰

Even more explicit is the following anecdote found in the *Jingde chuangeng lu* biography of Zhaozhou (778–897):

There was a monk who drew the master's true image and presented it to him. The master said: 'Tell me, does this resemble me or not? If it resembles me, then strike this old monk dead. If it does not resemble me, then burn up the true image'. The monk was at a loss for words.

(T. 2076: 51.277b23–26)

Note the trope at work here: portraits of abbots were usually produced around the time of death to be used in the funeral rites. If the portrait is a good one, Zhaozhou seems to be saying, then it must be time for him to die; but if it fails to render his true image (as fail it must), then it is the portrait rather than the body of the abbot that should be cremated.

There is even an account of an abbot engaging in antinomian antics while worshipping the portrait of his own master during his master's funeral. The *Yangqi Fanghui heshang houlü*, mentioned above as one of the earliest texts to record a self-eulogy, contains the following anecdote which supposedly took place during the funeral of Yangqi's teacher, Ziming (Shishuang Chuyuan, 986–1039):

When Ziming died, the monks sent a letter to the master, gathered the assembly together, hung the [master's] true image and grieved. . . . [When the memorial offerings were set out, Yangqi] went before the true image, clenched both hands into fists and rested them on top of his head, took his sitting cloth and folded it once, drew a circle [in the air] and burnt incense. He then withdrew three steps and prostrated himself in the manner of a woman.

(T. 1994: 47.642b5–13)

These tales affirm the notion that the 'true image' of the master should not be sought in his form, but rather in the formless Buddha-nature itself. It is important to note, however, that there is nothing new or exclusively 'Channish' in the doctrine that the true nature of Buddhahood is not to be sought in external forms. The Pali canon has the Buddha proclaim: 'Those who see the dharma see me; those who see me see the dharma'.¹⁰¹ This point is repeated in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, which asserts that the Buddha is the product of the *upāya* or 'skilful means' of *Prajñāpāramitā*, and that the thirty-two major marks of the Buddha are in reality non-marks.¹⁰² The *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, a text widely studied in Chan circles, is similarly unequivocal: 'The Buddha-body is the dharma-body'; and 'All of the bodies of the Tathāgatas are dharma-bodies, not worldly bodies. The Buddha, the World-Honored one, is transcendent to the three realms'.¹⁰³ Finally, note the following lines taken from the opening passage of the *Lañkāvatāra*: 'If he sees things and takes them for realities, he does not see the Buddha. Even when he is not abiding in a discriminating mind, he cannot see the Buddha. Not seeing anything doing [in the world] – this is

said to be seeing the Buddha'.¹⁰⁴ These examples could be multiplied indefinitely: passages that caution against identifying 'awakening' with anything external to oneself are to be found in scriptures associated with virtually every major Buddhist tradition.

Thus, when the Chan abbot issues a challenge to his disciples to produce a *zhen*, to 'render his truth', they are placed in a typical *gong'an* bind. His 'real form', being formless, cannot be captured in any sort of painting. A true representation or depiction of the master can only be no representation at all. And yet, in the words of the *Heart Sūtra*, 'emptiness is not other than form' – the true nature of the master should not be mistaken for his physical form, but nor can it be found apart from it. The very notion of a 'non-representation' can only be signified through representation.

The use of the term *dingxiang* or *chinzō* for an abbot's portrait allowed precisely the same *double entendre* or dialectical word play we see in the term *zhen*, for the real *dingxiang* or *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha, as noted above, is invisible – it is beyond representation. There is ample evidence that educated Song monks were familiar with the 'invisible *uṣṇīṣa*', as seen in references in a wide variety of documents. It would appear, in fact, that they did not make a distinction between a visible and invisible *uṣṇīṣa*: in Song literature the term *dingxiang* is simply an abbreviation of *wujian dingxiang*. The invisible *uṣṇīṣa* is mentioned, for example, in the opening invocation of the preface to the *Śūramgama-sūtra*, an apocryphal scripture closely associated with the Chan tradition.¹⁰⁵ While the term *wujian dingxiang* is occasionally found in Chan discourse records,¹⁰⁶ more common are references to the *uṣṇīṣa* or *dingxiang* that depict it as unimaginably high, invisible, or formless. A verse in a sermon recorded in the *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu*, for example, contains the phrase: 'Rising up over the top of the mountain, the *uṣṇīṣa* is formless' (*moshan chaoba xi dingxiang wuxing*; T. 2001: 48.44c10–11). Also note the following exchange between master and disciple found in fascicle 17 of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*: 'Question: "Why can't the boundless-body Bodhisattva see the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Tathāgata?" The teacher answered: "When you speak of the Tathāgata, does it still possess an *uṣṇīṣa*?"'¹⁰⁷

As in the case of *zhen* above, any object offered forth as a visible 'sign of enlightenment' is systematically deconstructed through the logic of Mahāyāna dialectic. Just as it is impossible to see the real form of the Buddha's head, it is impossible to render the true image of the abbot. The term *dingxiang* thus functions in Buddhist

rhetoric precisely as does the term *zhen* – both concepts are enmeshed in their own dialectical negation. In fact, this explanation for the use of the term *dingxiang* or *chinzō* to denote a portrait of an enlightened abbot is made perfectly explicit by Mujaku Dōchū in his discussion of portraits of patriarchs:

The [true] mark of the patriarchs is fundamentally devoid of form. It is just like the Tathāgata, whose *chinzō* cannot be seen, and thus [depictions of the patriarchs] are called *chinzō*. The *Dafaju Dhāraṇī Scripture* says: ‘The *uṣṇīṣa* of the Tathāgata is a corporeal topknot, perfect and complete. It can be seen neither by gods nor men’.

(Mujaku 1909: 163b)

Thus both of these common terms for an abbot’s portrait – *dingxiang* and *zhen* – could be used in the construction of puns that played on the impossibility of expressing the inexpressible. Chan abbots were all too eager to exploit these tropes in their writings. A cursory glance through the hundreds of recorded portrait inscriptions in the discourse records reveals that the terms *dingxiang* and *zhen* were both favorite topics for punning and wordplay.

The pun on *zhen* plays with the notion that the portrait (*zhen*) will always fail to capture the true nature of the portrait subject (his *zhen*) and thus is not real or genuine (not *zhen*). This was a favorite theme for the master Hongzhi, whose hundreds of self-eulogies, mentioned above, frequently employ this gambit:

This portrait (or: truth, *zhen*) is false; whose form is depicted here? Does it resemble me? [If not,] who does it resemble? Don’t fall into deliberation!

(T. 2001: 48.106b4–5)

[This] image, alas, is not true (or: not a portrait); truth, alas, is not an image.

(T. 2001. 48.106c2)

Truth is not true (or: a portrait is not a portrait), and false is not false. This image – this form – is yet a chimera, an illusion!

(T. 2001: 48.113b6)

This portrait (or: truth) is not a form; this form is not a portrait.

(T. 2001: 48.113b24)

To speak of a portrait is not a portrait (or: the truth that is spoken is untrue); to speak of resemblance is not resemblance.
(T. 2001: 48.116c14)

This is but a small sampling; the game is repeated *ad nauseam* in the literature. And while the term *dingxiang* appears less frequently, it too is used in an analogous manner. We find the master Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323), to cite but one example, beginning a self-eulogy with a reference to the *wujian dingxiang*: ‘One does not use colour [in depicting] the invisible *dingxiang*; what need is there to hang up [the portrait] when everything is [already] fully manifest?’¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

This article is a preliminary report of our ongoing research and does not deal in any detail with the evidence provided by portraits of Chan and Zen abbots extant in Japan. Nor have we presented the considerable Japanese textual evidence bearing on our topic. For reasons of length we must reserve our analysis of the Japanese materials for our full report. Suffice it to say that all available evidence points to the fact that portraits of Japanese Zen abbots functioned in precisely the same manner as did their Chinese counterparts: in Japan, as in China, the portraits played a central role in funeral and memorial rites, and, in addition to these explicitly mortuary settings, commemorative portraits of Japanese Zen abbots were produced and disseminated rather freely by their followers and admirers, monk and lay alike.

For reasons of length we were also forced to forgo a critical review of the extensive body of contemporary art-historical writing on *chinzō*. Scholars well versed in the area of East Asian art history will no doubt appreciate the degree to which our findings are at odds with the weight of scholarly opinion on the subject. Readers unfamiliar with this literature, however, may well wonder at the polemic tone in which we cast our thesis, and our repeated emphasis on what appear to be straightforward statements of fact. It may be helpful by way of conclusion, therefore, to mention some of the ways in which our findings controvert various widely held and oft-repeated notions concerning the nature of Chan and Zen abbot portraiture.

We have found, for one thing, that the term *dingxiang* (*chinzō*) in medieval Chinese Buddhism was not reserved for portraits of

monks in the Chan lineage alone but was used to refer to Tiantai and Lü portraits as well. This raises doubts about the manner in which art historians have circumscribed the *chinzō* genre as one comprising only portraits of Chan and Zen masters.¹⁰⁹ It similarly calls into question interpretations that see *chinzō* as the embodiment of religious themes and values ostensibly unique to the Chan tradition. It would now be difficult, for example, to sustain the notion that the ‘realism’ of a so-called *chinzō* was a reflection of the intimate (‘mind-to-mind’ as well as ‘face-to-face’) relationship between the depicted master and his dharma heir that purportedly distinguished the Chan/Zen tradition.¹¹⁰

Our findings also call into question the viability of the art-historical distinctions that are often drawn between *chinzō* and *soshizō*, and between *chinzō* and *shin*. The first distinction is typically made on the basis of subject matter and style (‘realistic’ portraits of eminent masters painted from life versus ‘idealized’ portraits of ancient, semi-legendary patriarchs), following which certain assumptions are made concerning the meaning and function of the two types of portraits. The historical record raises serious questions concerning the utility of this distinction, especially since it is foreign to the tradition itself: as we have seen, the term *chinzō* was used in Buddhist circles to refer to objects now commonly classified as *soshizō*, and vice versa. Similarly, modern art historians generally use the term *shin* or *keshin* (‘hanging portraits’) to refer to portraits used in funerary and memorial rites, while reserving the term *chinzō* for portraits presumed to have been painted from life and given by masters to their disciples. Again, we have found that the Chan and Zen traditions used the terms *chinzō* and *shin* interchangeably, regardless of the ritual function of the object in question.

We have also raised doubts regarding the notion that the direction in which the portrait subject is facing is indicative of whether the subject was alive or dead at the time the portrait was executed (Brinker 1987a: 96–97). According to our analysis, it is more likely that the orientation of a particular portrait subject was determined by the position the portrait was to occupy (*zhao* or *mu*) in an array of related patriarchal icons.

Finally, while portraits of medieval Buddhist abbots do appear in a wide variety of institutional and ritual contexts, there is simply no evidence that such portraits were ever given by masters to their disciples as ‘certificates of enlightenment’ or ‘proof of dharma transmission’. Once we abandon this fiction, we are forced to reject

the corollary claims that the ‘intimacy’ of the verse inscription, the ‘naturalism’ of the portrait, or any other stylistic feature of the ‘*chinzō* genre’ can be derived from their function as transmission certificates.

Our thesis has already given rise to certain misunderstandings, no doubt fostered in part by the polemical nature of our presentation. At no point have we ever meant to imply that a portrait produced for the funeral rites of a prominent abbot would have been visually indistinguishable from the hundreds of portraits of the same person commissioned by his followers, or produced for distribution by travelling evangelists. Moreover, virtually all portraits of eminent Chan abbots were produced at the behest of followers and patrons, and it seems reasonable to assume that the time and artistic skill invested in a specific portrait would reflect the status and financial means of the person commissioning the icon. Suffice it to say that a host of questions remain concerning the disparity in features of portraits produced specifically for formal monastic rituals versus portraits produced for the edification of individual patrons. While the small number of surviving portraits makes any articulation of discrete genres highly speculative, we nevertheless intend to continue our work on this issue. When we turn to the surviving *textual* record, however, it is abundantly clear that there are no *terminological* grounds upon which to construct a taxonomy of genres of abbot portraiture. Moreover, our historical reconstruction of the development of Chan portraiture indicates that all such portraits, regardless of their aesthetic value or style, are of a type in respect to their religious significance: they all functioned as holy icons embodying the charisma of a Chinese Buddha.

In placing Zen portraiture in a funerary and mortuary context, rather than in the context of dharma transmission, we run the risk of fostering yet another misunderstanding. Bernard Faure, addressing an earlier version of this article, argues that while *chinzō* may not have been used as ‘certificates of dharma transmission’ in the strict sense, they are nevertheless related to such certificates insofar as they transmit the abbot’s ‘charisma’:

I agree entirely with [the analysis of Foulk, Horton and Sharf] that the possession of a *chinsō* was in itself insufficient to claim spiritual transmission or awakening. It was the device, however, that allowed the ritual transmission of the master’s charisma to take place and that provided access to it, thereby

linking magically the possessor of the *chinsō* to the mainstream of the tradition perpetuated by his master. The *chinsō* thus lays the ritual ground on which the rarefaction of legitimate authority through succession documents (*shisho*) could take place as a specific case.

(Faure 1991: 174–175)

In refuting the notion that Chan masters used autographed portraits as certificates of ‘dharma transmission’, we never intended to deny that portraits functioned as vehicles for the sort of ‘transmission of charisma’ emphasized by Faure. On the contrary, by documenting the fact that portraits of eminent abbots were produced in great quantity and circulated among monks and lay patrons alike, we have been at pains to draw attention to the talismanic function of the art – an aspect of Chan and Zen portraiture previously overlooked in the scholarly literature. In opposition to the standard interpretations of Chan and Zen portraiture, which draw a sharp distinction between the mortuary use of the art and its putative function in ‘dharma transmission’, we have argued that the dissemination of portraits to disciples and patrons was in fact an outgrowth of their original function as funerary objects. Thus, we were pleased to find that Faure, too, working independently on the same issues, stresses the functional and symbolic equivalences that existed between relics, mummies, and icons – specifically *chinzō* – in the Chan and Zen traditions. We agree entirely with his observation that Buddhist icons, like relics, are ‘imbued with the powers of the dead’ (Faure 1991: 170) and heartily endorse his insight that the distribution of *chinzō* in medieval China had much the same religious meaning as the dissemination of relics (174–175).

We do not agree, however, with Faure’s suggestion that formal dharma transmission in Chan and Zen, as symbolized by the granting of ‘inheritance certificates’ (*shisho*), was simply a ‘rarefied’ case or ‘intensification’ of the more general transmission (diffusion) of an eminent master’s charisma effected through the dissemination of relics and portraits. There is a difference of kind here, not merely one of degree. The difference may be brought into focus by contrasting the roles played by the master in the two types of transmission, one active and one essentially passive.

According to Chan and Zen ideals, the formal designation of a dharma heir was considered the sacred prerogative of the master, a prerogative that had been vouchsafed to him by his own master at the time of dharma transmission. The creation of an heir ideally

entailed the active will and participation of the master, as illustrated in literally hundreds of popular Chan and Zen anecdotes. In Song China, inheritance certificates were understood to provide documentary evidence that one had indeed come ‘mind to mind’ with a living master, but, as Dōgen correctly observed, inscribed portraits did not, for the simple reason that abbots took virtually no initiative in the production or distribution of their own portraits. To repeat, portraits were invariably commissioned by students and lay followers of an abbot, following which the abbot often grudgingly acquiesced to a request for his autograph inscription. Like the collection and distribution of relics after the cremation of an enlightened master, the production and distribution of the master’s portraits was a task overseen by his followers. Of course, unlike traditional relics, commemorative portraits could be produced in anticipation of the physical death of the abbot – we might say they were produced in commemoration of the spiritual ‘death’ (enlightenment) by virtue of which a living master was elevated to the rank of ‘spiritual ancestor’ while yet alive.¹¹¹

We must also remember that in the case of formal dharma transmission, the heir was ritually rendered the equal not only of his teacher but of all the earlier ‘Buddhas and patriarchs’ in the Chan and Zen lineage as well. To attest to his new status the dharma heir was presented with a personalized certificate, signed and sealed by the master. Among other things, possession of such a document made him eligible to serve as abbot of a public Chan monastery. It goes without saying that possession of a relic or portrait icon effected no such change in official status or privilege. Moreover, unlike the charisma residing in a relic or icon, the power invested in a transmission certificate was not, strictly speaking, ‘transferable’ – the power of the *shisho* to bestow spiritual rank extended only to the individual monk named in the document as dharma heir.

We have seen that dharma transmission would render a Buddhist monk an appropriate subject for a commemorative portrait and that such a portrait would in turn serve as an object of ritual worship and veneration. In our view, this is a very different order of ‘transmission’ than the diffusion of charisma through the distribution of relics and images. Thus, departing from Faure, we would emphasize the tremendous divide that separated Chan abbots from Chan followers – a divide, in other words, between those who served as the subjects of Chan portraiture and those who vied to procure them.

The origins of Buddhist portraiture in China can be traced to mortuary practices associated with charismatic Buddhist saints in the Six Dynasties period. With the evolution of Buddhist portrait halls in the Tang, sets of portraits were used to delineate and legitimize competing ‘schools’ within the monastic institution, all the while retaining their funerary and commemorative function as depictions of deceased ancestors. The close association of mortuary and sectarian concerns was natural, considering the fact that the ‘schools’ in question were conceived as spiritual genealogies or lineages comprising ancestral spirits and their living descendants. With the appearance of officially designated Chan lineage and Tiantai lineage monasteries in the Song, portraits of former abbots as well as the founding patriarchs of the respective lineages came to serve these dual mortuary and sectarian functions. Even when commemorative portraits of Chan and Tiantai abbots began to be painted well in advance of their deaths for instalment in monastic patriarch halls and when similar portraits of living abbots began to circulate freely among monk and lay followers, the mortuary associations of the art were never far from view: the portraits depicted monks who, while still alive, had already ‘passed into *nirvāṇa*’ and joined the ranks of the ancestors.

The portrait of the abbot, like the living abbot on his high seat, is thus properly viewed as a religious icon – it is a manifestation of Buddhahood and a focus for ritual worship. As such, the portrait is functionally equivalent to the mummified remains of the abbot, to the relics of the Buddha, or to a *stūpa*, in that it denotes the Buddha’s presence in his very absence. This is the proper context in which to begin to investigate the perceived ‘realism’ or ‘naturalism’ of Chan and Zen portraiture, but a full exploration of this topic, too, will have to await our full report.

Notes

- * This article was first published in the 1993–94 volume of *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*. In the ensuing ten years considerable work has been done in the area of Chan and Zen Buddhism as well as on East Asian Buddhist art. While we would have liked to acknowledge this growing body of research in our notes, nothing has emerged that has caused us to rethink or revise our original argument. Accordingly, for lack of time we have decided to republish the original article as it stands, with only minor typographical corrections.

1 The Wuzhun portrait is now in the possession of Tōfukuji. See Matsushita, Ōta, and Tanaka 1967: 200; Kanazawa 1979: 29–30;

- Kyōto National Museum 1981: 5; Kyōto National Museum 1983: 8, 50, 259–260; and Hamada 1986. On the many surviving portraits of Zhongfeng Mingben, see Tanaka 1953: 136, 145; Fontein and Hickman 1970: 40–42; Kyōto National Museum 1983: 9, 52–55, 260–261; Ide 1986: 49–51; and Ide 1989.
- 2 See Kawakami and Yoshikawa 1979: 166. Significant *chinzō* are still coming to light in Japan; see Ide 1986 for a recently discovered Yuan portrait subsequently designated an Important Cultural Property.
 - 3 The notion that *chinzō* were presented to disciples to certify dharma transmission is repeated by virtually every scholar who has ever written on the subject. See, for example, Brinker 1987a: 147; Brinker 1987b: 47; Fontein and Hickman 1970: xxx–xxxi; Hamada 1986: 13–15; Iijima 1957: 17; Kawakami and Yoshikawa 1979: 165–166; Komazawa daigaku 1985: 871c; Matsushita, Ōta, and Tanaka 1967: 199–200; and Stanley-Baker 1984: 113.
 - 4 T. Griffith Foulk, Elizabeth E. Horton, and Robert H. Sharf, ‘The Meaning and Function of Ch’an and Zen Portraiture’, presented at the panel ‘Likeness and Lineage: Religious Portraiture in Asia’, New York City, 17 February 1990.
 - 5 While Elizabeth Horton Sharf’s name does not appear as coauthor of the present article, we would like to acknowledge the tremendous contribution of her research and editing skills.
 - 6 See Karlgren 1966: no. 728a, and Morohashi 1955: 10.657.
 - 7 The *fu*-symbol was a mark of distinction; see Wechsler 1985: 33.
 - 8 See Schafer 1977: 292 n. 11, where he cites Joseph Needham, Nathan Sivin, Nakayama Shigeru, Manfred Porkert and others as contributing to the currency of the term ‘correspondences’.
 - 9 Schafer 1977: 55–56. For a detailed discussion of the ‘theory of correspondences’ see Sharf 1991: 162–247.
 - 10 Honda 1978: 2.277; translation (with some changes) from Wilhelm 1967: 304.
 - 11 Honda 1978: 2.319; cf. Wilhelm 1967: 336. Note also the use of the term in chapter 14 of the *Daode jing*, where *xiang* appears as part of an epithet for the Dao itself: ‘It returns to that devoid of substance; this is called the form without form, the image without substance’ (*muwu zhi xiang*). In chapter 21 of the same text we also find: ‘Indistinct and dim, yet within lies the image’ (*qizhong youxiang*). Both passages suggest that for the *Daode jing*, the *xiang* share the same ontological primacy as the Dao.
 - 12 See especially Loewe 1979: 60–85 and Schafer 1978–79.
 - 13 In a discussion of the ‘great tradition’ of Chinese painting, Fong comments that ‘the painter’s goal was to participate in the dynamic energies and transformations of creation, rather than to fashion a mere counterfeit of nature. Painting must invoke and capture reality’ (Fong 1984: 4).
 - 14 A brief study and translation of the *Jin shu* biography of Gu Kaizhi can be found in Chen 1961. The *Jin shu* contains an anecdote (not found elsewhere) in which Gu Kaizhi draws the image of a girl whom he admires on a wall and drives a thorn-needle through its heart. The girl then suffers heartache, and Gu Kaizhi, taking advantage of the

- situation, makes advances and gains the girl's affections (92.21a; see Chen 1961: 15). This tale of *envoûtement*, while clearly apocryphal, does attest to the Chinese fascination with the power of human images – particularly images rendered by a master portraitist. (On *envoûtement* or 'image magic' see especially Freedberg 1989: 263–270.) Gu Kaizhi is also said to have placed particular emphasis upon 'dotting the eyes', sometimes refraining from dotting the pupils for several years (Chen 1961: 14–15; Mather 1976: 368; Bush and Shih, eds. 1985: 14; Spiro 1988). In an article exploring this subject, Spiro argues that Gu Kaizhi was more interested in literally 'enlivening' an image than in 'conveying either the physical likeness or inner nature of an individual' (Spiro 1988: 12). For Gu Kaizhi, 'dotting the eyes transmits the spirit and pours forth the shining. It permits the spirit to take up its abode in the image ... which is to say that dotting the eyes *animates* the image, literally infusing it with life' (*ibid.*: 12–13). While we agree that Gu Kaizhi's interest lay in animating the image, we do not follow Spiro in distinguishing two genres of painting: (1) portraiture, which is concerned with rendering the physical likeness and personality of an individual, and (2) religious painting, which seeks to 'magically' animate an image (see Spiro 1988: 15). In the case of the Chinese Buddhist portraits that lie at the centre of our study, both tasks were inextricably bound up with one another. Moreover, we suspect that this was equally true for most, if not all, Chinese ancestral portraiture.
- 15 There is a considerable literature on the subject of the 'six principles' in general, and 'spirit resonance' in particular. Indeed, the punctuation of Xie He's key passage on the six principles was the subject of a lively debate several decades ago, and the controversy may never be fully resolved. See especially Soper 1949; Acker 1954: xxviii–xxxiii; Cahill 1961; Zürcher 1964: 386–392; Fong 1966; Fong 1984: 4; Hay 1983; Hay 1984; and Bush and Shih eds. 1985: 10–17.
 - 16 Translation from Bush and Shih, eds. 1985: 54; cf. edition and translation in Acker 1954: 148–149.
 - 17 See for example the *Xuanhe huapu*, a catalogue of the collection of the Northern Song Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125), edited by Yu Jianhua 1964.
 - 18 The term has a wide range of meanings in classical Sanskrit, including 'top of the skull', 'ornament on top of the head', 'turban', 'diadem', and so on. A full discussion of the *uṣṇīṣa* can be found in Demiéville and May eds. 1929: 5.421–430; Mochizuki 1933: 4.3632–3633; Wyman 1957: 250; and Durt 1967. One representative list in English of the major and minor marks can be found in Hurvitz 1980: 353–361. The discussion below relies heavily upon these sources, as well as upon the personal assistance of Professor Nagao Gadjin, to whom we would like to extend our thanks. We will confine our remarks below to the technical Buddhist sense of *uṣṇīṣa* as it came to be understood in China.
 - 19 The *uṣṇīṣa-śīraskatā* is the first of the thirty-two major marks of a Buddha as listed in the Sanskrit of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* 17, but there is considerable variety in the order and contents of the list as one moves from one source to another. It falls at the end of the list of thirty-two

- marks in the *Sanzang fa shu*, where it is listed as ‘the mark of the fleshy topknot on the top of the head’ (*dingcheng rouji xiang*). See Hurvitz 1908: 353–361.
- 20 T. 220: 6.968c18–19; see also Lamotte 1949–80: 3.1346–1347.
 - 21 T. 1582: 30.568a. Some sources understand the eighty secondary marks as simply an elaboration of the thirty-two major marks, which might serve to rectify what appears to be a contradiction in the variant lists.
 - 22 *Mahāyānasamgraha* (*She dacheng lun*, T. 1594), section 10.5 (see the edition by Nagao, 1987: 336).
 - 23 See Durt 1967 for a full discussion.
 - 24 T. 2059: 50.356b3 ff; cf. Zürcher 1972: 1.199, and Kobayashi 1954: 13.
 - 25 T. 2060: 50.488c10–12 (our thanks to Koichi Shinohara for this reference). A portrait of Tanyan kept at Boti temple in Hezhong seems to have been the focus of Tanyan worship long after Tanyan’s death. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography of Wenzhao, Wenzhao worshipped Tanyan’s image at the time when he took his monastic vows. As a result of Wenzhao’s worship of the image, Tanyan appeared and spoke to Wenzhao in a dream (T. 2061: 50.868c10–22; cf. the discussion in Kobayashi 1954: 19–20).
 - 26 On the relationship between the worship of eminent monks, the preservation of their remains, and the evolution of Buddhist portraiture, see especially Kosugi 1934 and 1937, and Kobayashi 1954.
 - 27 According to the Gilgit *Mūlasarvāstivādin vinaya*, ‘He who would worship a living [Buddha], and he who would worship one who has entered final Nirvāṇa, having made their minds equally devout – between them there is no distinction of merit’ (Schopen 1987: 209–210).
 - 28 On the miraculous incorruptibility of the bodies of deceased Chan masters see especially Kosugi 1937; Demiéville 1965; Faure 1991: 148–169; Faure 1992; and Sharf 1992. The following discussion of Buddhist mummies and lacquer statuary is taken largely from Sharf 1992.
 - 29 Tsukamoto 1974: 180; translation (with some changes) from Hurvitz 1956: 62–63. The *Shilao zhi* is a history of Buddhism and Daoism during the Northern Wei (386–534), and comprises fascicle 114 of the *Wei shu* by Wei Shou; cf. Huishi’s biographies in fascicle 10 of the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2059: 50.392b3–c7), and fascicle 19 of the *Fayuan zhulin* (T. 2122: 53.428a25–b1), where he is called Tanshi.
 - 30 See the biography of Tanyou in fascicle 11 of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2059: 50.395c26–396b16, and the biography of Huiming in the same text, 400b4–15; see also the discussion in Kobayashi 1954: 15.
 - 31 Fascicle 9 of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* further records that Faqin’s hair had grown so long that it covered his face (T. 2061; 50.764b14–765a11). See also Kosugi 1937: 109–110, where he discusses these and other cases of *stūpas* containing effigies.
 - 32 T. 2059: 50.395c5–25; cf. the discussion in Kobayashi 1954: 14.
 - 33 The earliest recorded cases of Buddhist mummification in China involve the bodies of eminent Chan masters whose bodies were naturally resistant to decay after death. The mummification was

- apparently intended to preserve for posterity the miracle of their 'terminal incorruptibility'. See the full discussion in Sharf 1992.
- 34 For an extended analysis of the history of this mummy and the monastery that houses it, see Faure 1992: 165–180. An account of a relatively recent visit to the temple can be found in Blofeld 1972: 86–92.
- 35 *T. 2076*: 51.236c11–16; translation (with some changes) from Yampolsky 1967: 86–87.
- 36 A photograph of the mummy is reproduced in Demiéville 1965: 416, as well as in Needham 1974: fig. 1330. The identity of the mummy is uncertain, but it most probably is not that of the historical Huineng. Scholars now believe that much of the biography of Huineng is later legend and that he was relatively unknown in his own day. The appearance of the mummy and the various legends surrounding it were no doubt attempts to capitalize upon the later fame of the master.
- 37 On East Asian dry-lacquer sculpture, see Warner 1936: 10; Warner 1964: 55–60; and Nishikawa and Sano 1982: 48–49. Although numerous dry-lacquer images produced in medieval Japan have survived to modern times, works from Tang China are rare. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York possesses a sculpture of Śākyamuni from the Daifu temple (Zhengding, Hebei province) dated to c. 650, which may be the earliest extant example. See Watt 1990: 57.
- 38 This is the case with the Vinaya master Jianzhen (688–763), better known by his Japanese name Ganjin, who is famed as the patriarch of the Ritsu school in Japan. In 750, during his unsuccessful fifth attempt to travel to Japan, Jianzhen paid a visit to Caoqi where he was able to see the mummified remains of Huineng. Apparently Huineng's mummy so impressed Jianzhen that he too wanted to be mummified at death, but something seems to have gone wrong with the mummy, and eventually Jianzhen's remains had to be cremated. Tōshōdaiji, the temple founded by Jianzhen in Nara, contains an image of the master which is a masterpiece of the highly refined and true-to-life dry-lacquer technique, which appears to have been intended as a replacement for Jianzhen's mummified corpse. See the full discussion of the evidence in the appendix to Sharf 1992.
- 39 *T. 2061*: 50.832c29–833a2. The two other recorded cases are those of Mucha (*T. 2061*: 50.823b1–5) and Shucao (*T. 2061*: 50.857b2–13); see the discussion in Kosugi 1937: 116–117.
- 40 On the images of Hongbian and Enchin, see the discussion in Itō 1987 and Mōri 1977: 82. Note that Itō's analysis is seriously flawed by the unwarranted assumption that an image that depicts a monk as a young man can be assumed to have been produced before the monk's death.
- 41 Mōri 1977: 27. The image in Kōkokuji is dated to 1286, and thus would have been produced when Kakushin was still alive. Another sculptural image of Kakushin, dated some ten years earlier, is the 'oldest known sculptural *chinsō* (portrait of a Zen master) in Japan, as well as the oldest *juzō* (*chinsō* of a living subject)' (Lee, Cunningham, and Ulak 1983: 251). Other important examples of Japanese images containing relics include the image of Nichiren (1222–1282) in Hommonji in Tōkyō, and the image of the Shin priest Ryōgen (1295–1336) in the Bukkōji in Kyōto; see the discussion in Mōri 1977: 26–33.

- 42 On the evolution of the portrait hall from memorial *stūpas*, see the discussion in Kosugi 1934 and 1937: 111.
- 43 See Reischauer 1955: 64, 67, 71, 72–73, 217, 220–221, 224, 228, 230, 265, and 294.
- 44 See the edited text and Japanese translation in Yanagida 1971: 329–435.
- 45 The Dunhuang text in question is Shenhui's *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*, edited by Hu Shi (see Hu Shi 1968: 289). Our analysis demands that the expression *qizutang* be read as 'hall of seven patriarchs' rather than 'hall of the seventh patriarch'. Such a reading is justified by the logic of Shenhui's critique: Shenhui criticized Puji for extolling Shenxiu as the patriarch of the sixth generation. Accordingly, if *qizu* meant 'seventh patriarch' it would necessarily be referring to Faru. But this is unlikely, as Faru's biography is placed sixth in the *Chuan fabao ji*, and Shenxiu's is seventh. In any case, the crux of Shenhui's attack is that the Northern lineage allowed *two* patriarchs to occupy the sixth generation, without positing a seventh. Also note that, according to Puji's epitaph, his followers called Puji himself the 'seventh patriarch', rather than either Shenxiu or Faru (McRae 1986: 65–66).
- 46 For previous work on the relationship between Shenxiu and Faru, and the situation surrounding the compilation of the *Chuan fabao ji*, see especially Yanagida 1954; Yanagida 1963; Yanagida 1967: 35–58; Yanagida 1971: 24–28; Faure 1987: 26–38, 128–134; Faure 1989: 65–67; and McRae 1986: 85–87. Note that our reconstruction of the authorship of the *Chuan fabao ji* differs somewhat from those offered by Yanagida, Faure, and McRae (see the following note).
- 47 Heze Shenhui (684–758), a vociferous critic of the *Chuan fabao ji*, accused Puji of having the text produced in order to substantiate his claim to the patriarchy (Hu Shi 1968: 284, 289). A careful analysis of the *Chuan fabao ji* and related sources fully corroborates Shenhui's charge. It appears that Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* was compiled on the basis of an earlier text, no longer extant, which comprised the first six biographies of the extant text (Bodhidharma through Faru). This earlier text was no doubt composed to validate the lineage outlined in Faru's epitaph and to establish the Shaolin Monastery as the ancient and legitimate home of said lineage. Du Fei's alteration of the text consisted of adding an introduction, a postscript, and a biography of Shenxiu, all of which were carefully worded so as to place Shenxiu on an equal footing with Faru and to endorse Shenxiu as the heir to Hongren's lineage after Faru died. Du Fei went as far as he could to alter the 'Ur text' of the *Chuan fabao ji* so as to support the claims of Shenxiu's followers, given the constraints imposed by the availability of the pre-existing record(s) of Faru's lineage.
- 48 John Jorgensen argues that Shenhui's criticism entailed a conception of patriarchal lineage based on the model of imperial succession: in the case of the imperial clan, there can be only one legitimate heir (i.e. one reigning monarch) per generation (Jorgensen 1987). According to Jorgensen, in insisting upon the principle of one heir per generation, Shenhui sought to establish an 'imperial lineage' for Southern Chan and to simultaneously advance his own credentials as current lineage-

- holder (p. 104). The suggestion that the principle of a unilinear Chan patriarchal succession originated with Shenhui is, however, highly debatable. The principle may well have been advanced by the disciples of Faru, only to be appropriated by Shenhui in his attempt to neutralize the machinations of Shenxiu's followers.
- 49 See Zongmi's *Yuanjuejing dashu chao*, written sometime between 833 and 841 (ZZ.14.277c1-3), and the full discussion in Jorgensen 1987: 118-129.
- 50 The text goes on to report that in 772 the *stūpa* itself was granted an imperial plaque that read, '*stūpa* of the Great Teacher of Wisdom [*Banruo dashi zhi ta*, i.e., Shenhui's posthumous title]'. According to Zongmi, various Chan teachers were summoned by the crown prince in 796 to determine the orthodox Chan teachings, and this commission formally ratified Shenhui's status as seventh patriarch in Bodhidharma's lineage. The event was recorded on a stele erected by imperial order inside the Shenlong Monastery (Zongmi remarks that it is 'still there'), and the emperor himself composed a 'eulogy for the seventh patriarch' (*Qizu zanwen*) (ZZ.14.277c2-3).
- 51 *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu*, ZZ.110.434b7.
- 52 *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 49.464a26-27.
- 53 The principal area in which this development took place comprised the kingdoms of Wu (902-937) and the Southern Tang (937-975), both of which were located in the vicinity of Nanking, the kingdoms of Wu Yue in present day Chekiang (907-978), of Min in Fukien (907-946), of the Southern Han in modern Canton (907-971), and of the State of Chu which occupied the area of Hunan (927-956).
- 54 The text has been edited by Yanagida (1984b); see also the discussion in Yampolsky 1967: 51 n. 177.
- 55 For a discussion of the 'monasteries of the ten directions' see Foulk 1987: 69-72.
- 56 The variety of historical sources available to us makes the study of Song monastic culture particularly rewarding. This includes ground plans of Buddhist monasteries, including diagrams of specific types of buildings; monastic rules, daily schedules, and liturgical manuals, all included in monastic codes known as *qinggui* or 'pure rules'; civil (regional) gazetteers (*difangzhi*); gazetteers for particular monasteries (*shanzhi*); biographies, memorial stelae, and 'discourse records' (*yulu*) for individual monks; Buddhist chronologies, lexicons, and encyclopedias; diaries and memoirs of monks and lay patrons of Buddhism; detailed first-hand accounts of monastic life by Japanese pilgrims such as Eisai and Dōgen; and surviving examples of Song Buddhist portraiture.
- 57 Such arrangements are attested in sets of portraits of Chan and Zen patriarchs that survive in Japan, supposedly based directly on Song and Yuan models. See Sakakibara 1985, Taniguchi 1984, and the discussion below of the set painted by Minchō that survives at the Rokuō-in, Kyōto.
- 58 This was in marked contrast to the abbots of so-called 'disciple-lineage cloisters' (*jiayi tudiyuan*). It was common practice for the abbacy of these smaller private establishments to be passed down from master to disciple, a practice which would have made for tidy portrait halls.

- 59 This preface is preserved in the *Baiyun Shouduan chanshi yulu* ('The discourse record of Chan Master Baiyun Shouduan'), appended to sermons he gave while abbot of the Ganming Chan Cloister situated on Mt. Longmen.
- 60 See the reproduction in the *Zengaku daijiten* 3: 12–13. The *Gozan jissatsu zu* comprises seventy-two illustrations in all, including monastic ground plans, buildings, furnishings, ceremonies, and so on. The extant text dates to the mid-Muromachi period, but it is most likely a copy of an original dating to about 1250; the details of the text correlate precisely with those of extant Song monastic codes.
- 61 The designations used for the former abbots in this plan are somewhat confusing, since the 'first-generation abbot' would supposedly have been the second abbot of the monastery, serving as he did after the founding abbot. This would make the 'second-generation abbot' the third. However, it is also possible that the 'founding abbot' was so in name only; we know that the disciples of a famous abbot would occasionally establish cloisters in their teacher's name. This was effected by enshrining a portrait of the master in the portrait hall as 'founding abbot', despite the fact that the master may never have visited the site. This seems to have been the case, for example, with several cloisters associated with Zhongfeng Mingben (see Ide 1989: 109).
- 62 The *zhaomu* sequence is only reversed if we assume that the patriarchs were enshrined on the north end of the hall. Ultimately, the location and organization of the patriarchs in this hall remains open to question, due to the small scale of the plan.
- 63 The situation differs in Kamakura Japan, however, which has led to some confusion on the issue. When Song monastic institutions were transmitted to Kamakura Japan by Japanese disciples of Chinese Chan teachers, they looked so different from preexisting Tendai and Shingon establishments built on the Tang model that the new Song style came to be thought of as distinctively 'Zen'. Nevertheless, in the Song period, Tiantai and Vinaya establishments closely resembled their Chan counterparts. For a detailed discussion of the individual halls found in Song Buddhist monasteries, see Foulk 1993.
- 64 See the full description in the *Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui*, ZZ.101.351c–352c.
- 65 *Zengxiu jiaoyuan qinggui*; cf. *Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu*, T. 1937: 46.930a–c.
- 66 The nine Tiantai patriarchs are: (1) Nāgārjuna, (2) Huiwen, (3) Huisi, (4) Zhiyi, (5) Guanding, (6) Zhiwei, (7) Huiwei, (8) Xuanlang, and (9) Zhanran. The Japanese pilgrim Jōjin saw images of all nine at a Tiantai monastery in Song China (Hirabayashi 1988: 16), but it is not clear whether they were installed in the Buddha hall or in a patriarch hall attached to the Buddha hall. A patriarch hall built in Kamakura Japan by another Japanese pilgrim to the Song, Shunjō, featured the nine Tiantai and nine Vinaya patriarchs (Ishida 1972: 395).
- 67 See the *Lüyuan shigui*, ZZ.106.23a–24d.
- 68 The six rubbings, now in the Kyōto National Museum, were originally housed at Rikkyoku-an, a sub-temple at Tōfukuji in Kyōto. (This memorial temple was established for Egyō after he retired from the

- abbacy of Tōfukuji.) For a discussion and reproductions of this set of rubbings, see Taniguchi 1984.
- 69 The portraits in the ‘Shaka Triad with Portraits of Thirty Patriarchs’ executed in Japan in 1425 by Minchō (1352–1431; see below) are very similar in composition to the Rikkyoku-an rubbings, and may very well have been modeled on them.
- 70 In present-day Japanese Zen monasteries, portraits of patriarchs and former abbots are typically hung in this manner.
- 71 For a discussion of ‘open’ or ‘public’ monasteries (*jippō satsu*) and ‘closed’ or ‘private’ monasteries (*tsuchien*) in Japan, see Collcutt 1981: 93, 116, 150 and 231.
- 72 From the ‘passing of a venerable elder (i.e., the abbot)’ (*zunsu qianhua*) section of the *Chanyuan qinggui*; see Kagamishima *et al.* 1972: 259–260; cf. the parallel sections on abbots’ funerals in the *Jiaoding qinggui* of 1204 (ZZ.112.19d–21d), the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* of 1311 (ZZ.112.61b–63a), the *Lüyuan shigui* of 1325 (ZZ.106.36a–40a), the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* of 1336 (T. 2025: 48.1127a–1129a), the *Jiaoyuan qinggui* of 1347 (ZZ.101.389d–391d), and the *Sho ekō shingi shiki* of 1566 by Tenrin Fūin (T.2578: 81.659b ff.).
- 73 See Kagamishima *et al.* 1972: 259–260, as well as the sections on funerals in the monastic codes mentioned in the note above.
- 74 See, for example, the description of the funeral rites in the *Zhuzi jiali*, a ritual manual attributed to Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and widely circulated since the Southern Song. The *Jiali* records the opinions of Sima Guang (1019–1086) concerning the custom of drawing an image of the deceased on the back of a silk ‘soul cloth’ (*hunbo*) ‘as something for the spirits to rely on’ (Ebrey 1990: 78). The installation of the portrait next to the casket is also mentioned in the journals of Matteo Ricci (see Gallagher 1953: 72–73). A full description of the funeral rites as practised at the turn of the century can be found in Groot 1982, volumes 1–3.
- 75 *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*, ZZ.112.62c. See also the section on ‘minor convocations facing the spirit [seat]’ in the *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao*, ZZ.112.20d.
- 76 See the description in the *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao*, ZZ.112.23d–24a.
- 77 Representative descriptions of the ceremony for ‘entering the room’ can be found in the *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao*, ZZ.112.16b–c, and the *Chalin beiyong qinggui*, ZZ.112.35c–d.
- 78 The term *zunsu xiang* or ‘image of a venerable’ was used in Chan monastic codes to refer to the portraits in a patriarch hall.
- 79 A description of the *shangtang* rite can be found in the *Chanyuan qinggui*, see Kagamishima *et al.* 1972: 71–75. See also the discussions in Foulk 1987: 373; and Sharf 1989.
- 80 T. 2076: 51.251a6–10. See the discussion in Foulk 1987: 374. It is simply not true that Chan monasteries did away with Buddha halls, but this fact does not diminish the significance of the *Chanmen guishi* account in Chan mythology.
- 81 Of course, abbots also wrote inscriptions on images of traditional Buddhist deities (and on just about anything and everything else), but such images will not concern us here.

- 82 The occasional portrait eulogy is in fact found in discourse records attributed to Tang masters. A Japanese edition of the record of Dongshan Liangjie (807–869), for example, contains a single entry under the heading ‘portrait eulogy’ (*zhenzan*), for which the first ten characters of the twenty-character inscription are illegible (*Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu*, ZZ.118.458b). Note, however, that this version of the *Dongshan lu* is found in a late Japanese work, the *Sōtō nishi roku* compiled by Shigetsu E’in (1689–1764) in 1761. The presence of this single portrait eulogy in the *Dongshan lu* shows the pervasive influence of the Song model on later editors of materials dubiously attributed to Tang masters.
- 83 See the *Yangqi Fanghui heshang houlu*, T. 1994b: 47.648c23–29, and the corresponding section in ZZ.118.471c. Note that the title of this section in the Zokuzōkyō edition is simply *zizan*. Note also that the Taishō text runs the last three eulogies together without a break, giving the false impression that they constitute a single epilogue to the compilation.
- 84 Bernard Faure, borrowing from Pierre Bourdieu, refers to such rhetorical movements as ‘strategies of condescension’: ‘In such strategies, the master is sufficiently assured of his position in the hierarchy to be able to deny the hierarchy, thus cumulating the profits tied to the hierarchy and its symbolic denial’ (Faure 1991: 20).
- 85 The record of Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069); see T. 1993: 47.636a8, and ZZ.120.101a, where we find *zishu zhenzan*.
- 86 The record of Wuzu Fayan (1024?–1104); see T. 1995: 47.666b23.
- 87 See the *Mingxue chanshi yulu*, T. 1996: 47.697b15–698a6. This compilation of Xuedou’s sermons and writings contains a total of eight inscriptions for various ‘great teachers’ (*dashi*), including Chan masters (*chanshi*), and other eminent monks. Xuedou’s record does not, however, mention any portraits of Xuedou himself.
- 88 An inscription in the *Huanglong Huinan chanshi yulu* begins with the sentence, ‘A man of Chan drew my portrait and asked me to inscribe it’ (T. 1993: 47.636a8; and ZZ.120.101a). Another example is found in the *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, in which Dahui opens a eulogy with the words ‘my eulogy, my portrait . . .’ (T. 1998: 47.861a8). In most cases the colophon itself designates the portrait as that of the abbot, often by simply identifying the portrait eulogy as a *zizan* or ‘self-eulogy’. The colophon can be even more explicit: the *Chaozong Huifang chanshi yulu* (the record of Chaozong Huifang, 1173–1129), for example, contains two eulogies, the second of which bears the heading: ‘A man of Chan drew my portrait and sought a eulogy’ (ZZ.120.137a). Also common are inscriptions introduced by the phrase: ‘[so and so] drew a portrait of the master and sought [his] inscription’; see, for example, the *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu*, T.2001: 48.102a10 ff.
- 89 T. 1997: 807b28–808b25. This text is the discourse record of Yuanwu Keqin (1063–1135).
- 90 See, for example, the *Miaoming Zhenjue Wujiandu heshang yulu*, which records fourteen inscriptions composed for a variety of officers, monks, and laypersons (ZZ.122.236b–d), and the *Xueyan Zuqin heshang yulu*, which records seven inscriptions given to a similarly

- diverse group (ZZ.122-292a-b). These lists are typical of most *zizan* or 'self-eulogy' sections found in Chan discourse records.
- 91 See the *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*, T. 1998: 47.860b22 ff.
- 92 See T.2001: 48.103a4.
- 93 A description of his duties can be found in fascicle 5 of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, Kagamishima *et al.* 1972: 167-175.
- 94 See, for example, the *Fohai Huiyuan chanshi guanglu* (the record of Xiatang Huiyuan, 1103-1176), which lists approximately thirty eulogies under the heading 'eulogies requested by men of Chan who drew the master's portrait' (ZZ.120.490d-492a).
- 95 *Xiyuan Liaohui chanshi yulu* (published 1263), ZZ.122.184a18.
- 96 Also note that during the Song, persons requiring senior monk sponsors for their postulancy and novice ordinations occasionally made use of portraits in place of living persons (Tsukamoto 1975: 61). While this practice was condemned by government officials as an abuse designed to skirt restrictions on the *saṃgha*, it confirms our interpretation concerning the ritual identification of portrait and living patriarch.
- 97 See, for example, Komazawa daigaku 1985: 871c.
- 98 See *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*, 63: 273a-b.
- 99 While this case does tell us a great deal about the nature of dharma transmission in the Sung, we will reserve our full analysis for our final report.
- 100 *Zutang ji*, see Yanagida, ed. 1984a: 1644a (4.79.5-10). The same story is repeated in fascicle 7 of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*: 'When the teacher was about to depart from the world he said to his congregation: "Is there one here who can render my true image or not?" The congregation all proceeded to draw his true image and then presented them to the teacher. The teacher gave them each a beating. Then the disciple Puhua came forward and said: "I have rendered it". The teacher said: "Then why haven't you shown it to me?" Puhua then did a somersault and left' (T.2076: 51.253b28-c3).
- 101 *Samyutta-nikāya* 22.87; Pali Text Society edition 3.120; cf. *Dīgha-nikāya* 2.100 and 154.
- 102 See, for example, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: 'In a true sense this [*Prajñāpāramitā*] is the body of the Tathāgatas. As the Lord has said: "The Dharma-bodies are the Buddhas, the Lords. But, monks, you should not think that this individual body is my body. Monks, you should see Me from the accomplishment of the Dharma-body." But that Tathāgata-body should be seen as brought about by the reality-limit, i.e., by the perfection of wisdom' (Conze 1975: 116).
- 103 T.475: 14.539c1, and 14.542a. For English translations of the corresponding passages in the Tibetan, see Lamotte 1976: 39 and 83. Note also the following exchange between Vimalakīrti and the Buddha: 'Thereupon, the Buddha said to the Licchavi Vimalakīrti, "Noble son, when you would see the Tathāgata, how do you view him?" Thus addressed, the Licchavi Vimalakīrti said to the Buddha, "Lord, when I would see the Tathāgata, I view him by not seeing any Tathāgata. Why? I see him as not born from the past, not passing on to the future, and not abiding in the present time"' (Thurman 1976: 91).

- 104 From the Bodhiruci translation, T.671: 16.516b.
- 105 See the *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wan xing shoulengyan jing*: ‘I wholeheartedly take refuge in the Sūramgama King of the invisible *uṣṇīṣa*’. (T.945: 19.105c24).
- 106 See, for example, the *Congrong lu*, T.2004: 48.282b12–13; and the *Puan Yinxiao chanshi yulu*, ZZ.120.273b.
- 107 T.2076: 51.337c15–16. The final line might roughly be interpreted: ‘This Tathāgata of which you speak, do you mistakenly think of it as a sort of object that could possess an *uṣṇīṣa*?’
- 108 See *juan 9* of the *Zhongfeng heshang guanglu*, *Dai nihon kōtei daizōkyō*, 31.6.7. This theme was a favourite of Zhongfeng, and his inscriptions are replete with similar references.
- 109 See, for example, Brinker 1987a: 147; Fontein and Hickman 1970: xxx; Hamada 1986: 15; Iijima 1957: 17; Kawakami and Yoshikawa 1979: 164; Kyōto National Museum 1983: 259; and Matsushita, Ōta, and Tanaka 1967: 199.
- 110 The notion that the realism of Chan portraiture is related to their function as transmission certificates is found throughout the literature; see, for example, Fontein and Hickman 1970: xxxi; and Matsushita, Ōta, and Tanaka 1967: 199.
- 111 One notes the similarity between the talismanic use of Chan and Zen portraits and the use of amulets bearing the portraits of Buddhist saints coveted among the Buddhist faithful in Thailand. The Thai Buddhist talismanic amulets are also produced and distributed both before and following the death of a charismatic master. See the full discussion in Tambiah 1984.

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A TANG DYNASTY CHAN
MUMMY [*ROUSHEN*] AND A
MODERN CASE OF *FURTA SACRA*?

Investigating the contested bones of
Shitou Xiqian

James Robson

Shitou's road is a slippery one.
Mazu Daoyi

Introductory remarks

In recent years many long-dead mummies have come back to life in scholarship on Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.¹ This new interest has developed despite the excoriation of the practice of venerating mummified corpses of Buddhist monks among modern scholars of Buddhism and the tendency, as Gregory Schopen phrases it, for scholars of religion to be more comfortable dealing 'with ideas than with things', especially when those 'things' are dead things.² Holmes Welch, for example, once wrote that 'meat bodies' (*roushen*) were the product of superstition and that 'the whole concept of the meat body would seem to exemplify the antithesis of the doctrine of impermanence . . . as in other religions, the saintly and the sordid seem to be inextricable'.³ Through a series of foundational articles, Bernard Faure and Robert Sharf have stated the case well for why Buddhist mummies have been perceived as incongruous with key Buddhist tenets and neglected in modern scholarship on Chinese Buddhism. They have also begun to redress many entrenched misunderstandings of the role of mummified Buddhist priests by emphasizing the important, indeed central, role

they have played within medieval Chan Buddhism.⁴ While other evidence further suggests that the veneration of mummified Buddhist monks may have been at the heart of Buddhism since its arrival in China, and is a practice found in a wide range of Buddhist lineages, it was within the Chan school that techniques for deliberately aiding the mummification process by wrapping the corpse in lacquer-soaked hemp cloth were developed.⁵

In the words that follow, however, I will not be addressing the study of the history of Chinese Buddhist mummies as a whole, but rather will limit my inquiries to the events surrounding the alleged theft by a Japanese traveller to China in the early twentieth century of a Tang dynasty (618–907) mummy of the famous Chan patriarch Shitou Xiqian (700–790).⁶ The fact that this mummy is possibly that of a Tang dynasty Chan monk holds exceptional interest if for no other reason than very few of the mummies that are claimed to be Tang or earlier monks actually survive. This modern relic theft is also of particular interest because the circumstances regarding the theft are well documented from a number of perspectives.

Although well documented and filled with copious details, the reports of Shitou's alleged theft are problematic and do not yield a unitary account. I came to question the historical and popular reconstructions of what took place and was struck, for example, by the fact that the 'translations' of this mummy, or accounts of how the relic came to be in its present place, were presented from vastly different perspectives in China and Japan. Briefly put, the articles in Chinese newspapers wrote about this case as if it was an aggressive theft of a sacred relic, while in Japan the accounts were quite different, emphasizing instead that the mummy was actually 'rescued' from the flames of a burning temple.

In discussing the events surrounding the theft of this mummy I will be less concerned with Shitou's actual biography; in fact there will be exceedingly little about his life in this study, than with providing what might be called a 'cultural biography' of the object that has been perceived as his mummy.⁷ Adapting Igor Kopytoff's processual biographical approach to objects has proved useful in accounting for the changing identity of this mummy. By recounting the details of the movement of the mummy, its new life in Japan, and present concerns about its identity and potential repatriation to China, I hope to reveal the complexity of this object's career as its culturally constituted meaning was (and continues to be) redefined.

The alleged theft of Shitou's [Stonehead] mummy

No doubt for most readers the mummy that I will be discussing here is known best from the picture and short discussion in Bernard Faure's book *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*.⁸ The caption for that photograph identifies the mummy as the Tang dynasty (618–907) Chinese Chan monk Shitou Xiqian and that the photograph was taken at Sōjiji Monastery in Yokohama, one of the head temples of the Japanese Sōtō Zen lineage. Faure's book, published in 1991, was not, however, the only printed work where the alleged mummy of Shitou took on new life in the early 1990s.

Between 1991 and 1992 no fewer than six articles about the alleged theft of Shitou's mummy appeared in newspapers throughout China, including the *Renmin ribao*, *Yangcheng wanbao*, and *Dongfang shibao*. All of these articles had similar attention-grabbing headlines such as: 'A 1,000 Year Old Mummified Monk Was Stolen by the Japanese'. The account that is included in the following *Yangcheng Wanbao* article of 31 January 1992 is representative of the many other articles concerning the alleged theft of Shitou's mummy.

A Tang Dynasty Monk's Thousand Year Old *Roushen* ('Flesh-body') Has Not Decayed: At the end of the War of Resistance with Japan it was stolen and moved to Tokyo.⁹

The Tang dynasty Chan monk Wuji's 'flesh-body' had, up to now, been preserved in good condition for over a thousand years, [and] the academic world has regarded it as one of the worlds wonders. It is a pity, however, that this country's best cultural relics are presently not within China, and are in Japan.

In the sixth year of the *zhennyuan* [reign period] of the Tang (790), a ninety-one year old Chan monk Wuji knew that he wouldn't live for much longer, and he quietly returned to his home at the Southern Terrace Temple [*Nantai si*] on Mt. Heng in Hunan, he stopped eating and drinking and urged his disciples to concoct a medicinal soup out of the numerous kinds of medicinal grasses he had gathered. Every day he drank at least ten bowlfuls of this medicine. After drinking the soup he would urinate often and drip with sweat. One after another his disciples tried to dissuade him from drinking it, but the great master would only laugh and not answer, and

continued to drink it. After one month he was purified and thin, his face had a red complexion, and his two eyes had a bright glow. Then one day while he was sitting upright reciting a sūtra he passed away. After several months had passed, not only had the Chan monks flesh body not decayed, but it was still full of fragrant aromas.¹⁰ His disciples together with lay followers from the area were amazed and considered this the result of the great master's meritorious deeds. Later they built a monastery as an offering to him.

Over the last thousand years or so, incense and food have been offered regularly for him at this monastery. In the thirties, however, warlord separatists fought battles [around China] and many of them took refuge in the Hunan region. Posing as dentists, they served as a screen for the Japanese spy movements into the western provinces. Taking advantage of this disorder they poisoned to death a young monk at the temple, took the flesh body of the Chan master Wuji, and stored it outside the monastery. Not long after, the main hall of the temple was burned down by soldiers, and everyone thought that the masters flesh body had also met with disaster and been destroyed in the conflagration.

At the end of the War of Resistance with Japan, the master's flesh body was disguised as merchandise, loaded on a boat, and secretly transported to Japan. In the beginning, it was placed in an obscure location, later it was moved to an underground storehouse at the base of a small mountain on the outskirts of Tokyo, where it remained secret and unpublicized. In 1947 the Japanese fled China in a hurry, and at the time of going through those things left behind by them, the people found out about this big secret from a diary. The Japanese authorities immediately dispatched someone to open up the warehouse, at which time they only saw the master sitting cross legged, there was something magical in his two eyes, like a real persons. Specialists pointed out that the mummies preservation was due to man-made medicines, which were not that unusual. But that the mummy had been exposed to air for over a thousand years and not decayed, truly is one of the wonders of the world. Then, an examination revealed that the masters stomach contained no decaying substances, the inside of the body had been permeated by antiseptic medicine, and the mouth and anus had been completely sealed; these are all fundamental reasons why the flesh body did not decay. In

regard to the large quantities of medicinal soup he drank, it is impossible for us to know just what kinds of herbs were used.

While this story is certainly filled with ample mystery and intrigue, all good ingredients for an attention catching story, many of its main elements, which also appeared in other papers all over China, were (despite their abundant details) patent fabrications and/or part of a lore circulating about Shitou's alleged mummy during the 1990s. While it is impossible to trace the provenance of some of the details presented here, the significant point to note about this article, and the many others that contained the same information, is the fact that it portrays the movement of Shitou's mummy to Japan as a hostile act of aggression that took place in the waning days of the War of Resistance against Japan in the 1940s.

Based on the citations in many of the mainland Chinese newspaper articles, the interest in the story of Shitou's theft was sparked by the rediscovery of a series of articles that had originally been published in the mid-1970s in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The article in the mainland *Dongfang shibao*, for example, cites information from an article in the *Hong Kong Kuaibao* which it says makes reference to an article published in Taiwan on 20 June, 1975 titled 'Master Wuji's Flesh Body is Venerated in Japan'.¹¹ At about the same time that the Hong Kong newspaper ran their article on Shitou's mummy a number of articles appeared in succession in the *Lianhe bao*. The first, published on 18 June, 1975 with the long headline 'The Tang Dynasty Monk Wuji Dashi's Mummy has Appeared in Japan: The more than 1,000 year old uncorrupted dharma body of [the monk who] passed away at Nanyue was secretly moved to Japan by a Japanese dentist working in China', reported a number of intriguing facts about the 'history' of Shitou's mummy and its move to Japan.

The great Buddhist master Wuji died at Mt. Nanyue in China's Hunan province. Following his death there were some auspicious signs and it was discovered that he looked just like a normal living person. For this reason his 'flesh body' was placed in a specially constructed temple ... Nobody is able to detail the circumstances regarding how this mummy was transported to Japan, but according to the explanation in this evening's Japanese newspaper, during the period of the Chinese civil war rebel troops started a fire in the temple where the mummy was venerated, and Master

Wuji's flesh body was moved to a safe location outside the temple by a travelling Japanese dentist. At first he kept the mummy in his own home and later he secretly moved it to Japan. From 1930 on, the mummy was kept for a time on the top of a small mountain outside of Tokyo in order to attract tourists. Later this small mountain was given the same name as that of this mummy. During World War II, the mummy was moved to the corner of a local storehouse. Finally, a group called the Japanese Mummy Research Group found the mummy and moved it to the office of a professor at Waseda University. Once Japanese Buddhists learned about this Chan mummies existence in Japan it was for a time displayed at a department store in Tokyo. After undergoing preservation and study by specialists in Nigata it was agreed to give the mummy to a temple for protection.¹²

This story was about as accurate as could have been expected at the time it was written, based on the information available to the author. Yet, the key information to be noted here is that, contrary to the later mainland Chinese newspaper accounts, this article has an intriguing summary of events that begins with the line, 'according to the explanation in this evening's Japanese newspaper'. According to the Japanese newspaper report cited in the Taiwanese article the events surrounding the transfer of the mummy to Japan occurred during the aftermath of the Chinese civil war (1911) and not during the war of resistance against Japan (1940s). What was the precedent, we might ask, for the later Chinese newspaper articles situating the theft of Shitou's mummy during the War of Resistance against Japan, when it appears that they had access to accurate historical information?

It appears that the sole basis for situating the events of the theft in the 1940s was a statement that appeared in an article on Shitou's mummy in the Taiwanese *Lianhe bao* newspaper the following day (19 June 1975), titled 'The monk Shitou's Lion's Roar and the Chan text "Cantong qi": [His] 1,000 year old Incorruptible Flesh Body was Moved to Japan and Representatives from The Taiwanese Buddhist Association Hope that it will be Returned to Taiwan.'¹³ It is in this article that one first senses the strong anti-Japanese sentiment that became amplified in the articles that were written in the 1990s. The one line that the later articles seize upon follows a brief account of the circumstances surrounding the move of Shitou's mummy to Japan. It adds, however, that 'An influential person

within the Taiwanese Buddhist world does not believe this account and believes that this great Chinese master's mummy was moved out of the country by the Japanese during the final days of the War of Resistance with Japan (1944).¹⁴ Although this statement was pure conjecture, it may have been precipitated by the fact that during the War of Resistance some monks did fear that famous Chinese mummies would be stolen by the Japanese. We know for example from Xuyun's autobiography that in 1944, 'In anticipation of the war spreading to Nan-hua [he] secretly moved the bodies of the Sixth Patriarch and Master Han-shan to Yun-men.'¹⁵

The final instalment in the series of stories in the *Lianhe bao* on Shitou's mummy appeared the following day (20 June 1975) as a picture of the mummy, with no supporting article, and a caption that said that Shitou's mummy had been enshrined at Sōjiji Monastery and that the ceremony was attended by over 1,500 people.

Despite the fact that the first article published in Taiwan had the events more or less correct, subsequent mainland Chinese accounts played up the more sensationalist accusation that the mummy was stolen along with other Chinese treasures in the last stages of the war with Japan and all of the previous details about the circumstances regarding Shitou's transference to Japan were either lost or forgotten. It is also significant to note that the *Lianhe bao* headline on 19 June mentions that the Taiwanese were already hoping that Shitou's mummy would be moved from Japan to Taiwan [woguo fojiao renshi panneng yunhui Taiwan], and not back to Mt. Nanyue in Hunan province, the place it was allegedly stolen from. Had the Taiwanese been successful in their initial bid for Shitou's mummy it would not have been an unprecedented case of a relic that was stolen by the Japanese from mainland China being moved from Japan to Taiwan rather than back to China. In 1955, for example, a relic of Xuanzang (a skull bone) was moved from Japan to Taiwan, where it is now enshrined at Sun Moon Lake, despite the fact that it had been stolen by the Japanese from Nanjing.¹⁶

In short, based on the modern newspaper accounts discussed above we have been presented with two conflicting stories. The story of Shitou's mummy as it was depicted in the mainland Chinese press resembled a modern day case of 'furta sacra', while the version of the story that was told in the Japanese press depicted the translation of the mummy as free from malice and as the result of a dramatic rescue of the mummy from certain destruction due to the chaotic and volatile nature of post Chinese Revolution southern China. Yet, as we shall see shortly these modern accounts did not

tell the whole story about this mummy and for further information we need to turn to materials and research that was only available in Japan.

Rescuing Master Wuji's mummy and Shitou's rebirth in Japan

The most informed research on the history of the Wuji mummy in Japan was that provided in publications by the Japanese Mummies Research Group (*Nihon miira kenkyū gūrūpu*), which had been formed following the discovery of a collection of mummified Buddhist monks in Yamagata prefecture in the 1950s.¹⁷ Early reports about the discovery of the Yamagata mummies were published by Hori Ichirō and Andō Kōsei and later led to the publication of two important volumes titled *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, which was published in 1969, and *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, published in 1993. Although the many books and articles that were published about mummies in Japan were focused on the newly discovered Buddhist mummies from Yamagata prefecture, one of the mummies that they discovered in their field work stood out from all the others. This was the mummy of Master Wuji. In the following section I will present the historical material as it is represented in the records of the Japanese Mummies Research Group regarding the discovery of Master Wuji's mummy and how it came to be associated with Shitou Xiqian.¹⁸

On 28 August 1960 Matsumoto Akira, one of the members of the Japanese Mummies Research Group, went to Mt. Sekitō in Aoume City, after learning in the course of his research that there was reported to be a mummy there. Upon arrival at Mt. Sekitō he found a temple in ruins and a small old house that looked like it was abandoned. After locating the occupant, a certain Hirano Zen'ichirō, he asked about the mummy and was led to the corner of a dark room where he was shown a large wooden box. When the lid was pried off and the inside was illumined with a small lantern he could identify the nape of the neck, the white glow of vertebrae and could tell that the right ear was damaged. Since it was too precarious to move the mummy himself, Matsumoto Akira returned to Tokyo and related the details of the find to the Mummy Research Group.

Shortly after this discovery, negotiations ensued with the owner of the house for the purchase of the mummy by the Japanese

Mummy Research Group. Eventually, in 1961, Seibu Department store agreed to finance it and the mummy was purchased and moved from Mt. Sekitō to Professor Andō Kōsei's research room at Waseda University in Tokyo. After a provisional examination, however, the group was surprised to find that this mummy was significantly different from the Japanese mummies they had encountered in their research. Andō and another specialist, Professor Ogata Tamotsu, concluded that this mummy had been wrapped in lacquer soaked hemp cloth, a process used on Chinese mummies since the Tang Dynasty, but was not a technique that was used in Japan.¹⁹ The obvious question that all the researchers asked was: If this is in fact a Chinese mummy, how did it make its way to Japan?

Given that there were no surviving textual records regarding the mummy's provenance at the Mt. Sekitō Temple, Matsumoto Akira made a public appeal in a Sunday edition of the *Mainichi Daily* for any information relating to this mummy. Shortly thereafter the Mummy Research Group was contacted by a certain Nishina Sakae who claimed that twenty years earlier he had known about this mummy.²⁰

Mr. Sakae related the following account to the Mummy Research Group. According to what Mr. Sakae could remember from that time, the mummy in question was known to be that of Master Wuji, which they all understood to be the posthumous name given to the Tang Dynasty Chan master Shitou Xiqian, who was said to have been originally enshrined at a temple in Hunan province in China. During the Chinese Revolution (1911) a Japanese dentist named Yamazaki Takeshi was travelling around Hunan with his son and saw that the temple enshrining Shitou's mummy had been set on fire by a rogue Chinese army faction and he darted into the burning temple to save the mummy. Therefore, according to Sakae, the fact that the mummy had a blackened face was due to the smoke from that fire, and the fact that it had a damaged cheek was the result of being stabbed by a Chinese soldier's weapon. After negotiating with the local government, Yamazaki was allowed to put the mummy on a Mitsui Bussan ship and bring it with him back to Japan.²¹ In Taishō 5 (1916) the mummy was put on display at a large exhibition called the Taishō hakuran kai.

A few years later, Sakae reports, he and his wealthy friend Hirano Zenkichi founded what was initially called the 'Association for the Reverence of Master [Wuji]' [Daiji hōsan kai], and they



Figure 1 The 'Living Buddha' Master Wuji on display at the Taishō Exhibition in 1916. [Photographer: unknown]

sponsored a number of special viewings [*kaichō*] of the mummy throughout Japan.²² Later, responsibilities for administration of the 'Association for the Reverence of Master [Wuji]' were taken over by Hirano and Yamazaki and they moved the mummy to Aoume, where the Mt. Sekitō Temple was eventually founded.

In 1930, after being given land by the local government, Hirano Zenkichi built a large temple at Mt. Sekitō to house the mummy and receive worshippers, but the local government hoped that the presence of Shitou's mummy in this temple would help to attract tourists.²³ For a time it seems that the plan worked and the mummy attracted large crowds and worshippers flocked to Mt. Sekitō.²⁴ It is significant to note, however, that the Mt. Sekitō Temple was originally founded as a Shugendō temple and not as a Zen temple, as would be expected if the mummy was considered to be that of the well-known Chan/Zen patriarch Shitou Xiqian.²⁵ It seems, therefore, that at the time of the founding of the Mt. Sekitō Temple the mummy was still only known as that of a certain Master Wuji and that no distinct associations had yet been established with

Shitou. During World War II the Mt. Sekitō Temple was converted into an army hospital and subsequently fell into ruins, never to be revived. Luckily, the mummy survived this tumultuous period and remained in a box in a nearby house until it was eventually discovered by Matsumoto Akira in 1960, which we recounted above.

Let us now return to join the mummy in Professor Andō's laboratory at Waseda where we were before relating Mr Sakae's story. The Wuji mummy remained at Waseda University during the early 1960s while the Mummy Research Group performed scientific studies on it. By 1965, however, the mummy had to be moved from Waseda University to Professor Ogata's research laboratory at the Niigata University Department of Medicine after stories about strange occurrences and ghosts began to circulate in Waseda laboratory [*kaidan funpun*] and Professor Andō's secretary threatened to resign due to fear of working in close proximity to this mummy.²⁶

Once the mummy was moved to Niigata, Professor Ogata continued to study it in detail, and in his first published report in 1969 he provided an overall account of the mummy's physical condition. In addition to the scientific details about the body, he noted an interesting observation that is important for issues that I will touch on later in this article. Ogata mentioned that according to tradition [*densetsu yoru to*] this mummy is Shitou Xiqian. Yet, later in the report he also noted that according to traditional sources Shitou lived to be 91 years old and that this mummy was definitely not that old at the time of its death.²⁷ Ogata concluded that he was unwilling to make any conclusive statements about the fit between the traditional accounts and this mummy. Ogata was not the only member of the Mummy Research Group to have doubts about the association of this mummy with Shitou Xiqian. In the same research report published in 1969, Matsumoto Akira pointed out that the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* [*Song gaoseng zhuan*] does not mention Shitou having been mummified. In the face of that negative evidence, however, Matsumoto Akira merely suggested that perhaps other later sources recorded the facts in detail, but that he did not bother to investigate those possibilities. One wonders if these scholars were willing to accept the connection with Shitou, in spite of evidence to the contrary, since many of the Chinese mummies that were becoming known to them through their research happened to be affiliated with the Chan school. Further, according to historical sources it was known

that Shitou had studied with Huineng whose mummy they had also published reports about and it might have been expected that a close disciple would also have been mummified. Matsumoto Akira was nevertheless compelled to ask two significant questions that he unfortunately never pursued. He asked, 'If it is not Shitou's mummy, then whose is it? And if it is not Shitou's mummy then how did it come to be associated with Shitou?' It is, however, precisely those questions that deserve further consideration and will be the subject of the next section.

As it became known to the public that Shitou's mummy was in Japan at a laboratory in Nigata, Sōtō Zen leaders contacted the Mummy Research Group to express their concern.²⁸ Given that Shitou was considered an ancestor of the Sōtō lineage and that his doctrinal poem the *Cantong qi* [Jpn. *Sandōkai*] is still chanted every morning in Sōtō Zen temples, these leaders considered it inappropriate to have such a rare and venerated thing as his mummy tucked away in a research lab. In 1975, after a series of negotiations, Wuji's mummy was moved one last time and enshrined at Sōjiji, a Sōtō Zen monastery in Yokohama.²⁹ The movement of the mummy to Sōjiji was the subject of an article in the 18th June 1975 *Mainichi* newspaper, that mentions that a ceremony to enshrine the mummy was held at Sōjiji which was attended by over 300 monks and lay followers, and was no doubt what inspired the article that was published in Taiwan.³⁰ Up to the present day the alleged mummy of Shitou Xiqian has remained at Sōjiji and is not openly displayed to visitors, but can be viewed with special permission. Indeed, as opposed to the many public viewings that were given of the mummy earlier in the century by the 'Association for the Reverence of Master [Wuji]' and later at the Seibu Department store in Tokyo as part of a 'Zen Exhibition' [*zenten*], after the public enshrinement of Shitou at Sōjiji, it seems that his presence there has been kept fairly quiet. In fact, a book published in 1987 by the head offices of the Sōtō lineage about Shitou and his teachings, titled *A Brief Explanation of the Essential Teachings of the Zen Master Shitou Xiqian* [Sekitō Kisen zenshi goyō ryakkai], did not even mention Shitou's mummy or that it was enshrined in Sōjiji, despite the fact that it had already been on the premises for over ten years.³¹ Before we move on to the more recent history of this mummy, however, we must backtrack a bit to address some of the questions raised about the historical connections between this mummy and the Chan monk Shitou Xiqian.

Shitou's bones?

When I first heard allegations about the theft of Shitou's mummy I was quite surprised, not by the fact that it had been stolen (relics are always on the move), but since in the research I had done on Shitou and the history of Buddhism at Mt. Nanyue (the location of Shitou's Nantai Temple) there was never any hint in the historical sources that Shitou had been mummified. Given the widespread fame and renown of other Tang monks who were able to self-mummify or were mummified by their disciples, if there ever was a mummy of Shitou we would certainly have some evidence for it in contemporary textual sources. Therefore, let us pause for a moment to see what some of those texts say about Shitou's death and the posthumous fate of his bones.³²

After living most of his life in a small hut behind the Southern Terrace Temple on Mt. Nanyue, in the sixth year of the Zhenyuan reign period (790) Shitou passed away at the age of 91.³³ All of the historical sources agree on the fact that after his death Shitou was given the posthumous name Wuji Dashi and that a stūpa, called the Jianxiang ta, was built on Mt. Nanyue not far from the Southern Terrace Temple.³⁴ An entry on the Chuning si in the *Collected Highlights of the Southern Marchmount* [Nanyue Zongsheng ji], has a single line that reads, 'This is the site where the bones of the Chan Master from the Southern Terrace are buried.'³⁵ Furthermore, none of the wording in any of these entries is suggestive of the fact that Shitou was mummified, nor is there any sense that his body was later disinterred and found to be mummified. Gazetteer and other local records for Mt. Nanyue are also silent about the existence of a mummy of Shitou Xiqian. Finally, based on the photographs taken by Tokiwa Daijō during his research trip to China in 1921, Shitou's Jianxiang stūpa appeared to be untouched and not the type of stūpa that would be appropriate for housing a mummy.³⁶

It is clear from these sources that the information that was included in the modern Chinese newspapers about the theft of Shitou's mummy simply did not tally with the historical record. One obvious inconsistency, for example, is the claim that following Shitou's death a separate temple was built to house his mummified body. Similarly, Japanese sources reported that when the mummy was taken in 1911 it was saved from the flames of a separate temple where it was enshrined and not from a stūpa. While the modern accounts were probably not entirely fabricated, they do

appear to have conflated two separate stories. In order to get at the heart of this problem let us again ask the important question: If it is not Shitou's mummy then whose is it? In order to try to answer that question we will now turn to an extraordinary document that has heretofore not been utilized by scholars to shed light on this problem.

The 'Origin of Master Wuji' [Musai daishi no yurai]

After contacting the Mummy Research Group in 1994, I received a letter in return from Akira Matsumoto, the member of the group who had discovered the Wuji mummy in 1960. He invited me to visit his office at Shōwa Women's University where he was a professor and Vice President. During this meeting he showed me the file he kept on Wuji's mummy and gave me a copy of the picture of the mummy that was taken during the 1916 Taishō Hakurankai and a copy of a manuscript titled 'The Origin of Master Wuji' [Musai daishi no yurai]. This manuscript had been published by the Office of Master Musai at Sekitōzan [Sekitōzan musai daishi jimusho] in 1924 [Taishō 13], for the 'Association for the Reverence of Master [Wuji].'³⁷ Since Yamazaki Takeshi, the dentist and Shugendō practitioner who brought the mummy back from China, was at that time one of the leaders of the 'Association for the Reverence of Master [Wuji]', we can assume that he was closely involved with the framing of this document. 'The Origin of Master Wuji' document is best understood as similar to medieval 'translationes', or accounts of how relics came to be in their present locations, and was perhaps necessitated by the chaotic transition from China to Japan. As Patrick Geary has noted:

In times of disaster or other temporary discontinuity, the extraneous signs identifying relics could be destroyed or become dissociated from their relics, thus erasing their symbolic meanings. Even without such crises, long neglected or changing cultural values could result in the loss or attenuation of the oral tradition which assigned a specific identity to a specific relic. In either case, in order for an object to be venerated as a relic, a new symbolic function had to be assigned, a function that had its origin in the fabric of the society in which it was to be venerated. Thus, the symbolic value of a new or rediscovered relic was only a reflection of the values assigned by the society that honored it.³⁸

Therefore, in order to re-identify this relic, the 'Origin of Master Wuji' document begins with a long section titled 'The Origin of the Living Buddha' that traces the 'history' of the mummy and situates it within its new role in Japan.

Given the historical importance of this document, it remains unclear to me why Matsumoto Akira gave me this document but never referred to it in any of his own research into the provenance of the Wuji mummy. One suspects some type of subterfuge or persistent desire to uphold the association with Shitou, even in the face of growing doubts. In my view, it is precisely this document that holds the key to helping unravel all the inconsistencies and problems of interpretation surrounding the stories of the Wuji mummy.

Upon first looking over the section titled 'The Origin of the Living Buddha', I was struck by the fact that the place names mentioned were all located in Fujian province, and not in Hunan province as one would suspect if the mummy of Shitou was indeed taken from Mt. Nanyue. Midway through the text the circumstances regarding the movement of the mummy are introduced. The story as it is presented here is much like the account that was given orally by Nishina Sakae. We learn, for example, that the dentist Yamazaki Takeshi and his son encountered an army faction that was causing trouble in southern China and that during this chaos the temple housing the mummy was set on fire and they were somehow able to save the mummy from certain destruction. Like the other reports, this document clearly states the fact that the mummy was housed in a separate building that was known as the Living Buddha Hall [Huofu tang], which the text specifies was located in the Fujian village of Zhangzhou.

Later in the text we also learn that Yamazaki and his son moved the mummy from the Living Buddha Hall to Xiamen in order to ship it to Japan. At first glance this story sounds entirely plausible, except for the important fact that according to all the historical records we have just reviewed, Shitou ended his days and had his bones interred at Mt. Nanyue in Hunan province and never travelled to Fujian (though some of his disciples did). In accounting for the fact that the alleged mummy of Shitou was actually taken from a site in Fujian rather than Hunan, the compilers of this text either creatively adapted details about Shitou's life so that he had a connection with Fujian, or they were merely transmitting a local legend that had earlier fabricated the relationship of this mummy with Shitou.

One of the key passages in ‘The Origin of the Living Buddha’ that significantly alters Shitou’s standard biography is the following.

[He] was the founder of the Southern Lineage [of Chan], a very famous monk who had become a dharma heir of the venerated sixth patriarch, Huineng. He came to build the Nansi at Hengshan, where at one time numerous monks came and together they spread Buddhism, converting many pious men and women, and leading sentient beings into the way of the wisdom of the Buddha. *After passing the dharma on to his best disciple [he] went east to Zhangzhou where he built a hut at Shizhuangtai* to the south of which there was a large stone where he sat upright and meditated.³⁹

Comparing this account with traditional historical records it became clear that this text was based on the biography of Shitou in either the *Song gaoseng zhuan* or the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, except that a spurious reference to Zhangzhou was added.⁴⁰ The original account in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* states, ‘[Shitou] first built the Southern Temple at Hengshan [Hengshan Nansi]. To the east of the temple was a rock shaped like a terrace [*shi zhuang ru tai*] and he built a small hut on top of it.’⁴¹ The compilers of ‘The Origin of the Living Buddha’ take the phrase ‘a rock shaped like a terrace’ and turn it into a place name, Shizhuangtai, that is allegedly located in Zhangzhou. In order to establish Shitou’s connection with Zhangzhou this text claims that later in his career Shitou travelled there from Nanyue after transmitting the dharma to one of his disciples.

Despite the implausibility of the claim that Shitou went to Fujian and the clearly apocryphal nature of this story, I nonetheless became interested in the appearance of the Fujian place names in the ‘Origin of Master Wuji’ document and turned to gazetteers of Fujian province to see if any pertinent connections might be established with the data present in this document. While the results from that textual survey are not conclusive, they do offer some tantalizing new evidence. In the *Fujian tongzhi*, which cites relevant passages of the *Minshu*, two potentially relevant references were found.

In the first case, I was looking for references to other monks with the name Wuji, and in the section on ‘Tang Eminent Monks’ [*Tang gaoseng*] in the *Fujian tongzhi* there was indeed a short reference to a monk named Wuji. The passage states that ‘Wuji, a person from

Xinghua, lived at the Golden Immortal Cloister [Jinxian yuan]. He was a specialist of the *Lotus Sūtra*. After a stone suddenly issued forth a spring, the Auspicious Spring Chapel [Ruiquan an] was erected.⁴² Although this passage mentions a monk named Wuji there is no mention of his mummification and, unless the name was changed later, the temple's name did not match references to the Living Buddha Palace or Hall [Hufo gong or Hufo tang] mentioned in the 'Origin of Master Wuji' document. Despite these reservations, the term 'Golden Immortal' might still be a veiled reference to a mummified saint.⁴³

In the second case, I was looking for temple names that matched those in the 'Origin of Master Wuji' document. In the section on 'Temples and Abbeys' [*si guan*] in the *Fujian tongzhi* there is an entry for a Living Buddha Chapel [Hufo an], that is located at a place called Southern Terrace [Nantai].⁴⁴ The entry also mentions that 'in the end of the Ming dynasty [1368–1644] there was a monk surnamed Chen, who was a native of Fuching. After he attained nirvana his "flesh body" [*roushen*] did not corrupt and up to today it is still venerated inside this chapel.'⁴⁵ Based on the name of the temple and the fact that it housed a mummy, it appeared that we had our mummy, yet the dating was off and the mummy's name did not match. However, despite the obvious anachronism, it is possible that those who first identified the Wuji mummy made connections between these few details and Shitou, who had lived centuries earlier. Shitou was also, for example, surnamed Chen and it was well known that when Shitou arrived at Mt. Nanyue he lived on the Southern Terrace [Nantai]. Despite these facts (coincidences?), there is no mention in this record that the monk was ever known as Wuji. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that upon its arrival in Japan this mummy was initially referred to as a 'living Buddha' [hufo], a term that is not commonly used in Japan to refer to mummies. If the Living Buddha Chapel mummy was in fact the mummy that was taken by the Japanese and associated with Shitou, then the mummy now at Sōjiji is only a product of the late Ming dynasty.

The Chinese Buddhist Culture Association [Zhongguo fojiao wenhua yanjiu suo], one of the main Chinese organizations that was involved in negotiations for the eventual return of the mummy, also became interested in the Fujian place names in the 'Origin of Master Wuji' document, and they sent a research team to Fujian to see what they could turn up. In a report they concluded: 'According to historical sources Shitou never went to Zhangzhou. In order to

understand the circumstances of Shitou's mummy in Zhangzhou, in Fujian province, the Chinese Buddhist Culture Association sent a research group in November of 1995 to Zhangzhou. With the help of the local scholars and authorities this group was able to consult various materials and determined that the alleged "Shitou mummy" was definitely taken from the Living Buddha Hall [Huofu tang] in Zhangzhou. The "Zhangzhou Mummy of Master Wuji" is possibly that of a monk who lived between the Tang and Song dynasties and was also given the posthumous name Wuji.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the published reports of this research mission do not cite any textual sources or other relevant data to support their conclusions and it remains unclear how they established the connection between the Living Buddha Hall and the mummy associated with the name Wuji.

Despite the inconsistencies over who this mummy was, it was clear that it had been taken from Zhangzhou. After the research group went to Zhangzhou to investigate the historicity of the claims found in the Japanese document, the residents of Zhangzhou themselves began to take an interest in the fate of the return of what was now coming to be considered 'their' mummy. One local resident, a retired librarian named Huang Daide, became so interested in the story that he undertook his own extensive research into the story of Wuji's mummy and the circumstances surrounding its move to Japan. Huang Daide interviewed many older residents of Zhangzhou to see if there was any historical memory of the events that took place in 1911. The results of his fascinating oral history corroborated the details found in other independent accounts that the residents would not have had access to. Some residents told him that they remembered their parents describing that in the early 1900s a Japanese dentist and his son, who travelled around the area providing people with false teeth, took the mummy from the Living Buddha Palace [Huofu gong] while it was on fire and brought it to Xiamen where it was subsequently shipped to Japan.⁴⁷ Today, the Living Buddha Palace [Huofu gong] lies in ruins, but it was well known among residents as the old home of a mummy, which the locals referred to as a 'Dried Monk' [*heshang gan*].⁴⁸ One resident remembered that the 'Dried Monk' was housed in a separate small chapel that was open in the front and had a small plaque above the door which read 'Living Buddha Palace'.

As the interest in the connection between the Wuji mummy and the site in Zhangzhou grew among the residents, a new cult to the



Figure 2 Image of Master Wuji being venerated inside the home of a devotee in Fujian, 1997. [Photographer: Huang Daide]

mummy began to spread throughout the area. One striking example of this renewed piety is the spread of photocopy reproductions of the picture of the Wuji mummy (that was taken in Japan at the Taishō hakuran kai exhibition) that have been propagated widely and even found their way onto the altars (in the highest position of honour no less) in people's homes throughout the village.

Given the usual sensitivity to taking pictures of cultic objects, which is usually thought to diminish their 'efficacy' [*ling*], it is striking to note that in the absence of the actual 'living Buddha' the faithful in Zhangzhou still seem to access his presence through the mass produced photographs which have themselves been turned into icons.⁴⁹ These new sites of veneration are an extraordinary glimpse into the birth of a new cult (or renewed cult) in modern China, and which has become even more widespread since its first emergence more than a year and a half ago. The theft of the mummy has served to focus new attention on it and perhaps even increased its perceived power and efficacy. Indeed, as Patrick Geary has shown, sacred thefts often helped to create an even stronger sense of sacrality in the objects that were stolen. This is precisely what happened in the alleged theft of Huineng's head by Korean monks and more recently in the case of the Wuji mummy, which has literally taken on a new life and importance for the local community in China.

The creation of new sites of cult and pilgrimage centres through the possession of relics, or 'living Buddhas', is nothing new. Throughout Chinese history one of the significant corollaries of possessing a 'living Buddha', was the creation of a new sacred site where symbolic capital could be transmuted into material gain for that area.⁵⁰ Again, in the case of medieval relics, Geary notes that their presence 'was essential to the prosperity of the monasteries and churches that looked to them for identity and protection, just as they were essential to the pilgrims who sought from the saints the help that they could obtain nowhere else'.⁵¹ In a similar way 'living Buddhas' were primary agents in the making or enriching of Chinese religious centres. We know, for example, that Caoxi was utterly transformed by the presence of Huineng's mummy.⁵² Bob Sharf has also averred that 'the bodies of Buddhist masters who resisted decay after death were accordingly worshipped as reservoirs of meritorious karma and spiritual power. The possession of a "flesh icon" could transform an out-of-the-way temple into a thriving pilgrimage centre, attracting Buddhist faithful from all quarters of China.'⁵³ If the Guanghua Monastery, where the mummy of the Esoteric Buddhist master Shanwuwei (Śubhakarasiṃha) was housed, is at all representative then we know that his mummy did in fact attract a large and dedicated following. It is said that 'the rich people in Lo-yang gave in competition *ch'an-po*, cleaning towels, and toilet peas used in the bath. The present Emperor, when propitiating or praying for something, usually sends messengers to present gifts.'⁵⁴ Given this type of historical context, it is easier to

understand more clearly what is at stake in the negotiations over the Wuji mummy and why it has become such a bone of contention between China and Japan.

Concluding remarks

It is now possible to look back over all the material presented above and see the constructed and polemical nature of the stories in the modern Chinese newspapers, which had negated certain elements of the Japanese reports in order to situate the events of Shitou's theft during the War of Resistance against Japan. The Japanese accounts were not entirely innocent of fabrication and invention either. It is still unclear, however, precisely what processes were involved in making the connection to Shitou, but the confusion seems to have been either based on the coincidence that another monk in Fujian had the surname Wuji, and that this name was associated with Shitou's posthumous name, or, the identification was based on a tradition that was invented upon the arrival of the mummy in Japan.⁵⁵ The invention of this new tradition was not entirely made up, but was the product of a selective and creative use of the past through the historical fragments that had travelled with the mummy to Japan.⁵⁶ In his study of the legendary Bodhidharma, Bernard Faure described well the process involved in the historical reconstruction of a figure in words particularly appropriate for what we have found in the construction of the 'history' of Shitou's mummy: 'The main task of historians,' he says, 'is to try and uncover the facts behind the legend . . . Often enough, after this mortuary washing, only a skeleton remains, and it is this skeleton that will enter the museum of history. In fact, some missing bones may have to be taken from another skeleton to complete the exhibit.'⁵⁷ It was precisely the bones of the relatively obscure mummy from Fujian that were borrowed in the construction of the 'history' of the modern Shitou mummy, which not only entered the 'museum of history', but for a time took on an active new life in Japan. With the survival of the 'Origin of Master Wuji' manuscript we have been able to separate out the extraneous bones to show that the mummy presently held in Japan was not the mummy of Shitou Xiqian and taken from Mt. Nanyue in Hunan, as has been previously thought, but was instead a Buddhist mummy that was taken from Fujian in 1911.

In dealing with the variety of stories about the theft of the Wuji mummy we might conclude, along with Patrick Geary, that

‘unfortunately for the historian, *translationes* are by no means uniform in their accuracy or veracity’.⁵⁸ Yet, despite the truth or falsity of the stories about the Wuji mummy, it was precisely those *translationes* that solidified the connections between the mummy and its new cultural context. As Katherine Verdery has proposed, ‘It is not a relic’s actual derivation from a specific body that makes it effective but people’s belief in that derivation. In short, the significance of corpses has less to do with their concreteness than with how people think about them. A dead body is meaningful not in itself but through culturally established relations to death and through the way a specific dead person’s importance is (variously) construed.’⁵⁹ It was no doubt the inertia of the legendary and scientific accounts identifying the Wuji mummy as Shitou that led it to be ultimately housed in the head Sōtō Zen temple, Sōjiji, where it has remained to the present day.

While the investigations into the identity of the Wuji mummy were being pursued by scholars, in other quarters progress was being made for the eventual repatriation of the mummy to China. For a time in 1995 it looked as if Japan was going to return the Wuji mummy to China, such that it would become the first East Asian analogue of what Katherine Verdery has referred to as modern ‘corpses on the move’, in her characterization of the large number of movements and repatriations of corpses in the postsocialist Soviet bloc during the 1990s, including such figures as Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov (the mummified communist leader of Bulgaria).⁶⁰ The stories that Verdery discusses about the ‘political lives of dead bodies’ and their repatriations are shot through with issues of ‘property restitution, political pluralization, religious renewal and national conflicts tied to building nation-states’, concerns that are not entirely absent from the case under discussion here.⁶¹ Indeed, the original plan for the repatriation of the Wuji mummy was framed as a way of improving the relationship between the Japanese and Chinese Buddhist communities. Yet, as questions began to arise concerning the identity and provenance of the mummy it became a bone of contention between the two countries and the plans for its return had to be renegotiated. As of this writing it is still unclear when or where the mummy will be sent. This type of conflict is not new. Similar concerns were faced when in the eighth century two different sites contended for the right to house Huineng’s mummy. That case was resolved, however, when the prefects of the two competing districts burned incense together and decided that whichever way the incense smoke travelled that would be where

the body would go.⁶² As for the fate of the Wuji mummy, while the winds of historical evidence are clearly blowing towards Zhangzhou in Fujian, this case is further complicated by the fact that the two sides do not agree on the identification of the mummy, and in order for it to be repatriated to Zhangzhou the authorities at Sōjiji would have to acknowledge that the skeleton kept in their closet is not that of their patriarch Shitou Xiqian – something which at present they are unwilling to concede. The case here of a relatively unknown set of bones from Fujian is another example of the way that dead bodies have often had political lives quite out of proportion with the lives they actually lived.

Notes

- 1 For a selection of relevant studies on Chinese and Japanese Buddhist mummies see, for example, W. Perceval Yetts, 'Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China', in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1911), pp. 699–725; Kosugi Kazuo, 'Nikushinzō oyobi yuikaizō no kenkyū', *Tōyō gakuhō* 24 (1937), pp. 93–124; Andō Kōsei, *Nihon no miira*, (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1961); Hori Ichirō, 'Self-mummified Buddhas in Japan: An Aspect of the Shugendō ("Mountain Asceticism") Sect', in *History of Religions* 1:2 (1962), pp. 222–242; Paul Demiéville, 'Momies d'Extrême-Orient', *Journal des savants* (1965), pp. 144–170; Nihon miira kenkyū gūrupu eds., *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969, reprint 1993); Nihon miira kenkyū gūrupu eds., *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993); Matsumoto Akira, *Nihon no miirabutsu* [Japanese Mummified Buddhas] (Tokyo: Rinsen shoten, 1993); Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A cultural critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 132ff; Bernard Faure, 'Substitute Bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism', in Jane Marie Law, ed., *Religious Reflections on the Human Body* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 211–229; Robert H. Sharf, 'The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China', *History of Religions*, 32, 1, 1992, pp. 1–31; Robert H. Sharf, 'On the Allure of Buddhist Relics', in *Representations* 66 (1999), pp. 75–99; T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, 'On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993–1994), pp. 156–219; and Aidan Cockburn, Eve Cockburn and Theodore A. Reyman, eds., *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 308–328.
- 2 On the propensity for scholars of religion to be more comfortable dealing with ideas than with things see Gregory Schopen, 'Relic', in Mark C. Taylor, ed., *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 256, and Gregory Schopen, 'Burial "Ad Sanctos" and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early

- Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions', in *Religion* 17, (1987), pp. 193–225. On the excoriation of mummies and relic veneration in general within Buddhist studies see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*.
- 3 Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 345.
 - 4 See Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, p. 132ff; Bernard Faure, 'Substitute Bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism', and Robert H. Sharf, 'The Idolization of Enlightenment'.
 - 5 From early on it is clear that monks from other Buddhist lineages were also being mummified, as the examples of Zhiyi, Shan Wuwei (Śubhākarasiṃha), and the failed effort by the Vinaya master Jianzhen attest. Henri Maspero has also pointed out that the uncorrupted bodies of the two Indian monks who died in China after being brought there by representatives of Emperor Ming Di [58–76 CE] were kept in a shrine [*sic*], suggesting the early provenance of the role of mummification within Buddhism. [See Maspero, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 10, no. 1.] Perceval Yetts has also stressed the importance of the practice of mummification and that it was a widespread phenomenon. [W. Perceval Yetts, 'Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China', in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1911), pp. 699–725.] Yetts began his discussion by noting the fact that 'this practice is especially interesting because, notwithstanding it is very common, no writer, as far as I know, has done more than merely mention its existence', and then he goes on to discuss a number of specific mummies, including one that is allegedly a Tang priest. [Yetts, *op cit.*, p. 709.] Yetts further suggests that many mummies that had survived for centuries were unable to avoid destruction at the hands of Tai Ping rebels during the mid-nineteenth century. Nonetheless, despite the degree of destruction of mummies at that time, when Prip-Møller wrote in the mid-1930s he still gave a sense of the scope of this occluded practice by commenting that mummified Buddhist priests are 'frequently found in Central China and may almost be said to abound in Szechuan'. [J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1937), p. 179.] In short, despite the marginalization of the subject of Buddhist mummies, the authors cited above suggest the fact that this practice was widespread and I would expect that a thorough study of local records and regional gazetteers would turn up even more examples and may help to supply textual evidence for other mummies whose physical presence may have been destroyed during chaotic points in Chinese history.
 - 6 Due to the nature of the evidence that will be presented later in this article, I will be referring to the mummy in question as either the 'alleged mummy of Shitou Xiqian' or as the 'Wuji mummy', Wuji was the posthumous name that was given to Shitou Xiqian and it was also the name associated with the mummy that was brought to Japan.
 - 7 On the use of the term 'cultural biography' see Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biographies of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun

- Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64–94. In using this term I hope to follow Kopytoff in emphasizing that ‘biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure. For example, in situations of cultural contact, they can show what anthropologists have so often stressed: that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use’ [p. 67]. For the use of this approach on discussing the changing identities of Indian images see Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 7–8.
- 8 Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, p. 168.
 - 9 ‘Tangdai gaoseng yuanji qiannian roushen buxiu: kangzhan weiqi bei touyun dongjing’ in *Yangcheng Wanbao*, 31 Jan. 1992.
 - 10 On the aroma of relics see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, reprint 1990), p. 114, Jean-Pierre Albert, *Odeurs de Sainteté: La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1996), and Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, p. 153, where he discusses how when a relic/mummy is in its proper place it is fragrant and when it is out of place it smells.
 - 11 ‘Wuji dashi roushen gongyang dongying’. I have been unable to find an article by this name in Taiwanese newspapers.
 - 12 ‘Tangdai gaoseng wuji dashi roushen chuxian riben xinhu: yuanji nanyue fati bixiu jujin yu qiannian ri yayi zaihua xingyi mimi yungwang riben’, in *Lianhe Bao*, 18 June 1975.
 - 13 ‘Shitou heshang shizi hou chanzong jingdian *Cantong qi*: roushen qiannian buxiu zhanzhan liuwang riben, woguo fojiao renshi panneng yunhui taiwan’, in *Lianhe bao*, 19 June 1975.
 - 14 *Lianhe Bao*, 19 June 1975.
 - 15 Xu Yun, *Empty Cloud: The Autobiography of the Chinese Zen Master* [trans. By Charles Luk] (Longmead: Element Books, 1988), p. 131.
 - 16 On the circumstances regarding the movements of this relic see Xing Fuquan, *Taiwan de fojiao yu fosi* (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1981), p.125. I would like to thank John Kieschnick for helping to track down specific information regarding the movement of the relic to Taiwan.
 - 17 On these mummies see Hori Ichirō, ‘Self-mummified Buddhas in Japan’ and the overview articles by members of the Japanese Mummies Research Group, including Kiyohiko Sakurai and Tamotsu Ogata, that appear in English translation in Aidan Cockburn, Eve Cockburn and Theodore A. Reyman, eds., *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures*, pp. 308–328.
 - 18 The following account is based on information found in *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, which was published in 1969, and *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, published in 1993 and Matsumoto Akira, *Nihon no miira butsu*, 1993.
 - 19 On the report indicating that this mummy was wrapped in hemp cloth and lacquered see *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, p. 389 and *Nihon no miirabutsu*, p. 223. For studies on the lacquering of Chinese mummies

- see Kosugi (1937, p. 424), Sharf, 'The Idolization of Enlightenment', and Foulk and Sharf, 'On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China'.
- 20 The following account is based on the statements by Nishina Sakae in *Nihon no miirabutsu*, p. 223 and in *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, p. 210.
 - 21 For information on travel and commerce between China and Japan at this time see Joshua Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
 - 22 On the term *kaichō*, see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō go daijiten* (Tokyo: Shoseki kabushiki kaisha, 1981, reduced print edition), p. 171 where it usually refers to the public showing of Buddha images that are usually kept hidden. On the important difference between Buddhist icons that are reproduced and open to view and mummies or 'hidden Buddhas' see Bernard Faure, 'The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze', in *Critical Inquiry*, 24, 3 (1998), p. 807.
 - 23 See *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, p. 383 and *Nihon no miirabutsu*, p. 222. At the time that the land was given a new subway line had just been completed to Aoume and they were hoping to draw Tokyo city dwellers out to their location.
 - 24 See the only surviving picture of the crowds at the Sekitōzan Temple in Matsumoto Akira, *Nihon no miirabutsu*, p. 222.
 - 25 This is clearly evident in the photograph of the Sekitōzan temple, where many of those present are wearing Shugendō style clothing.
 - 26 On these accounts see *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, p. 390 and *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, p. 210.
 - 27 *Nihon miira no kenkyū*, p. 148.
 - 28 *Nihon, Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, pp. 210–211 and *Nihon no miirabutsu*, p. 226–227.
 - 29 *Mainichi Shinbun*, 19 June 1975.
 - 30 The caption for a photograph of Shitou's mummy that appeared in the Taiwanese paper *Lianhe Bao* on 20 June 1975 mentions its enshrinement at Sōjiji on 18 June, but it reports that the ceremony was attended by over 1,500 people.
 - 31 Suda Dōki, *Sekitō Kisen zenshi goyō ryakkai* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shumucho, 1987).
 - 32 I will not provide a detailed history of Shitou's life here. For a general introduction to Shitou's role in Chan Buddhism see Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, vol 1: India and China* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 161ff.
 - 33 *Baolin zhuan* fragments concerning Shitou record him as having died at the age of 97. See Shiina Kōyū, 'Hōrinden: maki kyū maki jū no itsubun', in *Shūgaku kenkyū*, no. 22, 1980.
 - 34 T.51.1070c1–2.
 - 35 T.511078c.21–23.
 - 36 See photograph in Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina bukkyō shiseki* (Tokyo: Bukkyō shiseki kenkyūkai, 1923).
 - 37 It is not clear, however if this is the earliest version of this document, but it is the date given on the version I have.

- 38 Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 6.
- 39 *Musai daishi no yurai*. I have added the emphasis in this quotation.
- 40 T.50.764a.15 see also *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T.51.309b–c. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* is also the provenance for the name that was given to the temple site in Japan, Sekitōzan, which is not found in other sources. See T.50.763c.21.
- 41 T.50.763c.21ff.
- 42 *Fujian tongzhi* [1868–1861 edition], juan 98.21, section titled ‘Tang gaoseng’.
- 43 Golden Immortal’ [Jinxian] can refer to a Buddha, see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō go daiji ten*, p. 248. I would still hold out the possibility that the term ‘jinxian’ referred to a mummy since in other sources we often find references to the Buddha as a ‘Golden Person’ [*jinren*] and relics referred to as ‘Golden Bones’ [*jingu*], see, for example, Mimi Yiengpruksawan, ‘The House of Gold: Fujiwara Kiyohara’s Konjikidō’, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1993, p. 50.
- 44 In translating the character ‘an’ as ‘chapel’ I am following the lead of Timothy Brook, who justifies this choice in his work *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 4.
- 45 *Fujian tongzhi* [1938 reprint edition], vol. 10, p. 4983.
- 46 See Wu Limin, ‘Shitou Xiqian chanfa ji Shitou roushen’, in *Fayin*, no. 1, 1997, p. 5.
- 47 We should note here the variety of names that seem to be used to refer to the structure that housed the mummy. Thus far we have seen Living Buddha Hall [Hufo tang], Living Buddha Chapel [Hufo an] and Living Buddha Palace [Hufo gong].
- 48 Perceval Yetts, ‘Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China’, p. 714, has also noted the use of the similar term ‘Dried Monk’ [*gan heshang*].
- 49 On the loss of aura in photographic reproductions see Walter Benjamin, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’, in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), pp. 217–252. On the spread of ‘God pictures’ which are also enshrined on people’s home altars in India, see Richard H. Davids, *Lives of Indian Images*, p. 21.
- 50 Patrick Geary, ‘The Saint and the Shrine: The Pilgrims Goal in the Middle Ages’, in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 163–176.
- 51 Patrick Geary, ‘The Saint and the Shrine’, p. 174.
- 52 On the transformation of Caoxi see Bernard Faure, ‘Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch’an Pilgrimage Sites’, in Susan Naquin and Chün-Fang Yü, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 150–189.
- 53 Robert Sharf, ‘The Idolization of Enlightenment’, p. 9.
- 54 See Chou I-liang, ‘Tantrism in China’, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8 (1945), pp. 261–272, cited in Sharf, ‘The Idolization of Enlightenment’.
- 55 On the ‘invention of tradition’ see Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press, 1983), and for the invention of tradition in Japan, see Stephen Vlastos, *The Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- 56 On the question of the limitations of complete inventions of the past see the discussion in Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 28, and her reference in note #15, p. 135, to the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot titled *Silencing the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
- 57 Bernard Faure, 'Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm', *History of Religions* 1986, pp. 187–198. For an interesting example of how this metaphor of 'adding bones' was actually done, see the case in Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 16, of the reburial of Imre Nagy, the former communist prime minister of Hungary, whose bones seemed to have been mixed with giraffe bones from the Budapest Zoo.
- 58 Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 11.
- 59 Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 28.
- 60 Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*. For an account of modern 'relics on the move', regarding the movement of relics of Sariputta and Moggallana from India to England and finally to Burma, see Jack Daulton, 'Sariputta and Moggallana in the Golden Land: The Relics of the Buddha's Chief Disciples at the Kaba Aye Pagoda', in *The Journal of Burma Studies*, vol. 4, pp. 101–128.
- 61 Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 52. One of the problems in securing the return of the Wuji mummy to China is the fact that Japan did not sign the 1970 Unesco convention that requires member countries to return relics that have been proven to be stolen. On the relationship of this issue in relation to the difficulty of repatriating a stolen Chinese Buddhist sculpture that is now housed at the Miho Museum in Japan, see Erik Eckholm with Calvin Sims, 'Stolen Chinese Relic A Showpiece in Japan? Archaeologists See an Epidemic of Theft', in *The New York Times*, Thursday, 20 April 2000.
- 62 The full account of this story is found in Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 86.

FILLING THE ZEN SHŪ

Notes on the *Jisshū Yōdō Ki***Carl Bielefeldt*

According to Zen tradition, the rise of Zen in Japan is purely a family affair. It represents the inheritance of the treasury of the essence of true Buddhism (*shōbō genzō*) from the lineage of its Chinese patriarchs by their chosen successors in Japan. This inheritance took place during Japan's Kamakura period (1185–1333), when Japanese monks made pilgrimages to the mainland Chan patriarchs, and Chinese Chan missionaries from the Song and Yuan brought their teachings to the islands. At the time, the Chan family was distributed into two major houses, the Linji and Caodong; hence, the Japanese Zen school was similarly divided into Rinzaï and Sōtō according to the house affiliation of its founding patriarchs. To Eisai (1141–1215) goes the honour of founding the former; to Dōgen (1200–1253), the latter. Others would follow, bringing various lineages within these two houses, but the event was always the same: a direct transmission of the essence of Buddhism from the mind of the Chinese master to the mind of the Japanese student. The master spoke of *chan*, the student of *zen*, but since they shared the same essence beyond words, there was no difference between them.

Whatever we may say about the religious vision behind this tradition of Zen's transmission to Japan, as historiography it leaves us with many questions. It ignores, of course, a host of broad and complex issues in the interpretation both of cross-cultural understandings (the cultural sets of the minds, as it were, of the Chinese master and the Japanese student) and of religious change (the historical conditions, for example, that may [or may not] have brought these minds together). More simply and specifically, it ignores what historians, both ancient and modern, tell us about the origins of Zen in Japan.

Historians regularly tell us, for example, that the Zen teachings were brought to Japan from the Tang already in the Nara period (710–794) by the Chinese monk Daoxuan (Dōsen, 702–760) and again at the start of the Heian period (794–1185) by the founder of Japanese Tendai, Saichō (767–822). They tell us that the late Heian monk Kakua (1143–?) had already returned from several years in the Chan monasteries of the Southern Song well before Eisai made his pilgrimage, and that Dainichibō Nōnin (d.u.) was already at work spreading the ‘Daruma’ (i.e. Bodhidharma) school when Eisai returned. Moreover, they tell us that, even after the ‘official’ transmissions by Eisai and Dōgen, many of those initiated into the Zen lineages (including Eisai himself but rarely Dōgen) stubbornly persisted in their old ways, mixing together their new Chinese religion with the forms of Buddhism current in Japan. From this perspective, then, the establishment of Zen in the Kamakura was a gradual, indeed a fitful, process, requiring at least several generations before the Japanese were to get it right.¹

Perhaps under the pressure (no doubt often unconscious) of Zen tradition, historians regularly describe this process as the development from ‘joint practice’ (*kenshū*) to ‘pure’ (*junsui*) Zen. The former represents a transitional phase, typically identified with the ‘metropolitan’ style favoured by the aristocrats in the court at Heian and associated with Eisai and those among his successors who espoused various versions of compromise and combination with the established Heian schools of Tendai and Shingon; the latter is the fully realized form, seen first in the Zen of the staunchly independent and uncompromising Dōgen but finally established only with the arrival in the warrior capital at Kamakura of Daolong (Dōryū, 1213–1278; arrived 1246) and subsequent missionaries from the mainland.

This historical account raises questions of its own, not only about the relationship between its gradual process and the sudden transmission claimed by Zen tradition but also about the teleology of purification that seems to govern the interpretation of the process. In one sense, the notion of pure Zen here implies a form undistorted by Japanese innovation – hence, an authentic replica of Chinese Chan; in another sense, it means a style of Zen unadulterated by other forms of Buddhism – hence, an independent Buddhist school, self-sufficient in and solely devoted to its own unique form. Typically these two senses are mixed together, presumably under the assumption that authentic Chinese Chan was itself such an unadulterated Buddhist school. If this assumption is false and

reflects rather a peculiarly Japanese notion of a Buddhist school (as I think many might now want to argue), then the purification involved here turns out to be a process of Japanization, and the oddity follows that it was from Daolong and his compatriots that the Japanese learned how to do this.²

Our picture of the transmission of the Zen school to the Kamakura is thus linked to our understanding of what it meant to be a Buddhist school, or *shū*, in the Kamakura. Here we must be careful not to assume too easily something as broad as a 'Japanese notion' of a Buddhist school. If we have learned to be wary of trusting the lens of traditional Japanese Buddhist historiography when reading Chinese materials, we ought to be equally cautious when studying the Kamakura, lest we project on it largely artificial or anachronistic models of sectarian definition and organization. The term *shū*, after all, has meant in Japanese usage many things – from mere 'meaning', or the 'essential import' of a text or teaching (as, for example, in *shūshi*), through a historical 'ancestry' or 'lineage' (as often, though not always, in *shūmon*), to a full-blown 'church' (as typically in the modern *shūha*), complete with its own characteristic scriptures and rituals, and its own real property, clergy and congregation.

The Kamakura was a period of extraordinary religious diversity and experimentation, when questions of what it meant to be a Buddhist *shū* were themselves at issue. Social and political change combined with religious developments, both domestic and imported, to produce a variety of new Buddhist options for religious understanding and organization; in this volatile environment of religious reform, where new cults and schismatic movements jostled for a place among the established Buddhist institutions, the various senses in which a *shū* could be understood were used both to open up and to foreclose possibilities for sectarian initiatives. It is perhaps emblematic of the age that the infamous *Kōfukuji sōjō*, the 1205 petition by Jōkei (1155–1213) calling for government proscription of the Pure Land teachings of Genkū (i.e. Hōnen, 1133–1212), had as the very first of its list of nine errors attributed to the teachings the attempt to establish a 'new school' (*shinshū*).

Jōkei defines this error in legal, historical and religious terms. It is, he says, quite inappropriate for one privately to designate oneself a *shū*, without formally petitioning the court and waiting for its official approval. Throughout Japanese history, he argues, there have been only eight schools of Buddhism recognized and

supported by the court; since ancient times, it is unheard of for someone to try to start a new one. Where does Genkū get the authority to claim such a school? Would he rank himself among the great patriarchs of the past, like Kōbō of Kōya (i.e. Kūkai, 774–835, founder of Shingon) or Dengyō of Eizan (i.e. Saichō)? Or does he claim some personal initiation by a master into a school handed down from the past? Moreover, his attempt to establish a school for the sole practice of calling the name of Amitābha (*senju nenbutsu*) would reduce all the Buddha's teachings to the Pure Land doctrines; the way to establish a school is not to claim its independence as a separate soteriological path but to evaluate the various teachings and show how one's own position represents their ultimate import.³

Song-dynasty Chan, of course, entered the Kamakura equipped with its own understandings of sectarian identity, especially its famous claim to represent an esoteric lineage of gnostic patriarchs who maintained a 'separate transmission outside the teachings' (*kyōge betsubuden*). The early Japanese proponents of Zen had not only to fit themselves into this Chinese patriarchal lineage but also to fit that lineage into the ongoing Japanese conversation about what constituted a legitimate Buddhist tradition. Given the complexity of this conversation, it is not surprising that Zen texts of this time display the same wide range of sectarian attitudes and understandings that we find among their contemporary readers. This range may, of course, depend on individual religious preferences (or the degree of Zen purity), but it also undoubtedly reflects the disparate audiences to which, and the various genres through which, the early Japanese Zen interpreters sought to explain, justify, and spread the faith.

We are accustomed to reading Zen through the genre of the 'recorded sayings' (*goroku*) of the masters. This is no doubt as the masters would have it; for the use of this unusual new genre from the Song, quite unlike the standard scriptures of Japanese Buddhism, was likely intended in part to display the Chinese authority for Zen and distinguish it as a separate tradition. Indeed the preference for this esoteric and highly stylized genre, with its fixed forms of lecture and poetry and its obscure linguistic play and literary allusion, is probably one of the prime criteria by which we determine that we are in the presence of pure Zen. Needless to say, the texts of the Song masters on which the Japanese genre was modelled were little concerned with the Kamakura issue of sectarian individuation, and hence the Japanese *goroku* are not

particularly rich resources for understanding early Zen apologetics; but the Kamakura Zen authors also worked in other genres that give us greater insight into how they argued for the new movement. Such, for example, are the less formal ‘dharma talks’ (*hōgo*), often written in the vernacular and composed (at least ostensibly) for individual believers, as well as various genres of more formal *kanbun* essay, typically directed toward a broader public. Among the latter is an unusual document from this period in a genre that is explicitly concerned with defining the orthodox schools of Japanese Buddhism. Since the text is not available in the standard Buddhist collections and has usually received only passing notice in the secondary literature, I thought it worthwhile to offer here a general description of its contents, together with some historical background on its genre.

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The document, entitled *Jisshū yōdō ki*, or ‘Essentials of the Ten Schools’, is a *kanbun* essay, in one roll, of some six to seven hundred graphs.⁴ The text bears a colophon by the copyist, a certain Shunkei, dated 1461 and attributing the work to the National Master Prime Sage of Tōfuku (Tōfuku Shōichi kokushi) – i.e. the founding abbot of the Tōfuku monastery, Enni (or Ben’en, 1202–1280). If this attribution is correct (a question to which I shall return briefly below), we have here one of the few extant works by the man who was perhaps the single most influential figure in the promulgation of Zen in the imperial capital during the middle decades of the thirteenth century. As its title indicates, the text deals with the teachings of ten Buddhist schools, the last of which the author identifies as the ‘Buddha Mind school’ (*busshin shū*). This school, which of course designates the Zen teachings, receives by far the longest treatment, amounting to fully one-third of the whole.⁵ The document represents, then, a presentation of the Zen teachings through a genre we might call ‘school survey’ (sometimes referred to as *shoshū tsūsetsu*) that seems to have become particularly popular in the Kamakura. I shall return to other examples of this genre and Zen’s treatment within it later on, but first let me simply describe the organization and content of our text.

The author opens with a short introduction proclaiming the unity of the Buddhist religion in the single sacred reality of the Buddha’s enlightenment and reminding the reader that the varied teachings of the Buddha are simply His response to the needs of

beings. These teachings, 84,000 in number, have traditionally been consolidated in eight schools (*shū*), but it is not our place, we are told, to debate the truth or falsity of their doctrines. Rather, there is great merit in seeing the virtues of another's school, while hell awaits those who slander another's dharma. One should simply enter the gate (*mon*) to which his karma has led him, and he will surely be liberated [1–2].⁶ The author goes on to say that he has been moved to give a rough account of the essentials of the various schools by the request of a certain layman who had achieved some understanding of 'the real mark of the one vehicle' (*ichijō jissō*) – that is, of the central doctrine of the Tendai school [2].

The introduction closes with a preview of the schools to be covered:

The gates leading beyond the limits of birth and death into the city of nirvāṇa are many in number; yet the dharmas that have been transmitted (*sōjō denpō*) do not exceed ten schools: (1) Kegon shū, (2) Risshū, (3) Jōjitsu shū, (4) Kusha shū, (5) Sanron shū, (6) Hossō shū, (7) Shingon shū, (8) Tendai shū (these eight schools derive from the past [*eko*]); (9) Jōdo shū, (10) Busshin shū (these two schools derive from the present [*ekon*]). Now, if we collect these [ten], they do not go beyond three gates (*sanmon*): the first is the Precepts Gate (*ritsumon*); the second is the Teaching Gate (*kyōmon*); and the third is the Meditation Gate (*zenmon*). [2; parenthetical passages are in the original]

The text then proceeds to treat its ten schools in the order of these three 'gates'.

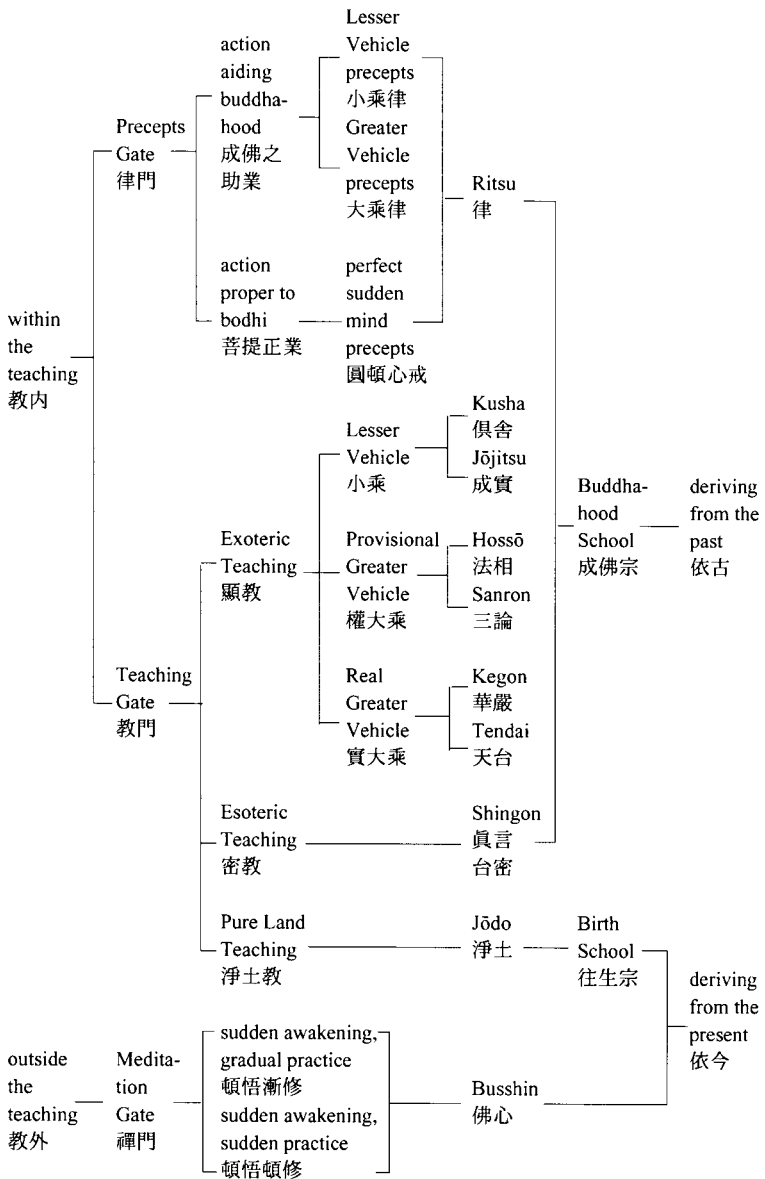
The account of the Precepts Gate is a good example of the author's particular approach to interpreting the Buddhist schools. The discussion is divided into sections on the Lesser Vehicle and Greater Vehicle precepts – the former consisting of the 250 *pratimokṣa* rules [2]; the latter, of the ten major and 48 minor rules of the bodhisattva [3]. Yet the actual treatment of the precepts in these sections makes it clear that the author has less interest in this standard division in the rules than in a higher vision of religious practice: the Lesser Vehicle precepts are intended to overturn the four perverted views (*tendō*); the Greater Vehicle precepts are based on the vision that 'the kleśas are themselves bodhi; *saṃsāra* is itself nirvāṇa' [3]. Thus the true significance of the Greater Vehicle precepts lies not in the rules but in this vision – what the

text calls, following standard Tendai usage, the precepts as ‘contemplation of the mind’ (*kanjin*) [3] or ‘the complete sudden mind precepts’ (*endon shin kai*) [4]. The rules of both Lesser and Greater Vehicles are but ‘action aiding the realization of buddhahood’ (*jōbutsu shi jogō*), while the complete sudden mind precepts are ‘action proper to bodhi’ (*bodai shōgō*), ‘directly verifying the principle of bodhi’. How the Greater Vehicle precepts are interpreted (whether as aid to or expression of enlightenment [?]) depends on the faith (*shin*) of the practitioner and the acuity of his spiritual capacities (*ki*) [4].

Here we see at the outset an analysis of the Precepts Gate into levels of religious understanding that presupposes traditional interpretive categories made explicit only later in the text. In fact, as we make our way through the *Jissū yōdō ki*, the theoretical structure of its vision of Buddhism emerges only gradually, from scattered references to its various overlapping divisions. In addition to the organization of the ten schools into the ‘three gates’, we have already seen a distinction between the eight ‘past’ and two ‘present’ schools. Particularly important, both for the author and for our purposes here, is a further distinction, made in the discussion of the Meditation Gate, between the first nine schools, which are said to represent the Buddha’s word (*butsudo*), and the final, Busshin school, which transmits the Buddha’s intention (*butsu*) outside His teachings (*kyōge*) [18]. In this discussion, the Buddha’s teachings are collectively referred to as ‘the two schools of birth and buddhahood’ (*ōjō yo jōbutsu ryōshū*) – i.e. the initial eight teachings, which concern the attainment of buddhahood, and the ninth, which deals with birth in Sukhāvati [18].⁷

Several familiar categories are used to classify the schools of the Teaching Gate. This section opens with a common schema of three types of teachings: the Lesser Vehicle (*shōjō*), Provisional Greater Vehicle (*gon daijō*), and Real Greater Vehicle (*jitsu daijō*): to the first belong the two schools of Kusha and Jōjitsu; to the second, Hossō and Sanron; to the last, Kegon and Tendai [4]. All of these schools are said, somewhat later in the text, to represent the first of a broader (and less common) tripartite division of the Teaching Gate, into the Exoteric (*kengyō*), Esoteric (*mikkyō*), and Pure Land (*jōdo*) teachings [5].⁸ At the same point in the text, the author notes that the Meditation Gate can also be divided, into sudden awakening, gradual practice (*tongo zenshu*), and sudden awakening, sudden practice (*tongo tonshu*), but this well-known Zen distinction is not further developed.

This, then, is the complex structure of Buddhist systems within which – and at the same time over against which – the *Jisshū yōdō ki* seeks to locate the Buddha Mind. We might display this structure in something like the following schema:⁹



Our interest here is especially in the Meditation Gate, but before we summarize the final section of the text, we need at least to glance at how the *Jisshū yōdō ki* deals with the schools of its Teaching Gate, which include after all the major established forms of Buddhism in the Kamakura. In general, the author gives less attention to the doctrines specific to his eight Teaching schools than to the distinguishing characteristics by which he divides them into his categories. He focuses especially on two themes: soteriological theory and metaphysics of mind. Each section of the discussion here opens with the following questions: '[In these systems,] how long does it take to get out of saṃsāra, and what acts are cultivated to verify what sort of bodhi?' [5, 6, 8, 12; a slightly variant form of the questions occurs at 4]. The answer then defines the systems by the kinds of religious path they entail and the sorts of spiritual goals they envision. Thus, for example, the Provisional Greater Vehicle is distinguished from the Lesser Vehicle on the basis of its teaching of the bodhisattva path and attainment of the saṃbhogakāya buddhahood [6]; the Real Greater Vehicle differs from the Provisional in its doctrine that one can achieve the dharmakāya buddhahood of original enlightenment (*hongaku*) in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*), without passing through the three aeons of the bodhisattva path [6–7]. The Esoteric Teaching of the Shingon (and Taimitsu) is distinguished by its fruit of the fivefold knowledge (*gochi*) of the cosmic Buddha Vairocana, attained through the practice of the three mysteries (*sanmitsu*) of body, speech, and thought [8–9]. (A further distinction is made within the Esoteric Teaching between the 'One Greater [Vehicle] Complete Teaching' (*ichidai engyō*) of the Shingon school proper and the 'One Vehicle Complete Teaching' (*ichijō engyō*) of the esoteric Tendai [11]). Finally, the Pure Land Teaching is characterized by its offer of immediate escape from the 'burning house' of the Saḥā world into the bliss of Sukhāvātī through the 'easy practice' (*ekigyō*) of reciting the name of Amitābha, without recourse to the three levels of the bhadra and ten stages of the *ārya* (*sangen jisshō*) [12].

Following the final, Pure Land section of its discussion of the Teaching Gate, the text makes explicit the categories of mind it uses to distinguish the metaphysics of the various teaching systems. The distinction between the Lesser and Greater Vehicles, for example, derives from their lesser and greater understandings of mind [13]; similarly, the Real Greater Vehicle differs from the Provisional in teaching the essence (*tai*), as opposed to the marks

and functions (*sō yō*), of the mind [14]. Put in somewhat different terms, drawn from the teachings of the *Shi moheyan lun*:

The teaching of the six consciousnesses (*roku shiki*) is called the Lesser Vehicle; the teaching of the eight consciousnesses is called the Provisional Greater Vehicle; the teaching of the nine consciousnesses is called the Real Greater Vehicle; the teaching of the ten consciousnesses is called the One Greater [Vehicle] Complete Teaching of the Shingon [15].

Finally the *Jisshū yōdō ki* turns to the Meditation Gate, represented by the Busshin, or ‘Buddha Mind’, school. Again it begins with its soteriological question of the length, actions, and goals of the practice [15]. The answer is that, since in this school there are no *kleśa*, it takes no time to practice; since the *kleśa* are themselves bodhi, one need cultivate no actions. Rather, this school simply ‘points directly at the person’s mind [so that he] sees his nature and becomes a buddha, without relying on words and letters’ (*jikishi ninshin kenshō jōbutsu furyū monji*) [16]. The text then moves directly to its issue of mind.

‘Zen,’ it says, ‘is mind.’ But this mind of Zen is beyond the minds discussed in even the highest of the Teaching schools: it is neither the ninth consciousness that has undefiled knowledge of the phenomenal world (*daiku shiki ta ichi shin*) nor the tenth consciousness that is at one with the ultimate (*daijū shiki ichi ichi shin*) [16].¹⁰ Discussion of these two aspects of mind – the so-called *shōmetsu mon* and *shinnyo mon* – is, the text goes on later to say, like toying with a ‘phantom pearl’ (*nyo gen shi ju*) [20]. Indeed, all the talk of the mind in the Teaching schools, whether they be Esoteric or Exoteric, Noble Path or Pure Land, is nothing but discussion of ‘sky flowers’ (*kūge*), like discriminations of the objects in a mirror or distinctions between clear and dirty water. In contrast, the mind of Zen is the mirror itself, the water itself; nay, the natural enlightenment (*jinen kaku*) of the Zen mind is the very reflectivity (*myōshō*) in the bronze of the mirror, unaffected by whether the images appearing in the mirror be dim or bright; it is the wetness (*shisshō*) of the water, unchanged whether its waves and billows be pure or defiled [17, 20, 21].

In a rather lengthy section on what is called the ‘talk proper to Zen’ (*zen shōgo dan*), the text pursues this difference from other brands of Buddhism. Others talk about ‘branch delusion’ (*shimatsu mō*), dealing with the ignorance of the twelvefold chain of

dependent origination; Zen speaks only of ‘root delusion’ (*konpon mō*), the discrimination between ignorance and awakening (*meigo*) itself. Others concern themselves with ‘deluded knowing’ (*mō chi*), which consists of both defiled deluded ideas about this world and pure deluded ideas about the buddhas and pure lands [18–19]; Zen is concerned only with ‘true knowing’ (*shin chi*), which is something else:

When the mind does not think, it naturally knows objects (*jinen chi kyō*); when the mind does not discriminate, it involuntarily illumines things (*nin’un shō motsu*). Vertically, it exhausts the three ages [of past, present and future], a single knowing ever numinous; horizontally, it extends throughout the ten directions, a single mind ever comprehending [20].

This kind of natural knowing, familiar to readers of Zongmi (780–841), is, to use the Tang author’s expression, ‘the gateway to all marvels’ (*shu myō shi mon*) [17–18]. It is, in fact, buddhahood itself: the ‘buddhahood of involuntary numinous knowing’ (*nin’un ryōchi shi butsu*) [17], the ‘ever-abiding buddha’ (*jōju butsuda*) [22], the ‘lord of innate knowledge of the unborn’ (*mushō shōchi shi kunshi*), the ‘dharma king of solitary illumination of true suchness’ (*shinnyo dokushō shi hōō*) [17].

This kind of knowing is the ‘mind of the Buddha’s prime concern’ (*butsuda sokai shi shin*), the ‘intention of the Buddha’ (*butsu i*), the reason why, as the *Lotus Sūtra* says, He came into the world. Because the foolish do not understand His intention, they miss the source of the teachings and are carried away by the words [21]. But the teachings are just the Buddha’s words, the sūtras just ‘a finger pointing at the moon’. The Zen house (*zenke*) does not rely on words or letters; it is a separate transmission outside the teachings that is silently indicated and silently agreed to (*mokushi mokkai*). It is concerned solely with the Buddha’s intention that we ‘see our natures and attain the way’ (*kenshō tatsudō*), with Bodhitara’s (i.e. Bodhidharma’s) prime concern that ‘this very mind is buddha’ (*ze shin ze butsu*) [18].

The awakening to the meaning of Zen is the essence (*tai*) on which depend both the Exoteric and Esoteric teachings; in itself Zen is without either gate (*mon*) or dharma (*hō*) [17]. The mind of Zen is neither meditation (*jō*) nor wisdom (*e*), neither cause nor effect [of the path], transcending the stages of virtual and marvellous enlightenment (*tōmyō*), beyond ignorance and awakening (*meigo*)

[20]. Those in the Teaching schools struggle to follow the antidotal path (*taiji dō*), but those in Zen outside the teachings just reveal the one knowing (*ken icchi*) and enjoy the bliss of the dharma (*hōraku*). They are beyond the stages (*jiū*) of the path and the three disciplines (*sangaku*) of rule, meditation, and wisdom; they are richly endowed with the virtues of wisdom and eradication of afflictions without severing [the *klēśa*] or verifying [the dharma] (*danshō*) [20]. Others rush in vain to practise such meditations as ‘the three contemplations in one mind’ (*isshin sangan*) or ‘no thought, free from words’ (*rigon munen*), but the innate knowing of the separate transmission outside the teachings flies beyond ‘the incomprehensible crossroads’ (*fushigi shi ku*) and plays alone among ‘the heavens beyond images’ (*zōge shi ten*). Pointing directly at the person’s mind, it mounts the head of Vairocana [21].

This exalted spot on the head of Vairocana is of course none other than our own natural state; hence in contrast to those schools that claim to be accessible only to the highest type of practitioner, Zen is for everyman.

The spiritual capacity (*ki*) [to which the Buddha Mind school is directed] is the innate knowing beyond the three disciplines (*shutsu sangaku shōchi*); since all beings possess this knowing, who is not of this capacity? Its dharma (*hō*) [i.e. spiritual method] is the numinous knowing transcending the three disciplines; since such knowing is not a contemplative mental state (*hi kan nen shonyū jō*), who cannot awaken to it? [18]

It is on this note that the text ends with a call to the Buddha Mind school. The Zen dharma, it says, holds that ‘from the beginning not one thing exists’ (*honrai mu ichimotsu*). It does not clarify cause and effect; it does not use the calming and contemplation techniques for eradication and verification (*danshō shikan*). It does not discriminate between wise and stupid, spiritual commoner and noble (*bon shō*). It simply reveals our involuntary knowing and does not seek buddhahood outside this. In almost his only imperative sentence in the text, the author finally addresses the reader directly: ‘Just throw aside the myriad affairs and believe in (*shin*) the Buddha Mind school’ [22].

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Such in rough summary is the content of the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. From this content, it seems fairly safe to suppose that the copyist Shunkei

was correct in attributing the work to Shōichi Kokushi. In his description of the document published soon after its appearance in print, Shimaji Daitō suggests six reasons for accepting the attribution: (1) its teachings reflect the sort of ‘original enlightenment’ (*hongaku*) thought prominent in the traditions of both Hiei and Kōya during Enni’s day; (2) it accords with what we know of Enni’s own career – his early training in and lifelong teaching of esoteric Tendai, together with his initiation into and subsequent promulgation of Zen; (3) its scriptural sources fit with what we would expect from an author of Enni’s background; (4) its lofty style and bold interpretive stance suggest the work of a master of Enni’s stature; (5) its character reflects the general intellectual interests of Enni’s generation and the particular attitudes of Eisai’s early Zen movement; (6) there is no alternative explanation that might give us grounds for rejecting Shunkei’s colophon.¹¹

I shall not pause here to pursue the details of these and other arguments that would need to be considered in any full account of the provenance of the text. The major evidence against the attribution to Enni is negative: it is not supported by notice in the early Buddhist literature, including Enshin’s chronology of Enni’s life, the *Shōichi kokushi nenpu*, composed in 1281, just after its subject’s death, and Shiren’s collection of his recorded teachings, the *Shōichi kokushi goroku*, composed in 1331. Yet neither of these texts is a very good source for Enni’s writings: both, for example, also fail to mention his commentary to the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, the *Dainichi kyō kenmon*, for which we have a colophon dating its teaching, as recorded by Enni’s influential disciple Chikotsu Daie, to the tenth month of 1272.¹² While I have not done a careful comparison of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* with this commentary, its discussion in the Shingon section does seem consistent with the sort of Kamakura-style Taimitsu espoused there. Similarly, the treatment of Zen in our text has much in common with the *Shōichi kokushi kana hōgo*, and its reliance on Yanshou’s *Zongjing lu* fits well with Enni’s reputation among his contemporaries as an expert on this book. In short, it would seem that (to borrow an old joke from Shakespeare scholarship), if the *Jisshū yōdō ki* was not written by Shōichi Kokushi, then it was written by another thirteenth-century esoteric Tendai Zen master of the same name. Or, as Shimaji puts it, ‘If not he, who?’¹³

It was during the lifetime of this Zen master (and in no small measure due to his own efforts) that the Zen movement was transformed from a novel – but largely marginal and somewhat

suspect – Chinese import to an independent Japanese institution, patronized by both court and shogunate and acknowledged as a legitimate religious tradition by the Japanese Buddhist community. Enni was born less than a decade after the opening of Eisai's mission to establish the Chinese Chan practices in Japan. We are accustomed to thinking of early Kamakura sectarian struggle largely in terms of the Buddhist establishment's suppression of Hōnen's exclusive practice of the *nenbutsu*, but it should be remembered that Eisai's mission also met with resistance. His advocacy of Zen marked him as a confederate of what was called the 'Daruma shū' – a term of ambiguous referent but especially applied in Eisai's day to the movement centred on the charismatic figure Nōnin and apparently associated in the minds of the Buddhist establishment with a 'wild', radically antinomian approach to religion. In 1194, four years before the appearance of Hōnen's controversial *Senchaku shū*, the court of Gotoba was persuaded by the Tendai authorities to proscribe the Daruma school teachings in Japan.

Eisai responded with his famous apologia, the *Kōzen gokoku ron*, in which he sought to distance himself from Nōnin's Buddhism and to define his movement in terms of the vinaya reform then beginning to sweep the monasteries of both Nara and Heian. Eventually, he prevailed, being invited to Kamakura by the new shogunate and returning to the capital in triumph to found the Kennin monastery. From this base, established as a branch of the Tendai headquarters at Enryakuji, Eisai pursued a successful career as a teacher of Zen, vinaya, and Tendai esotericism. To his monastery came such respected figures as the influential 'northern capital vinaya' (*hokukyō ritsu*) master Fukaki Shunjō (1166–1227) and the renowned Kegon leader Myōe Kōben (1173–1232). Shunjō's own combination of Tendai, Zen and *kairitsu* would attract the support of Enni's future patron, Kujō Michiie; Myōe's interest in Zen would lead indirectly to one of our first extant Japanese attempts to justify the Zen teachings in terms of traditional Buddhist scholasticism: the *Zenshū kōmoku*, composed in 1255 by his disciple Shōjō.

Despite Eisai's personal success, resistance to the Zen movement would continue into the thirteenth century. Dōgen, who left Kenninji around 1231 to establish an independent monastery on the outskirts of Kyoto, also came under attack from the monks of Mt. Hiei. Closely associated with the followers of the outlawed Daruma school and lacking Eisai's political connections (and

perhaps also his political skills), Dōgen was forced to abandon his ministry in the capital and withdraw to the mountains of Echizen, where he would live out his remaining years with a few disciples in relative isolation from the centres of secular and ecclesiastical power. His departure from Kyoto in 1243 coincided with the arrival in the capital of Enni.

Following his return from some years on the mainland, Enni had been active in Kyushu, founding several monasteries near the government centre at Dazaifu. These projects, we are told, were opposed by a local Tendai monastery; but, through the good offices of his fellow pilgrim Tan'e, Enni's name came to the attention of the powerful politician Michiie, and he was soon invited to Kyoto and appointed founding abbot of Michiie's new Tōfukuji. This monastery combined the Chinese-style meditation hall (*sōdō*) with libraries and ritual halls for the esoteric and exoteric teachings, and displayed images of the patriarchs of Zen, Shingon and Tendai; according to Michiie, it was intended as a training place for protection of the nation (*chingo kokka shi dōjō*), where monks would practise the three disciplines of an ecumenical Buddhism, based on the rules of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles and the Exoteric and Esoteric teachings, and specializing in Shingon, Tendai and Zen (*shingon shikan shūmon*).¹⁴

Like the Buddhism of Kenninji, Tōfukuji's mix of Taimitsu with the new continental teachings attracted scholars of both Nara and Heian. One of these, for example, was Ryōhen (1194–1252), author of such important treatises on the Vijñaptimātratā doctrine as the *Kanjin kakumu shō* and *Hossō nikan shō*. Ryōhen is known as a specialist in Buddhist logic and master of Hossō, but he was also a devout practitioner of the *nenbutsu* and a sometime student of Zen. Not long after the opening of Tōfukuji, he visited with a group of monks to hear Enni lecture on the *Zongjing lu*, and in fact he himself wrote on this book and composed a treatise, the *Shinjin yōketsu* (1244–1246), in which he argued for the unity of Zen and Hossō doctrine.

Among Ryōhen's disciples was Enshō (1221–1277), a student as well of the influential Saidaiji vinaya master Eizon (or Eison, 1201–1290) and, from 1257, abbot of Tōdaiji's ordination centre, the Kaidan'in. Although Enshō, because of his work in restoring the Kaidan'in, is generally treated as a monk of the Ritsu school, in fact, like Ryōhen and many of his contemporaries, he had broad interests in the full range of Buddhist teachings, including its most recent forms. Like Eizon and others of the so-called 'southern

capital vinaya' (*nankyō ritsu*) movement, he was particularly drawn to the esoteric teachings; but he was also a scholar of exoteric texts and is said to have passed away intoning the name of Amitābha. A passage in his biography, the *Enshō shōnin gyōjō*, describes the range of his religion: 'In his person (*shin*) he was in the Ritsu house; his doctrine (*shū*) lay in Sanron; in his verification (*shō*) he tasted Shingon; as his reward (*hō*) he enjoyed repose and sustenance (*an'yō*) [i.e. the Pure Land].'¹⁵

Enshō also studied at Tōfukuji, but his experience there seems to have been rather less gratifying than that of his teacher Ryōhen. The same passage in his biography contrasts Enshō's esteem for Shingon with his disdain for Zen. Zen, he reports, is unjustifiably proud of itself. If we compare the schools of Buddhism to the sons of a family, then Shingon represents the direct heir (*chakushi*); the Zen dharma (*zenpō*) amounts to no more than the third son, not even the second. Whereas in Shingon the religious faculties are all complete and the myriad virtues all fulfilled, the Zen dharma is without marks and without thought (*musō munen*) and lacks real definition (*mokubi*).¹⁶ Apparently there were limits even to Enshō's catholic tastes. Nevertheless, the author of the biography is quick to add, Enshō was not the sort to engage in religious disputation.

The author of the biography was Gyōnen (1240–1321), who was initiated into the precepts by Enshō and, upon the latter's death, succeeded him as abbot of the Kaidan'in – a post in which he served for over four decades. Tōdaiji, where Gyōnen spent most of his life, was of course a major centre of Kegon learning, and among his teachers there was the prolific Kegon scholar Shūshō (or Sōshō, 1202–1278?), who, along with his many works on doctrinal topics, also authored our earliest extant collection of biographies of eminent Japanese monks.¹⁷ Shūshō's combined interest in Buddhist dogmatics and historiography is well reflected in Gyōnen's own extensive and varied corpus. Among his many writings, he is particularly remembered for his several surveys of the Buddhist schools, especially, of course, the most famous of all such texts, the *Hasshū kōyō*, or 'Essentials of the Eight Schools'.

The *Hasshū kōyō* was composed in 1268, near the beginning of its author's long and illustrious career. As its title indicates, this survey is largely limited to those Buddhist systems widely acknowledged in Gyōnen's day as the eight traditional schools – what the *Jisshū yōdō ki* identifies as the schools from the 'past'. The 'present' movements of Jōdo and Zen receive only passing

notice, in a brief afterword remarking on their recent popularity and adding a few lines of description.

Since ancient times, Gyōnen says, only eight schools have been recognized in Japan; but beyond these, the Zen school and Jōdo have also flourished. For its part, the Zen school holds that ‘from the beginning not one thing exists. Originally there are no *kleśa*; fundamentally, they are bodhi’. This school claims to differ from all others, with their myriad distinctions and various discussions: ‘When Bodhidharma came from the West, [he taught] without reliance on the written word, pointing directly at the person’s mind, [that one might] see his nature and become a buddha.’ Gyōnen then records the Zen legend of the mind-to-mind transmission of the twenty-eight Indian and six Chinese patriarchs, the early division into Northern and Southern branches, and the subsequent development of the latter into the Five Houses. The Northern school was transmitted to Japan from the Tang by the Vinaya Master Daoxuan and again by the Great Master Dengyō, under the name ‘Buddha Mind school’. Now, he says, Zen has also been transmitted from the Song and spread widely throughout the country.¹⁸ Gyōnen then adds a brief passage on Jōdo and closes with a postscript disclaiming any ranking of relative profundity implicit in the order in which he has presented the schools. This remark was no doubt for the benefit of his Tendai readers, whom he could expect to take umbrage from the fact that his order happens to follow Kūkai’s notorious arrangement in his *Jū jū shin ron* and elsewhere, according to which Gyōnen’s own Kegon school occurs ‘above’ Tendai, as the school just ‘below’ the ultimate teaching of Shingon.

Although the *Hasshū kōyō* was to prove his most popular work, Gyōnen went on in his career to produce other survey texts. In 1311, toward the end of his life, he composed the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi*, in which he traces the histories of the Buddhist schools in India, China and Japan. Here his section on the Zen school in China opens by calling attention to the long Buddhist tradition of meditation. The several Chinese *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Kōsō den*), he notes, all record the worthies who practised dhyāna (*shūzen*), whether or not they belonged to the Dharma tradition (*daruma mon*). Indeed, all the Greater Vehicle schools have the Zen dharma (*zenpō*) because they recognize that theory and practice (*kyōsō kangyō*) always go together. This said, the text then repeats the history of the Bodhidharma lineage in China, in a form quite similar to that of the *Hasshū kōyō*. Again like the *Hasshū kōyō*, the

section on Japan excludes Zen (and Pure Land) from the main discussion and treats them in a brief note at the end.¹⁹

Gyōnen also composed a shorter work in the same survey genre, the *Naiten jinro shō*, for which we have no clear date. Here again, he treats Zen and Pure Land as the two exceptions to the eight schools that he calls the ‘standard’ (*kiku*). Whereas in the *Denzū engi* he points to Zen as an ecumenical practice of meditation, here he takes it solely as a separate tradition and in fact contrasts its historical character with that of Jōdo. The ‘single gate of the Zen dharma’ (*zenpō ichimon*), he says, was originally transmitted to Japan in the Tenpyō era (729–749) but did not spread; it is now being re-transmitted by Japanese pilgrims and Chinese missionaries. The Pure Land faith, on the other hand, has been common to all the schools, without a separate school of its own; but recently Genkū Shōnin has established a single school (*isshū*) with its own lineage of masters (*ichiryū shishō*).²⁰ In his section on the Zen school, Gyōnen again emphasizes its historical tradition. After a brief passage on the teachings (which adds a new list of stock Zen expressions), he expands his treatment of the patriarchal legend, drawing on the writings of Zongmi to discuss the early lineages of the Northern and Southern schools and citing the Song historical work *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* on the history of the Five Houses. Among those who have recently spread the Southern school teachings in Japan, he singles out the names of Eisai, Shinchi Kakushin (1207–1298), and Enni.²¹

Gyōnen’s organization of Buddhism into a fixed set of doctrinal systems and historical traditions is generally credited with (or blamed for) establishing the standard model for Japanese Buddhist historiography right up to our own day; yet in his own day, Gyōnen’s work was only one expression of a broader Kamakura interest in surveying the recognized schools of Buddhism. Indeed, if the *Jisshū yōdō ki* was in fact written by Shōichi Kokushi, then it may well precede not only Gyōnen’s late works but even his early *Hasshū kōyō* itself. Enni, after all, had begun his ministry the year after Gyōnen was born and had been teaching for almost three decades by the time Gyōnen wrote his first survey; he had been dead for over two decades when the *Denzū engi* was composed.²² Probably soon after Gyōnen’s own death, the Zen movement produced another text in this genre, by Enni’s dharma descendant and compiler of his *goroku*, Kokan Shiren (1278–1346). In a little treatise entitled *Hakkai ganzō*, Shiren deals briefly with each of the ten schools described in the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. As is fitting perhaps for

the author of the monumental history of Japanese Buddhism, the *Genkō shakusho*, he adopts here Gyōnen's historical style and relegates Zen and Pure Land to a final section on the two 'other' schools not included in the official eight. His treatment of the Busshin school emphasizes its historical tradition.

Like Gyōnen's *Sangoku buppō denzū engi*, this section opens by identifying the Buddha Mind school with meditation: it is called the 'Zen school' because it does not depend on words but attains the dharma solely through the practice of *zazen*. The text then proceeds to give a brief recounting of the patriarchal tradition and its transmission to Japan during the Nara period, adding to Gyōnen's account the popular legend that Bodhidharma had visited Japan during the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 592–628) and transmitted the dharma to Prince Shōtoku. Among recent Zen monks, Shiren singles out the pioneering figures Kakushin, who received the dharma in China from Wumen; Enni, who received the transmission of Wuzhun; and Dōgen, whose transmission came from Rujing; as well as Shiren's illustrious contemporary Daitō (i.e. Myōchō, 1282–1336), a fifth-generation scion of Songyuan; plus the first Song missionary to the Kamakura, Daolong.²³

In his *Genkō shakusho*, Shiren goes out of his way to dismiss the early Zen figure Nōnin for his lack of both Chinese master and Buddhist practice.²⁴ Here, too, we may note not only that he omits all reference to Nōnin but that he is careful to validate the Chinese authority for Zen by associating each of his representative Japanese figures with a master from the mainland, and to downplay the potentially antinomian features of the Buddha Mind teaching in favour of the universal and relatively innocuous practice of meditation. Still, his brief treatment of Zen in the *Hakkai ganzō* is hardly an argument for the legitimacy of the school. By the fourteenth century, when Shiren was writing, the Zen movement begun by Nōnin and Eisai was over a century old and could boast an impressive array of government-supported monasteries in both capitals. The question of its legitimacy was largely moot, and Shiren could afford to imitate Gyōnen's historical account of the accepted traditions of Japanese Buddhism. But for most authors of the Kamakura period, like the author of the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, the survey genre was primarily a vehicle for sectarian apologetics.²⁵

The increased interest in fixing the schools of Japanese Buddhism during this period was no doubt itself a reflex of the proliferation of new Buddhist movements, of which Hōnen's Pure Land was the most dramatic. Whether or not Gyōnen inherited his

master's jaundiced view of Zen, we know that he came to have considerable interest in Hōnen's movement. Indeed, a few months after writing his *Sangoku buppō denzū engi*, he composed the *Jōdo hōmon genru shō*, in which he traces the history and teachings of the Pure Land persuasion in China and Japan and surveys the interpretations of several contemporaneous Japanese Jōdo figures.²⁶ Years before Gyōnen was born, Hōnen himself had produced one of the first examples of the survey genre from this period, a summary account of the texts and teachings of the major Chinese and Japanese schools known as the *Jōdo shogaku shō*. This little work, as its title indicates, is intended as a kind of basic study guide for Jōdo believers and, as such, focuses on the relationship of each school to the Pure Land teachings.²⁷

In the years after Gyōnen's death, a similar sectarian concern is expressed in the *Busen shō*, a much more substantial survey by Shiren's contemporary, the Shin Pure Land figure Zonkaku (1290–1373). This work opens with a listing of the ten schools recognized by the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. All of them are said to derive from the one Buddha, and each is a gate (*mon*) leading to bodhi. The distinctions among the various Buddhist teachings are a function only of the varied capacities of Buddhist believers, and anyone who practises according to the teaching with which he has karmic affinity (*uen*) can attain liberation.²⁸ This said, however, Zonkaku goes on to emphasize that the capacities of ordinary believers in the final age (*masse*) are such that the Pure Land represents their only appropriate choice.

Hōnen, who did not live to see the spread of Zen, does not treat the school in his work, but Zonkaku takes up the Busshin shū as the ninth of his schools. Unlike Gyōnen, he spends little time on the history of Zen. Instead, he emphasizes its famous claim to the sudden practice of the Buddha Mind. This school, he says, takes not seeing anything at all as the path of seeing (*kendō*; i.e. *darśana-mārga*) and not practising anything at all as the path of practice (*shudō*; *bhāvanā-mārga*). It tells us just to maintain our 'original face' (*honrai no menmoku*) and express our 'original lot' (*jiko no honbun*), casting aside all good and evil, without considering (*shiryō*) anything. Despite this seemingly radical picture of Zen, Zonkaku goes on to introduce Zongmi's classical 'sudden-gradual' distinction, noticed by the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, between the initial awakening to the meaning of the buddha mind (*gego*) and the subsequent full realization of that mind in practice (*shōgo*).²⁹ In any case, he concludes, the Zen style of sudden teaching, in which

one is supposed to come to an understanding from a single word, may be suitable to those of the highest spiritual capacity (*jōkon no hito*) but not for the rest of us, who need detailed instructions and practices. The text then ends with a call to the Pure Land faith.³⁰

Zonkaku, the Pure Land apologist and descendant of Shinran, seems to have had a view of Zen closer to the author of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* than that of Shiren, the pure Zen master and compiler of Enni's recorded sayings. In general, his *Busen shō*, though written in the vernacular, shares something of the style and the conception of the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. Zonkaku, of course, was disowned by his father, Kakunyo, for his accommodations with other forms (especially esoteric forms) of Buddhism; and in fact, his text, like the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, shows a clear preference for the Shingon, which it identifies as the highest of the Buddhist teachings, the secret dharma that goes beyond the Mahāyāna to transmit the inner realization of Vairocana Himself.³¹ Their visions of the kind of religion that is now to supersede the highest teaching may differ markedly, but both these texts are using the old hierarchies of esoteric doctrinal classifications as stepping stones to a new faith. To this extent, they may be seen as innovative sectarian twists on the sort of survey that also flourished among esoteric scholars of the Kamakura.

In Gyōnen's own day, for example, the important Shingon master Raiyu (1226–1304), famed as one of the founders of the so-called 'new Shingon' (*shingi shingon*), produced the *Shoshū kyōri dōi shaku*, in which he surveys the scriptures and teachings of the four major 'exoteric' Mahāyāna schools (i.e. Hossō, Sanron, Tendai and Kegon). Though he offers the standard assurances at the outset that all the schools, whether esoteric or exoteric, seek to express the same ultimate truth, in fact, he goes on, like the author of the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, to rank his schools according to their relative profundity and to compare them all unfavourably with his own Shingon.³² In contrast to Gyōnen's relatively even-handed descriptive approach, Raiyu's style of 'comparative survey' clearly harks back to the doctrinal classification (*kyōsō hanjaku*) systems through which Buddhist scholars in China and Japan had long sought to define the superiority of their own teachings and practices. Needless to say, Raiyu's model was the system devised by the Shingon founder, Kūkai.

The Tendai school, of course, had its own systems, and the literature of Tendai from this period includes a variety of discussions of the other schools. The 'oral tradition' (*kuden*), for

example, of Gyōnen's younger contemporary Shinga (d.u.), known as a founder of the so-called 'provincial' branch of the Eshin lineage (*inaka Eshin*), adds Zen to Raiyu's list of the Mahāyāna schools in his remarks on their relationships to Tendai. Shinga's mention of Zen at the end of his *Nichō shō* is very brief, asking only whether a school that claims to be 'a separate transmission outside the teachings' is not therefore also 'outside Buddhism' (*gedō*); but his fourteenth-century commentator Tōkai (d.u.) takes this opportunity, at the end of his own much more extended discussion of the schools in his *Kuden shō*, to address several related questions about the 'Dharma dharma' (*daruma hō*).³³

Tōkai seeks to downplay the separateness of the Zen teachings and transmission. Though he is clearly dubious about Zen's claims to be outside the teachings and without dependence on words (and reports the story of the Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi's defeat of Bodhidharma in debate over this issue), he rejects caricatures of these claims and suggestions that they render the school either infidels or the sort of benighted contemplatives (*anshō zenji*) criticized in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*. Rather, he finds similarities between some of the teachings of Tendai and Zen as well as precedents in Japanese Tendai history for its inclusion of Zen. In particular, he notes the occurrence of Zen in Saichō's biography and in the writings of the early Heian Tendai author Annen (841-?). Here he is pointing to one of the important elements in the Kamakura understanding of Zen as a school.³⁴

Perhaps not everyone in the Kamakura period believed the legend noted by Shiren that Bodhidharma had appeared to Shōtoku Taishi, but all knew the tradition related by Tōkai, Gyōnen, and others, that Bodhidharma's school had been transmitted to Japan in the Nara period by Daoxuan and passed on to Saichō by Gyōhyō (722–797). Saichō was also supposed to have been further initiated into the Chan lineage while in China and to have included its teachings as one element in the Buddhism he subsequently founded on Mt. Hiei. This tradition came from Saichō's *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyaku fu*, which claimed that he was heir to the lineages of four schools (*shishū*): Tendai, Esotericism, Zen and Vinaya (*en mitsu zen kai*). The claim had originally been made to establish the historical credentials of Saichō's Hieizan community as a broad, catholic institution embracing all the latest trends in Chinese Buddhism and, hence, justified in its independence from the Nara monasteries; but once this political issue had been settled to their satisfaction, the Hieizan fathers turned their attention to questions

of the theoretical relationships among their four lineages. Given the competition from Kūkai's Shingon school, they were of course particularly concerned with the relationship between Tendai and the Mantrayāna, but they were also obliged to deal in some way with the nagging question of Saichō's inheritance from Bodhidharma.

In his *Shoke kyōsō dōi shū* (or *Kanro mon shū*), a little text traditionally said to have been written for his mother, the early Tendai prelate Enchin (814–891) surveys the Buddhist schools of his day. After describing several classification schemas and listing the names and founding patriarchs of the six Nara and two Heian schools, he goes on to say that the plurality of the schools has its origins in the division of the Buddha's disciples into three types: the masters of meditation, vinaya and dharma (*zen ritsu hō*). The Japanese Ritsu school represents the tradition of the vinaya masters; the other five Nara schools represent the dharma masters; Tendai, Shingon and Zen represent the meditation masters. Asked to account for his inclusion of the 'school of the Zen gate' (*zenmon shū*) in this schema, Enchin replies rather enigmatically that it is a school but not one of the eight schools. Yet, if he thus leaves somewhat ambiguous its status as an independent institution, given his obvious preferences for esoteric Tendai, he has clearly put Zen here in very good company.³⁵

The place of Zen as a separate school associated with Shingon and Tendai in the upper echelons of the dharma was solidified by Annen. In Tendai circles, Annen is best remembered as a Taimitsu theorist, who expanded the traditional Tendai classification system of the four teachings (*shikyō*) to include Shingon, which was supposed to represent the higher realization in practice (*ji*) of the theory (*ri*) enunciated by Zhiyi's fourth, Complete Teaching (*engyō*). This notion of esotericism as a school that specialized in the actual performance of the buddhahood that the other schools talked about had affinities of course with the Zen claim to transmit the actual experience of the buddha mind beyond the teachings; in fact, Annen seems to have recognized this affinity and made room for Zen alongside (but just 'below') Shingon in his new classification schema.

Annen begins his famous *Kyōji jō ron* by breaking with standard practice to declare that there are nine schools of Japanese Buddhism – the familiar eight plus Saichō's Zen school. Indeed, he says, it is only in Japan that all nine of these schools can be found occurring together.³⁶ He goes on to link Zen and Shingon

with Tendai and to celebrate the fact that all three are represented, for the first time in the history of Buddhism, on Mt. Hiei. Of the Zen gate, he says that it transmits the contemplation of the principle of the Greater Vehicle (*daijō rikan*); Tendai practises the meditation and wisdom of the Exoteric teachings (*kengyō jōe*); Shingon cultivates the theory and practice of Esotericism (*himitsu jiri*).³⁷ Despite the fact that, in ranking these three, he puts Tendai third, ‘beneath’ Shingon and Zen, Annen remains true to his Tendai sectarian instincts by claiming toward the end of his text that the Tendai Complete Teaching embraces the other two: the Zen gate is included in the Complete Teaching ‘Gate of Emptiness’ (*kūmon*); Shingon in the ‘Gate of Being’ (*umon*).³⁸

This early tradition of a Tendai Zen school was well known and often invoked in the Kamakura; its ambivalence toward the status of the school made it a resource for both defenders of and defenders against the new Zen movement. In his ‘Letter of Disposition’ for Tōfukuji, Michiie himself, like Eisai before him, invokes Saichō and cites Annen as justification for the orthodoxy of Zen.³⁹ Long before Tōkai, and even before the opening of Eisai’s Zen ministry, the Tendai author Shōshin (d.u.), was using Annen to resist what he felt was the exaggerated evaluation of Shingon within his own school. In his *Tendai shingon nishū dōi shō*, composed in 1188, Shōshin argues that the current Chinese preference for the Dharma school should serve as a reminder to his colleagues that Buddhism, even in the ‘final age’ (*masse*), cannot be reduced to the Mantrayāna; to this extent, he seems (albeit in passing) to acknowledge the independent status of Zen. Yet he also cites Annen as authority for the view that both Zen and Shingon are but aspects of traditional Tendai: quoting Annen’s association of these schools with the two gates of the Complete Teaching, he adds his own suggestion that both are subsumed under the old Tendai formula of the Four Samādhis (*shishu zanmai*) – the Dharma school as the ‘samādhi of the one practice of constant sitting’ (*jōza ichigyō zanmai*); the Shingon school as the ‘samādhi of neither sitting nor walking’ (*hiza bigyō zanmai*).⁴⁰

* * *

The argument of our own text, the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, though it never explicitly invokes the Tendai materials, is clearly drawing on this Tendai Zen tradition. Its particular system of schools can be seen as an ingenious combination of the earlier Tendai ranking schemas with the Zen claim to a separate transmission of the ultimate truth

outside the teachings. In one sense, such a system reads like an uneasy alliance between a classical Tendai catholic vision of the one vehicle and a gnostic style, current in some Song Chan circles, that drew a sharp distinction between the Buddha Teaching schools and Buddha Mind school; but this distinction itself, as we have seen, had an analogue within the Tendai literature in the Taimitsu division between the exoteric doctrines of Zhiyi's classical Four Teachings and the higher, esoteric practices of the 'three mysteries' of the Mantrayāna. The authority for this type of division was usually found in Enchin and Annen, and in fact the ranking schema of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* can be seen as a reworking of these Tendai thinkers.

Apart from the novel inclusion of Jōdo, the ten schools of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* represent a version of Annen's influential Taimitsu hierarchy, with a slight rearrangement at the top, such that the Buddha Mind now stands atop (and also beyond) the ranks of the Teaching schools, to which Shingon has been relegated. The analysis of Buddhism into three 'gates' that makes possible this rearrangement draws on Enchin's tripartite division of the Buddha's disciples but recasts it in terms of the contemporaneous Song classification of the three types of monastery into vinaya, teaching and meditation (*lü jiao chan*). Such a classification, when used here, effectively sets the Busshin school apart from Tendai and Shingon as the sole representative of the Meditation Gate.

To represent the Meditation Gate means here to represent the Buddha. In the context of Kamakura Taimitsu dogmatics, to claim the Meditation Gate as one's own was in effect to co-opt the highest spot in the so-called 'fourfold rise and fall' (*shijū kōhai*), the ranking technique through which Buddhism was held to progress from the pre-Tendai teachings (*nizen*), through the two levels of the *Lotus Sūtra* teachings (*shakumon* and *honmon*), to the contemplation of the mind (*kanjin*). The last, *kanjin* level was highest not simply because it represented practice, as opposed to theory, but because it was the full realization, both in theory and practice, of the ultimate truth that is at once source and goal of all the Buddhist theories and practices. At this level, as the *Jisshū yōdō ki* says in defining its *kanjin* precepts, *kleśa* and bodhi, *saṃsāra* and nirvāṇa, are one. Contemplating the mind, then, was no mere meditation to overcome the *kleśa* and attain nirvāṇa: it was the very condition of buddhahood itself. This is the condition, of course, claimed by the Buddha Mind school in the *Jisshū yōdō ki*.

In his own version of the *shijū kōhai* schema, Enni's younger contemporary, the Tendai reformer Nichiren, redefined the

contemplation of the mind in terms more appropriate to buddhahood: the old Tendai and Shingon practices of meditation and mantra were replaced by participation in the omnipresent glory of the eternal Buddha Śākyamuni, made manifest solely through the title of the *Lotus Sūtra*.⁴¹ Likewise, the Meditation Gate of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* is beyond all practice, merely the spontaneous knowing of the Buddha Mind present in all consciousness. This is the state talked about by all the teachings and sought by all the practices, but it is realized only when teachings and practices have been abandoned. Zen is this abandonment, and if we want it, we have only to ‘throw aside the myriad affairs and believe in the Buddha Mind school’.

This striking conclusion of the *Jisshū yōdō ki* brings us back to my opening question regarding the sectarian character of Kamakura Zen. In the biography of Enni in his monumental history of Japanese Buddhism, Tsuji Zennosuke touches on the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. Noting its obvious emphasis on the Buddha Mind school, he suggests that the design of the text is a political expedient: faced as he was with the dominance of the Taimitsu establishment, Enni sought to convey his Zen teachings not directly in an independent Zen tract but through the less obviously controversial medium of a survey of the schools; nevertheless, Tsuji concludes, Enni’s own religious loyalties are made clear in his call to abandon all for belief in the Buddha Mind school.⁴² Yet the implications of such a call remain, I think, an open question – a question that cannot be divorced from the choice of medium itself.

Certainly the text can be read as a poorly disguised Zen sectarian tract. In fact, despite its ecumenical opening, when the *Jisshū yōdō ki* reaches the Busshin school, it takes on a strongly sectarian rhetoric, with a highly exclusive account of Zen – an account that dismisses all the Buddhist teachings as mere talk and all the traditional Buddhist practices as mere vanities, to be discarded for faith in the natural virtue of the mind. If this text was in fact written by Enni as Tsuji assumes, then the National Master Prime Sage, respected abbot of Tōfukuji, seems every bit as uncompromising as his polemical contemporary Dōgen (and quite as radical as his despised predecessor Nōnin). Perhaps Michiie was wrong in choosing Enni as abbot of his new centre of ecumenical Buddhism. Perhaps we are wrong in thinking that the abbot wrote the text. Or perhaps we need to remember that, by his own account, the author of the *Jisshū yōdō ki*, whether abbot or not, was writing not for the monks of Tōfuku but for a lay student of

Tendai, and that Zen masters are supposed to be good at adapting themselves to their students and preaching what they do not practise.

The call to abandonment of traditional religious practice in favour of an immediate liberation through faith reminds us of the Pure Land teachings being spread among the laymen of the Kamakura. Indeed, if the *Jisshū yōdō ki* was written by Enni (or even during his lifetime), its extension of orthodox Buddhism to embrace what it calls the two 'present' schools seems even more striking in the case of Jōdo than of Zen. Theologically speaking, the soteriology of the Pure Land movement had been roundly criticized (not only by Jōkei but also and most notably by Eisai's friend Myōe) for abandoning the 'thought of enlightenment' and the bodhisattva path; politically speaking as well, it must be remembered that the Pure Land movement in the thirteenth century had yet to establish a solid institutional base and was still often seen as a socially problematic populist cult, subject to repeated government proscription. Moreover, as Gyōnen reminds us, it was a cult that had lacked the recognized historical lineage that would qualify it as a distinct Buddhist tradition. It was one of Hōnen's major tasks to define the scriptural corpus, particular doctrinal position, and unique historical lineage that would justify Pure Land as an authentic school – a task that was later to be advanced by Gyōnen himself.

The early Zen movement, as we have seen, also had its opponents; but the Zen movement had some distinct advantages over Pure Land in its claims to represent an orthodox school. On the one hand, it was arriving in Japan blessed with the cultural prestige and political appeal of the dominant ideology of Song monastic Buddhism, equipped with its own highly distinctive body of Chinese texts, its own long-standing and widely recognized claims to a place among the Chinese Buddhist traditions, and its own fully articulated patriarchal lineage. On the other hand, and more importantly for our text, the new movement arriving from the mainland found a convenient 'slot' for a Japanese 'Zen shū' that had long been allotted by the prestigious Tendai tradition. In this sense (as well as in some others), if the *Jisshū yōdō ki* seems forward looking in its insertion of Zen among the orthodox schools, it is also looking backward to the early Heian.

Clearly the early Tendai Zen tradition represented both an opportunity and an obstacle for the justification of Zen as a separate school in the Kamakura. On the one hand, it provided

welcome historical precedent for the existence of a Zen school within Japanese Buddhism. Just as the Mantrayāna claimed by Tendai was separately represented by its own Shingon shū; so it could be imagined that the Tendai Dharma school was simply a *shū* waiting to be filled, and that the new Zen movement was but the latter-day institutional development of a preordained but hitherto neglected spot in the Buddhist world. Yet this essentially defensive line of argument, seen, for example, in Eisai and in several of our survey texts, also had its disadvantages; for it subsumed Zen within the pre-existent Tendai order and thus raised the question of why, after all the centuries without it, Japanese Buddhism now needed a separate Zen institution. Hence the more aggressive argument, seen in a text like Dōgen's *Bendō wa*, sought to dismiss the earlier Japanese Zen and emphasize rather the Chinese lineage as a new dispensation coming from abroad.

Similarly, the old Tendai definitions of the Dharma school as the tradition of meditation specialists were a mixed blessing. They could serve to associate Zen with one member of the standard Buddhist formula of the three disciplines and hence to integrate it into the familiar confines of pan-Buddhist praxis. Such an association, seen, for example, in Eisai, in Enni's follower Mujū Ichien (1226–1312), and in some of our survey literature, had its advantages for Zen apologetics, not only in making the religion more recognizable to Buddhist scholars but in capitalizing on the popular prestige of the Buddhist wonder-working contemplative. Yet it also had its disadvantages, not only because it made Zen prey to the long-standing criticism, reiterated by Tōkai, of the meditator *sans* wisdom but because it robbed Zen of the distinctive theoretical position required for its recognition as a full-fledged school. Annen's suggestion that, if it had such a position, it could be classified under the Emptiness Gate of the Tendai Complete Teaching was hardly helpful; for, as we have seen reflected in Enshō's criticisms, to be associated with mere Emptiness was to fall short of the higher Being (i.e. phenomenal realization) to which the esoteric systems laid claim. Hence, the more ambitious sectarian move, made by a writer like Dōgen, was to deny the association of Zen with the cultivation of dhyāna (*shūzen*), to reject any connection with the Tendai *shikan* contemplations (or the Shingon mantra), and to claim a unique spiritual practice that directly expressed the ultimate wisdom of buddhahood.

Although in many ways texts like Eisai's *Kōzen gokoku ron* and Dōgen's *Bendō wa* represent opposite poles of Zen apologetic

strategy, they share a concern to establish the historical identity and distinctive cultus of a Zen shū. In this, they differ from the *Jisshū yōdō ki*. Despite its passing reference to the historical categories of ‘past’ and ‘present’ schools, this text never develops any historical rationale for the new schools, either as extensions of or innovations on prior Japanese tradition; despite its standard claims to a separate transmission of the Buddha’s ‘intention’ outside the teachings, it never seeks to fix the historical limits or institutional implications of the Zen lineage, either in China or Japan. Similarly, despite its association of the Buddha Mind school with the Meditation Gate, it steadfastly refuses to define any form of meditation or other ritual that might distinguish the school as a distinctive spiritual practice. Instead, it uses the notions of a separate transmission and special gate almost solely to establish the theoretical supremacy of the Zen shū as the ultimate import of all the schools – what it calls the ‘essence’ (*tai*) that is beyond all ‘gates’ (*mon*) and ‘dharmas’ (*hō*). Hence, though it calls us to faith in the Busshin shū, the object of this faith remains a disembodied meaning (*shūshi*) – a kind of *shū* that may be ultimately true but is also ultimately empty and by its very nature never to be filled.

Although we may speak in a loose sense of a Kamakura genre of school surveys, into which we can lump the *Jisshū yōdō ki* and Gyōnen’s *Hasshū kōyō*, the range of the genre remains broad, and the gap between these two works remains wide. The former is entirely a piece of ahistorical ‘systematic Buddhology’, in the classical tradition of doctrinal classification systems. Like virtually all such systems, it is a highly polemical work, more concerned with establishing its own perspective than with describing the perspectives of others, less concerned with displaying the range of historical religious possibilities within Buddhism than with controlling that range in a theoretical hierarchy of religious positions. Yet by the same token, its sectarian polemics belong to a venerable Buddhist tradition of dogmatic debate that in itself need imply very little about actual ritual practice and institutional organization. In contrast, the *Hasshū kōyō* represents a relatively even-handed, descriptive survey that largely avoids explicit evaluation of the schools in favour of a historical account of their transmission to Japan. Yet this very use of history as rationale for both the plurality of Buddhist options and the limits of Buddhist orthodoxy moves the meaning of *shū* out of the realm of theoretical debate and into the arena of ecclesiastical instantiation. In the end,

then, Gyōnen's conservative account of the eight orthodox schools, so appreciated among ecumenical Buddhists of modern Japan for its non-sectarian style, may have done more to advance Zen sectarian consciousness than all the radical rhetoric of the *Jissū yōdō ki*.

Notes

- * This piece represents a first survey of some materials for a larger project on Kamakura Zen apologetics (hence, the 'notes' of my subtitle); it was done with support from the Fulbright Program and the Social Science Research Council.
- 1 Funaoka Makoto has been perhaps the most persistent recently in arguing for the importance of the 'pre-history' of Japanese Zen in understanding its establishment in the Kamakura; see, e.g. his *Nihon zenshū no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 1987). Eisai made a first brief trip to China in 1168, three years before Kakua, but his promulgation of Zen is usually said to stem from his second trip, 1186–1191.
- 2 Griffith Foulk has provided our most thorough critique of the assumption that Chinese Ch'an was an independent Buddhist institution; see 'The "Ch'an School" and its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987).
- 3 *Kamakura kyū bukkyō*, ed. by Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, *Nihon shisō taikai* 15 (1971), pp. 312a–b. The text has recently been translated in Robert Morrell, *Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press 1987), pp. 75–88.
- 4 It was discovered in 1912 at the Hōkiin on Mt. Kōya by Murakami Kandō and published in the same year as an appendix to the journal *Zenshū* (210 [9/12], pp. 1–23). Soon after it appeared in *Zenshū*, Shimaji Daitō wrote a brief description of the work in the same journal: '*Jissū yōdō ki* narabi ni *Hakkai ganzō* ni tsuite', *Zenshū* 214 (1/13), appendix pp. 1–14; my article owes much to this early piece, which seems not to have attracted many eyes in the almost eighty years since its publication.
- 5 This section of the text, including some editorial additions and corrections to the *Zenshū* printing, can be found in *Tōfukuji shi* (1930), pp. 123–126.
- 6 Numerals in square brackets here and in the following description of the text refer to the pagination in *Zenshū* 210.
- 7 Elsewhere [20], the text refers to the same distinction by another standard set of Pure Land terms: 'the two gates of the Noble Path and Pure Land' (*shōdō jōdo ryōmon*).
- 8 The first two are of course a standard division; the addition of the last is novel. The term *mikkyō* is used here more or less synonymously with *shingon* (mantra), which in this context includes both the Shingon school proper and the esoteric tradition of Tendai, or 'Taimitsu'.

- 9 After Shimaji, *Zenshū* 214, appendix p. 12, with minor changes.
- 10 The text is slightly damaged here; I follow Shimaji's reconstruction at *Zenshū* 214, appendix p. 13.
- 11 *Zenshū* 214, appendix pp. 9–11.
- 12 *Nihon daizō kyō*, *Mikkyō bu shōso* 1, 1:65–280. Like the *Jissū yōdō ki*, the text was discovered early in this century.
- 13 *Zenshū* 214, appendix p. 10.
- 14 Michiie's 'Letter of Disposition' (*Shobun jō*), of 1250; *Tōfukuji shi*, p. 72a.
- 15 *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 3:483b.
- 16 *Loc. cit.*
- 17 *Nihon kōsō den yōmon shō*, composed 1249–1251.
- 18 *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* (hereafter *DNBZ*) 3:39a.
- 19 *DNBZ* 101:105b–106a, 130a.
- 20 *DNBZ* 3:64a–b.
- 21 *Op. cit.*, 64b–66b.
- 22 Furuta Shōkin has suggested that the *Jissū yōdō ki* may have been one of the sources for Gyōnen's work and/or ultimately inspired him to the revised listing of ten schools that we see in his *Naiten jissū shūku* (*DNBZ* 3:41–47), a little sampler of catch phrases for each of the schools; see Furuta's 'Shōichi kokushi no *Jissū yōdō ki* o megutte', *Nihon no zen shisō*, repr. in *Furuta Shōkin chosaku shū*, vol. 3 (1980), pp. 144–151.
- 23 *DNBZ* 3:75b–86a.
- 24 *DNBZ* 101:156b.
- 25 This is not to say that Shiren was above sectarian apologetics; see, e.g. his *Shūmon jissō ron*, *Zengaku taikai* 8:1–7.
- 26 *T.* 84, no. 2687. This text has recently been translated and studied in Mark Blum, 'Gyōnen's *Jōdo hōmon genrushō* and the Importance of Lineage to the Pure Land Tradition' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1990).
- 27 At the end of the section on each school, Hōnen adds a note evaluating its relevance for the Pure Land reader. Perhaps in a reminder to his readers that there was more to Buddhism than the standard eight Japanese schools, he includes here discussion of such medieval Chinese schools as the Dilun (Jiron) and Shelun (Shōron). The text can be found at *T.* 83:163–167, included in the *Kurodani shōnin gotōroku*; its description of the texts of the various schools circulated separately as the *Shoshū kyōso mokuroku* (*DNBZ* 1:85–90).
- 28 *DNBZ* 3:87a.
- 29 *Op. cit.*, 105a. Zonkaku identifies the distinction with the traditional formula of the three kinds of wisdom: the awakening of understanding is the wisdom derived from hearing and thinking (*mon shi e*; i.e. *śrutā-cintamayī-prajñā*); the awakening of realization is the wisdom derived from practice (*shu e*; *bhāvanāmayī-prajñā*). Unlike Gyōnen, he also notes here the Song innovation of the kōan.
- 30 *Op. cit.*, 106a.
- 31 *Op. cit.*, 99a.
- 32 *DNBZ* 3:69–82.
- 33 For Shinga's question, see *Tendai shū zensho* (TSZ) 9:155.

- 34 *Tōkai kuden shō* (also known as the *Shū daiji kuden shō*), *TSZ*, 9:567–570; for the discussion of Annen, see 568a and 569b. The most detailed treatment of the Zen school (including material from the Five Houses) in the medieval Tendai survey literature occurs in the wide-ranging discussion of Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions included in the opening fascicle of the *Tendai myōmoku ruijū shō* by Jōshun (1334–1422) (*TSZ* 22:52–62); but this work, composed in 1402, takes us well into the Muromachi and beyond our time frame here.
- 35 *T.* 74:312c. Presumably Enchin’s reason for not including Zen among his list of teachings is that, as he says, it has no system of ‘doctrinal characteristics’ (*kyōsō*) of its own. He goes on to claim that it is based on such texts as the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* and takes the teaching ‘this mind is buddha’ (*ze shin ze butsu*) as its doctrine (*shū*).
- 36 *T.* 75 (no. 2395A):355b.
- 37 *T.* 75 (no. 2395B):364a.
- 38 *Op. cit.*, 369a.
- 39 *Tōfukuji shi*, p. 72a–b; for Eisai, see his *Kōzen gokoku ron*, in *Chūsei zenke no shisō*, ed. by Ichikawa Hakugen, Iriya Yoshitaka, and Yanagida Seizan, *Nihon shisō taikai* 16 (1972), p. 104b. In the same passage, Eisai also cites Enchin’s *Dōi shū* and later (p. 110a) invokes as well the authority of Enchin’s Tendai predecessor, the famous pilgrim Ennin. Ennin was supposed to have been initiated into the Chan teachings while in China by a certain layman, Xiao Zhongjing (or Jingzhong), and the founding of Sekizan Zen’in at the foot of Mt. Hiei was held to be the result of his vow to honour the patron deity of Chinese Ch’an monasteries who had helped him return from his pilgrimage. (See, for example, *Tendai myōmoku ruijū shō*, *DNBZ* 3:54a.)
- 40 *T.* 74:420b, 421a.
- 41 Nichiren also tried his hand at the school survey genre; see especially his *Shoshū mondō shō*, in which Zen receives particular (and particularly critical) attention (*Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun*, vol 1 [1952], pp. 22–33). The famous ‘Kamakura school’ that bears Nichiren’s name, we may note in passing here, is never mentioned in our Kamakura surveys of the schools.
- 42 Tsuji Zennosuke *Nihon bukkyō shi*, *Chūsei hen* 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949), p. 118.

QUAND L'HABIT FAIT LE MOINE

The symbolism of the *kāṣāya* in
Sōtō Zen

Bernard Faure

This discussion of the Buddhist monastic robe [Sk. *kāṣāya*, J. *kesa*] is a supplement to 'Den'e' ['Transmission of the robe'], an essay written by Anna Seidel almost fifteen years ago. At the time, I was myself working on a dissertation on early Chan, and the question of Chan Dharma transmission became the topic of many lively discussions between us.¹ In her essay, she established many insightful connections between the early Chan tradition and Daoist and Confucian notions of lineage. She continued to explore these connections in two articles, 'Kokuhō' [1981] and 'Dynastic Treasures and Taoist Sacraments' [1983].²

There is nothing to add today to what Anna Seidel wrote about the transmission of the robe in Chan/Zen. Her work in that domain, as in others, remains unequalled. Taking my cue from her essay, I will elaborate on an aspect which came to play a prominent role in Japanese Buddhism and particularly in medieval Zen: the symbolism of the *kāṣāya*. I will therefore shift the focus from early Chan to Dōgen (1200–1253) and the later Sōtō tradition, as represented in particular by the initiation documents called *kirigami* (var. *kirikami*). This inquiry will perhaps help us answer the questions: Why was it precisely the robe that was chosen as the symbol of the Dharma, among other symbols or relics? How does it differ from these other symbols? How did it come to occupy such a central place in the Buddhist imagination?

It is of course because the *kāṣāya* was one of the few things that a monk was authorized to possess that it came to acquire a richly

overlaid symbolic meaning.³ However, its basic symbolism was one of austerity and simplicity: the wearing of a *kāṣāya* is the first of the twelve (or thirteen) *dhūtāṅga*, the *pāṃsukūlikāṅga*.⁴ The robe is often called *funzō-e* (from the Sanskrit *pāṃsukūla-kāṣāya*, lit. ‘robe to sweep excrement’, probably an abbreviation for ‘robe [composed of tattered cloths, which have been used] to sweep [all kinds of junk, including] excrement’).

The Buddhist tradition lists six, eight, or eighteen authorized objects.⁵ In India as in East Asia, the term *kāṣāya*, referring to the original colour of the robe, was applied to three kinds of clothes. The inner robe (J. *andae*, from the Sanskrit *antarvāsa*) was a five-strip *kāṣāya* worn for work and sleep. The outer robe, hanging from the left shoulder, is the *uttarasō* (Sk. *uttarāsaṅga*), a seven-strip *kāṣāya* worn for ordinary activities such as ritual (sūtra readings, etc.). Finally, the outer robe (*sōgarie*, Sk. *saṃghāṭī*), or ‘great robe’ (*daie*), is a nine-strip *kāṣāya* worn on more formal occasions, when going outside of the monastery for alms or preaching. Thus, the first robe is worn privately, the second in the company of other monks, and the third in the presence of laymen. According to the *Lüzong huiyuan*, the three robes also correspond to the ‘three times’, i.e. winter, summer, and spring: in winter one wears the double robe, in summer the light robe, and in spring the medium robe.⁶ According to Dōgen, there is also a daily gradation in winter time: the five-strip *kāṣāya* is worn during the evening; the seven-strip *kāṣāya* around midnight; and the nine-strip *kāṣāya* during the coldest part of the morning.⁷ The *saṃghāṭī-kāṣāya*, also called ‘double *kāṣāya*’, is in turn of nine kinds: with nine, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty-one, twenty-three and twenty-five strips. The three types of robes can be worn separately, or together when it is cold. However, their function came to differ. In actual practice, it seems that, unlike in India where the three robes were supposed to be worn together, in Japan, where their symbolic function became predominant, they came to be worn separately.

In China, with the rise of the Chan school in the seventh and eighth centuries, the *kāṣāya* came to be perceived above all as a symbol or material counterpart of the teaching of the Buddha. The compound *yibuo* (J. *ehatsu*) ‘robe and bowl’, has come to mean ‘teaching transmitted by a master to his disciples’ in Chinese. As is well known, one of the founding myths of Chan concerns Śākyamuni’s transmission of the ‘true dharma eye’ (*zhengfayan*) to his disciple Mahākāśyapa: we are told that Śākyamuni, desiring to designate a successor, held up a flower in front of the assembly,

and only Kāśyapa smiled. This legend was complemented by that of the transmission of Śākyamuni's kāśāya to Kāśyapa. In her essay, Anna Seidel described the ideological elaboration that led to the theory of the 'transmission of the robe', as it found its classical form with Heze Shenhui (684–758). In his relentless effort to establish himself as the seventh Chan patriarch, Shenhui argued that after the transmission of the Dharma and the robe to Hongren's (601–674) disciple Huineng (d. 713), the kāśāya was no longer transmitted. Shenhui criticized the value of other insignia and their transmission to more than one person; he assimilated the Chan patriarch to the universal monarch (*cakravartin*) and to the Buddha himself, arguing that there can never be more than one patriarch in the world at a given time.

From Anna Seidel's analysis, it appears that the Chan tradition was never able to prove whether the robe transmitted to Huineng was that of the Buddha himself, of the twenty-fourth patriarch Siṃhabhikṣu, or of Bodhidharma. The implicit belief that it is the same robe is constantly belied by various accounts, according to which the transmission was interrupted in India with Siṃhabhikṣu or his successor Basiasita. In later Chan chronicles, we are told that the kāśāya was stolen several times. The fact that it was apparently never recovered implies the existence of several kāśāya.

Furthermore, the meaning of the transmission to Kāśyapa changed. The early Buddhist tradition says that the robe was simply entrusted to Kāśyapa, with the mission to give it to the future Buddha Maitreya. According to Xuanzang (602–664), Kāśyapa did not put on the robe of the Buddha, but held it in his arms, in the position of a man who receives or offers – a mere intermediary between the past and future Buddhas.⁸ However, the Chan tradition claims that it was given to Kāśyapa himself, as proof of his enlightenment – just as in the cases of the transmission from Bodhidharma to Huike, or from Hongren to Huineng. According to this new interpretation, the robe was subsequently transmitted to Ānanda, making it difficult for Maitreya to receive it from Kāśyapa. The ambiguity of the Chan/Zen tradition on this point undermines logically the status of Kāśyapa and of the Chan lineage, while reinforcing it symbolically.⁹

The only Chan texts that actually claim that the robe given by Bodhidharma to Huike was the same transmitted by the Buddha to Kāśyapa are the *Zutang ji* and the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076).¹⁰ Dōgen also argues that Huineng's robe was the same one that had been transmitted to Kāśyapa. He implies that this kāśāya is the very

same one that he himself received from his master Tiantong Rujing (1162–1227), although he also seems to believe that the *kāṣāya* will eventually be transmitted by Kāśyapa to Maitreya.¹¹ Speaking of the size of the *kāṣāya*, Dōgen criticizes the traditional story of the transmission from Mahākāśyapa to Maitreya, as told for instance in the *Dazhidulun*. According to this story, the coming of Maitreya marks the beginning of a new kalpa, a perfect time, when the lifespan of men and their bodily size are very great. Thus Kāśyapa, who lived at a time of degeneration, appears to Maitreya's astonished disciples as a Lilliputian Arhat, and the *kāṣāya* that he transmits can hardly cover two fingers of Maitreya.¹² Dōgen writes: 'It is generally said that the bodily size of men varies as a function of their lifespan – which can vary from 80,000 years to one hundred years. Some say that 80,000 years and one hundred years are different, others that they are the same. The latter view is that of the correct transmission. The size of a man's body and that of a Buddha's body differ greatly. The size of a man's body can be measured, that of a Buddha's body in the last analysis cannot. This is why the *kāṣāya* of the Buddha Kāśyapa is neither too long nor too large for the Buddha Śākyamuni to wear, while that of the Buddha Śākyamuni is neither too short nor too small for the Tathāgata Maitreya to wear.'¹³ Interestingly, Dōgen calls Kāśyapa a Buddha, like Śākyamuni and Maitreya. Dōgen seems to be (conveniently?) confusing the past Buddha Kāśyapa, predecessor of Śākyamuni, with Śākyamuni's disciple [Mahā]kāśyapa]. Kāśyapa is no longer an epigon, an intermediary – but a full-fledged Buddha, and his transmission of the *kāṣāya*, going hand in hand with that of the Dharma, implies that he is the master of Maitreya. Thus, all the patriarchs become Buddhas – not only the future Buddha.¹⁴

Mujaku Dōchū points out the confusion in Chan/Zen literature between at least two kinds of robes: (a) the *kāṣāya* embroidered with gold (often called *sōgarie*, from the Sk. *saṃghāṭī*), received from his aunt and adoptive mother, Mahāprajāpatī Gautami; and (b) the robe made from tattered cloth [*funzōe*, Sk. *pāṃsukūla*].¹⁵ The author of the *Shakushi hōe kun* is also aware of the confusion but does little to resolve it.¹⁶ Anna Seidel suggests that the transmission of this robe to Maitreya might result from a confusion between two themes: on the one hand, Śākyamuni and Kāśyapa exchange robes; on the other hand, Kāśyapa gives to Maitreya the *pāṃsukūla* that he had received from the Buddha in exchange for his own *saṃghāṭī*.

This discrepancy extends to the physical description of the robe. In Dōgen's account, for instance, it affects the colour of the kāṣāya: 'The Tathāgata always wore a flesh-coloured kāṣāya. This is the colour of the kāṣāya. The kāṣāya transmitted by the first patriarch [Bodhidharma] was blue-black in colour, and made of cotton cloth from India. It is now on Mount Caoxi, and it is the one that was transmitted through twenty-eight generations of Indian patriarchs and five generations of Chinese patriarchs.'¹⁷

Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325) tries to solve the discrepancy by assuming that the Buddha transmitted several robes: 'There are several other kāṣāya of the Buddha [apart from the golden-sleeve robe]. The robe transmitted from Bodhidharma to Caoxi [Huineng] was made of blue-black cotton cloth (*qiushubu*). When it came to China, a blue lining was added. It is now kept in the mausoleum of the sixth patriarch and is considered a national treasure.'¹⁸

The symbolism of the robe in China

It is with the establishment of the sixth patriarch Huineng (d. 713) that the patriarchal robe acquired its reputation. This story is well known and we need not dwell on it. Suffice it to say that the Dharma robe and the begging bowl of the patriarchs were not simply the 'physical proof' of transmission, as most scholars believe, but were essentially, as Anna Seidel demonstrated, kinds of dynastic relics and talismans. The robe is taken usually as a simple symbol, a 'token of transmission' that 'expresses the faith', but precisely a token (in French, *gage*) is already more than a simple sign because it has a performative value, it commits (*en-gage*) the future. The robe, essentially the 'robe of Dharma transmission' (*chuanfayi*, or simply 'Dharma robe', *fayi*), is the physical representation of the teaching of a master. It is symbolic only in the etymological sense (*symbolon*), in the same way that the *fu* (Daoist talisman) is a 'symbol', a talisman, a tally. According to Jacques Gernet, 'The robe is only the replica and the double of the Law'. And he adds, 'Whoever possesses the one possesses the other'.¹⁹ If so, the robe is no longer 'only' a replica, it is as essential as the second part of a tally. Thus, the importance of the robe in Chan imagination goes far beyond that of a simple symbol of transmission.²⁰ It constitutes the Buddhist equivalent of a dynastic treasure (*bao*). Anna Seidel has argued that the Chan tradition, like the imperial and Daoist traditions, felt the need for a visible

expression of its legitimacy in sacred objects (*bao*): thus, while the *Hetu* (River Chart) and the *Luoshu* (Writing of the River Luo), diagrammatic talismans of supernatural origin, came to symbolize Chinese sovereignty, and the registers [*lu*] expressed the authority of Daoist priests, the monastic robe warranted the authenticity of the Chan Dharma transmitted in an uninterrupted line since the time of the Buddha.

In a seminal essay, Max Kaltenmark showed that ‘between the sacred jewels (*pao*), dynastic or family talismans, and magical charms (*fu*) there was no difference in substance but maybe at the most a difference of degree, all in all proportional to the prestige of their owners – whether a king, noble, or simple magician’.²¹ These *sacra* were thus perceived as a token of good fortune, a guarantee of life and power, and a proof of the Celestial Mandate.

The same model operated in the Chan transmission ritual. We know since Kaltenmark that the weight of dynastic treasures is a function of the virtue of their possessors.²² The Dharma robe and the Dharma itself are complementary, interdependent, forming a single bipartite reality, a *fu*. By metonymy we come to the idea that there really is an identity between the robe and the Dharma. As a consequence, those who wear the Buddhist *kāṣāya*, the Dharma robe, become *ipso facto* Buddhas.²³ We can see to what point the symbolism of the Dharma robe, a robe which was so heavy that Huineng’s rival could not even lift it when he tried to steal it, grows out of these ideas.²⁴

The Chan *kāṣāya* must therefore be understood as a dynastic treasure. In the imperial edict accompanying the restitution of robe and bowl to Baolinsi, the *kāṣāya* was indeed called ‘treasure of the State’ [*guobao*]. Even if one doubts the authenticity of this edict, the fact remains that the Southern school tried to turn the *kāṣāya* into one of the imperial *sacra*. The *Lidai fabao ji*, for instance compares the transmission of the robe to the *abhiṣeka* ritual performed for the consecration of a cakravartin king, and thus insists on the Indian precedent. But the Buddhist influence is in the choice of the robe itself, which never appears among Chinese treasures. After the interruption of the transmission of the robe, the proof resides in the possession of sacred texts – a kind of return to Daoism. From the ninth century onward, as a proof or token, the robe is challenged by verses and texts. Other objects are used concurrently, such as relics (bodily relics, *śarīra*, or relics of contact: *hossu*, *shujō*, etc.) and portraits (*chinzō*). However, a ritual of transmission of the robe was elaborated during the Song;²⁵ still today, in Chinese and Japanese

Buddhism, ordination as well as Dharma transmission includes the transmission of a kāṣāya.²⁶ As we will see, the robe and other ‘tokens’, which were at first included as proofs of enlightenment, tended to become its magical cause.

Dōgen’s symbolic elaboration

Despite Huineng’s alleged interruption, the transmission of the robe – along with that of other insignia – remained an essential part of the Dharma transmission. We are told, for instance, that Dainichi Nōnin, the founder of the Darumashū, received in 1189 a portrait of Bodhidharma, a portrait [*chinzō*] of the Chinese master Zhuoan Deguang (1121–1203), and his Dharma robe [*hōe*]. Dōgen also received various insignia from his master Rujing (1162–1227) – among them a robe of a blue-black colour – like that of Bodhidharma and of the Indian patriarchs – transmitted since Fuyong Daokai (1043–1118).²⁷ However, it is with Dōgen that the robe came to acquire a symbolic surplus that would eventually and paradoxically undermine its function as a sign of transmission.

In the later Sōtō tradition, several texts deal specifically with the *kesa*.²⁸ They all derive from two chapters of Dōgen’s *Shōbōgenzō* (T. 2582), ‘Den’e’ (Transmitting the Robe) and ‘Kesa kudoku’ (Merits of the kāṣāya).²⁹ From the title of the two chapters, it would seem that ‘Den’e’ is concerned primarily with the mythmaking of the robe transmission, while ‘Kesa Kudoku’ dwells on the magical properties of the robe itself.³⁰ Actually, most of the material is repeated verbatim in both texts, and it has been suggested that ‘Den’e’ was merely a draft for ‘Kesa kudoku’. In these chapters, Dōgen first recapitulates the transmission of the robe through the twenty-eight Indian and six Chinese patriarchs.³¹ He then proceeds to explain the virtues of the kāṣāya, the correct way to wear it, to preserve it, the materials used to make it, the various kinds of robes, and the ten virtues of the kāṣāya.

Dōgen constantly underscores that the transmission of the kāṣāya means the only true transmission of the Dharma. He explicitly compares the transmission of the Dharma to the investiture of a prince, and the kāṣāya to the imperial regalia. He emphasizes that several Tang emperors – Zhongzong (r. 683–684 and 705–710), Suzong (r. 756–762) and Daizong (r. 762–779) – had asked that it be sent to court and venerated it as a dynastic treasure. Dōgen also insists on the fact that this transmission is a characteristic of Chan: ‘Collateral lineages did not transmit the Buddha’s kāṣāya’.³²

After quoting the imperial letter in which Daizong calls the robe a ‘dynastic treasure’, Dōgen admits reluctantly that Japanese dynastic treasures are more ancient than the robe of the Buddha.³³ But he argues that the latter is nevertheless superior because it has been transmitted in a direct line, whereas the Japanese regalia were transmitted neither in a direct line, nor in an orthodox succession. However, as Anna Seidel remarked, what Dōgen transmits is only the *belief* in the *kāṣāya* through the orthodox rules for its construction, its use and its symbolic role in the Dharma transmission – since the robe itself has remained at Caoxi. It is this belief that Dōgen chooses to exalt, over the belief in the three regalia (mirror, sword, and jewel) of the Japanese emperor.³⁴ After Huineng, the patriarchal robe is no longer transmitted, and monks sew, wear and transmit their own *kāṣāya*; but – and this is for Dōgen the crucial point – they do so according to instructions also correctly transmitted since the Buddha.

Dōgen distinguishes two incorrect forms of transmission: in the first, a *kāṣāya* is transmitted, but not in a correct fashion – as in the transmission from Buddhahadra (359–429) to Sengzhao (d. 414); in the second case, only the Dharma is transmitted, without the *kāṣāya* – as in the transmission that allegedly took place between the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin (580–651) and Niutou Farong (594–657).³⁵ ‘Correct transmission’, for Dōgen, refers to two different things: the *kāṣāya* of the Buddha itself, and the method for making a *kāṣāya* like that of the Buddha. Dōgen conveniently collapses the two meanings. He seems to confuse, or at least to conveniently shift between, the *kāṣāya* of transmission and the *kāṣāya* of ordination, attributing to the latter all the talismanic virtues of the former. However, it is no longer, at the time, a particular robe, but rather the transmission of the correct rules for the creation and maintenance of monastic cloth – rules that he has received and now transmits. Paradoxically, by focusing on the symbolism of the robe, Dōgen contributed to emptying it of its meaning as the ‘robe of Dharma transmission’ (*denbō-e*). From that moment onward, and largely because of him, other artefacts become essential in the transmission, namely the lineage chart (*kechimyaku*) and the transmission certificate (*shisho*). Compared to these documents, the robe seems to have played a minor role in the later Sōtō transmission – although its symbolic function becomes increasingly conspicuous.³⁶

The *kāṣāya* becomes the magical ‘robe of deliverance’ (*gedatsu-fuku*), and the ordination is the magical ritual that effects this

deliverance. Thus, in an interesting rhetorical move, Dōgen collapses the two independent traditions regarding the kāṣāya: the Vinaya tradition(s) of Daoxuan (596–667) and Yijing (635–713), dealing with the kāṣāya as monastic cloth, and the Chan tradition dealing with the kāṣāya as symbol of transmission. By the same ‘token’, he shifts from the unique kāṣāya to its ‘orthodox’ replicas, attributing to the latter all the powers of the original model kept by Huineng and his disciples. From that moment onward, the transmission has actually become a *dissemination*. It becomes more difficult to argue, as Dōgen does: ‘All the disciples of Caoxi’s old Buddha [Huineng] transmitted and preserved the tradition of the Buddha’s kāṣāya. Monks from other [schools] could not match this.’³⁷ However, Dōgen remains adamant that other robes, for instance those devised in the Vinaya school, are utterly non-orthodox and consequently inefficient, unable to bring about awakening.³⁸ Dōgen is able to do this by applying to the rituals of transmission and of ordination a similar ‘hermeneutic of transcendence’.

Silk or cotton?

We have seen how, in Tang China, the monastic robe, borrowing elements from the Indian tradition of the *abhiṣeka*, or royal unction, but also from the Daoist and imperial traditions, came to assume a new symbolic value, a value that supplemented and eventually contradicted its practical function. In Japan, first within esoteric Buddhism, then with Dōgen and his successors, this process of symbolic superscription resulted in an ‘absolutization’ of the kāṣāya that led to assert the kingly status of the monk over his ascetic practice. This evolution went hand in hand with, or was perhaps permitted by, a change in conceptions regarding the material of the kāṣāya: cotton was gradually superseded by silk, which became a more convenient symbol – despite certain negative connotations to which we will return – to signify the eminent dignity of the monks. Later on, in the Edo period, the reassertion of the early Buddhist ideal of austerity will be marked by a return to simpler materials such as hemp and linen.

With Dōgen, the kāṣāya becomes an absolute, transcending all dualistic categories: ‘A kāṣāya is not something “made” or “non-made”, “localized” or “unlocalized”: it is the ultimate realization transmitted from a Buddha to another.’³⁹ According to him, although the materials for making a kāṣāya may be either silk or

cotton, it is essential not to discriminate between them. Dōgen quotes the following Chan dialogue (*mondō*): ‘Was the kāṣāya transmitted in the middle of the night on Mt. Huangmei made of cotton, silk, or satin?’ Huineng’s answer: ‘Neither cotton, nor silk, nor satin.’⁴⁰ Although Dōgen himself does not draw as directly on esoteric symbolism as his successors will, he clearly opens the door to this hermeneutic proliferation: ‘You should carefully study whether the material, the colour, and the size of the kāṣāyas of all the Buddhas are finite or infinite, with form or formless.’⁴¹

Likewise, in ‘Hatsuu’, Dōgen writes that the patriarchal lineage is no other than ‘The Treasure of the True Dharma Eye, the Wondrous Mind of Nirvāṇa, the kāṣāya and the bowl.’ And he adds: ‘Those who have not penetrated the mysteries of the Buddhas and Patriarchs say, “The Buddha’s kāṣāya is made of silk or cotton, and silk is woven of silk thread”, or “The Buddha’s bowl is made of stone, earthenware, or iron”. Such words show that they have no eye for the study [of the Way]. The Buddha’s robe is simply the Buddha’s robe, and we must not see it as being made from silk or cotton. Such views are obsolete. The Buddha’s bowl is simply the Buddha’s bowl, and we must not say that it is made of stone or earthenware, iron or wood.’⁴²

Despite his appeal to the Mahāyāna orthodoxy of non-duality, Dōgen is embarrassed to explain the radical evolution that led from tattered garments to fine silk. Instead of suggesting the coexistence of two distinct kāṣāya of the Buddha, one made of discarded, tattered cloth (*funzōe*), worn during (or symbolizing) the practice of austerities (*dhūta-guṇa*), another of golden brocade (*sōgarie*) representing the eminent dignity of the enlightened master, Dōgen attempts to justify rationally the shift from the *funzōe* to the *sōgarie*.

As mentioned earlier, the ideal fabric for a kāṣāya was cloth discarded by men and women because of its impurity. Dōgen, according to the Vinaya tradition, describes four of the ten types of discarded cloth that can serve to make a robe: cloth chewed by oxen, gnawed by mice, burned by fire, soiled by menstrual blood, soiled by blood from childbirth, discarded at shrines, discarded in a cemetery, presented as offering, discarded by government officials, used to cover the dead. After having been picked up, however, they become the cleanest materials for making a kāṣāya.⁴³ This purification process (through dyeing) serves as a metaphor for the way in which the practitioner tries to sort out his passions. The motif of dirt and impurity, although ultimately negated, is

particularly significant here. Inherited from early Buddhist asceticism, this motif remained powerful as a marker of transcendence. We see it reappear in one of Keizan's dreams: 'I owned an old robe that I had not put on for a long time. I now wanted to wear it, but when I found it, rats had made their nest in it and it was spotted with filth that looked like cow and horse excrement, hairs from horses' tails, and human hairs. I brushed it off, and then, after I had cleaned it, I put it on. It was truly a strange dream, an auspicious dream.'⁴⁴ We will return later to the relation between defilement, and more precisely blood pollution, and the *kāṣāya*.

In principle, Dōgen subscribed to this ascetic ideal, and he insists that 'Practitioners... should not wear fashionable clothes'.⁴⁵ According to Ejō's *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, he once said: 'Laymen say it is good to wear luxurious silks, embroidered garments, and brocades. But in Buddhism it is the opposite: tattered robes are good and pure; richly embroidered garments are evil and soiled.'⁴⁶ However, he was confronted with a singular problem: 'In today's Japan, there are no such discarded materials. Even when one looks for them, one cannot find any. How sad, to live in such a small peripheral country! Therefore, we have to use the pure materials given to us by donors, or by men and devas. Such discarded materials are neither made of silk nor of cotton; they are not made of gold, silver, pearls, jewels, crepe, muslin, brocade, or embroidery. They are merely discarded materials.'⁴⁷

In a Japanese variant of what we could call the 'rhetoric of Marie-Antoinette',⁴⁸ Dōgen writes: 'When fine cotton is not available, crepe or muslin may be used.'⁴⁹ Admittedly, in China as in Japan, cotton was a rarer material than silk. Nevertheless, for all his will to orthodoxy, Dōgen seems unwilling to admit that the canonical robe was made of cotton.⁵⁰ For instance, the robe transmitted to the Chan master Jingjue (683-c. 750) by his master Xuanze (d. 708), a co-disciple of Huineng, was in cotton, and so was, according to the *Caoxi dashi biezhuān*, that of Huineng himself (with, however, a lining in green silk).⁵¹

Dōgen's logic of 'if you have no cotton, use silk' may strike a critical reader as rather disingenuous. He pushes it one step further (or undermines it) by resorting to the Mahāyāna tenet of non-duality: 'Among the discarded materials you picked up, there may be silk looking like cotton, or cotton resembling silk, but when you use it, you should not call it silk or cotton, but simply "discarded material". Because it has been discarded, it is neither silk nor cotton.'⁵² Only narrow-minded Vinaya masters could pretend to

distinguish between moral good and evil in these matters, unable as they are to take the high metaphysical ground.

The ideological implications of Dōgen's 'absolutist' position become clear when he frontally addresses the traditional objection against the use of silk. The problem of killing life has worried many Buddhists, particularly in the Vinaya school. But Dōgen dismisses their simplistic notions of good and evil: 'Cotton is not necessarily pure, nor is silk necessarily impure.' His argument runs as follows: 'If we dislike silk, we must also dislike cotton. Why is that? We dislike the fact that the production of the silk thread entails the killing of life. This is truly laughable! Is not cotton also obtained at the expense of living things? This sentimental distinction between animate and inanimate beings is not yet free from common feelings. How could you thus understand the Buddha's *kāṣāya*?'⁵³

Actually, Dōgen is taking his cues from the Vinaya master Yijing (without referring to him). According to Yijing, the Indian Vinaya, and consequently the Buddha himself, did not prohibit the use of silk. Therefore, 'What is the use of laying down rules for a strict prohibition of silk? [...] Why should we reject the silk that is easy to be obtained, and seek the fine linen that is difficult to be procured? [...] But if [the refusal of the use of silk] comes from the highest motive of pity, because silk is manufactured by injuring life, it is quite reasonable that they should avoid the use of silk to exercise compassion on animate beings. Let it be so; the cloth one wears, and the food one eats, mostly come from an injury to life. The earthworms [that one may tread while walking] are never thought of; why should the silkworm alone be looked after? If one attempts to protect every being, there will be no means of maintaining oneself, and one has to give up life without reason. A proper consideration shows us that such a practice is not right.'⁵⁴ After rejecting the extremist *ahimsā*, as practised by Jains, Yijing compares the use of silk to the appropriate eating of meat (received as a gift, without intention of killing). Thus, although a monk is not allowed to beg personally for cocoons containing silkworms, or to witness the killing of the larvae, he is allowed to accept silk as a gift. Yijing therefore opposes the 'strange idea' of those Vinaya masters who reject silk in favour of linen for their *kāṣāya*.⁵⁵

Having cleared the way (or so he believes), Dōgen can now emphasize the magical efficacy of the *kāṣāya*: 'Not only have we been able to encounter the Buddha Dharma which is difficult to encounter, but now, as Dharma-heirs to the true transmission of the Buddha's *kāṣāya*, we have seen and heard this, and studied it.

It means that we have seen the Tathāgata, we have heard him preach the Dharma, we have been illuminated by his light, we have experienced his samādhi, we have directly received his mind, and obtained his marrow. We actually are covered with the kāṣāya of the Buddha Śākyamuni, and Śākyamuni Buddha actually gave us his kāṣāya.⁵⁶ To explain these powers, Dōgen tells of the fundamental vow made by the Buddha when he was still a Bodhisattva. This vow accounts for the merits of the kāṣāya, its capacity to bring abundant benefits to all sentient beings: ‘Those advantages are those of the kāṣāya itself, they do not derive from the practitioner’s arduous and constant practice.’⁵⁷

Thus, although the robe worn by monks is not the original one, it is its true replica, its double. Dōgen makes clear that it is more than a symbol in the ordinary sense, and that it should be worshipped as an icon, a double of the Buddha. He emphasizes the magical powers of the ‘deliverance robe’, which allows those who wear it to overcome karmic bondage. The miraculous power of a kāṣāya is ‘beyond comprehension’, and its merits ‘inconceivable’: no one, past or present, has ever realized enlightenment without wearing one.⁵⁸ Thus, the kāṣāya allows one to ‘reach the highest rank’, to obtain awakening or, as Dōgen puts it, to ‘quickly realize the body of the Dharma-king’.⁵⁹ The kāṣāya itself, is ‘[one of] the bodily marks of all the Buddhas’.⁶⁰

The transcendental redefinition of the robe eventually affects its physical characteristics: after enumerating the nine kinds of *saṃghāṭī* (from nine to twenty-five strips), Dōgen adds a kāṣāya of 250 strips and another of 84,000 strips.⁶¹ The figure 84,000, purely symbolic, represents the Dharma, the totality of the Buddha’s teaching as recorded in the sūtras, whereas the number 250 is that of the rules of the *prātimokṣa*, the monastic list of precepts edicted by the Buddha in the Vinaya. The kāṣāya becomes for Dōgen the *shōbōgenzō* itself, the much-vaunted ‘treasury of the eye of the true Dharma’: ‘Those patriarchs who have correctly transmitted the *shōbōgenzō* have inevitably transmitted this kāṣāya.’ The kāṣāya is even in some respects superior to the Dharma: ‘To hear a word or a verse of the Dharma can be achieved through the intermediary of trees or stones, and this hearing is not limited to the nine ways. But the merits of the direct transmission of the kāṣāya are hard to encounter in the ten directions.’⁶²

The virtue attributed to the kāṣāya as a symbol of transmission finally extends to the kāṣāya received at the time of ordination. In the later Sōtō tradition, the moment of ordination collapses with

those of enlightenment and of Dharma transmission. Ordination, conferring automatic deliverance through a ritual affiliation with the lineage of the Buddha, takes precedence – logical as well as chronological – over enlightenment and transmission.⁶³ Already with Dōgen, the *kāṣāya*, as symbol of ordination, partakes of all the magical virtues of ordination.⁶⁴ The relation between the ordination ritual and the ultimate deliverance is well expressed in the *Kāṣāya-gāthā* quoted by Dōgen: ‘How wonderful this deliverance robe! Like a formless field of merits/ It expounds the Tathāgata’s teaching/ And saves all sentient beings.’⁶⁵

In ‘Jukai’, Dōgen insists that ‘if one borrows someone else’s robe and bowl, even though one ascends the ordination platform to receive the precepts, one will not obtain them.’ If one does, one cannot truly be said to have received the precepts, and one receives no benefit from the ordination.⁶⁶ However, he argues elsewhere that ‘a [*kāṣāya*] made newly and independently by every monk is not correctly transmitted, and this monk is not a true heir [of the Buddha].’⁶⁷

As the story of the nun Utpalavarṇā shows, the *kāṣāya* works miracles, even if it is worn as a joke. Utpalavarṇā was in a former life a courtesan, who, having once put on a monastic robe as a jest, was later able, due to the good karmic impregnation of this act, to enter the Buddhist path.⁶⁸ The merits of wearing a *kāṣāya*, and consequently the merits of ordination, are such that they outweigh any negative karma. As Utpalavarṇā, trying to convert other women, puts it: ‘Therefore I know that once you leave the family to receive the precepts, even though you may break those precepts, owing to them you will reach Arhathood.’⁶⁹

Although it is the defining characteristic of the cleric, the *kāṣāya* can also be conferred to lay adepts, along with the Bodhisattva Precepts: ‘The fact that men and devas, although they are lay disciples, have received and preserved the *kāṣāya*, is one of the utmost mysteries of the Great Vehicle’, writes Dōgen, who gives as examples the Chinese emperors Liang Wudi (r. 502–549), Sui Yangdi (r. 604–617), the Tang emperors Daizong (r. 762–769) and Suzong (r. 756–762), and more important for his purpose, the Japanese ruler Shōtoku Taishi (574–622). Dōgen concludes, ‘Thus, whether emperor or retainer, one should without delay receive and preserve the *kāṣāya*, and receive the Bodhisattva Precepts.’⁷⁰ Thus, anticipating a trend that will become dominant in later Sōtō, Dōgen advocates the ordination of all creatures great and small, kings and prostitutes, slaves, heavenly beings and animals.⁷¹ Several later Sōtō

texts regarding the kāsāya insist on the role it came to play in converting local gods. An illustration is found in the legend of the Rinzai master Shinchi Kakushin (1207–1298). While he was standing on the famous ‘rock-bridge’ of Tiantai shan in China, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī appeared to him in the form of a young boy and gave him a kāsāya. After Kakushin returned to Japan, as he was visiting a shrine one day, the kami, through the intermediary of a *miko*, asked to be ordained and to receive the robe. Kakushin gave the robe to the miko, and it became one of the treasures of the shrine. Later on, a kami appeared to the Sōtō Zen master Daikū Genko (1428–1505), founder of Jōgenji, and, after receiving the Precepts from him, gave him the robe.⁷² The text insists that Kakushin, although he was a Rinzai master, had himself received the Precepts (and therefore the ordination robe) from Dōgen.

The powers of the kāsāya should therefore be put in relation with the magical use of the ordination ritual, and the talismanic function of the *kechimyaku*, in particular during situations of crisis and for the rite of postmortem ordination.

We have seen with Dōgen the emergence of hermeneutic tendencies that were played out in the later Sōtō tradition, in particular in the *kirigami*: an absolutization of the kāsāya, reinterpreting all its concrete characteristics in higher, metaphysical terms. This abstraction leads paradoxically to a kind of commodification: the kāsāya is no longer a unique physical robe, transmitted from generation to generation by a patriarch to his successor – as in Shenhui’s theory, rendered useless by the historical evolution of the Chan school (from one single line to ‘Five Houses’); it has now become a ritually reproducible object. However, this multiplication by no means diminishes its aura, as it does, according to Walter Benjamin, in the case of a work of art: the replicas of the robe preserve all the virtues and magical powers of the original, which are that of the Buddha himself.⁷³

The ritual symbolism of the *kirigami*

From the fourteenth century onward, the Sōtō school spread throughout Japan, becoming an essential part of the popular religious landscape. Most Japanese scholars explain this success as the cause (and/or effect) of the ‘mikyō-ization’ of Sōtō Zen, a process that becomes particularly obvious after the Muromachi period in the *kirigami* – a type of documents whose diagrammatic aspect and ritual function bring to mind the prophetic scriptures

(*chanwei*) of Confucian imperial ideology and the Daoist talismans studied by Anna Seidel. Before turning to these documents, a few words about Keizan may be in order, since he is usually held responsible for this evolution that supposedly contaminated Dōgen's 'pure Zen'.

As noted earlier, in his *Denkōroku*, Keizan explains the origin of the *kāśāya*. He also tells about the Buddha's transmission to Kāśyapa, but the real recipient is Maitreya. For him, the robe is clearly a kind of *śarīra*. Keizan also indicates that a robe was transmitted from Kāśyapa to Ānanda, but, as we have seen, he distinguishes between various kinds of *kāśāya*. We possess an autograph text from Keizan on the transmission of the robe: *Hōe sōdensho*.⁷⁴ In Keizan's *Denkōroku*, the *kāśāya* is also the magical proof that the Dharma of the patriarch Śiṃhabhikṣu has been duly transmitted. On the whole, Keizan seems to simply follow Dōgen, and he cannot be held responsible for the hermeneutic proliferation that was to find one of its major expressions in the Sōtō *kirigami*.

In the medieval Zen tradition, the process of symbolic supscription affects all the personal possessions that will become ritual insignia – the bowl, the staff (*khakkara*, J. *shakujō*), the fly-whisk (*hossu*), etc.⁷⁵ In China, the robe and the bowl went hand in hand, and from hand to hand, as can be seen in the *Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu* (T. 1900). Despite Shenhui's emphasis on the robe as the only token of transmission, it seems that other objects have always been transmitted. In the epitaph of the Northern Chan monk Jingjue, for instance, we are told that he had received from his master Xuanze a cotton *kāśāya*, a water jug, a bowl, and a staff.⁷⁶ The joint transmission continued long after Shenhui, as can be seen from the title of a Sōtō *kirigami* dealing with the 'Method for transmitting the robe, bowl, and lineage chart' (*Ehatsu kechi-myaku denju sahō*).⁷⁷

The begging bowl was also particularly important as a token of transmission. In many Chan chronicles, the robe and the bowl are mentioned together, as if they constituted another kind of bipartite symbol.⁷⁸ The bowl's spherical shape symbolizes the mind, the true form of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Like the robe, it is guarded by four protective gods, and thus actualizes the center and the four cardinal points.⁷⁹ In the *Keiran shūyōshū* (T. 2410), a fourteenth-century Tendai encyclopedia, the robe is described as complementary, yet superior to the bowl. When someone asks about the meaning of the statement, 'The robe expresses the spiritual essence, while the bowl expresses the doctrinal method', the master replies that this

statement reveals the difference between esoteric and exoteric Buddhism.⁸⁰

Perhaps the most striking feature of the *kāṣāya* is its fragmented surface: the robe is divided vertically and horizontally by stitches, cords, folds, and painted lines, in a checkered pattern or a patchwork. This fragmented surface may symbolize the realm of *saṃsāra*, the world of multiplicity, a cosmological structure of numbers and symbols – and at the same time a way out of it. As we will see later, a similar symbolism was applied to the *stūpa*. Paradoxically, as the above quotation from the *Keiran shūyōshū* indicates, the *kāṣāya* is also seen as an expression of the absolute, formless realm: hence its designation as ‘formless robe’ (*musō-e*).

Numbers and colours

The most basic symbolism is numerological. Already in esoteric Buddhism, the three robes correspond to various threefold rubrics: three Vehicles, three bodies of the Buddha, etc.⁸¹ We have also seen that the strips are always in odd numbers – from five to twenty-five, including all the intermediary numbers. This characteristic may have simply to do with the symmetrical structure of the *kāṣāya*, divided by a middle strip. But purely numerological factors have played a part – in China, the odd numbers (except five, symbolizing earth and the center) are seen as representative of Yang, the male emblem. However, the square parts (the *shiten* or *kakuchō* at the four corners, representing the four Guardian Kings, the *niten* at the upper part of the *kāṣāya*, representing the two Benevolent Kings) are even in number. According to the *Fukuden-e kirigami*, a document allegedly transmitted secretly by Dōgen at Eiheiiji, the five-strip robe is worn during peregrination (*angya*), the seven-strip robe is worn during meals, the nine-strip robe is worn for sermons, while the twenty-five-strip robe is the robe that the Buddha, at the time of passing into Nirvāṇa, transmitted to Ānanda (not Kāśyapa).⁸² Another passage of the same *kirigami* gives the following details: ‘The twenty-five strips are divided into nine, seven, five, three, and one. The nine-strip robe is the robe of predication, the seven-strip is the robe for meals, the five-strip robe is for going in the streets of capital, the three-strip robe serves as a sitting-mat (*zagu*), the one-strip *kesa* serves as a bag for the bowl. All these add up to twenty-five strips.’⁸³ The symbolism of the strips is further complicated by the horizontal divisions that form a contrast, on each strip, of one short and several long pieces.⁸⁴

According to the *Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu*, a Vinaya commentary rather critical of the Chan tradition, Chan monks usually wear a nine-strip robe: ‘At times they [*i.e.*, Chan monks] have three long patches [on each strip of their *kāṣāya*], at times four; they fabricate them as they like, not according to the Dharma.’⁸⁵ The number of strips of the *saṃghāṭī* also indicates the rank of the priest who wears it. The dimensions of the *kāṣāya* are sometimes measured in relation to certain parts of the body of the person who will wear it.⁸⁶ In this sense, there is truly a metonymic identity between the man or woman and his or her robe.

The colour symbolism too is obviously important, as the *kāṣāya* derives its name from its colour: originally said to be the colour of flesh (*nikushiki*), the robe must not be in pure, primary colours, but in ‘mixed’ or ‘impure’ colours (*pushōshiki*).⁸⁷ Paradoxically, the fact of dyeing a piece of cloth in an ‘impure’ colour was seen as a purification – probably because it imposed a unified colour that covered all the multiplicity of shades and stains; but also because what appear as ‘pure’ colours to profane eyes are not so from a higher viewpoint. One of the reasons invoked for this was to distinguish the monastic robe from lay robes, which were usually white, or in other primary colours. Eventually, however, robes came in all kinds of colours and patterns.⁸⁸ The ultimate *kāṣāya* was the ‘purple robe’ (*shie*) offered to eminent monks by the Emperor. We are told that Dōgen had mixed feelings about receiving such a robe from Emperor Go-Saga. However, unable to refuse it – although it was clearly a Chinese innovation – he merely wrote a poem expressing his embarrassment.⁸⁹

The field metaphor

The division of the robe into strips gave rise to one of the main topoi, namely, the description of the robe as a field, and more precisely a ‘field of merit’ (*fukuden*). The robe is sometimes called *densō-e* [‘a robe having the form of a field’]. According to the *Sangoku sōden fukuden kirigami* [Kirigami of the Field of Merits Transmitted in the Three Countries], an initiation document allegedly transmitted by Rujing to Dōgen: ‘The Buddha said: “On this mountain there is a field named “field of merits”. This is because if one sows once, one reaps seven times. Its fruit is one *sun* and five *fen* long. Those who eat it never fall ill. Therefore, patterning the *kaṣāya* after this field, one names it field of merit.”’⁹⁰

In Dōgen's 'Kesa kudoku', the Buddha describes to Jñānaprabha bhikṣu the ten merits of the kāṣāya. The ninth is as follows: 'The kāṣāya is like a good field, for it can nurture the Bodhisattva way.'⁹¹ The symbolism of fertility also appears in the *Kāṣāya-gāthā*: 'How wondrous this deliverance robe,/ Like a formless field of merits!'⁹² A little further, Dōgen quotes the following verse by the Buddha: 'The powers of the kāṣāya are inconceivable; they can nurture the Bodhisattva practice. The growth of the seeds of awakening is like spring sprouts, the wondrous fruits of awakening resemble autumn fruits.'⁹³

Likewise, Mujaku Dōchū quotes a Vinaya commentary according to which 'the kāṣāya is known in the world as the robe of the field of merits, after the model of a rice-field. In the mundane rice-fields, one irrigates the parcels to make rice sprouts grow and to nurture them. As to the field of the Dharma robe, one fills it with the Four Great Vows to help sentient beings, one increases the thought of the three types of goodness, and one nourishes the wisdom of the Dharma body.'⁹⁴

This fertility symbolism is clearly overdetermined: the agricultural metaphor derives from the robe's shape, from its original colour (associated with flesh, or blood, as in the case of Bodhidharma's robe), and from the symbolism of ordination as rebirth. In many Chan texts, a similar symbolism is applied to the mind, described as a field (the 'mind-field', *xintian*, or 'mind-ground', *xindi*). The image of the field also brings to mind a folkloric motif that appears in Huineng's legend, in relation with the foundation of Huineng's Baolin Monastery at Caoxi. In this tale, Huineng requires from a donor a domain of the size of his robe – which grows magically to cover the whole mountain.⁹⁵

In another *kirigami*, the symbolism of the field (or, more precisely, of the Sino-Japanese character for 'field',) is described as a combination of two swastikas, clockwise and counterclockwise:

Standing up, the master draws a circle. Then sitting down, he asks: 'What does it mean?' Answering in place [of the disciple]: 'Vertically, it reaches the three extremes, horizontally it pervades the ten directions.' The master says: 'At such a time, what then?' Answering instead: 'Ah! Its head has come out beyond heaven!'

Standing, the master draws a circle; then he sits down for a while and says: 'Again one draws a clockwise swastika and a counterclockwise swastika; if one unites them, they form the character "field". This is the robe of the formless field of merit.'⁹⁶

The robe as a relic

The *kāṣāya* is what we could call a contact relic. If the robe, like various other contact relics, came to legitimize the transmission ritual, it is because it was perceived as a substitute of the *śarīra*, in other words, as a substitute body of the Buddha. The similarity between the robe and the relics of the Buddha is suggested by various hagiographical accounts. In Keizan's *Denkōroku*, for instance, when a king attempts to burn the *kāṣāya* transmitted by Siṃhabhikṣu to Basiasita, the robe emits a five-coloured light. The failure of the king to destroy the robe leads him to conversion. The failed attempt of a king to destroy the *śarīra*, and the *śarīra*'s emission of a five-colour light, are topoi of Chinese Buddhist hagiography.⁹⁷ Although at first Dōgen held *śarīra* in high respect, in particular when he brought back to Japan the relics of his teacher and friend Myōzen, he eventually rejected them, apparently to distance himself from the rival Darumashū, a school in which the cult of relics played great importance.⁹⁸ His criticism of the *śarīra* is expressed in the following passage of 'Den'e': 'Relics can be found in cakravartin kings, in lions, in men, in pratyeka-buddhas, etc.; but not the *kāṣāya*, which only the Buddhas possess. While imbeciles esteem *śarīra*, they ignore the *kāṣāya*, and few are those who know that one must preserve it.'⁹⁹ And Dōgen concludes: 'To have seen and worshipped now the *kāṣāya* is to have seen the Buddha. While erecting myriads of stūpas, one must make offerings to this robe of the Buddha.'¹⁰⁰ In the *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, too, Dōgen downplays the soteriological importance of relics.¹⁰¹

The robe as a maṇḍala

As noted above, the field metaphor gives rise to all sorts of glosses concerning the five, seven, nine, or twenty-five strips of cloth that make it up. The central strip is a kind of axis mundi through which other strips are symmetrically reflected.¹⁰² A form of numerical exegesis also goes on: a robe made of five strips is said to be for the 'practice of the Way' because the number five represents the five Buddhas and the five Wisdoms. This is why it can fend off the five desires, the five passions, and allow one to obtain the five Powers and the five Knowledges. The *kāṣāya* thus becomes a kind of microcosm, or more precisely a cosmogram. In the *Kesa-mandara kirigami* [Kirigami of the *Kāṣāya Maṇḍala*], the robe is assimilated in its finest details to a maṇḍala, and thus becomes the symbol (and

mnemonic device) for the metaphysical universe. As noted earlier, the squares (*shiten* or *kakuchō*) at the four corners inside the *kāṣāya* frame correspond to the four protective gods (*lokapāla*), while the outer borders correspond to the four oceans; the vertical strips to the nine worlds, and the horizontal strips to the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas, the two esoteric maṇḍalas, and the fields of merit formed by the Arhats and the Bodhisattvas of the Ten Stages.¹⁰³ A similar diagram is found in a document entitled *Kesa daiji*, transmitted by Shōdō, the ninth abbot of Shōryūji in Saitama prefecture [see illustration].

The *Fukuden-e kirigami* quotes the following passage of the *Daibibasharon* [*Mahāvibhāṣā*]: ‘The *kāṣāya* in a Buddha-land is like the sun and the moon in the world. The nine-strip robe is the *bodhimāṇḍa* of the 350 Buddhas; the seven-strip robe that of the 215 Buddhas; the five-strip robe that of the 130 Buddhas; the gold embroidered robe was sewn by Gautami, the adoptive mother of Śākyamuni.’¹⁰⁴ Again, according to the *Eihei kaizan goden zagu mon*:

The five-strip *kāṣāya* expresses the five Buddhas and manifests the five wisdoms; the thirty-five Buddhas reside within it, and this is why this *kāṣāya* transcends the five desires, cuts off the five passions, obtains the five supernatural powers, and reaches the five wisdoms; it is the *kāṣāya* that all the Buddhas of the three periods have transmitted to each other. Thus it is called the robe of peregrination [*gyōdō*], or robe of work [*samu*]. Because it is a *kaṣāya* for all times, I have now received it.

The seven-strip robe expresses the seven Buddhas, manifests the seven bodhis, the seven saintly aptitudes [*shōzai*], the seven equal *bodhyaṅga*; wisdom is contained in it. It is called the robe for meals. With this *kāṣāya*, the food of pleasure in Dharma and of bliss in dhyāna fills one’s heart. Thus, it is externally free from the seven obstructing sins; internally, it achieves the seven kinds of goodness. This is the *kaṣāya* sewn by the 235 Buddhas, and transmitted by all the Buddhas of the three periods; and I have now received it.

The nine-strip robe is the robe with which all the Buddhas in the three periods have preached the Dharma. . . . He who wears this robe sewn by the 305 Buddhas possesses the consciousness of the Tathāgata, the perfect wisdom. He transcends all thoughts of desire for the nine realms and

obtains the stage of subtle awakening [*myōkaku*]. Because it is the *kāṣāya* of deliverance of all the Buddhas in the three periods, I have now received it.¹⁰⁵

Thus, the robe is a *maṇḍala*, a symbol of the universe, but it is also a *bodhimaṇḍa*, a ritual area of enlightenment. Folded, it can be used as a seat for meditation, a symbol of the *vajra*-seat on which the Buddha reached enlightenment. The same type of symbolism is of course found in esoteric Buddhism.¹⁰⁶ Note also the prayers pronounced when putting on a *kāṣāya* or taking it off. The *kāṣāya* clearly defines a ritual area (*kekkaï*), it transforms the body of the practitioner into a 'ritual body', a *bodhimaṇḍa*. Even the way of holding a part of the *kesa* in one hand, as is shown in several paintings of the patriarchs of the Shingon sect, indicates that, like the *vajra*-sceptre, the *kāṣāya* can become part of a *mudrā*.¹⁰⁷ Thus, putting on the *kāṣāya* means taking on a cosmic body. The royal symbolism is also expressed at times through the *maṇḍala*. The *Fukuden-e kirigami*, for instance, contains a passage, unfortunately too fragmentary, in which the robe is described symbolically in terms of an imperial audience in the presence of various categories of officials and nobles. In the diagram of the *kāṣāya* that accompanies the text, the strip on the upper left represents the imperial palace and its inhabitants, that on the upper right the monks and the people. The two strips also correspond to the upper and lower sections of the imperial capital, respectively.¹⁰⁸

The robe as Buddha

From being a contact relic, the *kāṣāya* becomes by metonymic extension the Buddha himself, or at least allegedly turns the person who wears it into a Buddha. As the *Nianfo jing* points out, 'The *kāṣāya* is exactly the same as the Buddha. All the representations of the Buddha are like that, because they are identical to the Buddha.'¹⁰⁹ The same idea is often found in the *kirigami*: 'Those who put on the Buddhist *kāṣāya* have the body of a Buddha.'¹¹⁰ The *Shakushi hōe kun* quotes, among the eight characteristics of the *kāṣāya*, the fact that, exactly like the Buddha's body, it is endowed with thirty-two primary and eighty secondary marks.¹¹¹

Although this *kāṣāya* is not the original one, it is its true replica, a kind of *vera icona* (like Christ's 'Veronica', or holy shroud). In 'Kesa kudoku', explaining the method for washing the *kāṣāya*,

Dōgen argues that one must worship it as an icon: ‘You should burn incense, scatter flowers, walk clockwise around it several times, and prostrate yourself three, six, or nine times.’¹¹² Again, in ‘Den’e’: ‘You should understand that the kāsāya is the Buddha-body and the Buddha-mind. It is also called the robe of deliverance.’¹¹³ Being a symbol of the Buddhist teaching, the robe, duly transmitted from a master to his disciple, becomes a sceptre of authority, transforming the person who possesses it into a Buddha. According to Mujaku, the gold-embroidered kāsāya must be worn at the time of sermon, when the master ascends the Dharma Hall (*jōdō*), that is, when he becomes ritually a Buddha.¹¹⁴

The robe as a stūpa

This equivalence already appears in a passage where Dōgen extols the merit of the *Kaṣāya-gāthā*: ‘How wonderful this deliverance robe! Like a formless field of merits/ It expounds the Tathāgata’s teaching/ And saves all sentient beings.’ Dōgen’s comment is significant: ‘After reciting this verse, one puts on the kāsāya, considering it as if it were one’s master or the [Buddha’s] stūpa.’¹¹⁵ As the Buddha tells Jñānaprabha bhikṣu: ‘Son of the Buddha, unfold the kāsāya so that it looks like a stūpa.’¹¹⁶ This passage may perhaps be interpreted in the light of Xuanzang’s description of the first relic worship (in this case, hair relics): ‘Tathāgata forthwith spreading out his *Samghāṭi* on the ground as a square napkin, next laid down his Uttarāsaṅga and then his *Saṅkakshikā* [= *antarvāsa*, i.e., the three monastic robes]; again over these he placed as a cover his begging-pot, on which he erected his mendicant’s staff. Thus he placed them in order, making thereby (the figure of) a *Stūpa*. The two men [the two merchants Trapuśa and Bhallika] taking the order, each went to his own town, and then, according to the model which the holy one had prescribed, they prepared to build a monument, and thus was the very first *Stūpa* of the Buddhist religion erected.’¹¹⁷

The stūpa, that is, the ‘architectural body’ or substitute body of the Buddha, is equivalent to the ritual implements possessed by the monks, and its foundation, as it were, is constituted by the three kinds of kāsāya. Whereas the ‘five wheel stūpa’ (*gorintō*), representing a symbolic or cosmological system, is counterbalanced by the ‘seamless stūpa’ (*muhōtō*), representing the absolute, undivided realm beyond symbols, there is paradoxically (and understandably) no ‘seamless kāsāya’. The two swastikas that

constitute the image of the robe as a field also represent the two *pradakṣiṇa*, the clockwise and counterclockwise circumambulations around the stūpa, symbolizing the upward movement from saṃsāra to nirvāṇa, and the downward movement from nirvāṇa to saṃsāra – that is, death and rebirth.

The *Shakushi hōe kun* quotes a passage from the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, in which the Buddha explains as the first of the eight characteristics of the kāṣāya its having ‘the form of a stūpa’ (*tōsō*): ‘Because the stūpa is the Tathāgata’s dharma body of six elements, the ultimate virtues, the Bodhisattva Maitreya always holds a stūpa in each hand, and Tamon Tennō [Vaiśravaṇa] too always holds a stūpa. The same is true of the virtues of the kāṣāya.’¹¹⁸

The robe as a womb

Another *kirigami*, the *Ehatsu kechimiyaku denju sahō*, indicates that the Dharma robe and its transmission symbolize the gestation of the fetus in the womb – itself a model for spiritual gestation:¹¹⁹

‘Receiving the robe’ means that, after spending ninety days in my father’s body, I spent nine months in my mother’s womb. The sequence of practice during that time is named ‘method for the reception of the robe’. Ultimately, the robe symbolizes the *ena* (placenta); one also speaks of Ena Kōjin: it is the spirit that keeps bodily vitality; it is also called *ujigami*, because it is a kami that protects the life of men. As to what is called kāṣāya: I spent nine months in my mother’s body, and it is the changes of that period that are revealed [by it]. The seven and nine luminaries, and the twenty-eight mansions are said to correspond to the third month, and this is expressed by the four-strip sitting mat. The fifth month is symbolized by [an alternance of] one long and one short patch, constituting a five-strip robe; this is expressed by the *kara* or small robe. The seventh month is symbolized by [an alternance of] two long and one short patches, constituting a seven-strip robe; this is expressed as the ‘robe for meals’. The ninth month is symbolized by [an alternance of] three long and one short patches, constituting a nine-strip robe; this is expressed as the great robe, or Dharma robe. In total, there are twenty-five strips which symbolize the *hōshin zanmai* (samādhi of the jewel-spirit). One also says that it is the rhythm of the incoming and outgoing breaths of the five elements, which is

expressed by the threads of the two strings of the kāṣāya. Moreover, the colour of the robe is made black to express the blackness of the voice-consciousness.¹²⁰

Likewise, according to the *Fukuden-e kirigami*, 'The kāṣāya finds its origin in the thread of events during the time one was inside the womb.'¹²¹ According to other sources, the red robe of the patriarch Bodhidharma would represent the placenta, and the nine years spent by the Indian master absorbed in samādhi are said to signify the nine months of fetal gestation.¹²² An embryological *missanchō* (esoteric commentary on kōans) edited by Suzuki Daisetsu is particularly worth mentioning in this context. It is a commentary on the kōan entitled 'Xiangyan's Man Up a Tree' [*Wumenguan* 13]:

Question: 'What about Bodhidharma's facing the wall for nine years?' Answer: 'These are, in fact, the nine months spent in the womb. A season is counted as one day, or one day counts as one month. This means that a season has twelve seasons. One day matches up with twelve, that is, ten days are 120 days; or else one day equals one month.' ... Question: 'Tell me about Bodhidharma with the caul, about Bodhidharma prior to all distinctions, about Bodhidharma's nine years before the wall.' Answer: 'During the nine months spent in the maternal womb, the caul is put on. During his nine years of seated meditation Bodhidharma put on a skin cap – to ward off the three poisons, and to strengthen the roots of life.'¹²³

The symbolism of the robe as placenta also appears in the legend of the third Indian Patriarch Śāṇavāsa, said to have been born wrapped in a robe, which became a kāṣāya when he was ordained.¹²⁴ A similar legend is that of the nun Śūklā, who was born with a robe, and also wore a robe after her death, during the period she spent in limbo as an 'intermediary being' (*antarābhava*, J. *chūu*), waiting for rebirth.¹²⁵ After mentioning these two cases, Dōgen adds the following comment: 'Today, when we encounter the Buddha and leave the family, the profane robe we had from birth will naturally turn into a kāṣāya, just as in the case of Śāṇavāsa.'¹²⁶

The *Busso kesa kō* also quotes the story of the Chan master Yun'yan Tancheng from the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. 'When Yun'yan

was born, he wore a natural placenta robe. His right shoulder was bare, just as if he had been wearing a monastic robe. It is said in the appended [notice]: Śāṅavāsa in Chinese means placenta (embryo-robe). Because he was born wrapped in this robe, as an infant he did not need swaddling clothes. As he grew up, the robe adapted to his body, and when he was ordained as a monk, it became a Dharma robe. Master [Tan]cheng's placenta robe is very much like that of Śāṅavāsa.¹²⁷

Also significant in this respect is Keizan's theory about the origin of the robe: 'There are three theories concerning that kāṣāya. One is that the Tathāgata wore it with him from the womb.'¹²⁸ The prevailing tradition, based on Xuanzang's version of the transmission legend, however, was that the robe had been given to Śākyamuni by his adoptive mother Gautami.¹²⁹

The relation of the robe with the process of gestation is suggested by the inclusion of the cloths defiled by menstrual blood and by childbirth among the ten types of cloth that make first-quality *funzōe*. Equally suggestive is the way in which, in *Karukaya* [1631], 'Kōya no maki', the story of Kūkai's mother explains the taboo against women entering the mountain (*nyonin kekkai*). When Kūkai's old mother wants to climb the mountain to see her son, the earth shakes. Kūkai appears and asks her to leave, and, when she refuses and is about to proceed, he spreads his robe (*kesa*) on the ground and asks her to walk across it. When she does so, her menstrual blood, which had stopped flowing more than forty years ago, starts flowing again. When it falls on the robe, the latter takes fire and carries Kūkai's mother away.¹³⁰

Conclusion

The symbolic equation between the robe and the placenta is one of the most intriguing aspects of the kāṣāya symbolism.¹³¹ The kāṣāya also symbolizes (and is proof) of ordination, seen as *abhiṣeka*, royal consecration, and rebirth – the 'king's new clothes', of flesh colour. According to Paul Mus, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, it is the royal mantle that makes the king. While the king is sitting on the throne, the priest throws this mantle over him, saying, 'You are the womb of kingship'.¹³² The kāṣāya is a kind of royal mantle. According to Mus, when Maitreya receives the golden kāṣāya from Kāśyapa, it is his quality as a Buddha that he will forever put on: he will place himself in the 'womb' of the dignity of Buddha; and he will again follow the rites of royal consecration.¹³³

The symbolic equivalence between the kāṣāya and the stūpa also reminds us of Paul Mus' analysis in his *Barabudur*. We find not only the same womb symbolism, but also the same numerical symbolism in both cases: like the kāṣāya, the stūpa is a maṇḍala and/or a *bodhimaṇḍa*.¹³⁴ In the end, all these symbols point to different aspects of the same notion: to put on a kāṣāya means not only to become a monk but also to receive the *abhiṣeka*, to be reborn as a cosmic ruler, a cakravartin king, as a living icon, and to become 'a Buddha in this very body'.

By the constant material handling of ritual objects and the ideological manipulation of the symbols adhering to them, the Zen adept gradually learned how to read through the superposed symbolic systems, using the logic of the Two Truths, and to move from one symbolic system to another. The truth of these systems lies in their relationship to each other, and the Zen master, who was supposed to reject all symbolic mediation, is himself above all a mediator, a symbolic shifter. Still, cosmological symbolism, far from being the private property of Zen, forms the common basis of Chinese and Japanese culture, a sort of symbolic syntax that does not imply on the part of those who use it any deep faith but rather a kind of weak, generalized belief. In certain cases it is nothing more than a common cultural reference to which one should not attach much hermeneutic importance. Nevertheless, belief in the talismanic value of certain ritual objects seems, in turn, sufficiently deeply rooted to hold in check or subvert any attempt to demythologize the tradition.

We must finally question the relevance of this symbolism to actual practice. The fact that it plays such a prominent role in Sōtō *kirigami* seems to attest to its ritual importance, but we lack evidence of the actual use of this symbolism from other contemporary documents. The analysis of the underlying symbolic system should not be pushed too far. Probably the anonymous authors of the *kirigami* were not aware of all the implications of this system. But, as Jacques Le Goff has argued, 'a symbolic system can be fully effective without explicit awareness'.¹³⁵ Are we then faced, as Le Goff insists, with a realm of mentalities 'rife with distortions, psychic automatisms, survivals and rejects, and obscure, incoherent thoughts erected into pseudo-logical systems'?¹³⁶ It seems that we are dealing more with a 'practical logic', in the sense used by Pierre Bourdieu, and thus with an attitude that does not deserve to be discredited as 'pseudo-logical', as is too often done. Furthermore, despite all these attempts to 'sacralize' the kāṣāya, and the warnings

of heavenly punishment for lack of respect, the robe was often treated rather casually by the monks themselves, as we can see from the comments of the author of the *Shakushi hōe kun*.¹³⁷ Thus, the ideology finds its limits in real practice.

One of the main functions of the *kāshāya*, throughout its history, was to legitimize orthodoxy, or sectarianism: not only that of the Buddhists *vis-à-vis* the non-Buddhists, or the orthodox transmission of the Chan/Zen school, or a certain Zen sect or branch (like *Sōtō*), but also the superiority of monks over laymen. Actually, as its symbolic value increased, it came to legitimize monastic misbehaviour: because of the magical power of the *kāshāya*, it is better to be a monk – however depraved – than a layman – however virtuous. As often in Japanese culture, the wrapping is more valuable than the content: the magic power of the robe provides the ultimate argument for respecting depraved monks.¹³⁸ We have here a paradox that does not seem to have worried Dōgen, for whom it seems better to transgress monastic precepts than to remain a layman or lay woman: ‘The fact that this nun Utpalavarṇā was able to reach Arhathood has originally nothing to do with her own merits. It is entirely due to the merits of her having once worn as a joke this *kāshāya* that she now obtained awakening.’¹³⁹

However, the robe also symbolizes the Bodhisattva Precepts which can be given to laymen. Dōgen himself, despite his emphasis on monkhood, admits the value of these precepts and seems therefore to admit the possibility, thanks to the magical power of the *kāshāya*, of a kind of lay holiness, halfway between profane laicity and monastic sacrality.

Thus, contrary to the French proverb according to which ‘l’habit ne fait pas le moine’, we can now see that, in medieval Buddhism, the *kāshāya* ‘does make’ the monk, or better, the Buddha. For all its alleged ‘purity’, Dōgen’s Zen paved the way for the kind of hermeneutic drift or proliferation that came to characterize the *kirigami* of the later *Sōtō* tradition. The ritualization of everyday acts, for which he was instrumental, led naturally to symbolic superscription and to the ‘sacralization’ of Zen.

It seems therefore arbitrary to reduce, as the proponents of ‘critical Buddhism’ (*bihan bukkyō*, a misnomer for ‘polemical Buddhism’) have done recently, the thought of Dōgen, as expressed in the twelve-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*, to the orthodox teaching of ‘co-dependent arising’ (*pratītyasamutpāda*). Incidentally, this ‘philosophical’ formula was inserted into statues and reliquaries,

among other relics, by eminently orthodox Buddhist masters. We need only read other fascicles of the same work, like 'Kuyō shobutsu', to realize that Dōgen himself, who seems to have been occasionally inscribing spring talismans (*rishun daikichi*), was probably not a total stranger to similar practices. One may wonder if the short-sightedness of modern apologetes is not caused by their wearing a kāsāya on their head, in the orthodox Chinese fashion described by Dōgen.

Leaving polemic aside, the evolution of the kāsāya seems related to two departures from the early tradition: symbolization and aestheticization, with the use of increasingly rich materials (essentially silk) and sophisticated imagery. During the Edo period, a reaction against these two trends (which led to Sōtō *kirigami* and to Nishijin brocade) took place, with a return to a more sober kāsāya, called *nyohō-kesa* ['kāsāya in conformity with the Dharma']. This type of kāsāya was first advocated by Buddhist scholars like Jiun (1718–1804), and soon in Sōtō itself. We have from this period various kāsāya made from linen (*asa*), a plant fibre that seems more appropriate – although much less easy to dye and decorate – than silk.

There seems to have been an ongoing debate between Chan/Zen and Vinaya regarding this point. The author of the *Lüzong huiyuan*, a work based on Daoxuan's interpretation of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya, criticizes the Chan monks of his time who, while claiming to be Mahāyāna adepts not attached to form, go against the Buddha's teaching. On the other hand, he singles out two Chan masters, Nanyue and Daoxiu, as examples of eminent monks who respected this teaching by wearing only mugwort material. He quotes a commentary by Daoxuan saying that Indian monks do not use silk to make kāsāya.¹⁴⁰

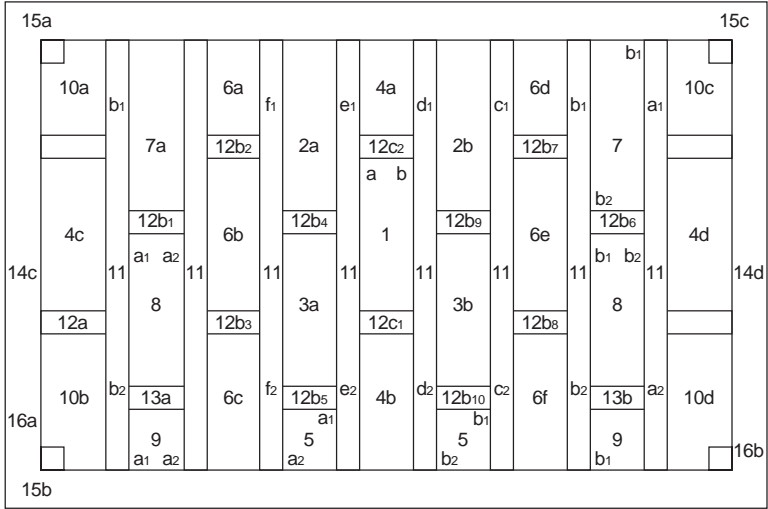
Conversely, the Chan/Zen criticism of Daoxuan and of his successors was repeated throughout the Edo period by Sōtō scholars, even by an advocate of a return to the traditional *funzōe* like Mokushitsu (1775–1833). The *Den'e zōbi shōhaka* criticizes Lingzhi and Yuanzhao, the authors of the *Fozhi biqiulinwu tu* (T. 1900), for relying on Daoxuan, despite Dōgen's criticism of the latter. According to these authors, the way of sewing and wearing the kāsāya, newly devised in the Chinese Vinaya school, is non-orthodox because it relies on oral instructions given by a celestial being to Daoxuan. Furthermore, the same *Linwu tu* criticizes Chan monks for wearing a nine-strip kāsāya. The nine-strip kāsāya mentioned by Dōgen in 'Den'e' is not the

same as the one mentioned by these Hīnayāna teachers. Therefore, the heirs of Dōgen should never use the *Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu*.¹⁴¹ Likewise, Mokushitsu's *Hōfuku kakushō* criticizes Daoxuan and the *Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu*.¹⁴² The *Shakushi hōe kun*, too, criticizes Daoxuan and Yuanzhao for rejecting the use of silk. It argues that Daoxuan, although he was an eminent Vinaya master, went against the Buddha's teaching. This teaching, on the other hand, was preserved by Yijing, a contemporary of Daoxuan who had the advantage of first-hand experience of Indian Buddhism. Based on that experience, Yijing approved the use of silk, while Daoxuan rejected it on the basis of a vision. But, as Dōgen argued, the disciples of the Buddha should teach divine beings, not be taught by them. In the end, Daoxuan and his epigons are Hīnayāna followers, who do not understand the teaching of Mahāyāna. This conclusion is somewhat paradoxical, as Daoxuan's Vinaya, although inspired from the Dharmaguptaka, was much closer to the Mahāyāna than that of a conservative like Yijing.¹⁴³ The ideological filiations become even more surprising, since Dōgen, while he opposes the dominant Vinaya tradition stemming from Daoxuan and seems to agree with Yijing, will later see his arguments taken up by a relentless critic of Buddhism such as Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746), in his ironic comments about Buddhist vegetarianism.¹⁴⁴

As Alan Kennedy asks: 'Can a richly decorated *kesa* represent the Buddhist teaching? And if so, does it represent it to a lesser degree than a more sober *kesa*?'¹⁴⁵ Kennedy's answer to this rhetorical question is that the Buddha himself wore different kinds of *kāṣāya* at various times in his life. Śākyamuni was not only (or always) an ascetic, a world-renouncer, wearing a *funzōe*, he was also (and perhaps above all) a royal figure, a world-conqueror, wearing a *sōgarie*. Even more so in the Mahāyāna context, where we are dealing not only with the 'historical' Buddha, but with metaphysical Buddhas in their 'glorious bodies'.

Nevertheless, this ambiguity created a tension between two different images of Buddhism, a tension exacerbated by the necessity to transgress one of the fundamental precepts of Buddhism, that of not killing life, in order to obtain the material most appropriate to express the regal aspect of Buddhism.

The kāṣāya maṇḍala



- 1 a Makabirushana butsu [Buddha Mahāvairocana]
b Pure Land of the Vulture Peak of Śākyamuni Buddha
- 2 a Gakkō bosatsu [Bodhisattva Candraprabha]
b Nikkō Bosatsu [Bodhisattva Sūryaprabha]
- 3 a Kongōkai mandara [Vajradhātu maṇḍala]
b Taizōkai mandara [Garbhadhātu maṇḍala]
- 4 a Hōshō Nyorai [Tathāgata Ratnākara?], South
b Fukūjōjū butsu [Buddha Amoghasiddhi], North
c Ashuku butsu [Buddha Akśobhya], East
d Muryōju bosatsu [Bodhisattva Amitāyus], West
- 5 a1 Kanjizai bosatsu [Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara]
a2 Jikyū dōji
b1 Kongō Zaō bosatsu
b2 Zenzai dōji [Sudhāna]
- 6 The past Buddhas
a Bibashi butsu [Buddha Vipasyin]
b Shiki butsu [Buddha Sikkhin]
c Bishabu butsu [Buddha Viśvabhū]
d Karakusonda butsu [Buddha Krakucchanda]
e Kunagon butsu [Buddha Kanakamuni]
f Kashō butsu [Buddha Kāśyapa]

- 7 a Jizō bosatsu [Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha]
 b1 Miroku bosatsu [Bodhisattva Maitreya]
 b2 Daibon tennō [Deva-king Brahma]
- 8 a1 Superior Field of Merits of all Bodhisattvas
 a2 Monju bosatsu [Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī]
 b1 Field of Merits of the Precious Repository of all Tathāgatas
 b2 Fugen bosatsu [Bodhisattva Samantabhadra]
- 9 a1 Idaten [Skanda]
 a2 Field of Merits of the Eight Assemblies of Heavenly Nāga
 b1 Earth god
- 10 The four Lokapāla
 a Daizurata tennō [=Jikokuten, Dhṛtarāṣṭra]
 b Bishamon tennō [Vaiśravaṇa]
 c Birurokusha [=Zōchōten, Virūḍhaka]
 d Birubakusha [=Kōmokuten, Virūpakṣa]
- 11 The nine realms
 a1 Second realm
 b1 Third realm
 c1 Fourth realm
 d1 Sixth realm
 e1 Seventh realm
 f1 Eighth realm
 g1 Ninth realm
 a2 River of Eight Tastes
 b2 River of silver water
 c2 Lion's head river
 d2 Horse-head river
 e2 Ox-head river
 f2 Woman of life river
 g2 Sweet dew river
- 12 The fields of merits [*fukuden*]
 a1 Shuda[on]dō [*śrotāpanna*]
 a2 Shidagon [*sakrdāgamin*]
 a3 Anagon [*anāgamin*]
 a4 Arakan [Arhat]
 b1–10 Ten *bhūmi*
 c1 Tōgaku
 c2 Myōkaku
- 13 a River of the twelve *nidāna*
 b Six pāramitā
- 14 The four seas
 a Southern sea
 b Northern sea
 c Eastern sea
 d Western sea

- 15 The four Deva
 a Hekiten
 b Kūten
 c Suiten [Varuna]

List of abbreviations

DZZ	<i>Dōgen Zenji Zenshū</i>
JDZ	<i>Jōsai Daishi Zenshū</i>
ZSZ	<i>Zoku Sōtōshū Zensho</i>
T	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i>
ZZ	<i>Zoku Zōkyō</i>

Notes

- 1 'Den'e' will appear in *Hōbōgirin* 8 (forthcoming).
- 2 Anna Seidel, 'Kokuhō: Note à propos due terme "Trésor National" en Chine et au Japon', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981): 229–261; 'Dynastic Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha', in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, vol. 2, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques XXI* (1983): 291–371.
- 3 Part of my information on the symbolic and material aspects of the kāṣāya derives from a catalogue edited by Alan Kennedy, entitled: *Manteau de nuages: Kesa japonais, XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles*, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1991. This catalogue commemorated an exhibition of Chinese and Japanese kāṣāya, held by the Association pour l'Étude et la Documentation des Textiles d'Asie led by Krishnā Riboud, in Paris and Lyon in 1991–1992, and at Shōkokuji in Kyōto in October 1994.
- 4 See I-tsing [Yijing], *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695)*, trans. J. Takakusu, Oxford: Clarendon, 1896, repr. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966.
- 5 Yijing (635–713) lists six 'requisites': the three robes, the bowl (*pātra*), the sitting-mat (*niṣīdana*), and the water-pourer (*parisrāvāna*); he also enumerates thirteen 'necessities' (including the above). See I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 54–55. The *Fanwang jing* [T. 24, 1484: 1008a] gives a total of eighteen things. See also *Shanjian lü*, T. 24, 1462: 718a. The *Fozhi biqiu liuvu tu* [T. 45, 1900], an illustrated work by Yuanzhao (1048–1116), in the tradition of Daoxuan's (596–667) Nanshan lü school, still gives six things. In the *Chanyuan qinggui*, the list is already quite different from that given in Indian sources. See Sōtōshū zensho kankōkai ed., *Zoku Sōtōshū Zensho* [hereafter ZSZ], Shingi, 1976: 869. The Chan/Zen list is again rather different, for it reflects local customs: it goes far beyond the traditional three robes and one bowl. The Zen scholar Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) lists for instance ninety-six objects (including, it is true,

- collective properties such as chairs, etc.). See Ishikawa Rikizan, 'Chūsei Sōtōshū kirigami no bunrui shiron (6)', *Komazawa Daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 16 (1985): 105. However, in all these sources, the kāshāya always comes first.
- 6 ZZ 105, 414b.
 - 7 T. 82, 2582: 49a.
 - 8 See Marinus Willem de Visser, *The Arhats in China and Japan*, Berlin: Oesterheld, 1923: 93.
 - 9 See Theodore Griffith Foulk, 'The 'Ch'an School' in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition, Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1987.
 - 10 See Foulk, 1987: 239; but according to Anna Seidel, the *Jingde Chuandenglu* does say that the robe transmitted to Huike is that of the Buddha; see T. 51, 2076: 219.
 - 11 Although Dōgen's kāshāya was held as one of the sacra of the Sōtō tradition, it could hardly boast of an Indian origin. Even its Chinese origin is uncertain: according to a document from Kōfukuji in Kumamoto prefecture, telling of the transmission of Dōgen's robe by Gikai (1219–1309) to Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325), then by Keizan to his disciple Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350) in 1309, the kāshāya was woven by the wife of a lay disciple of Dōgen and sewn by Dōgen himself. In 1248 he also sewed the kāshāya bag. In 1253, he transmitted both to Ejō, who in turn transmitted them in 1280 to Gikai. In 1294, they passed from Gikai to Keizan and in 1311 from Keizan to Meihō Sotetsu.
 - 12 See Etienne Lamotte, *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, vol. I, Louvain: Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1944: 191–196; and Mujaku Dōchū, *Zenrin shōkisen*, Kyōto Seishin shōbō, 1963: 684–685.
 - 13 T. 82, 2582: 53b14–26.
 - 14 See Foulk, 1987: 170.
 - 15 Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 684.
 - 16 *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi, 554.
 - 17 'Kesa kudoku', T. 82, 2582: 53a; see also *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ Shingi, 553.
 - 18 *Denkōroku*, T. 82, 2585: 345b18–21. But Keizan also says that Basiasita's robe was that of the Buddha, and that which will be transmitted to Maitreya. See *ibid.*; see also Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 684.
 - 19 See Jacques Gernet, 'Biographie du maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsō', *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951): 46, n. 3.
 - 20 On this question, see Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996).
 - 21 See Max Kaltenmark, 'Ling-pao: Note sur un terme du taoïsme religieux', in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, vol. 1 (1960): 559–588; on the use of talismans in Taoism, see also: Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao shan Tradition of Great Purity*, trans. Julian Pas and Norman Girardot, Albany: SUNY Press, 1993; and John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, New York: MacMillan, 1987: 155–161.
 - 22 See Anna Seidel, 'Dynastic Treasures and Taoist Sacraments', 1983.

- 23 See Ishikawa, 1985: 102–152.
- 24 The motif of the kāṣāya's weight is also found in the biography of Bodhidharma's contemporary, the dhyāna master Sengchou. When Emperor Xuan Di (r. 550–559) wants to see a Buddhist wonder, Sengchou throws his kāṣāya to the ground. The emperor orders several of his men to pick it up, but they fail to move it. Then Sengchou has it lifted effortlessly by a novice. See *Busaso kesa kō*, ZSZ, Shingi, 2: 539.
- 25 See *Shoufayei*, T. 48, 2025: 1122b.
- 26 See Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965: 156–157, 290; *Zengaku daijiten*, Tōkyō: Taishūkan, 1978: 887c.
- 27 See Ōkubo Dōshū, *Shūtei zōho Dōgen zenji den no kenkyū*, Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971: 169–171; and *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi, 553a.
- 28 *Busso kesa kō*, in ZSZ, Shingi, 2: 524–547; *Hōfuku kakushō*, comp. by Mokushitsu (1775–1833), *ibid.*, 639–676; *Den'e zōbi shōhaka*, *ibid.*, 600–637; *Shakushi hōe kun*, *ibid.*, 549–575; *Hōfuku shōgi shaku*, *ibid.*, 577–599.
- 29 See 'Kesa kudoku', T. 82, 2582: 47c–56a, *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* [DZZ] 1: 623–645; 'Den'e', T. 82, 2582: 56a–62a, DZZ 1: 285–300.
- 30 See 'Kesa kudoku' in Yūhō Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, New York and Tōkyō: Weatherhill, 1976: 88–106.
- 31 See 'Kesa kudoku', in T. 82, 2582: 47c4, 48c22, 56a21.
- 32 T. 82, 2582: 48a2.
- 33 See 'Den'e', T. 82, 2582: 53c–54a. On this question, see also Faure, 'Alternative Images of Pilgrimage: Sung-shan and Ts'ao-hsi', in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds., *Pilgrimage and Sacred Sites in China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991: 150–189.
- 34 T. 82, 2582: 56b–c.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 48a.
- 36 On the problem of Dharma transmission in the Sōtō sect during the Edo period, see William Bodiford, 'Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen: Manzan Dōhaku's Reform Movement', *Monumenta Nipponica* 46, 4 (1991): 423–452.
- 37 T. 82, 2582: 53a57.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 49b.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 49c.
- 40 See 'Den'e', *ibid.*, 61a9.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 50c26.
- 42 See 'Hatsuu', *ibid.*, 260a2, b7–14.
- 43 T. 82, 2582: 50b.
- 44 *Jōsai Daishi Zenshū* [JDZ], ed. Kohō Chisan, 433; on Keizan's dreams, see Faure, *Visions of Power*, ch. 5.
- 45 'Kesa kudoku', T. 82, 2582: 53a12.
- 46 See Masunaga Reihō, *A Primer of Sōtō Zen: A Translation of Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1975: 71. See also *ibid.*, 79.
- 47 T. 82, 2582: 55b7.
- 48 To the complaints of the French people about the shortage of bread, the Queen of France Marie-Antoinette supposedly said, 'S'ils n'ont pas

- de pain, qu'ils mangent de la brioche!' ['If they have no bread, let them eat brioche!']
- 49 T. 82, 2582: 52c–53a.
- 50 'According to an old tradition', says Mujaku, 'Bodhidharma's Dharma robe was made of cotton.' See *Zenrin shōkisen*, 684b.
- 51 ZZ 146: 484a–b.
- 52 T. 82, 2582: 60b15–20.
- 53 See 'Den'e', *ibid.*, 60b4–9.
- 54 See I-tsing [Yijing], *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 58.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 56 T. 82, 2582: 51a8–18.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 54c19–21.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 54c.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 54c23.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 58b25.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 58a.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 55c23.
- 63 See Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993: 163–184; and Faure, *Visions of Power*, chapter 2.
- 64 In the DZZ edition, the 'Kesa kudoku' chapter follows the 'Shukke kudoku' ['The Merits of ordination'] chapter. See also Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, 69–83 and 88–106. In the Taishō edition, however, it precedes 'Den'e'.
- 65 T. 82, 2582: 54a24–25.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 306c.
- 67 'Den'e', *ibid.*, 58a1–2.
- 68 'Kesa kudoku', *ibid.*, 52a–b.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 52b7–8.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 53c17–54a9.
- 71 'Den'e', *ibid.*, 62a.
- 72 See *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi, 573, and *Hōfuku kakushō*, *ibid.*, 641–642.
- 73 On this question, see Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
- 74 JDZ, 489.
- 75 See Faure, *Visions of Power*, ch. 8.
- 76 See Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1967: 597.
- 77 See Ishikawa, 1985: 109. We may note in passing that Shenhui's grave, recently discovered at Longmen, contained a bowl and various other ritual implements, but no kāṣāya.
- 78 T. 76, 2410: 768b.
- 79 *Ehatsu kechimiyaku denju sahō*. See Ishikawa, 1985: 114–115. See also *Shōbōgenzō*, 'Hatsuu', in DZZ 1: 565.
- 80 T. 76, 2410: 768b.
- 81 In the Tendai tradition, for instance, the three robes (five, seven, and nine strips) correspond to the three inspections (*kan*, Sk. *vipaśyanā*) of the provisional [*ke*], emptiness [*kū*], and the middle way [*chūdō*], respectively. They also correspond to the Taizōkai, Kongōkai, and

- Susiddhi (J. Sojitsuji) Maṇḍalas, to the three letters of the mantra *aum*, and to the *nirmāṇa*-, *sambhoga*- and *dharmakāya*. See *Keiran shūyōshū*, T. 76, 2410: 768c.
- 82 See Ishikawa, *op. cit.* (6): 106.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 108.
- 84 See, for instance, the *Ehatsu kechimiyaku denju sabō*, quoted infra [‘The robe as womb’], according to which the length of the pieces expresses the phrases of the gestation process.
- 85 T. 45, 1900: 899a3.
- 86 See Kennedy, *op. cit.*
- 87 See Mujaku, *Zenrin shōkisen*, 683a. According to various sources like the *Fozhi liuuu tu*, the three ‘impure’ colours are blue, black, and ‘magnolia’ (*mulian*); see T. 45, 1900: 898c. The *Shakushi hōe kun* [ZSZ, Shingi, 551] indicates that ‘mixing’ the five colours is like adding salt to harmonize the five tastes.
- 88 For a representative sample, see *Manteau de nuages*, 1992: 24–105.
- 89 The first ‘purple robe’ was conferred by the Empress Wu Zetian in 690 to the monk Falang and his group. See Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the end of the Seventh Century*, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976: 9–13. In Japan, the first monk to receive it was Dōgen’s teacher Yōsai. The *Shakushi hōe kun* insists that Dōgen, like his predecessors Fuyong Daokai and Tiantong Rujing, rejected the purple robe and wore a blue-black kāsāya his whole life. Retracing the history of the purple robe, it argues that its colour, not being ‘impure’, did not conform to the Dharma. See ZSZ, Shingi: 553, 561–562.
- 90 See Ishikawa Rikizan, 1985: 106.
- 91 T. 82, 2582: 54b18–19.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 54a24.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 54c5.
- 94 *Zenrin shōkisen*, 684.
- 95 Huineng is also able to make a spring gush forth – another source of fertility, another widespread folkloric motif – by planting his monk’s staff (*shakujō*) in the ground. See Michel Soymié, ‘Sources et sourciers en Chine’, *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* (n.s) 7, 1(1961): 1–56. Yanagita Kunio mentions other Asian variants of this motif. In the Japanese legend of Dōunji in Nanakitada (Miyagi prefecture), a monk asks from a donor the land that will be covered by the shadow of his staff (*shakujō*), and when his wish is granted, the shadow suddenly covers the entire mountain. In the Indian legend of King Aśoka, the Buddha asks a Nāga king to give him the land on which he is sitting, and when the Nāga agrees, the body of the Buddha suddenly grows, extending to the entire country; in Ennin’s *Nyū Tō ki*, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī manifests himself as a monk and asks the emperor to give him the land covered by his sitting mat; when the emperor agrees, it will in turn extend over five hundred li. See *Yanagita Kunio Zenshū*, Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, vol. 7 (1990): 140–141.
- 96 See Ishikawa, ‘Chūsei Sōtōshū kirigami no bunrui shiron (14)’ *Komazawa Daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 19 (1988): 119. Swastikas are also sewn on the kāsāya, at the corners of the eight joints (*setsu*). See *Sanyi xianzheng tu*, in ZZ 105: 253a–255a.

- 97 Keizan actually quotes the *Jingde chuandenglu*, T. 51, 2076: 215a–b.
- 98 See Faure, ‘Dōgen, the Darumashū, and Sōtō Zen’, *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, 1 (1987): 25–55.
- 99 T. 82, 2582: 56c13.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 56b26.
- 101 See Masunaga, 1975: 5: ‘As I see it, relics should be revered, since they represent the Tathāgata’s image and his remaining bones. It is wrong, however, to expect enlightenment just by worshipping them.’ Unlike in the case of the kāśāya, according to Dōgen.
- 102 See Alan Kennedy, 1991: 12.
- 103 See Ishikawa, *op. cit.* (6): 108–109.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 108.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 110.
- 106 The *Keiran shūyōshū*, for instance, assimilates the five-, seven-, and nine-strip kāśāya to the Taizōkai, Kongōkai and Susiddhi maṇḍalas, respectively [T. 76, 2410: 768b]. See note 79.
- 107 See Kennedy, 1991: 106.
- 108 See Ishikawa, 1985: 106–107.
- 109 T. 47, 1966: 127ab.
- 110 Ishikawa, 1985: 106.
- 111 See *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi: 552.
- 112 T. 82, 2582: 51b4–8.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 59c28–29.
- 114 See *Zenrin shōkisen*, 683a. See also Robert Sharf, ‘The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch’an Masters in Medieval China’, *History of Religions*, 32, 1 (1994): 1–31.
- 115 ‘Kesa kudoku’, T. 82, 2582: 54a26.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 54c1
- 117 From Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London: Trübner, 1884, reprint New York: Paragon, 1968, vol. 1: 47–48.
- 118 *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi: 551–552.
- 119 This document should be put into relation with other *kirigami* that interpret the episode of Śākyamuni’s transmission to Kāśyapa through holding up a flower as a symbol of death and cremation. See for instance Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, 198–199.
- 120 See Ishikawa, 1985: 109.
- 121 See Ishikawa, *ibid.* The term *sho*, ‘thread of events’, originally means the end of a silk thread. The symbolism of rebirth, which was also a predominant aspect of the Hakusan/Shirayama cult, could perhaps be connected, as Yanagita Kunio has argued, with the silk-worm, who dies in his cocoon to be reborn – if it is not killed for good by the sericulturist.
- 122 See *Sangai issshinki* (c. 1644) by Zen master Dairyū, in Washio Junkei, ed., *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*, Tōkyō: Shōwa shoin, 1930: 505–540. I am indebted to James Sanford for this and the following reference. In light of the above discussion, it might be relevant to note that Bodhidharma came to be associated in Japan with sericulture. In Japanese folk-art, his features are painted on a cocoon (*mayu*

- daruma). Apart from the shape of the cocoon, which Neill McFarland calls 'Darumamorph', this association comes from the fact that both Daruma and the silkworm were seen as symbols of gestation and rebirth. See H. Neill McFarland, *Daruma: The Founder of Zen in Japanese Art and Popular Culture*, Tōkyō and New York: Kodansha International, 1987: 64–66.
- 123 See *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, vol. 1, Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968–1971.
- 124 See for instance *Denkōroku*, T. 82, 2585: 348b–349c.
- 125 T. 82, 2582: 50c10. See also *Busso kesa kō*, in ZSZ, Shingi: 533.
- 126 T. 82, 2582: 50c6, c9 and 54c11.
- 127 *Busso kesa kō*, ZSZ, Shingi: 533.
- 128 See *Denkōroku*, T. 82, 2585: 347b15–16.
- 129 See for instance *Fukuden-e kirigami op. cit.*
- 130 See Susan Matisoff, 'Holy Horrors: The Sermon Ballads of Medieval and Early Modern Japan', in James Sanford and William LaFleur, eds., *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992: 234–62. In other variants, Kūkai's mother is saved by her son.
- 131 Nevertheless, in the story of Kūkai's mother, it is the robe that prevents the mother, made impure by her menstrual blood, from setting foot on Mount Kōya.
- 132 Paul Mus, *Barabudur*, 2 vols., Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1935. Reprint New York: Arno Press, 1978; Paris: Arma Artis, 1990: 426.
- 133 *Ibid.*: 427.
- 134 One could evoke another suggestive work of Paul Mus, 'Le Buddha paré,' *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 28, 1–2 (1928): 153–278. Just as the icon of the Buddha is decorated in order to signify the Buddha in his *sambhoga-kāya*, the monk wearing a kāṣāya is no longer, at least symbolically, a human being, but a glorified Buddha.
- 135 Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980: 269–270.
- 136 Le Goff, *ibid.*, 71.
- 137 *Shakushi hōe kun*, ZSZ, Shingi: 569–570.
- 138 See for instance Robert Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1985: 194–196.
- 139 T. 82, 2582: 52b14–16.
- 140 *Lüzong huiyuan*, ZZ 105: 415.
- 141 *Den'e zōbi shōhaka*, ZSZ, Shingi: 608, 615.
- 142 *Hōfuku kakushō*, *ibid.*, 665.
- 143 *Shakushi hōe kun*, *ibid.*, 564–565.
- 144 Tominaga writes for instance in his *Shutsujō kōgo*: 'Now we are allowed to eat cereals and vegetables and only meat is forbidden. Why are the Buddha and the bodhisattvas so unfair?' See Tominaga Nakamoto, *Emerging from Meditation*, trans. Michael Pye, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990: 140.
- 145 Kennedy, 1991: 22.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF KAMI AND GHOSTS

Spirit ordinations in Japanese Sōtō Zen

William M. Bodiford

Jiangxi and Hunan, or 'Jiang-Hu' Chan for short, is an ancient designation. Contrasted to the Buddhism of the imperial capital, it smacks of the great outdoors: countrified Buddhism, mundane affairs, the religion of the masses. . . . Unlike previous Buddhists who had covered themselves in the borrowed robes of Indian Buddhism, it was as if these monks had altogether discarded coverings in favour of the refreshingly natural form of their pink nakedness.

Yanagida Seizan¹

Like the Jiang-Hu Chan groups described by Professor Yanagida, Japanese Sōtō Zen monks gained their strongest following in the countryside far from aristocratic influences. In proselytizing Zen among the common people in marginal regions of Japan, the activities of Japanese Zen monks likewise revealed the raw vigour of rural religious life.² But unlike the 'nakedness' of their Chinese counterparts, Sōtō monks succeeded in large part by cloaking their efforts in the borrowed trappings of the Chinese Chan tradition – especially the Chan rhetoric of immediacy and mediation expressed by precept lineages.³ In medieval Sōtō the ordination rite that initiated one into the family of Zen patriarchs simultaneously symbolized the beginning of one's new religious status and the terminus of one's spiritual quest. When administered by a full-fledged Zen master, ordination with the precepts represented, in the words of Sōtō documents, direct attainment of the enlightenment of the Buddha.⁴ The immediacy of the instant enlightenment conferred by the precepts became accessible through the mediation

of the Zen master who provided the initiate with tangible, direct evidence of his new status. First he anointed (*shasui*) the initiate with sanctified water, using a special (i.e. magical) wand that bridged the physical and spiritual gap between master and inductee.⁵ The ritual concluded with the presentation of a special Zen lineage chart (*kechimiyaku*). This chart listed the names of all the Zen patriarchs, beginning with the Buddha himself and continuing through the famous masters of China, who have transmitted the precepts down to the present Sōtō master and through him to the laymen. The names were directly linked to the Buddha by a red line that signifies the layman's new Zen blood lineage. Sōtō monks taught that this chart was ultimate proof of one's own unity with the Buddha.⁶

The potent spiritual immediacy of this Zen ordination ritual provided rural Sōtō monks with an effective tool for mediating secular power struggles between opposing social groups, which often found expression as religious conflicts over traditional patterns of worship. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries itinerant Sōtō monks precipitated such conflicts merely by journeying into new territories. Unlike the aristocratic Zen leaders in Kamakura and Kyōto, few rural monks won support because of a patron's desire to identify with the cultural qualities of Zen: knowledge of Chinese arts, Confucian learning, and strict monastic discipline. Few rural rulers were cosmopolitan (or powerful) enough to invite unknown Zen masters from afar. Sōtō monks, therefore, first journeyed into the isolated areas of Japan for personal proselytizing and then attained control of the numerous rural chapels and religious sites that eventually came to form the Sōtō denomination. Both willingness to travel into unknown areas and strong personal charisma were essential for success.⁷ Sōtō temple histories frequently began with the appearance of a powerful monk who subdues demons, ordains the local spirits, and converts local holy men to Zen disciples. In many cases once the Sōtō identity of the religious centre is firmly established, the founding monk then continues his journey to other lands. Mujaku Myōyū (1333–1393), for example, is said to have travelled through more than ten provinces, during which he toured sacred mountains, administered ordinations to celebrants at many Shintō shrines (including the Grand Shrine of Ise), and converted at least seven rural chapels to Sōtō temples.⁸ The image of the travelling Sōtō monk became such a stereotype, that aristocratic Zen monks of the capital, such as Kisen Shūshō (d. 1493) – an employee of the Five Mountain (*gozan*) registrar of monks

(*sōroku*) – dismissed their Sōtō counterparts as ‘self-styled men of the way’ (*dōnin*) who merely travel about the country residing in rural chapels and shrines.⁹

In many rural areas the emergence of a new Zen institution at a local religious site entailed shifts in community relationships.¹⁰ The relative social status of commoners, village leaders, and nearby warrior groups all were involved. Traditional accounts of Japanese Zen history have emphasized the indispensable role of the rural warriors who donated the lands and yearly income for new temples. In this view, the popularization of Japanese Sōtō depended on military rulers who imposed the new temples on the local population, from the top down, as part of policies intended to further secular political goals.¹¹ These political policies, however, often exploited the proselytizing efforts of itinerant Zen teachers, efforts that enhanced the political appeal of temple patronage. Actual patronage began after proselytizing, from the bottom up, by a Sōtō teacher who already had attracted widespread support among the local populace.

A well-known example of this ‘from the bottom up’ process is the Sōtō monastery Ryūenji in Kumagaya (Saitama Prefecture), founded in 1411 through the patronage of a local warrior known as Narita Ietoki.¹² As the temple’s chief patron, Narita assumed the posture of having introduced Zen to the locality. In actuality, however, Narita merely reacted to changing social circumstances occasioned by a Zen monk. According to Ryūenji records, the founding abbot of this temple, Waan Seijun, first became known in the area when he appeared one day at a local chapel dedicated to Amitābha Buddha. Seijun spent several weeks at the Amitābha chapel practising meditation and chanting. People in nearby hamlets soon began to regard him as a Zen saint (*rakan*). They came in great numbers to request Seijun to copy scriptures, offer prayers, and perform other Buddhist rituals in their behalf. It was only after Narita Ietoki had sent his men to investigate the cause of the sudden popularity of Buddhist devotional activities that Narita decided to sponsor a new monastery (the future Ryūenji) for Seijun.¹³ In this case Seijun’s ability to command the respect of the common people constituted a challenge not only to Narita’s authority, but also to the established ruling hierarchy of village leaders. Narita’s response, which lent his financial resources to the village chapel, accommodated the emerging organized strength of the peasants while it identified their spiritual needs with his secular authority. Records do not indicate the responses of the village

leaders who formerly controlled religious rites at the chapel, but it is safe to assume that shifts in their familial fortunes had paved the way for Seijun's appearance.

Most medieval Sōtō monasteries began as small, insignificant village chapels, like the one that became Ryūenji. These worship halls initially lacked any full-time, resident celebrants or sectarian affiliation.¹⁴ Usually an association of village elders collectively supervised each chapel's maintenance and seasonal rites. The social functions of these chapels thus extended beyond occasional religious services. They reflected the power structure and hierarchy of the village society. As village communities attempted to assert greater social and political autonomy during the fourteenth century, local shrines and Buddhist chapels provided potent symbols of communal solidarity – and major points of contention. Contracts were sealed with sacred oaths sworn within the chapel grounds. Village groups met there to pledge their mutual dedication to village projects.¹⁵ Locally powerful families exerted their control over the area in part by directing local patterns of worship. Whenever a new leader could convert a communal village chapel into a sectarian Buddhist temple founded on private patronage, that leader's local authority increased considerably.¹⁶

The regional expansion of the Sōtō school coincides with a period when the growth of exploitable wealth in medieval village communities led to greater competition for control over local means of production. Regional warriors, proprietorial lords, and village leaders used all available means to seize advantageous positions. For this reason, the incorporation of rural village chapels into formal Buddhist denominations, such as Sōtō, occurred within the context of localized power struggles. Each competing faction attempted to draw the chapel into its own power base. As village leaders and military commanders vied for the control of local religious geography, the new temple became a significant avenue of communication and mutual accommodation between lord and peasantry. The creation of Sōtō temples necessitated similar accommodations in the spiritual realm, as the new symbols of Zen ideology confronted established beliefs and cultic practices. The topography of these religious conflicts has all but disappeared in the vicissitudes of history, but traces remain hidden in the hagiographies and miracle tales of temple founders who faced down and converted locally powerful supernatural beings. These miraculous stories often depict common religious themes already found in earlier collections of Japanese *setsuwa* literature.¹⁷

The Sōtō monks in these tales, like the *hijiri* and *yamabushi* with whom they shared a similar charismatic aura, typically functioned as the stereotypical ‘mysterious stranger’ (*marebito*), the *liminal* figure at the margins of social relationships, who appears at critical junctures to readjust spiritual relationships.¹⁸ Unlike other *setsuwa* tales, however, the crucial spiritual power of the Sōtō protagonists is almost always identified with Zen symbols and Zen ideology. It is no accident, for example, that the celebrated exorcism of the killing stone (*sesshōseki*) on Mt. Nasu by the Sōtō monk Gennō Shinshō (1329–1400) usually is depicted as a didactic Zen encounter. Like a Zen master confronting a deluded disciple, Gennō was faced with the task of instructing the killing stone so as to cause it to attain the spiritual insight that will liberate it from its evil fate. The high point of the exorcism occurred when Gennō struck the stone with his Zen staff, breaking it into pieces, as he shouted: ‘... *Genjō kōan* is the great difficulty’.¹⁹

Whereas *kōan* language is an essential element in most supernatural encounters involving Sōtō monks, similar accounts of spiritual violence rarely appear in the extant literature. Instead of destroying local spirits, the most common type of supernatural transformation involves the religious conversion of the local *kami* and spirits culminating in an ordination with Zen precepts.²⁰ In the popular mind, the soteriological power of the precepts was one of the Zen master’s most powerful weapons for overcoming religious opposition. Spirit ordinations thus indicate the existence of hidden levels of resistance that Sōtō pioneers had to have overcome when they introduced new Zen temples into rural areas. The most important function of the ordination of local spirits was to provide religious justification for villagers to support new Zen temples without rejecting either the spirits and *kami* that they had worshipped in the past or the social hierarchies associated with previous patterns of worship.

In medieval Sōtō hagiographies the most common sequence of events leading to a supernatural ordination involves local spirits or *kami* inviting a monk to found a new temple in that spirit’s domain. The Sōtō master Rogaku Tōto (d. 1470), for example, reportedly lived in poverty for many years, subsisting on offerings occasionally left at a nearby cremation site where he practised meditation to calm the spirits of the newly departed. One night during his meditation, a stranger approached him to request an ordination. The stranger soon confessed to being a manifestation of an evil person who had suffered rebirth in the realm of reptiles.²¹ The

stranger begged Rogaku to have compassion for him. When Rogaku finished administering the precepts, the reptile spirit instantly attained liberation from his fate. In thanks, he led Rogaku down to a valley and told him to build a temple there. Walking further down into the valley, Rogaku found the dead body of a large white snake. When the local villagers heard of the departure of the snake spirit, they all came to help Rogaku build his temple.²² In another tale, Ryōan Emyō (1337–1411) is said to have been walking down a rural roadway when a large man appeared and offered to serve as a guide. The guide led Ryōan deep into an uncharted valley, pointed to a distant mountain, and said: ‘That mountain is best for you’. Ryōan became suspicious, but the guide reassured him: ‘Do not be afraid. I am the *kami* of that mountain’. When Ryōan began to construct a temple (the future Saijōji) on the mountain indicated by the *kami*, all the local people, both noble and base, came to help him. The work was soon completed because all the raw materials for building the temple were found in abundance right on the mountain. Later, when Ryōan began training students at the new temple, every night two strangers entered the abbot’s building for secret instruction in Zen. When asked, Ryōan refused to identify the strangers. Ryōan’s disciples, however, followed the mysterious students as they left the temple grounds and discovered that they were *kami* from the mountain. In exchange for ordination with the bodhisattva precepts and a *kechimyaku*, the two *kami* eventually led Ryōan to a hidden well from which the new temple could draw pure *vajra* water.²³

Tales such as the above depict a new Zen temple being introduced into a remote region by the direct request of the local supernatural powers, with the Zen teacher merely responding to their needs. Rural Sōtō temples mentioned in these tales were invariably founded without the patronage of any one powerful warrior family.²⁴ These temples were the ones most in need of broad-based support and the most vulnerable to local religious conflicts. In the first example, the power of the precepts frees a suffering spirit, thereby liberating his locality from evil influences. In the second example, the secret ordinations civilize the local *kami* who thereupon reveal hidden riches (the *vajra* well). Both stories emphasize that the new temples are not a threat to preexisting local religious sentiments or practices. During an age when much new land was being opened for cultivation for the first time, these mythic ordinations offered reassurance that the clearing of forests, new construction, and land use was welcomed by the local spiritual

powers. Especially in the second example, the people's support of the new Zen temple and their exploitation of the mountain's resources are depicted as fulfilling the desire of the local *kami*.

Stories of supernatural encounters at already existing temples most often describe the creation of new mountain springs or the discovery of new mountain lakes. For example, Jochū Tengin (1365–1440) reportedly had been led to the site of his future temple by the bodhisattva Kannon. After the temple had been built the local mountain *kami* came to the abbot's building in the middle of the night to request a precept ordination. Jochū completed the ordination, and in return the *kami* promised to create a new mineral spring for the area. The next morning a small earthquake opened the new spring just as the *kami* had promised. The temple monks quickly informed the local villages that the master's spiritual power had brought them a new source of mountain water.²⁵ The frequent reward of mountain spring water after mythic ordinations is particularly significant because of the importance of water in rural Japanese agriculture. Village prosperity depended on it. In Japanese religion mountains represent the home of the *kami* and the source of precious water.²⁶ Therefore, the presence of the Zen temple on the mountain is portrayed not only as receiving the blessing of the mountain *kami* but also as having a beneficial influence on an important source of local prosperity. In fact, many Zen monks might have been particularly adept at locating new sources of water. As Hu Shi has pointed out, the Zen practice of regular pilgrimages from teacher to teacher gave Zen monks an excellent education in practical technology and topography.²⁷ In these tales, however, not specialized knowledge but the power of their precepts alone allowed Zen teachers to introduce new sources of water to the locality.

Another important element in many of these stories is that they attribute to Zen teachers and to their precepts the power to provide salvation to evil spirits, such as the killing stone or Rogaku Tōto's snake. This belief contributed to the association of precept ordinations and funerals. The most frightening evil spirits arise from the wrathful dead. Funeral rites not only benefit ancestral spirits but also prevent hauntings by ghosts. It is not surprising, therefore, that ordinations came to constitute an integral part of Zen funerals. Supernatural stories in Sōtō biographies commonly combine the motifs of hauntings by ghosts and precept ordinations. Such episodes even appear in biographies of Dōgen (1200–1253), the founder of the Japanese Sōtō.²⁸

Gennō provides another prime example of this type of story. Reportedly he was travelling through Hōki Province when he encountered the ghost of the wife of Shimazu Atsutada, the lord of Kasuga castle.²⁹ A lifetime of evil deeds had led the deceased wife to suffer the torments of hell. Every night as she sought to escape, her ghost appeared, shrieking outside of her grave. The local people were afraid to go out after dark. Gennō confronted the ghost, teaching her that anyone who confessed and repented of their evil deeds could attain salvation. That night Atsutada dreamed that his wife had become a Buddha. The next morning he discovered that it was Gennō who had led her to salvation, and in thanks Atsutada pledged his financial support to Gennō. Shortly thereafter, Atsutada told Gennō that for several nights he had also observed a light shine out of the sea to a certain spot on a nearby mountain. Gennō interpreted the light as evidence that a Buddhist spirit must be hidden in the mountain. Atsutada, however, told him that at the foot of the mountain lay the pond of an evil dragon. On occasion, the dragon had destroyed local crops and attacked people. Gennō walked over to the mountain, seeing with his own eyes the lands wasted, the crops ruined. The local villagers begged Gennō to protect them from the dragon. As he approached the pond, the wind suddenly howled and the surface of the water boiled. The dragon appeared from out of the pond and moved toward Gennō. To stop the dragon, Gennō chanted scripture. Then, as soon as the dragon became still, he administered the precepts. Through the power of the ordination, the dragon was instantly transformed into the bodhisattva Kannon and disappeared flying up into the sky. The next morning the baleful pond was gone. At that site Atsutada erected a new Zen temple (Taikyūji) for Gennō. The final transformation of the malevolent dragon into the bodhisattva Kannon is particularly noteworthy. It dramatically symbolizes the power of the precepts to transform evil deeds into beneficial karma. Moreover, the identification of Kannon with the dragon served the didactic purpose of demonstrating that what appears to be hardships in this world in reality are opportunities for spiritual attainment.³⁰

Two other stories, although not containing standard motifs, are also particularly revealing for the way they depict the liberative power of the precepts. The first concerns Tsūgen Jakurei (1322–1391) and his disciple Ikkei Eishū (d. 1403). While Tsūgen was teaching at his main monastery Yōtakuji, Ikkei noticed that a woman always sneaked into the back of the room to listen to

Tsūgen's lectures. Ikkei confronted the strange woman, demanding to know who she was and what she wanted. She replied that her karmic retribution had caused her to be reborn as a snake and that she wanted only to be freed from that unpleasant fate. Ikkei responded that he would allow her to stay only if she could answer one question: 'Since retribution fundamentally is emptiness, from what do you wish to be freed?' The snake woman, however, confessed that she was unable to understand the question. At this point, Tsūgen came forward and administered the precepts to the snake woman. She instantly regained her former body and bowed down nine times in thanks.³¹ In this story, even someone who cannot fathom the logic of Zen enlightenment can attain salvation merely by relying on the power of the precepts. The obvious implication is that if a layman merely receives an ordination, then actual Zen training or understanding is not necessary.

Our last story concerns Gennō's experiences in Iwashiro Province. In 1375 Gennō converted an old temple (Jigenji) from its original affiliation with the Shingon school into a Sōtō monastery. According to one account, Gennō's conversion of the temple actually originated with the local *kami*, who requested Gennō to take charge of the temple. At first, Gennō refused: 'That monastery is full of students of esoteric Buddhism. How could they allow me to be abbot?' The *kami*, however, replied that he intended to drive the other monks out of the monastery because they failed to observe the precepts. The *kami* wanted Zen monks to live in the temple because the *kami* admired their strict monastic discipline. As predicted by the *kami*, there soon occurred a series of explosions that threw large rocks into the sky and knocked over nearby trees causing all the Shingon monks to flee. After everything settled down, Gennō moved into the temple in accordance with the *kami*'s request.³² This story not only emphasizes the importance of the precepts but also contrasts the rectitude of Zen monks with the laxity exhibited by other Buddhists as moral justification for transferring local religious support. This moral justification is particularly significant in light of Sōtō patterns of regional expansion. During the medieval period, the majority of new Sōtō temples were not physically new but originally had been used by non-Sōtō celebrants.³³ No doubt the monastic discipline exhibited by Zen monks impressed many potential sponsors. This story also indicates that older forms of Buddhism to a certain extent had failed to hold on to the loyalty of the local populace. Civil disturbances during the medieval period eroded the laity's faith in

the efficacy of previous religious institutions, which supposedly possessed spiritual power to maintain peace and prosperity.³⁴ Monks from these older institutions sometimes abandoned their former modes of practice in order to study under Sōtō teachers. The Sōtō master Shingan Dōkū (1374–1449), for example, had studied Shingon until an encounter with Jochū Tengin convinced him of its inadequacy.³⁵

Sōtō secret initiation documents (*kirikami* or *kirigami*) provide some clues as to how ordinations for spirits and *kami* were viewed within the context of Zen training.³⁶ The large number and variety of surviving *kirikami* concerning ordination ceremonies reflect the importance of these rites in medieval Sōtō. They describe not only ordinations administered to ordinary people but also special ordinations for all types of beings, from *kami* to animals, from emperors to the deceased. As indicated by the above stories, each Sōtō monastery usually had some type of association with local protective spirits. In Sōtō writings these protective deities are known by the generic term *ryūten*. Sōtō monastic regulations contain repeated references to *ryūten*, revealing that Zen monks were expected not only to provide ordinations for *ryūten* but also to regularly chant scripture for them as well. Significantly, Sōtō monks did not regard these rituals as supplications of a superior being. Instead, Sōtō initiation documents (*kirikami*) describe the *ryūten* as being on the same inferior level as ordinary people because they lack the Buddhist precepts necessary for enlightenment.³⁷ Moreover, in some initiations the *ryūten* were described as mental abstractions, not real beings. For example, one *sanwa* (i.e. *kōan*) initiation document passed down by Sōtō monks in the spiritual lineage of Ryōan Emyō states that *ryūten* are personifications of the same mind possessed naturally by all men. According to this document, we do not realize that the *ryūten* exist within each of us because we literally believe that *kami* protect Buddhism in exchange for having received the precepts. It states, however, that the real *ryūten* are the original mind realized during Zen meditation. If one realizes that original mind, then one sees that there are no external *ryūten*. Evil actions, however, will cause the original mind to dissolve away.³⁸ In other words, it is not the power of the precepts that cause *kami* to protect Buddhism, but the implementation of the precepts through Zen meditation that protects Buddhism. In this document, ordinations of *kami*, which might seem like elements of folk religion that crept into Zen practice, are redefined through *kōan* language in order to produce a

deconstructed interpretation of this practice. In typical Zen fashion, the question of ordinations for *ryūten* forced Zen students to reflect on the depth and purity of their own religious practice.

To a certain degree this meditative reinterpretation of *ryūten* is another example of what Bernard Faure has referred to as Zen's rejection of cosmology, a subversion of the native sacred geography with its hierarchy of spiritual beings which is supplanted by an unlocalized Buddhist vision of emptiness.³⁹ Drawing primarily on texts concerning early Chinese Chan (Zen) masters, Faure notes parallels between the meditative vision of the homogeneous Dharmakāya emptied of everything and the dramatic conversions of native Chinese mountain spirits, who vanished once the Chan masters revealed to them the very emptiness of their own beings. Although this pattern also appears in Japanese Sōtō hagiography, it is important to note that it often produced different results. In Japan, at least, the doctrine of emptiness seems to hold sway primarily over the Zen monks sitting in meditation. The local spirits, like the snake woman confronted by Tsūgen's disciple Ikkei, remain essentially unmoved. Monks practising meditation might see *ryūten* as the original one mind, but outside of the meditation hall the *ryūten* still exist to receive daily offerings and precept ordinations from these same monks. It is not surprising, therefore, that the story of the Chinese Zen master Stove-Breaking Duo, which is discussed by Faure, reoccurs in Japanese *setsuwa* literature to illustrate why one *should* worship the local *kami*.⁴⁰ According to Chinese texts Duo earned his nickname 'Stove-Breaking' by vanquishing a powerful mountain god whose shrine contained a clay stove that could no better withstand the blows of Duo's staff than the god himself could withstand Duo's denial of its ontological basis. In the Japanese version, however, Duo is rendered anonymous while his Buddhist preaching becomes none other than the sweet nectar that everyone should reverently offer to the gods.

Indeed, at many Japanese Zen temples the local spirits remained (and remain) potent forces in the lives of the monks. Faure himself has alluded to the example of the Rinzai monk Kyōō Unryō (1267–1341), who threw the mountain spirit of Hakusan into a pond after this 'protective' deity had failed to shield his disciples from an epidemic.⁴¹ Other stories suggest that the spirits themselves could participate in the Zen meditation on emptiness without losing their sacred identity within the local hierarchy. Consider, for example,

the legend of Dōryō, one of Ryōan Emyō's most important disciples at Saijōji, the temple mentioned earlier. Dōryō was a local man who excelled at Zen training and at temple construction projects. He possessed the strength of ten men. On the occasion of Ryōan's death, Dōryō proclaimed himself to be the guarding deity of Saijōji. His body assumed the form of a *tengu* (long-nosed, winged mountain demon), and he flew up, disappearing into the sky. Today Saijōji is one of the principal training sites (*senmon sōdō*) for Sōtō Zen monks. It also is the centre of the Dōryō *Mahāsattva* cult. Pilgrims come from throughout the Kantō and Tōkai regions in the hope that Dōryō will respond to their prayers and to take home some of the temple's magical *vajra* water. At Saijōji, rather than supplanting the local sacred geography, Zen has enriched it with a multi-layered sacred cosmology: the aura of enlightenment radiating from the Zen training centre, the holy water flowing from the ground, and the mountain cult of Dōryō attracting prayers.⁴² Different social groups naturally respond to these multiple layers in dissimilar ways, producing a wide variety of locally significant sacred hierarchies.⁴³

Underlying these sacred hierarchies are the legendary encounters between the Sōtō pioneers and the supernatural, which strongly link the spiritual charisma of Zen masters to the power of the precepts. These stories reveal several significant popular attitudes concerning Zen ordinations: they had the power to subdue evil, to prevent hauntings by ghosts, and to deliver one from the karmic consequences of evil deeds. Ordinations alone supplanted any need for further spiritual cultivation or Zen training. Significantly the precepts played a major role in cementing Zen temples' relationships to other locally powerful spiritual beings. Both benevolent *kami* and malevolent spirits were conquered by the Sōtō Zen masters, but not vanquished. They came to the Zen master seeking the same spiritual benefits desired by the people living nearby. They sought liberation from the same karmic limitations endured by all sentient beings. Through the power of the ordination they became enlightened disciples of Zen. Local *kami* in particular lent the power of their cultic centre to promote Sōtō institutions. Previous patterns of religious veneration were allowed to continue uninterrupted without threatening the conversion of the local people to Sōtō. It is almost as if the Buddhist robes discarded in Chinese Zen were picked up in Japan to cloak the spirituality of local *kami* and spirits with the radiance of Zen enlightenment.

Notes

- 1 Yanagida Seizan, 'Chūgoku Zenshūshi', in *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku, Kōza Zen 4*, ed. Suzuki Daisetsu and Nishitani Keiji (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1967): 49.
- 2 The majority of Sōtō monasteries and temples founded during the medieval period (c. thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) were located primarily in mountainous regions or in poorer agricultural areas – the types of locations where other strong Buddhist organizations were lacking; see Hirose Ryōkō, 'Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji to chiiki shakai: Tōkai-Kantō chihō no Sōtōshū wo chūshin to shite', reprinted in *Dōgen to Sōtōshū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, *Nihon bukkyō shūshi ronshū 8* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985), 214–220; and Wata Kenju, 'Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū no hatten ni tsuite', *Shūgaku kenkyū 2* (1960): 126–129.
- 3 Unfortunately this article was completed before I could digest Bernard Faure's treatment of spirit ordinations in his stimulating *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- 4 E.g., *Baisan oshō kaihōron*, attributed to Baisan Monpon (d. 1417), in *Sōtōshū zensho* (hereafter cited as 'SZ'; 1929–1935; revised ed., Tōkyō: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1970–1973), vol. 3, *Zenkai*, 1a; Dōgen (1200–1253), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahōi*, in *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho* (hereafter cited as 'ZSZ'; Tōkyō: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1974–1977), vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; *Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 31, *Bonmōkyō ryakushō*, in *Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei* (Tōkyō: Taishūkan shoten, 1974–1982), 14: 485, 490, 509, 522, 530, 531, 537, 541, 542, 567, 596. Cf. biography of Chiō Eishū (1371–1426) in *Nihon Tōjō rentōroku* (hereafter cited as 'Rentōroku'; 1727), fasc. 5, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden 1*: 335b.
- 5 See *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in ZSZ, vol. 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 37b; and Sugimoto Shunryū, *Zōtei Tōjō shitsunai kirikami narabi ni sanwa no kenkyū* (1938; revised ed., Tōkyō: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1982): 164–169.
- 6 *Kechimyaku no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, 'Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron', part 2, *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū 14* (1983): 144.
- 7 For an entertaining account of the supernatural charisma attributed to the itinerant Sōtō monk Kaian Myōkei (1422–1493), see the 'Aozukin' (Blue Hood) chapter of Ueda Akinari's *Ugetsu monogatari* (pub. 1776), trans. Leon M. Zolbrod, *Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain, A Complete English Version of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Collection of Tales of the Supernatural by Ueda Akinari, 1734–1809* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974): 185–194. In this story, Kaian converts an esoteric training hall to a new Zen temple only after he uses his powers of enlightenment to exorcise the evil nature of a depraved monk who had become a man-eating demon.

- 8 Kōsan Myōsan, *Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki* (1442), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2: 273–275; and Myōden (d. 1871), *Kōka keifuden* (1845), fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden* 1: 537–540. Regarding the regional expansion of Sōtō institutions, see my *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).
- 9 *Onryōken nichiroku*, entry for 1488: 6:4, in *Dai Nihon bukkyō znesho* (Tōkyō: Bussho Kankōkai, 1912–1922), 135: 217–218.
- 10 The information on village chapels in this paragraph is based on Asaka Toshiki, 'Sondō to Rinka: Kaga Chōfukuji no seiritu wo megutte', *Bukkyō shigaku* 14/4 (Nov. 1969): 17–35. The term *village* is not limited to any particular Japanese historical term, but refers to the communal groups defined by Nagahara Keiji with Kozo Yamamura, 'Village Communities and Daimyo Power', in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California, 1977): 107. Other terms used in this paragraph also conform to Nagahara's article (pp. 107–127).
- 11 E.g. Suzuki Taizan, 'Sōtō Zen no kōfu to sono gegosha', in *Kokumin seikatsushi kenkyū*, vol. 4, *Seikatsu to shūkyō*, ed. Itō Tasaburō (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960): 270–271.
- 12 Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki Bukkyō* (Tōkyō: Daihōrinkaku, 1963): 211–221.
- 13 *Waan Seijun Zenji gyōjō*, included as part of *Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō*, comp. Daisō Shūsa (d. 1537), in SZ, vol. 5, *Goroku*, 1: 215.
- 14 Later historical sources often identify Sōtō monasteries as having been built at the site of a former 'Tendai' or 'Shingon' chapel, but these sectarian labels are usually based on nothing more than the type of Buddhist terms used in the chapel's original name or the type of image originally enshrined there. In actual practice rural chapels served as a centre for whatever rituals might be performed by villagers or any itinerant religious teacher who happened to be available; see Hanuki Masai, 'Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna', in *Chihō bunka no dentō to sōzō*, ed. Chihōshi Kenkyū Kyōgikai (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 1976): 121.
- 15 Nagahara, 1977: 119.
- 16 Kawakubo Junkō, 'Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku: Toku ni sono shakaiteki haikai ni tsuite', in *Keizan kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Keizan Zenji Hōsan Kankōkai, 1974): 50–52.
- 17 *Setsuwa* literature constitutes a wide variety of Japanese religious folk tales, which usually were compiled for Buddhist didactic purposes. For a structural analysis of religious conflict in earlier *setsuwa*, see W. Michael Kelsey, 'Salvation of the Snake, the Snake of Salvation: Buddhist-Shinto Conflict and Resolution', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 8/1–2 (1981): 83–113.
- 18 Regarding the religious powers associated with strangers, see Teigo Yoshida, 'The Stranger as God: The Place of the Outsider in Japanese Folk Religion', *Ethnology* 20/2 (1981): 87–99; and Ichirō Hori, 'Mysterious Visitors from the Harvest to the New Year', in *Studies in Japanese Folklore*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963): 76–103.

- 19 See Tenkai Kūkō (1348–1416), *Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei* (1400:10:17), in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2:278a. This incident became the basis of the Nō play known as *Sesshōseki*. The killing stone actually exists. Tourist guide books report that it consists of a type of porous volcanic rock that emits poisonous gas. Even today insects that perch on the stone die. In Gennō's time gas from the larger stone reportedly killed birds and small animals.
- 20 See Hanuki Masai, 'Tōmon Zensō to shinjin kado no setsuwa', *Komazawa shigaku* 10 (1962): 44–51; and Hirose Ryōkō, 'Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu', *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 21/2 (1983): 233–236. Hirose analysed fifty-four accounts of supernatural encounters found in SZ, vol. 16 (*Shiden* 1), identifying fifteen different motifs, five of which involve ordinations. The following description of supernatural ordinations incorporates many of the conclusions found in these two articles.
- 21 Reptiles represent an extremely rich complex of spiritual beings in Asia. Kelsey (1981) distinguishes five major reptile motifs in Japanese literature: (1) the mythical snake (a dangerous manifestation of a water or thunder deity); (2) the mythical snake defeated (i.e. converted) by a Buddhist monk; (3) the Buddhist snake (a greedy monk reborn as a reptile); (4) the mytho-Buddhist hybrid snake; and (5) the snake of salvation (a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon). In Sōtō literature the second and fourth types are most common.
- 22 *Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* (hereafter cited as *Nichiiki*; 1694), fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 7, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden* 1:77a, 368b. This story concerns the founding of Ryūkeiji ('Snake Valley Temple'; Aichi Prefecture) in 1444. Although Rogaku Tōto actually founded this temple, he listed his teacher Morin Shihan (1392–1487) as the temple's official founder.
- 23 *Ryōan dai oshō tōzan kaibyaku narabi ni kunin rōjin no kien* (1648), reprinted in Shiga Myōgen, 'Daiyūzan Saijōji no kaisō enki ni tsuite', *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyū kiyō* 19 (1987): 108–109. This story concerns the founding of Saijōji (Kanagawa Prefecture) in 1394. Cf. the abbreviated accounts in *Nichiiki*, fasc. 1, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 3, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden* 1:55b, 273–274.
- 24 See Hanuki, 'Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna', 112–132.
- 25 *Nichiiki*, fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden* 1:63–64, 296b. These events are said to have happened at Daitōin (Shizuoka Prefecture) in 1411.
- 26 Ichirō Hori, *Folk Religion In Japan: Continuity and Change*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968): 150–151.
- 27 Hu Shi, 'Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method', *Philosophy East and West* 3/1 (1953): 22–23. The image of monks as gifted discoverers of water is discussed in depth by Michel Soymié, 'Sources et sourciers en Chine', *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* 7/1 (1961): 1–56.
- 28 E.g. Zuikō Chingyū and Daiken Hōju, *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* (1806), fasc. 1, in SZ, vol. 17, *Shiden*, 2: 100.

- 29 Kōzan Tetsuma, *Taikyūji yuriki* (1833), in ZSZ, vol. 10, *Jishi*, 135–136. This story concerns the founding of Taikyūji (Tottori Prefecture) in 1356.
- 30 Cf Kelsey, 1981: 109.
- 31 Meikyoku Sokushō, *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō* (1751), in SZ, vol. 17, 270b.
- 32 ‘*Gennō Zenjiden*’, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi and Hanawa Tadatomi (reprinted Tōkyō: Keizai Zasshisha, 1902), 9: 329.
- 33 Sakuchi Ryūyū, ‘Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō no juyō’, *Shūgaku kenkyū* 16 (1974): 39.
- 34 Hirose, ‘*Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin’atsu*’, 235.
- 35 *Rentōroku*, fasc. 5, in SZ, vol. 16, *Shiden* 1: 324.
- 36 See Ishikawa Rikizan, ‘Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron’, part 6, *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 16 (1985): 138–140.
- 37 *Ryūten jukai kirikami*, transmitted 1595:12:13 by Hanshitsu Ryōei, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, 1985: 136–137.
- 38 *Ryūten no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, reprinted in Ishikawa Rikizan, ‘Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami’, part 2: 148. In this document, there are three different sections titled ‘*Ryūten no san*’, each of which examines this concept from a different perspective.
- 39 Bernard Faure, ‘Space and Place in Chinese Religious Traditions’, *History of Religions* 26/4 (May 1987): 337–356. See also his *Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 1991: 68–69.
- 40 Faure, 1987: 343–346. To contrast Chinese and Japanese versions of this story, see *Wudeng huiyuan* (1253), fasc. 2, biography of Pozao Duo, reprinted in *Wudeng huiyuan*, ed. Su Yanlei, *Zhongguo Fojiao Dianji Xuankan* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), 1: 76–77; and Mujū Dōgyō, *Shasekishū* (1283), section 1, trans. Robert E. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985): 93–94. Although Mujū’s stories are mostly nonsectarian, it is significant to note that he was a Zen monk.
- 41 Mangan Shibān, *Enpō dentōroku* (1678), fasc. 15, in *Dai Nippon bukkyō zensho*, 108: 212a.
- 42 Dōryō is enshrined at two principle sites within the grounds of Saijōji: the innermost shrine (*Oku no in*) at the top of the mountain presents Dōryō in his Buddhist form of an Eleven-Headed Kannon, while the image hall (*Goshinden*) presents his Japanese form.
- 43 Even the same deity functions differently according to who performs the worship. The King and Queen Dragons at Zenpōji (Yamagata Prefecture), another training centre for Sōtō Zen monks, provide a clear example of this social differentiation. Since receiving Zen ordinations at the hands of Gasan Jōseki (1276–1366) these Dragon deities have become regionally powerful sea gods for fishermen in the North China sea and important rain gods for farmers working the inland valleys.

HOW DŌSHŌ'S MEDICINE SAVED DŌGEN

Medicine, Dōshōan and Edo-period
Dōgen biographies

Duncan Ryūken Williams

Gedokuen: Dōshōan's 'Poison-Dissolving' Medicine

Dōgen fell gravely ill on his way back from China, but had no medicines which could be of use. Suddenly, an immortal appeared and gave Dōgen a herbal pill after which he immediately became better. The master asked this deity to reveal its identity. The mysterious figure replied, 'I am the Japanese *kami* Inari' and disappeared. The medicine became known as *Gedokugan*, which has been ever since a part of the Dōshō family heritage. [...]

Dōgen then told Dōshō that since this rare and wondrous medicine had been bestowed on him by a true *kami* for the protection of the great Dharma, this medicine of many benefits should be distributed to temples so that they might spread the Dharma lineage.

(*Teiho Kenzeiki*, 1753)

This account, of the Zen master Dōgen falling gravely ill in China, can be found in Menzan Zuihō's well-known edition of Dōgen's biography, the *Teiho Eihei kaisan gyōjō Kenzeiki*, also known more simply as the *Teiho Kenzeiki*.¹ According to a more detailed version found in the *Dōshōan keifu*,² upon which Menzan bases his account, Dōgen was lying on the ground, his 'body and mind about to leave him' when an old white-haired woman appeared out of thin air and offered a herbal pill to Dōgen's companion, Dōshō.³

Taking the pill from Dōshō, the Zen master recovered almost immediately. Seeing Dōgen come back from the brink of death, Dōshō (or Dōgen according to a variant version) pleaded with this mysterious person to reveal who she was and what the formula for making this pill was. She disappeared just as quickly as she had appeared, but not before uttering the formula for the medicine and that she was the Japanese deity Inari in disguise. We are also told that this herbal pill – *Gedokugan* or otherwise known as *Gedokuen* or more formally as the *Shinsen Gedoku Manbyōen*⁴ – later became a part of Dōshō's family heritage and that it was to become instrumental in the spread of the Sōtō school.

What kind of medicine was *Gedokuen*?⁵ Who was the figure Dōshō? In what period and capacity did this medicine assist in the spread of the Sōtō school? These are some of the questions raised by the text. Upon Dōshō's return to Kyoto, his family – which later came to be known as Dōshōan – began to run a pharmacy which prepared and dispensed Chinese herbal medicines. Among the medicines produced at Dōshōan, its most renown herb was the one that purportedly saved Dōgen's life, an all-purpose pill called *Gedokuen* (literally 'poison-dissolving round (pill)'). This was what Dōgen called the 'rare and wondrous medicine' that ought to be distributed to Sōtō Zen temples throughout Japan. While I have argued elsewhere of the intricate connection between Buddhism and the production of medicine in the Edo period,⁶ the link between the sale of medicine and the spread of the Sōtō Zen tradition is especially clear in the case of *Gedokuen*. This section of the chapter explores the nature of this 'Zen medicine', the illnesses purportedly cured by it, and its distribution network within Sōtō Zen temples.

Gedokuen can be broadly classified as a *manbyōyaku* (all-purpose medicine, or literally 'medicine [to cure] the ten thousand illnesses'). Unlike most Chinese herbal medicines, which targeted particular ailments or regions of the body, the class of medicines known as *manbyōyaku* was said to effect cures for any ailment if administered properly. The claims of universal efficacy often meant that these extraordinary medicines were tied to the miraculous powers of Buddhist, Taoist, or Shintō deities or saints. *Gedokuen* was no different. The Japanese deity Inari appears miraculously to bestow the medicine and the formula for the medicine on Kinoshita Dōshō. The name of the medicine itself also suggests a strong connection to Buddhism. The Chinese character for poison (*doku*) used in *Gedokuen* is the same one used to express the three poisons

(*sandoku*) of covetousness, anger, and delusion that characterize the *samsaric* world.⁷ The medicine dissolves the poisons that afflict the physical body to effect a cure, but also serves as an antidote to the larger human predicament of being afflicted with the three poisons that hinder liberation. Additionally, an ironic aspect of the theme of poison recently emerged when it was revealed that the main ingredient of *Gedokuen* was the bulb of the *Lycoris radiata* herb (*higanbana no kyūkon*).⁸ In traditional Chinese medicine, this herb or flower was used mainly for treating phlegm and inducing vomit, but had often been shunned because of its classification as a poison. It was in fact outlawed by the new Japanese drug-control laws implemented after the Second World War. *Gedokuen* might have been a very concrete expression of the Zen maxim of poisons dissolving poisons.

The motif of medical formulas being given during miraculous appearances or in dreams to priests and other faithful believers by Buddhist deities and saints is a long-standing one in the history of sacred medicines. Dreams and miracles are realms of the extraordinary where new formulas and medicines can be imagined. One of the most famous of these ‘Buddhist medicines’ selling in the city of Edo was *Kintaien*, another *manbyōyaku*. The formula for this sacred medicine came to a Sōtō-turned-Ōbaku Zen monk, Ryōō, in a dream in which Gyōtei, the founder of Hizen Kōfukuji, appeared with a medicine pouch. During his days as a novice, Ryōō had undergone a very severe regimen of meditation and austerities with the result that he was almost always in pain. It was on one particularly painful night when Gyōtei instructed Ryōō in a dream on how to make *Kintaien*, the medicine in the pouch. The medicine apparently alleviated Ryōō’s pain and inspired the monk to open what would become one of Edo’s most famous pharmacies called Kangakuya, located in the Ueno Ikenohata Nakamichi district.⁹

Suzuki Akira has noted the explosion in new medicines, especially during the early Edo period, inspired by visions of deities such as Yakushi, Jizō, or Kannon who would reveal in dreams, formulas for the mixing of herbal medicines. It was precisely during this period that one also sees mass marketing measures to promote the mysterious origins and efficacy of these Buddhist medicines.¹⁰ Regardless of whether the formulas to Ryōō’s *Kintaien* or Dōshō’s *Gedokuen* actually appeared to them in dreams or not, the claim of the medicine’s sacred origins meant that these new medicines could suddenly appear without having

had the authorization of the orthodox medical establishment because dreams and visions of deities could not be verified.

Government regulations on the production and distribution of medicine also supported the emergence of such sacred medicines. For example, during the Genroku period, the Edo *bakufu* issued new laws that took away exclusive rights to the production and distribution of medicine from clan and *bakufu* doctors.¹¹ This resulted in a diffusion of power to produce and distribute medicine, so that pharmacies like Dōshōan took full advantage of these new laws. The result of this law can be most clearly seen in the dramatic growth of *kigusuriya* (pharmacies) in the wholesale districts in both Edo and Osaka.¹² In both Osaka and Edo, these new venues for the sale of medicine clustered together providing an intensely competitive market for new medicines and specialty medicines.

It was not only these pharmacies that provided new opportunities for the production and distribution of new types and increased volume of medicine. Buddhist temples and its priesthood did not stand idle in the midst of a growing market for medicines. Buddhist temples themselves became sites for the production and distribution of Buddhist-inspired medicines. Patients from around the country would make trips to temples and hospices run by temples that were known for curing specific ailments such as hemorrhoids at the Nichiren temple Honshōji in Edo or love sickness at Kongōshōji, a Shingon temple near Ise.¹³ Conversely, travelling Buddhist priests such as the Kōya *hijiri*, affiliated with the Shingon Mt. Kōya, went out from their temples to make their rounds of village households much like the well-known travelling salesmen (*gyōshōnin* or *yashi*) such as the *Toyama no gyōshōnin*.¹⁴ Carrying talismans and the stomach medicine, *daranisuke*,¹⁵ from Mt. Kōya, by the mid-Edo period, Kōya *hijiri*, for example, developed a medicine-distribution network that spanned as far away as Sagami province (present-day Kanagawa Prefecture).¹⁶

While *bakufu* officials opened up the rights to produce and distribute medicines, they also tried to control and regulate medicine by passing new laws prohibiting *dokuyaku* (poisonous medicine) and *niseyaku* (imitation medicine). The sale of Buddhist-inspired medicines, such as *Gedokuen*, also benefited from these regulations because as long as the medicines didn't actually poison anyone, these laws could not question a medicine's efficacy (especially if some form of faith in a deity was involved) and yet would guarantee a temple or a pharmacy such as Dōshōan its patent on the medicine. Indeed, as we shall discuss below, the

popularity of *Gedokuen* rose to such an extent that imitators sprung up all over Japan. Fortunately for Dōshōan, the Sōtō Zen headquarter temple of Eiheiiji, enlisting the *bakufu*'s support, attempted to strictly enforce these *niseyaku* laws.

Administering the sacred pill

What kind of medicine was *Gedokuen* that it invited imitators and had such powerful backers? What kind of ailments was this medicine purportedly able to cure? While *Gedokuen* was considered a *manbyōyaku* and its sacred origins the source of its efficacy, there were in fact very specific instructions on how to administer the herb for different kinds of ailments. Rather than simply a medicine taken on faith, this suggests that *Gedokuen* was also understood to be a part of a broader range of Chinese herbal medicines that needed some directives on how to take it.

A document sent from Dōshōan to Ryūsanji, a Sōtō Zen temple in Sagami province – the *Shinsen Gedoku Manbyōen Fukuyō no Koto*¹⁷ – gives us an understanding of how this medicine was prepared and administered. This document contains instructions on how to prepare *Gedokuen* to treat a wide variety of illnesses. Most entries describe ways to treat fairly routine types of ailments such as headaches, faintness, scurvy, and gonorrhea, although a couple of more serious, life-threatening diseases like malaria and smallpox are also mentioned. Typical entries include the following:

- For fatigue, take 1 tablet¹⁸ of the *Gedoku*¹⁹ and mix it with 1 *bu*²⁰ of the *Nanten* leaf, 1 *bu* of aged tea leaves, 1 *bu* of incense, and a pinch of salt. For stomach aches, chest pains, constipation, or other stomach-related discomfort, use the same formula as above, but also add 5 *bu* of the herb *kumatsuzura*.²¹
- For influenza-related headaches, coughs, and phlegm, a mixture of 8 *bu* of *Gedoku* along with 1 pill-size portion of ground beefsteak plant, 1 *bu* of dried orange peel, 2 *bu* of green tree bark, 1 slice of the white root of a scallion, and 3 ground ginger roots should be prepared. This same preparation should be taken by those infected during mid-winter cold epidemics or those with high fevers resulting from exposure to the wind.
- For regular phlegm, 1 tablet of *Gedoku* should be taken mixed with the sap from 8 *bu* of ginger roots.

- For gonorrhoea, take 5 tablets of *Gedoku* and mix it in a large vat of water with a sprig of the *ikoko* tree cut 30 times, 10 loquat leaves without the stems, 2 *bu* of corn, and 3 *bu* of licorice.

With these routine ailments, the most common form of administering *Gedokuen* is to combine it in a ground form with ingredients for other Chinese herbal medicines and to drink it down with water, tea, or *sake*. The second main way of administering *Gedokuen* is as a salve that is rubbed onto the afflicted area of the body. For example, the entry under 'chest worms' which could refer to a range of lung ailments, the instructions are, 'For chest worms, 1 tablet of *Gedoku* should be mixed into water that has been slightly heated with steel and imbibed. In addition, a salve made from the same amount of *Gedoku* with mustard should be applied to the affected area.'

The final section of this instruction manual lists specialized treatments for women and also for livestock. Menopause, after-birth pains, menstrual cramps, and leucorrhoea have separate entries as 'women's illnesses'. Obviously directed toward owners of livestock, treatments for horses, cows, and birds using this miraculous medicine are also outlined. For example, 'For a cow unable to urinate, one can put the *Gedoku* tablet directly in its anus or crush the pills into a powder, dissolve it in water, and make the cow drink it. If neither of these two methods work, one should mix 5 tablets with ground *miso* paste and give it to the cow, which will then mysteriously recover.' *Gedokuen*, then, was not only advertised as an all-purpose medicine in terms of the illnesses it could cure, but a medicine that worked with all types of people and even, horses, cows, and other livestock. This multi-purpose aspect to the medicine helped to cement ties between the temples which sold them and the consumers, who were Sōtō Zen parishioners.

Gedokuen was a herbal medicine with shared qualities with other Chinese herbs like the specificity of its administration for different ailments. It was unique in that it was an all-purpose sacred medicine that could purportedly cure anything from the common cold to malaria. However, why was such a medicine specifically linked to the Sōtō Zen sect? The story cited at the beginning of Dōgen and Dōshō receiving *Gedokuen* from the Japanese deity, Inari, obviously holds the key to this question. However, this is not because the account is historically accurate, but because it is likely to be a late invention.

Legends of Dōgen, Dōshō, and *Gedokuen*

The biography of Dōgen in which this account is found is the *Kenzeiki*, a text compiled by the fourteenth-generation abbot of Eihei-ji, Kenzei (1415–1474). Although the text was originally titled *Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjōki*, as handcopies after Kenzei's death proliferated, it simply became known as 'The Record of Kenzei' or *Kenzeiki*.²² There are a number of extant handcopied versions, but the story about Dōshō and the medicine *Gedokuen* comes from the first printed edition of the text, the *Teiho Kenzeiki* (or formally the *Teiho Eihei kaisan gyōjō Kenzeiki*) by Menzan Zuihō in Hōreki 3 (1753) which went on to eclipse all the handwritten versions.²³ Kawamura Kōdō, in his classic study on the *Kenzeiki*, includes six versions of the text (handcopied editions – Minshū/1538, Zuichō/1589, Empō/1680, Monsu/1694, Gemmon/1738 – and the printed edition, the Teiho/1753) in columns for comparison. What is striking here is that none of the handwritten versions include the story about Dōshō and the medicine.²⁴ Only the Teiho version of the *Kenzeiki*, published roughly three hundred years after the original text, includes this story.

The omission of such an important incident – Dōgen's salvation from death by a miraculous medicine – by the compilers of the earlier biographies is simply not comprehensible when we think of the detailed accountings of more minor incidents. But then how and why did Menzan come to include this story? The answer comes in the text itself immediately following the story where Menzan includes a lengthy explanation of the lineage of Dōshō and how he came to accompany Dōgen to China. He clearly cites his source for this information: the *Dōshōan keifu* – the family genealogy of Dōshōan – by Dōshōan Bokujun (d. 1690), the nineteenth-generation head of the family. Indeed, this family genealogy is the earliest reference we have to Dōshō's (1172–1248)²⁵ connection with Dōgen. And since there is no evidence of the sale of the medicine to any Sōtō Zen temples before 1600, though we cannot completely discount the existence of *Gedokuen* in the medieval period, it is safe to assume that the connection between this medicine and Dōgen or the Sōtō school is an invention of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Bokujun was creating a genealogy for his family, like many others in this period, that legitimized not only his family's heritage by tying their lineage to the powerful Fujiwara, but their medicine to a sacred source, both

Dōgen and Inari. By claiming that Dōgen instructed Dōshōan's founder to 'distribute this medicine of many benefits to our [Sōtō Zen] temples so that they may spread the Dharma lineage', Bokujun clearly wanted to provide a legitimate basis for selling their medicine to Sōtō temples, particularly Eihei-ji.

In fact, in biographies of Dōgen following Bokujun's *Dōshōan keifu*, not only was the medicine incident recorded, it became a major part of Dōgen's life. For example, in the *Echizen no kuni Eihei-ji kaisanki* of Genroku 2 (1689),²⁶ which was a part of a new genre of popular literature and drama called *sekkyōbushi* and *gidayūjōruri* that recounted Dōgen and other sect founders' lives through pictures and performance, the story of Dōshō's travels with Dōgen in China is virtually the central aspect. The playwright, Yūki Magozaburō, embellished Dōshō's life with details found nowhere else to satisfy the needs of its apparent sponsor, Dōshōan, who would most likely have advertised *Gedokuen* during the breaks between the acts.²⁷ These details include the first two acts of the drama which recounts how the young Dōgen was nearly assassinated by Kinoshita Shōkan, Dōshō's father and a servant to Dōgen's evil stepmother who wanted to eliminate him as a competitor for the position of family head. Dōshō is also tied to Dōgen in the second act in which the two enter Mt. Hiei together to pursue the Buddhist path, troubled by the ways of the world, after this incident. Training together in China, they have amazing adventures in Act four where they receive teachings on Zen meditation from Bodhidharma himself (in an old man's disguise) who later saves them from a dangerous tiger by turning into a serpent.

All of these stories in this puppet play are, of course, not found in any earlier Dōgen biographies. Through the invention of new stories about Dōgen, the playwright made the play more appealing to a general audience. The emphasis on the legendary powers of Dōgen that would appeal to a non-literate audience reached its peak a hundred years later with the commissioning of numerous Dōgen *eden* or picture scrolls that Tsutsumi has argued was necessary to counter the enormously popular scrolls of Shinran and the other sect founders.²⁸ But in the case of the play, it was not only Dōgen who was made more appealing, but Dōshō's role in the life of the Sōtō Zen sect's founder was also upgraded.

Another key feature of this play is, in fact, the medicine *Gedokuen*, which is given to a sick Dōshō (rather than Dōgen as in the original) by a 'daughter of the dragon king' (*ryūō no musume*)

after Dōgen gives her the precepts (*kechimyaku o sazukeru*).²⁹ Not only is *Gedokuen* a part of their Chinese adventures, but in Act five, the two are instructed by the emperor upon their return to Japan to help the poor and sick people of Kyoto by distributing their miraculous medicine. This section of the play ends ironically when one of the first poor, ill person they help recover with the *Gedokuen* (someone who is no longer able to walk) is Dōgen's stepmother who had fallen destitute after her failed assassination attempt.

Although *Gedokuen* appears to have had its roots in the early medieval period according to these legends found in the *Dōshōan keifu* (1639),³⁰ the *Echizen no kuni Eiheiiji kaisanki* (1689), and the *Teiho Kenzeiki* (1753), since neither the medicine story nor sales records of *Gedokuen* appear prior to 1600, this medicine is best thought of as an Edo-period 'Buddhist medicine'. Because of the explosion of new medicines in the early Edo period, it is not surprising that Dōshōan – which may have produced this herb from the medieval period – would want to market the uniqueness of their medicine by tying it to a sacred being (Inari or the daughter of the dragon king) and connect to it a sales base (Sōtō temples).

Purple robes and herbal pills

The manner in which Dōshōan established its sales base – we should recall that by the early 1700s the Sōtō school included over 17,500 temples nationwide – was not only to promote the story of the origins of the medicine, but through using its unique position as the mediating institution between the Sōtō sect and the Kyoto-based imperial household.³¹ Although Dōshōan functioned as a pharmacy, it is perhaps better known through the research of Tamamuro Fumio and Hirose Ryōkō as the administrative go-between for the two headquarter temples of the Sōtō sect (Eiheiiji and Sōjiji) and the imperial household in Kyoto.³² The main reason the Sōtō Zen headquarter temples needed a connection to the imperial house was that those who became abbots of either headquarter temples required a Zen master name (*zenjigo*) and a purple monastic surplice (*shie* or *murasaki no koromo*), which could only be awarded by the imperial house.³³ Indeed, whether one was the actual day-to-day abbot of the headquarters or simply a short-term – often one day – abbot under a system called *zuisse*, one could not officially move up in the Sōtō Zen hierarchy without imperial sanction. Though one could never directly petition the

imperial house, the headquarter temples of other sects dealt directly with the house called the Tensō or the Kajūji, which were intermediaries for all requests to the imperial household. But in the case of Sōtō Zen, one further buffer existed – namely Dōshōan.

Japanese scholars researching Dōshōan, including Tamamuro Fumio, Hirose Ryōkō and Kumagai Chūkō, have not yet determined why and from when Dōshōan held this special position in relation to the imperial household.³⁴ Although we have evidence that the head of Dōshōan, because of the family's expertise in medicine, could use the imperially-sanctioned title of 'Hōgen' by the late medieval period – a rank one below the highest 'Hōin' given to great doctors, craftsmen, and artists – this connection is not sufficiently significant to have allowed it to serve as Sōtō sect's connection to the imperial house.³⁵ Whatever the reason for Dōshōan's elevation to this position, which can only be speculative until new documents are discovered, we have clear evidence that all abbots of Eiheiji and Sōjiji go through Dōshōan for promotion to their ranks after Kan'ei 11 (1634).³⁶ Dōshōan would not only handle all the submission of documents, but instruct the Zen abbots on proper etiquette when they visited the imperial palace and provided them with lodging during their stay in Kyoto. For these services, Dōshōan received payment (*reikin*) from the abbots, a cut of the total paid to the imperial household. Though the amount increased over time, Dōshōan's fees were approximately 200 pieces of gold for abbots and 100 pieces of silver for *zuisse* abbots.³⁷ Although the number of actual abbots of Eiheiji and Sōjiji obviously could not exceed the number who actually served, because *zuisse* abbots never really served as abbots, but simply received the title 'former abbot of Eiheiji (or Sōjiji)', the number of these monks visiting Dōshōan grew exponentially throughout the Edo period. If we combine the total number of *zuisse* abbots – from Eiheiji (an average of 96 monks per year) and from Sōjiji (105 monks)³⁸ – Dōshōan would be lodging and receiving payments from roughly 200 monks per year. It was to these monks and their temples that Dōshōan sold and/or presented as gifts, the herbal medicine *Gedokuen*.

For instance, in the case of actual abbots of Eiheiji, the head of Dōshōan would present 100 pills of *Gedokuen* as a 'going-away gift' (*osembetsu*) to the new Zen master and 50 pills to the head supervising monk.³⁹ As for *zuisse* abbots, a document called a *Kōkatsuchō* – an inventory which lists the various items in each temple building compiled by an outgoing abbot to document

nothing had been improperly removed before a new abbot is to be installed – from Kenkon'in Temple, suggests how many *Gedokuen* pills they may have each received. This mid-size temple in present-day Aichi Prefecture, which was the family temple for the *daimyō* (the Mizuno family), sent its abbots to Kyoto for promotion and brought back *Gedokuen* to the Aichi area. In the temple inventory dated Hōreki 9 (1759), which was passed down from abbot to abbot every three years,⁴⁰ under the medicinal cauldron section of the kitchen entry, there is a passage which reads 'it has been the custom since the abbotship of Taibi to pass down 50 *Gedokugan* pills from one abbot to the next'.⁴¹ One can at least speculate, then, that while the abbot of Eiheiji or Sōjiji may have received 100 pills for their status and the amount of money they paid to Dōshōan, lower-ranking temples may have received roughly half that amount of medicine. Putting aside the question of the exact number of pills distributed, using their unique position as the intermediary to the imperial household, Dōshōan was able to promote and sell their medicine not only to the headquarter temples, but all mid-size temples big enough that their abbots would have the prestige of going to Kyoto for promotion.

Direct marketing and counterfeit pills

Selling and promoting *Gedokuen* while Sōtō Zen abbots were in Kyoto was one sales strategy for Dōshōan, but by the mid-1700s, we have evidence that Dōshōan was selling directly to temples, even the most low-ranking temples called *heisōchi*, abbots of which did not even have to go to the training monasteries, let alone be in a position to receive imperial titles. For example, a mid-size temple such as Ganshōin Temple, a branch of Kichijōji Temple in the same Gosen City (Niigata Prefecture), recorded in its *Sōtōshū Ganshōin shoji okite* (Tenpō 12/1841) the need for abbots to prepare 250 *mon* to be paid in cash for *Gedokuen* pills every year.⁴² Direct sales in central Japan, for instance, were handled through Kasuisai Temple, one of the four administrative temples dealing with *bakufu* directives in the Kantō region.⁴³ A contract in the 'Kasuisai monjo' dated Enkyō 3 (1746), states that the previous abbot had given permission to Dōshōan to sell the medicine to all branch temples of Kasuisai including its *heisōchi* temples. The document further informs all branch temples in the Suruga, Tōtomi, Mikawa regions that while Dōshōan previously needed Kasuisai's permission every seven years to sell *Gedokuen*, henceforth their contract to sell

medicine directly to temples would be valid for ten years.⁴⁴ What this contract indicates is that gradually Dōshōan was able to sell their medicine with greater autonomy to an ever expanding market, which included even the lowest-level temples.

Another way to gauge the popularity and spread of the medicine is to track incidents of the sale of imitation (*nise*) *Gedokuen*. As the medicine's popularity grew, it invited a corresponding growth in the sale of imitation brands or unlicensed sales of what were purportedly *Gedokuen*. Although we cannot know if all incidents of illegal sales were noted without exception, among Dōshōan's extant documents, there are nearly thirty recorded incidents (see Table 1) between Keichō 12 (1607) and Shōtoku 4 (1714). Letters sent to Dōshōan accusing certain pharmacists or medicine-hawkers of illegal behaviour or signed confessions promising never to sell imitation *Gedokuen* are among the extant documents. These incidents involve either the unauthorized sale of *Gedokuen* (i.e. without Dōshōan's permission), the production and sale of imitation *Gedokuen*, or the sale of medicine that used names strikingly similar to *Gedokuen* which were deemed violations of a kind of patent law. Medical patent law violations took place especially if the medicine was popular, a good example being the sale of the well-known medicine 'Akadama Jinkyōgan' as 'Enmei Jinkyōgan' or 'Jinrikigan' by unauthorized shops during the late eighteenth century.⁴⁵

An unusual document, the Kanbun 3 (1663) *Dōshōan onkerai no mono kishōmon*, is a contract signed by 156 employees at Dōshōan solemnly swearing not to produce imitation *Gedokuen* or assist in unauthorized sales. As was common with contracts from the mid-Kamakura period onward, each employee signed their names on the back side of a special contract document called a *goō hōin* (Cow-Gall Treasure-Stamp). Originally, the 'goō' referred to a sacred stamp or design made from ink that was mixed with a cow's gall stones and liver, which were themselves classified as 'gedokuyaku' (poison-removers) in Chinese herbal medicine. This special ink was used to print talismans from as early as the late Heian period, which protected against epidemics and bad harvests, issued by a number of well-known shrines and temples each with their own design (Mt. Kumano – the three-legged crow; Tōdaiji and Tōji – a snake or dragon; Hachiman Shrine – a dove; Mt. Hiko – an eagle; and Hasedera – a cow). However, by the mid-Kamakura (the earliest extant example from Tōdaiji in 1266) in addition to their talismanic value, *goō hōin* came to be used as sacred documents

Table 1 Incidents of counterfeit *Gedokuen* sales in the early modern period

<i>Year</i>	<i>Seller of fake Gedokuen</i>	<i>Accuser</i>	<i>Region of sales</i>
Keichō 12 (1607)	Hōshōin, Hōjō, Chūjō (priest)	Jim'emom and Tōgorō	near Kyoto
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Sōi and his daughter	Shōzaemon and 35 others	Kyoto, Tentō no machi
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Sōji and his son, Kanzaburō	Shimano and 25 others	Kyoto, Furo no Zushi-machi
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Pharmacist Myōkan and 6 others	none (changed name to Manbyō'en)	Kyoto, Ōkitanokōji Higashichō
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Seizaemon	none (self-confession)	Kyoto, Gojō Daikokuchō
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Dōsen of Bizenya	Jimbei	Nagano, Kawanakajima
Kan'ei 17 (1640)	Seibei and Nimbei	Kanesaburō	Nagano, Matsushiro
Manji 2 (1659)	Sōshun	Jim'emom and 4 others	n/a
Kanbun 5 (1665)	Yasuke	Ryūsen'in	Jōshū-Gunma-Koizumimura
Kanbun 5 (1665)	Yasuke	Keirinji	Jōshū-Gunma-Yabamura
Kanbun 5 (1665)	Yasuke	Ryūkōin	Yashū-Tochigi-Hanedamura
Kanbun 9 (1669)	Genzō	Yō'an, Chō'emom	Kyoto, Kuromondōri Danjōchō
Kanbun 9 (1669)	Genzō	Dōshōan Kō'i	Kyoto, Kuromondōri
Kanbun 9 (1669)	Takasaki shirōbei	Dōshōan Kōjun	n/a
Jōkyō 2 (1685)	Kyūbei	letter to court regarding lawsuit	Shibaimachi
Jōkyō 5 (1688)	n/a	Dōshōan Yamauchi Seibei	Osaka
Genroku 9 (1696)	Dōshō/Dōkatsu	Hashimoto Genshō	n/a
Shōroku 4 (1714)	Kurōbei and 1 other	none (self-confession)	n/a
n/a	n/a	Soneiji Temmin	n/a
n/a	Murata Heiemon, Ichijihachiemon	Dōshōan Teijun	n/a
n/a	n/a	Dōshōan	Edo
n/a	n/a	Chōenji	n/a
n/a	Tokuzaemon	Ni'emom and Mata'emom	Kyoto, Tentō no machi
n/a	Echiri and Yoemon	none (self-confession)	Izu
n/a	n/a	Seishōji Jyotei	n/a
n/a	Nakamura Genbei	Seigenji Chigai	n/a
n/a	Genbei	Daichūji Kōzan	n/a
n/a	Yasuke	Ryūshinji	Sano Mentorimura
n/a	n/a	Seishōji Nyoshū	n/a
n/a	n/a	Takamise Sōbei	n/a

upon which one swore allegiance to a feudal lord, promised not to betray one's co-conspirators in a peasant uprising (*hyakushō ikki*), and more generally made contractual agreements that if broken would result in illness, death, or rebirth in hell.⁴⁶

The *Dōshōan onkerai no mono kishōmon* is one such document, signed on the reverse of a *goō hōin* from Kumano (the most common variety with a crow design) by employees of Dōshōan, demonstrating their seriousness by adding their fingerprints stamped with their own blood. They took an oath not to participate in unauthorized manufacturing or sales of *Gedokuen* with Bonten, Taishaku, Shidai tennō, and all the other *kami* of Japan⁴⁷ as their witness. Because these employee knew the formula for *Gedokuen* and had the trust of the household to sell the medicine, they also pledged to never reveal the secret formula, to uphold high business standards such as never to overcharge, or to refrain from using the profits for their personal affairs such as spending Dōshōan money on prostitutes. That such measures were made so explicit probably meant that prior to 1663, some employees did make unauthorized *Gedokuen* sales, shared the formula with a competitor, or spent profits on prostitutes. But the 156 employees who signed this document solemnly swore that if they ever broke these regulations, they would be severely punished by all the *kami* in Japan, the most common result being to fall terribly ill or to go to hell in the afterlife.

Not surprising, given Dōshōan's location, Kyoto-based pharmacists and salespeople were the most frequent outside offenders. However, from as early as Kan'ei 17 (1640), imitation *Gedokuen* was being sold as far away as Shinshū province (present-day Nagano Prefecture), and in Kanbun 5 (1665), there were three incidents in the Jōshū and Yashū provinces (present-day Gunma and Tochigi Prefectures). These incidents seem to have been the work of one individual, Yasuke. According to letters from temple informants, Yasuke visited temples posing as a pharmacist from Dōshōan. He not only charged the temples for previous deliveries of the medicine by the legitimate Dōshōan representative in the region, but said them defective or 'fake' *Gedokuen* and charged them upfront. The reports of counterfeit sales in Kyoto seem to have been made by members or informants of the Dōshōan household, while local Sōtō Zen temples such as Keirinji, Ryūsen'in and Ryūkō'in were the primary informants in the Jōshū and Yashū cases. Whether it be Dōshōan employees, Sōtō temples selling the medicine, or other authorized distributors of *Gedokuen*, the

primary interest of these parties was to stop unauthorized sales which would cut into their profit margin. As mentioned above, the pill was probably sold for a relatively high price, cheaper imitations would not only damage sales receipts, but the reputation of Dōshōan would also be tainted if the medicine was of inferior quality or if the household could not regulate the distribution licensing.

Dōshōan did not deal with offenders independently, but with the institutional and legal authority of Eiheiji, and at times, even with the help of the government's office of shrine and temples. Eiheiji abbots signed contracts with Dōshōan guaranteeing the household the exclusive rights for both lodging Sōtō abbots in Kyoto and the sale of medicine to Sōtō Zen temples.⁴⁸ With such contracts in hand, Dōshōan not only had the ability to sell directly to temples, but had Eiheiji's institutional backing should any temple be associated with unauthorized sales. Furthermore, although Dōshōan was neither a shrine nor a temple, when the resolution of an incident of counterfeit medicine sales could not be resolved between the household and the offending party, the government's office of shrine and temples in Edo was informed and their legal authority brought to bear. For example, in 1685, a pharmacist, Kyūbei, was taken to the Edo 'supreme court' for his part in the production of fake *Gedokuen*. By Shōtoku 4 (1714), a number of incidents of unauthorized sales had also taken place in the cities of Osaka and Edo, but the total number of incidents started tapering off, suggesting that Dōshōan's efforts to regulate the sale of *Gedokuen* through the issuance of licences, informants in Kyoto and local temples, and the legal backing of Eiheiji and the government's office of shrine and temples, began to have some effect. Offenders are made to write official 'letters of apology' (*wabishōmon*), which like many such Edo-period letters,⁴⁹ outline the offence, deliver sincere apologies, and pledge never to commit such acts again. That these offenders were caught and that the numbers went down was clearly related to the strengthening of the head temple-branch temple system and the powers of the government and the head temples to exercise control and implement policies that became apparent by the early to mid-1700s.

Selling medicine, strengthening the sect

The period of a little over a hundred years when cheap imitation *Gedokuen* were increasingly sold in a growing number of provinces

probably represents the most dynamic growth phase of the medicine. The market for the sale of *Gedokuen* seems to have stabilized by the mid-1700s by which point Dōshōan sold direct to even the lowest-ranking temples, as we saw above with the Kasuisai example, and competitors for medicine sales within the Sōtō sect were virtually eliminated.

With the dawn of the Meiji period and the transfer of the imperial household to the new capital of Tokyo, Dōshōan's traditional function as a mediator between the imperial house and the Sōtō sect disappeared. According to the March Meiji 13 (1880) entry in the *Eiheiji nenpyō*, however, there was a request from Dōshōan Katsujun (the 27th generation head) for permission to continue selling *Gedokuen* to Sōtō Zen temples as such sales were the only economic basis left for Dōshōan.⁵⁰ However, the forces of modernity and a series of unfortunate mishaps spelled the doom of *Gedokuen*. First, Katsujun passed away the same year he sent in the request to Eiheiji. And although permission was granted, his two sons Ryūjū and Ryūki both died in a steamship accident while on their way to Kyūshū to promote *Gedokuen*. The household, near bankruptcy, sold most of their land – a portion of which was bought by Eiheiji – and somehow managed to continue the production of the medicine until the Second World War when the supply of the ingredients came to a halt. As mentioned above, the new post-war drug-control laws banned the main ingredient of *Gedokuen* – the bulb of the *Lycoris radiata* herb (*higanbana no kyūkon*) – which effectively put a complete end to the production of what had once been a highly popular Buddhist medicine.⁵¹

From Dōshōan, this medicine, which had gained sufficient popularity that it invited imitators, was distributed to Sōtō Zen temples throughout Japan. The penetration of this huge market was based on the legend of the ill Dōgen's miraculous recovery, the promotion of *Gedokuen* in Kyoto when abbots lodged at Dōshōan, and direct sales to temples by the pharmacy. Above all, the skilful use of the Sōtō Zen head temple–branch temple system by both Dōshōan and the headquarter temples was a major factor in the medicine's success. By selling medicine, the sect was strengthened. Dōshōan benefited tremendously by its connection to Sōtō Zen, but by the same token, the Sōtō school also benefited from having a popular herbal pill linked to their not-so-popular founder, helping them go about the work of healing the ten thousand afflictions, the work of Buddhism.

Notes

- 1 The *Teiho kenzeiki* was compiled by Menzan Zuihō in Hōreki 3 (1753) as an annotated edition of Dōgen's biography by Kenzei, the fourteenth abbot of Eihei-ji. The reliability of this text is discussed below.
- 2 The *Dōshōan keifu* – the family genealogy of Dōshōan – account by Bokujun (1595–1670), the nineteenth-generation head of Dōshōan, can be found in several variant versions, though the source text found among the *Dōshōan monjo* at Eihei-ji, is only available in manuscript form. Menzan quotes from the text, but incorrectly identifies it as the *Dōshōan keifu ki*. One major variant is the *Dōshōan gansoden* (The Legend of the Founder of Dōshōan), a printed version which can be found in the *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 115. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1911–1922.
- 3 The most well-known depiction appears in the *Teiho kenzeiki zue*, a version of the *Kenzeiki* with illustrations that was re-edited in Kyōwa 2 (1802), but not available until Bunka 14 (1817). It can be found in SZ, *Shiden* 2. Tsutsumi argues that with the illustrations, a much wider audience could become familiar with Dōgen's biography. On the history of the *Teiho kenzeiki zue*, see Tsutsumi Kunihiko, 'Dōgen eden no seiritsu', In *Shūso kōsōeden (etoki) shū*, Watanabe Shōgo and Masahiko Hayashi, eds. (Tokyo: Denshō bungaku shiryō shūsei 15, Miai shoten, 1996): 281–340.
- 4 The term 'shinsen' can be interpreted in several ways. The most obvious is to connect it to the Taoist notion of 'shinsen' and immortality, as a medicine that can cure all ailments logically leads to immortality. Taoist alchemical use of herbs and mushrooms, for instance, also suggests translating 'shinsen' here as 'immortality-providing'. However, the other way to interpret the term as something 'bestowed from a *kami* (deity)' also makes sense here as the medicine (or at least its formula) was given to Kinoshita Dōshō by the deity, Inari or a dragon-girl in a variant version.
- 5 Although the *Teiho Kenzeiki* uses the name *Gedokugan*, in this chapter I will refer to the medicine as *Gedokuen* as this is the name most commonly used in the primary sources of Dōshōan itself.
- 6 See Duncan Ryūken Williams, 'Temples, Pharmacies, Traveling Salesmen, and Pilgrims: Buddhist Production and Distribution of Medicine in Edo Japan', *Supplement to the Japanese Religions Bulletin* New Series 23 (1998): 20–29.
- 7 Another term with this type of play on Buddhist doctrine and healing within the Sōtō school is the name of the healing Jizō *bodhisattva*, Togenuki Jizō, of Kōgan-ji Temple in Edo. The term 'Togenuki' literally means 'thorn-removing' referring to the story of a woman with severe stomach pains from having swallowed a needle or 'thorn' who was miraculously cured by drinking a Jizō talisman which 'removed' the needle. This Sōtō temple skilfully used the term 'Toge' which was supposed to sound like 'Toga' or transgressions, to explain that the *bodhisattva* was, in fact, plucking the evil karma out of all sentient beings.

- 8 As with most Edo-period medicines, the formula of its production was zealously guarded, but recently Kinoshita Jūzō, a thirtieth generation descendant of the Dōshōan family, revealed in a 1981 article that the main ingredient of *Gedokuen* was the *Lycoris radiata* herb (*higanbana no kyūkon*). See Kinoshita Jūzō, 'Dōshōan ni tsuite', *Sanshō* 457 (1981): 66.
- 9 Ryōō was also known as Dōkaku and was a Sōtō monk before becoming an Ōbaku monk according to the *Nihon bukkyō jinmei jiten*, ed. Washio Junkei (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1903): 861–862. His pharmacy, Kangakuya, flourished in the Kanbun era and from the profits accrued from selling *Kintaien*, Ryōō built a *sūtra* storage hall on an island within Shinobazu Pond as well as funding a number of social welfare projects. For more on Ryōō and his pharmacy, see Yoshioka Shin's *Edo no kigusuriya* (Tokyo: Seiabō, 1994): 230–232.
- 10 See Suzuki Akira, *Edo no myōyaku* (Tokyo: Iwasaki bijutsusha, 1991: viii).
- 11 Yoshioka Shin *Edo no kigusuriya* (Tokyo: Seiabō, 1994): 143.
- 12 The first pharmacy in the city of Edo was built in 1590 in the Motomachi district, stocking medicine for eye diseases which were rampant in Edo. According to the 1687 *Edo rokushi*, the city of Edo had 37 *kigusuriya*, but in the *Edo sōrokushi* printed in 1751, the city had 124 pharmacies which went on to peak at 206 shops in 1800. The analysis of the numbers of pharmacies in Edo and Osaka was done by Yoshioka Shin. See his *Edo no kigusuriya* (Tokyo: Seiabō, 1994): 123.
- 13 Yoshioka Shin *Edo no kigusuriya* (Tokyo: Seiabō, 1994): 29–32.
- 14 For more on the development of the sale of medicines by the Toyama no gyōshōnin under the protection of the Maeda family, see Endō Kazuko, *Toyama no kusuri uri* (Tokyo: Simul shuppansha, 1993). On the religious roots of the Toyama no gyōshōnin, see Nei Kiyoshi, 'Toyama baiyaku to shugenja ni tsuite', *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 28, 2 (1980): 116–117.
- 15 Though *daranisuke* was originally associated with Mt. Kōya, other regions such as Mt. Yoshino and Mt. Ōmine would go on to produce their own *daranisuke*. See Suzuki Akira, *Edo no myōyaku* (Tokyo: Iwasaki bijutsusha, 1991): 59; and Danitani Benei, *Ōmine kobor-ebanashi*. Osaka: Tōhō shuppan, 1997.
- 16 For a more detailed study on the development of new venues for the production and distribution of Buddhist-inspired medicines, see Duncan Ryūken Williams, 'Temples, Pharmacies, Traveling Salesmen, and Pilgrims: Buddhist Production and Distribution of Medicine in Edo Japan', *Supplement to the Japanese Religions Bulletin* New Series 23 (Feb. 1998): 20–29.
- 17 I discovered this manuscript among the Edo-period documents held at Ryūsanji, a Sōtō Zen temple in Sagami province (present-day Kanagawa Prefecture). Though the document is not dated, given its place among the other documents at Ryūsanji, it is probably from the mid-eighteenth century. The manuscript is available on microfilm at the Isehara City Archives in Kanagawa Prefecture, catalogued in the *Iseharashishi shiryō shozai mokuroku* 4. (Isehara: Iseharashi, 1990), p. 67 as 'Ryūsanji shiryō no. 127'.

- 18 The original is *ryū*, the counter for medical tablets or pills.
- 19 *Gedoku* is the term generally used in this text for *Gedokuen*.
- 20 A weight measure equal to approximately 6 grams.
- 21 The text includes the reading ‘*babensō*’ for this herb.
- 22 This explanation of the origins of the title *Kenzeiki* is found in Kamamura Kōdō, *Shohan taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki* (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1975): 199.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 202.
- 24 This story is also not found in other biographies of Dōgen, including the most logical text, the *Hōkyōki*, the record of his travels in China. There is a list of those accompanying Dōgen in the *Hōkyōki*, ‘The abbot of Kennin-ji, Myōzen, Dōgen, Kakunen, Kōshō and others came down the Western Sea Road to sail across the ocean. Passing custom after custom, spending night after night, they passed inspection without difficulty.’ This translation is from James Kodera, *Dōgen’s Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the ‘Hōkyō-ki’* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980): 34. The monk Kakunen, has been at times identified (without any credible evidence) as Dōshō. James Kodera correctly, I think, identifies Kakunen rather as a Kenninji disciple of Myōzen (*ibid.*, 150, n. 129).
- 25 While his most commonly used Dharma name is Dōshō, his given name was Fujiwara Ryūei, and because he had received imperial land in the Kinoshita area of Kyoto (roughly one kilometre northwest from the Imperial Household), he is also often referred to as Kinoshita Dōshō. Although the Dōshō of these texts appears to be a monk, it is highly unlikely that he was a fully-ordained monk, but like many doctors of his day, an ordained lay Buddhist who shaved his head. On pre-Edo period references to Dōshō in diaries and other sources, see Kumagai Chūkō, ‘Kinoshita Dōshō ni tsuite. “Korefusa Kōki” tōjō no chikajin Dōshō kara’, *Shūgaku kenkyū* 39 (1997): 139–144.
- 26 The text, *Echizen no kuni Eihei kaisanki*, is held by the Historiographical Institute, Tokyo University. A printed version of the text appears in *Sekkyō shohonshū 1* Yokoyama Shigeru, ed. (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968): 248–170.
- 27 The identity of the actual sponsor is not clear to scholars. While Nakano Tōzan has argued that Eiheiji might have been the sponsor of this puppet play, it is highly unlikely to have received Eiheiji’s imprimatur let alone sponsorship given that these stories are so far off the orthodox versions of his life. The evidence which Nakano provides is that both the thirty-second and thirty-third-generation Eiheiji abbots (Tairyō and Tetsuō) are originally from Edo and could possibly have met the playwright, Yūki Magazaburō, who was a resident of the city. I think that since Dōshō is given almost as much play time as Dōgen, it is far more likely that Dōshōan itself or certainly a person looking to promote Dōshō and/or *Gedokuen* must have been involved. For the playwright to have procured so much information on Dōshō – who, we must remember, didn’t ‘exist’ in any record until Bokujun’s *Dōshōan keifu* thirty years earlier – we must come to the conclusion that someone intending to boost the image of Dōshō was the sponsor.

- Nakano's arguments can be found in Nakano Tōzen, 'Sekkyōbushi "Echizen no kuni Eiheiji kaisanki" o tōshite mita Dōgen zenji shinkō', *Kyōka kenshū* 43 (1999): 49–50. Kagamishima Hiroyuki has also suggested the Hatano family, a traditional patron of Eiheiji, could have been the sponsor of the play. Since the Hatano family were also involved with the buying and selling of *Gedokuen* in Echizen province, which has been noted by Suzuki Taisan, that this patron could have been the sponsor is another strong possibility. For Kagamishima's argument, see his 'Sekkyōbushi ni okeru Dōgen zenji denki no kyakushoku: Eiheiji kaisanki ni tsuite', *Dōgen* 4/3 (1937): 11. Suzuki Taisan has deduced Hatano involvement with *Gedokuen* because of extant medicine boxes with 'Dōshōan Echizen Hatano Yakuho' written on, which were sold until the Taishō period; see his *Sōtōshū no chiikiteki tenkai* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1993): 9.
- 28 For Tsutsumi's argument, see Tsutsumi Kunihiko, 'Dōgen eden no seiritsu', in *Shūso kōsōeden (etoki) shū*, Watanabe Shōgo and Masahiko Hayashi, eds. (Tokyo: Denshō bungaku shiryō shūsei 15, Mi'ai shoten, 1996): 281–340.
- 29 The text has the deity as 'Princess Toyotama' (Toyotama hime), the daughter of the dragon king (*ryūō no musume*). Nakano Tōzen has noted in addition that two later biographies of Dōgen – the *Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō denbunki* of Bunka 2 (1805) and the *Eihei Dōgen zenji gyōjō zue* of Bunka 5 (1808) – both include stories of Dōgen being cured in China. In the first text, Dōgen is cured by the main deity of Iwashimizu (Hachiman) and in the latter text, through *Gedokuen* transmitted by Inari. See Nakano Tōzen, 'Sekkyōbushi "Echizen no kuni Eiheiji kaisanki" o tōshite mita Dōgen zenji shinkō', *Kyōka kenshū* 43 (1999): 48. Also see his earlier work on this text, 'Kōsōden ni okeru shomin geinō no eikyō: Sekkyōbon "Echizen no kuni Eiheiji kaisanki" ni tsuite', *Shūgaku kenkyū* 11 (1969): 61–66.
- 30 This dating should be taken as an approximate dating since the *Dōshōan keifu* by Bokujun includes no date. However, as noted above, a close variant of the text, the *Dōshōan gansoden* – a printed version of which can be found in the *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 115, Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1911–1922: 559–560 – by the same Bokujun is dated Kan'ei 16 (1639).
- 31 Of course with the transfer of the imperial household to Tokyo in the Meiji period, its function as a mediator for Sōtō Zen and the imperial household disappeared.
- 32 See Tamamuro Fumio, "Dōshōan Monjo" ni tsuite', *Sanshō* (1995) 622: 19–25; 623: 20–28; 624: 26–39 and also Chapter 2 of his *Edo jidai no Sōtōshū no tenkai* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū booklet shūkyō to sabetsu 11, Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1999), as well as 'Edoki no zuisse' which is Chapter 5.3 of *Eiheijishi (Jōkan)*, Eiheijishi hensan iinkai, ed. (Eiheijichō: Daihonzan Eiheiji, 1982) written by Hirose Ryōkō using the same collection of documents as Tamamuro. One difference with the Kansansatsu temples, though, was that Dōshōan was not a temple despite its name which sounds as if it could have been a small temple. Although Tamamuro has written about Dōshōan as if it were a temple – see his Chapter 2, *ibid.*, 65 – it never was considered a temple by

- either Eiheiji or the *bakufu*. If it were, it would have had to appear in the Enkyō period *honmatsuchō*, from which it is absent. See also Hirose 2002.
- 33 This practice of the imperial house awarding ‘purple’ (or imperial-colour) robes, of course, precedes the Edo period and was imported to Japan from China.
- 34 One possibility advanced was the connection made through the Shimazu family, whose links to the imperial family are well known. Since Dōshōan served as a refuge for Shimazu family members during the warring states period, the domain had awarded 300 *koku* of land to Dōshōan. Kinoshita Jūzō has also shown an early connection between Fukushōji Temple in Kagoshima (a large Sōtō Zen temple that served as the parish temple for the Shimazu family) and Dōshōan. See Kinoshita Jūzō, ‘Dōshōan to Kagoshima Shimazuke ni tsuite’, *Sanshō* 535 (1988): 88–93.
- 35 Of course, the titles ‘Hōin’ and ‘Hōgen’ are also the highest ranks used among the Buddhist priesthood, but in this case, the Dōshōan heads are not being recognized as Buddhist priests, but in their capacity as doctors or medical experts.
- 36 Although we have a Kan’ei 5 (1628) document from Sōjiji chronicling a dispute at Dōshōan about its legitimate heir and from whom Sōtō temples should buy their *Gedokuken*, we don’t have any evidence of use of Dōshōan as the go-between with the imperial household until Kan’ei 11 (1634). In other words, the sale of medicine probably preceded its function as the intermediary. For the two Kan’ei documents, see Eiheijishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Eiheijishi (Jōkan)* (Eiheijichō: Daihonzan Eiheiji, 1982): 597–598. Since Ieyasu’s legal directives for Sōtō Zen issued in Genna 1 (1615), do not mention the legal need to go through Dōshōan for imperially sanctioned Zen names and purple robes, it is likely that this practice started sometime in the 1620s or 30s, with legal recognition of the Dōshōan role coming only with Dōshōan Bokujun’s Manji 4 (1661) directive, the *Nihon Sōtōshū Eihei kaisan daizenjiba shusse no shidai*. Bokujun’s directive can be found in Eiheijishi hensan iinkai, ed., *Eiheijishi (Jōkan)* (Eiheijichō: Daihonzan Eiheiji, 1982): 599–600.
- 37 The calculations for actual abbots have been worked out by Tamamuro. See “‘Dōshōan Monjo’ ni tsuite”, *Sanshō* (1995) 624: 31. He has also estimated the total cost of obtaining a Zen master name and a purple robe for actual abbots of Eiheiji and Sōjiji to be a little over 2,000 *ryō* (in present-day terms, approximately 200 million yen or \$2 million), see his conclusions in Chapter 2 of his *Edo jidai no Sōtōshū no tenkai* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū booklet shūkyō to sabetsu 11, Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1999). The calculations for the *zuisse* abbots, who receive the title ‘former abbot of Eiheiji/Sōjiji’ but do not actually serve in that capacity, have been worked out by Hirose, see Eiheijishi hensan iinkai, ed., *Eiheijishi (Jōkan)* (Eiheijichō: Daihonzan Eiheiji, 1982): 599–600.
- 38 These calculations are based on the *zuisse* monks recorded at Eiheiji and Sōjiji during the period Kan’ei 10 (1641) to Enpō 1 (1673), worked out by Tamamuro Fumio; see his *Edo jidai no Sōtōshū no*

- tenkai* (Tokyo: Sôtōshū booklet shūkyō to sabetsu 11, Sôtōshū shūmuchō, 1999): 137.
- 39 See Tamamuro Fumio, “‘Dōshōan Monjo’ ni tsuite”. *Sansho* (1995) 624: 38 or his *Edo jidai no Sôtōshū no tenkai* (Tokyo: Sôtōshū booklet shūkyō to sabetsu 11, Sôtōshū shūmuchō, 1999): 136.
- 40 Like many mid to large temples, this temple used the ‘rotating-abbot’ system (*rinjū* or *rinban seido*) discussed in Chapter 2. In the case of Kenkon’in Temple, the rotation cycle was every two years (between 1504–1635) and every year (between 1636–1873), upon which the temple inventory was conducted to ensure everything was in good condition for the incoming abbot and to pass down customs of the temple such as this case of making sure the medicine cabinet always had 50 *Gedokuen* pills.
- 41 The original reads: ‘22 ban Kusuri nabe 1 ko – Teikoku dai shisen o motte kore o oki futa ari, Yagen 1 ko, dan suri wa tomo Teikoku dai totei nado kore no kifu, sukoshi no kizu wa fude ire bekarazu, tsuite Gedokugan 50 tsubu shuhyō ni yotte Taibi dai yori dai dai kore o watashi.’ This document is not yet in printed version, but the original can be found in microfilm no. 241 of the ‘Kenkon’in monjo’ at the Higashi-Ura city archives.
- 42 Ganshōin Temple’s *Sôtōshū Ganshōin shoji okite* of 1841 is a compilation of rules and events that each abbot ought to be aware of during the annual ritual calendar. It has been put into printed text form in *Gosen shishi: Shiryō 3, kinsei 2*, *Gosen shishi hensan iinkai*, ed. (Gosen, Niigata: Gosenshi, 1997): 613–634. See p. 625 for information on *Gedokuen*.
- 43 The other three were, of course, the ‘Kansansatsu’ – Sōneiji, Daichūji and Ryūonji.
- 44 The original contract reads: ‘Dōshōan Gedokuen haika heisōchi e mo aiosame mōshitaki negai, senjū dai migi Anshu yori ainegawaresōrō ni tsuke, saru ushi no toshi made shichi nen no nengen ni te, haika e sōejō o sashidashi itashi sōrō tokoro, mata zoro no negai, saru nenchū yori saisan ainegaware, nattoku no ue wa nensū no gi mo nani tozo ryōken kure sōrō yō ni to, tatte no negai ni sōrō yue, kore igo jū nen no nengen ni te sōejō itasu beki no dan mōshi tasshi sōrō aida, sōtō matsuji no gi, shichi nen irai no tōri ni, sono honji honji ni te yoroshiku shiki itasaru beku sōrō, ijō, Enkyō 3 nen tora hachigatsu, Kasuisai Dairyō (in), Sūensan Shojiin.’ (Professor Sakai Tatsurō kindly gave me permission to use this document, which is a part of the ‘Kasuisai monjo’. Recently, a printed version of this manuscript has been included in the *Kasuisai shiryōshū hensan iinkai*, ed., *Kasuisai shiryōshū*, 5, Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1998: 52).
- 45 On medicinal patent laws, see Usami Hideki, ‘Kinsei Yakuho no “Shōhyō, Shōgoken” hōgo’, *Shiga daigaku keizaiagakubu fuzoku shiryōkan* 30 (1997): 83–107, which focuses on incidents of unauthorized sales of *Jinkyōgan* in Hikone Province. On the history of *bakufu* regulations on medicine, see Nishi Manabu, *Kyōhō kaikaku no chiiki seisaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1996): 460–506.
- 46 The history of *goō hōin* is best summed up in Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Goō hōin: Inori to chikai no jufu*. Machida: Machida

- shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1991. On the use of these documents as contracts and the different types issued by the various shrines and temples, see Chijiwa Haru, 'Goō hōin to kishōmon', in *Goō hōin: Inori to chikai no jufu* Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. (Machida: Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1991): 7–14. On Kumano's *goō hōin*, in particular, see Shimazu Norifumi, 'Kumano shinkō to Nachidaki hōin', in *Goō hōin: Inori to chikai no jufu*, Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan, ed. (Machida: Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1991): 120–124.
- 47 It literally reads 'Nihon koku rokujū yoshū daishō jingi' or 'all the gods great and small of the sixty some provinces of the Japanese nation'.
- 48 Among the extant contracts in the *Dōshōan monjo*, there are those by Sonkai in 1671, Tesuō in 1680, Yūzen in 1736, Engetsu in 1741, Ōgen in 1751, Eshū in 1755, Tankai in 1758, Mizan in 1764, Tōgen in 1768, Taimyō in 1781, Daikō in 1786, Gentō in 1796, Senpō in 1809, Ikai in 1814, Mankai in 1819, Dai'en in 1822, and Kanzen in 1845.
- 49 On Edo-period letters of apology, see Miyahara Ichirō, 'Kinsei wabishōmon no kōzō to seishitsu: Chichibu Ōnomura no jirei kara', *Kokugakuin daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 29 (1997): 305–321.
- 50 See Kumagai Chūkō, *Eiheiji nenpyō*. Tokyo: Rekishi toshosha, 1978: 250.
- 51 Most of the information on the post-Meiji decline of *Gedokuen* is taken from Kinoshita Jūzō, 'Dōshōan ni tsuite', *Sanshō* 457 (1981): 64–67.

GLOSSARY

<i>andae</i>	安陀會
<i>angya</i>	行脚
Annen	安然
<i>anshō zenji</i>	闇證禪師
<i>an'yō</i>	安養
Aoume-shi	青梅市
asa	麻
Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	足利義滿
Baisan Monpon	梅山聞本
<i>Baisan oshō kaihōron</i>	梅山和尚戒法論
Baiyun Shouduan	白雲守端
Baizhang Dazhi	百丈大智
Baizhang Huaihai	百丈懷海
<i>Baizhang ji</i>	百丈忌
<i>Baizhang zushi ji</i>	百丈祖師忌
Bajiao si	八角寺
<i>Banruo tashi zhi ta</i>	般若大師之塔
bao	寶
<i>Baolin zhuan</i>	寶林伝
Bao Tang	保唐
Baoying si	寶應寺
<i>beiming</i>	碑銘
Bei shan	北山
<i>beizong</i>	北宗
<i>Bendō wa</i>	辨道話
Ben'en	辨圓
<i>Biyān lu</i>	碧巖録
<i>bodai shōgō</i>	菩提正業
<i>Bonmōkyō ryakushō</i>	梵網經略抄

<i>bon shō</i>	凡聖
Bo Sengguang	帛僧光
<i>Bukke ichi daiji yawa</i>	佛家一大事夜話
Bukkōji	佛光寺
Bukong	不空
<i>Busen shō</i>	步船鈔
<i>busshin shū</i>	佛心宗
<i>Busso kesa kō</i>	佛祖袈裟考
<i>Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō</i>	佛祖正傳菩薩戒作法
<i>butsuda sokai shi shin</i>	佛陀素懷之心
<i>butsugo</i>	佛語
<i>butsui</i>	佛意
<i>buxiang ruiying</i>	不詳瑞應
<i>Cantong qi</i>	參同契
<i>Caoxi dashi biezhuān</i>	曹溪大師別傳
Caoqi (see Caoxi)	曹溪
Caoxi shan	曹溪山
<i>chakushi</i>	嫡子
<i>Chanlin beiyong qinggui</i>	禪林備用清規
<i>Chanmen guishi</i>	禪門規式
<i>chanren</i>	禪人
<i>chanren ping huazhu xiezhen qiuzan</i>	禪人并化主寫真求讚
<i>chanren xiezhen qqiuzan</i>	禪人寫真求讚
<i>chansi</i>	禪寺
<i>chanwei</i>	識緯
<i>chanyuan</i>	禪院
<i>Chanyuan qinggui</i>	禪苑清規
<i>chanzhe</i>	禪者
Chaozong Huifang	超宗慧方
<i>Chaozong Huifang chanshi yulu</i>	超宗慧方禪師語錄
Chen	陳
Chengdu	成都
Chikotsu Daie	癡兀大慧
<i>chingo kokka shi dōjō</i>	鎮護國家之道場
<i>chinsō</i> (see <i>chinzō</i>)	
<i>chinzō</i>	頂相
<i>Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki</i>	勅諭真空禪師行道記
Chong shan	崇山
<i>chongtang</i>	崇堂
<i>Chuan fabao ji</i>	傳法寶紀
<i>chuanfayi</i>	傳法衣

<i>Chuanfa zhengzong ji</i>	傳法正宗記
<i>chuan shen</i>	傳神
<i>chūdō</i>	中道
<i>chūu</i>	中有
Cien	慈恩
Cihui	慈惠
Ciyin	慈音
<i>Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao</i>	叢林校定清規總要
<i>Congrong lu</i>	從容錄
<i>Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi</i>	大佛頂如來密因修證了議諸
<i>zhu pusa wan xing shoulengyan jing</i>	菩薩萬行首楞嚴經
<i>Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu</i>	大慧普覺禪師語錄
Dahui Zonggao	大慧宗杲
daie	大衣
Daifukuden Hōshōji	大福田寶幢寺
Daiji hōsan kai	大師奉贊會
<i>daijō rikan</i>	大乘理觀
<i>daijūshiki ichi ichi shin</i>	第十識一一心
Daiken Hōju	大賢鳳樹
Daikū Genko	大空玄虎
<i>daiku shiki ta ichi shin</i>	第九識多一心
Dainichi(bō) Nōnin	大日房能忍
<i>Dainichi kyō kenmon</i>	大日經見聞
Dairyū	大龍
Daisō Shūsa	大翁宗佐
Daitō	大燈
Daizong	代宗
Dali Bao Tang si	大曆保唐寺
Daliguo Fanxiang juan	大理國梵像卷
<i>Damo ji</i>	達磨忌
<i>Damo zushi ji</i>	達磨祖師忌
<i>danshō</i>	斷證
<i>danshō shikan</i>	斷證止觀
Daoan	道安
<i>daochang</i>	道場
Daoji	道濟
Daolong (Jpn. Dōryū)	道隆
Daoxin	道信
Daoxiu	道秀
Daoxuan (Jpn. Dōsen)	道宣
<i>Daranisuke</i>	陀羅尼助

Daruma	達磨
<i>daruma hō</i>	達磨法
Darumashū	達磨宗
Daxingshan si	大興善寺
Dayang Jingxuan	大陽警玄
Dazhi chanshi	大智禪師
<i>Dazhidulun</i>	大智度論
<i>dazu</i>	大祖
<i>denbō</i> (Chin. <i>chuanfa</i>)	傳法
<i>Den'e</i>	傳衣
<i>Den'e zōbi shōhaka</i>	傳衣象鼻章巴歌
<i>Denkōroku</i>	傳光錄
<i>dentōroku</i> (Chin. <i>chuandeng lu</i>)	傳燈錄
<i>densō-e</i>	田相衣
Dilun (J. Jiron)	地論
<i>ding cheng ruji xiang</i>	頂成肉髻相
Dōgen (Kigen)	道元希玄
<i>dokuyaku</i>	毒藥
Dongfang shibao	東方時報
Dongshan Liangjie	洞山良介
<i>Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu</i>	洞山良介禪師語錄
<i>Dongshan lu</i>	洞山錄
<i>dōnin</i>	道人
Dōryō	道了
Dōryū	道隆
Dōsen	道璿
Dōshō	道正
Dōshōan	道正庵
Dōshōan Bokujun	道正庵卜順
Dōshōan Katsujun	道正庵勝順
Dōshōan keifu	道正庵系譜
<i>Dōshōan monjo</i>	道正庵文書
<i>Dōshōan onkerai no mono kishōmon</i>	道正庵御家來のもの起請文
Dōunji	洞雲寺
Du falū	都法律
Dugu Ji	獨狐及
Du Hungjian	杜鴻漸
Dumen si	度門寺
<i>Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenyi shilu</i>	敦煌社會經濟文獻真釋錄
<i>Dunhuang xue dacidian</i>	敦煌學大辭典
Duo (Pozao)	破竈墮

<i>e</i>	慧
<i>eden</i>	繪伝
<i>ehatsu</i> (Chin. <i>yifu</i>)	衣鉢
<i>Ehatsu kechimiyaku denju sabō</i>	衣鉢血脈傳授作法
<i>Eiheiji</i>	永平寺
<i>Eihei kaisan Dōgen zenji gyōjō</i>	永平開山道元禪師行狀建記
<i>Kenzeiki</i>	
<i>Eihei kaisan goden zagu mon</i>	永平開山御傳坐具文
<i>Eihei Shōbō genzō shūsho taisei</i>	永平正法眼藏菟書大成
<i>Eisai</i>	榮西
<i>Eizon</i>	叡尊
<i>Ejō</i>	懷辨
<i>ekigyō</i>	易行
<i>eko</i>	依古
<i>ena</i>	衣那
<i>ena kōjin</i>	衣那荒神
<i>Enchin</i>	圓珍
<i>endon shin kai</i>	圓頓心戒
<i>engyō</i>	圓教
<i>en mitsu zen kai</i>	圓密禪戒
<i>Enni</i>	圓爾
<i>Enni Ben'en</i>	圓爾辨圓
<i>Ennin</i>	圓仁
<i>Enpō dentōroku</i>	延寶傳燈錄
<i>Enpukuji</i>	圓福寺
<i>Enshin</i>	圓心
<i>Enshō</i>	圓照
<i>Enshō shōnin gyōjō</i>	圓照上人行狀
<i>Erzu tiaoxin</i>	二祖調心
<i>Faguang</i>	法光
<i>Falang</i>	法郎
<i>Fangbian</i>	方辯
<i>Fanwang jing</i>	梵網經
<i>Faqin</i>	法欽
<i>Faru</i>	法如
<i>Fayan chanshi yulu</i>	法演禪師語錄
<i>fayi</i>	法衣
<i>Fayuan zhulin</i>	法苑珠林
<i>Fenggan</i>	豐干
<i>Fohai Huiyuan chanshi guanglu</i>	佛海慧遠禪師廣錄
<i>foxing</i>	佛性

<i>Fozhi biqiu liuwu tu</i>	佛制比丘六物圖
<i>fu</i>	符
<i>Fujian tongzhi</i>	福建通志
<i>Fukaki Shunjō</i>	不可棄俊苾
<i>fukuden</i>	福田
<i>Fukuden-e kirigami</i>	福田衣切紙
<i>Fumyō Kokushi</i>	普明國師
<i>funzōe</i>	糞掃衣
<i>Fushan Fayuan</i>	浮山法遠
<i>fushigi shi ku</i>	不思議之衢
<i>fushōshiki</i>	不正色
<i>Fuyong Daokai</i>	芙蓉道楷
<i>ganfo</i>	感佛
<i>Ganming Chanyuan</i>	乾明禪院
<i>gantong</i>	感通
<i>ganying</i>	感應
<i>Gaofeng Yuanmiao</i>	高峰原妙
<i>Gao Yuangui</i>	高元珪
<i>Gao Yun</i>	高允
<i>Gasan Jōseki</i>	峨山韶磧
<i>gedatsufuku</i>	解脫服
<i>gedō</i>	外道
<i>Gedokuen</i>	解毒円
<i>gego</i>	解悟
<i>Genjō kōan</i>	現成公案
<i>Genkō shakusho</i>	元享釋書
<i>Gennō Shinshō</i>	源翁心昭
<i>Gennō zenji den</i>	源翁禪師傳
<i>gidayūjōruri</i>	義太夫浄瑠璃
<i>Gikai</i>	義介
<i>gochi</i>	五智
<i>gon daijō</i>	權大乘
<i>gorintō</i>	五輪塔
<i>goroku (Chin. yulu)</i>	語録
<i>Go-Saga (Tennō)</i>	後嵯峨天皇
<i>Goshinden</i>	御真殿
<i>Goshōrai mokuroku</i>	御請來目錄
<i>gozan</i>	五山
<i>Gozan jissatsu zu</i>	五山十刹圖
<i>Guanding</i>	灌頂
<i>gu hui xiang</i>	骨灰像

<i>Gu qian shimen dufalu jingzhaoh Du</i>	故前釋門都法律京兆杜
<i>heshang xie zhenzan</i>	和尚寫真讚
<i>guobao</i> (see <i>kokuhō</i>)	
Guo Hong	郭鴻
<i>guren zhi xiang</i>	古人之象
<i>gyōdō</i>	行道
Gyōnen	凝然
Hakusan (Shirayama)	白山
Hakuun Egyō	白雲慧曉
Han	韓
Hanshan	寒山
Hanshitsu Ryōei	繁室良榮
<i>Hasshūkōyō</i>	八宗綱要
Hatsuu	鉢盂
<i>Hebu jin'guanming jing</i>	合部金光明經
<i>heisōchi</i>	平僧地
<i>hekikan</i> (Chin. <i>biguan</i>)	壁乾
<i>heshang gan</i>	和尚乾
<i>Hetu</i>	河圖
Hexi dusengtong	河西都僧統
Heze Shenhui	荷澤神會
Heze si	荷澤寺
<i>higanbana</i>	彼岸花
<i>hiban bukkyō</i>	批判仏教
<i>hijiri</i>	聖
<i>hi kan nen shonyū jō</i>	非觀念所入城
<i>himitsu jiri</i>	秘密事理
Hirano Zenichirō	平野善一郎
Hirano Zenkichi	平野善吉
<i>hiza bigyō zanmai</i>	非坐非行三昧
<i>hō</i>	法
<i>hōe</i>	法衣
<i>Hōe sōdensho</i>	法衣相傳書
<i>Hōfuku kakushō</i>	法服格正
Hōgen	法眼
<i>hōgo</i>	法語
Hōin	法院
Hōkiin	寶龜院
<i>hokukyō ritsu</i>	北京律
<i>Honchō kōsōden</i>	本朝高僧傳
Hōnen	法然

<i>hongaku</i>	本覺
Hongbian	洪辯
Hong Kong Kuaibao	香港快報
Hongren	弘忍
Hongzhi	宏智
<i>Hongzhi chanshi guanglu</i>	宏智禪師廣錄
Hongzhou zong	洪州宗
<i>honmon</i>	本門
<i>honrai mu ichimotsu</i>	本來無一物
<i>honrai no menmoku</i>	本來ノ面目
<i>Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei</i>	法王能照禪師塔銘
<i>hōshin zanmai</i>	寶心三昧
<i>Hossō nikan shō</i>	法相二卷鈔
<i>bossu</i> (Chin. <i>fuzi</i>)	拂子
Hou Li	後理
Huang Daide	黃戴德
<i>Huanglong Huinan chanshi yulu</i>	黃龍慧南禪師語錄
Huangmei (shan)	黃梅山
<i>huashen</i>	化身
<i>huazhu</i>	化主
Huiguo	惠果
Huihong Juefan	慧洪覺範
Huijian	慧堅
Huijiao	慧皎
Huike	慧可
Huilang	慧朗
Huiming	慧明
Huiming [si]	慧命寺
Huineng	慧能
<i>Hui shengqian zhi yingxiang</i>	繪生前之影像
Huishi	惠始
Huisi	慧思
Huiwei	慧威
Huiwen	慧文
Hunan	湖南
<i>hunbo</i>	魂帛
<i>huofo</i>	活佛
Huofu an	活佛庵
Huofu gong	活佛宮
Huofu tang	活佛堂
<i>ichidai engyō</i>	一大圓教

<i>ichijō engyō</i>	一乘圓教
<i>ichijō jissō</i>	一乘實相
<i>ichiryū shishō</i>	一流師承
Ikkei Eishū	一徑永就
<i>inaka Eshin</i>	田舍惠心
<i>Iseharashishi shiryō shozai mokuroku</i>	伊勢原市史資料所在目錄
<i>isshin sangan</i>	一心三觀
<i>isshū</i>	一宗
<i>ji</i>	事
Jiang Boqin	姜伯勤
Jiang-Hu	江湖
Jiangling	江陵
Jiangxi	江西
Jiannan	劍南
Jiansi	監寺
Jianxiangta	見相塔
Jiaoran	皎然
<i>jiaoyuan</i>	教院
Jiaoyuan qinggui	教苑清規
<i>jiayi tudiyuan</i>	甲乙徒弟院
Jigenji	示現寺
<i>jikishi ninshin kenshō jōbutsu</i>	直指人心見性成佛不立文字
<i>furyū monji</i>	
<i>jiko no honbun</i>	自己ノ本分
<i>jinen kaku</i>	自然覺
Jingangzhi	金剛智
<i>Jingde chuandeng lu</i>	景德傳燈錄
Jingde Monastery	景德寺
Jingjue	淨覺
<i>jingshi</i>	淨室
Jingtu	淨土
<i>jingu</i>	金骨
Jingzhong	淨衆
Jinxian yuan	金仙院
Jinyi	津藝
<i>jippō satsu</i>	十方刹
<i>Jisshū yōdō ki</i>	十宗要道記
<i>jitsu daijō</i>	實大乘
Jiun	慈雲
Ji Xianlin	李羨林
<i>jō</i>	定

<i>jōbutsu shi jogō</i>	成佛之助業
Jochū Tengin	如仲天闍
<i>jōdō</i>	上堂
<i>Jōdo hōmon genru shō</i>	淨土法門源流章
<i>Jōdo shogaku shō</i>	淨土初學鈔
Jōgenji	淨限寺
<i>jōju butsuda</i>	常住佛陀
Jōkei	貞慶
<i>jōkon no hito</i>	上根ノ人
Jōshun	貞舜
<i>jōza ichigyō zanmai</i>	常坐一行三昧
<i>Jū jū shin ron</i>	十住心論
Jukai	受戒
<i>junsui (zen)</i>	純粹禪
<i>jushi</i>	居士
<i>jūyō bunkazai</i>	重要文化財
<i>kaichō</i>	開帳
<i>kaidan funpun</i>	怪談紛々
<i>kaisandō</i>	開山堂
<i>kaishan</i>	開山
<i>kaishan lidaizu ji</i>	開山歷代祖忌
<i>kaishanzu ji</i>	開山祖忌
Kaiyuan	開元
Kakua	覺阿
Kajūji	勸修寺
Kakua	覺阿
Kakunen	廓然
Kakunyo	覺如
<i>kan</i>	觀
Kang Senghui	康僧會
<i>kanjin</i>	觀心
<i>Kanjin kakumu shō</i>	觀心覺夢鈔
Kannon	觀音
<i>Kanro mon shū</i>	甘露門集
<i>kara</i>	掛落
<i>Kasuisai monjo</i>	可睡齋文書
<i>kechimyaku</i>	血脈
<i>Kechimyaku no san</i>	血脈之參
<i>Keiran shūyōshū</i>	溪嵐拾葉集
Keirinji	惠林寺
<i>kekkaï</i>	結界

<i>kendō</i>	見道
<i>kengyō</i>	顯教
<i>kengyō jōe</i>	顯教定慧
<i>ken icchi</i>	顯一知
<i>Kenkon'in</i>	乾坤院
<i>kenshū</i>	兼修
<i>kesa</i> (Chin. <i>jiasha</i>)	袈裟
<i>Kesa daiji</i>	袈裟大事
<i>Kesa kudoku</i>	袈裟功德
<i>Kesa-mandara kirigami</i>	袈裟曼荼羅切紙
<i>ki</i>	機
<i>kigusuriya</i>	き薬屋
<i>kinbin</i> (Chin. <i>jingxing</i>)	經行
<i>kirigami</i> (var. <i>kirikami</i>)	切紙
<i>Kinoshita Dōshō</i>	木下道正
<i>Kintaien</i>	錦袋円
<i>Kisen Shūshō</i>	亀泉周勝
<i>kōan</i> (Chin. <i>kung-an</i>)	公案
<i>Kōfukuji</i>	興福寺
<i>Kōfukuji sōjō</i>	興福寺奏状
<i>Kōhō Kennichi</i>	高峰顯日
<i>Kōka keifuden</i>	弘化系譜傳
<i>Kokan Shiren</i>	虎關師鍊
<i>Kōkatsuchō</i>	校割牒
<i>Kōkokuji</i>	興國寺
<i>kokuhō</i> (Chin. <i>guobao</i>)	國寶
<i>kongōkai</i>	金剛界
<i>konpon mō</i>	根本妄
<i>Kōsan Myōsan</i>	香山妙三
<i>Kōshō</i>	高照
<i>Kōsō den</i>	高僧傳
<i>Kōya no maki</i>	高野の巻
<i>Kōzan Tetsuma</i>	恒山轍磨
<i>Kōzen gokoku ron</i>	興禪護國論
<i>kuden</i>	口傳
<i>Kuden shō</i>	口傳抄
<i>kūge</i>	空華
<i>Kūkai</i>	空海
<i>kūmon</i>	空門
<i>Kurodani shōnin gotōroku</i>	黒谷上人語燈録
<i>Kuyō shobutsu</i>	供養諸仏
<i>kyōge betsuden</i>	教外別傳

<i>Kyōjijō ron</i>	教時諍論
<i>kyōmon</i>	教門
Kyōō Unryō	恭翁運良
<i>kyōsō</i>	教相
<i>kyōsō hanjaku</i>	教相判釋
<i>kyōsō kangyō</i>	教相觀行
<i>li</i>	力
Liangshan Yuanguan	梁山緣觀
Liang Wudi	梁武帝
<i>Lidai fabao ji</i>	歷代法寶記
<i>Lidai minghua ji</i>	歷代名畫記
<i>lidai zu</i>	歷代祖
<i>Li ji</i>	禮記
<i>ling</i>	靈
Lingyin si	靈隱寺
Lingzhi	靈芝
<i>lingzuo</i>	靈座
Linji Yixuan	臨濟義玄
<i>Linjian lu</i>	林間錄
Li Titi	李體體
<i>liufa</i>	六法
<i>liuye tu xu</i>	六葉圖序
<i>Liuzu zhi miao</i>	六祖之廟
Li Zhen	李真
Lizong	理宗
Longhua yihui	龍華一會
Longmen shan	龍門山
<i>lü chiao ch'an</i>	律教禪
Luoshe	羅什
<i>Luoshu</i>	洛書
Lu Xiongxi	陸雄暨斯
<i>lüyuan</i>	律院
Lüyuan shigui	律苑事規
Mangen Shibān	卍元師蠻
<i>masse</i>	末世
<i>mayu daruma</i>	まゆ達磨
<i>meigo</i>	迷悟
Meihō Sotetsu	明峰祖哲
Meikyoku Sokushō	明極即證
<i>miao</i>	廟

<i>mikkyō</i>	密教
<i>miko</i>	巫
Minchō	明兆
<i>missanchō</i>	密參帳
Mitsui Bussan	三井物産
<i>mō chi</i>	妄知
Mogao	莫高
<i>mokubi</i>	目鼻
Mokushitsu	默室
<i>mokushi mokkai</i>	默示默契
<i>mon</i>	門
<i>[mo] na</i>	[摩] 納
<i>mondō</i>	問答
<i>mon shi e</i>	聞思慧
Morin Shihan	茂林芝繁
<i>moshan chaoba xi dingxiang wuxing</i>	末山超拔兮頂相無形
Moteng	摩騰
<i>mu</i>	穆
Mucha	木叉
Muhon Kakushin	無本覺心
<i>muhōtō</i>	無縫塔
Mujaku Dōchū	無著道忠
Mujaku Myōyū	無着妙融
Mujū Ichien	無住一圓
<i>Musai daishi no yurai</i>	無際大師の由来
<i>mushō shōchi shi kunshi</i>	無生生知之君子
<i>musō-e</i>	無相衣
<i>musō munen</i>	無相無念
Musō Soseki	夢窓疎石
<i>muwu zhi xiang</i>	無物之象
Myōchō	妙超
Myōden	妙田
Myōe Kōben	明惠高辨
<i>myōkaku</i>	妙覺
Myōshinji	妙心寺
<i>myōshō</i>	明照
Myōzen	明全
<i>Naishō buppō sōjō kechimiyaku fu</i>	內證佛法相承血脈譜
<i>Naiten jinro shō</i>	內典塵露章
Nanhua si	南華寺
<i>nankyō ritsu</i>	南京律

Nanshan chanzong	南山禪宗
Nanshan lü	南山律
Nansi	南寺
Nantai	南臺
Nanyin	南印
Nanyue	南嶽
Nanyue Huairang	南嶽懷讓
Nanyue Zongsheng ji	南嶽總勝集
Nanzhao	南詔
Narita Ietoki	成田家時
<i>Nianfo jing</i>	念仏經
<i>Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden</i>	日域洞上諸祖傳
Nichiren	日蓮
<i>Nichō shō</i>	二帖抄
<i>Nihon Chūgoku niira shinkō no kenkyū</i>	日本中国ミイラ信仰の研究
<i>Nihon kōsō den yōmon shō</i>	日本高僧傳要文抄
<i>Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu</i>	日本ミイラ研究グループ
<i>Nihon miira no kenkyū</i>	日本ミイラの研究
<i>Nihon Tōjō rentōroku nikushiki</i>	日本洞上聯燈錄 肉色
<i>nin'un ryōchi shi butsu</i>	任運靈知之佛
<i>nin'un shō motsu</i>	任運照物
<i>niseyaku</i>	偽藥
Nishijin	西陣
Nishina Sakae	仁科榮
<i>nitēn</i>	二天
Niutou Farong	午頭法融
<i>nizen</i>	爾前
<i>nyo gen shi ju</i>	如幻之珠
<i>nyohō-kesa</i>	如法袈裟
<i>nyoi (Chin. ruyi)</i>	如意
<i>nyonin kekkai</i>	女人結界
<i>Nyū Tō ki</i>	入唐記
Ogata Tamotsu	小片保
<i>ōjō yo jōbutsu ryōshū</i>	往生與成佛兩宗
Okotsu Daishi	御骨大師
Oku no In	奥の院
Onjōji	園城寺
<i>Onryōken nichiroku</i>	蔭涼軒日録
<i>osembetsu</i>	お餞別

<i>pan</i>	潘
Pozao Duo (see Duo)	
<i>Puan Yinxiao chanshi yulu</i>	普庵印蕭禪師語錄
Puhua	普化
Puji	普寂
<i>Pusa chu tai jing</i>	菩薩處胎經
<i>Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun</i>	菩提達摩南宗定是非論
Qianning	乾寧
<i>qielan shen</i>	伽藍神
Qingguo	慶果
Qinglong si	青龍寺
<i>qingtan</i>	清談
Qingxiu	慶休
Qingyuan Xingsi	青原行思
<i>qingzan</i>	請讚
Qing Zhou	清晝
Qinqing	親情
<i>qiuzan</i>	求讚
<i>qiyun</i>	氣韻
<i>qizhong youxiang</i>	其中有象
<i>qizutang</i>	七祖堂
Qizu zanwen	七祖讚文
Quanzhou	泉州
Raiyu	賴瑜
<i>rakan</i> (Chin. <i>Luohan</i>)	羅漢
<i>Renmin ribao</i>	人民日報
Renwang jing	仁王經
<i>ri</i>	理
<i>rigon munen</i>	離言無念
<i>risshun daikichi</i>	立春大吉
<i>ritsumon</i>	律門
Rogaku Tōto	廬嶽等都
<i>rokudai soshizu</i>	六代祖師凶
Rokuō-in	鹿王院
<i>roku shiki</i>	六識
<i>roushen</i>	肉身
Ruiquan an	瑞泉庵
Ruizong	睿宗
<i>rushi</i>	入室
Ryōan Emyō	了菴慧明

<i>Ryōan dai oshō tōzan kaibyaku narabi ni kunin rōjin no kien</i>	了庵大和尚当山開闢並 九人老人之機縁
Ryōgen	了源
Ryōhen	良遍
Ryōō	了翁
Ryūenji	龍淵寺
<i>Ryūhen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō</i>	龍淵清順旗雲惟通語録 並行状
Ryūkōin	竜江院
Ryūsanji	龍散寺
Ryūsen'in	隆泉院
<i>ryūten</i>	龍天
<i>Ryūten jukai kirikami</i>	龍天受戒切紙
<i>Ryūten no san</i>	龍天之參
Saichō	最澄
Saijōji	最乗寺
<i>samu</i>	作務
<i>san</i> (Chin. <i>zan</i>)	讚
<i>Sandōkai</i> (See <i>Cantong qi</i>)	
<i>sangaku</i>	三學
<i>sangen jissō</i>	三賢十聖
<i>Sangoku buppō denzū engi</i>	三國佛法傳通縁起
<i>Sangoku sōden fukuden kirigami</i>	三國相傳福田切紙
<i>sanmitsu</i>	三密
<i>sanmon</i>	三門
<i>sanwa</i>	参話
<i>Sanzang fa shu</i>	三藏法數
<i>Sekitō Kisen zenzi goyō ryakkai</i>	石頭希遷禪師語要略解
Sekitōzan	石頭山
Sekitōzan musai daishi jimusho	石頭山無際大師事務所
Sekizan Zen'in	赤山禪院
<i>Senchaku shū</i>	選擇集
Sengcan	僧璨
Sengchou	僧稠
Sengtong	僧統
Sengzhao	僧肇
<i>senju nenbutsu</i>	專修念佛
<i>senmon sōdō</i>	專門僧堂
<i>setsuwa</i>	說話
<i>Shaka sanzō oyobi sanjūso zō</i>	釈迦三尊および三十祖像
<i>shakujō</i>	錫杖

<i>shakumon</i>	迹門
<i>Shakushi hōe kun</i>	釋氏法衣訓
Shandao	善導
<i>shangtang</i>	上堂
<i>shanjia</i>	山家
<i>Shanjian lü</i>	善見律
Shangming si	上明寺
<i>Shangshu youcheng Xu gong xie zhentuzan bing xu</i>	尚書右承徐公寫真圖讚并序
Shanwuwei	善無畏
Shaolin si	少林寺
<i>Shaqian jiang Shendusi</i>	捨錢建閣深都寺
<i>She dacheng lun</i>	撰大乘論
<i>shengyi</i>	生儀
<i>She lun</i>	攝論
<i>shenqi</i>	神氣
Shenlong si	神龍寺
Shenxiu	神秀
<i>shenyun</i>	神韻
Shide	捨得
<i>shie</i>	紫衣
<i>shifangcha</i>	十方刹
Shigetsu Ein	指月慧印
<i>Shi moheyen lun</i>	釋摩訶衍論
<i>Shi ji</i>	史記
<i>shijū kōhai</i>	四重興廢
Shi Ke	石恪
<i>shikyō</i>	四教
<i>Shilao zhi</i>	釋老志
<i>shimatsu mō</i>	枝末妄
Shimazu Atsutada	島津敦忠
<i>shin chi</i>	眞知
Shinchi Kakushin	心地覺心
Shinga	心賀
Shingan Dōkū	眞巖道空
<i>shingi (Chin. qinggui)</i>	清規
<i>shingi shingon</i>	新義眞言
<i>shingon shikan shūmon</i>	眞言止觀宗門
<i>shinnyo dokushō shi hōō</i>	眞如獨照之法王
<i>shinnyo mon</i>	眞如門
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<i>shouxiang</i>	壽像
<i>shouzuō</i>	首座
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<i>Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun</i>	昭和定本日蓮上人遺文
<i>shū</i>	宗
Shucaō	束草
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<i>shūzen</i>	習禪
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<i>si guan</i>	寺觀
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<i>sōdō</i>	僧堂
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<i>sojitsuji</i>	蘇悉地
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Sun Huan	孫奭
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<i>taiji dō</i>	對治道
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<i>taizōkai</i>	胎藏界
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Tan'e	湛慧
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Tanhui	曇徽
<i>tanna tang</i>	檀那堂
Tanshi	曇始
Tanyan	曇延
<i>tasho</i>	塔所
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<i>Tendai shingon nishū dōi shō</i>	天台眞言二宗同異章
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Tenrin Fuin	天倫楓隱
Tensō	伝奏
Tiantai Zhiyi	天台智顓
Tiantong Rujing	天童如淨
Tiantong shan	天童山
Tōfukuji	東福寺
<i>Tōfuku Shōichi kokushi</i>	東福聖一國師
<i>tōjō</i> (Chin. <i>t'a-ch'uang</i>)	踏床
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Tōminaga Nakamoto	富永仲基
<i>tōmyō</i>	等妙
<i>tongo tonshu</i>	頓悟頓修
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<i>toteiin</i>	徒弟院
Touzi Yiqing	投子義青
Toyama no gyōshōnin	富山の行商人
<i>tsuchien</i>	度弟院
Tsūgen Jakurei	通幻寂靈

Tsuji Zennosuke	辻善之助
<i>tudi shen</i>	土地神
<i>tuditang</i>	土地堂
Tu Fei	杜朮
<i>uen</i>	有緣
<i>ujigami</i>	氏神
<i>umon</i>	有門
<i>uttarasō</i>	優多羅僧
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<i>wabishōmon</i>	詫び証文
<i>Wangzhi</i>	王制
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<i>weipai</i>	位牌
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<i>wujian dingxiang</i>	無見頂相
Wuji dashi	無際大師
Wumen	無門
<i>Wumenguan</i>	無門関
Wuzhun Shifan	無準師範
Wutai shan	五臺山
Wuxiang	無相
<i>wuxing</i>	五行
Wuxue Zuyuan	無學祖元
Wu Zetian	武則天
Wuzhu	無住
Wuzu Fayan	五祖法演
xiang	象
<i>xiang</i>	像
Xiangyang	襄陽
Xianzhao	賢照
Xiao Jingzhong	蕭慶仲
<i>xiaoshi</i>	小師

Xiao Zhongjing	蕭仲慶
Xiatang Huiyuan	瞎堂慧遠
<i>Xici zhuan</i>	繫辭傳
Xie He	謝赫
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<i>xindi</i>	心地
<i>xingzhe</i>	行者
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Xuanze	玄蹟
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<i>yingshen</i>	應身
<i>yingtang</i>	影堂
<i>yipin</i>	逸品
Yixing	一行
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<i> yuan</i>	院
<i>Yuanjuejing dashu chao</i>	圓覺經大疏鈔

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Yūki Magozaburō	結城孫三郎
Yuquan si	玉泉寺
Yun'yan Tancheng	雲巖曇晟
<i>zagu</i>	坐具
<i>zan</i>	讚, 贊
<i>Zan fo zu</i>	讚佛祖
<i>zazen</i>	座禪
<i>zenke</i>	禪家
<i>zenmon</i>	禪門
<i>zenpō ichimon</i>	禪法一門
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Zhang Xingsheng	張興晟
Zhang Yanyuan	張彥遠
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<i>zhao</i>	昭
Zhaozhou	趙州
<i>zhen</i>	真
<i>zhengfayan</i>	正法眼
Zhengjue	正覺
<i>zhengtong</i>	正通
<i>zhenji</i>	真跡
<i>zhentang</i>	真堂
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<i>zhenyi</i>	真儀
<i>zhen zan</i>	真讚
<i>Zhenzong banruo chuanfa zhi tang</i>	真宗般若傳法之堂
Zhigang	智剛
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<i>zhizang</i>	知藏
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Zhongfeng heshang guanglu	中峰和尚廣錄
Zhongfeng Mingben	中峰明本
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<i>Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi</i>	中華傳心地禪門師資
<i>chengxi tu</i>	承襲圖
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