

RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

The Other Neng

曹溪異祖

Topography and Hagiography of the Sixth Ancestor

六祖慧能禪師之地志學及聖傳學

Proefschrift

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Prelude and Refuge

'If you want fiction, you must write the truth.'

John Irving

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'VT QVASI EIVS CORPORALEM PRESENCIAM DEMONSTRARENT'

Bertrand du Guesclin, *Chronicle of St Denis* (A.D. 1389),
quoted in Carlo Ginzburg, *Occhiacchi di legno*

*

'What matters? Stones or ideas?'

David Hare, *Via Dolorosa*

This study is titled 'The Other Neng' because it is not primarily concerned with the familiar hagiography of the Sixth Ancestor in the Chan or Zen patrilineage as it has taken shape in the Chinese tradition and as it has been appreciated by Japanese, Korean and western scholars of Buddhism. This study is even less concerned with the appraisal of the doctrinary innovations ascribed by these traditions to a supposedly illiterate saint whose 'true effigy 真身' is still venerated in an outlying monastery in China's deep south, a site appropriately known as 'South China Abbey 南华寺'.

The problem investigated here is the cult of the *praesentia realis* of the late eighth-century holy man Huineng of Shaozhou 韶州慧能 in the local context of that abbey which has flourished as a 'Sixth Ancestor Theme Park' on the shore of Cao's Brook, some 30 kilometers south of the city of Shaoguan 韶关. In epistemological terms, the *praesentia realis* of a saint at a pilgrimage site is a fiction. It can (and will) be argued that it is a fiction in the sense of the classical *fictio* of the legal philosophy of ancient Rome that, according to some, actually derives from a religious paradigm: substitution. In plain English: the Sixth Ancestor has been worshipped at South China Abbey for many centuries *as if* he were still there. Historical records of this worship include evidence from both native and western sources that it involved for some years processions during which a life-size statue, allegedly a mummy, was carried around. The primary orientation of this investigation is topographical rather than hagiographical. The overall objective will not be to ascertain who or what the Sixth Ancestor really was, but where to look for traces of his *praesentia*, firstly in the local landscape and secondly in Buddhist literature. I hope to have realized this twofold objective by the following means:

1. An opening essay describing the worship of the *praesentia realis* of Buddhist saints in China; introducing the notions of ancestral worship, of fiction, and of the worship of Buddhist saints *as if* they were fictional ancestors.

2. A bibliographical introduction of topographical and hagiographical sources on the cult of these Buddhist saints, followed by a critical anthology of the oldest texts describing Huineng and his cult during the first century after his death in 713, and by an essay on the rhetoric of Chinese (and Japanese) hagiography.
3. An analysis of a poem by the exiled court poet Song Zhiwen 宋之问 (d. 713): *From Hengyang to Shaozhou: An audience 謁 with meditation teacher Neng* which is mentioned in Zanning's *vita* of Huineng, but largely ignored by later hagiographers and researchers. It is, however, the only possibly contemporary account of a meeting with the meditation teacher who would be the 'Sixth Ancestor'. This 'close encounter' is analyzed in the context of Song Zhiwen's literary and Buddhist affiliations and of his several southbound journeys. My conclusion is that an encounter between the poet and the monk would have taken place at Mt Heng in Hunan rather than at Cao's Brook in Shaozhou.
4. A topographical study of the development of the Huineng cult in Shaozhou between 716, when Shaozhou was connected to the imperial post road network, and 816, when the 'Sixth Ancestor' was recommended for an official posthumous title - the nearest equivalent of a canonization. Chapter 4.4. is a topographical analysis of the 'Precious Forest at the Twin Peaks 双峰宝林' mentioned in one early *vita* but ignored in later canonical hagiography, and of the hypothetical link of this topos with Buddhist communities in Hunan. Chapter 4.5. is a periodization of the topos of the 'true effigy' (or mummy) that was the object of processions reported in the 10th and 17th centuries.
5. The hagiographical *piece de resistance* is an English translation of a late 8th-century *vita* of Huineng preserved by Tendai 天台 monks in Japan. It was acquired in China by Saicho 最澄 (763-822) among many other credentials to prove his affiliations to several spiritual traditions, including the 'southern meditation school' associated with Huineng. This *vita* is much richer in topographical detail, in strange omens, and in miracles than the roughly contemporary *Platform Sutra*. Another peculiarity of this *vita* is the inclusion of a correspondence between Huineng and his successors at Cao's Brook with the Tang imperial court - an insertion apparently derived from a different source.

I would like to warn my more orthodox Buddhist readers that wherever topographical analysis and hagiographical exegesis appear to contradict each other, I will generally follow the lead of *prima facie* topographical evidence - as far as the rules of good scholarship will allow. When in the course of this investigation I happen to expose topographical contradictions among hagiographical sources, I will also make no attempt to synthesize these dissimilarities but treat them as instances of 'disputed locality' (not to be confused with the 'contested space' described in recent studies of Buddhist-Daoist coexistence at popular holy mountains). As to the topographical contradictions found in and among later topographical sources, I feel that further research, especially fieldwork, is most needed. Ma Yuan's seventeenth-century *Current Gazetteer of Cao's Brook* 曹溪通志 would be an excellent starting point.

Evam Buddham saranam gacchami	我归依佛
Evam Dharmam saranam gacchami	我归依法
Evam Sangham saranam gacchami	我归依僧

Acknowledgments

All things are conditionally arising. This study has benefited greatly from the unconditional guidance, comment and support of my supervisors: Professor Dr Jan Bremmer, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen; Professor Timothy Barrett, PhD, Department of Religion, School of Oriental and African Studies, London; my paranymphs Mrs. Tineke Scholtens and Richard M. Kaut, M.D.; and my parents Mr and Mrs Jan Kuiken of Sintjohannesga. If instead of defending my dissertation I were to give a sermon, like the Sixth Ancestor allegedly did on the High Seat of the Law in Mahabrahman 大范 Abbey, it would start like this:

"Learned audience! My interest in early Zen (or Chan) Buddhism was kindled during my two working years in Hong Kong. I visited monasteries and read the *Platform Scripture*, allegedly a series of sermons by an illiterate Cantonese monk who is venerated as the "Sixth Patriarch" (or ancestor) of the Chan/Zen school. I noticed that the rhetoric of Chan squared well with the spirit of Hong Kong. I felt that Chan is indeed a genuine Hong Kong way of life. I enjoyed the lecture of Edward Schafer's *The Vermilion Bird: Tang Images of the South* and found northern Chinese expatriated to Hong Kong to be as ill at ease in the south as the exile poems in that book show their expatriate authors to have been in Early Tang Lingnan. My own experience of the south was rather more joyful. I loved to listen to the early morning calls of francolins in the hazy green hills of Lantau Island and to the open-air night opera recitals in Temple Street, where singers occasionally turn into southern bodhisattvas.

Back in Groningen, I published *Het leven, het lijf, de liefde en de leer*, a bundle of popular essays on Chinese religion, including a theater monologue based on the auto-biographical chapter of the *Platform Sutra*. Dr Harunaga Isaacson then introduced me to John McRae's study on *The Northern School*. From that book and from Bernard Faure's *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, I learned to read Chan history as an invented tradition, driven by the ideological agendas of monks eager to please wealthy patrons and the imperial court. Further reading revealed to me the agendas of modern Chan researchers: the pragmatism of Hu Shi 胡适; the nationalism of D.T. Suzuki; Bernard Faure's erudite deconstructivism; and the recently emerged regionalism of 'South China culturists'. When I was introduced to Professor Timothy Barrett in London, I started to think of a doctoral dissertation on Chan under his supervision. It was agreed that I would defend my thesis in Groningen with Professor Jan Bremmer as my *upadhyaya* and Prof. Barrett as the distinguished guest of the University.

In November 1997, the three of us met in London. Jan Bremmer flew in from Chicago, I flew in from Amsterdam, and Tim Barrett had caught a train from Cambridge. It was decided that we would share a Chinese meal in Wardour Street and that each of us would pick a dish. Tim Barrett ordered a translation of a Japanese *vita* of the Great Teacher of

Cao's Brook. I had an appetite for Song Zhiwen's poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou: an audience with meditation teacher Neng* which I believed (and still believe) to be the only remaining potential eyewitness account of an encounter with Huineng of Shaozhou. Jan Bremmer having Peter Brown's *Holy Man in Late Antiquity* at heart, we also ordered a big serving of 'strangers *par excellence* in a local context'. We then enjoyed a meal of unusual flavors 奇味 and sparkling beer.

At some point I went to Leiden to see Prof. W.L. Idema on my translation of Song Zhiwen's poem. This made me feel like an illiterate southerner going to see the Fifth Ancestor, but I trust that in terms of my cultivation, the rice is done now. In December, 1996 and November, 1998 I visited South China Abbey at Cao's Brook near Shaoguan in Guangdong. I had friendly conversations with *upashaka* Lin Dezhong 林得众, honorary chairman of the local Buddhist Association, who clarified some toponymical problems and donated me his own annotated Chinese copy of Xuyun's biography. In 1998 I also visited the site of the former Yuehua 月华 Monastery at Mengli on the North River and Huairang of Nanyue's *stupa* at Mt Heng in Hunan. At the town of Nanyue, I enjoyed the hospitality of abbot Baotan 宝昙 of Dashan 大善 Nunnery, who also presented me with some rare scholarly materials. Back in Hong Kong, Dr. Graeme Lang of City University kindly discussed with me the theoretical presumptions behind his book on Wong Tai Sin which in turn provided a framework for my own ideas on the development of Huineng's cult. Finally I met with Professor Tam Sai Po 谭世宝 of the Universidade de Macau who enriched me with the proceedings of the International Conference on Huineng and Southern Culture 六祖慧能与岭南文化国际研讨会 held in Macau. I would have been far less prepared for these expeditions and meetings without the loyal support from my friends at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and at the nearby Wai Chuen Buddhist Monastery 慧泉寺. I especially mention Mrs Jean Hung 熊景明 at the Universities Service Centre, Ms Ann Chiu 邱淑如 at the University Library System, and Abbot Sik Kor Yin 释果贤 with whom I took triple refuge at the monastery and who obliged me with several precious copies of classical Zen scriptures. In the spring of 2000, I was also honored by the very erudite Dr Richard Ho 何文汇 of Chinese University with his criticism of my translation of Song Zhiwen's poem. In early 2001, Professor J.H. Nieuwenhuis and the supervisor of my M.A. thesis Drs Jaap den Hollander of Groningen were kind enough to discuss with me the legal and historiographical contexts of legal fictions, while Dr Monika Kopplin, Director of the *Museum fuer Lackkunst* in Munster, brought together valuable data on the technique of dry lacquer sculpture. When this dissertation was ready for review, Professor Barend J. ter Haar of Leiden kindly shared with me some vital comments on my treatment of non-Chinese natives of the deep south. Publication of this dissertation on CD-ROM together with this companion booklet was made possible by Henk Boomker and Riemer Knoop of Haren, Edward J. Kuiken of St Annaparochie, Werner Raben of Groningen, and Jim M. Thompson of Hong Kong. I feel indebted to all. Before I could submit my dissertation for approval and defense, a very old and dear friend died. Mr Tjeerd Bijlenga of Leeuwarden had kindly and patiently introduced me to the practice of meditation and the treasures of Asian philosophy when I was fourteen. To his compassion, wisdom, and gentle memory I gratefully dedicate the present study."

Samenvatting

Wie Zen zegt, denkt aan Japan, maar de "uitvinders" van het Zenboeddhisme waren Chinese monniken. Van Huineng (kortweg: Neng 能, ovl. 713), de zesde en laatste van deze "Zenvaders", is een "autobiografie" bekend die ik heb vertaald en bewerkt in mijn essaybundel *Het leven, het lijf, de liefde en de leer* (Utrecht 1996). In het klooster Nanhua 南华 aan de Cao-beek 曹溪 bij de stad Shaoguan 韶关 in Zuid-China wordt een vergulde "mummie 肉身" van de Zesde Zenvader 六祖 vereerd. In 1990 beschreef Carolijn Visser in *Buigend bamboe* haar bezoek aan dit Zen-pelgrimsoord.

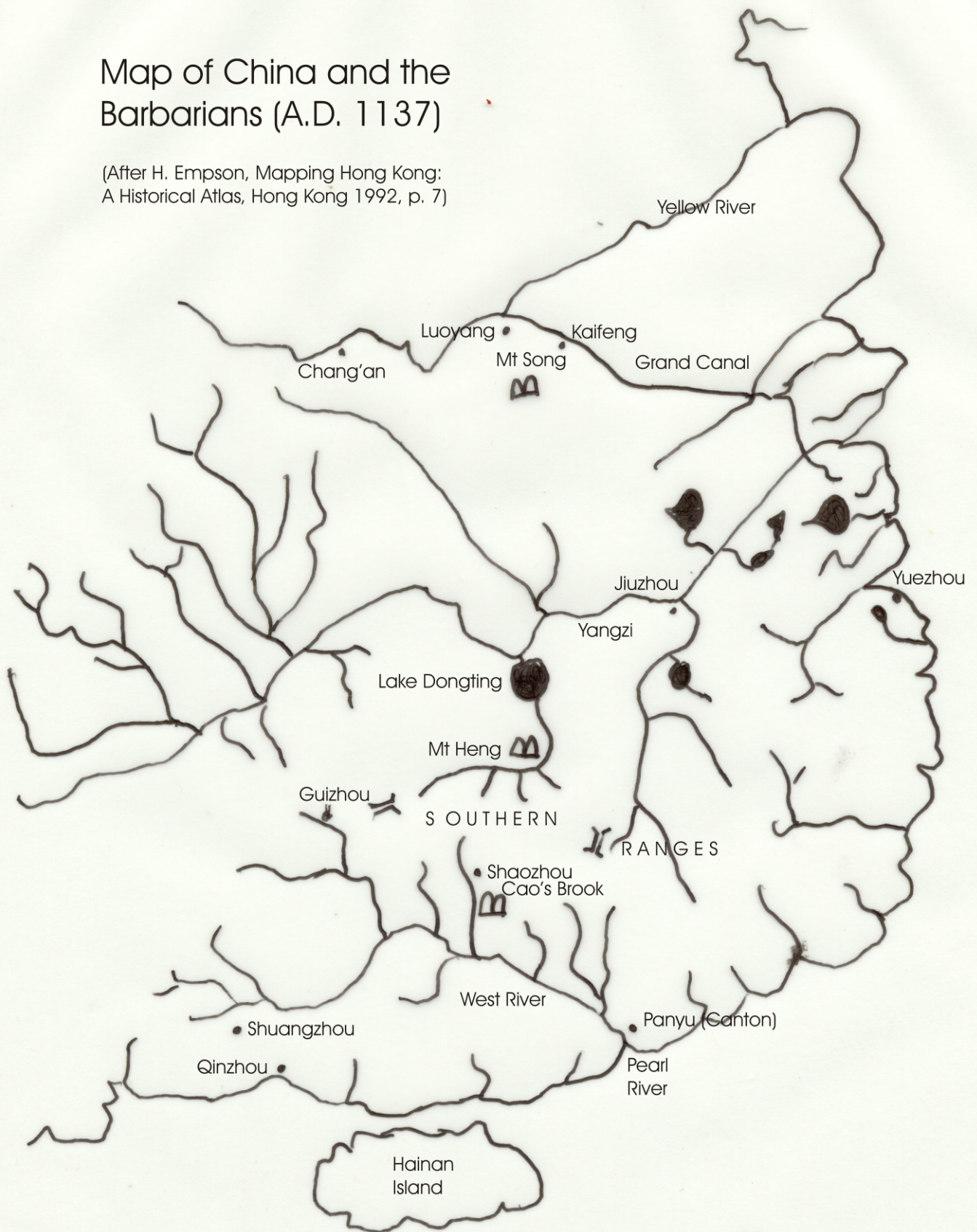
Voor mijn proefschrift onderzocht ik deze en andere overleveringen over de Zesde Zenvader. Er is maar een tijdgenoot die over een ontmoeting met "meditatieleraar Neng" schrijft: de dichter Song Zhiwen 宋之问 die in 713 in ballingschap in Zuid-China overleed. Maar Zhiwen bezocht Neng niet aan de Cao-beek maar op de heilige berg Heng 衡, ruim duizend kilometer naar het noorden. Het gebied rondom Shaoguan en de Cao-beek werd pas in 716 ontsloten. Daarna onstond in Shaoguan een rijk boeddhistisch leven dat ook bedelmonniken van de berg Heng aantrok. Vermoedelijk hebben zij de verering van hun "meditatieleraar Neng" meegenomen. Neng wordt in andere heiligenlevens ook wel de "leraar van de Twee Bergtoppen" genoemd. Een enkele tekst stelt dat hij woonde op twee plaatsen: op de "Twee Bergtoppen 双峰" en bij de "Bron van de Leer 法泉" (een oude naam voor het Nanhua-klooster). De onmiddellijke omgeving van het klooster zelf is licht glooiend, maar ruim vijftien kilometer stroomafwaarts vond ik toch twee steile karstrotsen met eeuwenoude grotten ("Lion's Crag 狮子岩") in het beekdal staan. Grotten waren in het oude China heilige plaatsen waar kluizenaars graag verbleven. Vermoedelijk liggen de wortels van de plaatselijke Huineng-verering in Lion's Crag en niet in Nanhua.

Pas omstreeks 765 vermeldt een Japanse bezoeker een beeld van Huineng in Nanhua. Wanneer Neng na 812 wordt "heilig verklaard", trekt het gerucht dat het beeld een mummie is duizenden pelgrims naar het klooster. Daarna verdwijnen geleidelijk alle verwijzingen naar Huineng op andere plaatsen uit de officiële hagiografie. In een Tendai 天台-klooster in Japan is echter nog een heiligenleven bewaard van voor de canonisatie. Deze "*Betsuden* 别传" (letterlijk: alternatieve biografie) geeft veel meer "couleur locale" dan de zogenaamde autobiografie van Huineng. De eerste Engelse vertaling van de *Betsuden* besluit mijn onderzoek naar "de andere Neng".

De topografie en de hagiografie van de Huineng-verering sporen dus niet altijd met elkaar. Dat het Nanhua-klooster zich als het "enige echte" klooster van de Zesde Zenvader heeft kunnen ontwikkelen, komt kennelijk door de verering van de "mummie". Voor alle pelgrimsoorden is de fictie van een *praesentia realis* 真身 (het gevoel dat een heilige echt aanwezig is op de plaats van de verering) van levensbelang. Hoewel Neng bij zijn leven te onbeduidend was om te worden gemummificeerd, werd zijn "mummie" eeuwenlang ieder voorjaar in processie rondgedragen. Dat is dus een heel ander soort "Zen" dan we doorgaans in het Westen beoefenen. "Zenboeddhisme" is blijkbaar gewoon Chinees boeddhisme, met alle heiligenvereringen die daar doorgaans bij horen.

Map of China and the Barbarians (A.D. 1137)

(After H. Empson, Mapping Hong Kong: A Historical Atlas, Hong Kong 1992, p. 7)





-  (Sacred) mountain
-  Mountain pass

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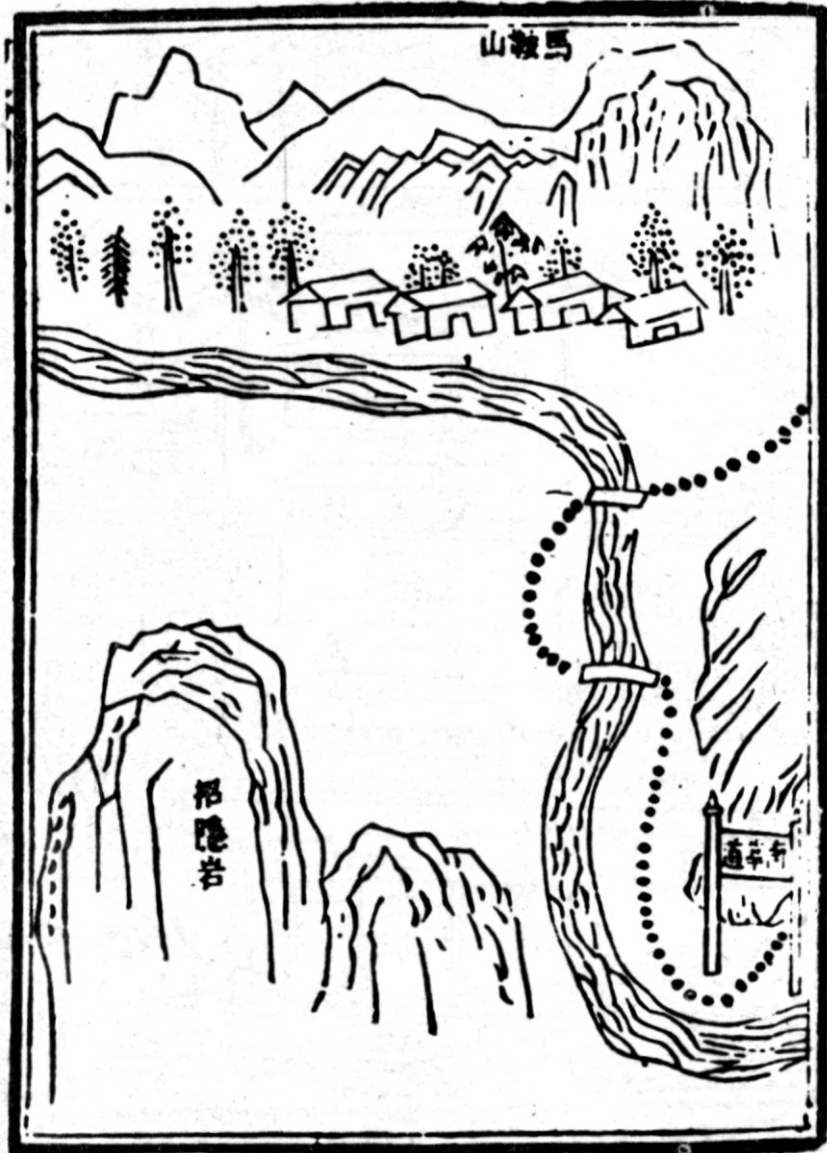
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Opposite page: illustration from the *Cao's Brook Gazetteer* 曹溪通志(1836) showing Lion's Crag (here named Zhaoyin Crag 招隱岩) to the left and the 'road to Nanhua (Abbey) 南华道' to the right. The background shows Mt. Ma'an 马鞍.



馬鞍山

招隱岩

招隱寺

COROLLARIA

(Propositions 1 through 9: this dissertation, chapter 1.5)

1. Chan (Zen) hagiography is applied as a strategy to dissociate a holy man from his local context and assimilate him into a larger discourse of ideological controversy.
2. Chan (Zen) historiography is also applied as a strategy to dissociate a holy man from his local context and assimilate him into a linear temporal discourse.
3. Chan (Zen) hagiography has little place for strangeness; Chan (Zen) historiography has little place for holiness.
4. An epistemological critique of the worship of Chan (Zen) men and miracles as attempted in Bernard Faure's *Chan Insights and Oversights* requires a topographical context .
5. Topography is a strategy to revisualize local conditions and variables such as holiness, strangeness, controversy and embarrassment.
6. The notion of strangeness is always and everywhere predicated on local conditions.
7. Strangeness and embarrassment are respectively the objective and subjective signals of controversy.
8. Expulsion, sublimation and assimilation have all been applied as strategies to resolve controversy that involves strangeness and embarrassment.
9. Sublimation of the strange implies familiarization and can also take place in a specific local context.
10. Airconditioning did more than any traditional 'Asian values' to raise productivity in Asia during the 1970s and the 1980s. (ad Chris Patten, *East and West*, New York 1998).

About this edition

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Overture: The Worship of Strangers

開論：謁異

'Try to see it once my way
Everything Zen
Everything Zen
I don't think so'¹

'The holy man [...] was the 'stranger' *par excellence*.'²

'At once a person of the world and an icon, he instructed snakes and tigers;
[...] he is worshipped by every family as their ancestor.'³

1.1. The south: an orientation 指南品第一

Among many other things, 'Zen' is the name of an expensive Cantonese restaurant in Hong Kong and of an even more expensive Oriental restaurant at London Heathrow Airport. Zen has been associated with food since Dōgen Zenji 道元禪師 (1200-1253) compared meditation to finding mushrooms for the famous *loh⁴ hon³ jaai¹* 羅漢齋, and students of the Law to a dish of crudities.⁴ Thus I have heard. 'Zen' is also the common namer for some eastern Buddhist traditions which base themselves on a personal transmission of the Buddha's paradigm rather than on a particular reading of some Buddhist scripture. In China between 750 and 850, this rhetoric of an immediate transmission of the Law was preached by the so-called 'southern patriline of the meditation school 禪門南宗'. After 800, it spread to Japan and Korea, too. The meditation practices taught in these schools are called 禪 [dzian] in Early Mandarin Chinese, Chan in Modern Mandarin, Som in Korean and Zen in Japanese. All these names derive from Sanskrit *dhyana* and will be rendered hereafter by Chinese 'Chan'.

Why was this so-called 'southern line' called 'southern'? One possible explanation is that around AD 500 its legendary founder, the Indian anachorete Bodhidharma, preached and taught in the southern Chinese empire of Liang 梁. Yet Bodhidharma's extant hagiography is an apparent conflation of anecdotes and myths of both northern and southern Chinese origins.⁵ Another explanation could be

that around AD 650 a famous meditation seminar was located in Huangmei 黃梅 County on the north bank of the Yangzi, which was in the Old South of Tang China. In the 730s, meditation teacher Shenhui of Heze 河澤神會 (d. 764) claimed that his own teacher Huineng of Shaozhou 韶州惠能 had studied at Huangmei.⁶ Around 735, the famous poet Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) tentatively identified Huineng in a stele inscription as:

a meditation teacher at Cao's Brook 曹溪 [in Shaozhou],
of the laic surname Lu 盧, a man from an unknown county
in an unknown commandery. The names are unreliable.⁷

Huineng's cult began to flourish a few years after Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (673-740), a native from Shaozhou (now Shaoguan 韶關 municipality in northern Guangdong 廣東 province), became the first 'southerner' to rise to high office at court. Between 734 and 736, Jiuling served as a prime minister under emperor Xuanzong of Tang 唐玄宗 (r. 713-756). Huineng's apotheosis and Jiuling's career were both signs of the beginning emancipation of China's deep south, which then included modern Guangdong and Guangxi. To educated Chinese, the south meant what Tomi was to Ovid: an uncivil outpost of the empire, rife with miasms, plagues and other perils. Many exiled scholar-officials perceived the area as a *Strafkolonie* rather than as a part of China proper.⁸

When young Zhang Jiuling first came to the capital to sit for his palace examination, his examiner Shen Quanqi 沈全琪 (d. 713) introduced him to Zhang Yue 張說 (667-730), who would become his patron at court. The Tang establishment, especially the royal princes, frowned upon the appearance of 'southern barbarians' (it was apparently less offensive that the House of Tang were themselves strangers of mixed Turkic-Chinese ancestry). Behind his back Jiuling was probably referred to as a southern 'creole'. Jiuling eventually lost his battle against the Tang princes: in 736 he stepped down after an argument with senior prime minister Li Linfu 李林甫. Zhang Jiuling died in 739 in Jingzhou 荊州 on the Yangzi, but in Shaozhou he was already a local hero. In 716, during a brief tour of duty in his hometown, he had effectively opened up the prefecture to the growing network of post roads north of the Dayu 大庾 Range.⁹ Jiuling was buried in 740 on his family estate, a few miles west of the city of Shaozhou.¹⁰

Most scholars now agree that Jiuling's family had lived in Shaozhou for some generations and that they claimed to be hailing from Fanyang 范陽, an old choronym for the modern Peking area.¹¹ That his patron Zhang Yue also claimed Fanyang roots may have helped their bonding. Incidentally, the so-called *Six Ancestor's Platform Sutra* 六祖壇經, which contains a *vita* of Huineng, also claims Fanyang as the origin of that holy man's family:

[Huineng's] father was originally an official at Fanyang. He was[later] dismissed from his post and banished as a commoner to Xinzhou 新州 in Lingnan 嶺南.¹²

This *vita* is ascribed to a monk named Fahai 法海 who according to the *Shaozhou Prefecture Gazetteer* 韶州府誌 (SG) was born in Shaozhou in 650 as Zhang Wenchong 張文充 and who was a scholar before he 'left home' and studied with Huineng. Fahai later became abbot of the famous Six Banyan Abbey 六榕寺 in Canton. It must not be ruled out that he was a relative of Zhang Jiuling - perhaps even his brother or cousin.¹³

Around the time Fahai or his disciples compiled the *Platform Sutra* (that is: around 780), 'Fanyang' was probably a southern synecdoche of the barren north, much in the way Walt Disney's cartoons made 'Timbuctoo' a trope of Saharan Africa. Fanyang became really famous in 755 when the Turkic general Roqsan 安祿山 revolted there against emperor Xuanzong.¹⁴ Both Fahai, representing Huineng to a southern audience as a man from Fanyang, and Wang Wei, introducing him to northern readers as a man of unknown roots, conveyed the same message: Neng was a stranger. In that same manner, the notion of the 'south' as in 'southern school of meditation' was also a trope of strangeness.

1.2. A strange scent 異香品第二

In AD 816 emperor Dezong of Tang 唐德宗 reportedly gave a posthumous charter to meditation teacher Shenhui of Heze as a seventh-generation ancestor in Bodhidharma's 'southern' tradition. As Shenhui had claimed to be a student of Huineng of Shaozhou, the imperial beatification of the former implied the canonization of the latter. As seen from the throne, this was not only an acknowledgement of the emancipation of the deep south, but also an expedient towards the assimilation of a powerful religious movement moving from China's periphery into the mainstream of Chinese religious culture. Both points are illustrated in a famous passage by Fahai, which suggests that Huineng was really a Klao 獠, or Coloman, that is: a creole native of Guangxi or Guangdong:

Great Teacher [Hongren of Huangmei] reproved Huineng saying: 'You are a man from Lingnan and [you] are also a creole. How do *you* want to be a Buddha?' Huineng answered: [...] There are indeed northern and southern men, [but] there is just no 'northern' or 'southern' Buddhahood. [My] creole body is not like your Reverence, [but] what difference is there in [our] Buddhahood?¹⁵

As a rule, Buddhist truths come in two levels, and so does this simple quip. It is not only a point scored for the emancipation of the south, but also a reference to a belief held dear by almost every Buddhist in China: the faith in innate and universal Buddhahood 本覺. Hence what could be mistaken for an exotic topos (*'le bon sauvage'*) ultimately falls into the broad fold of mainstream Buddhism in China: every sentient being can be a Buddha.

Even if Huineng was assimilated into mainstream Chinese hagiography as a paradigm of innate Buddhahood, southerners still love to see him simply as a Buddha in the flesh. In Hong Kong he is often depicted in a terminal stage of mortification, with his emaciated body in the Lotus seat (*padmasana*) - like the Buddha after six years of meditation. The best accessible of these icons are in the Tiger Balm Gardens on Hong Kong Island and in the forecourt of the Ten Thousand Buddha Temple at Shatin in the New Territories. As a rule such icons of mortification represent monks whose 'carnal bodies' 肉身 were also preserved as mummies. The cult of Huineng's so-called mummy in the South China 南華 Abbey in in Shaozhou is well documented, not only in the usual Chinese *vitae* but also in a hilarious record by the Jesuit missionary Longobardo who arrived in Shaozhou in 1589:

[after a long drought] they gave up hope in the city gods, and for the occasion they brought in a celebrated monster from the country. Its name was *Locu* 六祖. They paraded it about, bowed and made offerings to it, but [...] it [also] remained deaf to their pleading. This occasion gave rise to the saying: *Locu* is growing old.¹⁶

In the early *vitae* of southern Chinese Buddhist holy men, the apotheosis of an eminent meditation teacher into an ancestor is usually described through topoi. One very common instance is the appearance of a 'strange scent' 異香 at the time of his death:

'When Great Teacher [Hong-]Ren passed away, a hundred birds cried in grief and a strange scent perfumed the air. The sun was obscured.' [...]

And from the day Great Teacher [Huineng] died, his pure spirit has been around, watching everything. There is always a strange scent in the shrine.¹⁷

The occurrence of a 'rare fragrance 異香' was also mentioned after the cremation of the famous twentieth-century meditation teacher' Xuyun 虛雲 (1840-1959).¹⁸ Tempting as it may be to relate these peculiar perfumes to the *odores sanctitatis* as proof of contact with heaven in orthodox Christian hagiography, in a Chinese context they are rather understood as residues of 'efficacy' 靈, a technical

term for 'all the powers attributed to spiritual entities', including the ability to 'enter absorption' 入定 and automummify.¹⁹

The Chinese belief in efficacy is predicated on deep-seated fears that the dead are able to interfere with the living, and not only in friendly ways. Spirits harboring a vengeance will often try to do harm, inflicting illnesses and disasters upon the living. The objective of Chinese funerals is hence to keep the deceased from becoming 'an unworshipped, unremembered [...] ghost', that is: to separate them from the magic of their efficacy.²⁰ Once this is done, many souls go into oblivion, but some will be remembered and worshipped as 'ancestors', who are usually believed not to interfere with the living.²¹

The worshipping of 'carnal bodies' of meditation teachers as ancestral icons is illustrated by the cult of the seventeenth-century monk Deqing 德清 (a.k.a. Hanshan 憨山) as the 'seventh ancestor' of South China Abbey.²² The dynamics surrounding mummification can be understood from the cult of the monk Yuet Kai 月溪 (1879-1965) in Hong Kong:

On 9th December, 1965, after having been buried for 8 months the body of Rev. Yuet Kai was unearthed and found that it had not decayed, but turned into the color of gold with his hair and beard intact. This is the result of self cultivation and strict discipline.²³

The conclusion that the incorruptibility of Yuet Kai's body was predicated on his virtuous life was drawn by a disciple in the early 1970s. Another student wrote in 1955:

Great Teacher Yuet Kai was born in a Kunming family. He read literature and the classics, Daoism and Buddhism, especially the Middle Path, meditation, the tradition of the Triple Scholars and the enlightenment of *nagas* and elephants. He then became himself a meditation teacher. His blissful compassion was an example to east and west, north and south. Whoever looks for the Law must face his own acts. In more than fifty years he taught countless students from all China, and especially from the south. Eventually the rain of his Law fell on the monks of Shatin in Hong Kong. At the site of the present abbey he gathered a school of eminent disciples. His heart and eyes were full of love. [...] And the flower opened in five petals, and the mirror revealed the shine of clouds and dew [...] The Grand *Vajra* Scholar says: 'Bodhidharmatrata shall come again from across the water, the sea and the ocean. And the lotus shall open up to the monks, and all shall

ascend the golden platform and pass over to yonder shore to beget a lotus child.

Long shall they live, and the Buddha's Law shall shine all over!²⁴

Readers familiar with Chan hagiography will quickly recognize allusions to the reflecting mirror (the mind) and the flower opening in five petals (the Chan school itself). The text also contains several esoteric references with a taste of Tibetan *vajrayana*: the golden platform, the lotus child, and also the name of 'Bodhidharmatrata', a Tibetan alias of Bodhidharma whom Tibetan Buddhists worship as one of the eighteen *arahants* (there has indeed been a statue of Bodhidharma in front of the temple as long as I can remember).²⁵ But an official *vita*, published under the auspices of the (mainland) Chinese Buddhist Association in 1992, redefines Yuet Kai exclusively as a follower of Huineng's 'Chan':

'The Law came to China under the Han and Ming emperors. [Bodhi]dharma came east as the First Ancestor of the meditation school. His robe and bowl were handed down from teacher to teacher until the Sixth Ancestor [Hui-]Neng. Thus [Hong-]Ren's Law came south as a Buddha in the flesh at South China Abbey in Guangdong. When the transmission of the robe and bowl ended, the meditation tradition of the Greater Vehicle of the Buddha's Law continued to spread throughout China. Confucian scholars studied the same in depth and found the lives of eminent monks both accessible and abundant. At all times there were converts with great influence in learned circles of China, particularly on the philosophers of the Song and Ming eras. Quite a few meditation teachers have been famous as they became awakened by seeing through their own nature, but teachers possessing a Diamond Flesh Body which instead of decaying becomes an incarnate bodhisattva of pure gold are rarely seen.'²⁶

The *vita* alleges to be quoting from a *Stele for the Gilding and the Setting in State of the Reverend Yuet Kai's Dharmakaya Flesh Body* 月溪上人肉身法體捕金圓滿升座碑 displayed at Ten Thousand Buddhas Abbey. In the course of several visits during the 1980s and 1990s, however, I have been unable to locate this particular stele. I also noted that a very interesting series of photographs of the burying and retrieval of Yuet Kai's remains, on permanent display during the 1980s, disappeared during the 1990s. Those photos were previously exhibited at the foot of the holy man's body and are also visible in a 1980s color photograph of the enshrined mummy, reproduced opposite the title page of the official *vita*. The first chapter of this *vita*, aptly titled: 'A Strange Buddhist Monk 佛門奇僧', describes Yuet Kai's last hours, death and funeral:

In 1965, on the 23d of the third lunar month, teacher Yuet Kai of Hong Kong was preparing a sermon when he suddenly felt ill. Knowing that his hour had come, he told his disciples to bury his deceased Body of the Law 法身 in a sealed coffin and to gild his remains after eight months, and to display it at the abbey. And he sang:

'Preaching, teaching, year after year,
To live, to die, the end is near.
Many years did I abide
This day I enter the void.'

That same evening at 8:00, he entered nirvana seated. He had been in this world for 87 years. 'When the sealed coffin was dug up and opened on the 17th of the eleventh lunar month of the same year, all viscera and even his beard and hairs appeared fully preserved, and the entirely intact body was gold-colored. It was then gold-plated and displayed in Amitabha's Hall at the said Abbey. [...] That such a miracle can occur in this subtropical Hong Kong in south China in this age of science [...], a thousand years after the death of Sixth Ancestor Huineng of the meditation school, is truly remarkable.' 27

Equally remarkable is the absence of the 'strange scents' that could be expected in hot, humid Hong Kong. The preface to this *vita* also emphasizes that Yuet Kai was 'born in Yunnan, grew up in Yunnan, left home and took the precepts in Yunnan' prior to spending more than half a century in Hong Kong. Not surprisingly, this eulogy was written by Dao Shuren 刀述仁, chair of the Yunnan chapter of the Chinese Buddhist Association.²⁸

This mainland-sponsored *vita* was published in Hong Kong in 1992, five years before Hong Kong was reduced to a special administrative zone of the Chinese People's Republic, under the auspices of the Chinese Buddhist Association which is at all levels controlled by the Chinese Communist Party. Probably around the same time, the photographs of Yuet Kai's exhumation (with bilingual captions) were removed from Amitabha's Hall. The Chinese authorities obviously 'sanitized' the site of Yuet Kai's cult in the eve of Hong Kong's reduction: they removed the powerful but controversial images of his apotheosis from public display but did not dare to touch the mummy itself. They may not have noticed that photos of the exhumation were still distributed freely as part of printed copies of Yuet Kai's own commentary on the *Diamond*, a private laic production provided to worshippers in the abbey's main building: the Ten Thousand Buddhas Hall.

In July, 1997, however, in the wake of Hong Kong's reduction, mudslides caused by torrential rains 暴雨山洪 heavily damaged two buildings adjacent to Amitabha's Hall at the Shatin Abbey: Guanyin's Hall 觀音殿 and the Jade Emperor's Hall 玉皇殿 and destroyed the path leading from the main courtyard up to these structures, rendering Yuet Kai's mummy virtually unaccessible to visitors. In a way, however, this disaster proved a boon in disguise, mobilizing a group of supporters under the patronage of Hong Kong's popular Chief Secretary Mrs Anson Chan 陳方安生. Under Mrs Chan's aegis, the group was able to contract the Chung Wah 中華 Travel Agency as the main sponsor for the restoration - a remarkable feat, for this 'agency' is the unofficial consular representation to Hong Kong of the Republic of China on Taiwan. At the same time, a charity was registered with the Inland Revenue Authority under the name 'Ten Thousand Buddhas Monastery Ltd'. In January, 1998, funds were raised at a benefit concert staged by Chung Wah and two local Canton Opera schools.²⁹ In March, 2000, however, the damage to the upper halls had still not been repaired. Although the stairway leading to the upper terrace had been fortified, the area was yet closed off to tourists.³⁰ I nevertheless went up to Amitabha's Hall to find Yuet Kai's mummy fully intact and even some of the old photographs reappeared. The captions read:

(1) Rev. Yuet Kai, a native of Yunnan Province, China. Graduated from Aurora 辰曉 University in Shanghai in 1897. A professor of philosophy at Yen Ching 燕京 University at Peking before becoming a monk at the age of nineteen. Preached Buddhism throughout his life. Wrote 98 books on Buddhism. Founder of the Ten Thousand Buddha Temple in Shatin, N.T., H.K. A vegetarian for 68 years. [In his eighties, he was still trotting around like a youngster and lectured at the Pak Fa Yau 百花油 Buddhist Auditorium at Kennedy Road in Hong Kong].³¹

(2) Passed away peacefully on the night of 24 April 1965 at the age of 87.

(3) Acting in accordance with the verbal instruction given by Rev. Yuet Kai during his lifetime, his followers put his body in a wooden box 木龕 and buried it in a hill behind the Temple for 8 months. ['If gilt, the *dharmakaya* 法身 can be exhumed and then preserved forever inside Ten Thousand Buddha Temple'.]

(4) After 8 months the body was exhumed. It was found that it had undergone practically no change after 8 months' enternment, his nose, eyes, ears, hair and beard all remaining intact. A photography [sic] was immediately taken in which appear an image of a tiger in the lower right ribs and that of a human head on the breast. Is this the image of SAKYAMUNI, Founder of Buddhism? Hong-Kong

is in the subtropical zone. Why there is no decomposition after death or what the images are meant for is inconceivable and a mystery to living souls.

(5) The body of Rev. Yuet Kai was gilt and enthroned in May, 1966.

The miracle of the tiger and the Buddha's head is not mentioned in the official *vita*. There is still a long stele inscription to the right of the entrance of the main hall, dated R.O.C. 63 (1974) and singing Yuet Kai's praise. Two other steles in Amitabha's Hall, dated B.E. 2507 (1963) and B.E. 2521 (1977) respectively, described several of Yuet Kai's meritorious works. Although written after Yuet Kai's death, none mentioned any 'strange scents'.³² Another interesting development was that a life-size gilt statue of Yuet Kai was displayed in front of the main altar at Ten Thousand Buddhas Hall - a representation of the mummy that by a conjuncture of natural and political events had been declared inaccessible to visitors. It was as if at the higher level (i.e. Amitabha's Hall, some 50 meters above the main courtyard) the original cult of the mummy was being turned into a private affair, while a sanitized public cult of the new statue was promoted at the lower level main hall.

During my following visit in January, 2001, things looked entirely different. The halls at the upper level were still awaiting restauration and Amitabha's Hall was firmly locked. A peek through a side window revealed that the mummy had disappeared, with Yuet Kai's life-size gilt statue now sitting at the foot of the Amitabha. Going down to the main hall, I was not entirely surprised to find a gilded figure, clad in the robes that used to adorn the mummy, sitting in front of the main altar. But how different it was from the mummy as I had known it literally up close for all these years! The gilded face appeared very casually plastered or sculpted, which gave the 'mummy' the air of an alien who had just landed at Roswell, N.M., and Yuet Kai's original wrinkled face with black brows, mustache and beard sticking out from a thin layer of gold had become entirely invisible. A posted notice from the 'H.K. Ten Thousand Buddha Monastery Management Committee' read:³³

This Abbey was recently honored by Teacher of the Law Shenyong 聖詠 of Holy Silence 聖默 Abbey, Taiwan, guiding disciples and gilding masters in the restauration and regilding of the True Body 真身 of the founder of this Abbey, Teacher of the Law Yuet Kai. Now that the Teacher's True Body looks as new [sic] and its splendor has reappeared [,] the reinauguration service for Teacher Yuet Kai's True Body will be held on Saturday, January 13, 2001, at 9:30 AM. [...]

In Taiwan, several instances of 'automummification' of Buddhist monks have been reported since the 1950s. The mummy of Cihang 慈航 (1896-1954) predates Yuet Kai's and is its precedent in a strictly

chronological sense. Born in Fujian, he spent six years on Mt Emei studying the Tiantai, Pure Land and meditation traditions. He was the living image of the legendary monk Cotton Bag 布帶 and has been photographed in the latter's characteristic 'Laughing Buddha 樂佛' pose. Following his death in Taiwan in 1954, he was buried in a traditional 'inhumation jar'. His body was recovered intact in 1959. The Cihang Memorial Committee then hired a sculptor who plastered, lacquered and gilt the 'true body' which is still on display at the Golden Buddha Abbey of Hsichih village.³⁴ Another mummified monk, the Pure Land abbot Qingyan 清嚴 (1923-1970) can be seen in a small nunnery at Hsintien 新店, a suburb of Taipei. Like Cihang's 'true body', Qingyan's 'carnal body' was plastered, lacquered and gilt following its intact recovery in 1976 (photographs of the burial and the plastering are distributed by the nunnery). Both Cihang at Hsichih and Qingyan at Hsintien are venerated locally as Bodhisattvas 菩薩.³⁵

It is obvious that the 'Taiwanized' mummy presented as Yuet Kai's 'True Body' (notice the change in rhetoric) has become more of a public object than before. In several respects, however, it is also less approachable than the 'original 'carnal body''. While at Amitabha's Hall, the glass casket had at all times allowed a very close inspection of the 'old' mummy, the area around the 'new' mummy at the main hall was cordoned off to maintain a distance of several meters. The thick layers of plaster and lacquer on the face of the 'new' mummy (or perhaps: the new 'mummy') also added some physical distance. Pictures of the exhumation were nowhere to be seen and details of the restoration were also unavailable.

There is something very peculiar about this Ten Thousand Buddhas Abbey. Since Yuet Kai died in 1965, no monks (or nuns) have lived there. A local layman, the *upashaka* Ng Sing-tat 吳星達, was appointed executor of Yuet Kai's estate, of which the abbey was declared part and parcel. Although it was practically no more than a temple, the title 'monastery' or 'abbey 寺' has been retained throughout, obviously because of the continuing *praesentia realis* of its founding abbot. The various strategies adopted by several Buddhist and worldly authorities to deal with this *praesentia realis* before and after the Hong Kong handover suggest that this matter has been more ambiguous and controversial than the abbey's current keepers are apparently willing to concede.³⁶

1.3. Ambiguity and assimilation 文化品第三

Why was Yuet Kai's shrine purged of evidence of his mummification in the eve of the Hong Kong handover and completely sanitized in its wake? Did those in charge fear that the odors of sanctity around his carnal body could still spark sedition? Or were they so afraid of the numinous efficacy of this holy man, who was still able to move mountains thirty years after his mummification, that they

decided to encapsulate his numinous powers as if he were a nuclear reactor vessel at Chernobyl? The reason may have been more subtle: genuine embarrassment. Embarrassment is produced when we are eye to eye with someone or something alien, especially when that sense of alienation comes unexpected. Among the most embarrassing things one may encounter is a dead body that has been dried, gilded and dressed up like new. But contrary to Asian common sense, embarrassment is not necessarily unpleasant. Far more subtle than anger, fear or sexual excitement, it is indeed an ambiguous sensation: it often mingles the familiar with the exotic and the banal with the sublime. With some sensitivity and training, embarrassment can even become a reliable signal of encounters with the genuinely alien: the sight of a bloated Chan monk, the shrill sound of street performers singing Canton opera at a night market, or a Greek text about sacrifices of cattle in calf.³⁷ To reduce sights, smells and sounds that embarrass us to strangeness, however, is 'bad faith' as Simone de Beauvoir calls it: a strategy to deny or circumvent 'existential ambiguity'.³⁸ This epistemological 'bad faith' is even more evident in past and current attempts of scholars to redefine strange and embarrassing phenomena as 'cultural'.³⁹ Thus embarrassing encounters of colonial researchers with strange tribes have been the subject of a discipline called 'cultural' anthropology, while strange newcomers to European societies are officially described as 'cultural minorities'. In China, where those in power are themselves often relative newcomers, the process also works the other way around. Modern Chinese mandarins are increasingly confronted with 'strange' religious practices. Their responses have been at times ambiguous, at times assimilative and at times downright hostile. During Mao Zedong's 'Great Proletarian Cultural (sic!) Revolution' of the 1960s, most temples, shrines, monasteries, churches and mosques in China were destroyed and practitioners persecuted. In post-Mao China, on the contrary, religion (except Falungong 法輪功) is being reassimilated as a 'cultural phenomenon' and studies of 'Daoist culture', 'Buddhist culture' and 'popular religious culture' are now churned out by the dozen.⁴⁰

In his later work, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz criticizes these 'cultural studies'.⁴¹ Geertz argues that notions of a 'cultural scheme', when subjected to anthropological and especially to historical analysis, tend to dissolve into 'polyphonic, even disharmonic, themes invoking counter-themes which reinvolve themes, instructively offset from the original'.⁴² 'Cultural' rhetoric is often used to disguise such disharmonies. For instance: the learned elite of medieval China created a discourse that was simply called 'this culture 斯文' and referred to 'the textual traditions that originated in antiquity' and included 'traditions of proper forms in writing, governing and behaving'. According to the founding myth of 'this culture', these traditions had been preserved and refined by Confucius.⁴³

The topics and *topoi* of this learned discourse changed and developed over time. Jordan Paper notes that it not only assimilated learning (as applied to government) and the arts, but also religion.⁴⁴ Around AD 800 the scholar Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) revived the classic myth of the 'way of the holy

man 聖人之道'. To Han Yu, 'the holy man' first of all meant Confucius; to other scholars, it would also include other 'holy men' of the past.⁴⁵ A wisecrack by Wang Tong 王通 (ca. AD 600) shows us how ecumenical 'this culture' was:

或問佛	- May I ask what you think of the Buddha?
子曰聖人也	- A holy man indeed!
曰其教何如	- How about his teachings?
曰西方之教也	- Ah, Western [i.e. Indian] teachings!
中國則泥	In China? Just mud!
軒不可以適越	A coach cannot get through it,
冠冕不可以之胡	an official's hat cannot [cover] its folly,
古之道也	and they call it the Way! ⁴⁶

Although the Buddha is superficially included as a 'holy man', that is: at a par with Confucius, his teachings are derided as 'western mud': unsuitable for cultivated Chinese tastes. When Wang Tong wrote these lines, however, the assimilation of Buddhism were well on their ways.⁴⁷ Around 600, Buddhist meditation manuals and scriptural commentaries had become required reading for China's cultured elite. And when Buddhists in China, in emulation of the official biographies of exemplary scholars, began to collect the *vitae* of 'eminent monks', the sacred paradigm of the Buddha as a singular 'holy man' from India gave way to a series of Chinese role models: translators, exegetes, thaumaturges, meditators and other saints.⁴⁸ During the incorporation of Buddhism into 'this culture' of the Chinese elite, the doctrine that the germ of Buddhahood was in every sentient living being also clicked nicely into the Chinese fiction that every man could become a scholar and an official. If that was possible, why could he not also be a Buddha? In addition, Buddhist groups or 'schools' in China began to compete for imperial patronage, much as if they were members of rival factions of mandarins.⁴⁹

On the other hand, China's rulers, from the southern emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 down to empress Zetian 則天 of Tang, also took a more than casual interest in the powerful Buddhist movements that sprung up between AD 500 and 700. As part of an active policy of assimilation and accommodation, they issued dozens of edicts summoning local Buddhist leaders to court, pandering to them with precious gifts and bestowing posthumous titles on them, all to accommodate their influential followers. After 700, several Tang emperors also tried to restrict and regulate the ordination of new Buddhist monks while at the same time concentrating the existing members of the order into a few approved

public monasteries. Between 694 and 725, at least one extremely wealthy organization of lay Buddhists was also dismantled and eventually proscribed.⁵⁰

All this led to the effective assimilation of Buddhism in China. Around 800 it had become so uncontroversial that reputed men of letters like Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) could safely write about their intellectual involvement with the Buddha's Law without risking to be accused of 'un-Chinese activities', although others, such as Han Yu, still found Buddhism offensive enough to polemicize against it.⁵¹ During the 840s the tension between the growing Buddhist community and influential Daoist officials at court led to unprecedentedly heavy restrictions on Buddhist institutions and the proscription of several Buddhist practices.⁵² One effect was that after 850 the Buddhist priesthood felt secure only if they could appear even more fully adaptive to the universalist ideology of 'this culture'. Embarrassingly strange elements were henceforth kept from outsiders and transmitted only in intimate encounters between teachers and students. After 850 this *de facto* esoteric transmission became the hallmark of an outwardly unified and assimilated 'meditation school' 禪門.⁵³ Around 1000 this school assumed the shape of a disciplined and learned monastic order which proved so powerful that an initiation into became required for abbots of all public monasteries.⁵⁴

Before the cultural revolution of the 840s there had been a lively community of 'esoteric' (i.e. Tantric) Buddhists in China. Contemporary writings suggest that during the 9th and 10th centuries the Tantric movement declined, but did not disappear completely. At the same time the 'southern' meditation school claimed a direct transmission of the Law along several dozens of generations of meditation teachers and disciples.⁵⁵ Beginning in India with the Buddha himself, it took Bodhidharma, Huike (d. 593), Sengcan (d. 606), Daoxin (d. 651), Hongren (d. 674) and Huineng (d. 713) as its 'ancestors' in China.⁵⁶ This reconstructed 'southern school' not only represented the merger of several Buddhist paradigms into a single linear tradition, but also the final step towards the assimilation of Buddhism into China's 'central tradition' where ancestral paradigms were an important cohesive factor.⁵⁷ It is perhaps time to look closer at the meaning of Chinese 'ancestors', but not before we make one final observation about Yuet Kai. The protoparadigm for the plastering and lacquering of 'carnal bodies' is not found in twentieth-century Taiwan, but in the treatment of the alleged 'true body' of the Sixth Ancestor Huineng himself. As I will explain in Part Four, below, the Huineng 'body' at South China Abbey has been so heavily plastered and lacquered that it is impossible to tell it from a mere lacquer sculpture. Making Yuet Kai's mummy look more like Huineng not only helps to assimilate the Yuet Kai cult into mainstream Chinese Buddhism: in retroaction, it also gives more credibility to the tradition of Huineng's 'true body'. In other words: it made Yuet Kai look more holy and Huineng more orthodox. Perhaps one day Yuet Kai will be an 'ancestor' as well...

1.4. The familiar and the sublime 供養品第四

Cults of ancestral spirits 祖神 are common to all Chinese communities.⁵⁸ I define 'Chinese communities' as populations in Asia and overseas where Chinese characters are read as Chinese, not as loan words; where 'Have you eaten yet?' is a common greeting; where the dishes of a meal are preferably shared with chopsticks from a round table; and where icons and/or name tablets of ancestors are worshipped on a regular basis. Ancestor worship is an ambiguous practice which may indeed be described as a combination of two countercurrent processes: sublimation of the familiar, and familiarization of the sublime. Both aspects are easily recognized in the worship of 'Chancestors'. While an icon or a mummy of a revered meditation teacher is familiarized and worshipped like an 'ancestor', it is also rhetorically sublimated into an 'incarnate Bodhisattva of pure gold'.

Perhaps more than most other populations, Chinese communities use food metaphors to designate 'familiar' (*suk*⁶ 熟) and 'strange' (*saang*¹ 生) people.⁵⁹ All sacrificial meals and memorial services offered to ancestors and other idols are called *gong*⁴ *yang*³ 供養, literally: 'offering nourishment'.⁶⁰ It follows that a Chinese ancestor can be identified by a shrine or icon to which food is offered and then shared by his worshipers - a familiar sight at Buddhist, Daoist, or domestic shrines all over China. Obviously a Chinese family always needs a place, *locus* or *topos* to call home and share food. All ancestral cults are therefore local cults and all local Chinese cults are ancestral cults in one way or another.

The generic Chinese term for these *loci cultus* is 廟 *miao*⁴: a shrine. Its homophone 妙 *miao*⁴: 'sublime', is an epithet of the Buddha's teachings, for instance in the title of the *Lotus Sutra of the Sublime Law* 妙法蓮花經 (Sanskrit: *Saddharmapundarikasutra*).⁶¹ This scripture gave its name to the so-called *Lotus* school, better known in China as the Mt Tiantai school and in Japan as the *Tendaishū* 天台宗. The cult of the Buddha's Sublime Law in China and Japan includes a much wider range of religious practices than offering food and holding memorial services. Among other expedients 方便 (S.: *upaya*) are scriptural study and incantation, meditation, self-mortification, visualization and many other paths toward the realization of one's 'Buddha nature'. Yet the familiar term 供養: to offer nourishment or to worship, is used as a common nomen for all these soteriological devices. One side-effect of such 'sublimation' is that the object of worship transcends the limits of a place of worship. Therefore the Sublime is ultimately 'without abode or attachment' 無住, and sublimation of the Law must also lead to unattachment. We may call this Buddhism in its most sublime form a (o)utopy, or a paradigm without a place, but we must also remember that its more familiar forms are very topical: attached to places.

Another opposition to the familiar worship of ancestors is the Daoist cult of holy men called *xian*¹ 仙 or 'immortals'. In this view, not every Chinese becomes an ancestor at death. Some men die without leaving offspring, some without leaving anything at all, and some even without leaving a trace. The latter are called 'immortals' and believed to fly to heaven on the back of a white crane. Although it would seem logical that an ancestor cannot be an immortal and an immortal not an ancestor at the same time, some 'Great Immortals' have been worshipped in Southern China *as if* they were ancestral deities. At the Wong Tai Sin 黃大仙 temple in Hong Kong, for instance, the nameday of the 'Great Immortal' is celebrated with a 'maigre feast 齋' - a luxurious vegetarian banquet - in the best ancestral tradition.⁶² There is also a story about the opening of the grave of Bodhidharma, the fifth-century 'primogenitor' of the southern meditation tradition, some years after his death. When his disciples came to collect his bones, they only found his grass sandal: the holy man's corpse had vanished. The Daoist prescription for would-be immortals is to abstain from grains for three years, to abstain from food for another two years, and finally to quit drinking. Perhaps similar 'immortifications' were practised by Buddhist saints whose bodies were preserved and later worshipped as mummies. It is indeed in the latter context that we read of strange odors as the products of a radical Empedoclean *katharmos*, a purification required to 'become a Buddha in this very body'.

Next to ancestors and immortals, the Chinese also worship 'hungry ghosts' 餓鬼 (*S. preta*), who died childless or who did not receive a proper burial and for that reason alone disqualify for both ancestral worship and immortalization.⁶³ In autumn, maigre feasts and opera performances for these poor souls are staged in local temples, in line with the doctrine of universal Buddhahood accepted by most Buddhists in China: '佛光普照, the Buddha's light reflects on all'. Hence familial ancestors, Daoist immortals and Buddhist hungry ghosts are all welcome to have their share of offerings 供養 at the family table.

Although some Buddhist meditation teachers have been worshipped as if they were immortals, the more widespread custom is to treat them *as if* they were the dead forebears of a virtual clan: the *sangha*, the Buddha's 'own' family, or, more specifically, the patriline of transmission from the Buddha down to the eminent meditation teachers of Tang China.⁶⁴ But patriline, and pedigrees in general, are also rhetorical strategies 'to get rid of all but a highly selected number of ancestors [and] to obscure all but a few crucial, high-level genealogical relationships', as the anthropologist H.G.H. Nelson observed.⁶⁵ In 1967 and 1968, Nelson studied a modern Cantonese lineage, the Lei of Sheung Tsuen Village in Hong Kong 香港新界上村李氏. The Lei claim descent from a twelfth-century scholar from Guangxi 廣西 who later moved to Guangdong 廣東 Province. The founding ancestor's grand-grandsons then moved to Dongguan 東莞 in Guangdong, which the Lei still consider as their hometown 家鄉.⁶⁶ Around 1600 Lei Wui-wan, a 13th generation descendant, moved to Sheung

Tsuen. Li Ping is now called the 'supreme patriarch 太始祖' and Lei Wui-wan the 'founding ancestor 開基祖'. The arrangement of their ancestral tablets in the main ancestral hall at Sheung Tsuen is as follows:⁶⁷

row 1, center: Lei Wui-wan's grandfather (G11)

row 2, center: Lei Wui-wan's father (G12)

row 3, center: Lei Peng, the clan's 'supreme patriarch (G1)

row 4, center: Lei Wui-wan, the 13th generation 'founding ancestor' (G13)

row 5, center: Lei Yut-wai, the 13th generation ancestor's younger son (G14b)

row 6, center: Lei Nim-wai, the 13th generation ancestor's elder son (G14a)

All nineteen generations of ancestral tablets in the main hall were enshrined there prior to 1890. Most were tablets of Yut-wai's descendants (the 'younger branch'). Many descendants of Nim-wai (the 'elder branch') were missing, as was the first part of a written genealogy which had originally documented Nim-wai's branch. Nelson noticed that all living Lei were able to identify themselves as members of the elder or younger branch but unable to specify family relations between 1890 and the present.⁶⁸ Two sub-branches within the lineage had their own ancestral halls, and some more distant cousins also kept paper 'domestic tablets' at their home altars 神臺仔. It appeared that the consolidated genealogies displayed in the main hall and the subsidiary halls were used as a substitute for information that had been lost through the ages: contemporary records on the actual kinship between the several groups and branches. Nelson was able to reconstruct fragments of these relations from interviews and the arrangement of domestic tablets, but most of his informants would remain silent on the details of these relations, referring to more distant relatives merely as 'village brothers 村兄弟'.⁶⁹

On the other hand, Nelson found that the arrangement of tablets in the main hall quite accurately represented the arrangement of tombs at the Sheung Tsuen village graveyard. Not unlike some hill tribes in rural Greece, the Cantonese bury their dead and recollect their bones in a jar after seven years. As a rule the jar (called 金塔 *gam¹ taap³*, or 'golden stupa') is then left on the open hillside.⁷⁰ Only the lucky few have their bones entombed. Hence the richer Lei built fine tombs for their own fathers and grandfathers, while their poorer 'village brothers' left their families' bones potted on the hillside. Nelson concludes that 'no more than two or three generations of pots survive at any one time'.⁷¹ It follows that a Lei 'ancestor' can be practically defined as a father whose sons and grandsons are wealthy enough to build him a lasting tomb and display his name tablet prominently on the family tree altar in the ancestral hall (they are also expected to pay for the hall's maintenance and expansion). These enshrined ancestors are also approached as intermediaries for the beyond, alleviating familiar fears of ghosts and tigers, elephants and dragons, but also fears of soldiers and

greedy scholar-bureaucrats. The Lei believe, for instance, that Wui-wan is capable to deal with the latter on an equal footing because his heirs have traced his ancestry back to an illustrious scholar.

Lineage studies like Nelson's were quite popular among classical anthropologists. When the structural-functional paradigm came under attack during the 1970s, the theories of lineage and segmentary social organization upon which these studies depended were also called into question.⁷² After ethnographers and historians had turned up ample evidence of intensive migration and highly discontinuous kin relations, it was decided that the same data that had been used to 'prove' the 'existence' of segmentary lineages should be reinterpreted in terms of a historical model of social organization. This led some anthropologists to a denial of the social relevance of multi-generation unilateral descent groups at all.⁷³ Others would still acknowledge the role of ancestral practices. Field research by John McCall in Ohafia, Nigeria, for instance, suggests that both the lineage model of social structure and the historical model of social dynamics have parallels in indigenous representations of the ancestral past. McCall concludes that 'these apparently contradictory representations unite as an irreducible whole in the lived experience of the people of Ohafia'.⁷⁴ The same point can perhaps be made for the Lei of Sheung Tsuen. It is irrelevant whether we call them a lineage: the notion of the Lei lineage was created by the family itself through a radical selection of forebears, reducing the number of their 'ancestors' to a few names displayed on the cemetery as well as in the ancestral hall. So radical was their selection that many living Lei are now unable to connect directly to this pruned pedigree. Yet all claim to be descendants of Lei Wui-wan and eventually of the famous Song scholar Li Ping.⁷⁵ This practice also helped the Lei to assimilate locally: being watched worshipping their ancestors made them look familiar to the other villagers.

Although I am not Chinese, my family cherishes an ancestral myth similar to the myth of the Lei of Sheng Tsuen. As farmers in the overcrowded west of Holland, my ancestors emigrated to a newly reclaimed *polder* in Friesland in the northern Netherlands between 1505 and 1527. After two generations they became so wealthy that they adorned their graves with a coat of arms apparently derived from one of Holland's oldest and richest families - a family that had died out in 1523. Their claim to noble ancestry was formulated in an eighteenth-century *copia copiae* of an affidavit allegedly made in Holland in 1566. That copy (the original has vanished) lists three generations of ancestors in Holland and describes their coat of arms.⁷⁶ To my ancestors, assuming that glorious coat of arms was certainly an act of sublimation. In Europe, arms were long regarded as the real presence, or icon, of their bearer or, as Otfried Neubecker says it, 'as a substitute for the person, even after his death'.⁷⁷ Arms were hence displayed on tombs and memorial *planches* - like name tablets on Chinese ancestral graves and altars. In a Chinese context, the ultimate act of sublimation is of course the awarding of a posthumous title to a deceased member of one's family. Through all these rituals, matters of life and

death are both familiarized and sublimated. Shared meals and worshipping 供養 bring the familiar atmosphere, while idolization and iconization create an awareness of the real presence of the sublime. As the Lei family demonstrates, the selection of ancestors for worship is often motivated by economical considerations instead of by lines of direct biological descent.

1.5. An epistemology of the holy 識聖品第五

Having familiarized ourselves with Chinese ancestors, we may now look at the makings of a Chinese 'holy man.' In western religious science, 'holiness' may refer to the terrible powers of the numinous (cf. Chinese 靈); to shamans, prophets and messianic figures as spokesmen and/or representants of the god(s); and finally to 'holy men' who indirectly manifest their relationship with the god(s) through miracles and/or auspicious omens.⁷⁸ In the latter sense, Willem Frijhoff has noted that a distinction can and must be made between 'ascribed holiness' (marked by ancestry, social position, and/or predestination) and 'achieved holiness' (marked by personal efforts and/or merit, including miracles).⁷⁹ Both aspects are evident in the description by the poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036-1101) of the tenth-century thaumaturge Dipamkara 定光 from Fujian as a holy man who was:⁸⁰

- at once a person of the world and an icon 真 [who]
- instructed snakes and tigers [and was] worshipped
- by every family in Fujian as their ancestor 家以為祖'

I translate Su's term 真 as 'icon': primarily a life-size formal portrait of a saint believed to capture his living spirit 神 to the effect that a real presence of holiness is perceived, and secondarily the saint in person: Mother Teresa as an 'icon' of Christian altruism.⁸¹ The second line refers to Dipamkara's 'achieved holiness': the conversion of 'snakes' (a reference to the Buddha's legendary conversion of *nagas*) and tigers is obviously presented as a miracle. The third line defines Dipamkara's 'ascribed holiness': he is reportedly worshipped *as if* he were the ancestor of many a family in Fujian 七閩家.

Chinese 以為 and English 'as if' both denote a fiction. Originating in early Roman law, a fiction is a legal expedient which 'conceals or affects to conceal [...] that a [...] condition has undergone alteration, its letter remaining unchanged, its operation being modified'.⁸² The adoption of a 'virtual ancestor' by Fujianese families is perfectly comparable to the classical Roman fiction of the adoption (in early Roman law: *adrogatio*) of a child '*tam iure legeque filius siet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familias eius natus esset*': 'as if he were born from the father and mother of that family'.⁸³ Legally, a fiction is a so-called construction, that is: an expedient comparable to a presumption. The difference between a *praesumptio iuris* and a fiction is that the former is open to refutation while the latter is categorically

irrefutable. When a criminal case is tried, for instance, the defendant is presumed innocent - a presumption which the prosecutor must refute before obtaining a conviction. On the other hand there is no legal redress when common law says that 'the king can do no wrong', or when the Dutch constitution states that the king is *onschendbaar*, meaning that the ministers and not the king are responsible for acts of government.⁸⁴

Many continental lawyers see the use of legal fictions as a sign of bad faith on the part of the legislator, claiming that the use of fictions is obsolete and that whatever is expressed by a fiction can always be expressed better without recourse to fictions. Some constructions of law that were once fictions have also lost their fictional basis. Representation, for instance, is now merely a legal term for personal substitution: it does not imply anymore that an absent or deceased person is raised from the dead as the historical fiction of the *repraesentatio* once suggested. We indeed like to believe that we can tell fictional *repraesentatio* from factual representation, or a fictional *praesentia realis* from a factual presence. But can we? A child sitting on Santa Claus' lap in a department store is presumedly unaware of such epistemological dilemmas, but then the child's parents are not. To them, this entire *santeria* is supposed to be familiar knowledge, or, as Buddhists say: conventional knowledge (*samvritisatya*). But even if we generally believe that it is possible, either logically or by intuition, to tell fact from fiction or the familiar from the strange, can we also tell the strange from the even stranger? We will probably take refuge in a fiction, not as a 'willing suspension of disbelief' (as Samuel Coleridge would have it), but because our epistemological faculties indeed leave us no other choice. Coleridge's voluntarist definition of fiction has been elaborated into an epistemology of fiction by the German neo-Kantian Hans Vaihinger (1852-1933) who also takes legal fiction as his paradigm.⁸⁵ In his effort to include literary, legal and epistemological fictions into one system, however, Vaihinger apparently ignores the social contexts that produce and/or apply fictions.⁸⁶ Legal fictions, for instance, are not just literary metaphors: they are produced and applied as a source of law. Vaihinger also appears to ignore the contextual distinctions between authors who are at the same time ficators (literary fiction) and authors who are prescribing (legal fiction) or merely reporting (epistemological fiction) a fictional relationship between other subjects and/or objects. It appears that the notion of fiction must be used much more cautiously than Vaihinger does and that some 'fictions', including so-called 'dogmatic fictions', are really not fictions at all.⁸⁷ A point in case would be the famous dogma of the infallibility of the Pope. In 1870, the Church of Rome formally introduced the statement *ex cathedra* as a new source of (ecclesiastical) law - a position which Beauvoir would qualify as 'bad faith'. There are indeed no 'as ifs' in the claim by the Church that the Roman Pontiff:

when he speaks *ex cathedra* [...] is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed.⁸⁸

This dogmatic 'fiction' was obviously never intended as fiction. Salman Rushdie makes a similar point when he asserts that the only difference between religion and fiction is that the former claims absolute truth where the latter rejects all absolutism.⁸⁹ This is of course an extreme view. Ever since Roman law became the base of our legal practice, lawyers have been aware that religious fiction can be a source of law: *in sacra simulata pro veris accipiuntur*.⁹⁰ Rushdie (whose critique of religion primarily targets Islam) evidently ignores that Roman Catholic theologians, like their Buddhist counterparts, love to perform in two rings simultaneously: when expedient, the dogma of papal infallibility is explained to those ready to suspend their disbelief as a 'mystery' - or a fiction by any other name. And fictions are neither 'true' nor 'false'; they are ambiguous and embarrassing.

The ambiguity is understood well by postmodern anthropologists and ethnologists. During the 1950s and 1960s, terms like 'fakelore' and 'folklorism' were liberally used to distinguish 'real' from 'fabricated' traditions. Hans Moser, for instance, defined folklorism as 'the mediation and performance of second-hand popular culture' - implying an essential difference between 'real' and 'second-hand' popular culture.⁹¹ Once researchers such as Richard Handler and Joyce Linnekin directed their attention away from such essentialist notions as 'real' and 'spurious', however, the symbolical processes behind tradition and fiction themselves became the subject of investigation.⁹²

Su Dongpo's description of the cult of the holy man Dipamkara is not ethnography but hagiography. His polite observation that 'every family in Fujian [worshipped him] as their ancestor' distances the author from his subjects and the object of their devotion. 以為 thus creates a hierarchy among author, subject and object while at the same time it describes the peculiar and ambiguous epistemological relation between the latter two.⁹³ The use of 以為 further indicates that the author has no means to determine or appraise the strange relation between his subjects and the object of their devotion - or perhaps that he is politely suspending his own disbelief without questioning the beliefs of his subjects. In other words: Dongpo is not the ficator but the reporter; he is not an informer but the one being informed. Moser would perhaps regard the fiction mediated by the words 以為 as 'second-hand' fiction; Dongpo's use of 以為 emphasizes its ambiguity. At the same time the creation of a tripartite hierarchy allows Dongpo to assimilate the ambiguous relation between worshippers and worshipped into the larger discourse of his culture 斯文 - following a paradigm set by the editor of the *Analects* 論語.⁹⁴

祭如在、
祭神如神在。

One worships [the dead] as if they are present,
one worships the spirits as if they are present.

Confucius himself is then quoted commenting on this observation:

吾不與祭、 'If I do not partake in the worshipping,
如不祭。 it is as if I do not worship at all.'

If Su Dongpo had wanted to identify himself as a fictor and enter into his own fiction, he could have used a different literary device: the ambiguous verb 謁 *ye*⁴ with the primary meanings 'to announce; to call on; to visit (a superior)'.⁹⁵ One should perhaps add: with the intent to obtain a blessing, an advice, or perhaps an insight. The verb 謁 appears frequently in the titles of High Tang pilgrim poems such as Wang Wei's 王維 *Passing Qinglong Abbey in summer: visiting 謁 meditation teacher Cao 操*:

The dragon bell tolls as one old man / slowly approaches the palace of Chan.⁹⁶

Among other things, 謁 can also mean: to consult a clan elder; to have an audience with the emperor; or to pay tribute to the tomb of an ancestor, or a holy man, or a hero, or a historical emperor.⁹⁷ The common divider appears to be that the receiver of the author's respect is the real presence and/or the *praesentia realis* of the worthy one. The semantic ambiguity of the verb 謁, which has the author as its grammatical subject, implies that the author is describing a fiction in which he enters himself. 謁 identifies the author as the fictor and the *praesentia realis* as the object of his worship. In other words: 謁 attributes to the author's/fictor's object of worship a quality of holiness.

Let us add another case to Su Dongpo's report on the holiness of Dipamkara and Wang Wei's musings on the fictional/real, that is: ambiguous presence of Cao:

In [742], there was a great drought in Shaozhou. [Dao]guang 道廣 was sitting in meditation at the confluence of the Zhen and Wu Rivers. He floated down to the magistrate's beach and then back upstream, proclaiming loudly: 'Rain shall come!' Then a great rain fell and the citizens praised him as a living Buddha [...]
The next year, [when] he died, a strange fragrance spread inside his room.⁹⁸

This is from a stupa text, or epitaph, by a local poet of Shaozhou, Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064), for the Hunanese meditation teacher and thaumaturge Daoguang 道廣 (675-743). In 1080, Guang was canonized as Great Teacher Zhengshi 證誓, but he was never listed in the semi-official hagiographical collections of '*Vitae of Eminent Monks*'.⁹⁹ He is not known as the object of a quasi-ancestral cult like Dipamkara or Neng, but Yu Jing's hagiography leaves no doubt about Daoguang's holiness.

The similarities with the assimilation, described by Peter Brown, of the cults of holy men in late antiquity into the Christian practices of wealthy cosmopolitan Roman citizens appear evident.¹⁰⁰ Just as the rise of the holy man became a '*leitmotiv* of the religious revolution of Late Antiquity' (Brown), the invention of the 'Chan pedigree' served as a key to the emancipation of Buddhism in China after 750 - and perhaps to its survival after the events of the 840s.¹⁰¹ Brown defines a holy man negatively as 'a stranger among men without being possessed by a god' or indeed as a '*stranger par excellence*'.¹⁰² Jordan Paper, who identifies shamanism, mysticism and estheticism as three subsequent stages in the development of Chinese religion, would indeed cast Brown's holy man as a mystic, that is: a permanent outsider, as opposed to a shaman, who is always a local insider.¹⁰³

It must be noted that all but two of the Chinese holy men (also known as meditation teachers) mentioned above were in some way strangers to the place where they have been worshipped. Daoguang, who was worshipped in Shaozhou, came from Hunan; Huineng, worshipped in Shaozhou, was born in the south, but his roots were in Fanyang in the north; Yuet Kai, worshipped in Hong Kong, was born in Kunming. Only Dipamkara was worshipped as a holy man in his native Fujian; Xuyun, on the other hand, never had a cult site (his body was cremated in 1959). Daoguang and Huineng received posthumous titles and may be regarded as canonized 'saints'; Dipamkara, Xuyun and Yuet Kai were not canonized, the latter two because no body in Communist China confers posthumous titles anymore (although dubious titles were recently bestowed to several 'living Buddhas' of Tibetan ancestry, including the Chinese leadership's choice for the new Panchen Lama). Dipamkara and Huineng are on record as objects of ancestral cults; Huineng and Yuet Kai have been the objects of mummy cults; and *vitae* of Huineng and Xuyun are included in the hagiography of 'eminent monks'. As to miracles and auspicious omens, an odor of sanctity has been reported at the death of Daoguang, Huineng and Xuyun; a wide variety of other miracles and omens has indeed been recorded for all these holy men. In summary, the lores and lives of these five Buddhist holy men can be juxtaposed as follows:

Name:	Dipam-	Daoguang	Huineng	Xuyun	Yuet Kai
Record as:	kara 定光	道廣	慧能	虛雲	月溪
med. teacher	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
holy man	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
cult site	Fujian	Shaozhou	Shaozhou	none	Shatin
origins	India	Hunan	Fanyang	Quanzhou	Kunming
stranger	no	yes	yes	undefined	yes
miracles	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

strange odor	no	yes	yes	yes	no
mummy cult	no	no	yes	no	yes
canonized	no	yes	yes	no	no
ancestral cult	yes	no	yes	no	no
eminent monk	no	no	yes	yes	no

The holy men compared here are all described in one or more records as meditation teachers, strangers and miracle workers; some left a real presence in the form of an icon or a mummy; some died amidst an odor of sanctity and some became posthumously honored as a canonized and titled saint, an ancestor, and/or an eminent monk. Among these four men, Huineng stands out because he is all of the above. His hagiography as an eminent monk also includes all the *topoi* of the other three. To some modern worshippers he is even more than a meditation teacher, a holy man, a saint, and an ancestor in one: in the British Museum in London, I once overheard a Hong Konger describing Huineng as *Luk⁶ Jo² Po⁴ Saat³* 六祖菩薩: 'Sixth Ancestor Bodhisattva'. Like the Taiwanese examples, this illustrates that perceptions of holiness tend to be cumulative rather than mutually exclusive - as Frijhoff also observed on the cult of Lenin's mummy.¹⁰⁴

Some local stories about Huineng's arrival in Shaozhou also mention magical contests between this newcomer and local deities or spirits, some disguised as a snakes and/or dragons (*naga*) or tigers. This 'contested space' topos is also found in local traditions of sacred mountains where Daoists and Buddhists have coexisted in a constant competition for prime sites. A well-known example is the tradition of meditation teacher Huisi 慧思 (515-577) at Mt Heng in Hunan.¹⁰⁵ These stories remind us that entering a place as a stranger, even as a stranger *par excellence*, can be controversial. Official hagiography tends to either ignore or assimilate such controversies, but they are sometimes related rather faithfully through the expedient of a fiction, that is: in terms of mystery and ambiguity. A fiction can hide a hagiographical bone of contention inside a 'black box' marked 'holy', 'mysterious', 'strange' or 'ambiguous', all depending on its local context.

Once a black box is closed, no further analysis of its holdings is permitted. Pandora's story tells us that this kind of taboo creates a tantalizing tension between what is inside and outside.¹⁰⁶ The sublimated contents of the box tempts and virtually compels those outside to transcend the familiar and literally jump inside - if the latter were not physically impossible. This strange, Lewis Carrollesque sensation can indeed be experienced when we are confronted with the holy, in other words: with something excellently strange put in a box. The box does not literally need to be black, for the strange sight of Yuet Kai's preserved body inside his glass cask can produce exactly the same sensation. It is even preferable that the icon 真 is closely connected to reality 實: as Michel de Certeau put it, an icon must

be at least 'thinkable' (*pensable*) and 'credible' (*croyable*) to be effective.¹⁰⁷ In this sense, the controversial 'old mummy' of Yuet Kai was doubtlessly more effective than the restored 'true body' which merely provides the icon to fit his new hagiography.¹⁰⁸

If hagiography means closing the lid on controversy, the program for religious historians investigating hagiographical traditions appears simple. In Bruno Latour's words:¹⁰⁹

Rule 1 [is:] not to study [hagiographical] texts as ready-made 'black boxes', but to trace back the underlying controversies that will re-open these boxes.

On the preceding page, several epistemological markers were mentioned that may help to identify hagiographical black boxes. They can be summarized as the '3M': Mystery, aM-biguity, and eM-barrassment. This epistemological 'triple gem' warns investigators that the boxes contain something so strange and controversial that it has been clad in fiction and cloaked in holiness; it may also lead the way back to an analysis of the controversy. Hence the 'triple gem' is an expedient of reduction - not necessarily a *reductio ad absurdum*, but indeed a *reductio ad alienum*. A pitfall to be avoided at all times is to redefine this cognitive *Verfremdung* in 'cultural' terms. In Latour's words:¹¹⁰

Rule 7 [is: to] resort to cognitive notions such as 'culture' only when study of the networks supporting historical registrations leaves something unexplained.

How can all this help us uncover the original controversial contexts in which the hagiographical tradition of Huineng of Shaozhou took shape? Latour's seventh 'rule of method' suggests that investigators should ask who created this tradition, and for which audiences its records were intended. The hagiographically correct answer to the first question introduces an alleged controversy between (northern) 'gradualists' and (southern) 'subitists' that ended in 816 with the triumphant victory of the latter as Neng's self-anointed spiritual heirs. Once the 'southerners' prevailed, there was apparently no need for different maieutic expedients 方便 (*upaya*) tailored to the needs and capabilities of ordained and laic meditators. Recent studies show, however, that this 'one Chan fits all' rhetoric with its disregard for scriptural study overlooks the scriptural and hermeneutic debates in which meditation teachers of all schools in China continued to engage.¹¹¹

A more historiographically correct answer would be that the persistence of economical, political as well as hermeneutic controversies faced by Buddhists in China during the 8th and 9th centuries created a need for new icons: objects of worship that could be readily familiarized by both Buddhist priests and their increasingly wealthy and powerful lay followers. The 'southern' myth of Huineng of Shaozhou

(which has assimilated, as we shall see later, the canonic paradigm of the Indian holy man Vimalakirti of Vaisali, as well as several *topoi* of early Chinese meditation teachers) neatly fulfilled that need.¹¹² The weakness of this explanation, however, is its teleological character. It sounds as if a Huineng myth was created for the purpose of satisfying the spiritual needs of certain groups. But we also know that Shenhui of Heze used the Huineng myth to satisfy certain material needs. Hired as an imperial fundraiser in the year of his death (764), Shenhui was able to sell thousands of ordination letters which not only guaranteed tax immunity to their purchasers, but also made them certified disciples of Huineng.¹¹³ Partly due to Shenhui's campaign, these disciples became so numerous that in 816 the court decided to accommodate them with official recognition, acknowledging Huineng posthumously as their 'Sixth Ancestor Dajian 大鑿' and Shenhui as their 'Seventh Ancestor'. A critical historiographical approach can thus show Shenhui's zealous campaign as a 'supporting network' for the hagiographic invention of Huineng as the 'Sixth Ancestor' of his school.

These approaches have in common that they both describe where the Huineng cult went during the second half of the eighth century, but not where it came from. The conventional topographical answer to the latter question is that it started at the present South China Abbey on Cao's Brook in Shaozhou where his followers have worshipped him for twelve centuries. Even Bernard Faure found this so obvious that he did not question it in his essay on relics and toponymy.¹¹⁴ T.H. Barrett, however, observing that '[r]evered lives create memories drawing others across the landscape', touches on the fact that *lieux de memoire* are usually manufactured.¹¹⁵ This does not necessarily imply fabrication and pious fraud, but investigators should always be prepared to find either, or both. Take the cult of St James at Compostela, documented in an authorized Latin hagiography as well as in the vernacular *Pseudo-Turpin*. Martin Gosman has examined the different strategies used by both of these texts to advocate that Compostela be given archiepiscopal status: the hagiography through legal and apologetical argument and the *Pseudo-Turpin* by invoking the historical authority of Charlemagne.¹¹⁶ Graeme Lang and Kenneth Dean have also identified these strategies in the local worship of *Wong⁴ Daai⁶ Sin¹* 黃大仙 in Hong Kong and in other cults on the southeastern Chinese coast and Taiwan.¹¹⁷ Similar claims of authority have been laid by Huineng's several hagiographers. Two stele texts written by well-known scholar-officials during the early ninth century, for instance, commemorate his canonization by the Tang emperor.¹¹⁸ But a rare *vita* of the 'Great Teacher at Cao's Brook 曹溪大師傳', dated around the same time and preserved in Japan, claims to contain transcripts of an eighth-century correspondence between Neng's followers and the court that also appears to vindicate the importance of the Sixth Ancestor's school and to make a donation in kind to his cult at South China Abbey.¹¹⁹

Unfortunately, such hagiographical claims cannot be admitted as evidence of the early existence of Huineng's cult in a local context on a daily basis. Few eyewitness accounts have been preserved; among them, however, is the monk Jianzhen's 鑑真 testimony that in 749 an effigy of the 'Sixth Ancestor' was displayed inside the abbey at Cao's Brook.¹²⁰ The approach of the so-called 'new archaeologists' appears more promising. Integrating such different sources as local lore, historical topography, and archaeological field research, they attempt to reconstruct a 'cultural biography of the landscape in which archaeological relicts have been meaningfully appropriated by later generations'.¹²¹ The method of these 'time teams' can indeed be summarized as topographical in a broad sense, for their sources include *topoi* from different official and unofficial sources as well as the outcomes of archaeological and anthropological field research.¹²² The parallel between these 'new archaeologists' and the 'new anthropologists' is evident, for the latter also use unconventional methods and sources to retrieve the 'strong sense of place that [...] sources often exhibit' but that has tended to be devaluated in classical anthropological theory.¹²³ In the case of Huineng, that tendency to utopize local cults and saints probably predates the rise of western anthropology by twelve hundred years, witness Wang Wei's mid eighth-century description of Neng as 'a man from X. county in Y. commandery'.¹²⁴

The parallel with traditional archaeology is indeed striking. Descriptions of Chinese antiques in museums and private collections, while paying great attention to chronological detail, rarely provide topographical data at all (the exception is Ming and Qing ceramics often attributed to a particular kiln). It is as if curators and collectors primarily care to convince visitors that their treasures are part of that singular Chinese tradition defined by such mantras as 'Eastern Zhou' or 'Western Han' while the objects in case may indeed belong to a quite different local or regional tradition - a point made eminently clear by the embarrassing variety of artworks from Sichuan and other regions of the ancient state of Chu in the 'Mysteries of Ancient China' exhibition in London in 1995.¹²⁵ I would like to sum up the program for 'new archaeologists' and 'new anthropologists' in search of the early local cults of holy men in China in on Chinese character: 謁, to be read here as: to visit and investigate the *loci culti* with an open eye for all the strangeness, ambiguity and embarrassment that is likely to be encountered there. The scholar Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610) was probably right when he estimated that perhaps fewer than one in every hundred 'strange people' ever made it into the historiographic and hagiographic records, making China 'perhaps a full hundred times weirder than our all too conventional sources allow!'¹²⁶ Strangeness is inherent to the local character of the cult of holy men; ambiguity is inherent to its fictional character; and embarrassment is a sensitive epistemological indicator that the investigator is about to transgress the boundaries of local fiction and will soon touch on the underlying contests and controversies. The latter must not be underestimated: if a holy man can be defined as a stranger *par excellence*, he is also very likely to be an excellent source of local

dispute. Local traditions have several ways to dispose of such disturbing elements: by simply ignoring them if they are insignificant, or by killing or expelling them as fools, witches or fox spirits if they are relatively stronger personalities. Apparently only the excellently strong and strange, and certainly also those with sufficiently wealthy descendants and/or followers, live to be familiarized on a more sublime level: they are adopted as holy men during their lives and as ancestors, saints, or eminent monks after their death.

This social Darwinist view of ancestors and holy men is of course only one of many frameworks for the interpretation of the strange results of local 謁 investigation. As a corollary to Latour's rules of method, the 'rules of 謁' are summarized in ten propositions on a method of local research of the meditation tradition as an annex to the present study.

1.6. Concluding remarks 結論品第六

The subject of my dissertation being Huineng of Shaozhou (d. 713), not his paragon Yuet Kai of the Ten Thousand Buddha Temple (d. 1965), I will rephrase my observations on both holy men into two questions that will guide the remainder of my inquiries:

- I. How did topography define the hagiography of Huineng of Shaozhou?
- II. How did hagiography redefine the topography of the 'Sixth Ancestor'?

These are perhaps not the first questions a historian would ask about about Huineng. Would it not make more sense to investigate how and why the obscure holy man Huineng of Shaozhou and not his famous contemporary Shenxiu became the 'Sixth Patriarch' of the global village Zen temple? But these questions haven been addressed by Philip Yampolsky, John McRae, Bernard Faure, and other pupils of that eminent Chan ancestor of our times, Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山.¹²⁷ Their deconstruction of the invented tradition of the Chan patriline and of the myths and shenanigans of an assimilated and globalized 'Zen culture' has indeed cleared the way for topographical encounters with the past of the 'meditation tradition' in China. In the case of Huineng, I see no better way to answer my two questions: how topography defined hagiography and how hagiography redefined topography, than to look inside the black boxes of established historiography and hagiography for traces of ambiguity, strangeness, contention, and controversy. I do hope, however, that archaeologists as well as anthropologists will critically reinvestigate my findings when they pay a visit 謁 and/or tribute 謁 to the sites related to these stories where I was able to spend only several short periods of reconnaissance and fact-finding.

In conclusion of these epistemological explorations, I propose to redefine Beauvoir's notion of 'bad faith' in terms of strangeness and embarrassment. In this specific context, 'bad faith' is operationalized as the denial of embarrassment and the assimilation of the strange; 'good faith' takes into account all strange signs encountered in the field and/or in literature while avoiding the pitfalls of the so-called 'serious attitude': a grave case of bad faith that is utterly incompatible with all things carnivalesque.

My comparison of Huineng and Yuet Kai may also serve to further clarify this point. My observations indicate that the cult of Yuet Kai's strange *praesentia realis* is being assimilated into a larger Chinese culture of political correctness. His icon, which is without any doubt his actual mummified corpse, is subtly and gradually redefined and a properly sanitized hagiography, produced by the Chinese authorities, is replacing the original local records and pictures of his life, death and miraculous self-mummification. It is as if a savory Cantonese *loh hon jaai* is replaced by a 'vegetarian chop suey' - a tasteless mockery of the original. But the story of Yuet Kai himself is also one of mockery, or, put more 'seriously': a carnivalesque inversion of the life and works of his great paradigm Huineng. While the topography of Yuet Kai's life and death parodies Huineng's, his evolving hagiography shows a tendency to turn controversial local rhetoric into something more palatable to cosmopolitan (and official) Buddhism. I would not rule out that these steps might eventually lead to a canonization of Yuet Kai, precisely because his story thus far has been a 'resonance 感通' of Huineng's paradigm.

Notes

Modern standard Chinese names are in *pinyin*; Cantonese names according to Lau, *Cantonese*.

1. G. Rosedale, *Everything Zen*, title song.
2. Brown, *Society*, 130.
3. Su Dongpo, q. in Lagerwey, 'Dingguang', 79, mod.
4. Dōgen, *Zen Kitchen*, 2-22. *Loh Hon Jaai* is a southern Chinese vegetarian dish made of eighteen different vegetables and mushrooms, representing the Buddha's eighteen main disciples (*Arahant*).
5. Cf. Foulk & Sharf, *passim*; Faure, 'Bodhidharma' and Broughton, *Anthology*.
6. His name is first mentioned by Jingjue around 715 (tr. in Faure, *Mal*, 166; Barrett, 'Date', 258).
7. QTW 327 (cf. Part Two, below, and Demiéville, 'Vimalakirti', 452).
8. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*. Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*. Perhaps Schafer wrote *The Vermilion Bird* under the shadow of the American engagement in Vietnam ('Nam-Viet 南越') which in 1967 had just begun to escalate.
9. Zhang Jiuling's biography in Herbert, *Brilliant Emperor*, 14-29. The Dayu Range is one of the 'Five Ranges' 五嶺 separating the 'deep south' (Guangdong and Guangxi) from China proper. The common medieval Chinese term for the Deep South is Lingnan 嶺南, literally: South of the Ranges.

10. In March 1989 his 1310th birthday was celebrated at a special conference in Shaoguan. Cf. Wang, *Zhang Jiuling*. A memorial hall with a larger-than-life statue of Zhang Jiuling, Lord Qujiang was built next to the Qujiang County Museum at Maba Town, 20 km south of Shaoguan. I am grateful to Mr Tang Weizhe 唐維哲, Director of the Museum, for giving me a copy of the conference's proceedings. More recently the figure of Huineng himself was the subject of a conference somewhat ambiguously titled 'Huineng and Lingnan Culture', held at the University of Macau from 3 through 6 January 1997 (cf. Lin, *Huineng*).
11. Zhang Jiuling's chronology by Li Shiliang in Wang, *Zhang Jiuling*, 247-8.
12. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 126. Xinzhou is now Xinxing 新興 County in Guangdong. I translate Chinese 祖 as 'ancestor', not 'patriarch'; cf. Barrett, 'Kill!', 90. I would even prefer 'godfather' over 'patriarch' (incidentally, some Chinese triads revere Bodhidharma as their patron saint; see Ter Haar, *Triads*).
13. Cf. Yi, *Chan Men*, 37. Jiuling styled himself Zishou 子壽; his pen name was Wenxian 文獻.
14. Pulleyblank, 'An Lu-shan', 41-51.
15. Yampolsky, PS, 127-128 mod. PS writes 'Klao' with different characters from the modern Gelao 仡佬 hill tribe in Guizhou province. Modern Chinese ethnographers claim that they speak a Sino-Tibetan language: 'they worship nature and ancestors and are polytheistic' (*Zhongguo geminzu* 148). Western linguists tend to identify their language as a form of Tai-Kadai (Barrett, *Cinderella*, 15). To complicate things further, Fei Xiaotong found the so-called 'white-trousered Yao 白褲瑤 of Nandan 南丹 county in Guangxi referring to themselves as *Nau Klao* (Fei, 'Yao', 20). The *Gelao man* 仡佬蠻 (the 'wild Gelao') appear as 'Coloman' in Marco Polo's travelogue (Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 48).
16. Q. in Faure, *Insights*, 23.
17. HS section 13; section 33. Chinese *yi* 異 is close in meaning to Chinese 奇 *qi* ('unusual') and Chinese 怪 *guai* ('anomalous'). Mathews' defines Chinese *yi* 異 as 'strange; extraordinary; other; different; foreign; heterodox.' The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (fourth century BC) says: 'not of my race, he must be of a [strange] mind 非我族類其心必異'. (q. in Dikotter, *Race*, 3).
18. Luk, *Xu Yun*, 212.
19. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 32-35 (cf. Albert, *Odeurs*); Sangren, *Power*, 230.
20. Sangren, *Power*, 137.
21. Sangren, *Power*, 145.
22. Sharf, 'Idolization', 27. Cf. Cole, 'Upside down'.
23. Ng Shing Kup, *Events*, 40, q. in Baker, *Images*, 43.
24. Tr. by me after a handwritten *Vita in Praise of the Venerable Yuet Kai* 贊月溪法師傳, dated 乙未 (1955) by *upashaka* Fat Kwong 佛光, displayed in Amitabha's Hall (March, 1996 and April, 2000). On Yuet Kai's activities in Canton under the name of 'Venerable Yue-hsi' see Welch, *Practice*, 359.
25. Faure, *Insights*, 132.
26. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 44. Duan claims the stele is displayed in Amitabha's hall at Shatin, but I have thus

- far been unable to locate it there. On Yuet Kai's death cf. Ng Shing Kup, *Events*, q. in Baker, *Images*, 43.
27. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 45.
28. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 17.
29. According to the program of the fundraising concert, Shatin, 17 January, 1998.
30. According to a letter from the Shatin Ten Thousand Buddha Temple Ltd. dated 8 February, 2000. At that time a 'closure notice' to the rear of the main courtyard still warned that 'no tour/visits' was permitted.
31. [Between brackets] are parts of the Chinese captions not included in the English version. The display also included photos of Yuet Kai building a Guanyin Hall at Hacsa, Macau during the 1950s.
32. The author, Yuet Kai's disciple Luk Tsan-ming 呂燦銘, also wrote a long stele text on Yuet Kai's works 萬佛寺月溪法師實行碑 dated B.E. 2507 (1963), currently also displayed in Amitabha's Hall.
33. 香港萬佛寺管理委員會通告, dated January 12, 2001.
34. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 158-161. According to *Sinorama*, December 1997, reports that Cihang was arrested in Taiwan in 1949 as a suspected communist spy ('Daughters of the Buddha'. o.c. 5-8).
35. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 152-156.
36. In the spring of 2001, however, the Abbey's website www.10kbuddhas.org displayed a complete series of photographs of Yuet Kai's funeral and exhumation as well as of the 'old' mummy' in Amitabha's Hall. This is probably the first instance in history of a '*praesentia virtualis*' complementing a '*praesentia realis*'.
37. Bremmer, 'Sacrifice' (in progress).
38. Beauvoir, *Ethics*, ch. II, after Sartre, *Being*, Part I, ch. II. 12
39. This 'cultural relativism' is often justified by reference to a radical interpretation of epistemological relativism (Sokal & Bricmont, 57-68). Sokal and Bricmont, 95 suggest that 'two-tier' or 'bicamrate' distinctions between the 'religion' of an enlightened elite versus the 'superstitions' of the masses (cf. Freedman, 'Sociological Study', 38) is based on cultural relativist presumptions. Jordan Paper dates this approach back to Ricci: 'it is time that we took Ricci's Chinese critics seriously' (Paper, *Spirits*, 5-12), Cf. Vovelle's four ways to study popular religious culture, q. in Nissen, 'Sacraliteit', 241-242.
40. Paper, *Spirits*, 18-20 (and on Taiwan 21-22). Apart from the ideologically contaminated writing by Marxist Chinese authors about 'religious culture' (which is as purely modern as, for instance, the German discussion on *Kulturprotestantismus*), there is an ongoing debate in 'fringe publications' on Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Christianity, and non-Han cultures in China.' See Saso, *Buddhist Studies*, viii.
41. Geertz, *After the Fact*, 42-43, 50-51. Cf. Geertz, *Java*, 1-7; Said, *Culture*, xii-xv.
42. Geertz, *After the Fact*, 48. Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 3, for a criticism of Geertz' notion of culture. A critical discussion of the modern Japanese discourse on culture (*bunka* 文化) is Morris-Suzuki, 'Invention'.
43. Bol, *Culture*, 1. The term 斯文 itself is a classic quote from Confucius' *Analects*. In modern

Cantonese 斯文 (pr. *si'man*⁴) has become an adjective meaning 'cultured', 'polished', 'genteel' (Lau, *Cantonese*, 733).

44. Paper, *Spirits*, 3, follows Geertz's definition of religion as a 'system of symbols with particular functions'. Cf. Bremmer, 'Religion, Ritual', 10-14; Stietencron, *Gonda*, 13-16. nineteenth-century Japanese scholars used the term *shukyō* 宗教 ('traditions and teachings') primarily for western religion. This 宗教 has also become the modern standard Chinese term for all things religious (Paper, *Spirits*, 2-4; 18-22).

45. Bol, *Culture*, 125, 398n.

46. Q. in *Topoi*, 657. Wang Tong, whose pseudonym 號 was 'Master Wenzong 文中子', was the grand-father of the Early Tang poet Wang Bo 王勃 (650-676).

47. See for a diachronic account: Ch'en, *Buddhism*; for a topical account: Ch'en, *Transformation*.

48. Cf. Kieschnick, Ph.D., passim. See also Faure, 'Bodhidharma', and Zürcher, *Conquest*.

49. Bol, *Culture*, 20. Cf. Weinstein, 'Patronage', passim.

50. During the 6th and 7th centuries a charitable network 'Boundless Stores' 無盡藏 sponsored Buddhist events and served as banks and pawnshops. Their working capital consisted of gifts from wealthy laymen, many of them members of the controversial Three Stages 三階 sect. In 694 empress Zetian moved to restrict their activities (Forte, *Propaganda*, 167). Between 712 and 725 emperor Xuanzong had most Stores closed and their assets liquidated (Gernet, *Society*, 211-212; Forte, 'Relativity', 239-249; Hubbard, *Delusion*, passim, and Lewis, 'Suppression', passim).

51. Hoffmann & Hu, 255-261.

52. Barrett, *Taoism*, 85-92. The Japanese monk Ennin, who at the time traveled in China as a pilgrim, was eyewitness to this 'Huichang 會昌 persecution'. (Reischauer, *Ennin*, passim; Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 226-233).

53. Foulk, 'Myth', 191. The earliest text on the 'Rules and Rites of the Meditation School' 禪門規式 was written after AD 1000 and published as an appendix to the *vita* of a Tang monk (Foulk, 'Myth', 156).

54. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 336-337.

55. Faure, *Will*, 1-2; cf. Strickmann, *Mantras*.

56. McRae, *Northern School*, part 1; Foulk, 'Myth', 156.

57. Cf. Sangren, 'Family Relations', 150-183.

58. Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 40-43: 'the central role of ritual concerning food eaten by the participants in [...] Chinese religion is probably the cause of the unique importance of eating in Chinese social customs.'

59. Cantonese *suk*⁶ 熟 means 'familiar', 'ripe' or 'cooked'; *saang*¹ 生 can be: 'live', 'raw', or 'unfamiliar'.

60. S&H 249: 'To make offerings of whatever nourishes, e.g. food, goods, incense, lamps, scriptures, the doctrine, etc., any offering for body or mind.' Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 23-50.

61. 'Law' will be the standard translation of Sanskrit *dharma* in the present study. For its meanings see

Stietenron, *Gonda*, 13-14; 22-23. For the Chinese character *fa*³ 法 see Hu Shi, *Logical Method*, 95).

62. For the religious economy of this cult, transferred to Hong Kong by Cantonese immigrants in 1915, see Lang & Ragsfeld. Cf. Harrell, 'Ghost', 192-206 on the 'intermediary status' of some spirits.

63. Cf. Teiser, *Ghost Festival*, 3-25.

64. At ordination, monks assume the Buddha's clan name Shakya (M. 釋 Shi, C. Sik, V. Thich).

65. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 253. A famous precedent dates back to the early seventh-century general Li Yuan, Duke of Tang 唐公李淵, a man of obscure half-Turkish heritage, who claimed descent from Late Han aristocrats. After he had seized the imperial throne and established the House of Tang, he had his ancestry traced back to the Daoist Li Er 李耳, better known as Laozi 老子.

66. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 254-256. I use 'lineage' here in the sense of Ebrey & Watson 4-9 as a descent group (i.e. agnate kin of mixed lines and branches) with group-owned corporate assets (land etc.).

67. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 257. No Chinese characters are given for these names.

68. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 262. Nelson's informants all agreed that the lineage consisted of five groups, yet none could give information about the relation between the five groups and the two branches.

69. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 267-272.

70. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 275. Cf. Danforth, *Rural Greece*, for reinterment practices similar to the Cantonese custom. In urban Guangdong, including Hong Kong, economic considerations have furthered cremation. In 1986 I saw a cemetery in Shazui 沙咀 Township in Shenzhen with hundreds of neatly arranged identical niches, each containing a bone jar. Contrary to the highly selective ancestor worship of the Lei, this facility conveyed a revolutionary spirit of equality in which each villager could be an ancestor.

71. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 263-267. With every new restoration of the ancestral hall, and only then, a limited number of new tablets were added at the behest of the Clan Association which also paid for it.

72. Kuper, 'Lineage'.

73. Kloos, *Oog*, 29.

74. McCall, 'Ancestors', *passim*.

75. Cf. Frank Ching's research on his ancestor Qin Guan 秦鶴 (1049-1100; Ching, *Ancestors*, 13-31).

76. Cf. Osinga, 'Wassenaar-wapen', column 241-242, and Kuiken & Van Poelgeest. As the Dutch Republic did not have a College of Arms, armorial usurpation was never subject to any legal sanctions after 1568.

77. Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 7.

78. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 29. Shamanic powers are excluded from the third definition. Cf. Peter Brown's definition of a holy man as 'a stranger among men without being possessed by a god' (Brown,

Society, 134).

79. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 30-32.

80. Chinese characters after Dr. John Lagerwey, p.c.; cf. note 3, above.

81. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 66. Cf. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 52-53 on the distinction between icons and idols.

82. Walker, OCL, 468, mod.

83. Gellius, V.19.9., q. in Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 23.

84. *Grondwet voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden van 24 augustus 1815*, Article 2, sub 2: 'De koning is onschendbaar; de ministers zijn verantwoordelijk', tr. in Van den End, *Lexicon*, 400.

85. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 18-20.

86. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 26.

87. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 35.

88. *Pastor Aeternus*, q. in EB, vol. 26, 892, in voce 'Roman Catholicism'.

89. Van der Veer, *Orientalisme*, 119.

90. Q. in Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 22.

91. Hans Moser, 'Vom Folklorismus'.q. in Roodenburg, 'Ideologie', 99.

92. Roodenburg, 'Ideologie', 104.

93. Where no ambiguity is intended, Chinese often explicitly juxtaposes the two levels of truth:

似為曹溪地方志，實為南華寺志。

(it appears as a local gazetteer of Cao's Brook, but it is really a chronicle of South China Abbey).

(Ren Jiyu's 任繼愈 preface to CBCG, n.p.; N.B. the similarity and difference between 以 and 似).

94. *Analects* book III, chapter XII; interpunction after Legge.

95. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 364.

96. WYYH 290; QTS 126-51 mentions Pei Di 裴迪 as another possible author of this poem.

97. E.g in the title of Song Zhiwen's poem *Paying tribute 謁 to Yu [the Great]'s shrine* (QTS 52-28).

98. Yu Jing, *The Wuxi Collection*, q. in SG 820.

99. Commemorative inscription of the canonization, dated 1173, by Sun Shimin 孫時敏, q. in SG 821.

100. This comparison is elaborated in Shinohara, 'Holy'.

101. Brown, *Society*, 148. Cole uses the term 'calculated gentrification' (Cole, 'Upside down', 307).

102. Brown, *Society*, 130, 134.

103. Paper ascribes the transition from shamanism to mysticism in Chinese mainstream culture to the 'loss of social function, due to religio-ecological transformations' (Paper, *Spirits*, 155) In rural southern China, however, shamanic practices are very much alive. Cf. Potter, 'Cantonese Shamanism', 231. Paper's criticism that Potter uses the terms 'shaman' and 'medium' interchangeably (Paper, *Spirits*, 86; 111) disregards the common observation that rural Chinese themselves, especially in the south, care little for precise terminology. On the Buddha as a 'shaman' see Obeyesekere, *Gonda*, 21-25).

104. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 36 and 91, n. 36-38.

105. Robson, 'Contested Space'; Faure, 'Relics', 174; Robson, 'Marchmount', 252-257; cf. *Nanyue Curiosa*.
106. Frijhoff, Heiligen, 28; cf. Bremmer, 'Religion, Ritual', on the opposition sacred-profane.
107. Q. in Frijhoff, Heiligen, 55 and 94, n. 65.
108. The parameters of credibility are set by circumstances. Visitors of Madame Tussaud's, for instance, are believed to look at the eyes of the statues first. As one employee recently said on Dutch public radio: 'If the eyes are not right, they say it's not real'. On the other hand, an American resident of Hong Kong who had visited Yuet Kai's mummy around 1995 told me: 'I remember seeing part of the skin, because some of the gold plating was coming off. His face was very thin. He wasn't all gold, he was missing a few pieces, so I believe he must have been real'. (James M. Thompson, p.c.)
109. Latour, *Science in Action*, Appendix 1. For a critique see Sokal & Bricmont, 85-90; cf. Amsterdamska, 'Latour'. The anthropologist Bernard Cohn has labeled the 'black boxes of history' as events, structure, and transformations, respectively (Cohn, *Historians*, q. in De Jong c.s., 62-63).
110. Latour, *Science in Action*, Appendix 1.
111. Cf. Lopez, *Hermeneutics*.
112. See Part Two, below, and HS 23 in Part Five, below. Berkowitz, *Reclusion*, mentions the Moral Hero, the Paragon of Extraordinary Conduct, and the Perfect Man as Chinese paradigms for hermits and recluses. Cf. the biographies of eminent scholars 高士傳 by Huangfu Mu 皇甫謐 (215-282).
113. See McRae, 'Shenhui'.
114. Faure, 'Relics', 165-180.
115. T.H. Barrett's Introduction to Penny, *Writing*, 5.
116. Gosman, 'Cult', 38-41, 49.
117. Cf. Lang & Ragvald; Dean, *Lord; Dean, Taoist Ritual*.
118. Prefaces and stele texts for the 'Sixth Ancestor of Cao's Brook' by Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842) tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 138-139 and 145-146; cf. Part Two, below.
119. Tr. in Part Five, below; the so-called 'court correspondence' is discussed in Part Two, below.
120. Q. in Genkai, *Eastbound Travelogues of the Great Tang Monk (779)*; see Part Two, below.
121. Nissen, 'Sacraliteit', 105.
122. Cf. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421.
123. T.H. Barrett's Introduction to Penny, *Writing*, 5.
124. See note 7, above.
125. Catalogue: Rawson, *Mysteries*.
126. Q. in Chaves, *Clouds*, 134. Yuan was a founder of the naturalist 'Gong'an 公安 school' of Ming poetry.
127. Portrait with disciples in CEA 7 (1993-1994), frontispiece.

Part Two

Sources and Resources

'We do not assimilate. We investigate.'

Katheryne Janeway¹

'What matters? Stones or ideas?'

David Hare²

2.1. Official and unofficial sources

This part is to introduce a basic apparatus of sources and resources for the topography and the hagiography of the Sixth Ancestor of the 'southern' Chinese meditation tradition. Both official and unofficial texts from the 'central tradition' of Chinese bibliography as well as canonic and extracanonc Buddhist writings will be listed together with some regional and local sources that were all more or less patterned after the 'central tradition'. Chinese libraries have traditionally been organized into four departments or branches:³

A. The central intellectual tradition:

1. classics 經
2. histories 史
3. philosophers 子
4. collections 集

Although the character for 'classics' 經 has been adopted by Buddhists in China to translate Sanskrit *sutra*: a type of scripture believed to be a transcript of a sermon by the Buddha, Buddhist scriptures are never included among the 'classics' in the central tradition; Buddhist scholars, however, were sometimes listed among the 'philosophers'.⁴

Most of the above can be qualified as 'official' writing. Only the 'collections' (or 'belles-lettres', according to Endymion Wilkinson) contain some works and fragments with a more private touch, as

we would recognize it. Two genres are of particular interest to our study of Huineng of Shaozhou and the rise of his cult in eighth-century southern China: exile poems by demoted officials as a source of topographical information, and miracle stories 傳奇 that give us an impression how miracles and auspicious omens were perceived during the Tang, as a model for the miracle stories in Buddhist hagiography.

Expatriate poems written in the deep south by Tang officials are the province of Edward Schafer's famous study *The Vermilion Bird: Tang Images of the South* (1967). Printed editions of the collected works of individual Tang authors are often our earliest source for their poetic opus; early printed anthologies often provide alternative readings. In the early eighteenth century a comprehensive collection of Tang poetry, compiled from collections and anthologies, became available under the title *Collected Tang Poetry* 全唐詩 (QTS). The topographical value of these literary products is discussed in Part Three, below, which deals with Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (d. 713), a poet whom the Buddhist hagiographer Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) believes to have met with Huineng of Shaozhou.

As a rule, collections of local legends and anecdotes are listed under the 'belles-lettres'. Like the *mirabilia* in medieval European travelogues, they were also included in local gazetteers (see section 2.1.2, below).⁵ Since the 1980s Chinese ethnographers have been publishing new series of records of these oral traditions, following in the footsteps of the Tang scholar-official Dai Fu 戴孚 (fl. 742-756), who during several regional postings collected 'hundreds of anecdotes on strange and preternatural experiences' now known as the *Guangyiji* 廣異記.⁶ The Southern Song scholar Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) also included miracle tales into his collections. Hong took great care to specify his sources, allowing Valerie Hansen to retrace several accounts to local traditions as recorded in temple inscriptions (廟記 i.e. steles) and written notes 筆記 and thus to illustrate how such local material was assimilated into Chinese mainstream culture 斯文.⁷

2.1.1. The central tradition and topography

Within the history department of the central tradition, the (official dynastic) standard histories 正史 such as the old and new *Tang Histories* 唐書 were organized as follows:⁸

A.2.1.	a.	dynastic chronicles	紀
	b.	imperial gazetteers	志
		- rites	禮儀
		- music	音樂
		- calendar	歷

- astronomy	天文
- geography	地理
- government offices	職官
- economy	經籍
- commodities	食貨
c. court memorials	表
d. official biographies	傳

Following the listing of descriptions of the geographical state of the empire in the standard histories as part of the imperial gazetteers, the term gazetteer 志 is now also understood as a topographical description of the empire, or a region, or prefecture, or county. Some Buddhist institutions even compiled their own gazetteers, modelled after the official examples. A well-known instance is the *Cao's Brook Current Gazetteer* 曹溪通志, attributed to the abbot Deqing 德清 (1546-1623) and revised in 1671 by the prior Xue 雪 at the behest of Shaozhou prefect Ma Yuan 馬元. Although claiming to be a gazetteer of the Cao's Brook area, it is really a chronicle of South China Abbey.⁹

The earliest surviving topographical vademecum of all Tang China is an *Atlas and Gazetteer of Commanderies and Counties of the Yuanhe Era* 元和郡縣圖志 (YH), dated 813 but partly based on seventh-century data. The maps are lost, as are the volumes describing most of the Lingnan 嶺南 circuit (modern Guangdong and Guangxi).¹⁰ However, some information on Lingnan can be retrieved from the *Records of Famous Places* 輿地紀勝 (YJ) by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, dated 1227 (under the Southern Song). The section on Shaozhou in scroll 90 of YJ quotes the following sources:¹¹

- a. a *Gazetteer of Nine Territories* 九域志 (perhaps the eleventh-century *Yuanfeng Era Gazetteer of the Nine Territories* 元豐九域志)
- b. the *Record of the World* 寰宇記 (Taiping 太平 era, ca. 980, by Yue Shi 樂史)
- c. an *Old and/or Illustrated Gazetteer* 舊經、圖經、舊圖
- d. another *Old Gazetteer* 舊經 (unknown)
- e. a *New Gazetteer* 新經 (unknown)
- f. YH (see above)
- g. Sima Guang's *Mirror of Finance and Government* 司馬光資治通鑒 (1084)
- h. several gazetteers derived from official standard histories 史志, including:
 - i. a *Gazetteer* (or: *Standard Geography*) of the Jin 晉志 (unknown)
 - j. a *Gazetteer* (or: *Standard Geography*) of the Southern Qi 南齊志 (unknown)
 - k. a *Gazetteer* (or: *Standard Geography*) of the Sui 隋志 (unknown)
 - l. a *Gazetteer* (or: *Standard Geography*) of the Tang 唐志 (unknown)

- k. a *Song Gazetteer of Commanderies and Counties* 皇朝郡縣志 (unknown)
- l. the *Important Documents of the Song* 國朝會要 (later known as 宋會要)

For the 'local lore 風俗' of Shaozhou, YJ quotes epigraphical sources, mostly qualified as *Records* 記, composed by such famous local scholars as Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064). The following sections describing features of the landscape 景物; historical sites 古跡; famous men 人物, Daoists 仙 and Buddhists 釋; stele inscriptions 碑記 and poems 詩. Among the poems, YJ has special headings for the 'Stones of Shao 韶石' (a rock formation that gave Shaozhou its name) and poems about Shaozhou's greatest son: Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740). For all its painstaking acknowledgments, YJ is yet far from a critical investigation of local topography. From the sources that still exist (e.g. the *Taiping Record* (TH), Sima Guang's *Mirror* (ZZTJ) and *Important Documents of the Song*, Wang Xiangzhi appears as a faithful copyist, but entries such as 'Shaoyang Pavilion 韶陽樓' are only included on the basis of a single poem mentioning it in its title.¹²

A curious description of south China under the Song is *Outside the Ranges: Frequently Asked Questions* 嶺外代答 by Zhou Qufei 周去非, controller-general 通判 at Jingjiang 靜江 (now Guilin) from 1172 to 1178. It contains the following sections:¹³

1. Geography (mainly about mountains in Hunan, Guangdong, and Guangxi)
- 2-3. Neighboring states (Indo-China, but also the Middle East and Madagascar)
4. Local lore (climate, local languages and writing, legislation)
5. Finance and economy (salt regime, horse trade, local markets)
6. Arts and crafts (writing utensils and clothing, but also arms, wine, and tea)
7. Aromatics (and also music, exorcism, precious shells, stones, and metals)
8. Flora
9. Fauna (including mammals and birds), but not:
10. Reptiles and fish (including historical sites, southern customs, and auspices).

This list of trivia apparently not only inspired Jorge Luis Borges at his absurdist best, but also Schafer's *Vermilion Bird*.¹⁴ Under the Ming and Qing, several topographies of the empire appeared in print. Among them is a historical topography by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631-1692). An index to the 30,000 toponyms in his *Essentials of Geography for Reading* 讀史方輿紀要 was published by the Japanese historian Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄 in 1933.¹⁵ Gu Zuyu must not be confused with his contemporary Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682, no relation) who wrote a handbook of military topography titled *Strengths and Weaknesses of Each Province under Heaven* 天下郡國利病書.¹⁶

But rather than these comprehensive gazetteers of the Ming and Qing, the wealth of local gazetteers 地方志 printed during the nineteenth century provides the most consulted source to the historical topography of China. The organization of these local encyclopedias is based on the standard histories. Comprehensive local gazetteers were first published during the tenth century as compilations of official reports to the court on the state of a county or prefecture, including census statistics, maps, chronologies, and biographies of the local worthies for the instruction of newly posted magistrates.¹⁷ This official information was structured in a conventional and cumulative format, like the narratives of medieval European travellers to the Orient whose credibility was primarily decided on the conventionality of their accounts. One traveller, Jean de Mandeville, in fact never left the Low Countries, yet his 'travelogue' pandered to the expectations of his readership so well that it was believed - as opposed to the 'strange stories' told by that less fortunate globetrotter Marco Polo of Venice, whose credibility is still under dispute.¹⁸ Compare for instance the table of contents of Zhou Qufei's *Vademecum* with this index to the *Shaozhou Prefectural Gazetteer* 韶州府志 (SG) of 1874:

1. Standards
2. Chronology of administrative redivisions
- 3-6. Tables of office holders (civil and military, each by dynasty)
- 7-9. Tables of successful candidates (civil and military, by degree and dynasty)
- 10-14. Topography (climate, population, folklore, auspices, mountains, water)
- 15-20. Architecture (fortresses, offices, schools, academies, shrines, mills)
- 21-23. Economy and administration (agriculture, taxation, mail, excises)
24. Military (garrison and post stations, borders, artillery, cavalry, navy)
- 25-26. Historical sites (cities, residences, pavilions, abbeys, tombs)
- 27-29. Lists of succession in office
30. Military merit
31. List of expatriate officials
- 32-38. Exemplary biographies (dignitaries, women, clergy, aboriginals)
39. Bibliography 藝文
40. Miscellaneous records.¹⁹

Most readers may prefer the facts of the nineteenth-century *Gazetteer* over the trivia in the twelfth-century *Vademecum*. I would like to comment that when the *Vademecum* was written, the *trivium* of the arts was still valued at a par with, or even superior to the *quadrivium* of the sciences. Thirdly, in spite of its more recent date, the conventionality of the *Gazetteer* must not be mistaken for modernity: much of its contents are cumulative recollections of traditions that in many instances still predate Zhou

Qufei's *Vademecum*. The strangeness of the *Vademecum* should epistemologically alert us to read it at least as closely (and critically) as we would read an official standard history - or a gazetteer.²⁰

One useful section of SG is the bibliography which not only gives short descriptions of many lost works by local scholars like Zhang Jiuling, Liu Ke 劉軻, and Yu Jing, but also identifies several topographical sources mentioned and quoted in YJ, for instance:²¹

- the *Old Illustrated Classic of Shaozhou* 韶州舊圖經 (lost, author unknown);
- the *Illustrated Classic of Shaozhou* 韶州圖經 (lost, author unknown);
- the *New Illustrated Classic of Shaozhou* 韶州新圖經 (lost, author unknown).

Among the more recent works are an *Old Gazetteer of Shaozhou* 舊志 compiled by Wang Fanggui 王方貴 under the Yuan (lost in 1874) and several Song, Ming, and Qing gazetteers of Shaozhou prefecture and separate gazetteers of its counties Qujiang 曲江, Lechang 樂昌, Renhua 仁化, Ruyuan 乳源, Wengyuan 翁源, and Yingde 英德.²²

Following the Cultural Revolution, many local governments have undertaken the production and publication of their own 'local gazetteers'. To most editors of these 'neo-gazetteers', political correctness has been of greater concern than historiographical precision. Records of the years between 1966-1976, when the official Maoist doctrine was that 'redness' should prevail over 'expertise', must be read with caution. Like the 'old' gazetteers, they are often rich in facts and trivia, but rarely provide any critical or in-depth analysis. As a rule, the urge to assimilate local history under the pretention of modernization is also strong. A favorable exception is the *Nanyue Gazetteer* 南岳志 by Zeng Xianghu 曾祥虎 which closely follows the old tradition of local gazetteering.²³

Whether comprehensive or local, premodern or modern, the term 'gazetteer 志' should always remind us that we are studying official documents, not critical local or regional historiography. As in all official writings in the central tradition, they contain few items and passages with a more private touch: anecdotes, miracle stories, exile poems and other 'trivia'. Obviously, Twitchett's observations on the corpus of cumulative and assimilative conventions that underly the writing of standard histories apply to gazetteers as well.²⁴

2.1.2. The Buddhist canon and hagiography

The Chinese Buddhist canon, the Chinese version of the *Tripitaka*, is organized on similar lines as a traditional Chinese library. Its most recent (Japanese) scholarly edition is titled *Taishō Daizōkyō* 大正大藏經 (T) and contains the following departments:

B1. Indian texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon:

- a. translated sermons by the Buddha (*sutra*, T1-21)
- b. translated monastic rules (*vinaya*, T 22-24)
- c. translated Hinayana metaphysics (*abidharma*, T 25-39)
- d. translated Mahayana philosophy (T 30-31)
- e. translated Indian commentaries (*shastra*, T 32)

B2. Chinese texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon:

- f. Chinese commentaries (論, T 33-43)
- g. Buddhist schools and sects in China (T 44-48)
- h. Buddhist historiography in China (T 49-52)
- i. Chinese encyclopedias and glossaries (T 53-54)
- j. Sino-Japanese catalogues of scriptures (目錄, T 55)²⁵

Buddhist historiography in China includes both sectarian (Tiantai, Pure Land, Zen) and ecumenical texts. Among the latter, the so-called *Vitae of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳 (*Vitae*, T51) are an indigenously Chinese genre. In the sixth century, the scholar-monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) researched the lives of eminent monks regardless of their sectarian affiliations. His work was continued by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) and Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001). Huijiao and Daoxuan worked on a private basis; Zanning was the first to work on an imperial commission.²⁶ Huijiao defined his sources and resources as:

- miscellaneous accounts by several dozens of authors;
- chronicles and histories of the Jin, Song, Qi and Liang dynasties;
- heterodox histories of the frontier dynasties (Qin, Zhao, Yan, Liang);
- geographical miscellanies;
- isolated pieces and fragmentary accounts.²⁷

Among the 'isolated pieces and accounts' consulted by all three hagiographers were:²⁸

- Buddhist bibliographies, often based on prefaces to translated texts;
- written collections of miracle tales, often based on oral stories by monks;
- stele inscriptions 碑銘 and stupa texts 塔文 .

These materials were sometimes edited if they were too abstruse and convoluted, but most was copied lock, stock and barrel into a *vita*.²⁹ Later Chinese scholars have criticized the *Vitae* for 'incoherent style and inferior organization':

[The compiler of the *Vitae* was] well-versed in [monastic] rules, but literary style was not his strong point: his biographies of meditation masters read like residence permits and marriage certificates [...] these books are most different

from the *Records of the Historian*, or the histories of the Han, the Southern and Northern and the Tang [dynasties]. The style is confused and repetitive.³⁰

Modern scholars like John Kieschnick on the other hand credit the compilers of the *Vitae* with these 'awkward patchworks' full of 'rampant plagiarism' from earlier sources:

'because they follow their original sources so closely, it is often possible [to identify that source as] a stele inscription, a miracle tale, or an oral story.'³¹

Although Huijiao's list of sources is not exhaustive, it shows at least how a Buddhist hagiographer in China would organize his materials. Much of his resources are still available as part of the Buddhist canon or inside the scholarly 'four departments'. I will refer to these sources as 'canonic' and 'official' respectively, although they were not always written for official use. Wang Wei's stele inscription for Huineng, for instance, was a private commission dating around 730. It was preserved in print in Wang Wei's works and finally included in the *Collected Tang Texts* 全唐文 (QTW), a comprehensive collection of more or less official Tang prose texts that was compiled around 1800.³²

Some texts were created with a very special purpose. One handwritten ninth-century collection of sermons with a *vita* ascribed to the Sixth Ancestor himself and retrieved at the desert town of Dunhuang around 1900 was to serve as a certificate that its owner belonged to the Sixth Ancestor's spiritual line. Ninth-century Japanese pilgrims who acquired copies of this collection in China referred to it as the *Sixth Ancestor's Platform Sutra* (PS), the title under which it was later incorporated into a

Buddhist canon.³³ A Chinese apocryphon historically, it is now a canonic text bibliographically. Once PS was canonized, other *vitae* of Huineng were considered 'unofficial' or 'separate' biographies 別傳 (Japanese: *betsuden*). Consequently, a *vita* acquired in Yuezhou 越州 by Saicho around 805 (before PS was canonized) as 'a *vita* of the Great Teacher of Cao's Brook' 曹溪大師傳 (*Sōkei Daishiden*) was edited and printed in Japan in 1762 as an 'unofficial *vita* of the Great Teacher of Cao's Brook' (*Sōkei Daishi betsuden*). It was included with other Chinese apocrypha in *The Great Japanese Supplement to the Tripitaka* (*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, 1905-1912, hereafter: ZZ).³⁴

Not all Chinese hagiographers treated their sources with the same respect as the compilers of the *Vitae*. Around the time Zanning completed his *Vitae*, two monks from Fujian known as Jing 靜 and Yun 筠 wrote a collection of 'records of transmission' of the teachings of the southern meditation tradition from the Buddha down to their own school. Best known under its Korean title 祖堂集 *Chodangchip*, or *Collection from the Ancestral Hall*, it was an early example of a new genre of explicitly sectarian hagiography.³⁵ In 1004, during the Jingde 景德 reign period of Zhenzong of Song 宋真宗, a similar

collection titled the *Jingde Collection of Records on the Transmission of the Lamp* 景德傳燈錄 included a hagiography of Huineng which quoted the following text:³⁶

Song of Enlightenment 證道歌

Erect the pillar of the Law and make its teachings known,
At Cao's Brook Buddha's call was heard with greatest clarity.
Kashyapa was the first disciple handing down the lamp,
Generations twenty-four were noted in the West.
[three characters missing] entered into this land;
Bodhidharma has become our founding ancestor.
China's six generations handed down robe and bowl,
Posterity incountable will inherit the Way.

Several Japanese scholars attribute this *Song*, which has also been retrieved at Dunhuang, to meditation teacher Xuanjue 玄覺 of Yongjia 永嘉 (Yongjia 664 - Shaozhou 713).³⁷ Although this monk from Zhejiang, whose laic name was Dai Daoming 戴道明, was really a student of Tiantai philosophy and the *Avatamsaka* at Longxing 龍興 Abbey in Rui'an 瑞安, the attribution of this *Song* links him to the Sixth Ancestor while suggesting that the Buddhist trope of inheriting one's teacher's robe and bowl was already a common place in China during Huineng's life (both Neng and Jue reportedly died in 713).³⁸

Collections like the *Chodangchip* are also rich in anecdotes and miracle stories that 'resemble the wonder tales of secular literature and have no particular Zen content' (Waley). Jing and Yun tell a unique anecdote about the great Confucian Han Yu 韓愈 who was banished to Huangzhou 黃州 in 819 for refusing to honor an alleged miracle during a Buddhist procession in the capital. During an encounter with a local meditation teacher, he is told that his scepticism was justified: obviously, not all that glitters is the Buddha's radiance 佛光.³⁹ Koichi Shinohara associates this emphasis on miracles and recorded conversations with a shift of paradigms in Buddhist hagiography in China under the Song 'from learned "eminent monks" to Chan masters who were the equals of the Indian "patriarchs" [at a] time the Chan movement began to dominate Buddhism in China.'⁴⁰ The growing importance of forms of 'Low Church' Buddhism (Pure Land, meditation schools) in China apparently inspired a new form of sectarian hagiography in the meditation school which tended to ignore all other traditions. In the *Chodangchip*, an unnamed meditation teacher tells the young monk Huizhong 慧忠 (d. 775) :

How can [...] a lad who grew up astride an ox's back find acceptance in a tradition like mine? On Mt Cao's Brook in Guangnan 廣南曹溪山 , I have a good friend called the Sixth Patriarch [...] Go there and be a monk. I cannot come with you, because I am going to Mt Tiantai 天臺.⁴¹

Huizhong then counters that 'in religion all are equal; there is no high or low.' When the young monk travels to Cao's Brook, he is accepted by Huineng who himself once had a similar experience with his teacher Hongren. Huizhong's rhetorical question about 'high' and 'low' teachings is a hagio-graphical resonance of Huineng's own claim to equality:

Although people from the south and people from the north differ, there is no north and south in Buddha Nature 佛性即無南北.⁴²

The sting is in the tail: the unnamed meditation teacher's announcing that he is going to Mt Tiantai. Compared to the 'southern' meditation tradition to which the authors of the *Chodangchip* adhered, the old scholastic tradition of Mt Tiantai with its sophisticated dogmatic critique 判教 was really aristocratic. Although it upheld the fiction of almost all Buddhist schools in China that every man could be a Buddha 人人成佛, discrimination between 'high' and 'low' teachings was a Mt Tiantai dogma.

2.1.3. The 'new' hagiographers

The hagiographic method of Huijiao, Daoxuan and others, which includes both official and unofficial materials, was followed recently by a group of Japanese scholars at Komazawa 駒澤 University in Tokyo. Their comprehensive volume of Huineng studies was published in 1978 under the rather modest title *Enō Kenkyū* 慧能研究 (EK).⁴³ EK contains a description of 18 'basic sources' on Huineng and an anthology of 112 'isolated pieces and fragmentary accounts'. The first twelve 'basic sources' include extracanonical texts from the central tradition as well as from Pelliot's and Stein's collections of manuscripts retrieved at Dunhuang at the beginning of the twentieth century: ⁴⁴

1. Stupa Record of the Hair-burial in Guangxiao Abbey 光孝寺瘞髮塔記 (676)
2. Wang Wei, Meditation Teacher Neng's Stele Inscription 王維能禪師碑銘 (~761)
3. Ishii's text of Shenhui's *Dicta* 敦煌遺文神會語錄 (~792)
4. Lineage Record of the Jewel of the Law 敦煌遺文歷代法寶記(師資血脈傳 (750~)
5. *Vita* of the Great Teacher of Cao's Brook 比睿本曹溪大師(別)傳 (781~)
6. (Dunhuang) Sixth Ancestor's Platform Sutra 敦煌本六祖壇經 (781~801)
7. Liu Zongyuan, Stele of [...] Dajian 柳宗元曹溪第六祖賜諡大鑿禪師碑 (816)
8. Liu Yuxi, Second stele and preface 劉禹錫曹溪六祖大鑿禪師第二碑並序(819)
9. Zongmi , Great Commentary to the Perfect Bodhi Sutra 宗密圓覺經大疏鈔 (823~841)
10. Jing & Yun, Collection of the Ancestral Hall 南唐靜筠二禪師祖堂集(952)
11. Yanshou, Zongjing Record 永明延壽宗鏡錄 (961)
12. Zanning, *Vitae* of Eminent Monks down to the Song 贊寧宋高僧傳 (988)

Only one of these Dunhuang manuscripts is included in the *Taishō* canon. Most others were awaiting cataloguing when the *Taishō* canon went into press in 1922. More early extra-canonicals were made available during the 1990s by the Chinese scholar Fang Guangchang in a series of critical text editions called *Buddhist Texts Not Contained in the Tripitaka* 藏外佛教文獻. Fang aims to collect and edit the contributions of Buddhism still scattered outside the several Pali, Chinese and Tibetan *Tripitaka* editions. His *extra-canonicals* 藏外 cover five categories of Buddhist sources:⁴⁵

B3. *Buddhist Texts Not Contained in the Tripitaka*:

- a. Chan Texts from Dunhuang (newly discovered texts);
- b. Esoteric Texts (including texts from Central Asia);
- c. Commentaries on the Tripitaka (Dunhuang and other sources);
- d. Doubtful and Spurious Works (Dunhuang; Chinese and other);

- e. Important Texts from India (Buddhist, but also Jainist);
- f. 'Lost Pearls Regained' and other Research Papers .

Among the 'new' Dunhuang texts already published by Fang are two pericopes of the anonymous *Seventh Ancestor's Records on the Precious Law*, recently discovered in the Beijing Library and apparently belonging to a 'northern' meditation tradition.⁴⁶

This is not the place to deal with the extensive secondary literature on the hagiography of the Buddhist meditation tradition in China. It may be appropriate, however, to mention some critical issues related to the presentation of hagiographical sources by, for instance, the editors of EK. Considering the sectarian background of these Japanese scholars, it is an admirable feat that they were able to produce a comprehensive collection of sources that appears at first glance as ecumenical as Zanning's best work. In terms of textual critique, EK is also a first-rate product of post-war Japanese Buddhist scholarship. But EK is not itself a critical text in terms of historiography. Their agenda differs from Fang Guangchang's, whose aim was merely to open up new sources and resources. In the case of Huineng, almost every pericope eventually included in EK had already appeared in print when the project took off. The editors of EK indeed intended to study Huineng:

in the new light of historical criticism to clear up the actual changes in the biographical writings about Huineng and define the *true image* of him.⁴⁷

The editors saw as the core of their book the section on changes in Huineng's biography:

using the data in [HS] as the standard, [we collected] descriptions corresponding to the fifty-three items [in HS] from the eighteen manuscripts [listed in EK;] then, [...] we tried to make clear the *actual condition* of changes in the [biographies].⁴⁸

The results of this comparative study were also summarized in a chronological table:

All articles having date descriptions in relation to Huineng were extracted from the manuscripts collected in [EK] and [...] arranged on the chronological table. Therefore [...] this table is a chronological reference in which *possible inconsistencies* among descriptions of various texts *are not taken into consideration*.⁴⁹

These programmatic notes reveal that EK was not written as a critical historiographical study but merely as a synoptic hagiography, or a hagiography of hagiographies. EK is a synthesis, not an

analysis, and the intended product of that synthesis is a new, improved *true image*: an icon unaffected by the vicissitudes of hagiography. If the *actual condition* requires that some *possible inconsistencies* be ironed out or assimilated, so be it: those are not investigated, or rather, as the editors put it: *not taken into consideration*.

I believe that we must not assimilate but investigate these 'possible inconsistencies', for they are the cracks in the egg of time allowing us to the historical sensation of a fresh look into local traditions. To define the field as the 'formation of *the legend*', as Yampolsky did in 1967, smuggles in some teleological fallacies. The focus must rather be on the very bones of contention and the supporting networks which produced a multitude of stories and icons during the years between Huineng's death (713) and his 'canonization' (816).⁵⁰

The following chapter is a critical investigation of several primary sources from that period. It draws explicitly on the sources and resources made available in EK, especially on the anthology of the 112 'minor sources', while also including some other relevant material. Its program being analytic, not synthetic, the anthology will not be exhaustive. Most entries will be introduced by a significant pericope and include the following items:

<i>Title:</i>	the Chinese and English title of the text discussed.
<i>By:</i>	the name of the author as mentioned in the text or its colophon.
<i>In:</i>	collections containing the text discussed, especially: the <i>Taishō Canon</i> (T); the <i>Collected Tang Prose</i> (QTW); <i>Enō Kenkyū</i> (EK).
<i>Date:</i>	only a date specified in the text itself or in an authentic colophon.
<i>Prosopography:</i>	biographical data on the author, on the subject of the text, and on their respective 'supporting networks' (see Part One, above).
<i>Topography:</i>	topographical information derived from the text discussed.
<i>Hagiography:</i>	about the contribution of the text discussed to the Huineng myth.
<i>Chronology:</i>	apparent chronological flaws in some sources .
<i>Bibliography:</i>	because of the extensive secondary literature on PS, an extra paragraph on bibliography is added to the section on PS in this study.

2.2. The Sixth Ancestor: a century of texts

2.2.1. Neng summoned to court: Zhongzong

'We have invited the two teachers An 安 and Xiu 秀 to the palace to worship and teach. Whenever I was free of all duties, I studied the sole vehicle. Both masters also [modestly] declined, saying that one meditation teacher Neng 能 in the south had received Great Teacher Ren 's robe and Law; he may be asked. Today Palace Attendant Xue Jian 薛簡 is dispatched to invite the Teacher to visit soon.'

Title: *Summoning Huineng of Cao's Brook to enter the capital for an imperial audience*

By: Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 of Tang (r. 684 and 705-710)

In: QTW 17

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: 'An' is most probably the famous meditation teacher Dao'an 道安 (d. 708) who according to Song Dan 宋儋 ignored a summons by Gaozong 高宗 of Tang in 664, although Zanning writes that meditation teacher An actually did come to Luoyang in the 690s.¹ In late 706, Zhongzong confirmed the ordination of 27 of An's students and presented An himself with some bolts of silk and a purple robe. In 713, five years after An's death, his stupa was built on Mt Song. Two stele texts for An were commissioned in 727 from Song Dan, probably a son of Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (see below). Although Zanning has no further details about the purple robe received from the emperor, it may have belonged to the late meditation teacher Shenxiu 神秀 (d. 706) who also had been received at court by Zhongzong's mother, empress Wu Zetian 武則天, in 705. Both An and Xiu had been affiliated to Yuquan 玉泉 Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州, a leading center of meditation in the Tiantai tradition around 700. Xue Jian 薛簡 is probably Xue Chongjian 薛崇簡, a son of princess Taiping who in 705 and 710 conspired against Zhongzong.²

Hagiography: Although the information given above suggests that An was honored by Zhongzong with the late Xiu's robe, Chinese hagiography has downplayed An's stature in favor of Xiu's meditation students Puji 普寂 and Shenhui 神會 (see below) and eventually in favor of Huineng of Shaozhou who has come to replace Xiu as the 'sixth ancestor' of the entire 'southern' meditation tradition. Of still greater hagiographical interest is the casual note that An and Xiu both declined to come to the capitals. This is a polite form predicated on a famous topos in the *Vimalakirtinirdesasutra* (see below), and so is the suggestion by these eminent teachers to contact the obscure 'Neng in the south'. Both

Chinese gentlemen of course knew that the emperor would take this as a subtle cue that they were really willing to oblige and come to lecture at court - as they did under empress Wu Zetian.

Comment: More elaborate versions of this summons, dated around 705, appear in several later *vitae* of Huineng (see below). That a courtier like Xue Chongjian is mentioned by his last given name (Jian) appears unusual, but already less so if the source were a hagiography of an eminent monk. This raises doubts about the date and origin of this 'summons': it may perhaps indeed originate in an older, unknown *vita* of Huineng.

2.2.2. Neng as a recluse in Hunan: Song Zhiwen

'Exiled to this burned vale,
My lone sail can find no berth.'

Far from home: ten thousand miles,
I let my eyes wander: the third month of spring.
Apes howl at my mountain lodge.
Rainbows drink the river clear.
Xiang's source mottled bamboo hides,
Heng's peaks like a stone gate shut.
Struggling across the mountain peaks,
Plying up against the stream.
In *Hengyang* my teacher lives,
For his wise advice I long.
A guest to quiet void, I wash my soul of worries.
While incense burns, pure vows resound.
May the gift of non-birth
Permeate my bothersome body .
Bodily existence dampens and pales,
The source of the soul is purified [...]

Title: *From Hengyang to Shaozhou : an audience with meditation teacher Neng*

By: Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (d. 713)

In: QTS 51-17; WYYH219; *Song Zhiwen Collection* 1-020; not in EK.

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: Song Zhiwen began his literary career as one of the compilers of an encyclopedia of religion commissioned by empress Wu Zetian 武則天.³ When Zetian was forced to abdicate in 705, Zhiwen was banished to China's deep south, the land pictured by Edward Schafer as 'a fearful wilderness, whose evils were only partly offset by the awareness of orange blossoms in the heavy air'.⁴ Zhiwen ended up in the prefecture of 瀧州 Shuangzhou in Lingnan 嶺南 (now Luoding 羅定 county in Guangdong province) but returned to Luoyang the next year.⁵ He served as a Gentleman in Waiting to princess Taiping 太平, was invited to banquets and outings, and excelled in the frequent poetry contests.⁶ In 710, Zetian's son and successor Zhongzong 忠宗 was succeeded by his younger brother Ruizong 睿宗, and Zhiwen was again banished: first to Yuezhou 越州 (now Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang), a city famous for its rice wine, which was not a hardship posting, and finally to Qinzhou 欽州 on the south coast of Guangxi, which was. Zhiwen left for Qinzhou in 711. In 712 Taiping made an unsuccessful attempt to take over the throne. She died under the hands of Ruizong's son Xuanzong, who ordered most of Taiping's former proteges to commit suicide. His 'kind permission to die' must have reached Song Zhiwen in Qinzhou in 712 or 713.

Topography: The italicized toponyms are all in southern Hunan.

Hagiography: The poem describes an intimate encounter (described in the title as 'an audience 謁' with an unnamed teacher (called 'meditation teacher Neng' in the title). This encounter is mentioned in Zanning's *Vita* of Huineng, but not in any other hagiographies.

Comment: Zhiwen's literary estate was taken care of by his friend Wu Pingyi 武平— who collected his works in ten scrolls, including his court poetry and personal poems written in exile.⁷ Some notes to Song Zhiwen's poems in QTS appear to refer to Wu Pingyi's *Collection*. A detailed analysis of this poem is given in Part Three, below.⁸ Song Zhiwen wrote in the mannerist tradition of the court poets. His account of his encounter with a Buddhist monk in Hunan is a highly 'cultured', that is: assimilated text. The 'local flavors' in the first octet are the literary commonplaces of medieval Chinese exile poetry. The encounter with 'Neng', however, is described so vividly and intimately that the thought of Zhiwen taking refuge comes to the mind spontaneously.

2.2.3. Neng as a 'local student': Jingjue

'Faru of Luzhou, *Huineng of Shaozhou*, and the Korean monk Chidok of Yangzhou were also worthy to teach people; but they were merely local men.'

Title: *Record of the Lanka School* 楞伽師資錄

By: Jingjue 靜覺 (683- ca. 750)

In: T. 85; tr. in Faure, *Mal.*

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: The aristocratic Tang monk and meditation teacher Jingjue wrote a collection of *vitae* of ten senior meditation teachers, all obviously outside the established meditation tradition of Mt Tiantai.⁹ Jingjue's surname was Wei 韋; he was a brother-in-law of emperor Zhongzong. Prior to 705 Shenxiu 神秀 (see A., above) was his tutor. After 708, Jingjue studied with the Pure Land teacher Xuanze 玄曠 (d. 725). Jingjue's memorial stele: *Inscription for the stupa of Master Jingjue, the late Bhadanta of the National Monastery of Da'an* 大唐大安國寺故大德靜覺師塔銘, was written by Wang Wei 王維 (701-761, see E., below). Jingjue's *Record* introduces Hongren of Huangmei 黃梅宏忍 (d.u.) as the main teacher in the sixth generation of the 'southern' or 'East Mountain' meditation tradition. Shenxiu is mentioned as Hongren's authorized successor. In Shenxiu's shadow, Jingjue mentions 'old An' 老安 (see A) as a 'seasoned' meditation teacher and some minor 'local disciples' of Hongren.¹⁰ Unlike Jingjue suggests, Shenxiu and Dao'an were connected with Yuquan 玉泉 Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州 (Hubei), a meditation center related to the school at Mt Tiantai.

Hagiography: Jingjue's mentioning of 'Huineng of Shaozhou' together with Shenxiu and Lao'an may also relate him to the Yuquan school. The name 'Lanka School' in the title is enigmatic in several aspects. Yuquan Abbey was never famous for a scholarly tradition of the *Lankavatarasutra*, a Mahayana missionary manual written for the conversion of Sri Lanka. Neither Jingjue nor Shenxiu appear to have been particularly well versed in it.¹¹

Chronology: T.H. Barrett convincingly argues that Jingjue wrote this text before 716.¹²

Comment: Xuanze is also mentioned as the author of a record of his own teachers and their teaching under the title: *Record of the Lanka School* 楞伽師資錄 . When Xuanze died, he left his robe, his begging bowl and the record to Jingjue. David Chappell sees Jingjue's *Record* as a polemic against Pure Land devotion and perhaps as a personal attack on Xuanze.¹³ This could also explain why

Jingjue excluded Xuanze's name from his list of meditation teachers - and perhaps why Xuanze's record has not been preserved.

2.3.4. Neng remembered as a 'Great Teacher'

' A great teacher has left this world,
Leaving us his *dharmakaya*.
Sending incense from afar,
My soul follows to Nanhai.'

Title: *Sending* [one source has: 'In reply to'] *incense to Monk Neng's stupa*

By: Zhang Yue 張說 (667-730)

In: QTS 89-09; Zanning's *Vita* of Huineng

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: Zhang Yue was exiled to the deep south between 703 and 705. With Song Zhiwen he had been one of the editors of the *Gems of the Three Teachings*. He was also a friend of Wu Pingyi 武平一.¹⁴ In 705 Zhang Yue wrote the official obituary for the meditation teacher Shenxiu; one year later, he saw Pingyi off on a trip to Mt Song near Luoyang to build a stupa for Xiu's remains.¹⁵ Wu Pingyi and Zhang Yue reportedly met for the last time in Luoyang in 712. Zhang Yue was then a tutor to the later emperor Xuanzong, and Pingyi was appointed military governor of Suzhou 蘇州, apparently a first step towards exile: as a relative of empress Wu he was considered a liability to the restored House of Tang. Zhang Yue wrote him a farewell poem.¹⁶ It is uncertain where Wu Pingyi went after Suzhou; perhaps to Qinzhou to collect Song Zhiwen's papers. Both He Ge'en and Bernard Faure doubt that Pingyi went to Huineng's stupa in Shaozhou.

Topography: It is far from certain that 'monk Neng's stupa' was located in Shaozhou at the time Zhang Yue supposedly wrote this poem.¹⁷ Between 703 and 705, Zhang Yue wrote exile poems in Yuezhou 岳州 (some twenty titles) and at Lake Dongting (QTS 86-38, 88-49), in Yueyang 岳陽 (over ten titles), in Hengyang (QTS 86-24), in Duanzhou 端州 and in Guangzhou (QTS 88-54; 89-13). None of these titles refers to Shaozhou.

Hagiography: For 法身 *dharmakaya* see section 4.5.3, below, which argues that in this poem the term does not (yet) denote an icon 真 or the carnal body 肉身 of Huineng.

Comment: Owen considers Zhang Yue as a transitional figure between Early and High Tang poetry.¹⁸

The simplicity of QTS 89-09 casts doubts on his authorship and suggest a younger hand: perhaps his protege Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, himself a native of Shaozhou.

2.2.5. Neng as a Chinese Vimalakirti: Wang Wei

'The meditation teacher, né Lu 盧, was a man from an unknown commandery and county [...] He died on an unknown day and month of an unknown year [...] His spirit was moved to Cao's Brook, his body rested in an unknown place'.

Title: 能禪師碑銘 *Meditation Teacher Neng's Stele Inscription*

By: Wang Wei 王維 (701-761)

In: QTW 327

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: This text was probably commissioned by Shenhui of Heze 荷澤神會 (d. 764) who claimed to be a student of the obscure southern meditation teacher Huineng. Shenhui makes a cameo appearance in Wang Wei's stele text as an adolescent 沖年 acolyte at Cao's Brook; his biography will be discussed in section 2.2.6.¹⁹ In 745 Shenhui built an ancestral hall for Huineng at Heze Abbey in Luoyang. He had vice-minister Song Ding 宋鼎 commission a statue to be displayed in the hall and probably invited Wang Wei to write a stele to introduce the southern monk to visitors.

Topography: Wang Wei is unspecific about the places of Huineng's birth and death. The stele text introduces Huineng as 'a man from an unknown commandery and county', who attended lectures by Hongren at Huangmei and Yinzong at Nanhai (= Canton), received the tonsure from the latter, and died on an unknown day and month of an unknown year. Then 'his spirit was moved to Cao's Brook, his body rested in an unknown place'. Xu Hengbin 徐恆彬 uses this vague account as circumstantial evidence that Huineng was 'mummified' in his native Xinzhou and then returned to Cao's Brook.²⁰

Hagiography: In spite of his claim to be the spiritual heir to the 'Sixth Ancestor', Shenhui was unable to provide Wang Wei with a record (see *Comments*, below.²¹ To add some substance to Shenhui's scanty data on his teacher, Wang Wei employed a popular topos: Neng, pleading ill, refused summons by 'empress lady Zetian and emperor Xiaohe 孝和 (= Zhongzong) to visit the capital cities'.²² It is an echo of a classical Mahayana parable about a Buddhist layman (*upashaka* 居士) who pretends to be ill when the Buddha invites him to an audience. When the Buddha's envoy informs about Vimalakirti's health, the layman tells him: 'This illness of mine is born of ignorance (...) Because

all beings are sick, therefore I am sick'.²³ The illness of the Bodhisattva arises from his great compassion. The 'Vimalakirti motif' also appears in three similar stele texts :²⁴

- a. a text by Li Yong 李邕 (d. 742) for the Indian thaumaturge Sangha 僧伽 (d. 710), commissioned by Puguangwang 普光王 Abbey in Sihong 泗洪縣 (Jiangsu);
- b./c. two texts written in 727 by Song Dan 宋儋 (d.u.) for meditation teacher Dao'an. 安, also known as Hui'an 慧安, or Dao 'an 道安, or 'Old An 老安' (see A).

Comment: QTW 237 contains two commemorative stele texts composed by Wang Wei to eminent meditation teachers: Huineng 慧能 (d. 713) and Jingjue 靜覺 (683- c. 750). Wilkinson distinguishes the following types of epigraphs 銘 for the cult of ancestors:²⁵

- a. 墓碑 *epitaphs on tombstones:*
 - 墓表 carved on steles and erected on the tomb;
 - 神道碑 on steles erected on the 'spirit road' leading to the tomb;
- b. 墓誌 *inscriptions on burial tablets:*
 - 壙銘 carved on 'tomb tablets' buried inside a brick grave;
 - 墓誌銘 general term for texts on buried tomb tablets;
 - 廟誌 carved on tablets deposited in the ancestral temple.

To this list we may add the following epigraphs commemorating Buddhist 'ancestors':

- c. 塔銘 'stupa texts', inscribed on a screen to the back of a monk's stupa;
- 碑銘 'stela texts' on a commemorative stele inside an abbey courtyard.

The basis for all official commemorative inscriptions was the 行狀 (also called 狀, 行實, or 行述), an official's state of conduct, issued at the time of his death by the Ministry of Rites 禮部 and forwarded to the History Office 史館.²⁶ Under the Tang the deceased official's heirs would prepare this document and then hand copies to a scholar and a calligrapher to produce two funeral inscriptions: an epitaph 墓誌銘 for the tomb proper and a text for the stele on the 'spirit road' leading to the burial site 神道碑.²⁷ A similar practice was followed when a senior Buddhist monk died:²⁸

'On the death of a prominent monk, his disciples would compile a brief account of his life 行狀 and then ask an accomplished local literate to work this into

an ornate encomium with elaborate metaphors and complicated allusions.

This epitaph was then inscribed in stone at the site of the monk's remains.²⁹

It appears that the monk's disciples would typically order a stupa text and perhaps also a stele text from a scholar who was sympathetic to Buddhism, or perhaps from a learned monk. The similarities in the composition of Buddhist or stupa texts and stele texts led Shinohara to the conclusion that stupa and stele texts were used interchangeably. Later Buddhist hagiographers like Zanning appear to have quoted from the biographies of senior monk's biographies inscribed on steles as if they were stupa texts.³⁰ Lothar von Falkenhausen, on the other hand, argues that modern students of religious biography should regard inscription-bearing objects such as steles and stupas 'first and foremost as archaeological objects and analyzed accordingly [;] one should ask how the inscribed message was visually conveyed in its specific context.'³¹ The present *Stele Inscription*, commissioned during the 740s to Wang Wei, was probably intended for a memorial stele at some Buddhist monastery. That his principal chose the format of a stele text over a wall tablet may suggest that an official rather than an artistic statement was expected.³² For an official statement, however, Wang Wei's text is strikingly vague and imprecise.³³

In southern China, stupas for Buddhist monks were as a rule erected outside monastic premises. One of the best known stupa inscriptions, however, can now be seen in a courtyard of Guangxiao 光孝 Abbey in Canton. It is dated 1612 but refers to Huineng receiving the tonsure by his ordainer Yinzong 印宗 in 676.³⁴ Stupa texts 塔文 were often composed by eminent monks or scholars. In China large stupa structures like dagobas or many-storied pagodas were the exception rather than the rule. A simple stone *padmasana* column, Balinese style, was probably the standard form of an early medieval 塔. Many are really cenotaphs: as a rule Buddhist monks were cremated, not buried.³⁵ When an abbey was renovated and expanded, a pagoda was often built on the site of a stupa. Hence, modern Chinese usually identify *stupas* with pagodas: both are called *taap*³ 塔 in Cantonese. The presence of a pagoda on the premises of a Buddhist monastery in reverse does not necessarily indicate the site of an earlier *stupa*. A point in case is the cast iron pagoda to the back of the main hall of Guangxiao 光孝 Abbey in Canton with an inscription remembering Huineng's shaving. The stupa, believed to contain a sample of Huineng's hair, is colloquially known as the 'hair-burial pagoda'.³⁶ The text claims that in 676 the resident monk Facai 法才 (d.u.) secured some of Neng's hair and erected a *stupa*. There is no other evidence that the inscription is contemporary with the event.

2.2.6. Neng in Shenhui's north-south polemic of the 730s

'[Bodhi]dharma revealed the Buddha's insights as a secret treasure and handed one cassock as a credential to the Law down to Huike. Huike handed [it] to Sengcan. Sengcan handed [it] to Daoxin. Daoxin handed [it] to Hongren. Hongren handed [it] to Huineng. Six generations of mutual transmission, linked by an uninterrupted line.' [...]

'Shenxiu posed as Sixth Ancestor of an "East Mountain lineage of meditators", [...] Puji 普寂 usurped the title of "Seventh Ancestor of the Southern lineage".'

Title: 菩提達摩南宗是非論 *Debate on Bodhidharma's Southern Line*

By: Dugu Pei 獨孤沛

In: EK 495.

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: This lay disciple of Shenhui of Heze 河澤神會 (684-758) was a son of a very old and respected Buddhist family of Xiongnu 匈奴, that is: probably proto-Turkic descent. We only know his sinicized name: Dugu Pei 獨孤. Shenhui's biography has been reconstructed by John McRae from a memorial stele at Longmen 龍門 Abbey near Luoyang and from data in Zongmi 's early ninth-century commentaries to the *Perfect Bodhi Sutra* 圓覺經 and in Zanning's *Vitae* (988):³⁷

- 684 Shenhui of Heze born Gao 高 in Xiangyang, Henan.
- 697 Shenhui (13) travels to Cao's Brook in Lingnan.
- 701 Shenhui (17) studies with meditation teacher Xiu 秀.
- 704 Shenhui (20) is ordained in Chang'an.
- ~708 Shenhui (24) returns to Cao's Brook.
- 713 Huineng dies. Shenhui (29) travels north to Mt Heng (?).
- 716 Shenhui (32) sends his student Shenying 神英 to Mt Wutai.
- 720 Shenhui (36) moves to Longxing Abbey in Nanyang near Luoyang.
- 730 First lecture contra Puji 普寂 and Xiangmo Zang 降魔藏.
- 731 Second lecture contra Puji and Xiangmo Zang.
- 732 Third lecture contra Puji at Mahamegha 大雲 Abbey, Huatai 滑臺, for an audience of senior Buddhist scholars.
- 745 Shenhui (61) moves to Heze Abbey in Luoyang and erects an ancestral hall for Neng with a stele and a statue commissioned by vice-minister

- Song Ding 宋鼎, an epitaph (probably by Wang Wei) and a series of six ancestral portraits with a text by Fang Rong's 房融 son Guan 房棺.
- 749 Shenhui (65) gives monthly lectures 壇語 at the ordination altar at Heze.
- 753 Shenhui (69) is banished as a threat to public order from Luoyang by the capital's military commander Lu Yi 盧矣. After remonstrations from local monks, the emperor allows Shenhui to return to his native town.
- 754 Shenhui (70) is appointed to the imperial Kaiyuan Abbey at Jingzhou.
- 755 Roqsan revolts. Xuanzong sells 'ordination letters' to fill his war chest.
- 756 Sale of ordination letters proves unsuccessful. Xuanzong flees Luoyang.
- 757 Shenhui turns the sales into a success. Suzong 肅宗 succeeds Xuanzong.
- 758 Suzong builds Shenhui (83) a new meditation compound 禪宇 at Heze. Shenhui dies in April of the same year.
- 759 Shenhui's remains are buried inside a stupa at Longmen 龍門.
- 763 Shenhui's remains are moved to Baoying 寶應 Abbey in Luoyang.
- 765 Shenhui's remains are reinterred at Longmen; a stele is erected.

Topography: In the 730s Shenhui addressed a seminar at Mahamegha 大雲 Abbey on Mt Huatai 滑臺 near Luoyang, in meditation teacher An's 安 native county. Mahamegha Abbeys had been founded by empress Wu Zetian in all prefectures in 690. In 738 it was decided that they be renamed Kaiyuan 開元 Abbeys in 738 after the current reign, but some were apparently still known as Mahamegha Abbeys during the 740s.³⁸ Shenhui's appointment to the Kaiyuan Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州 in 754 was an involuntary expatriation for security reasons. Once again, he appears to follow in the footsteps of his own meditation teacher Xiu 秀 as well as of Xiu's contemporary An 安 who both stayed at Yuquan 玉泉 Abbey in Jingzhou. Like Shenhui, Xiu was also temporarily buried at Longmen Abbey; Xiu's remains were later reinterred at Yuquan Abbey in Jingzhou.

Hagiography: This is our earliest written record of Shenhui's attempts to replace his eminent teacher Shenxiu with the obscure southern meditation teacher Huineng.³⁹ The polemic waged by Shenhui against Shenxiu's most successful disciples: Shenxiu's successors Puji 普寂 (651-739) and Yifu 義福, is also known from a late eighth-century text from Dunhuang: *Shenhui's Dicta* 神會語錄, written after 792.⁴⁰ These *Sayings*, a collection of dialogues with students, contain a *vita* of 'meditation teacher Neng, born Lu, ancestors from Fanyang; sixth generation, following Great Teacher Ren', also known as 'the Venerable [of] Cao's Brook'. Nagashima notes that although Shenhui's claim to fame rests on his alleged affiliation with the 'Sixth Ancestor', the *Sayings* do not mention Neng as his 'ancestor' but merely as one of the teachers of the sixth generation. As the Longmen stele confirms that Shenhui

was really a student of meditation teacher Xiu 秀, this may also explain better his polemic with Xiu's more senior disciples.

Comment: Unlike the Indo-Tibetan discourse with its 'famous taste for dialectical oppositions' which often exaggerates ideological conflicts, most Buddhist hagiography in China tends to play down sectarian differences in favor of a fictive ecumene, as if it were the Buddhist equivalent of the 'great assimilation 大同' of the central tradition.⁴¹ A good example of the polite polemical style of Tang intellectuals is the debate on metaphysics between Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842).⁴² Shenhui's polemic is all the more remarkable, and so is its historical effect: by the end of the eighth century, the discourse of 'north-south polemic' had actually replaced most historical and topographical information about Huineng's actual whereabouts.

2.2.7. Neng as a famous teacher from the past:

The Twin Peaks Collection

'Meditation teacher Neng said:	能禪師曰
"With mind and deeds in harmony,	心行平等
There is absolutely no hardship!"	絕一無雜

Title: *Occult Teachings of All Past Masters as Collected at the Twin Peaks Mountain Stupa* 先德集於雙峰山塔各談玄

By: N.N.

In: Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Pelliot P. 3559; EK 498

Date: A colophon on the back dates this manuscript from Dunhuang to 750

Prosopography: this collection contains quotes from twelve bodhisattvas and monks meeting at a stupa: Parshva, Ashvagoshā (the alleged author of the *Awakening of Faith in the Greater Vehicle* 大乘起信論), meditation teachers Buddha 佛陀 (the founding abbot of Shaolin Abbey), Neng 能, Xian 顯, and Xiu 秀; teachers Min 敏 and Zang 藏, etc.⁴³

Topography: The title refers to Hongren's stupa at 'Twin Peaks' on Mt Song. The toponym 'Twin Peaks' 雙峰 is further discussed in Part Four, below.

Hagiography: This collection juxtaposes Huineng with Shenxiu, his opponent in the verse contest in PS (see below), who is quoted as saying: 'In the pure locus gaze at purity'. Jeffrey Broughton concludes that the text antedates Shenhui's polemic.⁴⁴

Comment: I find Broughton's conclusion rather far-reaching. The north-south polemic started in the 730s, but it appears that the impact of Shenhui's claims was still minor in 750 and that it did not spread beyond the capitals until the ordination campaign of 754.

2.2.8. Neng's line as a collateral to the Tiantai tradition: Li Hua

'The Buddha gave Mahakashyapa the Law of the Heart which was mutually transmitted ever after, at least for twenty-nine generations . Under the Liang and Wei, one meditation teacher Bodhidharma, the bodhisattva monk, transmitted the Law of the *Lanka* for eight generations down to meditation teacher Hongzheng 宏正 of Shengshan 聖善 Abbey at the Eastern Capital. This is now the northern line. In Dharma's sixth generation was also meditation teacher Datong 大通, who taught meditation teacher Dazhi 大智, [all] from the same source: the northern line. In Dharma's fifth generation was also a meditation teacher Can 璨. Can also taught meditation teacher Neng 能. This is now the southern line. In Dharma's fourth generation was also a meditation teacher Xin 信 who taught meditation teacher Rong 融, who lived at Mt Niutou 牛頭 [...] In the Liang 梁 and Chen 陳 era, one meditation teacher Huiwen 慧文 studied the Law of Nagarjuna and taught Great Teacher Huisi 惠思, the ancestral teacher at Nanyue 南岳 who taught [Zhiyi]: this is the Tiantai teaching 天臺法門. Zhiyi transmitted it to Great Teacher Guanding 灌頂, who then transmitted it to Great Teacher Jinyun 緡雲, who transmitted it to Great Teacher Dongyang 東陽, that is: Left Brook 左溪. Hongjing 宏景 [sic] also received the Tiantai teaching and lived in Jingzhou 荊州. Danyang 當陽 [read: Dongyang 東陽] transmitted it to meditation teacher Zhen 真, *vulgo* known as 'the hermit monk'.

Title: 故左溪大師碑 Stele for the Late Great Teacher of Left Brook

By: Li Hua 李華 (d. 766)

In: QTW 320; EK 497.

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: Meditation teacher Xuanlang of Left Brook 左溪玄朗 (673-754) is the 'Eighth Ancestor' in the Mt Tiantai tradition. A native of Zhejiang, he was ordained in 692. Xuanlang then studied meditation and Vinaya with Yinzong of Huiji 會積印宗 (627-713) in Guangzhou 光州 in (southern Henan) and was instructed in the Tiantai tradition by Huiwei 慧威 at Tian'gong 天宮 Abbey in Dongyang 東陽.⁴⁵ He died as a recluse and strict vegetarian on Mt Left Brook 左溪山 in Puyang 浦陽 in Zhejiang, having worn 'hempen cloth' for thirty years. The scholar Li Hua was commissioned with this stele inscription by a dozen of Xuanlang's disciples. If the variation in Mandarin pronunciation and orthography in modern Zhejiang is any indication for the literacy of these local monks during the 750s, we should not be surprised to find in Li Hua's stele text such apparent corruptions as Hongzheng 宏正 and Hongjing 宏景. Both are misspellings for Hongjing 弘景 (634-712), a Tiantai meditation teacher who lived and taught at Yuquan 玉泉 Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州. Among his students were meditation teachers Xiu 秀 ('Datong 大通' in the pedigree quoted above); Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓 (677-744); and Huizhen 惠真, who later became a teacher to Xiu's former student Yixing 一行.⁴⁶ Around 700, both Xiu and Hongjing were invited to teach at Wu Zetian's court in Luoyang. Xiu died in the capital in 706; that same year, Hongjing retired to Yuquan Abbey. Li Hua's works in QTW 320 also contain a stele inscription in Runzhou 潤州 for Xuansu of Helin 鶴林玄素 (688-752), a meditation teacher in the Mt Niutou 牛頭 or Ox-head tradition.⁴⁷

Topography: The figure of Yinzong connects two different narratives of eighth-century 'Great Teachers': Xuanlang of Left Brook 左溪大師 at Guangzhou 光州, and Huineng of Cao's Brook 曹溪大師 at Guangzhou 廣州 (= Canton). According to Li Hua, Lang studied with Yinzong in Hunan; according to HS, Yinzong ordained Neng in Canton. Could the variety of regiolects spoken in southern Chinese abbeys have caused confusion between Guangzhou 光州 and Guangzhou 廣州, Zuoxi 左溪 and Caoxi 曹溪?

Hagiography: This is an early reference to the existence of separate 'northern' and 'southern' lines of meditation teachers following Shenhui's campaign of 754. Li Hua also firmly attaches Huineng to Mahakashyapa's lineage, proposing 'at least twenty-nine generations between Kashyapa and Bodhidharma'. EK credits this inscription as 'the earliest and oldest record of the Ox-head together with the northern and southern lines'.⁴⁸ The hagiographical topos of the 'Great Teachers' will be discussed in section 2.2.13.

Comment: Philip Yampolsky already noticed that Li Hua's miscount of generations was predicated on Zhiyi's interposition of an ancestor Madhyantika between the second and third generation from Mahakashyapa.⁴⁹ Zhiyi's Tiantai tradition, to which Xuanlang was also affiliated, in turn borrowed its lineage chart from an apocryphal *Tradition of the Treasury of the Law* 付法藏因緣傳 (in T50), only

with the insertion of Madhyantika. The 'lineage theory' of the meditation tradition as it appears in the earliest document from Dunhuang, the so-called *Annals of the Transmission of the Jewel of the Law* 傳法寶紀, is also predicated on these Tiantai genealogies.⁵⁰ The Dunhuang *Annals* appears to be a genuine document of the early eighth-century *Lanka* school, giving a succession line from Bodhidharma to Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Faru, and Shenxiu, but ignoring Huineng. The pedigree quoted above is part of Li Hua's preface to Xuanlang's stele inscription. In his attempt to synthesize Xuanlang's Tiantai line and the meditation traditions of the 'northern' or Lanka school, the Ox-head school, and Shenhui's newly defined 'southern' school, Li Hua obviously loses count of the generations among these lines. EK takes the assimilation of Xuanlang one step further, ignoring his Tiantai roots almost entirely.

2.2.9. Steps towards ecumene: Jiaoran

'After twenty-four sages, the Law reached Bodhidharma who handed down the teaching of the heart further. There were seven ancestors. The Sixth Ancestor [was] Lord Neng of Cao's Brook. Neng handed it down to lord Ce of Fangyan 方岩策 and to Jue of Yongjia 永嘉覺, a co-student of Hui of Heze 荷澤會.'

Title: 佛川寺大師塔銘 *Stupa Inscription for the Great Teacher of Fochuan Abbey*

By: Xie Qingshu 謝清書 (meditation teacher Jiaoran 皎然, 734-799)

In: QTW 917 (after the collected works commissioned by the court in 795); EK.

Date: n.d.

Prosopography: Xie Qingshu was a descendant of the scholar Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) and a friend of the recluse Lu Yu 陸羽, the author of the famous *Book of Tea* 茶經.⁵¹ As a learned monk from Huzhou 湖州, Qingshu was invited to compose this stupa inscription for meditation teacher Huiming 慧明 (697-780) of the local Fochuan Abbey. As a religious poet 詩僧, Qingshu is associated with the so-called 'Left Bank' 江左 group. His work praised 'meditation as much as monastic discipline' (EK). Eight poems are part of his letter to meditation teacher Lingji of Yunmen 雲門靈澈 (746-819) for Palace Aide Bao Ji 包佶, author of a stele for Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (d. 788):

Topography: These eight poems contain references to Mt Tiantai, Yuezhou, and Hunan.

Hagiography: Among the eight poems written to Lingji, EK quotes the following:

Written at Mt Shifan 石帆

[...]Every peak under Mt Mao 茅 waits for dawn.
The Emperor's Son is a true man,
The Jade Hall produced a purple pistil:
Great Teacher Neng of Cao's Brook !

Written at Mt Jiang 蔣

Once the meditation school had its Sixth Ancestor,
The robe and bowl were out of reach for commoners!

Zanning, the author of the only existing *vita* of Jiaoran, also used Jiaoran's inscription and preface for meditation teacher Huiming as a source for his *vita* of this Huiming (who must not be confused with the general-turned-monk Chen Huiming 陳慧明 in PS).

Comment: Although EK admits that Jiaoran's work 'praised the meditation schools of both [Bodhi-] dharma and Tiantai, the selection of his poems in EK portrays him as a true follower of the meditation school, albeit relatively unbiased in view of Shenhui's polemic against the 'northern school' of Shenxiu 神秀. EK indeed quotes Jiaoran in a brief text:

In praise of the two ancestors Neng 能 and Xiu 秀

'The hearts of two lords, like moon and like sun,
A sky without clouds, all sprung from the void.
Three carts on one track, this Law of all laws.
Lines of north and south, both speak of their loss.'⁵²

This eulogy is one of a series of similar texts dedicated to, among others, Bodhidharma (of the *Lanka* and meditation tradition) and Zhiyi (of the Mt Tiantai tradition) as well as a text praising meditation teachers of these two traditions 二宗禪師讚 (in this context, 二宗 is unlikely to refer to the 'northern' and 'southern' school of Bodhidharma's meditation tradition). In addition, the poems in Jiaoran's letter to Lingji include the following:

望天臺山 *Gazing at Mt Tiantai*

天臺眾山外 Tiantai is special among mountains.
歲晚當寒空 At year's end, facing the cold void,
有時半不見 Sometimes we see but half of it,
崔嵬在雲中 Its lofty peak cloaked by clouds.

In view of this simple tribute to an all time high of Buddhist thought in China, the selection of texts in EK still appears to 'cloak in clouds' the variety of Jiaoran's affiliations.

2.2.10. Neng as a local saint: Genkai (779)

'The Great Monk lived here for one year and then proceeded to Shaozhou 韶州. He was seen off at the city and travelled 700 *li* on the river. When he reached Chanju 禪居 Abbey in Shaozhou, he stayed three days. The magistrate of Shaozhou also invited him to Faquan 法泉 Abbey, which was the abbey built by [empress] Zetian for meditation teacher Huineng. The meditation teacher's portrait is still there. He then moved to Kaiyuan 開元 Abbey. [In the year 750] he went north of the Range to King Asoka's Abbey in Mingzhou 明州.'

Title: 唐大和尚東征記 *Eastbound Travelogue of the Great Tang Monk*

By: Genkai 元開 (Tankai Sanzen 談海三船, 722-785)

In: *Collections of Travelogues 遊方記抄* (T.41); EK 497.

Date: 779

Prosopography: This collection of pilgrim stories by Genkai, a Japanese lay Buddhist (*upashaka* 居士), mentions the monk Jianzhen 鑑真 who was caught by a typhoon on his way from Yangzhou to Japan in 748. Jianzhen stranded near Sanya 三亞 on the southern island of Hainan. In 750 he set out for Yangzhou by way of Guangxi and Guangzhou.⁵²

Topography: This is an important source on the whereabouts of the Huineng cult prior to the writing of the three major hagiographies and to his alleged canonization in 812. Genkai identifies the site of the Huineng cult as Faquan Abbey, which is a different site from the imperial Kaiyuan Abbey on the outskirts of the city of Shaozhou. Chanju Abbey is unknown. For a detailed description and discussion of these sites see Part Four, below.

Hagiography: Jianzhen being our only eyewitness to the early Huineng cult in Shaozhou, it is significant that he does not mention Huineng's 'true body', but merely a portrait. It is also significant that the 'hagiography of hagiographies' in EK overlooks this point.

Comment: Genkai's collection is one of our earliest sources on the Buddhist pilgrim industry at monasteries on China's east coast, especially in Yangzhou, Mingzhou, and Yuezhou. During the Tang and Song, they attracted many Japanese pilgrims of all denominations. Jianzhen's involuntary detour probably brought the local cult of Huineng of Shaozhou under the attention of these Japanese visitors for the first time. Among the *vitae* of this southern saint acquired by Japanese pilgrims were a *vita* of the 'Great Teacher of Cao's Brook 曹溪大師' (HS, acquired by Saichō 最澄 in 805) and several copies

of a collection of sermons attributed to 'Sixth Ancestor Huineng' and known from the Dunhuang copies as Neng's 'altar sermons' or *Platform Sutra* 壇經 (PS).

2.2.11. The Portable Sixth Ancestor: the *Platform Sutra*

'This is the head monk Fahai's 法海 collection of the sermons *ex cathedra* 壇經 [...] When this Law is transmitted, it must be to a man of superior and fundamental wisdom 上根智 a mind deeply faithful of the Buddha's Law, grounded in great compassion. The bearer of this scripture is regarded as having received a transmission uninterrupted to date 以為稟承於今不絕'.

Title: *Mahaprajnaparamitasutra of the Southern Tradition of Immediate Teaching: One Scroll of Sermons Ex Cathedra at Mahabrahman 大梵 Abbey in Shaozhou 韶州 by the Sixth Ancestor Huineng 惠能, with a Nirlakshana 無相 [Hymn].*

By: Fahai 法海

In: Dunhuang manuscript S. 5475 (in (a) British Library and (b) Dunhuang County Museum); printed in T48 (a) and Zhou, PS (a, b); (a, b) to be tr. in McRae, PS.

Date: n.d.

Bibliography: As a new critical translation of the Dunhuang PS by John McRae is forthcoming, I will give a short bibliographical introduction instead of prosopographical details on the persons in and around the text. Among all sources and resources discussed in this chapter, PS still attracts the lion's share of academic attention in China and Japan. At the recent international conference on '*Huineng e a Cultura de Lingnan*' 慧能與嶺南文化 (Universidade de Macau, January 1997), thirteen out of the forty-odd papers presented were directly concerned with it.⁵⁴ Huineng's 'sermons', compiled in the

late eighth century, contain an 'autobiographical' *vita* of Huineng and a handful of sermons on meditation, enlightenment and ontology. Two PS manuscripts from the 'library cave' in Dunhuang were acquired by Sir Aurel Stein and Ren Ziyi 任子宜 respectively.⁵⁵ The texts of PS as included in several Buddhist canons are based on two later versions: the so-called '*Cao's Brook Original* 曹溪原本, allegedly a Northern Song copy of Qisong's edition of 1056 kept at Southern Abbey 南華寺, and the '*Zongbao Edition*' 宗寶比丘 編本 (printed 1291 under the Mongols).⁵⁶ These canonic PS versions are accessible through the following English translations:⁵⁷

- 1a. Wong Mou Lam 黃茂林, tr., *Sutra Spoken by the Sixth Patriarch Wei Lang on the High Seat of the Treasure of the Law*, Shanghai 1930.
- 1b. Chr. Humphreys, ed., *The Sutra of Hui Neng*, London 1953 and 1966 (revised editions of Wong Mou Lam's text, reprinted in Boston 1989).
- 1c. D. Goddard, ed., *Sutra Spoken by the Sixth Patriarch*, Taipei 1962 (in the Buddhist Culture Service's *Bilingual Buddhist Series*)
2. Charles Luk 陸寬昱, tr., *The Altar Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, London.
3. Fung Bros. 馮兄弟, tr., *The Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch on the Pristine Orthodox Dharma*, San Francisco 1964 (Buddha's Universal Church).
4. Heng Yin 恆賢, tr., *The Sixth Patriarch's Dharma Jewel Platform Sutra*, San Francisco 1977 (available on the internet)

Topography. The term 'platform' perhaps refers to an ordination altar 戒壇; it suggests at least that Neng was giving his sermons *ex cathedra* (but not at the Shaozhou Mahabraham Abbey, which did not exist under that name during his lifetime).

Hagiography. Although PS with unique frankness presents itself as a Chinese apocryphal *Mahaprajnaparamitasutra*, it is certainly not the spiritual autobiography for which Pei-yi Wu mistakes it.⁵⁸ Although some Buddhist monks in Tang China wrote auto-biographies, that genre was not recognized as a source of hagiography, as Jan Yun-hua has shown in his analysis of Zongmi's *vita* by Zanning (see chapter 2.3, below). Entirely written in the third singular, the *vita* of Huineng in PS provides a hagiographical frame narrative for a series of sermons which, according to the cover title, belong to the corpus of 'Transcendental Wisdom texts' (*prajnaparamitasutra*) of which the *Vajracchedika* and the *Chinese* abstract from the *Mahaprajnaparamita* in the *Heart Sutra* are best known.⁵⁹ Presented as a collection of sermons *ex cathedra* by the Sixth Patriarch preceded by a *vita*, PS indeed quotes scriptures from the *prajnaparamita* corpus, but also from other Buddhist scriptural traditions or 'turnings of the wheels of the Law' (*dharmachakrapravartana*). Tibetan scholarship traditionally defines the three different 'turnings of the wheel' as:⁶⁰

1. the Buddha's sermons to the 'auditor s' (*shravaka*) on the four noble truths, collected in Pali between 400 BC and the beginning of the common era;
2. the 'perfection of discernment' (*prajnaparamita*) sermons on signlessness, aspirationlessness and emptiness, compiled between AD100 and 400; and
3. the 'Buddha-womb' (*tathagatagarbha*) sermons on the Buddha-nature innate in all sentient beings, now considered of a later date than the *prajnaparamita*.

The following scriptures are quoted or mentioned by characters in several sections of PS:

PS	Character	Scripture (in Sanskrit)	Taishō	Turning
5.	Hongren (obliquely)	<i>Lankavatara</i> (scenes)	T 85	3rd
7.	Hongren	<i>Vajracchedika</i>	T 8	2nd
9.	Hongren	<i>Vajracchedika</i>	T 8	2nd
13.	Huineng	<i>Manjushri</i>	T?	?
13.	Huineng	<i>Vajracchedika</i>	T 8	2nd
14.	Huineng	<i>Vimalakirtinirdesa</i>	T14	3rd
17.	Huineng	<i>Vimalakirtinirdesa</i>	T 14	3rd
19.	Huineng	<i>Vimalakirtinirdesa</i>	T 14	3rd
24-29.	Huineng	<i>Mahaprajnaparamita</i>	T 8	2nd
42.	Huineng	<i>Saddharmapundarika</i>	T 9	2nd
43.	Huineng	<i>Vajracchedika</i>	T 8	2nd

In addition, PS also quotes from, or refers to, the following Chinese apocrypha:

17.	Huineng	<i>Vajrasamadhi?</i>	T 9	(金剛三昧)
21.	Huineng	'On the Awakening of Faith'	T 32	(大乘起信論)
19.	Huineng	<i>Bodhisattvashila?</i>	T 24	(菩薩戒)
30.	Huineng	<i>Bodhisattvashila?</i>	T 24	(菩薩戒)
35.	Huineng	<i>Sukavativyuha?</i>	T 12	(觀無量壽經)

One Chinese apocryphon not included in this list is of course PS itself. Sections 38 and 47 refer to the text itself as proof that its bearer has received 'the essentials of [Huineng's] teachings':⁶¹

You ten disciples, [...] hand down the teaching of the one roll of [PS]; those who do not receive [PS] do not have the essentials of my teaching. If others are able to encounter [PS], it will be as if they received the teaching from me in person.

This 'strange loop' of PS identifying itself as a lineage certificate, or indeed a 'Portable Sixth Ancestor', distinguishes PS from all other known hagiographies of Huineng. The Japanese pilgrim Ennin 圓仁, for instance, acquired several manuscripts in China between 847 and 859 with titles similar to the title of the Dunhuang PS. At least one title explicitly authorizes the bearer of the text as an initiate to the 'sudden teaching of seeing nature, taught by the Sixth Ancestor Great Teacher Huineng of Mt (!) Cao's Brook'.⁶²

Comment: This may explain why PS has upheld itself as the authorized sectarian biography of Huineng while other *vitae* are all but forgotten.⁶³ PS ignores the existence of the *Baolinzhuan* 寶林傳 and the *vita* of the 'Great teacher at Cao's Brook' (see below). That these *vitae* in turn make no mention of PS may have a different reason: if the Dunhuang PS indeed produced around 850, it did not exist yet when those were written.

2.2.12. Neng as the 'Hermit of Twin Peaks': Zhiju (801)

- I. 'The Fifth Ancestor gave the robe of faith secretly to the postulant Huineng. [one character missing] travelled through the wilderness to Nanhai. When he met *upadhyaya* Yinzong 印宗, he eventually received the tonsure.'⁶⁴
- II. '[During the late 670s], the resident [perhaps: layman 居士] Cao Shuliang 曹叔良 arranged a place for the Great Teacher Sixth Ancestor. At his residence there was a double peak and a large brook, named 'Cao's Brook' after Marquis Cao's surname. Pilgrims came from all over China to worship [...]'⁶⁵
- III. 'The Sixth Ancestor dwelt both at the Cao's Brook and Faquan Abbeys 曹溪法泉兩寺. At Faquan Abbey there were teachers, students and princes, five-colored lotus flowers and many trees.'⁶⁶
- IV. 'Huineng passed away in the twelfth month of [713]; stupa in Panyu 番禺.'⁶⁷
- V. 'In the eleventh winter month of [786] the cypress in front of the Sixth

Ancestor's stupa was covered with sweet pearls for more than ten days.⁶⁸

Title: *Chronicle of the Precious Forest of Twin Peaks at Marquis Cao's Brook*

曹侯溪 雙峰寶林傳 (short: *Baolinzhuan*, Japanese: *Horinden*, here: BZ)

By: Zhiju of Zhuling 朱陵 智炬 (a.k.a. Huiju 慧炬, d.u.)

In: Scr. 7, 9, and 10 are lost; *refacimento* of scr. 9 and 10 in Shiina, BZ, q. in EK.⁶⁹

Date: 801

Prosopography: Philip Yampolsky argues that Zhiju wrote BZ to validate and benefit the school of the Hunanese meditation teacher Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓. (677-744), who is believed to be a student of Huineng.⁷⁰ Ennin, who travelled in China from 838 to 847, mentions several copies in his acquisition lists (see L). During the eleventh century, the Tiantai scholar Zongyi of Shenzhi (1042-1091) attacked the ancestral charts of the meditation tradition, claiming that 'Ju 炬 and Song 嵩 [...] all messed up the True Teaching'.⁷¹ 'Song' is Qisong of Fori 佛日契嵩(1007-1072), a native of Tengzhou 藤州 (in Guangxi) who went on a pilgrimage to Mt Heng around 1050, one year before he compiled an extensive re-edition of PS (published in Hangzhou in 1056). In 1061, Qisong also published separate ancestral charts of the meditation tradition.⁷²

Topography: Zhuling 朱陵 ('Vermilion Tomb') is the ancient 'grotto heaven' 洞天 of the Nine Perfected Ones 九真 (now Nine Immortals Lodge 九仙觀) on Zigai 紫蓋 Peak, Mt Heng, in Hunan. Suzuki Tetsuo 鈴木哲雄 argues that BZ as well as a sequel (written around 850 during the Huichang persecutions) were written at Mt Heng, not at Cao's Brook. Zhiju wrote the sequel to BZ at Sanshengzang 三生藏 ('Treasury of Three Births') or Guanyin Terrace 觀音臺, the site of the tomb of Huineng's disciple Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓 at Mt Heng.⁷³ Huairang's tomb is a hundred yards from the 'Mirror Grinding Terrace 磨鏡臺' where Huairang first met Mazu 馬祖, and also close to the former Prajna 般諾 (now Fuyan 福嚴) Abbey, founded around 600 by Huisi 慧思, the teacher of the Tiantai ancestor Zhiyi. The stupa on top of the tomb consists of a 3 ft high stone pillar covered by a 1 ft high stone crown. A stone triptych inscribed *Stupa of Meditation Teacher Dahui, Huairang, Seventh Ancestor of the Meditation tradition* 禪宗七祖懷讓大慧禪師塔 and dated [A.D.] 826, contains Huairang's concise hagiography.

The fragments from BZ (to be precisely: from Huineng's *vita* in the lost scroll 10, reconstructed by Shiina) contains some topographical data that appear to contradict our other sources. It is evident, for instance, that both 'Nanhai' in fragment I and 'Panyu' in fragment IV refer to the city of Canton, the prefectural seat of Guangzhou 廣州. It appears from fragment IV that Huineng's remains were buried in Canton and not at Cao's Brook in Shaozhou, as the other sources agree. Perhaps Zhiju is referring

to the 'hair-burial stupa' at Guangxiao Abbey (see E), but it is also possible that a controversy about the site of Huineng's burial existed around 800 and was first settled by his canonization in 812. It is therefore also unclear whether the stupa was 'covered with sweet pearls' in 786 (fragment V). The second fragment mentions a 'double peak 雙峰' at the site of Huineng's residence. These 'twin peaks at Marquis Cao's Brook' are conspicuously absent from the site of the present South China Abbey where Huineng has been worshipped since the eighth century. A possible explanation derives from fragment III which strongly suggests that the site of Huineng's residence on Cao's Brook was not the present South China Abbey which was actually known around 800 as the 'Source of the Law 法泉'. This problem and the probable location of the 'twin peaks at Marquis Cao's Brook' is discussed in Part Four.

Hagiography: Zongyi's criticism of Zhiju and Qisong addresses their substitution of 'Bodhidharma' for 'Dharmatrata' as the 8th generation of the meditation tradition in India before Prajnadhara. Zongyi claimed that Zhiju had mistaken 'Dharma' for Bodhidharma' and also placed him *after* Prajnadhara. Tiantai scholars have treated the ancestral succession (after Singha Bhikshu) claimed by the meditation tradition as a heresy.

Bibliography: In China under the Tang and Song, BZ was obviously read as a major sourcebook on the ancestry of the meditation tradition. If the number of copies acquired by a Japanese pilgrim like Ennin are any measure, it was rated at least at a par with PS. This also appears from Zongyi's attack on (Zhi)ju, the author of BZ, and (Qi)song, the eleventh-century editor of PS. Yet neither Zhiju's BZ nor Qisong's PS have been preserved intact. The scrolls 1-6 and 8 of BZ were retrieved at different places in China and Japan during the 1930s, while only a preface to Qisong's PS survives. The authority of BZ also shows from the range of other medieval Chinese and Japanese texts quoting from it, including Ichu's *Buddhist Card File* 義楚釋氏六帖 (954, an encyclopedia of Buddhist quotes modelled on a work by Bai Juyi 'immensely popular in medieval Japan'.⁷⁴ Among the printed collections of *dicta* quoting from BZ is the *Garden of Anecdotes from the Ancestral Hall* 祖庭事苑, compiled in 1108 by Shanxiang of Mu'an 睦庵善鄉.⁷⁵

Comment: As a 'lineage document' to legitimate the spiritual ancestry of one particular school in the meditation tradition, BZ must be compared with the roughly contemporary *Generation Record of the Jewel of the Law* 歷代法寶紀 in T. 51, produced by or for the Sichuanese meditation school of Zhishen of Sichuan 四川智誥 (609-702). This manuscript from Dunhuang contains some prosopographical variations on the Vimalakirti motif in other early sources. Its chapter on Zhishen claims that in 692 Wu Zetian sent her Private Secretary Zhang Changzhi 張昌之 (see Part Three) to summon Zhishen to court. The chapter on Huineng in the very same *Record*, however, mentions [14

March, 692] as the date when the empress dispatched her Director of the Imperial Crown, Zhang Changqi 張昌期 (sic), to 'Cao's Brook in Shao[-zhou]' to summon meditation teacher Neng, who 'pleaded ill and did not go.' The chapter on Zhishen also mentions a 'Buddhist summit' held at court in 700, involving the meditation teachers: Xiu 秀, An 安, Xuanze 玄擇, and Xuanyue 玄約. This time, Zhishen was reported ill. The *Record* also contains an appearance of Zihai 智海 (= Fahai 法海?) as Huineng's disciple.⁷⁶ In conclusion, the prosopography of these sectarian lineage documents appears rife with interpolations typical of genealogical fiction of all places and ages. As early sources of topographical information, however, they deserve further investigation.

2.2.13. Neng as a 'Great Teacher': Saichō (803)

'How Great Teacher Huineng, Sixth Ancestor of Guoning Abbey at Cao's Brook in the Tang Prefecture of Shao, handed down the Dharmavamsa; and the Records of the Imperial Edict from Gaozong the Great, and the Honors bestowed on that Abbey, and of the Great Teacher's initiated students, and the Six Miracles during his passing away, and the predictions of *Treṣṭaka* Jnanabhaishajya and others.'

Title: '*How Great Teacher [...] and others*', or: *Vita of the Great Teacher of Cao's Brook*

By: N.N.

In: Yanagida, *Rokusō*; EK, 25-81; Ishii, HS.

Date: 803 (colophon)

Prosopography: In genealogical research there are only two paradigms: descent charts, family trees starting from *ego's* earliest primogenitor down, and ancestry charts, starting from *ego* and fanning upward, listing *ego's* parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and so on until Confucius, Mohammed, or Charlemagne.⁷⁷ Most Buddhist 'genealogies' in China are descent charts starting from the Buddha down. A good example is the extended family tree in Li Hua's preface to his *Stele for the Great Teacher of Left Brook*. Some Buddhist pilgrims from Japan who visited monasteries in Tang China held different agendas. Saichō 最澄 (763-822), for instance, travelled China to bring home ordinations, initiations, transmissions, and teachings from as many teachers, schools, sects, monasteries, and traditions as possible, resulting in the following ancestry chart:⁷⁸

1. several schools in the meditation tradition, including:

- Ox-head (transmission by Xiuran of Chanlin 禪林修然, d.u.)
- the 'northern' school (transmission by Gyōhyō 行表 (720-797), who also held transmissions in Huayan 華嚴 and Faxiang 法相);

2. the Tiantai tradition (through 'Seventh Ancestor' Daosui 道遂), including:
 - two classic Tiantai lineages from Shakyamuni down to Zhiyi;
 - the tradition of fifty-eight precepts from Vairochana down to Zhiyi ;
 - ordination in the so-called 'Tiantai bodhisattva tradition' (by Daosui);
3. 'mixed esoteric teachings' of the early Tiantai school (by Xingman?, d.u.);
4. the 'pure' esoteric traditions, including:
 - a 'Diamond Realm' 金剛界 initiation by Shunxiao 順曉 (d.u.) into a lineage going back to Shubhakarasingha through Yilin 義林;
5. other esoteric traditions, including:
 - a transmission by Weixiang of Guoqing 國清惟象 (d.u.);
 - teachings and initiations by the monk Taisu 太素 (d.u.);
 - teachings and transmissions by the layman Jiangbi 江必 (d.u.);
 - an initiation by the monk Lingguang 靈光 (d.u.).

Among Dutch genealogists, Saichō would be called a *kwartierstaatjager*: one hunting the archives only to collect dozens of upgoing lines to adorn his ancestry chart. The function of this ancestry chart (Japanese: *kechimyakufu* 血脈譜, literary a 'book of blood lineages') was to testify that the syncretistic and eremitic Buddhism which Saichō introduced in Japan under the name 'Tendai 天臺 (= Tiantai) tradition' was of solidly Chinese stock. In fact, as Saichō's biographer Paul Groner notes, 'the content of most of Saichō's teachings came from his studies in Japan before and after his stay in China'.⁷⁹ Bearing this in mind, it becomes obvious that a substantial part of the prosopographical information in HS serves the larger agenda of Saichō's *kechimyakufu*. HS 20, for instance, is very specific on the senior monks who were involved in Neng's ordination:

Preceptor Zhiguang 知光 of Zongchi 總持 Abbey in the Western Capital;
Professor Preceptor Huijing 惠靜 of Holy Light 靈光 Abbey in Suzhou;
Preceptor Teacher Daoying 道應 of Tianhuang 天皇 Abbey in Jingzhou.

None of these can be retraced in the *Vitae*: their importance probably did not transcend the sectarian. Although HS claims that 'they later all studied the path under Great Teacher Neng and died at Cao's Brook', Yi Xingguang's comprehensive prosopography of the *Zen Men of Cao's Brook* 易行廣曹溪禪人物志 does not mention their names either. Yinzong of Huiji 慧積印宗 (627-713), on the other hand, is well known: Zanning's *Vitae* describes him as a famous metropolite who visited Ren on East Mountain and met Neng in Panyu 番禺 (now Canton). His fame depended largely on his exegesis of the *Nirvana*. Of the grand scholars 大德 witnessing Huineng's ordination, HS mentions a Preceptor Chitra from Central India and a *Trepitaka* Mit[r]a. 'Chitra' is unknown, but Daoxuan's *Vitae* mention a

translator Prabhakaramitra who studied at Nalanda and arrived in Tang China in 626. One of the Chinese monks with whom he worked was a certain Huijing 慧淨 (d.u.). According to Daoxuan, Prabhakaramitra died in Chang'an, not at Cao's Brook, but Huijing 惠靜 in HS may indeed be a corruption of Huijing 慧淨 (or vice versa). Ding Fubao 丁福寶, on the other hand, identifies 'Mitra' as Dharmamita, a (re-)translator of the *Vinayapitaka* of the Dharmaguptaka school.⁸⁰

One would expect HS to be equally comprehensive in its listing of Huineng's own lineage of (Ch)ancestors. On Neng's spiritual patriline, however, HS 11 is disappointingly brief:

Great Teacher Ren 忍 told Neng: 'When the Tathagata was on the verge of *parinirvana*, he handed down the profound Law of the *prajnaparamita* to the great Kashyapa, and Kashyapa handed it to Ananda, and Ananda to Shanavasin, and Vasin to Upagupta. [Through] twenty-eight ancestors in [India], it reached Great Teacher Dharmatrata [...], who handed it to Huike, and Ke 可 to Can, and Can 璨 to Xin of the Twin Peaks. Xin 信 handed it to me.

The generations from Kashyapa down to Dharmatrata are literally copied from a fifth-century *Dhyanasutra* of Kashmiri origin which contains a truncated version of the so-called Sarvastivadin lineage from the Buddha down to his Kashmiri student Punyamitra:

[...] the worthy great Kashyapa, Ananda, Madhyantika, Shanavasin, Upagupta, Vasumitra, Sangharaksa, Dharmatrata, and so on until the worthy Punyamitra.⁸¹

John McRae identifies several early texts of the meditation tradition with this Kashmiri school which also included Buddhabhadra, a (re-)translator of the above *Dhyanasutra*.⁸² The interpolation by Zhiyi of Tiantai of Madhyantika between Ananda and Shanavasin into the transmission line following the apocryphal *Tradition of the Treasury of the Law* 付法藏因緣傳 was probably inspired by the same Kashmiri Sarvastivadin tradition. It is remarkable that HS also follows the generation count which we already noticed in Li Hua's stele for the Great Teacher of Left Brook. Li Hua had twenty-nine generations, including Madhyantika; HS has twenty-eight generations, omitting Madhyantika.

According to HS 25, Huineng did not appoint any of his own students to succeed him as a teacher. Instead, he recommended an unknown meditation teacher named Holy Hobble 靈振 (d.u.) who lived at the equally unknown Wengshan 翁山 Abbey. After Hobble had died during a three-week fast following Huineng's death, Huineng's disciples appointed one among them, Xingtao 行滔, as caretaker of Huineng's relics, especially his robe (HS 30). HS does not say whether any teaching took place at

Cao's Brook during the ten years between Huineng's death (713) and the arrival of one of his former students, meditation teacher Rong 榮, in Tanzhou 潭州 (now Changsha in Hunan) in 723 (HS 31). Rong, who at his departure from Cao's Brook (in 711?) had been told by Huineng that he was 'capable of converting all living beings', denies in a conversation with a local mediation teacher Huang 隍 (d.u.) that he had received any substantive teaching from Huineng at all (HS 31). Although HS 31 incidentally appears to confuse Rong and Huang, Rong is obviously presented as a spiritual successor to Neng who has returned to his native Hunan to teach. EK, reading Rong 榮 as a corruption of Ce 策, identifies the latter as Xuance of Dongyang 東陽玄策 (d.u.), noting that Zanning mentions him as a student of Huineng.⁸³ This brings us back to the preface of the stele for Xuanlang of Left Brook:

Great Teacher Guanding 灌頂 transmitted it to the Great Teacher of Jinyun 縉雲, who transmitted it to the Great Teacher of Dongyang 東陽, i.e.: Left Brook 左溪.

But although a Vinaya teacher Ce 策律師 is mentioned in a stele text by Li Hua 李華 for Xin'an 信安 of Dragon Restoration 龍興 Abbey in Quzhou 衢州 (in QTW 319), the Xuance 玄策 (d. 854) in Zanning's *Vitae* is neither a student of Huineng nor related to Dongyang. EK apparently confuses this Rong/Ce with Huineng's student Xuance 玄策, alias Yuance 元策 (d.u.), a native of Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang.⁸⁴ Xuance's *vita* in the Southern Song *Compendium of Five Lamp Histories* 五燈會元 (WDHY) says:⁸⁵

After a period as itinerant monk, he came to Heshuo 河朔 (= Hebei). There was a meditation teacher Huang 隍 who had visited 謁 Huangmei and claimed himself to have received a transmission. But it was not true that Zhihuang 知隍 had received that [transmission]. [Xuance] asked him: 'Why are you sitting here?' Huang answered: 'I am entering into absorption (入定 *samadhi*)'.

The following debate on *samadhi* 入定 is a paraphrase of HS 31 and also includes Huang's eventual awakening 開悟. The next *vita* in WDHY is Zhihuang's; both are listed in this comprehensive genealogy in the 'fourth generation under the fifth ancestor'. It appears that 'Rong 榮' in HS 31 is indeed 'meditation teacher Xuance 玄策' in WDHY. As to Huang (whose name 皇 appears in HS 31 with the radical 王 instead of 隍), he had been a hermit in Hebei 河北 for more than twenty years before he joined the Sixth Ancestor:⁸⁶

Upon [hearing Huineng's] words, he suddenly awoke to the idea that all his good intentions of the past twenty years had been without effect. That night

in Hebei [...], suddenly a voice was heard in the void saying that meditation teacher Huang had found the path. He then returned to Hebei to convert all.

Only HS 31 mentions Hunan as Huang's native province; all other sources, including WDHY, have Hebei instead and also claim that his encounter with Xuance happened in Hebei. Did the compilers of HS have Huilang 慧朗 (765-835) in mind, the student of Xiqian 'the Stone' 石頭希遷 (699-790) who meditated at Zhaoti 招提 Abbey in Tan-zhou before returning to his native Qujiang in 795 to rebuild Moon Splendor Abbey?⁸⁷ Whatever the answer, HS 31 obviously proposes Huang and Ce as spiritual heirs to the 'Law of Cao's Brook' as WDHY defines Huineng's somewhat obscure teachings. For a *kwartierstaatsjager* like Saichō, this was probably an argument to purchase (and/or copy) this unofficial *vita* of the 'Sixth Ancestor' from one of the monasteries he visited in China - perhaps from a Tiantai

monk familiar with Li Hua's stele for Xuanlang of Left Brook and himself connected with Huang and/or Ce through a yet unknown Tiantai lineage.

Topography: HS is very rich in topographical data and often much more specific than PS. Part Four and the notes to Part Five, below, contain a full discussion of these data.

Hagiography: The following scriptures are mentioned by characters in sections of HS:

HS	Character	Scripture (in Sanskrit)	Taishō	Turning
4.	Nun Boundless Store	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i>		3rd
9.	Huineng	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i> (pun)		3rd
10.	(narrator)	<i>Tathagatagarbha</i> (parable)		3rd
11.	Hongren	<i>Upasakashila</i> (parable)	T 24	3rd
16.	Yinzong	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i>		3rd
17.	idem	idem (Guanding's comment)		3rd
18.	Huineng	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i>		3rd
23.	Gaozong	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i> (Guanding)		3rd
23.	Huineng	<i>Vajracchedika</i>	T 8	2nd
23.	Huineng	<i>Vimalakirtanirdesa</i>	T 14	3rd
23.	Huineng	<i>Saddharmapundarika</i> (parable)	T 9	2nd
23.	Huineng	<i>Mahaparinirvana</i>		3rd
23.	Gaozong	<i>Vimalakirtinirdesa</i>	T14	3rd

In addition, HS also quotes from or refers to the following Chinese apocrypha:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 7. | Huiji | <i>Dhuta?</i> | (apocryphal) |
| 21. | Shenhui | 'Awakening of Faith' | T 32 (apocryphal) |

Unlike PS, HS refers to *prajnaparamita* scriptures only once. HS section 23 has:

Great Teacher said: 'The path derives from the mind's awakening. Why should it consist of sitting? *TheVajracchedika* [says]: 'Whosoever says that the Tathagata [...] sits or lies down, he does not understand the meaning of my teaching.'⁸⁸

Compared to PS, which not only quotes *prajnaparamita* scriptures more frequently but also pretends itself to be 'great *prajnaparamita* scripture', HS appears to depend rather more heavily on the *tathagatagarbha* corpus, the 'third turning of the wheels of the Law'. Given the central role of innate Buddhahood in the Mt Tiantai tradition, it is not strange that a *vita* of Huineng that was acquired by a Japanese pilgrim visiting Mt Tiantai and other abbeys related to the same tradition, shows rather strong *tathagatagarbha* leanings - notwithstanding that HS section 11, as quoted above, defines the 'profound Law' that was handed down from the Buddha all the way to 'Great Teacher Ren' as the *prajnaparamita*.

The main hagiographical topos of HS, however, is that it refers to Ren and Neng as 'Great Teachers 大師'. Historically, this is a posthumous title awarded by the emperor to monks of exemplary merit, predicated on the epithet *Mahaguru* for the Buddha.⁸⁹ The titles 'Great Teacher 大師' and 'Great Meditation Teacher 大禪師' have been used by Tiantai hagiographers as epithets for their spiritual ancestors. According to an 'unofficial *vita* 別傳' of meditation teacher Zhiyi of Tiantai 天臺智顛 (538-598), Zhiyi was even addressed as 'Great Teacher' by the southern emperor of Chen 陳 during his lifetime.⁹⁰ The precedent for the posthumous awarding of this title by the emperor is the case of meditation teacher Shenxiu 神秀 (d. 706), or 'Great Teacher Datong 大通大師'. During the following centuries, the predicate remained controversial. Zanning claimed that the emperor had merely addressed Zhiyi as a 'savant 智者' and erroneously proposes that the epithet of 'Great Teacher' *stricto sensu* was only awarded on a regular basis after 870.⁹¹ The Vinaya tradition in China has categorically opposed the use of the epithet for others than the Buddha. During the 10th and 11th centuries, Tiantai apologists countered that:

A 'Great Teacher' is the model 模範 of kings, dukes, and grandees 大人. Because of his great virtue and [exemplary] conduct, he is also a Teacher to all men.⁹²

The Tiantai tradition apparently treats the notion of the 'Great Teacher' as a fiction, while the Vinaya tradition is adhering to the *Mahaguru* epithet as a dogmatic 'fiction' which, as I explained above, is really not a fiction at all. As to HS and its consistent references to Huineng as a 'Great Teacher', the epithet appears in no way related to Huineng's official posthumous title of 'Great Teacher Dajian 大鑿大師' which he reportedly received in 812, nine years after the date in the colophon of HS. The closest precedent for the use of the 'Great Teacher' epithet in HS is the *Stele for the Late Great Teacher of Left Brook* 故左溪大師碑 by Li Hua 李華 (d. 766). As we have seen above, Li Hua's 'Great Teacher' (Xuanlang of Left Brook 左溪玄郎) was a meditation teacher in the Mt Tiantai tradition who had been ordained by Yinzong. In both instances, the 'Great Teacher' must be read as a fiction in the rather liberal Mt Tiantai tradition. Saichō's *vita* of the 'Great Teacher of Cao's Brook' may be considered as a 'different' view of Huineng from Mt Tiantai. All its chronological errors, however, make it more likely that the manuscript was produced in Japan, in which event it must be classified as a Tendai text. A second hagiographical topos that runs through HS is the Vimalakirti motif, once with an elaborate version of the summons quoted in section 2.2.1, above, and once with Xingtao 行滔, the caretaker of the relics at Cao's Brook, as the protagonist. Xingtao may have refused to oblige for rather more arcane reasons, however: when he reportedly received his summons, the sanctuary at Cao's Brook was probably booming in the wake of Shenhui's ordination campaigns of the 750s which had promoted its 'Sixth Ancestor'.

Bibliography: No Chinese original is known of the *vita* of Huineng to which the present study refers as the 'Hiei Scroll' (HS) and which will be presented in my English translation as Part Five, below. It is generally assumed that Saichō, the founder of the Tendai tradition in Japan, acquired the manuscript in China in 803 because his name chop is on a separate colophon preserved with the scroll and dated 803, and because in 805 Saichō also listed among his acquisitions from Yuezhou 越州 (now Shaoxing 邵興, Zhejiang) 'a *vita* of the Great Teacher of Cao's Brook' (in Sino-Japanese: *Sōkei Daishiden* 曹溪大師傳). Because the date and the chop are on a separate sheet, the scroll itself may really be a Japanese copy. The many corruptions and the confused chronology would be indications that the colophon is all that is left of the original scroll from China. Unfortunately, the colophon does not mention the author of the *vita*. Until 1954 the scroll was preserved at Enryaku 圓歷 Abbey, the Tendai monastery founded by Saichō on Mt Hiei near Kyoto. Since it was pronounced a Japanese National Treasure in 1954, it has been kept in the National Museum at Nara. A photoreproduction (without the colophon) was published by Yanagida in 1976.⁹³ Since its foundation by Saichō, Enryaku Abbey has been a center of Tendai learning with ecumenical characteristics. Prior to its imperial certification during the Enryaku era, it was known as 'Mt Hiei Abbey', as Saichō's chop indeed shows. The colophon does not mention the author of HS. In 1732, the learned Rinzaï Zen 臨濟禪宗 monk Mujaku

Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653-174) made a copy of HS under the new title *Sōkei Daishi Betsuden* 曹溪大師別傳 (MJ). As we have seen, the term *betsuden* 別傳 ('separate' or 'unofficial' biography) supposes the coexistence of an official biography or a canonical *vita* such as PS. Mujaku's manuscript was edited by Sōhō 祖芳 and printed in the summer of 1762.⁹⁴ The famous Tendai scholar Keiyū of Kinryū 金龍敬雄 wrote in a preface to this first woodblock edition of this *Betsuden*:⁹⁵

Our First Ancestor , a Great Teacher who spread the teaching, came sailing from oversea to pursue the Law in Tang [China]. What he brought back was threefold: the Teachings of Tendai 天臺, the Tantric Vehicle and the Gateway of Zen 禪門. At that time the *Avatamsaka*, *Vijnanamatra* and others were taught in [Japan], but the directions of the *Saddharmapundarika* and the profound understanding of the Tantric Vehicle were not yet known [here]. So he expounded the Tendai Teaching and the Tantric Vehicle, and the Gateway of Zen in their mutual connection [...]. Hence the instructions of the Perfect Sudden 圓敦 and the principle of the Three Secrets radiated all over the Four Seas, and their teachings were of great use.

Soho's edition bears the imprint of the Rinzai Zen abbey of Kōshōji 興聖寺 near Kyoto and is hence referred to as KS (or 興) . Mujaku's manuscript copy has also been preserved at Kō shō ji (it is now in the Kyoto University Library). D.T. Suzuki has suggested that the MJ manuscript was not only used as a source for the KS woodblock edition, but also for the so-called Kōshōji edition of PS. His argument was that the famous story of the banners, the wind, and the mind (in HS, MJ and KS) first appears in the Kōshōji PS and is absent in all earlier versions, beginning with the Dunhuang PS. The Kōshōji library had indeed acquired a printed copy of PS in 1599. It was based on a Chinese edition of 1153 - probably edited by Chao Jiong 晁迥 (a.k.a. Chao Wenyuan 晁文元, 950-1031?). It does not appear from the library's records, however, that Kōshōji also possessed a copy of HS prior to 1732, which makes interaction between KS and the Kōshōji PS unlikely.⁹⁶ This illustrates how Japanese (but also Chinese) scholars have studied HS as a collateral to PS.⁹⁷ In 1911, a typeset and punctuated text based on HS and KS was published in Japan as part of the *Dai Nihon Supplement to the Canon* 大日本續藏經 (ZZ). Hu Shi, 胡適, however, found this new edition rife with misprints.⁹⁸ A text-critical edition with an annotated Japanese translation titled *Sōkei Daishiden* appeared in 1978 as Part I, Chapter I of EK.⁹⁹ The EK translators compared HS against MJ, KS and ZZ. In 1988 Ishii Shudō 石井修道, one of the EK editors, published a new critical edition and translation of HS in the *Journal of the Faculty of Buddhism* of Komazawa University .¹⁰⁰

Chronology: While Kinryu in his preface to KS stresses the 'intertwining of Zen and learning 禪教一致', Sohō 's postface addresses some of the chronological contradictions between HS and other *vitae* of Huineng. Ishii gives the following example in HS 30:¹⁰¹

Since Great Teacher 's ordination, he had preached and saved people for 36 years. He died in the year [713], being the 49th year [of the cycle of sixty]. There were [still] seventy-one years to count until the year [781].'

Firstly, as Ishii notes, the year 713 was the 50th year 癸丑, not the 49th year 任子歲 of the cycle that began in 664. Secondly, the reference to Jianzhong 建中 2 (= 781, the date of compilation given in the HS manuscript) is wrong by three years.¹⁰² Thirdly, to a late ninth-century Chinese readership the reign title Jianzhong 建中 obviously referred to emperor Dezong 德宗 of Tang (780-805) as no other emperor had ever used that reign title. Perhaps this information was added by a Japanese copyist to benefit a Japanese readership. This would explain other chronological errors as noted by Hu Shi:¹⁰³

- a. Neng died at 76 in 713, but came to Cao's Brook in 670 at 30 (must be 33);
- b. Neng leaves Cao's Brook three years later at 33 (must be 36);
- c. Neng travels to meet meditation teacher Ren in 674 at 34 (must be 37);
- d. Neng meets Yinzong in Canton after five years in hiding in 676 (must be 679);
- e. Neng meets thirteen-year old Shenhui in 676 (when Shenhui was only seven);
- f. Gaozong summons Neng to court in 705 (Gaozong died in 683);
- g. Two proclamations of 707 are ascribed to Gaozong (must be: Zhongzong);
- h. Suzong summons Xingtao to court in 762 (must be: 759);
- i. Daizong returns Neng's robe in 763 (Yampolsky: probably 765).

Hu Shi appears here in the role of a traditional Chinese hagiographer, in Falkenhausen's words: 'placing fictional events at an exact point in a given period' - probably motivated by a wish to make religious narrative 'palatable to the educated elite'. Falkenhausen's rhetorical question is whether hagiography - even when patently fictional - should be subjected to 'exactly the same processes of verification as the official histories or other historical writing' rather than appreciated for the symbolic, paradigmatic, and salvific character of their religious narrative'.¹⁰⁴ If we pursue Hu Shi's points f. and g., we might note that the references to Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650-684) are a departure from the facts in Wang Wei's stele text and most other sources ascribing the summons of 705 to Zetian's son Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684 and 705-710). Song Dan's stele texts for Dao'an claim that:

- a. An snubbed an invitation to teach at court by emperor Wen of Sui when he was retreating to Mt Taihe 太和 (instead, he went to 'an Abbey on Mt Heng 衡岳寺').
- b. In 664, when An was moving to Mt Zhongnan 終南 near Chang'an, he ignored a summons by Gaozong of Tang.
- c. In the 680s, An lived at a hermitage on Mt Huatai 滑臺 near Luoyang. When Gaozong decided to build an abbey on that site, An retired to Jingzhou 荊州.
- d. Finally, Empress Wu Zetian invited An to court in 700. This time he obliged.

It appears that the authors of HS indeed confused Gaozong and Zhongzong, mistaking the latter's second reign for the first which coincided with the end of Gaozong's rule. Their source may have been some genuine or fabricated, but more probably corrupt copies of court correspondence between Gaozong and An that were also consulted as a source by Song Dan and/or Wang Wei, perhaps in addition to or as a replacement for a 'state of conduct 行狀' of the deceased. It is quite possible that these corrupt copies had retained Gaozong's name, but replaced An's name. Song and Wang of course knew their dynastic histories and were hence able to correct anachronisms, but the (Chinese or Japanese) compilers of HS were apparently less familiar with Chinese secular chronology and hence were more likely to overlook flaws and anachronisms. A similar chronological contradiction appears to arise in HS 31:

In [723] meditation master Huang of Tanzhou [...] returned to [...] Changsha.
[...] One day there was a meditation master Darong who had lived at Cao's Brook.
[...] Huang asked: 'Why, do you come from Great Teacher Neng's place? What Law did Great Teacher teach you?' [...] He sighed: 'These past thirty years I have been sitting emptily. Then I went to Cao's Brook. [...] People said: 'Meditation teacher Huang has been sitting in meditation for thirty years [...]'. In [711], he retired to his old abode at Changsha.[...] That night a voice was [heard] telling all and sundry: 'Tonight meditation master Huang has attained the path.'

This very corrupt passage not only contradicts its own chronology. A quick comparison with the *vitae* of meditation teacher Zhihuang 智隍 and his antagonist Ce 策 (HS 31: Rong 榮) in WDHY also reveals that HS apparently confuses their biographies repeatedly. Further study of this problem and of the relation between HS and WDHY may be needed.

Comment: As I mentioned above, Japanese and Chinese scholars have mainly studied HS as a collateral to PS. The debate on both *vitae* begins with Sohō, the editor of KS, who argues that HS is the earliest and most authentic *vita* of Neng, all existing copies of PS in Japan being post-Song editions and all older PS editions being lost. Although Sohō mentions the chronological problems in HS, he is more concerned with the conflicting versions of Huineng's awakening following his exposure to the *Vajracchedika* in different 'modern' PS editions. That problem was largely solved by the discovery of the early PS manuscripts at Dunhuang, in which Neng is partially awakened upon hearing a customer chanting the *Vajracchedika* and fully awakened after his privatissimum with Hongren at Huangmei. But the discovery of the Dunhuang PS did not answer the question whether HS ever was a source for PS. D.T. Suzuki and more recently Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, quoting from a preface to PS dated 1056 and claiming that Qisong of Fori had used 'an old Cao's Brook text' as a source for his PS edition, have speculated that HS may still have been current in China in 1056. Ishii, on the other hand, identifies this 'old Cao's Brook text' as the lost Huixin 惠昕 PS (dated 967) of which he published a *refacimento* in 1980-1981.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand the Vimalakirti motif, which figures prominently in HS but is absent in the Dunhuang PS, was indeed included in several later PS versions.

2.2.14. Neng canonized and gentrified: Liu & Liu

'His teachings were: to regard noumena as phenomena 以無為為有, to regard the empty grotto as real 以空洞為實 [...] Meditation teacher Dajian has been dead for 106 years, and southern sources cite his name uncountable times; yet he has received no official title. Only now that the Son of Heaven has been informed has it been granted. How could one not praise the abundance of our teachings? Lord [Fufeng] has always valued Confucianism 儒 [...] His Lordship has also rightly commended Dajian for appropriate honors. [Dajian's] senior disciples have installed a stone tablet on the compound to be worshipped 謁 and inscribed.'

Title: [Preface and] Stele for the Granting of the Title 'Meditation Teacher Dajian' to the Sixth Ancestor of Cao's Brook 曹溪第六祖賜諡大鑿禪師碑並序

By: Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819)

In: QTW 587; Hoffmann & Hu, 138-139

Date: n.d.

'In six transmissions from [Bodhi]dharma to Dajian, strung like pearls of true insight, the one unlike the other yet without differences, the school of

immediate [awakening] has become recognized as the true tradition by all [...]:

The farther we are removed from the Buddha,
The more interpretative discourses develop,
Writing of noumena, upholding phenomena,
Everyone is walking on his own turf.
I have set the fyke of truth 真筌 [...]
Neng enabled his students to retrieve
The way back to knowing Heaven [...]
Leaving his robe in the empty hall,
He obtained what Heaven gave him.'

Title: [Preface and] *Second Stele for the Sixth Ancestor of Cao's Brook:*

Meditation Teacher Dajian 曹溪六祖大鑿禪師第二碑並序

By: Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842)

In: QTW 610; Hoffmann & Hu, 145-146

Date: n.d.

Chronology: The preface by Liu Zongyuan says that the imperial edict for the canonization of Huineng was issued by the Ministry of Sacrifices in the Imperial Secretariat 尚書祠部 on the 13th of the 10th month of [815], 'one hundred and six years after Dajian died', implying that Neng died in 699, not 713. Rainer Hoffmann and Hu Qihua infer that the text as we know it was written in 818.¹⁰⁶ The second preface by Liu Yuxi mentions an 'imperial rescript 詔書' of an unknown date in 816 - perhaps the date of receipt in Guangzhou? The preface by Liu Zongyuan notes that a copy 符 had been sent to the local authorities 都府. Liu Yuxi claims that three years after the former text had been commissioned to Liu Zongyuan, two monks from Cao's Brook told him that they wished to erect a second stele at the request of some scholars. It follows that Liu Yuxi obtained his commission for the second text after Zongyuan had died in Liuzhou in 819.

Prosopography: The Tang scholar Liu Zongyuan was an eminent prosaist. In exile in Hunan (805-815) he wrote highly moralizing short stories.¹⁰⁷ Unlike the ethnographer Dai Fu (see above) or authors of 'superstitious' fiction like Pei Xing 裴駘, Zongyuan often added sceptical notes to his stories. In his official essays he polemized against the widespread belief in miracles and auspicious omens, but his stele for meditation master Dajian 大鑿 (Neng's posthumous title) shows him willing to write about thaumaturges in a more private capacity.¹⁰⁸ Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi were intellectual friends; their polemic but polite correspondence on the function of Heaven 天論 was an important step

in the development of late Tang metaphysics 理學.¹⁰⁹ Both were also political cronies of a certain Wang Shuwen 王叔文 who fell into disgrace in 805. In 805 and again after 815, Zongyuan and Yuxi were banished, the second time to the deep south.¹¹⁰ From Liuzhou 柳州, Zongyuan wrote to Yuxi in Guangxi:¹¹¹

'We all came to the land of the tattooed Yue 粵,
Where we hardly receive word of each other...

Both prefaces say that Huineng was granted his posthumous title on a recommendation by the censor Ma Cong, Lord Fufeng 扶風公馬總, who had been dispatched to Lingnan for the previous three years. Zongyuan praises Ma Cong for being a stalwart Confucian during his several postings in the deep south. Ma Cong was later recommended by Han Yu 韓愈 as prefect of greater Luoyang.¹¹² Yuxi probably never saw Zongyuan's stele; he merely mentions that three years later a disciple of a monk Daolin 道琳 came from Cao's Brook to request a second stele. Daolin (biography unknown) is most likely not the monk Huilin 慧琳 (737- 820, from Kashgar) who wrote about the manufacturing of dry lacquerware 乾漆 ('a hollow statue, just lacquer and cloth') - the technique most probably used in Huineng's famous icon at Cao's Brook.¹¹³ Following his tour of duty in Guangxi, Liu Yuxi became governor of Hezhou 合州 in Anhui. He was recalled to the capital in 827. On his way he picked up his friend Bai Juyi 白居易 in Suzhou. In 834 he was governor of Ruzhou 汝州 near Luoyang; he spent his final years in the capital.¹¹⁴ Yuxi's 'high culture 斯文' attitude towards the natives of south China is illustrated by an anecdote in Waley's biography of Bai Juyi. During his first expatriate posting in Hunan, Yuxi rewrote the 'barbarous and uncouth' songs of the local shamans into literary Chinese - and ordered his translations to be used by local singers during public ceremonies.¹¹⁵ His colonial policy appears to have been active assimilation; his Buddhist inclinations show a same tendency. According to Hoffmann and Hu, Liu Yuxi had no affinity with Indian scholastics, preferring instead the 'genuine Chinese Buddhism' of the Huayan 華嚴 and southern meditation traditions. Yuxi was acquainted with the pre-eminent scholar-monk of his time: Zongmi of Guifeng 圭峰宗密 (780-841), the Fifth Ancestor in the Huayan tradition who was also familiar with Shenhui's 'southern' tradition. Hoffmann and Hu believe Zongmi's influence on Yuxi to be rather limited, as they met relatively late.¹¹⁶

Hagiography: Liu Zongyuan was more attracted to the soteriology of the Tiantai tradition which he used as a paradigm for his metaphysical and ethical writings about 'the way of kings 王道' or 'the way of the sage 聖道'.¹¹⁷ As can be expected, Zongyuan's stele text makes ample use of the Vimalakirti motif; it has no room for 'strange smells 異香' and miracles.¹¹⁸ Zongyuan's summary of Huineng's teachings, however, carries a different scent: that of Tiantai *vipasshana* 止觀.¹¹⁹

In my understanding, the double fiction proposed by Zongyuan in this summary (noumena as phenomena/the empty grotto as real) sees at Huineng's supposed real presence in the 'empty hall' where he was believed to have left his robe, as Yuxi says. As we then see Yuxi taking up the point on noumena (無為 *asangskrita*) and phenomena (有 *bhava*) where Zongyuan left it, the impression takes shape that Yuxi's stele was conceived as an answer 答 to Zongyuan's - as if the two exiled scholar-gentlemen were continuing their metaphysical debate over Huineng's grave, or rather: in front of the ancestral hall at Cao's Brook where apparently a robe was already worshipped as a relic. Huineng's icon 真 or 'true body 真身', seen on the site by Jianzhen a few decades earlier, is not mentioned in either stele text; Zongyuan's preface instead suggests that the inscribed stele itself will be worshipped 謁 as if the stone truly represents Huineng. Yuxi uses 真 in his parable of a bamboo fish trap 筌 in which seekers of truth will be caught .

Comment: The question arises whether these two texts should be read as hagiography at all, the Sixth Ancestor being reduced to a precedent or perhaps a pretext for a protracted metaphysical debate between two exiled scholars. The amount of polite acknowledgement in Yuxi's text should not detract his readers from the ideological axes the author may have to grind with Zongyuan: their debate on the function of Heaven is rife with the same conciliatory, or rather assimilatory, rhetoric.¹²⁰

2.3. Buddhist hagiography: topos and paradigm

It is time for some concluding remarks. Many of the early sources introduced above appear to suffer from spatiotemporal astigmatism: texts that are historiographically explicit often lack topographical detail and vice versa. Very few indeed allow readers a sharp look at historiography and topography at the same time. Modern critical readers must work really hard to understand the dynamics of these narratives 'which knit together secular and sacred authority, providing opportunities both to acquire prestige and to commit pious deception'.¹ It is only if we consult the widest possible variety of sources that we can be any match for the resourcefulness with which medieval hagiographers used, abused and often invented new and different sources of authority.

In view of the multitude of hagiographical agendas that appears from the few sources discussed above, Shinohara's proposition that the development of sectarian hagiography can be summarized as a shift of paradigms away from scholastic Buddhism appears an oversimplification. To begin with, Shinohara's description ignores the new impulse given by Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) to the 'central tradition' of the *Vitae*. Like his predecessors, Zanning patterned his *Vitae* after the 'exemplary biographies' 傳 in the standard histories (or, perhaps more precisely, on collections of 'biographies of eminent scholars 高士傳' of which the Han scholar Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-282) compiled an early

example).² This leaves little room for reading these *vitae* as edifying *Bildungsromane* or intellectual biographies, as Pei-yi Wu has attempted.³ Yun-hua Jan has shown, for instance, that Zanning excluded from his *vita* of Zongmi of Guifeng 圭峰宗密 (780-841) genuine autobiographical material in Zongmi's own *Great Commentary to the Perfect Bodhi Sutra* 圓覺經大疏鈔. In a preface, Zongmi explains his interest for this scripture through the various steps of his own spiritual career. After a brief adolescent flirtation with Buddhism, he became a Confucian, then a meditation teacher, then a scholar of the *Avatamsaka* and finally a student of compassion. Zongmi also says that his friendship and conversations with a meditation teacher in Shenhui's 'southern' lineage gradually fostered his decision 'to cut off my hair, put on a religious robe and become a disciple'. Zanning ignored Zongmi's gradual warming to these teachings and judged instead that an 'immediate' conversion was more appropriate for a southern meditator: he wrote that Zongmi 'converted to Buddhism as soon as he met [his] master'.⁴

Zanning's editorial hand is even heavier in his *Vitae* of contemporary monks such as his friend Yanshou of Yongming 永明延壽 (904-976). Yanshou, whose monastic name has the rather Daoist meaning of 'extending longevity' and whose posthumous title is Zhijue 智覺, was a scholar-monk who undertook several retreats on Mt Tiantai. Albert Welter suggests that Zanning and Yanshou even met at Mt Tiantai; at any rate, they had many common friends in Tiantai circles.⁵ His interest in such other schools as the Pure Land and meditation traditions is reflected in a record in 100 scrolls, written in 961 to commemorate the construction of the Zongjing Terrace 宗鏡臺 at Jingci 淨慈 Abbey, in which Yanshou discusses several schools of Buddhism in China and also includes a *vita* of the 'Sixth Ancestor' Huineng.⁶ Zanning describes at length his late calling while quietly ignoring Yanshou's rather controversial character: the mores of intellectual friendship required that Zanning remained silent, for instance, on Yanshou's famous clash with the prince of Wu and Yue 吳越.⁷ John Kieschnick notes that the sectarian critics of *Vitae* were not really concerned with such embellishments but rather with Zanning's perceived failure to recognize men like Yanshou as 'famous meditation teachers' (Zanning indeed lists Yanshou as an 'ascetic').⁸ The 'transmission records' would of course redress such errors by entirely ignoring Yanshou's Tiantai and Pure Land affiliations and thus support the myth that after the persecutions of 848 the so-called 'southern' meditation tradition had survived as the leading school of Buddhism in China.

Depending on the sources consulted, one is indeed tempted to describe the rise of the southern school either as a popularization (the transmission records) or a gentrification (*Vitae*). But there are many other significant developments to be identified in the assimilation of Buddhism in Tang China. Take for instance the fundamental changes in the discourse of miracles in Buddhist hagiography. As Tiziana Lippiello notes, miracle tales have for many centuries been part of that central tradition:⁹

'The *Treatise on Auspicious Omens as Tokens* (符瑞誌) [was] written by Shen Yue 沈約 (441-512) towards the end of the fifth century [and] included in the *History of [the Liu] Song* (宋書). Auspicious omens played an important role in politics; they foretold the coming of an era of peace and prosperity, a new reign or dynasty, or appeared in response to good government.'

These stories were in turn assimilated by a growing Buddhist scholarship:¹⁰

as signs of faith attesting to the efficacy of Buddhism and the real existence of the Buddha in the world: [...] the finding of relics or pictures of the Buddha, the appearance of [a] white elephant, [...] and the incorruptibility of monks' corpses.'

The central tradition tended to treat miracle stories as topoi, often directly quoted from the classics 典故, 'to link the deceased with some ideal model drawn from antiquity'.¹¹ The metaphor of 'resonance 感通 (感應)' had long been used to illustrate this point:¹²

When a note is struck on one lute,
It will resonate in a nearby instrument .

This in turn struck a familiar note with Buddhist scholars. It probably also helped them to form a notion of conditional relationships (*pratīyasamutpada* 緣生). During the seventh century, Daoxuan included *vitae* of thaumaturges under a new category of 'resonance' 感通 to replace Huijiao's original category of 'marvels' 神異.¹³ In 664, Daoxuan also wrote a separate collection of miracle stories which contains a story about Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (232-348), a 'Western' monk and a famous rainmaker who could effectuate the sudden growth of lotus flowers.¹⁴ Daoxuan explains this Buddhist miracle by analogies of imperial dragons and unicorns, phoenixes, and tortoises. Zanning also followed Daoxuan's classification, implying that miracles and auspicious omens, however trivial in themselves, were yet significant as resonances of karmically conditioned relations. The notion of such paradigmatic resonance is also implicitly written into the following 'mission statement', made in 710 by the Tang court biographer Liu Zhiji 劉知幾:¹⁵

As long as the profession of the historian is not cut off, and the bamboo and silk of their records survive, then even though a man himself has perished and disappeared into the void, his acts are *as if* they still survive, bright and clear as the stars

of the Milky Way. As a result later scholars can sit and open the wrappers and boxes and encounter in spirit all the men of old without leaving their own homes.

The words *as if* (italicized by me) indicate that Liu defined his craft as the construction of exemplary fiction, evoking the *praesentia realis* of virtuous men of the past through the magic of historical facts. The Buddhist discourse of auspicious omens as 'signs of faith attesting to the efficacy of Buddhism and the *real existence* of the Buddha in the world' must also be read as a hagiographical resonance of this historiographical agenda.¹⁶ The same fiction of the *praesentia realis* of virtuous men and saints of the past is evoked by references to famous scholars paying tribute 謁 to the stupas of Buddhist teachers:¹⁷

'[Neng] was revered by famous gentlemen of the court, like Song Zhiwen who paid tribute to Neng and wrote a long piece; like Zhang Yue, Lord Yan, who sent ten pounds of frankincense with a poem delivered by Wu Pingyi . The poem read:

Great Teacher has left this world,
Leaving us his *dharmakaya*.
Sending incense from afar,
My soul follows to Nanhai.

Lord Wu [Pingyi] wrote an inscription in praise 贊銘 for a giant bell cast by the disciple Huairang 懷讓; calligraphy [by] Song Zhiwen.¹⁸

Zanning, the author of this passage, was equally perceptive to auspicious omens and 'strange scents 異香'. His *Vita* of Huineng lists two instances of the latter: once when Huineng fell ill and once when commissioner Song Jing 宋璟 paid tribute to Neng's *stupa* after attending a privatissimum with Neng's disciple Tao 韜. That second time, a strange scent was perceived amidst sudden rainstorms, and there occurred 'so many strange omens that no full record could be made thereof.' Zanning appears aware that too many strange omens may cause habituation and that at the time of his *vita* the mentioning of 'strange scents' had already become a standard topos. He obviously chose to leave something to the imagination of his readers (most Chinese are very imaginative readers).

It then appears that the paradigms and precedents of Buddhist hagiographers in China were indeed determined by dual epistemologies. Apart from the examples of the Buddha 佛, his Law 法, and his monks 僧, the triple refuge 三寶 of every practising Buddhist, standard historiography was a major source of method and style for Chinese 'standard hagiography'. No wonder that the 'scholar-monk' has

been such a major topos in *Vitae*. But just like the discourse on miracles and auspicious omens, the paradigm of the 'learned monk' has changed considerably since the days when the Buddha founded his order and *sutra* and *shastra* were transmitted by word of mouth 'without relying on written texts 不立文字'.¹⁹ Ever since, root learning has been at the core of every Buddhist monk's curriculum, in Southern and Central Asia as well as in China, Korea and Japan. In China, however, a 'distinguished' monk would not only be capable of reciting enormous texts, but also of understanding their meaning: 'to speak on the scriptures [...] with an easy confidence and to put facts together "like stringing pearls"'.²⁰ The stories of the illiterate Huineng in HS and PS are apparently a carnivalesque inversion of this canonical or official paradigm: the topos of the eminent monk who both remembers and understands. Neng is unable to read or recite the *Nirvana*, but he has no scruples explaining its meaning to a friendly nun named 'Boundless Store 無盡藏 (HS). He does not know the *Vajracchedika* either, but he experiences immediate awakening each time he is exposed to it (PS). Zanning strings together these two story lines in his *vita* of Neng. The resonance motif is taken most literally in the Dunhuang PS: upon hearing the *Vajracchedika*, Neng becomes partially awakened; his full awakening follows Hongren's privatissimum on the *Vajracchedika* as a resonance of this previous experience. In HS, the emphasis is rather on innate enlightenment 本覺 as a resonance of Neng's own *tathagatagarbha* 如來藏.

This Buddhist exegesis of omens and miracles as instances of resonance also extended to the related topoi of asceticism and mortification. In 1871, the very eminent Tiantai teacher Rongjing 融鏡 criticized Xuyun 虛雲 for having spent three years fasting in a grotto:²¹

If your method merely consists of abstaining from cereals and even from underwear, it is only a quest for *the extraordinary* 未免顯奇立異 [...] But as for a bodhisattva, his quest is [...] to pursue self-liberation for the liberation of others, leaping to the supramundane plane without fleeing from the mundane.

I have italicized *the extraordinary*, Charles Luk's translation of 異, which is rendered as 'strange' in the title and the text of my opening essay. The above quotation from Xuyun's autobiography illustrates how the 'central hermeneutical tradition' of Buddhism in China has come to treat the 'strange 異' as extremely suspect. I perceive a tension between what I believe as a Buddhist (that it is soteriologically and ethically justified to warn against the masochist tendencies of inexperienced zealots [a lesson that was learned the hard way by the Buddha himself]) and what I believe to be a historical truth: that Chinese gentry Buddhism has assimilated the early discourse of miracles 神異 into a more scholarly Chinese rhetoric of resonance 感通. The miracle tales in the early *vitae* and other sources being obviously intended to astonish and probably also to embarrass the laity, their favorite trope was

carnavalesque inversion. John Kieschnick notes that in view of the 'value placed on meat and wine by peasant and official alike' examples of mortification and asceticism never failed to impress. The early *vitae* are also rife with tales of self-mutilation and self-immolation, perhaps out of a desire 'to destroy the impure body [and] create a better, cleaner body', eventually in the form of *sharira* or an eternal 'true body 真身'.²² The contrast between the hedonism of the common Chinese and the extreme asceticism of some holy men is well illustrated by the iconography of the 'Sixth Ancestor Bodhisattva 六祖菩薩' as a skinny bag of bones in the Canton area.²³

The assimilation of the non-Buddhist paradigm of resonance into Buddhist hagiography substantially helped narrowing the discursive gap between the 'foreign religion' and 'the Chinese way'. As a result of this assimilation, however, Buddhists in China have tended to ignore the differences between the spatial contexts of these two discourses. The ambiguity of the Buddhist discourse is best described as 'utopian' in both senses of Thomas More's original pun: it may incidentally appear as a discourse of 'ideal places' (*eutopikos*) such as Mt Sumeru, the Pure Land, or the *dharmadhatu* 法界, but it is at the same time also a discourse 'without a place 無住' (*outopikos*). The Chinese way, on the other hand, has been historically and consistently linked to concrete sites: it is 'topical' not only in the sense that it finds its common literary expression in *topoi* 典故.

As all forms of Chinese religion are also constituents of this 'Chinese way', topolatry must always be considered as a possibly important 'common place'. With the possible exception of Daoist 'immortals 仙', all ancestors, local and regional deities and spirits are worshipped in China at their shrines 廟, and the sacred landscape of China itself (dubbed Shenzhou 神州, the 'Spirit Continent') is also constructed around five holy mountains 五嶽: Heng 恆 (north), Tai 泰 (east), Heng 衡 (south), Hua 華 (west), and Song 嵩 (middle).²⁴ But the etymology of the character 仙 suggests that even the free-roaming 'immortals' were originally believed to have their designated abode: the liminal world of mountains and caves.²⁵ What makes them peculiar to Chinese eyes is that they have left the topical world without leaving any trace for a *locus culti* 道場 to develop.

This tension between Buddhism and the 'Chinese way' has found its literary expression in the topos of 'contested space': stories of Buddhist missionaries and local deities, or Buddhist and Daoist monks, vying for special auspicious places, usually a mountain.²⁶ As a result, Buddhist monks are believed to have assimilated many local Chinese cults, resulting in the creation of a 'u-topian space' or a 'space without a place' (Faure).²⁷ The ideal Buddhist monk in *Vitae* is also described as 'unlocalizable'.²⁸ Wang Wei, probably the first scholar to write a semi-official account of the life of the southern Chinese meditation teacher Huineng, contributed to this ideal when he described him as 'a man from an unknown commandery and county [...] who died on an unknown day and month of an unknown year

[...] when his body was rested in an unknown place'.²⁹ But the vast majority of Buddhist worshippers in Tang China would rather take refuge in deities and saints with well-known abodes. On Mt Wutai 五臺, for instance, one of four Buddhist 'sacred mountains' in China, worship of the 'utopian' Avalokita 觀音 has given way to a 'topical' cult of the bodhisattva Manjushri. From the fifth century on, flocks of pilgrims and tons of imperial gifts paid for the maintenance of dozens of monasteries with hundreds of monks, and carefully wrought stories about sightings of Manjushri himself on the mountain kept the stream of donations going.³⁰ In the words of a follower of a 'Buddha basher' from Fujian, Chen Chun 陳淳 (d.1223), Chinese believers have always wanted their gods 'to be connected to the place where they were worshipped, to come from noble backgrounds, to have long histories, and to be included in the register of sacrifices'.³¹ It appears from the story of Mt Wutai that the belief in a *praesentia realis* rather than miracle stories was the quintessential condition for the success of such local cults. Valerie Hansen proposes that the function of miracles and auspicious omens was rather 'that people learned the principles by which the gods were thought to behave.'³²

Another major issue noticed in the sources previously introduced is the assimilation of different Buddhist ideologies into a Chinese hagiographical discourse in which notions of universal *tathagatagarbha* eventually prevail over *prajnaparamita* philosophies. Suffice it here to establish that the variety of possible topoi and paradigms of Chinese hagiography is really as inexhaustible as the sands of the Ganges, and that perhaps the only way to find a foothold is to do what almost every Chinese Buddhist does sooner or later: to take refuge not only in the the Buddha's example, but also to give it a place.

Notes to chapter 2.1.

1. Captain Katheryne Janeway in 'Scorpio Part One', *Star Trek Voyager*, season 3.
2. David Hare in the end of his theatre monologue *Via Dolorosa* (in Hare, *Via*).
3. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 257-259; Dregge, *Bibliothèques*, ch. II.
4. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 259.
5. Cf. Campany, *Strange*.
6. Regests in Dudbridge, *Experience*, 175-238.
7. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 13, 17-23.
8. JTS; XTS. For a a classification of the entire history department see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 258.
9. According to the editor's note to CBCG (before p. 621). Cf. Faure, 'Relics', 183 and passim.
10. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 151. *Atlas*, Vol. V has a map with YH toponyms superimposed on modern China. The maps were reported lost in 1175 by Cheng Dachang 程大昌 (q. in Feifel, *Po*, 17). Two

Qing editions of recovered parts from other scrolls are: Yan Guan, 嚴觀元和郡縣補志 *YH Supplement* (9 scr., 1775) and: Miao Quansun, 繆荃孫元和郡縣圖志闕卷逸文 *YH: Lost Scrolls and Missing Texts* (3 scr., 1991).

11. YJ, scr. 90. For the Taiping *Record of the World* (TH), largely based on Tang sources, see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 151, 788, 815. For the *Song Huiyao* 宋會要 and its printed editions see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 522.

12. YJ, scr. 90, 'scenic features, part 2 景物下', quoting Late supper at Shaoyang Pavilion (QTS 534-33) by Xu Hun 許渾 (graduated in 832; see Part Three, below).

13. *Lingwai*, v-xv.

14. Borges, *Antologia*, ; Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, passim.

15. Aoyama, *Dokushi*; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 152-153.

16. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 152.

17. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 153-161.

18. Gosman, 'Ontdekkingsreizen', 43; 56. On Marco Polo see e.g. Hansen, *Open Empire*, 344-347.

19. SG, 5-6; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 154, Table 5.

20. Annotated tr. by Netolitzky in *Lingwai*.

21. For works by Liu Ke (d. 839) in the bibliography of SG see 4.2, n. 43, below.

22. SG, 832-839.

23. *Nanyue*, 3-9. The 'histories 史料' are recent stories, e.g. from the Japanese occupation.

24. See Twitchett, *Official History*, and also the preface to Wilkinson, *Manual*, xiii-xiv.

25. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 378. Index in *Hōbōgirin, Fascicule annexe 1*. Cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 592, on the Chinese facsimile of the original woodblock editions of the canon (中華大藏經漢文部分).

26. Kieschnick, Ph.D., 6. Daoxuan called his collection the *Further Vitae* 續高僧傳 (T51); Zanning's collection is known as the *Song Vitae* 宋高僧傳 (T51). Collections of Great Ming *Vitae* 大明高僧傳 (T51) and *Updated Further Vitae* 補續高僧傳 were compiled by Ruxing 如惺 (fl. 1600) and Minghe 明河 (1588-1640), respectively. In 1919, the abbot of Fayuan 法原 Abbey in Peking commissioned a collection of *New Updated Vitae* 新續高僧傳 from the Hunanese scholar-monk Yuqian 喻謙 (d. 1933). These six, together with two collections of *vitae* of nuns dated 516 and 1909 respectively, were reprinted in 1991. *Vitae* of nuns 比丘尼傳 by Baochang 寶唱 (T51) are tr. in Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns* (Hawaii 1994).

27. Tr. in Kieschnick, Ph.D., 13; 10 mod.

28. Cf. Drege, *Bibliothèques*, ch. IV; Shinohara, *Two Sources*; Kieschnick, Ph.D., 10.

29. Cf. Shinohara, 'Two Sources'. for *stupa* inscriptions and miracle stories quoted at length by Huijiao.

30. Huihong 惠洪, q. in Kieschnick, Ph.D., 12-13 mod.

31. Kieschnick, Ph.D., 13.

32. 六祖能禪師碑銘 Inscription on a stele for [the Sixth Ancestor,] meditation teacher Neng. T.S.

Nagashima claims that the words 'Sixth Ancestor' were added later. See Nagashima, PhD, 25. For QTW see. Wilkinson, Manual, 567-568.

33. Lists of acquisitions by Saicho in T55.

34. Z1, 2B, 19,5. For other editions and Japanese translations see below; for an English translation, see Part Five. Z mainly contains 'compromised materials written by Chinese monks' (Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 377).

35. CEA 7 (1993-1994), 45-49; tr. in Demiéville, 'Receuil'. Although Jing and Yun date their text to A.D. 952, Arthur Waley argues that the *Chodangchip* really dates to the end of the tenth century (Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243-244). The *Chodangchip* was included in the Korean Canon 高麗大藏經. in 1245 and reprinted in Japan in 1912 and 1972 and in China in 1994 (Shanghai). Yanagida Seizan has also produced a critical text edition (1974) and a modern Japanese translation (1990). The *Chodangchip* may have circulated at Dunhuang: Waley found it quoted literally at several places in the Dunhuang Ms. Stein 1635 (T.85; Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243). The language of the *Chodangchip*, however, contains many colloquialisms still found in modern Min 閩 and is very different from other vernacular Dunhuang texts.

36. Cf. Charles Luk's foreword and translation in Lu, *Ch'an and Zen* III, 103-145 at 135.

37. EK, 613 after Dunhuang ms P 2104: *Essential Secrets of the Meditation School: The Great Teacher Shaojue, Enlightened Overnight* (for the epithet in the subtitle see Lu, *Ch'an and Zen* III, 116.

38. Hu Shi disagrees with the attribution to Xuanjue (a.k.a. Shaojue 邵覺) and Broughton does not include it in his anthology of the earliest Zen records. Cf. Tanaka, *Tonkō*, 306-307; Broughton, *Anthology*.

39. Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243.

40. Shinohara, 'Evolution', 320-321.

41. Tr. after Waley, 'Zutangji'. 'Guangnan' is a late tenth-century term for Lingnan (cf. YJ scr. 89).

42. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 127. Cf. HS 9: 'The Buddhahood of a man from Xinzhou in Lingnan and the Buddhahood of your reverence, what difference is there?' HS is topographically more explicit than PS.

43. EK 494-611. Komazawa University is affiliated with the Sōtō sect. Cf. Faure, *Insights*, 93-94.

44. For a popular history of the Dunhuang 'library cave' see Hopkirk, *Barbarians*, passim.

45. Fang Guangchang, 'Foreword' in Fang, *Zangwai* 1 (1995) 13-18; 2 (1996) 5-9. The second issue also contains conference papers on Tripitaka editions and computerization, including overviews of recent Japanese (79-83), Mainland Chinese (84-86), Taiwanese (87-91) and overseas (92-108) *Tripitaka* editions.

46. Fang, *Zangwai* 2 (1996) 1-6; 133-165. The so-called 'Seventh Ancestor' is not identified by name.

47. EK, 21; italics mine.

48. EK, 22; italics mine.

49. EK 24; italics mine.

50. Yampolsky (PS , iii) called the chapters of the introduction to his translation of PS: 'The Formation of the Legend'; 'The Birth of a Patriarch: Biography of Huineng'; and 'The making of a Book: *The Platform Sutra*'.

Notes to chapter 2.2.

1. Song Dan's stele texts are titled 嵩山會善寺故大德道安禪師碑銘 (Stele Inscription for Meditation Teacher Dao'an, the Late *Bhadanta* of Huishan Abbey at Mt Song, QTW 396) and 大唐嵩山會善寺故大德道安禪師碑並序 (Stele and Preface for Meditation Teacher Dao'an, the Late *Bhadanta* of Huishan Abbey at Mt Song, TWXS 3). Cf. Faure , *Will*, 100-102; Mc Rae, *Northern School*, 57-58).
2. CHC III:336; JTS 8; XTS 5. Xue Chongjian has no official biography and his memorials and poems are not in QTW and QTS.
3. Official biographies of Song Zhiwen in JTS 190; XTS 250. The *Sanjiao Zhuying* 三教珠英 (Gems of the Three Teachings: Confucianisms, Buddhism, Daoism, with chapters on lineages and outlying regions; lost) was presented in 702 to replace the *Wensi Boyao* 文思博要. A supplement was commissioned in 719 by emperor Xuanzong 玄宗. McMullen suggests that it was never completed: the editors 'conversed day and night, gathering in meetings to write verse, but over several years had not set brush [to paper]. (McMullen, *State*, 218-219). Parts of an anthology from the encyclopedia have been retrieved at Dunhuang.
4. Schafer, *Vermillion Bird*.
5. Around 700, China was divided into prefectures 州 and prefectures into counties 縣. In the early eighth century, a new administrative layer of 'circuits' 道 was superimposed on these prefectures. Tang China's southernmost circuit of Lingnan 嶺南 (literally: south of the mountain ranges, the former kingdom of Nanyue 南越, included modern Guangxi and Guangdong and parts of northern Vietnam. Tang China had two capitals: the 'upper capital' Chang'an 長安 (or Shangdu 上都 ('Xanadu'), now Xi'an 西安 in Shaanxi) and the 'eastern capital' Luoyang 洛陽 (or Dongdu 東都, now Luoyang in Henan).
6. Owen, *Early Tang*, 231-233 ('Literary Establishment') and 256-273 ('Poetry in the Life of the Court') .
7. XTS 250. On Wu Pingyi see Barrett 1991, 256.
8. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 35; 193-194. Yampolsky apparently thought the poem lost; cf. Yampolsky, *PS*, 78n.
9. Faure, *Will*, Chapter 5 QTW 237).
10. Tr. in Faure, *Mal*, 165.
11. Faure, *Will*, Chapter 6. Cf. Kalupahana, *History*, 245; Suzuki, *Lanka Studies*, 3; Kunst, 'Lanka', 103.
12. Barrett, 'Date',
13. Cf. Chappell, 'Dispute'. Around 720, the Pure Land was competing for imperial patronage with

'meditation teachers' like Jingjue. Jingjue only credits Xuanze for his account of Hongren's last days.

14. Chronology in Chang, *Zhang Yue*. For a brief biography in English see Faure, *Will*, 192 n. 65.
15. He Ge'en, 356 n29-30. Cf. Zhang Yue's poem on this occasion 送考功武員外學士使嵩善者舍利塔 in QTS 86-74. Wu Pingyi's biography (XTS 119) dates this visit to 706 (q. in He Ge'en, 357 n. 34).
16. *Parting with Teacher Pingyi*, QTS 86-15.
17. He Ge'en observes that neither Shenxiu's eulogy by Zhang Yue nor a stele text for his abbey at Mt Song 嵩岳寺碑 by Li Yong 李邕 mention Neng (He Ge'en, 356 n.30). For Faure's argument see *Will*, 35.
18. Owen, *Early Tang*, 383-386.
19. Cf. McRae, 'Shenhui', 262 n. 20. For Shenhui's relation to Wang Wei see Faure, *Will*, 219-220.
20. Hsu 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.
21. Lin Dezhong, Honorary Chairman of the Shaoguan Buddhist Association, considers Wang Wei's text a product of orthodox Confucian scholarship yet untouched by Wei's later Buddhist persuasions (p. c.).
22. Cf. Nagashima, Ph.D., 45-46).
23. *Vimalakirtinirdesasutra*, tr. Watson, 65. For other Chinese instances see Berkowitz, *Patterns*.
24. Also, with minor changes, in the *Jingde Collection* (tr. in Yampolsky PS, 81-82) as well as in the Ming PS (tr. in Wong Mou-lam, PS, 106). The Ming PS mentions empress Zetian as co-author of the summons. Sangha's stele tr. in Xu, 'Sengqie', 394-395. For Song Dan's stele texts to An see above.
25. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 117. For indexes on tomb tablets see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 118-119.
26. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 119-120.
27. Shinohara, 'Two Sources', 121. A few steles can still be seen in their original setting; a fifteenth-century example is the giant stele on the imperial 'spirit road' to the Ming Tombs 十三陵 near Peking.
28. Kieschnick, PhD 10 mod. Cf. Shinohara, 'Two sources' 124-125; Twitchett, *Official History*, 66-67.
29. The *Chodangchip* (dated 952) uses 行錄 or 實錄 as synonyms for 行狀 and 實狀 respectively. Shinohara argues that a monk's 行錄 would typically contain his biographical particulars: his laic name, native county, monastic career, life and death. A 'separate record' 別錄 would contain dialogues with his students also found as 'dicta' 語錄 (Shinohara, 'Evolution', 307. See also under U., below).
30. Shinohara, 'Two Sources', 123-124 and 200 n27.
31. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421.
32. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 422. The stele being lost without any data about its size, style, ornaments and its intended or actual location, we cannot appraise it as a 'contested cultural artifact', as Falkenhausen would prefer. The text of the stele is preserved in *Wang Wei's Collected Works* 王右丞集 (cf. *Wang Wei Studies*, 10-11) as 能禪師碑銘 *Inscription on a stele for meditation teacher Neng*; also in QTW 327: 六祖能禪師碑銘 *Inscription on a stele for the Sixth Ancestor, meditation teacher Neng* (Yampolsky, PS 66-69). The words 'Sixth Ancestor' were perhaps added by the editors

of QTW (Nagashima, PhD, 25).

33. A few dozen entries in Jing & Yun's *Collection* state that a record of activities of the monk described had not been seen by the authors: 未睹行錄不史化緣終始 (Jing & Yun 94; Shinohara, 'Evolution', 307).

34. E.g. the *stupa* for Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓 677-744) near Mirror Grinding Terrace 磨鏡臺 on Mt Heng in Hunan I saw more recent *stupas* in front of Fuyan and Nantai 南臺 Abbey at Mt Heng.

35. Cf. Sharf, 'Idolization'; Cole, 'Upside down'. Zanning, *Vitae*, mentions that 'after the cremation of [meditation teacher] Hui'an [慧安 d. 708], 80 *sharira* grains, crystalline relics, were retrieved from among the ashes. Five of them emitted a purple light and were sent to the imperial palace.' (q. in Faure, *Will*, 102).

36. The former palace of king Zhao Jian of South Yue 南越王趙建 was transformed into Zhizhi 制止 Abbey (later: Faxing 法性 Abbey) by heirs of of the third-century official Yu Fan 虞翻. It was designated as an imperial Bao'en Guangxiao 報恩光孝 Abbey in 1137 and Guangxiao Abbey in 1151 (Wu & Guo, 281).

37. McRae, 'Shenhui', 232-237. Zongmi's commentaries are in ZZ 1/14/3 and ZZ 1/15/2.

38. Cf. Dudbridge, 'Images', 382, for the Mahamegha Abbey in Jiangzhou 江州 (now Jiujiang 九江).

39. Cf. Ishii HS, n. 17; Tanaka 1991, 231-232.

40. Faure, *Will*, 93-96 (Puji); 201-203 (Yifu). Cf. Yampolsky, PS 24-25n. A critical edition of two versions of this Dunhuang manuscript, one in the Pelliot collection, one in Japan, was published by D.T. Suzuki in 1934. In 1949, Jacques Gernet published a French translation of the Pelliot text. Kieschnick, 133-135; Yanagida, '*Dicta*'; Berling, *H of R*; Nagashima, PhD, 33.

41. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 138 and 222 n.28 on Yogachara-Madhyamika antagonism.

42. Tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 118-137.

43. Tr. in Broughton, *Bodhidharma*, 108. 平等 is Sanskrit *upeksa*, 'indifference' (to *samata* 止 and/or *vipasshyana* 觀, or to space and/or time). A more vernacular rendition would be: 'Don't worry, be happy!'

44. Broughton, *Bodhidharma*, 109.

45. McRae, 'Ox-head', 185-191.

46. Faure, 'Samadhi', 121; Faure, *Will*, 52, 54, 86, 93, 104, 115, 191n, 208n.

47. EK 612.

48. Yampolsky, PS, 6-9 and, 39, referring to Zhiyi's *Mahashamathavipasshana* 摩訶止觀.(in T.46).

49. Pelliot 35559; preface also in T.85; cf. Yampolsky, PS, 5.

50. Tr. in McRae, *Northern School*, 255-269; cf. Yampolsky, PS, 7. This text does not mention Huineng.

51. For a biography of Jiaoran as a poet and an ascetic see Nielsen, *Chiao-jan*.

52. QTW 917; EK 498.

53. Apart from a critical Chinese edition (Zhonghua, Peking 1979), an English translation of the Jianzhen travelogue was published in London in 1925. Cf. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53-54.
54. Lam Yau-nang, ed., *Huineng Papers*, 1-3.
55. Yampolsky, PS, xii; Tanaka, 'Recent Developments', 241-245. Yanagida, *Rokusō*, 1-48, and the frontispiece of Yang, PS are photographic reproductions of the two Dunhuang PS .
56. After Ko, 'English PS', 317-318.
57. After Ko, 'English PS', 318-320.
58. Wu, *Progress*, 71-90; 99.
59. Tr. in Conze, *Wisdom*. For the *Heart Sutra* 心經 and its origins see Lopez, *Heart*; Nattier, 'Heart'.
60. The *Sandhinirmochanasutra* (q. in Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan*, 94-95) compares the Buddha to a charioteer whose chariot progresses which each turning of its wheels. The division does not include the tantric tradition, although Tantric tendencies are noticeable in some *Prajnaparamita* texts such as the *Vajracchedika* (Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan*, 117-128). Shenpen Hookham also noticed that some tantric texts and practices draw on *Tathagatagarbha* ideology (Hookham, 'Practical Implications', 157-161).
61. Yampolsky, PS , 173-174 mod.
62. 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記壇經, in T 55. For more titles of PS copies acquired by Ennin see Yampolsky, PS, 92n. Cf. Ennin's biography in Reischauer, *Ennin*.
63. The most authoritative non-sectarian biography is of course Huineng's *vita* by Zanning.
64. After the *Dicta of Canyuan of North Mountain* 北山參元語錄, written in 806 by Shenqing 神清 (a.k.a. Huiyi 慧義, d. 816), T.52-612, q. in EK 499; cf. EK 614.
65. Vol. I, q. EK 499. 居人 must perhaps be read as 居士.
66. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 18, q. in EK 498.
67. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 2, q. in EK 498.
68. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 19, q. in EK 498.
69. Shiina, 'BZ 9&10'. Parts of Shiina's compilation are q. in Ishii, HS (Shiina Kōyū 推名宏雄寶林傳 卷九卷十 in 宗教研究 1980-3 ; idem, '寶林傳の研究' in 駒澤大學佛教學部論集 1980-2.
70. Yampolsky PS, 47-53; 65; 73.
71. *Traditions of Giving the Law and the Canon* 付法藏傳 q. in Makita, *Chuukoku*, 150-151. That Qisong like Zhiju, subscribed to this line appears from his *Record on the Correct Transmission of the Law*.
72. Intellectual biography in Makita, *Chujōkū* , 145-154. Cf. Tanaka, 'PS', 238-241.
73. Q. in Robson, Marchmount, 262, n. 168: 'Suzuki indeed recognizes 'Daoist influences on [BZ]'. The term 'Daoist' in this context is to be used with caution (cf. Sivin, 'Taoist', 319). On Nine Immortals' Lodge see NNYG, 189-191. For the term 三生 ('Three Births') in relation to Huisi see Magnin, *Huisi*, 31n.

74. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 30. Yichu's text was printed in Japan in 1676; facsimile in Makita, *Gisō*.
75. EK 619.
76. Yampolsky, PS, 39-44.
77. In this respect, continental genealogical terminology is more specific than Anglosaxon usage where a 'pedigree' may either be a descent chart or an ancestry chart. Cf. Wright, *Handbook*, 17; Conwell, *Family*, 6.
78. After Groner, *Saichō*, 39-64; 107-165; 251-263. Cf. the mandala-shaped lineage diagram of the meditation tradition on a transmission chart issued to Dōgen in 1227 at Eihei Abbey (Kodera, *Dōgen*, 69-71). For the historical context of Saichō's pilgrimage cf. Holcombe, 'Trade-Buddhism', 280-283; 291-291.
79. Groner, *Saichō*, 64. Saichō's initiations admittedly also served another purpose: they were required before permission was granted to copy esoteric texts, witness Saichō's own account:
'At Longxing 龍興 Abbey in Yue[zhou] tak ing instructions from Shunxiao, [I] followed the *acharya* to a *bodhimanda* on a mountain peak east of Lake Jing. The *acharya* told two monks to set the *bodhimanda*. [We] then entered the *bodhimanda* of the fivefold mandala of baptism. [I] then received the teaching of the mantra and [my] head was sprinkled with mantra water so that [I] could copy the above liturgies as well as the offering texts and formulas.'
80. Q. in Heng Yin, PS, n.p. Cf. the name list in the *Chodangchip*, q. in Ishii HS n. 26. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinayapitaka*, originally translated into Chinese by Buddhayashas, is recognized by most Chinese schools (with the possible exception of Mt Tiantai) as the standard scripture on discipline.
81. T.15, 618, q. in Faure, *Will*, 229; cf. McRae, Northern School, 81.73.
82. McRae, Northern School, 79.
83. EK 79. Cf. Ishii, HS, n. 47.
84. Zhenhua, *Dictionary*, 171; cf. WDHY 2.
85. WDHY, scr. 2, f. 32 (p. 40). Cf. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 137.
86. WDHY, scr. 2, ff. 32-33 (pp. 40-41).
87. On Huilang see 4. 3.2, below.
88. An incomplete and corrupt quote from the *Vajracchedika* (cf. Conze, *Wisdom*, 64).
89. *Hōbōgin*, 1019.
90. T.50, 2050, q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1025.
91. Q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1023-1024.
92. Congyi 從義 (d. 1091) on the *Four Teachings of Tiantai* 天臺四教儀, q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1030.
93. Yanagida, *Rokusō*, 405-424.
94. Yampolsky, PS, 101; EK 16.
95. After EK 26-27. Biographical note on Kinryū in EK 64. On the 'perfect sudden' and its opposition

to the gradual quietism of *shamathavipashyana* 止觀 according to Guanding 灌頂 see Bielefeldt, 'Secret', 142.

96. Yampolsky, PS, 99-104.

97. Lou Yulie, 'Dunhuang PS' , 2, q. in Tanaka, 'Recent developments', 250 n.23; cf. Ishii, 'Huixin PS'.

98. The 1911 edition in ZZ, 1, 2B, 19, 5, 483a-88a. Cf. Hu Shi, 'Notes 1', q. in Yampolsky, PS, 70 n.30.

99. Text with concordance and parallel translation: EK 25-61; notes: EK 62-82.

100. Ishii, *HS*. Ishii's text also in Yang, *PS*, Ishii was one of the EK editors and now teaches at Komazawa.

Like Yanagida, he was destined to become a Zen priest (Faure, *Insights*, 107-110; T.H. Barrett, p. c).

101. Ishii, *HS*, n. 42.

102. Ishii, *HS*, n. 43.

103. Hu Shi, 'Critique of the *Sōkei Daishi betsuden*' (in 'Notes 1', 299-300, q. in Yampolsky PS, 70-76).

104. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 419 (commenting on a *vita* of the Daoist immortal Lu Dongbin).

105. Cf. note 96, above. The Huixin PS of 967 is believed to be a direct precursor to the Qisong PS.

106. Hoffmann & Hu, 142.

107. Dutch tr. in Idema, *Baard*, 223-240. Liu Zongyuan was also a dedicated writer of 'archaic prose 古文' and is credited with the invention of the Chinese landscape essay. Cf. Idema & Haft, 197-204.

108. So did Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064), a scholar from Shaozhou and author of a *stupa* text for the thaumaturge Daoguang 道廣 (675-743; tr. in Part Three, below). Jing also wrote an essay on auspicious omens and miracles as a mere 'matter of record, without any merit to society', Jing felt that scholar-officials should not follow these popular tales but rather remain silent on them' (q. in Jiu Jiang, 26).

109. Hoffmann & Hu, 84-137.

110. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167; cf. CHC III, 601-606.

111. *Climbing Liuzhou City Tower: To My Colleagues in Zhang-, Deng-, Feng- and Lianzhou* (QTS 351-39). Liu Yuxi was then Governor of Lianzhou 廉州 (now Hepu 合浦 in Guangxi).

112. Hoffmann & Hu, 140; 142.

113. *Phonetic Meaning of All Scriptures* 一切經音義, q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 55. Zanning lists two Huilins: one from Kashgar (737-820) and another Huilin (751-832) from Anhui who spent most of his life in Hangzhou. Huijiao's *Vitae* also mention an exorcist named Daolin 道琳 who died in 513.

114. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167; 185.

115. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167: 'it is said [they] were used by local singers till long after his time.'

116. Hoffmann & Hu, 147.

117. See Hoffmann & Hu, 100-101, who apparently mistranslate 生人之意 and 人生而靜.

118. Zürcher, 'New Look', 280-281.

119. Cf. Hoffmann & Hu, 103.

120. Tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 118-137.

Notes to chapter 2.3.

1. Bakker, *Sacred Centre*, vii.
2. Giles, *Biographies*, 332-333; Huangfu Mi's preface to 高士傳 tr. in Berkowitz, *Patterns*, 456-459.
3. Wu, *Progress*, 72-76.
4. Jan, 'Zongmi', 236-237.
5. Welter, 'Yanshou', 265.
6. Described in EK 89-90. Neng's *vita* is in scr. 97.
7. Welter, 'Yanshou', 251-252 and 255.
8. Welter, 'Yanshou', 254.
9. Lippiello, PhD, sum. in Lippiello, *IIAASNL*, 43. Shen Yue wrote a *poetica* for palace style poets.
10. Lippiello, PhD, chapter 4, summarized in Lippiello, *IIAASNL*, 43.
11. Twitchett, *Official History*, 74. Cf. Franke, 'Remarks'.
12. Twitchett, *Official History*, 77-78 mod.
13. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 140. The six 'supernormal powers' 六通 ascribed to a Buddha were:
 1. magical power
 2. supernormal hearing
 3. reading minds
 4. knowing one's previous existences
 5. discerning previous lives of others
 6. having 'no outflows' (*ashrava* 漏)
14. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 99; Lippiello, PhD, chapter 4; Wright, 'Fo-t'u-teng'.
15. 唐韶州曹溪釋慧能實錄, in Enchin's list of acquisitions in T 55.
16. See note 8; *emphasis* added.
17. Cf. HS section 4. For a critical discussion see He Ge'en, *passim*, and Part Three, below.
18. Zanning's text after the punctuated edition in Yang, PS, 144-147 at 146-147. Huairang lived 677-744.
19. I believe that the Latter Zen adage 不立文字 ('not to base (religious practice) on written words') is not a denunciation of scriptural knowledge, but refers to the traditional reliance on root learning.
20. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 140.
21. Luk, *Xu Yun*, 7.
22. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 115.
23. E.g. in Hong Kong in the Tiger Balm Gardens (on Hong Kong Island) and in the courtyard of Ten Thousand Buddha Abbey (at Shatin, N.T.).
24. Robson, 'Chinese Geographics', 16-17.
25. Paper, *Spirits*, 54.

26. Robson, 'Contested Space', 121-124; cf. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421-422.
27. Faure, 'Space and place', 346.
28. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 141.
29. Wang Wei, quoted under E., above.
30. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 105-106.
31. After Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 145-146; 163.
32. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 13; cf. Watson, 'Tin Hau' for a comparison of oral and written traditions.

Part Three

When Zhiwen met Neng: some circumstantial evidence for the case of the Sixth Ancestor

This part reviews one piece of circumstantial evidence for the life of the 'Sixth Ancestor': the poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* (QTS 51-17) by the exiled Tang court poet Song Zhiwen (宋之問, d. 713). This poetic record is mentioned in Zanning's 贊寧 tenth-century *Vitae* as 'a long piece written by Song Zhiwen on his audience with Neng', but ignored by later hagiographers and researchers, yet it is the only possibly contemporary account of a 'close encounter' with the meditation teacher whom later generations have worshipped as the 'Sixth Ancestor'. The poem is analyzed here in the context of Song Zhiwen's literary and Buddhist affiliations and of his several southbound journeys.

3.1. The poem: sourcing

In 1935 the Chinese Chan historian He Ge'en 何格恩 examined the relation between Song Zhiwen's poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* and other evidence mentioned in Zanning's *Vitae*. In 1967 Philip Yampolsky also mentioned the poem, but assumed it lost. That same year, however, Schafer re-identified it as *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*.¹ Following Schafer's lead, I retrieved the poem (with significant variations from the standard text in QTS) from a facsimile of a Ming edition of Zhiwen's collected poems.² Song Zhiwen's memorials and other official and occasional texts are in QTW. Some (apparently apocryphal) stories about him can also be found in the *Tang Anecdotes*.³

Editions of Song Zhiwen's collected poems are mentioned in the court histories and other sources. A lost edition in one scroll mentioned in Gao Ru's 高儒 bibliography *Review of Books from All Streams* 百川書志. Among the preserved texts of the collection are:

- a. Yang Yitong's 楊一統 printed Ming edition.⁴
- b. Zhang Xie's 張燮 printed Ming edition with text-critical notes (*The Scholar Song Collection* 宋學士集, dated 1640, nine scrolls, one scroll of notes).⁵
- c. Two copies in the Peking Library of a printed Ming edition of the *Song Zhiwen Collection* in two scrolls after a manuscript in the former East Wall Library.⁶

3.1.1. The poem in the *Four Branches of Literature Collected*

The East Wall Library Collection (EWLC) is a printed Ming text in two scrolls, without preface or postface. The imprints on the centerfolds read: 崦西精舍 (Hermitage West of Yan). The typographer's identity is unknown. EWLC was reproduced in 1934 in the so-called '*Four Branches of Literature Collected* 四部叢刊續編' with a colophon reading:

'Photolithograph by Hanfen Lodge 涵芬樓 from a Ming edition,
stored in Tongjian Lodge by Mr Qu Tieqin 瞿鐵琴.⁷

From Hengyang to Shaozhou appears in scroll 1 as one of 39 pentametric old verses.⁸ A postface by the librarian Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 dates the typeface between 1523 and 1566 (the Ming Jiajing 嘉靖 era), but casts doubts on the origins of the printed edition:⁹

'The East Wall Library Collections of twelve Tang poets, formerly kept at Hanfen Lodge, now lost, contained a Song collection in two scrolls, but had no 'Hermitage West of Yan' or other characters on its centerfold. The same collection was also part of the *Hundred Tang Poets* cut by Xu Xianzhong 徐獻忠 (not preserved). I do not know about any discrepancies. Compared with QTS, the latter leaves out two [prose poems] but contains most others, even including some [not in the Ming Collection]. The order of the poems is also at variance, and the former and the latter both contain erroneous characters, as if they were from different sources.'

3.1.2. The poem in WYYH and QTS.

From Hengyang to Shaozhou appears in scroll 219 of WYYH as one of 69 titles about visits to Buddhist monasteries 釋門. That anthology was compiled by a team of Hanlin 翰林 academics commissioned by Taizong 太宗 of Song in 982. It was edited by Peng Shuxia 彭叔夏 in 986. The

preface to the 1965 reprint of the Ming edition of 1597 asserts that 'in spite of its rareness, [WYYH] stands out as one of the great books of the Song era.'¹⁰ A comment in the 1597 edition also laments the paucity of texts from the Tang:

'Texts by Han, Liu, Yuan and Bai were not preserved. Text collections of others, viz.: Chen Zi'ang, Zhang Yue, [Zhang] Jiuling, Li Ao and other famous scholars are especially rare. The book repair officer perhaps stored collected texts by [Liu] Zongyuan, [Bai]Juyi, Quan Deyu, Li Shangjin, Gu Yun, and Luo Jin....'

WYYH does not reveal the sources from which the original compilers included Zhiwen's poems, but it appears that the original *Song Zhiwen Collection* was one of them.

Of all single collections, QTS has the largest number of Song Zhiwen's poems. During the 1980s, Chinese scholars collected a few thousand Tang poems from sources outside this comprehensive collection. These additions and corrections to the original QTS include over 30 titles by Song Zhiwen from Dunhuang manuscripts and other rare collections.¹¹ The compilers of QTS were especially critical of the WYYH texts. Wherever they could, they included alternative readings from other sources. The editors of the Ming WYYH, were themselves also quite aware of the toponymical and other problems of the anthology. They warned later readers in scroll 4 of their 'Addenda and corrigenda'¹²

'Whenever the names of commanderies, counties and places differ, they may be altered according to other sources (...) for the benefit of [the present anthology].

For similar reasons the editors of the Ming WYYH may have altered the toponym 'Hengyang' in line 6a of *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* to 'Shaoyang' (discussed in section 3.4.4., below). They also included an alternative reading for the strange verb 窺 in line 1a.

Having established that the poem was probably already included in the earliest collections of Song Zhiwen's works, I will now investigate how, where and when Song Zhiwen may have written it, and also make an educated guess as to what was discussed between the poet and the sage on a mountain which we also shall attempt to identify.

3.2. The poem: readings

3.2.1. Transcription 1

唐宋之間自衡陽至韶州謁能禪師

[Tang Seung' Ziwyun': Tshz' Hyaaingyang tsi' Shiautsiu !iat Neeng Shiansr]

Tang² Song⁴ Zhi¹wen⁴: Zi⁴ Heng²yang² zhi⁴ Shao²zhou¹ ye⁴ Neng² Chan²shi¹

1a. 謫居竄炎壑, (WYYH: 窺, also mentioning EWLC 竄; QTS: 竄)

1b. 孤帆淼不繫。

[Traik gyue chuan yam hak / gue fyan myiau' but hyiai'.]

Zhe² ju¹ cuan⁴ yan² he⁴/ gu¹ fan² miao³ bu⁴ xi⁴.

2a. 別家萬里餘,

2b. 流目三春際。

[Pyat gyaa waan' li ya / liu meuk sam chyun jyai'.]

Bie² jia¹ wan⁴ li³ yu² / liu² mu⁴ san¹ chun¹ ji⁴.

3a. 猿啼山館曉, (WYYH also: 鳴 *ming²*)

3b. 虹飲江皋霽。

[Yan tyai saan guan' hyiau' / heung lim' gyaaung gau jyai'.]

Yuan² ti² shan¹ guan³ xiao³ / hong² yin³ jiang¹ gao¹ ji⁴.

4a. 湘岸竹泉幽,

4b. 衡峰石閣閉。 (WYYH: 行峰; WYYH, QTS: 石困 *qun¹*)

[Siang ngan' triuk chyan !yiu / Hyaaing fyaung sHuik gak byiai'.]

Xiang¹ an⁴ zhu² quan² you¹ / Heng² feng¹ shi² ge² bi⁴.

5a. 嶺嶂窮攀越,

5b. 風濤極沿濟。

[Lyaing' zyang' kiung paan yat / fwung tau giek yan jyiai'.]

Ling³ zhang⁴ qiong² pan¹ yue⁴ / feng¹ tao¹ ji² yan² ji³.

6a. 吾師在衡陽， (WYYH, QTS: 韶陽; QTS also: 衡陽)

6b 欣此得躬詣。

[Ngue sr chai' Hyaaingyang / hin chz' deek gyung ngyai'.]

Wu² shi¹ zai⁴ Heng²yang² / xin¹ ci³ de² gong¹ yi⁴.

7a. 洗慮竇空寂，

7b 香焚結精誓。 (QTS: 焚香; WYYH quotes (EWLC ?) '集有: 清')

[Siai' lyeu' byin keung' tshiaik / hiang fhyun gyat tsiang shiai'.]

Xi³ lyu⁴ bin¹ kong⁴ ji⁴ / xiang¹ fen² jie² jing¹ shi⁴.

8a. 願以有漏軀， (Hung reads: 願 po¹, 'quite, oblique'²)

8b 聿薰無生惠。 (QTS: 聿薰無生慧; QTS also: 幸薰...)

[Ngyan' yi' iu' leu' kye / yut mwek wue shaaing hyiai'.]

Yuan⁴ yi³ you³ lou⁴ qu¹ / yu⁴ xun¹ wu² sheng¹ hui⁴.

9a. 物用益沖曠， (QTS also: 用一)

9b 心源日閑細。

[Wut yiung yiaik drhyung kwang / sim ngyan rit hyaain syaik'.]

Wu⁴ yong⁴ yi⁴ chong¹ kuang⁴ / xin¹ yuan² ri⁴ xian² xi⁴.

10a. 伊我獲此途，

10b 游道迴晚計。 (WYYH: 悔晚計)

[Yi nga hwaaik cz htwe / yiu dhau hwai waan gyai'.]

Yi¹ wo³ huo⁴ ci³ tu² / you² dao⁴ hui² wan³ ji⁴.

11a. 宗師信捨法，

11b 擯落文史藝。

[Zeung sr sin shia faap / byin lak wun shr ngyai.]
Zong¹shi¹ xin⁴ she³ fa³ / bin⁴ luo⁴ wen² shi³ yi⁴.

- 12a. 坐禪羅浮中，
12b. 尋異南海裔。 (WYYH: 窮海, also quotes EWLC: 南海)

[Zhua shian La fhuw driung / shim yi Nam hai yai.]
Zuo⁴ chan² Luo² fu² zhong¹ / xun² yi⁴ Nan²hai³ yi⁴.

- 13a. 何辭禦魑魅？
13b. 自可乘炎癘。

[Ha shz ngye trhi mi? / tshz kha shieng iam lyai.]
He² ci² yu⁴ chi¹mei⁴? / zi⁴ ke³ cheng² yan² li⁴.

- 14a. 迴首望舊鄉， (WYYH: idem; QTS also: 故鄉)
14b. 雲林浩蕩蔽。

[Hwai shiu wang ghiu hiang / yun lim hau kui byai.]
Hui² shou³ wang⁴ jiu⁴ xiang¹/yun² lin² hao⁴ kui¹ bi⁴.

- 15a. 不作離別苦， (QTS: 離別)
15b. 歸期多年歲。

[But zue li bhiat kue / gui ghi da nian syai.]
Bu⁴ zuo⁴ li 2bie² ku³ / gui¹ qi¹ duo¹ nian² sui⁴.

3.2.2. Rhyme and date

The thirty lines of pentametric old verse reflect the form of Zhiwen's *A sacrifice to the sea: spring of 710* (景龍四年春祠海 QTS 51-14).³ That text, written in Yuezhou 越州 (Shaoxing), is a poetic sonata in three parts of five couplets each. The opening couplets of each part match the topical opening statements of formal court poetry. Each couplet is followed by four couplets of parallel verse. The third part is a personal closing statement as in a formal poem. The three parts describe Zhiwen's retreat or fast 齋 on the eve of the sacrifice; his unworthiness to perform sacrifices; and a reflection on his past

career.⁴ Unlike *A sacrifice to the sea*, the title of *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* does not carry a date, but it is probably safe to call it a Tang poem of Song Zhiwen's lifetime. In Pulley-blank's reconstructed pronunciation of eighth-century 'Late Middle Chinese' the final sounds of every tenth syllable belong to the same rhyme group, as a concordance shows:⁵

Couplet:	Rhyme:	Pinyin:	Sui ('EMC'):	Tang ('LMC'):
1.	繫	xi ⁴	[gejh]	[xjiaj']
2.	際	ji ⁴	[tsiajh*]	[tsiaj']
3.	霽	ji ⁴	[dzejh]	[tshiaj']
4.	閉	bi ⁴	[pejh]	[pjiaj']
5.	濟	ji ⁴	[tsej']	[tsiaj']
6.	詣	yi ⁴	[ngejh]	[ngjiaj']
7.	誓	shi ⁴	[dziajh*]	siaj']
8.	惠(慧)	hui ⁴	[gwejh]	[xhjyaj']
9.	細	xi ⁴	[sejh]	[siaj']
10.	計	ji ⁴	[kejh]	[kjiaj']
11.	藝	yi ⁴	[ngjiajh*]	[ngjiaj']
12.	裔	yi ⁴	[jiajh*]	[jiaj']
13.	癘	li ⁴	[liajh*]	[liaj']
14.	蔽	bi ⁴	[pjiajh*]	[pjiaj']
15.	歲	sui ⁴	[swiajh*]	[syaj']

The Sui version has the most aberrant rhymes (7 out of 15; marked:*) ; the modern (*pinyin*) version has 3 out of 15; and the Tang version none. As the Sui rhyme canon lets the so-called 齊 [(w)ejh] and 濟 [(w)iajh] groups interrhyime, however, all fifteen couplets in the poem show perfect rhyme, no matter whether they are read with Sui or Tang vowels.⁶ The rhyme scheme is the same as in *A sacrifice to the sea*, but the latter has four aberrant Sui rhymes, marked * in the following comparative table:⁷

Couplet:	Rhyme:	Pinyin:	Sui:	Tang:
1.	慮	lyu ⁴	[lieh*]	[lye']
2.	驚	wu ⁴	[mueh]	[ujye']
3.	澍	shu ⁴	[dzuwk*]	[shye']
4.	霧	wu ⁴	[mueh]	[ujye']
5.	互	hu ⁴	[xeh]	[xhue']

6.	煦	xu3	[xue']	[xye']
7.	樹	shu4	[dzueh]	[shye']
8.	路	lu4	[leh]	[lue']
9.	屢	lyu3	[lueh]	[lye']
10.	處	chu3	[tchieh*]	[tshye']
11.	遇	yu4	[ngueh]	[ngye']
12.	暑	shu3	[cie'*]	[shye']
13.	趣	qu4	[tshueh]	[tshye']
14.	喻	yu4	[jueh]	[jye']
15.	暮	mu4	[meh]	[mue']

The evidence from these rhymes is circumstantial. *A sacrifice to the sea* is considered a genuine Song Zhiwen. As an early Tang court poet, Zhiwen adhered to the classical rhyme canons of the Sui court, which used the Luoyang dialect as its basis. Zhiwen was based at Luoyang for most of his court career: he even once tried to dissuade emperor Zhongzong from moving court to Chang'an. One would expect that when Zhiwen wrote an 'old poem', he would adhere to the sounds of Luoyang (as in the Sui canon) rather than Chang'an (on which the Tang canon was based). Contrary to this expectation, *A sacrifice to the sea* appears more attuned to the Chang'an canon which became fashionable after 700. In *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, both readings appear equally convincing. If on these grounds one were to discredit either poem, it should be the *Sacrifice* rather than *From Hengyang*, and I so move to admit the latter as circumstantial evidence in my case.

3.2.3. Some reflections on the title.

Around 700 Hengyang 衡陽 in southern Hunan was a major station on the river Xiang 湘 for those travelling to cross the 'five ranges' 五嶺 to Guangxi or Guangdong. Hengyang was known as a point of no return for southbound travellers: even the wild geese of the Yellow River valley would hibernate there and then fly back north. The return of those daring to travel further south was uncertain.⁸ If one were to travel from Hengyang in Hunan to Shaozhou in Guangdong around 700, the shortest overland road would lead to Guiyang 桂陽 (now Chenxian 郴縣 in Hunan) and then across the Qiqu Range 崎嶇 to Shaozhou 韶州. That road was slow, difficult and not used very often, and prior to 716, when the Dayu Turnpike opened, most travellers would rather make a detour by barge to Guizhou 桂州 (now Guilin 桂林 in Guangxi) and Guangzhou. It is not very likely that Song Zhiwen ever passed through Shaozhou on his two recorded southbound journeys. It must be feared that the title of the present poem is either corrupt or a later addition.

Chinese 謁 can denote two closely related fictions: (a) to consult one's clan elder *as if* it were an audience with the emperor, or (b) to pay tribute to the tomb of a historical emperor, or hero, or ancestor, *as if* he were still alive. In Zhiwen's days, to 謁 a living person meant to go for an audience; to 謁 a deceased person was to pay tribute to his shrine. In the terms explained in 2.3. above, the *fictio* denoted in all these examples is a *praesentia realis*, the Chinese topos 謁 being the literary marker of that *fictio*.

We know from studies by McRae, Faure, Foulk and others that the *fictio* of a meditation tradition 禪宗 as a 'clan' or 'lineage' of subsequent meditation teachers and students was not current prior to 732, that is: not during the lifetime of Huineng or Song Zhiwen, who both died in 713. Considering that no one in Zhiwen's days would address a meditation teacher as his 'ancestor', 謁 in the title of the present poem must either mean 'an audience with meditation teacher Neng', if genuine, or 'a tribute to (the tomb of the dead) meditation teacher Neng', if added later.⁹ In other words: even if Wang Wei would perhaps describe an encounter with a living teacher as an 'audience', Song Zhiwen most likely would not. If 謁 in the title of the present poem were to mean 'to visit', it follows that it is an anachronism or at least that it was added after Zhiwen's death.¹⁰ As the present poem also includes a lively account of the poet's encounter with a living 'meditation teacher', the title was most probably added later. The term 'meditation teacher' itself is without prejudice to the date of the title: it was already current in mid seventh-century Tiantai and Huayan circles, witness the great Huayan monk Fazang 法藏 (643-712) and the famous Tiantai teachers Xiu 秀 (d. 706) and An 安 (d. 708), all of them 'meditation teachers'.

3.2.4. The poem: exile, refuge and catharsis

1. a. Exiled to this burned vale,
 b. My lone sail can find no berth.

2. a. Far from home: ten thousand miles,
 b. I let my eyes wander: the third of spring(s).

This is a standard opening for an exile poem. The verb 竄 'to be expelled' in EWLC makes more sense than 窺 'to spy' in WYYH, which is probably corrupt. Both may derive from an older print in which the central verb was not cut very clearly. It could also have been 寧 'to prefer' with the phonetic radical written 用, not 丁. It appears from Zhiwen's QTS 52-75 that he spent his last Spring Festival at court in 709 before leaving for Yuezhou. It would follow that the present poem was written after the spring of 710, perhaps even after the spring festival of 711 - the third spring 三春 after Zhiwen's departure.¹¹

3. a. Apes whistle at dawn near my mountain lodge.
 b. Rainbows drink the river clearing up.

4. a. The sources of the Xiang are hidden in mottled bamboo,
 b. The peaks of Heng are closed off like a stone gate.

The 'apes' or gibbons 猿 are an expatriate topos. Their song at dawn is aptly described as 'whistling' 啼.¹² As rainbows are occasionally compared to dragons, the image of a rainbow 'drinking' a river is perhaps less bizarre than a western reader might feel.

Given the toponyms in the fourth couplet, the 'mountain lodge' refers to a monastery on Mt Heng near Hengyang, not to the famous 'Precious Forest Temple' 寶林道場 on Cao's Brook in the Maba plain, 20 miles south of Shaozhou. The river Xiang flows from the Guangdong-Hunan border through the modern cities of Hengyang and Changsha to Lake Dongting 洞庭; Mt Heng was one of China's main Buddhist centres, its slopes literally dazzled with abbeys and hermitages. Although mountains also appear in Buddhist hagiography as a literary trope for the preachings of the Buddha, in this case the very explicit topographic leads given by the poet must be followed.¹³ Line 4b: 衡峰石閣閉 recalls the image of the crossbeam gate 橫門 in the *Book of Odes* 詩經, which is also a topos for a hermitage. This parallel couplet is a little gem of courtly *shanshui* 山水 poetry: a mountain, and a river. The soft river Xiang is matched to the hard Mt Heng 衡 (WYYH 行 must be corrupt); supple bamboo to rigid stone; and the undisclosed location of the bamboo wells to the hermetically closed Mt Stone Gate 石門峰 at Mt Heng. Through these associations, the secluded hermitage becomes a secret source hidden by thick bamboo shrubs -associated with the source of the Xiang.¹⁴

5. Struggling across the mountain peaks,
 Plying up against the stream.

6. In Hengyang my teacher lives,
 I take delight in this *privatissimum*.

During the High Tang, the phrase 'my teacher' became a topos in the new sub-genre of 'audience' 謁 poems to which *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* was a precursor. But where was Song Zhiwen's teacher? In Hengyang 衡陽, says EWLC; in Shaoyang 韶陽, say WYYH and QTS. I suspect the editors of WYYH, familiar with the pilgrim cult in Shaozhou during their own days, changed 'Hengyang' to 'Shaoyang'. The compilers of QTS followed WYYH while noting that a different reading existed.

7. A guest to quiet void, I wash my soul of worries.
While incense burns, pure vows resound.

8. May the gift of non-birth
Permeate my bothersome body .

These are the most intimate lines of the poem: a traveller coming to take a vow, perhaps *trisharana* 三歸 or triple refuge, maybe even followed by *pranidhana* 淨願, the vow to become an earthly bodhisattva and save all sentient beings. Both formulas are part of the so-called *bodhisattvashila* 菩薩戒 or 'savior's precepts' for dedicated laymen or *upasaka* 居士.¹⁵ It does not appear from any other sources that Song Zhiwen ever took these vows.¹⁶ The characters 洗慮 ('cleansing away my cares') also appear in Song Zhiwen's *Sacrifice to the sea*. There they refer to a nightly fast before the sacrifice; here perhaps to the setting of the altar for refuge and vows. The similarity suggests that Zhiwen's encounter at Hengyang was about initiation rather than about Zen 'enlightenment'.¹⁷

有漏軀 is the 'seeping body' (Sanskrit: *ashravakaya*). *Ashrava* means 'outflow' or 'discharge', the purulent symptom of the pains and illnesses of our mortal lives. The antithesis of *ashrava* and *anashrava* is an attribute of *nirvana*.¹⁸ Fragrance 薰 in 8b may be corrupt for ink 墨, which is naturally associated with a writing brush 聿. 聿薰 in the Collection would otherwise mean: 'the smell of the brush'. The alternative QTS reading 幸薰 would mean 'blissful smell', or, combined with 惠: (imperial) 'favor', suggesting that the favors of court life and civil service are of little use on the long and lonely road south. But the association of 幸薰 with 葷辛 (strong-smelling vegetables) comes to the mind as well. The smell of garlic, onions, and leek is not only perceivable in the breath of allivores but also adds a distinctive note to their perspiration. To a Chinese Buddhist, however, the smell of allium is a sign of impurity if not a synecdoche for the 'seeping body' described above, and a strictly Buddhist vegetarian diet 齋 rules out these 'five pungent roots 五辛' altogether. The 'blissful smell' according to QTS would then be the perfect antithesis to the impure outflows of a body used to the rich diet of court banquets. Zhiwen's program on his stop at Mt Heng probably included a period of retreat, repentance, and a strict vegetarian diet to 'cleanse away his cares', followed by *trisharana*.

9. Bodily existence dampens and pales,
The source of the soul is purified.

物用 (matter-function) is a variant of the well-known 體用 (substance and mode), but as it is preceding the verb 益 (to benefit), it would rather mean 'material gains'. 心源 is translated by Soothill and Hodous as 'the fountain of the mind; mind as the *fons et origo* of all things'.¹⁹ The intimacy of a tiny, secluded

hermitage 閑 which the mind alone is capable of feeding 源 and illuminating 日, is offset against the worldly career of powerful officials. In the next couplet, Zhiwen takes off on a spiritual journey:

10. Since I set out on this journey,
I enjoyed wandering the path, intending no early return.

What follows is a puzzle that could easily be misread as a confession to later Zen ideology:

11. To master the Law of faith and rejection,
To abandon scholarship and arts!

The two opening characters 宗師 echo 'my master' 吾師 in line 6a. 宗 is a principle or a lineage (the sub-branch of a clan 氏). The later Chan/Zen tradition understands this term in the context of teacher Neng's status as the living 'Sixth Patriarch' of what is now known as the 'Southern lineage'. Thus read, 宗師 would be an equivalent for 祖師 ('ancestor-master'). As I indicated above, the notion of such a 'lineage' of Chan Masters was still nonexistent during Neng's (and Zhiwen's) lifetime. T.H. Barrett has noted that even Chinese 祖師 ('ancestor-teacher') was used in the early sixth-century to denote a predecessor in a line of intellectual influence, and not necessarily a line of 'direct transmission'.²⁰ But in this poem, 宗師 is not a noun. Syntactically, the triad 信捨法 'faith, renunciation and the Law' (or 'the Law of faith and renunciation') is paralleled in this couplet with 文史藝 'letters, history and craft', or 'the craft of letters and history'. That opposes the compound verb 擯落 'to let go' to the compound verb 宗師, 'to master the principles of'. The couplet opposes two major written traditions of Tang China: this culture 斯文 (Bol) and Buddhism. 'This culture' yields to faith; worldly matters are renounced, the Buddha's example practised rather than the courtly arts - at least for the time being, for Zhiwen is sharing his insights with us through a courtly literary medium.

12. Meditating on this Mount Luofu,
Searching the extraordinary on the outskirts of Nanhai.

Mt Luofu 羅浮山 is really a hendiads. Mt Luo and Mt Fu are parts of a sacred Daoist mountain range stretching east from Guangzhou to the South China Sea (Nanhai can refer to both!). It appears, for instance, in Zanning's *vita* of the monk Daoxing of Luofu:²¹

'Behold Mt Luofu, 3000 yards high with 70 rock lodges and 72 major brooks, holy men and holy fowl, jade trees and vermilion weed, half immersed in the sea. Xing lived in a rock lodge, sitting quietly in meditation'.

He Ge'en's concludes that 'Luofu, although being a famous scenic mountain range, [...] is not mentioned at all in PS, HS or the stele text by Wang Wei, so that Mt Luofu and Huineng are completely unrelated'. This overlooks that both Luofu and Nanhai are topoi of the Deep South and that Zhiwen could use 'Luofu' merely to represent Mt Heng.²²

13. Why fear elves, monsters and ghosts?
I can face fevers and pests!

Monsters and miasms are the standard stock of exile verse, but the horrors of the Deep South fail to frighten Zhiwen once in his trance, freely roaming the skies of Lingnan. In line 13a, Zhiwen boasts he would drive a chariot pulled by 'mountain demons', and in line 13b that he would mount and ride the evil spirits of malaria and pestilence.

14. Looking back to my old town,
A grove of clouds obscures my view.

This classic image is borrowed from the famous shamanic song *Sorrow after departure* 離騷 in the *Songs of the South* 楚辭 ascribed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 300 BC?) :

I rise to see the splendid sky, oh!
I bow to find my home below.
My horses neigh and my grooms sigh, oh!
Looking back, they won't forward go.²³

Zhiwen tries to visualize his native town in the north and is then overtaken by emotion.

15. Writing sweetens our farewell.
My return has many years to go...

Zhiwen's exile life in the South would indeed be much worse if he were unable to write poetry. At court he used to write for a living; in exile he is writing to survive. Through the magic powers of his own verse, Zhiwen can also evoke his Master at will. The closing suggests that Zhiwen had not received his final notice from the emperor when he wrote it.

3.3. Song Zhiwen the poet

To validate the observations made in our close reading of the poem in the preceding chapter, we must determine in which context or contexts this validation should take place. Philologists would perhaps be prone to discrediting any account of a meeting between 'a famous poet and an obscure monk' (as one very well-known expert on Chinese poetry described it to me) as no more than a string of polite standard tropes and topoi. A Buddhistologist could take the opposite view that this is truly religious poetry, written by a scholar in exile who is committing himself to the Buddha's Law. It is to some extent possible to verify such claims from what is known of the career of Song Zhiwen and his contemporaries as (occasional) poets and also as (occasional) Buddhists. For this reason, the following sections deal with Zhiwen as a poet and also with Zhiwen as a Buddhist. Unfortunately, these investigations will not tell us anything about the man whom Zhiwen met: meditation teacher Neng, who might or might not be the later Sixth Ancestor Huineng. Perhaps the only question to be answered at all is where the two met: in Shaozhou, as the reading in QTS suggests, or on Mt Heng, as the other text in the Collection indicates? To validate my thesis that Zhiwen, if ever, met Neng at Mt Heng, I will analyze Zhiwen's southbound travels between 705 and 713 in a following chapter.

3.3.1. Career to 700

Being one of Wu Zetian's court poets must have been as exciting as it was demanding. Song Zhiwen and his brother-in-letters Shen Quanqi were successful because of their versatility in all genres at all times. Shen and Song 'could be courtiers, bucolic poets, song writers, or [nostalgic] moralists at will', says Stephen Owen in *The Poets of the Early Tang*, and: 'as they gained distance from their poetic *personae*, they were able to shape them for their personal needs.'¹ Zhiwen's early career had been in the military.² At 49, his first office at court was a junior tutorship 分真內教 in the Inner Lodge of Letters under Yang Jiong 楊炯 (650-694). Jiong was ten years Zhiwen's junior, but his progress through the bureaucracy had been as smooth and steady as his literary career. With Luo Binwang 駱賓王, Wang Bo 王勃 and Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰, he was one of the Early Tang's 'Four Talents' 初唐四傑. Among these four, Yang Jiong's courtly poems were of impeccable form, but his style was so bland that his poems were easily mistaken for those of his fellow courtiers, as Stephen Owen observes.³

To empress Wu Zetian, who had established her own House of Zhou in 684, the 'Four Talents' represented the ancien regime. She was fond of free heptametric songs, not the regulated pentameters of the past.⁷ Zhiwen did his best to oblige⁸. His inventivity won him several awards in poetry contests on such official events as the completion of the new Sanyang 三陽 Palace at Shicong

石淙 on Mt Song 嵩 around 700 and the imperial visit to the Longmen 龍門, or Dragon Gate Abbey between 701 and 705.⁹ His seemingly spontaneous heptameters were actually written to the strict tone schemes of the mannerist 'modern style' 今體詩.¹⁰ The empress gave Zhiwen a citation for the 'profoundness 幽' of his work but denied him a promotion because Zhiwen 'had such bad teeth', causing Zhiwen to feel 'humiliated to the end of his days.'¹¹ he was yet able to find solace in his villa in Luhun 陸渾 on the slopes of Mt Song, a few miles southwest of Luoyang. Here, close to the capital but in a beautiful natural environment, Zhiwen wrote many happy poems. Luhun gave him the opportunity to use his sophisticated poetic skills to express his feelings in a narrative of natural images that already bore the seed of the High Tang.

3.3.2. The new academics

In 700, the power balance at court changed when Zetian's trusted elder statesman Di Renjie 狄仁傑 died in office. Two commoners, the brothers Zhang Yizhi 張易之 and Zhang Changzong 張昌宗, now became her closest advisers. Zhiwen, eagerly seeking the Zhang brothers' patronage, soon became a poetic ghostwriter to Zhang Yizhi. Indeed Zhiwen's biographer Chu Chia-hsi believes that most of Zhang Yizhi's recorded court poems were actually Zhiwen's.¹² After a brief exile to Shuangzhou following the fall of Wu Zetian and the Zhang brothers in 705, Zhiwen was accredited as a court poet by the new Tang emperor Zhongzong in 707. Together with the dynastic name of the House of Tang, Zhongzong restored the old Imperial Academy of Letters 修文館 to which he appointed most of the old 'Gang of Eighteen' who had survived expatriation:¹³

Senior Academics: Li Jiao, Zong Chuke, Zhao Yanzhao, Wei Sili.

Academics: Li Shi, Liu Xian, Cui Shi, Zheng Yin, Lu Cangyong, Li Yi, Cen Xi, Liu Zixuan.

Junior Academics: Xue Ji, Ma Huaisu, Song Zhiwen, Wu Pingyi, Du Shenyan, Shen Quanqi, Yan Chaoyin, Wei Anshi, Xu Jian, Wei Yuandan, Xu Yanbo, Liu Yunji.

The new academics brought back their impressions of the deep south. The WYYH anthology contains many commissioned products of courtly poetry contests in this 'southern style' as well as private works of the new court poets: dedications, parting poems, and finally a vast amount of expatriate poetry, some in free-floating 'old style', some in 'modern' regulated verse.¹⁴ In these poems, not all that appears private was personal. Even in private poetry it was a formal requirement that the opening couplet should provide a background 景 while the closing couplet would end on a personal note 情. Between them, a number of parallel images would be inserted: two couplets for a modern 'regulated verse' 律詩, more for a 'regulated string' 排律. For a commissioned banquet poem, the prescribed mood for the closure was the sadness of parting with the host. Some of Zhiwen's early 'love songs'

were actually written when the young poet served as a commissioner of arms 參軍 and had to be away from the capital for some time. The mood prescribed for this occasion was: to pray for victory and return in triumph, and also to think of parents, wives, and children (征人思家).¹⁵ Similarly, the opening lines of expatriate poems are rife with lonely sails (Who can sail without the wind, / who can row without oars, / who can part from his old friend / without shedding tears?) and howling gibbons (My, my, they sigh), while their closing couplets are a mandatory departure for flights of wild geese carrying messages across the range to old gardens.

Song Zhiwen and Shen Quanqi were credited by later generations for having perfected the regulated pentametric verse which was considered a form of 'modern' poetry. Shun-Lung Hung thinks Shen and Song were forerunners rather than founders of the 'regulated verse movement': they cleverly experimented with the new tone and rhyme patterns that would become the trademark of High Tang poets such as Wang Wei, Meng Haoran, and Li Bai.¹⁶ Some of Zhiwen's most famous regulated poems may really be works of High Tang poets: *Crossing the river Han* (QTS 53-35) and *Crossing Dayu Range* (QTS 52-53) are 'indistinguishable from poetry written in mid-eighth century', as Stephen Owen has observed.¹⁷ Among the favorite tropes used by Shen and Song were the famous 'strings of pearls' 連珠 and 'hooked phrases' 鉤句: repetitions and inversions of motives throughout a poem.¹⁸ Hung concludes that Shen and Song were above all innovators of form rather than of contents, as

could be expected from poets in the service of an imperial house that had for more than a century shown its interest in formal courtly poetry.¹⁹

Stephen Owen's notes that Song Zhiwen (and his fellow academics Shen Quanqi and Du Shenyan) all 'began in minor official posts and rose to prominence through the patronage of the Zhang brothers'.²⁰ All three men were undoubtedly transformed by the emotional impact of their banishment to the far south. Although Du Shenyan was apparently least affected by the experience, Owen still feels that his poetry was 'sobered' by his two expatriate postings, one in Jiangsu, one in Vietnam.²¹ As to Shen and Song, Owen thinks 'Shen was the better poet'. His regulated heptameters were better and his expatriate poetry was more intensely emotional, more energetic and more imaginative. In other words, Owen would position Shen a few steps closer to the High Tang and credits him in his best expatriate poems, written between 705 and 707, for making 'a unified statement, integrating landscape and emotion in a way that court poetry never could.'²² In comparison, Zhiwen's early expatriate verse is often conventional, but his best work, dating from his second final journey south, may already have benefited from Quanqi's experiments with form, narrative and emotion. Owen praises Zhiwen's *Sacrifice to the Sea* (QTS 51-14), written in 710, for its associative unity reflecting 'natural processes of thought (...) in comparison with earlier personal narratives.'²³ Zhiwen's desire to 'cleanse away all cares' (QTS 51-14) reflects the need for crimes to be 'bathed away' expressed some five years earlier

by Shen Quanqi in another expatriate poem.²⁴ This theme recurs as the desire to 'wash all foulness' and 'find pure delights' in Zhiwen's *Lake Dongting*, and eventually as the taking of 'pure vows' in *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*.²⁵

3.3.3. The topography of a poem: utopism versus ectopism

A couple of observations by Steven Owen need to be discussed before we follow Song Zhiwen on his involuntary southern journeys and assess his infatuation with the Buddhism of his days. Owen recognizes Zhiwen's 'eremitic strain' and observes that sometimes 'the landscape is only an excuse' for the complicated narrative of his later verse. It is usually understood that expatriate poets returned to the capital with a wealth of new colors, smells and images from the south in their minds. But Song Zhiwen's sense for place and nature had been sharpened before in the more familiar surroundings of his beloved mountain villa at Luhun. Here, on Mt Song, was all he could wish for: brooks, forests, hermitages and monasteries. Luhun was to Zhiwen what the magnificent gardens of Nanking were to the eighteenth-century novelist Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹: an enchanted place of inspiration recreated in his literary work.²⁶ When Zhiwen was assistant prefect in Yuezhou, he went in retreat on Shan Brook 剡溪; on his way to Qinzhou, then lingered an entire summer in Guizhou - but his songs were still full of Luhun.

Zhiwen's expatriate poetry, in other words, appears colored by a tension between the eremitic utopy that was Luhun and his ectopic sentiments as an expatriate wanderer. 'Sense of place', says Paula Varsano, 'is one of the most effective means of expression at the poet's disposal, the Chinese landscape itself an intricate web of shared and individual perceptions, of verbal and visual cues': it is often 'the poet's careful selection of images that situates him 'here' - [which] can be almost anywhere. A delicate balance is thus struck between (...) immediacy and (...) universality.'²⁷ Varsano identifies 'Confucian' as well as 'Daoist' discourses in the treatment of space. The former is 'organized around a center'; the latter, drawing on the Zhuangzi 莊子, expresses the construct of space in terms of trajectory, either worldly or other-worldly.²⁸ Both merge in the famous *Sorrow after departure* 離騷, a 'Song of the South song' 楚辭 ascribed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 300 BC?) and full of spiritual flight 神遊 and other Daoist, or even shamanic imagery:²⁹

At dawn I leave the E'ergreen State, oh! / At dusk I reach the mountain's crest.

I halt before Celestial Gate, oh! / To see the sun sink in the west.

Varsano notices that the worldly and the other-worldly 'meet [when] Qu Yuan, 'aloft in his dragon-drawn chariot, looks down and there "sees" his native village:'³⁰

I rise to see the splendid sky, oh! / I bow to find my home below.

My horses neigh and my grooms sigh, oh! / Looking back, they won't forward go.

The song ends with Qu Yuan's vow to 'go and join Peng Xian in the place where he abides.'³¹ Peng Xian 彭咸 is a Chinese immortal and to join him means: to die. Varsano argues that 'this end [is] uniting the inner and outer - the imaginary and historical subjects - in an identical fate: immortality, a fate that escapes spatiality altogether'.³² This song is also paradigmatic for the entire genre of expatriate poetry. Zhiwen also played with its form in his farewell song to Sima Chengzhen. His southern landscapes are as full of literary and historical figures and mythical kings as is Sorrow after departure itself; and the last part of *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* with its vision of Zhiwen's old town indeed echoes the finale of Qu Yuan's spirit flight. In other words: Zhiwen and Qu Yuan share a 'centuries-long practice of using space to inscribe a subject', or rather: referring to an utopy to create a sense of ectopy.³³ According to Varsano, 'The obstacle [is] the impossibility of getting there from here: (...) to trace a path between the places cited.'³⁴

Similar obstacles appear when we try to read Song Zhiwen's expatriate poems, 'composed on the various stages of his dismal journey', as 'a kind of apprehensive diary in verse' (Schafer).³⁵ That would of course be as misguided as reading Schubert's *Winter Journey* as a Baedeker of nineteenth-century ski resorts. Zhiwen's exile poems are rather the poetic recreations of mythical, historical or literary landscapes by a scholar who felt at home with the classics and at ease in court poetry and song, but who in exile found himself bitterly nostalgic of his mountain home in Luhun and desperately trying to get 'there from here'. But his use of ectopical topoi throughout these poems gives us so many clues to places along his road, that one can indeed trace a path between some of these places.

3.3.4. Conclusion

It follows that it would be quite wrong to equal Zhiwen's encounter on his southern journey to St Paul's on the road to Damascus, or Mohammed's on his way to Mecca. Zhiwen's understanding of refuge and compassion and his intellectual interest in the *Lotus* (to the parables of which he refers in another poem: QTS 52-50, see below) are strung together like pearls in a Buddhist necklace along with Daoist and shamanic gems. Especially the images in the conclusion of *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* are a late reflection of Zhiwen's parting songs to his eminent Daoist friend Sima Chengzhen, written in 705 when Chengzhen left for Zhejiang.³⁶ Zhiwen may even have understood his experience on Mt Heng (which we might now call a trance or a guided fantasy) as a shamanic encounter. Perhaps the compassion and skillful means of the 'teacher at Hengyang' made it a little easier for Zhiwen to cope

with the horrors of exile. Or was the Master of Hengyang really some southern shaman conveniently posing as a Buddhist mystic? After all, Jordan Paper claims that mystics are really shamans out of a job, and that artists such as Song Zhiwen are but their natural heirs.³⁷

In *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, perhaps the last poem he ever wrote, Song Zhiwen goes one step beyond *A sacrifice to the sea* and *Lake Dongting*. The composition reflects his entire career as a poet in free-flowing 'old' pentameters, but retaining the tripartite form of Zhiwen's early court poems. Of the fifteen couplets, the first five are background and landscape, strung together through a skillful narrative of parallel imagery, especially the lines on the river Xiang). This is the conventional technique of Song Zhiwen's court poetry at its most mature stage. The magic words 'my teacher' introduce a poem inside the poem when Zhiwen appears to sit down with a meditator and takes refuge. This is also Zhiwen at his most abstruse, but perhaps there are things he does not want us to know. It is yet a delicate account of a close encounter with a monk who lets Zhiwen experience the foremost gift of the Buddha's example: compassion. Zhiwen's willingness and ability to share at least some of it in writing is a sample of his own skillful means.

Stephen Owen observes an 'eremitic strain' in Song Zhiwen's work, from his poems written in Luhun down to his expatriate verse. In addition, a mystic strain appears when Zhiwen, in the third and last part, sets out on a spiritual flight from which no return is anticipated. If his most personal expression is delivered in these final lines, it is about catharsis rather than enlightenment - in character with *A sacrifice to the sea* as well as *Lake Dongting*. Zhiwen is now a free spirit, as close to longevity as he ever has come -with his writing pencil as his magic wand. Gone are his fears of dying in this fetid southern hell. In the final couplet, the two agendas of Song Zhiwen's life as a poet are suddenly revealed. Zhiwen was writing for a living at court. In exile, he now writes to survive.

3.4. Song Zhiwen the Buddhist?

3.4.1. Contacts with Buddhists at Wu Zetian's court 700-705

When Song Zhiwen's friend, the court poet Shen Quanqi (d. 713) was expatriated to central Vietnam from 705-707, he wrote the following poem during a temple visit:¹

Long have I followed Shakyamuni, / oh, to study the *Nirvana!*
I sought the way for thirty years, / I found it on this southern edge. [...]
Exile proved to be good cause, / wordly cares don't bother here.

Quanqi has an entire program written out for himself:

Dwelling amid the crude, strive to sit at ease;
Living with the poor, walk around the altar for merit;
And through this non-seeping body,
I hope to contemplate no more to be born.
In the end I will have classified all things,
And fully realize the peace of those who find stillness.

These are big resolutions for a man whose entire visit to Shaolong Abbey on the eve of his journey home took but one single day. It was also unlikely that Quanqi's years ahead in the capital would leave him much time to 'dwell amid the crude' and 'live with the poor'. Yet Quanqi's poetic persona is clearly on his best behavior as a well-educated 'occasional Buddhist' - as could be expected of a former courtier who knew how to cater to the poetic and scholarly tastes of the imperial household at all kinds of Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist functions. As the local magistrate he would attend mass in the Vietnamese city's main abbey, perhaps joining the ranks of Buddhist laymen ('the crude') in the temple hall and sitting, chanting and circum-ambulating with the resident monks ('the poor'). The rest of his verse reflects the *Nirvana* which was then a popular scripture in China's deep south. Through all these stylistic *upaya*, the gifted poet Quanqi could make a single moment of occasional contemplation appear as the work of many lifetimes of religious zeal.

Like his friend and colleague Shen Quanqi, Song Zhiwen was an occasional Buddhist - a *dharma* zapper, so to say. His family is not known as sympathetic towards the 'foreign religion'. His own exposure to the Law really began in 700, when he was assigned to a team of thirty-six for the compilation of an encyclopedia of philosophy, Buddhism and Daoism. The editor of this encyclopedia in 1300 scrolls was one of the infamous Zhang brothers. Working under him were scholars such as Li Jiao 李嶠, Yan Chaoyin 彦朝隱, Xu Yanbo 徐彥伯, Zhang Yue 張說, Shen Quanqi 沈全琪, Song Zhiwen 宋之問, Cui Shi 崔湜, Fu Jiamo 富嘉謨, Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎, and others.²

Wu Zetian had commissioned this work for two reasons. In the public interest, she demanded an overview of recent Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist thought to help her develop a state ideology in order to legitimate her own 'House of Zhou'. In 690 a commentary on the *Mahameghasutra* 大雲經 presented by the dubious monk Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義 'revealed' that Zetian was an incarnation of the savior Maitreya - a blow in the face of many aristocratic scholars of the former Tang court. When Zetian had successfully recruited a new generation of talented commoners to complement the old *noblesse de plume*, she took refuge in the roots of Buddhist orthodoxy and scholastics which

apparently went down well with the older generation while giving her credit among the younger.³ But the aging empress also took a private interest in esoteric Daoist and Buddhist practices that promised longevity, or at least redemption from the sufferings of this life. To accommodate her, the Zhang brothers set up a special research unit in 699.⁴

In this intellectual environment, Song Zhiwen appears as a traditional Confucian scholar with some intellectual and artistic interest in the two spiritual systems competing for imperial patronage: the 'Chinese way' of Daoism and the 'foreign religion' of Buddhism. Zhiwen's earliest mentor at court was the Confucian scholar Yang Jiong 楊炯 (650-693), one of the 'Four Talents of the Early Tang'. When Zhiwen was working on the encyclopedia, he befriended the Daoist scholar Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647-735), believed to be the twelfth generation in the Daoist lineage of the 'Very Pure' 上清.⁵ Zhiwen's editorial job also let him socialize with such eminent Buddhist monks as Fazang, then the leading scholar on the *Avatamsakasutra* 華嚴經 or *Garland Sermons*. Following Fazang's criticism of the existing Chinese translation of the *Garland*, the empress had commissioned new translations of the *Garland* and of the *Lanka* to the visiting Khotanese scholar Shiksananda in 695. When the translation of the *Garland* was done in 699, Zetian wrote the preface. As Weinstein noted, the empress probably found the *Garland's* notion of the Buddha Vairocana presiding over a well-ordered and highly centralized universe quite an inspiring image.⁶ Zetian had Fazang ordained in 670. She also made him abbot of the imperial Taiyuan Abbey 太原寺. In 674 she promoted Fazang to a Buddhist cardinal of sorts with the honorific name of Xianshou 賢首法師.

One day in 701, a giant footprint of the Buddha was discovered in northern China. Zetian swiftly changed her reign's title to Dazu 大足 ('Bigfoot'). That same year, she summoned another eminent monk to her court with even more honors than Fazang. Her new guru was meditation teacher Xiu 秀: Daoxiu according to some, Weixiu according to others, and best remembered as Datong Shenxiu 大通神秀 (d. 705).⁷ Xiu entered the court in a grand procession, travelling in an imperial carriage, and the empress herself came out and curtseyed to him. Mc Rae identifies Xiu, whose surname was Li 李, as a member of the imperial house of Tang and a tutor to the empress' son, the later Ruizong.

That this learned monk was called a meditation teacher did not mean that his spiritual heritage was entirely different from the scholastics accredited at court. For all we know, a substantial part of Xiu's formal training had been in the Tiantai tradition of Yuquan Abbey 玉泉寺 in Jingzhou, Henan, which had been founded by Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), the great Tiantai monk who had been Imperial Teacher 國師 at the Sui court. Already in early Tiantai sources, the founding fathers of that tradition were referred to as 'meditation teachers 禪師'. Other schools had also adopted the honorific: Fazang, the paradigmatic exegete of the *Garland*, is thrice referred to in memorial steles as 'meditation teacher Fazang of Jingyu Abbey 淨域寺法藏禪師'.⁸ From the beginning of Buddhism, meditation had of course

been a central practice in all schools. In China, the Tiantai tradition stood in theory for slogans like 'all aboard the Great Vehicle' and 'everyman a Buddha' 一切成佛. In practice, they advocated lots of meditation.⁹ Faure has found the philosophical teachings of meditator Xiu at court to be very close to the Tiantai doctrines of Hongjing of Yuquan 玉泉弘景 (634-712) with whom Xiu had previously studied: 'in the eclectic atmosphere at Yuquan, Zen and Tiantai were perceived as complementary.' Like Xiu, his teacher Hongjing had also been invited by Wu Zetian to teach in Luoyang.¹⁰

Xiu's spectacular reception at court, however, ruffled a few feathers with the ordained scholastics and wealthy lay scholars in the eastern capital. They soon commissioned Song Zhiwen to address the empress in the following polite memorial (QTW 240):¹¹

Students of Buddhism from the two capitals and the faithful from all areas of China all come to the Five Gates. [...] With robes and bowls, they crowd into newlybuilt halls like schools of jumping fish; their huts cover the hillsides like lines of geese. Gathering like clouds and free as the dew, they go empty-handed and return fulfilled. [...] Mendicants should camp in the fields and Buddhist activity should be encouraged on the outskirts of the city. If they are allowed to come into the capital, they shall lose their perspective. [...] Daoxiu has forgotten all worldly [...] protocol. [...] I respectfully [...] request that the faithful from the city proceed with due religious ceremony to Longmen to listen to Daoxiu.

On receipt of this petition Zetian, who was perceptive to good counsel, went to Longmen 龍門, the cave monastery at the junction of the Yellow River and the Luo. Of the full round of long poems written to the occasion, Zhiwen's was the most appreciated:¹²

A crowd of nobles brushes through fog to the soaring Phoenix's court,
Her Majesty takes advantage of spring to visit the dragon caves. (...)
Our Empress has nothing to do with the pleasures of the Jasper Pool,
With the seasonal rains she comes to observe the springtime of the farmers.

By the end of 701, Wu Zetian left Luoyang for two years to take residence in Chang'an, the original capital of the House of Tang. Following the completion of Shiksananda's new translation of the *Garland*, she received Fazang in Chang'an to lecture on the five schools of Buddhism. He took the opportunity to claim superiority for his own teachings.¹³ Although Fazang did not mention any schools, authors or texts by name, his 'lower grades' apparently referred to Hinayana, Madhyamaka and Yogachara respectively. Tiantai, Meditation and *Garland* teachings (all of the latter being 'made in

China') were conveniently graded higher. When Fazang mentioned the 'meditation tradition' as inferior to the teachings of the *Garland*, however, he was obviously disqualifying Xiu.¹⁴

While Fazang was advocating a 'Buddhism with Chinese characteristics' to Wu Zetian in Chang'an, Xiu was developing his own 'meditation' school in Luoyang. Song Zhiwen's fellow 'Crane Groom' Zhang Yue 張說 appeared quite impressed with Xiu's spiritual qualities. He had an audience in 703 and later eulogized Xiu as being 'eight foot tall, with princely eyebrows and ears'. It may have been a generation matter: Zhiwen, the mouthpiece of the established scribes of Buddhism, against the 25 years younger Zhang Yue who would become the patron of a generation of scholars interested in meditation 禪 rather than learning 教 and in maieutics 方便 rather than hermeneutics 釋經. Zhiwen was obviously not ready to appreciate meditation teacher Xiu as heir to the great Tiantai tradition of (Northern) meditation integrated with (Southern) scholarship 教禪一至.

3.4.2. Contacts with Buddhists at Zhongzong's court 705-710

In April 706, shortly after Zetian was deposed and Song Zhiwen had left for his first expatriate tour of duty in Lingnan, meditation teacher Xiu died in Luoyang. Following his initial enternment at Longmen, his ashes were escorted six months later to Jingzhou for reburial under a *stupa* at the back of Yuquan Abbey. Xiu's old Tiantai teacher Hongjing took part in this grand cortege, as did a host of princes, dukes and other disciples. Zhiwen was commissioned with a 'parting poem to Hongjing on his way to Jingzhou':¹⁵

Three Vehicles to the Pure City return, / thousands of knights in full armor (...)

His staff and bowl rest south of Jing. / When will you return to the Imperial Town?

The 'three vehicles' are a topos borrowed from the 'burning house parable' in the *Lotus*. The 'Pure City 淨城' is a topos for a monastery as well as a pun on 荊州. the site of Yuquan Abbey. The parallel contrast between the 'Pure City' and the 'Imperial Town' underscores the tremendous respect shown by emperor Zhongzong to the old monk Xiu, born Li, who apparently was his 'uncle in orders' as well as the former tutor of his brother Ruizong. Zhiwen mentions that Xiu's pewter staff and his begging bowl, but not his robe, were taken to Jingzhou. In late 706, emperor Zhongzong donated a robe and some taffeta to another senior monk from Yuquan Abbey: meditation teacher An 安. At the same occasion, twenty-seven of An's meditation students were ordained.¹⁶ An had resided in Yuquan during the 660s. He had lived as a wandering monk, hermit and thaumaturge until the 690s, when he settled in Huishan 會善 Abbey on Mt Song as a meditation teacher.¹⁷

An died in 708 and was buried in the forests of Mt Song where his stupa was erected in 713.¹⁸ In 727, the scholar Song Dan 宋儋 (d.u.) wrote two stele inscriptions to An's memory.¹⁹ They say that An was born in the Li 李 family - perhaps the House of Tang. Zanning, however, records An's surname as Wei 韋, which could relate the old monk to the family of Zhongzong's spouse, the ambitious empress Wei. A possible explanation is that the monks who instructed Song Dan at the time may have simply told him that An 'was related to the imperial family' - a fact interpreted differently by Song Dan and Zanning. Both hagiographers mention that An had resided at some 'abbey at Mt Heng' prior to his coming to Luoyang. There is one Buddhist monastery on Mt Heng with a known direct connection to Yuquan Abbey. This Prajna 般若 Abbey had been founded in 568 by meditation teacher Huisi 惠思 (515-577).²⁰ The record of 'Old An 老安' teaching at Mt Heng, hibernating in Hunan and then flying back north, suggest that he may have been the one to bring to the attention of his Luoyang patrons the name of another meditation teacher at Mt Heng, known to him only as 'Huineng of Shaozhou'. QTW 17 contains an imperial summons to Neng, issued on recommendations from An and Xiu.²¹

A few years after An's and Xiu's death, when Song Zhiwen was at the height of his career at Zhongzong's court, Fazang and Xiu's much younger disciple Jingjue had become the most influential meditation teachers in the capital. Either through An or Jingjue, Zhiwen may have learnt at some occasion about 'meditation teacher Neng in the south'. That Zhiwen was able to trace and visit Neng at Mt Heng, as his poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* indicates, suggests that his source was An rather than Jingjue, as the latter only knew Neng from An's stories as 'Huineng of Shaozhou'. The fascinating conclusion from these likely connections among An, Xiu and Neng is that all three probably shared in the spiritual heritage of the first great Chinese meditation teacher: Huisi.

3.4.3. Zhiwen's understanding of enlightenment

At court, Zhiwen rarely wrote on his religious experiences. After 710, Zhiwen's private verses on visits to Fahua Abbey in Yuezhou are more about the misery of exile than about compassion and enlightenment. His QTS 53-26 is summarized somewhat liberally as:

Religious drones from matins to nones, / exiled immortals must stay alone.

During his brief stationing in Yuezhou, Zhiwen also wrote a poem titled *Washing silk*, listed in WYYH together with *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* under 'Buddhist sites' - perhaps because it was written for a Reverend Lu 陸 (also in QTS 51-08). Incidentally, Lu was meditation teacher Neng's laic surname. The title: 'washing silk' is a topos for a southern belle, and more figuratively for Yuezhou where Zhiwen

was writing.²² Most of QTS 51-08 is nostalgic expatriate poetry. Zhiwen alludes to the legend of the white crane that flew into the drum tower at Thundergate 雷門 near Yuezhou, the sound of which:

... meanders to my home / like hoarfrost flying from the lofty belvedere.

The white bird (transformed into hoarfrost) thus made Thundergate a topos for a Daoist immortal or recluse, but it was at the same time Zhiwen's favorite retreat around Yuezhou where he wrote to his old friends in Luoyang. The 'venerable Lu' was probably Lu Haoran 陸浩然, a famous Luoyang scholar and calligrapher who under his pen name Lu Hong 陸宏 wrote an epitaph for meditation master Xiu and retired as a recluse to Mt Song around 718.²³ Haoran not only shared his surname with the legendary teacher Huineng: his family also hailed from Fanyang. Little else is known of him.²⁴

Like in *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, the passage between the first and second parts of *Washing Silk* is marked by a hermetic couplet with unmistakably Buddhist overtones:

At first aware 覺 of chaos and confusion,
I finally realize 悟 all minds are skewed.

覺 and 悟 are the Chinese Buddhist terms for 'enlightenment'. They do not occur in *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, but 覺 appears eight times in Zhiwen's poems and seven times in Shen Quanqi's. Song Zhiwen twice qualifies this term 覺 as 頓 ('sudden perception'):

Yesternight in a secluded moonlit place the wind subsided.
Dawn comes. *Suddenly I feel* a warm, sunny breeze blowing.²⁵
The icy tide *suddenly feels* its fill, / the dark river gradually will divide.²⁶

Shen Quanqi on the other hand never qualified 覺 as 頓. 悟 occurs three times in Zhiwen's poems and twice in Quanqi's. Quanqi's *Answering the ogre* reads:

Sitting alone, practicing the *Yijing*, / pure at dawn, reciting *Lao* and *Zhuang*,
Hereby causing me to wake up to the Way, / without risking to enter into rage.²⁷

In this strange confessional poem Quanqi tells his alter ego, the ogre, that practising the 'Three Teachings', including quiet meditation and study of the Confucian *Book of Change* and the Daoist *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, provides a way out of his monstrous existence. To use a modern biochemical term: 悟 is proposed as a 'final common path' to several religious practices. That means it is not an

exclusive achievement available to Buddhist meditators only. On a different note, Quanqi parallels 悟 and 覺 in the following exile verse :

Suddenly awake, yet believing it real, / considered again, I realize it is empty.²⁸

This construction adds an outspoken Mahayana Buddhist flavor to 覺 and 悟, letting the former point to conventional (*samvriti*) truth 俗諦 and the latter to transcendent (*paramartha*) truth 真諦. In *Washing silk*, Zhiwen uses the same parallel: 覺 and 悟, appearance and essence, immanence and transcendence, delusion and delivery: the double doors of perception opened by two different kinds of enlightenment, 覺 and 悟 - of course to the extent occasional Buddhists like Quanqi and Zhiwen understood these. The final note of all these pious parallels is, however, not enlightened but nostalgic.²⁹ This becomes fully manifest in Zhiwen dazzling display of parallel topoi in *Washing silk*:

Dripping jade wings spread / ride across the clouds.
Spring winds, southern dance, / fall moon, northern flutes (...)
Reach the root and know the void / on the sandy other shore.

This is vintage Song Zhiwen, yet it is Zhiwen the virtuoso rather than the visionary. His skill to weave a string of parallel images into a tantalizing narrative lets his educated readers nearly forget where he really stands. Zhiwen appears to be in Yuezhou, halfway between north and south, and also halfway between Buddhist and Daoist rhetoric. But is he straddling a Daoist white crane, or is a fresh Buddhist insight carrying him across to the other shore? With Song Zhiwen, one almost never can tell.³⁰

3.4.4. Conclusion

Never mind that Song Zhiwen was a '*dharma* zapper': the men who took care of his literary estate were both devout Buddhists. Wu Pingyi 武平一, empress Wu Zetian's distant relative who collected Zhiwen's writings in ten scrolls, had lived as a Buddhist recluse on Mt Song from the 690s to 705. He had been a court poet at the same time as Zhiwen and had counseled two emperors, Zhongzong and Ruizong, on such familial matters as how to handle the rebel princess Taiping. Taiping's eventual execution in 713 was advised by Zhang Yue, who also persuaded emperor Xuanzong to dispose of her entire entourage. In 713, Song Zhiwen was ordered to commit suicide while Wu Pingyi was expatriated to Suzhou. From there, he may have gone to Qinzhou and obtained Fang Rong's 房融 permission to collect Zhiwen's legacy. Neither returned to the capital, but in the 720s Rong's son Fang Guan presented to the court his late father's Buddhist writings - and perhaps a copy of Wu Pingyi's *Song Zhiwen Collection*. Through the good offices of the Wu and Fang families, about thirty of Zhiwen's Buddhist poems have survived. The repatriation of the *Collection* did not add much to his

fame as a court poet, but it helped to establish the name of a monk whose fame would exceed Zhiwen's in later centuries: Huineng of Shaozhou, alias meditation teacher Neng, alias the Sixth Ancestor of the southern tradition. The encounter of the scholar and the monk may have been casual, but the former's rendition of it may still be our only contemporary account of the latter's existence - that is, if we agree to give topographical information precedence over hagiographical considerations.

3.5. Song Zhiwen the traveller

Having established that, our earliest bit of hagiographical information on the 'Sixth Ancestor' may indeed depend on a critical topographical reading of Song Zhiwen's opus - not as some 'apprehensive diary in verse', as Schafer would have, but as a cryptographic text that may contain some cues on the actual whereabouts of Zhiwen and Neng during their meeting. In the present chapter I will argue that it is unlikely that Song Zhiwen ever visited Shaozhou and that the toponym 'Shaoyang' in the QTS reading of the poem is probably a corruption.

3.5.1. The road to Lingnan

Edward Schafer writes: 'When Song Zhiwen first arrived in Shaozhou, his heart full of bitterness, he made a point of calling on Huineng. He went to his new destiny by the usual road (we have already reported Li Ao's description of it) over the Pass of Plums by way of Shaozhou.'¹ This is a probable anachronism. Schafer assumes that Zhiwen followed the same road travelled by Li Ao 李翱 in 809, nearly a century later.² As I shall argue in 4.2.1, however, the usual road to the southern circuit of Lingnan 嶺南, which included the present province of Guangdong 廣東 and the present Autonomous Zhuang 壯 Region of Guangxi 廣西, was from Hengyang to Guilin 桂林, where the prefect of Guizhou 桂州 resided. Southbound travellers would sail from Lake Dongting 洞庭湖 up the River Xiang 湘江 to Lingyuan 靈源, follow the Holy Canal 靈渠 across the Ranges, and then sail down the Gui 桂, or Li 漓, to meet West River 西江 at 端州 Duanzhou. With the exception of 15 kilometers along the Holy Canal, which was badly maintained and had to wait until 825 for the installation of state-of-the-art locks, most of this long road could be travelled in the relative comfort of a ship.³ Anecdotal evidence from the Tang era shows that the rivers south of the Ranges ran clear and could be navigated.⁴

By contrast, the 'Pass of Plums' (Meiguan 梅關) across the Dayu Range 大庾嶺 to the north of Shaozhou 韶州 prefecture (in northern Guangdong) was a very hard way to get into Lingnan - until the talented young official Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740), himself a native of Shaozhou, in 716 commissioned a toll road from Zhenchang 鎮昌 (now Nanxiong 南雄) in Shaozhou to Dayu 大庾 in

Jiangxi.⁵ Jiuling had taken his examination in Luoyang in 702, with Song Zhiwen's colleague and friend Shen Quanqi as his examiner. He returned to his native Shaozhou in 715. Having twice experienced the hardship of crossing the Dayu, he had the pass upgraded to a road. The Dayu Turnpike was inaugurated the following year. Jiuling himself wrote on the project:

Originally the neglected road at the east of the mountain range caused people hardship by its steepness. The track of several (miles) passed through dense vegetation, having the appearance of a thick forest. Rope bridges suspended at a giddy height spanned cliffs rising layer upon layer to the height of ten thousand feet. Fearful of losing one's foothold, one crossed stage by stage [and] all transports had to be carried on the backs of people.⁶

The Dayu Turnpike now became a 5 meter wide, 60 km long overland shortcut between the River Zhen 滇江 (a branch of the North River) in Guangdong and the River Gan 泔江 in Jiangxi, and a viable alternative to the road along the Holy Canal. Although this artificial mountain pass was a rocky riding trail rather than a vehicular road, it helped turn Shaozhou into a boomtown almost overnight. Jiuling also prospered: under the patronage of Zhang Yue 張說 (667-731) he was groomed to become the first Cantonese ever to serve as a prime minister. Jiuling reportedly met Zhang Yue when the latter passed through Lingnan in 703 on his way to a brief expatriate posting at Qinzhou.⁷ Zhang Yue wrote many poems on this trip. Their titles mention Lake Dongting and the lakeside prefecture of Yuezhou 岳州; Hengyang (QTS 86-24); Duanzhou 端州 and Guangzhou (QTS 88-54; 89-13); but not Dayu or Shaozhou. Zhang Yue probably never crossed the Dayu. In 703, at 37, he was in his prime. How much less likely was the elderly Song Zhiwen to take that arduous road in 705, when he was 64, or in 711, when he was 70.

Zhiwen's biographer Chu Chia-hsing and the Chan historian He Ge'en have reconstructed part of his southbound itineraries following the titles of some of his poems. He Ge'en believes Zhiwen went to Shaozhou in 705. Chu completely ignores the alleged encounter with Chan Master Neng.⁸ He Ge'en argues that Zhiwen could not have met Neng at Hengyang as Neng, according to most *vitae*, never crossed the Ranges after his ordination in Guangzhou in 663. Prior to reexamining He Ge'en's arguments, however, I shall discuss some contemporary sources on travelling conditions during the eighth century. In 723, emperor Xuanzong set standards for the quality of overland and water transportation.⁹ These standards are of course no proof that such distances could really be travelled at these rates. They were guidelines for Xuanzong's engineers to improve the conditions of overland roads and water way - and an adhortation to unwilling exiles to travel to their postings at a reasonable pace. The neglect of the empire's main infrastructure prior to Xuanzong's rule would make it likely that the standards of the Six Codes were not even nearly met around 700. Around 800, Li Ao may have

crossed the Dayu under relatively ideal conditions. Two centuries after Li Ao, however, the southerner Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064) advised against taking the Dayu Turnpike:

there are only 18 miles to be travelled on horseback, the rest depends on carriers and coolies, making it all feel like a thousand miles. Although there are three roads south of the Qi[qu], going down the [River] Zhen would be foolish.¹⁰

Yu Jing suggests that around 1050 the Dayu Turnpike had slipped back to the situation before 716 and that, like in Zhiwen's days, the detour along the Holy Canal (which at that time was in excellent shape) was to be preferred over a crossing of the Pass of Plums.¹¹

3.5.2. Zhiwen's first journey south

According to He Ge'en, 'Zhiwen left Luoyang around the Spring Festival of 705, sailing down the Grand Canal, crossing the Yangzi at Linjiang 臨江, Huangmei 黃梅 and south from there'.¹² Zhiwen's boat took him from Luoyang down to Zhengzhou, Kaifeng and Sizhou 泗州 (now Xuyi 盱眙 county in Jiangsu). Arriving at the Huaikou post station in Sizhou, where the Grand Canal joins the river Huai 淮, he wrote a poem titled *First sojourn at Huaikou* (QTS 51-40). Using an expatriate topos, Zhiwen described himself as a 'lonely barge' sailing east. When he heard the rough southern songs of the boatmen at night, he wrote that he 'would rather turn westward to Luoyang'. On April 5th, 705, Zhiwen crossed the Yangzi by barge at Linjiang Ferry to arrive a short time later at Mantang Ferry in Jiangzhou 江洲. There he wrote to his friend Cui Rong 崔融:

'Sad as I watch the river flow, / I see no one from Luoyang...'¹³

In a similar poem, *Cold Food at Mantang Station, Jiangzhou* (QTS 51-35), Zhiwen also remembered his last Clear and Bright Festival, spent in the eastern Tang capital Luoyang:

Last year at the Bridge of Luo, / this year's Cold Food at Mt Lu...¹⁴

At the Tianquan 天泉 Pond in Jiuzhou, Zhiwen wrote a short *nostalgie* on two cranes:

Ever ready to fly a thousand miles, / craving to land in a cultured place...¹⁵

Later in April, sailing up the Gan, Zhiwen reached 洪州 Hongzhou. From there he took a barge upstream from Hongzhou to Yuanzhou 袁州 (near Yichun 宜春 in Jiangxi). Some twenty miles to the

west of Yuanzhou, the corridor of Pingxiang 萍鄉 provided a shortcut to the river Lu 瀘, a tributary to the Xiang 湘, Hunan's main shipping artery. The Lu enters the Xiang twenty miles upstream from Mt Heng. *A boat ride from Hongfu* (QTS 51-24) describes the first leg of this journey:¹⁶

I left the palace on Mid Spring / on my long, sad journey to Heng 橫,
Across the Huai 淮 to the peaks of Chu 楚, where the river meets Wu 吳 and Si 汜.

From Mt Heng he went down to Guizhou and then down the Gui to Wuzhou 梧州.¹⁷ From Wuzhou, he had to follow the West River a few miles east of Kangzhou 康州.¹⁸ Zhiwen then proceeded to the main post station at Duanzhou 端州 (now Zhaoqing 肇慶, Guangdong) to charter a barge to sail up the South River to 瀧州 Shuangzhou.¹⁹

In Duanzhou, with its spectacular Xinghu 星湖 or Seven Star Crag Lake, he was deeply touched when he found poems left at the station by Du Shenyang, Shen Quanqi, Yan Chaoyin, and Wang Wujing who had passed there shortly before. Du and Shen had been travelling together on the way to their exile postings in Vietnam. When Zhiwen read their poems, he wrote a poem under the long title: *Reaching the post station at Duanzhou: there I see poems on the wall by Du [...] Shenyang, Shen [...] Quanqi, Yan [...] Chaoyin, and Wang [...] Wujing: I write this song in sorrow.*²⁰ Zhiwen and his friends had originally left Luoyang as a party of eighteen. Apparently, most travelled by way of Hengyang. Shen Quanqi mentions this 'gang of eighteen' in his *First arrival at Huanzhou* (QTS 95-20) and Mt Heng in his *Far away: crossing the Range with gentleman Du Shenyang* (QTS 96-83):

Floating south to the Vast Sea, are there people living?
Looking north to Heng's southern slope, how many flocks of wild geese?²¹

As we know it, Mt Heng here stands for a point of no return. Wild geese are believed to hibernate on its slopes and also supposed to carry messages to loved ones at home.²²

Zhiwen then sailed to Shuangzhou to take up his post as a garrison commissioner.²³ He naturally abhorred life in this malarious outpost, where howling gibbons would wake him up at night and where the noisy, smelly native population was mostly non-Chinese. He did not stay long. As soon as he heard that the old empress Zetian had been deposed, he rushed back north to Kangzhou, then upstream the West and Li rivers to Wuzhou and Guizhou and down the Xiang to Tanzhou 潭州 (now Changsha in Hunan). His first stop was a few miles north of Hengzhou. From there, he proceeded to Mt Heng (*From the source of the Xiang to Hengshan County in Tanzhou*, QTS 51-11) where he arrived in the autumn of 705.²⁴ He may or may not have planned to spend a night in one of the many religious establishments on Mt Heng, but *A late mooring on the River Xiang* (QTS 52-44) suggests

that he had to find other shelter on arrival, as monasteries in China regularly close at sunset. This poem mentions the 'three (tributaries to the) Xiang' 三湘 in southern Hunan and has the sky above Mt Heng clearing after autumn rain to suggest Zhiwen's approaching homecoming (表裏見衡山: 'Mt Heng is in my eyes and in my heart'). Zhiwen was indeed homing like a wild goose - in clear violation of his banning order.²⁵

He appears to have taken a shortcut from Lake Dongting to Jingzhou 荊州, upstream from Lake Dongting. In a rebellious mood, he writes in *First leaving the prefect of Jing*:

Pulled by five horses, I went in exile, / carrying two roosters, I come home.
My illustrious sovereign does not see me, / no nobleman would speak to me.²⁶

His itinerary from Jingzhou back to Luoyang is unknown, but one poem suggests that he eventually entered the capital on a boat sent out by a friend to meet him:

First return on board of Zhiyan's courtesy bark

One morning sailing the Kaize 凱澤, / a thousand miles away.....
I left the empire for southern ill, / now I float home back north.
With tears I meet this happy day, / yet dreaming of yesterday's pains.
I told my soul returning home: / we could not stay at that scorched place.²⁷

3.5.3. From Luoyang to Yuezhou

Under the new emperor Zhongzong, Zhiwen was rehabilitated to become an officially accredited court poet in 707. Early in 710, however, he had fallen out of grace and was assigned to Yuezhou 越州. Zhiwen soon sailed down the Yellow River from Luoyang to Bianzhou 汴州. On the way, he stayed at such Buddhist monasteries as the Fahua 法華 and the Yunmen 雲門 north of Zhengzhou 鄭州.²⁸ From Bianzhou, he sailed down the Grand Canal to Suzhou and Hangzhou, where he slept in Lingyin 靈隱 monastery. In a note to Zhiwen's poem *Lingyin Monastery*, QTS quotes the following anecdote:

Zhiwen, on arrival in Jiangnan, stayed at Lingyin Monastery. One very bright, moonlit night, he was walking up and down the corridor reciting: 'Vulture Peak on high, / dragon palace quiet'. Before long, an old monk lit a candle and asked: 'Young man, why aren't you quiet at night?' Zhiwen said: 'I wish to write a poem to this monastery, but my inspiration fails me.' The monk said: 'Why don't you write about watching the sea from the tower? We have the bore of the Qiantang at our

doorstep!' Zhiwen liked the beauty of his suggestion and wanted to visit the monk after daybreak, but he did not see him again. The monks in the monastery acknowledged to him it had been Luo Binwang 駱賓王.²⁹

This appears a charming, but rather unlikely story. Luo Binwang, one of the 'Four Talents of the Early Tang', had been working for Li Jingye 李敬業, a member of the House of Tang who rose against Wu Zetian in 684. Klopsch, however, argues that even if Binwang had survived after Jingye's defeat (and there are several detailed accounts to the contrary), Zhiwen would certainly have recognized him.³⁰ After all, Luo Binwang had written three poems to Zhiwen's name: the very long and emotional *To Song [...] Zhiwen in Jiangnan* (QTS 77-02); *Sadly seeing off Song [...] Zhiwen* (QTS 78-24); and *A farewell dinner to Song [...] Zhiwen in Yanzhou* (QTS 78-16) bear witness to their friendship.³¹

Reliable or not, this anecdote gives us an idea of Zhiwen's career in between exiles. On his first journey, he had been a relatively unknown middle-aged official literally on his way out. This time he had left Luoyang as a celebrated poet. Wherever he came, he could expect several avid readers of his oeuvre, and perhaps even an old friend who would take pride in receiving him. In Suzhou 蘇州, for instance, Zhiwen was courteously welcomed by the local prefect, to whom he wrote a rather conventional farewell poem called *Crossing the River Wu leaving Prefect Wang*.³² On a more private note, Zhiwen also wrote *Nostalgia: Crossing Wusong Creek at night* (QTS 53-27). The 'sudden icy tide' in this poem suggests that it was still very early in 710. A few days later, when he crossed the Qiantang 錢塘 estuary of the River Fuchun 富春 near Hangzhou, he sat down to write a letter of farewell to his remaining thirteen 'brothers' from the 'Gang of Eighteen'.³³

Arriving in Yezhou as assistant magistrate before the Spring Festival of 710, one of Zhiwen's first official duties was to worship the local sea god after a night of fast in February 710.³⁴ He spent much time in a hermitage on Shan Brook 剡溪, indulging in wine and poetry. Apart from a *Tribute to Yu's Shrine*, *A sacrifice to the sea* and perhaps some other titles, however, few of Zhiwen's Yuezhou writings have been preserved. It appears from his biography in XTS, however, that he was quite prolific at the time and that his poems were still required reading among the literati of Luoyang.³⁵

3.5.4. Zhiwen's second journey south

In 710, Emperor Zhongzong died. His brother Ruizong secured the throne for his own son Xuanzong who in 711 decided to purge the entire *ancien regime*. Song Zhiwen was exiled to Qinzhou 欽州 in Guangxi.³⁶ He Ge'en writes: 'If Song Zhiwen left [Luoyang] halfway the Spring Festival of 710, he could have reached Shaozhou by the end of the third month [...] As a rule, those under the governor of

Guangzhou all went to Shaozhou. Those under [the governor of] Guizhou, Rongzhou, Yongzhou and the prefectures in the protectorate of Annam would probably travel by way of Guizhou. Whether they would enter Shaozhou across the Dayu Range or by the river dike of Lechang is uncertain.³⁷

I have some doubts about this proposition. Firstly, no one travelling south prior to 716 would go to Shaozhou if that prefecture were not his final destination. Secondly, He Ge'en assumes for no apparent reason that Zhiwen had to report back in Luoyang before he was sent down to Qinzhou. There is no general evidence that such was the usual Early Tang protocol for officials in between exiles. In the absence of specific evidence that Zhiwen travelled from Yuezhou to Luoyang before he went further down south, or that the emperor had special reasons to see Zhiwen before sending him on a journey primarily designed to dispose of him, He Ge'en's assumption that Zhiwen's journey from Luoyang to Shaozhou took him 'no more than 41 days' is merely based on an extrapolation of the standards set by Xuanzong in 726. Thirdly, if protocol required a courtesy call to one's directly responsible governor on the way south, Zhiwen, who was posted at Qinzhou, would have to see the governor of Guizhou 桂州 or Yongzhou 邕州 (now Yongning 邕寧 in Guangxi), not Guangzhou.³⁸ It appears from Zhiwen's poems that he indeed called at the governor of Guizhou, who happened to be his old friend Wang Xiao 王曉.³⁹

From Yuezhou 越州 to Guizhou, Zhiwen probably took the relatively comfortable and familiar road upstream the Yangzi to Yuezhou 岳州 on Lake Dongting and from there upstream the Xiang to Hengzhou. As the elderly poet was in no hurry to reach his destination, travelling at a leisurely pace may have suited him well. One title in QTS (*In Jingzhou and again to Lingnan*; not in the *Collection*) and another, recently retrieved by Chen Xiangjun, indicates that he sailed upstream as far as Jingzhou 荊州 or even Kuizhou 夔州 (now Fengjie 奉節 in Sichuan).⁴⁰ Given Zhiwen's earlier call to prefect Zeng, the purpose of his detour to Jingzhou could be a visit to an old friend. Perhaps Zhiwen even wanted to see two old friends, for the old and very venerable Tiantai monk Hongjing 弘景, whom Zhiwen had known at the imperial court in Luoyang, was spending his final years in the nearby Yuquan 玉泉 monastery.⁴¹

The bittersweet opening couplets of *In Jingzhou and again to Lingnan* read:

Dreaming at the pond in the autumn sun, / one lone cloud, wutungs at dusk .
Now I fly back on eagles' wings, / to the crowd of francolins.⁴²

The Chinese francolin (*Francolinus pintadeanus*) is a resident of South China. Tang poets understood its cry as 'Just south, not north!' If Zhiwen mentions 'flying back' to the francolins, he implies that he is

turning south and does not expect to return. Although the motive of the poem is obvious enough , there is not a clue as to where Zhiwen wrote it .⁴³

From Yuezhou 岳州, Zhiwen crossed Lake Dongting a second time.⁴⁴ In three long old pentametric poems 五古 written after his departure from Luoyang in 710, Zhiwen repeatedly expresses a desire to 'cleanse away all cares', to 'wash off all foulness' and to 'find pure delights' and take the 'pure vows' of refuge. His friend Shen Quanqi had touched on such themes when he wrote an 'old pentameter' on a visit to Shaolong Monastery in Huanzhou (in northern Vietnam) during his brief expatriation in 706. In Zhiwen's hands, Quanqi's quietist topos of the cathartic effect of expatriation took the literal shape of ritual ablutions and, eventually, resolutions and refuge in the Buddha's Law:

Exile proved to be good cause,
Worldly cares don't bother here.

(Shen Quanqi, *Shaolong Monastery*, 706)

Earnestly worshiping the sea in spring,
I fast at night, cleansing away all cares.

(Song Zhiwen, *A Sacrifice to the Sea* , 710)

I shall wash from me all foulness forever,
And to the end of my days find pure delights.

(Song Zhiwen, *Lake Dongting*, 711?)

A guest to quiet void, I wash my soul of worries.
While incense burns, pure vows resound.

(Song Zhiwen, *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, 712?)

When he reached Mt Heng in the summer of 711, Zhiwen apparently took refuge with a meditation teacher Neng - perhaps the Neng who later rose to ancestral fame. Zhiwen may have hibernated at Mt Heng until the new year of 712. Then he proceeded to Guizhou. On his way, he first made a stop in Xiangyuan 湘源 where he dedicated a solemn quatrain in tribute 謁 to the shrine of the mythical Consorts of Yao 二妃廟):⁴⁵

Return to precious golden rooms,
Linger at treasured banquets in awe.
Mountain sprits weep from dawn to dusk...

The rooms and banquets evoke Zhiwen's halcyon days at court. Now a mere 'weeping mountain spirit', Zhiwen next 'crossed the range' to Lingnan, following the old Holy Canal, he also wrote the following little known poem:

Cormorants shear on the waves, / flurrying to greet the frost.
The more I look north for wild geese, / the more I miss my home.
People walk high up the range, / their words resound in the pass.
My old garden now at night / must wear its winter coat.⁴⁶

Although cormorants are common throughout China, the fishermen on the river near Guilin are particularly famous for using these tamed birds to dive for fish. As a topos they are of little interest (Schafer ignores them in *The Vermilion Bird*), but Zhiwen's reference to the river waves and the mountain range both suggest a border crossing into Lingnan. The frost also evokes early winter, when Zhiwen felt that it was wiser to trade the harsh continental climate at Mt Heng for the mild winters of Lingnan. But the legend of the Two Consorts still was working his mind when he arrived in Shi'an 始安, the prefectural seat of Guizhou, and he wrote a poem on his visit to the divine king Shun's shrine there.⁴⁷

Zhiwen then spent a long, happy summer with Wang Xiao in Guilin wining, dining and improvising poetry at the Fancyfree Tower 逍遙樓 restaurant (QTS 53-53). He stayed in the scenic city from Double Third (QTS 51-43) till late fall (QTS 53-20), making trips down the river Gui to Longmu 龍目灘 (QTS 53-33) and Dawn Cliff 黎壁.⁴⁸ After the summer, he sailed down to Wuzhou and Duanzhou, where he wrote *Leaving attendant Yuan in Duanzhou* (QTS 52-54). He Ge'en identifies this Yuan as Yuan Shouyi 袁守 — who was exiled to Duanzhou when Ruizong ascended the throne in 710.⁴⁹

From Duanzhou, Zhiwen followed the West River down to Guangzhou 廣州, witness his poem *First entering West River from Duanzhou* (QTS 53-34). In Guangzhou he socialized with the local prefect (*Prefect Zhu of Guangzhou watching whores*, QTS 53-57): and visited the impressive tomb of the King of Southern Yue.⁵⁰ It is remarkable how many old friends Zhiwen actually saw on this journey: prefect Wang in Suzhou, prefect Zeng in Jingzhou, governor Wang Xiao in Guizhou, attendant Yuan in Duanzhou, and finally that jolly connoisseur of the Flowery Barges of Guangzhou, the whore-hopping prefect Zhu. These wayside encounters are useful tags to trace Zhiwen's itinerary.

After Guangzhou, however, the wilderness began. Some titles of poems imply that Zhiwen sailed down the coast like Zhang Yue before him. Three others suggest that he travelled upstream the Xun 潯 and Man 蠻 and then went across the mountains to Qinzhou.⁵¹ As evidence in Zhiwen's itinerary of 711 or 712, these titles are less than inconclusive. I rather assume that Zhiwen sailed along the west

bank of the Pearl River down from Guangzhou, passed through the Yamen Straits 崖門 (called the 'Great Western Channel' by early Western merchants) and then followed the South China Sea shore. Two titles in the *Collection* suggest that Zhiwen stopped at Yaikou 崖口 - perhaps Haikou 海口 on Hainan island.⁵² In Yaikou, Zhiwen wrote a poem to his old friend and fellow academic Li Shi 李適:

At jasper ponds I may be Laozi's heir,
On cinnabar sands I can learn from the immortals.⁵³

Zhiwen may have dreamt of jasper ponds and other Daoist images of longevity, but his days were really numbered when he reached Qinzhou in 713. There he received an imperial order to commit suicide as a former member of princess Taiping's entourage.⁵⁴

3.5.5. From Hengyang to Shaozhou?

He Ge'en dates the following fifteen poems to Zhiwen's first southbound journey:⁵⁵

1. QTS 52-49 Cold Food at Linjiang Station, Huangmei
2. QTS 51-35 Cold Food at Mantang Station, Jiangzhou
3. QTS 51-24 A boat ride from Hongzhou
4. QTS 52-52 Motto to the station north of Dayu Range
5. QTS 51-23 Early Leaving Dayu Range
6. QTS 52-53 Crossing Dayu Range
7. QTS 53-22 Written on the way from Shixing Brook to Xu's Village
8. QTS 52-50 Visiting Guangjie Abbey in Shaozhou
9. QTS 53-32 Early leaving Shaozhou
10. QTS 53-33 Early entering Qingyuan Gorge
11. QTS 53-22 Climbing the King of Yue's Terrace
12. QTS 53-57 Prefect Zhu of Guangzhou watching whores
13. QTS 53-34 First entering West River from Duanzhou
14. QTS 51-36 At Duanzhou Station seeing posters by Du V Shenyang, Shen Quanqi, Yan Chaoyin, and Wang Wujing, I Write in Sorrow
15. QTS 53-19 Entering Shuangzhou River

I must deal here with the titles numbered 4 through 9, which all suggest a visit to Shaozhou by Song Zhiwen in 705, the year of his first brief southern exile. In the preceding sections, it was argued that such a visit was neither following logically from the final destinations of these two southern journeys nor consistent with the rest of his itineraries. I will begin with the beautiful *Visiting Guangjie Abbey*:

Incense burners, shady halls, / quiet frost on crimson walls.
Elephant birds flee their nests, / rain. An idle blossom rests.
Precious dawn, the food is bland, / golden pools reflect the sand.
Don't despair: outside the gate, / for the road home three carts wait.⁵⁶

The opening evokes a quiet monastery on a wintery day. The early winter mornings in Shaozhou can be frosty, but the 'frost' in the second line may also refer to the gray crystalline scale on the outer walls of older Chinese buildings. Bronze statues of 'elephant birds' have been excavated in Sichuan and were probably used in southern elephant cults.⁵⁷ The 'bland food' suggests an early vegetarian meal following the matins. The closing verse follows the form of the traditional parting lines of a banquet poem, with the Buddhist topos of the 'Three Vehicles' (from the *Lotus*) adding to the effect. Indeed the 'road home' recalls an old topos in the work of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明(365-427): 歸去來 ('returning home') . In the present poem, the reference is to taking (triple!) refuge. The title, however, must be an anachronism. As I will argue in section 4.3.3, below, the monastery at Renshou Terrace 仁壽臺 on the West Bank of the North River near Shaozhou was redeveloped and renamed 廣界寺 Guangjie Abbey in honor of the late Chan Master Daoguang 道廣 (675-743), a thaumaturge or 'living Buddha' from Hunan who claimed to have studied with Huineng and who later resided at Renshou Terrace.⁵⁸

The first northern literate locally associated with Guangjie Abbey is not Song Zhiwen but the colorful Fang Rong 房融, another of the famous 'Gang of Eighteen' exiles. Fang Rong succeeded Zhiwen in 713 as governor of Qinzhou. Fang Rong is usually credited with the authorship of a famous Chinese Buddhist apocryphon, the *Surangamasutra* 首楞嚴經.⁵⁹ After 740 his son Fang Guan 房棺 presented his father's *magnum opus* to Xuanzong's court . As Fang Guan appears to have cared less for his father's poetry, there is only one of Fang Rong's poems left, albeit under three different titles:

- a. *Exiled to Nanhai: visiting the venerable Guo 果 at Guangsheng 廣勝 Abbey in Shixing (or: Guangjie Abbey in Shaozhou, QTS 100-07)*
- b. *An expatriate official 謫官 passes by an abbey on Vulture Peak (SG).*

The second couplet of the QTS version of Fang Rong's poem reads:

方燒三界火	Just as I burn the fire of the three realms,
遽洗六情塵	I hurry to wash off the dust of the six perceptions.

Not surprisingly, the favorite topos of 'katharsis in exile' used in several poems by Shen and Song is echoed in this Buddhist verse by a lesser poet in the 'Gang of Eighteen'. Its style and format are both so similar to the poem *Visiting Guangjie Abbey* that we may even consider ascribing the latter to Fang

Rong instead of to his old friend Song Zhiwen. The authorship of early Tang expatriate poetry is indeed disputed in many instances. In the absence of separate collections of poems by a single author, QTS is often our only reference in the case of poets such as Yang Jiong (650-792), Song Zhiwen's former tutor. Although Yang Jiong never travelled south, the following poem which is full of very specific references to places in Qujiang county, has been ascribed to him:⁶⁰

Seeing off the recluse Yang retiring to [...]Qujiang

Back to Wild Geese Gate 雁門, faraway, / where the old monk's robe waits.

Guest in a drab monastery, / then back home to Cao's Brook 曹溪:

Millenary trees of jade, / yellow blossoms never fade.

Boundless sadness! Now farewell! / at your gate the Guishui 桂水 flows.

Cao's Brook needs no further discussion here. A rivulet called Guishui is located a few miles northeast of modern Shaoguan, not too far from Zhang Jiuling's tomb.⁶¹ Jiuling refers to this Guishui in a nostalgic poem under the motto *Staying at Huaiyang Gazebo*:⁶²

My old town upon the Guishui, / becomes the Milky Way at night .

Huaiyang Gazebo is not in Shaozhou but in Jiangnan, on the junction of the Grand Canal and the river Huai, and Zhang Jiuling's *Staying at Huaiyang Gazebo* is not an exile poem but a *reverse* exile poem: Jiuling wrote it during an official trip to to the capital. Interestingly, QTS and the *Song Zhiwen Collection* both ascribe the same poem to Song Zhiwen. The *Collection* also mentions an ascription to Zhang Jiuling. From their topographical contents, the conclusion appears justified that both *RecluseYang* and *Huaiyang Gazebo* were Jiuling's work. Why such typically southern poems by this great statesman ended up in the collected works of two court poets from the generations of the 'Four Talents' and the 'Gang of Eighteen' respectively, remains open to further study.

As shown in *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, Song Zhiwen himself was not afraid of making explicit topographic references. There is no shortage of rivers, shrines and other famous spots in his verse. When such internal references in a poem are found to contradict the topographical reference in the title and the authorship is not in dispute, the next assumption is that the title was added later. This is most obvious in *Crossing Dayu Range*, which concludes with a reference to Changsha in Hunan, where the legendary exile Jia Yi had died in 166 BC.⁶³ Zhiwen, who knew and loved the story of Jia Yi, once again used his poetic imagination to turn his predicament into a grand tour through a literary landscape, rife with associations of mythical kings and martyrs. Zhiwen apparently wrote this poem in Changsha; the title *Crossing Dayu Range* was probably a later addition. *In modo generalisando*, the

same may apply to the *Motto to the station north of Dayu Range*, Song Zhiwen's only entry in the standard anthology of *300 Tang Poems*:

江靜潮初落	The river is pausing in between tides,
林昏瘴不開	The forest miasm is too thick to clear.
明朝望鄉處	Tomorrow morning, looking homeward,
應見隴頭梅	I will see plum blossoms on top of the barrow.

Although plum blossoms officially gave their name to Meiguan ('Plum Pass') on the Dayu Turnpike in 1063, they did not exclusively allude to that pass in Zhiwen's days. Yet the latter day editors of this elegant poem obviously misread 梅 in the final line as a topos for the Dayu Turnpike and decided that as the poet refers to 'looking homeward' the other day, he must have been sojourning on the north side of the famous pass. It did not occur to them that there is no river at this mountain station where ebb and flood can be perceived. To watch a river 'pausing in between tides', one must go to an estuary like the Pearl River - or the river at Shuangzhou 瀧州 where Zhiwen was posted in 705. All the images make perfect sense once we figure Zhiwen looking at the river, himself halfway between the tides of arriving and leaving, and anticipating his return to his beloved villa at Luhu.

A similar point can be made regarding *Early leaving Jiangkou in Shixing for Xu's Village* 徐氏村 (or *Lingchang Village*).⁶⁴ The title mentions Jiangkou 江口, a township east of Shaoguan, where the River Ye joins the Zhen.⁶⁵ In Zhiwen's days, Jiangkou was part of Shixing County under the jurisdiction of Shaozhou. The poem itself, however, mentions the 'Terrace of Yue 越臺' in Guangzhou which is also featured in QTS 53-22.⁶⁶ Zhiwen goes on describing a panorama of 'waning moons' reflected inside shells and praying that a giant bird would kindly carry him across the mountain range, away from the land of howling gibbons and back to his old villa garden. There should be no doubt that he is experiencing all these nostalgic feelings while looking at the Pearl River. That he is, in Schafer's translation, 'awaiting the dawn to cross the peaks of Min' merely indicates where his thoughts are flowing: across Jiangxi and Fujian, and then back to Luoyang.

As we are left with very little evidence that Song Zhiwen ever wrote a poem about Shaozhou, or Shixing, or the Dayu Turnpike, the zero hypothesis that he never went there appears difficult to refute. Looking at the topography inside the poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, there is even less reason to believe that it was written at or on the occasion of a visit to Shaozhou. The landscapes described are Mt Heng and the upper Xiang in southern Hunan, not Cao's Brook. He Ge'en was probably right when he did not include *From Hengyang to Shaozhou* in his list of titles dating from Zhiwen's first expatriation, but this appears inconsistent with his choice to include the numbers 4 through 9. But He Ge'en did not question Song Zhiwen's visit to Shaozhou. His point was rather that:

PS and HS both say that young Neng first went to [Lechang] to practice [zazen]; then to Huangmei for an audience with the Fifth Ancestor; [he] returned to the south by way of the Dayu Range; he never ever went to Hengyang. I suspect that 'Hengyang' instead of 'Shaoyang' in the East Wall *Collection* is an error!⁶⁷

This hagiographical argument is not appearing any stronger when one notes that neither the Dunhuang PS manuscripts nor the HS manuscript kept in Japan mention Shaoyang. Perhaps we must review the topographical and hagiographical contexts of that toponym.

3.5.6. The question of 'Shaoyang'

The toponym Shaoyang appears in Zanning's hagiography of Neng, written around 1100:

Under the Tang, Huineng of Shaozhou, now Nanhua Monastery [...] went [from his native town] to Shaoyang 韶陽 [and] met Liu Zhilue [and] was given the old old monastery at Precious Forest to live in. [After his death] at the age of 76, he was reinterred at the source 源 of Cao's Brook in the 11th month of that year .

Sections 3 and 29 of HS, written around 780, have the following version of this story:

In the said year Great Teacher , then thirty years old, wandered off to Cao's Brook and fraternized with the villager Liu Zhilue. [In 713, his remains were] returned to Cao's Brook. [In] the 11th month of that year, the funeral and burial were held.

Zanning may appear to be misquoting HS here, but then we do not know which other sources of this story he consulted. As Zanning explicitly mentions Song Zhiwen's poem *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, however, his source for the toponym may be a copy of that very same poem - a copy of the version containing the line 'My teacher is in Shaoyang'. If Shaoyang was an accepted name for Shaozhou in 1100, it should be possible to trace back its earlier appearance in contemporary topographical and literary sources. YH, however, compiled around 810, only gives the name of the city as Shixing 始興 or Shaozhou City 韶州城 in Qujiang 曲江 County.⁶⁸ A gazetteer compiled by Yue Shi 樂史 during the Taiping 太平 era (around 980) tells the toponymic history of Shaozhou as follows:⁶⁹

Shaozhou: Shixing commandery, now governing Qujiang county;
'Yangzhou City 揚州之城' (Tribute of Yu 禹貢); entirely Chu 楚 territory during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States; under

Nanhai 南海 commandery during the Qin, under Guiyang 桂陽 during the Han. Shixing commandery was founded here in [A.D. 265]. During the Jin, emperor Ming of Song 宋明帝 changed it into Guangxing 廣興 commandery; emperor Gaozu of Qi 齊高祖 changed it back to Shixing. Emperor Yuan of Liang 梁元帝 founded East Hengzhou 東衡州 at the commandery; in [A.D. 589], when Chen 陳 was pacified, East Heng became Shaozhou 韶州, named after the Stones of Shao 80 li to the north of the prefecture, but it was still part of Shixing commandery.

The famous Stones of Shao 韶石 are in the modern Danxia 丹霞 resort between Renhua Town 仁化鎮 and the north bank of the Zhen 瀘水 in northern Guangdong. The area north of the river has been a favorite site for Buddhist laymen to retreat from the tenth century onward. Around 1200, some permanent Buddhist settlements developed there, but no significant Buddhist activity prior to 716 has been reported in contemporary sources.⁷⁰ It is hence not very likely that 'Shaoyang' refers to the area of the Stones of Shao proper, although it could be referring to a city located 'on the sunny side (= to the south) of Shao. The gazetteers do not indicate, however, that Shaozhou was ever known under that name. Yue Shi 樂史 gives the following chronology for Shaozhou under the Sui and Tang:⁷¹

Year :	Name:	Under the administration of:
601	Qujiang county	Panzhou 番州 (= Guangzhou)
603	Qujiang county	Nanhai commandery (= Guangzhou)
621	five counties, incl. Qujiang	Panzhou (= Guangzhou)
627	Shaozhou (less two counties)	Panzhou
634	Shaozhou (incl. two new counties)	Panzhou
742	Shixing commandery	Panzhou
758	Shaozhou	Guangzhou
950	Shaozhou (less two counties)	Guangzhou

Neither Yue Shi nor the gazetteer compiled in 1271 by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之 mentions Shaoyang 韶陽 as an official name of Shaozhou. The toponym is not in the titles of any poems by Zhang Yue or Zhang Jiuling either. Instead, Jiuling refers to his native town several times as 'Shixing' or 'Shixing commandery 始興郡'.⁷² Xu Hun 許渾, however, a prolific poet from Danyang 丹陽 who graduated in 832 and served in office in Guangzhou around 850, appears in QTS with the following titles :

- QTS 534-33 *Late supper at Shaoyang Pavilion, Shaozhou ,*
 (or: *To a pavilion at Shaozhou station*)
- QTS 535-06 *Night rain at Shaoyang in early fall*
- QTS 535-22 *To Prime Minister Lord Cui at Shaoyang*

There is no mentioning of Shaoyang in the texts of any of these poems. Schafer identifies the Shaoyang Pavilion where Xu Hun enjoyed a 'cup of jade and gemmy zither, close to the River of Stars' as a classy restaurant at a mountain resort in Qujiang county.⁷³ This is Schafer's interpretation of Wang Xiangzhi's listing of Shaoyang Pavilion in 1271 among the scenic spots 景物 of Shaozhou, with Xu Hun's *Late supper* as his only literary source.⁷⁴ The 'River of Stars' apparently echoes the 'Milky Way' in Zhang Jiuling's *Huaiyang Gazebo*; it may indeed have been understood as a topos for the Guishui in Qujiang county. The Shaozhou ferry station was near the old Han city on the east bank of the North River - indeed the site of the present Shaoguan railway station. If the Shaoyang Pavilion was any near the ferry station, its name suggests that it was at some place to its south, perhaps facing the junction of the Zhen and the North River. In a wider sense, Zanning's reference to Shaoyang also implies that the Sixth Ancestor went to some place south of Shaozhou. It is then obvious that Zanning was also referring to Cao's Brook. Unlikely as it may appear that Zanning's 'Shaoyang 韶陽' points to any other place than the famous Cao's Brook to the south of the city of Shaozhou, we may as well look briefly into the following historical southern toponyms, all written with the phonetic 召 [shiauw] :

- a. Shaoyang 邵陽 in Hunan, to the west of Tanzhou (now Changsha);
- b. Zhaozhou 昭州 (now Pingle 平樂 county) in Guangxi; and
- c. Shaoshan 韶山, a Hunanese hamlet between Changsha and Hengyang.

As to a., Pulleyblank gives the Late Mandarin Chinese (LMC) pronunciation of both Shao 韶 and Shao 邵 as [shiauw], but with different tones: Shao 韶 has a level tone, Shao 邵 has a departing tone. This makes confusion of the two by a Tang copyist less likely - unless such confusion was caused by two copyists speaking very different dialects.⁷⁵ As to b., Pulleyblank lists the words Shao 韶 and Zhao 昭 with the same (level) tone, but with the different LMC pronunciations ([shiauw] and [tsiauw]).⁷⁶ Once again, confusion between Zhao and Shao by a Tang copyist is unlikely. Interestingly, Yue Shi also mentions Zhaozhou as the seat of Guilin 桂林 commandery under the Qin 秦.⁷⁷ As to c., Mao Zedong's native Shaoshan was named after the nearby Mt Shao (韶山 or 韶峰), one of the 72 hills constituting Mt Heng 衡山. There also happens to be a River Shao 韶 in Shaoshan which is also known as the Silver River 銀河, translated more freely as the 'Milky Way' or indeed as the 'River of Stars'.⁷⁸ This suggests as a fascinating new hypothesis that the place named 'Shaoyang' was itself located 'south of Shao' at Mt Heng, that is: on the north bank of the river Shao 韶 and/or on the

southern slopes of Mt Shao 韶. It could even be both, as Mt Shao is actually located to the south of the river Shao.⁷⁹ This proposition is obviously not compatible with our earlier reading of Song Zhiwen's poem with 'Hengyang 衡陽', for Shaoshan and its mountain and river are not on the sunny side of Mt Heng where the majority of its medieval Buddhist settlements can be found.

Yet the fact that both 'Hengyang' and 'Shaoyang' can be constructed as references to different sites in the Mt Heng area, while 'Shaoyang' is only known as a poetic name for Shaozhou that is first mentioned in the title of a poem from the 850s (which does not necessarily imply that the title is of that same period) and never figured as an official name of Shaozhou, all point into the same direction: Song Zhiwen probably met his teacher on Mt Heng, not in Shaozhou. That the hagiographies of the Sixth Ancestor do not mention that he ever lived at Mt Heng is less relevant: after all, they suggest that the Sixth Ancestor crossed the Dayu Turnpike on his way back south, fifty years before that road was opened.

Notes to Chapter 3.1

1. Zanning, *Vitae*, 383-572; Yampolsky, *PS*, 78n; Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 284n; He Ge'en, *passim*.
2. According to a facsimile of the printed 'East Wall Library' edition of the Song Zhiwen Collection (EWLC). Cf. QTS 51-17. Poems in QTS are identified in the present study by scroll and number following the critical edition in 900 scrolls (Peking 1960); Song Zhiwen's poems are in scrolls 51, 52, 53 and 54. An 'old poem' 古詩 was a rhyming poem in metred verse, but with free tonality. A 'poem in the modern style' 今體詩 had to answer to complicated new conventions of structure and tonality.
3. 唐詩記事, a collection of poems and anecdotes on their poets. See Wilkinson, *Manual*, 569.
4. *Cihai* 2307.
5. *Old and Fine* 2010, nr. 9023.
6. *Old and Fine* 2010, nrs. 6986 and 15168.
7. SBCK.
8. EWLC 1-020. In my numbering of Zhiwen's poems in EWLC, the first digit refers to scroll 1 or 2.
9. Zhang Yuanji, q. in Wan, *Catalogue*, 35
10. WYYH 11-12. If Leys is right that Chinese connoisseurs value rareness as the major determinant of artistic excellence, it is probably but for its rareness that WYYH with all its textual shortcomings is considered a work of exceptional value. See Owen, *Early T'ang*, xiv, and Leys, *3H*, 35-44.
11. See Chen, QTS.
12. WYYH 6256. A commandery 郡 was a military district, equivalent with a Tang prefecture 州. Early medieval Chinese toponyms are full of pitfalls. Researchers are easily misled by false friendships between medieval and modern names. Guiyang and Guilin are really two different places. Modern Guiyang 桂陽 County in southeastern Hunan was known in Zhiwen's days as Pingyang 平陽. The

Guiyang 桂陽 of Zhiwen's days was 100 miles further south in Lianzhou 連州 (now Lianxian 連縣.) Guilin 桂林, Lin'gui 林桂 or Shi'an 始安 was the prefectural seat of Guizhou 桂州 in modern Guangxi 廣西 - not to be confused with the capital of modern Guizhou 貴州 province, which is Guiyang 貴陽.

Notes to Chapter 3.2.

1. The first phonetic transcription follows Pulleyblank's Late Middle Chinese transcription (Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*). The second phonetic transcription is in modified CPA 漢語拼音, rendering IPA [y] as 'yu'.
2. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 22-52.
3. Tr. in Owen, *Early Tang*, 379.
4. In imperial China, officiants would fast on the eve of a major sacrifice. For the solstice offerings at the Altar of Heaven 天壇 in Peking by the Ming and Qing emperors, a Hall of Retreat had been built.
5. CPA in italics; text between [square brackets] based on Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 11. Cf. Shakespeare's Sonnet CXVI ('Let me not to the marriage of true minds'), where 'love' at the end of the second line and 'remove' at the end of the fourth belong to one rhyme group. Although these sounds do not rhyme anymore in modern English, they did in Shakespeare's days. The analysis of rhymes helps us to date 'old verse' as:
EMC: Early Middle Chinese or Sui, the educated 'mandarin language' of around 600 AD, based on the older court language of Luoyang (known as Go'on 吳音 in Sino-Japanese);
LMC: Late Middle Chinese or Tang, the lingua franca of the empire around 800 AD, based on the court language of Chang'an (known as Kan'on 漢音 in Sino-Japanese);
CPA: and finally late twentieth-century Mandarin, written in Chinese Phonetic Alphabet 漢語拼音.
Reconstructions of Middle Chinese pronunciation by Karlgren and recently by Pulleyblank are based on Chinese rhyme dictionaries surviving from those three periods (see Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 1-21).
6. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 15. The Tang rhymes are in the [Xhja:] or Xie 蟹 group of 'outer rhymes', which includes the finals [aj], [a:], [iaj], [uaj] and [yaj]. The Yuan pronunciation appears to produce two imperfect rhymes: between the couplets 7 and 8 [si'-xuj'] and between 14 and 15 [pi'-suj'], but these anomalies also interrhyme within the so-called Qiwei 齊微 rhyme group, Pulleyblank 1994, 9.
7. The aberrant rhymes belong to the 屋 ([ewk], [uwk]) and 支 ([ie]) groups of the Sui Rhyme canon. According to the Tang rhyme canon, every tenth syllable rhymes within the so-called [Ngye] or Yu 遇 group of 'inner rhymes', which includes the sounds [ea/ue], [ie/ye], [ue], and [ye]. Pulleyblank, 15-16.
8. Hengyang was the prefectural seat of Hengzhou 衡州, which under the Sui had been Hengyang 衡陽 commandery. Canton, the old capital of Guang Prefecture 廣州, is still called Guangzhou 廣州. In the Tang, unless specified otherwise, the name of a prefecture (ending on -zhou 州) referred to the prefectural seat in the main city. Hence, 'Hengzhou' could then refer to the entire prefecture of Heng as well as to the city that is now Hengyang; 'Guizhou' to the prefecture, or its main city Guilin; and 'Guangzhou' could also be either the city or the prefecture.

9. Neng's remains were allegedly kept in the basement of a pagoda or stupa at Cao's Brook.
10. See for the invention of this 'Patriarch Zen 祖師禪': Barrett, 'Kill'; Gregory and Ebrey; McRae, *Northern School*; Foulk, 'Myth, Ritual', 150-159; Faure, *Will*; Faure, *Mal*; Faure, *Insights*. The established Tiantai school, based on the *Lotus*, had been cherishing an 'ancestral' tradition of senior exegetes (with the exclusion of translators) of the *Lotus* (Weinstein, 'Patronage', 272-273).

11. He Ge'en, n. 13, reads: 'the third month of spring'.

12. Personal communication from Mr and Mrs Hylobates Lar of Emmen, the Netherlands.

13. Cf. 'Vulture Peak' in Shaozhou, named after the place in India where the Buddha reportedly delivered the *Vajracchedika*. In Tibetan and Chinese meditation manuals, mountains are also a topos for meditation. One popular manual by Shenxiu (T.58, 1289-1290, tr. in Faure, 'Samadhi', 114) says:

After [the mind] is clarified, when one sits, it is like being on a solitary tall mountain
in the midst of a distant field. Sitting on exposed ground at the top of the mountain,
gazing off into the distance on all four sides - there are no limits.

For 'mountain men 仙' as immortals or shamans, see: Paper, *Spirits*, 51-60.

14. Legend has it that the Xiang sprung from the tears of the mythical king Shun's 舜 two widows 二妃 which thus created the famous Mottled Bamboo (斑竹 or 湘妃竹; *Phyllostachys nigra* Boryana) when they fell on its leaves (*Topoi* 2378; 21-22; 1978-1979; cf. Schafer, *Divine Woman*, 86, 119).

15. The vows of *trisharana*, or 'taking refuge in the Triple Gem 歸依三寶' read in translation:

I take refuge in the Awakened One (Evam Buddham saranam gacchami 我歸依佛),
I take refuge in his Example (Evam Dharmam saranam gacchami 我歸依法), and
I take refuge in his Community (Evam Sangham saranam gacchami 我歸依僧).

The fourfold extended (or bodhisattva) vow 四弘誓願 reads in Chinese and English:

眾生無邊誓願度 Save all beings, none aside,
煩惱無數誓願斷 Cut all countless sufferings,
法門無盡誓願學 Learn all methods infinite,
佛道無上誓願成 Follow Buddha all the way.

In addition to taking triple refuge and the four vows, the postulant is questioned on his 'five abilities' 問五能 and then, after common meditation (禪會 or *ksama*), vows to observe the 'ten precepts' 十戒. An early Chinese formular of this ceremony is the so-called *Nanyue Text* 南岳本 ascribed to meditation teacher Huisi 慧思 (515-577), Sekiguchi (q. in Faure, *Volonté*, 145), disputes Huisi's authorship, arguing that the text is identical with an eighth-century description by meditation teacher Daoxuan 道玄 (702-760). In any event it appears that the *Text*, often classified within the Tiantai tradition, was already influential among early eighth-century 'meditation teachers', perhaps including Song Zhiwen's 'teacher in Hengyang'.

16. Zhiwen's friend and colleague Fang Rong 房融 did, however. Demiéville even believes that he was ordained as a monk at some time (Demiéville, *Concile*, 44n), but his 'observing the savior's precepts' may mean that he took laymen's vows after the example of emperor Wu of Liang (cf. Faure, *Volonté*,

- 142-145). See on laymen's vows in early twentieth-century China Welch, *Practice*, 361-366.
17. See chapter 3.4, below, for the occurrence of terms for enlightenment in Zhiwen's other poems.
18. S&H, 214a. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 363, translates *ashravakaya* as 'this carnal body of passions'.
19. S&H, 151a.
20. Barrett 1990, 90.
21. Q. in He Ge'en n10. In 1996 I met a similar troglodytic monk at Lion's Crag in Maba, Guangdong.
22. He Ge'en n10, Cf. *Topoi*. YH mentions among others mountains of the same name a Mt Luofu at 10 miles north of Anjing 安京 county in Qinzhou 欽州 - Zhiwen's final posting in the South.
23. *Sorrow after departure*, tr. in Xu, *South*, 15; cf. section 3. 3.3., below.

Notes to Chapter 3.3

1. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 346.
2. Cf. Giles, *Biographies*, 699: 'Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (字: 廷清). Died A.D. 710. A native of Fenzhou in Shanxi, whose martial appearance marked him out for a military career. He was appointed to a post by [empress Wu], but became mixed up with Zhang Yizhi and was banished. Returning without leave, he remained in concealment at Luoyang until he succeeded in obtaining a pardon and an appointment as Archivist in the Court of State Ceremonial. After a discreditable career he was again banished for corrupt practices and forced to commit suicide. He was one of the most charming poets of his day, and it is said that the emperor Zhongzong was on one occasion so pleased with his verse that he presented the poet with his own Imperial robe of silk.' Giles is mistaken on the year of Zhiwen's death.
3. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 80-82. Yang Jiong wrote a well-known preface to the *Wang Bo Collection*, tr. in Owen *Early T'ang*, 79-80. It has been regarded as a manifesto for the generation of the 'Four Talents'.
7. This genre of songs is called 'poetry office' 樂府 art as it followed the type of popular songs collected by the imperial Bureau of Poetry. Under Wu Zetian, poets abandoned the melodies of these old songs while retaining their traditional titles. See for example *Spring-River-Flowers-Moon-Night* by the Zhejiang poet Zhang Ruoxu (660-720?; Cheng, *Analyse*, 7; 28-31.
8. Tr. of two 'Southern Songs' by Song Zhiwen and one by a friend in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 365-366.
9. EWLC 1.046 (QTS 51-39), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 304-306) and EWLC 2.104 (QTS 52-76).
10. Hung, 'Shen and Song'.
11. *TSJS*, q. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 307-308. Zhiwen's poem was QTS 51-38 (tr. in Owen 307-308).
12. Chu, 'Zhiwen', 46 (94).
13. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 231-232.
14. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 294-302. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 32-34, calls Zhiwen's expatriate poems the most representative of his works, but mistakes poems written at home in Luhun for expatriate poetry.
15. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 39 quotes Zhiwen's QTS 51-33 and QTS 51-32 (cf. QTS 51-48). The opening couplets of QTS 51-32 match a 'gentleman on a mission' to a 'beauty a thousand miles away',

Zhiwen elaborates on this 景 with maturing peaches and falling leaves. The closing 情 expresses hope to return safely in fall after a long summer. Cf. Zhang Ruoxu's elegant and courtly poem *A Woman dreaming of her beloved returning*, translated and discussed in Cheng, *Analyse*, 81-101.

16. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 40-42.

17. Tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 367; 377-379.

18. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 44-45 quotes Zhiwen's QTS 51-42 and QTS 53-39. QTS 51-42 goes:

My love gave me a fine green harp, / and a silver bird.

The harp was made of mountain t'ungwood, / the bird hailed from the Wu Creek.

My heart, in pines and rocks and morning glow / cannot possess this gift profound.

My heart, thinking of sea, heav'n and white clouds, / but wants to set this fine bird free.

19. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 47-50, in addition to praising their merits in the promotion of regulated verse, lauds Shen's and Song's contribution to the perfection of rhyme schemes and parallel couplets.

20. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 325.

21. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 325-326; 337.

22. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 34 ; 362.

23. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 379-380.

24. *On the third day of the third month: sitting alone in Huan-chou remembering past travels*, tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 360-361. Huanzhou 歡州 was in Annan 安南, 200 miles south of modern Hanoi.

25. EWLC 1.016 (QTS 51-13), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 374-375.

26. On Cao Xueqin, the author of the *Dream of Red Mansions* 紅樓夢 cf. Spence 1988, Appendix D.

27. Varsano, 'Getting There', 375-376.

28. Varsano, 'Getting There', 384-385, uses Zhuangzi's terms 方內 and 方外 respectively.

29. *Sorrow after departure*, tr. in Xu, *South*, 15.

30. Varsano, 'Getting There', 399; tr. in Xu, *South*, 29.

31. David Hawkes's translation, q. in Varsano, 'Getting There', 400.

32. Varsano, 'Getting There', 400.

33. Varsano, 'Getting There', 403; cf. *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, couplet 14, above.

34. Varsano, 'Getting There', 398; italics mine.

35. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 40.

36. Tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 365-367. After 705, Sima Chengzhen also proceeded from Mt Tiantai in Zhejiang to the Nine Immortals Lodge 九仙館 on Mt Heng, where he received Zhang Jiuling in audience. Cf. Zhang Jiuling, *Climbing Nanyue: mission completed, an audience with the Daoist Sima*, (QTS 47-13). Jiuling's 'mission' may refer to his posting in his native Shaozhou, where he finished construction of the Dayu Turnpike in 716. The journey of young Jiuling himself by way of Mt Heng makes it even less likely that the elderly Song Zhiwen would have used the old road across the Dayu.

37. Paper, *Spirits*, passim.

Notes to Chapter 3.4.

1. Shen Quanqi, *Shaolong Abbey* (in Huanzhou), QTS 95-18, tr. after Owen, *Early Tang*, 363 mod.
2. For this *Sanjiao Zhuying* 三教珠英 (Gems of the Three Teachings) see McMullen, *State*, 218-219.
3. Faure, *Volonté*, 39. T.H. Barrett puts it more vividly: 'What was clearly needed in the Buddhism of late seventh-century China was the voice of authority, some Nagarjuna *redivivus* to set the lamp of the Dharma ablaze once more' (Barrett, 'Kill!', 96). Cf. Xue Huaiyi's *Commentary on the Meaning of the Holy Emperor in the Great Cloud Sutra*, tr. in Forte, *Propaganda*, 183-284. Later condemnations of Zetian as a 'false jewel' appear inspired by anachronistic political agendas. The *Great Cloud* is an Indian original. On Xue Huaiyi and his relations with Zetian see Forte, *Propaganda*, 111-115.
4. Unlike Hucker, *Titles*, 297 suggests, this so-called Crane Administration 控鶴府 did not take charge of the Imperial Mews: cranes and heavenly horses are the traditional mounts of immortals. One memorial did complain that these 'crane scholars' were really horsing around instead of writing (CHC-III, 319). If so, one reason we do not have the text of the *Gems* may be that it was never completed.
5. These Daoists were anticipating Laozi's Second Coming, but Sima's ancestry in their lineage is dubious. Chengzhen was 'the leading Daoist figure of his time'. For translated fragments of his works on Daoist practice, meditation and longevity techniques see Kohn, *Anthology*, 19-24; 80-86; 236-241.
6. 'The *Garland* has many ideas in common with the [Tiantai school's] *Lotus*, such as the concept of One Vehicle, universal salvation, and the transcendental Buddha, [but also] countless other worlds (...) which reflect perfectly the central Pure Land (...) in accordance with the principle of the interpenetration of all phenomena.' (Weinstein, 'Patronage', 299-302). Cf. Chang, *Totality*.
7. On Xiu see McRae, *Northern School*; Faure, *Will*. According to a stupa inscription by Zhang Yue, Xiu traced his spiritual heritage back to some obscure southern meditation teacher: Hongren of Huangmei 黃梅宏忍 (601-674). Modern studies suggest that Xiu was also a student of a meditation school based in Jingzhou 荊州 which followed the principles laid down by meditation teacher Huisi of Nanyue 南岳慧思 (515-577) to whom the Tiantai 天臺 tradition also traced its roots. Huisi 慧思 (515-577) the later guru of Zhiyi 智顛 and therefore considered an ancestor of the Tiantai school. His biography and hagiography is in Magnin, *Huisi*, 24-68. Huisi wrote three manuals for retreats of repentance (Magnin, *Huisi*, 73-80). His *Vow Taken by Grand Meditation teacher Si of Nanyue* 思大師誓願文 (Vow) is tr. in Magnin, *Huisi*, 206-238. Magnin believes Huisi wrote the *Vow* in 559 in Henan Huisi urged Zhiyi to study it; it is listed in a seventh-century canon (Magnin, *Huisi*, 109-111).
8. In 692 in Luoyang and in late 701 in Chang'an. Fazang's epitaph, dated between 712 and 714, also remembers him as 'meditation teacher Fazang'. Xiu did not represent a joint '*Garland*-meditation' 華嚴禪 school at Zetian's court, as some believe, and neither is the 'Shenxiu' who authored two commentaries to the *Garland* the Shenxiu of Tang court fame (Faure, *Will*, 39; 45-46). Around 800 the great *Garland* exegete Zongmi of Guifeng 桂峰宗密, also an accomplished and recognized meditation teacher, was the first to successfully blend *Garland* teachings into the growing 'Zen' school of his days.

9. For the differences between Zhiyi's classical Tiantai meditation practices of *samadhi* (定 or 三昧) and Xiu's early practice of *dhyana* 禪那 see Faure, 'Samadhi', 99-128; cf. Faure, *Will*, 31.
10. Faure, 'Samadhi', 121; Faure, *Volonté*, 113. Xiu's student Yixing 一行 later studied under Hongjing's successor Huizhen 惠真. For Xiu's understanding of traditional Indian *dhyana* and popular Chinese Buddhist ontology as explained in the *Awakening of Faith* 起信論 see Faure, 'Samadhi', 106.
11. Tr. after McRae, *Northern School*, 153, mod. This and Faure, *Will*, 21-22, contradict Faure, *Will*, 5: 'Shenxiu himself was invited to the western capital of Chang'an in 700.' Xiu was invited to Luoyang.
12. QTS 51-39, tr. in Owen, *Early Tang*, 304-305. The Jasper Pool is a topos, however subtle and indirect, for sexual licentiousness (the direct reference is to the palace of Xiwangmu 西王母, the divine 'Queen Mother of the West'). Zhiwen may be referring here to Wu Zetian's controversial liaison.
13. Fazang's lecture: *The Seal of the Golden Lion* 金獅子章, tr in Wing-tsit Chan, 409-413
14. Cf. however Wing-tsit Chan, 410.
15. EWLC 2.021 (regulated pentameter); QTS 52-62. Hongjing's name in the title is misspelled 泓景 and the title erroneously mentions the famous translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (d. 662, a native of Jingzhou) instead of Xiu. The closing line may address the emperor himself. Zhiwen repeatedly tried to persuade Zhongzong to make Luoyang his permanent capital. Empress Wei preferred Chang'an (CHC III, 356).
16. Zanning, *Vitae*, scr. 18, q. in Faure, *Will*, 101.
17. Cf. section 2.2.5, above, for the Vimalakirti motive in An's hagiography.
18. Most Buddhist monks cremated (cf. the legend on An's *sharira* in section 2.2.5, above), but the five years between An's death and the construction of his tomb rather suggest burial and reburial.
19. The first stele text (QTW scr. 396) mentions 708 as the year of An's death. The second text (TWXS scr. 3) gives 582 (sic) as his year his birth and may be an attempt to link the hagiography of An to a monk of the same name, born in the 580s and flourishing under the Sui. Cf. 2.2.5, above.
20. Huisi's *vita* by Daoxuan (*Vitae*, 242-243) is summarized in Weinstein, 'Patronage', 274-283.
21. The mid-8th century *Lineage Record of the Jewel of the Law* (see above, sections 2.2.8 and 2.2.12) mentions an imperial enquiry in 700 by four meditation teachers: Xiu, An, Jingjue's teacher Xuanze 玄擇, and Xuanyue 玄約. A fifth meditation teacher, Zhixian 智洗, pleaded ill and left for his native Sichuan. Zhixian is not known in any other source (Yampolsky PS, 42).
22. According to tradition, king Gou Jian 勾踐 of Yue one day sent out a searching party for a bride to be given to his overlord, the King of Wu 吳. Fan Li, the minister leading the searching party, fell in love with the beautiful Xi Shi 西施 when he watched her washing silk on a stone in a mountainbrook. Xi Shi made her husband forget all affairs of state, and before long the King of Yue could conquer all of Wu. Xi Shi then married Fan Li. The story was made famous in *Observing the Past in Yuezhou*, a quatrain by Li Bai 李柏 (701-762). From the facsimile edition of the *Abys of Poetry*, Chen Shangjun recently retrieved still another 'washing silk' poem by Song Zhiwen: *On Xi Shi washing silk* (QTSBB, 762).
23. JTS 192; XTS 196, q. in Faure, *Will*, 193n.
24. Zanning mentions him in his *vita* of Xiu's student Yixing 一行. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 203n. The site of

Thundergate was sometimes nicknamed Mt Mao 茅山 after the center of the famous 'Latter Day Daoist' movement of Lu Xiuqing (陸修經 406-477) near Nanjing. His 'Revelations of Mt Mao' or 'Holy Jewels' 靈寶 had to be chanted *de mani 鞞e bouddhique* (M. Kaltenmark, q. in Schipper, *Body*, ch. 1 n. 22). Thundergate was also near Great Yu's 大禹 tomb which Song Zhiwen visited (see QTS 52-28).

25. *Soldiers Climbing High at Day; To Fang Mingfu*, QTS 51-33; cf. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 39. Data derived from the index to Shen and Song's collected poems, QTSI 207 (Shen) and 498 (Song).

26. *Nostalgia: crossing Wusong Creek at night*, QTS 53-27.

27. QTS 97-31, part tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 359; data after *Index*, 239-240; 529.

28. *Gazing by night in the South Pavilion of Huanzhou* (QTS 96-61; Owen, *Early Tang*, 357-358).

29. The two truths are sometimes called 'the Royal Paradigm' 王法 and 'the Buddha's Paradigm' 佛法 respectively (S&H, 30a). Obviously, Quanqi and Zhiwen would immediately trade in their 'realization' of the former in exile for a chance to wake up and suddenly be part of the Royal Entourage again!

30. Cf. Barrett, *Li Ao*. on the social and political contexts of the perceived Buddhist, Daoist and Neo-Confucian strains in Li Ao's *Book of Returning to One's True Nature* 李翱復姓書 which although written for a Buddhist audience, should itself for obvious reasons not be considered a 'Buddhist book'.

Notes to Chapter 3.5

1. Schafer 1967, 92; 40 mod.
2. Li Ao, 李翱來南錄 *Southbound Travelogue*, QTW 638, tr. in Strassburg, *Landscapes*, 127-131.
3. For the Holy Canal see Marks, *Tigers*, 33-34, Allegedly engineered under the Han, it was neglected for many centuries and could not be navigated until Li Bo 李勃 rebuilt it to modern standards in 825 (Schafer 1967, 27). Before 825, the overhaul from the Xiang to the Gui had to be made on horseback.
4. For the navigability of the West River and other rivers under the Tang see Marks, *Tigers*, 31.
5. For descriptions of the Dayu Turnpike see Blussé & Falkenburg, 37 (after Nieuhof); Visser, *Bamboe*, 66-70 (Visser followed Nieuhof's 17th-century trail in 1989); and Marks, *Tigers*, 20-23.
6. Zhang Jiuling, *Preface to the opening of the road over Dayu Ridge*, QTW 291, tr. in Herbert, 54-55.
7. Jiuling was probably first introduced to Zhang Yue in Luoyang by his former examiner Shen Quanqi.
8. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994(民 83.08), 42-48; He Ge'en, 337-358.

9.	<u>Overland:</u>	<u>Horseback:</u>	<u>On foot or donkeyback:</u>	<u>By cart:</u>
		14 miles	10 miles	6 miles
	<u>On water:</u>	<u>Fast rivers:</u>	<u>Broad rivers:</u>	<u>Other waterways:</u>
	Upstream loaded:	6 miles	8 miles	9 miles
	Upstream empty:	8 miles	10 miles	12 miles
	Downstream:	30 miles	20 miles	14 miles

Source: Tang Codes 大唐六典, scr. 3, quoted in He Ge'en, 352 n.17. (original distances in Chinese 里).

A map of Xuanzong's post roads (after Aoyama) and canals (after Twitchett) connecting prefectures

and circuits in 742 is in Wright & Twitchett 1973, cf. Yan, *Communications*.

10. Yu Jing 余靖 澧水館記 ('Record of Hostels on the Zhen'), q. in He Ge'en , 353, n. 17.

11. For a contemporary description of the Holy Canal see *Lingwai*, XVIII and 12.

12. He Ge'en, n.19.

13. QTS 52-49. 'Cold Food' refers to the Clear and Bright Festival, celebrated on April 4 and 5. Cui's answer is also in QTS (He Ge'en n. 21; Xunyang 潯陽 was the prefectural seat of Jiangzhou):

Parted in spring, north of the Huai, / Cold Food across the Yangzi,
Could the river at Xunyang / look like Zhiwen's pond at home?

14. Mt Lu 廬山 , a mountain range south of Jiujiang. was the legendary center of the White Lotus Society 白蓮社, a fourth-century forerunner of the later Pure Land movement. Cf. Ui, 'Nembutsu'.

15. Chen, QTS, 766; not in QTS.

16. The prefecture of Hongzhou (now Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi) was also a governorate 都督府 and is hence called Hongfu 洪府. Heng 橫 is probably a misspelling for Heng 衡, not a reference to Hengzhou 橫州 in Lingnan (see YH 38). The Huai and the Si 泗 (here misspelled 汜) meet near Chuzhou 楚州 on the Grand Canal. The Wu(song) 吳松 flows west through Suzhou.

17. Wuzhou is the city where the Gui 桂 joins West River 西江; see *Transit in Wuzhou*, QTS 52-46.

18. Modern Deqing 德慶 in Guangdong, where South River joins West River.

19. 瀧州 Shuangzhou (now Luoding 羅定 in Guangdong, named after the river Shuang 瀧水 (now Luoding River 羅定江, HYDCD 3469) is often misread 龍州 Longzhou (e.g. Wright & Twitchett , 460) . Its topography was described in the missing YH scroll 36; the entry on Kangzhou gives distances.

20. QTS 51-36, tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 378. He Ge'en, n. 19, assumes that Zhiwen was trailing behind his friends because he took a longer and slower road – perhaps including a stop in Shaozhou.

21. He Ge'en, app. III, 346. QTS 96-83 (tr. in in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 355) and QTS 63-01 may be among the poems Zhiwen found in Duanzhou. Owen suggests that Shen and Du travelled separately.

22. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 355.

23. Cf. QTS 53-19.

24. In 712, Hengshan 衡山 was part of Tanzhou; it is now inside the greater Hengyang 衡陽 region.

25. The 'three Xiang' were the Lixiang 瀟湘, the Xiaoxiang 瀟湘 and the Zhengxiang 蒸湘; the topos sometimes refers to Xiangtan 湘潭, Xiangyang 湘陽 and Xiangxiang 湘鄉 towns. The black gibbons at Mt Heng would howl especially sonorously once the sky cleared up after a heavy autumn rain.

26. QTS 52-43; not in EWLC. Jingzhou is now Jiangling 江陵 in Hubei. The 'first leaving' is explained by a second poem, probably written on a brief detour to Jingzhou on Zhiwen's second journey south. He Ge'en, n. 24, notes that Jiuling's *A gift to the prefect when on transit through Jingzhou* (not in QTS) has been wrongly ascribed to Zhiwen. Jiuling submitted the Golden Mirror mentioned in that poem in 736, more than twenty-four years after Zhiwen's death. When young Zhang Yue was summoned back to the capital from exile in 705 (ZZTJ 208, q. in He Ge'en n.26), he wrote *Crossing the river* (QTS):

Spring colors the limpid Xiang, / guests come back after three years.

27. In Chen, QTS, 764. Both Chu, 'Zhiwen', and He Ge'en, n.15 believe that QTS 53-35 (tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 367) also testifies to this event. Owen, however, doubts the authenticity of the poem.
28. QTS 51-19; QTS 51-20. This is not Fahua Monastery in Yuezhou (QTS 53-26), and Yunmen is not the Yunmen monastery built by emperor Xuanzong in 714 - one year after Zhiwen's death.
29. QTS 53-30; not in EWLC; cf. TSJS, scr. 11. 'Vulture Peak on high, / dragon palace quiet...' is from the opening of QTS 53-30. 'Vulture peak' is here a topos for an abbey, the 'dragon palace' for the sea.
30. Klopsch, 'Lo Pin-wang', 90-91; CHC Vol. 3, 295-296. Binwang makes a cameo appearance in chapter 9 of Van Gulik, *Bell Murders*.
31. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994, 42 (90); cf. Chuan, 'Zhiwen'. The title of the third poem is corrupt. Yanzhou 兗州 is in Shandong, but the poem opens: 'Where the Huai and the Si join' - which is in Chuzhou (in Jiangsu). Klopsch traces the topos of Luo Binwang as a monk back to the twelfth-century *Wuzong Gazetteer* 五總志 by Wu Jiong 吳炯 in which Binwang helps a monk at Hangzhou to complete a poem.
32. QTS 52-47. The 'river Wu 吳江' is again the Wusong 吳松江.
33. Chen, QTS, 762; not in QTS.
34. QTS 51-14; cf. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994, 47. In 710, Yuezhou was still a coastal city.
35. QTS 53-26; cf. XTS. King Yu's shrine 禹廟 can still be seen in Shaoxing.
36. ZZTJ 209: 'In the sixth month [of 710] prefect Song Zhiwen of Yuezhou [and others] were exiled to Lingnan'. He Ge'en, n. 16 and n. 122, argues that Zhiwen was exiled after the seventh month.
37. He Ge'en, n. 17. In the eighth century, Lingnan had five governors, posted in Guangzhou, Guizhou, Rongzhou, Yongzhou, and Annam respectively (YH 34-38).
38. YH 38: 'Yongzhou (Langning), junior inspectorate (i.e. one rank below the governor of Guizhou 桂州). 1624 households (...) Controls eight prefectures: Yongzhou 邕州, Guizhou 貴州, Binzhou 賓州, Chengzhou 澄州, Hengzhou 橫州, Qinzhou 欽州, Xunzhou 潯州, and Luanzhou 巒州. Around 670, the governor's seat transferred to Guizhou, but the inspectorate at Yongzhou was re-established at an unknown date in 711. Although the governor of Guangzhou was one rank above those of Guizhou, Yongzhou, and Qinzhou, the latter three were not within his direct jurisdiction (YH 34: 885-886).
39. QTS 53-53; not in EWLC. See Chu, 'Zhiwen', o.c.48; He Ge'en 352, n. 16. Chen Shangjun has retrieved a variant titled *Joining governor Wang climbing a tower* (Chen, QTS, 766). Wang Xiao became governor of Guizhou 桂州 around 709 (JTS scr. 913).
40. QTS 53-60 (cf. He Ge'en, 347); QTS 52-43. He Ge'en implies but does not substantiate that Zhiwen reported in Luoyang between his second visit to Jingzhou and his final journey to Qinzhou. A possible route from Luoyang to Jingzhou was the Chang'an-Guangzhou post road (see Wright & Twitchett 1973, map).
41. QTS 52-62.
42. QTS 53-60, not in EWLC; q. in He Ge'en, n.22 and appendix IV.
43. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 240. Francolins were believed to worship the sun and the south.
44. QTS 51-13 (EWLC 1.016), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 374.

45. QTS 53-58.
46. Chen, QTS, 764.
47. QTS 53-21; q. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 96.
48. QTS 51-25. He Ge'en further ascribes QTS 53-54 to Zhiwen's last stay in Guizhou.
49. He Ge'en, appendix IV. For Yuan Shouyi cf. QTW scr. 2.
50. QTS 53-22. The tomb of king Zhao Tuo of Southern Yue 南越王趙託 is now a museum.
51. QTS 53-24; QTS 52-45; QTS 51-18. Tengzhou is now Tengxian 藤縣 County in Guangxi on the river Xun, 50 miles upstream from Wuzhou. The 'caves of the Man' are identified in the *Luoding County Gazetteer* 羅定縣志 as 'Peng 蓬 Cave - an erstwhile Yao 瑤 settlement' (q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 165). This cave was close Shuangzhou. Lingnan as a whole is still rich in scenic Karst grottoes. The toponym Nanshan 南山 (perhaps Nanshan Village near the river Man) was likely to evoke nostalgic feelings for Zhiwen's old villa in Luhun, as the title of QTS 51-22 (EWLC 1.030) also suggests.
52. QTS.51-10; tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 372. Cf. YH 34. Modern Yaikou is on the outskirts of Zhongshan Municipality 中山市 on the west bank of what is now the Pearl River Delta. In Zhiwen's days, Zhongshan was an island and most of the delta had still to develop (Marks, *Tigers*, 70). Zhiwen's Yakou may have been at the northern entrance of the Yaimen Straits near modern Haikou 海口 on Hainan 海南. The scroll in YH with the description of Yaizhou 崖州 on northeastern Hainan is missing. Between 705 and 709, the aboriginal Dlai 黎 raided the Chinese settlements (Schafer, *Shore*, 20).
53. QTS 51-12.
54. Cf. He Ge'en, n16. Chu quotes JTS 186: 'Under Xuanzong, Lizhi, Xue Jichang 薛季昶, and Song Zhiwen were together ordered to kill themselves at Guizhou Station', as a 'powerful argument that "in mid-712, he was ordered to kill himself in exile"' (Chu, 'Zhiwen', 48; the latter statement is from JTS).
55. He Ge'en, n.19-20.
56. QTS 52-50; EWLC 2.038 ; not in WYYH .
57. In the eighth century, the elephant god Youbi 有鼻 was worshipped in both Guizhou and Shaozhou (Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 96). For a bronze 'elephant bird' see Rawson, *Mysteries*, 135-136.
58. SG, 531. The toponym refers to the Renshou period of Sui emperor Wendi (601-605).
59. See section 2.2.8, above.
60. QTS 50-18, q. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 298.
61. QG scr. 4, q. in He Ge'en, appendix 5.
62. QTS 48-64, quoted in He Ge'en, n.23.
63. QTS 52-53; tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 376.
64. QTS 53-23, tr. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 40-41.
65. PRC, *Guangdong*, 89.
66. QTS 53-22, not as 越台 but instead as 粵王台 .
67. He Ge'en, 'Song Zhiwen', n. 9.
68. Shixing was also the name of a county in Shaozhou, 32 miles northeast of the city (cf. YH 34),

69. TH, scr. 159.

70. PRC, *Guangdong*, 56-59.

71. TH, scr. 159.

72. *Joining Judge Zhou on a tour to Shixing* (QTS 47-11); *In late fall climbing a tower to watch the South River road into Shixing commandery* (QTS 47-17); *The woods and wells down Southhill in Shixing*; (...) *sick in bed in Jingzhou, I miss them* (QTS 47-23); *From Shixing Brook up the Range at night* (QTS 49-62).

73. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 25.

74. YJ, scr. 90.

75. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 277-8.

76. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 277; 399. Around 700 Zhaozhou 昭州 was a prefecture of over 7300 households, 50 miles downstream the Gui River 桂江 from Guizhou 桂州 (YH 37, 923). Upstream from Pingle Town, Gui River is nowadays called Li River (Lijiang 濞江).

77. Quoted in YJ, scr. 107.

78. PRC, *Hunan*, 542.

79. Zhao, *Tourist*, 60.

Part Four

The Road to Cao's Brook: Shaozhou and its Sixth Ancestor

My teacher is at Hengyang.¹

The Sixth Ancestor dwelt at two abbeys:
at Cao's Brook *and* the Source of the Law.²

The magistrate of Shaozhou also invited him to the abbey
at the Source of the Law, built by Zetian for meditation teacher Huineng.

The meditation teacher's portrait was still there.³

My teacher is at Shaoyang.⁴

4.1. Different trains

In the summer of 1985, something strange happened to me on the way from Guilin to Canton. Near midnight, I left my quiet sleeper on the Guilin-Peking train at the Hengyang railway station where the Peking-Canton express would pass through at midnight. Someone referred me to a long queue in the middle of the floodlit concourse. Crickets were singing in the nearby trees, Chinese travellers were waiting for their night train. I joined the queue and waited. I was carrying a sports bag with a small marble Guanyin statue, purchased from the Peking Friendship Store at considerable discount.

A plump, uniformed woman in her mid-forties marched by, mustering tickets and reservations. She found my ticket lacking a certain stamp and pointed furiously to an information counter a hundred yards down the concourse. Unwilling to give up my place in line, I left my bag on the spot and rushed to the counter. The woman yelled at me and tried to throw the bag out of the line. But she failed to lift it one inch. She spat out words that sounded very Hunanese and very rude, and gave up. By then I had my ticket stamped and I returned to the queue. The woman rechecked my ticket and yelled that I was standing in line for the slow train to Shaoguan, but that my ticket was good for the Canton Express which was already calling at a different platform. I quickly picked up my bag. It seemed to weigh

almost nothing. I took the bodhisattva to Canton and Hong Kong and home to Holland where (s)he now sits in my lounge, two foot tall and thirty pounds heavy. I still believe that her/his sudden immobility got me on board of the right train.

Such little miracle tales 異記 abound in Central and Southern China, home to a meditation tradition that is now often called by its Japanese name Zen 禪宗, but which has been known to many generations of Chinese as the 'Southern tradition' 南宗.⁵ This 'Southern' meditation was the province of vagrant monks and miracle workers, some perhaps from India, but most of them local Chinese. These 'meditation teachers' resided in or around Buddhist monasteries. Some were ordained monks, some were not. Some lived on the premises, some outside as recluses. Around 700, when empress Wu Zetian 武則天 ruled, many 'meditation teachers' were known to live on China's five holy mountains 五岳 such as Mt Song 嵩 near the 'Eastern Capital' Luoyang and Mt Heng in Hunan Province, thirty miles north of Hengyang. Few of them left personal notes; some were perhaps illiterate. They became gentrified following the introduction of the famous meditation teacher Xiu 秀禪師' (d. 705) at empress Zetian's court in Luoyang.

In the decades following Zetian's death (705), the 'brilliant emperor' Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) strove to contain the number of accredited Buddhist monks. Concerned about the economic clout of the Buddhist orders, he wished to preserve parity between practitioners of the 'Chinese way' (Daoism) and the 'foreign religion' (Buddhism). To that end he limited the number of public Buddhist monasteries in each prefecture and county to the number of existing Daoist lodges in these places. Around the same time Xuanzong also outlawed private monasteries as well as private ordinations.⁶ In the middle of Xuanzong's campaign, however, a new strain of 'meditation Buddhism' was reported to flourish in a remote and largely unknown prefecture in the deep south: Shaozhou. Although earlier researchers assumed the deep south to have the lowest density of Buddhist abbeys in the entire Tang empire, this is not supported by the local and regional gazetteers. Basing themselves on a breakdown of data in the Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer 廣東通志, Zhang Gong 張弓 and Tang Sen 唐森 rate the penetration of the Tang network of Buddhist abbeys in Lingnan above the national average. If these data are any good, Shaozhou had more Buddhist establishments than Guangzhou.⁷ As we shall see, the religious economy of this thriving Buddhist city hinged on two factors: the influx of Buddhist monks from the great religious centers north of the Ranges (e.g. Mt Heng 衡 in Hunan) and the development of a pilgrimage cult for Huineng 慧能 (d. 713, canonized in 816), the legendary founder of the 'Southern' meditation tradition.

The Huineng cult perhaps began as the cult of a 'low-born but still local god' (Valerie Hansen) who 'either came from or had visited the districts where (he was later) worshipped (and) performed

agricultural miracles, bringing rain, stopping floods, expelling locusts, or preventing blight'.⁸ Such local gods were, according to Hansen, worshipped by elite families as well as by villagers. These gods would appear in dreams to tell their followers about their powers, and their tombs were reported to give off auras. Although Hansen's descriptions see at local cults in a much later stage of development, the hagiographic rhetoric and miracles can hardly be distinguished from related in one of the earliest *vitae* of the 'Great Teacher at Cao's Brook' which was preserved in Japan and indeed predates by some years Huineng's canonization as a national Buddhist icon.

The 'sudden' development of Shaozhou's religious economy was by and large predicated on two topographical factors: the city's convenient location on the confluence of the Zhen 渚 and Wu 武 into North River 北江, the major trade link to Canton, and the opening of an overland toll road in 717, connecting Shaozhou to the imperial post road network. Once this 'Dayu Turnpike' was operational, Shaozhou's religious contacts with the Buddhist world north of the Ranges multiplied. This is one of several reasons why I made topography, not hagiography, the starting point of my road down to Cao's Brook. The following sections contain a brief introduction of Shaozhou through the ages as well as a discussion of its development as a Chinese community in a non-Chinese environment.

4.2. The rise of 'Southern' Buddhism and Shaozhou

4.2.1. Roads to prosperity

The formerly poor and backward southern prefecture of Shaozhou 韶州 (now Shaoguan 韶關 municipality) began to thrive after the so-called 'Dayu 大庾 Turnpike' across the ranges from Jiangxi was opened to traffic in 717 by Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740).¹ The new road linked Zhenchang 渚昌 (now Nanxiong 南雄) in Shaozhou to Dayu in Jiangxi across the Meiguan 梅關 Pass, providing a 40-mile shortcut between the River Zhen (a branch of the North River) in Guangdong to the River Gan in Jiangxi. From Zhenchang down to Shaozhou, the Zhen could be travelled by boat. Passage from Meiguan to Shaozhou now only took five days, as Li Ao wrote in his diary in 809:

- July 12: crossed Dayu Range.
- July 13: reached Zhenchang (now Nanxiong)
- July 14: crossed west of Lingtun, seeing the Stones of Shao
- July 15: stopped off at Mt Lingjiu.
- July 16: reached Shaozhou City.
- July 17: reached Shixing Inn (location unknown).²

The shortest passages leading through Shaozhou to Guangzhou were then:

- A. The waterway from Guiyang 桂陽 (now Guilin) down the river Huang 滄 and the dikes of the river Wu 武, opened in the 330s with a post station at Hengsa 衡峴.
- B. The overland Dayu Turnpike from Yuzhang 豫章, opened in 716, crossing the Range at seven miles to the southeast of the Hengpu 橫浦 Pass of Qin 秦.'
- C. A third, lesser used road, known under the Tang as Qiqu Pass 崎嶇 and under the Song as the Jing[zhou]-Hunan Road 荆湖南路 (now part of the Hengyang-Canton railway) led from Chenzhou 郴州 in Hunan across Qitian 騎田 Range to Lechang 樂昌 on the Wu.³

Chinese socialist historians noticed well that Zhang Jiuling, in his address at the opening of the Dayu Turnpike, stressed the convenience of his new road for the local coolies:

husbands [who] bear loads upon their heads and wives [who] carry loads upon their heads [;] who wear earrings and those who have holes through their chests.⁴

But the larger benefit derived from Shaozhou's new connection with the nationwide transportation network that had been completed with the renovation and extension of the Grand Canal between Luoyang and Hangzhou by Xuanzong in 714. This meant that Li Ao in 809 was able to cross the Yangzi at Jiangzhou (now Jiujiang) and directly could go south across the Dayu instead of having to follow the river Gan 贛 and the 'Eastern Corridor' to Hunan and Guiyang. Jiuling's foresight soon made Shaozhou one of the richest and most populous prefectures in Lingnan. In the census of 634, it was still trailing Guangzhou, Xinzhou and Tengzhou (JTS); in 742, Shaozhou's six counties with a total population of 168,948 (31,000 households) were on a par with the thirteen counties of Guangzhou (XTS). Around 800, Shaozhou was the largest prefecture in Lingnan.⁵ The seat of the prefectural administration was Shaozhou City on the junction of the Zhen and the Wu Rivers. A walled city had been built in the second century AD under the rule of King Zhao Tuo of Nanyue on the east bank of the Zhen.⁶ In the eighth century, prefect Deng Wenjin 鄧文進, a local man, built a new city on the west bank of the Wu:

Deng's family had been very rich and had over 1000 clients from which he hand-picked the bravest and brightest to fight the local warlords. When the Li 俚, the Dong 洞, the Yi 夷 and the L(i)ao 僚 heard this, they [...] surrendered.⁷

YH lists his new city as Shixing 始興 or Shaozhou City 韶州城, located in the middle of Qujiang 曲江 County. From 621 to 742, Shixing was the administrative seat of Shaozhou prefecture; between 742 and 758, of Shixing commandery; and then again of Shaozhou prefecture. In several of his poems Zhang Jiuling also refers to the city as Shixing. The name Qujiang ('bent river') refers to a large eastward bend in the North River which begins south of the junction of the Wu and Zhen and covers most of Qujiang county. Deng Wenjin's 'Tang city' was probably no larger than the old 'Han city' on the east bank. It was mainly a fort for the local garrison and a refuge for a trading population residing mainly outside the city walls.⁸ After 900, however, recurrent floods made it necessary to move the city to the embanked peninsula formed by the confluence of the Wu and the Zhen. Deng's city was renamed Hexi 河西 ('West Bank').

The earlier fortresses not only controlled traffic on the Wu, Zhen and North Rivers. The old Han citadel, near the present site of the Shaoguan railway station, was overlooking an overland road along the east bank from Shaozhou down to the town of Maba 馬壩, twenty kilometers to the south. This toll road (now China's national road G106) offered a shortcut from the city to the river landing at Mengli 濠瀾, the first port met by ships sailing upstream the North River from Canton. The road from Maba to Mengli probably followed the course of two mountain brooks: Cao's Brook from Maba to the foot of Moon Splendor Hill 月華山 (now Mt Bijia 筆架山,) and Sandy Brook 沙溪 west to Mengli.

4.2.3. The 'Southern Yue' and the Chinese

To understand the dynamics of Shaozhou as a Southern Chinese 'boomtown', we must pay attention to its development as a Chinese community in a predominantly non-Chinese environment. We already learned from a gazetteer how Deng Wenjin fought the Li 俚, the Dong 洞, the Yi 夷 and the Liao 僚. These names, often shortened to 'Li-lao' 俚僚, meant little more than 'vulgar', 'troglodytes', 'barbarians' and 'bumpkins'. They only indicate that Deng, prior to building his fort on the East Bank, had to drive the usual indigenous tribes from the site. Archaeologically, these 'native Cantonese' or 'Southern Yue' have been identified by twentieth-century scholars by the following markers:¹⁰

1. the use of shouldered axes and stepped adzes ;
2. pottery with impressed geometric design;
3. paddy cultivation and fishery;

4. living in stilted houses ; and
- (5.) the absence of hollow-legged cooking tripods 鬲 .

The official Chinese line is that these tribes were 'assimilated into Northern Chinese Han culture' at some point during the Western Han.¹¹ William Meacham, however, sees no archaeological criteria to distinguish 'Yue' from 'non-Yue', claiming that the distribution of bronze drums and other supposed markers of 'Yue culture' was never delineated by ethnic divisions.¹² Meacham believes that early Cantonese society was a cultural patchwork blanket covering speakers of Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao, and many other (mostly Austroasiatic) languages with different degrees of exposure to Chinese 斯文 culture.¹³

The term 'Yao' appears to derive from Mo Yao 莫徭 ('exempt from corvee'), a designation first used in the early seventh-century for several tribes of mountain forest dwellers in an area stretching from Lake Dongting in northern Hunan to the mountainlands of Lingling 零陵 and Hengyang 衡陽 commanderies on the upper reaches of the Xiang in southern Hunan.¹⁴ A southern gazetteer from the late twelfth century says: 'The deeper into the mountains, the more numerous the Yao'.¹⁵ The modern Yao in Guangdong invoke (probably fabricated) 'charters' (評皇券牒) to identify themselves as the descendants of a dozen of 'Mo Yao' chieftains who in 629 received a written privilege from emperor Taizong 太宗 of Tang (r. 627-649). Most but not all speak languages of the Miao-Yao group (of which Miao 苗 and She 畲 are the other branches), but all recognize the charter and claim descent from the mythical dragon-dog Pan Hu 盤弧 (for which reason they abstain from eating dog meat - in contrast with the 'mainstream' 本地 Cantonese).¹⁶

The area historically inhabited by the 'Mo Yao' largely corresponds with the dispersion of the so-called Tangjiagang 湯家崗 culture, which according to Hong Kong archaeologist Au Ka-fat 區家發 spread from the Lake Dongting area into Guangdong.¹⁷ Specimens of this type of 'painted pottery' 花陶文化, but also linguistic markers such as the toponym 墟 *hui*¹ (Mandarin: *xu*) for a market town, are found as deep south as the Pearl River, way beyond traditional 'Yao territory'. This may support Meacham's thesis that Yao pottery, like other products of 'Yue culture', was not restricted by ethnical boundaries.¹⁸ The Yao appear to be among the oldest known inhabitants of northern Guangdong. According to Li Mo, the historical distribution of Yao tribes in Guangdong is mainly concentrated in the mountainous areas to the northeast and northwest of Shaoguan.¹⁹ A major Yao population is still living in three so-called Yao Tribe Autonomous Counties 瑤族自治縣: (Ruyuan 乳源 immediately west of Qujiang County) and Liannan 連南 (west of Ruyuan) in northern Guangdong, and Jianghua 江華 (north of Liannan) in southern Hunan.²⁰ Migration across the Five Ranges appears common and many Guangdong Yao lineages still trace their ancestors to Hunan. It is easy to imagine these

'mountain Yao 山子瑤' as the coolies to which Zhang Jiuling referred in his opening address. China's famous topographer Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631-1692) describes them as primitive slash-and-burners who 'cleared the mountains to make their swiddens'.²¹ His contemporary Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682, no relative) wrote that the Guangdong Yao also sojourned in sheds of bamboo wickerware called *she* 畚 - a Yao word later borrowed by the Chinese to indicate tribes of Miao-Yao speakers on the Zhejiang and Fujian coast.²² The word has been differently transcribed 斜 *xie*², for instance in a poem by Song Zhiwen:²³

越嶺千重合	The Ranges of Yue have a thousand foldings,
蠻溪十里斜	The brooks of the Man have many miles of <i>xie</i> ² .

Although the text of this poem does not contain any speleological references, it is somewhat cryptically titled 'Crossing 過 the *dong* 洞 of the Man 蠻'. Chinese 洞 or 峒 denotes a cave or grotto, but is also used to transcribe Thai-Kadai *dong* which Pulleyblank translates as 'mountain valley' or 'level ground between cliffs and beside a stream'.²⁴ This image of 'intermontane valleys' (Philip Stott) or 'upland rice-growing plateaus' (Gordon Downer) is probably the standard meaning of *dong* among the Tai-Kadai speaking Zhuang 壯 in Guangxi and Guangdong. Downer also observed *dong* in the same sense in a field study of the Miao-Yao speaking Yao in China's deep south - perhaps as a loan word from Tai-Kadai speaking groups in South China who according to Edmonson and Solmit also 'live in mountains but prefer to settle on river banks'.²⁵ But this is not necessarily the same for the mountain-dwelling Yao, who to date maintain a mythological and religious tradition in which caves and grottoes figure as prominently as in some Daoist traditions. It could be argued that their key myth of Pan Hu and his spouse living in a *dong* in the southern mountains also refers to a valley instead of a cavern, but the motif of a worm inside a gourd changing into a dog (Pan Hu) in a related tale suggests a Daoist background in which grottoes and gourds have important magical connotations. Schafer relates the combination of the dog myth with the cave-calabash myth to the Daoist 'grotto heavens' 洞天, described as 'divine worlds encapsuled deep in the sacred mountains'.²⁶

Some recently rediscovered cave fortresses in Xianyou 仙遊 and Putian 蒲 counties in Fujian, traditionally known as the 'Eighteen Caves of Min 閩十八洞 and probably inhabited by She 畚 tribes (cultural, but probably not ethnic cousins of the Guangdong Yao) may lend support to the idea that to Miao-Yao speakers a *dong* could really mean a cavern. Inside these caves, idols of protective spirits were found, including a serpent, a carp, and an earthworm.²⁷ The worm suggests a direct connection with the Pan Hu myth of the Yao, but serpents and carps are also important motifs in Yao folk tales. In one example, consumption of a man-size carp makes the hero invincible; one of the fish bones left serves him as a magic sword. But even if some Miao-Yao speakers in southern China were real cave-

dwellers and thus used *dong* in the sense of a cavern, the term 斜 (read as 畬) in Song Zhiwen's poem strongly suggests that the 'barbarian *dong*' in the title refer to mountain swiddens, not caves. Zhiwen apparently crossed some swiddens of Yao tribal land on his way to exile in Shuangzhou 瀧州 (now Luoding 羅定 county in Guangdong) in 705. That a nineteenth-century local gazetteer identifies this 'Man 蠻 *dong*' of Luoding as the erstwhile Peng 蓬 *dong* ('Peng Valley?') does not change that understanding.²⁸

Modern Yao religion appears deeply influenced by Daoist teachings and traditions.²⁹ Zhang Youjuan, who studied the mountain-dwelling Yao 山子瑤 in Guangxi, found their system of talismans and registers, prohibitions and imprecations consistent with the Chinese southern Daoist tradition of 'Orthodox Unity 正一', embodied by the hereditary priesthood of 'Heavenly Masters 天師' founded during the Eastern Han.³⁰ Zhang traces back this Yao Daoist tradition to the Lake Dongting area where indeed one of the traditional Daoist 'Ten Greater Grotto Heavens' (左神幽墟天 Zuoshen Youxu Heaven at Linwu 林屋 Cave, halfway the Dongting and Tai 太 lakes) is located.³¹ Although this list of ten grotto-heaves, first mentioned by the Daoist Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647-735, of the so-called Shangqing 上清 tradition) is of a relatively recent date, it is probably an excerpt from an older list of thirty-six that predates the fourth-century Shangqing revelations at Mt Mao.³² Zhang Youjuan believes that when the Yao migrated south from the Lake Dongting area during the Tang, the Linwu grotto heaven was transformed into a Daoist abbey.³³ The question is of course, as Barend ter Haar put it, whether the Yao migration myth really reflects any historical northern origins.³⁴ It is perhaps as difficult to tell historical 'Yao' from 'non-Yao' as it is to distinguish prehistorical 'Yue' from 'non-Yue' and we should perhaps rather assume that grotto heavens were rather common *loci cultus* in the Tang empire south of the Yangzi. The famous Tang canons of 'Ten Greater' and 'Thirty-six Lesser' grotto heavens by Sima Chengzhen and later by Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) are certainly not exhaustive.³⁵ They do not list, for instance, the complex of seven grottoes west of Lechang 樂昌 town in northern Guangdong known locally as the 'Old Buddha Grotto Heaven 古佛洞天'.³⁶ A Hong Kong journalist, Kan Pui-fat 簡培發, was told in the 1990s that an 'old Buddhist monastery' had existed two or three *li* south of the path linking the seven grottoes.³⁷

In China south of the Yangzi, the common place marker *hui*¹ 墟 (Mandarin: *xu*) is in one instance associated with a cavern. The grotto heaven at Linwu Cave near Lake Dongting literally means: the Sinister Spirit's deep (or: secluded) *hui*¹ 墟 heaven. Classical Chinese 墟 (pronounced [*khie*] during the Tang) is understood in different contexts as a large hill or mound; as old, neglected burial grounds; as wasteland; and finally as a country fair or market town.³⁸ In the context of the Linwu Cave, 墟 most likely referred to a sanctuary; in modern Cantonese, only the meaning of market (town) is retained. In

Hong Kong's New Territories, for instance, the old Tai Po Market 大埔舊墟, formerly on the seashore, was a meeting point for land-dwelling Hakka 客家 and Tanka 蛋家 'boat people' (believed to be of Zhuang 壯 origin). Originally, however, the name of this 'Old Market' with its little temple for the Empress of Heaven 天后 on the old shoreline at Ting Kok Road 汀角道 may have referred to a burial ground facing Tolo Harbor 大浦海.

This is perhaps not the time for a discussion of the migration myths of the Hakka.³⁹ Suffice it here to notice that in northern Guangdong, some uphill areas traditionally believed to be Yao territory are at presently inhabited by Hakka speakers, as I found during my visits to Qujiang in 1996 and 1998. The population of the Tai Po Old Market area is also predominantly Hakka-speaking and it seems not unlikely that the labels 'Yao' and 'Hakka' in some instances denote one and the same population in different historical contexts. Edward Schafer felt that this Chinese-native acculturation was so intensive that he called 'creoles' all persons of Chinese ancestry born among the aborigines of China's Deep South.⁴⁰ This 'melting pot' rhetoric is challenged by the biographies in the gazetteers and the genealogies of Shaozhou's Chinese citizens during the Tang and Song which all emphasize the 'original roots' 籍貫 of these exemplary men in China proper.⁴¹

A good example are Zhang Jiuling and his family. Unlike Deng Wenjin (whose surname happens to be a Yao clan name), they are described in contemporary sources as northerners.⁴² Jiuling was born, raised and buried near Cheung Uk Hui 張屋墟, four miles northwest of Shaozhou City. His epitaph having been retrieved there in 1959, the toponym is perhaps best translated as 'Zhang House Burial Ground'.⁴³ The official histories mention that the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui came south during the fourth century, perhaps during the so-called 'Yongjia Panic 永嘉之亂' following the sacking of Luoyang by revolting Huns in AD 310.⁴⁴ Zhang Jiuling's epitaph confirms that they hailed from the northern city of Fanyang 範陽 (near Peking). The gazetteers further mention a Zhang Fang 張魴 from Qujiang who rose to office around 325 and became a court gentleman in Nanjing.⁴⁵ Under the Sui, Zhang Junzheng 張君政, son of Zhang Tushan 張塗山, served in office at Shaozhou. His grandson Hongya 宏雅 was commander in the Lingnan army. His brother Hongduan 宏短 was prefect of Hongzhou 洪州, Hongzai 宏載 was greffier of Duanzhou 端州, and Hongxian 宏顯 led a military academy. Their cousin Hongyu 宏愈 lived in Shaozhou and left four sons: Jiuling 九齡, Jiugao 九皋, Jiuzhang 九章, and Jiubin 九賓 (XTS). Zhang Jiuling (678-740) was the first native of Lingnan ever to become a prime minister. Zhang Jiugao made a military career; Jiuzhang became a diplomat. Jiugao's son Zhang Zhongfang 張仲方 made a court career in the shadow of his uncles; his youngest son Zhongru 仲孚 was a censor.⁴⁶

While the biographies in the gazetteers read as a family album of long-time Chinese colonists like the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui, this local 'Who is Who' has little place for Chinese soldiers and administrators whose tours of duty were often too short to connect with these elite 'belongers'. Even Deng Wenjin, who is listed as an official on the initial pages of the *Shaozhou Gazetteer*, is glaringly absent from its 'exemplary lives 例傳' section. Many officers and administrators also failed to command local respect because it was often well known that their expatriation concluded a career at court that had come to an unfortunate end. The prestige of the Zhang among the Shaozhou 'belongers' would on the other hand also depend on the cultivation of their Chinese 斯文 identity, and especially on a highly visible care for ancestral ritual. As senior officials they were entitled to build shrines for three to four generations of ancestors; being northerners, they would worship these family shrines 家廟 on the day of the Cold Food 寒食 festival during the Qingming 清明 period in spring. Sacrifices at Cold Food were approved by the court in 732, when Zhang Jiuling was emperor Xuanzong's private secretary.⁴⁷

The Zhang's annual performance of the Cold Food ritual was probably a highlight on Shaozhou's society calendar, to the envy of other wealthy Chinese families such as the Liu 劉. These cultured squires, allegedly from northwestern Jiangsu 江蘇, were relative latecomers or perhaps refugees. They left their homesteads on the banks of the Pei 沛 during the Roqsan uprising of the 750s to settle in Qujiang county.⁴⁸ The most prominent Liu of Qujiang was the scholar-official Liu Ke 劉軻 (d. 839).⁴⁹ As a sickly child he took an interest in Daoist breathing exercises and alchemy. Before 805 he apparently went to study Daoism on Mt Luofu 羅浮 near Canton. After 805, Liu Ke lived as a Buddhist hermit on Mt Lu in Jiangzhou.⁵⁰ The itinerary and chronology of Ke's grand tour is not clear. It appears to have included Lingyan 靈巖 Abbey on Mt Fang 方 in Shandong, halfway Jinan and the Grand Canal.⁵¹ Perhaps Liu Ke's visit to Mt Fang was an excursion during a stay on his family's old estate in northwestern Jiangsu; the trip would only take a hundred miles up the Grand Canal and down the Yellow River. One late ninth-century source mentions visits to Mt Jiuyi 九疑 on the Hunan-Guangdong border - after which Ke returned to 'Cao's Brook in Qujiang'.⁵²

Through a certain Mr Yang 楊, a philosophy teacher at Mt Luofu, Liu Ke became acquainted with the Confucian mainstream thought of his days. He probably adopted the name Ke when he studied Mencius at Mt Lu; his *Companion to Mencius* was already well known in 818.⁵³ During the 810s he corresponded with Han Yu 韓愈 and in 818 he received a letter from Bai Juyi, then governor of Jiangzhou, who encouraged him to take the *jinshi* 進士 examination and introduced him to a few 'literary friends' (actually Bai Juyi's political cronies) in the capital.⁵⁴ After 820, however, Bai fell out of grace and Ke had to wait until 827 to become an aide to Zhang Zhongfang 張仲, governor of Fujian 福建 and a nephew of Zhang Jiuling. As Ke's study friend Lu Binyu 陸賓虞 had married Zhongfang's

daughter, kinship may have helped him more than geographical proximity. When Zhongfang became Imperial Librarian in 836, Ke became employed in the Library as a historian. Ke once described his office as a 'treasure cabinet of state' and his own craft as 'deep inebriation'.⁵⁵ But when Zhongfang died the next year, Liu Ke also lost his office. Pulleyblank believes that he served on provincial posts before he died in 839.⁵⁶ No more is known of his family, and we do not know of their kinship with Liu Zhilue (劉志略 or 劉至略; d.u.), an alleged contemporary of the Sixth Ancestor.⁵⁷

We have now met two prominent Chinese families in eighth-century Shaozhou: the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui, representing the older Chinese establishment, and the Liu as more recent settlers in an outlying area. Although they probably arrived as refugees and lived in the shadow of the Zhang, the Liu were also independently wealthy, as Liu Ke's lifestyle as a student may show. Far from living as a poor romantic in the guest quarters of the famous East Forest 東林 Abbey at Mt Lu, he acquired a large plot of farmland on the south side of the mountain and built his residence on it.⁵⁸ After the opening of the Dayu Turnpike, the fortunes of families like the Zhang and the Liu in turn became strong attractors for Buddhist monks who crossed the Ranges in search of wealthy sponsors. The following chapter will describe the development of a Buddhist community in Shaozhou in the context of the religious policies of the eighth century; the several centers of Buddhist activity in the prefecture; and the role of Hunanese monks and local laymen in it.

4.3. The growth of a local Buddhist community

4.3.1. The economics of ordination

The birth of medieval cities in Western Europe has been explained from the growth of markets near abandoned Roman forts (Pirenne) and more recently from the settlements of mendicant monks (Le Goff). Both theories carry a scent of essentialism; medievalists now also believe that Le Goff's hypothesis makes light of regional and local conditions.¹ Yet both explanations may help us to appreciate the sudden growth of Shaozhou and its Buddhist community. The Tang city of Shaozhou developed at the walls of the old Han fortress on the confluence of the Zhen and the North River and it quite likely began to attract increasing numbers of wandering monks after 717. In spite of repeated official efforts to contain this 'floating population' in a handful of officially accredited monasteries, itinerant Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, geomancers 風水佬, fortune-tellers, physiognomists and healers remained part of the streetscape of China's thriving cities. Some centuries later, under the Northern Song, they were still described as:

'moving from marketplace to marketplace, [...] summoned most often [...] to recite sutras, conduct ceremonies, or write charms to help alleviate suffering. On occasion they were also asked to do what gods did, to bring rain or to perform other miracles. [...] The laity were free to consult any practitioner or god [...].'²

By that time, Buddhist ordination letters had become a freely traded commodity. Between 1073 and 1083, the average annual number of ordination letters doubled from 4000 to 8000; in 1110, a record number of 30,000 letters was floated on a willing market.³ This Song practice had a precedent in auctions by the bankrupt Tang court in 756. After the Roqsan uprising, emperor Suzong 肅宗 of Tang let Shenhui of Heze sell ordination letters to commoners who often could hardly memorize a single sermon.⁴ In turn, Suzong's action was predicated on a practice established under Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705-710). It was gradually abolished under Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 714-756), who wrote:

Since [705], members of the nobility have presented memorials to the emperor requesting the ordination of monks. Able-bodied male adults of wealthy commoner households 富戶 had themselves tonsured in large numbers to evade their corvee duties. [...] People in orders today are so numerous that their dark habits *fill the roads* [...] Such individuals place themselves under the protection of powerful families, together with the fortunes they vainly bring [them]. Fixed prices have been established for [...] those who wish to have their names cited before the emperor. In the past, when offices were purchased, the money at least entered the state coffers. But today's sale of ordinations benefits private families.⁵

After 712, these 'preferential ordinations' came to a halt and 12,000 'false ordinates' 偽濫 were forced to return to taxpayer life. A few years later, official ordinations were also suspended.⁶ Perhaps some wealthier 'monks' took refuge in remote Southern prefectures where corrupt officials would still vouch for 'private conversions' 私渡. Barred from ordaining new converts, these monks could only recruit private disciples 養私門. There is evidence that many of these students were yet privately 'ordained'.⁷

The development of the Buddhist clergy after 700 may now be summarized as follows:

- a. Between 705 and 710 a wave of 'preferential ordinations' allowed wealthy and well-connected commoners to join the clergy; many became itinerant monks.
- b. Between 714 and 741, 'private ordinations' were the only access to monkhood.

- c. Official ordinations were resumed in 741. Statistics claiming a fourfold increase of the clergy between 714 (126,000) and 756 (500,000) are probably flattered.⁸
- d. Between 756 and 758, Shenhui sold official, non-preferential ordination letters . In the aftermath of these sales, the clergy officially grew to 700,000 in 830, due to the continued issue of ordination letters by local officials and others.⁹
- e. Under the Northern Song, Wang Anshi gave a new impulse to the ordinations trade. After 1068, ordination letters were actually traded at market rates.¹⁰

After a brief surge in 1110, the market rates for ordination letters fell sharply. Around 1175, they had even become rare, at least in China's deep south. Says Zhou Qufei 周去非, controller-general 通判 at Jingjiang 靜江 (now Guilin) from 1172-1178:¹¹

In the counties and prefectures of the south there are Buddhist and Daoist abbeys, but no monks. The people are too poor to afford ordination letters and only a few have received these from the Bureau of Sacrifices 祠部 . All other [residents of these abbeys] are novices 童行 who shave their heads or don the [Daoist] robes on the pretext of joining a holiday festival 聖節 [...]. When asked for their credentials, they claim that it was lost by theft or fire. Instead, the authorities then provide them with authentication letters 公憑 allowing them [to pose as monks].

In the local context of Shaozhou and Qujiang, the gazetteers mention major Buddhist building activity around 700, 717 and around 1100. It is quite likely that these building sprees are related to the several waves of ordinations during those years.

Two monastic compounds were either newly built or expanded at two places on the North River soon after the opening of the 'Dayu Turnpike' in 717: one on Vulture Peak 靈鷲山, on the west bank near Deng Wenjin's new city wall, and the other near the upstream village of Mengli 濛淩, on the east bank, around 40 kilometres to the south. Buddhist shrines were popular among travelers and merchants for two reasons. They were almost universally recognizable throughout China, like the golden arches of present-day hamburgerdom. The parallel does not stop here: Buddhist monasteries were also reliable providers of bland food to travelers. Their services further included simple, clean lodging in 'open' cloisters 普通院 , a safe and affordable alternative to posthouses and town inns.¹² We may as well

make a brief round of the Buddhist monasteries around Shaozhou - as if we were to compile a Buddhist 'gazetteer' of Qujiang county around 700 AD.

4.3.2. The abbey at Mengli

The Buddha's Law spread to China along three important trade roads: the Northern and Southern Silk Roads connecting Persia, Central Asia, and North India with the Yellow River Valley, and the so-called Maritime Silk Road linking Arabia, South India and Indochina with the Pearl River Delta. Under the Han, the city of Canton became the main port of entry on the Maritime Silk Road. The grand historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 wrote:

Panyu 番禺 was another metropolis, a place where pearls and jade, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shells, fruits and fabrics were all available.¹³

It is not amazing that monks from South India on their way from Canton ('Panyu') to China's northern and southern capital cities left their traces on the banks of the Pearl River and its affluents: the West and North Rivers. This may explain the tradition that Moon Splendor 月華 Abbey at Mengli was founded in 502 by a wandering Indian Trepitaka called Arya Jnanabhaishajya at a site 'close to high hills, water and a copper mine' 岑水銅場.¹⁴ This Moon Splendor Abbey must not be confused with the more inland Moon Splendor Hill where the tenth-century monk Qingyi 清裔 built a compound that was known as Huajie 花界 Abbey in 998. Huajie's most famous monk was the Venerable Hailin 海琳, who was born in Qujiang and died before 1032 as its twelfth abbot.¹⁵

SG records that a Tang *upadhyaya* named Huilang 慧朗法師 (765-835) officiated at Moon Splendor at Mengli and that the abbey was rebuilt around 1095, ten years after Wang Anshi's reforms. Huilang's laic surname was Ouyang 歐陽 and he was from Qujiang. At thirteen he entered Denglin 鄧林 Abbey in Qujiang; at twenty he took the precepts at Mt Heng 衡. After a short intermezzo in Jiangxi, he worked with the old meditation teacher Xiqian 希遷 (699-790), better known as 'the Stone' 石頭 because he used to teach on a rock terrace on the eastern side of the wall of Nantai Abbey on Mt Heng, where his stupa and stupa inscription can still be visited. Huilang's contacts with Xiqian indirectly connect him to Huineng, whom Xiqian reportedly visited at Cao's Brook.¹⁶ After Xiqian had died in 790, Huilang first went north to Zhaoti 招提 Abbey in Tanzhou (now Changsha in Hunan) and from there back south to Mt Luofu 羅浮.¹⁷ Huilang apparently returned to his native Qujiang in 795, where he 'rebuilt' Moon Splendor Abbey and attended to the 'true body 真身' of its founding ancestor Arya Jnanabhaisajya.¹⁸ Many southern and western Chinese Mandarin speakers easily confuse the

initials [n] and [l]. This may be the source of one local tradition which claims that it was not Huilang but Huineng, the later 'Sixth Ancestor', who rebuilt Moon Splendor Abbey around 700.¹⁹ HS indeed suggests that Neng spent some time at a 'mountain' near Mengli 濛湮:

14. [...] Then there was an official of the fourth rank whose laic surname was Chen 陳. His monastic title was meditation teacher Huiming 惠明. Hearing that Great Teacher Neng [...] was heading south, he decided to go south [...] He went to live at Fengding Abbey on Mt Lu. It took three years before he was enlightened by the secret words. After this, Neng stayed on Mt Meng 濛 to convert many groups.

The Kōshōji PS gives a different reading of this part. In this and later editions, Neng tells Ming 'to stop at Yuan[zhou] 袁 and to take up abode in [Mt] Meng 蒙 (not 濛). PS Meng 蒙 may refer to Mt Meng 蒙山 in Jiangxi, while HS 濛 may refer to Mengli 濛湮'.²⁰

When Shaozhou became a major inland transit port after 717, Moon Splendor Abbey, with its own riverside landing, naturally became an increasingly popular station among travellers and merchants sailing up and down the North River. The name of the abbey strongly suggests, but does of course not prove, that it was the material successor to Arya Jnanabhaisajya's legendary sixth-century settlement. The riverside abbey remained a major destination for travellers during the Northern Song: both Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 and Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064) stayed at the abbey and wrote poems on it.²¹ Yu Jing (style: Wuxi 武溪) was himself a native of Shaozhou. As a successful scholar-official from Qujiang, his contemporaries considered him the peer of Zhang Jiuling. After some brief provincial postings to Liaoning and Guizhou, he became Secretary of the Ministry of Works in the 1050s. He was later enfeoffed as Duke of Shixing Commandery.²² In 1104 Moon Splendor Abbey was expanded across the river: that year, the gazetteers report a Mountain Well 山泉 Abbey built 'on the river opposite Mengli 濛里對江'.²³ Around 1900, the Mengli site was described as follows:

'A row of hazy trees, their thick leaves covering the sun,
Yet another strange site: Moon Splendor Abbey
Where the Indian monk Arya Jnanabhaisajya's true body rests,
And where two priests reside.'²⁴

Moon Splendor Abbey existed until the 1960s. During World War II the famous monk Xuyun 虛雲 (d. 1959) assigned it as a guesthouse for the nearby Southern Abbey at Cao's Brook which was being 'rebuilt' under his guidance.²⁵ The abbey was, however, completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Yet when I visited Mengli in November, 1998, some old villagers pointed me to a small

courtyard that was being built amidst the fields about one mile south of the hamlet, apparently on the site where Moon Splendor Abbey had been before the 1960s. I was told that Xuyun had completed the transformation of the abbey in 1942 with the opening of a nunnery called Boundless Hermitage 無盡庵 - an apparent allusion to the name of the nun Boundless Store 無盡藏 in HS. After 1996, reconstruction on a much smaller scale began. A wooden replica of the 'true body', cut after an ancient block print, was installed in a tiny ancestral hall, together with a copy of Huineng's alleged 'true body' as it had been displayed at Cao's Brook.²⁶

Today, this little hermitage is all that remains of an abbey that had been founded even before Shaozhou became a trading hub and that had flourished as a river station under the Tang and Song. Being far from the city, its clientele was probably transient rather than local. The several reconstructions of Moon Splendor Abbey under the Tang and Song coincide with the historical 'ordination sprees' described above. That this 'bright moon' was eventually eclipsed by the much less

ancient Huineng cult at Cao's Brook may in part be explained by changes in the course of the North River on which it so much depended.²⁷

4.3.3. The abbeys on the West Bank

If not to Mengli, where did the local gentry of Shaozhou go to perform its acts of merit to the Buddhist order? The prime candidate site was a hillock grandly named 'Vulture Peak', six *li* north of the Tang city, which according to a Song-era *Record of Shixing* was 'a plateau, vast and beautiful, with the oldest Buddhist monastery of all Lingnan.'²⁸ Although Vulture Peak does not appear on any maps of Shaozhou and Qujiang in the gazetteers, its location north of the city is confirmed in YH scr. 34. Tang Sen notes that the 'oldest monastery of Lingnan' was really Prajna Abbey in Sihui 四會 county (founded AD 300), with the well-known Guangxiao Abbey at Canton (AD 362) coming second.²⁹

It was probably in response to the 6th founding legend of the riverside abbey at Mengli that the monks at Vulture Peak claimed that an unnamed Indian monk had resided at the 'Peak' there around AD 410. According to the *Guangdong Gazetteer*, the original name of the site was Mt Huqun 虎群山 ('Tiger Crowd') or Mt Hushi 虎市山 ('Tiger City') after its many violent tigers: 'Under [...] the Jin, an "eminent monk" chased away all the tigers. It was later renamed Vulture Peak.'³⁰ In 714, under emperor Xuanzong's Kaiyuan reign, a monastery was reportedly built on Vulture Peak by an otherwise unknown monk named Zongxi 宗錫 (SG). Originally known as Mahabrahman 大梵 Abbey, it was redesignated as an imperial Kaiyuan Abbey following Xuanzong's decree in 738 to establish imperial monasteries in all prefectures. Imperial monasteries were used for imperial birthday ceremonies and

for national celebrations on the ides of the first, seventh and tenth month of the lunar year. In prefectures where imperial abbeys had been commissioned under Wu Zetian (Mahamegha 大雲 abbeys after 690) or Zhongzong 中宗 (Longxing 龍興 abbeys after 707), these sites were often recommissioned into Kaiyuan Abbeys.³¹

The gazetteers, however, do not mention a Mahamegha or Longxing Abbey in Shaozhou (for a 'Zhongxing Abbey' see below). Prior to the Kaiyuan era, there probably was no imperial monastery in Shaozhou, the prefecture being either too outlying or too unimportant to merit one. The decision to commission the Mahabrahman as an imperial abbey was perhaps taken in view of its strategic location on the river near the new city. It was apparently not the only Buddhist compound at this site: the gazetteers also mention an abbey at the foot of King Shun's shrine 虞帝祠 on 'Dancer's Peak' 舞峰, also known as 'Emperor's Ridge' 皇岡, a few hundred yards down from Vulture Peak.³² Few details of this second abbey are known; it apparently predated Mongol rule and was renovated in 1540. When the gazetteers were compiled, it was still in use as a Buddhist monastery.³³

More is known of a third abbey on the West Bank, founded AD 743 and known as Guangjie 廣界, Guangsheng 廣勝, or Guangyun 光運 Abbey. The first and second names are associated with Fang Rong 方融, the compiler of the *Surangamasutra*.³⁴ His only known poem *Exiled to Nanhai* has been preserved under three different subtitles:

- a. *Visiting the venerable Guo 果 at Guangsheng 廣勝 Abbey in Shixing* (QTS 100-07);
- b. *Visiting the venerable Guo at Guangjie Abbey 光界 in Shaozhou* (QTS 100-07); and
- c. *An exiled official passes by an abbey on Vulture Peak* (in the *Qujiang Gazetteer*) .

He Ge'en reads this as evidence that Guangjie Monastery was indeed on Vulture Peak.³⁵ Its site, reportedly the premises of the former residence of a retired palace eunuch named Wang Dao 王導 (d.u.) , was locally better known as 仁壽臺 Renshou Terrace³⁶ When the Tang court fled to Sichuan in 880, Renshou Terrace was officially renamed into Guangming 光明 Cloister. This name was changed back briefly to Renshou Terrace under the Southern Han (911-961). The compound underwent reconstruction in 1038 and was officially renamed Guangyun 光運 Abbey in 1080 (see also 4.3.4, below). The gazetteers list 'Guangyun Abbey at Renshou 仁壽光運寺' at the top of all Buddhist and Daoist monasteries in Qujiang, noting that it was 'also named "Five Ancestor Abbey", but not [after] the Fifth Ancestor of Huangmei 又稱五祖寺,然非黃梅五祖也!³⁷ This reference is perhaps to a lineage of 'Five Ancestors' known at the time of the building of the abbey. This excludes the lineages of the Huayan school (its Fifth Ancestor Zongmi of Guifeng was born in 780) and the White Lotus Society

(founded after 1100), but leaves for consideration the Tiantai and Pure Land lineages. Daoguang 道廣, the legendary founder of this abbey, will be introduced in section 4.3.4, below.

As a matter of course the imperial Kaiyuan ranked first among the abbeys on the West Bank, about one mile north of the Tang city. Had Xuanzong's edicts been followed to the letter, it would perhaps have been the *only* abbey in Shaozhou. But the sky being high and the emperor far away, the local gentry was probably happy to have three abbeys at the auspicious site of king Shun's shrine, named Emperor's Ridge today and Vulture Peak tomorrow, if only to guarantee that the tigers of old were not to return there.³⁸ Having identified the major Buddhist landmarks of early eighth-century Qujiang, we may now proceed in true 'gazetteer' fashion to the lives of some of their famous inhabitants.

4.3.4. A wandering monk from Hunan

Among the Chinese monks who attended mass at these Buddhist 'high church' abbeys were perhaps more than a few recipients of 'preferential' ordinations. No longer allowed to live the privileged lives of monks in China proper, many 'dubious monks' may indeed have sought a refuge in Shaozhou by way of the Dayu Turnpike. Tradition has preserved some names of early Buddhist settlers from Hunan and also of monks from the city itself. Tang Sen mentions the following Cantonese monks among the first generations of 'southern meditation teachers' in Shaozhou: Xiqian 希遷 'the Stone' of Nanyue (born Chen 陳 of Duanzhou); Huilang 慧郎 of Tangzhou (from Qujiang); Shanhui 善會 of Lizhou (born Liao 廖 of Guangzhou); Huiji 慧寂 of Yuanzhou (born Ye 葉, from Zhenchang in Shaozhou), and Ruhui 如會 of Changsha (from Shixing in Shaozhou). Tang claims their careers necessarily flourished 'north of the ranges' because of the lack of developed Buddhist monasteries in Shaozhou and the unreceptiveness of the locals.³⁹ A *vita* in the gazetteers, however, says that Huilang, after having studied with meditation teacher Daoyi 道一 (d. 788, the famous 'Ancestor Ma' 馬祖) in Jiangxi and then with Xiqian at Mt Heng in Hunan, went to live at the Mengli abbey. Other meditation teachers who were born north of the ranges also left their mark in Shaozhou. An eleventh-century stupa text by Yu Jing describes meditation teacher Daoguang 道廣 (675-743) as the founder of Guangjie Abbey, as a 'living Buddha' from Hunan, and as a thaumaturge:⁴⁰

He was from Chen[-zhou 郴州 in Hunan]. His laic surname was Zhu 朱, his monastic name Daoguang. He was enlightened as a child and went to Hengzhou to do lay service to *acharya* Chao 超. He was shaven in Futian 福田 Abbey, which is at Nanyue 南岳. He took his tin [staff] to wander off and stop in Shaozhou. [...] In the year [742], there was a great drought in Shaozhou. Guang was sitting in meditation at the confluence of the Zhen and Wu Brooks. He floated down to the

magistrate's beach and then back upstream, proclaiming loudly: "Rain shall come!" Then a great rain fell and the citizens praised him as a living Buddha. The next year, [when] he died, a strange fragrance spread inside his room.

Futian Abbey at Mt Heng is an obscure toponym. The only site near Mt Heng previously known as Futian 福田 is modern Futianpu 福田鋪 Township, 16 km northwest of Hengshan 衡山 Town, known as a 'place of fortuitous *fengshui* 風水福地'.⁴¹ Another, literally distant possibility is that Yu Jing confuses an existing Futian Abbey at Daozhou 道州 (now Daoxian 道縣 in southern Hunan) with the famous abbey on the western peak of Mt Heng which was founded in 567 as 'Prajna Abbey' by the Tiantai meditation teacher Huisi 慧思 and recommissioned as Fuyan 福嚴 Abbey around 980.⁴²

The existence of this stupa inscription by Yu Jing implies that the Hunanese thaumaturge Daoguang had his memorial stupa in Shaozhou around 1050. A few decades later, when the abbey was officially renamed Guangyun 光運 Abbey in 1080, Daoguang received the posthumous title of Great Teacher Zhengshi 證誓. At that time, Daoguang's stupa was still preserved on the premises and the site was locally known as 'Monk Guang's cloister' 廣和尚院. In 1173 Sun Shimin 孫時敏, using data from Yu Jing's stupa text, wrote a stele inscription to commemorate Daoguang's canonization. Although no specific record exists of Daoguang as a disciple of Huineng, Sun mentions the two steles by Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi to commemorate Huineng's canonization and also quotes a famous Song-era slogan about the 'illiterate' 不立文字 meditation school.⁴³

Yet neither Yu Jing nor Sun Shimin clarifies where and how Daoguang was ordained (Sun merely mentions that he was 'enlightened as a child') and how he actually travelled from Hengyang to Shaozhou.⁴⁴ The affiliations of his ordination teacher Chao 超 also remain obscure. It must not be ruled out that Daoguang, who was born in 675 and 'as a boy discussed Confucius and the Buddha' (and hence was probably a son of wealthy family) received a 'preferential ordination' arranged by his parents. This may throw an interesting light on Su Shimin's casual remark that 'Daoguang was [already] enlightened as a child' - perhaps a kind way of telling that some Chinese postulants were treated more specially than others. In the light of the restrictions on preferential ordination imposed after 713, it appears reasonable that 'Sunday children' like Daoguang, who had the financial means to travel and were physically fit, would cross the Five Ranges - literally to be on the safe side. That Guang ended up in Shaozhou also appears logical. Coming from Mt Heng, he would naturally return to his family estate in Chenzhou, take the Jing-Hu Road across the Qitian 騎田 Range from there, and eventually sail down the Wu 武 to Lechang and Qujiang.⁴⁵

In Shaozhou, he apparently became an urban hermit, settling at the ruin of some old palace that soon became known by its popular and somewhat affectionate name of 'Monk Guang's Cloister'. As I indicated in my opening essay, Yu Jing's resume of Daoguang's career as a strange wandering monk who became known locally as a meditator and a thaumaturge and who left an unmistakable *odor sanctitatis*, quite well fits Peter Brown's definition, also quoted in the opening essay, of the holy man as 'a stranger among men without being possessed by a god'. We also notice that the local literates contributed to the assimilation of Daoguang's popular cult into Chinese 'gentry Buddhism' - a tradition to which Daoguang's Confucian upbringing appears to have predestined him. Sun Shimin's hagiography on the other hand clad Daoguang in the contemporary rhetoric of a 'direct, non-literate transmission' that was also defining the cult of Huineng at Cao's Brook.

4.3.5. Public and private Buddhism

Daoguang's progress from vagrant miracle worker to 'stranger in residence', was followed by his incorporation among the local literates as an 'eminent monk'. That final transformation happened during a period of increasing tension between private and public practices of Buddhism. Around 720, emperor Xuanzong started to defrock thousands of 'privately' ordained Buddhist monks. In 727, the emperor also ordered all 'irregular' Buddhist establishments to be torn down and all private Buddhist chapels and prebends (known as 'merit cloisters' 功德院) to be 'transferred to neighboring large monasteries'.⁴⁶ Heaven being high and the emperor still far away, these decrees were not likely to be enforced immediately, let alone at all levels. In a distant prefecture like Shaozhou, for instance, imperial authority was effectively limited to the city gates and usually did not extend beyond the threshold of the prefectural residence. But if private Buddhist practices of the Chinese and indigenous populace at large were perhaps hardly affected, the imperial containment policy almost certainly touched on the lives and careers of those more closely linked to the public sphere: families like the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui.

Although not particularly dedicated to the Buddha's Law, the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui would yet be encouraged by the substantial tax benefits to be gained from meritorious works in the Buddhist fashion to add a touch of Buddhism to such familiar matters as the tending of family chapels. Furthermore, at least one contemporary Zhang from Qujiang is known to have dabbled in Buddhist studies. Zhang Baizhi 張百知, a doctor of classics who served as head clerk at the Shaozhou prefecture, was reportedly a student of the Sixth Ancestor. Baizhi was never ordained, but he did receive an *upashaka* name: Xiaoliao 曉了.⁴⁷ We must also mention the monk Zhang Wenchong 張文充 (d. 730), better known as the Sixth Ancestor's disciple and hagiographer Fahai 法海, who was probably (according to some sources) a native of Qujiang 曲江 and possibly also a Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui. Zanning does

not mention Fahai of Qujiang, but instead produces a *vita* of a monk Fahai from the Zhang family in Danyang 丹陽 who was ordained at Crane Forest 鶴林 Abbey and then became a disciple of the Sixth Ancestor.⁴⁸ But Fahai of Danyang also lectured with a monk Fazhen 法眞 of Yangzhou around 750, when Fahai of Qujiang reportedly had been dead for two decades. Fahai's biographical note in QTW, largely based on Zanning, has him 'born in the Zhang 張 family of Danyang 丹陽 (one source says: Qujiang)'.⁴⁹ Of course the local gazetteers from Shaozhou and Canton wholeheartedly adopt 'Fahai of Qujiang' as a son of the South and mention him as abbot of Baozhuangyan 寶莊嚴 Abbey (now: Six Banyan 六榕 Abbey) in Canton.⁵⁰

Having admitted to doubts about Fahai's identity, we must also notice that the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui were probably better positioned than any other family in Shaozhou to have a son or cousin cited at court for preferential ordination - most notably between 707 and 713, when Zhang Jiuling's career in the capitals was taking off.⁵¹ By the time Jiuling returned to Shaozhou on sick leave in 716, Xuanzong had suspended the issue of preferential ordination letters as well as the granting of new official titles to monasteries. Official ordinations were only resumed in 741, one year after Jiuling's death and more than a decade after Fahai's. It follows that if Fahai was indeed to profit from a preferential ordination through Jiuling's good offices, his best opportunity would have been around 710. As chaplain of a merit cloister, he could have tended the Zhangs' ancestral graves and performed sacrifices on behalf of the family on Cold Food Day, as described above.

When Zhang Jiuling's mother died in the fall of 733, Jiuling, then Vice-President of the Imperial Secretariat, obtained permission to return to Qujiang for her funeral and mourning.⁵² The following spring, however, Xuanzong summoned him back into office. In the spirit of Vimalakirti, Jiuling wrote a memorial to decline his reappointment, but the emperor insisted.⁵³ Being unable to fulfill his filial duties, which included at least two full years of mourning, and perhaps deprived of a trusted family priest who could have attended to his mother's memory (Fahai had died in 730) Jiuling had to make different arrangements.⁵⁴ To qualify for tax exemption, he could either (a) establish a burial ground and a chapel for his mother on the premises of an extant monastery, or (b) allow the building of a Buddhist chapel on his family's burial ground and invite a new monk to tend it. In case (a), he would have to claim the plot as a merit cloister; in case (b), a petition for official recognition of abbey status would produce the same benefit. In either case, the Zhang family would retain the right to appoint cloister officials and attendants.⁵⁵

Option (a) contains a clue to the origins of Mahabrahman Abbey on Vulture Peak, which was upgraded after 738 to an imperial Kaiyuan Abbey, the closest pre-modern Chinese equivalent to a 'cathedral temple'. Option (b) would be more tailored to the development of the former Renshou

Terrace, although there is no indication that that site ever served as a burying ground for the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui. A third possibility is that the Zhang family initially set up a merit cloister at Renshou and later transferred it into the compound of Mahabrahman; that it was returned after Jiuling's mother died in 733; and that the entire monastic compound at Vulture Peak received abbey status in 738, when Xuanzong issued recommission certificates to many other abbeys in Lingnan.⁵⁶

Although much in the preceding paragraphs is hypothetical, it is obvious that the history of the Buddhist monasteries in eighth-century Shaozhou was part of a rapidly growing religious economy in which public and private actors were often playing against each other. The temples and merit cloisters at Vulture Peak were perhaps more affected by these dialectics than the more outlying abbey at Mengli, which catered to the countless merchants sailing up and down the North River whose donations were hardly influenced by the emperor's religious politics. But by emphasizing the boundary between public and private Buddhism, the emperor also created a subaltern urban Buddhist community with less access to the official institutions which were being promoted by imperial edicts.

It was obvious that after 738 most donations in the city would go to institutions with officially accredited titles - first of all the imperial Kaiyuan Abbey. What was left for the wandering monks and fortune-seekers, who arrived in the city without a proper ordination letter gaining them access to the public monasteries? Some men of good backgrounds like Daoguang would be able to survive in the city as respected hermits or even attain fame as thaumaturges. Many others, however, could only:

serve as mediums for demons and spirits and peddle miracle stories [...],
falsely lay claim to magical healing powers [...], burn their skin and pierce
their bodies, frightening the vulgar and dumbfounding the simple minded.⁵⁷

Such 'tricksters, wonder-workers, soothsayers, magicians, exorcists, and healers' would hardly be able to mobilize financial support from major sponsors. But the second echelon of Shaozhou's booming economy was still an attractive market for their services. It is not amazing that after 738 new Buddhist establishments appeared on the periphery of the city. One of these may have been the 'Old Hibiscus Temple' 芙蓉古剎 mentioned in the gazetteers on Hibiscus Hill 芙蓉山, one mile southwest of Shaozhou city, side by side with a Daoist hermitage dating back to the Han.⁵⁸ The outlying market towns of Shaozhou may also have had their share of unofficial Buddhist copyshops 經坊 and shelters 精舍 - and merit cloisters.⁵⁹ Before the end of the century, however, this religious 'shadow economy' would overshadow mainstream Buddhism by transforming itself into the single most successful Buddhist operation in China: the Sixth Ancestor cult.

4.4. A topography of the Huineng tradition

The following discussion is called a 'topography' not only because it describes the geographical context of the Huineng cult, but also because it analyzes several traditional *topoi* figuring in it: the famous 'Precious Forest' as well as the elusive 'Twin Peaks' and the several references to sources and wells in hagiographical and other documents. Two other major *topoi*: the stupa and the 'true effigy' will be discussed in a separate chapter.

4.4.1. The Twin Peaks and the Precious Forest

It is usually taken for granted that the cult of the 'living bodhisattva' Huineng of Shaozhou, the Sixth Ancestor of the 'southern meditation tradition', developed on the sacred ground where the holy man had lived and taught around AD 700. A very early *vita* of which only fragments survive, however, contains data to the contrary that have been ignored by most later hagiographers. The *Garden of Anecdotes from the Ancestral Hall* 祖庭事苑 (1108), for instance, contains the following puzzling topographical description:¹

[During the late 670s], the resident [perhaps: layman] Cao Shuliang 曹叔良, a great-grandson of Marquis Wu of Jin 晉武侯, arranged a place for the Great

Teacher Sixth Ancestor. At his residence there were twin peaks and a large brook, named 'Cao's Brook 曹溪' after Marquis Cao's surname.

This information was copied from the now lost tenth scroll of Zhijue's *Chronicle of the Precious Forest of Twin Peaks at Marquis Cao's Brook* 智覺曹侯溪雙峰寶林傳 (BZ).² The name '(Mt) Twin Peaks' 雙峰山 has a precedent in the hagiography of a meditation teacher Daoxin 道信 (580-651) who is revered at a Buddhist monastery near the town of Huangmei 黃梅 in Henan as the 'Fourth Ancestor' of the southern meditation tradition.³ In an anonymous manuscript from Dunhuang titled *Occult Teachings of All Past Masters as Collected at a Stupa on the Twin Peaks* 先德集於雙峰山塔各談玄 and dated 750, several meditation teachers, including Huineng, are described gathered at Daoxin's stupa on West Mountain (or perhaps the stupa of Daoxin's successor Hongren 宏忍 on East Mountain) as if they were a family united in a grave-sweeping ceremony.⁴

'Marquis Cao's Brook' is probably Cao's Brook in Qujiang county, a rivulet which joins Maba 馬壩 River at Maba town, one mile west of a hamlet named Tso Uk 曹屋 ('Cao's House').⁵ Maba River is an affluent to the North River which it joins at Pak To 白土, another 3 miles to the west. Near the junction of Cao's Brook and Maba River is a fascinating karst formation known as Lion's Crag 獅子岩, or more precisely: Lion's Head 獅子頭 and Lion's Tail 獅子尾. This is also the oldest inhabited site in Qujiang, witness the early stone age skull and tools of 'Maba Man' found here during the 1950s. At an unknown date, a Buddhist monastery named Zhaoyin 招隱 Abbey was built inside the caves of Lion's Head. This cave monastery went into disrepair during the 1920s and was overlooked by Xuyun's restoration campaign of the 1930s. It was rebuilt in 1986 as part of the Lion's Crag Tourist Site; in the main cave is a life-size statue of Huineng.⁶ Being close to the junction of Maba River and Cao's Brook, this site matches the description in HS, 1 of the legendary Arya Jnanabhaisajya's first abode in Shaozhou:

[He] berthed in a village *at the mouth of Cao's Brook* 曹溪口 in Shaozhou.

[...] He walked to Cao's Brook and had the villagers build him a residence.

According to this story, Jnanabhaishajya then named the site the 'Temple of the Precious Forest' 寶林道場. HS (dated AD 805) being our earliest written reference to this Indian monk, we must assess what a Buddhist 道場 was around 800. Originally a Chinese translation of Sanskrit *bodhimandala*, referring to the place where Buddha attained awakening, 道場 appears in the bodhisattva chapter of the Chinese *Vimalakirti* as the equivalent of 'true mind 真心' and in chapter 2 of the 輔行 (??) as a 'place for worship'.⁷ The official history of the Sui 隋書, completed under the Tang in 636, informs us that in 613 'Buddhist abbeys 寺 in the empire were renamed 'temples' 道場.⁸ This custom was not continued by following dynasties. Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 writes:

Emperor Ming 明 of Han 漢 [...] built White Horse Abbey 白馬寺 [,] named 'temple' 道場 by the Sui and 'abbey' 寺 by the Tang. Under the present [= Song] dynasty, the larger are named 'abbeys' 寺 and the lesser 'cloisters' 院.⁹

道場 as a place for worship is obviously a borrowing from the Daoist term for an altar or for a complete ritual performed at an altar. Schipper describes the ideal Daoist altar as:

[...] itself a mountain. An enclosed space, secret and covered [...] it is called *daochang* 道場, 'place or enclosure of the Dao' [...] to enter this place of retreat in order to perform the rites is called [...] 'to go into the mountain 入山. [...] the officiating priest [...] is in the mountain, the Space of the Dao.¹⁰

Tang Daoist liturgists like Zhang Wanfu 張萬福, a contemporary of Sima Chengzhen, also inform us that a 'mountain grotto represented the ideal space for the performance of Daoist rites, whether for the court or for the benefit of local communities'.¹¹ The above suggests that the 'Precious Forest Temple' indeed originated at the site of these 'Twin Peaks' - albeit perhaps not as a Buddhist monastery founded by an obscure Indian monk, but as a Daoist altar inside the grotto. Locating the Precious Forest, and Huineng's residence with it, at these 'Twin Peaks' explains the following lines in CBCG, which is probably copied from BZ, scroll 10:

10 *li* west of the abbey, there was a giant rock, several hundred feet tall, with caves inside. Huineng went in retreat here.¹²

'The abbey' supposedly refers to the present Southern Abbey, but there is no giant rock or grotto to be found within 10 *li*, or within any reasonable distance at all. CBCG mentions a several hundreds feet tall Mt Ma On 馬鞍 at 8 *li* northwest of the abbey, but the distance appears mistaken, as it is also the mountain from whose foot Cao's Brook originates.¹³ A primitive drawing from the same gazetteer, reproduced in the accompanying booklet to the present study, shows Mt Ma On in the background and in front of a village. In the foreground, Zhaoyin 招隱 (= Lion's) Crag is shown to the left and an archway marked 'South China Road 南華道' to the left of a rivulet that is apparently Cao's Brook. The road to South China Abbey appears to lead to the right, away from Mt Ma On.¹⁴ Under the heading of 'Peaks 峰', CBCG only lists an 'Arhant 羅漢 Peak' to the south of South China Abbey (which means it faces the present abbey's main gateway). It is drawn as 'Arhant Hill 羅漢山' on one of two bird-eye maps of the abbey located across the brook from the shrine of the local deity Chan A-sin 陳亞仙 (see below). I failed to identify it with any feature in front of the present main entrance.¹⁵ In HS 4, nevertheless, Huineng's sponsor Liu Zhilue 劉至略 (BZ, CBCG: 志略), a villager at Cao's Brook:

[...] allowed him to leave home and reside at the said Precious Forest Abbey.

Residing [here, he] practised the path and [recited] the sermon for three years.

Until that time, Huineng had been working for Zhilue at day and assisting Zhilue's aunt, a Buddhist nun named Boundless Store 無盡藏, at night reading mass in what appears to have been a merit cloister on Zhilue's estate near Maba. The so-called 'Precious Forest Abbey' (HS) was probably a simple hermitage in a cavern at Lion's Crag, not far from Zhilue's house and the merit cloister and perhaps also on land owned by Zhilue. HS 6 then tells us that after three years as a troglodyte at the Precious Forest, Huineng left for Lechang 樂昌 county, 30 miles northwest of the city of Shaozhou, to learn seated meditation 坐禪 from an otherwise unknown meditation teacher named Yuan 遠.¹⁶ Yuan and his student Huiji 慧寂 lived in a cave west of the town of Lechang, which corresponds with the 'Old

Buddha Grotto Heaven 古佛洞天' described above. More than modern Qujiang, Lechang figures prominently in the history of the Yao of northern Guangdong. Many Yao groups in Guangxi also trace their origins to Yao clans of Lechang who in turn appear to have arrived in Guangdong from southern Hunan. Lechang's fame among the Yao is probably related to its grotto heavens. As in the case of the 'Precious Forest Temple' at Lion's Crag, a full archaeological investigation will be needed to establish whether this site was inhabited by Buddhist monks during the early Tang.¹⁷ The suggestion that a generation of meditating monks was living in northern Guangdong as hermits in sacred grottoes, if supported by archaeological evidence, may shed new light on the 'contested space' mythology of these sites. In the absence of such evidence, we must appreciate accounts such as Zhiju's that:

The site of Great Teacher Huineng's transmission of the robe of the Law was Precious Forest 寶林 Abbey on Cao's Brook. To the back of the Precious Forest, there were two peaks. [In 503] the prefect and nobility of Shaoyang had dedicated it as the Precious Forest Abbey. Zhongzong of Tang changed [it] to Zhongxing 中興 Abbey and around [706?] to Guangguo 廣果 Abbey. Around [730] it became Jianxing 建興 Abbey, and around [760]: Guoning 國寧 Abbey.¹⁸

Another tenth-century account (by the Chinese monk Yichu) is even more explicit that the original 'Precious Forest' on Cao's Brook and the posthumous *locus culti* of Huineng as the Sixth Ancestor of the meditation school are actually at two different sites:

The Sixth Ancestor dwelt at two abbeys: Cao's Brook *and* the Source of the Law 曹溪法泉兩寺. At the Abbey of the Source of the Law there are teachers, students and princes, five-colored lotus flowers and many trees.¹⁹

So the former was next to the present Lion's Crag, while the latter, known as the 'Source of the Law' (to be described in detail in a following paragraph), was a few miles upstream.

4.4.2. Of caves and mountains

The grotto motif is not unknown in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. The Tang monk Daoshi 道世 (d. 683) mentions a Dragon (or: *naga*) Cavern 龍窟 where the Buddha's robe, bowl and *khakkhara* were locked up 鎮 for forty years after his *paranirvana* to prevent *rakshasa* 羅剎, heretics and evil dragons from usurping the Law and the Four Noble Truths of the Greater Vehicle.²⁰ I also found indications that modern Cantonese popular culture still associates the cult of famous meditation teachers of the past with grotto heavens. Firstly, the 'true effigy' of the Sixth Ancestor at Southern Abbey has been

displayed in front of a sculpted wall depicting 500 Buddhist saints or *arhants* 羅漢. These 500 'idol' are mentioned in Matteo Ricci's diaries and their backdrop, as I saw it twice, evokes the stalactites and stalagmites of the classical grotto heaven.²¹ I remember a recent visit to Hong Kong's Tiger Balm Gardens 香港虎豹苑 where an emaciated effigy of Sixth Ancestor Huineng sits next to the entrance of a miniature 'underworld' from which resonated the frightened shrieks (*Geng¹! Geng¹ a!* 驚!驚呀!) of little Cantonese Persephones. It also happens to be a popular site among local picknickers.²²

But around AD 700, the real grotto heavens of China attracted quite different crowds, described by T.H. Barrett as 'Buddhists, Taoists and unaffiliated hermits' all living in 'religious communities far from the madding crowd'.²³ These peripheral 'universities' appear to have developed as a paraphrase or perhaps a parody of China's central scholarly 斯文 tradition and its 'Three Teachings' (Daoism, Buddhism and Confucian learning) as the three visible tops of a single submerged continent - a realm which modern scholars call 'Chinese religion'. But the polished metaphors of the central tradition pale in front of the powerful cosmographical rhetoric of this early medieval 'underground movement' which drew inspiration from Buddhist, Daoist and probably also southern aboriginal sources. The texts describing the insights and discourses of this underground movement mostly use either Buddhist or Daoist terminology, obviously depending on the audience for which they were written. As the example of the *bodhimandala* 道場 suggests, however, the same terms were often used in both contexts, but again in meanings depending on their contexts and/or audiences. This also appears from the following lines on a visit to a Daoist recluse by 劉長卿 Liu Changqing (graduated 733):²⁴

溪花與禪意	Brook and flowers, sense of Zen!
相對亦忘言	Facing you, I lose my speech.

Although 禪 (*chan*) obviously refers to the practices taught by Buddhist meditation teachers, not to the grand imperial sacrifices (禪 *shan*), an eighth-century visitor obviously saw no offense in offering a line of verse with this Buddhist term to a Daoist hermit. This Buddhist-Daoist ecumene was complementary to the well-known 'contested space' rhetoric in which Buddhist authors told Buddhist audiences how famous monks and thaumaturgues had outwitted Daoist priests in securing the most auspicious sites 福地 at famous mountains, or Daoists told similar stories to other Daoists. Du Guangting (see above) tells a classical 'ecumenical' story about a ninth-century Buddhist monk from Mt Tiantai in Zhejiang who miraculously walked underground from his home province to the northern Shandong coast in a few hours.²⁵ Du casually mentions that this monk was 'an adept at "swallowing the breath" 咽氣 and felt neither hungry nor thirsty' while his travel companion could not resist the foods stalls inside this strange underworld. What follows is Eurydice and Lot's wife combined: when exiting from the cave, the monk who had eaten turned into stone, while the monk who had kept his fast walked away. In this

light, having a picnic inside a mock grotto is really tempting the gods - which may explain the excitement at the Tiger Balm 'grotto heaven'.

As we mentioned above, Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting are our foremost authorities on the religious cosmography of this Chinese underworld, or 'the beyond within', as Franciscus Verellen aptly named it.²⁶ Sima Chengzhen's *Plan of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences* 天地宮府圖 was written around 700 in an eclectic 'High Church Daoist' vocabulary full of Buddhist elements and indigenous Chinese terms and rhetoric, a point duly noticed by Soymié, Zürcher, and more recently by Verellen. His description of a comprehensive system deriving from five sacred mountains connected by primary and secondary networks of ten major and thirty-six minor 'grotto heavens' as well as by an extensive tertiary network of auspicious sites 福地 reads like an underground railroad map giving access to a secret world of religious experience apparently common to Buddhist and Daoist initiates.²⁷ Sima Chengzhen's map conveys the impression of a giant energetic mycelium underlying the entire body of the Chinese empire, surfacing near numinous caves and sacred mountains. As this image may carry some unwanted parasitic associations, one should perhaps rather compare these sites to the 'cardinal points' on the meridians of the empire - the places where the pulse of all the numinous energies of heaven and earth was taken. And this was precisely what Daoist doctors, Buddhist meditation teachers and other religious experts at these free-spirited and ecumenical 'universities' were supposed to do.

To give an impression of Sima's cosmography: the southernmost of the five cardinal mountains 五岳, Mt Heng in Hunan, was supposedly linked to the 'greater' grotto heaven of Mt Luofu 羅浮 in Guangdong. Access was obtained through a 'lesser' grotto on Mt Heng itself known as the 'Vermilion Tomb' (Zhuling 朱陵) - not only the place where Sima Chengzhen would sojourn when on Mt Heng, but also the site where meditation teacher Zhiju 智矩 of Zhuling (fl. 804) or perhaps some other student of the Hunanese meditation teacher Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓. (677-744) wrote the *Chronicle of the Precious Forest of Twin Peaks at Marquis Cao's Brook* 曹侯溪 雙峰寶林傳 (BZ).²⁸

Other famous products from this medieval religious community at Mt Heng included the writings of two very eminent Buddhist meditation teachers: *Oath and Vow* 立誓願文 by Huisi 慧思 (515-577) and *Token of Triple Agreement* 參同契 by Xiqian the Stone. James Robson, who wrote on Mt Heng as a 'polymorphous space', noticed that both texts contain conspicuous amounts of Daoist terminology and imagery.²⁹ As the story of Huineng of Shaozhou as a cavern-dweller at the 'Twin Peaks' on Cao's Brook indeed appears to derive from Huairang and his students at Mt Heng, we must recall what Zanning wrote on Huairang in his *vita* of Huineng (see also section 2.1.3, above):

'He was revered by famous gentlemen of the court:

- a. like Song Zhiwen 宋之問 who paid tribute 謁 to Neng and wrote a long piece;
- b. like Zhang Yue, Lord Yan 張燕公說, who sent ten pounds of frankincense with a poem delivered by Wu Pingyi 武平一[...];
- c. Lord Wu [Pingyi] wrote an inscription in praise 贊銘 for a giant bell cast by the disciple Huairang 懷讓; calligraphy [by] Song Zhiwen.

In section 3.6.4, above, I argued that if Song Zhiwen ever met Huineng of Shaozhou, that encounter must have taken place at Mt Heng ('Hengyang'), not at Qujiang ('Shaoyang'). As to Zhiwen's friend-in-letters Wu Pingyi, Zanning does not specify where he delivered the poem and where he wrote the inscription for Huairang's bell. Considering that Huairang lived, preached and was buried at Mt Heng (his tomb is near the so-called Mirror Grinding Terrace 磨鏡臺), Pingyi may be expected to have met Huairang there as well. From this admittedly circumstantial evidence appears an image of Huineng of Shaozhou as a vagrant monk who may have started his career as an assistant to the keeper of a private merit cloister at Cao's Brook and then became a hermit at Lion's Crag. He then travelled to Mt Heng by way of Lechang, where he may have studied meditation at Old Buddha Grotto Heaven. According to tradition, he also crossed the Yangzi to attend classes with the later 'Fifth Ancestor' Hongren at Huangmei. His last years were probably spent at Mt Heng where he became a teacher to Huairang and received Song Zhiwen in audience between 710 and 713. He supposedly died in 713. His memory was kept alive by Huairang and his disciple Zhiju, who borrowed the popular topos of the 'Twin Peaks' for Huineng's earliest known abode: Lion's Crag in Qujiang.

4.4.3. Sources of authority

I will now proceed from the 'Twin Peaks' tradition introduced above to the tradition surrounding the site where the Sixth Ancestor cult eventually took off: the site originally known as the 'Source of the Law' and later renamed 'Southern Abbey'. Around 749, a monk named Jianzhen 建真 passed through Shaozhou on his way north:³⁰

When he reached Chanju 禪居 Abbey in Shaozhou, he stayed three days. The magistrate of Shaozhou also invited him to the Abbey at the Source of the Law, which was built by Zetian for meditation teacher Huineng. The meditation teacher's portrait is still there. [Jianzhen] then moved to Kaiyuan 開元 Abbey.

Chanju Abbey cannot be identified from the gazetteers, but given the direction of Jianzhen's voyage from Canton north to Shaozhou, it may be another name for the abbey at Mengli. From there,

Jianzhen apparently took the overland toll road to Shaozhou City, which let him visit the 'Source of the Law' with Huineng's memorial shrine on the way. The name 'Source of the Law' apparently derives from the 'Planted Tin Well' 卓錫泉 or 'Nine Dragons' Well' 九龍泉, a beautiful natural spring on the premises of the present South China Abbey. Local lore has it that once during a drought Huineng, for want of water to wash his robe, planted his tin-plated walking stick amidst these lush pine trees and hit water at once.³¹ With the water, however, nine yellow dragons sprung from the earth. The dragons profusely thanked Huineng for their release and explained how the mythical king Yu the Great 大禹 had locked them in at Mt Heng 衡 3000 years earlier for having caused a flood. 'Now that you are free, will you roam the earth and scare all sentient beings again?' Huineng enquired. The dragons assured him that they wanted to follow their new master and save all sentient beings. As Huineng was busy building a 'Precious Throne Hall to the Great Hero' (i.e. the Buddha Shakyamuni) 大雄寶殿, he decided to turn eight of the dragons into wooden pillars and the ninth into a wooden crossbeam. This was perhaps not precisely what the dragons had in mind, but they gladly obliged once Huineng promised to name the water well after them. So the nine dragons became 'useful timber' and supported the throne hall happily ever after.³²

The story of these dragons, trapped by Yu the Great at Mt Heng and then released by Neng in a backyard on Cao's Brook, hint at the Daoist 'underground cosmology' described in the previous paragraph in which numinous sites throughout China are linked to even more numinous sites through underground 'meridians', channels or tunnels. This time, I will treat sources, especially Planted Tin Wells, as reference points. The first is indeed a Planted Tin Well at Mt Heng, related to meditation teacher Huisi who founded Prajna (now Fuyan 福嚴) Abbey around 570. Prior to teaching meditation in southern Henan, Huisi had studied the *Lotus* under Huiwen 慧文, whose robe and bowl he inherited. In 548 other monks attempted to poison him, but Huisi recovered while studying the *Prajnaparamita*. He then decided to go south to Mt Heng where he meditated with one Haiyin 海印 at the present Nantai 南臺 Abbey. A few years later, during a drought, Huisi's monks could find no water in the abbey's neighborhood. Huisi planted his tin walking stick into a rock next to the Abbey, and the water came out at once.³³ After a Buddhist-Daoist shouting match in the best 'contested space' tradition, the 'Planted Tin Well' was linked to the Prajna Abbey's dining hall by a bamboo pipeline.³⁴

A third 'Planted Tin Well' is found near Huangmei on the premises of the abbey named after the legendary 'Fourth Ancestor' Daoxin.³⁵ Bernard Faure argues that Daoxin's philosophy borrows liberally from the Tiantai teachings of Huisi's most famous disciple Zhiyi (538-597), probably by virtue of Daoxin's years of study at a Tiantai abbey on Mt Lu 廬, not too far from Huangmei.³⁶ Although I do not know of a direct line between Zhiyi and Mt Heng (Zhiyi studied with Huisi at Mt Dasu 大蘇 near

Guangzhou 光州 before Huisi went to Mt Heng) , there is also a 'Planted Tin Well' on Mt Lu, created by the eminent meditation teacher Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416). His *vita* tells us that:

His initial residence, the Dragon Well Retreat 龍泉靜舍, being far from all water, he struck 扣 the earth with his cane and said: 'If one can reside here, the place must be able to produce a source'. At these words a clear water current appeared.'³⁷

Soymie notes that this story, like the legend of the sixth-century monk Jingtai 景泰 at Mt Luofu and other 'Planted Tin' anecdotes, reads like a cartoon picture in reverse motion, and that the topos is based on an inversion of facts: a vagrant monk would of course hang 掛, rest 留, or plant 卓 his *khakkhara*, or walking cane, near a good source of water.³⁸ Soymie notices several common points between Jingtai's and Huineng's hagiography. Both were local holy men with many sites, mostly springs and stupas dedicated to them; and both had access to local dragons assisting them in building temples and stupas.³⁹ This of course brings to mind Daoshi's 'Dragon Cavern' motif mentioned above. The tradition of the eminent monk Huiyuan was probably the paradigm for all these stories: after all, Huiyuan's preachings reportedly caused the creation of a 'listening source 聰明泉', believed to be a variant of Huineng's 'dragon converts', at Mt Lu.⁴⁰

The 'Planted Tin Well' motif alternates with stories of 'Tiger Kick Wells' (虎跑泉, 虎弄泉, or 虎爬泉) ascribed to the same holy men. Again, the paradigm appears to be meditation teacher Huiyuan at Mt Lu. When Huiyuan was debating with members of the so-called 'White Lotus Society 白蓮社' (an early meditation tradition, not to be confused with the Song-era Pure Land 'White Lotus School 白蓮宗'), a tiger ran past them and kicked against a rock. This of course was the site of the 'Tiger Kick Well' at Mt Lu.⁴¹ A second Tiger Jump Well, ascribed to Huisi, is preserved on the premises of the former Prajna Abbey on Mt Heng. One version of the related legend tells about a contest between Huisi and the Daoist Ouyang 歐陽, abbot of a nearby Nine Immortals' Lodge 九仙館.⁴² When the Daoist had caused Huisi's Planted Tin Well to dry up, a fierce tiger appeared on the scene. Before it could attack, Huisi threw the monster his *khakkhara*. The tiger jumped off and dropped it near the back of the Abbey. When Huisi came to retrieve it, he discovered a newly formed well which was then named the Tiger Jump Well 虎跑泉.⁴³ This legend, which creatively knits together the 'Planted Tin' and the 'Tiger Kick' motives, is not mentioned as such in Huisi's standard hagiography. Instead, Huisi's *vita* by Daoxuan tells of two tigers protecting Huisi against a summons from the king of Chen 陳:

An imperial envoy came to [Mt Heng to charge Huisi with treason]. He saw two tigers raging with anger. He hurriedly hid himself. When he dared to proceed, he

saw small wasps stinging Huisi's face. These were soon eaten by bigger wasps who then disappeared into the blue. The king ignored this prophetic warning.⁴⁴

A 'Tiger Jump Well' is also found in Hangzhou, Zhejiang, on the west bank of the scenic West Lake. It is ascribed to a monk Xingkong 性空 who in 819 dreamt of 'two tigers digging a lair' from which the well sprung. That year a Buddhist Abbey (later renamed 'Tiger Jump Abbey 虎跑寺') was built on the site.⁴⁵ The tiger motif appears in Zanning's *vita* of Jingjue 靜覺 (683- ca. 750), as a resonance of an anecdote on Sengchou 僧稠 (480-560) who lived at Mt Song 嵩 near Luoyang and:

was famous for having tamed two tigers, thereby provoking the appearance of a well on that very spot. When Jingjue visited the site where the latter once lived, the spring, which had in the meantime dried up, suddenly gushed up again.⁴⁶

We may summarize these 'Planted Tin Wells' and their alleged creators as follows:

site:	province:	meditation teacher:	tradition:	tigers:
Mt Lu	Jiangxi	Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416).	White Lotus	yes
Mt Heng	Hunan	Huisi 慧思 (515-577)	Tiantai	yes
Mt Luofu	Guangdong	Jingtai 景泰 (6th century)	local	no
Huangmei	Henan	Daoxin 道信 (580-651)	Southern	no
Cao's Brook	Guangdong	Huineng (d. 713)	Southern	no

The story apparently travelled a long way from the lower Yangzi valley to Cao's Brook, losing its concomitant 'tiger jump' motif on the way while crossing the Five Ranges. As if in compensation, Soymie notes that another 'Planted Tin Well' somewhere in Jiangxi is ascribed in a provincial gazetteer to Huineng on his way from Huangmei to Shaozhou. It says that Huineng, chased by 500 followers of his metropolitan rival Shenxiu 神秀, was able to drive back his pursuers when he hit a rock with his cane and created a well.⁴⁷ It becomes clear from these 'Planted Tin' and 'Tiger Jump' motifs that the hagiography of several meditation traditions has literally used the miraculous discovery of wells as a 'source of authority' of its teachers. It appears from the anecdote on Jingjue that these stories must be treated at a par with such auspicious omens as 'strange fragrances' 異香, that is: as instances of resonance 感應 (incidentally, Sengchou's *vita* also mentions an *odor sanctitatis* at the time of his death). But this interpretation leaves unexplained why at some time during the eighth century the site of the Huineng cult transferred upstream.

In my understanding, the story about the nine dragons locked in at Mt Heng and released as the 'Source of the Law' by a Buddhist monk suggests that the present site of Southern Abbey site was indeed discovered and further developed by monks from Hunan, and more precisely from the 'university' at Mt Heng. Soymié has noticed that these monks, due to their exchange of hydrological knowledge with Daoist *fengshui* experts, were in all likelihood experienced dowsers - and probably also skilled agriculturists.⁴⁹ When local people from Lion's Crag settled around this monastic compound, the monks may not only have shared their spring water but also their agricultural skills with their neighbors. As the ecological historian Robert Marks observes, only a few areas protected by Buddhist monasteries escaped the nearly total deforestation of the southern Chinese region.⁵⁰ This may explain why there are still a few acres of 'precious forest' left at South China Abbey, while no forest-like vegetation is traceable near the Twin Peaks at Lion's Crag. After the 'Precious Forest' at the latter site had been cleared and exploited to the fullest, the Yao slash-and-burners apparently moved upstream until they met the monks at the Source of the Law. This is also suggested by the toponym Tso Hau Tsuen 曹侯村 ('Marquis Cao's Village') used by some locals for the present site of Southern Abbey.⁵¹ One local tradition associates this name with descendants of the famous Later Han statesman Cao Cao 曹操 (150-212).⁵² Zanning also mentions Cao Shuliang 曹叔良, a great-grandson of a Marquis Wu of Jin 晉武侯, who supposedly lived near the Precious Forest site. In all likelihood, however, Tso Hau Tsuen 曹侯村 is a misspelling of 曹口村: a 'village on the mouth of Cao's Brook', the original site of the Precious Forest at Lion's Crag near Maba. I believe that when the Yao nomads moved from Lion's Crag to the site of the Source of the Law and were induced by the Hunanese monks to settle there, they may have brought the toponym of the 'Precious Forest' (and perhaps also 曹口村) with them. Thus the name of the old (Daoist?) *dong* temple at Lion's Crag became associated with the new Buddhist site at a time when the forest at Lion's Crag had long been slashed and burnt.

It appears that the Hunanese monks at the Source of the Law soon tailored their own 'contested space' stories to local circumstances. The part of the local antagonist is played by a *Chan⁴ A³ Sin¹* 陳亞仙 (Mandarin: Chen Yaxian), whose name could be read as 'Chen-next-to-the-immortal'. In Cantonese, Chan A-sin sounds like the vocative of an 'immortal Chan', perhaps related to a family whose ancestral tomb 祠 existed on the grounds of Southern Abbey and is shown on a bird-eye drawing in CBCG to the right of the main axis.⁵³ Its exact site is uncertain: a commemorative stele in front of the modern Sixth Ancestor's Hall claims that it was located on the doorstep of Huineng's

sanctuary, while a late twentieth-century tourist map of the abbey locates it to its southeast, which follows CBCG.⁵⁴ The following account of Huineng and Chan A-sin appears in Fahai's 'Brief Preface':

When the Teacher arrived at the Precious Forest at Cao's Brook, he saw that the compound was too small to house all his seminarists. Wishing to enlarge them, he paid a visit to the villager Chan A-sin and said, 'This old monk comes to the almsgiver seeking a sitting cloths worth of ground. Is that possible?' A-sin asked: 'How big is the Eminent Teacher's sitting cloth?' The Teacher took out his sitting cloth and showed it to A-sin, who thereupon agreed. But when the Ancestor unfolded and spread out his sitting cloth, it completely covered the four borders of Cao's Brook. The Four Heavenly Kings appeared and sat as protectors at all four corners. [...] The Immortal said, 'I know that the Eminent Teacher's power is vast, but my great-grandfather's tomb is on this land. Whenever a stupa is built here, kindly leave this area undisturbed. [...] This ground has the *fengshui* of living dragons and white elephants. Level only heaven; do not level earth.'⁵⁵

This 'contested space' story is a resonance of a local traditional story from Mt Heng about Huisi's dealings with the local mountain spirit Zhurong 祝融. Zhurong was a chess buff, but Huisi managed to checkmate him three times in a row. Zhurong then had to grant Huisi a wish and Huisi asked for a lot of land as large as his cassock. When the mountain spirit consented, Huisi spread his cassock, which covered all of Mt Heng. It was finally agreed that the entire area of Mt Heng's seventy-two peaks was split evenly between Buddhists and Daoists, and that the mountain spirit would retain the right of way from the top of Zhurong Peak 祝融峰 down to the site of the present Nanyue Temple 南岳廟.⁵⁶

All this apparently took place in 568, when Huisi was planning to expand his existing residence at Prajna Terrace into a full-scale meditation monastery (now Fuyan Abbey). That abbey soon enrolled 500 monks; its dining hall could seat 1000. Huisi also had 500 *arhant* images carved out in a nearby cave - not unlike the present Arhant Hall 羅漢堂 at Cao's Brook. Perhaps this story may add to the circumstantial evidence that the site at the 'Source of the Law' was initially developed during the eighth century by monks from Mt Heng, including some former students of Huairang, who developed the site at Cao's Brook into arable land and attracted groups of locals to a semi-sedentary lifestyle. The result of their efforts appears from Matteo Ricci's eyewitness account, written in 1589:⁵⁷

[The *padri*] found a plain valley, embraced on both sides by low mountains full of fruit trees and others, staying green all year. The soil was then all sown with rice and other pods [*sic*] and watered by a perennial river running through the valley from an all green mountain with a large fresh water well that bathed it entirely.

Although 'embraced on both sides by low mountains', the site of the Source of the Law is not a mountain. The drop between the Sixth Ancestor Hall and the abbey's main gate near Cao's Brook is only a few meters and the nearest mountain is at least a few miles away.⁵⁸ Yet the poet Zhang Qiao 張喬 (fl. 865) appears to treat the site as if it were a mountain:

曹溪山下路 On the road down Mt Cao's Brook ,
猿鳥重香親 Apes and birds are of one kin.⁵⁹

Zhang Qiao may be excused because he never went to Qujiang himself: the couplet is from a farewell poem for a friend. But in 1032 Yu Jing, who of all Song-era poets was probably most familiar with local topography in Shaozhou, recalled a trip with his friend Hailin (the late abbot of Moon Splendor Abbey) to the 'Precious Forest *bodhimandala*' as follows:⁶⁰

[There is so] much left to see at the Ancestral Hall,
[That] we are staying tonight before we climb [again].

The title of the poem mentions a visit to a meditation teacher Ciji 慈濟 (also known as Baoyuan 寶緣) who was abbot at Southern Abbey. The poem is one of the last of a series recording a tour of Qujiang county by a party of six. After visiting Mt Dadong 大峒山 (literally: big cave mountain, most probably referring to Lion's Crag) and Moon Splendor Abbey (where Hailin joined them), they sojourned at Baoyuan's 'Precious Forest'. Yu Jing's 'climb 登' again suggests that this forest was on top of a hill instead of on a very gentle slope on the east bank of Cao's Brook. Both poems confirm what also appears from hagiography: by the time the abbey at the Source of the Law became a cultic site for the 'Sixth Ancestor' Huineng of Shaozhou, it became common to refer to it as a mountain - as if to put it on a par with the cardinal sacred mountains such as Mt Heng. 'Mt Cao's Brook' must be read as a somewhat licentious metaphor, not as a display of local topography.

4.5. A Mardi Gras Saint and his Symbols

The *topoi* discussed in the preceding chapter may be considered circumstantial to the primary focus the cult of the 'Sixth Ancestor': his supposed 'true body' or 'true effigy' and the stupa apparently built at some point to contain it. The present chapter will present a theory of the development of these primary *topoi* from a yearly procession ritual that eventually became permanently institutionalized as a pious 'theme park' at Cao's Brook.

4.5.1. Ancestor on parade

The Ides of the first Chinese lunar month (元霄 or 上霄), which is also the last day of the Lunar New Year, is comparable to Shrove Tuesday (Mardi Gras), the final day of the European Carnival.¹ This Chinese holiday is now known as the 'Lantern Festival' after the processions of decorated cloth and glass lanterns that were already customary during the late Song. Through contemporary (literate) eyes, these popular masked parades were often the scene of extraordinary licence, especially between the sexes.² The Chinese elite preferred to celebrate the festival at home with a special meal and sophisticated riddles written on beautifully crafted lanterns that were on display in their ancestral temples.³ The hanging of lanterns in ancestral halls is still customary among the Cantonese, especially in families where a child was born during the preceding year (*san¹ ding¹ ga¹* 新丁家). Among children, 'Halloween' masks and firecrackers are also popular.⁴

Wolfram Eberhard summarizes the festivities of the entire month preceding the Chinese Ides as 'a cycle of purification that begins with the expulsion of all evil influences and continues with preparations to invite and accept the spiritual powers of the coming year to the actual feast', first inside the family and then in a more uninhibited form on the streets.⁵ One purification ceremony would be performed in a Buddhist monastery rather than at home: the 'bathing of the Buddha'. Prior to the ceremony, held on the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month, the monks would hand out a vegetarian soup to the poor. This 'housecleaning day' has been celebrated in rural communities in China with lots of drums and gongs, while masked men would chase the evil spirits out of the village. It was believed that the more drums sounded, the better the plants would grow in spring - which identifies the festival as a fertility ritual. Eberhard assumes that at least one root of the Chinese theater lies in these ritual masquerades. In Southern China under the Tang, the ritual had taken the shape of a parade of a masked exorcist (in Cantonese: *noh⁴ san¹* 儺神) leading twelve actors disguised as the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac through the whole village, knocking at every door and 'cleaning' every house for a fee of rice, wine and perhaps money.⁶ Zhou Qufei wrote around 1175:

The fame of the exorcist processions in Guilin spread to the capital when after the pacification [of the south]. These terrifying figures are richly adorned and move while they are speaking. [...] It must be noted that the people of Guilin are good at making masks for the theater. One good mask easily fetches 10,000 cash and they are quite sought after in other prefectures, which justifies their fame.⁷

It appears from these fragmentary data that some Chinese Buddhist rituals shared the spirit of, but differed from traditional laic Lunar New Year celebrations. If we read in a Buddhist hagiography written around 780 that 'on the fifteenth of the first month, banners were flown [from the main Buddhist abbey in Canton and that its monks] debated the meaning of these banners' (HS 17), we are thus getting 'inside information' about the end of the Lunar New Year as it was celebrated in a southern monastery.

The protagonist of this story, Huineng of Shaozhou (who, needless to say, wins the debate), is mentioned by Zanning as the subject of an annual 'Mardi Gras' parade in Canton and/or Shaozhou:⁸

'When the last queen from the house of Liu moved court to Panyu [= Canton], torches would be burnt on every fifteenth of the first lunar month to invite [Huineng's] true effigy 真身 to the city for the blessing of the people.'

I will discuss in section 4.5.3 on the meanings of the term 'true effigy'; suffice it that the 'house of Liu' established its 'Southern Han 南漢' dynasty in Canton in 912, and that the Huineng processions took place under apparent royal patronage on the anniversary of the famous 'wind vane debate' mentioned in HS 17.⁹ These processions, a variant of the indigenous *noh⁴ san¹*, apparently did not take place on the Sixth Ancestor's traditional birthday, celebrated at Southern Abbey on the second day of the eighth lunar month.¹⁰ With hindsight we may infer from a hilarious story, recorded around 1600 by the Jesuit priest Longobardo, that the procession was indeed related to a fertility rite:¹¹

[after a long drought] they gave up hope in the city gods, and for the occasion they brought in a celebrated monster from the country. Its name was Locu 六祖. They paraded it about, bowed and made offerings to it, but [...] it [also] remained deaf to their pleading. [This occasion gave rise to the saying: 'Locu is growing old']

In China, where sedan chairs were a traditional conveyance of the rich and mighty, carrying an effigy in a procession would evoke associations with the imperial cult. Bearing in mind that Chinese hagiography consistently depicts Huineng as an illiterate commoner, any procession of his effigy as if he were some Buddhist Pope certainly has a Cinderellesque connotation to it. It indeed appears logical that this pseudo-imperial ritual received patronage from a Cantonese royal dynasty that defied imperial authority from 912 to 971, when troops of emperor Taizu of Song 宋太祖 eventually invaded Lingnan. Zanning remembers that when Shaozhou surrendered, its monasteries were set on fire.¹² This may have put a temporary end to Southern Abbey as a pilgrimage center, but perhaps not to Huineng's local cult as a dowser and a symbol of fertility. Zanning writes that:

[Huineng's] carnal body suffered no harm at all. When two monks carried it away between them 對昇, it became as light as a statue made of hemp.¹³

This suggests that after 971 a life-size statue of Shaozhou's 'Sixth Ancestor' was worshipped as his 'carnal body'. This may or may not have been the same effigy witnessed at the Source of the Law by Jianzhen in 749, but it was most probably the idol that was carried all the way from the abbey to Shaozhou (or perhaps Canton) at the end of each Lunar New Year between 912 and 971: a lacquered and gilded statue made of cloth. It is difficult to assess whether this ceremony rooted in any pre-Han local tradition. PS presents Huineng of Shaozhou as a Klau 獯櫟, which may indeed refer to the Nau-Klau, a tribe of Tai-Kadai speakers called 'white-trouserred Yao' 白褲瑤 by the Chinese and currently living in Nandan 南丹 county in Guangxi.¹⁴ It would appear logical, however, that the local slash-and-burners held the Buddhist monks at the Source of the Law in high esteem for their skills in finding and distributing water and cultivating land, and that for this reason an icon of a Buddhist monk believed to be originally from their own region (and perhaps even one of their own people) became the focus of a Mardi Gras procession supported by the founders of the Source of the Law. Perhaps the local Buddhist Lunar New Year rituals were linked in the following manner: the monks at the Source of the Law would spend the month preceding Mardi Gras inside their monastery in meditation and/or debate; the locals would celebrate in their usual manner, which appears to be on the lines of mainstream Chinese tradition; at the end of their fast, the monks would open the abbey gate and bring out the icon in a jolly procession joined by local tillers who owed their new agricultural skills to the monks.¹⁵

One important precedent for the parading of Buddhist images in China must still be mentioned: the so-called 'elephant parades' (行象) or 'parades of effigies' (行像) held in celebration of the Buddha's birthday from the late Han through the Sui era. In his sixth-century *Record of Monasteries in Luoyang* 羅陽伽藍記, Yang Xuanzhi 楊衍之 writes:

There was a statue of a six-tusked white elephant carrying on his back Shakyamuni . [It] would be carried out of [Changqiu 長秋] Abbey and put on parade on the fourth day of the fourth month behind [...] lions [and other animal images].

Wherever the statue stopped, spectators would encircle it like a wall.¹⁶

It is known from the travelogues of pilgrims like Faxian 法顯 (337-422) and Xuanzang 玄藏 (596-664) that such processions were also common in Central Asia and North India, although they were not limited to the Buddha's birthday and did not necessarily involve live or sculpted elephants. Ming-chiu Lai 黎明釗 quotes the following examples:¹⁷

Period:	Place:	Area:	Date:	Details:
ca. 400	Khotan	Central Asia	4th month	4-wheeled floats, no elephants
ca. 400	Pataliputra	Northern India	2nd month	4-wheeled floats, no elephants
ca. 400		Sri Lanka	3rd month	relic of the Buddha, accompanied by a mounted elephant
ca. 640	Kucha	Central Asia	September	parade on mounted elephants followed by bathing Buddha

The tradition was perhaps brought to China by the Sogdian monk Senghui around 240.¹⁸ Under the Sui and Tang, these parades were also being organized at Dunhuang.¹⁹ Like most forms of organized Buddhism in China, these huge parades in the capital and elsewhere depended largely on the patronage of the imperial court and other worthies. This tradition appears to go back to the days of the great Indian Buddhist king Ashoka, and great merit was attributed to the organizing monasteries and their sponsors as well to the onlooking laity. Lai believes that the parades were actually the only public display of Buddhist statues, quoting a complaint from the southern emperor Jianwen of Liang 梁簡文 (r. 550-551) that after the event the images 'were shut up in cabinets and boxes, [...] five or ten in a single shrine, or Bodhisattvas and Buddhas all in the same cabinet'.²⁰ If Lai's conclusion is justified, the replacement of occasional processions by a permanent display of Huineng's effigy, as suggested by Jianzhen's testimony, appears to mark a significant development in the history of Buddhist liturgy in southern China. The prestige and merit associated with the original processions, however, made the Huineng cult a welcome expedient for the legitimation of a new house of southern rulers after 971.

4.5.2. The development of a 'Sixth Ancestor' theme park

The preceding conflation of incidental evidence, fueled by some imagination, is a first attempt to reconstruct the cult of Huineng as a local saint before he became known all under heaven as the Sixth Ancestor of the southern meditation tradition - a fabrication now generally ascribed to Shenhui of Heze 荷澤神會. The impact of Shenhui's (admittedly brief) ordination campaigns on the development of the Source of the Law and the religious economy of Shaozhou as a whole must have been tremendous.

The status of the abbey prior to its 'rediscovery' as the holy grounds where the Sixth Ancestor had walked is still undecided. The local gazetteers claim that the settlement obtained official Buddhist

status in 705, when it allegedly qualified as an imperial Zhongxing 中興 Abbey, and that it was renamed 'Abbey at the Source of the Law' 法泉寺 in 707. Under the patronage of the house of Southern Han, it received a new official title in 968: 'South China Meditation Abbey' 南華禪寺 or briefly: Southern Abbey 南華寺.²¹ The designation 'Zhongxing' (midterm restoration) is suspect. It is a reign title that never was, intended to celebrate the restoration of the House of Tang under Zhongzong (r. 705-710) but abandoned in 707 in favor of 'Longxing' 龍興 ('rise of the dragon').²² The gazetteers never mention the Buddhist settlement at Cao's Brook as a 'Longxing Abbey'. HS 24 also claims that the emperor agreed in 707 to build a 'Buddha hall and a scripture storeroom and grant the old *bodhimandala* 道場 a new official title. This suggests that the old Sui-era designation of the site as a temple was still used in 707.²³ The suggestion that such a temple existed at the Source of the Law in 707 is not supported by contemporary evidence and we know of no abbey with imperial status in Shaozhou prior to 738, when Mahabrahman Abbey was designated a Kaiyuan Abbey. HS is obviously conflating the tradition of Arya Jnanabhaishajya and his 'temple' with stories circulating at the Source of the Law. The latter name was perhaps created by the monastery's Hunanese founders on the precedent of Jade Source 玉泉 Abbey in Jingzhou, a major center of the meditation tradition introduced by Huisi at Mt Heng in 567.

If this were the only confusion about the chronology of the Source of the Law, it could be argued that the author of HS had simply added a few centuries to its history to make it look older, more respectable, and more prestigious than the official imperial abbey. As we noticed above, such marks of seniority are relatively significant in immigrant societies where virtually everyone is a newcomer. This makes it relevant for a Boston Brahmin to claim descent from the Pilgrim Fathers, for Hong Kong Cantonese to be known as *punti* 本地, and for non-Chinese Hong Kongers to assert their status as long-time 'belongers'. This immigrant rhetoric interlocks with the Buddhist ancestral doctrine first formulated in Zhiyi's Mt Tiantai tradition and later adopted by followers of Zhiyi's teacher Huisi. But the chronological picture is a lot more complicated. Let us go back to BZ 10:

[in 503] the prefect and nobility of Shaoyang had dedicated it as the Precious Forest Abbey. Zhongzong of Tang changed [its name] to Zhongxing 中興 Abbey and around [706?] to Guangguo 廣果 Abbey. Around [730] it became Jianxing 建興 Abbey, and around [760]: Guoning 國寧 Abbey.

He Ge'en has recognized Guangguo as Daoguang's former residence on Vulture Peak.²⁴ The story in BZ10, however, appears to connect with the following passage in HS 32:

In the year [759] [...] Jianxing Abbey 建興寺 was renamed Guo'en 國恩 Abbey.

Guo'en 國恩 Abbey is the name of a still-existing monastery in Xinxing 新興 county in Guangdong, the place where both HS and PS claim Huineng was born in the 660s. Among the sights of this abbey are the tomb of Huineng's parents, a Bao'en 報恩 stupa, a lychee tree planted by Huineng, and a hot spring named after the meandering Dragon Hill.²⁵ Unlike Shaozhou, Xinzhou 新州 was a major Buddhist center with six officially listed Buddhist abbeys in 650. It was then also more populous than Shaozhou and Guangzhou. The present Guo'en Abbey was reportedly built in 683 by Huineng himself

and originally named the Ancestral Hall of the Meditation Tradition 禪宗祖庭. Tradition dates its designation by Zhongzong as a Guo'en 國恩 (perhaps Guo'an 國安) Abbey to 706.²⁶

There is a reasonable explanation for the confusing interconnections between the names of Buddhist abbeys in these several chronologies: once Shenhui's ordination campaigns had transmogrified the marginal meditator Huineng of Shaozhou into a famous Buddhist ancestor, several groups of newly ordinates vied for recognition as his spiritual heirs. Huineng's 'hair stupa' in Canton, his parents' tomb in Xinxing, and the connection of his name to several Buddhist establishments in Qujiang suggests that the contest for becoming the one and only 'Home to the Sixth Ancestor' involved all three cities. An important incentive was the potential of this designation in terms of religious economics: the city that would best capitalize on the Huineng tradition could reap huge benefits from the pilgrimage industry that would certainly grow on top of Neng's fame. As we now know, the Source of the Law at Cao's Brook was the most fertile of these grounds, attracting not only lay pilgrims but also monks from other sites. What Jianzhen saw in 749 was really the beginning of a huge 'Sixth Ancestor' theme park that in its final, early twentieth-century version included the following attractions and landmarks:²⁷

<u>Eight halls 八殿:</u>	<u>Eight stupas 八塔:</u>	<u>Other buildings 其他:</u>
Common Hermitage 普庵	Tamed Dragon's Stupa 降龍	Seven pavillions 七亭
Great Hero's Hall 大雄	Precious Stupa 寶	
Ancestral Hall 祖師	Zhongbian's Stupa 重辨	Three towers 三樓
Old Ancestral Hall 舊祖	Puji's Stupa 普濟	(Bell 鐘, Drum 鼓,
Fifth Ancestor's Hall 五祖	Gunabhadra's Stupa 古納	Arhants' 羅漢)
Avalokita's Hall 觀音	Chaochen's Stupa 超塵	
(King) Veda's Hall 韋馱	Daxiu's Stupa 大休	Two gates (Cao's Brook 曹
All Deva's Hall 諸天	Tianzhuo's Stupa 天拙	溪, Precious Forest 寶林)

It is evident that most of these names relate to stories told to visiting guests and pilgrims about the miracles and other remarkable acts of the Sixth Ancestor. In turn such stories are believed by Alfred Foucher to represent the main source for the early *vitae* of the Buddha himself, dating back to the Indian emperor Ashoka.²⁸ Erik Zürcher compared these early *vitae* against the travelogues of later Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to the holy sites at Kapilavastu and Lumbini (now in southern Nepal), the places where young Gautama was born and raised, and found many common topoi.²⁹ Zürcher found the style and format of these two consecutive *vitae*, known as the *Scriptures on the Origin of (Religious) Practice* 修行本起經 (T. 184 and T. 196), translated into excellent Chinese by the third-century Sogdian literate Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 and others, so different from all other contemporary Chinese Buddhist texts that he considers them as a separate genre of 'popularizing lecture', aimed especially at laymen in search of piety - in other words: the vast majority of pilgrims attracted then and now by such sites as Lumbini, Lourdes, Santiago de Compostela, and the Source of the Law.³⁰

There is neither sacrilege nor anachronism in calling these sites 'theme parks'. After all, the Buddha's native place at Lumbini is itself known as Buddhavihar, or 'Buddha Park'.³¹ The Chinese travellers report how 'pious (and credulous) visitors were treated at each site and monument [at the Indian parks] to detailed stories, the more miraculous, the better'.³² And so the narrative layout of the 'Sixth Ancestor theme park', in the tradition of the true Buddhavihar, parallels the stories in the earliest *vitae* of Huineng, among which HS is chosen for translation. The Source of the Law and the *vita* are like the lost labyrinth and the unpublished novel in Borgès' story '*El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan*': the garden is reflected in the story, and the story in the garden, and in the end all is mere resonance.³³

Classical Chinese 'narrative gardens' were apparently designed as intermediaries between several levels of rhetoric. In a 'pseudo-naturalistic' manner, they recreate the outside world (the most extreme example is the eighteenth-century Mountain Summer Villa Park at Jehol 熱河避暑山莊 which has replicas of buildings from all over China within its walls); in a literary manner, they reflect the elegant topoi of Chinese high-brow culture 斯文; and in a mystic way, there is always a retreat, tucked away between artificial mountains or inside a bamboo thicket, for meditation and, indeed, regeneration.³⁴ Even the Imitation Ming 'Friendship Garden' 誼園 in the Dutch town where I live has its own modest grotto heaven - as does the much less classical Tiger Balm Garden in Hong Kong.³⁵

The narrative of the theme park at the Source of the Law combines all these rhetorical levels. As a literary garden, it displays the many 'flowers and blossoms' 英花 of the colorful Sixth Ancestor hagiographies. As a pseudo-naturalistic garden, it generously absorbs topoi from the outside world - most notably the rhetorical representation of the Source of the Law as a sacred mountain.³⁶ And as a mystical garden, it displays the paradigm of a meditating saint in the shape of a life-size icon next to

the closest simile of a grotto heaven that the Buddhist pantheon has to offer: five hundred *arhant* 羅漢 sculptures shown against the backdrop of a 'grotesque' mountain wall. Thus the Sixth Ancestor theme park provides a permanent backdrop for the staging of a fiction: the *praesentia realis* of the holy man. In terms of religious economy, the development from a yearly procession to a permanent institution can be explained in terms of shifting clientele: from local worshippers who valued the Mardi Gras procession as a yearly ritual event to pilgrims who, attracted from all under heaven by the post-Shenhui rhetoric, might increasingly choose to visit the cult site outside the Lunar New Year season. To attract visitors all year round, such permanent pilgrimage sites must indeed create the experience of a lasting *praesentia realis*. The traditional Indian Buddhist solution was the building of a stupa, or relic shrine, but the pragmatic Chinese audiences attracted by the new Sixth Ancestor cult would demand something more tangible or at least visible. Hence the keepers of the Source of the Law decided not only to build a stupa dedicated to the Sixth Ancestor's spiritual efficacy 靈, but also to accommodate their visitors by putting the icon used in the Mardi Gras procession on permanent display. Both features were mutually complimentary: the stupa was static and visible from all over the compound, while the icon had to be approached during most of the year through an ancestral hall 祖堂 (where during later centuries a holy robe and bowl were also displayed), but would come out of his grotto in triumph on the first Ides of the New Year.

Before examining the stupa and the icon more closely, I want to make a few remarks on the development of the Euro-American idea of carnival. Originally denoting the period of feasting and revelry to celebrate the beginning of lent, associated with parades, theater, and cross-dressing, the term 'carnival' (of which the origin is still obscure) became associated in the New World with other occasional or permanent forms of entertainment with side shows, rides, and games, usually operated as a commercial enterprise, and ranging from a traditional county fair to a modern permanent theme park. The development of the cult at the Source of the Law at Cao's Brook must perhaps be described as a similar transformation from an annual fertility parade to a permanent Sixth Ancestor theme park that owed its prosperity to the marketing genius of Shenhui. It follows that Huineng of Shaozhou is most properly described as a southern carnival saint.

4.5.3. The icon and the stupa: topography and hagiography

Of the eight original stupas, only the fifteenth-century 'Precious Pagoda' still exists as a landmark of the Huineng cult. In spite of ample evidence to the contrary, it is still believed to be on the site of the original repository of Neng's remains. Our earliest account of Neng's death and funeral is Wang Wei's memorial stele text (not an epitaph!) in QTW:

某月日，	At a day and month unknown,
遷神於曹溪	His spirit was moved to Cao's Brook,
安座於某所。	His body rested in an unknown place.

It appears from these lines that Wang Weis' patron was unable to certify when and where the Great Teacher had died, but it was probably not at Cao's Brook. Yampolsky reads 神 as 'sacred coffin' and 座 as 'body'; Faure reads both together as 神座 which 'implies the presence of an enduring principle in the corpse or an effigy of the dead'.³⁷ Foulk and Sharf offer a less metaphysical explanation in their recent observation that 遷神 can be a variant of 傳神: capturing a subject's 'living spirit' in a formal portrait (真).³⁸ 神座 is indeed a common name for an 'ancestral tablet', a little placard of wood or stone (or polymer) inscribed with the posthumous name (and more recently also a photograph) of the deceased. 'True' being the standard meaning of Chinese 真, the fiction (sic) of 真 or 真身 (true effigy, lit.: 'true body') is the equivalent of the Christian doctrine of a *praesentia realis*: the idea that an idol was really and immediately present in an icon - which in a Chinese context can be anything between an ancestral tablet and a mummy.³⁹

Unlike the eastern traditions, the Church of Rome imposed tight dogmatic constraints on the worship of a *praesentia realis*. Although supporting the transsubstantiation of the Body and the Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, it forbade the veneration of icons while allowing that images of saints were adored as mediators. This could extend to the adoration of a saint's remains or relics, or even to a preserved body such as the mummy of the Italian saint Clara of Assisi (d. 1253).⁴⁰ Yet such restrictions were unable to wipe the notion of an immediate *praesentia realis* from the minds of medieval Europeans. With the developing cult of armory and heraldry among kings and knights after 1200, the belief took root that 'arms represent people or groups of people as though they themselves were present' and that 'the presence of a coat of arms acts as a substitute for the person, even after his death'.⁴¹ Before long, Christians also turned to the designing of coats of arms for several patron saints, including for instance St James the Greater of Compostela.⁴²

The western cult of arms developed as a substitute for, but on similar lines as the worship of icons in the Eastern Church. The permanent display of the arms of a deceased gentleman in church, for instance, grew out of the display of these arms during his funeral. Such displays were part of an entire memorial cult involving regular readings of masses and charitable meals to honor the deceased. Other ways to 'represent' the dead (especially of English and French royals) were the display of mannequins made of wax, wood, or leather, or of an empty bier covered by a shroud.⁴³ This medieval 'ancestor cult' was the basis for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Ahnengalerie*: a secular portrait gallery often commissioned by a family from a single famous artist.⁴⁴ *Ahnengalerien*, albeit dedicated to

Buddhist meditation teachers, also existed in medieval China. They are described in some documents from Dunhuang and in the Chinese travelogues of Kukai 空海 (804-806) and Ennin 圓仁 (838-847). Foulk and Sharf suggest that the Chinese Buddhist *Ahnengalerie* 'evolved from the small stupa-mausoleums [...] on remote mountain tops or in outlying suburban cemeteries'. When their ritual focus 'shifted from relic to holy icon', these mausolea were 'moved to the monastic precincts'.⁴⁵

When a Chinese Buddhist text mentions a 'true body', however, it does not always refer to an icon. The less familiar and more sublime reference of 真身 is to the 'Body of the Law' 法身 (S. *dharmakaya*). The usual Tibetan translation of *dharmakaya* as *chos sku* ('body of truth') reveals some of its epistemological and eschatological connotations. In the Tibetan context, *dharmakaya* is described as a 'coalescence [...] of pure appearance and emptiness', which is realized (S. *adhigama*, T. *rtogs pa*, as opposed to scripturally transmitted: S. *agama*, T. *lung pa*) at the moment of death (T. '*chi kha'i bar do*').⁴⁶ This leads to a third understanding of the 'Body of the Law' as the *corpus* of teachings left by the Buddha at the time of his death. This mystical identification of the *dharmakaya* with dying (*paranirvana*) explains why Chinese authors use 真身 ('true body') and 法身 (*dharmakaya*) side by side (as in the case of Yuet Kai 月溪). On the other side Xu Hengbin 徐恆彬, an official on the Guangdong Provincial Heritage Committee, argues that the *dharmakaya* mentioned in Zhang Yue's 張說 poem *Sending incense to Monk Neng's stupa* (QTS 89-09, also in Zanning, *Vitae*, Huineng):

Great Teacher has left this world, / Leaving us his *dharmakaya*.

proves that a 真身, understood by Xu as mummy of Huineng, already existed during Zhang Yue's lifetime. To the same effect, Xu quotes a poem by Zhang Qiao 張喬 (fl. 865):

曹溪山下路	On the road down Mt Cao's Brook ,
猿鳥重相親	Apes and birds are of one kin.
四海求玄理	Search for the occult all over the world,
千峰繞定身	Encircle the <i>samadhi</i> kaya at a thousand peaks. ⁴⁷

Of course this juxtaposition of a misread *dharmakaya* in one eighth-century poem and a *samadhi*kaya 定身 (from S. *samadhi* 定, meditational absorption or mortification, per-haps an occasional topos for a burial stupa) in another ninth-century poem is contradicted by Jianzhen's eighth-century testimony that he only had seen a 'portrait' of the meditation teacher 禪師影像.⁴⁸ Around the time Jianzhen visited the Source of the Law, the practice of 'animating' Buddhist icons had been known for at least two centuries in China. The Trübner stele, dated 543, is the earliest Chinese reference to a 'dotting of eyes'. In 732, Ajitasena 阿質達霰 translated into Chinese a manual for the inauguration of statues of

the Tantric deity Mahabala 大威力 which concludes with the same ritual.⁴⁹ It follows that although Tantric Buddhism has been a most prolific producer of 'animated' icons, the worship of a *praesentia realis* predates the introduction of Tantrism in China and that the worship of a *dharmakaya* icon does not necessarily imply Tantric rituals.

I tentatively derive from the poems quoted by Xu that the *dharmakaya* in Zhang Yue's verse refers to Huineng's teachings, and that the *samadhikaya* mentioned later by Zhang Qiao perhaps indicates that a Huineng stupa had been built halfway the ninth century. If we understand Wang Wei and Jianzhen well, a life-size portrait of Huineng was already worshipped at the Source of the Law during the 730s, while the holy man's remains apparently rested elsewhere in 'barbarian territory 異域', as Wang Wei wrote.⁵⁰ That Buddhist icons were believed to have supernatural powers in mid eighth-century China is demonstrated by several miracle stories recorded by Dai Fu 戴孚 in 廣異記.⁵¹

According to HS, the first recorded stupa keeper at the Source of the Law was a meditation teacher Xingtao 行韜 (670-759). According to Zanning, Tao once gave a privatissimum to the imperial commissioner Song Jing 宋璟 (662-737) who came to worship at the stupa. All of a sudden, rainstorms raged, a strange scent was smelled, and there occurred 'so many strange omens that no full record could be made thereof.' He Ge'en, while noting that Song Jing became governor of Guangzhou shortly after Huineng's death, discredits this anecdote as hearsay.⁵² According to HS, a subsequent governor of Guangzhou in 758 recommended Tao for an invitation at the imperial court. Tao, pleading old and ill, instead dispatched a senior monk and an otherwise unknown *upashaka* Yonghe 永和 to the capital. Tao did not live to see the two returning from the capital, bringing a pair of purple cassocks and an ordination letter for Yonghe. As this episode postdates the Roqsan uprising and Shenhui's ordination campaigns, it may well be based on an authentic record of the first official contacts between the central authorities and the monks at Cao's Brook.

The existence of a stupa some years after the above episode is confirmed by two contemporary pilgrims: Jianzhen (AD 749) and Zhang Zikuang (d.u.), a lay disciple of the famous Hunanese meditation teacher Xiqian 'the Stone' 石頭希遷 (700-790) who resided and taught at Nantai 南臺 Abbey on Mt Heng.⁵³ In 1970, Xiqian's tomb 墓 and a 'precious stupa' 寶塔 with a calligraphic inscription were reportedly still preserved inside an undisclosed military area in China (perhaps the military compound near Nanyue at the foot of Mt Heng). An inquiry by the military authorities at that time failed to recover Xiqian's remains from inside the tomb.⁵⁴

As I argued in chapter 2.2, above, around AD 800 a Chinese stupa 塔 was not necessarily the type of multi-storeyed pagoda that we now see so often. It was probably more like the Hindu *padmasanas* or ancestral pillars erected in the courtyards of temples and houses on Bali, or like the esoteric Buddhist *sotoba* found on the shoulders of Japanese country roads. Such simple stone pillars were for instance built on Mt Heng during the Tang and Song for eminent monks who had taught there and there is no reason to believe that the earliest 'stupa' at the Source of the Law was any different. Stories that this stupa contained Huineng's remains must be read with caution. HS says:

[after Neng] had died in [his native] Xinzhou [...] the seminarists at Cao's Brook wished that [his] entire body should return to Cao's Brook. But at that time the leadership, wishing to erect a stupa to let him remain at Guo'en Abbey, was

unwilling to release him. Only after the seminarists and the monk Zongyi 宗一 had petitioned the prefect, it was returned to Cao's Brook.

This episode seems misplaced at Cao's Brook; it probably originated at Vulture Peak, for Zongyi (d.u.) figures in BZ 10 as the senior monk Zongyi 宗一 who in 714 invited a retired prefect of Shaozhou to write a memorial text for a stele in Guangguo 光國 Abbey - the former residence of the Hunanese meditation teacher Daoguang.⁵⁵ This confusion is most probably a side effect of fierce competition for pilgrims. Competition between Buddhist establishments around Shaozhou appears to have flared with every ordination spree: firstly between 756 and 830, but also between 1068 and 1110 when the major abbeys were rebuilt, renovated, or expanded.⁵⁶ The competition for pilgrims did not stop at the prefecture's boundaries: BZ 10 reports that during the late eighth century a stupa of Huineng existed in Panyu - perhaps a precursor of the famous 'hair stupa' at Guangxiao 廣孝 Abbey at Canton.⁵⁷

In 812, however, the monks at the Source of the Law moved to have Neng's stupa at Cao's Brook renamed Holy Light 靈照 stupa. With hindsight, this appears a step towards Huineng's canonization in 816. In that year, on the recommendation of the censor Lord Fufeng 扶風, who had been dispatched to Lingnan for three years, Huineng received the official posthumous title of 'Great Teacher Grand Mirror' 大鑒大師. The monks celebrated in style and invited Liu Zongyuan, a famous prosaist and moralist who was at the time expatriated to Liuzhou in Guangxi, to compose a text for an occasional stele. Zongyuan, whom we already know as a moralist writer and a poet, extolled Huineng as an exemplary teacher in the traces of Vimalakirti, who would rather teach at Cao's Brook than accept invitations to come to the capital, and also mentioned the Holy Light stupa.⁵⁸ Three years after Liu Zongyuan had written this text, a monk named Daolin 道琳 (d.u.) ordered a second stele from the famous poet Liu Yuxi who was then also in Guangxi.⁵⁹ There is no record that either text was ever

executed in stone; in any case, both steles are now lost. The primary aim of these scholarly promotion texts was probably to attract more pilgrims among wealthy, educated laymen. The well-publicized awarding of the titles 'Holy Light' to the stupa and 'Grand Mirror' to the Sixth Ancestor Formerly Known As Huineng was certainly not the last successful rebranding seen at Cao's Brook. The stupa for instance was renamed Yuanhe Zhengzhen 元和正真 at some time during Xianzong 憲宗 of Tang's Yuanhe 元和 reign period (806-820). The sophisticated monks at the Source of the Law survived the anti-Buddhist campaign of 845 which left thousands of monks across China defrocked. The sky being high and the emperor far away, this campaign was perhaps never fully implemented in the deep south. Both before and after 845 many senior monks, especially from Hunan, were reported to visit the stupa. Among them was Benji of Caoshan 曹山本寂 (840-901), one of the founding fathers of the so-called Cao-Dong (Sōtō) school of meditation.⁶⁰ The *Jingde Collection* reports that the stupa was destroyed by fire around 970, when the Song army seized Shaozhou. It was apparently replaced with a seven-storeyed wooden pagoda after 976, during Taizong 太宗 of Song's reign of Great Peace and Restoration 太平興國 after which the new pagoda was aptly named. In 1467 the wooden tower was replaced with a brick structure named the 'Precious Pagoda' 寶塔 which still exists today.⁶¹

The above describes the step-by-step creation of a permanent *lieu de mémoire* for the holy man Huineng of Shaozhou around a stupa that was originally a modest stone memorial column, then a wooden tower and finally a 'Precious Pagoda' made of brick. In section 4.5.4, below, we will attempt to establish the relation between this 'living stone' structure and the most curious object associated with it: the icon - or perhaps the mummy.

4.5.4. The icon and the mummy: fact and fiction

In 1094, a new Ancestral Hall was built at Moon Splendor Abbey near Mengli. It was to replace an Ancestral Hall attributed to Huineng and containing a statue believed to be Arya Jnanabhaishagya's carnal body 肉身.⁶² Around 1875, when new editions of the Shaozhou and Qujiang Gazetteers were printed, Jnanabhaishagya's 'mummy' probably still existed, but it was overlooked by these gazetteers. Only the veneration of Huineng's own 'carnal body' at Southern Abbey is mentioned. When revolutionaries tore down Moon Splendor Abbey during the 1960s, Jnanabhaishagya's 'carnal body', last described as 'in excellent condition' by Xuyun's disciple Xuanhua 玄華 in 1948, was destroyed.⁶³

The claim that this 'carnal body' dated from the sixth century is suspect. It is not clear whether the earliest contemporary records of mummies in China (eighth century) describe a mummy or a dry lacquer 乾漆 portrait sculpture on top of a wooden or clay mold that was 'dried first and then wrapped in several layers of cloth soaked in lacquer. Once the lacquer had dried, it could then be carved into a

statue, gilded and dressed'.⁶⁴ The eminent Tang monk Huilin 慧琳 (737-820) describes this technique in a poem.⁶⁵

美夾貯者:	The beauty of dry lacquerware:
脫空像 :	just a hollow statue,
漆布為之	Lacquered and wrapped.

Such sophisticated and expensive craftsmanship presupposes the backing of a sophisticated and wealthy patron, or a network of patrons. The abbey at Mengli, with its clientele of merchants sailing the North River, could apparently afford the expenditure. The most likely reason why they put the abbey's legendary sixth-century founder on display was competition with the cult of Sixth Ancestor's icon at Cao's Brook. Both abbeys used the services of Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036-1101), one of the most famous Buddhist copy writers of his time, who happened to be expatriated to the nearby Yingzhou 英州 (now Yingde 英德 county). Dongpo wrote inscriptions for a 'canonization stele' (perhaps to replace the two original steles by Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi) and for the 'Planted Tin Well' at Southern Abbey and also visited Moon Splendor Abbey at Mengli. His poem *Moon Splendor Abbey* (in SG 535) mentions an 'abandoned body' 脫身, a Buddhist topos for the 'empty shell' of a hollow

lacquered statue - perhaps Jnanabhaishajya's effigy.⁶⁶ At Southern Abbey, Dongpo wrote *Seeing the Sixth Ancestor's True Effigy* 真相:⁶⁷

云何見祖師	How to see the Ancestral Teacher?
要識真來面	You must know his true [Tatha]gata face.
亭亭塔中人	People in all pavilions and stupas
問我何所見	Ask me where it can be seen. [...]
摳衣禮真相	I point at the robe and worship the icon,
感動淚如霰	Moved to tears flowing like soft sleet.

Dongpo's words, in addition to Jianzhen's early account of Huineng's icon, suggest that literate pilgrims did not believe that the true-life icons they saw at Mengli and Cao's Brook were real mummies - or at least that they were reluctant to describe them as 'carnal bodies'. Of these icons, the Sixth Ancestor's effigy at Cao's Brook was obviously the older one. The existence of a dry lacquer statue of the Sixth Ancestor at Southern Abbey is not only consistent with Zongmi's mentioning of Mardi Gras processions under the Southern Han, but also with his account that the alleged carnal body was 'as light as a statue made of hemp' when the monks were saving it from the flames in 971. It was indeed its lightness that would make a dry lacquer statue such an excellent choice for use in processions.

But how old was this dry lacquer statue and where was it originally kept? The traditional answer to the second question is: inside the stupa at the Source of the Law. This was apparently the case after the wooden pagoda was built in 976, following the fire in 971. Yet one local tradition says that the pagoda originally contained a statue of the bodhisattva Ksitagarbha 地藏, appointed by the Buddha as 'caretaker' of the world until the coming of the Maitreya. His attendants were a monk Daoming 道明 and his father Lord Min 閔公.⁶⁸ But whether or not the pagoda had been home to Huineng's effigy between 976 and 1471, in the latter year it was displayed in the Ancestral Hall and not in the new brick pagoda. This was what Ricci found at Southern Abbey in 1589.⁶⁹

'[t]hey also saw *Lucu's* body quite clearly, covered with varnish, and although some said this was not really his, they kept it with extraordinary veneration in a high spot in the middle of the temple, accessible through a beautiful stairway.'

By that time, Chinese sources mentioned Huineng's 'carnal body' instead of a 'true effigy'. The Chan monk Deqing 德清 (1546-1623), for instance, writes of his predecessor:⁷⁰

Each and every man is but a skinbag, rotting away within three or five days after he has died. Why then does the Sixth Ancestor's carnal body still look so much alive after one thousand years? [It] must be the result of such a degree of discipline!

At that time, the idea of mummification had become quite popular among Chinese monks. Deqing was probably personally involved in the mummification of the monk Dantian 丹田 (whose Daoist sounding name means 'cinnabar field'; swallowing cooked cinnabar was believed to be a key to immortality) who died at Southern Abbey in 1614.⁷¹ In the 1970s, the abbot at Cao's Brook told Xu Hengbin 徐恆彬 of the Guangdong Provincial Heritage Committee about a proprietary Chinese Buddhist process of mortification and mummification guaranteed to produce a lasting icon 真, or *praesentia realis*. An extended period of voluntary abstinence from food and water ('absorption' or *samadhi* 定) dehydrates a dying monk's body, eventually leading him into coma and death. The body is then seated on top of a wooden strainer and placed over a mixture of quick lime and charcoal inside a sealed jar called the 'holy coffin 神龕', 'meditation coffin 禪龕' or 'dragon's coffin 龍龕'. While the lime and charcoal absorb the organic products of decomposition seeping from the body, they also produce heat that further exsiccates it.⁷² Erik Bruijn quotes a Taiwanese nun who joined the vigil for Cihang 慈航 in 1954:⁷³

After the inhumation jar had been sealed, several days passed before it was entombed. During the vigil [...] the cold, earthen jar had unexplicably turned warm overnight. [...] All of us were able to feel this heat with our own hands.

These accounts also shed some new light on the mummification of Yuet Kai as described in the opening essay. Although Taiwanese records mention a typical period of five years between inhumation and recovery, the case of Yuet Kai shows that the entire process of mortification, desiccation and conservation can be completed within eight months, even if that period includes a typical hot (>30⁰ C) and humid (>95%) Hong Kong subtropical summer. This twentieth-century method apparently does not require the insertion of an iron frame to support the several layers of lacquered cloth (or plaster, lacquer and gold leaf) as described in Xu Hengbin's study of the Sixth Ancestors 'Genuine Body Statue'.⁷⁴

When Deqing himself died (not at Cao's Brook but on Mt Lu) in 1623, his encoffined body was not transported back to Southern China Abbey until 1643. When the coffin was opened, Deqing's hair and nails had grown long and his body looked 'as if alive' - exactly as the disciples of the Hong Kong monk Yuet Kai of Sha Tin described their teacher's carnal remains upon his exhumation in 1965, and indeed exactly as I watched it from nearby several times prior to its final 'restoration' in 2001. Deqing's body had apparently been mummified at Mt Lu. It was subsequently lacquered and is now displayed in the Ancestral Hall at Cao's Brook, side by side with the lacquered 'Dantian' and 'Huineng'.⁷⁵

The Huineng cult rode the storms of the following change of dynasty from Ming to Qing 清 (although a Qing prince once threatened to move the Ancestral Hall to an unspecified site), but Southern Abbey and its neighbors went into disrepair during the civil war.⁷⁶ Southern Abbey's renaissance had to wait until Xuyun arrived to become its abbot in 1934. According to an eyewitness, Xuyun found Deqing's and Huineng's 'true effigies' covered with dirt sitting inside wooden shrines which had all but been eaten by white ants. Xuyun then ordered that the idols be cleaned and commissioned new sitting shrines.⁷⁷ Xu Hengbin's study of the 'genuine body statue', published in 1978 in Hong Kong (sic), gives a subdued account of the events at Southern Abbey during the Cultural Revolution. In the second half of 1966, Red Guards struck a hole in the back of the Huineng icon and reportedly found a human skeleton inside. Shaoguan Museum conservator Liang Yongjian 梁永鑑 claims that he 'went to see this in person' (he may actually have been one of the perpetrators). In 1970, Liang returned to the scene of the crime with Wang Zeyi 王擇義, a palaeoanthropologist of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Peeking through the hole, they discovered 'neatly arranged ribs, collarbones and vertebrae', supported by an iron frame. After touching Huineng's head and the heads of the 'mummies' of Deqing and Dantian sitting next to him, Wang decided that Huineng's head and Dantian's body were 'genuine' while the rest of the three mummies consisted of artefacts (the proportions of the bodies as well as Huineng's ugliness were among Wang's conclusive arguments).⁷⁸ During the early 1970s, with the Cultural Revolution still continuing, Xu Hengbin was allowed to peek into the icon and examine its inside by touch. Xu claims that the abbot withheld his permission to take X-ray photographs of the icon, but given the political circumstances it is more likely that his decision was guided by revolutionary

authorities. Xu was told that the bones had been amess until some monks placed them back inside the icon and closed the hole with oily lacquer. Contrary to scientific logic, Xu claims that this story is fully in line with Liang's account of 'neatly arranged' bones inside the icon. Xu's conclusion that the icon was really a 'multiple-layered' dry lacquer molding on top of a genuine skeleton makes more sense in view of our observation that this or a similar icon had been used in processions at least between the 10th and 17th centuries.

The official tradition of course claims that the icon dates back to the lifetime of Huineng himself, attributing it to his first generation disciple Shicha 失查, better known under his laic name Fang Bian 方辯 (690-765). Yi Xingguang tells Fang Bian's story as follows:⁷⁹

When he came to Cao's Brook, (Fang Bian) said (Bodhi-)dharma had told him in a dream to go there and worship. The ancestor asked: 'What is your talent?' He answered: 'A talent for molding'. The teacher said sternly: 'Just try to mold me.' Bian spent many days molding a sublime seven inch tall true image of the teacher. The teacher laughed: 'You are good at molding, not at Buddhahood!' (...) When the teacher died, it was Bian who covered the true body with lacquer, fitting the head with an iron support and the neck with a cover of iron leaf to prevent theft.

The story continues in the Ming PS. In Wong Mou-lam's English translation:⁸⁰

On the 25th day of the 7th Moon [of 714], the body was taken out of the shrine, and [Fang Bian] 方辯, a disciple of the Patriarch, plastered it with incense-clay. [T]he disciples, as a matter of precaution, strengthened his neck by wrapping it with iron sheets and lacquered cloth before the body was placed into the stupa.

According to Xu Hengbin, 'incense clay' 香泥 was a mixture of incense and clay, applied underneath the lacquered cloth as a further prevention against decomposition of the body. This would also explain rumors of 'a layer of cream-colored powder inside' the mummy. Xu concludes that not only the preserving effects of incense inside the icon, but also the continued exposure to incense burnt by many generations of worshippers in front of the idol, at least until 1966, have all contributed to its conservation to date.⁸¹ I have some reservations regarding Xu's explanation. Firstly, it is unclear whether he ascribes these miraculous effects to (a) raw frankincense, or (b) to its ashes, or (c) to some agents in the smoke of burning incense, or perhaps (d) to all of the above. Secondly, if these beneficial effects were known at all to the monks at Cao's Brook, why do they explicitly bar the burning of incense inside the Sixth Ancestor's Hall, as I noticed during my two visits? Thirdly, Xu's reading of

香泥 as a hendiadys: 'incense and clay' is apparently mistaken, as is Wong Mou-lam's (grammatically more correct) translation as 'incense clay'. 香泥 is more likely to mean 'fragrant clay', a mixture of clay with the ashes of a cremated monk that could be molded in his 'true image' by a gifted artist such as Fang Bian. As Kosugi Kazuo 小杉一雄 wrote in 1937, such 'ash icons 灰像' appeared around 750 as an inexpensive alternative to statues of bronze or to portable icons of hollow dry lacquer.⁸²

Given Jingjue's account that Huineng was nothing more than a minor 'local disciple' of meditation teacher Hongren and certainly not an 'eminent monk', it is unlikely that anyone would care to mummify his remains or commission an expensive dry lacquer sculpture at the time of his death. A simple stupa (most probably on Mt Heng) and perhaps his *sharira* and a little statuette left by one of his disciples (Fang Bian?) is all that can be expected. According to the *Jingde Collection*, Huineng's remains, including his *sharira*, his robe and begging bowl, and Fang Bian's seven inch tall clay statuette were together buried inside an unnamed stupa at Cao's Brook (sic) in September 713.⁸³ I do not rule out that Huineng's ashes were indeed preserved and that a mixture of these ashes and clay was molded in the shape of the statuette to produce the icon that Jianzhen saw. The fire of 971 probably destroyed the ash icon, or perhaps it had then already been replaced by a portable hollow dry lacquer statue to be used in the Mardi Gras processions under the royal sponsorship of the Southern Han. Anyway, the 'true image' worshipped by Su Dongpo in 1094 was almost certainly the lacquer statue, displayed inside a new multi-storeyed wooden pagoda. The story about other disciples strengthening the icon's neck with iron and cloth is an anachronism inspired by later legends of *furta sacra*.

4.6. Some concluding remarks

The preceding chapters describe the growth of Shaozhou from a southern backwater into an important inland transit port and the development of the local Sixth Ancestor cult with its Mardi Gras processions into a cosmopolitan Sixth Ancestor theme park with a stupa, an Ancestral Hall and a dry lacquer statue claimed to be Huineng's carnal body. It was noticed that waves of commercialized ordinations at some times preceded a hausse in this religious economy, resulting in increased competitiveness among local monasteries. Following the 'Buddhist building boom' at the end of the twelfth century, Southern Abbey at Cao's Brook was still competing with such sites as Moon Splendor Abbey at Mengli, which at that time boasted its own 'carnal body' of a sixth-century Indian *Trepitaka*. Six centuries later, the gazetteers show that the cult at Southern Abbey had eclipsed all others.

The cult of Huineng's 'mummy' also inspired traditions about the carnal bodies of monks such as Xiqian 'the Stone', who supposedly died at Mt Heng in 790. According to local lore, when young Xiqian went to Cao's Brook, the Sixth Ancestor told him: 'If you wish to be my disciple, you must be exactly as

I am.' This anecdote is quoted in relation to a supposed ancient cult of Xiqian's carnal body at Nantai Abbey.¹ In 1970 a Hong Kong newspaper reported that a Japanese dentist had taken the carnal body 肉身 of Great Teacher Wuji 無際 (Xiqian's posthumous title) to Japan. In 1973 abbot Baotan 寶曇 of Nantai told a Japanese visiting scholar that the mummy's return to Mt Heng would be appreciated. In 1975, however, Matsumoto Akira 松本昭 identified this 'Wuji mummy' as the body of a medieval monk that had been retrieved from a monastery in Zhangzhou 漳州 (Fujian) by a Dr Yamazaki 山崎 in 1911. After James Robson had brought up the matter again in 1995, the Japanese Soto 曹洞 sect and the Japan-China Friendship Association jointly arranged for its return to Zhangzhou.²

I wonder if such anecdotes about Xiqian (and also Huairang) travelling to Cao's Brook and studying with Huineng are interpolations intended as a ticket for students of the 'Nanyue branch' of the southern meditation tradition to join the Sixth Ancestor Cult at Southern Abbey. If Huineng indeed spent his final years in Hunan, as Song Zhiwen's poem suggests, young Xiqian and young Huairang were much more likely to meet their teacher on Mt Heng than at Cao's Brook. The apparent paradigm for these interpolations were the well-known claims by Shenhui of Heze that he himself had studied at Cao's Brook as a youth. On the evidence of such interpolations in BZ and other sources, Zongmi of Guifeng 圭峰 宗密 (780-841), the great theorist of Chinese Buddhist history, recognized the Nanyue branch as one of the seven authentic meditation traditions of his own age.

I find the renovated Sixth Ancestor's Hall at Southern Abbey a sad place to visit.³ The dim light makes it difficult to tell whether Huineng's effigy, sitting inside a glass casket overlooking the main altar, is a chocolate figure, a man-size roast duck, or a dry lacquer statue. It is definitely not the ugly 'tar baby' described in Trigault's commentary to Ricci's diaries, but it is obviously not a mummy either - and there is no strange smell.⁴ What a relief it is to walk out into the back of the Sixth Ancestor's Hall, take a deep breath and cross the rivulet that runs across the abbey's backyard. The pine trees are tall and fragrant, but the forest as a whole does not appear to be 1500 years old. The little stone bridge spanning the rivulet is named Flying Tin Bridge 飛錫橋.⁵ 'Flying tin' of course refers to the *khakkhara* of a senior monk. In the hands of the Tang poets, it became a topos to represent a meditation teacher who was not found at home or had passed away:⁶

惆悵雲山暮，閑門獨不開，何時飛杖錫，終日閉蒼苔。

Sad dusk clouds the mountain screen, shut remains the lonely gate.

When did his tin staff fly here? Sundown. Moss covers the ground.

It is obvious that a pious (re-)designer of the theme park at Southern Abbey (perhaps Xuyun?) planned a Flying Tin Bridge at this 'Precious Forest' to suggest the Sixth Ancestor's enduring presence

(*shen* 神), but to me it had the opposite effect. Every time I crossed it, I became more clearly aware that the Sixth Ancestor was not and probably had never been here.

Notes to chapter 4.1

1. Song Zhiwen, 'From Hengyang to Shaozhou', in SZ.
2. BZ scroll 10 (after Shiina).
3. Genkai, (Jianzhen's) *Eastbound Travelogue*, AD 779.
4. Song Zhiwen, 'From Hengyang to Shaozhou', in SG and QTS.
5. Cf. Dudbridge, 'Images' and *Religious experience*.
6. Cf. Chen, *Buddhism*, 223.
7. Tang, 'Lingnan', 377- 387. The *Guangdong Gazetteer* mentions 103 monasteries built in 12 prefectures in the area equivalent to modern Guangdong and Hainan between AD 500 and 960: 20 pre-Tang, 65 built during the Tang, and 18 during the 'Five Dynasties'. Their local distribution was:

廣 Guangzhou 23	韶 Shaozhou 26	潮 Chaozhou 16	循 Xunzhou 11
新 Xinzhou 11	端 Duanzhou 5	恩 Enzhou 3	雷 Leizhou 3
連 Lianzhou 2	康 Kangzhou 1	瀧 Shuangzhou 1	封 Fengzhou 1.

For a map of the distribution of Buddhist abbeys in Tang China see Zhang, *Han-Tang*, Vol. 1.

8. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 9. Hansen refers to these cults as persisting during the Southern Song.

Notes to chapter 4.2

1. The basic resource for the historical topography of the wide environs of Cao's Brook are a nineteenth-century *Shaozhou Prefecture Gazetteer* (SG) and a *Qujiang County Gazetteer* (QG) that borrows most of its data and maps from the former. The bibliography in SG gives a history of local topography in the Shaozhou area. Apart from a lost *Old Gazetteer* of Shaozhou from the Mongol era (q. in SG 839), all other local gazetteers mentioned here, including county gazetteers of Lechang, Renhua, Wengyuan, Ruyuan and Yingde (many lost), are Ming or later. An anonymous *Atlas of Yingde Prefecture* 英德府圖經 is dated between 1195 and 1278 when the Southern Song prefecture of Yingzhou 英州 became Yingde Prefecture 英德府 by merging Zhenyang 真陽 and Hanguang 含光 counties (PRC *Guangdong*, 448). Yingde was Zhenyang 真陽 county between AD 111 and 467; Zhenyang 真陽 county from 467 to 627; again Zhenyang 真陽 county between 627 and 1022; and Zhenyang 真陽 between 1022 and 1278, the year of the final merger (PRC *Guangdong*, 448).
2. Li Ao, 李翱來南路 (My road South), QTW 638, tr. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 24.
3. He Ge'en, Appendix II; Zhang Jiuling, Qujiang Collection, scr. 11, q. in He Ge'en; Yi, *Yu Jing*, 176.

4. Tr. in Herbert, UBE, 55-56; cf. Huang Zhihui 23; JTS 100.
5. Huangfu Shi's *Chaoyang Tower Records* 皇甫提朝陽樓記, q. in Huang Zhihui, 24. Marks, *Tigers*, 56-66, argues Shaozhou was a main population center from the Han through the Song. Marks considers data of 742, 1080, 1290, and 139, but not the early seventh-century data given above.
6. *Guangdong Historical Atlas*, 74.
7. Guangdong Gazetteer, scr. 233, q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 146-147. Miyakawa interprets this as Deng Wenjin providing lodging and board to many exiled officials 謫官 (Miyakawa, 'South China', 39). YJ has 'Deng Wenjin, from Shixing, prefect of Shaozhou during the early Tang (YJ, scroll 90: Shaozhou).
8. Cf. 清明上河圖, a handscroll painted in 1108 by Zhang Zeduan 張澤端. See also Allen, 'Corner'.
9. Ward, HK, 56.
10. See e.g. Lo, *100 Yue*.
10. In Chau, *Yue*, 10. Until the 1990s, stilted houses could be seen throughout the Pearl River Delta.
11. In Chau, *Yue*, 11.
12. In Chau, *Yue*, 144. Cf. Eberhard's classification of the tribes of southern China: Qiang (62 tribes), Wu-man or Luoluo (93 tribes), Miao (65 tribes), Yao (39 tribes), Liao (8 branches of one tribe), Qilao (17 tribes), Zhuang or Tai (25 tribes), Baiman (44 tribes in Yunnan), Li (5 tribes) and Dan (3 tribes) in 'Kultur und Siedlung der Randvoelker Chinas' (*T'oung Pao* 36 (1942), q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 49-54).
13. In Chau, *Yue*, 142. Linguistic evidence on a common non-Chinese origin of these tribes has been under reconsideration since 1993 when R. Blust found morphological links between two major Asian language groups: northwestern Austro-Asiatic and southeastern Austro-Tai. Blust relates this to the early southern spread of paddy cultivation (C.F.W. Higham in Yeung & Li, 23). Li Guo 李果 notes that the South Chinese practice of headhunting 獵首 also spread from the Yangzi around 4000 B.C., suggesting a central Chinese origin of the Hundred Tribes (abstract in Chau, *Yue*, 162-163).
14. In the 1930s Xu Songshi argued that the Yao yielded corvee to their own chieftains instead of to the Chinese (Xu Songshi, *Peoples of the Yue Basin*, Shanghai 1939, q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 98. Xu traces the roots of the Yao to Anhui and Fujian, not to the Yangzi basin (q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 101).
15. Zhou Qufei, tr. in *Lingwai*, 51. Zhou lists five ethnic groups in the southern prefecture of Qinzhou 欽州 around 1175 (o.c. 63, cf. Eberhard's classification q. in note 12, above):
 1. the native Luoyue 羅越 (village dwellers);
 2. the Northerners (refugees from the northwest, ca. 907-960);
 3. the Li 黎 and Yao 瑤 (settling in distant areas);
 4. the 'bow plow' people 射耕人 (originally from Fujian); and
 5. The Dan 蛋 or boat people (cf. the modern Tanka of Hong Kong).
16. For a critique of these 'charters' see Ter Haar, 'Charters'; for the dog cult Wiens, *Tropics*, 103-104.
17. 區家發淺談長江中下游諸原始文化向廣東地區的傳播與消亡 (abstract in Chau, *Yue*, 33). Au also notes that the early Shixia 石峽 culture in Qujiang may have its roots in the Taihu Basin and Jiangxi.

18. For an ecological explanation of the genesis of the Pearl River Delta due to the adoption of Yao slash-and-burn techniques by Chinese colonists in Northern Guangdong see Marks, *Tigers*, 69-70.
19. Li Mo, 'Yao', 173, Map 6.
20. Pan Chengqian, 'Yao Dialectology', in Lemoine & Chiao, 65. On Eastern vs. Western Yao inside Ruyuan see Pan Caiwan, 'Distribution (...) of the Yao in Ruyuan', Lemoine & Chiao 182-183.
21. 讀史方輿紀要 (Essential Historical Topography), q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 166; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 153.
22. 天下郡國利病書 (Balance Book of the Commanderies in the Empire), q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 166.
23. 過蠻洞, QTS 52-45. 斜 (modern pronunciation: *xie*) was a near homophone of 畚 during the Tang.
24. E.G. Pulleyblank, 'The Chinese and their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times', in D. Keightley, ed., *The Origins of Chinese Civilisation*, Berkeley 1983, 430-435.
25. G. B. Downer, p.c., q. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 277 n.21; Ph. Stott, 'Mua'ang and pa: Elite views of nature in a changing Thailand', A. Turton & Manas Chitaksem, eds., *Thai Constructions of Knowledge*, London 1991, 145-146; J.A. Edmonson & D.B. Solmit, *Comparative Kadai*, Arlington (Texas) 1988, 11.
26. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 108.
27. Dean, 'Transformations', 23. On the alleged She-Yao kinship see Ter Haar, 'Charters', 5, 13.
28. Li Mo, 'Yao', 165.
29. Cf. Strickmann, 'Yao', *passim*.
30. Zhang Youjuan, (in Lemoine & Chiao, 342-345); Dean, Taoist Ritual, 24-27).
31. Verellen, 'Beyond', 287.
32. Verellen, 'Beyond', 275.
33. Zhang Youjuan, 320. More study of local 'contested space' stories could clarify this question.
34. Ter Haar, 'Charters', 12. The samea question could be asked of the Hakka as well.
35. Verellen, 'Beyond', 287-288.
36. The six counties in Shaozhou were Qujiang, Shixing, Lechang, Wengyuan, Renhua, Lechang and Zhenchang (YH). In 534 Lechang (then named Lecheng 樂城) was part of Pingshi 平石 county in Shixing commandery. Under the Sui, Lechang was part of Guangzhou (later: Nanhai) commandery. Later Lechang county became part of Shaozhou prefecture (PRC Guangdong, 84; 96).
37. Kan, *Guangdong*, 1996. On the use of 古佛 (i.e. Dipamkara) see Lagerwey, 'Dingguang' 77.
38. On the sale of halcyon feathers in the market 墟 of Xinzhou see Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 238.
39. Cf. Ter Haar, 'Provenance'.
40. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 8.
41. E.g. in SG 636.
42. For the use of choronyms in Tang genealogy see Johnson, Oligarchy, ch. 5.
43. *A Tomb chamber inscription and preface to the late Secretary to the Right, Prime Minister and Governor General of Jingzhou, Lord Shixing of Tang* 唐故尚書右丞相贈荊州大都督 始興公陰堂志銘

- 並序 was retrieved from inside the mausoleum in 1959 by Yang Hao 楊豪 (cf. *Zhang Qujiang*, 7-8.).
44. XTS; cf. Marks, *Tigers*, 56; *Cihai*, 214.
45. SG 640; 821. SG quotes a lost genealogy of the Zhang family, probably written to identify the Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui as 'Zhang of Fanyang'. In later ages, genealogies were also written to prove descent from a famous 'founding ancestor' such as Zhang Jiuling. Cf. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 20; 35 ff.
46. SG 640-644. The next generations produced more officials. Jiuzhang's eighth son Zhang Cai 張採 was prefect of Leizhou 雷州; his sons Kegong 克恭 and Keshao 克紹 became army officers (XTS,).
47. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 21-22. When Jiuling was knighted as Lord Qujiang, the privilege was extended back to include the shrine of 'first ancestor Zhang' at Fanyang. Cf. Herbert, OBE, 21-22.
48. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 146.
49. Apart from Liu Ke's collected works in QTW 742 (separately edited in the *Liu Xiren* 劉希仁 *Collection*) and in the bibliography in SG 832-847, the *Liu Xiren Collection* (q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 146) mentions a vernacular 'Story of Mr Wang's Wanderings in Guangling 廣令' (also in WYYH 374). The other known prose works of Liu Ke are two philosophical texts: a Companion to Mencius and a treatise on 'Master Chuanlong 眷龍子'. Liu Ke left one scroll of collected poems. Only one is in QTS: '*Jade sounds like music*' (QTS 492-30, probably an examination piece dating from 818).
50. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 124. Ke's biography did not make it not in JTS/XTS, but only into SG, 646.
51. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147.
52. *Friendly Words from Cloudy Creek* 雲溪友議, q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147.
53. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147; 150.
54. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 124; Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 152; for the Niu Sengru faction cf. CHC III 639-650.
55. *Friendly Words from Cloudy Creek* 雲溪友議, q. in SG 647.
56. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 157-158.
57. HS, MC: 劉至略; KS, ZZ: 劉志略; BZ 10: 'a man named Zhilue 志略, surnamed Liu 劉 EK mentions Zhilue as a possible son of Liu Zhidao 劉志道 (unknown). Zhilue and Zhidao may be brothers or cousins. QTW 260 mentions a Liu Zhisu 劉志素 (d.u.) as a court poet of empress Zetian (not in QTS).
58. Ke's letter to his friend Ma Zhi (QTW 742, q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 149) perhaps exaggerated the size of this enterprise, but his income from the farm apparently allowed Ke to complete his studies.

Notes to chapter 4.3

1. H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Princeton 1952; J. le Goff, 'Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants', *Annales ESC* 23 (1968), 335-352; J. le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale', in: *Annales ESC* 25 (1970), 924-946; W. Simons, 'Bedelordenvestigingen en middeleeuws stadswezen. De stand van zaken rond de hypothese-Le Goff', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*

12 (1986), 39-52.

2. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 40.

3. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 61-62, ascribes the price hike of ordination letters after Wang Anshi's downfall (1086) to currency depreciation rather than to increased demand. After 1110, when the issue of these letters was temporarily suspended, speculation drove the black market trading rates through the roof.

4. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 52,57. The official examination norm for monks was to memorize 500 lines.

5. Q. from two memorials to Xuanzong, tr. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 50-51 (italics mine).

6. This number may actually derive from the reported finding of 12,000 'fraudulent monks' (probably peasants) in a partial census conducted under Zhongzong. Cf. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 39. Private ordinations apparently continued during these years; cf. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 42; 52; 329n.

7. Decree by Xuanzang, dated 722, q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 10.

8. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 57.

9. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 60.

10. Or black market rates. An average of 10,000 official ordination letters were traded annually until the trade was temporarily suspended in 1110.

11. Tr. in Netolitzky, 64. Cf. my discussion of the *noh san* festival in section 4.5.1, below.

12. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 224-227. The topos 'bland food' refers to the absence of pepper, ginger, onions, leek and garlic in Chinese Buddhist vegetarian fare. It is an equivalent of kosher or *halal* 清真.

13. 'Biographies of Wealthy Merchants', in *Records of the Historian* 史記, tr. in Ting, *Maritime*, 56.

14. Q. in SG 535. Mengli Village (pop. 960, famous for its ivy gourds 紅瓜仔) is only 12 km west of the present Maba Town. In 1384 a police office 巡檢司 was established on the river bank (PRC *Guangdong*, 83). According to the gazetteers, Jnanabhaishajya came to Shaozhou from Mt Luofu where he had built a Baoji 寶積 Abbey, and founded a Tante 壇特 Abbey at Vulture Peak in Shaozhou (see below): 'Mysteriously, he traveled to Mt Luofu at dawn, and at dusk he returned to Tante Abbey. In [525] he was invited by the *naga* king at Mt Luofu to enter the sea to preach the Law. He never came back again' (QG, scr. 16, q. in He Ge'en, n14). According to HS he went on a pilgrimage to Mt Wutai after having founded the *bodhimanda* at the Precious Forest (HS 2).

15. Biography by Yu Jing in SG 536-537; cf. Yi, *Yu Jing*, 59).

16. *Nanyue Curiosa*, 43; *Nanyue Tales*, 53. Descriptions of this Abbey and its environs in PRC *Hunan*, 600-601; 620-621. Nantai Abbey at Mt Heng, built around 510, became famous as the place where Shitou lived. Around 550, Huisi's host Haiyin was abbot. After 740, Nantai became a center of the international Caodong 曹洞 (J: Sōtō) school of Chan. Modern Chinese claims that the Japanese pilgrim Dōgen 道元 received an initiation at Nantai in 1223, however, appear to be mistaken.

17. Wang Fanggui, *Old Gazetteer of Shaozhou* (Yuan, lost), q. in SG 821; cf. Yi Xingguang, 56. 招提 is a Chinese abbreviation of Sanskrit *chaturdisa*, the 'four quarters' of the Buddhist order (S&H 260).

18. Huang Xijun, 112. I will discuss the meanings of the term 'true body' in section 4.3.3, below.

19. Cf. Huang Xijun 33.
20. It is also possible that Huilang had been confused with another Huilang 慧朗 who lived in Qujiang a century earlier. Following his enlightenment at the Sixth Ancestor's seminar at Cao's Brook, this other Huilang (661-725; laic surname: An 安, perhaps suggesting Central Asian ancestry) returned to his native Zhejiang where he died, but his stele inscription was reportedly written by Xiao Ding 蕭定, governor of Shixing Commandery (Zanning. *Vitae*, q. in Yi Xingguang, 38). The later Huilang is commonly listed as 'Lang the Great' or Lang of Zhaoti 招提朗 (Yi Xingguang, 56). A stele inscription for Huilang was written after 845 by his lay seminarist Liu Ke 劉軻 (see below).
21. Yu Jing 余靖, 瀘水館記 *Record of Hostels on the Zhen*, q. in Huang Xijun 33. Su's poem (in SG 535), written after reconstruction in 1094, apparently associates this Abbey with Pure Land teachings.
22. Yu Jing's genealogy by Yi Xingguang 易行廣, was published by Jinan University Press (n.y.).
23. SG, 538. The name 'Mountain Well' invites associations with 'Mountain Resource 山潤 Abbey' in HS 4 and 'Dharma Source 法泉 Abbey' in HS 24. As HS was written before 804 and the abbey opposite Mengli was built in 1104, however, the latter cannot be identified with either 山潤 or 法泉.
24. *Upashaka* Gao Henian 高鶴年, q. in Huang Xijun, 33.
25. Xuyun, *Empty Cloud*, 126.
26. Venerable Guankun 釋灌坤, h.t. abbot of Moon Splendor Abbey, p.c.
27. Xuyun, *ibidem*, describes how in the late 1930s both the North River and the more inland Cao's Brook changed course so that Moon Splendor Abbey was no longer directly adjacent to the river bank, while Cao's Brook was now once again flowing in front of the outermost gate of South China Abbey.
28. By Wang Shaozhi 王韶之, q. in SG, 535. Wang probably drew on the so-called (*Annotated*) *Book of Waters* 水經註 edited by Li Daoyuan 李道元 (d. 527; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 638).
29. Tang, 'Lingnan', 383.
30. 廣東通志, scr. 102.; q. in He Ge'en, 351 n. 12.
31. Chen, *Buddhism*, 222-223.
32. SG 536. 虞舞 (the Dancer of Yu') is an *epitheton ornans* of the mythical king Shun. His shrine near Vulture Peak was later relocated to the inner city of Shaozhou; 寺仍不廢 (see below).
33. SG 536.
34. Fang Rong served as a prime minister under empress Wu Zetian, but was jailed for two weeks between the empress's abdication and his own expatriation in March 705 to Gaozhou 高州 (now Maoming 茂名 County in Guangdong; his biography in QTS 100 claims that Fang Rong died in exile in Gaozhou in 705), but he was alive in 713 when he succeeded Song Zhiwen in Xinzhou.
35. He Ge'en, note.
36. 'Renshou' refers to the rule of emperor Wendi of Sui (601-605).
37. SG 531.
38. The abbey was rebuilt in 1038 and again under the Ming (by Liu Yingqi 劉應期). It was last

renovated in 1672 under the supervision of prefect Ma Yuan 馬元, the editor of the revised *Current Gazetteer of Cao's Brook* 曹溪通志. (SG 531; 845).

39. Tang Sen, 'Lingnan', 378.

40. Yu Jing, *The Wuxi Collection*, q. in SG 820. It follows that the magistrate's residence was located on the tip of the peninsula between the two rivers, overlooking both the old Han and new Tang cities.

41. PRC *Hunan*, 108. 'Futianpu' means 'Futian Inn', named after a hostel where Mao Zedong stayed in 1927. As this site is to the east of Mt Heng, it may actually be the 'Eastern Ridge' where Xiqian's remains were allegedly buried. For the worship of Xiqian's 'mummy' in Japan see 4. 5.4, below.

42. NNYG, 177. HNPG, 5025 mentions the *sharirastupa* of a meditation teacher Yi 衣 (d.u.), to whom Yuan Mingshan 元明善 wrote a stele around 1200, at Futian in Daozhou.

43. In SG 820-821.

44. SG 820.

45. Cf. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 25. Nearby Chenzhou is Mt Jiuyi where Liu Ke sojourned (see above).

46. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 23; cf. Ch'en, *Transformation*, 139-142; Gernet, *Buddhism*, 283; 294-297.

47. Huang Xijun, 112.

48. Ui Hakuin, q. in Yampolsky, PS, 64n. Cf. Yi, *Zen Men*, 37.

49. Fahai's biographical note in QTW 915.

50. Xuanhua's *vita* of Fahai (in Heng, PS) does not mention this episode but gives Fahai's lay name as Zhang Wenyun, 'a "room-entering disciple," [...] to whom the Master had transmitted the Law.

51. Herbert, OBE, 18-19.

52. Herbert, OBE, 22.

53. Zhang Jiuling, *Qujiang Collection*, scr. 13, tr. in Herbert, OBE, 110-112.

54. Cf. Herbert, OBE, 131 n16.

55. After Ch'en, *Transformation*, 140.

56. Faxing Abbey in Canton was recommissioned as a Guangxiao Abbey; cf. HS 25 for Xinzhou.

57. From an edict by emperor Taizong, dated 636, q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 250,

58. There is a curious verse in Xu Hun's 許渾 *Early autumn rain in Shaoyang* (QTS 535-06):

(...) On Hibiscus Hill one gibbon voice sounds.

Dark clouds greet the rain, my pillow was moistened before 先潤 ,

Nightly thunder spurs a flash, at once lightening my window. (...)

Cf. Xiong Shida 熊士達 重建芙蓉庵 (Rebuilding Hibiscus Cottage), q. in Huang Xijun, 34. 'Clouds and rain' are a *topos* for sexual intercourse, but rain and thunder are Buddhist *topoi* for teaching and awakening. 先潤 may refer to passions and attachments 'fertilizing' karma (潤業) and rebirth (潤生).

58. Cf. Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (d.701, Van Gulik's famous 'Judge Dee',), q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 250-256.

Notes to chapter 4.4

1. Shanxiang of Mu'an 睦庵善鄉祖庭 事苑乾 *Garden of Anecdotes from the Ancestral Hall*, Vol. I, q. in EK 499 and 619. Cf. section 2.2.12, above.
2. Shiina, BZ, q. in Ishii, HS, n3; n4. Cf. Zanning's *vita* of Huineng: 上元中[...]入雙峰曹侯溪矣 ([During the late 670s],[...] he entered Marquis Cao's Brook at the Twin Peaks; q. after Yang, PS, 145).
3. PRC *Hubei*, 151. Topographical description of Fourth Ancestor Abbey 四祖寺 in PRC, *Hubei*, 601
4. Tr. in Broughton, *Anthology*, 108. Cf. section 2.3.4, above.
5. Yuan, *Guangdong*, 57-58.
6. Cf. Huang Xijun, 41. During the 1990s, monks of South China Abbey took care of the shrine while also operating an information stall on the far side of Lion's Head rock (Rev. Guangkong 廣空, p.c.)
7. For these and other instances see Ding Fubao, *Dictionary*, 2368.
8. 佛祖統紀 (Genealogy of Buddhas and Ancestors), q. in Drège, *Bibliothèques*, 177n.
9. Q. in HYDCD, 6373.
10. Schipper, *Body*, 91-93.
11. Verellen, 'Beyond', 280.
12. Huang Xijun, 40.
13. CBCG, 639.
14. CBCG, 632.
15. CBCG, 632 and 633. The two bird-eye maps in on this page are incompatible at many points. This raises doubts about the reliability of the topographical data in CBCG. A critical translation is needed.
16. EK and Ishii HS, n. 13 identify him with a Zhiyuan 智遠 who lived at the meditation hall 禪坊 of Changsha 長沙 Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州, and died at 77 in 571 (Daoxuan, *Vitae*, 235). A Pure Land monk Chengyuan of Nanyue 南岳 成遠 (712-802), a third generation student of Hongren, lived on Mt Heng and became a teacher of Fazhao 法照 (McRae, *Northern School*, 38).
17. Buddhist life in Lechang during the Song largely derived from the then already flourishing Huineng cult at Cao's Brook. In 1036 a certain Yuanyou 圓佑 (or 元佑, d.u.), a monk from Fuzhou who had studied at Cao's Brook, built or rebuilt a 'Precious Forest Retreat' 寶林精舍 in Lechang. In 1042 Yuanyou was inaugurated as its first abbot. Yu Jing 余靖 was invited to the ceremony by the Lechang magistrate Huang Ziyuan 黃自元 and contributed a festive inscription and a poem (Yi, *Yu Jing*, 73-76; Ishii, HS, n. 5; n. 6.). A 'Precious Forest Abbey' was also built in 534 near a village called Holy Brook 靈溪 in Lechang (now in Qujiang) (HS 3). Holy Brook figures in the title of a poem written by Xu Hun 許渾 during the 850s on his way to Shaozhou and containing the following couplet: There must be a road to Cao's Brook / amidst all cliffs and rocks (*Leaving my shelter at Holy Brook*, QTS 528-28).
18. Shiina, BZ, q. in Ishii, HS, 109 n.
19. BZ 10, q. in Yichu's encyclopedia (EK 498, cf. 2.2.12, above); italics mine.

20. Daoshi, *Garden of the Law and Forest of Pearls* 法苑珠林, T53-2122, q. in Soymie, *Sourciers*, 32. The term 'Dragon Cavern' (*longku*) appears a phonetic inversion of Chinese 窟窿 (*kulong*) for a grotto.
21. FR 282, par. 340: '*idoli [...] che solo in una stanza ne stavano cinquecento, tutti molto ben indorati*'.
22. Description and photographs in Brandel & Turbeville, 66-75. Meditation teacher Xuyun visited the garden and its creator, 'snake oil' magnate Aw Boon Haw 胡文虎, in 1947 (cf. Empty Cloud, 133).
23. Barrett, 'Science', 429.
24. 尋南溪常山道士隱居 *In search of the Daoist Changshan's Retreat at Southbrook*, QTS 148-37, or *In search of the Daoist Nanxi's retreat at Mt Chang*. Liu Changqing ended his career in Suizhou 隋州.
25. Tr. in Verellen, 'Beyond', 269. Some illegal migrants from China to Holland give similar accounts.
26. Verellen, 'Beyond', 265.
27. Verellen, 'Beyond', 275.
28. Cf. Robson, 'Marchmount', 240.
29. Robson, 'Marchmount', 247-263. Robson notes that the terminology in the Tang version is more outspokenly Daoist than in the 'polished' Song version (J&Y).
30. Genkai, *Eastbound Travelogue*, T51, tr. after EK 497; cf. section 2.2.10, above.
31. Li Shuhua, 8; 25; Faure, 'Relics', 171; 174.
32. Li Shuhua, 25-26.
33. *Nanyue Curiosa*, 43.
34. *Nanyue Tales*, 53-58.
35. *Vita* in T50. For the abbey see note 3, above.
36. Faure, *Will*, 49; 152.
37. T50, nr. 2059, tr. in Soymié, *Sourciers*, 31. Soymié also quotes another, slightly different version.
38. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 29.
39. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 29-30. Cf. the *Guangdong Gazetteers* of 1561 (p. 2034) and 1864 (p. 5184); the *Guangzhou 廣州 Gazetteer* of 1879 (p. 1523); and the *Huizhou 惠州 Gazetteer* of 1881 (p. 1013).
40. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 32. Chinese 聰明 literally means 'intelligent'; 聰 contains the radical 耳 (ear).
41. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 40, suggests this was a southern counterpart to northern 'horse kick wells'.
42. *Nanyue Tales*, 54-55. PRC, *Hunan*, 620 mentions that after 605 the Daoist Guangtian Lodge 光天館, built around the same time as Huisi's Prajna Terrace, was converted into a Buddhist Abbey.
43. *Nanyue Tales*, 56-58. I was unable to determine whether this is the 'Ancestral Source' 祖源 near the Mirror Grinding Terrace where Huairang met famous 'ancestor' Ma Daoyi, 馬祖道一 (709-788).
44. Daoxuan, tr. after Magnin 1979, 44. The wasps are a pictural metamorphosis of the tigers.
45. Chen Qiaoyi 1988, 452-453. Perhaps Xingkong of Shishuang 石霜, a student of Huaihai of Baizhang 百丈懷海 (see 五燈會要, scr. 4), or otherwise the Ming monk Xingkong (n.y.) from Zhejiang (Chenhua, *Encyclopedia*, 780)? The well, together with the Green Dragon Well 龍井 tea, is known as the 'double highlight' 雙絕 of Hangzhou. The Abbey was turned into a tourist park between 1982 and

- 1984 and now also has temples for the wandering 'mad monk' Jigong 濟公 and for Li Shutong 李叔同. Another story from Zhejiang presents these two tigers as a metamorphosis of the two 'Well and Spring Children' 井泉童子, the local water deities worshipped around New Year. (Soymié, *Sourciers*, 41).
46. Tr. after Yanagida Seizan in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 99-100.
47. *Jiangxi Gazetteer* 江西通志, q. in Soymié, *Sourciers*, 33.
49. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 35.
50. Marks, *Tigers*, 37, mentions Mt Dinghu, 45 miles northwest of Guangzhou.
51. Yi, *Yu Jing*, 63.
52. Cf. Xuanhua in his preface to Heng Yin's PS translation (1971).
53. CBCG, 633, cf. Faure, 'Relics', 171.
54. Li Shuhua, *Nanhua*, back cover.
55. Fahai's preface in QTW 915, my tr. after Heng Yin's PS translation. Cf. Yampolsky 1967, 61-62.
56. Zhang & Yan 1981, 47-52.
57. FR-I, 281, N. 339 Ricci is usually quoted after Trigault's Latin edition, cf. Faure, *Insights*, 22.
58. Some recent Chinese guidebooks (e.g. Li Shuhua's) contain bird-eye photographs of Southern Abbey, taken along the main axis of the compound and so suggesting a mountain to the abbey's rear.
59. *For Yangshan* 仰山 on his way back to Cao's Brook (QTS 638) in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.
60. 同李秘校譚員外月華長老謁慈濟禪師會宿寶林道場, in Yi, *Yu Jing*, 62-63.

Notes to chapter 4.5

1. For the festival of Anna Perenna, a Roman precedent of Mardi Gras celebrated on the Ides of March with singing, dancing, heavy drinking and other 'rites of reversal' see Bremmer, 'Nonae', 80.
2. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 120; cf. Gernet, *Daily Life*, ch. 5.
3. Cao Xueqin, ch. 220.
4. Ward & Law, 24; cf. Yao, *Customs*, 16 on the 'fire cat dance' 舞火貓 and the 'noisy lanterns' 鬧燈 ceremony in Wengyuan 翁源 county in northern Guangdong.
5. Eberhard, *Festivals*, 66.
6. Eberhard, *Festivals*, 10-15. A comparable festival is celebrated on some northern Dutch islands: *Sunderklazen* (Vlieland, Ameland), *Sundrom* (Terschelling), *Klozum* (Schiermonnikoog). See *Friesland*, 585). Eberhard speculates that these masked *noh sang* ceremonies are the origin of the Japanese *nō* 能 theater (Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, 69.3., q. in Netolinsky 263, note 7.12 (1)).
7. Tr. in *Lingwai*, 123.
8. Zanning, q. in Yang, PS, 147. Bernard Faure understands this passage as a reference to an annual procession of Huineng's mummy through the streets of Shaozhou; Xu Hengbin understands 'the city' as Panyu, which is modern-day Guangzhou (Faure, 'Relics', 168; Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 57).

9. Cf. CHC III, 788.
10. Xuyun, *Empty Cloud*, 116. Xuyun was inaugurated as abbot of Southern Abbey in 1934.
11. Longobardo, q. in Faure, *Insights*, 23.
12. Zanning, ed. Yang, PS 147.
13. Zanning, ed. Yang, PS 147.
14. Fei Xiaotong in Lemoine & Chiao, 20. The first Nau Klau literate was Li Shuibao 黎水保 (d.u.).
15. Cursory descriptions of some Yao Lunar New Year rituals in Lemoine & Chiao, 291-292; 300-302.
16. Wang, *Luoyang*, 45-46, q. in Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 6.
17. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 10-14.
18. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 15. Cf. Daoxuan, *VITAE*, i.v. Senghui.
19. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 22-23.
20. *Collection of the Spreading of Enligthenment* 廣弘明集, ch. 16, q. in Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 25.
21. SG 532.
22. Chen, *Buddhism*, 222. Faure, *Will*, 203, quotes Takashima, Michihata and Benn and maintains that Zhongzong established imperial Zhongxing Abbeys in 705. For a cultural history of the imperial designations for Buddhist monasteries to the Tang see Zhang Gong, *Han-Tang*, Vol I, 227-242.
23. Cf. Huang Xijun, 10.
24. He Ge'en, 'Huineng', n14.
25. PRC, *Guangdong*, 699: 'Guo'en Abbey, a.k.a. Dragon Hill 龍山 Abbey, at Dragon Hill, 11 km south of Xincheng 新城 town in Xinxing county.
26. Tang Sen, 'Lingnan', 386.
27. Huang Xijun, 11-13, after the inventory taken by Xuyun in 1934 prior to the restoration. After the Cultural Revolution the italicized structures were preserved or rebuilt, some under different names. For a list of structures around 1600 (indeed as Matteo Ricci must have known them) see CBCG, 641-650.
28. Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, paraphrased in Zürcher, *Leven*, 18,
29. Zürcher, *Leven*, 18. The Chinese sources are Faxian 法顯 (5th c.) and Xuanzang 玄藏 (7th c.).
30. Zürcher, 'New Look', 290-291. See for a photo-impression of the Indian sites Tankha, *Pilgrimage*.
31. Photograph in Tankha, *Pilgrimage*, 31.
32. Zürcher, *Leven*, 18.
33. Borgès, *Antologia*, 124-138. cf. Kuiken, 'Tuin', 43.
34. Jehol is now Chengde 承德 in northern Hebei.
35. The Dutch Ming Garden is in Haren (Groningen). The tradition of the Chinese narrative garden harks back to emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (140-87 B.C.) who had replicas of the islands of the immortals built in the great lake of his park. His example was followed by emperor Yang of Sui 隋煬帝 (AD 605-618). Cf. Keswick, *Garden*, 48-49. Emperor Yang being a pious Buddhist who gave audiences to many returning pilgrims from India and Nepal, his revival of the imperial narrative garden

may also have been inspired by the reports by these pilgrims from Buddhavihar and other sites.

36. For classical examples of such 'borrowed landscapes' 借景 see Ji, *Gardens*, 46; 119-121.

37. Faure, 'Relics', 182 n.

38. Foulk & Sharf, 160-161. The ceremony of 'dotting the eyes' 點眼 serves the same purpose.

39. The locus classicus is an eighth-century treaty by St John of Damascus (Dr A.N. Palmer, p.c.). Please notice here that Latin *praesentia* not only means 'presence' and 'epiphany', but also 'immediate effect'. Schafer notices that during the 750s portraits of emperor Xuanzong were worshipped as icons, that is: 'as surrogates for their illustrious originals' (Schafer, 'Icon', 158). A century later, this had evolved into imperial *Ahnengalerien*, but these were not used for ancestral rites (Schafer, 'Icon', 159).

40. Meeuse, *Doorkijkjes*, 103.

41. Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 7.

42. Bellow, G., 'Escallops in Armory', London 1957, 100-102. Pilgrims to Compostela would carry the arms of St James (three scallops) as a badge, or as a plain '*coquille St-Jacques*' on their hat, to the immediate effect that the saint's *praesentia realis* was felt all along the way.

43. Ginzburg, 'Rappresentazione: la parola, l'idea, la cosa', *Occhiacchi* 82-83.

44. The precedent to these *Ahnengalerien* were illustrated ancestor charts (with coats of arms), This custom is parodied in a sixteenth-century Eulenspiegel story (Geeraedts, *Ulenspiegel*, 125-128).

45. Foulk & Sharf, 170.

46. Barron's translation in Dudjom, *Buddhahood*, 228; cf. Coleman, *Tibetan Culture*, 291; 299; 366.

47. *ToYangshan* 仰山 on his way back to Cao's Brook (QTS 638), Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.

48. Q. from the *Zhonghua* edition (Peking 1979) in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 54. Cf. below.

49. Strickmann, *Mantras*, 188. The Trübner stele is in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ajitasena's translation of the Mahabalavajrakrodhasutra 大威力烏嚩瑟摩明王經 is T. XXI, 1227,

50. Much to the dismay of the local faithful. In 1998 Mr Lin Dezong complained to me that in his opinion Wang's memorial text amounted to 'insipid Confucian writing' rather than 'solid hagiography'.

51. Dudbridge, 'Images', 378. One account describes how prefect Yuan Yong 元邕 of Jiangzhou commissioned the abbot of the local Mahamegha Abbey to paint seven bodhisattvas. During the job, the abbot had the craftsmen 'abstain from meat and purify themselves'. Some days later, the abbot almost died in a boat accident, but was saved by the bodhisattvas (Dudbridge, 'Images', 381-382).

52. He Ge'en, n.31; XTS 124; ZZTJ 212; cf. the epitaph by Zhang Yue (Zhang Yue Collection, scr. 18).

53. Faure, 'Relics' 182n.

54. Wu Limin, 'Mummy', 3-4.

55. Daoyuan, *Jingde Collection*, scroll 15; Shiina's reconstruction of BZ 10, q. in Ishii HS n45.

56. The imperial Kaiyuan Abbey was rebuilt and renamed in 1104 and 1131, both times after the current reign of the respective emperors Huizong 徽宗 and Gaozong 高宗. It moved to a safer place within the city walls in 1228 and was renamed Dajian 大鑿 Abbey in honor of Huineng. The new abbey

underwent further reconstructions in 1368, 1530, 1674 and 1940, when Xuyun used it as annex to Southern Abbey which was also being rebuilt. Dajian Abbey was destroyed by Japanese bombs in 1943. Its vegetarian kitchen stayed open during the war, but moved to Canton in 1946 to become the Tsoi Gan Heung 菜根香. The abbey was reinaugurated after repairs in 1994 (Huang Xijun, 27-29).

57. BZ 10, q. by Ichu (AD 954), see section 2.2.12, above.

58. QTW 587. Cf. section 2.2.14, above.

59. QTW 610. Yuxi probably never read Zongyuan's stele text.

60. Faure, 'Relics', 182 n. 19.

61. Yampolsky, PS, 87; Faure, 'Relics', 173.

62. Huang Xijun, 33.

63. Venerable Hua's preface to Heng's PS translation, San Francisco 1977 (cf. section 2.2.11, above).

64. Foulk & Sharf, 'Portraits', 166-169.

65. Huilin, *Phonetic Meaning of All Scriptures* 一切經音義, q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 55. Huilin, who was born near Kashgar in East Turkestan, must not be confused with the monk Lin 琳 from Qujiang (d.u.) whose stupa inscription by Yu Jing (in SG 535) describes him as 'the Meditation Teacher of Moon Splendor'. Lin later retired to 'the Sixth Ancestor's old temple at Mt Precious Forest'.

66. Synonyms of 'dry lacquer' 乾漆 are: 'double-layered cloth' 夾貯, 'bodyless lacquer' 脫胎 (after the proverb 脫胎換骨: 'to cast off one's old self'); and 'shedding sand' 脫沙 (cf. Lee, *Lacquer*, 26-27; Herberts, *Lackkunst*, 274-275, 318-319; Speiser, *Lackkunst*, 38-39, 52-57; Webb, *Lacquer*, 17-19).

67. Q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 57.

68. Biographies unknown. Cf. Li Shuhua, 7.

69. FR 282, n. 341.

70. 'Enshrining the Ascetic of Cao's Brook 示曹溪沙彌', q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 58.

71. Faure, 'Relics', 172.

72. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 52. Cf. *People's Daily*, 1-XI-1990, q. in Faure, 'Rhetoric', 152n.

73. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 162. The nun is not identified.

74. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 56.

75. Pre-war photographs in Luk, *Xu Yun*, 61, and Wong, PS, frontispiece.

76. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 58.

77. Huang Xijun 12. Cf. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 51.

78. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 50-52. Cf. *Yangcheng Wanbao* 羊城晚報, 27-7-1981 and 15-9-1981.

79. Yi, *Zen Men*, 47, q. from PS, SG and 山右石刻叢編.

80. Wong, PS, 125.

81. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 59.

82. Kosugi, *Icons*, q. in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 159-160. Zanning's *vita* of the Korean monk Musang 無相 (d. 762) reveals that during the eighth century sculptures were made of a mixture of clay and (cremated)

ashes as inexpensive substitutes for mummies as well as for costly dry lacquer statues.

83. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 86.

Notes to chapter 4.6

1. Cf. Peng Yucheng, 彭玉成名僧史趣 *Historical anecdotes of famous monks*, Hengyang 1995, 29-38.
2. Wu Limin, 'Mummy', 4-5. The mummy's description and photograph in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 167-168.
3. As I find Ten Thousand Buddha Abbey following the restoration (?) of Yuet Kai's mummy.
4. Trigault is q. in Faure, 'Relics', 169 and in Faure, *Insights*, 22. The Dutch journalist Carolijn Visser visited Cao's Brook in 1989. It is not entirely clear from her description whether she saw a mummy or indeed a life-size effigy (Visser, *Bamboe*, 52). On similar cases see Foulk & Sharf, 168-169.
5. Not mentioned in CBCG; perhaps an addition by Xuyun?
6. Liu Changqing 劉長卿 *Leaving meditation teacher Zhen's cottage at Whiterock* (QW 148-26).

Part Five

The Other *Vita*: Annotated Translation of the Mt Hiei Scroll 1

第五冊

[Biographies] rarely afford any other Account
than might be collected from Publick papers, (...)
and so little regard the Manners or Behaviour of their Heroes,
that more Knowledge may be gained of a Man's real Character,
by a short conversation with one of his Servants
than from a formal and studied Narrative,
begun with his Pedigree and ended with his Funeral.'

Samuel Johnson, 'On Biography', in *The Rambler* 1750,

'Like the myths of classical Greek drama, certain Lives seem to need telling over and over again,
at least once every generation. (...) I believe it is something to do with finding our bearings
and our human values living (...) in the past.'

Richard Holmes, *De biografie en de dood*,
Huizinga Lecture, Amsterdam 1997, IV.

5.1. Title

The transmission of the instruction and principles of the Law² by Great Teacher³ Huineng⁴, Sixth Ancestor⁵ of Guoning 國寧 Abbey⁶ at Mt Precious Forest⁷ at Cao's Brook 曹溪 in the Tang Prefecture of Shao 韶; and the Records of the Imperial Edict from Gaozong the Great⁸, and the changes of the officially recognized title of the said Abbey⁹ and of the Great Teacher's initiated

students, and of the Six Auspicious Omens during his passing away, and of the prophecies of *Trepitaka* Jnanabhaishajya 智藥 and others.

5.2. The origins of Precious Forest Abbey.

On the fifth of the first month of the year [502¹] a Brahman *Trepitaka* named Jnanabhaishajya², being a grand scholar³ from the Nalanda [Maha]vihara in Central India⁴, who had declined to be king of that country⁵, came hither to Mt Wutai to worship Manjushri⁶. He gathered many dozens of disciples. The *Trepitaka*, knowledgeable and well-read in the scriptures and astronomy and intent to spreading the Greater Vehicle, traveled many countries far and wide, eventually to berth in a village at the mouth of Cao's Brook in the Prefecture of Shao⁷. He told the villagers: 'To look at this water, at its source is really a numinous site, worthy for a senior monk to dwell and many generations of eminent monks to come. I wish to trace its source!' He walked to Cao's Brook and had the villagers build him a residence⁸. After five years this became a monastery named Precious Forest Abbey 寶林寺, venerated by men and *devas* and a refuge to all, far and wide⁹. On the fifteenth of the second month of the year [506¹⁰], an edict ordered the famous monks and scholars of the Empire to worship at the palace chapel as well as in outlying temples in all prefectures and counties¹¹. Prefect Hou of Shaozhou submitted a memorial to present the *Trepitaka* to the palace¹². Prefect Hou asked the *Trepitaka*: 'Now why is this monastery named 'Precious Forest Abbey?' He answered: 'One hundred and seventy years after my passing, a Jewel of the Peerless Law shall teach here¹³. His students shall be like a forest. Hence the name 'Precious Forest Abbey.' Early that fourth month, the *Trepitaka* obtained approval for his Precious Forest Abbey, and the Emperor bestowed on him fifty acres of fields¹⁴. In the year [511] the *Trepitaka* proceeded to Mt [Wu]tai and prepared to return to his country¹⁵. In the year [617] under the Sui, the Empire was in disarray and the Abbey went to ruin¹⁶. In the year [534¹⁷] the Lechang 樂昌 County magistrate Li Zangzhi¹⁸ asked the emperor to confer the title of 'Precious Forest¹⁹' upon an abbey that was being built at Holybrook²⁰ Village in Lechang.

5.3. Leaving home; fraternizing with Liu Zhilue.

It was the year [670¹]. Great Teacher Huineng's laic surname was Lu 盧. He was a native of Xinzhou 新州². He had lost both parents early and had been an orphan from his third year³. Although he grew up with his peers, his mind was set on leaving home. In the said year, Great Teacher, then thirty years old⁴, wandered off to Cao's Brook and fraternized with the villager Liu Zhilue⁵.

5.4. Relation with the nun Boundless Store.

Lue had an aunt in orders named 'Boundless Store'¹. She was wed to the mountains and maintained a nunnery where she used to chant the *Nirvana*². By day Great Teacher would work hard for Lue, and he would listen to the sermon at night³. He would let the nun Boundless Store explain the sermon's truth until he understood⁴. When the nun proposed to read the sermon together, Great Teacher said he did not know written characters⁵. The nun said: 'If you do not know characters, how can you explain their meaning?' Great Teacher said: 'The truth of Buddhahood does not hinge on written characters⁶.' Now, why wonder that I do not know how to read?⁷

5.5. Residing at Precious Forest Abbey.

When the people heard about this, they all enthused: 'Such understanding! He has awakened himself thanks to his innate capacity!' They allowed him to leave home and reside at the said Precious Forest Abbey¹. Residing at this Abbey, Great Teacher practised the path for three years - precisely one hundred [and] seventy years after Jnanabhaishajya's prediction. Great Teacher was then thirty-three years old².

5.6. Joining meditation teacher Yuan.

Later, hearing about a meditation teacher Yuan in a cave west of Lechang County, he went there to learn sitting meditation¹. The Great Teacher still did not study books, so that to the end he never unrolled a single sermon or treatise.

5.7. The fame of Hongren's seminar.

Then there was a meditation teacher Huiji 惠紀 who was reading a sermon on asceticism¹. Great Teacher heard the sermon and said approvingly: 'This being the idea of the sermon. what am I doing here sitting idly now?²' In the year [674], when Great Teacher was thirty and four years old³, meditation teacher Huiji told Great Teacher: 'I have long heard that meditation teacher Ren has a meditation seminar on Mt Huangmei in Jinzhou. You might go there to practise and study.'

5.8. Visiting Hongren.

On the third of the first month of that year, Great Teacher left Shaozhou for the East Mountain to see Great Teacher Ren. He took his staff¹ and went on a long and hard journey, following the East Corridor through Hongzhou². There were many violent tigers at the time, but Great Teacher negotiated the mountains and forests alone and unafraid and reached East Mountain to see Great Teacher Ren.

5.9. First interview with Hongren on Buddhahood.

Great Teacher Ren asked: 'Did you come to convert [all sentient] beings?' Neng answered: 'I came only to be a Buddha.¹' Ren asked: 'Where are you from?' Neng answered: 'From Xinzhou, south of the Ranges.' Ren said: 'So you are from Xinzhou, [south of] the Ranges². How do you want to become a Buddha?³' Neng answered: 'The Buddhahood⁴ of a man from Xinzhou in Lingnan and the Buddhahood of your reverence⁵, what difference is there?⁶' Great Teacher Ren asked no further questions but mused: 'To know your Buddhahood by yourself is the immediate revelation of Buddhability⁷. Amazing, quite amazing.'

5.10. Life at the threshing mill.

There were many seminarists on Great Teacher Ren's Mountain¹. Wherever one looked, left or right, each and every one among them was a *naga*². They ordered Neng to serve in the kitchen³. Eight months went by. Neng did not run away from hardship. He did not care to take time off. If anyone teased him, he refused to give it a mere thought, and he ignored his body for the sake of the Way. At the threshing mill⁴, he felt his body was too light, and he attached a large stone to his waist to add weight to the threshing, causing injury to his legs and feet. Then Great Teacher Ren came to the rice-threshing floor asking: 'You are hurting your legs and feet for worship's sake. How is your pain?' Neng answered: 'What does pain mean when one ignores one's body?'

That night Great Teacher Ren ordered Neng to his quarters⁵. Great Teacher asked: 'The first time you came, you asked me what difference there is between the Buddhahood of a man from Lingnan and the Buddhahood of a preceptor. Who taught you?' [He] answered: 'Buddhahood is not partial⁶. There is no difference between your reverence and Neng. It is actually the same for each and every sentient being, and there is really no difference. It appears and disappears following one's innate capacities.'

That is all.' Great Teacher Ren countered: 'Buddhahood has no marks. Of what 'appearing' and 'disappearing' are you speaking?'⁷ Neng answered: 'As Buddhahood has no marks, it appears with awakening and disappears with delusion.'

5.11. The great colloquium.

By that time Great Teacher Ren's seminarists had become aware that Neng was discussing the idea of Buddhahood with their preceptor. Great Teacher knew that his students would not understand and told the crowd to disperse. Great Teacher Ren [then] told Neng: 'When the Tathagata was on the verge of transcendent extinction, he handed down the profound Law of the Prajnaparamita to the great Kasyapa, and Kasyapa handed it to Ananda, and Ananda to Shanavasin, and Vasin to Upagupta. Afterwards, in a succession of transmissions, through twenty-eight ancestors in the Western Kingdoms, it reached Great Teacher Dharmatrata, our first ancestor on Han territory, who handed it to Huike, and Ke to Can, and Can to Xin of the Twin Peaks¹. Xin handed it to me. I am about to pass away and I shall hand it to you. You can keep and protect it. Don't let the tradition be broken!' Neng said: 'Neng is a Southerner and not worthy to be invested with Buddhahood. There are so many *nagas* around this place.' Great Teacher Ren said: There may be many *nagas* around, but I know exactly how profound or shallow each of them is. Just like hares and horses! I shall only hand it to the Elephant King². There.'

5.12. Handing down the mantle.

Then Great Teacher Ren handed his cassock to Neng. The Great Teacher received it with a kowtow. The Great Teacher asked the preceptor: 'The Law without written characters is transmitted from heart to heart, from Law to Law, but what is the point of this cassock?' Great Teacher Ren said:

'The robe is the token of the Law
The Law is in the line of this robe.
Transmitted from the old,
There is no other tradition.
No Law is handed down without the robe,
No robe handed down without the Law

The robe has been handed down among teachers, pupils and *arahants* lest the Buddha's Law be broken. The Law is the Tathagata's profound wisdom. To know that wisdom equals emptiness,

quietitude, and non-existence, is to know the Body of the Law. To see that Buddhahood is empty, quiet and without abode is true insight. You may take the robe and go.' [Neng] then accepted it, not daring to disobey. After all, this robe of the Law was made of Central North Indian cloth. The Brahmins call it *varana* (satin), the Tang Chinese 'prime cloth'. It is a cotton fabric, but ignorant people used to mistake it for silk cloth¹.

5.13. Farewell at Jiujiang Ferry.

Great Teacher Ren told Neng: 'Now go quickly, I shall see you off.' At the Jiujiang posthouse in Jinzhou, Great Teacher Ren told Neng: 'You, transmitter of the Law, will stand many hardships from now on.' Neng asked Great Teacher: 'How come, many hardships?' Ren said: 'Hereafter, heretics close to Imperial Princes and Grand Ministers¹ shall be vying to overshadow my true Law. You should better go now.' Neng bade him farewell and went down south. Great Teacher Ren saw him off. As soon as he returned to the East Mountain, he did not utter a word at all². All seminarists were upset and asked why the preceptor did not speak. Great Teacher told the crowd to disperse: 'The Buddha's Law is not here. The Buddha's Law has gone south! Now I will not speak [of it], it shall eventually make itself known.' Three days after Great Teacher Ren had bid farewell to Great Teacher Neng³, he again told the seminarists: 'The Great Law has gone. I must leave.' When Great Teacher Ren passed away, a hundred birds cried in grief and a strange scent perfumed the air⁴. The sun was obscured, and storm and rain split the trees⁵.

5.14. Encounter with Huiming.

Then there was an official of the fourth rank whose laic surname was Chen. He had left home and given up laic life and practised as a monk. His title was meditation teacher Huiming 惠明. ¹ Hearing that Great Teacher Neng had left with the robe and the bowl and was heading south, he decided to go south as soon as he got to [the] Range to meet the Great Teacher². The Great Teacher at once relinquished the robe and bowl to Ming³. Ming said: 'I did not come for the robe and bowl. I am unaware of what His Reverence⁴ first transmitted at that time, and furthermore what words there are to be taught? Kindly instruct me.' Great Teacher Neng then began to teach meditation teacher Ming the secret words⁵. Huiming only received the teaching and bade farewell. Ming said to Neng: 'Hurry, hurry, there are crowds chasing after you.' So Great Teacher Neng went south. By dawn indeed hundreds of people had come to the Range⁶. They saw meditation teacher Ming. The meditation teacher said: 'I came here first, [but] I did not see this man. I [also] asked people arriving from the

south. They did not see him either. The man has a foot injury I guess he did not yet pass here.' They all went north in search of him. Meditation teacher Ming, having received the spoken teaching, had not yet attained the dawn of awakening. He went to live at Fengding 峰頂 Abbey on Mt Lu. It took three years before he was enlightened by the secret words. After this, Neng stayed on Mt Meng to spread [the Law to sentient beings of] all categories⁷.

5.15. Retreat to the South.

Great Teacher Neng was now back in the South and more precisely to Cao's Brook. Being bothered and chased by the people, he fled to the border between Sihui and Huaiji County, both in the Prefecture of Guang[zhou]¹. [There] he lived amidst huntsmen for five years. Great Teacher was then 39 years old.

5.16. Yinzong expounds the *Nirvana*.

Early in the year [676¹] in Zhizhi 制旨 Abbey in Canton 廣州, he heard Professor Yinzong 印宗 expound the *Nirvana*². The Professor was from East Jiangnan³. That Abbey, built under the Liu House of Song by Trepitaka Gunabhadra⁴, is now the Dragon Restoration⁵ Abbey in Canton. The Professor and his seminarists would often debate the meaning of the *Discourses* ⁶.

5.17. The wind vane debate.

On the fifteenth of the first month, banners were flown¹. That night, they all debated the sense of flags while the Professor was overhearing them from the gallery outside. The first one commented on the flag: 'Flags have no feelings, hence they are moved by the wind.' The second objected: 'Wind and flags both have no feelings, how could they move?' The third: ' It moves because of the conjunction of causes'.² The fourth said: 'Flags do not move. The wind itself moves. There.' All engaged in this debate and there was no end to the clamor until Great Teacher Neng proclaimed: 'All be quiet! Flags do not move, nor does the rest. Being human, what we call 'moving' is our mind itself moving. That is all.'

5.18. Taking the vows.

After Professor Yinzong heard that, the next day, he asked the assembly towards the end of his lecture: 'During last night's debate in the dormitory, who was the last one to speak? That man must have taken commands from a good teacher¹.' One among the men in the room said: 'It was acolyte Lu of Xinzhou².' The Professor said: 'Let him be brought in.'

Neng was brought into the room. The Professor asked him: 'With whom have you been working?' Neng answered: 'With Great Teacher Ren of East Mountain in Jinzhou, north of the Ranges.' The Professor then asked: 'When Great Teacher Ren was about to die, he said the Law was on its way south. Are you the worthy one, yes or no?' Neng answered: 'Yes.' 'If you say "yes", you must have the cassock of the Law handed to you. Please let me have a brief look.' When Yinzong saw the cassock, he paid deep respect and said with great joy in his heart: 'Who would have expected this! The South now has the peerless jewel of the Tathagata's Law.' The Professor said: 'What instructions and teaching did Great Teacher Ren give when he handed this down?' Great Teacher Neng answered: 'He only spoke of "seeing nature"³, not of meditation, absorption, release, or the absence of action and passion.' The Professor said: 'How come he did not speak of meditation⁴, release, or the absence of action and passion?' Neng answered: 'For all these phenomena are not Buddhahood. Buddhahood equals the Law of nonduality. The *Nirvana* makes clear that Buddhahood equals the Law of nonduality and hence also equals meditation.' The Professor asked again: 'What Buddhahood equals the Law of nonduality?' Neng said: 'In the *Nirvana*, the eminent bodhisattva Gunaraja explains the Buddha's word: if mortals violate the four transgressions and commit the five capital sins⁵, and if the unteachables and the like of them always cut off [their] good roots⁶, does [their] Buddhahood change? The Buddha tells the eminent bodhisattva Gunaraja: 'There are two [kinds of] good roots, one permanent, one nonpermanent. Buddhahood is neither permanent nor nonpermanent and hence does not cease; this is called nonduality. One is good, one is not good. Buddhahood is neither good nor not good and hence does not cease; it is called nondual.' He also said: 'A commoner sees aggregates and elements⁷ as separate notions; he who knows arrives at their natural nonduality. Nonduality is its real nature, real nature is nondual!'. Great Teacher Neng said to the Professor: 'Hence Buddhahood equals the Law of nonduality.' Yinzong listened to this [explanation⁸] and raised [his] folded hands in congratulation and wanted to serve this master.

At the next day's lecture, Yinzong told the crowd: 'How lucky is Yinzong! What a surprise to have the body of the Law of a bodhisattva sitting before this ordinary body of mine! My sermons on the *Nirvana*

were just like rubble. Last night, I summoned the acolyte Lu to my room. Believe it or not, his exegesis was as [brilliant as] gold and [as hard as] jade. Can you believe it? This worthy one has received the Law from Great Teacher Ren of East Mountain! If you ever disbelieve it, ask the acolyte to show you the cassock he received with the Law from Great Teacher Ren of East Mountain. When you have seen it, you shall kowtow and become firm believers for all your lives.'

5.19. The shaving.

On the seventeenth of the first month of the year [676]¹, Yinzong shaved Great Teacher Neng's head.

5.20. Ordaining; prediction on the ordaining platform.

On the eighth of the second month, he took the precepts in Buddha Nature Abbey. The ordaining platform had been set up by Trepitaka Gunabhadra under the [Liu House of] Song who then spoke a prophecy:

There shall later be worthy ones ascending this platform,
And a bodhisattva shall take the precepts here.
Today Great Teacher Neng is taking the precepts,
According to that prophecy.

(from the *Record of Eminent Monks*)¹.

When Great Teacher Neng took the precepts, the three roles of teachers were taken by:

Preceptor Zhiguang 知光 of Zongchi 總持 Abbey in the Western Capital;
Professor Preceptor Huijing 惠靜 of Holy Light 靈光 Abbey in Suzhou;
Preceptor Teacher Daoying 道應 of Tianhuang 天皇 Abbey in Jingzhou.

They later all studied the path under Great Teacher Neng and died at Cao's Brook. Of the grand scholars witnessing his ordination, one was Preceptor Chitra from Central India; the other was Trepitaka [Prabhakara]mit[r]a². Both professors were worthy ones, eloquent and well-versed in the Tripitaka. Yinzong had invited them as reverend witnesses³. At the end of the Xiao Dynasty of Liang, Trepitaka Paramartha⁴ planted two *bodhi* trees on either side of the platform, telling all:

'Do watch these trees. Later there shall be a bodhisattva monk preaching the peerless vehicle under these trees.' These were the trees under which Great Teacher Huineng later sat and expounded the Law of the East Mountain to all present, fulfilling *Trepitaka* Paramartha's prediction.

(after *Trepitaka* Paramartha's *vita*).

5.21. Encounter with Shenhui.

On the eighth of the fourth month of that year, Great Teacher for the first time preached to a large crowd. He said: 'My Law has no name. It has neither eyes nor ears, body nor mind, word nor gesture, head nor tail, inside nor outside nor middle. It neither comes nor goes.¹ It is not blue, yellow, red, white or black.² It is neither being nor unbeing, neither cause nor fruit.'³ Great Teacher asked the assembly: 'Now what is this?' They all looked at each other and did not dare to answer. Then Shenhui 神會, a little novice from Heze 河澤 Abbey, barely thirteen years old, answered: 'This is the Buddha's own origin.'⁴ Great Teacher asked: 'What is this 'own origin'?' The novice answered: 'It is the own nature of all Buddhas.' Great Teacher said: 'I said: it has no name. How can you say Buddhahood has a name?' The novice said: 'Buddhahood has no name. Your reverence asked for it, therefore I gave it a name. When the name is corrected, then there is no name.' The Great Teacher dealt the novice a few blows.⁵ The assembly apologized politely by saying: 'This little novice bothered and disturbed your reverence!' Great Teacher said: 'All of you are dismissed. I shall keep this garrulous novice.' At night, Great Teacher asked the novice: 'When I was spanking you, did your Buddhahood perceive it, yes or no?' He answered: 'Buddhahood is without perception.'⁶ Great Teacher asked: 'Do you know pain, yes or no?' The novice said: 'I do know pain.' Great Teacher asked: 'If you do know pain, how can you say your Buddhahood did not perceive it?' The novice answered: 'Am I made of wood or stone? I was hurting but my permanent mind⁷ did not feel [it]. Great Teacher told the novice: 'When the limbs are being cut off segment by segment, no ire or hatred is produced. This is called 'without feelings'. I made a method out of forsaking my body when I was exerting myself threshing rice. It did not amount to hardship. This is called 'without feelings'. Today you were beaten and your permanent mind was without sensations. Feeling the blows as tokens of wisdom let you obtain the genuine feeling of absorption. You must hand down [this] feeling in secret!⁸

5.22. Return to Cao's Brook; transformation of Cao's Brook.

The Great Teacher had now reached his fortieth year.¹ He had left home, expounded his Law and taken the precepts. Professor Yinzong asked the Great Teacher to return to Zhizhi Abbey. The Scripture Store Courtyard of the present Dragon Restoration Abbey in Canton is the hall where the Great Teacher preached.² The Professor asked Great Teacher Neng where he had lived of old. The Great Teacher said: 'In a village on Cao's Brook, twenty-five miles south of Crooked Creek county in the prefecture of Shao, that is: the Precious Forest Abbey.' When the Professor was expounding the scripture, he ordered three thousand-odd monks and laymen to take the Great Teacher back to Cao's Brook. Thereafter he widely taught the practice of meditation to myriads of students.

5.23. Zhongzong's summons and Huineng's plea

On the fifteenth of the first month of the year [705]¹, the Great Teacher was summoned to court but politely declined to go². Gaozong the Great's summons read³:

'We, sincerely esteeming the [Buddhist] way and avidly respecting the tradition of meditation, have summoned⁴ meditation teachers from renowned mountains of all prefectures to gather in the chapel of the imperial palace for worship and teaching. The two scholars⁵An and Xiu are the most prominent leaders of the assembly of monks⁶. We asked both for advice⁷. They brought forward that one meditation teacher Neng in the south ⁸ had been predicted to receive⁹ [Bodhi-]dharma's robe and bowl from Great Teacher Ren in secret as tokens of the Law; that he had immediately woken up to the Higher Vehicle and clearly seen the germ of awakening; and that he was at the time living at Mt Cao's Brook¹⁰ in Shaozhou preaching that the minds of all sentient beings are identical with the Buddha¹¹.

We have heard of the mind-to-mind transmission from the Tathagata to Kashyapa and from Kashyapa from one to another down to [Bodhi-]dharma, and that the teaching has come to the East¹² through generations of transmissions unbroken to date. The Teacher has taken instruction¹³ and is offering refuge. He may proceed to the capital cities to make converts and to let lay-people and clerics take refuge. Both gods and men shall look up to him. Therefore the Envoy¹⁴ Xue Jian¹⁵

is dispatched to meet the Teacher. May the Teacher favor us with a visit. [Done]
the afternoon of the fifteenth day of the first month of the year [705].'

Plea by Shakya¹⁶ Huineng of Mt Cao's Brook, Shaozhou, to be excused for ill health¹⁷:

Huineng, born in a remote place, has practised the path from his early childhood.
He received from Great Teacher Ren the mental seal of the Tathagata and the
robe and bowl from the west, as well as the mind of awakening from the east.
Your Heavenly Majesty has dispatched the Envoy Xue Jian to summon Neng to
court. Huineng has long taken to the mountains and forests and has grown
rheumatic over the years. Your Majesty's¹⁸

Virtue transcends the worldly.
Your road reaches all people,
To educate all beings
With kindness and compassion.
To teach and spread great learning,
And practice the Buddha's ways.

Kindly forgive Huineng for living in the mountains while seeing to his illness and
attending to the matters of the path . The above is to answer Your Imperial
Majesty, the following is to greet all Royal Princes. Respectfully pleading,

Shakya Huineng.

Kowtow. Kowtow.

Envoy Xue Jian asked Great Teacher: 'Professor and meditation teachers in the capital cities teach
that one has to avail oneself of meditation. If they do not release themselves and reach the path
through meditation and absorption, is there a basis to it?' Great Teacher said: 'The path derives from
the mind's awakening. Why should it consist of sitting? The *Vajracchedika* [says]: 'Whosoever says
that the Tathagata (...) sits or lies down, he does not understand the meaning of my teaching. (...)
Tathagata is called one who has not come from anywhere, nor goes anywhere. Therefore he is called
the Tathagata (...)'¹⁹. To come from nowhere is called birth and to go nowhere is called extinction. If
there is no birth and death, then this pure and quiet meditation of the Tathagata identifies the

emptiness of all phenomena with sitting.' Great Teacher told the envoy: 'After all, the path is not about attaining or proving something. Still less is it about sitting in meditation'.

Xue Jian said: 'The Sage²⁰ shall certainly ask [that] when Jian meets Him in [His] Heavenly Hall. But I hope your reverence will explain to me the heart of the matter. I shall pass it on to the Sage, and to the students of the path in the capital cities, like a torch passes on its flame, enlightening all the dark with boundless light.²¹' Great Teacher said: 'The path is neither light nor dark. Light and dark are alternating notions. Even boundless light also ends. Names are relative. The *Pure Name Sermon* says: 'The Law is without comparison because there is no entity that can be set besides it'²².

Xue Jian said: 'Light equals wisdom, dark represents passion and suffering. How can one practising the path come to discernment if not through shedding the light of wisdom on life and death, passion and suffering?' Great Teacher said: 'Passion and suffering equal awakening, there is no difference.

You see²³ the faculty of wisdom as the ability to shed light. This is the viewpoint of 'two vehicles'²⁴. Those having wisdom do not understand it like this²⁵.'

Xue Jian said: 'Great Teacher, which of the two is the viewpoint of the greater vehicle?²⁶' Great Teacher said: 'The *Nirvana*²⁷ says: 'A commoner sees light and not-light as two. Those who know understand that nature is nondual. Nonduality equals real nature, and real nature equals Buddhahood.' Buddhahood does not decrease²⁸ in commoners, nor does it increase in the worthy and wise. It is not tainted by passion and suffering it does not taint, nor is it purified by meditation and absorption. It is neither cut off nor does it last. It neither comes nor goes. It has even no middle, nor inside nor outside. It is not born and it does not die. Its nature and marks are everabiding, steadfastly without ever changing'.

Xue Jian asked: 'Great Teacher says: 'It is not born and it does not die'. Is this any different from other teachings²⁹? Other teachings also speak of 'not being born and not dying'.' Great Teacher said: '[When] outside teachings speak of 'not being born and not dying', they refer to 'death' as the end of 'life', but that is not death. What I am saying is that originally there was no birth, so now there is no death. This is unlike other teachings: other teachings do not have this particular point, so they are different.' Great Teacher told³⁰ Xue Jian: 'If [you]³¹ wish to grasp the essentials of the mind, good and evil must not ³² be given consideration. The body of the mind is profound and silent, with a sovereign ability to respond to needs.'

Hearing these words, Xue Jian was greatly enlightened. He said: 'Great Teacher,

Today I am beginning to know
What Buddhahood originally is.
Yesterday it all seemed so far away.

Today I am beginning to know
It is not that far to attain the path:
Walk down it and that is it!

Today I am beginning to know
That nirvana is now near:
Just touch [my] eyes, and *bodhi!*'

Today I am beginning to know
That Buddhahood has no notion of good and evil.
No thinking, no acting: nonabiding!

Today I am beginning to know
Buddhahood is ever steady without alteration,
Nor bends with the remover to remove...³³

The Envoy Xue Jian politely bade³⁴ Great Teacher farewell and took the memorial³⁵ to the capital. Gaozong the Great [then] granted [him] one³⁶ Korean³⁷ cassock [and] five hundred bolts of taffeta³⁸. The imperial edict read:

By imperial order. [Although] the Teacher is old and of ill health, he practises the path on Our behalf, a field of blessing to the Nation. Pretending illness as a student of Vimala, the Golden Grain who spread the [Great] Law³⁹, handed down the mind of all Buddhas, spoke the discourse of nonduality, silenced the [citizens of] Vaisali, and dismissed both the navel-gazers and bodhisattvas⁴⁰, the Teacher did likewise. Xue Jian has reported that the Teacher was teaching the Tathagata's gnostic insights: not to give consideration to good and evil; to enter the body of the mind naturally; to practice deep, lasting quietude [immeasurable like] the marvelous sands of the Ganga. We are collecting a plethora of good fortune⁴¹: having previously sown good causes, we now reap the birth of a right

master and benefit from the intent of awakening: first of all, the Teacher's wise and immediate supreme vehicle⁴². We thank⁴³ the Teacher for his benevolence. We shall uphold it and actively practice, and We shall remember this in eternity. We herewith forward one Korean cassock [and] five hundred bolts of taffeta to be offered to the Great Teacher. Done the second of the fourth month of [707]⁴⁴.

5.24. Imperial support for Faquan Abbey; edict to build Guo'en Abbey.

Also on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the year [707]¹, an imperial edict allowed the citizens of Shaozhou to rebuild Great Teacher 's Buddha hall at Middle Restoration 中興 Abbey as well as Great Teacher's sermon [store]room. The emperor granted an official tablet of approval reading 'Faquan 法泉 Abbey'². Great Teacher's former residence in his native Xinzhou became a Guo'en 國恩 Abbey³.

5.25. Rebuilding Guo'en Abbey; recommendation of Holy Hobble.

In the year [712]¹ Great Teacher returned to Xinzhou to rebuild Guo'en Abbey. His disciples asked: 'Your reverence is leaving to rebuild [Guo'en] Abbey. In case you pass away before you return here, who else is there to ask for guidance?' Great Teacher said: 'The monk Holy Hobble 靈振 of Wengshan 翁山 Abbey² may be walking with a limp, but his mind is all but crippled. You must ask Hobble to expound the Law.' They also asked Great Teacher: 'When can you be back?' He answered: 'I shall not return at all.'

5.26. Building a stupa.

One day in the year [711]¹, Great Teacher built a stupa on Cao's Brook². Later, in the seventh month of [713]², when the work on the gallery was still in progress, he urged them to complete it: 'Ayaah, I must leave!' His seminarists had no clue what he meant.

5.27. Illness and death.

In the eighth month of that year, Great Teacher caught an infectious disease. His seminarists asked: 'Will you give the transmission to anybody?'¹ He answered: 'I am not transmitting my Law and no one

shall receive it.' Shenhui asked Great Teacher about handing down the cassock of the Law: 'Why won't you hand[it] down?' He answered: 'When this robe is handed down, the men who hand it down shall be short-lived. When I do not hand down this robe, the spreading of my Law shall flourish. It shall protect Cao's Brook. Seventy years² after I die, there shall be bodhisattvas coming to the east. One bodhisattva [who stays] at home shall repair the Abbey's dorms, another who has left home shall rebuild my teaching.³' The seminarists and parishioners asked Great Teacher: 'How can the handing down of this robe shorten one's life?' He answered: 'Since I have held this robe, robbers have come thrice to take my life. If my life hangs by a thread, I fear later transmitters of the Law shall be harmed, and so: no handing down!' Ill as he was, Great Teacher urged all parishioners: 'Seek the path and forsake your bodies. Just be good, and go straight for awakening.'

5.28. Miracles at death.

On the third of that month, he passed away peacefully sitting, seventy and six years old. On the day of his decease, there was a flurry of smoke and clouds. Wells and springs dried up, brooks and creeks stopped flowing, and a white rainbow penetrated the sun. All of a sudden thousands of birds appeared to the east of the cliff¹, and they sat on the trees crying sadly. And west of the Abbey there was a column of air going straight up like a string of white silk, more than one mile long, as pure and bright as the sky itself, which only dispersed after five days, and a five-colored cloud² was again seen in the southwest³. On that [first] day, the entire sky⁴ was cloudless. Sudden gales of icy wind blew into the dormitory from the southwest⁵. Before long, an air of incense filled all the galleries. The earth trembled everywhere and there were landslides⁶ on the mountain slopes. [When] Great Teacher died at Guangguo 廣果 Abbey in Xinzhou⁷, three rainbow formed from the west of the Abbey straight to the sun, and at Chengtoug⁸ Villa in front of the Abbey there was a rainbow shining for one hundred days. A crowd of birds cried in sadness, the well water became as thick as congee⁹ and did not flow for some days.

And when meditation teacher Hubble of Wengshan Abbey was expounding the Law to an audience in front of his room at night, there was also a rainbow shining into the room from the south. The meditation teacher told the crowd: 'The monk of Xinzhou must already have died. This rainbow is the monk's holy omen.' When his death was reported from Xinzhou, the disciples on Cao's Brook went into mourning and kowtowed. Then the rainbow went and the wellwater gradually began to flow. When the news [finally] reached Wengshan, meditation teacher Hubble, hearing of the mourning, ordered a three-week fast . At night, when he had gathered a crowd of monks and laymen, suddenly a rainbow came out of his room. Meditation teacher Hubble told the crowd: 'I shall not be around long. The

sermon says: "When the big old elephant goes, the little elephant will follow too"¹⁰. That night in bed, he turned to his left side¹¹ and passed away.

5.29. Lacquering the remains; funeral; burial.

The seminarists at Cao's Brook wished that Great Teacher's entire body should return to Cao's Brook. But at that time the local leadership were unwilling to release him¹. They wanted him to remain at Guo'en Abbey and erected a stupa to worship him let him. Only after the seminarists and the monk Zongyi 宗—² had petitioned the prefect, he was returned to Cao's Brook. Great Teacher's head and neck³ were first sealed with iron leaf⁴ and the entire corpse was lacquered. On the thirteenth of the eleventh month of that year, the funeral and burial were held⁵.

5.30. The aftermath.

In the year [739]¹, a swordsman came to fetch the head [head]². He moved Great Teacher from the hall³ and cut him several times with a knife. The seminarists, only woken up by the sound of iron, saw a young man in mourning rags⁴ escaping from the abbey compound. They tried to chase him but did not hunt him down⁵. Since Great Teacher's ordination, he had preached and saved people for thirty-six years. He died in the year [713]⁶, being the forty-ninth year [of the cycle of sixty]⁷. There were [still] seventy-one years to count until the year [781]⁸ of the Tang. In that year, the assembly [of monks] appointed a senior disciple, Xingtao 行滔⁹ as keeper of the handed-down robe. Forty-five years had gone by¹⁰. At the Throne Hall there was one Gentleman-in-waiting, Wei Ju¹¹, who had erected a stele for Great Teacher. Afterwards, in the year [719]¹² a lay disciple of the northern lineage, Wu Pingyi 武平—, rubbed out Wei Ju's inscription¹³ and himself composed a *Text by Wu Pingyi*¹⁴.

5.31. Zhihuang of Tanzhou takes to the path.

In the year [723]¹ meditation master [Zhi]huang of Tanzhou², having studied with Great Teacher Ren, returned to Greenberg³ Abbey at Changsha. He always practised sitting meditation and became absorbed time and again. He was famous wide and afar. One day there was a meditation master Darong⁴ who had lived at Cao's Brook and studied with the Great Teacher for thirty years. The Great Teacher used to tell Rong: 'You are capable of converting all living beings.' Rong bade [him] a respectful farewell and returned north. On his way, he came along by meditation teacher Huang's

place. Rong greeted and asked Huang: 'I heard, Professor, that you often enter into absorption. Do you enter it with the mind, or without the mind? If it were with the mind, all living beings with a mind must be able to enter into it. If it were without the mind, weeds and woods and tiles and tools must also be able to enter into it.⁵' Huang answered: 'When I enter into absorption, there is no such thing as a mind to be had, or not to be had.' Rong countered⁶: 'If there is no mind to be had or not, that equals constant absorption, and constant absorption can neither be entered into nor left.' Huang was knocked into a cocked hat. Huang asked: 'Why, do you come from Great Teacher Neng's place? What Law did Great Teacher teach you?' Rong answered: 'Great Teacher taught Rong neither absorption nor disorder, neither sitting nor meditation. This is the Tathagata's meditation⁷.' Huang woke up at these words and said⁸:

The five aggregates do not exist,
The six dust bodies are empty.
There is no quiet and no reflection.
Leave existence, leave the void,
Non-abiding in the middle.
Without making, without merit,
With a sovereign ability to respond to needs,
In order to reach full Buddhahood.

He sighed: 'These past thirty years I have been sitting empty⁹. Then I went to Cao's Brook to take refuge with Great Teacher and study the path. People said: 'Meditation teacher Huang has been sitting in meditation for thirty years. [Only] lately has he begun to develop the mind and practise the path.' In the year [711]¹⁰, he retired to his old abode at Changsha. In the night of the eighth day of the second month, he woke up to the path. That night a voice was [heard] coming from empty space, telling everyone and all the commoners¹¹: 'Tonight meditation master Huang has taken to the path.' Such were the seminarists of Great Teacher Neng!¹²

5.32. The transmitted robe and bowl; offering, returning.

In the year [758]¹, Plenipotentiary Wei Lijian 韋利見 of Canton² recommended the monk Xingtao for an invitation to come to the Inner [Court] and hand over the cassock. Following that recommendation, emperor Xiaogan³ issued a decree reading:

We herewith decree that the cassock of the Law⁴, handed down by the Sixth Ancestor of Mt Cao's Brook, and the monk Xingtao, accompanied by five lay disciples and by Lijian⁵, follow Imperial Commissioner Liu Chujiang 劉楚江 by arranged official transportation by water and land to visit the Supreme Capital. Done on the afternoon of the seventeenth of the twelfth month of [675]⁶.

On New Year's Day of the year [759]⁷ Professor Tao, pleading old age and illness, dispatched his senior disciple, the monk Huixiang, and the servant Yonghe to follow the Imperial Commissioner Liu Chujiang to the capital and present the handed-down cassock to the Inner [Court]⁸. They reached their destination on the eighth of the fourth month. Professor Tao died on the seventeenth of the first month at the age of eighty-nine. The Emperor awarded the monk Huixiang a set of purple gauze cassocks⁹. The servant Yonghe received a preferential ordination as a monk¹⁰. He was allotted to the Abbey. This Jianxing Abbey 建興寺 was renamed Guo'en Abbey¹¹. The Professor's hermitage was awarded the title of Precious Happiness Abbey 寶福寺¹². When the monk Huixiang was following the

Imperial Commissioner Liu Chujiang to visit the Supreme Capital and present the robe, he submitted the following petition on leaving¹³:

Your servant, the novice Huixiang, writes:

Your servant, from the outskirts of empire and of shallow learning, eager to act as a vicar for a senior monk and living happily in the mountains and forests, respectfully receives Your Sage teaching. The present robe and bowl came previously from Great Teacher [Bodhi-]Dharma through consecutive transmissions. Both are venerated as Imperial Treasures. The world takes refuge in them and gods and men respect them, so that later students may look at these objects and think on their owners. Your servant, however undeserving, has received these objects in transmission and has been hurrying to present the same to the Heavenly Palace as soon as Your benevolent order s were received, personally protecting these objects lest they ever be lost. Your servant hence feels grateful and overwhelmed by Your compassion, that is, knowing that

The robe of the Great Law
Shall not be lost for millennia.
The clergy and laity of the capital cities
Are carrying it in pious procession¹⁴.

Yet Your servant's teacher, Xingtao, who received the seal of the Law long ago and has kept this robe and bowl and guarded¹⁵ them like the pearl in the royal tuft. Your virtuous word was received several times. We do not dare to disobey the order. Now that one generation has passed away and the hermitage is awaiting a new era, Your servant now wishes to return thither to pray for [Tao's] divine soul. If I may make known your sagely feelings, and describe the circumstances of the presentation of the robe and upgrading of the Abbey, and outline Your regard for the past and compassion in the present, then though I die, I shall be fully satisfied. Overcome by extremes of tearful devotion and earnest sighs, I respectfully bring these words to your attention. The novice Huixiang begs Your compassion and dedication,

Kowtow, kowtow.

Respectfully spoken¹⁶.'

Emperor Xiaogan granted the monk Huixiang's request. The Imperial missive read:

'The teacher's teacher, Xingtao, has impeccably kept the precepts and his acts are of great virtue. He has submitted the robe and bowl handed down from previous teachers and kept it in the Tropics and not lost it quite many years. We have revered the Way with sincere devotion, and have sent an envoy to seek them from afar. The teacher has wended his way along a daunting journey, conveying them to me with the utmost respect, fulfilling my earnest desire. What consolation can compare with this? Although word of Xingtao's death has been received, his spirit appears still present. The teacher may return thither and convey our prayers for [Xingtao's] soul. [It be] known that Our respect [for the teacher] shall never end. We find good that he go at once.'

And on the twentieth day of the eleventh month of the year [760]¹⁷, emperor Xiaogan sent Imperial Commissioner Cheng Jingqi 程京杞¹⁸ to offer various kinds of incense. This was done in front of Great Teacher Neng's burial stupa. When the incense was burnt and an Imperial message read, a radiant rainbow emerged from within the niche, shooting several yards straight up. When envoy Cheng saw the rainbow, he danced with the villagers and made a record of it. And in the year [762]¹⁹, the emperor sent the cassock of the transmission of the Law back to Cao's Brook. The Imperial

missive read²⁰:

(the cassock had been on display in Zongchi Abbey in the capital for seven years²¹)

To Yang Jianqing²², in the Tropics for long, *s.v.b.e.e.v.*

Having been favored by a dream, we send back meditation teacher Neng's Law transmission cassock to Cao's Brook accordingly. We intend to dispatch as Our Commissioner the Defender of the Imperial House, Generalissimo Yang Chongjing²³ to return the same in pious procession. The Law transmission cassock is an Imperial Treasure. Qing may proceed to Great Teacher Neng's own abbey and have it displayed following the Law. All monks who as his heirs have received his teachings in person are ordered to make certain that it not be lost. Done by Us on the afternoon of the seventh day of the fifth month in [765]²⁴.

5.33. Six auspicious omens.

Six kinds of holy auspices are reported here: when Great Teacher was alive, and after his passing away¹:

When Great Teacher was alive, there were tilers working on the side of the Abbey who would cook chicken stew near the water well. The water was polluted and did not flow for ten days. Great Teacher punished the tilers, ordering them to burn incense and hold a maigre feast on the waterside. That been said and done, the water at once began to flow.

And when twice in succession cavalrists came by the Abbey, the well also became polluted and remained dry for some days. After the soldiers had gone, incense was offered in thanksgiving, and all wells gave water again.

And Great Teacher lived at Guoning Abbey [in Shaozhou] and at Guo'en Abbey in Xinzhou. Even to day there are no swallows, sparrows, crows or kites at either Abbey.

And on every third of the eighth month, the day Great Teacher had passed away, men and women from the neighboring village would gather like clouds to hold a fast in the Abbey. After the fast was dismissed, the crowd would pray and thank in front of the stupa and disperse. One day, a sudden, faint breeze rose and a strange scent befell the crowd. Smoke clouds covered the Abbey and a heavy

rain fell from heaven . It drenched the entire compound, but no rain fell on the village or the Abbey compound.

And after Great Teacher died, the Robe of the Law was stolen twice, but it was returned on request before long and the thieves could not escape.

And from the day Great Teacher died, his pure spirit has always been around, watching everything. There is always a strange scent in the shrine inside the stupa, and he is able to appear in one's dream. All these miracles and others have appeared over the years and this record is not exhaustive.

5.34. Colofon.

Done on the thirteenth of the second month of [803]¹.

5.35. Notes.

5.35.1.

1. In Yanagida, *Rokusō*; references to notes in EK and in Ishii, HS (Ishii's text = Yang, PS).
2. 法宗旨 *Dharmavamsa*. the principles 宗 of the Buddha's Law 法.
3. Neng was reportedly canonized in 816 as 'Great Teacher Dajian 大鑿大師'. See Part Two, above.
4. HS: 惠能 ; WZ and KS: 慧能 (concordance in EK 14- sqq.)
5. Cf. Barrett 'Kill!'
6. In medieval Chinese sources, Buddhist monasteries are known as 'cloisters 院' or 'abbeys 寺'. Within an abbey, a cloister could also be a closed yard for meditation (禪院), prayer or good works. 寺 was also used for government offices such the Court of State Ceremonial 鴻臚寺 or the 'Foreign Office' in charge of the Buddhist clergy. 山門 (lit. 'mountain gate') is translated as 'monastery'. SG does not mention Guoning 國寧Abbey; BZ 10 identifies it with Jianxing 建興 Abbey, renamed Guoning Abbey during then760s.
7. The present Precious Forest is at the back of South China Abbey on Cao's Brook> There is no mountain there. Faure, 'Relics', 165: 'Caoxi Mountains' 曹溪山 must be: 'the hills near Cao's Brook'.
8. Read: Zhongzong 中宗. Emperor Gaozong of Tang died in 684.

5.35.2.

1. Tianjian 天監 1, under the southern emperor Wu of Liang (502-548),

2. 智藥, ('Medicine of Wisdom'), biography unknown. Antonino Forte defines a *Trepitaka* as a Buddhist scholar 'familiar with the three *pitaka*: the 'baskets' with *sutra* (sermons), *vinaya* (discipline) and *abidharma* (metaphysics) which together make up the Buddhist canon. Forte distinguishes between a *Trepitaka* and the Tripitaka (= the Buddhist canon) believes the former 'was the highest official title given to Buddhist doctors in [...] India. ' (Forte, 'Relativity', 248 n.7; cf. Tibetan *Geshe*). 'Jnanabhaishajya' may be inspired by the historical Brahman Trepitaka Amogha 不空 (704-774) whose posthumous title is Jnanapitaka 智藏. He was a Singhalese merchant prince from Sri Lanka who came to China in 718. In the 740s he taught esoteric Buddhism 密教 at Xuanzong's court. At the start of the Roqsan uprising, Amogha fled south but was not allowed to leave China. After the uprising he returned to court and translated 120 volumes of Tantric texts. HS was compiled a few years after Amogha's death. Amogha's posthumous title in turn was a homage to the BrahmanTrepitaka Jnanapitaka, an exegete at the southern court of emperor Wu of Liang (ca. 500, see Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 128). The following monks are listed in the *Vitae* under the name Amogha 不空:

<u>Vita by:</u>	<u>Dynasty</u>	<u>Abbey</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Category</u>
Daoxuan	Liang	Kaishan	Nanking	exegete
Daoxuan	Tang	Fengde	Mt Tiantai	meditator
Zanning	Tang, 5	Fahua	Chuzhou	exegete
Zanning	Tang, 1n.	Xitang	Chuzhou	meditator

3. *Bhadanta* 大德; originally an epithet of the Buddha; in the *Vinaya* a term for an eminent monk.
4. The Mahavihara at Nalanda was a famous monastic center, founded in the fifth century in Bihar. At the time HS was written, the ten abbeys in the Nalanda Mahavihara were a major center of learning.
5. 辭彼國王: 'who had declined the throne of that country' - an *imitatio Buddhae* topos. At the time HS was written, Bihar was ruled by the Pala. The state of Bihar is now part of northern India.
6. HS probably confuses Jnanabhaishajya with Amogha. When Mt Wutai in Northern Shanxi developed into a Buddhist pilgrim site around 680, Amogha had its Daoist 'grotto heavens' 洞天 transformed into Manjushri temples (Stevenson, 'Manjusri', 208-209; 211-212; cf. Dunhuang Ms. P. 2066 (dated 677)).
7. EK 65 reads 曹溪口 as the 'entrance to Cao's Brook Village.' Cf. Part Four, above.
8. Jnanabhaisajya reportedly also built the nearby Moon Splendor 月華 Abbey; cf. Part Four, above.
9. The present inner gate inscription at South China Abbey reads: Precious Forest Temple 寶林道場.
10. Tianjian 4 under the Southern emperor Wu of Liang.
11. The term 道場 ('temples', Sanskrit: [*bodhi*] *manda*) instead of 寺 suggests that this statement may derive from the 'Monographs of Five Dynasties 五代志 incorporated in the official Sui court history 隋書

which was completed in 636. See Drege, *Bibliothèques*, 177n and Twitchett, *Official History*, 87.

12. Cf. BZ 10 and Fahai's postface to the Yuan PS.

13. A much later *vita* in the *Jingde Collection* (1004) ascribes this prophecy to Paramartha (真諦 499-569), an Indian translator who also lived in south China. HS apparently mixes stories of Paramartha and Jnanapitaka (see above) with more recent material about Amogha, Like Paramartha, Jnanapitaka, and Bodhidharma, Jnanabhaisajya was reportedly received at the court of emperor Wu of Liang. Paramartha also appears in HS 20, planting two trees in Canton and predicting Neng's coming to Guangxiao Abbey:

Text	Prophet:	Place:	Years:	Trees:
HS 2 (782 or 783)	Jnanabhaishajya	Cao's Brook	AD 502+170	-
HS 20 (idem)	Paramartha	Canton	-	2
<i>Jingde Coll.</i> (1004)	Paramartha	Canton	AD 552+120	2

The Dunhuang PS has Neng predict the coming of 'two bodhisattvas' twenty years after his death, i.e. in 732. HS (and also *Jingde Coll.* changes this to '70 years' (i.e. 782, the year when HS was written).

14. Probably an anachronism. There is no indication of an imperial abbey in Shaozhou around 500.

15. Tianjian 10. Cf. Ishii HS, 83 and EK: 'Mt Tai'.

16. Daye 大業 13 under Yangdi of Sui 隋煬帝 (569-618). Yangdi was a famous patron of Buddhism and a student of Zhiyi of Tiantai (CHC III, 115-120;147-153). Would the northern rebellion against Yangdi in 617 cause the destruction of an obscure abbey in a southern backwater? This passage is probably an ex post facto apology for the absence of pre-Tang traces of an abbey at Cao's Brook.

17. Tianping 天平 1 under Xiaojing of Eastern Wei 東魏孝靜帝(Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (d. 543). After a brief excursion into the seventh century HS now returns to the (northern) calendar of Wei. Quite.

18. 李藏之; biography unknown (Ishii, n. 5). For the topography of Lechang see Part Four, above.

19. This may be an interpolation to bring materials from the Northern Wei History in line with HS.

20. HS. Ishii reads 'Cao's Brook Village' (Ishii HS, n. 6), EK: 'Holybrook 靈溪 Village'. SG mentions a 'Precious Forest Abbey' built in Lechang county in 1059 by the monk Yuanyou 圓佑 (d.u.; cf. Huang Xijun 57). 'Holybrook village' may also refer to the present Lingxi 靈溪 township in eastern Qujiang county. In the absence of contemporary maps, clear boundaries between counties under the Liang cannot be drawn.

5.35.3.

1. HS: 咸元年; KS and ZZ: 咸亨元年, the first year of Xianheng 咸亨, a reign title of Gaozong of Tang.

2. Xinzhou is now Xinxing county 新興縣 in Guangdong, where Neng is commemorated at the local Dragon Hill or Guo'en 國恩 Abbey, 11 km south of Xincheng town. A stele to the right of the main hall, ascribed to Zhongzong, claims to cover the grave of Neng's parents, allegedly dug by their filial son's own hand. The lychee trees to the left are said to have been 'planted by Huineng.' The abbey has a

hot spring and a guesthouse. It was refurbished in 1983 (PRC, *Guangdong*, 699).

3. PS: his father, a former official of Fanyang (Peking) , was survived by his wife and three-year old Neng when he died as a commoner in Xinzhou.

4. Not Chinese 'years of age' 歲 but 'springs and falls' 春秋. ZZ replaces 三十 for HS 卅(EK 30).

Yampolsy, Ishii and Yang Zengwen all give notes on Neng's corrected ages (cf. Ishii HS, n. 9).

5. HS, MC: 劉至略; KS, ZZ, BZ9&10: 劉志略.

5.35.4.

1. According to the 'Inexhaustible Stores of Wisdom' 無盡伏藏會, a text in the collection of *Maharatnakuta* (the 'Great Precious Heap of Sermons' 大寶積經, tr. in Chang , *Treasury*, 149-163). Bodhisattvas possess an 'inexhaustible store of merits'. The same topos occurs in the *Vimalakirti* while Baochang's *Lives of the Nuns* 寶唱比丘尼傳 also compares the nun Tanhui 曇暉 (422-504) to a 'miraculous inexhaustible treasury' as she caters to a Chinese equivalent of the Wedding at Kana (tr. in Tsai, *Nuns*, 92-95). The term 'boundless store' is usually linked to a chain of charitable banks set up under the Southern emperor Wu of Liang. During the seventh century they became the exclusive domain of the Three Stages Sect 三階教 'an extensive Buddhist reform movement [which was tolerated] in spite of having caused uneasiness among the court clergy' (Forte, *Propaganda*, 166). Among their known laic supporters was Song Zhiwen's friend Shen Quanqi 沈荃琪 (656-714; Forte, 'Relativity', 239). The founder of the main Boundless Store in Chang'an 'practiced Meditation and was engaged in the cause of the Three Stages' (Gernet, *Society*, 211).

2. The *Mahaparinirvanasutra* (see Part Two, appendix). Baochang mentions one Nun Feng 馮尼 (409-504) who could 'chant through the entire [Nirvana] in only three days' (Tsai, *Lives*, 95).

3. HS has an archaic character for 役 'to use as a slave, to order about'; KS and ZZ have the regular 役. Lue appears to have adopted Neng as a younger brother, which entailed he had to obey Lue's orders at work. His quarters were apparently close to the nun's merit cloister, where he was allowed to visit her during the few hours between the vesper service (6 P.M.) and sundown.

4. 'The scholarly nun was a rare phenomenon limited to women of the elite [and those] 'who are recorded as chanting the holy scriptures were not necessarily literate.' (Georgieva, 'Nuns', 47-76). There is a tale of a beguine refusing to give up scriptural study and cursing a Three Stages teacher who forbade her to read the *Lotus* (Lewis, 'Suppression', 225). Cf. the Buddha's praise for queen Shrimala's superior understanding of the Law in the *Shrimaladevisimhanadasutra* 勝耄夫人獅子吼經 , tr. in Chang, *Treasury*, 363-386, quoted in a major Three Stages text (tr. in Lopez, *Buddhism in Practice*, 272-283). Shenpen Hookham comments that 'the psychological effect [of such texts as the *Shrimala*] on lay men and women practitioners is obvious' (Hookham PhD, 157). This may be overly optimistic: it is rather a token exception to the rule that illiterate nuns should memorize one or two

scriptures and then wait for a learned monk to explain it to them.

5. Does Neng behave like a 'mute sheep' here? The Three Stages ideal of a perfect master was 'a man of acute faculties who[...] imitated the 'mute sheep monk' (...) who could not understand the meaning of texts' (Lewis, 'Suppression', 223). This may refer to the Buddha's silence between his enlightenment and his death. Could the topos of the illiterate monk derive from the teachings of the Three Stages? If so, the name of the nun Boundless Store would also need an interpretation in the historical context of that sect.

6. In the *Nirvana*, 佛性 means innate Buddhahood, a near equivalent of *tathagatagarbha* 入來藏,

7. BZ: 'When the Sixth Ancestor was an attendant 行者 (to a senior monk), he went to Liu Zhilue's 劉志略 home. At night he listened to a nun reciting the *Nirvana*. The nun asked: "Attendant, can you explain the *Nirvana*?" "Written text I do not know, I can only explain its meaning." The nun then asked him about the texts she had doubts. [He] said: "I do not know." The nun then gently asked him: "Attendant, if you do not yet know the written text, how can you explain its meaning?" The attendant said: "Did you not listen to the path and to the discourse on truth by all Buddhas? Never mind the writing." (q. in Ishii, HS, n. 11) . The year is given as 戊辰 in 'heavenly stems and 'earthly branches' notation. Ishii notes that Xianheng 1 (670) was 庚午, not 戊辰 . The latter was 668, or Zongzhang 1 總章, not Xianheng 1 (Ishii , HS, 111).

5.35.5.

1. 'Leaving home' 出家 : to become a monk, indeed suggesting that Neng had already been an attendant.

2. Or, according to received chronology: thirty-six years old.

5.35.6.

1. Unknown (see Part Four, above).

5.35.7.

1. Biography unknown. EK speculates that he was a minor disciple of Hongren. Cf. McRae, *Northern School*, 36-40. For the sermon on asceticism 投陀經 (*Dhutasutra*) see Part Two, appendix.

2. A pious pun on 'sitting in 'voidness' (*sunyata*).

3. In Xianheng 5 under Gaozong of Tang, Neng was probably in his 37th year. See above.

5.35.8.

1. HS does not qualify Neng's staff as the pewter staff of senior monk as he was still an attendant.
2. 洪州東路 is the overland post road across the Dayu Range into modern Jiangxi province and from there north to the Jiujiang 九江 ferry across the Yangzi. This must be an anachronism: the Dayu crossing was not opened until 716. In Neng's days the usual itinerary was over water to Guizhou 桂州.

5.35.9.

1. 作佛. The Chinese text of a similar dialogue in the *Nirvana* has: 'to become a Buddha 成佛'.
2. 南 added in MJ, KS and ZZ.
3. Cf. the racial slur in the version of this dialogue the Dunhuang PS (q. in Part One, above).
4. 佛性 can also be read as *Buddhagotra*, the 'predestination to become awakened'. Xuanzang (玄藏, 600-664) translates the Yogachara term 'fivefold predestination' (*panchagotra*) as 五性 ('five dispositions') or 五種性 ('five kinds of dispositions'). Although these five *gotra* do not include a 'Buddhagotra' (佛性) the latter became the standard Chinese term for 'Buddha-nature' or Buddhahood (see above, note). The notion of universal Buddhahood ran counter to the caste-conscious doctrine of five 'folds' or 'lineages' which Xuanzang had studied in Nalanda. Xuanzang's translation cleverly combines hermeneutic means with maieutic ends (*upayaprajna*) to differentiate the 'five dispositions' of Yogachara from the universal Buddhahood proposed in *tathagatagarbha* texts. Ui has treated 性 and 姓 in the Dunhuang PS as mere homophones (cf. 斷佛種性. tr. in Yampolsky, PS 154, as: '[the Buddhists] will be extirpated').
5. 和上: preceptor, a teacher of monastic discipline (*vinaya*); a title of respect. This is a spelling variant peculiar to the Vinaya school of 和尚: a Buddhist monk, bonze or priest (S&H 253a). A novice had to choose two teachers: a Teacher of the Law (Professor 法師, S.: *acharya*) to guide him through the Buddha's philosophy, and a Teacher of (monastic) Discipline (Preceptor 律師, S.: *upadhyaya*) to oversee his ordination. At least in Neng's days, the Teacher of the Law was considered the more important. HS has Hongren as Neng's Teacher of the Law and Yinzong as his Teacher of Discipline, ranking Ren above Zong.
6. For EK 可 read: 何.
7. 真如, 'the substance (*bhuta*) of suchness': a synonym of *tathagatagarbha* in the *Nirvana*. On immediate enlightenment 頓悟, see Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual*; cf. Ruegg, *Buddha-nature*.

5.35.10.

1. 'Mountain': a metonymy for the East Mountain Abbey where Great Teacher Ren taught.
2. 龍象 is perhaps not a 'dragon elephant' but a hendiadys: 'dragons or elephants', in other words: *nagas*. Sanskrit and Pali *naga* can be a supernatural cobra; an elephant; or an ironwood tree. *Nagas* were worshiped at Rajagriha, Bihar and other areas in India (Gombrich, *Jordan*, 72). In *Vinaya Khandaka* I, 86-88, the Buddha denied *nagas* the capacity to progress in his doctrine and discipline (Gombrich, *Jordan*, 73). In *Majjhimanikaya* I, 32 and 151, senior monks are named *mahanaga* ('great *naga*'; Gombrich, *Jordan*, 74). The latter provides the locus classicus to the Chinese topos of 'dragons or elephants'. The *Vinaya Khandaka* suggests that the 'dragons or elephants' in HS were inferior to Huineng's natural talent for enlightenment.
3. 供養 is also: offerands (*puja*) of 'incense, lamps, scriptures, the doctrine etc. for body and mind. Cf. Pomerius' *vita* of the illiterate friar Jan van Leeuwen working in Ruusbroec's kitchen at Groenendaal:
To this aim I did not spare body and soul, but I did it all for the glory of God, and to imitate our Lord Jesus Christ in small matters. Yet my dear brothers in the spirit also know well that I worked day and night [...] and toiled like a poor slave [...].
In his autobiography, Van Leeuwen himself later described how he provided 供養 to visitors:
As soon as [a visitor] came out of church, Jan met him with a happy face and a bowl of soup [...] to [share with them] spiritual nourishment and the bliss of life eternal.
(after Hogenelst & Van Oostrom, 76-77; cf. Part One, note 126.) Jan van Leeuwen's story is a topos of resonance disguised as a miracle, or an auspicious omen, to underscore Ruusbroec's importance.
4. The third parable compares Buddhahood to 'a kernel of wheat not yet husked'.
5. Ishii HS n. 16 gives a synopsis of the variant texts of this encounter in PS and the AHC.
6. Zhiyi of Tiantai 天臺智頤 classifies 判教 Hinayana and all Mahayana schools with the exception of the Tiantai 'perfect teaching' as 偏: biased, prejudiced, or inferior (S&H 342b). Yet Zhiyi and the Mt Tiantai tradition teach that even inferior teachings can bring about the realization of Buddhahood.
7. HS: 云何. KS, MJ and ZZ have 如何 instead: 'How [can it] 'appear' and 'disappear'?' Here the focus of the colloquium apparently shifts from ontology to epistemology.

5.35.11.

1. The mountains at Huangmei, not the 'twin peaks' at Mt Song or Cao's Brook.
2. EK: topos borrowed by Zhiyi of Tiantai from the (apocryphal?) *Upayashilasutra* 優婆塞戒經 (T.24).

5.35.12.

1. Ishii HS n. 18. Natural silk, for which silk worms are killed, is traditionally taboo for Buddhist monks.

5.35.13.

1. 國王大臣: princes of the blood and the senior nobles and dignitaries attached to their household. This predicts Neng's encounter with Huiming, a scion of the former House of Chen, but Yanagida associates this pericope with empress Wu Zetian's claim to Huineng's robe (q. in Ishii HS, 118 n. 19).
2. This topos is an *Imitatio Buddhae*.
3. Now that Neng has left his root guru, he is a Great Teacher in his own right.
4. Ishii HS, n. 20: HS suggests Ren also died in 674 (Xianheng 5). BZ 10 has 672 (Xianheng 3).
5. The usual miracles, but no death verse or other attributes of dying 'Chancestors' in later sources.

5.35.14.

1. Zanning, *Vitae*, i.v. Huiming (630-718), makes him a grandson of the Southern emperor Chen Xu 陳項 (r. 569-582) and that he used to live at Yongchang 永昌 Abbey in his native Poyang 鄱陽 in Jiangxi (q. in Yi, *Zen Men*, 34). The Dunhuang PS mentions him as Huishun 惠順, a former third or fourth rank army general). Cf. Ishii HS n. 21 on the Huineng and Huiji 惠寂 chapters in *Chodangchip*.
2. HS: Dayu Range 大猷嶺. 'Dayu' may be a later addition. Poyang, where Ming supposedly lived when Neng left Ren, is less than 100 miles south of Jiangzhou. Cf. the reference to Mt Lu.
3. The topos of Huiming's stout and fierce character is perhaps a reference to the Buddha's encounter with an *angulimala* 央屈利摩羅, a 'finger stringer' or Shivaitic assassin (*Theragatha* 866-891; *Majjhima Nikaya* II, 97-105; Gombrich, *Jordan*, 135; cf. Gombrich, *Jordan*, 152; 160, and S&H 184b).
4. KS and ZZ have 和尚 for HS 和上.
5. 密言 may indeed refer to an esoteric spell. The Dunhuang PS elaborates this into a complete transmission of the Law to Ming. Later PS editions deny that Neng was involved any esoterics:
'What I can tell you is not esoteric,' I replied. 'If you turn your light inwardly, you will find what is esoteric within you (tr. in Wong, PS, 23).
Here 'esoteric' is apparently becoming an attribute of *tathagatagarbha*, or innate Buddhahood.
6. HS does not specify which range. Again, it is unlikely that the Dayu Range is meant here.
7. HS 能; MJ, KS, ZZ 明. The latter versions converge with later PS editions where Neng also tells Ming 'to stop at Yuan 袁 and to take up his abode in [Mt] Meng 蒙' (in the Tang prefecture of Yuanzhou

袁州, now Yichun 宜春 in western Jiangxi). HS, MJ, KJ, and ZZ 濛 probably refers to Mengli 濛湮 Village in Qujiang county, the site of the old Moon Splendor 月華 Abbey (see Part Four, above).

5.35.15.

1. From 627 to 971 Sihui near Duanzhou 端州 was a county under Guangzhou 廣州, but Huaiji on the Guangxi border really never was. From 634 to 714 it was part of Zhenzhou 滇州; from 714 to 972 it was under the Prefect of Weizhou 威州.; neither was within the jurisdiction of the governor of Guangzhou (YH 885). Modern Sihui and Huaiji counties are separated by Guangning 廣寧 county.

5.35.16.

1. Yifeng 1. This reign title was actually adopted in December 676 (cf. Yampolsky PS, 73).
2. Zhizhi Abbey is Guangxiao Abbey in Canton (cf. Yampolsky, PS 73).
3. The Tang Circuit of East Jiangnan 江東道 included modern Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces.
4. Gunabhadra (367-431) has been credited by Jingjue et al. with a translation of the *Lanka* (Faure, *Will*, 174-176). The Liu House of Song 劉宋 were a southern Dynasty founded by Liu Yu 劉裕 in 420.
5. 龍興 ('Dragon Restoration') was the title of the designated imperial abbeys in each prefecture between 707 and 738. They were recommissioned as Guangxiao Abbeys in 1151. Considering the date in the colophon (780), this reference probably goes back to an earlier source.
6. *Shastra* 論, one of the departments of the Buddhist Canon.

5.35.17.

1. For this 元霄, the 'Shrove Tuesday' of Chinese New Year), see Part Four, section 5.1, above.
2. I.e. according to conditional arising, 'as waves result from wind' (S&H 453a).

5.35.18.

1. 稟承好師匠: a topos from Guanding's Memorial on the *Nirvana* (see Part One, above).
2. HS:新州, MJ, KS: 新州人. ('the man from Xinzhou').
3. A topos from the *Nirvana*, not from Neng's colloquium with Ren. Cf. Part Two, Appendix 2E, above.
4. MJ, KS, ZZ insert 'absorption'.
5. The transgressions (*parajika*) are: killing, stealing, carnality, lying (SH 183a). The capital sins (*anantarya*) are: to kill one's father, one's mother or an *arahant*; to wound a Buddha; and to stir havoc

in the *sangha* (SH 128a). According to Ishii, this refers to the *Nirvana's* chapter on *Tathagatatavarga*.

6. S. *kushalamula* 善根, 'good roots': good qualities.

7. The eighteen *dhatu* (界, lit. *loci*) are the elements that make up the five aggregates (*skandha*) of the mind: the six organs (S. *indrya*): eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin and mind; their six objects: color, sound, scent, flavor, texture, and feature; and the six respective cognitions or perceptions of these objects.

8. HS, MJ: 解脫 (*vimoksha*, liberation); KS, ZZ 解說 (explanation). KS omits 起.

5.35.19.

1. Yifeng 1 under Gaozong of Tang. Chronology probably corrupt. Cf. the *Guangxiao Inscription*.

5.35.20.

1. HS: 出高僧錄

2. 'Chitra' is unknown (cf. the name list in the *Chodangchip*, q. in Ishii HS n. 26). S. *chitra* means 'flower of merit and virtue.' The translator Prabhakaramitra studied Hinayana and Mahayana texts at Nalanda and arrived in Tang China in 626. He worked with the Chinese monks Huiji 慧積, Huijing 慧淨, (Chen?) Huiming 慧明, Falin 法琳 and others and died in Chang'an (Daoxuan, *Vitae* scr. 3, nr. 120), Ding Fubao identifies 'Mitra' as Dharmamita, a translator of Dharmagupta's *Vinaya*.

3. Ding Fubao notes that Yinzong conducted this ordination alone; officially, four monks with the rank of a Director (*karmadana*, second to an abbot) should be present. Heng Yin comments:

When conferring with precepts, the preceptor asks the *karmadana* [...]: 'May the precepts be transmitted to this person?' [...] the *karmadana* must reply, 'Yes.' On the platform, the *karmadana* and the teaching transmitter sit immediately to the left and right of the Preceptor.

4. The House of Xiao 蕭 ruled the Southern Empire of Liang until 557. The Indian Yogacharin Trepitaka Paramartha 真諦 lived in China from 546 to 569. Cf. my note above.

5.35.21.

1. Hence it is eternal like the body of the Law (S&H 378a). On *dharmakaya* see Part Four, above.

2. The five colors traditionally associated with the five aggregates of the mind (*skandha*).

3. S. *bhava*, *abhava*, *hetu*, *phala*.

4. HS: 此是; MJ, KS, ZZ: 此之. This encounter was first related in Wang Wei's stele text. Wang's notice that Shenhui was 'middle-aged' 中年 when he first met Neng are now read as 冲年 (adolescent; Takeuchi, q. in McRae, 'Shenhui', 262 n.20). For Shenhui and his polemic see Part Two, above.
5. Neng is being nasty. After all, young Shenhui was only showing off his gift for Daoist dialectics.
6. 無受: perceptionless, *avedana*. *Vedana* (sensation, feeling) is one of five aggregates of the mind.
7. 心性, described in the *Awakening of Faith* as 'unborn and immortal' 不生不滅, an equivalent of *buthatatahatachitta* 聖實心, the 'permanent mind' of the *tathagatagarbha*. (S&H 148b; 150a).
8. 脫, read: 腰? cf. Ishii HS, n. 28 for the *Chodangchip* version of this encounter (in the Huiji chapter).

5.35.22.

1. Ishii HS, n. 29, places this event in 677 (*Yifeng* 2), some years earlier than the EK chronology says.
2. Dragon Restoration 龍興 is also a historical name of Guangxiao Abbey.

5.35.23.

1. Shenlong 1 under Zhongzong of the restored House of Tang. Cf. Part Two, above.
2. Neng's epitaph by Wang Wei (740) says: 'Empress lady Zetian and emperor Xiaohe 孝和 (= Zhongzong) both issued edicts to summon him to visit the capital cities'. (Nagashima 1875, 45-46).
3. Read: Zhongzong the Great's. Cf. Part Two, above.
4. HS: 召; KS, ZZ: 名; QTW: 請 (invited). For my translation of the summons in QTW see below.
5. HS: 二德; QTW: 二師.
6. For meditation teacher An see Part Two, above.
7. Cf. Yampolsky, PS, 42, and Part Two, above.
8. Huineng's whereabouts are not specified in the summons. An, who reportedly spent some time at Mt Heng 衡 in Hunan and also taught Huairang of Nanyue (南岳懷讓, 677-744), whose hermitage was at the present Fuyan 福嚴Abbey, may indeed have known Huineng from there. This would also explain that Song Zhiwen 宋之間 went to see his 'teacher' in Hengyang. See Part Three, above.
9. HS. MJ: 記傳~ ; KS, ZZ: 記傳傳 .
10. 曹溪山 . See below, note.
11. 眾生即心是佛, the 'highest doctrine of Mahayana [...] all the living are of one mind' , attributed in BZ to Huairang's student Mazu Daoyi 馬祖江西道一. Cf. S&H 298-299 and Nagashima, Ph.D, 49n.
12. HS: 東土; KS, ZZ: 東山.
13. 稟承. Another reference to Guanding's Memorial on the Nirvana Sermon 灌頂 大般涅槃經 (EK).
14. 中使: 'Imperial Commissioner' (Hucker).

15. For Xue Jian 薛簡 (Xue Chongjian 薛崇簡?) see PartTwo, above.
16. This is the Vimalakirti motive (see Sources and Resources, above). HS here gives the Buddha's surname Shakyas 釋迦 in full. Ishii, HS., n. 32, quotes as a probable precedent the lost BZ 10:
The Great Teacher's memorial reads: 'The *Shakya sramana* ('senior Buddhist monk') Huineng writes: 'Huineng was born in a remote place and has practiced the path from early childhood'.
17. Wang Wei's stele text for Huineng (q. in Nagashima, Ph. D., 46) has: '[...] like lord Yuan [= meditation teacher Huiyuan of Mt Lu 廬山惠遠禪師, 334-416], his feet did not cross Tiger Creek [at Mt Lu].'
18. HS: 陛下; MJ: 階下.
19. An incomplete and corrupt quote from the *Vajracchedika* (cf. Conze, *Wisdom*, 64).
20. HS: 聖人; Ming PS: 主上. Both refer to the emperor.
21. A topos from the *Vimalakirtinirdesa*.
22. The 'pure name' refers to the *Vimalakirtinirdesa*. Tr. after Watson, *Vimalakirti*, 38.
23. HS: 汝見; MJ, KS: 決見.
24. I.e. the goat-cart and the deer-cart in the parable of the burning house in the *Lotus*.
25. HS: 如是; MJ, KS: 知是.
26. EK: i.e. Bodhidharma's 'supreme vehicle', the 'location of the Buddha's pure and quiet meditation'.
27. EK: cf. the chapter on 'Entering the Gate of Nondualism', tr. in Watson *Vimalakirti*, 104-111).
28. HS: 滅; MJ: 識.
29. 外道: heretics, e.g. Taoism, Manicheism etc. It may refer here to Indian teachings, e.g. Samkhya.
30. HS: 告; MJ, KS: 云.
31. HS: 若; MJ, KS: 君.
32. HS: 莫; KS, ZZ: 無.
33. HS: 不為諸感所遷; KS, ZZ: 不為諸惡所遷.
34. HS: 辭; MJ, KS: 拜.
35. HS: 將表; MJ, KS: 將來.
36. HS :一領, MJ and KS: 二領.
37. 磨衲 (EM pronunciation: *mana*) is a Korean term for a monk's robe. Wang Wei's stele text has: 'Their Majesties did not extend (new) summons and sent a patchwork 百衲 cassock and money, silk and other offerings'. Yampolsky, PS, 66 reads this passage as 'cloth for garments and silks'.
38. EK: approximately 622 meters. Silk is made of silkworms and hence not worn by monks, but it was also a form of currency, Hence Neng could accept it, but was not supposed to wear it or use it himself.
39. HS: 弘法; MJ, KS, ZZ: 弘大大法.
40. On his sickbed in Vaisali, Vimalakirti refused to see *shravakas* (a.k.a. 'auditors') and bodhisattvas.
41. EK: reference to the *Wenyan* commentary to the *Book of Changes*: 積善之家, 必餘慶有。
42. EK identifies this 'supreme vehicle' with the intention to become a Buddha (*buddhichitta*).

43. HS: 或荷; MJ, ZZ: 感荷.

44. Shenlong 3 under Zhongzong of Tang. See for the *Chodangchip* version: Ishii HS, n. 34.

5.35.24.

1. Shenlong 3 under Zhongzong of Tang.

2. Literally: 'Source of the Law' (see 'The Road to Cao's Brook').

3. Literally: 'Kindness of the Dynasty'. Cf. BZ and *Chodangchip* versions in Ishii HS n. 35.

5.35.25.

1. Yanhe 延和 1 under Ruizong of Tang.

2. Unknown (Ishii HS n. 36).

5.35.26.

1. Jingyun 景雲 2 under Ruizong of Tang.

2. Cf BZ 10: 'Stupa in Panyu [= Canton]', q. in Part Two, above.

3. Xiantian 先天 2 under Xuanzong of Tang.

5.35.27.

1. 阿誰: a colloquialism reminiscent of modern Cantonese *a³bin¹go³?* 呀邊個?

2. HS is the only text to specify 'seventy years'. Cf. section 2, n.13, above, and Ishii, HS, n. 38.

3. One who stays at home: a layman (居士 *upashaka*). One who has left home: a monk.

5.35.28.

1. Probably Lion's Crag near Maba; see Part Four, above.

2. A 'rainbow body', as the Tibetans still call it, symbolizing the dissolution of life into five *skandha*.

3. The direction of India.

4. HS: 四方; MJ, KS: 西方 ('the west').

5. The southwestern monsoon would of course be hot. Precisely this anomaly makes it a miracle.

6. 崩: a topos for the death of an emperor.

7. EK: a probable confusion of Guangguo in Shaozhou and Guo'en in Neng's native Xinzhou.
8. 城頭莊, lit. a 'villa at the head of the city', suggesting Guangguo Abbey was close to the city walls. Guangguo Abbey at Shaozhou (former Renshou Terrace) fits this description (cf. Part Four, above).
9. CPE *congee* 泔汁 (rice gruel) is supposed to derive from Tamil *kanji* (-kam): rice (water). The modern Cantonese vernacular word is 粥 *juk*¹. 泔汁 appears in HS as an early occurrence of this Indian word in a Chinese text, centuries before the British reintroduced the term *congee* in Hong Kong.
10. EK: not a sermon but Nagarjuna's *Mahaprajnaparamitashastra* 大知度論, scroll 2 (T.25-69a).
11. EK: i.e. like the Buddha at *parinirvana*, his head facing north (the so-called 'lion's position').

5.35.29.

1. HS: 首嶺; MJ, KS, ZZ: 首領, meaning either 'head and neck' or 'leader'. This ambiguity may have been the source of the story of the theft of Neng's head - see below.
2. Unknown. Only *Chodangchip* mentions him as a 'disciple of Huineng' (scr. 5, q. in EK).
3. 頭頸. See above, note 1.
4. 鐵鑊, usually understood as putting ' an iron band and a lacquered cloth about his neck to protect it' (cf. Yampolsky, PS, 86). In his preface to Xuanzang's *Record of the Countries West of Great Tang* 玄藏 大唐 西域記序, Yu Zhining 于志寧 (588-665) reports on a group of Indians who covered their belly buttons with copper leaf. HYDCD, 7076, quotes Ji Xianlin 季羨林:
'These were reportedly Buddhist *tirthika* (=heretics) , Nirgrantha, bragging that all *prajna* was contained in their bellies. Fearing rupture, they protected them with a thin layer of copper leaf.'
These Nirgrantha were mendicant Indian ascetics preaching fatalism. They went around naked, with only their bellies covered 鑊肚 .The most famous of them was the later founder of Jainism, Mahavira, and the twenty-four ancestors (*tirthankara*) of Jainism are still pictured with their bellies bared and their navels covered. As Neng's wisdom was supposedly in his head, not in his belly, however, it would make sense for his disciples to seal off the head and neck with airtight metal leaf .
5. Literally: the spirit was transferred 遷神 and placed inside a niche 入龕. In Song China 龕 meant 'coffin', It could also refer to a niche at the basis of a stupa, or to a funeral pile, or the self-immolations of earlier saints that were ritually reenacted during the cremation ceremonies of Buddhist abbots in Song China and later (Cole, 'Upside down' , 313-314). Two early apocryphal Chinese descriptions of Buddhist funerals are found in the *Consecration Sutra* 灌頂經 (see Strickmann, 'Consecration') and the 10 major and 48 minor precepts in the second scroll of the *Brahma Net Sermon* 梵網經 (see Groner, 'Fan-wang ching'). Saichō introduced the latter in Japan as the basic precepts on monastic discipline of the Tiantai tradition. Zhiyi of Tiantai had praised it as the capping sermon of the *Garland* , but it also draws on the *Nirvana*, the paradigmatic scripture of Mahayanic eschatology (see Part Two, above). Cole proposes that in Tang China 'popular' practices such as chanting Amitabha's name were an

important part of the funerals of all monks and that the 'aristocratic' funeral rites for abbots were a later invention (Cole, 'Upside down', 337).

5.35.30.

1. Kaiyuan 27 under Xuanzong of Tang. BZ: Kaiyuan 10 (722). Cf. Ishii HS n. 41.
2. HS: 取頭頭.
3. This says Neng's lacquered and sealed remains were kept sitting in state inside a hall, while the preceding section (from a different source?) had him 'placed inside a niche', i.e. cremated or interred.
4. 孝子, lit: a filial son, i.e. a mourning boy.
5. In the Ming PS, a youth is caught and brought before the County Magistrate, where he claims to have acted on behalf of the Korean meditation teacher Kim 金 at Hongzhou 洪州. The young man is then brought to Prefect Liu 柳 of Shaozhou. He is sentenced to death, but then pardoned and set free.
6. Xiantian 先天 2 under Xuanzong of Tang.
7. 任子歲. HS is wrong: 713 was the 50th year 癸丑 of the cycle beginning 664 (Ishii HS n. 42).
8. 唐建中二年, Jianzhong 2, the year HS was compiled. HS has the year wrong (Ishii, HS, n. 43).
9. HS: 行滔, most later sources: Lingtao 令韜. Cf. Part Two, above. Zanning, *Vitae*, Huineng, gives the posthumous name of his father as Xingyao 行瑤 ('walking gem') - a pun on 行遙 ('walking far')?
10. HS: 45 years; MJ: 35 years; KS, ZZ, EK, IY: 45 years.
11. 韋據, probably a relative of Zhongzong's spouse, the empress Wei; perhaps Wei Sili 韋嗣立, a senior academic at Zhongzong's court. When Zhongzong visited Sili's mountain resort, he renamed it 'Dillydally Dale' 逍遙谷 and enfeoffed Sili as 'Lord Dillydally' in appreciation of his talent for the trivial. Zhongzong was alluding to an anecdote on emperor Ming of the Northern Zhou (北周明帝, 557-559) who, sent for one peck of Hedong wine and conferred upon another courtier Wei 韋 the title of Lord Dillydally' (*Topoi* 1664, cf. Zhuangzi). Sili was actually a serious man. In the spring of 709 he remonstrated against the soaring cost of building and maintaining Buddhist monasteries at the expense of the people's welfare (QTW 236, q. in CHC- III, 325). Sili argued that the sale of offices and ordination letters and the allocation of tax silk to fief holders diverted a major portion of tax income away from the empire's coffers, especially from the granaries. No wonder the emperor urged Sili to concentrate on poetry and spend his days dilly-dallying around his estate. Wei Sili was later rehabilitated and served under two following emperors (JTS 88).
12. Kaiyuan 7 under Xuanzong of Tang.
13. This event is supposedly proof of the 'northern' wickedness, but HS suggests that an existing inscription by a member of the Wei clan was updated under a new emperor and cleaned of references to the ancien regime. Zanning, *Vitae*, claims that Pingyi had his inscription engraved on a bronze bell 'in Song Zhiwen's calligraphy' – which more likely took place at Mt Heng than at Cao's Brook.

14. Lost. BZ 10 says that the inscription by the former Prefect Wei was preserved (Ishii HS, n46).

5.35.31.

1. Kaiyuan 11 under Xuanzong of Tang.
2. 潭州煌禪師. His name is also written Zhihuang 智皇. Tanzhou is now Changsha in Hunan.
3. 綠山. Unknown. Perhaps Foothill 麓山 Abbey, built A.D. 355 at the foot of West Hillock 西岳 in Shanhua 善化 county near Changsha. Incidentally, 綠山 Lushan is also the Chinese transcription of Roqsan, the name of the Turkic general who rose against the Tang in Fanyang in 755.
4. Cf. Ishii HS n. 47. EK 79 suggests that 大榮 is a corruption of 'meditation teacher Ce 策禪師'.
5. The question of *tathatagarbha*. See above.
6. HS: 聞日; KS, ZZ: 答日.
7. EK: *tathagatajnanadharsana* .
8. HS: 云; KS, ZZ: 去.
9. Cf. Neng's encounter with Ren, above.
10. Jingyun 2 under Ruizong of Tang.
11. EK reads 合郭百姓 as: the commoners of Heguo, supposedly a hamlet near Greenberg Abbey. My intuition is that these characters are a colloquialism like 陳一王二 ('everyTom, Dick and Harry').
12. HS: 能大師; KS: 能禪師.

5.35.32.

1. HS: Shangyuan 上元 2 (761 under Suzong of Tang). Ishii HS n. 48 reads: 'In the year Qianyuan 乾元 1 (758)', in accordance with the dating above as '45 years after Xiantian 2 (713)'.
2. Cf. JTS 10 for the year 758:

In [...] the ninth month [...] a memorial from Guangzhou was presented. Arabs and Persian troops had attacked the city. Prefect Wei Lijian had abandoned the city and gone into hiding. 'The Arabs and Persians who pillaged Canton in 758 were probably buccaneers from the island of Hainan' (Schafer , *Vermilion Bird*, 280). If Lijian submitted this memorial in the 9th month of 758 and then left Guangzhou, his recommendation of Xingtao is likely to predate his final memorial as a prefect (T.H. Barrett , p.c.). The title 'plenipotentiary' 節度 refers to a governor (Hucker , *Official*, 144; 422).
3. 孝感: emperor Suzong of Tang's honorary title, assumed 758 (JTS 10).
4. HS: 法袈裟; KS, ZZ: 袈裟.

5. HS: 五人利見; MJ, KS, ZZ: 韋利見.
6. Shangyuan 2 (read: Qianyuan 2 = 759; see notes 1 and 7).
7. Qianyuan 2 under Suzong of Tang.
8. Both Yanagida and Ishii (HS n. 49) observe that the monk Huixiang 惠象 (mentioned in Zanning, *Vitae*, i.v. Huineng, scroll 8, as Mingxiang 明象 and the layman Yonghe 家人永和 (unknown) appeared approximately seventy years after Neng's death - just like the two bodhisattva's in the prophecy.
9. EK: as worn by senior monks. The purple dye was apparently of mineral (羅沙地), not animal origin.
10. HS: 別 敕; MJ, KS, ZZ: 州 敕. The benefit to Yonghe was that he would be exempted from taxes.
11. BZ: 'Around [730, it], became Jianxing 建興 Abbey, and around [760]: Guoning 國寧 Abbey.'
12. EK: 'The reliability of this information is unclear. The anecdote perhaps serves to emphasize the connection of the former Guoning Abbey with the House of Tang.' (EK 80, note).
13. Zanning cites this petition by Huixiang as a model for a monk to address the court (EK 80).
14. Lit.: carrying it on top of their heads.
15. HS: 護 (guard); KS: 猶 (obtain). EK notes that this phrase refers to a parable in the *Lotus*.
16. HS: 言 (spoken); KS, ZZ: 書 (written).
17. Qianyuan 3 under Suzong of Tang.
18. EK: unknown.
19. Baoying 寶應 1 under Daizong of Tang (r. 762-779 or 780). HS: 應寶元.
20. Cf. QTW 48: '*Dispatching Envoy Yang Jian with the robe and bowl of the Sixth Ancestor*'.
21. In-text note in HS, MJ and KS ; not in QTW. HS has an irregular hapax for the name of the abbey; MJ and KS give it as Zongchi 總持, reportedly three blocks west of the Imperial City in Chang'an (EK) .
22. 楊鑑卿. Biography unknown. QTW 48 has: Yang Jian 楊讖 (d.u.). He was a Prefect of Shaozhou.
23. 楊崇景 . Unknown. QTW 48 has: Liu Chongjing 劉崇景 (obscure). Cf. Ishii HS n. 50 .
24. Yongtai 永泰 1 under Daizong. Signature and date not in QTW.

5.35.33.

1. Exclusively in HS!! Cf. Ishii HS n51 for miracles in BZ.

5.35.34.

1. Zhenyuan 19 真元十九年. For a discussion of this date see EK 81.

Notes

Modern standard Chinese names are in *pinyin*; Cantonese names according to Lau, *Cantonese*.

1. G. Rosedale, *Everything Zen*, title song.
2. Brown, *Society*, 130.
3. Su Dongpo, q. in Lagerwey, 'Dingguang', 79, mod.
4. Dōgen, *Zen Kitchen*, 2-22. *Loh Hon Jaai* is a southern Chinese vegetarian dish made of eighteen different vegetables and mushrooms, representing the Buddha's eighteen main disciples (*Arahant*).
5. Cf. Fould & Sharf, *passim*; Faure, 'Bodhidharma' and Broughton, *Anthology*.
6. His name is first mentioned by Jingjue around 715 (tr. in Faure, *Mal*, 166; Barrett, 'Date', 258).
7. QTW 327 (cf. Part Two, below, and Demiéville, 'Vimalakirti', 452).
8. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*. Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*. Perhaps Schafer wrote *The Vermilion Bird* under the shadow of the American engagement in Vietnam ('Nam-Viet 南越') which in 1967 had just begun to escalate.
9. Zhang Jiuling's biography in Herbert, *Brilliant Emperor*, 14-29. The Dayu Range is one of the 'Five Ranges' 五嶺 separating the 'deep south' (Guangdong and Guangxi) from China proper. The common medieval Chinese term for the Deep South is Lingnan 嶺南, literally: South of the Ranges.
10. In March 1989 his 1310th birthday was celebrated at a special conference in Shaoguan. Cf. Wang, *Zhang Jiuling*. A memorial hall with a larger-than-life statue of Zhang Jiuling, Lord Qujiang was built next to the Qujiang County Museum at Maba Town, 20 km south of Shaoguan. I am grateful to Mr Tang Weizhe 唐維哲, Director of the Museum, for giving me a copy of the conference's proceedings. More recently the figure of Huineng himself was the subject of a conference somewhat ambiguously titled 'Huineng and Lingnan Culture', held at the University of Macau from 3 through 6 January 1997 (cf. Lin, *Huineng*).
11. Zhang Jiuling's chronology by Li Shiliang in Wang, *Zhang Jiuling*, 247-8.
12. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 126. Xinzhou is now Xinxing 新興 County in Guangdong. I translate Chinese 祖 as 'ancestor', not 'patriarch'; cf. Barrett, 'Kill!', 90. I would even prefer 'godfather' over 'patriarch' (incidentally, some Chinese triads revere Bodhidharma as their patron saint; see Ter Haar, *Triads*).
13. Cf. Yi, *Chan Men*, 37. Jiuling styled himself Zishou 子壽; his pen name was Wenxian 文獻.
14. Pulleyblank, 'An Lu-shan', 41-51.
15. Yampolsky, PS, 127-128 mod. PS writes 'Klao' with different characters from the modern Gelao 仡佬 hill tribe in Guizhou province. Modern Chinese ethnographers claim that they speak a Sino-Tibetan language: 'they worship nature and ancestors and are polytheistic' (*Zhongguo geminzu* 148). Western linguists tend to identify their language as a form of Tai-Kadai (Barrett, *Cinderella*, 15). To complicate things further, Fei Xiaotong found the so-called 'white-trousered Yao 白褲瑤 of Nandan 南丹 county in Guangxi referring to themselves as *Nau Klao* (Fei, 'Yao', 20). The *Gelao man* 仡佬蠻

(the 'wild Gelao') appear as 'Coloman' in Marco Polo's travelogue (Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 48).

16. Q. in Faure, *Insights*, 23.
17. HS section 13; section 33. Chinese *yi* 異 is close in meaning to Chinese *qi* 奇 ('unusual') and Chinese *guai* 怪 ('anomalous'). Mathews' defines Chinese *yi* 異 as 'strange; extraordinary; other; different; foreign; heterodox.' The Zuo zhuan 左傳 (fourth century BC) says: 'not of my race, he must be of a [strange] mind 非我族類其心必異'. (q. in Dikotter, *Race*, 3).
18. Luk, *Xu Yun*, 212.
19. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 32-35 (cf. Albert, *Odeurs*); Sangren, *Power*, 230.
20. Sangren, *Power*, 137 .
21. Sangren, *Power*, 145 .
22. Sharf, 'Idolization', 27. Cf. Cole, 'Upside down'.
23. Ng Shing Kup, *Events* , 40, q. in Baker, *Images*, 43.
24. Tr. by me after a handwritten *Vita in Praise of the Venerable Yuet Kai* 贊月溪法師傳, dated 乙未 (1955) by *upashaka* Fat Kwong 佛光 , displayed in Amitabha's Hall (March, 1996 and April, 2000). On Yuet Kai's activities in Canton under the name of 'Venerable Yue-hsi' see Welch, *Practice*, 359.
25. Faure, *Insights*, 132.
26. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 44. Duan claims the stele is displayed in Amitabha's hall at Shatin, but I have thus far been unable to locate it there. On Yuet Kai's death cf. Ng Shing Kup, *Events*, q. in Baker, *Images*, 43.
27. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 45.
28. Duan, *Yuet Kai*, 17.
29. According to the program of the fundraising concert, Shatin, 17 January, 1998.
30. According to a letter from the Shatin Ten Thousand Buddha Temple Ltd. dated 8 February, 2000. At that time a 'closure notice' to the rear of the main courtyard still warned that 'no tour/visits' was permitted.
31. [Between brackets] are parts of the Chinese captions not included in the English version. The display also included photos of Yuet Kai building a Guanyin Hall at Hacsa, Macau during the 1950s.
32. The author, Yuet Kai's disciple Luk Tsan-ming 呂燦銘, also wrote a long stele text on Yuet Kai's works 萬佛寺月溪法師實行碑 dated B.E. 2507 (1963), currently also displayed in Amitabha's Hall.
33. 香港萬佛寺管理委員會通告, dated January 12, 2001.
34. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 158-161. According to *Sinorama*, December 1997, reports that Cihang was arrested in Taiwan in 1949 as a suspected communist spy ('Daughters of the Buddha'. o.c. 5-8).
35. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 152-156.
36. In the spring of 2001, however, the Abbey's website www.10kbuddhas.org displayed a complete series of photographs of Yuet Kai's funeral and exhumation as well as of the 'old' mummy' in Amitabha's Hall. This is probably the first instance in history of a '*praesentia virtualis*' complementing a

'*praesentia realis*'.

37. Bremmer, 'Sacrifice' (in progress).

38. Beauvoir, *Ethics*, ch. II, after Sartre, *Being*, Part I, ch. II. 12

39. This 'cultural relativism' is often justified by reference to a radical interpretation of epistemological relativism (Sokal & Bricmont, 57-68). Sokal and Bricmont, 95 suggest that 'two-tier' or 'bicamorate' distinctions between the 'religion' of an enlightened elite versus the 'superstitions' of the masses (cf. Freedman, 'Sociological Study', 38) is based on cultural relativist presumptions. Jordan Paper dates this approach back to Ricci: 'it is time that we took Ricci's Chinese critics seriously' (Paper, *Spirits*, 5-12), Cf. Vovelle's four ways to study popular religious culture, q. in Nissen, 'Sacraliteit', 241-242.

40. Paper, *Spirits*, 18-20 (and on Taiwan 21-22). Apart from the ideologically contaminated writing by Marxist Chinese authors about 'religious culture' (which is as purely modern as, for instance, the German discussion on *Kulturprotestantismus*), there is an ongoing debate in 'fringe publications' on Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Christianity, and non-Han cultures in China.' See Saso, *Buddhist Studies*, viii. 41. Geertz, *After the Fact*, 42-43, 50-51. Cf. Geertz, *Java*, 1-7; Said, *Culture*, xii-xv.

42. Geertz, *After the Fact*, 48. Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 3, for a criticism of Geertz' notion of culture. A critical discussion of the modern Japanese discourse on culture (*bunka* 文化) is Morris-Suzuki, 'Invention'.

43. Bol, *Culture*, 1. The term 斯文 itself is a classic quote from Confucius' *Analects*. In modern Cantonese 斯文 (pr. *si¹man⁴*) has become an adjective meaning 'cultured', 'polished', 'genteel' (Lau, *Cantonese*, 733).

44. Paper, *Spirits*, 3, follows Geertz's definition of religion as a 'system of symbols with particular functions'. Cf. Bremmer, 'Religion, Ritual', 10-14; Stietenron, *Gonda*, 13-16. nineteenth-century Japanese scholars used the term *shukyō* 宗教 ('traditions and teachings') primarily for western religion. This 宗教 has also become the modern standard Chinese term for all things religious (Paper, *Spirits*, 2-4; 18-22).

45. Bol, *Culture*, 125, 398n.

46. Q. in *Topoi*, 657. Wang Tong, whose pseudonym 號 was 'Master Wenzong 文中子', was the grand-father of the Early Tang poet Wang Bo 王勃 (650-676).

47. See for a diachronic account: Ch'en, *Buddhism*; for a topical account: Ch'en, *Transformation*.

48. Cf. Kieschnick, Ph.D., passim. See also Faure, 'Bodhidharma', and Zürcher, *Conquest*.

49. Bol, *Culture*, 20. Cf. Weinstein, 'Patronage', passim.

50. During the 6th and 7th centuries a charitable network 'Boundless Stores' 無盡藏 sponsored Buddhist events and served as banks and pawnshops. Their working capital consisted of gifts from wealthy laymen, many of them members of the controversial Three Stages 三階 sect. In 694 empress Zetian moved to restrict their activities (Forte, *Propaganda*, 167). Between 712 and 725 emperor Xuanzong had most Stores closed and their assets liquidated (Gernet, *Society*, 211-212; Forte, 'Relativity', 239-249; Hubbard, *Delusion*, passim, and Lewis, 'Suppression', passim).

51. Hoffmann & Hu, 255-261.
52. Barrett, *Taoism*, 85-92. The Japanese monk Ennin, who at the time traveled in China as a pilgrim, was eyewitness to this 'Huichang 會昌 persecution'. (Reischauer, *Ennin*, passim; Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 226-233).
53. Foulk, 'Myth', 191. The earliest text on the 'Rules and Rites of the Meditation School' 禪門規式 was written after AD 1000 and published as an appendix to the *vita* of a Tang monk (Foulk, 'Myth', 156).
54. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 336-337.
55. Faure, *Will*, 1-2; cf. Strickmann, *Mantras*.
56. McRae, *Northern School*, part 1; Foulk, 'Myth', 156.
57. Cf. Sangren, 'Family Relations', 150-183.
58. Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 40-43: 'the central role of ritual concerning food eaten by the participants in [...] Chinese religion is probably the cause of the unique importance of eating in Chinese social customs.'
59. Cantonese *suk*⁶ 熟 means 'familiar', 'ripe' or 'cooked'; *saang*¹ 生 can be: 'live', 'raw', or 'unfamiliar'.
60. S&H 249: 'To make offerings of whatever nourishes, e.g. food, goods, incense, lamps, scriptures, the doctrine, etc., any offering for body or mind.' Cf. Paper, *Spirits*, 23-50.
61. 'Law' will be the standard translation of Sanskrit *dharma* in the present study. For its meanings see Stietencron, *Gonda*, 13-14; 22-23. For the Chinese character *fa*³ 法 see Hu Shi, *Logical Method*, 95).
62. For the religious economy of this cult, transferred to Hong Kong by Cantonese immigrants in 1915, see Lang & Ragsfeld. Cf. Harrell, 'Ghost', 192-206 on the 'intermediary status' of some spirits.
63. Cf. Teiser, *Ghost Festival*, 3-25.
64. At ordination, monks assume the Buddha's clan name Shakya (M. 釋 Shi, C. Sik, V. Thich).
65. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 253. A famous precedent dates back to the early seventh-century general Li Yuan, Duke of Tang 唐公李淵, a man of obscure half-Turkish heritage, who claimed descent from Late Han aristocrats. After he had seized the imperial throne and established the House of Tang, he had his ancestry traced back to the Daoist Li Er 李耳, better known as Laozi 老子.
66. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 254-256. I use 'lineage' here in the sense of Ebrey & Watson 4-9 as a descent group (i.e. agnate kin of mixed lines and branches) with group-owned corporate assets (land etc.).
67. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 257. No Chinese characters are given for these names.
68. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 262. Nelson's informants all agreed that the lineage consisted of five groups, yet none could give information about the relation between the five groups and the two branches.
69. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 267-272.
70. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 275. Cf. Danforth, *Rural Greece*, for reinterment practices similar to the Cantonese custom. In urban Guangdong, including Hong Kong, economic considerations have

furthered cremation. In 1986 I saw a cemetery in Shazui 沙咀 Township in Shenzhen with hundreds of neatly arranged identical niches, each containing a bone jar. Contrary to the highly selective ancestor worship of the Lei, this facility conveyed a revolutionary spirit of equality in which each villager could be an ancestor.

71. Nelson, 'Ancestor Worship', 263-267. With every new restoration of the ancestral hall, and only then, a limited number of new tablets were added at the behest of the Clan Association which also paid for it.

72. Kuper, 'Lineage'.

73. Kloos, *Oog*, 29.

74. McCall, 'Ancestors', *passim*.

75. Cf. Frank Ching's research on his ancestor Qin Guan 秦鶴 (1049-1100; Ching, *Ancestors*, 13-31).

76. Cf. Osinga, 'Wassenaar-wapen', column 241-242, and Kuiken & Van Poelgeest. As the Dutch Republic did not have a College of Arms, armorial usurpation was never subject to any legal sanctions after 1568.

77. Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 7.

78. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 29. Shamanic powers are excluded from the third definition. Cf. Peter Brown's definition of a holy man as 'a stranger among men without being possessed by a god' (Brown, *Society*, 134).

79. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 30-32.

80. Chinese characters after Dr. John Lagerwey, p.c.; cf. note 3, above.

81. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 66. Cf. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 52-53 on the distinction between icons and idols.

82. Walker, OCL, 468, mod.

83. Gellius, V.19.9., q. in Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 23.

84. *Grondwet voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden van 24 augustus 1815*, Article 2, sub 2: 'De koning is onschendbaar; de ministers zijn verantwoordelijk', tr. in Van den End, *Lexicon*, 400.

85. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 18-20.

86. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 26.

87. Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 35.

88. *Pastor Aeternus*, q. in EB, vol. 26, 892, in voce 'Roman Catholicism'.

89. Van der Veer, *Orientalisme*, 119.

90. Q. in Esser, *Rechtsfiktionen*, 22.

91. Hans Moser, 'Vom Folklorismus'.q. in Roodenburg, 'Ideologie', 99.

92. Roodenburg, 'Ideologie', 104.

93. Where no ambiguity is intended, Chinese often explicitly juxtaposes the two levels of truth:

似為曹溪地方志，實為南華寺志。

(it appears as a local gazetteer of Cao's Brook, but it is really a chronicle of South China Abbey).

(Ren Jiyu's 任繼愈 preface to CBCG, n.p.; N.B. the similarity and difference between 以 and 似)

94. *Analects* book III, chapter XII; interpunction after Legge.

95. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 364.

96. WYYH 290; QTS 126-51 mentions Pei Di 裴迪 as another possible author of this poem.

97. E.g. in the title of Song Zhiwen's poem *Paying tribute 謁 to Yu [the Great]'s shrine* (QTS 52-28).

98. Yu Jing, *The Wuxi Collection*, q. in SG 820.

99. Commemorative inscription of the canonization, dated 1173, by Sun Shimin 孫時敏 , q. in SG 821.

100. This comparison is elaborated in Shinohara, 'Holy'.

101. Brown, *Society*, 148. Cole uses the term 'calculated gentrification' (Cole, 'Upside down', 307).

102. Brown, *Society*, 130, 134.

103. Paper ascribes the transition from shamanism to mysticism in Chinese mainstream culture to the 'loss of social function, due to religio-ecological transformations' (Paper, *Spirits*, 155) In rural southern China, however, shamanic practices are very much alive. Cf. Potter, 'Cantonese Shamanism', 231. Paper's criticism that Potter uses the terms 'shaman' and 'medium' interchangeably (Paper, *Spirits*, 86; 111) disregards the common observation that rural Chinese themselves, especially in the south, care little for precise terminology. On the Buddha as a 'shaman' see Obeyesekere, *Gonda*, 21-25).

104. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 36 and 91, n. 36-38.

105. Robson, 'Contested Space'; Faure, 'Relics', 174; Robson, 'Marchmount', 252-257; cf. *Nanyue Curiosa*.

106. Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 28; cf. Bremmer, 'Religion, Ritual', on the opposition sacred-profane.

107. Q. in Frijhoff, *Heiligen*, 55 and 94, n. 65.

108. The parameters of credibility are set by circumstances. Visitors of Madame Tussaud's, for instance, are believed to look at the eyes of the statues first. As one employee recently said on Dutch public radio: 'If the eyes are not right, they say it's not real'. On the other hand, an American resident of Hong Kong who had visited Yuet Kai's mummy around 1995 told me: 'I remember seeing part of the skin, because some of the gold plating was coming off. His face was very thin. He wasn't all gold, he was missing a few pieces, so I believe he must have been real. (James M. Thompson, p.c.)

109. Latour, *Science in Action*, Appendix 1. For a critique see Sokal & Bricmont, 85-90; cf. Amsterdamska, 'Latour'. The anthropologist Bernard Cohn has labeled the 'black boxes of history' as events, structure, and transformations, respectively (Cohn, *Historians*, q. in De Jong c.s., 62-63).

110. Latour, *Science in Action*, Appendix 1.

111. Cf. Lopez, *Hermeneutics*.

112. See Part Two, below, and HS 23 in Part Five, below. Berkowitz, *Reclusion*, mentions the Moral Hero, the Paragon of Extraordinary Conduct, and the Perfect Man as Chinese paradigms for hermits and recluses. Cf. the biographies of eminent scholars 高士傳 by Huangfu Mu 皇甫謐 (215-282).

113. See McRae, 'Shenhui'.

Kuiken, *Neng*, Notes Part 1

114. Faure, 'Relics', 165-180.
115. T.H. Barrett's Introduction to Penny, *Writing*, 5.
116. Gosman, 'Cult', 38-41, 49.
117. Cf. Lang & Ragvald; Dean, *Lord*; Dean, *Taoist Ritual*.
118. Prefaces and stele texts for the 'Sixth Ancestor of Cao's Brook' by Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) and Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842) tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 138-139 and 145-146; cf. Part Two, below.
119. Tr. in Part Five, below; the so-called 'court correspondence' is discussed in Part Two, below.
120. Q. in Genkai, *Eastbound Travelogues of the Great Tang Monk (779)*; see Part Two, below.
121. Nissen, 'Sacraliteit', 105.
122. Cf. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421.
123. T.H. Barrett's Introduction to Penny, *Writing*, 5.
124. See note 7, above.
125. Catalogue: Rawson, *Mysteries*.
126. Q. in Chaves, *Clouds*, 134. Yuan was a founder of the naturalist 'Gong'an 公安 school' of Ming poetry.
127. Portrait with disciples in CEA 7 (1993-1994), frontispiece.

Notes to chapter 2.1.

1. Captain Katheryne Janeway in 'Scorpio Part One', *Star Trek Voyager*, season 3.
2. David Hare in the end of his theatre monologue *Via Dolorosa* (in Hare, *Via*).
3. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 257-259; Drege, *Bibliothèques*, ch. II.
4. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 259.
5. Cf. Campany, *Strange*.
6. Regests in Dudbridge, *Experience*, 175-238.
7. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 13, 17-23.
8. JTS; XTS. For a classification of the entire history department see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 258.
9. According to the editor's note to CBCG (before p. 621). Cf. Faure, 'Relics', 183 and passim.
10. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 151. *Atlas*, Vol. V has a map with YH toponyms superimposed on modern China. The maps were reported lost in 1175 by Cheng Dachang 程大昌 (q. in Feifel, *Po*, 17). Two Qing editions of recovered parts from other scrolls are: Yan Guan, 嚴觀元和郡縣補志 *YH Supplement* (9 scr., 1775) and: Miao Quansun, 繆荃孫元和郡縣圖志闕卷逸文 *YH: Lost Scrolls and Missing Texts* (3 scr., 1991).
11. YJ, scr. 90. For the Taiping *Record of the World* (TH), largely based on Tang sources, see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 151.788, 815. For the *Song Huiyao* 宋會要 and its printed editions see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 522.
12. YJ, scr. 90, 'scenic features, part 2 景物下', quoting Late supper at Shaoyang Pavilion (QTS 534-33) by Xu Hun 許渾 (graduated in 832; see Part Three, below).
13. *Lingwai*, v-xv.
14. Borges, *Antologia*; Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, passim.
15. Aoyama, *Dokushi*; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 152-153.
16. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 152.
17. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 153-161.
18. Gosman, 'Ontdekkingsreizen', 43; 56. On Marco Polo see e.g. Hansen, *Open Empire*, 344-347.
19. SG, 5-6; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 154, Table 5.
20. Annotated tr. by Netolitzky in *Lingwai*.
21. For works by Liu Ke (d. 839) in the bibliography of SG see 4.2, n. 43, below.
22. SG, 832-839.
23. *Nanyue*, 3-9. The 'histories 史料' are recent stories, e.g. from the Japanese occupation.
24. See Twitchett, *Official History*, and also the preface to Wilkinson, *Manual*, xiii-xiv.
25. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 378. Index in *Hōbōgirin, Fascicule annexe 1*. Cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 592, on the Chinese facsimile of the original woodblock editions of the canon (中華大藏經漢文部分).
26. Kieschnick, Ph.D., 6. Daoxuan called his collection the *Further Vitae* 續高僧傳 (T51); Zanning's

collection is known as the *Song Vitae* 宋高僧傳 (T51). Collections of Great Ming *Vitae* 大明高僧傳 (T51) and *Updated Further Vitae* 補續高僧傳 were compiled by Ruxing 如惺 (fl. 1600) and Minghe 明河 (1588-1640), respectively. In 1919, the abbot of Fayuan 法原 Abbey in Peking commissioned a collection of *New Updated Vitae* 新續高僧傳 from the Hunanese scholar-monk Yuqian 喻謙 (d. 1933). These six, together with two collections of *vitae* of nuns dated 516 and 1909 respectively, were reprinted in 1991. *Vitae* of nuns 比丘尼傳 by Baochang 寶唱 (T51) are tr. in Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns* (Hawaii 1994).

27. Tr. in Kieschnick, Ph.D., 13; 10 mod.

28. Cf. Drege, *Bibliothèques*, ch. IV; Shinohara, *Two Sources*; Kieschnick, Ph.D., 10.

29. Cf. Shinohara, 'Two Sources'. for *stupa* inscriptions and miracle stories quoted at length by Huijiao.

30. Huihong 惠洪, q. in Kieschnick, Ph.D., 12-13 mod.

31. Kieschnick, Ph.D., 13.

32. 六祖能禪師碑銘 Inscription on a stele for [the Sixth Ancestor,] meditation teacher Neng. T.S. Nagashima claims that the words 'Sixth Ancestor' were added later. See Nagashima, PhD, 25. For QTW see. Wilkinson, Manual, 567-568.

33. Lists of acquisitions by Saicho in T55.

34. Z.1, 2B, 19.5. For other editions and Japanese translations see below; for an English translation, see Part Five. Z mainly contains 'compromised materials written by Chinese monks' (Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 377).

35. CEA 7 (1993-1994), 45-49; tr. in Demiéville, 'Receuil'. Although Jing and Yun date their text to A.D. 952, Arthur Waley argues that the *Chodangchip* really dates to the end of the tenth century (Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243-244). The *Chodangchip* was included in the Korean Canon 高麗大藏經. in 1245 and reprinted in Japan in 1912 and 1972 and in China in 1994 (Shanghai). Yanagida Seizan has also produced a critical text edition (1974) and a modern Japanese translation (1990). The *Chodangchip* may have circulated at Dunhuang: Waley found it quoted literally at several places in the Dunhuang Ms. Stein 1635 (T.85; Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243). The language of the *Chodangchip*, however, contains many colloquialisms still found in modern Min 閩 and is very different from other vernacular Dunhuang texts.

36. Cf. Charles Luk's foreword and translation in Lu, *Ch'an and Zen* III, 103-145 at 135.

37. EK, 613 after Dunhuang ms P 2104: *Essential Secrets of the Meditation School: The Great Teacher Shaojue, Enlightened Overnight* (for the epithet in the subtitle see Lu, *Ch'an and Zen* III, 116.

38. Hu Shi disagrees with the attribution to Xuanjue (a.k.a. Shaojue 邵覺) and Broughton does not include it in his anthology of the earliest Zen records. Cf. Tanaka, *Tonkō*, 306-307; Broughton, *Anthology*.

39. Waley, 'Tsu-T'ang Chi', 243.

40. Shinohara, 'Evolution', 320-321.

41. Tr. after Waley, 'Zutangji'. 'Guangnan' is a late tenth-century term for Lingnan (cf. YJ scr. 89).
42. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 127. Cf. HS 9: 'The Buddhahood of a man from Xinzhou in Lingnan and the Buddhahood of your reverence, what difference is there?' HS is topographically more explicit than PS.
43. EK 494-611. Komazawa University is affiliated with the Sōtō sect. Cf. Faure, *Insights*, 93-94.
44. For a popular history of the Dunhuang 'library cave' see Hopkirk, *Barbarians*, passim.
45. Fang Guangchang, 'Foreword' in Fang, *Zangwai* 1 (1995) 13-18; 2 (1996) 5-9. The second issue also contains conference papers on Tripitaka editions and computerization, including overviews of recent Japanese (79-83), Mainland Chinese (84-86), Taiwanese (87-91) and overseas (92-108) *Tripitaka* editions.
46. Fang, *Zangwai* 2 (1996) 1-6; 133-165. The so-called 'Seventh Ancestor' is not identified by name.
47. EK, 21; italics mine.
48. EK, 22; italics mine.
49. EK 24; italics mine.
50. Yampolsky (PS, iii) called the chapters of the introduction to his translation of PS: 'The Formation of the Legend'; 'The Birth of a Patriarch: Biography of Huineng'; and 'The making of a Book: *The Platform Sutra*'.

Notes to chapter 2.2.

1. Song Dan's stele texts are titled 嵩山會善寺故大德道安禪師碑銘 (tele Inscription for Meditation Teacher Dao'an, the Late *Bhadanta* of Huishan Abbey at Mt Song, QTW 396) and 大唐嵩山會善寺故大德道安禪師碑並序 (Stele and Preface for Meditation Teacher Dao'an, the Late *Bhadanta* of Huishan Abbey at Mt Song, TWXS 3). Cf. Faure, *Will*, 100-102; McRae, *Northern School*, 57-58).
2. CHC III:336; JTS 8; XTS 5. Xue Chongjian has no official biography and his memorials and poems are not in QTW and QTS.
3. Official biographies of Song Zhiwen in JTS 190; XTS 250. The *Sanjiao Zhuying* 三教珠英 (Gems of the Three Teachings: Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, with chapters on lineages and outlying regions; lost) was presented in 702 to replace the *Wensi Boyao* 文思博要. A supplement was commissioned in 719 by emperor Xuanzong 玄宗. McMullen suggests that it was never completed: the editors 'conversed day and night, gathering in meetings to write verse, but over several years had not set brush [to paper]. (McMullen, *State*, 218-219). Parts of an anthology from the encyclopedia have been retrieved at Dunhuang.
4. Schafer, *Vermillion Bird*.
5. Around 700, China was divided into prefectures 州 and prefectures into counties 縣. In the early eighth century, a new administrative layer of 'circuits' 道 was superimposed on these prefectures. Tang China's southernmost circuit of Lingnan 嶺南 (literally: south of the mountain ranges, the former

kingdom of Nanyue 南越, included modern Guangxi and Guangdong and parts of northern Vietnam. Tang China had two capitals: the 'upper capital' Chang'an 長安 (or Shangdu 上都 ('Xanadu'), now Xi'an 西安 in Shaanxi) and the 'eastern capital' Luoyang 洛陽 (or Dongdu 東都, now Luoyang in Henan).

6. Owen, *Early Tang*, 231-233 ('Literary Establishment') and 256-273 ('Poetry in the Life of the Court').

7. XTS 250. On Wu Pingyi see Barrett 1991, 256.

8. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 35; 193-194. Yampolsky apparently thought the poem lost; cf. Yampolsky, *PS*, 78n.

9. Faure, *Will*, Chapter 5 QTW 237).

10. Tr. in Faure, *Mal*, 165.

11. Faure, *Will*, Chapter 6. Cf. Kalupahana, *History*, 245; Suzuki, *Lanka Studies*, 3; Kunst, 'Lanka', 103.

12. Barrett, 'Date',

13. Cf. Chappell, 'Dispute'. Around 720, the Pure Land was competing for imperial patronage with 'meditation teachers' like Jingjue. Jingjue only credits Xuanze for his account of Hongren's last days.

14. Chronology in Chang, *Zhang Yue*. For a brief biography in English see Faure, *Will*, 192 n. 65.

15. He Ge'en, 356 n29-30. Cf. Zhang Yue's poem on this occasion 送考功武員外學士使嵩善者舍利塔 in QTS 86-74. Wu Pingyi's biography (XTS 119) dates this visit to 706 (q. in He Ge'en, 357 n. 34).

16. *Parting with Teacher Pingyi*, QTS 86-15.

17. He Ge'en observes that neither Shenxiu's eulogy by Zhang Yue nor a stele text for his abbey at Mt Song 嵩岳寺碑 by Li Yong 李邕 mention Neng (He Ge'en, 356 n.30). For Faure's argument see *Will*, 35.

18. Owen, *Early Tang*, 383-386.

19. Cf. McRae, 'Shenhui', 262 n. 20. For Shenhui's relation to Wang Wei see Faure, *Will*, 219-220.

20. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.

21. Lin Dezhong, Honorary Chairman of the Shaoguan Buddhist Association, considers Wang Wei's text a product of orthodox Confucian scholarship yet untouched by Wei's later Buddhist persuasions (p. c.).

22. Cf. Nagashima, Ph.D., 45-46).

23. *Vimalakirtinirdesasutra*, tr. Watson, 65. For other Chinese instances see Berkowitz, *Patterns*.

24. Also, with minor changes, in the *Jingde Collection* (tr. in Yampolsky PS, 81-82) as well as in the Ming PS (tr. in Wong Mou-lam, PS, 106). The Ming PS mentions empress Zetian as co-author of the summons. Sangha's stele tr. in Xu, 'Sengqie', 394-395. For Song Dan's stele texts to An see above.

25. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 117. For indexes on tomb tablets see Wilkinson, *Manual*, 118-119.

26. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 119-120.

27. Shinohara, 'Two Sources', 121. A few steles can still be seen in their original setting; a fifteenth-century example is the giant stele on the imperial 'spirit road' to the Ming Tombs 十三陵 near Peking.

28. Kieschnick, PhD 10 mod. Cf. Shinohara, 'Two sources' 124-125; Twitchett, *Official History*, 66-67.
29. The *Chodangchip* (dated 952) uses 行錄 or 實錄 as synonyms for 行狀 and 實狀 respectively. Shinohara argues that a monk's 行錄 would typically contain his biographical particulars: his laic name, native county, monastic career, life and death. A 'separate record' 別錄 would contain dialogues with his students also found as 'dicta' 語錄 (Shinohara, 'Evolution', 307. See also under U., below).
30. Shinohara, 'Two Sources', 123-124 and 200 n27.
31. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421.
32. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 422. The stele being lost without any data about its size, style, ornaments and its intended or actual location, we cannot appraise it as a 'contested cultural artifact', as Falkenhausen would prefer. The text of the stele is preserved in *Wang Wei's Collected Works* 王右丞集 (cf. *Wang Wei Studies*, 10-11) as 能禪師碑銘 *Inscription on a stele for meditation teacher Neng*; also in QTW 327: 六祖能禪師碑銘 *Inscription on a stele for the Sixth Ancestor, meditation teacher Neng* (Yampolsky, PS 66-69). The words 'Sixth Ancestor' were perhaps added by the editors of QTW (Nagashima, PhD, 25).
33. A few dozen entries in Jing & Yun's *Collection* state that a record of activities of the monk described had not been seen by the authors: 未睹行錄不史化緣終始 (Jing & Yun 94; Shinohara, 'Evolution', 307).
34. E.g. the *stupa* for Huairang of Nanyue 南岳懷讓 677-744) near Mirror Grinding Terrace 磨鏡臺 on Mt Heng in Hunan I saw more recent *stupas* in front of Fuyan and Nantai 南臺 Abbey at Mt Heng.
35. Cf. Sharf, 'Idolization'; Cole, 'Upside down'. Zanning, *Vitae*, mentions that 'after the cremation of [meditation teacher] Hui'an [慧安 d. 708], 80 *sharira* grains, crystalline relics, were retrieved from among the ashes. Five of them emitted a purple light and were sent to the imperial palace.' (q. in Faure, *Will*, 102).
36. The former palace of king Zhao Jian of South Yue 南越王趙建 was transformed into Zhizhi 制止 Abbey (later: Faxing 法性 Abbey) by heirs of of the third-century official Yu Fan 虞翻. It was designated as an imperial Bao'en Guangxiao 報恩光孝 Abbey in 1137 and Guangxiao Abbey in 1151 (Wu & Guo, 281).
37. McRae, 'Shenhui', 232-237. Zongmi's commentaries are in ZZ 1/14/3 and ZZ 1/15/2.
38. Cf. Dudbridge, 'Images', 382, for the Mahamegha Abbey in Jiangzhou 江州 (now Jiujiang 九江).
39. Cf. Ishii HS, n. 17; Tanaka 1991, 231-232.
40. Faure, *Will*, 93-96 (Puji); 201-203 (Yifu). Cf. Yampolsky, PS 24-25n. A critical edition of two versions of this Dunhuang manuscript, one in the Pelliot collection, one in Japan, was published by D.T. Suzuki in 1934. In 1949, Jacques Gernet published a French translation of the Pelliot text. Kieschnick, 133-135; Yanagida, 'Dicta'; Berling, *H of R*; Nagashima, PhD, 33.
41. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 138 and 222 n.28 on Yogachara-Madhyamika antagonism.
42. Tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 118-137.

43. Tr. in Broughton, *Bodhidharma*, 108. 平等 is Sanskrit *upeksa*, 'indifference' (to *samata* 止 and/or *vipasshyana* 觀, or to space and/or time). A more vernacular rendition would be: 'Don't worry, be happy!'
44. Broughton, *Bodhidharma*, 109.
45. McRae, 'Ox-head', 185-191.
46. Faure, 'Samadhi', 121; Faure, *Will*, 52, 54, 86, 93, 104. 115, 191n, 208n.
47. EK 612.
48. Yampolsky, PS, 6-9 and, 39, referring to Zhiyi's *Mahashamathavipasshana* 摩訶止觀.(in T.46).
49. Pelliot 35559; preface also in T.85; cf. Yampolsky, PS, 5.
50. Tr. in McRae, *Northern School*, 255-269; cf. Yampolsky, PS, 7. This text does not mention Huineng.
51. For a biography of Jiaoran as a poet and an ascetic see Nielsen, *Chiao-jan*.
52. QTW 917; EK 498.
53. Apart from a critical Chinese edition (Zhonghua, Peking 1979), an English translation of the Jianzhen travelogue was published in London in 1925. Cf. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53-54.
54. Lam Yau-nang, ed., *Huineng Papers*, 1-3.
55. Yampolsky, PS, xii; Tanaka, 'Recent Developments', 241-245. Yanagida, *Rokusō* , 1-48, and the frontispiece of Yang, PS. are photographic reproductions of the two Dunhuang PS .
56. After Ko, 'English PS', 317-318.
57. After Ko, 'English PS', 318-320.
58. Wu, *Progress*, 71-90; 99.
59. Tr. in Conze, *Wisdom*. For the *Heart Sutra* 心經 and its origins see Lopez, *Heart*; Nattier, 'Heart'.
60. The *Sandhinirmochanasutra* (q. in Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan*, 94-95) compares the Buddha to a charioteer whose chariot progresses which each turning of its wheels. The division does not include the tantric tradition, although Tantric tendencies are noticeable in some *Prajnaparamita* texts such as the *Vajracchedika* (Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan*, 117-128). Shenpen Hookham also noticed that some tantric texts and practices draw on *Tathagatagarbha* ideology (Hookham, 'Practical Implications', 157-161.
61. Yampolsky, PS , 173-174 mod.
62. 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記壇經, in T 55. For more titles of PS copies acquired by Ennin see Yampolsky, PS, 92n. Cf. Ennin's biography in Reischauer, *Ennin*.
63. The most authoritative non-sectarian biography is of course Huineng's *vita* by Zanning.
64. After the *Dicta of Canyuan of North Mountain* 北山參元語錄, written in 806 by Shenqing 神清 (a.k.a. Huiyi 慧義, d. 816), T.52-612, q. in EK 499; cf. EK 614.
65. Vol. I, q. EK 499. 居人 must perhaps be read as 居士.
66. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 18, q. in EK 498.

67. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 2, q. in EK 498.
68. Makita, *Yichu*, scroll 19, q. in EK 498.
69. Shiina, 'BZ 9&10'. Parts of Shiina's compilation are q. in Ishii, HS (Shiina Kōyū 推名宏雄寶林傳卷九卷十 in 宗教研究 1980-3 ; idem, '寶林傳の研究' in 駒澤大學佛教學部論集 1980-2.
70. Yampolsky PS, 47-53; 65; 73.
71. *Traditions of Giving the Law and the Canon* 付法藏傳 q. in Makita, *Chuukoku*, 150-151. That Qisong like Zhiju, subscribed to this line appears from his *Record on the Correct Transmission of the Law*.
72. Intellectual biography in Makita, *Chujōkū* , 145-154. Cf. Tanaka, 'PS', 238-241.
73. Q. in Robson, Marchmount, 262, n. 168: 'Suzuki indeed recognizes 'Daoist influences on [BZ]'. The term 'Daoist' in this context is to be used with caution (cf. Sivin, 'Taoist', 319). On Nine Immortals' Lodge see NNYG, 189-191. For the term 三生 ('Three Births') in relation to Huisi see Magnin, *Huisi*, 31n.
74. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 30. Yichu's text was printed in Japan in 1676; facsimile in Makita, *Gisōu*.
75. EK 619.
76. Yampolsky, PS , 39-44.
77. In this respect, continental genealogical terminology is more specific than Anglosaxon usage where a 'pedigree' may either be a descent chart or an ancestry chart. Cf. Wright, *Handbook*, 17; Conwell, *Family*, 6.
78. After Groner , *Saichō*, 39-64; 107-165; 251-263. Cf. the mandala-shaped lineage diagram of the meditation tradition on a transmission chart issued to Dōgen in 1227 at Eihei Abbey (Kodera, *Dōgen*, 69-71). For the historical context of Saichō 's pilgrimage cf. Holcombe, 'Trade-Buddhism', 280-283; 291-291.
79. Groner, *Saichō*, 64. Saicho's initiations admittedly also served another purpose: they were required before permission was granted to copy esoteric texts, witness Saichō's own account:
'At Longxing 龍興 Abbey in Yue[zhou] tak ing instructions from Shunxiao, [I] followed the *acharya* to a *bodhimanda* on a mountain peak east of Lake Jing. The *acharya* told two monks to set the *bodhimanda*. [We] then entered the *bodhimanda* of the fivefold mandala of baptism. [I] then received the teaching of the mantra and [my] head was sprinkled with mantra water so that [I] could copy the above liturgies as well as the offering texts and formulas.'
80. Q. in Heng Yin, PS, n.p. Cf. the name list in the *Chodangchip*, q. in Ishii HS n. 26. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinayapitaka*, originally translated into Chinese by Buddhayashas, is recognized by most Chinese schools (with the possible exception of Mt Tiantai) as the standard scripture on discipline.
81. T.15, 618, q. in Faure, *Will*, 229; cf. McRae, Northern School, 81.73.
82. McRae, Northern School, 79.

83. EK 79. Cf. Ishii, HS, n. 47.
84. Zhenhua, *Dictionary*, 171; cf. WDHY 2.
85. WDHY, scr. 2, f. 32 (p. 40). Cf. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 137.
86. WDHY, scr. 2, ff. 32-33 (pp. 40-41).
87. On Huilang see 4. 3.2, below.
88. An incomplete and corrupt quote from the *Vajracchedika* (cf. Conze, *Wisdom*, 64).
89. *Hōbōgin*, 1019.
90. T.50, 2050, q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1025.
91. Q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1023-1024.
92. Congyi 從義 (d. 1091) on the *Four Teachings of Tiantai* 天臺四教儀, q. in *Hōbōgin*, 1030.
93. Yanagida, *Rokusō*, 405-424.
94. Yampolsky, PS, 101; EK 16.
95. After EK 26-27. Biographical note on Kinryū in EK 64. On the 'perfect sudden' and its opposition to the gradual quietism of *shamathavipashyana* 止觀 according to Guanding 灌頂 see Bielefeldt, 'Secret', 142.
96. Yampolsky, PS, 99-104.
97. Lou Yulie, 'Dunhuang PS', 2, q. in Tanaka, 'Recent developments', 250 n.23; cf. Ishii, 'Huixin PS'.
98. The 1911 edition in ZZ, 1, 2B, 19, 5, 483a-88a. Cf. Hu Shi, 'Notes 1', q. in Yampolsky, PS, 70 n.30.
99. Text with concordance and parallel translation: EK 25-61; notes : EK 62-82.
100. Ishii, HS. Ishii's text also in Yang, PS, Ishii was one of the EK editors and now teaches at Komazawa.
Like Yanagida, he was destined to become a Zen priest (Faure, *Insights*, 107-110; T.H. Barrett, p. c).
101. Ishii, HS, n. 42.
102. Ishii, HS, n. 43.
103. Hu Shi, 'Critique of the *Sōkei Daishi betsuden*' (in 'Notes 1', 299-300, q. in Yampolsky PS, 70-76).
104. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 419 (commenting on a *vita* of the Daoist immortal Lu Dongbin).
105. Cf. note 96, above. The Huixin PS of 967 is believed to be a direct precursor to the Qisong PS.
106. Hoffmann & Hu, 142.
107. Dutch tr. in Idema, *Baard*, 223-240. Liu Zongyuan was also a dedicated writer of 'archaic prose 古文' and is credited with the invention of the Chinese landscape essay. Cf. Idema & Haft, 197-204.
108. So did Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064), a scholar from Shaozhou and author of a *stupa* text for the thaumaturge Daoguang 道廣 (675-743; tr. in Part Three, below). Jing also wrote an essay on auspicious omens and miracles as a mere 'matter of record, without any merit to society', Jing felt that scholar-officials should not follow these popular tales but rather remain silent on them' (q. in Jiu Jiang, 26).

109. Hoffmann & Hu, 84-137.
110. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167; cf. CHC III, 601-606.
111. *Climbing Liuzhou City Tower: To My Colleagues in Zhang-, Deng-, Feng- and Lianzhou* (QTS 351-39). Liu Yuxi was then Governor of Lianzhou 廉州 (now Hepu 合浦 in Guangxi)
112. Hoffmann & Hu, 140; 142.
113. *Phonetic Meaning of All Scriptures* 一切經音義, q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 55. Zanning lists two Huilins: one from Kashgar (737-820) and another Huilin (751-832) from Anhui who spent most of his life in Hangzhou. Huijiao's *Vitae* also mention an exorcist named Daolin 道琳 who died in 513.
114. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167; 185.
115. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 167: 'it is said [they] were used by local singers till long after his time.'
116. Hoffmann & Hu, 147.
117. See Hoffmann & Hu, 100-101, who apparently mistranslate 生人之意 and 人生而靜.
118. Zürcher, 'New Look', 280-281.
119. Cf. Hoffmann & Hu, 103.
120. Tr. in Hoffmann & Hu, 118-137.

Notes to chapter 2.3.

1. Bakker, *Sacred Centre*, vii.
2. Giles, *Biographies*, 332-333; Huangfu Mi's preface to 高士傳 tr. in Berkowitz, *Patterns*, 456-459.
3. Wu, *Progress*, 72-76.
4. Jan, 'Zongmi', 236-237.
5. Welter, 'Yanshou', 265.
6. Described in EK 89-90. *Neng's vita* is in scr. 97.
7. Welter, 'Yanshou', 251-252 and 255.
8. Welter, 'Yanshou', 254.
9. Lippiello, PhD, sum. in Lippiello, *IIAASNL*, 43. Shen Yue wrote a *poetica* for palace style poets.
10. Lippiello, PhD, chapter 4, summarized in Lippiello, *IIAASNL*, 43.
11. Twitchett, *Official History*, 74. Cf. Franke, 'Remarks'.
12. Twitchett, *Official History*, 77-78 mod.
13. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 140. The six 'supernormal powers' 六通 ascribed to a Buddha were:
 1. magical power
 2. supernormal hearing
 3. reading minds
 4. knowing one's previous existences
 5. discerning previous lives of others
 6. having 'no outflows' (*ashrava* 漏)
14. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 99; Lippiello, PhD, chapter 4; Wright, 'Fo-t'u-teng'.
15. 唐韶州曹溪釋慧能實錄, in Enchin's list of acquisitions in T 55.

16. See note 8; *emphasis* added.
17. Cf. HS section 4. For a critical discussion see He Ge'en, *passim*, and Part Three, below.
18. Zanning's text after the punctuated edition in Yang, PS, 144-147 at 146-147. Huairang lived 677-744.
19. I believe that the Latter Zen adage 不立文字 ('not to base (religious practice) on written words') is not a denunciation of scriptural knowledge, but refers to the traditional reliance on root learning.
20. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 140.
21. Luk, *Xu Yun*, 7.
22. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 115.
23. E.g. in Hong Kong in the Tiger Balm Gardens (on Hong Kong Island) and in the courtyard of Ten Thousand Buddha Abbey (at Shatin, N.T.).
24. Robson, 'Chinese Geographics', 16-17.
25. Paper, *Spirits*, 54.
26. Robson, 'Contested Space', 121-124; cf. Falkenhausen, 'Archaeology', 421-422.
27. Faure, 'Space and place', 346.
28. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 141.
29. Wang Wei, quoted under E., above.
30. Kieschnick, *Eminent Monk*, 105-106.
31. After Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 145-146; 163.
32. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 13; cf. Watson, 'Tin Hau' for a comparison of oral and written traditions.

Notes to Chapter 3.1

1. Zanning, *Vitae*, 383-572; Yampolsky, *PS*, 78n; Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 284n; He Ge'en, *passim*.
2. According to a facsimile of the printed 'East Wall Library' edition of the Song Zhiwen Collection (EWLC). Cf. QTS 51-17. Poems in QTS are identified in the present study by scroll and number following the critical edition in 900 scrolls (Peking 1960); Song Zhiwen's poems are in scrolls 51, 52, 53 and 54. An 'old poem' 古詩 was a rhyming poem in metred verse, but with free tonality. A 'poem in the modern style' 今體詩 had to answer to complicated new conventions of structure and tonality.
3. 唐詩記事, a collection of poems and anecdotes on their poets. See Wilkinson, *Manual*, 569.
4. *Cihai* 2307.
5. *Old and Fine* 2010, nr. 9023.
6. *Old and Fine* 2010, nrs. 6986 and 15168.
7. SBCK.
8. EWLC 1-020. In my numbering of Zhiwen's poems in EWLC, the first digit refers to scroll 1 or 2.
9. Zhang Yuanji, q. in Wan, *Catalogue*, 35
10. WYYH 11-12. If Leys is right that Chinese connoisseurs value rareness as the major determinant of artistic excellence, it is probably but for its rareness that WYYH with all its textual shortcomings is considered a work of exceptional value. See Owen, *Early Tang*, xiv, and Leys, *3H*, 35-44.
11. See Chen, QTS.
12. WYYH 6256. A commandery 郡 was a military district, equivalent with a Tang prefecture 州. Early medieval Chinese toponyms are full of pitfalls. Researchers are easily misled by false friendships between medieval and modern names. Guiyang and Guilin are really two different places. Modern Guiyang 桂陽 County in southeastern Hunan was known in Zhiwen's days as Pingyang 平陽. The Guiyang 桂陽 of Zhiwen's days was 100 miles further south in Lianzhou 連州 (now Lianxian 連縣.) Guilin 桂林, Lin'gui 林桂 or Shi'an 始安 was the prefectural seat of Guizhou 桂州 in modern Guangxi 廣西 - not to be confused with the capital of modern Guizhou 貴州 province, which is Guiyang 貴陽.

Notes to Chapter 3.2.

1. The first phonetic transcription follows Pulleyblank's Late Middle Chinese transcription (Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*). The second phonetic transcription is in modified CPA 漢語拼音, rendering IPA [y] as 'yu'.
2. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 22-52.
3. Tr. in Owen, *Early Tang*, 379.
4. In imperial China, officiants would fast on the eve of a major sacrifice. For the solstice offerings at the Altar of Heaven 天壇 in Peking by the Ming and Qing emperors, a Hall of Retreat had been built.
5. CPA in italics; text between [square brackets] based on Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 11. Cf. Shakespeare's

Sonnet CXVI ('Let me not to the marriage of true minds'), where 'love' at the end of the second line and 'remove' at the end of the fourth belong to one rhyme group. Although these sounds do not rhyme anymore in modern English, they did in Shakespeare's days. The analysis of rhymes helps us to date 'old verse' as:

EMC: Early Middle Chinese or Sui, the educated 'mandarin language' of around 600 AD, based on the older court language of Luoyang (known as Go'on 吳音 in Sino-Japanese);

LMC: Late Middle Chinese or Tang, the lingua franca of the empire around 800 AD, based on the court language of Chang'an (known as Kan'on 漢音 in Sino-Japanese);

CPA: and finally late twentieth-century Mandarin, written in Chinese Phonetic Alphabet 漢語拼音.

Reconstructions of Middle Chinese pronunciation by Karlgren and recently by Pulleyblank are based on Chinese rhyme dictionaries surviving from those three periods (see Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 1-21).

6. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 15. The Tang rhymes are in the [Xhja:] or Xie 蟹 group of 'outer rhymes', which includes the finals [aj], [a:], [ia:], [ua:] and [ya:]. The Yuan pronunciation appears to produce two imperfect rhymes: between the couplets 7 and 8 [si'-xuj'] and between 14 and 15 [pi'-suj'], but these anomalies also interrime within the so-called Qiwei 齊微 rhyme group, Pulleyblank 1994, 9.

7. The aberrant rhymes belong to the 屋 ([ewk], [uwk]) and 支 ([ie]) groups of the Sui Rhyme canon. According to the Tang rhyme canon, every tenth syllable rhymes within the so-called [Ngye] or Yu 遇 group of 'inner rhymes', which includes the sounds [ea/ue], [ie/ye], [ue], and [ye]. Pulleyblank, 15-16.

8. Hengyang was the prefectural seat of Hengzhou 衡州, which under the Sui had been Hengyang 衡陽 commandery. Canton, the old capital of Guang Prefecture 廣州, is still called Guangzhou 廣州. In the Tang, unless specified otherwise, the name of a prefecture (ending on -zhou 州) referred to the prefectural seat in the main city. Hence, 'Hengzhou' could then refer to the entire prefecture of Heng as well as to the city that is now Hengyang; 'Guizhou' to the prefecture, or its main city Guilin; and 'Guangzhou' could also be either the city or the prefecture.

9. Neng's remains were allegedly kept in the basement of a pagoda or stupa at Cao's Brook.

10. See for the invention of this 'Patriarch Zen 祖師禪': Barrett, 'Kill'; Gregory and Ebrey; McRae, *Northern School*; Foulk, 'Myth, Ritual', 150-159; Faure, *Will*; Faure, *Mal*; Faure, *Insights*. The established Tiantai school, based on the *Lotus*, had been cherishing an 'ancestral' tradition of senior exegetes (with the exclusion of translators) of the *Lotus* (Weinstein, 'Patronage', 272-273).

11. He Ge'en, n. 13, reads: 'the third month of spring'.

12. Personal communication from Mr and Mrs Hylobates Lar of Emmen, the Netherlands.

13. Cf. 'Vulture Peak' in Shaozhou, named after the place in India where the Buddha reportedly delivered the *Vajracchedika*. In Tibetan and Chinese meditation manuals, mountains are also a topos for meditation. One popular manual by Shenxiu (T.58, 1289-1290, tr. in Faure, 'Samadhi', 114) says:

After [the mind] is clarified, when one sits, it is like being on a solitary tall mountain in the midst of a distant field. Sitting on exposed ground at the top of the mountain, gazing off into the distance on all four sides - there are no limits.

For 'mountain men 仙' as immortals or shamans, see: Paper, *Spirits*, 51-60.

14. Legend has it that the Xiang sprung from the tears of the mythical king Shun's 舜 two widows 二妃 which thus created the famous Mottled Bamboo (斑竹 or 湘妃竹; *Phyllostachys nigra Boryana*) when they fell on its leaves (*Topoi* 2378; 21-22; 1978-1979; cf. Schafer, *Divine Woman*, 86, 119).

15. The vows of *trisharana*, or 'taking refuge in the Triple Gem 歸依三寶' read in translation:

I take refuge in the Awakened One (Evam Buddham saranam gacchami 我歸依佛),
I take refuge in his Example (Evam Dharmam saranam gacchami 我歸依法), and
I take refuge in his Community (Evam Sangham saranam gacchami 我歸依僧).

The fourfold extended (or bodhisattva) vow 四弘誓願 reads in Chinese and English:

眾生無邊誓願度 Save all beings, none aside,
煩惱無數誓願斷 Cut all countless sufferings,
法門無盡誓願學 Learn all methods infinite,
佛道無上誓願成 Follow Buddha all the way.

In addition to taking triple refuge and the four vows, the postulant is questioned on his 'five abilities' 問五能 and then, after common meditation (禪會 or *ksama*), vows to observe the 'ten precepts' 十戒. An early Chinese formular of this ceremony is the so-called *Nanyue Text* 南岳本 ascribed to meditation teacher Huisi 慧思 (515-577), Sekiguchi (q. in Faure, *Volonté*, 145), disputes Huisi's authorship, arguing that the text is identical with an eighth-century description by meditation teacher Daoxuan 道玄 (702-760). In any event it appears that the *Text*, often classified within the Tiantai tradition, was already influential among early eighth-century 'meditation teachers', perhaps including Song Zhiwen's 'teacher in Hengyang'.

16. Zhiwen's friend and colleague Fang Rong 房融 did, however. Demiéville even believes that he was ordained as a monk at some time (Demiéville, *Concile*, 44n), but his 'observing the savior's precepts' may mean that he took laymen's vows after the example of emperor Wu of Liang (cf. Faure, *Volonté*, 142-145). See on laymen's vows in early twentieth-century China Welch, *Practice*, 361-366.

17. See chapter 3.4, below, for the occurrence of terms for enlightenment in Zhiwen's other poems.

18. S&H, 214a. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 363, translates *ashravakaya* as 'this carnal body of passions'.

19. S&H, 151a.

20. Barrett 1990, 90.

21. Q. in He Ge'en n10. In 1996 I met a similar troglodytic monk at Lion's Crag in Maba, Guangdong.

22. He Ge'en n10, Cf. *Topoi*. YH mentions among others mountains of the same name a Mt Luofu at 10 miles north of Anjing 安京 county in Qinzhou 欽州 - Zhiwen's final posting in the South.

23. *Sorrow after departure*, tr. in Xu, *South*, 15; cf. section 3. 3.3., below.

Notes to Chapter 3.3

1. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 346.
2. Cf. Giles, *Biographies*, 699: 'Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (字: 廷清). Died A.D. 710. A native of Fenzhou in Shanxi, whose martial appearance marked him out for a military career. He was appointed to a post by [empress Wu], but became mixed up with Zhang Yizhi and was banished. Returning without leave, he remained in concealment at Luoyang until he succeeded in obtaining a pardon and an appointment as Archivist in the Court of State Ceremonial. After a discreditable career he was again banished for corrupt practices and forced to commit suicide. He was one of the most charming poets of his day, and it is said that the emperor Zhongzong was on one occasion so pleased with his verse that he presented the poet with his own Imperial robe of silk.' Giles is mistaken on the year of Zhiwen's death.
3. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 80-82. Yang Jiong wrote a well-known preface to the *Wang Bo Collection*, tr. in Owen *Early T'ang*, 79-80. It has been regarded as a manifesto for the generation of the 'Four Talents'.
7. This genre of songs is called 'poetry office' 樂府 art as it followed the type of popular songs collected by the imperial Bureau of Poetry. Under Wu Zetian, poets abandoned the melodies of these old songs while retaining their traditional titles. See for example *Spring-River-Flowers-Moon-Night* by the Zhejiang poet Zhang Ruoxu (660-720?; Cheng, *Analyse*, 7; 28-31.
8. Tr. of two 'Southern Songs' by Song Zhiwen and one by a friend in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 365-366.
9. EWLC 1.046 (QTS 51-39), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 304-306) and EWLC 2.104 (QTS 52-76).
10. Hung, 'Shen and Song'.
11. *TSJS*, q. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 307-308. Zhiwen's poem was QTS 51-38 (tr. in Owen 307-308).
12. Chu, 'Zhiwen', 46 (94).
13. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 231-232.
14. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 294-302. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 32-34, calls Zhiwen's expatriate poems the most representative of his works, but mistakes poems written at home in Luhun for expatriate poetry.
15. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 39 quotes Zhiwen's QTS 51-33 and QTS 51-32 (cf. QTS 51-48). The opening couplets of QTS 51-32 match a 'gentleman on a mission' to a 'beauty a thousand miles away', Zhiwen elaborates on this 景 with maturing peaches and falling leaves. The closing 情 expresses hope to return safely in fall after a long summer. Cf. Zhang Ruoxu's elegant and courtly poem *A Woman dreaming of her beloved returning*, translated and discussed in Cheng, *Analyse*, 81-101.
16. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 40-42.
17. Tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 367; 377-379.
18. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 44-45 quotes Zhiwen's QTS 51-42 and QTS 53-39. QTS 51-42 goes:
My love gave me a fine green harp, / and a silver bird.
The harp was made of mountain t'ungwood, / the bird hailed from the Wu Creek.
My heart, in pines and rocks and morning glow / cannot possess this gift profound.
My heart, thinking of sea, heav'n and white clouds, / but wants to set this fine bird free.

19. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 47-50, in addition to praising their merits in the promotion of regulated verse, lauds Shen's and Song's contribution to the perfection of rhyme schemes and parallel couplets.
20. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 325.
21. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 325-326; 337.
22. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 34 ; 362.
23. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 379-380.
24. *On the third day of the third month: sitting alone in Huan-chou remembering past travels*, tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 360-361. Huanzhou 歡州 was in Annan 安南, 200 miles south of modern Hanoi.
25. EWLC 1.016 (QTS 51-13), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 374-375.
26. On Cao Xueqin, the author of the *Dream of Red Mansions* 紅樓夢 cf. Spence 1988, Appendix D.
27. Varsano, 'Getting There', 375-376.
28. Varsano, 'Getting There', 384-385, uses Zhuangzi's terms 方內 and 方外 respectively.
29. *Sorrow after departure*, tr. in Xu, *South*, 15.
30. Varsano, 'Getting There', 399; tr. in Xu, *South*, 29.
31. David Hawkes's translation, q. in Varsano, 'Getting There', 400.
32. Varsano, 'Getting There', 400.
33. Varsano, 'Getting There', 403; cf. *From Hengyang to Shaozhou*, couplet 14, above.
34. Varsano, 'Getting There', 398; italics mine.
35. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 40.
36. Tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 365-367. After 705, Sima Chengzhen also proceeded from Mt Tiantai in Zhejiang to the Nine Immortals Lodge 九仙館 on Mt Heng, where he received Zhang Jiuling in audience. Cf. Zhang Jiuling, *Climbing Nanyue: mission completed, an audience with the Daoist Sima*, (QTS 47-13). Jiuling's 'mission' may refer to his posting in his native Shaozhou, where he finished construction of the Dayu Turnpike in 716. The journey of young Jiuling himself by way of Mt Heng makes it even less likely that the elderly Song Zhiwen would have used the old road across the Dayu.
37. Paper, *Spirits*, passim.

Notes to Chapter 3.4.

1. Shen Quanqi, *Shaolong Abbey* (in Huanzhou), QTS 95-18, tr. after Owen, *Early Tang*, 363 mod.
2. For this *Sanjiao Zhuying* 三教珠英 (Gems of the Three Teachings) see McMullen, *State*, 218-219.
3. Faure, *Volonté*, 39. T.H. Barrett puts it more vividly: 'What was clearly needed in the Buddhism of late seventh-century China was the voice of authority, some Nagarjuna *redivivus* to set the lamp of the Dharma ablaze once more' (Barrett, 'Kill!', 96). Cf. Xue Huaiyi's *Commentary on the Meaning of the Holy Emperor in the Great Cloud Sutra*, tr. in Forte, *Propaganda*, 183-284. Later condemnations of Zetian as a 'false jewel' appear inspired by anachronistic political agendas. The *Great Cloud* is an Indian original. On Xue Huaiyi and his relations with Zetian see Forte, *Propaganda*, 111-115.

4. Unlike Hucker, *Titles*, 297 suggests, this so-called Crane Administration 控鶴府 did not take charge of the Imperial Mews: cranes and heavenly horses are the traditional mounts of immortals. One memorial did complain that these 'crane scholars' were really horsing around instead of writing (CHC-III, 319). If so, one reason we do not have the text of the *Gems* may be that it was never completed.
5. These Daoists were anticipating Laozi's Second Coming, but Sima's ancestry in their lineage is dubious. Chengzhen was 'the leading Daoist figure of his time'. For translated fragments of his works on Daoist practice, meditation and longevity techniques see Kohn, *Anthology*, 19-24; 80-86; 236-241.
6. 'The *Garland* has many ideas in common with the [Tiantai school's] *Lotus*, such as the concept of One Vehicle, universal salvation, and the transcendental Buddha, [but also] countless other worlds (...) which reflect perfectly the central Pure Land (...) in accordance with the principle of the interpenetration of all phenomena.' (Weinstein, 'Patronage', 299-302). Cf. Chang, *Totality*.
7. On Xiu see McRae, *Northern School*; Faure, *Will*. According to a stupa inscription by Zhang Yue, Xiu traced his spiritual heritage back to some obscure southern meditation teacher: Hongren of Huangmei 黃梅宏忍 (601-674). Modern studies suggest that Xiu was also a student of a meditation school based in Jingzhou 荊州 which followed the principles laid down by meditation teacher Huisi of Nanyue 南岳慧思 (515-577) to whom the Tiantai 天臺 tradition also traced its roots. Huisi 慧思 (515-577) the later guru of Zhiyi 智顓 and therefore considered an ancestor of the Tiantai school. His biography and hagiography is in Magnin, *Huisi*, 24-68. Huisi wrote three manuals for retreats of repentance (Magnin, *Huisi*, 73-80). His *Vow Taken by Grand Meditation teacher Si of Nanyue* 思大師誓願文 (Vow) is tr. in Magnin, *Huisi*, 206-238. Magnin believes Huisi wrote the *Vow* in 559 in Henan Huisi urged Zhiyi to study it; it is listed in a seventh-century canon (Magnin, *Huisi*, 109-111).
8. In 692 in Luoyang and in late 701 in Chang'an. Fazang's epitaph, dated between 712 and 714, also remembers him as 'meditation teacher Fazang'. Xiu did not represent a joint 'Garland-meditation' 華嚴禪 school at Zetian's court, as some believe, and neither is the 'Shenxiu' who authored two commentaries to the *Garland* the Shenxiu of Tang court fame (Faure, *Will*, 39; 45-46). Around 800 the great *Garland* exegete Zongmi of Guifeng 桂峰宗密, also an accomplished and recognized meditation teacher, was the first to successfully blend *Garland* teachings into the growing 'Zen' school of his days.
9. For the differences between Zhiyi's classical Tiantai meditation practices of *samadhi* (定 or 三昧) and Xiu's early practice of *dhyana* 禪那 see Faure, 'Samadhi', 99-128; cf. Faure, *Will*, 31.
10. Faure, 'Samadhi', 121; Faure, *Volonté*, 113. Xiu's student Yixing 一行 later studied under Hongjing's successor Huizhen 惠真. For Xiu's understanding of traditional Indian *dhyana* and popular Chinese Buddhist ontology as explained in the *Awakening of Faith* 起信論 see Faure, 'Samadhi', 106.
11. Tr. after McRae, *Northern School*, 153, mod. This and Faure, *Will*, 21-22, contradict Faure, *Will*, 5: 'Shenxiu himself was invited to the western capital of Chang'an in 700.' Xiu was invited to Luoyang.
12. QTS 51-39, tr. in Owen, *Early Tang*, 304-305. The Jasper Pool is a topos, however subtle and indirect, for sexual licentiousness (the direct reference is to the palace of Xiwangmu 西王母, the divine 'Queen Mother of the West'). Zhiwen may be referring here to Wu Zetian's controversial liaison.

13. Fazang's lecture: *The Seal of the Golden Lion* 金獅子章, tr in Wing-tsit Chan, 409-413
14. Cf. however Wing-tsit Chan, 410.
15. EWLC 2.021 (regulated pentameter); QTS 52-62. Hongjing's name in the title is misspelled 泓景 and the title erroneously mentions the famous translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (d. 662, a native of Jingzhou) instead of Xiu. The closing line may address the emperor himself. Zhiwen repeatedly tried to persuade Zhongzong to make Luoyang his permanent capital. Empress Wei preferred Chang'an (CHC III, 356).
16. Zanning, *Vitae*, scr. 18, q. in Faure, *Will*, 101.
17. Cf. section 2.2.5, above, for the Vimalakirti motive in An's hagiography.
18. Most Buddhist monks cremated (cf. the legend on An's *sharira* in section 2.2.5, above), but the five years between An's death and the construction of his tomb rather suggest burial and reburial.
19. The first stele text (QTS scr. 396) mentions 708 as the year of An's death. The second text (TWXS scr. 3) gives 582 (sic) as his year his birth and may be an attempt to link the hagiography of An to a monk of the same name, born in the 580s and flourishing under the Sui. Cf. 2.2.5, above.
20. Huisi's *vita* by Daoxuan (*Vitae*, 242-243) is summarized in Weinstein, 'Patronage', 274-283.
21. The mid-8th century *Lineage Record of the Jewel of the Law* (see above, sections 2.2.8 and 2.2.12) mentions an imperial enquiry in 700 by four meditation teachers: Xiu, An, Jingjue's teacher Xuanze 玄擇, and Xuanyue 玄約. A fifth meditation teacher, Zhixian 智洗, pleaded ill and left for his native Sichuan. Zhixian is not known in any other source (Yampolsky PS, 42).
22. According to tradition, king Gou Jian 勾踐 of Yue one day sent out a searching party for a bride to be given to his overlord, the King of Wu 吳. Fan Li, the minister leading the searching party, fell in love with the beautiful Xi Shi 西施 when he watched her washing silk on a stone in a mountainbrook. Xi Shi made her husband forget all affairs of state, and before long the King of Yue could conquer all of Wu. Xi Shi then married Fan Li. The story was made famous in *Observing the Past in Yuezhou*, a quatrain by Li Bai 李柏 (701-762). From the facsimile edition of the *Abys of Poetry*, Chen Shangjun recently retrieved still another 'washing silk' poem by Song Zhiwen: *On Xi Shi washing silk* (QTSBB, 762).
23. JTS 192; XTS 196, q. in Faure, *Will*, 193n.
24. Zanning mentions him in his *vita* of Xiu's student Yixing 一行. Cf. Faure, *Will*, 203n. The site of Thundergate was sometimes nicknamed Mt Mao 茅山 after the center of the famous 'Latter Day Daoist' movement of Lu Xiujing (陸修經 406-477) near Nanjing. His 'Revelations of Mt Mao' or 'Holy Jewels' 靈寶 had to be chanted *de mani 鐵e bouddhique* (M. Kaltenmark, q. in Schipper, *Body*, ch. 1 n. 22). Thundergate was also near Great Yu's 大禹 tomb which Song Zhiwen visited (see QTS 52-28).
25. *Soldiers Climbing High at Day, To Fang Mingfu*, QTS 51-33; cf. Hung, 'Shen and Song', 39. Data derived from the index to Shen and Song's collected poems, QTSI 207 (Shen) and 498 (Song).
26. *Nostalgia: crossing Wusong Creek at night*, QTS 53-27.
27. QTS 97-31, part tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 359; data after *Index*, 239-240; 529.
28. *Gazing by night in the South Pavilion of Huanzhou* (QTS 96-61; Owen, *Early Tang*, 357-358).
29. The two truths are sometimes called 'the Royal Paradigm' 王法 and 'the Buddha's Paradigm' 佛法

respectively (S&H, 30a). Obviously, Quanqi and Zhiwen would immediately trade in their 'realization' of the former in exile for a chance to wake up and suddenly be part of the Royal Entourage again!

30. Cf. Barrett, *Li Ao*. on the social and political contexts of the perceived Buddhist, Daoist and Neo-Confucian strains in Li Ao's *Book of Returning to One's True Nature* 李翱復姓書 which although written for a Buddhist audience, should itself for obvious reasons not be considered a 'Buddhist book'.

Notes to Chapter 3.5

1. Schafer 1967, 92; 40 mod.
2. Li Ao, 李翱來南錄 *Southbound Travelogue*, QTW 638, tr. in Strassburg, *Landscapes*, 127-131.
3. For the Holy Canal see Marks, *Tigers*, 33-34, Allegedly engineered under the Han, it was neglected for many centuries and could not be navigated until Li Bo 李勃 rebuilt it to modern standards in 825 (Schafer 1967, 27). Before 825, the overhaul from the Xiang to the Gui had to be made on horseback.
4. For the navigability of the West River and other rivers under the Tang see Marks, *Tigers*, 31.
5. For descriptions of the Dayu Turnpike see Blussé & Falkenburg, 37 (after Nieuhof); Visser, *Bamboe*, 66-70 (Visser followed Nieuhof's 17th-century trail in 1989); and Marks, *Tigers*, 20-23.
6. Zhang Jiuling, *Preface to the opening of the road over Dayu Ridge*, QTW 291, tr. in Herbert, 54-55.
7. Jiuling was probably first introduced to Zhang Yue in Luoyang by his former examiner Shen Quanqi.
8. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994(民 83.08), 42-48; He Ge'en, 337-358.

9.	<u>Overland:</u>	<u>Horseback:</u>	<u>On foot or donkeyback:</u>	<u>By cart:</u>
		14 miles	10 miles	6 miles
	<u>On water:</u>	<u>Fast rivers:</u>	<u>Broad rivers:</u>	<u>Other waterways:</u>
	Upstream loaded:	6 miles	8 miles	9 miles
	Upstream empty:	8 miles	10 miles	12 miles
	Downstream:	30 miles	20 miles	14 miles

Source: Tang Codes 大唐六典, scr. 3, quoted in He Ge'en, 352 n.17. (original distances in Chinese *li*).

A map of Xuanzong's post roads (after Aoyama) and canals (after Twitchett) connecting prefectures and circuits in 742 is in Wright & Twitchett 1973, cf. Yan, *Communications*.

10. Yu Jing 余靖滇水館記 ('Record of Hostels on the Zhen'), q. in He Ge'en, 353, n. 17.

11. For a contemporary description of the Holy Canal see *Lingwai*, XVIII and 12.

12. He Ge'en, n.19.

13. QTS 52-49. 'Cold Food' refers to the Clear and Bright Festival, celebrated on April 4 and 5. Cui's answer is also in QTS (He Ge'en n. 21; Xunyang 潁陽 was the prefectural seat of Jiangzhou):

Parted in spring, north of the Huai, / Cold Food across the Yangzi,

Could the river at Xunyang / look like Zhiwen's pond at home?

14. Mt Lu 廬山, a mountain range south of Jiujiang. was the legendary center of the White Lotus Society 白蓮社, a fourth-century forerunner of the later Pure Land movement. Cf. Ui, 'Nembutsu'.

15. Chen, QTS, 766; not in QTS.
16. The prefecture of Hongzhou (now Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi) was also a governorate 都督府 and is hence called Hongfu 洪府. Heng 橫 is probably a misspelling for Heng 衡, not a reference to Hengzhou 橫州 in Lingnan (see YH 38). The Huai and the Si 泗 (here misspelled 汜) meet near Chuzhou 楚州 on the Grand Canal. The Wu(song) 吳松 flows west through Suzhou.
17. Wuzhou is the city where the Gui 桂 joins West River 西江; see *Transit in Wuzhou*, QTS 52-46.
18. Modern Deqing 德慶 in Guangdong, where South River joins West River.
19. 瀧州 Shuangzhou (now Luoding 羅定 in Guangdong, named after the river Shuang 瀧水 (now Luoding River 羅定江, HYDCD 3469) is often misread 龍州 Longzhou (e.g. Wright & Twitchett, 460). Its topography was described in the missing YH scroll 36; the entry on Kangzhou gives distances.
20. QTS 51-36, tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 378. He Ge'en, n. 19, assumes that Zhiwen was trailing behind his friends because he took a longer and slower road – perhaps including a stop in Shaozhou.
21. He Ge'en, app. III, 346. QTS 96-83 (tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 355) and QTS 63-01 may be among the poems Zhiwen found in Duanzhou. Owen suggests that Shen and Du travelled separately.
22. Owen, *Early T'ang*, 355.
23. Cf. QTS 53-19.
24. In 712, Hengshan 衡山 was part of Tanzhou; it is now inside the greater Hengyang 衡陽 region.
25. The 'three Xiang' were the Lixiang 瀘湘, the Xiaoxiang 瀟湘 and the Zhengxiang 蒸湘; the topos sometimes refers to Xiangtan 湘潭, Xiangyang 湘陽 and Xiangxiang 湘鄉 towns. The black gibbons at Mt Heng would howl especially sonorously once the sky cleared up after a heavy autumn rain.
26. QTS 52-43; not in EWLC. Jingzhou is now Jiangling 江陵 in Hubei. The 'first leaving' is explained by a second poem, probably written on a brief detour to Jingzhou on Zhiwen's second journey south. He Ge'en, n. 24, notes that Jiuling's *A gift to the prefect when on transit through Jingzhou* (not in QTS) has been wrongly ascribed to Zhiwen. Jiuling submitted the Golden Mirror mentioned in that poem in 736, more than twenty-four years after Zhiwen's death. When young Zhang Yue was summoned back to the capital from exile in 705 (ZZTJ 208, q. in He Ge'en n.26), he wrote *Crossing the river* (QTS):
- Spring colors the limpid Xiang, / guests come back after three years.
27. In Chen, QTS, 764. Both Chu, 'Zhiwen', and He Ge'en, n.15 believe that QTS 53-35 (tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 367) also testifies to this event. Owen, however, doubts the authenticity of the poem.
28. QTS 51-19; QTS 51-20. This is not Fahua Monastery in Yuezhou (QTS 53-26), and Yunmen is not the Yunmen monastery built by emperor Xuanzong in 714 - one year after Zhiwen's death.
29. QTS 53-30; not in EWLC; cf. TSJS, scr. 11. 'Vulture Peak on high, / dragon palace quiet...' is from the opening of QTS 53-30. 'Vulture peak' is here a topos for an abbey, the 'dragon palace' for the sea.
30. Klopsch, 'Lo Pin-wang', 90-91; CHC Vol. 3, 295-296. Binwang makes a cameo appearance in chapter 9 of Van Gulik, *Bell Murders*.
31. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994, 42 (90); cf. Chuan, 'Zhiwen'. The title of the third poem is corrupt. Yanzhou 兗州 is in Shandong, but the poem opens: 'Where the Huai and the Si join' - which is in Chuzhou (in

- Jiangsu). Klopsch traces the topos of Luo Binwang as a monk back to the twelfth-century *Wuzong Gazetteer* 五總志 by Wu Jiong 吳炯 in which Binwang helps a monk at Hangzhou to complete a poem.
32. QTS 52-47. The 'river Wu 吳江' is again the Wusong 吳松江.
33. Chen, QTS, 762; not in QTS.
34. QTS 51-14; cf. Chu, 'Zhiwen' 1994, 47. In 710, Yuezhou was still a coastal city.
35. QTS 53-26; cf. XTS. King Yu's shrine 禹廟 can still be seen in Shaoxing.
36. ZZTJ 209: 'In the sixth month [of 710] prefect Song Zhiwen of Yuezhou [and others] were exiled to Lingnan'. He Ge'en, n. 16 and n. 122, argues that Zhiwen was exiled after the seventh month.
37. He Ge'en, n. 17. In the eighth century, Lingnan had five governors, posted in Guangzhou, Guizhou, Rongzhou, Yongzhou, and Annam respectively (YH 34-38).
38. YH 38: 'Yongzhou (Langning), junior inspectorate (i.e. one rank below the governor of Guizhou 桂州). 1624 households (...) Controls eight prefectures: Yongzhou 邕州, Guizhou 貴州, Binzhou 賓州, Chengzhou 澄州, Hengzhou 橫州, Qinzhou 欽州, Xunzhou 潯州, and Luanzhou 巒州. Around 670, the governor's seat transferred to Guizhou, but the inspectorate at Yongzhou was re-established at an unknown date in 711. Although the governor of Guangzhou was one rank above those of Guizhou, Yongzhou, and Qinzhou, the latter three were not within his direct jurisdiction (YH 34: 885-886).
39. QTS 53-53; not in EWLC. See Chu, 'Zhiwen', o.c.48; He Ge'en 352, n. 16. Chen Shangjun has retrieved a variant titled *Joining governor Wang climbing a tower* (Chen, QTS, 766). Wang Xiao became governor of Guizhou 桂州 around 709 (JTS scr. 913).
40. QTS 53-60 (cf. He Ge'en, 347); QTS 52-43. He Ge'en implies but does not substantiate that Zhiwen reported in Luoyang between his second visit to Jingzhou and his final journey to Qinzhou. A possible route from Luoyang to Jingzhou was the Chang'an-Guangzhou post road (see Wright & Twitchett 1973, map).
41. QTS 52-62.
42. QTS 53-60, not in EWLC; q. in He Ge'en, n.22 and appendix IV.
43. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 240. Francolins were believed to worship the sun and the south.
44. QTS 51-13 (EWLC 1.016), tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 374.
45. QTS 53-58.
46. Chen, QTS, 764.
47. QTS 53-21; q. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 96.
48. QTS 51-25. He Ge'en further ascribes QTS 53-54 to Zhiwen's last stay in Guizhou.
49. He Ge'en, appendix IV. For Yuan Shouyi cf. QTW scr. 2.
50. QTS 53-22. The tomb of king Zhao Tuo of Southern Yue 南越王趙託 is now a museum.
51. QTS 53-24; QTS 52-45; QTS 51-18. Tengzhou is now Tengxian 藤縣 County in Guangxi on the river Xun, 50 miles upstream from Wuzhou. The 'caves of the Man' are identified in the *Luoding County Gazetteer* 羅定縣志 as 'Peng 蓬 Cave - an erstwhile Yao 瑤 settlement' (q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 165). This cave was close Shuangzhou. Lingnan as a whole is still rich in scenic Karst grottoes. The

toponym Nanshan 南山 (perhaps Nanshan Village near the river Man) was likely to evoke nostalgic feelings for Zhiwen's old villa in Luhun, as the title of QTS 51-22 (EWLC 1.030) also suggests.

52. QTS.51-10; tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 372. Cf. YH 34. Modern Yaikou is on the outskirts of Zhongshan Municipality 中山市 on the west bank of what is now the Pearl River Delta. In Zhiwen's days, Zhongshan was an island and most of the delta had still to develop (Marks, *Tigers*, 70). Zhiwen's Yakou may have been at the northern entrance of the Yaimen Straits near modern Haikou 海口 on Hainan 海南. The scroll in YH with the description of Yaizhou 崖州 on northeastern Hainan is missing. Between 705 and 709, the aboriginal Dlai 黎 raided the Chinese settlements (Schafer, *Shore*, 20).

53. QTS 51-12.

54. Cf. He Ge'en, n16. Chu quotes JTS 186: 'Under Xuanzong, Lizhi, Xue Jichang 薛季昶, and Song Zhiwen were together ordered to kill themselves at Guizhou Station', as a 'powerful argument that "in mid-712, he was ordered to kill himself in exile"' (Chu, 'Zhiwen', 48; the latter statement is from JTS).

55. He Ge'en, n.19-20.

56. QTS 52-50; EWLC 2.038 ; not in WYYH .

57. In the eighth century, the elephant god Youbi 有鼻 was worshipped in both Guizhou and Shaozhou (Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 96). For a bronze 'elephant bird' see Rawson, *Mysteries*, 135-136.

58. SG, 531. The toponym refers to the Renshou period of Sui emperor Wendi (601-605).

59. See section 2.2.8, above.

60. QTS 50-18, q. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 298.

61. QG scr. 4, q. in He Ge'en, appendix 5.

62. QTS 48-64, quoted in He Ge'en, n.23.

63. QTS 52-53; tr. in Owen, *Early T'ang*, 376.

64. QTS 53-23, tr. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 40-41.

65. PRC, *Guangdong*, 89.

66. QTS 53-22, not as 越台 but instead as 粤王台 .

67. He Ge'en, 'Song Zhiwen', n. 9.

68. Shixing was also the name of a county in Shaozhou, 32 miles northeast of the city (cf. YH 34),

69. TH, scr. 159.

70. PRC, *Guangdong*, 56-59.

71. TH, scr. 159.

72. *Joining Judge Zhou on a tour to Shixing* (QTS 47-11); *In late fall climbing a tower to watch the South River road into Shixing commandery* (QTS 47-17); *The woods and wells down Southill in Shixing*; (...) *sick in bed in Jingzhou, I miss them* (QTS 47-23); *From Shixing Brook up the Range at night* (QTS 49-62).

73. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 25.

74. YJ, scr. 90.

75. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 277-8.

76. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon*, 277; 399. Around 700 Zhaozhou 昭州 was a prefecture of over 7300 households, 50 miles downstream the Gui River 桂江 from Guizhou 桂州 (YH 37, 923). Upstream from Pingle Town, Gui River is nowadays called Li River (Lijiang 濞江).

77. Quoted in YJ, scr. 107.

78. PRC, *Hunan*, 542.

79. Zhao, *Tourist*, 60.

Notes to chapter 4.1

1. Song Zhiwen, 'From Hengyang to Shaozhou', in SZ.
2. BZ scroll 10 (after Shiina).
3. Genkai, (Jianzhen's) *Eastbound Travelogue*, AD 779.
4. Song Zhiwen, 'From Hengyang to Shaozhou', in SG and QTS.
5. Cf. Dudbridge, 'Images' and *Religious experience*.
6. Cf. Chen, *Buddhism*, 223.
7. Tang, 'Lingnan', 377- 387. The *Guangdong Gazetteer* mentions 103 monasteries built in 12 prefectures in the area equivalent to modern Guangdong and Hainan between AD 500 and 960: 20 pre-Tang, 65 built during the Tang, and 18 during the 'Five Dynasties'. Their local distribution was:

廣 Guangzhou 23	韶 Shaozhou 26	潮 Chaozhou 16	循 Xunzhou 11
新 Xinzhou 11	端 Duanzhou 5	恩 Enzhou 3	雷 Leizhou 3
連 Lianzhou 2	康 Kangzhou 1	瀧 Shuangzhou 1	封 Fengzhou 1.

For a map of the distribution of Buddhist abbeys in Tang China see Zhang, *Han-Tang*, Vol. 1.

8. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 9. Hansen refers to these cults as persisting during the Southern Song.

Notes to chapter 4.2

1. The basic resource for the historical topography of the wide environs of Cao's Brook are a nineteenth-century *Shaozhou Prefecture Gazetteer* (SG) and a *Qujiang County Gazetteer* (QG) that borrows most of its data and maps from the former. The bibliography in SG gives a history of local topography in the Shaozhou area. Apart from a lost *Old Gazetteer* of Shaozhou from the Mongol era (q. in SG 839), all other local gazetteers mentioned here, including county gazetteers of Lechang, Renhua, Wengyuan, Ruyuan and Yingde (many lost), are Ming or later. An anonymous *Atlas of Yingde Prefecture* 英德府圖經 is dated between 1195 and 1278 when the Southern Song prefecture of Yingzhou 英州 became Yingde Prefecture 英德府 by merging Zhenyang 真陽 and Hanguang 含光 counties (PRC *Guangdong*, 448). Yingde was Zhenyang 真陽 county between AD 111 and 467; Zhenyang 真陽 county from 467 to 627; again Zhenyang 真陽 county between 627 and 1022; and Zhenyang 真陽 between 1022 and 1278, the year of the final merger (PRC *Guangdong*, 448).
2. Li Ao, 李翱來南路 (My road South), QTW 638, tr. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 24.
3. He Ge'en, Appendix II; Zhang Jiuling, Qujiang Collection, scr. 11, q. in He Ge'en; Yi, *Yu Jing*, 176.
4. Tr. in Herbert, UBE, 55-56; cf. Huang Zhihui 23; JTS 100.
5. Huangfu Shi's *Chaoyang Tower Records* 皇甫提朝陽樓記, q. in Huang Zhihui, 24. Marks, *Tigers*, 56-66, argues Shaozhou was a main population center from the Han through the Song. Marks

considers data of 742, 1080, 1290, and 139, but not the early seventh-century data given above.

6. *Guangdong Historical Atlas*, 74.

7. *Guangdong Gazetteer*, scr. 233, q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 146-147. Miyakawa interprets this as Deng Wenjin providing lodging and board to many exiled officials 謫官 (Miyakawa, 'South China', 39). YJ has 'Deng Wenjin, from Shixing, prefect of Shaozhou during the early Tang (YJ, scroll 90: Shaozhou).

8. Cf. 清明上河圖, a handscroll painted in 1108 by Zhang Zeduan 張澤端. See also Allen, 'Corner'.

9. Ward, HK, 56.

10. See e.g. Lo, *100 Yue*.

10. In Chau, *Yue*, 10. Until the 1990s, stilted houses could be seen throughout the Pearl River Delta.

11. In Chau, *Yue*, 11.

12. In Chau, *Yue*, 144. Cf. Eberhard's classification of the tribes of southern China: Qiang (62 tribes), Wu-man or Luoluo (93 tribes), Miao (65 tribes), Yao (39 tribes), Liao (8 branches of one tribe), Qilao (17 tribes), Zhuang or Tai (25 tribes), Baiman (44 tribes in Yunnan), Li (5 tribes) and Dan (3 tribes) in 'Kultur und Siedlung der Randvoelker Chinas' (*T'oung Pao* 36 (1942), q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 49-54).

13. In Chau, *Yue*, 142. Linguistic evidence on a common non-Chinese origin of these tribes has been under reconsideration since 1993 when R. Blust found morphological links between two major Asian language groups: northwestern Austro-Asiatic and southeastern Austro-Tai. Blust relates this to the early southern spread of paddy cultivation (C.F.W. Higham in Yeung & Li, 23). Li Guo 李果 notes that the South Chinese practice of headhunting 獵首 also spread from the Yangzi around 4000 B.C., suggesting a central Chinese origin of the Hundred Tribes (abstract in Chau, *Yue*, 162-163).

14. In the 1930s Xu Songshi argued that the Yao yielded corvee to their own chieftains instead of to the Chinese (Xu Songshi, *Peoples of the Yue Basin*, Shanghai 1939, q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 98. Xu traces the roots of the Yao to Anhui and Fujian, not to the Yangzi basin (q. in Wiens, *Tropics*, 101).

15. Zhou Qufei, tr. in *Lingwai*, 51. Zhou lists five ethnic groups in the southern prefecture of Qinzhou 欽州 around 1175 (o.c. 63, cf. Eberhard's classification q. in note 12, above):

1. the native Luoyue 羅越 (village dwellers);
2. the Northerners (refugees from the northwest, ca. 907-960);
3. the Li 黎 and Yao 瑤 (settling in distant areas);
4. the 'bow plow' people 射_耕人 (originally from Fujian); and
5. The Dan 蛋 or boat people (cf. the modern Tanka of Hong Kong).

16. For a critique of these 'charters' see Ter Haar, 'Charters'; for the dog cult Wiens, *Tropics*, 103-104.

17. 區家發淺談長江中下游諸原始文化向廣東地區的傳播與消亡 (abstract in Chau, *Yue*, 33). Au also notes that the early Shixia 石峽 culture in Qujiang may have its roots in the Taihu Basin and Jiangxi.

18. For an ecological explanation of the genesis of the Pearl River Delta due to the adoption of Yao slash-and-burn techniques by Chinese colonists in Northern Guangdong see Marks, *Tigers*, 69-70.

19. Li Mo, 'Yao', 173, Map 6.

20. Pan Chengqian, 'Yao Dialectology', in Lemoine & Chiao, 65. On Eastern vs. Western Yao inside Ruyuan see Pan Caiwan, 'Distribution (...) of the Yao in Ruyuan', Lemoine & Chiao 182-183.
21. 讀史方輿紀要 (Essential Historical Topography), q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 166; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 153.
22. 天下郡國利病書 (Balance Book of the Commanderies in the Empire), q. in Li Mo, 'Yao', 166.
23. 過蠻洞, QTS 52-45. 斜 (modern pronunciation: *xie*) was a near homophone of 畬 during the Tang.
24. E.G. Pulleyblank, 'The Chinese and their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times', in D. Keightley, ed., *The Origins of Chinese Civilisation*, Berkeley 1983, 430-435.
25. G. B. Downer, p.c., q. in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 277 n.21; Ph. Stott, 'Mua'ang and pa: Elite views of nature in a changing Thailand', A. Turton & Manas Chitaksem, eds., *Thai Constructions of Knowledge*, London 1991, 145-146; J.A. Edmonson & D.B. Solmit, *Comparative Kadai*, Arlington (Texas) 1988, 11.
26. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 108.
27. Dean, 'Transformations', 23. On the alleged She-Yao kinship see Ter Haar, 'Charters', 5, 13.
28. Li Mo, 'Yao', 165.
29. Cf. Strickmann, 'Yao', passim.
30. Zhang Youjuan, (in Lemoine & Chiao, 342-345); Dean, Taoist Ritual, 24-27).
31. Verellen, 'Beyond', 287.
32. Verellen, 'Beyond', 275.
33. Zhang Youjuan, 320. More study of local 'contested space' stories could clarify this question.
34. Ter Haar, 'Charters', 12. The samea question could be asked of the Hakka as well.
35. Verellen, 'Beyond', 287-288.
36. The six counties in Shaozhou were Qujiang, Shixing, Lechang, Wengyuan, Renhua, Lechang and Zhenchang (YH). In 534 Lechang (then named Lecheng 樂城) was part of Pingshi 平石 county in Shixing commandery. Under the Sui, Lechang was part of Guangzhou (later: Nanhai) commandery. Later Lechang county became part of Shaozhou prefecture (PRC Guangdong, 84; 96).
37. Kan, *Guangdong*, 1996. On the use of 古佛 (i.e. Dipamkara) see Lagerwey, 'Dingguang' 77.
38. On the sale of halcyon feathers in the market 墟 of Xinzhou see Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 238.
39. Cf. Ter Haar, 'Provenance'.
40. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 8.
41. E.g. in SG 636.
42. For the use of choronyms in Tang genealogy see Johnson, Oligarchy, ch. 5.
43. A *Tomb chamber inscription and preface to the late Secretary to the Right, Prime Minister and Governor General of Jingzhou, Lord Shixing of Tang* 唐故尚書右丞相贈荊州大都督 始興公陰堂志銘 並序 was retrieved from inside the mausoleum in 1959 by Yang Hao 楊豪 (cf. *Zhang Qujiang*, 7-8.).
44. XTS; cf. Marks, *Tigers*, 56; *Cihai*, 214.
45. SG 640; 821. SG quotes a lost genealogy of the Zhang family, probably written to identify the

Zhang of Cheung Uk Hui as 'Zhang of Fanyang'. In later ages, genealogies were also written to prove descent from a famous 'founding ancestor' such as Zhang Jiuling. Cf. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 20; 35 ff.

46. SG 640-644. The next generations produced more officials. Jiuzhang's eighth son Zhang Cai 張採 was prefect of Leizhou 雷州; his sons Kegong 克恭 and Keshao 克紹 became army officers (XTS,).

47. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 21-22. When Jiuling was knighted as Lord Qujiang, the privilege was extended back to include the shrine of 'first ancestor Zhang' at Fanyang. Cf. Herbert, OBE, 21-22.

48. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 146.

49. Apart from Liu Ke's collected works in QTW 742 (separately edited in the *Liu Xiren* 劉希仁 *Collection*) and in the bibliography in SG 832-847, the *Liu Xiren Collection* (q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 146) mentions a vernacular 'Story of Mr Wang's Wanderings in Guangling 廣令' (also in WYYH 374). The other known prose works of Liu Ke are two philosophical texts: a Companion to Mencius and a treatise on 'Master Chuanlong 眷龍子'. Liu Ke left one scroll of collected poems. Only one is in QTS: '*Jade sounds like music*' (QTS 492-30, probably an examination piece dating from 818).

50. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 124. Ke's biography did not make it not in JTS/XTS, but only into SG, 646.

51. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147.

52. *Friendly Words from Cloudy Creek* 雲溪友議, q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147.

53. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 147; 150.

54. Waley, *Po Chu-i*, 124; Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 152; for the Niu Sengru faction cf. CHC III 639-650.

55. *Friendly Words from Cloudy Creek* 雲溪友議, q. in SG 647.

56. Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 157-158.

57. HS, MC: 劉至略; KS, ZZ: 劉志略; BZ 10: 'a man named Zhilue 志略, surnamed Liu 劉 EK mentions Zhilue as a possible son of Liu Zhidao 劉志道 (unknown). Zhilue and Zhidao may be brothers or cousins. QTW 260 mentions a Liu Zhisu 劉志素 (d.u.) as a court poet of empress Zetian (not in QTS).

58. Ke's letter to his friend Ma Zhi (QTW 742, q. in Pulleyblank, 'Liu K'o', 149) perhaps exaggerated the size of this enterprise, but his income from the farm apparently allowed Ke to complete his studies.

Notes to chapter 4.3

1. H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Princeton 1952; J. le Goff, 'Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants', *Annales ESC* 23 (1968), 335-352; J. le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale', in: *Annales ESC* 25 (1970), 924-946; W. Simons, 'Bedelordenvestigingen en middeleeuws stadswezen. De stand van zaken rond de hypothese-Le Goff', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 12 (1986), 39-52.

2. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 40.

3. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 61-62, ascribes the price hike of ordination letters after Wang Anshi's downfall

(1086) to currency depreciation rather than to increased demand. After 1110, when the issue of these letters was temporarily suspended, speculation drove the black market trading rates through the roof.

4. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 52,57. The official examination norm for monks was to memorize 500 lines.

5. Q. from two memorials to Xuanzong, tr. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 50-51 (italics mine).

6. This number may actually derive from the reported finding of 12,000 'fraudulent monks' (probably peasants) in a partial census conducted under Zhongzong. Cf. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 39. Private ordinations apparently continued during these years; cf. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 42; 52; 329n.

7. Decree by Xuanzang, dated 722, q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 10.

8. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 57.

9. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 60.

10. Or black market rates. An average of 10,000 official ordination letters were traded annually until the trade was temporarily suspended in 1110.

11. Tr. in Netolitzky, 64. Cf. my discussion of the *noh san* festival in section 4.5.1, below.

12. Gernet, *Buddhism*, 224-227. The topos 'bland food' refers to the absence of pepper, ginger, onions, leek and garlic in Chinese Buddhist vegetarian fare. It is an equivalent of kosher or *halal* 清真.

13. 'Biographies of Wealthy Merchants', in *Records of the Historian* 史記, tr. in Ting, *Maritime*, 56.

14. Q. in SG 535. Mengli Village (pop. 960, famous for its ivygourds 紅瓜仔) is only 12 km west of the present Maba Town. In 1384 a police office 巡檢司 was established on the river bank (PRC *Guangdong*, 83). According to the gazetteers, Jnanabhaishajya came to Shaozhou from Mt Luofu where he had built a Baoji 寶積 Abbey, and founded a Tante 壇特 Abbey at Vulture Peak in Shaozhou (see below): 'Mysteriously, he traveled to Mt Luofu at dawn, and at dusk he returned to Tante Abbey. In [525] he was invited by the *naga* king at Mt Luofu to enter the sea to preach the Law. He never came back again' (QG, scr. 16, q. in He Ge'en, n14). According to HS he went on a pilgrimage to Mt Wutai after having founded the *bodhimanda* at the Precious Forest (HS 2).

15. Biography by Yu Jing in SG 536-537; cf. Yi, *Yu Jing*, 59).

16. *Nanyue Curiosa*, 43; *Nanyue Tales*, 53. Descriptions of this Abbey and its environs in PRC *Hunan*, 600-601; 620-621. Nantai Abbey at Mt Heng, built around 510, became famous as the place where Shitou lived. Around 550, Huisi's host Haiyin was abbot. After 740, Nantai became a center of the international Caodong 曹洞 (J: Sōtō) school of Chan. Modern Chinese claims that the Japanese pilgrim Dōgen 道元 received an initiation at Nantai in 1223, however, appear to be mistaken.

17. Wang Fanggui, *Old Gazetteer of Shaozhou* (Yuan, lost), q. in SG 821; cf. Yi Xingguang, 56. 招提 is a Chinese abbreviation of Sanskrit *chaturdisa*, the 'four quarters' of the Buddhist order (S&H 260).

18. Huang Xijun, 112. I will discuss the meanings of the term 'true body' in section 4.3.3, below.

19. Cf. Huang Xijun 33.

20. It is also possible that Huilang had been confused with another Huilang 慧朗 who lived in Qujiang a century earlier. Following his enlightenment at the Sixth Ancestor's seminar at Cao's Brook, this

other Huilang (661-725; laic surname: An 安, perhaps suggesting Central Asian ancestry) returned to his native Zhejiang where he died, but his stele inscription was reportedly written by Xiao Ding 蕭定, governor of Shixing Commandery (Zanning. *Vitae*, q. in Yi Xingguang, 38). The later Huilang is commonly listed as 'Lang the Great' or Lang of Zhaoti 招提朗 (Yi Xingguang, 56). A stele inscription for Huilang was written after 845 by his lay seminarist Liu Ke 劉軻 (see below).

21. Yu Jing 余靖, 瀘水館記 *Record of Hostels on the Zhen*, q. in Huang Xijun 33. Su's poem (in SG 535), written after reconstruction in 1094, apparently associates this Abbey with Pure Land teachings.

22. Yu Jing's genealogy by Yi Xingguang 易行廣, was published by Jinan University Press (n.y.).

23. SG, 538. The name 'Mountain Well' invites associations with 'Mountain Resource 山潤 Abbey' in HS 4 and 'Dharma Source 法泉 Abbey' in HS 24. As HS was written before 804 and the abbey opposite Mengli was built in 1104, however, the latter cannot be identified with either 山潤 or 法泉.

24. *Upashaka* Gao Henian 高鶴年, q. in Huang Xijun, 33.

25. Xuyun, *Empty Cloud*, 126.

26. Venerable Guankun 釋灌坤, h.t. abbot of Moon Splendor Abbey, p.c.

27. Xuyun, *ibidem*, describes how in the late 1930s both the North River and the more inland Cao's Brook changed course so that Moon Splendor Abbey was no longer directly adjacent to the river bank, while Cao's Brook was now once again flowing in front of the outermost gate of South China Abbey.

28. By Wang Shaozhi 王韶之, q. in SG, 535. Wang probably drew on the so-called (*Annotated*) *Book of Waters* 水經註 edited by Li Daoyuan 李道元 (d. 527; cf. Wilkinson, *Manual*, 638).

29. Tang, 'Lingnan', 383.

30. 廣東通志, scr. 102.; q. in He Ge'en, 351 n. 12.

31. Chen, *Buddhism*, 222-223.

32. SG 536. 虞舞 (the Dancer of Yu) is an *epitheton ornans* of the mythical king Shun. His shrine near Vulture Peak was later relocated to the inner city of Shaozhou; 寺仍不廢 (see below).

33. SG 536.

34. Fang Rong served as a prime minister under empress Wu Zetian, but was jailed for two weeks between the empress's abdication and his own expatriation in March 705 to Gaozhou 高州 (now Maoming 茂名 County in Guangdong; his biography in QTS 100 claims that Fang Rong died in exile in Gaozhou in 705), but he was alive in 713 when he succeeded Song Zhiwen in Xinzhou.

35. He Ge'en, note.

36. 'Renshou' refers to the rule of emperor Wendi of Sui (601-605).

37. SG 531.

38. The abbey was rebuilt in 1038 and again under the Ming (by Liu Yingqi 劉應期). It was last renovated in 1672 under the supervision of prefect Ma Yuan 馬元, the editor of the revised *Current Gazetteer of Cao's Brook* 曹溪通志. (SG 531; 845).

39. Tang Sen, 'Lingnan', 378.

40. Yu Jing, *The Wuxi Collection*, q. in SG 820. It follows that the magistrate's residence was located on the tip of the peninsula between the two rivers, overlooking both the old Han and new Tang cities.
41. PRC *Hunan*, 108. 'Futianpu' means 'Futian Inn', named after a hostel where Mao Zedong stayed in 1927. As this site is to the east of Mt Heng, it may actually be the 'Eastern Ridge' where Xiqian's remains were allegedly buried. For the worship of Xiqian's 'mummy' in Japan see 4. 5.4, below.
42. NNYG, 177. HNPG, 5025 mentions the *sharirastupa* of a meditation teacher Yi 衣 (d.u.), to whom Yuan Mingshan 元明善 wrote a stele around 1200, at Futian in Daozhou.
43. In SG 820-821.
44. SG 820.
45. Cf. Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 25. Nearby Chenzhou is Mt Jiuyi where Liu Ke sojourned (see above).
46. Ebrey, 'Early Stages', 23; cf. Ch'en, *Transformation*, 139-142; Gernet, *Buddhism*, 283; 294-297.
47. Huang Xijun, 112.
48. Ui Hakuin, q. in Yampolsky, PS, 64n. Cf. Yi, *Zen Men*, 37.
49. Fahai's biographical note in QTW 915.
50. Xuanhua's *vita* of Fahai (in Heng, PS) does not mention this episode but gives Fahai's lay name as Zhang Wenyun, 'a "room-entering disciple," [...] to whom the Master had transmitted the Law.
51. Herbert, OBE, 18-19.
52. Herbert, OBE, 22.
53. Zhang Jiuling, *Qujiang Collection*, scr. 13, tr. in Herbert, OBE, 110-112.
54. Cf. Herbert, OBE, 131 n16.
55. After Ch'en, *Transformation*, 140.
56. Faxing Abbey in Canton was recommissioned as a Guangxiao Abbey; cf. HS 25 for Xinzhou.
57. From an edict by emperor Taizong, dated 636, q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 250,
58. There is a curious verse in Xu Hun's 許渾 *Early autumn rain in Shaoyang* (QTS 535-06):
(...) On Hibiscus Hill one gibbon voice sounds.
Dark clouds greet the rain, my pillow was moistened before 先潤 ,
Nightly thunder spurs a flash, at once lightening my window. (...)
- Cf. Xiong Shida 熊士達 重建芙蓉庵 (Rebuilding Hibiscus Cottage), q. in Huang Xijun, 34. 'Clouds and rain' are a *topos* for sexual intercourse, but rain and thunder are Buddhist *topoi* for teaching and awakening. 先潤 may refer to passions and attachments 'fertilizing' karma (潤業) and rebirth (潤生).
58. Cf. Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (d.701, Van Gulik's famous 'Judge Dee',), q. in Gernet, *Buddhism*, 250-256.

Notes to chapter 4.4

1. Shanxiang of Mu'an 睦庵善鄉祖庭 事苑乾 *Garden of Anecdotes from the Ancestral Hall*, Vol. I, q. in EK 499 and 619. Cf. section 2.2.12, above.

2. Shiina, BZ, q. in Ishii, HS, n3; n4. Cf. Zanning's *vita* of Huineng: 上元中[...]入雙峰曹侯溪矣 ([During the late 670s],[...] he entered Marquis Cao's Brook at the Twin Peaks; q. after Yang, PS, 145).
3. PRC *Hubei*,151. Topographical description of Fourth Ancestor Abbey 四祖寺 in PRC, *Hubei*, 601
4. Tr. in Broughton, *Anthology*, 108. Cf. section 2.3.4, above.
5. Yuan, *Guangdong*, 57-58.
6. Cf. Huang Xijun, 41. During the 1990s, monks of South China Abbey took care of the shrine while also operating an information stall on the far side of Lion's Head rock (Rev. Guangkong 廣空, p.c.)
7. For these and other instances see Ding Fubao, *Dictionary*, 2368.
8. 佛祖統紀 (Genealogy of Buddhas and Ancestors), q. in Dr錄e, *Bibliothèques*, 177n.
9. Q. in HYDCD, 6373.
10. Schipper, *Body*, 91-93.
11. Verellen, 'Beyond', 280.
12. Huang Xijun, 40.
13. CBCG, 639.
14. CBCG, 632.
15. CBCG, 632 and 633. The two bird-eye maps in on this page are incompatible at many points. This raises doubts about the reliability of the topographical data in CBCG. A critical translation is needed.
16. EK and Ishii HS, n. 13 identify him with a Zhiyuan 智遠 who lived at the meditation hall 禪坊 of Changsha 長沙 Abbey in Jingzhou 荊州, and died at 77 in 571 (Daoxuan, *Vitae*, 235). A Pure Land monk Chengyuan of Nanyue 南岳 成遠 (712-802) , a third generation student of Hongren, lived on Mt Heng and became a teacher of Fazhao 法照 (McRae, *Northern School*, 38).
17. Buddhist life in Lechang during the Song largely derived from the then already flourishing Huineng cult at Cao's Brook. In 1036 a certain Yuanyou 圓佑 (or 元佑, d.u.), a monk from Fuzhou who had studied at Cao's Brook, built or rebuilt a 'Precious Forest Retreat' 寶林精舍 in Lechang. In 1042 Yuanyou was inaugurated as its first abbot. Yu Jing 余靖 was invited to the ceremony by the Lechang magistrate Huang Ziyuan 黃自元 and contributed a festive inscription and a poem (Yi, *Yu Jing*, 73-76; Ishii, HS, n. 5; n. 6.). A 'Precious Forest Abbey' was also built in 534 near a village called Holy Brook 靈溪 in Lechang (now in Qujiang) (HS 3). Holy Brook figures in the title of a poem written by Xu Hun 許渾 during the 850s on his way to Shaozhou and containing the following couplet: There must be a road to Cao's Brook / amidst all cliffs and rocks (*Leaving my shelter at Holy Brook*, QTS 528-28).
18. Shiina, BZ, q. in Ishii, HS, 109 n.
19. BZ 10, q. in Yichu's encyclopedia (EK 498, cf. 2.2.12, above); italics mine.
20. Daoshi, *Garden of the Law and Forest of Pearls* 法苑珠林 , T53-2122, q. in Soymie, *Sourciers*, 32. The term 'Dragon Cavern' (*longku*) appears a phonetic inversion of Chinese 窟窿 (*kulong*) for a grotto.
21. FR 282, par. 340: '*idoli [...] che solo in una stanza ne stavano cinquecento, tutti molto ben indorati*'.
22. Description and photographs in Brandel & Turbeville, 66-75. Meditation teacher Xuyun visited the

garden and its creator, 'snake oil' magnate Aw Boon Haw 胡文虎, in 1947 (cf. Empty Cloud, 133).

23. Barrett, 'Science', 429.

24. 尋南溪常山道士隱居 *In search of the Daoist Changshan's Retreat at Southbrook*, QTS 148-37, or *In search of the Daoist Nanxi's retreat at Mt Chang*. Liu Changqing ended his career in Suizhou 隋州.

25. Tr. in Verellen, 'Beyond', 269. Some illegal migrants from China to Holland give similar accounts.

26. Verellen, 'Beyond', 265.

27. Verellen, 'Beyond', 275.

28. Cf. Robson, 'Marchmount', 240.

29. Robson, 'Marchmount', 247-263. Robson notes that the terminology in the Tang version is more outspokenly Daoist than in the 'polished' Song version (J&Y).

30. Genkai, *Eastbound Travelogue*, T51, tr. after EK 497; cf. section 2.2.10, above.

31. Li Shuhua, 8; 25; Faure, 'Relics', 171; 174.

32. Li Shuhua, 25-26.

33. *Nanyue Curiosa*, 43.

34. *Nanyue Tales*, 53-58.

35. *Vita* in T50. For the abbey see note 3, above.

36. Faure, *Will*, 49; 152.

37. T50, nr. 2059, tr. in Soymié, *Sourciers*, 31. Soymié also quotes another, slightly different version.

38. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 29.

39. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 29-30. Cf. the *Guangdong Gazetteers* of 1561 (p. 2034) and 1864 (p. 5184); the *Guangzhou 廣州 Gazetteer* of 1879 (p. 1523); and the *Huizhou 惠州 Gazetteer* of 1881 (p. 1013).

40. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 32. Chinese 聰明 literally means 'intelligent'; 聰 contains the radical 耳 (ear).

41. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 40, suggests this was a southern counterpart to northern 'horse kick wells'.

42. *Nanyue Tales*, 54-55. PRC, *Hunan*, 620 mentions that after 605 the Daoist Guangtian Lodge 光天館, built around the same time as Huisi's Prajna Terrace, was converted into a Buddhist Abbey.

43. *Nanyue Tales*, 56-58. I was unable to determine whether this is the 'Ancestral Source' 祖源 near the Mirror Grinding Terrace where Huairang met famous 'ancestor' Ma Daoyi, 馬祖道一 (709-788).

44. Daoxuan, tr. after Magnin 1979, 44. The wasps are a pictural metamorphosis of the tigers.

45. Chen Qiaoyi 1988, 452-453. Perhaps Xingkong of Shishuang 石霜, a student of Huaihai of Baizhang 百丈懷海 (see 五燈會要, scr. 4), or otherwise the Ming monk Xingkong (n.y.) from Zhejiang (Chenhua, *Encyclopedia*, 780)? The well, together with the Green Dragon Well 龍井 tea, is known as the 'double highlight' 雙絕 of Hangzhou. The Abbey was turned into a tourist park between 1982 and 1984 and now also has temples for the wandering 'mad monk' Jigong 濟公 and for Li Shutong 李叔同. Another story from Zhejiang presents these two tigers as a metamorphosis of the two 'Well and Spring Children' 井泉童子, the local water deities worshipped around New Year. (Soymié, *Sourciers*, 41).

46. Tr. after Yanagida Seizan in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 99-100.

47. *Jiangxi Gazetteer* 江西通志, q. in Soymié, *Sourciers*, 33.
49. Soymié, *Sourciers*, 35.
50. Marks, *Tigers*, 37, mentions Mt Dinghu, 45 miles northwest of Guangzhou.
51. Yi, *Yu Jing*, 63.
52. Cf. Xuanhua in his preface to Heng Yin's PS translation (1971).
53. CBCG, 633, cf. Faure, 'Relics', 171.
54. Li Shuhua, *Nanhua*, back cover.
55. Fahai's preface in QTW 915, my tr. after Heng Yin's PS translation. Cf. Yampolsky 1967, 61-62.
56. Zhang & Yan 1981, 47-52.
57. FR-I, 281, N. 339 Ricci is usually quoted after Trigault's Latin edition, cf. Faure, *Insights*, 22.
58. Some recent Chinese guidebooks (e.g. Li Shuhua's) contain bird-eye photographs of Southern Abbey, taken along the main axis of the compound and so suggesting a mountain to the abbey's rear.
59. *For Yangshan* 仰山 on his way back to Cao's Brook (QTS 638) in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.
60. 同李秘校譚員外月華長老謁慈濟禪師會宿寶林道場, in Yi, *Yu Jing*, 62-63.

Notes to chapter 4.5

1. For the festival of Anna Perenna, a Roman precedent of Mardi Gras celebrated on the Ides of March with singing, dancing, heavy drinking and other 'rites of reversal' see Bremmer, 'Nonae', 80.
2. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 120; cf. Gernet, *Daily Life*, ch. 5.
3. Cao Xueqin, ch. 220.
4. Ward & Law, 24; cf. Yao, *Customs*, 16 on the 'fire cat dance 舞火貓' and the 'noisy lanterns 鬧燈' ceremony in Wengyuan 翁源 county in northern Guangdong.
5. Eberhard, *Festivals*, 66.
6. Eberhard, *Festivals*, 10-15. A comparable festival is celebrated on some northern Dutch islands: *Sunderklazen* (Vlieland, Ameland), *Sundrom* (Terschelling), *Klozum* (Schiermonnikoog). See *Friesland*, 585). Eberhard speculates that these masked *noh sang* ceremonies are the origin of the Japanese *nō* 能 theater (Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, 69.3., q. in Netolinsky 263, note 7.12 (1)).
7. Tr. in *Lingwai*, 123.
8. Zanning, q. in Yang, PS, 147. Bernard Faure understands this passage as a reference to an annual procession of Huineng's mummy through the streets of Shaozhou; Xu Hengbin understands 'the city' as Panyu, which is modern-day Guangzhou (Faure, 'Relics', 168; Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 57).
9. Cf. CHC III, 788.
10. Xuyun, *Empty Cloud*, 116. Xuyun was inaugurated as abbot of Southern Abbey in 1934.
11. Longobardo, q. in Faure, *Insights*, 23.
12. Zanning, ed. Yang, PS 147.

13. Zanning, ed. Yang, PS 147.
14. Fei Xiaotong in Lemoine & Chiao, 20. The first Nau Klau literate was Li Shuibao 黎水保 (d.u.).
15. Cursory descriptions of some Yao Lunar New Year rituals in Lemoine & Chiao, 291-292; 300-302.
16. Wang, *Luoyang*, 45-46, q. in Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 6.
17. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 10-14.
18. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 15. Cf. Daoxuan, *VITAE*, i.v. Senghui.
19. Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 22-23.
20. *Collection of the Spreading of Enligthenment* 廣弘明集, ch. 16, q. in Lai, '*Xingxiang*', 25.
21. SG 532.
22. Chen, *Buddhism*, 222. Faure, *Will*, 203, quotes Takashima, Michihata and Benn and maintains that Zhongzong established imperial Zhongxing Abbeys in 705. For a cultural history of the imperial designations for Buddhist monasteries to the Tang see Zhang Gong, *Han-Tang*, Vol I, 227-242.
23. Cf. Huang Xijun, 10.
24. He Ge'en, 'Huineng', n14.
25. PRC, *Guangdong*, 699: 'Guo'en Abbey, a.k.a. Dragon Hill 龍山 Abbey, at Dragon Hill, 11 km south of Xincheng 新城 town in Xinxing county.
26. Tang Sen, 'Lingnan', 386.
27. Huang Xijun, 11-13, after the inventory taken by Xuyun in 1934 prior to the restoration. After the Cultural Revolution the italicized structures were preserved or rebuilt, some under different names. For a list of structures around 1600 (indeed as Matteo Ricci must have known them) see CBCG, 641-650.
28. Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, paraphrased in Zürcher, *Leven*, 18,
29. Zürcher, *Leven*, 18. The Chinese sources are Faxian 法顯 (5th c.) and Xuanzang 玄藏 (7th c.).
30. Zürcher, 'New Look', 290-291. See for a photo-impression of the Indian sites Tankha, *Pilgrimage*.
31. Photograph in Tankha, *Pilgrimage*, 31.
32. Zürcher, *Leven*, 18.
33. Borges, *Antologia*, 124-138. cf. Kuiken, 'Tuin', 43.
34. Jehol is now Chengde 承德 in northern Hebei.
35. The Dutch Ming Garden is in Haren (Groningen). The tradition of the Chinese narrative garden harks back to emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (140-87 B.C.) who had replicas of the islands of the immortals built in the great lake of his park. His example was followed by emperor Yang of Sui 隋煬帝 (AD 605-618). Cf. Keswick, *Garden*, 48-49. Emperor Yang being a pious Buddhist who gave audiences to many returning pilgrims from India and Nepal, his revival of the imperial narrative garden may also have been inspired by the reports by these pilgrims from Buddhavihar and other sites.
36. For classical examples of such 'borrowed landscapes' 借景 see Ji, *Gardens*, 46; 119-121.
37. Faure, 'Relics', 182 n.
38. Foulk & Sharf, 160-161. The ceremony of 'dotting the eyes' 點眼 serves the same purpose.

39. The locus classicus is an eighth-century treaty by St John of Damascus (Dr A.N. Palmer, p.c.). Please notice here that Latin *praesentia* not only means 'presence' and 'epiphany', but also 'immediate effect'. Schafer notices that during the 750s portraits of emperor Xuanzong were worshipped as icons, that is: 'as surrogates for their illustrious originals' (Schafer, 'Icon', 158). A century later, this had evolved into imperial *Ahnengalerien*, but these were not used for ancestral rites (Schafer, 'Icon', 159).
40. Meeuse, *Doorkijkjes*, 103.
41. Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 7.
42. Bellow, G., 'Escallops in Armory', London 1957, 100-102. Pilgrims to Compostela would carry the arms of St James (three scallops) as a badge, or as a plain '*coquille St-Jacques*' on their hat, to the immediate effect that the saint's *praesentia realis* was felt all along the way.
43. Ginzburg, 'Rappresentazione: la parola, l'idea, la cosa', *Occhiacchi* 82-83.
44. The precedent to these *Ahnengalerien* were illustrated ancestry charts (with coats of arms), This custom is parodied in a sixteenth-century Eulenspiegel story (Geeraedts, *Ulenspiegel*, 125-128).
45. Foulk & Sharf, 170.
46. Barron's translation in Dudjom, *Buddhahood*, 228; cf. Coleman, *Tibetan Culture*, 291; 299; 366.
47. *ToYangshan 仰山 on his way back to Cao's Brook* (QTS 638), Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 53.
48. Q. from the *Zhonghua* edition (Peking 1979) in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 54. Cf. below.
49. Strickmann, *Mantras*, 188. The Trübner stele is in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ajitasena's translation of the Mahabalavajrakrodhasutra 大威力烏嚩瑟摩明王經 is T. XXI, 1227,
50. Much to the dismay of the local faithful. In 1998 Mr Lin Dezong complained to me that in his opinion Wang's memorial text amounted to 'insipid Confucian writing' rather than 'solid hagiography'.
51. Dudbridge, 'Images', 378. One account describes how prefect Yuan Yong 元崑 of Jiangzhou commissioned the abbot of the local Mahamegha Abbey to paint seven bodhisattvas. During the job, the abbot had the craftsmen 'abstain from meat and purify themselves'. Some days later, the abbot almost died in a boat accident, but was saved by the bodhisattvas (Dudbridge, 'Images', 381-382).
52. He Ge'en, n.31; XTS 124; ZJTJ 212; cf. the epitaph by Zhang Yue (Zhang Yue Collection, scr. 18).
53. Faure, 'Relics' 182n.
54. Wu Limin, 'Mummy', 3-4.
55. Daoyuan, *Jingde Collection*, scroll 15; Shiina's reconstruction of BZ 10, q. in Ishii HS n45.
56. The imperial Kaiyuan Abbey was rebuilt and renamed in 1104 and 1131, both times after the current reign of the respective emperors Huizong 徽宗 and Gaozong 高宗. It moved to a safer place within the city walls in 1228 and was renamed Dajian 大鑿 Abbey in honor of Huineng. The new abbey underwent further reconstructions in 1368, 1530, 1674 and 1940, when Xuyun used it as annex to Southern Abbey which was also being rebuilt. Dajian Abbey was destroyed by Japanese bombs in 1943. Its vegetarian kitchen stayed open during the war, but moved to Canton in 1946 to become the Tsoi Gan Heung 菜根香. The abbey was reinaugurated after repairs in 1994 (Huang Xijun, 27-29).

57. BZ 10, q. by Ichu (AD 954), see section 2.2.12, above.
58. QTW 587. Cf. section 2.2.14, above.
59. QTW 610. Yuxi probably never read Zongyuan's stele text.
60. Faure, 'Relics', 182 n. 19.
61. Yampolsky, PS, 87; Faure, 'Relics', 173.
62. Huang Xijun, 33.
63. Venerable Hua's preface to Heng's PS translation, San Francisco 1977 (cf. section 2.2.11, above).
64. Foulk & Sharf, 'Portraits', 166-169.
65. Huilin, *Phonetic Meaning of All Scriptures* 一切經音義, q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 55. Huilin, who was born near Kashgar in East Turkestan, must not be confused with the monk Lin 琳 from Qujiang (d.u.) whose stupa inscription by Yu Jing (in SG 535) describes him as 'the Meditation Teacher of Moon Splendor'. Lin later retired to 'the Sixth Ancestor's old temple at Mt Precious Forest'.
66. Synonyms of 'dry lacquer' 乾漆 are: 'double-layered cloth' 夾貯, 'bodyless lacquer' 脫胎 (after the proverb 脫胎換骨: 'to cast off one's old self'); and 'shedding sand' 脫沙 (cf. Lee, *Lacquer*, 26-27; Herberts, *Lackkunst*, 274-275, 318-319; Speiser, *Lackkunst*, 38-39, 52-57; Webb, *Lacquer*, 17-19).
67. Q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 57.
68. Biographies unknown. Cf. Li Shuhua, 7.
69. FR 282, n. 341.
70. 'Enshrining the Ascetic of Cao's Brook 示曹溪沙彌', q. in Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 58.
71. Faure, 'Relics', 172.
72. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 52. Cf. *People's Daily*, 1-XI-1990, q. in Faure, 'Rhetoric', 152n.
73. Bruijn, *Dwazen*, 162. The nun is not identified.
74. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 56.
75. Pre-war photographs in Luk, *Xu Yun*, 61, and Wong, PS, frontispiece.
76. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 58.
77. Huang Xijun 12. Cf. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 51.
78. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 50-52. Cf. *Yangcheng Wanbao* 羊城晚報, 27-7-1981 and 15-9-1981.
79. Yi, *Zen Men*, 47, q. from PS, SG and 山右石刻叢編.
80. Wong, PS, 125.
81. Hsu, 'Genuine Body Statue', 59.
82. Kosugi, *Icons*, q. in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 159-160. Zanning's *vita* of the Korean monk Musang 無相 (d. 762) reveals that during the eighth century sculptures were made of a mixture of clay and (cremated) ashes as inexpensive substitutes for mummies as well as for costly dry lacquer statues.
83. Tr. in Yampolsky, PS, 86.

Notes to chapter 4.6

1. Cf. Peng Yucheng, 彭玉成 名僧史趣 *Historical anecdotes of famous monks*, Hengyang 1995, 29-38.
2. Wu Limin, 'Mummy', 4-5. The mummy's description and photograph in Faure, *Rhetoric*, 167-168.
3. As I find Ten Thousand Buddha Abbey following the restoration (?) of Yuet Kai's mummy.
4. Trigault is q. in Faure, 'Relics', 169 and in Faure, *Insights*, 22. The Dutch journalist Carolijn Visser visited Cao's Brook in 1989. It is not entirely clear from her description whether she saw a mummy or indeed a life-size effigy (Visser, *Bamboe*, 52). On similar cases see Foulk & Sharf, 168-169.
5. Not mentioned in CBCG; perhaps an addition by Xuyun?
6. Liu Changqing 劉長卿 *Leaving meditation teacher Zhen's cottage at Whiterock* (QW 148-26).

5.35. Notes to Part Five

5.35.1.

1. In Yanagida, *Rokusō* ; references to notes in EK and in Ishii, HS (Ishii's text = Yang, PS).
2. 法宗旨 *Dharmavamsa*. the principles 宗 of the Buddha's Law 法.
3. Neng was reportedly canonized in 816 as 'Great Teacher Dajian 大鑿大師'. See Part Two, above.
4. HS: 惠能 ; WZ and KS: 慧能 (concordance in EK 14- sqq.)
5. Cf. Barrett 'Kill!'.
6. In medieval Chinese sources, Buddhist monasteries are known as 'cloisters 院' or 'abbeys 寺'. Within an abbey, a cloister could also be a closed yard for meditation (禪院), prayer or good works. 寺 was also used for government offices such the Court of State Ceremonial 鴻臚寺 or the 'Foreign Office' in charge of the Buddhist clergy. 山門 (lit. 'mountain gate') is translated as 'monastery'. SG does not mention Guoning 國寧Abbey; BZ 10 identifies it with Jianxing 建興 Abbey, renamed Guoning Abbey during then760s.
7. The present Precious Forest is at the back of South China Abbey on Cao's Brook> There is no mountain there. Faure, 'Relics', 165: 'Caoxi Mountains' 曹溪山 must be: 'the hills near Cao's Brook'.
8. Read: Zhongzong 中宗. Emperor Gaozong of Tang died in 684.

5.35.2.

1. Tianjian 天監 1, under the southern emperor Wu of Liang (502-548),
2. 智藥, ('Medicine of Wisdom'), biography unknown. Antonino Forte defines a *Trepitaka* as a Buddhist scholar 'familiar with the three *pitaka*: the 'baskets' with *sutra* (sermons), *vinaya* (discipline) and *abidharma* (metaphysics) which together make up the Buddhist canon. Forte distinguishes between a *Trepitaka* and the Tripitaka (= the Buddhist canon) believes the former 'was the highest official title given to Buddhist doctors in [...] India. ' (Forte, 'Relativity', 248 n.7; cf. Tibetan *Geshe*). 'Jnana-bhaishajya' may be inspired by the historical Brahman Trepitaka Amogha 不空 (704-774) whose posthumous title is Jnanapitaka 智藏. He was a Singhalese merchant prince from Sri Lanka who came to China in 718. In the 740s he taught esoteric Buddhism 密教 at Xuanzong's court. At the start of the Roqsan uprising, Amogha fled south but was not allowed to leave China. After the uprising he returned to court and translated 120 volumes of Tantric texts. HS was compiled a few years after Amogha's death. Amogha's posthumous title in turn was a homage to the BrahmanTrepitaka Jnanapitaka, an exegete at the southern court of emperor Wu of Liang (ca. 500, see Ch'en, *Buddhism*,

128). The following monks are listed in the *Vitae* under the name Amogha 不空:

<u>Vita by:</u>	<u>Dynasty</u>	<u>Abbey</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Category</u>
Daoxuan	Liang	Kaishan	Nanking	exegete
Daoxuan	Tang	Fengde	Mt Tiantai	meditator
Zanning	Tang, 5	Fahua	Chuzhou	exegete
Zanning	Tang, 1n.	Xitang	Chuzhou	meditator

3. *Bhadanta* 大德; originally an epithet of the Buddha; in the *Vinaya* a term for an eminent monk.

4. The Mahavihara at Nalanda was a famous monastic center, founded in the fifth century in Bihar. At the time HS was written, the ten abbeys in the Nalanda Mahavihara were a major center of learning.

5. 辭彼國王: 'who had declined the throne of that country' - an *imitatio Buddhae* topos. At the time HS was written, Bihar was ruled by the Pala. The state of Bihar is now part of northern India.

6. HS probably confuses Jnanabhaishajya with Amogha. When Mt Wutai in Northern Shanxi developed into a Buddhist pilgrim site around 680, Amogha had its Daoist 'grotto heavens' 洞天 transformed into Manjushri temples (Stevenson, 'Manjusri', 208-209; 211-212; cf. Dunhuang Ms. P. 2066 (dated 677)).

7. EK 65 reads 曹溪口 as the 'entrance to Cao's Brook Village.' Cf. Part Four, above.

8. Jnanabhaisajya reportedly also built the nearby Moon Splendor 月華 Abbey; cf. Part Four, above.

9. The present inner gate inscription at South China Abbey reads: Precious Forest Temple 寶林道場.

10. Tianjian 4 under the Southern emperor Wu of Liang.

11. The term 道場 ('temples', Sanskrit: [*bodhi*] *manda*) instead of 寺 suggests that this statement may derive from the 'Monographs of Five Dynasties 五代志 incorporated in the official Sui court history 隋書 which was completed in 636. See Drege, *Bibliothèques*, 177n and Twitchett, *Official History*, 87.

12. Cf. BZ 10 and Fahai's postface to the Yuan PS.

13. A much later *vita* in the *Jingde Collection* (1004) ascribes this prophecy to Paramartha (真諦 499-569), an Indian translator who also lived in south China. HS apparently mixes stories of Paramartha and Jnanapitaka (see above) with more recent material about Amogha. Like Paramartha, Jnanapitaka, and Bodhidharma, Jnanabhaisajya was reportedly received at the court of emperor Wu of Liang. Paramartha also appears in HS 20, planting two trees in Canton and predicting Neng's coming to Guangxiao Abbey:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Prophet:</u>	<u>Place:</u>	<u>Years:</u>	<u>Trees:</u>
HS 2 (782 or 783)	Jnanabhaishajya	Cao's Brook	AD 502+170	-
HS 20 (idem)	Paramartha	Canton	-	2
<i>Jingde Coll.</i> (1004)	Paramartha	Canton	AD 552+120	2

The Dunhuang PS has Neng predict the coming of 'two bodhisattvas' twenty years after his death, i.e. in 732. HS (and also *Jingde Coll.* changes this to '70 years' (i.e. 782, the year when HS was written).

14. Probably an anachronism. There is no indication of an imperial abbey in Shaozhou around 500.

15. Tianjian 10. Cf. Ishii HS, 83 and EK: 'Mt Tai'.
16. Daye 大業 13 under Yangdi of Sui 隋煬帝 (569-618). Yangdi was a famous patron of Buddhism and a student of Zhiyi of Tiantai (CHC III, 115-120;147-153). Would the northern rebellion against Yangdi in 617 cause the destruction of an obscure abbey in a southern backwater ? This passage is probably an ex post facto apology for the absence of pre-Tang traces of an abbey at Cao's Brook.
17. Tianping 天平 1 under Xiaojing of Eastern Wei 東魏孝靜帝(Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (d. 543). After a brief excursion into the seventh century HS now returns to the (northern) calendar of Wei. Quite.
18. 李藏之; biography unknown (Ishii, n. 5). For the topography of Lechang see Part Four, above.
19. This may be an interpolation to bring materials from the Northern Wei History in line with HS.
20. HS. Ishii reads 'Cao's Brook Village ' (Ishii HS, n. 6), EK: 'Holybrook 靈溪 Village'. SG mentions a 'Precious Forest Abbey' built in Lechang county in 1059 by the monk Yuanyou 圓佑 (d.u.; cf. Huang Xijun 57). 'Holybrook village' may also refer to the present Lingxi 靈溪 township in eastern Qujiang county. In the absence of contemporary maps, clear boundaries between counties under the Liang cannot be drawn.

5.35.3.

1. HS: 咸元年; KS and ZZ: 咸亨元年, the first year of Xianheng 咸亨, a reign title of Gaozong of Tang.
2. Xinzhou is now Xinxing county 新興縣 in Guangdong, where Neng is commemorated at the local Dragon Hill or Guo'en 國恩 Abbey, 11 km south of Xincheng town. A stele to the right of the main hall, ascribed to Zhongzong, claims to cover the grave of Neng's parents, allegedly dug by their filial son's own hand. The lychee trees to the left are said to have been 'planted by Huineng.' The abbey has a hot spring and a guesthouse. It was refurbished in 1983 (PRC, *Guangdong*, 699).
3. PS: his father, a former official of Fanyang (Peking) , was survived by his wife and three-year old Neng when he died as a commoner in Xinzhou.
4. Not Chinese 'years of age' 歲 but 'springs and falls' 春秋. ZZ replaces 三十 for HS 卅(EK 30). Yampolsy, Ishii and Yang Zengwen all give notes on Neng's corrected ages (cf. Ishii HS, n. 9).
5. HS, MC: 劉至略; KS, ZZ, BZ9&10: 劉志略.

5.35.4.

1. According to the 'Inexhaustible Stores of Wisdom' 無盡伏藏會, a text in the collection of *Maharatnakuta* (the '*Great Precious Heap of Sermons* 大寶積經, tr. in Chang , *Treasury*, 149-163). Bodhisattvas possess an 'inexhaustible store of merits'. The same topos occurs in the *Vimalakirti* while Baochang's *Lives of the Nuns* 寶唱比丘尼傳 also compares the nun Tanhui 曇暉 (422-504) to a

'miraculous inexhaustible treasury' as she caters to a Chinese equivalent of the Wedding at Kana (tr. in Tsai, *Nuns*, 92-95). The term 'boundless store' is usually linked to a chain of charitable banks set up under the Southern emperor Wu of Liang. During the seventh century they became the exclusive domain of the Three Stages Sect 三階教 'an extensive Buddhist reform movement [which was tolerated] in spite of having caused uneasiness among the court clergy' (Forte, *Propaganda*, 166). Among their known laic supporters was Song Zhiwen's friend Shen Quanqi 沈荃琪 (656-714; Forte, 'Relativity', 239). The founder of the main Boundless Store in Chang'an 'practiced Meditation and was engaged in the cause of the Three Stages' (Gernet, *Society*, 211).

2. The *Mahaparinirvanasutra* (see Part Two, appendix). Baochang mentions one Nun Feng 馮尼 (409-504) who could 'chant through the entire [*Nirvana*] in only three days' (Tsai, *Lives*, 95).

3. HS has an archaic character for 役 'to use as a slave, to order about'; KS and ZZ have the regular 役. Lue appears to have adopted Neng as a younger brother, which entailed he had to obey Lue's orders at work. His quarters were apparently close to the nun's merit cloister, where he was allowed to visit her during the few hours between the vesper service (6 P.M.) and sundown.

4. 'The scholarly nun was a rare phenomenon limited to women of the elite [and those] 'who are recorded as chanting the holy scriptures were not necessarily literate.' (Georgieva, 'Nuns', 47-76). There is a tale of a beguine refusing to give up scriptural study and cursing a Three Stages teacher who forbade her to read the *Lotus* (Lewis, 'Suppression', 225). Cf. the Buddha's praise for queen Shrimala's superior understanding of the Law in the *Shrimaladevisimhanadasutra* 勝耒夫人獅子吼經, tr. in Chang, *Treasury*, 363-386, quoted in a major Three Stages text (tr. in Lopez, *Buddhism in Practice*, 272-283). Shenpen Hookham comments that 'the psychological effect [of such texts as the *Shrimala*] on lay men and women practitioners is obvious' (Hookham PhD, 157). This may be overly optimistic: it is rather a token exception to the rule that illiterate nuns should memorize one or two scriptures and then wait for a learned monk to explain it to them.

5. Does Neng behave like a 'mute sheep' here? The Three Stages ideal of a perfect master was 'a man of acute faculties who[...] imitated the 'mute sheep monk' (...) who could not understand the meaning of texts' (Lewis, 'Suppression', 223). This may refer to the Buddha's silence between his enlightenment and his death. Could the topos of the illiterate monk derive from the teachings of the Three Stages? If so, the name of the nun Boundless Store would also need an interpretation in the historical context of that sect.

6. In the *Nirvana*, 佛性 means innate Buddhahood, a near equivalent of *tathagatagarbha* 入來藏,

7. BZ: 'When the Sixth Ancestor was an attendant 行者 (to a senior monk), he went to Liu Zhilue's 劉志略 home. At night he listened to a nun reciting the *Nirvana*. The nun asked: "Attendant, can you explain the *Nirvana*?" "Written text I do not know, I can only explain its meaning." The nun then asked him about the texts she had doubts. [He] said: "I do not know." The nun then gently asked him: "Attendant, if you do not yet know the written text, how can you explain its meaning?" The attendant

said: "Did you not listen to the path and to the discourse on truth by all Buddhas? Never mind the writing." (q. in Ishii, HS, n. 11) . The year is given as 戊辰 in 'heavenly stems and 'earthly branches' notation. Ishii notes that Xianheng 1 (670) was 庚午, not 戊辰 . The latter was 668, or Zongzhang 1 總章, not Xianheng 1 (Ishii , HS, 111).

5.35.5.

1. 'Leaving home' 出家 : to become a monk, indeed suggesting that Neng had already been an attendant.
2. Or, according to received chronology: thirty-six years old.

5.35.6.

1. Unknown (see Part Four, above).

5.35.7.

1. Biography unknown. EK speculates that he was a minor disciple of Hongren. Cf. McRae, *Northern School*, 36-40. For the sermon on asceticism 投陀經 (*Dhutasutra*) see Part Two, appendix.
2. A pious pun on 'sitting in 'voidness' (*sunyata*).
3. In Xianheng 5 under Gaozong of Tang, Neng was probably in his 37th year. See above.

5.35.8.

1. HS does not qualify Neng's staff as the pewter staff of senior monk as he was still an attendant.
2. 洪州東路 is the overland post road across the Dayu Range into modern Jiangxi province and from there north to the Jiujiang 九江 ferry across the Yangzi. This must be an anachronism: the Dayu crossing was not opened until 716. In Neng's days the usual itinerary was over water to Guizhou 桂州.

5.35.9.

1. 作佛. The Chinese text of a similar dialogue in the *Nirvana* has: 'to become a Buddha 成佛'.
2. 南 added in MJ, KS and ZZ.

3. Cf. the racial slur in the version of this dialogue the Dunhuang PS (q. in Part One, above).
4. 佛性 can also be read as *Buddhagotra*, the 'predestination to become awakened'. Xuanzang (玄藏, 600-664) translates the Yogachara term 'fivefold predestination' (*panchagotra*) as 五性 ('five dispositions') or 五種性 ('five kinds of dispositions'). Although these five *gotra* do not include a 'Buddhagotra' (佛性) the latter became the standard Chinese term for 'Buddha-nature' or Buddhahood (see above, note). The notion of universal Buddhahood ran counter to the caste-conscious doctrine of five 'folds' or 'lineages' which Xuanzang had studied in Nalanda. Xuanzang's translation cleverly combines hermeneutic means with maieutic ends (*upayaprajna*) to differentiate the 'five dispositions' of Yogachara from the universal Buddhahood proposed in *tathagatagarbha* texts. Ui has treated 性 and 姓 in the Dunhuang PS as mere homophones (cf. 斷佛種性. tr. in Yampolsky, PS 154, as: '[the Buddhists]will be extirpated').
5. 和上: preceptor, a teacher of monastic discipline (*vinaya*); a title of respect. This is a spelling variant peculiar to the Vinaya school of 和尚: a Buddhist monk, bonze or priest (S&H 253a). A novice had to choose two teachers: a Teacher of the Law (Professor 法師, S.: *acharya*) to guide him through the Buddha's philosophy, and a Teacher of (monastic) Discipline (Preceptor 律師, S.: *upadhyaya*) to oversee his ordination. At least in Neng's days, the Teacher of the Law was considered the more important. HS has Hongren as Neng's Teacher of the Law and Yinzong as his Teacher of Discipline, ranking Ren above Zong.
6. For EK 可 read: 何.
7. 真如, 'the substance (*bhuta*) of suchness': a synonym of *tathagatagarbha* in the *Nirvana*. On immediate enlightenment 頓悟, see Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual*; cf. Ruegg, *Buddha-nature*.

5.35.10.

1. 'Mountain': a metonymy for the East Mountain Abbey where Great Teacher Ren taught.
2. 龍象 is perhaps not a 'dragon elephant' but a hendiadys: 'dragons or elephants', in other words: *nagas*. Sanskrit and Pali *naga* can be a supernatural cobra; an elephant; or an ironwood tree. *Nagas* were worshiped at Rajagriha, Bihar and other areas in India (Gombrich, *Jordan*, 72). In *Vinaya Khandaka I*, 86-88, the Buddha denied *nagas* the capacity to progress in his doctrine and discipline (Gombrich, *Jordan*, 73). In *Majjhimanikaya I*, 32 and 151, senior monks are named *mahanaga* ('great *naga*'; Gombrich, *Jordan*, 74). The latter provides the locus classicus to the Chinese topos of 'dragons or elephants'. The *Vinaya Khandaka* suggests that the 'dragons or elephants' in HS were inferior to Huineng's natural talent for enlightenment.
3. 供養 is also: offerands (*puja*) of 'incense, lamps, scriptures, the doctrine etc. for body and mind. Cf. Pomerius' *vita* of the illiterate friar Jan van Leeuwen working in Ruusbroec's kitchen at Groenendaal:

To this aim I did not spare body and soul, but I did it all for the glory of God, and

to imitate our Lord Jesus Christ in small matters. Yet my dear brothers in the spirit also know well that I worked day and night [...] and toiled like a poor slave [...].

In his autobiography, Van Leeuwen himself later described how he provided 供養 to visitors:

As soon as [a visitor] came out of church, Jan met him with a happy face and a bowl of soup [...] to [share with them] spiritual nourishment and the bliss of life eternal.

(after Hogenelst & Van Oostrom, 76-77; cf. Part One, note 126.) Jan van Leeuwen's story is a topos of resonance disguised as a miracle, or an auspicious omen, to underscore Ruusbroec's importance.

4. The third parable compares Buddhahood to 'a kernel of wheat not yet husked'.

5. Ishii HS n. 16 gives a synopsis of the variant texts of this encounter in PS and the AHC.

6. Zhiyi of Tiantai 天臺智頤 classifies 判教 Hinayana and all Mahayana schools with the exception of the Tiantai 'perfect teaching' as 偏: biased, prejudiced, or inferior (S&H 342b). Yet Zhiyi and the Mt Tiantai tradition teach that even inferior teachings can bring about the realization of Buddhahood.

7. HS: 云何. KS, MJ and ZZ have 如何 instead: 'How [can it] 'appear' and 'disappear'?' Here the focus of the colloquium apparently shifts from ontology to epistemology.

5.35.11.

1. The mountains at Huangmei, not the 'twin peaks' at Mt Song or Cao's Brook.

2. EK: topos borrowed by Zhiyi of Tiantai from the (apocryphal?) *Upayashilasutra* 優婆塞戒經 (T.24).

5.35.12.

1. Ishii HS n. 18. Natural silk, for which silk worms are killed, is traditionally taboo for Buddhist monks.

5.35.13.

1. 國王大臣: princes of the blood and the senior nobles and dignitaries attached to their household.

This predicts Neng's encounter with Huiming, a scion of the former House of Chen, but Yanagida associates this pericope with empress Wu Zetian's claim to Huineng's robe (q. in Ishii HS, 118 n. 19).

2. This topos is an *Imitatio Buddhae*.

3. Now that Neng has left his root guru, he is a Great Teacher in his own right.

4. Ishii HS, n. 20: HS suggests Ren also died in 674 (Xianheng 5). BZ 10 has 672 (Xianheng 3).

5. The usual miracles, but no death verse or other attributes of dying 'Chancestors' in later sources.

5.35.14.

1. Zanning, *Vitae*, i.v. Huiming (630-718), makes him a grandson of the Southern emperor Chen Xu 陳頊 (r. 569-582) and that he used to live at Yongchang 永昌 Abbey in his native Poyang 鄱陽 in Jiangxi (q. in Yi, *Zen Men*, 34). The Dunhuang PS mentions him as Huishun 惠順, a former third or fourth rank army general). Cf. Ishii HS n. 21 on the Huineng and Huiji 惠寂 chapters in *Chodangchip*.
2. HS: Dayu Range 大猷嶺. 'Dayu' may be a later addition. Poyang, where Ming supposedly lived when Neng left Ren, is less than 100 miles south of Jiangzhou. Cf. the reference to Mt Lu.
3. The topos of Huiming's stout and fierce character is perhaps a reference to the Buddha's encounter with an *angulimala* 央屈利摩羅, a 'finger stringer' or Shivaitic assassin (*Theragatha* 866-891; *Majjhima Nikaya* II, 97-105; Gombrich, *Jordan*, 135; cf. Gombrich, *Jordan*, 152; 160, and S&H 184b).
4. KS and ZZ have 和尚 for HS 和上.
5. 密言 may indeed refer to an esoteric spell. The Dunhuang PS elaborates this into a complete transmission of the Law to Ming. Later PS editions deny that Neng was involved any esoterics:
 'What I can tell you is not esoteric,' I replied. 'If you turn your light inwardly, you will find what is esoteric within you (tr. in Wong, PS, 23).
Here 'esoteric' is apparently becoming an attribute of *tathagatagarbha*, or innate Buddhahood.
6. HS does not specify which range. Again, it is unlikely that the Dayu Range is meant here.
7. HS 能; MJ, KS, ZZ 明. The latter versions converge with later PS editions where Neng also tells Ming 'to stop at Yuan 袁 and to take up his abode in [Mt] Meng 蒙' (in the Tang prefecture of Yuanzhou

袁州, now Yichun 宜春 in western Jiangxi). HS, MJ, KJ, and ZZ 濛 probably refers to Mengli 濛湮 Village in Qujiang county, the site of the old Moon Splendor 月華 Abbey (see Part Four, above).

5.35.15.

1. From 627 to 971 Sihui near Duanzhou 端州 was a county under Guangzhou 廣州, but Huaiji on the Guangxi border really never was. From 634 to 714 it was part of Zhenzhou 滇州; from 714 to 972 it was under the Prefect of Weizhou 威州.; neither was within the jurisdiction of the governor of Guangzhou (YH 885). Modern Sihui and Huaiji counties are separated by Guangning 廣寧 county.

5.35.16.

1. Yifeng 1. This reign title was actually adopted in December 676 (cf. Yampolsky PS, 73).
2. Zhizhi Abbey is Guangxiao Abbey in Canton (cf. Yampolsky, PS 73).

3. The Tang Circuit of East Jiangnan 江東道 included modern Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces.
4. Gunabhadra (367-431) has been credited by Jingjue et al. with a translation of the *Lanka* (Faure, *Will*, 174-176). The Liu House of Song 劉宋 were a southern Dynasty founded by Liu Yu 劉裕 in 420.
5. 龍興 ('Dragon Restoration') was the title of the designated imperial abbeys in each prefecture between 707 and 738. They were recommissioned as Guangxiao Abbeys in 1151. Considering the date in the colophon (780), this reference probably goes back to an earlier source.
6. *Shastra* 論, one of the departments of the Buddhist Canon.

5.35.17.

1. For this 元霄, the 'Shrove Tuesday' of Chinese New Year), see Part Four, section 5.1, above.
2. I.e. according to conditional arising, 'as waves result from wind' (S&H 453a).

5.35.18.

1. 稟承好師匠: a topos from Guanding's Memorial on the *Nirvana* (see Part One, above).
2. HS:新州, MJ, KS: 新州人. ('the man from Xinzhou').
3. A topos from the *Nirvana*, not from Neng's colloquium with Ren. Cf. Part Two, Appendix 2E, above.
4. MJ, KS, ZZ insert 'absorption'.
5. The transgressions (*parajika*) are: killing, stealing, carnality, lying (SH 183a). The capital sins (*anantarya*) are: to kill one's father, one's mother or an *arahant*; to wound a Buddha; and to stir havoc in the *sangha* (SH 128a). According to Ishii, this refers to the *Nirvana's* chapter on *Tathagatatavarga*.
6. S. *kushalamula* 善根, 'good roots': good qualities.
7. The eighteen *dhatu* (界, lit. *loci*) are the elements that make up the five aggregates (*skandha*) of the mind: the six organs (S. *indrya*): eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin and mind; their six objects: color, sound, scent, flavor, texture, and feature; and the six respective cognitions or perceptions of these objects.
8. HS, MJ: 解脫 (*vimoksha*, liberation); KS, ZZ 解說 (explanation). KS omits 起.

5.35.19.

1. Yifeng 1 under Gaozong of Tang. Chronology probably corrupt. Cf. the *Guangxiao Inscription*.

5.35.20.

1. HS: 出高僧錄

2. 'Chitra' is unknown (cf. the name list in the *Chodangchip*, q. in Ishii HS n. 26). S. *chitra* means 'flower of merit and virtue.' The translator Prabhakaramitra studied Hinayana and Mahayana texts at Nalanda and arrived in Tang China in 626. He worked with the Chinese monks Huiji 慧積, Huijing 慧淨, (Chen?) Huiming 慧明, Falin 法琳 and others and died in Chang'an (Daoxuan, *Vitae* scr. 3, nr. 120), Ding Fubao identifies 'Mitra' as Dharmamita, a translator of Dharmagupta's *Vinaya*.

3. Ding Fubao notes that Yinzong conducted this ordination alone; officially, four monks with the rank of a Director (*karmadana*, second to an abbot) should be present. Heng Yin comments:

When conferring with precepts, the preceptor asks the *karmadana* [...]: 'May the precepts be transmitted to this person?' [...] the *karmadana* must reply, 'Yes.' On the platform, the *karmadana* and the teaching transmitter sit immediately to the left and right of the Preceptor.

4. The House of Xiao 蕭 ruled the Southern Empire of Liang until 557. The Indian Yogacharin Trepitaka Paramartha 真諦 lived in China from 546 to 569. Cf. my note above.

5.35.21.

1. Hence it is eternal like the body of the Law (S&H 378a). On *dharmakaya* see Part Four, above.

2. The five colors traditionally associated with the five aggregates of the mind (*skandha*).

3. S. *bhava*, *abhava*, *hetu*, *phala*.

4. HS: 此是; MJ, KS, ZZ: 此之. This encounter was first related in Wang Wei's stele text. Wang's notice that Shenhui was 'middle-aged' 中年 when he first met Neng are now read as 冲年 (adolescent; Takeuchi, q. in McRae, 'Shenhui', 262 n.20). For Shenhui and his polemic see Part Two, above.

5. Neng is being nasty. After all, young Shenhui was only showing off his gift for Daoist dialectics.

6. 無受: perceptionless, *avedana*. *Vedana* (sensation, feeling) is one of five aggregates of the mind.

7. 心性, described in the *Awakening of Faith* as 'unborn and immortal' 不生不滅, an equivalent of *buthatatahatachitta* 聖實心, the 'permanent mind' of the *tathagatagarbha*. (S&H 148b; 150a).

8. 脫, read: 腰? cf. Ishii HS, n. 28 for the *Chodangchip* version of this encounter (in the Huiji chapter).

5.35.22.

1. Ishii HS, n. 29, places this event in 677 (*Yifeng* 2), some years earlier than the EK chronology says.
2. Dragon Restoration 龍興 is also a historical name of Guangxiao Abbey.

5.35.23.

1. Shenlong 1 under Zhongzong of the restored House of Tang. Cf. Part Two, above.
2. Neng's epitaph by Wang Wei (740) says: 'Empress lady Zetian and emperor Xiaohe 孝和 (= Zhongzong) both issued edicts to summon him to visit the capital cities'. (Nagashima 1875, 45-46).
3. Read: Zhongzong the Great's. Cf. Part Two, above.
4. HS: 召; KS, ZZ: 名; QTW: 請 (invited). For my translation of the summons in QTW see below.
5. HS: 二德; QTW: 二師.
6. For meditation teacher An see Part Two, above.
7. Cf. Yampolsky, PS, 42, and Part Two, above.
8. Huineng's whereabouts are not specified in the summons. An, who reportedly spent some time at Mt Heng 衡 in Hunan and also taught Huairang of Nanyue (南岳懷讓, 677-744), whose hermitage was at the present Fuyan 福嚴Abbey, may indeed have known Huineng from there. This would also explain that Song Zhiwen 宋之問 went to see his 'teacher' in Hengyang. See Part Three, above.
9. HS. MJ: 記傳~ ; KS, ZZ: 記傳傳 .
10. 曹溪山 . See below, note.
11. 眾生即心是佛, the 'highest doctrine of Mahayana [...] all the living are of one mind' , attributed in BZ to Huairang's student Mazu Daoyi 馬祖江西道一. Cf. S&H 298-299 and Nagashima, Ph.D, 49n.
12. HS: 東土; KS, ZZ: 東山.
13. 稟承. Another reference to Guanding's Memorial on the Nirvana Sermon 灌頂 大般涅槃經 (EK).
14. 中使: 'Imperial Commissioner' (Hucker).
15. For Xue Jian 薛簡 (Xue Chongjian 薛崇簡?) see PartTwo, above.
16. This is the Vimalakirti motive (see Sources and Resources, above). HS here gives the Buddha's surname Shakya 釋迦 in full. Ishii, HS,, n. 32, quotes as a probable precedent the lost BZ 10:
The Great Teacher's memorial reads: 'The *Shakya sramana* ('senior Buddhist monk') Huineng writes: 'Huineng was born in a remote place and has practiced the path from early childhood'.
17. Wang Wei's stele text for Huineng (q. in Nagashima, Ph. D., 46) has: '[...] like lord Yuan [= meditation teacher Huiyuan of Mt Lu 廬山惠遠禪師, 334-416]), his feet did not cross Tiger Creek [at Mt Lu].'
18. HS: 陛下; MJ: 階下.
19. An incomplete and corrupt quote from the *Vajracchedika* (cf. Conze, *Wisdom*, 64).

20. HS: 聖人; Ming PS: 主上. Both refer to the emperor.
21. A topos from the *Vimalakirtinirdesa*.
22. The 'pure name' refers to the *Vimalakirtinirdesa*. Tr. after Watson, *Vimalakirti*, 38.
23. HS: 汝見; MJ, KS: 決見.
24. I.e. the goat-cart and the deer-cart in the parable of the burning house in the *Lotus*.
25. HS: 如是; MJ, KS: 知是.
26. EK: i.e. Bodhidharma's 'supreme vehicle', the 'location of the Buddha's pure and quiet meditation'.
27. EK: cf. the chapter on 'Entering the Gate of Nondualism', tr. in Watson *Vimalakirti*, 104-111).
28. HS: 滅; MJ: 識.
29. 外道: heretics, e.g. Taoism, Manicheism etc. It may refer here to Indian teachings, e.g. Samkhya.
30. HS: 告; MJ, KS: 云.
31. HS: 若; MJ, KS: 君.
32. HS: 莫; KS, ZZ: 無.
33. HS: 不為 諸感所遷; KS, ZZ: 不為諸惡所遷.
34. HS: 辭; MJ, KS: 拜.
35. HS: 將表; MJ, KS: 將來.
36. HS :一領, MJ and KS: 二領.
37. 磨衲 (EM pronunciation: *mana*) is a Korean term for a monk's robe. Wang Wei's stele text has: 'Their Majesties did not extend (new) summons and sent a patchwork 百衲 cassock and money, silk and other offerings'. Yampolsky, PS, 66 reads this passage as 'cloth for garments and silks'.
38. EK: approximately 622 meters. Silk is made of silkworms and hence not worn by monks, but it was also a form of currency, Hence Neng could accept it, but was not supposed to wear it or use it himself.
39. HS: 弘法; MJ, KS, ZZ: 弘大大法.
40. On his sickbed in Vaisali, Vimalakirti refused to see *shravakas* (a.k.a. 'auditors') and bodhisattvas.
41. EK: reference to the *Wenyan* commentary to the *Book of Changes*: 積善之家, 必餘慶有。
42. EK identifies this 'supreme vehicle' with the intention to become a Buddha (*buddhichitta*).
43. HS: 或荷; MJ, ZZ: 感荷.
44. Shenlong 3 under Zhongzong of Tang. See for the *Chodangchip* version: Ishii HS, n. 34.

5.35.24.

1. Shenlong 3 under Zhongzong of Tang.
2. Literally: 'Source of the Law' (see 'The Road to Cao's Brook').
3. Literally: 'Kindness of the Dynasty'. Cf. BZ and *Chodangchip* versions in Ishii HS n. 35.

5.35.25.

1. Yanhe 延和 1 under Ruizong of Tang.
2. Unknown (Ishii HS n. 36).

5.35.26.

1. Jingyun 景雲 2 under Ruizong of Tang.
2. Cf BZ 10: 'Stupa in Panyu [= Canton]', q. in Part Two, above.
3. Xiantian 先天 2 under Xuanzong of Tang.

5.35.27.

1. 阿誰: a colloquialism reminiscent of modern Cantonese *a³bin¹go³?* 呀邊個?
2. HS is the only text to specify 'seventy years'. Cf. section 2, n.13, above, and Ishii, HS, n. 38.
3. One who stays at home: a layman (居士 *upashaka*). One who has left home: a monk.

5.35.28.

1. Probably Lion's Crag near Maba; see Part Four, above.
2. A 'rainbow body', as the Tibetans still call it, symbolizing the dissolution of life into five *skandha*.
3. The direction of India.
4. HS: 四方; MJ, KS: 西方 ('the west').
5. The southwestern monsoon would of course be hot. Precisely this anomaly makes it a miracle.
6. 崩: a topos for the death of an emperor.
7. EK: a probable confusion of Guangguo in Shaozhou and Guo'en in Neng's native Xinzhou.
8. 城頭莊, lit. a 'villa at the head of the city', suggesting Guangguo Abbey was close to the city walls. Guangguo Abbey at Shaozhou (former Renshou Terrace) fits this description (cf. Part Four, above).
9. CPE *congee* 泔汁 (rice gruel) is supposed to derive from Tamil *kanji* (-*kam*): rice (water). The modern Cantonese vernacular word is 粥 *juk¹*. 泔汁 appears in HS as an early occurrence of this Indian word in a Chinese text, centuries before the British reintroduced the term *congee* in Hong Kong.
10. EK: not a sermon but Nagarjuna's *Mahaprajnaparamitashastra* 大知度論, scroll 2 (T.25-69a).
11. EK: i.e. like the Buddha at *parinirvana*, his head facing north (the so-called 'lion's position').

5.35.29.

1. HS: 首嶺; MJ, KS, ZZ: 首領, meaning either 'head and neck' or 'leader'. This ambiguity may have been the source of the story of the theft of Neng's head - see below.
2. Unknown. Only *Chodangchip* mentions him as a 'disciple of Huineng' (scr. 5, q. in EK) .
3. 頭頸. See above, note 1.
4. 鐵鑊, usually understood as putting ' an iron band and a lacquered cloth about his neck to protect it' (cf. Yampolsky, PS, 86). In his preface to Xuanzang's *Record of the Countries West of Great Tang* 玄藏 大唐 西域記序, Yu Zhining 于志寧 (588-665) reports on a group of Indians who covered their belly buttons with copper leaf. HYDCD, 7076, quotes Ji Xianlin 季羨林:

'These were reportedly Buddhist *tirthika* (=heretics) , Nirgrantha, bragging that all *prajna* was contained in their bellies. Fearing rupture, they protected them with a thin layer of copper leaf.'

These Nirgrantha were mendicant Indian ascetics preaching fatalism. They went around naked, with only their bellies covered 鑊肚 .The most famous of them was the later founder of Jainism, Mahavira, and the twenty-four ancestors (*tirthankara*) of Jainism are still pictured with their bellies bared and their navels covered. As Neng's wisdom was supposedly in his head, not in his belly, however, it would make sense for his disciples to seal off the head and neck with airtight metal leaf .

5. Literally: the spirit was transferred 遷神 and placed inside a niche 入龕. In Song China 龕 meant 'coffin', It could also refer to a niche at the basis of a stupa, or to a funeral pile, or the self-immolations of earlier saints that were ritually reenacted during the cremation ceremonies of Buddhist abbots in Song China and later (Cole, 'Upside down' , 313-314). Two early apocryphal Chinese descriptions of Buddhist funerals are found in the *Consecration Sutra* 灌頂經 (see Strickmann, 'Consecration') and the 10 major and 48 minor precepts in the second scroll of the *Brahma Net Sermon* 梵網經 (see Groner, 'Fan-wang ching'). Saichō introduced the latter in Japan as the basic precepts on monastic discipline of the Tiantai tradition. Zhiyi of Tiantai had praised it as the capping sermon of the *Garland* , but it also draws on the *Nirvana*, the paradigmatic scripture of Mahayanic eschatology (see Part Two, above). Cole proposes that in Tang China 'popular' practices such as chanting Amitabha's name were an important part of the funerals of all monks and that the 'aristocratic' funeral rites for abbots were a later invention (Cole, 'Upside down', 337).

5.35.30.

1. Kaiyuan 27 under Xuanzong of Tang. BZ: Kaiyuan 10 (722). Cf. Ishii HS n. 41.
2. HS: 取頭頭.
3. This says Neng's lacquered and sealed remains were kept sitting in state inside a hall, while the

preceding section (from a different source?) had him 'placed inside a niche', i.e. cremated or interred.

4. 孝子, lit: a filial son, i.e. a mourning boy.

5. In the Ming PS, a youth is caught and brought before the County Magistrate, where he claims to have acted on behalf of the Korean meditation teacher Kim 金 at Hongzhou 洪州. The young man is then brought to Prefect Liu 柳 of Shaozhou. He is sentenced to death, but then pardoned and set free.

6. Xiantian 先天 2 under Xuanzong of Tang.

7. 任子歲. HS is wrong: 713 was the 50th year 癸丑 of the cycle beginning 664 (Ishii HS n. 42).

8. 唐建中二年, Jianzhong 2, the year HS was compiled. HS has the year wrong (Ishii, HS, n. 43).

9. HS: 行滔, most later sources: Lingtao 令韜. Cf. Part Two, above. Zanning, *Vitae*, Huineng, gives the posthumous name of his father as Xingyao 行瑤 ('walking gem') - a pun on 行遙 ('walking far')?

10. HS: 45 years; MJ: 35 years; KS, ZZ, EK, IY: 45 years.

11. 韋據, probably a relative of Zhongzong's spouse, the empress Wei; perhaps Wei Sili 韋嗣立, a senior academic at Zhongzong's court. When Zhongzong visited Sili's mountain resort, he renamed it 'Dillydally Dale' 逍遙谷 and enfeoffed Sili as 'Lord Dillydally' in appreciation of his talent for the trivial. Zhongzong was alluding to an anecdote on emperor Ming of the Northern Zhou (北周明帝, 557-559) who, sent for one peck of Hedong wine and conferred upon another courtier Wei 韋 the title of Lord Dillydally' (*Topoi* 1664, cf. Zhuangzi). Sili was actually a serious man. In the spring of 709 he remonstrated against the soaring cost of building and maintaining Buddhist monasteries at the expense of the people's welfare (QW 236, q. in CHC- III, 325). Sili argued that the sale of offices and ordination letters and the allocation of tax silk to fief holders diverted a major portion of tax income away from the empire's coffers, especially from the granaries. No wonder the emperor urged Sili to concentrate on poetry and spend his days dilly-dallying around his estate. Wei Sili was later rehabilitated and served under two following emperors (JTS 88).

12. Kaiyuan 7 under Xuanzong of Tang.

13. This event is supposedly proof of the 'northern' wickedness, but HS suggests that an existing inscription by a member of the Wei clan was updated under a new emperor and cleaned of references to the ancien regime. Zanning, *Vitae*, claims that Pingyi had his inscription engraved on a bronze bell 'in Song Zhiwen's calligraphy' – which more likely took place at Mt Heng than at Cao's Brook.

14. Lost. BZ 10 says that the inscription by the former Prefect Wei was preserved (Ishii HS, n46).

5.35.31.

1. Kaiyuan 11 under Xuanzong of Tang.

2. 潭州煌禪師. His name is also written Zhihuang 智皇. Tanzhou is now Changsha in Hunan.

3. 綠山. Unknown. Perhaps Foothill 麓山 Abbey, built A.D. 355 at the foot of West Hillock 西岳 in Shanhua 善化 county near Changsha. Incidentally, 綠山 Lushan is also the Chinese transcription of

Roqsan, the name of the Turkic general who rose against the Tang in Fanyang in 755.

4. Cf. Ishii HS n. 47. EK 79 suggests that 大榮 is a corruption of 'meditation teacher Ce 策禪師'.

5. The question of *tathatatagarbha*. See above.

6. HS: 聞日; KS, ZZ: 答日.

7. EK: *tathagatajnanadharsana* .

8. HS: 云; KS, ZZ: 去.

9. Cf. Neng's encounter with Ren, above.

10. Jingyun 2 under Ruizong of Tang.

11. EK reads 合郭百姓 as: the commoners of Heguo, supposedly a hamlet near Greenberg Abbey. My intuition is that these characters are a colloquialism like 陳一王二 ('every Tom, Dick and Harry').

12. HS: 能大師; KS: 能禪師.

5.35.32.

1. HS: Shangyuan 上元 2 (761 under Suzong of Tang). Ishii HS n. 48 reads: 'In the year Qianyuan 乾元 1 (758)', in accordance with the dating above as '45 years after Xiantian 2 (713)'.

2. Cf. JTS 10 for the year 758:

In [...] the ninth month [...] a memorial from Guangzhou was presented. Arabs and Persian troops had attacked the city. Prefect Wei Lijian had abandoned the city and gone into hiding. 'The Arabs and Persians who pillaged Canton in 758 were probably buccaneers from the island of Hainan' (Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 280). If Lijian submitted this memorial in the 9th month of 758 and then left Guangzhou, his recommendation of Xingtao is likely to predate his final memorial as a prefect (T.H. Barrett, p.c.). The title 'plenipotentiary' 節度 refers to a governor (Hucker, *Official*, 144; 422).

3. 孝感: emperor Suzong of Tang's honorary title, assumed 758 (JTS 10).

4. HS: 法袈裟; KS, ZZ: 袈裟.

5. HS: 五人利見; MJ, KS, ZZ: 韋利見.

6. Shangyuan 2 (read: Qianyuan 2 = 759; see notes 1 and 7).

7. Qianyuan 2 under Suzong of Tang.

8. Both Yanagida and Ishii (HS n. 49) observe that the monk Huixiang 惠象 (mentioned in Zanning, *Vitae*, i.v. Huineng, scroll 8, as Mingxiang 明象 and the layman Yonghe 家人永和 (unknown) appeared approximately seventy years after Neng's death - just like the two bodhisattva's in the prophecy.

9. EK: as worn by senior monks. The purple dye was apparently of mineral (羅沙地), not animal origin.

10. HS: 別 敕; MJ, KS, ZZ: 州 敕. The benefit to Yonghe was that he would be exempted from taxes.

11. BZ: 'Around [730, it], became Jianxing 建興 Abbey, and around [760]: Guoning 國寧 Abbey.'

12. EK: 'The reliability of this information is unclear. The anecdote perhaps serves to emphasize the connection of the former Guoning Abbey with the House of Tang.' (EK 80, note).
13. Zanning cites this petition by Huixiang as a model for a monk to address the court (EK 80).
14. Lit.: carrying it on top of their heads.
15. HS: 護 (guard); KS: 猶 (obtain). EK notes that this phrase refers to a parable in the *Lotus*.
16. HS: 言 (spoken); KS, ZZ: 書 (written).
17. Qianyuan 3 under Suzong of Tang.
18. EK: unknown.
19. Baoying 寶應 1 under Daizong of Tang (r. 762-779 or 780). HS: 應寶元.
20. Cf. QTW 48: '*Dispatching Envoy Yang Jian with the robe and bowl of the Sixth Ancestor*'.
21. In-text note in HS, MJ and KS ; not in QTW. HS has an irregular hapax for the name of the abbey; MJ and KS give it as Zongchi 總持, reportedly three blocks west of the Imperial City in Chang'an (EK) .
22. 楊鑑卿. Biography unknown. QTW 48 has: Yang Jian 楊讖 (d.u.). He was a Prefect of Shaozhou.
23. 楊崇景 . Unknown. QTW 48 has: Liu Chongjing 劉崇景 (obscure). Cf. Ishii HS n. 50 .
24. Yongtai 永泰 1 under Daizong. Signature and date not in QTW.

5.35.33.

1. Exclusively in HS!! Cf. Ishii HS n51 for miracles in BZ.

5.35.34.

1. Zhenyuan 19 真元十九年. For a discussion of this date see EK 81.

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