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**NARRATIVE AGENCY IN  
THIRTEENTH-FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY CHAN FIGURE  
PAINTING:  
A STUDY OF HAGIOGRAPHY-  
ICONOGRAPHY TEXT-IMAGE  
RELATIONSHIPS**

**VOLUME ONE**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2016

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**Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationships between image and text in paintings of Chan Buddhist figural subjects from thirteenth and fourteenth century China. Its central contention is that the visual qualities of these paintings, and the lexical content of the inscriptions upon them, made complex allusions to narrative prototypes recorded in hagiographies, as part of the pedagogical practice of the Chan tradition. These narrative allusions communicated religious teachings to the viewer, mediating their relationship to the Chan pantheon of exemplars and eccentrics. This thesis' analysis of the connections between painters, inscribers, subjects and viewers of Chan figure paintings addresses an under researched dimension of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chinese visual culture. By focusing on the Chinese context for the creation and reception of Chan figure paintings, the following discussion offers an alternative to the recurrent framing of these works as precursors to Japanese Zen painting. Instead, this thesis focuses on the distinctive agency of narrative in the reception of these works in a thirteenth and fourteenth century Chinese context. This is explored in six chapters, outlined below.

Chapter one surveys modern scholarship on Chan figure painting, problematising its frequent conflation with Japanese Zen art. Chapters two, three and four examine three different narrative themes in Chan figure painting: transitions, interactions, and awakenings. These three chapters show how these visual narrative themes respectively reflected and reinforced the legitimacy, authority and efficacy of Chan's lineages and teachings. The fifth chapter explores the role of inscriptions upon paintings in shaping the Song and Yuan ideal of a Chan abbot, through a case study *encomia* on Chan figure paintings by Yanxi Guanwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189–1263). The final chapter examines the idealisation of the preeminent painter of Chan figural subjects, Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12-early 13<sup>th</sup> century), distinguishing between the historic receptions of his attributions in Chinese and Japanese collections.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

**X:** *Manji Shinsan Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 卍新纂大日本續藏經, (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 1975-89)

References are specified by ‘X.’ followed by the text number (n), volume, page and register.

**T:** *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tōkyō: Taisho issai-kyo kanko kwai, 1932)

References are specified by ‘T.’ followed by the text number (n), volume, page and register.

Unless otherwise specified, these texts have been accessed via the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Database, (CBETA): <http://tripitaka.cbeta.org>

**SKQS:** digitalised Wenyuange edition of the *Four Storehouses Compendium* (*Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 文源閣四庫全書)

**j.** Identifies which fascicle (*juan* 卷) of the text the cited passage is found in. When listed in references to the Buddhist canon this follows the title of the text, and precedes the specific volume reference and text number. The fascicle number is followed by the page number after a comma when listed in a reference to a text from a source not found in the Buddhist canon.

## TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

In references to the publication location of English language publications in the bibliography Japanese place names have been rendered in English, i.e. Tokyo, Kyoto. When referring to the publication location of Japanese language publications Japanese place names have been transliterated with the long vowels, i.e. Tōkyō, Kyōtō. In the list of illustrations when listing the collection in which an object is housed I have used translated rather than transliterated titles for institutions to make illustrations more accessible to the English language reader. If the institution in question has an established convention for transliterating its name as part of its translated title I have followed the institutions own terminology and choices regarding transliteration and use of long vowels, i.e. Gotoh Museum, Kosetsu Museum of Art, Shanghai Museum etc. When referencing the name of an institution as the author of a non-English publication as part of the bibliography or in the footnotes I have transliterated the title from the original language, rather than listing it as a conventionalised translation, i.e. Gotō Bijutsukan, Kōsetsu Bijutsukan, Shanghai Bowuguan etc.

All translations and are my own unless otherwise stated. Where I have adapted a translation from an earlier version this has been acknowledged in citation.

In transliterating the texts and seal impressions found upon the paintings examined in this thesis I have benefitted hugely from previously published literature in the field, and from the documentation provided by museums that house these works. These invaluable sources are too numerous to acknowledge individually here, and can be found in the bibliography.

All errors and omissions are my own.

## INTRODUCTION

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Chan Buddhism, better known through its Japanese successor Zen, was populated by a rich pantheon of eccentrics and exemplars in thirteenth-fourteenth century China. This cast of characters embodied the Chan monastic community's self identification through a common lineage, traced back to the putative sixth century founder of Chan, Bodhidharma (Chinese: *Putidamo* 菩提達磨). These lines of patriarchal transmission were complemented by eccentric outsiders, known as Scattered Sages (*sansheng* 散聖), incorporated into the pantheon without occupying a formal place in the lineage.<sup>1</sup> Though of foundational importance to the collective identity of Chan communities, the Chan pantheon was by no means static. It extended as lineages grew longer over time, while the lives of past patriarchs became more dramatic in the recounting of successive generations of disciples. These representations of lineage and pantheon were ongoing process of adaptation and embellishment, wherein past exemplars were re-imagined and reshaped by the pedagogues of later generations.<sup>2</sup> The development and transmission of this pantheon occurred in a mix of visual and verbal media, preserved today in representations of Chan figures in paintings, inscriptions in calligraphy upon those paintings' surfaces, and in collections of verse and hagiographic prose.

Contemporary understanding of Song and Yuan visual representations of the Chan pantheon is dependent upon the extant corpus of figure paintings predominantly preserved in Japan, and through textual records of images, mainly transmitted within the Buddhist canon. This study's approach to the visual and textual manifestations of the Chan pantheon is indebted to the theoretical framework of John Kieschnick's study of Chinese Buddhist hagiographies. In his appraisal of the hagiographic collections of 'Biographies of Eminent Monks' (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) from the

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the development of this pantheon in figure painting in China and Japan by Yukio Lippit see: Lippit 2007a.

<sup>2</sup> John McRae (1947-2011) describes this continuous reformulation of Chan's lineages in the following terms: "This retrospective quality pervades the Chan tradition. Time and again we find we are dealing, not with what happened at any particular point, but with what people thought happened previously. We deal not so much in facts and events as in legends and reconstructions, not so much with accomplishments and contributions as with attributions and legacies." McRae 2003, 14-15.

sixth to the tenth centuries, Kieschnick illustrates how the compilation of hagiography was a creative cultural process in which idealised images of Buddhist exemplars were formed, rather than simply recorded.<sup>3</sup> Applying Kieschnick's methodology for the analysis of hagiography to an examination of the relationships between Chan images and texts, this study explores the integrated agency of visual and verbal expression in the creation and development Chan's pantheon of exemplars and eccentrics in Song and Yuan China. This is based on the analysis of the systems of function and value that surrounded the creation, inscription, and viewing of figure paintings of Chan subjects. These practices will be explored through the close analysis of approximately fifty Chan figure paintings, illustrative of extant subjects and formats, supported by reference to a wide range of related visual material. Close readings of paintings' imagery will be contextualised alongside analyses of their accompanying inscriptions. These calligraphic embellishments of pictorial surfaces were most often brushed by eminent abbots, taking the form of *encomia* (*zan* 讚/贊), short lyrical eulogies on the exemplary qualities of the painted subject. Analysis of surviving works will be supplemented by the examination of the texts of no extant longer calligraphic *encomia*, transcribed in lists of 'encomia for Buddha's and patriarchs' (*fozu zan* 佛祖贊) in abbots' discourse records (*yulu* 語錄). Moreover, the integrated content of painting and calligraphy on extant scrolls will be contextualised through analysis of narrative prototypes in hagiographic prose.

The combined use of text and image to depict the actions of the Chan pantheon involved layered processes of emphasis, quotation, and commentary from hagiographic narrative prototypes. Painters selected key events in received hagiographic versions of the lives of Chan exemplars, available from a broad body of visual and textual material. The painter's visual mediation of the historic exemplar's action was then available for calligraphic and poetic commentary by senior clerics and other elite inscribers. Through this combination of image and text, figure

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<sup>3</sup> Kieschnick's alternative to approaching hagiography as a source of factually stable historical information is laid out most clearly in his introduction to *The Eminent Monk*, where he writes: "... I have chosen instead to set aside the historicity of the accounts and accept them as representations of the image of the monk, as what monks were *supposed* to be. In other words, this is a study of the monastic imagination." [Emphasis in the original]. Kieschnick 1997, 1.

paintings of Chan subjects simulate the presence of a pantheon in action, while adjacent *encomia* lend the subject a voice. The integration of pictorial and calligraphic expression into a single object communicates a focused commentary on the protagonists' actions, blending quotation from hagiographic narratives with original compositions. This integration of visual and verbal media in narrating the lives of eccentrics and exemplars made the Chan pantheon an immediate presence in the monastic communities of thirteenth and fourteenth century China.

In addition to the numerous lyrical *encomia* brushed by prominent clerics, a small number of surviving paintings record imperial figures voicing erudite commentary upon pictorial representations of the Chan pantheon. Some of these extra monastic images were a product of court culture, such as the three extant hanging scroll paintings of Chan patriarchs by Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active ca. 1190–1225) inscribed by Empress Yang 楊皇后 of the Southern Song (1162-1233) (figs. 4.1, 4.10-4.11).<sup>4</sup> In other cases imperial *encomia* formed permanent additions to the physical fabric of monastic spaces, such as Yuan Emperor Renzong 元仁宗, Buyantu Khan's (1285-1320, r. 1311-1320), *encomium* composed for an incised stone carving of *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* at the Shaolin monastery 少林寺 (fig. 2.23).<sup>5</sup> Whether the calligrapher was a cleric or an emperor, *encomia* enabled their authors to appropriate the authority of paintings' subjects by association. While painting reproduced the deeds of historic exemplars, calligraphic inscription allowed the words of these long dead Buddhas and patriarchs to directly address paintings' viewers. These linked process of mediation and appropriation through text and image rooted the creation, inscription and viewing of Chan figure paintings within the pedagogical practice of Song and Yuan Chan. Chan figure paintings thus express a form of historical consciousness, through Song and Yuan cleric's commentaries on their predecessor in the lineage. By adding new subjects and augmenting the actions of familiar ones, visual and textual narratives played an active part in this historically conscious expansion of the Chan pantheon over successive generations. For example, in chapter four's analysis of narrative of Northern Song cleric Yushanzhu's 郁山主 (act. 11<sup>th</sup> century) awakening, we see how while a mid-thirteenth-century text

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<sup>4</sup> Discussed in chapter four, pages 170-7.

<sup>5</sup> Discussed in chapter two, pages 92-99.

identified Yushanzhu as an ‘unspecified *dharma* heir’ (*weixiang fasi* 未詳法嗣).<sup>6</sup> However, in a 1401 hagiographic record for Yushanzhu’s he has been incorporated into the recognised lineage of Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992-1049).<sup>7</sup> Like its textual counterpart, the visual representation of Chan exemplars played an active role in the formation and development of the Chan pantheon.

While Song and Yuan painting and calligraphy constructed and expanded the Chan pantheon, the mediation of these images and words also enabled historic exemplars depicted in Chan figure paintings to exert agency over later viewers. This study argues that Chan figure paintings should be interpreted as an active means through which Chan identity and practice were constructed and embodied, rather than the passive product of that identity and practice. This thesis’ focus on the utility of images and texts in shaping Chan pedagogical practice and in delineating the Chan pantheon was informed by the work of Robert Ford Campany. In his analysis of religious communities in early medieval China, Ford Campany highlights the problematic nature of approaching ideologies as abstracted entities, which exert causal influence on the people affiliated with them.<sup>8</sup> This thesis draws on the methodological approach of Ford Campany’s work, seeking to situate the conceptual complexity of Chan figure paintings within the networks of human action and interaction in which they were produced and used. This methodological focus on networks of agency and interaction for the analysis of art historical materials has also been informed by the work of anthropologist Alfred Gell. The posthumous publication of Gell’s *Art and Agency* in 1998 provided an important corrective to the marginalisation of non-Western visual and material culture in earlier decades. However, the text’s theorisation of the anthropological dimensions of art’s social utility in abstracted formula is at times

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<sup>6</sup> See pages, 160.

<sup>7</sup> The earlier hagiography is found in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元): WDHY j.6, in: X.1565.80:137. The second hagiography in which Yushanzhu is incorporated into a recognised lineage is found in the *Supplementary Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Xu Chuandeng Lu* 續傳燈錄): XZDL j. 13, in: T.2077.51: 548, c7-24.

<sup>8</sup> Problematising the recurrent metaphorical representation of religions as living organisms, treating concepts as organic entities with an independent agency from human activity, Ford Campany offers the following comment: “They [studies which deploy the ‘organic’ metaphor] locate agency in religion-entities themselves rather than in the people (whether individuals or groups) who participate in, support, oppose, thwart, or otherwise act to shape the nature and fortunes of the putative religion-entities in question.” Campany 2003, 295.

quite impenetrable, and can be an uncomfortable fit in some contexts. Though it pushed the more Euro-centric areas of the art historical field to widening their horizons, Gell's text has been critiqued by art historians of China for its perceived assertions of a universal model through which to interpret the reception of visual and material culture.<sup>9</sup> However, Gell's stress on the importance of examining the relationships between objects and their viewers and users, and on acknowledging the agency of objects over their audiences has been an important stimulus for the approach taken in this thesis.<sup>10</sup>

The first chapter of this thesis explores the identification and delineation of Chan figure painting as an art historical category. Through a survey of modern scholarship on Chan and Zen visual culture, this chapter problematises the conflation of Chan visual culture with later Zen art. The analytical framework of this chapter is deeply indebted to earlier scholars, notably the recent critical appraisal of the essentialist notion of Zen art by Gregory Levine, and the earlier methodological approach of Bernard Faure.<sup>11</sup> The framework presented in this chapter is intended to build upon these scholar's earlier approaches, by illustrating the specific limitations that Chan's conflation with Japanese Zen imposes upon the analysis of figure painting. The ensuing discussion in the remainder of this thesis focuses on the functions of Chan figure paintings and their narrative qualities within Song and Yuan visual culture.

The second third and fourth chapters offer thematic surveys of the narrative subjects of Chan figure paintings and their relationships to hagiographic prototypes.

Documenting the range of subject matter through direct analysis of visual material,

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<sup>9</sup> In his opening passage, Gell asserts that: "If Western (aesthetic) theories of art apply to 'our' [Euro-American] art, then they apply to everybody's art, and should be so applied": Gell 1998, 1. Though he is not arguing that criteria for aesthetic judgements historically developed in 'Western' contexts should be applied to all art forms, instead offering an alternative systematisation for the analysis of art, Gell's introduction is nonetheless based on the premise that a universal systematisation of aesthetics and their reception is both possible and prescient. Jessica Rawson has addressed the applicability of Gell's theories to Chinese visual cultures, in an essay on issues of agency surrounding the creation of object and images in association with the Ming Wali Emperor: Rawson, 2007.

<sup>10</sup> The complexity of the relationships Gell observes are most clearly articulated in his table of "The Art Nexus", in which he maps a series of potential relationships and interactions between those who make, view and use objects, the objects themselves, and the subject matter or prototypes upon which those objects are based. Gell 1998, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Faure 1993; Levine 2007.

themes of transition, interaction and awakening are addressed in successive chapters. These studies of Chan visual narrative illustrate how these three forms of pictorial action respectively underscored the legitimacy, authority and efficacy of Chan's lineages and teachings.

The fifth chapter presents a case study of calligraphic *encomia* for paintings of Chan figural subjects by the thirteenth century Chan abbot Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). The first section of this chapter draws on a variety of literary records to illustrate how Guangwen's public persona as the ideal Chan abbot was conceived and disseminated. This idealised image is then contextualised alongside the analysis of a selection of Guangwen's extant *encomia* and the figure paintings upon which they are written. This illustrates how the performative production of inscribed calligraphy augmented Guangwen's monastic and cultural authority among his elite lay and monastic patrons and disciples.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis is a case study of the court painter turned drunken eccentric Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century), problematising the implicit affiliation of Liang's brush with Chan visual culture. Through a critical examination of the dichotomous separation of Liang's oeuvre into refined and cursive styles in historic Chinese sources, this chapter explores how the diversity of style and subject matter in his extant works has been received in Japanese and Chinese collections. This analysis is supported by examination of both stable attributions to Liang Kai, widely accepted to be by the artist's own hand, and the augmentation of his oeuvre by later painters who emulated, copied and forged his works in subsequent centuries.<sup>12</sup> Through problematising the distinctive representations of Liang Kai's artistic practice perpetuated and augmented in Chinese and Japanese transmissions of his works, this chapter aims to deconstruct Liang's idealised conflation with Chan and Zen visual culture.

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<sup>12</sup> This chapter's acceptance of the merit of forgery and copying as informative processes through which historic ideals of Liang Kai have been constructed draws on the methodological frameworks proposed by Jonathan Hay: Hay 2008.

The analytical framework of the six chapters of this thesis outlined above approaches visual narratives as a function rather than a quality of Chan figure painting. It is a central contention of this thesis that visual narrative played a crucial role in both the self-representation of monastic communities, and in the appropriation and endorsement of these identities by imperial figures and the scholar official class. Several recent studies highlight the difficulty of defining visual narrative in a Chinese context, revealing that the term has almost as many definitions as it does contexts of application.<sup>13</sup> Scholars such as Cédric Laurent require the unfolding of a story in its entirety upon on a painting's surface.<sup>14</sup> In Laurent's reading, visual narrative is treated as an intrinsic iconographic property of a painting. Narrative is imbued by the painter and unaltered by the painting's reception and use. The viewer's role is limited to passive reception. In this iconographic definition, visual narrative is easily incorporated into historic categories of Chinese painting separated by iconography.<sup>15</sup> However, Laurent's iconographic criteria for the definition of visual narrative do not fit with the material evidence of extant Chan figure paintings from thirteenth to fourteenth century China, as these images explicitly reference hagiographic events without the exposition of a sequential visual narrative. Chan figure paintings from the period under examination in this thesis invariably isolate single events from the lives of their subjects for depiction. These paintings are unequivocally concerned with the representation of action by historic exemplars, but fall short of the Laurent's requirement of a full exposition of a sequential narrative. Thus, an alternative interpretive framework is needed to understand the demonstrable narrative dimensions of paintings of the Chan pantheon.

In proposing an alternative reading of visual narrative to Laurent's requirement of comprehensive serial exposition, this thesis does not propose to resolve the problematic nature of defining the term 'visual narrative'. Instead, the subsequent chapters seek to show how 'visual narrative' can be a useful label for describing a function of Chan imagery completed by the viewer. In this reading, visual narrative is

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<sup>13</sup> See: Green 2013, 238-40; McCausland and Hwang 2014; Murray 2007; Murray 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Laurent 2014.

<sup>15</sup> The *Catalogue of Paintings of the Xuan He Era* (*Xuanhe Huapu* 宣和畫譜) under the auspices of Emperor Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082-1135, r. 1101-25) is a key example of the iconographically delineated canonical typologies for Chinese painting, dating from the century immediately preceding the period examined in this thesis: XHHP.

an extrinsic function of Chan figure paintings, embodied in their reception. The narrative exists in a relationship between the viewer and the object, and not in the object itself. This is an explicit rejection of the idea of any ‘original narrative’ from which subsequent versions derive. Instead, the ensuing analyses read narratives as creative acts of communication, of which there are only versions and no original. Thus, alteration and adaptation through retelling over time shows the development of new, equally legitimate versions of narratives, rather than producing deviations from an imagined source.<sup>16</sup>

By viewing visual narrative as a function rather than a property of painting this thesis analyses how artists and inscribers of Chan figure paintings used narrative allusion to convey diverse meanings to varied audiences in thirteenth and fourteenth century China. The narrative content in Chan figure paintings is evoked through complex relationships between text and image. These relationships locate the viewer’s response to the pictorial surface by evoking preceding and impending action. The visual moment’s narrative context is provided through a number of means: inscribed commentary, viewers’ knowledge of external texts and collective cultural memory, and the spatial and material surroundings of the painted surface.<sup>17</sup> These aggregate evocations of narrative context emphasise the axial importance of the pictorial moment, making it an ‘iconic event’.<sup>18</sup> The exact circumstances of viewing for these thirteenth and fourteenth century paintings cannot be fully reconstructed. However, on the basis of evidence from surviving painting and associated textual records, the following chapters of this thesis argue that visual narrative was one of the key mechanisms through which Chan figural subjects addressed their historic audiences.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Barbara Herrnstein Smith makes a clear and compelling case for treating each iteration of a narrative as an alternative, equally valid, version, illustrating how the problematic privileging of a perceived original can lead one to treat all re-tellings of that story as in some way a deviation: Herrnstein Smith 1981.

<sup>17</sup> The potential role of cultural memory rather than a specific textual precedent for the reading of visual narrative in Chinese painting is explored in: McCausland 2014, 94. David Summers’ analysis of the spatial dimension of the reception of art works has informed the analysis of Chan figure paintings in helping to distinguish between the simulated space of the painted surface, and the “real spatial enclosures” in which these surfaces are seen by their viewers: Summers 2003.

<sup>18</sup> This trope is explored with reference to depictions of seminal figures from antiquity in the following essays: Giuffrida 2014; Liscomb 2006; Nelson 1998a.

<sup>19</sup> Discussions on the context of display and associated functions for Chan and Zen portraiture offer significant insights into historic reception of Chan visual culture, and their agency in

The content of these narratives, the manners in which they were narrated, who created them and to whom they were addressed, why they were told in the first place, and why they are worthy of the attention of modern scholarship are the foci of the questions explored in the following six chapters of this thesis.

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forming and perpetuating lineage through ritual use and exchange: Foulk and Sharf 2003; Lippit 2007c. However, as portraits are static images, predominantly of single figures, they should be distinguished from paintings showing patriarchs in action, the potential uses and meanings of which are examined in this thesis.

This chapter explores the framing of Chan figure paintings as a subject of modern and contemporary art historical discussion, prefacing analysis of their various functions in the visual cultures of medieval China later in the thesis. Discussions of Chan figure painting through the lens of a modern art historical gaze have tended to conceive of Japanese Zen as an inheritor to Chinese Chan. This approach positions Zen and Chan's lineages as part of a continuous tradition, in which Japan's possession of the majority of extant Chan figure paintings is a material inheritance that supports the position of ideological inheritor. Following the approach of Bernard Faure's epistemological critique of the Chan tradition, I argue that Zen should be seen as a successor rather than inheritor of Chan.<sup>20</sup> However, my research differs from Faure's work as it examines the function of material and visual culture within these paradigms of inheritance and succession, and not the paradigms themselves. If Zen is a successor to Chan, rather than an inheritor, the material corpus of surviving Chan figure paintings is no longer *a-priori* a preface to Japanese Zen painting. Put another way, the succession model allows Japanese paintings of the Zen pantheon, and Chinese paintings of the Chan pantheon to have separate histories. There is overlap and resemblance, but these paintings are emphatically not a homogenous group. They are heretogenous products of different people, times and places. Thus, this chapter advocates a reading of Chan figure paintings' lengthy transmission in the Japanese archipelago as a single aspect of their history. To understand the lives of these paintings in China, we need to independently examine the circumstances of their creation and reception on the continent.

In articulating Chan's discrete historic position from Zen arts and institutions, I do not mean to deny or denigrate spiritual experiences of these objects as part of a Zen religious practice. Nor do I refuse to acknowledge that many modern inhabitants of Japan feel a strong affinity with these objects of Chinese manufacture, and articulate that experience through the amorphous terms of culture.<sup>21</sup> What I do emphatically

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<sup>20</sup> Faure 1993, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Gregory Levine has diplomatically distinguished the different constituencies of viewers for *Zen Art*, while making a compelling case for the valuable contribution to knowledge offered

refute is the historic hegemony of essentialist and homogenising readings of Chan figure painting as a subset of Zen art. The continuing impact of such ideas in contemporary art historical analysis will be outlined below through an example from the early 1990s at the Museum Reitberg in Zurich.

In 1993, Helmut Brinker (1939-2012) and Hiroshi Kanazawa's 金澤弘 *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* set a new standard for the international study of Chan and Zen Art. Their catalogue was a thorough survey of the material and visual cultures of Zen monastic communities in Japan, including Chan figure paintings in Japanese collections. However, the prefacing passage reproduced sentiments found in earlier modern scholarship that privileged Japanese receptivity to Zen art on the basis of ethnicity.<sup>22</sup> 'People in Japan' are credited with a unique capacity to internalise religious experience, a spiritual *volkgeist* said to be particularly pronounced among Japanese Zen practitioners.

People in Japan traditionally have tended to experience "all things" of this world, animate and inanimate, from *within*, to let themselves be seized and taken *by* them much more so than in the West, where we try to comprehend and intellectually analyse them from outside. This applies especially to people who have entrusted themselves to Zen Buddhism and its thinking... which in the end retracts everything and emanates the absolute *void* (Chin. *wu*, Jap. *mu*), beyond all form and colour..."<sup>23</sup> [emphasis in the original]

This preface unambiguously idealises reception of Zen art through an internalised, reflexive process. However, *Zen: Masters of Meditation* goes on to empirically analyse the various art forms preserved and practiced in Zen monasteries. The architecture of Zen monasteries and gardens, the technical and material qualities of

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by an art historical reading of these objects. His discussion is revisited below: page 42. Levine, 2007.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to Faure's paradigm of inheritance and succession, and specifically his critiques of D.T. Suzuki, I am also indebted to Robert Sharf's identification of the contradiction inherent in the ethnic nationalism of the essentialised Zen ideal: Faure 1993, 53-67; Sharf 1993.

<sup>23</sup> Quotation from English translation of 1996, original German published in 1993: Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 11; Brinker and Kanazawa 1993.

painting, and the conventions for the display and use of objects are all described and contextualised with refined specificity. Brinker and Kanazawa's focus on a viewer's personal experience of Zen aesthetics is clearly bracketed within the national boundaries of Japan. Yet this national bias is distinct from the aesthetic nationalism of early twentieth century authors, who framed the arts of neighbouring countries in unflattering comparison with Japan's collective heritage.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, Brinker and Kanazawa still grant a privileged receptivity to an abstracted Zen aesthetic to those who by accident of birth are part of the imagined community of the Japanese nation. Linked to this ethnically delineated Zen ideal, Chan figure paintings remain a Japanese inheritance.

The following chapter systematically critiques the sources of Brinker and Kanazawa's essentialisation of Chan and Zen art. Though Japan had a long history of collecting and transforming Chan objects of Chinese manufacture, the sublimation of Chan figure paintings within a Zen art synonymous with the Japanese nation occurred in the wake of the Meiji restoration. In this period new universities and museums were being founded as intellectual agents of Japan's modernisation. These state sponsored institutions underscored a newly modern Japanese national identity through teleological narratives of art history, supported by the systematic registration and categorisation of Japan's historic collections. The origins and development of this art historical narrative's essentialist treatment of Chan figure painting will be explored in two parts. The first and lengthier part analyses the origins of these essentialisations in the writings of Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉 覚三, (1862-1913), Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki 鈴木大拙 貞太郎 (1870-1966), better known as D.T. Suzuki, and Shin'ichi Hisamatsu 久松真一 (1889-1980). The chapter's selection of texts for analysis cannot claim to be exhaustive of the literature on this subject, but it aims to be representative of the arguments and ideological positions adopted by these authors and their peers.<sup>25</sup> The second, shorter section of this chapter explores Chan figure painting's inclusion within Japan's hierarchical register of National Treasures and Important Cultural

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<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the justifications for this form of aesthetic nationalism, either through comparison with other Asian countries, or their outright dismissal in favour of a unitary focus on the exceptional qualities of Japanese art, see: Clark 2005, 7.

<sup>25</sup> The three texts focused on in the first section of this chapter are: Hisamatsu 1971; Okakura 1905; Suzuki 1938.

Properties. This post-script to the preceding discussion examines the history of this artistic canon within the formation of the modern Japanese nation, examining the history of the register, and the limitations it places on the interpretation of Chan paintings of Chinese manufacture.

Fortunately, the historic hegemony of an essentialist conception of Zen aesthetics no longer leads the field. However, the more nuanced approaches of authors such as Gregory Levine, Yukio Lippit, Itakura Masaaki, and Yoshiaki Shimizu have not systematically critiqued the specific limitations imposed on modern discourse by approaching Chan figure painting as a Zen inheritance.<sup>26</sup> Gregory Levine's thoughtful and diplomatic essay problematising the history of enquiry into *Zen Art* comes closest.<sup>27</sup> However, as an art historian of Japan writing in a volume primarily concerning objects of Japanese manufacture, Levine reads Chan figure painting through its relationships to Zen figure painting. His essay makes important strides in opening up the possibility of a new approach that foregrounds the Chinese histories of these objects, but this possible approach is acknowledged rather than explored. While Levine succinctly and effectively challenges the essentialist notion of *Zen Art*, Chan figure paintings remain part of a conflated "Chan/Zen".<sup>28</sup>

The following chapters examine what has been both actively and passively obscured by overlapping conventions for the description, categorisation, and display of Chan figure paintings. This is intended as an overdue critique of Chan figure paintings' recurrent characterisation as an inheritance possessed by Japanese Zen, demonstrating the originality and relevance of this thesis. The subsequent five chapters explore the agency of visual narrative in actively constructing, rather than passively representing the tradition of Chan Buddhism in continental China.

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<sup>26</sup> Levine and Lippit 2007; Lippit 2007c; Nezu Bijutsukan 2004; Shimizu 1985.

<sup>27</sup> Levine italicises *Zen Art*: "to render it less familiar and perhaps open to reconsideration." Levine 2007.

<sup>28</sup> The conflation of Chan and Zen into Chan/Zen recurs throughout Levine's essay.

Asia is one... It has been, however, the great privilege of Japan to realise this unity-in-complexity with a special clearness.

Okakura Kakuzō, 1903<sup>29</sup>

Okakura Kakuzō, also known as Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心, was a formative figure for modern discourse on the art history of Japan and Asia.<sup>30</sup> He wrote extensively in both Japanese and English, publishing works in Japan and the UK. Though the tone of his arguments and aesthetic theories were adapted to their various readerships and context of writing and publication, Okakura's prose recurrently articulated a Japan centred pan-Asian teleology of art historical development.<sup>31</sup> This is most clearly advocated in his seminal text, *Ideals of the East: with Special Reference to the Arts of Japan*. Opening *Ideals of the East* with the iconic line "Asia is one", Okakura spends the next 244 pages cementing Japan at the apex of this three-word monolith.<sup>32</sup>

Okakura's Japan is endowed with qualities both nationally specific, and regionally generic. Writing in English for an international Anglophone readership, he contrasted the arts and cultures of Asia with the Occidental tendency to "dwell on the particular, and to search out the means, not the ends, of life."<sup>33</sup> Such ethnographically delineated essentialist binaries were commonplace in the English language literature of the period. However, *Ideals of the East* was distinctive for its deliberate elevation of Asia as a cultural corpus separate from rather than secondary to Euro-America. Although *Ideals of the East* was only posthumously translated into Japanese in 1922, its pan-Asian Japan centred art historical teleology is representative of Okakura's art historical approach in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>34</sup> Within this teleology, Chan figure paintings were unequivocally positioned as a preface to the later developments of Zen painting in Japan. In Okakura's estimations, China's

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<sup>29</sup> Okakura 1905, 1-3.

<sup>30</sup> For a comprehensive biography of Okakura see: Kinoshita 2005.

<sup>31</sup> The variation in Okakura's rhetorical style in response to his diverse readerships is discussed in: Korhonen 2001.

<sup>32</sup> For discussions of the continuing impact and relevance of Okakura's pan-Asian utopian ideal on critical discourse over regional Asian identity, see: Tankha 2009.

<sup>33</sup> Okakura 1905, 1.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of the dates of publication of Okakura's work in Japanese translation, see: Korhonen 2001, 110.

cultural production was both a material inheritance owned by Japanese aristocrats and institutions, and an artistic inheritance developed by Japanese painters.

*The Ideals of the East's* pan-Asian theory of aesthetics was shaped by the circumstances of its production. Written in India among Hindu nationalists in 1902, the text combines opposition to colonial conceptions of Asia with art historical justifications for Japanese national exceptionalism.<sup>35</sup> Chinese art is also subsumed within this Japan centred paradigm, as a conduit through which Indian Buddhism is transmitted to Japan. The turbulence of dynastic change and repeated invasion are deployed to undermine any claim to Chinese patrimony over historic Asian culture. In Okakura's estimation China's cultural legacy had ossified, comprised solely of "her literature and her ruins".<sup>36</sup> Japan, by contrast, had enjoyed a unique and distinctive history that conveniently justified ideological and material patrimony over Asia's collective heritage. Okakura proclaims that "The unique blessing of unbroken sovereignty... made Japan the real repository of Asiatic thought and culture".<sup>37</sup> The text of *Ideals of the East* is based upon lectures delivered by Okakura to a group of English women in India in 1901. Among this group was the Irish Hindu convert Sister Nivedita. Born Margaret Elisabeth Noble (1867-1911), Sister Nivedita was a disciple of Hindu nationalist Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902).<sup>38</sup> It was through Vivekananda that Okakura met another esteemed Hindu nationalist, the Bengali poet and statesman Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). While Okakura was the sole author of *The Ideals of the East*, the English text was transcribed and edited by Sister Nivedita. Thus, the editing and compiling process filtered Okakura's prose through his Hindu milieu's ideal of a pan-Asian unity. This added a political dimension of colonial resistance to the unity of Asia through which Okakura framed Japan's axial position.

*Ideals of the East*, *The Awakening of the East* and *The Awakening of Japan* (two other texts Okakura wrote around that time) contain pointedly martial metaphors in their

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<sup>35</sup> For a detailed chronology of Okakura's time in India, and of the people with whom he met, see: Kinoshita 2005, 232-4.

<sup>36</sup> Okakura 1905, 5.

<sup>37</sup> Okakura 1905, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Kinoshita 2005, 232-4; Korhonen 2001, 109-110.

calls for pan-Asian unity and opposition to colonial oppression.<sup>39</sup> While the relationship between Okakura's rhetorical violence, early twentieth-century Japanese nationalism, and Japanese imperial expansionism in the Pacific War is a rich topic for further enquiry it is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>40</sup> For this enquiry into Chan figure paintings' historic reception, it is enough to establish that Okakura's aesthetic theories in *Ideals of the East* were highly political and consciously polemical. They were embedded within both pan-Asian resistance to occidental hegemony, and the consensus of his Tokyo milieu on the primacy of Japanese arts within the history of the East Asian region. It is within this framework that Okakura positioned Chan figure paintings as a Japanese inheritance.

Following four prefacing chapters on the unity of Asia, Chinese Confucianism, Chinese Daoism, and Indian Buddhism, *Ideals of the East* elaborates the aesthetic dimensions of Japan's successive political epochs, from 550 to 1903 CE. Chinese "Zen" arts and artists are embedded in this continuum as a preface to their Japanese successors. The creative oppression of China's 'Confucian formalism' is contrasted with Zen's intrinsic spontaneity cultivated in Ashikaga Japan.

The Song dynasty was a great age of art and art criticism. Their painters, especially from the time of Emperor Kiso [Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082-1135, r. 1100-1126)], in the twelfth century, himself a great artist and a patron, had shown some appreciation of this spirit, as we see in Bayen and Kakei [Ma Yuan 馬遠 (late 12<sup>th</sup> early 13<sup>th</sup> century) and Xia Gui 夏珪 (active 1195-1224)], in Mokkei and Ryōkai [Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century) and Liang Kai 梁楷 (active late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)], whose small works express vast ideas. But it required the artists of the Ashikaga, representing the Indian trend of the Japanese mind released from Confucian formalism, to absorb the Zen idea in all its intensity and purity... The natural tendency of artistic form under this influence was pure, solemn, and full of simplicity.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For discussion of these texts production and reception, see: Clark 2005, 18; Korhonen 2001, 116-22.

<sup>40</sup> Historic reception of Okakura's pan-Asian ideology is discussed in a number of thoughtful essays in: Tankha 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Okakura 1905, 178-9.

In Okakura's argument the declared value of Zen, inclusive of Chan, is contingent upon its position within his Japan-centered teleology of Asian artistic development. The ultimate Japanese patrimony over Chan and Zen art is supposedly engendered by the compatibility between an idealised Zen artistic substrate, and the historic catalyst of Japanese culture under the Ashikaga Shogunate. Here the Chinese Song painters embody a *zeitgeist*, while the Ashikaga painters are a *volkgeist*. What in China was temporally bracketed within the spirit of a now bygone age endured in Japan as the spirit of a people. Okakura exemplifies this sentiment in his selection of Song dynasty artists that illustrate the transfer of artworks from China to Japan. These artists were to form the basis of an aesthetic canon of National Treasures discussed later in this chapter.

The rhetorical use of a Zen ideal to distinguish Japanese exceptionalism from a Chinese decline was revisited in Okakura's later work, *The Book of Tea*.<sup>42</sup> This text was written while working at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, explicitly addressing an educated North American audience on the social etiquette, architectural context, art display practices, and flower arrangements involved in the Japanese tea ceremony.<sup>43</sup> Okakura argues that the conventions for elite tea consumption in his own day embodied a unique national aesthetic sensibility, in which Zen played a key part. When articulating a history for this aesthetic ideal, Okakura's makes a similar rhetorical use of China's Song dynasty to justify Japanese exceptionalism as in *Ideals of the East*. He argues that Chan monks' (whom he refers to as Zen monks) consumption of tea before an image of Bodhidharma "finally developed into the Tea-ceremony in fifteenth century Japan". However, Okakura is quick to stress the erasure of this Chinese cultural form during the Mongol invasion.<sup>44</sup> As with the transfer of Zen painting practices from the continent to the archipelago, Okakura frames Chinese tea culture as an illustration of loss. In ensuring his readers understand that Japan is

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<sup>42</sup> Okakura 1989 [First edition, 1906]. For a detailed analysis of the context of the works production, see: Murai 2002.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of Okakura's career and published output while working for the Fine Art Museum in Boston, see: Kinoshita 2005, 259-85.

<sup>44</sup> Okakura 1989 [First edition, 1906], 51.

the sole inheritor and custodian of this form of “Zen ritual”, Okakura reinforces his earlier marginalisation of Chinese Chan.

Okakura’s assertion of Japanese patrimony over figure paintings of Chan subjects accords with the approach of his teacher, the American art historian and professor of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University Ernest Fenollosa. In his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Fenollosa framed paintings of Zen subjects made under the Ashikaga Shogunate as a natural continuum with Chan images produced under the Southern Song. Praising Japanese artists’ superior sensitivity to an abstracted Zen, Fenollosa describes their reception of Muxi’s painting style in the following terms: “The Japanese, being fortunately free from Confucian bias, in the Ashikaga days at least, could adopt his school at its real worth, as the very core of Zen feelings”.<sup>45</sup> It is true that the vast majority of Muxi’s oeuvre has indeed been preserved in Japan, and texts dismissing his painterly abilities reflect at least one aspect of his historic reception in China.<sup>46</sup> However, the meanings that Chan paintings have come to embody in Japanese visual culture have developed over a protracted period of transmission. The Japanese reception of Chan figure painting should be treated as a historical process of interest in its own right, rather than anachronistically assumed to reflect and perpetuate earlier Chinese practices and attitudes.

Paintings such as Muxi’s Guanyin, Crane and Gibbons triptych in the Daitokuji monastery 大徳寺 in Kyoto have been integral to Zen monasteries’ modern and historic self-identification through art (figs. 1.2-1.4). Muxi’s triptych is always shown on Daitokuji monastery’s annual autumn painting airing (*mushiboshi* 曝涼), while other elements of the monastery’s extensive painting collection are displayed on a rotational basis. Dating back to at least the sixteenth century, the modern incarnation of this display integrates approaches to paintings as objects of religious devotion with their documentation as cultural artefacts.<sup>47</sup> The value of the triptych is evident at a national level in its registration as a Japanese National Treasure. Within the confines of the monastery, the paintings’ display underscores their value, occupying a central

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<sup>45</sup> Fenollosa 1912, 47-8.

<sup>46</sup> For a critical discussion of Muxi’s biography in Xia Wenyan’s 夏文彦 (1312-70) *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*Tu Hui Bao Jian* 圖繪寶鑑) of 1365, see: Weidner 2009.

<sup>47</sup> Levine 2005, 228.

position facing the Chinese style gate (*karamon* 唐門) that sits opposite the central room of the abbot's quarters where the triptych is hung. Thus, these monumental works of a Chinese Chan figure painter have become integral to the Daitokuji's representation of Zen visual culture in modern Kyoto.

In spite of the inclusion of historic Chinese Chan works into the collection of Japanese Zen institutions, Fenollosa's early twentieth century contrasting of a Japanese Zen spirit with a unitary Chinese Confucianism reductively simplifies the creation and reception of both Chan and Zen figure paintings. Moreover, there are several other styles of Chinese painting that have been preserved in Japan but lost on the continent. The conscious realism of Luo Zhichuan's 羅稚川 (c. 1265- c 1330s) landscape style in *Snowy River* 雪江圖 fell out of favour with Chinese connoisseurs, yet continued to be valued among Japanese collections.<sup>48</sup> The preservation of many Chinese painting subjects and styles in Japan now lost in China is an exceptionally valuable legacy, filling in many important gaps in the study of Chinese and East Asian painting history. Today we readily acknowledge that the disparate histories of Chinese and Japanese transmissions of these artworks resulted from a complex set of factors, connected to the changing histories of the archipelago and the continent. However, in Fenollosa's day the art historical project in Japan, as with many other countries in Asia and Europe, was explicitly concerned with ideals of the nation. Thus, he sought to explain the distinctive transmission of Chan figure paintings in Japan by contrasting the receptivity of Japanese "Zen feelings" with a Chinese "Confucian bias". Through this juxtaposition, Fenollosa supplants Chan and Zen's complex visual cultures with a reading of paintings as an expression of national essence. In doing so, he provides a clear model for Okakura's later elaboration of a Zen ideal as part of his conception of Japanese exceptionalism.

This primacy of Zen painters over their Chinese predecessors is given even greater emphasis by Okakura. However, Okakura's assertion of a relationship between artistic development in continental Asia and the narrative of Japanese art history was markedly more inclusive than many of his contemporaries. When Okakura retired from the majority of his positions in 1898, his academic contemporary and sometime

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<sup>48</sup> McCausland 2013.

rival, Fukuchi Fukuichi 福地復一 (1862-1909) replaced him as editor of the official *History of Japanese Art*, published in French translation for the 1900 'Exposition Universelle' as *Histoire du l'Art du Japon*.<sup>49</sup> In this work Fukuchi marginalised all relationships between continental cultures and the art of Japan. Instead, the narrative of *Histoire du l'Art du Japon* was centred on an unbroken 10,000-generation line of imperial rule. Contrastingly, Okakura had granted Chinese art a significant role in the formation of the archipelago's aesthetic sensibilities.<sup>50</sup> Yet, in accordance with the aesthetic nationalism of his day, even Okakura's pan-Asian vision described this cross-cultural unity within a Japan centred hierarchy.<sup>51</sup>

In spite of this tendency to subsume Chinese painting within a Japanese narrative of art history, prominent early twentieth century Japanese scholars such as Omura Segai 大村西崖 (1868-1927) articulated an art history of China in its own right. In keeping with the popularity of grand narrative structures in early twentieth century scholarship, Seigai's 1920 *Shina Bijutsu Shi* 支那美術史 (*History of Chinese Art*) offers an expansive exposition of China's national stylistic development through a canon of named artists.<sup>52</sup> Painters of Chan subjects such as Liang Kai and Muxi Fachang are examined through examples of their works preserved in Japan.<sup>53</sup> Among the subsequent generation of scholars who developed Seigai's empirical and typological approach, Suzuki Kei's 鈴木敬 (1920-2007) expansive bibliography includes one of the most comprehensive extant catalogues of Chinese painting history.<sup>54</sup> Depictions of Chan subjects occupy notable positions within both these author's outputs. This empirical tradition based on canonical masterworks from Japanese collections is not without its own constraints. These will be discussed in later in this chapter in relation to the register of National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties, while the implications of Liang Kai's position in the canon of Chan and Zen art will be examined in greater depth chapter six. Nonetheless, these authors illustrate that modern histories of Chan figure paintings in Japanese

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<sup>49</sup> Fukuchi 2005 [Reprint of 1900 first edition].

<sup>50</sup> Clark 2005, 21.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the global rise of nationalist ideology in this period see: Anderson, 1983.

<sup>52</sup> Accessed via Chinese translation: Omura, 1967 [first edition 1920].

<sup>53</sup> Omura 1967, 136.

<sup>54</sup> Suzuki 1982.

collections were not solely framed within Okakura's particular version of Japanese nationalism.

Yet in 1993 Brinker and Kanazawa were still predisposed to subsume Chan figure paintings within Zen aesthetic nationalism. The following discussion of the writings of DT Suzuki and Shini'ichi Hisamatsu argues that the narratives of national exceptionalism exemplified by Okakura were appropriated in the formation of a specific Zen aesthetic theory. In the following passage, I argue that the aesthetic dimension of Zen constructed by Suzuki and Hisamatsu was a nationalistic neologism. This ideal of Zen Art has had an enduring impact in masking the heterogeneity of Chan and Zen visual cultures.

*The Aesthetic Theories of D.T. Suzuki and Shin'ichi Hisamatsu*

Zen gave great impetus to the development of Chinese philosophy in the Song dynasty, and also to the growth of a certain school of painting... The paintings of the Southern Song thus came to find their ardent admirers on this side of the sea, and are now national treasures of Japan, while in China no specimens of this class of painting are to be found.

D.T. Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture*, 1938 (republished 1959)<sup>55</sup>

With a career spanning the better part of a century, DT Suzuki's collected works in Japanese total thirty-two volumes, with over thirty titles to his name in English. As one of the most prominent and influential twentieth century authors on Zen Buddhism, he devoted the majority of his vast published output to discussions on the nature of Zen religious practice. However, his 1938 text, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture*, republished in 1959, had a profound impact on art histories of Chan and Zen figure painting in the following decades, most pronounced in English language scholarship.<sup>56</sup> Despite the presence of a prominent counter narrative to Suzuki's subsuming of Chan within a phenomenological reading of Zen,

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<sup>55</sup> Suzuki 1938, 13; Suzuki 1959, 21.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of authors on Zen art whose writings reflect or emulate DT Suzuki, see: Levine 2007, 57-8.

he remained one of the most influential and prolific writers on Zen throughout the twentieth century.<sup>57</sup>

Following conventions established by Okakura and his contemporaries, DT Suzuki celebrated the Song dynasty as a temporary flowering of Zen artistic ideals quickly superseded by their fuller embodiment in Japan. Referring to the cultural production of both China and Japan as Zen, Chan is ideologically and rhetorically subsumed within its Japanese successor. In the above quote Suzuki justifies Japanese patrimony over Chinese Song paintings of Chan figural subjects by juxtaposing their reception in Japan and China. In Suzuki's account, Japanese audiences have both appreciated and preserved these works because of their Zen qualities. This positions Chinese Chan figure paintings as a material inheritance of Japanese Zen. Suzuki legitimises this inheritance by ascribing Japanese viewers with a unique receptivity to the purported Zen quality of Chinese paintings, musing on whether this is due to "the racial psychology of the Japanese people".<sup>58</sup> By stressing these paintings' canonisation as national treasures, Suzuki also asserts the patrimony of the Japanese nation over these objects of Chinese manufacture. In Suzuki's estimation, Song paintings embody a Zen ideal inextricably linked to a Japanese national essence. This essence is encapsulated in his statement: "Zen has internally entered into every phase of the cultural life of the [Japanese] people".<sup>59</sup> While scholars of religion have made prominent critiques of Suzuki's equation of Zen with Japanese national character, these ideals have been surprisingly tenacious in academic studies that address Chan figure painting. As discussed above, receptivity to Zen art is presented as a form of Japanese national exceptionalism (*nihonjinron* 日本人論) as late as the 1990s, with even leading scholars Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa reductively juxtaposing "people in Japan" with "the West".<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> These critiques emerged as early as the 1980s, and were further elaborated in the 1990s and 2000s. The following three sources are among the most articulate and insightful comments from a wider critical reading of Zen essentialism: Faure 1986; Faure 1993, especially 53-67; Sharf 1993.

<sup>58</sup> Suzuki 1938, 13.

<sup>59</sup> Suzuki 1938, 13.

<sup>60</sup> Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 11. For a broader critical discussion of discourses of Japanese national exceptionalism in contemporary scholarship, see: Befu 2001.

Suzuki develops his ideal of Zen aesthetics through examples from the oeuvres of the Song artists, Ma Yuan, Muxi, and Liang Kai.<sup>61</sup> These are three of the four painters Okakura used to illustrate the early development of Zen aesthetics in China, omitting only Xia Gui.<sup>62</sup> Where Okakura presented these artists' oeuvres as a genre of Zen painting in Song China, Suzuki uses the paintings' formal qualities to construct his own system of Zen aesthetics. By treating these paintings as illustrative of his nationalist religious ideals, he overlooks the Chinese geographic and cultural contexts of their production. This is particularly pronounced in his reading of *Lone Fisherman on a Winter River* 寒江獨釣圖 (fig. 1.1), attributed to Ma Yuan. Ascribing the unsigned painting the reduced title *A Solitary Angler*, Suzuki describes the early thirteenth century court painter's work in the following terms:

A simple fishing boat in the midst of the rippling waters is enough to awake in the reader a sense of the vastness of the sea and at the same time of peace and contentment – the Zen sense of the Alone.<sup>63</sup> [Capitalisations in the original].

Presuming the pictorial action is located on the sea, Suzuki obscures the geographic context on the work's production. As a painting collected by Ma Yuan's imperial patron, Empress Yang 楊皇后 of the Southern Song (1162-1233), the scene almost certainly refers to the lakes and rivers of the Jiangnan region around the Southern Song capital of Lin'an 臨安.<sup>64</sup> To the Southern Song viewer, paintings of fishermen and woodcutters were a well-established trope for idealised reclusion. Yet to Suzuki, this image is evocative of a psychological experience related to his religious practice of Zen.

By obfuscating the Chinese geographic and cultural context for which this image was painted, Suzuki is able to reposition the pictorial action onto the open sea. This better suits his reading of the Zen quality of the image, locating the fisherman within a vast body of water that amplifies the rhetorical impact of his 'Zen sense of the Alone'. He

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<sup>61</sup> Suzuki 1938, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Okakura 1905, 178-9.

<sup>63</sup> Suzuki 1938, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Empress Yang's collection of this painting is attested by a partially cut off seal in the lower right: Edwards 2011, 34.

goes on to clarify that this ‘Aloneness’ is a translation of the Japanese term *sabi*.<sup>65</sup> To Suzuki, the *sabi* quality of an image or object is evident in the response it elicits in the viewer, prompting introspection and contemplation. By centring his analysis on the internal psychological response of the viewer to the painting, Suzuki’s appraisal of *Fisherman* goes beyond earlier nationalist views of artistic teleology. Chan’s visual expression in China is still subordinated to an ideal of Japanese Zen art. However, that ideal is explored by equating Suzuki’s own internal psychological experience as a viewer of the image with a Zen aesthetic. Suzuki imposes his contemporary religious experience onto the historic meaning of the object. This reflects a broader tendency in his writing to present Zen as a timeless ideal, rather than an evolving ideology embodied in texts and images.

Suzuki’s assertion that Zen should be understood as an a-historic quality is perhaps most clearly expressed in a polemical exchange with the eminent historian of China, Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962).<sup>66</sup> This conception of Zen’s existence outside of history is exemplified by Suzuki’s injunction that Hu examine “Zen in itself”.<sup>67</sup> For Suzuki, Zen, and by extension Chan, are to be experienced rather than analysed. This correspondence frames two incompatible approaches to the ontology of Chan and Zen. To Hu, Chan and Zen were distinctive historical traditions. They exist as products of human activity, accessible through texts and images.<sup>68</sup> Chan and Zen had distinct ways of being, and these ways of being were subject to change over time. For Suzuki, Chan and Zen were singular. Their unified way of being transcended the critical appraisal of modern intellectuals, and did not change over time.

Indeed, this conflation of Chan’s Chinese history and Zen’s development in Japan into a singular essence is reflected in the breadth of historic exemplars Suzuki cites to support his argument. He concludes his response to Hu Shih with a discussion of the Tang dynasty monk Xiangyan Zhixian’s 香巖智閑 (799-898/9), citing his rejection of

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<sup>65</sup> Suzuki 1938, 24.

<sup>66</sup> This polemical exchange, and the contrasting conceptions of Chan and Zen presented by these two mid twentieth century scholars, are discussed in a 2009 volume of essays published by Fudan University. However, there is a notable error in the ascription of Arthur Wailey’s 1927 review of Suzuki’s *Essays on Zen Buddhism* to Hu Shih: Barrett 1989; Gong 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Suzuki 1953, 26 & 39.

<sup>68</sup> Hu 1953.

learning from written sources and eventual enlightenment in an act of manual labour as an illustration of Zen individualism, equated with his notion of “Zen in itself”.<sup>69</sup> Zhixian’s experience of awakening is made analogous with Suzuki’s claim to enlightenment. Thus, in spite of his claims that Zen exists beyond the bounds of history, Suzuki’s self-fashioning as an enlightened Zen layman, and spokesperson for Zen’s place in Japanese culture, is supported through a rhetorical associations with the hagiography of a Chan exemplar from Chinese antiquity. The inherent contradiction of Suzuki’s simultaneous reliance on and dismissal of Chan and Zen’s historical dimension are sidelined by his assertion that Zen is a mode of experience. To Suzuki, Zen was phenomenological rather than historical. Thus, Suzuki argues, when manifest in creative human action Zen was “beyond the ken of discursive understanding”.<sup>70</sup> Such an approach effectively negates the possibility of meaningful engagement with Chan figure paintings as anything other than a source of religious insight.

Both Suzuki and Hu’s approaches to the history of Chan have been the subject of extensive revision by later scholars, most prominently Bernard Faure. Faure’s 1993 *Chan Insights and Oversights* built on his earlier essay on the historicity of Bodhidharma, offering a powerful critique of Suzuki’s rhetorical strategies for the elevation of Zen beyond discursive analysis, and Hu’s projection of modern humanist rationalism onto historic Chan texts.<sup>71</sup> Faure notes how Suzuki’s self-orientalising discourse positions him as the mediator of Eastern mystery to his English language readership, using this adopted position of insight to assert an interpretive hegemony over Zen.<sup>72</sup> Faure also problematises Hu’s approach to Chan history, where Tang dynasty religious texts were sifted for elements of rational thought, contrasted with their mythological and irrational dimensions.<sup>73</sup> Thus, both Suzuki and Hu are shown to have ignored the earlier functions and meanings of Chan and Zen texts, doctrines, and images, instead constructing narratives that overlook the possibility of alternative meanings to these objects.

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<sup>69</sup> Suzuki 1953, 45.

<sup>70</sup> Suzuki 1938, 9. As Timothy Barrett has shown, this polemic was not limited to Suzuki’s exchange with Hu Shih. The eminent British Sinologist Arthur Waley offered an earlier critique in an anonymous review of Suzuki’s 1927 *Essays in Zen Buddhism*: Barrett 1989.

<sup>71</sup> Faure 1993; Faure 1986.

<sup>72</sup> Faure 1993, 53-4.

<sup>73</sup> Faure 1993, 97.

Though Faure's *Insight and Oversights* remains a seminal text in the reassessment of Chan history and Chan historicity, a recent publication by the late John McRae (1947-2011) offers important reflections on the methodology of this critique. McRae's posthumously published 2014 essay on sixth century representations of Bodhidharma illustrates the drawbacks of Faure's extensive reliance on contemporary cultural theorists.<sup>74</sup> McRae credits Faure with the introduction of "a new form of post-modern structuralist analysis" to the field of Chan studies, but notes that his extensive reliance on modern cultural criticism, and an attendant post-modern disillusionment with the notion of an historic narrative, come at the expense of careful appraisal of primary Chinese language materials.<sup>75</sup> Specifically, McRae critiques Faure's reading of the *Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang* (*Luoyang Qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記) (before 547), noting that Faure's earlier characterisation of Bodhidharma as "a devout and somewhat senile monk" misses the broader context of the text.<sup>76</sup> Through a close analysis of this text McRae shows that Bodhidharma's venerable age was a demonstration of the efficacy of his religious practice. While McRae's reading of Bodhidharma's biography in the *Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang* makes no claims to holistically reconstruct the sage as an historic figure, it does allow us to reconstruct his earliest representations, and to examine these representations in the religious context of the *Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang*. McRae's critique of Faure's methodology is by no means a revival of Zen essentialist notions of history, nor an assertion of a teleological narrative of Chan's development in China supplanting the plural narratives of Faure's post-modernism. Instead, McRae and Faure's collective contributions to the field prompt us to ask further questions about the context in which Chan hagiographic figures are represented, through the holistic examination of original source material within a methodological framework aware of its own critical limitations.

The rhetorical integration of Zen into the basic structures of Japanese society also met with rebuttals from within the Japanese scholarly establishment of the 1990s, in a

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<sup>74</sup> McRae 2014.

<sup>75</sup> McRae 2014, 129.

<sup>76</sup> Faure 1993, 127; Faure 1986, 189; McRae 2014, 134.

movement that identified itself as Critical Buddhism (Hihan Bukkyō 批判仏教).<sup>77</sup> While the Critical Buddhism movement made major contributions to understanding of historic and contemporary perceptions of Zen, its aims had an even broader reach. The movement's two leading proponents Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭 and Matsumoto Shirō 松本史朗 were advocating the merits of critical analysis and rational thought, in both academic scholarship on Buddhism, and in the lived practice of Buddhism by its religious adherents in various schools.<sup>78</sup>

In its application to the writing of Zen histories, Critical Buddhism stressed the need for a critical historical consciousness. Such critical consciousness had a moral dimension as it pertained to the interpretation of Zen schools' and sects' relationship to Japanese culture. These scholars' conclusions go so far as to argue that historic Japanese Zen institutional practices are not "true Buddhism", instead serving to only reflect and reinforce the institutional privilege of historic elites. This complicity of Zen institutions in the segregation of society through a Japanese class system is discussed at length in William Bodiford's provocatively titled essay, "Zen and the Art of Religious Prejudice". Bodiford frames the emergence of the Critical Buddhism movement as a reaction to the continued marginalisation of outcast groups in contemporary Japan, known as *burakumin* 部落民. This was enacted through *burakumin* families' listings within necrologies (*kakochō* 過去帳) kept in Sōtō Zen temples, used to identify and exclude them from employment, marriage, and other areas of society.<sup>79</sup> In response, Critical Buddhism offered corrective readings of Sōtō Zen teachings, refuting the legitimacy of *burakumin*'s marginalisation. However, as Bodiford notes, these scholars of Critical Buddhism occasionally lacked a consciousness of their own historical context, where their correctives to historic prejudices also provided an apologist narrative for Sōtō institutions.<sup>80</sup> These ongoing debates show how disputes over the histories of Chan and Zen have an enduring

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<sup>77</sup> For a series of insightful essays on this subject, see: Hubbard and Swanson 1997.

<sup>78</sup> The emergence of the Critical Buddhism movement, its distinctive approach to Buddhist scholarship and practice, and the impact of the historic context in which the movement emerged in shaping the new approaches it offered is summarised by Jamie Hubbard in the introduction to *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: the Storm Over Critical Buddhism*: Hubbard and Swanson 1997, vii-xiii.

<sup>79</sup> Bodiford 1996, 9.

<sup>80</sup> Bodiford 1996, 20-1.

relevance to living communities. Moreover, the arguments levied by the Critical Buddhism movement also highlight how conflation of Zen with Japanese culture has at times inhibited the confrontation of entrenched social prejudice.

Suzuki's phenomenological ideals of Zen found their most systematic application to visual culture in Shin'ichi Hisamatsu's 1958 work *Zen to Bijutsu* 禅と美術, translated into English as *Zen and the Fine Arts* in 1971. Hisamatsu codified Zen art through seven characteristics; asymmetry, simplicity, austere sublimity or lofty dryness, naturalness, subtle profundity or deep reserve, freedom from attachment, and tranquillity.<sup>81</sup> Aside from asymmetry, all of these characteristics refer primarily to the internal psychological experiences of the viewer. Hisamatsu's Zen aesthetics are defined by audience reception, rather than through the formal qualities or contexts of material and visual culture.

Hisamatsu elaborates his Zen aesthetic system by pairing each positive characteristic with the absence of an obstruction. He explains these corresponding presences and absences as criteria required to constitute what he terms the Formless Self, *musū no jiko* 無相の自己 in Japanese.<sup>82</sup> This Formless Self is an ideal state of being, generated in the Zen practitioner. It is embodied neither in a physical form, such as the material surface of a painting, nor in an abstract mental formation, such as the notion of a painting's aesthetic value.<sup>83</sup> Instead, it is experiential, echoing Suzuki's earlier phenomenological approach to the definition of Zen art. Hisamatsu argues that this Formless Self is related to Zen art as a psychological reaction to the principle embodied in objects: "The fundamental subject of expression [in Zen art] can only be

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<sup>81</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 28-38.

<sup>82</sup> Seven characteristics and their corresponding aspects of the formless self are as follows: 'asymmetry' 不均斉 with the unmanifest (*adīnatva*) 無法, translated as 'no rule'; 'simplicity' 簡素 with 'no complexity' (*avyavakīrṇa*) 無雜; 'austere sublimity' or 'lofty dryness' 枯高 with 'no rank' (*anavakāśa*) 無位; 'naturalness' 故意とらしくないといらこと with a state of 'no mind' 無心; 'subtle profundity' or 'deep reserve' 幽玄 with an unfathomable quality that equates to release from the discriminating mind (*aneka*) 無底, translated as 'no bottom'; freedom from attachment 脱俗 with the absence of obstruction (*anāvaraṇa*) 無礙, translated as 'no hinderance'; and tranquillity 靜寂 with 'no stirring' 無動: Hisamatsu 1958, 68-78; Hisamatsu 1971, 53-9.

<sup>83</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 45-6.

considered in the context of Zen... Zen is the Self-Awareness of the Formless Self”.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, Hisamatsu’s didactic definition of Zen art through prescribed modes of reception explicitly privilege Japanese culture. Japan’s exceptional position as the optimal context for the generation of appropriate reception of Zen aesthetics is framed within a familiar narrative, Zen art’s decline in China and ascendance in Japan:

What in China had not yet appeared, or was present only embryonically, developed greatly after coming to Japan... China excelled, but only during the Song and Yuan periods; during the Ming and after, China had little to offer.<sup>85</sup>

Hisamatsu expands on the established narrative for Zen aesthetics in his use of the bodily metaphor of pregnancy. By characterising China’s cultural production as embryonic, he sharply distinguishes a conscious Japanese Zen art from its unconscious gestation in China.

The seven characteristics are articulated in relation to objects and architectural sites in disparate media, with varied contexts of original production and subsequent use. This disparate group are unified in their circumstances of preservation and collection, all found within Japanese institutions. Yet *Zen and the Fine Arts* disregards Zen artworks’ diverse contexts of production and reception. Echoing Suzuki, Hisamatsu exempts the creative agency behind Zen art from discursive analysis. He presents Zen’s aesthetic system as not only self-contained, but also self-generating. The reflexive agency of Zen creativity constituted an active dismissal of the historicity of Chan and Zen’s associated visual cultures.

What is of greatest significance in this literature, however, is not so much that it gives objective expression to Zen, as that Zen is present as a self-expressive, creative subject. In other words that which is expressing itself and that which is expressed are identical... the same can be said not only of Zen literature, but of other Zen “Self-creative” arts as well...<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 45.

<sup>85</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 24-5.

<sup>86</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 16. For original Japanese see: Hisamatsu 1958, 8.

Within this framework paintings identified as Zen become intermediary forms between the viewer and an ultimate reality of awakening, articulated through the concept of a “Formless Self” discussed above. The artist’s agency is supplanted by that of his subject matter, a historically constant Zen. In his discussion of Liang Kai’s *Śākyamuni Emerging from Mountains* 釋迦出山圖 (fig. 2.1), we see how Hisamatsu reads the image through a phenomenological experience of viewing rather than the historical context of its production.

Liang Kai’s painting is used more than any other single work to illustrate Hisamatsu’s seven characteristics in *Zen and the Fine Arts*; cited in definitions of asymmetry, austere sublimity or lofty dryness, subtle profundity or deep reserve, and tranquility.<sup>87</sup> Identifying the painting as a condensation of all seven characteristics, Hisamatsu discusses Liang Kai’s *Śākyamuni* as the first of 37 “selected appreciations”.<sup>88</sup> His reading of the painting addresses formal qualities such as the use of broken ink style brushwork (Chinese *pomo* 破墨, Japanese *haboku*), and the iconographic significance of Śākyamuni as the founder of Chan and Zen lineages.<sup>89</sup> However, Hisamatsu’s commentaries on the material and visual properties of the painting are secondary to his use of the painting as a site for exegesis on Zen ideology. The conclusion of the “appreciation” of Liang Kai’s painting makes it clear that Hisamatsu only values the visual and material properties of artworks as instruments that engender religious awakening:

Of the seven characteristics, Tranquillity is best expressed in this painting; that is, it expresses what is prior to experience by means of what has appearance.<sup>90</sup>

To Hisamatsu, art historical enquiry is at best a means to an end. That end is the religious experience of Zen, on which Hisamatsu assumes a position of authority throughout *Zen and the Fine Arts*. The correlation of Hisamatsu’s theories of aesthetics and those of Suzuki is no accidental correlation. While a visiting professor at Harvard University’s School of Divinity in 1958, Hisamatsu and Suzuki discussed

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<sup>87</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 30-1, 33 & 36.

<sup>88</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 62.

<sup>89</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 62.

<sup>90</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 62.

Westerners' lack of receptivity to Zen, reaching a quick consensus on the unique spiritual capacities of their Japanese compatriots relative to their Western hosts.<sup>91</sup> This dialogue took place in the year of *Zen to Bijutsu*'s publication, underscoring the nationalist dimension of Hisamatsu's approach to Zen aesthetics.

Though Hisamatsu's seven characteristics function primarily as a platform for pedagogy on modern laymen's Zen, they remain the most systematic attempt to articulate a distinctive quality to Zen art.<sup>92</sup> Now, more than half a century since their publication, they are a rich illustration for historic modes for the reception of Zen art in post-war Japan. However, later art historical studies pertaining to Chan figure paintings continued to apply Hisamatsu's characteristics as a framework for analysis of historic visual and material culture. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922-2006), one of the leading scholars of Chan and Zen history in the twentieth century, was a student of Hisamatsu. Writing in 1981 on the historical distinction between Chan and Zen art in China and Japan, Seizan's discussion opens by referencing his teacher's systematic approach to the correlation of Zen material and visual culture with Japanese national identity. Seizan's reliance on Hisamatsu's approach leads him to juxtapose a Confucian and Daoist cultural context of Chan art with later development as Japanese Zen art. Seizan also reinforces the conceptual solidity of Hisamatsu's generalised characteristics (*sei kaku* 性格) by repackaging them as abstracted principles (*gen ri* 原理):

'Professor [Hisamatsu Shin'ichi] has summed up the aesthetic consciousness of Japanese people into seven principles - asymmetry, simplicity, austere sublimity, naturalness, subtle profundity, freedom from attachment, and tranquillity - and then showed that each of these originates in Zen thought.'

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<sup>91</sup> Sharf 1993, 28.

<sup>92</sup> Sharf discusses Suzuki and Hisamatsu's shared position as lay practitioners, noting that lay Zen was neither respected nor accepted by the orthodoxies of Japanese Zen monasticism. Sharf 1993, 40.

先生はこの本で日本人の美意識を、不均齊・簡素・枯高・自然・幽玄・脱俗・静寂という、七つの原理にまとめて、それらがいずれも禅の思想からくることを、詳しく指摘されています。<sup>93</sup>

Brinker and Kanazawa's appraisal of Hisamatsu's seven characteristics echo Seizan's 1981 reiteration of Hisamatsu's nationalist notions of Chan and Zen aesthetics, noting the seven characteristics' unique position as the only systematic description of Zen aesthetics. Moreover, they read his typological approaches to Zen Art as a clear articulation of the distinguishing visual features of Zen vis-à-vis other schools of Japanese Buddhism.

...[Hisamatsu's seven characteristics refer] beyond aesthetic values to moral and religious ideals, and at the same they adumbrate the basic tenets of an attitude toward art which separates Zen from orthodox schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism.<sup>94</sup>

A formalised structure for the mapping of Chan and Zen thought onto visual and material culture certainly has the potential to enhance understanding of these objects. Indeed, one of the central aims of this thesis is to explore relationships between texts authored by Chan clerics, and associated paintings. However, the conceptual framework onto which Hisamatsu mapped this material was predicated on ideas of Zen's reflexive a-historicity, and an obfuscation of Chan's Chinese origins. Hisamatsu's approach to Zen is less an isolation of heterodoxy from orthodoxy, and more the establishment of a new orthodoxy founded upon his own religious convictions. Moreover, as characterised by Brinker and Kanazawa, this orthodoxy is presented as the insights of a Japanese Zen pedagogue, whose views are characterised as interior to tradition. This interiority is juxtaposed with an insurmountable barrier of cultural exteriority that characterises all Western viewers of Zen art. Hisamatsu claims that China had lost its 'Zen' culture by the Ming dynasty, founded 1368, rendering Japan uniquely privileged to interpret these objects in the modern era. Thus,

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<sup>93</sup> Yanagida 1981, 213.

<sup>94</sup> Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 36-7.

the rhetorical and ideological backdrop to these seven characteristics constricts the amorphous subject they profess to only loosely describe.

While the essentialist notions of Chan and Zen art and aesthetics espoused by Suzuki and Hisamatsu have been uncritically accepted by some, Yoshiaki Shimizu's 1985 essay 'Zen Art?' raised a prominent rhetorical question mark over these homogenising definitions.<sup>95</sup> In their 2007 exhibition *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan*, Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit substantiated the alternative approaches posited by their teacher Shimizu. With no claims to cultural patrimony over Chan and Zen, *Awakenings* acknowledged and documented the diverse geographic origins and religious, social and political functions of Chan and Zen figure paintings. Lippit's essay on the Chan and Zen pantheon situated Chan and Zen's vast corpus of visual material within a dynamic nexus of cultural performance.<sup>96</sup> As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Levine's essay on modern approaches to Zen art in English language literature contextualised *Awakenings'* conceptual innovations within a critical appraisal of earlier scholarship.<sup>97</sup> From the outset, *Awakenings* offers a corrective to many of the popular conceptions of Chan and Zen art, its introduction dismissing the historicity of phenomenological characterisation of Zen aesthetics in the following terms:

... [Chan and Zen's] aesthetic of abstraction and minimalism, the psychological state of oneness or emptiness in artistic practice or viewer response... are for all practical purposes a modern invention.<sup>98</sup>

*Awakenings* opened up new possibilities for art historical conceptions of Chan and Zen figure paintings, raising new questions on the role of style, time and place in shaping our understanding of Chan and Zen art. However, this study was primarily focused upon objects of Japanese manufacture, and drew its examples exclusively from Japanese collections. Consequently, Levine and Lippit presented a new approach without fully exploring its potential applications to the Chinese contexts of

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<sup>95</sup> Shimizu 1985.

<sup>96</sup> Lippit 2007a.

<sup>97</sup> Levine 2007a.

<sup>98</sup> Levine and Lippit 2007, 18.

Chan figure painting's production and reception. Lippit has explored some of these ramifications, notably the history of apparition style (Chinese: *wanglianghua* 魑魅畫, Japanese: *mōryōga* 魑魅画) paintings in China.<sup>99</sup> Sarah Fraser has furthered this discussion beyond its frequent focus on material in Japanese collections, examining a prominent scroll from the Shanghai Museum showing *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 from Chan tradition, signed by Liang Kai (fig. 6.6).<sup>100</sup> Fraser's 2010 article explores the relationship of visual and textual content in this scroll, illustrating the potential functions of serial mono-scenic narratives within Chan visual culture. This type of object is markedly distinct from those preserved in Japan, where serial narrative scrolls have often been remounted in vertical formats for display in the *chanoyu* tea ceremony. While these studies raise and explore important new questions on the place of Chan figure painting in the visual cultures of dynastic China, there is still extensive scope for further enquiry into this rich body of material.

Itakura Masaaki's 板倉聖哲 2014 exhibition of the Higashiyama Gomotsu 東山御物 collection of the Ashikaga Shoguns, adds rich historical context to the reception of Chan figure painting in this major historic Japanese collection.<sup>101</sup> Itakura's exhibition, and the accompanying catalogue, situates prominent paintings of Chan subjects such as Liang Kai's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* alongside the oeuvres of other court artists amongst which they were collected. In his essay on the Higashiyama Gomotsu collection, Itakura shows how it served as a formative basis for the later development of Japanese conceptions of Song dynasty Chinese painting.<sup>102</sup> Itakura demonstrates how the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94), and the sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394-1449, r. 1429-41) used the collection and display of Chinese paintings as an act of self-fashioning, appropriating authority through both religious affiliations with Chan and Zen, and through the emulation of Song imperial collections.<sup>103</sup> The collection of monochrome ink paintings by Chan monk painters supported the Ashikaga Shoguns' patronage and founding of Zen institutions, deploying a visual

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<sup>99</sup> Lippit 2009.

<sup>100</sup> Fraser 2010.

<sup>101</sup> Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014.

<sup>102</sup> Itakura 2014, 138.

<sup>103</sup> Itakura 2014, 135-6.

identity contrasted with the polychrome Buddhist iconography exported to Japan from workshops in Ningbo.<sup>104</sup> The in-depth examination of the varied criteria by which these works were collected provides a powerful corrective for the purported Zen *volkgeist* ascribed to the Japanese people by Okakura, Suzuki, Hisamatsu, and even Brinker and Kanazawa.

Nonetheless, contemporary publications still reveal occasional echoes of Suzuki and Hisamatsu's projection of a contemporary system of Zen aesthetics onto China's historic visual culture. In his 2011 monograph on Ma Yuan that reflects on a long career of research into the painter's oeuvre, Richard Edwards posits a probable connection to a Chan ideal and Ma's *Lone Fisherman on a Winter River*.<sup>105</sup> Edwards eloquently describes the painting's encapsulation of a single moment, noting the weighting of the skiff towards the fisherman's body, the water rippling from the stern as the bow rises above the waves, and the slight curve of the cast line which has yet to drift back to the boat on the current. Undoubtedly, these visual qualities exemplify a masterful capacity to convey a singular moment of lived experience. However, Edwards ascribes this quality to more than Ma Yuan's painterly accomplishments, equating paintings' capacity to capture the momentary with an idealised Chan aesthetic. Edwards supports this through comparison with Liang Kai's *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* 六祖截竹圖 (fig. 6.1), and a depiction of Master Clam 蜆子和尚圖 attributed to Muxi (fig. 5.7).<sup>106</sup>

This reading of the visual moment in *Fisherman on a Winter River* is not problematic in itself. What is problematic is the presumption that a capacity to visually evoke momentary experience, shared with works depicting Chan exemplars, necessitates a connection with Chan Buddhism. The potential allusion to Chan visual culture in Ma's painting should be distinguished from the distinctive embodiment of Chan hagiographic narratives in figure paintings, and the mediation of those narratives by the inscriptions of senior clerics. The deft evocation of momentary experience was a

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<sup>104</sup> Itakura has authored a separate study with the Nara National Museum, meticulously documenting the role of Ningbo in shaping Japanese Buddhist visual and material culture over a 1300 year period: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2009.

<sup>105</sup> Edwards 2011.

<sup>106</sup> Edwards 2011, 36.

powerful mechanism by which iconic moments in Chan narratives could be conveyed to a viewer. The achievement of this visual effect by Ma Yuan, Liang Kai and Muxi is indicative of a common visual language among elite painters in Lin'an. The fact that Ma Yuan also produced depictions of Chan subjects demonstrates his familiarity with these ideas. However, the presence of this visual language of the momentary does not necessarily mean that this particular image is a visual expression of Chan teachings. Edwards' positing of a connection between the immediacy of the fisherman's experience and the ideals of Chan echoes elements of Suzuki's 1938 reading of the painting, as an illustration of *Zen sabi* aesthetics. As the subsequent chapters of this thesis will argue, paintings of figures from the Chan hagiographic pantheon reveal religious dimensions beyond one's immediate visual experience. It is not their visual language of immediacy, but the narrative contexts in which this language is deployed that imbue figure paintings with specifically Chan meanings.

### *Japan's Register of National Treasures*

In addition to the divergent approaches to Chan and Zen art discussed above, contemporary art histories of Chan figure paintings have been shaped by these works' classification within their contexts of transmission and preservation. As the vast majority of extant Chan figure paintings survive in Japanese collections, Japan's Register of National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties has exerted a profound impact on the criteria by which Chan figure paintings are valued in a modern art historical context. This register is hierarchically structured into three classifications: National Treasures (*kokuhō* 国宝), Important Cultural Properties (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財), and Important Art Objects (*jūyō bijutsuhin* 重要美術品).<sup>107</sup>

The impact of the register on developing conceptions of Japanese art, both inside and outside Japan, has been the subject of extensive scholarly inquiry. Christine Guth has highlighted the historical context of the register's development amidst late nineteenth and early twentieth century circles of Japanese collectors. Guth illustrates how these

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<sup>107</sup> Many of the works included on this list in the collections of Japan's national museums are accessible online: National Institutes for Cultural Heritage [unspecified date of publication], accessed 2014.

groups' protectionist attitudes to Japanese heritage were eventually enacted in the 1929 prohibitions on the export of objects on the register, illustrating the relationship between elite private collection and the development of modern art historical institutions in Japan.<sup>108</sup> Anna Seidel has explored the register's relationship to earlier systems of value applied to material culture in both Japan and China, where treasured objects, (Chinese: *bao* 寶, Japanese *hō* 宝), have been used to support claims to political and religious legitimacy. Seidel argues that the register's conception of national treasures has developed historic notions of *bao* into an *objet d'art*, which reflects and reinforces the cultural authority of the Japanese nation.<sup>109</sup> Yoshiaki Shimizu has analysed the register's relevance to the self-image of the modern Japanese nation, exploring the reception of that image on an international stage. Shimizu illustrates how a domestic system for the classification and evaluation of antiquities in Japan has contributed to the formation of distinct art histories of Japan outside of the archipelago.<sup>110</sup> The following discussion builds on these arguments by considering the specific position of Chan figure paintings within this overtly national, and implicitly nationalistic systemisation of antiquity into an aesthetic hierarchy.

While the identification of objects with various aspects of Japanese national identity goes back beyond the Meiji period, the registration of objects of Chinese manufacture as Japanese National Treasures defines their identity through their relationship to the centralised authority of the modern Japanese nation. The project of cataloguing and connoisseurship that led to the Register's creation dates to the late nineteenth century, beginning in surveys of temple holdings first conducted in 1872. The designation 'National Treasure' was first systematically used in the 1897 'Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples' (*Koshaji Hozonhō* 古社寺保存法).<sup>111</sup> This legislation reflected the Meiji period's agenda of rapid modernisation and industrialisation. Classification of objects as National Treasures on the basis of their technical merits stressed utilitarian value, providing examples from which modern crafts could be developed for export.<sup>112</sup> These first classifications also reflected the

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<sup>108</sup> Guth 1993, 161-92.

<sup>109</sup> Seidel 1981, 261.

<sup>110</sup> Shimizu 2001.

<sup>111</sup> Shimizu 2001, 130-1; Guth 1993, 162-3.

<sup>112</sup> Guth 1993, 162-3.

Meiji ideological agenda to clarify the distinctive features of Japanese national character, documenting Buddhist objects within Shinto shrines and enforcing their removal to separate these two previously syncretic sets of religious practice.<sup>113</sup> The legislation was reworked in the 1929 ‘Law for the Preservation of national treasures’ (*Kokuhō Hozonhō* 国宝保存法), which explicitly prohibited the removal of objects on the register from Japan, and greatly expanded the scope of the register to include works in private collections.<sup>114</sup> By the 1960s, further legislation had clarified the specific criteria by which works were included on register, reflecting the role of cultural heritage in post-war Japan’s reappraisal of its national identity.<sup>115</sup>

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, foreign purchasing of antique artworks and their removal from Japan was a growing concern to a number of eminent Japanese art historians and collectors. Japanese scholars, including Okakura Kakuzō, presented ideological justifications for the utility of historic Japanese artefacts as models for the modernised Meiji culture.<sup>116</sup> Their arguments were supported by major industrialist art collectors such as Masuda Takashi 益田 孝 (1848–1938). These collectors’ public denunciations of foreign pillaging of Japanese heritage positioned their personal acquisition of artworks as a national service, preserving and safeguarding Japan’s cultural achievements. Masuda’s associate Okura Kihachirō 大倉 喜八郎 (1837–1928) specifically cited his desire to ensure that Buddhist artifacts from Shinto shrines remain in Japan, as the shrines were often forced to give up these artworks under the Meiji government’s separation of Shinto and Buddhism.<sup>117</sup> The range of objects whose removal concerned these varied interest groups was not limited to things made by Japanese people, or things made in Japan. Their concerns extended to foreign made works with long histories of Japanese transmission, including Chan figure paintings.<sup>118</sup> Thus, the register served dual nationalist functions, both protectionist and typological. It simultaneously prevented the removal

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<sup>113</sup> Seidel 1981, 229.

<sup>114</sup> Guth 1993, 190–1.

<sup>115</sup> Shimizu 2001, 131.

<sup>116</sup> Okakura published a pointed rejoinder to his contemporary Koyama Shotarō’s 小山 正太郎 (1857–1916) 1882 article debasing Japanese calligraphy as incompatible with the commercial and scientific goals of the Meiji reformation: Guth 1993, 165.

<sup>117</sup> Guth 1993, 162.

<sup>118</sup> Guth 1993, 36–7, 184.

of venerable vestiges of Japanese antiquity, and codified historic expressions of artistic excellence on which Japan's self-conscious project of modernity was founded.

By 1960, the criteria for the inclusion of paintings and sculptures on the register had been clarified in legally binding terms, setting out qualities a work requires for registration as a National Treasure or Important Cultural Property that endure today. The fifth of these criteria applies directly to works of foreign production, a discrete category termed 'paintings that came from across the sea', (*doraiga* 渡来画). *Doraiga* merit inclusion on the register as:

Those objects of foreign production having significant bearing on Japanese cultural history (such as Chinese painting).<sup>119</sup>

Further to embedding Chan figure paintings within an expressly Japanese hierarchy of artworks, the register typologically distinguishes Chan painting (*zenringa* 禅林画) as a discrete sub-category of *doraiga*.<sup>120</sup> Chan figure painting's delineation as *Zenringa* highlights its discrete agency in the formation of Japanese painting aesthetics.<sup>121</sup> Chan figure paintings are not only qualitatively, but also quantitatively significant to the Japanese artistic canon. As published in the year 2000, the sub-category of *zenringa* constitutes fourteen percent of 1963 *doraiga*, and 2.5 percent of all the paintings on the register. Today, the Register has varied implications for Chan figure paintings in Japanese collections. While registration ensures some of the highest standards of conservation for these objects, the inclusion of Chan paintings as *zenringa* on the register inevitably highlights their relationship to Japanese history, potentially obscuring their relevance to Chinese art.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Translation from: Shimizu 2001, 131.

<sup>120</sup> For a discussion of the role of aesthetics in the formation of Western modernist art history, and a proposal of an alternative theoretical model based instead on original contexts of an object's creation and use see: Summers 2003, 58-60.

<sup>121</sup> For a reiteration of these concepts in a teleological model of development see the incorporation of major Chan artists in a canonical catalogue series on Japanese ink painting: Kei, 1975.

<sup>122</sup> Established in 1952 as a new formulation of the earlier Institute of Art, the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties is a leading international centre for practice, training and research on conservation technologies: International Research Institute for Cultural Properties, unspecified date of publication, accessed 25.9.2015.

## *Conclusions*

In summary, this chapter has illustrated the plural definitions of Chan painting proposed by distinctive art historical approaches in the modern era. This plurality highlights the agency of the modern gaze, or of modern gazes, in realigning these historic object to fit their changing contexts of reception. The historicity of Chan subjects, their function as signifiers of religious and national essences, and the values that they come to embody in the process of transmission have continued to develop in the modern era. Within the demonstrably plural interpretations available for the study of Chan figure paintings from thirteenth and fourteenth century China, my approach questions the effectiveness of a linear model of art history. The following chapters offer an alternative interpretation to the approaches problematised above, focusing on the function of Chan figure paintings' narrative properties in their early Chinese contexts of production and reception, rather than mapping Chan figure paintings into a linear development of Chinese, Japanese, and East Asian visual cultures. This study focuses on the networks of agency that connected Chan figure paintings to the people who created and utilised them in thirteenth and fourteenth century China, and not with their positioning in a broad teleological framework.<sup>123</sup> As the above discussion has shown, certain scholars assumptions of a linear causality linking the arts of Chinese Chan to their Japanese Zen successors have led to unsupported and anachronistic projections of modern Japanese Zen ideals onto Chan's historic visual cultures.<sup>124</sup> As the art historical discipline moves away from the conflation of Chan and Zen art into a singular phenomenon, and leaves far behind their idealisation as an aesthetic of impenetrable abstraction, there emerges a need for a new way to classify and approach figure paintings of Chan subjects. This thesis approaches Chan figure painting through the circumstances of their creation and reception, focusing on the particularities of the times and places in which they were produced. It is these specific temporal and geographic circumstances of making and viewing that will be examined in the remainder of this thesis.

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<sup>123</sup> For a discussion of the state of the field of Chinese painting history, which highlights several of the challenges faced in its holistic integration into the broader discourses of the discipline of art history in Western academia, see: Silbergeld 2011, 33-5.

<sup>124</sup> The problematic nature of teleological models of art historical chronology articulated in units such as the century or dynasty is discussed in: Hay 2001.

Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains 釋迦出山 (figs. 2.1-2.8), and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed 蘆葉達摩 (figs. 2.16, 2.18-2.25) are two of the most popular image types in thirteenth and fourteenth century paintings of Chan figural subjects. Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma were both perceived as founders of Chan's lineage of awakened patriarchs, Śākyamuni as the originator of awakening in India, and Bodhidharma as the transmitter of Chan awakening to China. Both painting types imbue moments of transition that feature only marginally in these sages' hagiographies with an iconic gravity, through their selection for visual expression. This embodies what has been termed an 'iconic event', where the isolation of a single scene in painted depiction elevates the subject's action to an axial position within an associated narrative.<sup>125</sup> That these were two of the most popular subjects among paintings of the Chan pantheon demonstrates Chan figure painting's tendency to emphasise actions that are only marginal in textual prototypes.

Both these seminal moments of transition share a common visual language, which plays upon their subjects' common origins as Indian princes turned ascetics. The figures' robes billow forward, compelling Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma onward on their journeys. Their hands are held close to their chests in gestures concealed beneath folds of their robes. Their foreign origins are emphasised through full beards, and their formerly regal statuses are displayed in the presence of earrings, anklets, and bracelets. Moreover, the upper registers of hanging scrolls depicting these subjects are frequently inscribed with brief calligraphic commentaries in verse by a senior Chan cleric, known as *zan* 讚/贊 in Chinese, translated as *encomium* on account of the brevity of this literary form. These *encomia* make recurrent reference to established tropes from hagiographic narratives, locating the visual moment within a familiar

<sup>125</sup> The use of an iconic event as a locus for narrative exposition, both visual and textual, has been explored by a number of authors. Noelle Giuffrida, Katherine Lisomb, and Susan E Nelson respectively use this concept to examine painted and printed depictions of Daoist Celestial Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34-156), records of events from the life of the poet Li Bai 李白 (701-62) in which he is revealed to be an immortal banished from the celestial realm to a mortal life on earth (*zhexian* 謫仙), and depictions of Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365-427) return home in the following essays: Giuffrida 2014; Liscomb 2006; Nelson 1998a.

sequence of events that legitimise the Chan lineage. For example, descriptions of Śākyamuni's sighting of the Daystar [Venus] allude to his impending enlightenment, while mentions of Bodhidharma's nine years spent wall gazing at the Shaoshi cliff link to his meeting with his disciple and patriarchal successor, the Chinese monk Huike Shengguang 慧可神光 (487-593).<sup>126</sup> Inscribed *encomia* contextualise the viewer's experience of pictorial action through terse allusions to preceding and impending events. Examining Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed in turn, the following chapter will establish how these images of transition underscored the legitimacy of the Chan lineage, as both objects of elite patronage and sites of clerical commentary.

### *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*

Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains was not only one of the most widely represented subjects of Chan figure painting, it was also among the most highly esteemed. The many 'discourse records' (*yulu* 語錄) of senior Chan clerics preserve lists of these clerics' inscriptions upon paintings, often referred to as '*Encomia for Buddhas and Patriarchs*' (*fozu zan* 佛祖贊). These lists provide us with a wealth of verse produced to complement and enhance depictions of figural subjects, locating each abbot's verse within a specific material context. As the sequence of subjects in these lists reflects the subjects' positions within the Chan pantheon, they allow us to reconstruct an iconographic hierarchy from thirteenth and fourteenth century China.<sup>127</sup> Inscriptions on images of Śākyamuni are invariably given first place in lists of '*Encomia for Buddhas and Patriarchs*', positioning the historical Buddha's emergence from the mountains among the most elevated events in the Chan pictorial repertoire.

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<sup>126</sup> Inscriptions that use of the hagiographic tropes of the Daystar and the nine years of wall gazing are discussed in more detail below.

<sup>127</sup> Brinker and Kanazawa assert the primary importance of this subject among Chan figure paintings on the basis of its prime position among lists of inscriptions by citing the earliest extant textual record of such inscriptions, from the discourse records of Foyan Qingyuan 佛眼清遠 (1067-1120): Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 131. For the original text, see: XZLMFYHSYL j.30, in: X.1315.68: 200, b1-201, b22.

Certain iconographic features are relatively constant among extant renditions of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains. The Buddha is always shown standing, with his hands clasped beneath a windblown robe that prevents the necessity of selecting a specific iconic gesture (*mudrā*). His face is bearded, and his cheekbones and ribs are often raised to highlight the ascetic privations he has undergone prior to the pictorial moment. In some cases a full landscape context is provided for the scene, showing rocks, trees, and even mountain streams, using both ink and colours on silk (figs. 2.2-2.3). In other works overhanging rocks and foliage describe the mountainous setting with no injection of colour (figs. 2.1, 2.4). In the majority of extant works, the Buddha stands either on a cursory, diagonally sloping ground plane, or is suspended as an isolated figure amidst the illusionistic space implied by the surrounding pictorial void (figs. 2.4-2.8). Of this last category, surviving works are almost exclusively executed in monochrome ink. Stark disparities in media and scale indicate discrete contexts for the viewing, display, and use of paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains.

Earlier studies by Helmut Brinker and Howard Rogers have documented the surviving corpus of works of this theme, and translated a number of important *encomia* from these paintings.<sup>128</sup> In a survey of Chinese and Japanese paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains from 1983, Brinker explicitly brackets his discussion of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains between the putative origins of this image type in eleventh century China and the paintings of sixteenth century Muromachi Japan.<sup>129</sup> Focusing solely on the attitudes of the self-styled literati (Chinese: *wenren* 文人), he asserts that from the Ming onwards Chinese connoisseurs disregarded Chan figure painting in favour of a focus on landscape. While the majority of extant Chan works are preserved in Japan, the importance of their histories of reception in China, and of continued interest in Chan themes in China has been demonstrated in the works of Marsha Weidner and James Cahill.<sup>130</sup> While Brinker's exhaustive 1983 catalogue positions Chan figure paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains in a teleological framework of Zen art that privileges Japan, in an earlier 1973 article he addresses the specific context for Song and Yuan

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<sup>128</sup> Brinker 1973, 1983, Rogers 1983.

<sup>129</sup> Brinker 1983, 9.

<sup>130</sup> Cahill 2010; Cahill 2011; Weidner 2009.

paintings of this subject. Read today, Brinker's 1973 contextualisation of the Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains theme within the Song and Yuan soteriological discourse is well supported by his 1983 volume, which offers extended expositions on the visual qualities of many of the same Song and Yuan works.<sup>131</sup>

Brinker's 1973 essay focuses upon inscriptions on Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains as a locus for the debates over the timing and nature of the Buddha's enlightenment. He draws on modern Japanese scholarship to frame this debate, ascribing a deep cultural understanding of this Chan material to Japanese "Zen people". These include D.T. Suzuki and Shin'ichi Hisamatsu, whose conception of a homogenous Chan and Zen art has been problematised in the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>132</sup> Brinker's essay interprets Song and Yuan *encomia* as competing interpretations of the circumstances of the Buddha's awakening, one set advocating that Śākyamuni was not yet enlightened at the moment he emerged from the mountains, and the other considering Śākyamuni to be already enlightened at the moment seen in pictures of his emergence. This approach will be problematised in the ensuing discussion, illustrating the diachronic perspectives found in several Song and Yuan paintings and *encomia* that reproduce and comment on this theme.

Howard Rogers' later 1983 article built on Brinker's earlier work to offer a detailed analysis of the relationship between Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, and the broader cultural values attached to ideals of reclusion in thirteenth and fourteenth century China. Though supported with thorough reference to both the Buddhist canon and to Chinese classical texts, Rogers' essay has a tendency to argue for an unproblematic equivalence between this Chan image type and a rather loosely defined Chinese cultural consciousness.<sup>133</sup> This syncretism between a generalised set of Buddhist ideals and an implicitly homogenous, problematically indigenous, Chinese cultural consciousness echoes the earlier paradigm of Kenneth Chen's *The Chinese*

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<sup>131</sup> Brinker 1973.

<sup>132</sup> Brinker 1973, 22.

<sup>133</sup> Rogers equates the Buddha's period of mountainous reclusion with a very generalised interpretation of Chinese cultural values: "To be within the mountains was thus, to the Chinese in general, to be in a state of grace...": Rogers 1983, 18.

*Transformation of Buddhism*.<sup>134</sup> More recent scholarship on the evolving relationship between China, central Asia and India has sought to complicate this paradigm. Instead, recent studies such as *India in the Chinese Imagination: Myth Religion and Thought*, edited by John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar, reveal complex processes of reception and appropriation. The various contributors to this volume draw on a wide variety of texts, as well as a selection of visual and archaeological materials, to illustrate how idealised conceptions of India, and of Buddhism, were formed by the various cultures of China.<sup>135</sup>

While methodological approaches in the fields of art history and Buddhist studies have made significant strides in the decades since Brinker and Rogers first published their seminal works, their studies still provide an invaluable basis on which to deepen understanding of images of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains. This chapter's analysis builds on the foundational work of these two scholars in two areas. First, it goes beyond the cataloguing of the paintings' formal artistic properties, exploring how individual works constructed complex visual commentaries on Śākyamuni's emergence, whilst still adhering to a set of established iconographic tropes. Second, this chapter examines the relationship between painting and calligraphy rather than treating them as discrete discourses on a common subject. By analysing the overlap and mutual reinforcement of visual and verbal characterisations of the Buddha in image and text, the following discussion explores how relationships between artists and inscribers mediated viewers' understanding of Śākyamuni's iconic transition by combining its narrative context with its iconic import. This allows for greater potential complexity in the objects' commentaries on Śākyamuni's iconic transition than is implied by Brinker's reading of *encomia* as part of a dualistic polemic over the timing of the Buddha's enlightenment. The following chapter elucidates part of this complexity through the analysis of scrolls' visual and verbal approaches to this iconic event as diachronic, rather than synchronic. Through references to actions that both precede and follow the visual moment, painters and calligraphic commentators collapse the sequential development of Śākyamuni's actions over time into a single scene. These visual and verbal discourses on the Buddha's iconic transition focus on

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<sup>134</sup> Chen 1973.

<sup>135</sup> Kieschnick 2014.

the viewer's relationship to Śākyamuni across history. By exploring the nature rather than timing of the Buddha's enlightenment, paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains embody the pedagogical strategies thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan abbots used to legitimise their own lineage.

Among extant thirteenth and fourteenth century Chinese depictions of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, only works in ink on paper are inscribed with *encomia*. Polychrome paintings on silk function differently, addressing their viewers through their visual and material qualities.<sup>136</sup> In the place of inscribed *encomia*, the upper registers of paintings using colour on silk are occupied by landscape elements (figs. 2.1-2.2), and in one case also populated by divine beings (fig. 2.3). These offer pictorial commentaries on the context of the Buddha's action in the painting's lower register, mirroring the function of inscribed calligraphy. Despite the shared commentarial function of these paintings' upper registers, disparities in style and media reveal two distinctive modes for the evocation of this iconic moment. Uninscribed paintings in ink and colours on silk emphasise the pictorial gravity of the image and its iconic impact upon the viewer. Inscribed paintings with a minimal pictorial setting combine the visual characterisation of the Buddha with interrogative inscribed *encomia* that mediate the viewer's relationship to his transition out of the mountains. Each of these two modes will be discussed in turn below.

### *Polychrome Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*

The earliest surviving depiction of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains aptly demonstrates the dramatic potential of polychrome media to frame the Buddha's iconic exit from ascetic reclusion (fig. 2.1a). This work is by the court painter turned drunken eccentric Liang Kai 梁楷 (active late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century), whose oeuvre and posthumous reception are the subject of the sixth chapter of this thesis.<sup>137</sup> One of the earliest extant biographies for Liang, in Xia Wenyan's 夏文彦 1365 *Precious*

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<sup>136</sup> Other works depicting Chan exemplars in polychrome feature inscribed poems by members of the imperial family, as discussed in chapter four, pages 170-7. However, no extant 13-14<sup>th</sup> century Chinese depictions of Śākyamuni in this media feature inscriptions of encomium commenting on the pictorial action.

<sup>137</sup> For surveys of Liang Kai's oeuvre in Chinese and Japanese collections, see: Shan and Shan 2004; Toda 1975b.

*Mirror of Painting* (*Tu Hui Bao Jian* 圖繪寶鑑), observed a dichotomy of styles in Liang's oeuvre that has had an enduring impact on the conception of his work.<sup>138</sup> This posthumous appraisal lauds Liang's meticulous "exquisite brush" (*jingmei zhi bi* 精美之筆), while deriding the sketchy expression of his "abbreviated brush" (*jianbi* 減筆). Xia's dichotomy of Liang's oeuvre into two modes reductively simplifies his style and technique. Nonetheless, the discrepancy between the two styles in this dichotomy indicates the diversity of Liang's oeuvre. This range is evident in the marked contrast between the lavish materiality of the body of the Buddha in Liang's *Śākyamuni* and his plainer works in ink on paper (figs. 6.1-6.2).<sup>139</sup> In his *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, the use of sumptuous back colouring on the Buddha's body, jewellery and robe enlivens the lone figure amidst an austere monochrome landscape. This adds drama to the scene by juxtaposing the Buddha's physical presence with the harsh environment from which he is about to depart.

Liang Kai's *Śākyamuni* stands poised in a moment of hesitation, facing toward the lower right of the composition. His gaze follows the descent of the downward mountain path, at right angles to the diagonal overhanging rock face from which he has just emerged. Bare rocks articulate the severity of these environs, while withered branches reach out toward him like malevolent, bestial claws. The windblown robe is pressed against the Buddha's body, clearly outlining his emaciated form beneath this garment and prompting a synesthetic shiver in the viewer.

For all this austere imagery, Liang has deftly deployed pictorial references to conventions of court painting and Buddhist iconography. His stylistic and iconographic choices combine the elite cultural values of his imperial patronage, the religious significance of the sanctity of this subject, and the narrative context of the pictorial moment. References to established court styles locate the work within the visual culture of the Southern Song imperial palace. The confident linear movements of the textured strokes on the rock faces and the strong outlines around drier, sharper lines on the trunk of the tree echo the *arhat* paintings of Liang's near contemporary,

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<sup>138</sup> THBJ, j.4,18. A shorter biography is offered by Zhuang Su 莊肅 (active late 13<sup>th</sup> century) in his *Supplement to the Continuation of Painting*, (*Huaji Buyi* 畫繼補遺): HJBY, j.2, 15.

<sup>139</sup> The overlap and interplay of Liang's meticulous and abbreviated techniques are discussed in chapter six, pages 220-39.

the court painter Liu Songnian 劉松年 (act. 1174-1224) (figs. 2.9-2.10).<sup>140</sup>

Furthermore, the signature, “Painted before the Emperor, Liang Kai 御前圖畫 梁楷” (fig. 2.1b), identifies this as most likely an imperial commission, produced when Liang was still active as a court painter.<sup>141</sup> Śākyamuni’s wind blown robe adheres to his body in smooth, curved lines, mirroring sculptural conventions for Buddhist icons of the period to create a visual allusion to familiar iconic representations of the Buddha as the physical embodiment of enlightenment (figs. 2.11).<sup>142</sup> However, it is the diffuse diagonal area of dark ink in the upper register of Liang’s painting that describes the geographic remoteness of the place from which the Buddha’s is emerging, evoking deep spatial recession by referencing established modes of Southern Song court painting.

In the upper left a clearly demarked overhanging branch sits close to the surface of the picture plane. To the right of this foregrounded overhanging branch is a diffuse area of dark ink, with no clear border or outline, contrasted with the sharp edges of the axe cut texture strokes that depict the cliff by the Buddha’s right shoulder. The contemporary viewer may initially read this dark block as shadow. However in the court painting of the Southern Song, this technique was used to describe deep spatial recession and not effects of light. The anonymous court painting *Winter Landscape* 冬景山水圖, now in the collection of the Konchi-in 金地院 in Kyoto, illustrates the point (fig. 2.12).<sup>143</sup> A lone figure looks up into the distant mountains in the painting’s upper register. His gaze falls on a point of deep spatial recession, shown to be at a far remove from the viewer through juxtaposition with two middle distance features, a waterfall and an overhanging pine growing from an axe cut stroke textured rock face. This focal point in the deep distance is rendered in the same diffuse dark ink as in the

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<sup>140</sup> For a detailed catalogue entry on Liu Songnian’s *arhat* paintings see: Li 2010.

<sup>141</sup> Pang Huiping 彭慧萍 has produced an insightful reappraisal of the relationship of the Southern Song painting academy as a network of associations and patronage, rather than a definitive institution of the state: Pang 2006. However, Itakura Masa’aki has offered a more cautious appraisal of the available evidence, noting the self-contradictory content provided in the textual sources on the period: Itakura 2011, 1. James Cahill also raises the possibility that the *Yujian* epithet was used after Liang left the academy: Cahill 2010-2014.

<sup>142</sup> For examples of Northern Song sculpture demonstrating the prevalence of these iconographic conventions for the depictions of the Buddha’s robes see: Suzhou Bowuguan 2006, 50-1, 170-1, 176-9.

<sup>143</sup> A formal comparison between the representation of space in these two works is also discussed in: Cahill 2010-2014.

overhang above Liang's Śākyamuni. This comparison illustrates how Liang drew on the familiar visual rhetoric of his Southern Song court milieu to add a sense of preceding action to Śākyamuni's emergence from the mountain. The pictorial depth implies a physical distance and impenetrability to his current location, underscoring the gravity of his transition out of the mountains by stressing the distance from which he was removed from society. As an imperial commission in sumptuous media, depicting an iconic moment linked to the genesis of Chan's patriarchal lineage, Liang's work combines iconic evocation of the Buddha's historic transition out of reclusion with visual affiliations to lineages of court painting.

The visual evocation of the iconic moment, and its associated gravity as pictorial hagiography, is fitted to a particular context of display through Liang's application of colour. As noted above, the ochre and flesh coloured pigments of the Buddha's robe and body are applied to the both the recto and verso of the silk surface. This back colouring technique is frequently seen in East Asian paintings of approximately this period designated for iconographic display in temple contexts. The flickering light of the lamps in the dimly lit environment of the shrine hall animate the icon, luminescence and colour lend the pictorial subject an auratic presence that befits its status as a focus of devotion.<sup>144</sup> In the case of Liang Kai's Śākyamuni, this effect is combined with the visual rhetoric of the highest standard of imperially commissioned ink painting. Liang's only injections of colour are upon the Buddha's garb and body.

An anonymous Yuan dynasty depiction of Śākyamuni's emergence from the mountains, post dating Liang's *Śākyamuni* by approximately a century, offers a rare illustration of polychrome depictions of this subject from early fourteenth century China.<sup>145</sup> Like Liang's painting the Buddha's robe is painted in striking colours, and he stands surrounded by angular edged rocks. However, where Liang's painting uses only monochrome ink to describe the hostile mountain environment, the anonymous Yuan painter has added white pigment to the frothing brook that flows down the

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<sup>144</sup> This reading of the technical aspects of Liang Kai's 'Śākyamuni' were presented in a paper entitled "The Verso of Painting" by Yukio Lippit at the Victoria and Albert Museum conference "The Making of Chinese Painting: 700 to the present" 6 December 2013.

<sup>145</sup> Brinker dates this painting to the first quarter of the fourteenth century on the basis of formal comparisons with the drapery in an image of Fishbasket Guanyin 魚籃觀音圖 in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Brinker 1983, 75. (Fig. 7.5).

mountainside before the Buddha. Greens and browns enrich the bark of an adjacent pine, a deciduous tree by the brook, and bamboos growing by the pine's roots. In addition to the vibrant colouration of the landscape, the body and clothing of the Buddha reflect the taste of elite Yuan patrons, showing marked differences from Liang's prototype. Where Liang's figure was dressed in a robe of a striking but single colour, the Yuan artist has embellished the Buddha's monastic garb with rich gold detailing, and revealed a green lining under a bright red outer layer. The red robe is embroidered with blooming lotuses, while an interior layer gathered around his calves is decorated with further floral sprays.<sup>146</sup> Helmut Brinker interprets the gold in the robe as a chromatic signifier for the non-duality of the absolute, a colour in which all other colours are encompassed, but which is greater than the sum of its parts.<sup>147</sup> These richly embellished surfaces adorn the Buddha's body as a sign of veneration, underscoring the figure's unambiguous enlightenment conveyed by the halo that surrounds his head, the *uṣṇīṣa* atop his cranium, and the *ūrṇā* upon his brow.

These meticulously painted textiles are also a mark of temporal status, such garments lavishly embroidered in gold would have been immediately familiar to Yuan audience as a marker of not only wealth but power and authority.<sup>148</sup> Similar robes adorn depictions of sacred Buddhist icons from this period produced in Southern coastal workshops of South Eastern China, whose static pose and frontal posture create an expectation of supplication from the viewer (fig. 2.13). The painting combines the signification of enlightenment in the Buddha's body and dress within an identifiable narrative moment of the Buddha's departure from the mountains. This blends the cosmic constancy of the Buddha's status as enlightened saviour, with the visual drama of the moment of his emergence.

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<sup>146</sup> Helmut Brinker describes the decoration on the robes as floral and leaf patterns. However, the symmetrical double triangular shape repeated across the fluttering strip of cloth folded over his left arm is markedly distinct from the a-symmetric representation of plant matter on the remainder of the figures garb. While this double triangle form bears a passing resemblance to a *vajra* sceptre, the Yuan painting inverts the conventional depiction of a *vajra*, showing the points of the dual triangles pointing outward rather than inward.

<sup>147</sup> Brinker 1983, 73.

<sup>148</sup> The use of gold embroidery in elite culture under the Yuan is discussed in: Watt 1997, 14, 18. For an example of a fragment of red silk embroidered with golden lotuses, from a garment similar to the one worn by the Buddha in fig. 2.3, see: Watt 1997, 122-3. Cat. 33.

In spite of the Yuan paintings lavish evocation of colour and texture, the drama of *Śākyamuni*'s return to the world is somewhat reduced by the absence of certain common iconographic conventions for depictions of this narrative moment. As discussed above, his robe is richly adorned, with designs that signify an unambiguous religious authority coupled with a visual evocation of material wealth and status to the Yuan viewer. Like the robe, the Buddha's face and body show no sign of his recent ascetic practices. His cheeks are full and rounded, and not a single rib protrudes from his exposed chest. His robe flicks back from his shins as he stands looking down to the lower left of the image, rather than billowing forward to compel him on to future enlightenment. Most intriguing of all are the two figures in the upper register of the painting.<sup>149</sup> They are clearly of divine status, standing amidst clouds, and richly attired. Brinker identifies them as Heavenly Kings (*Tianwang* 天王), though does not offer specific names for them from within the Buddhist pantheon. Given the detail of the reproduction available in the course of researching this thesis, I am not able to offer a definitive identification of these subjects, as the motifs on their clothing are not entirely clear. However, both are in martial dress, and the figure on the right appears to be girdled with a red cloth emblazoned with a dragon. His spear is also augmented with a red pennant, and his helmet is capped by a flaming pearl. In seeking to identify this figure from among the Buddhist pantheon, I would tentatively suggest that this figure resembles the Far Seeing Heavenly King of the West, Guangmu Tianwang 廣目天王 (*Virūpākṣa*), as he is a figure with authority over dragons associated with the colour red. Though the iconography of the second figure is less clear in the available image, the attribute of his sword, and the blue colour of his girdle indicates this may be Growth Causing Heavenly King of the South, Zengzhang Tianwang 增長天王 (*Virūḍhaka*). The presence of these divine guardians emphasises a transcendent aspect of the Buddha in the painting below, complementing the unambiguous call for veneration in the rich detail of his robe, and the fullness of his physical form.

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<sup>149</sup> A detail of this painting is reproduced in Brinker's 1973 article, but the upper register is omitted and no mention is made of the deities found there. The full painting is reproduced in his 1983 volume: Brinker 1973, fig. 9; Brinker 1983, 74.

In this Yuan painting we see a synergy of the iconic moment of Śākyamuni's transition from the Chan hagiographic pantheon and the sumptuous static iconography of the period. The subject is at once a locus for veneration as an embodiment of enduring spiritual authority, and a figure whose identifiable geographic and chronological context adds a dynamic quality to the iconic value of the image. The same tension between the iconicity and narrativity is evident in Liang's painting. However, Liang Kai approaches this tension greater subtlety, emphasising the iconic quality of the pictorial moment, rather than overlaying the scene with borrowed conventional signifiers of both temporal and spiritual authority.

In spite of its distinctive qualities when compared with both later polychrome iconography, and contemporary works in monochrome, Liang's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* is frequently used to exemplify Chan paintings of this subject in surveys of Chinese art history.<sup>150</sup> However, neither the visual nor material qualities of this image are representative of the extant corpus of Chan figure paintings of this iconic moment. The majority of surviving examples use ink with no or minimal colouring, contrasting with the sumptuous quality of Liang's depiction of the figure of Śākyamuni (fig. 2.4-8). Moreover, Liang's painting does not include an inscription by a senior cleric in the upper register. The inscriptions, and accompanying seals of senior Chan abbots indicate that many of these works were probably produced in monastic contexts rather than imperial or commercial ateliers. The prolific production of inscribed paintings is further attested by the numerous textual records of inscriptions upon images of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, preserved in senior abbots' lists of 'Encomia for Buddhas and Patriarchs'.

Consequentially, we see how Liang Kai's Śākyamuni, and other polychrome works of the same subject, hold dramatically distinct potential functions from monochrome paintings inscribed by senior clerics (fig. 2.4-2.8). While polychrome works used conventions from elite visual culture to imbue the Buddha's iconic transition with a devotional gravity, inscribed works used the visual moment as a locus for commentary on the meaning of the transitional act. As will be discussed below, these predominantly monochrome paintings employed a combination of visual and verbal

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<sup>150</sup> Barnhart 1997, 133-6.

rhetoric to activate the Buddha's image as a sacred site for exegesis, by directly addressing the viewer through commentary on a specifically Chan version of the Buddha's life events.

#### *A Chan Account of the Life of the Buddha*

The mountainous context of Śākyamuni's austerities is given particular emphasis in the Chan hagiographic canon. In the opening chapter of the 1004 CE *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄), hereafter *Jingde Record*, the Buddha's concise hagiography lists two mountains among the three locations where he spent his career as an ascetic before achieving enlightenment: Mount Dantalokagiri (Tante Shan 檀特山) and Mount Gayāśirsa, (Elephant Head Mountain, Xiangtou Shan 象頭山). The semantics of the *Jingde Record* account reveal how these mountainous environments of the Buddha's reclusion were given greater prominence in Chan hagiography than in earlier accounts of the Buddha's period of ascetic reclusion. In both mountainous environments listed in the *Jingde Record* the character for mountain, *shan* 山, is used alone. In Chinese translations of earlier canonical Indian versions of the Buddha's life circulating under the Southern Song and Yuan, such as the *Buddhacarita* (*Fosuoxing zan* 佛所行讚), the locations for the Buddha's austerities are described as either a 'mountainous forest', *shanlin* 山林, or simply 'forest', *lin* 林.<sup>151</sup>

Helmut Brinker, Howard Rogers and Yukio Lippit have all noted the distinctive emphasis of the Chan tradition on the Buddha's emergence from his mountainous environment. While neither Brinker nor Rogers discusses the relationship of painting to Chan hagiographic compendia, Yukio Lippit contrasts the pictorial agency of paintings of Śākyamuni with the lack of a "specific moment at which he left the scene of his mountain austerities" in Chan hagiography.<sup>152</sup> However, the rhetorical

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<sup>151</sup> The *Buddhacarita* is an extended poem that narrates the events in the life of the Buddha, originally translated by Tanmochen 曇無讖 (385-433) under the Northern Liang (401-439), and circulating in the thirteenth century. For descriptions of the Buddha's austerities taking place in mountainous forests (*shanlin* 山林), or simply forests (*lin* 林), see: FSXZ j.3, in: T.192.4: 22, b14; 24, b3-5 & 24c8.

<sup>152</sup> Lippit 2007a, 42.

borrowing between hagiography and inscribed *encomia* discussed in this chapter is beyond the scope of Lippit's essay on visual representations of the Chan and Zen pantheon.<sup>153</sup>

The *Jingde Record*'s narrative emphasises that Śākyamuni went on to achieve his eventual enlightenment because of a transitional experience of self-cultivation in a mountainous environment. In the first facsimile of the *Jingde Record*, among the biographies of the seven previous Buddhas (*xu qi fo* 叙七佛) we find the following account of Śākyamuni's reclusion and awakening:

Thus it was that in the middle of the night a heavenly being [*deva*] named Pure Dwelling [Śuddhāvāsa] spoke to him from his window with palms joined, saying: "The time for you to leave the household state has arrived, you may go."<sup>154</sup> On hearing this, the Crown Prince's heart was filled with joy, and he passed over the wall and left.

[He] arrived at Mount Dantalokagiri, wherein he cultivated the way.<sup>155</sup> He began with Ālāra Kālāma, but after three years of studying the *samadhi* [deep meditation] of non-action he had no use for it, knowing it was false he put it aside. Next, he arrived at Udraka Rāmaputta's place. For three years he studied the *samadhi* of non-thinking, then knowing it was false, he put it aside. Thereafter he arrived on Elephant Head Mountain [Gayāśirsa], alongside various heterodox practitioners he ate [only] seeds and grains each day for six years. Thus the *sūtras* say: "by having no intention and no action he wisely confuted all heterodox practitioners. First testing false teachings, he showed many skilful means, and thus developed different perspectives that lead to *bodhi* [enlightenment]."

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<sup>153</sup> Brinker 1973, 21; Lippit 2007a, 42; Rogers 1983, 16-17.

<sup>154</sup> The time is given as *zishi* 子時, the watch from 11pm-1am, here translated as 'the middle of the night'. The *deva* Śuddhāvāsa is an incarnation of Lord Śiva. Here the name has been translated rather than transliterated for consistency with approach in the original Chinese. Soothill and Hodous 2010 [first published 1937], 199, 889.

<sup>155</sup> In Ogata Sōhaku's translation of this passage he omits the mountain name, instead giving the general area of the site as the Kashmir Mountains. Ogata 1989 [first edition 1986], 4.

Therefore the *Lalita-vistara sūtra* says: “On the eighth day of the second month when the Daystar [Venus] emerged the Bodhisattva became the Buddha, teacher of gods and men.”<sup>156</sup> At that time he was thirty years of age, and the year corresponded to the third year of King Mu [of the Zhou dynasty] [999 BCE].<sup>157</sup>

於是夜子時，有一天人名曰淨居，於窗牖中叉手白言：「出家時至，可去矣。」太子聞已心生歡喜，即逾城而去。於檀特山中修道，始於阿藍迦藍處，三年學不用處定，知非便捨。復至鬱頭藍弗處，三年學非非想定，知非亦捨。又至象頭山同諸外道，日食麻麥經于六年。故經云：以無心意無授行而悉摧伏諸外道。先歷試邪法，示諸方，便發諸異見令至菩提。故普集經云：「菩薩於二月八日明星出時，成佛號天人師。」時年三十矣，即穆王三年癸未歲也。

The above passage locates the experience of the Buddha’s enlightenment in a direct causal relationship with his periods of reclusion in mountainous environments. The privations he endured in this phase of extreme asceticism are presented as an essential precursor to the eventual realisation of *bohdi*. In addition to this early eleventh century prose narrative, there are numerous records of *encomia* inscribed on paintings of this theme. These *encomia* are preserved on extant Chinese works, Japanese Kanō狩野 school copies of Chinese originals, and in lists of now lost *encomia* in discourse record collections. These poetic voices integrate original composition with the language of the *Jingde Era Record* biography of Śākyamuni. Their religious teachings instruct the viewer in how to interpret and relate to this act of transition, using commentary on pictorial action and quotation from the above narrative to address the viewer.

Hanging scrolls depicting Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains that combine painting with inscribed *encomia* integrate the iconic moment, its narrative context,

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<sup>156</sup> This final quotation is a corruption of a line from the Chinese version of the *Lalita-vistara sūtra* (*Puyao Jing* 普曜經): “When the Daystar emerged [he] silently underwent a great awakening 明星出時廓然大悟.”: PYJ j.6, in: T.186.3: 522, b13.

<sup>157</sup> JDCDL j.1, in: T.2076.51: 205, b16-26.

and guidance for the viewer's reception of that narrative in a single object. This relationship between image and text distinguishes inscribed ink paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains from their polychrome counterparts. While polychrome paintings use allusions to elite visual culture to prompt a devotional reaction from the viewer, paintings inscribed with *encomia* mediate the viewer's relationship to Śākyamuni's emergence through a combination of visual and verbal commentary. The following discussion explores this process of visual and verbal mediation through the analysis of selected extant paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains inscribed by senior Chan clerics.

### *Monochrome Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*

The earliest datable extant example of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains is a work inscribed by Chijue Daochong 癡絕道冲 (1169-1250) in 1244. In this work the brevity of the painting style belies the gravity of the pictorial moment.<sup>158</sup> The anonymous painter has positioned Śākyamuni on a cursory ground plane, slanting downward to the right. The hem of his robe billows out in front of him, implying an imperative to return to the world below, yet his feet are fixed firmly to the ground. The artist has captured the Buddha at the moment before he begins his descent, suspended between the severity of asceticism required by “exterior ways” (*wai dao*, 外道) and his impending enlightenment under a *pipal* tree. Śākyamuni's robes are rendered in smooth thick lines of wet faint ink. The garment is lent a sense of volume by the diffusion of a light ink wash into the paper surface. The Buddha's face is also outlined with a minimal number of strokes in conspicuously light ink, accented with stronger dark lines for his eyelid, mouth, and pupils. The faint tonality of the Buddha's body stresses the illusionistic function of the painting to the viewer. Drawing on a small number of works preserved in Japan that push at the extreme boundaries of perceptibility, Yukio Lippit has offered a critical reading of the artistic

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<sup>158</sup> Sherman E Lee treats this work as exemplary of a Zen painting style, in which he conflates both Chinese and Japanese works. While his discussion of the technical aspects of the painting are informative in contextualising the later developments in the formal properties of ink painting in Japan, the conflation of Chan and Zen objects into a singular stylistic teleology is deeply problematic, as discussed at length in chapter one. See: Lee 1972, 240-1. A concise treatment of the painting, which pays greater attention to the specific Chinese context of its production can be found in: Shimizu 2007g.

intention behind the ethereal qualities of a similar style of ink painting to that seen in this work, known as *apparition painting* (*wangliang hua* 魑魅畫).<sup>159</sup> While the anonymous painter of the work inscribed by Daochong makes reference to this illusionistic style of painting, slight touches of red to the Buddha's lips, eyelids, and *uṣṇīṣa* add a sense of corporeality to Śākyamuni's otherwise ethereal presence.

The visual language of this painting creates a distance between the viewer and subject that requires mediation. While the Buddha's eyes are averted from the viewer, staring down to the lower left of the composition, the scroll's audience is directly addressed by the central inscription in the upper register of the painting. Positioned in the otherwise blank top half of the scroll to balance the overall composition, Daochong's regulated four lines of verse, each line of five characters, reads as follow:

Entering the mountains, extreme withering and emaciation,  
Cold and frost atop the snows,  
A cold eye finds a single star,  
Why emerge again among the people?

Second day of the eighth month of the *jiachen* [year] of the Chunyou period  
[of the reign of Song Lizong] [1244].

Eulogised by Daochong of Rear Taibai Mountain.<sup>160</sup>

入山太枯瘦，雪上帶霜寒，  
冷眼得一星，何再出人間。  
淳祐甲辰八月二日。太白后山道冲贊。

Chijue Daochong's *encomium* contextualises the Buddha's transitional act in verse. The opening lines stress Śākyamuni's tenacity by first evoking the extreme

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<sup>159</sup> Opening his essay with a discussion of twelfth century critics' response to paintings in this style, Lippit frames the ontological dispute their apparitional qualities evoke as a debate over "precisely those qualities of in-betweenness and insubstantiality that problematise the dualistic understanding of cosmic processes": Lippit 2009, 61.

<sup>160</sup> Translation adapted to remove the insertion of the first person from: Ho et al. 1980, 83-4, Shimizu 2007g.

consequences of his ascetic disciplines, and then the harshness of the environment in which he practiced them. This asceticism is connected to his eventual awakening through a reference to Venus, the Daystar, which he saw on the morning of his enlightenment, an incident mentioned in the *Jingde Record* biography translated above. The sequential exposition of austerity followed by awakening implies a causal relationship between Śākyamuni's period of self-denial and his eventual enlightenment. Daochong underscores this with his closing remark, questioning both how and why Śākyamuni should go back into the midst of ordinary people.<sup>161</sup> This final phrase comments on the sense of impending action in the picture, stressing both the significance of the moment prior to a transition back into the mundane world, and the imperative that the pictorial protagonist go on to achieve enlightenment and transmit his teaching.

Another inscription by Daochong on a picture of *Emerging from the Mountains* (*Chushan Xiang* 出山相), has been preserved in his discourse record. Written in a less regulated five lines of 6,6,6, 8 and 7 characters, it reads as follows:

A star in the sky, an eyeball in the eye,  
The star does not mean the enlightenment of man,  
The eyeball does not possess a sense of observing a thing,  
Understanding through the use of principle, and illumination through  
sincerity,<sup>162</sup>  
Determine ultimately, at what point, the way is completed.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> The interrogative character *he* 何 m can be read as both “by what means” and “to what end”.

<sup>162</sup> The second phrase, “illumination through sincerity” derives from the opening line of chapter 25 in the Confucian classical text, the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhong Yong* 中庸), traditionally attributed to Confucius' grandson Kong Ji 孔伋 (483-402 BCE). For the Chinese text and a translation of the full passage into English, see: Ames and Hall 2001, 105. By the Tang period this phrase was understood by Buddhists as the sequel to meditative wisdom (*dinghui* 定慧). Thus, the two phrases in Daochong's fourth line are likely allusions to the teaching on ‘two entrances’ (*er ru* 二入) attributed to Bodhidharma: the first and second phrases referring to the entrances of principle and practice respectively. The teaching of the two entrances find its textual prototype in the *Treatise on The Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*Erru Sixing lun* 二入四行論) (full title: *Putidamo Dashi Lüebian Dasheng Rudao Sixing Guan* 菩提達磨大師略辨大乘入道四行觀): ERSXL j.1 in: X.1217.63: p1a, 20-1.

<sup>163</sup> CJDCCSYL j.2, in: X.1376.70: 56, c16-18.

天上星，眼中睛，  
星無悟人之意，  
睛無矚物之情，  
以理而會，自誠而明，  
究竟何曾有道成。

In this verse Daochong is even more fervent in his insistence that the viewer treat the Buddha's transitional act as an axial moment in his spiritual progress, stressing that it was this asceticism that led to a transcendent experience of awakening. Instead of focusing on visible symbols of the Buddha's enlightenment, the sight of the Daystar and the eye that perceives it, Daochong draws the viewer's attention to the Buddha's tenacity in the process of achieving awakening. Daochong's inscription requires the recipient of the scroll to both venerate and emulate the Buddha's actions. This iconic visual moment from Śākyamuni's hagiographic narrative becomes the locus of an exemplary model for emulation by Chan practitioners. A similar sentiment is found in an *encomium* for an image of the Buddha emerging from the mountains preserved in the discourse records of his near contemporary Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263).<sup>164</sup> In the line: “[While] trying to question his emergence from the mountain, how can we emulate his entering into the mountains?” 試問出山，何似入山？<sup>165</sup> Like Daochong, Guangwen calls on his disciples to treat the painting as an injunction to follow Śākyamuni's paradigmatic example of self-discipline, rather than fixating on the possible meanings of the Buddha's emergence from the mountains.

Both Liang Kai's Śākyamuni, and the work inscribed by Daochong are significant as the earliest known examples of this subject. The clear distinctions in their style, format, and the mechanisms whereby they evoke narrative indicate their diverse contexts of creation and reception, from Liang Kai's painting in the presence of the emperor, to Daochong's calligraphy in the cloisters on Mount Taibai. Some later depictions of this subject integrate these functions, combining a fuller setting with

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<sup>164</sup> Guangwen's career and oeuvre of inscriptions upon paintings are discussed at length in chapter five.

<sup>165</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 749, c3.

conceptually rich calligraphic exegesis. This synergy is nowhere more apparent than in a large-scale monochrome painting inscribed by the early fourteenth century abbot Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323) (fig 2.4a).

At over two meters in height, the Śākyamuni painting inscribed by Mingben is irrefutably monumental (fig. 2.4a). Like the iconic polychrome depictions of the subject, elements of landscape are incorporated into the upper portion of the painting. The artist has rendered this area of the composition through a minimal amount of brushwork. Diffuse orchid leaf shaped tendrils thicken in the centre before coming to a thin tip, growing in a dense clump of foliage alongside a central stem with the short, pointed leaves of bamboo. The rock from which these plants protrude is drawn with downward and diagonal movements, the fissured ink on the paper surface depicting the cracked contours of the overhanging cliff.

In an essay on Buddhist visual culture under the Yuan, Patricia Leidy describes the moment in this painting as the Buddha's return to the world after his enlightenment, stating that this Chan visual narrative contradicts the hagiographic narratives of various unspecified *sūtras*.<sup>166</sup> Leidy characterises Mingben's inscription as an allusion to the difficulty of returning to the world in an enlightened state. Her analysis follows Brinker's earlier reading of this painting, separating images of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains into works that locate the Buddha's enlightenment either pre or post emergence.<sup>167</sup> The following discussion offers an alternative reading of this painting's pictorial moment, wherein both the visual narrative and Mingben's inscribed verse allude to a more conceptually sophisticated diachronic interpretation of the Buddha's experience of awakening.

The eccentric leaf like strokes of Mingben's calligraphy sit adjacent to the rocky overhang, integrated into the painting surface through their formal parallel with leaves that closely resemble orchids and bamboos. During the Yuan dynasty, elite Chinese scholars saw both orchids and bamboos as signifiers of exemplary moral qualities. Many of these self styled men of culture originated from Mingben's native Southern

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<sup>166</sup> Leidy 2010, 93-6.

<sup>167</sup> Brinker 1973, 23.

Jiangnan 江南 region, in which he was both ordained and eventually rose to become an abbot.<sup>168</sup> As tenacious epiphytes that could survive in oppressive conditions, orchids were an apt botanical metaphor for a person of talent who perseveres in a hostile environment. For the Song loyalist scholar painters of the Yuan, these conditions were the oppressions of Mongol rule.<sup>169</sup> The anonymous painter's elaboration of Śākyamuni's site of mountainous reclusion appears to have appropriated this symbolism to enrich the site of Śākyamuni's transition, using only the subtle addition of a few terse strokes to imbue the pictorial space with added meaning. This visual emphasis of Śākyamuni's position as a reclusive exemplar would be readily legible to elite Chinese audiences for this painting, with Song loyalist painters such as Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1239-1316) producing images of orchids as allusions to reclusive sages of Chinese antiquity (fig. 2.14).<sup>170</sup> Moreover, Mingben's calligraphic parallel of the formal qualities of the orchid leaves emphasises this allusion to exemplary moral qualities in the painting, while also incorporating the allusion into his own identity as expressed through his distinctive calligraphy.<sup>171</sup> Thus, both artist and inscriber integrate this depiction of Śākyamuni's iconic transition into extra-monastic visual conventions for self-fashioning, implying a consideration of audiences for this work from beyond the confines of Chan cloisters.<sup>172</sup>

The anonymous artist's technical and stylistic choices in the execution of the Buddha's body and garments add a further layer of commentary upon the iconic moment. His robes are outlined in strong thick lines, rapidly brushed in sharp, angular movements that occasionally leave traces of the brush's bristles. The hem of

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<sup>168</sup> Mingben was born in Tangqian 唐錢, modern Hangzhou, and was ordained in the nearby Tianmu monastery 天目寺 in 1286, later becoming abbot of this temple in 1318, remaining in his monastic seat even when summoned to serve the Yuan Renzong emperor 元仁宗, Ayurbarwada Khan (1285-1320, r. 1311-1320): Zhang and Ge 2013.

<sup>169</sup> For a discussion of the symbolism of orchids in Yuan ink painting by Song loyalists, see McCausland 2011, 287.

<sup>170</sup> For a discussion of Zheng Sixiao's 'Ink Orchid', see: Zhang 2013, 220.

<sup>171</sup> Uta Lauer's conclusions to her extensive study of Mingben's calligraphy stress that he synthesised literati ideals of archaism with an individualistic approach to produce: "his own highly idiosyncratic style": Lauer 2002, 134.

<sup>172</sup> As Lauer discusses at length, Mingben was deeply immersed in the elite circles of early Yuan society, most notably in his relationship to Zhao Mengfu and his family. Lauer 2002, 133.

Śākyamuni's garment mirrors the fissured surface of the overhanging rock, integrating the sage into his mountainous environs. The densest application of ink is on the folds of fabric that conceal the Buddha's hands. This draws the viewer's eye to the deliberate absence of a defining *mudrā*, lending greater weight to Zhongfen's inscribed interpretation of the Buddha's actions and identity. The lower sections of the robe are blown forward like the Śākyamuni inscribed by Daochong, but the strokes are sharper, with more angular and pointed turns of the cloth in the cold wind. The combination of sharp line and diffuse ink wash gives the Buddha's robe a sense of volume upon the paper. This is most apparent in the juxtaposition of the defined angle of the hem at his neck with the smooth fold of the cloth around his shoulder.

The tangibility of the Buddha's bodily presence, alluded to through the lines and contours of his robe, contrasts directly with the deliberately elusive treatment of his face and feet. A diffusion of dilute ink indicates his hair and beard, with extremely fine lines for his ear, eyebrows, mouth and nostrils. The dark dots of his pupils animate his downturned gaze, only the circular earring on his left ear and the anklet on his left foot use equally concentrated pigment. The ghostly quality of his bodily presence enhances the air of introspection afforded by the standard non-frontal presentation of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, deepening the divide between viewer and subject. The capacity of illusionistic ink play to create an ambiguous relationship between audience and icon is a recurrent stylistic device for depictions of Chan figure paintings from this period, most pronounced in the apparition style of painting associated with the Southern Song Chan monk painter Zhirong 智融 (1114-1193), and his followers Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 and Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (both active 13<sup>th</sup> century) (figs. 5.2-5.3). However, in apparition style paintings, the lightness of tone and paucity of strokes make the entire pictorial surface appear to recede from the viewer, while this image contrasts an immanent robe with an illusory body. Like the painting inscribed by Daochong discussed above, the painting inscribed by Mingben conspicuously highlights the illusionistic nature of the act of depiction. However, in the latter work only the physical body of the Buddha is distanced from the audience (fig 2.4). This further emphasises the ambiguity of his person through the contrast between his corporeal form and superficial garb. A similar approach to the distinction of bodily form and clothing is seen in a painting of the

monk Fenggan 豐干, inscribed by Shiqiao Kexuan 石橋可宣 (d. ca. 1217) (fig. 2.15).

The stylistic choices in representing Śākyamuni's body are a significant point of variation in paintings of this theme, evident in a comparison of the Śākyamuni inscribed by Mingben with a painting formerly attributed to Hu Zhifu and inscribed by the thirteenth century abbot Xiyan Liaohui 西巖了慧 (1198-1262). These two works show great variation in style in spite of their shared iconographic conventions, illustrating the very deliberate choices each artist was able to make in depicting a common subject (fig. 2.6). The painting attributed to Hu Zhifu stresses the immanence of the Buddha's body through intimate detailing. The stark outlines of his wasted flesh are enhanced with volumetric shading, contrasting with the faint soft curves of his billowing robe. Dark outlines stress the folds of loose skin around exposed bones on the Buddha's shoulder, sternum, neck and elbow. Marks of bodily wastage depicted in threes on the elbow, sternum and shoulder allude to the three jewels of the Buddhism: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.<sup>173</sup> Śākyamuni's exposed skeletal emaciation is thus an allusion to the sanctity of the Buddha's body as a physical manifestation of his teachings. The devotional dimension of the image as an icon is underscored by the rich level of detail on his face and head, with carefully drawn lines that add volume to his bone structure, spiralling strokes that texture his hair and beard, and meticulous detailing around his eyes to animate his downturned gaze. Though this bodily wastage records the Buddha's temporary rejection of his physical form, it is depicted in consummate detail as befits a subject of great venerability.

Xiyan Liaohui's *encomium* plays upon these contrasting base and sacred qualities of Śākyamuni as seen in the visual moment.<sup>174</sup> The future impact of his teaching, and the inevitability of his awakening is noted in the penultimate line: "I behold that all living creatures, have been Buddhas a long time." 我觀一切眾生，成佛多時。 Yet the

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<sup>173</sup> The significance and recurrent of these marks in triplicate was pointed out to me by Stephen Allee of the Freer Gallery of Art on fieldwork in April 2013.

<sup>174</sup> This inscribed *encomium* is example of an extant text, which is also recorded in the inscribing cleric's discourse record. XYLHCSYL j.2, in: X.1391.70: 499, a8-9. A full translation and inscription of the *encomium* can be found in the accompanying figures list, quoted from the Freer Gallery of Art's comprehensive documentation on the painting: Freer Gallery of Art, 2007a.

final line singles out its subject as unawakened: “Only you, this old man, still lack the presence of enlightenment.” 只有你這老子，猶欠悟在。 At first, the subject of this final comment appears at first to be the subject of the painting. The “old man” is Śākyamuni at the moment of emergence from the mountain. Helmut Brinker has interpreted this painting as part of a debate over the timing of the Buddha’s enlightenment, in this instance occurring post emergence from the mountains. In Brinker’s reading, the *encomium* laments the futility of ascetic self-denial.<sup>175</sup> However, it is also possible that the inscription addresses the viewer of the painting, rather than its subject: “Only you, this old man, still lack [or fail to grasp], the presence of the enlightened.” Both readings are commensurate with the grammar of the inscribed text, and nothing specifies whether the inscription addresses either the image or its viewer. This unresolved verbal commentary corresponds with the visual ambiguity of the subject as both decrepit and sacred, pointing to a deliberate diachronic quality in Śākyamuni’s awakening as simultaneously present and impending. This deliberate deployment of ambiguity in the representation of awakening is also apparent in the inscription by Mingben, discussed below. Artists’ and inscribers’ choices of approach to the representation of Śākyamuni’s body were powerful mechanisms for both verbal and visual commentary on the nature of his experience of awakening.

Mingben’s inscription challenges the identification of the pictorial subject, working in parallel with the ambiguity of the visual rhetoric. His verse compels the audience of this scroll to reflect on their conception of and relationship to Śākyamuni. The *encomium* reads as follows:

Emerging from the mountains and entering the mountains, is originally you,  
What is called you, ah, it is no more!  
Old master Śākyamuni is coming,  
Ha, ha, ha!  
Eyes flashing over a million-mile ocean.

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<sup>175</sup> Brinker 1973, 26.

Huanzhu Mingben bows [with folded] hands.<sup>176</sup>

出山入山元是你，  
喚作你，兮，還不是！  
釋迦老子來也，  
呵呵呵！  
瞬目海千萬里。  
幻住明本拜手。

Unlike the majority of inscriptions upon paintings of this subject, Mingben does not set the scene through comments on the austerities of the Buddha or his unforgiving environment.<sup>177</sup> Instead he opens the verse by directly addressing the painting's subject, using the second person pronoun, *ni* 你. The first line implies continuity between the person who entered the mountains and the one who is now emerging from them, stating that they are originally the same. The second line contradicts this, by denying the presumption of continuity in this subject referred to as “you” (*ni*). This asserts the subjectivity of the pictorial protagonist's identity, leading to apparently paradoxical readings of the visual moment as the actions of a figure who is both the Buddha and not the Buddha, both enlightened and still trapped in the phenomenal world. Though Mingben's encomium starts by asserting the non-duality of the subject, the person who enters and leaves the mountains is essentially the same man, his second line refutes the idea of a continuing self.<sup>178</sup> Instead, he frames the Buddha's experience of reclusion as a transitional moment, after which he is no longer the same person who entered the mountains. Though Mingben appears at a loss for words to name the subject of the painting, his third line identifies the Buddha directly in a comment seemingly directed at the scroll's audience: “Old master Śākyamuni is coming.” Mingben's following interjection of laughter makes a deliberate mockery of this whole exercise. The vernacular tone of Mingben's frustrated sighs and chuckles

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<sup>176</sup> Translation adapted from: Brinker 1973, 23.

<sup>177</sup> See full translations and transcriptions of *encomia* in the notes for figs. 2.5-2.8.

<sup>178</sup> The deliberate deployment of paradoxical representations of a figural subject through a combination of text and image is also found in later Zen portraiture, through a rhetorical challenge over the capacity of an image to convey the presence of a past master: Lippit 2007c, 86-7.

satirise the fallacy of his own attempt to encapsulate the Buddha's transformative transition through something as limited as language. This breaks the flow of the verse, which is then concluded by an evocation of the Buddha's elevated perspective: "Eyes flashing over a million mile ocean". This final equation of perception of the world from a lofty height with the spiritual elevation of the pictorial subject returns the viewer to the mountainous context of the painting. Mingben thereby combines the abstracted conclusion of his verse with the concrete iconic material qualities of this imposing painting, stressing the venerable nature of his subject. In this work Mingben and the artist have combined their efforts to capture a narrative moment of sublime paradox, intended to prompt reflection from the viewer and to challenge their conception of their position in relation to the iconic moment of transition manifest on this monumental object.

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed*

While Śākyamuni sits at the apex of the Chan pantheon's hierarchy, Bodhidharma holds a unique position as the first patriarch of the Chan lineage upon Chinese soil.<sup>179</sup> Their shared status as foundational figures is mirrored in overlapping iconographic conventions for their depiction. In Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed (*Luye Damo tu* 蘆葉達磨, literally: rush leaf Bodhidharma) both appear as bearded foreigners in wind blown robes. These images of transitions mark seminal moments in the history of Chan's patriarchal transmission, from the Buddha, via Bodhidharma, to the Song and Yuan clerics whose calligraphy embellishes the paintings' surfaces. Though Bodhidharma's miraculous passage across the vast torrent of the Yangzi was widely depicted in painting, textual hagiographies treat it as either marginal to the events of his life or omit the act entirely. As with depictions of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, paintings of Bodhidharas crossing the Yangzi relocate this transition from the periphery of a textual narrative to the centre of the viewer's visual attention.

In a ground breaking 1993 article on the Rush Leaf Bodhidharma, Charles Lachman provides the first extensive discussion of this subject in English. Lachman's exploration of the iconic qualities of the image offers a corrective to Brinker and Rogers' earlier dismissals of this subject as iconographically but not ideologically related to the Buddha's emergence from the mountains.<sup>180</sup> Arguing that depictions of Bodhidharma's transition appropriate the authority of the historical Buddha through a common visual language, Lachman refutes Brinker and Rogers' earlier derision of the rush leaf theme as derivative dilution. Instead, he acknowledges the agency of depictions of Bodhidharma as signifiers of the patriarch's authority. Moreover, Lachman rejects readings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed as a visual narrative, presupposing that visual narrative entails a derivative relationship to text,

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<sup>179</sup> The structure of the *Jingde Record* distinguishes a grouping of Chan's first 35 patriarchs descending from the historic Buddha in India 天竺三十五祖, and Bodhidharma's first five lineage descendents of on Chinese soil, 中華五祖: JDCDL j.2, in: T.2076.51, 210 c4-216, b28.

<sup>180</sup> Lachman 1993, 262; Rogers 1983, 29; Brinker 1973, 29-30.

marginalising visual materials in favour of external written sources.<sup>181</sup> However, in paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, the most prominent texts are inscriptions integrated onto the same scroll upon which the Patriarch is painted, not external hagiographies. In line with contemporary theoretical approaches to visual narrative expressed in the burgeoning literature on the subject, the following discussion uses the term visual narrative to describe a function of painting completed by the image's reception, rather than a property of its iconography.<sup>182</sup> In addition to rehabilitating the utility of narrativity in the analysis of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, the following passage explores how clerics' mediation of Bodhidharma's narrative of transition reinforced their legitimacy as pedagogical authorities.

Such combinations of visual and verbal allusions to the narrative context of Bodhidharma's transition are evident in an ink painting by the Yuan artist Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (active 14<sup>th</sup> century), with an *encomium* by the Chan abbot Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (1247-1317) (fig. 2.16). The patriarch's bulbous nose and full beard mark him out a foreigner. He appears introverted, his hands held close to his body, and his head covered by the hood of his robe. Yet the prominent earring and anklet in dark ink remind us of his regal birth, a family origin that echoes the hagiography of the Buddha. Bodhidharma's impending reclusion at the Shaolin monastery 少林寺 is foreshadowed in the long toenails growing from his bare feet. He stands upon a flimsy reed as he crosses the vast Yangzi river, the watery expanse implied by the surrounding blank space. The figure's iconography suspends him between his princely origins in India and his impending asceticism. The inscription by Yishan contextualises this miraculous feat within the preceding events in Bodhidharma's hagiography. It reads as follows:

Crossing seas and overcoming deserts he came,  
In response to the emperor saying "I don't know".

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<sup>181</sup> Lachman writes: "... this tendency to look through a picture in order to identify a background text may cause narratives to be found where they were never intended to be." (Lachman 1993, 242)

<sup>182</sup> See essays in: McCausland and Hwang 2014, Green 2013, discussed in introduction, pages 16-19.

The matter unsuccessful he promptly withdrew,  
Pressing on, his feet treading the water.

*Bhikku* Yining of Yishan bows [with folded] hands.<sup>183</sup>

逾海越漠來，對御道不識。  
事負即抽身，腳下浮逼逼。  
一山比丘一寧拜手。

The first line of this inscription directly quotes a phrase found in various versions of Bodhidharma's hagiography referring to the vast distances he crossed to come to China overland in the sixth century. This line is found in both the *Jingde Record* and the thirteenth-century *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* (*Wujia Zhengzong Zan* 五家正宗贊).<sup>184</sup> Earlier transliterations and translations of Yining's *encomium* by Wen C Fong and Yoshiaki Shimizu read seas (*hai* 海) as rivers (*he* 河). However, given the verse's direct correlation with the texts of multiple hagiographies, *hai* seems a more suitable reading for Yining's highly cursive script. The second line follows on from the patriarchs' arrival in China, commenting on Bodhidharma's frustrated meeting with Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (464-549, r. 502-49). In this encounter, the emperor failed to grasp Bodhidharma's teaching on the illusory nature of self. When the emperor asked Bodhidharma which sage stood before him, he simply replied: "[I] do not know [him]".<sup>185</sup> This failure to successfully communicate his teaching to a leading political figure led Bodhidharma to head north to the Shaolin monastery. Here he would meet with the second patriarch after nine years of meditation, and initiate the transmission of Chan patriarchal lineage in China. As discussed above, Li Yaofu's subtle addition of elongated toenails alludes to this later period of reclusion, evoking a narrative detail omitted in the inscription. The thaumaturgical feat of the transition shown in the painting is a crucial link between these two seminal encounters in Bodhidharma's hagiography, as to complete this

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<sup>183</sup> Translation adapted from: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 355; Shimizu 2007a.

<sup>184</sup> JDCDL j.3 in: T.2076.51: 219, c26; WJZZZ j.1 in: X.1554.78: 576, b13.

<sup>185</sup> WJZZZ j.1, in: X.1554.78: 576, b15.

journey Bodhidharma first had to traverse the Yangzi river. The inscription ends with Bodhidharma's feet pressing onward, miraculously floating across the water in a transition that was instrumental for the beginnings of Chan's patriarchal transmission in China.

Li Yaofu and Yishan Yining's combined visual and verbal characterisations of Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangzi show a sustained emphasis on the individual endeavour of his transition. He appears isolated and introverted, is far from home, and has recently left the court of a sovereign he sought to convince of his spiritual efficacy. By contrast, earlier images of miraculous Buddhist transitions across water show sages crossings in groups. These images demonstrate the collective power of a pantheon, rather than illuminating the acts of an exemplary individual. An image of this type by professional painter Zhou Jichang 周季常 (act. second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), *Arhats Crossing the River* 渡水羅漢圖, provides a partial prototype for the later iconography of Bodhidharma's miraculous transition (fig. 2.17).

In *Arhats Crossing the River* the figure resembling Bodhidharma appears in the lower centre. His earring and dark skin mark him out a foreigner. Dressed in lavish green and red robes that billow in the wind, he stands on the long stem of a reed. Wen C. Fong identifies this figure as an unambiguous depiction of Bodhidharma.<sup>186</sup> While rush leaf Bodhidharma's eponymous reed is present, and his mouth is turned down in Bodhidharma's characteristic sulk, certain conventions from later depictions of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi are conspicuously absent. Zhou's figure wears sandals rather than travelling barefoot, and his jaw is stubbly rather than fully bearded. He also holds the folds of his robe, while in the majority of depictions of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed his hands are either concealed beneath his robe (figs. 2.16, 2.18-22), or clasp a pilgrim's staff (fig. 2.25). Most importantly, Zhou's figure is not acting alone. In addition to the four other figures within this painting, the proto-Bodhidharma was one of five hundred Arhats depicted in a set of one hundred scrolls.<sup>187</sup> In *Arhats Crossing the River* the Bodhidharma-like figure is

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<sup>186</sup> See: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 357.

<sup>187</sup> These paintings were originally commissioned by the abbot of the Huian Yuan 惠安院 monastery near Ningbo, through donations for individual works collected over the course of a decade from 1178-1188. The majority of the set is now housed in the Daitokuji monastery 大

part of a vast pantheon, where the identity and actions of a single subject are subsumed within the larger group. As such, Zhou Jichang's painting provides an iconographic prototype for later images, but should be distinguished in both form and function from depictions of a solitary Bodhidharma Crossing the the Yangzi on a Reed. In contrast with Zhou's representation of a pantheon's collective endeavours, paintings of the patriarch crossing the Yangzi alone draw on his solitude to emphasise the gravity of the act within the context of his hagiography. In doing so they lend an iconic gravity to an act of transition that was only marginal in textual prototypes.

### *Hagiographies of Bodhidharma*

Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangzi upon a reed occurred between two major events in his hagiography, following his frustrated encounter with Emperor Wu of Liang and preceding his reclusion at Shaolin.<sup>188</sup> In the canonical *Jingde Record*, from 1004 CE, the journey across the river follows a lengthy dialogue in which Liang Wudi fails to comprehend Bodhidharma's teaching on the futility of accumulating merit due to the illusory nature of self.<sup>189</sup> The text goes on to describe Bodhidharma's furtive departure, and gives exact dates for his eventual arrival at the Shaolin monastery. In the *Jingde Record*'s lengthy exposition of Bodhidharma's encounter with Liang Wudi, and the detailed account of his journey north across the Yangzi, there is no mention of a reed or any other vehicle for his crossing.

Compared with the detailed account of the early eleventh century *Jingde Record*, the mid thirteenth-century *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* offers a much more concise narrative of his life.<sup>190</sup> The dialogue between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu of Liang is much shorter, skipping the *Jingde Record*'s enumeration of the monarch's attempts to accumulate merit through commissioning the production of *sūtras* and Buddhist monuments. The timing of events is also less specific, citing no

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徳寺 in Kyoto, with the two in the Freer Gallery of Art and eight in the Boston Museum of Fine Art. Discussed in: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 343; Levine 2005, 287-314.

<sup>188</sup> For a historical study of the various Buddhist projects undertaken by Emperor Wu, and their deployment in his self-fashioning as a Bodhisattva King, see: Chen 2006.

<sup>189</sup> For a translation of the relevant passage, see appendix 2.1.

<sup>190</sup> WJZZZ j.1, in: X.1554.78: 576, a7.

dates. Instead, the later account succinctly shows how after an arduous voyage to China to spread Chan teachings, and a frustrated encounter with Liang Wudi, Bodhidharma's journey north to Shaolin led to his meeting with the second patriarch. However, amidst these reductions of the earlier narrative version, the *Encomium of the True Lineage of the Five Schools* adds one crucial detail. Bodhidharma's journey across the Yangzi now occurs upon a reed. The relevant passage from this later account reads as follows:

Then [Bodhidharma] traversed the seas and surpassed the deserts in order to seek people out on behalf of the law [*dharma*]. He first arrived at an audience with Emperor Wu of Liang. The emperor asked: "What is the first principle of the truth of the sage." The master said: "There are no sages." The emperor said: "Then who is before me?" The master said: "[I] don't know [him]". This did not get through to the emperor. Subsequently, [Bodhidharma] broke off a reed and crossed the river, arriving at Shaolin to face a wall for nine years, obtaining the second patriarch amidst the deep snows.<sup>191</sup>

遂踰海越漠，為法求人。初至，見梁武帝。帝問：如何是聖諦第一義？師曰：廓然無聖。帝曰：對朕者誰？師曰：不識。帝不契。遂折蘆渡江。至少林，面壁九年，得二祖於深雪中。

These two versions of a common narrative differ in style and structure. The earlier version provides greater historical detail, but in doing so prioritises specificity in the timing and location of events over narrative exposition. The *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools*' presumption that these historic details were familiar to the reader allows it to place greater emphasis on significant moments of action and their causal relationships. The shorter account of this later text connects Bodhidharma's actions in a more direct sequence. This brevity implies that each incident is a consequence of the last, highlighting how Bodhidharma's frustrated encounter with Emperor Wu of Liang prompts his crossing of the Yangzi, which leads

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<sup>191</sup> WJZZZ j.1, in: X.1554.78: 576, b13-16.

to his meeting with the second patriarch. This stresses their importance within a familiar narrative prototype through their selection for inclusion in the patriarch's hagiography. The condensed language dramatises this later version of the narrative, while the reader's cultural memory prevents a loss of continuity between events. Individual phrases become more evocative through a presumption of familiarity with surrounding details. Where the *Jingde Record* felt it necessary to explicate that Emperor Wu "was not led to realisation, and the master knew that this interaction had not got through to him," 帝不領悟，師知機不契 the *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* simply states: "This did not get through to the emperor 帝不契".

The rhetorical brevity of the *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* is representative of a broad trend toward concise, high impact word play seen across literary forms used by thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan authors. While the eleventh century *Jingde Record* presented itself as a history of the lineage, the *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* was produced in a period when an historic narrative of the lineage origins was already canonical. Instead, *Encomia on the Orthodox Lineage of the Five Schools* hybridised hagiographic prose with popular compilations of short aphorisms that used a simple question as a vehicle for religious teachings, known as *gong'an* 公案 (literally 'public cases'). This literary form had become widely popular in thirteenth century Chinese Chan. As with the *gong'an* collected in works such as *The Gateless Barrier* (*Wumen Guan* 無門關), compiled by Wumen Hui-k'ai 無門慧開 (1183–1260), inscriptions upon paintings of Bodhidharma's miraculous transition distilled references to complex narratives into condensed *mot juste*. The short lines of these clerics' verses were laden with quotation and allusion.<sup>192</sup> The reduction of the extensive narratives to only a few short lines of verse led to an exponential intensification of their impact upon their audiences. Inscribed calligraphic *encomia* created new versions of Bodhidharma's narrative of transition with their own distinctive integrity and conventions. These served a markedly distinct pedagogical purpose from the purported historical record offered by

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<sup>192</sup> For original Chinese text see: WMG in, T.2005.48. For English translations of this text, see: Aitken 1990; Yamada 1990.

lengthier prototypes in the at times turgid prose of hagiographic compendia.<sup>193</sup> Yet the greatest amplification of Bodhidharma's significant deeds through a change in format was in the visual representation of the transitional act itself. In paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed the iconic moment is unavoidably central to the viewer's reception of events. These paintings simultaneously evoke Bodhidharma's presence, while also making his actions an axis around which the preceding and impending events of his hagiography are ordered.

### *Selected Paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed*

One of the earliest extant paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed is an unsigned work attributed to the author of the inscription in its upper register, the thirteenth century abbot Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249) (fig. 2.18).<sup>194</sup> This painting is a paradigmatic example of the apparition style. The slight movements of the brush outline just enough of Bodhidharma's form for the viewer to identify the subject. The dilution of ink to a suffuse grey in the few strokes that mark the edges of his robe are sharply contrasted with the saturated black of his eyes, nose, and downturned mouth. The painting takes the deliberate display of the illusionistic capacities of brush and ink to their limit, with a visual self-denial that far surpasses the image inscribed by Daochong, or any of the other works discussed above.<sup>195</sup>

The impact of the artist's stylistic choice on the Tokugawa Art Museum Bodhidharma attributed to Shifan discussed above is particularly apparent when compared to another Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, formerly attributed to Menwuguan 門無關 (active 13<sup>th</sup> century) (fig. 2.19). This second painting, currently in a private collection in Japan, is inscribed by Wuzhun with exactly the same verse

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<sup>193</sup> Barbara Herrnstein Smith has made a compelling critique of the pernicious conception of narratives deriving from a singular original form, noting that changes from earlier iterations of a narrative should be read as equally valid versions, as opposed to deviations: Herrnstein Smith 1981.

<sup>194</sup> For a discussion of this particular work, alongside its incorporation into a triptych when owned by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408), with images of 'Yellow Ox Zheng' (Zheng Huangniu 正黃牛, a moniker of Wei Zheng 惟正 (986-1049)), and 'The Master of Mount Yu (Yushanzhu 郁山主), see: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 160-1.

<sup>195</sup> Yukio Lippit sights this painting as a powerful illustration of the apparition style in his essay on the history of this mode of visual expression: Lippit 2009, 64.

as on the Tokugawa Bodhidharma (fig. 2.18).<sup>196</sup> Both scrolls have a long provenance in Japan, and are also impressed with Wuzhun's seals, and the relief *dōyū* 道有 collectors seal of the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94). In the painting attributed to Menwuguan, the outline of Bodhidharma's garments are drawn in darker ink, with repeated applications of the brush to the paper surface. The bristles splay in the description of the robe's folds around his neck, and draw the eye to the bunching of cloth over his hands through a flurry of repeated curving movements of the dry brush. Like many Chan figure paintings, the Menwuguan Bodhidharma contrasts the dark saturation of the patriarch's eyes, nostrils, earhole and mouth with the fainter tonality of the remainder of the painting. However, the contrast is not as pronounced as in the painting attributed to Wuzhun, which pushes the illusionistic capacities of ink to the threshold of illegibility. By contrast, Bodhidharma's bodily presence in the Menwuguan work lends him a tangible form through a flurry of descriptive marks in his wind blown robe, and a meticulous attention to detail in the rendition of his strained visage.

Though it conspicuously strives for an apparitional effect, the thrifty brushwork of the painting attributed to Shifan's achieves a remarkable degree of descriptive clarity. The downward diagonals of the folds of cloth covering Bodhidharma's clasped hands give a clear sense of three dimensionality to the robe, flowing out in differing directions, and indicating folds through subtle variations in girth of the garment's outline. The patriarch's body is subtly shaped through a slight thickening as the robe curves over his left shoulder, implying the stability of the garment atop the underlying hunched muscle. This contrasts with the looser cloth around his lower back, where the same line that describes his shoulder thins before regaining its volume to clarify his gluteal. His left foot clings to the surface of the reed, its toes arched in a tactile grip on his precarious perch. The toenails are short, their edges stopping before the end of each toe. The deliberate choice to individually describe each toenail in a work of such striking minimalism indicates the importance of this iconographic detail. Representing the patriarch's body at the moment of transition, the short toenails confirm that this is a synchronic image of Bodhidharma at the moment of his transition. This contrasts with the diachronic evocation of Bodhidharma's reclusion at

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<sup>196</sup> The historic attribution is cited in: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 166.

Shaolin in Li Yaofu's work discussed above, where the patriarch's long toenails foreshadow an extended period of immobile mediation (fig. 2.15). The reed itself is rendered only through the faintest of strokes for its five broad leaves and single seed head, growing from an almost imperceptible stem.

In spite of its deliberate brevity, the iconographic specificity of the painting attributed to Wuzhun Shifan removes any ambiguity over either the subject, or the moment of action in which he is engaged. This scowling, hooded foreigner is irrefutably Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed. While the illusory pictorial register creates a distance between the viewer and subject, that distance opens up a space for the mediating function of Shifan's inscription. The confident turns of Shifan's semi-cursive script contextualise the action of the visual moment through an abbreviated rendition of a Bodhidharma's hagiographic narrative in the following verse:

Oh so vexed by the encounter with the ignorant King of Liang,  
Crossing the river to sit in the cold for nine successive years,  
Speaking of one flower, of which five petals open themselves,  
Absent, the spring wind manifests your intent in its breeze.

Shifan of Jingshan folds his hands.

觸忤梁王恹恹，渡江九年冷坐重重，  
話墮一花五葉自分披，不在春風著意吹。  
徑山師範拜手。

The inscription begins by contextualising the moment captured in the image, alluding to Bodhidharma's arrival on the banks of the Yangzi after his frustrated encounter with Emperor Wu of Liang. Shifan goes on to identify the destination and purpose of Bodhidharma's journey, heading to the Shaolin monastery where he will spend nine years in meditation at the Shaoshi cliff. The third line recounts Bodhidharma's prediction of Chan's development into five schools through an image of a flower

opening into five petals.<sup>197</sup> This image is appropriate from a verse attributed to Bodhidharma in multiple hagiographic narratives, composed to mark the transition of his robe to the second patriarch:

I originally came to this land,  
To transmit the law saving those lost to passion,  
A single flower opens into five petals,  
Ultimately completing itself.<sup>198</sup>

吾本來茲土，傳法救迷情，  
一花開五葉，結果自然成。

Finally, the inscription develops the image of the flower through the seasonal associations with spring and new growth. Locating Bodhidharma's teaching in the spring wind, Shifan's verse reinforces the incorporeal nature of the patriarch's simulated presence achieved by the painting's apparitional quality. Bodhidharma's form is ephemeral and his words are inscribed on the intangible spring wind, instead of visually manifesting an historic exemplar and his concrete teachings in text.<sup>199</sup> In his inscription upon the Menwuguan version of this painting, Shifan has written the character for spring, *chun* 春, in a particularly abbreviated fashion, rendering the season a graphic abstraction to stress its immateriality in contrast with the surrounding characters.

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<sup>197</sup> The five schools are: Linji 臨濟 (j. Rinzai), Caodong 曹洞 (j. Sōtō), Yunmen 雲門 (j. Unmon), Fayan 法眼 (j. Hōgen), and Weiyang 滙仰 (J. Igyō). Though presented in Chan's hagiographic literature of the eleventh century onwards as branches that grew outward from a central stem of lineage transmission, this stem and branch metaphor for development of a tradition inevitably inverts the historiographic process. Authors of later hagiographic compendia constructed Chan's various lineages as much as they described them, projecting the diverse affiliations of their own days back through history. This led them to construct an idealised origin in the community around Bodhidharma. For a brief survey of the earliest written records that reference a tradition of five schools, see: Schlütter 2008, 23. On the problematic nature of Chan hagiography's claims to the growth of tradition from a defined origin, see: Faure 1993, 118-23.

<sup>198</sup> This same verse can be found in: JDCDL j.3 in: T.2076.51: 219, c17-18; WJZZZ j.1 in: X.1554.78: 576, b18-19; WDHY j.1 in: X.1565.80: 43, a23-24.

<sup>199</sup> The verb *zhuo* 著 means both to manifest and to write out.

Both Wuzhun's *encomia* and the painting attributed to him integrate text and image into a holistic narrative. The visual qualities of the image and the inscribed verse both contextualise and comment on the iconic act of the pictorial protagonist. In the first line, the vexed mood of the patriarch mirrors his exaggerated downturned mouth and furrowed brow. Bodhidharma's hunched posture upon the windblown river foreshadows his impending nine years of meditation in the cold mountains alluded to in the second line. The five leaves on the reed beneath Bodhidharma's feet correspond to the five petals of the flower signifying Chan's five schools, as in both the hagiographic compendia and in the third line of this verse the five petals are referred to with the character *ye* 葉, which denotes both petals and leaves. Though not a universal feature of depictions of this subject, the five leaf reed is found in at least four other extant examples of this theme: in the Bodhidharma attributed to Menwuguan (fig. 2.19); in two works attributed to Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (active 14<sup>th</sup> century) (figs. 2.20-2.21); and in an anonymous work inscribed by Donggu Miaoguang 東谷妙光 (d. 1253) (fig. 2.22).

The depiction of Bodhidharma's reed with five leaves creates a visual echo of future events, while also integrating two acts of wonderworking.<sup>200</sup> The first is the evident thaumaturgical feat of crossing the Yangzi river on the stem of a flimsy plant, while the second is the prediction of the future existence of five schools of Chan Buddhism.<sup>201</sup> The inscription uses the image of the flower to highlight Bodhidharma's foreknowledge of the later developments of Chan, implying a diachronic conscious of his successors, rather than simply a linear connection through historical progression.

The final line offers a more complex comment upon the painting, addressing Bodhidharma's relationship to a contemporary Southern Song audience rather than narrating events in his life from a third person perspective. By denying the actual presence of the patriarch and alluding to the intangible presence of his teaching,

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<sup>200</sup> Thaumaturgy was a significant criteria for the veneration of eminent monks in earlier Buddhist hagiographic literature, as discussed in: Kieschnick 1997, 71-6.

<sup>201</sup> For other examples of Buddhist hagiographic veneration of prophecy see discussions of the monks Chiren 癡人 (736/884-806/855), literally "fool", Xuanjue 玄覺 (615/633-665-714) and Puji 普寂 (651-739) in: Kieschnick 1997, 72. Another notable prediction of the future by a member of the Chan pantheon can be found in the narrative of the monk Yuanze 圓澤 and Li Yuan 李源, which will be discussed below, pages 119-39.

Shifan's inscription mirrors the visual rhetoric of the apparition style of the accompanying painting. Shifan's conscious illustration of the illusory nature of verbal and visual depictions of Bodhidharma was a recurrent consideration in inscribed paintings of this type. An inscription by Yunwai Yunxiu 雲外雲岫 (d. 1300) on a painting attributed to Yintuoluo (fig 2.21) also positions the transition across the Yangzi as a miraculous feat, framed as the precursor to Bodhidharma's reclusion at Shaolin and ultimately the genesis of Chan's five schools, symbolised by the five petal flower.<sup>202</sup> The opening lines of Xiyuan Liaohui's inscription on a painting of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi reads: "Alas, how can one depict [his] coming from the West 噫吁，西來何所圖." Liaohui goes on to position the eventual fruition of the Chan tradition, embodied in the image of the five petal flower, as the ultimate result of the miraculous transition across the river.<sup>203</sup> Shifan and Liaohui are both explicitly acknowledging the challenge they face in mediating Bodhidharma's miraculous transition to the contemporary viewers of these paintings. Such reflexive self consciousness reveals Chan clerics' concern over their personal positions in the histories of their own lineages.

In spite of its intellectual complexity, Shifan's verse was still part of an established genre that replicated a common set of narrative allusions. The individual qualities of both painting and calligraphic style subtly impacted upon the painter and inscribing abbot's individual approach to these enduring concerns. However, these variations occurred through the insertions of only minor variations into the execution of a stable template for a widely produced image type.

As with Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi's conventionalised iconography of a scowling foreign patriarch in a wind blown robe atop a fragile plant stem, the verses contextualising these images drew on a shared repertoire of recurrent tropes.

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<sup>202</sup> For a discussion of this painting in relation to the broader oeuvre of Yintuoluo, and the impact of this artist's abbreviated style of brushwork in the development of Japanese ink painting, see: Toda 1975b, 162. A transcription and translation of the inscription is included in the notes to fig. 2.21.

<sup>203</sup> The full verse reads: "Alas, how can one depict his coming from the West? Before opening the flower into five petals, he first broke a single reed stalk. The autumn wind blows filling the rivers and lakes with regret." 噫吁，西來何所圖？未開花五葉，先壞一莖蘆，秋風吹恨滿江湖。XYLHCSYL j.2 in: X1391.70: 499, a11-12.

Numerous *encomia* make reference to Bodhidharma's frustration with Emperor Wu of Liang, to the privations of Shaolin, and to the five petal flower. These iconographic and poetic tropes continued from the Song to the Yuan periods, as shown by a comparison of the two paintings inscribed by Shifan with an anonymous painting inscribed by Liaoran Qingyu 了庵清欲 (1288-1363) (fig 2.23), currently in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The painting inscribed by Qingyu shows the patriarch in a similar pose to the two scrolls with Shifan's *encomium*. His hands are clasped close to his chest concealed beneath his robe, a heavy frown and thick beard upon his face. The wind-blown robe is depicted in a single outline, with no volumetric wash. The brush does not return to any of these outlines to contribute further marks to add texture or flesh out form. Only the most minimal of brush strokes separate the reed beneath the patriarch's feet from the surrounding blank space of the paper surface. Though there are stylistic similarities between the three works, there are also significant differences in iconographic details, notably that the reed has three leaves instead of five. The technique in the painting inscribed by Qingyu incorporates elements of the apparition style, but does not place the same emphasis on the illusory quality of the pictorial surface seen in the work attributed to Shifan. However, the structures and contents of Shifan and Qingyu's *encomia* are remarkably similar. Situated in the upper register of the painting, Qingyu's *encomium* reads as follows:

The reeds bloom, the wind rises, and the crests of waves are high,  
The Shaoshi cliff lies ahead, a far road to travel,  
Beyond the world of *kalpas* [an eon in the Buddhist cycle of cosmic time], a  
single flower blossoms into five petals,  
Heels now readied to endure the rattan cane.<sup>204</sup>

The *bhikku* Qingyu bows and eulogises

蘆花風起浪頭高，少室岩前去路遙。  
劫外一花開五葉，腳跟正好喫藤條。

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<sup>204</sup> Translation adapted from: Ho et al. 1980, 124-5.

比丘清欲拜贊。

Qingyu evokes Bodhidharma's frustration at his arrival on the Yangzi's shore through pathetic fallacy, the turmoil of the river mirroring the master's mood. Like Shifan, he identifies the endpoint of Bodhidharma's journey and the arduous experience ahead of him. However, Qingyu stresses the extreme distance to be travelled rather than the privations that await Bodhidharma at his destination. Like Shifan's verse, Qingyu's third line references Bodhidharma's poem on the five petal flower. However, the two abbots focus upon different aspects of Bodhidharma's verse. Shifan's line: "Speaking of one flower, five petals of which open themselves" illustrates the prophetic capacity of Bodhidharma. Meanwhile, Qingyu ascribes a diachronic quality to the five Chan schools symbolised by the bloom, prefacing the exact phrasing from Bodhidharma's hagiography with a comment on the existence of these schools outside of time: "Beyond the realm of *kalpas*, a single flower opens into five petals".<sup>205</sup> In Shifan's rendering, the act of prophecy occurred at a particular time, and is of note because of its eventual fruition. For Qingyu, the prophecy reveals a truth beyond time.<sup>206</sup> Though expressing differing conceptions of the historicity of Bodhidharma's prophecy, both use their mediation of its significance via calligraphic commentary to embed themselves in an association with the historic patriarch in the mind of the reader.

Qingyu's final line concludes dramatically with a reference to the violent disciplines of the meditation hall, in the imperative to "endure the rattan cane". This follows on from the link between Bodhidharma and Qingyu established by the image of the five petal flower to connect the pedagogical environment of the inscriber's monastery with the teachings of the painting's subject. Indeed, the image equates the visual representation of Bodhidharma's wonder working poise atop a thin reed upon a

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<sup>205</sup> See note 71.

<sup>206</sup> It is important to stress here that this study distinguishes itself from the uncritical readings of the rhetorical representation of an a-historic Chan advocated DT Suzuki and Shin'ichi Hismatsu, discussed in chapter one, pages 31-46. This thesis approaches the historical consciousness of senior Chan clerics as part of the historic mechanisms by which they projected both temporal and spiritual authority to the various audiences for the paintings they inscribed. The ways in which Chan abbots' used their inscriptions to cement authority by mediating viewers' relationships to painted icons are discussed at length in chapter five.

stormy river, to the tolerance of blows struck to the soles of the feet in the meditation practice of the Qingyu's Linji school.

The comparison of these inscribed paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed illustrates that while they share common iconographic and rhetorical tropes, they are by no means homogenous. Variation in verbal and visual details individualises the version of the narrative the scrolls presents to their viewers. In the case of the Wuzhun Shifan *Bodhidharma*, we see an intimate integration of text and image that consciously plays on the illusionistic function of painting and the evocative capacity of verse to address an absent subject. Shifan combines the veneration of Bodhidharma as a foundational figure with a paradoxical evocation and denial of his presence. However, through the evocation of Linji school disciplines, the final line of Qingyu's verse appropriates the gravity of Bodhidharma's hagiography to underscore a didactic instruction to endure austerity as an integral aspect of religious life. The iconic moment of Bodhidharma's miraculous transition across the Yangzi river, and the context of hagiographic narrative in which it was embedded, constituted a generic subject suitable for repeated pictorial and poetic expression. Slight variations upon the established norms of painting and verse allowed for subtle yet significant variation in the messages communicated to the viewer through each rendition.

#### *A Yuan Imperial Encomium from the Shaolin Monastery*

For the majority of surviving images of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a reed, their Chinese contexts of display are only hinted at in general guidelines for the use of image in monastic regulations. An example of this practice is discussed in T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf's analysis of the use of Bodhidharma's portrait (*Damo dingxiang* 達磨丁相) in regulations from 1274 for entering an abbot's room (*ru shi* 入室).<sup>207</sup> In this ritual, the abbot, and subsequently his disciple, are required to make prostrations and offer incense before the image. This rare direct reference to the use of

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<sup>207</sup> Foulk and Sharf's discussion draws on the text of the *Compendia of Fixed Pure Rules of the Forest of Schools* (*Conglin Xiaoding Qinggui Zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要), compiled by Weimian 惟勉 (act. Ca. 13<sup>th</sup> century), preface dated 1274: Foulk and Sharf 1993, 194. For the original text, see CLXDQGY j.2, in: X.1249.63: 608, a8-17.

a painting of Bodhidharma provides a possible context in which paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi could have been displayed. However, given these accounts' lack of specificity over the guise in which Bodhidharma is to be represented in the painting used, references to painting display in monastic regulations shed little light over the specific meanings conveyed by images of Bodhidharma's transition across the Yangzi.

While the portability of paintings makes the analysis of their display necessarily imprecise, light relief stone carvings that reproduced images based on painted prototypes provide specific contexts for the reception of images.<sup>208</sup> One such work is preserved in a rubbing of a stele depicting Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed from the Shaolin monastery, capped with a verse labelled: "*Encomium* by the Renzong emperor 仁宗皇帝讚 [Ayurbarwada Khan (1285-1320, r. 1311-1320)]" (fig. 2.24). The Renzong emperor patronised the Shaolin monastery during his rule, visiting the site in person and commissioning the commemorative stele for the abbot Xueting Yuhe 雪庭裕和 (1203-1275).<sup>209</sup> However, as the title uses the emperor's posthumous temple name (*miaohao* 廟號), the verse was likely added shortly after his death in 1320. Whether the calligraphy or composition were actually from the emperor's own hand is something of a moot point. What matters for the purposes of this study is that the *encomium* is a posthumous representation of the emperor's person. Consequently, the inscription signifies an imperial locus of temporal and spiritual power, separate from the lineage of patriarchs at the Shaolin temple where we know the image was displayed.<sup>210</sup> Through the combination of its authorship and context, the Renzong *encomium* integrates imperial and monastic authority. Taken from near the shrine of the first patriarch, the significance of the image is inseparable

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<sup>208</sup> A series of rubbings of such carvings from are discussed at length in exploring the developing iconography of Bodhidharma in Yuan dynasty visual culture: Bush and Mair 1977, 41-2.

<sup>209</sup> The Renzong emperor's involvement in Xueting Yuhe's memorial inscription is recorded in the Ming hagiographic compendia, *Appended Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Buxu Gaoseng Zhuan* 補續高僧傳) compiled by Minghe 明河 (1588-1641) in 1641: BXGSZ j.22, in: X.1524.77: 513, b17-18.

<sup>210</sup> Lachman believes this inscription to be by the Song Renzong Emperor. However, the connection is highly spurious. He offers no evidence to undermine the accompanying date on the inscription, and does not address or even acknowledge the textual records of Yuan Renzong's patronage of the Shaolin monastery: Lachman 1993, 255.

from its spatial association with Bodhidharma's nine years of reclusion at Shaolin. The stele from which the rubbing was made was carved in 1308, during the Dade 大德 period of the reign of the Yuan Chengzong emperor 元成宗, Temür Öljejtü Khan (1265-1307, r. 1294-1307). It is dedicated with the inscription: "Two days before the end of the second month of the eleventh year of the Dade period of the Great Yuan, monastic accountant Zhili established this stone 大元大德十一年二月末旬二日, 提點智利立石." A further inscription identifies the source of the image as: "Painted in the Pavillion of Joy, Tanhuai 覃懷樂亭畫", identifying a possible atelier from which the image was commissioned.<sup>211</sup>

The Renzong *encomium* asserts the emperor's authority over Chan lineage through both the site of its execution, and structure of its commentary. As a prominent signifier of imperial patronage, the *encomium* augments the monastery near the site in which Bodhidharma is believed to have spent his nine-year reclusion. The authorial voice appropriates clerical authority by employing the rhetorical tropes used by Chan abbots in their *encomium* upon this subject. Through this combination of spatial context and verbal structure, the Renzong *encomium* conflates the role of the emperor as a divinely mandated ruler with the ecclesiastical mandate of the Chan patriarchal lineage over the monastic community.<sup>212</sup> This extends the authority to interpret the actions of past patriarchs beyond the confines of the cloister and posthumously enacts this authority on the part of the Renzong emperor. The stele's conflation of imperial and clerical roles implicitly contrasts its intimate association of the Yuan emperor with Bodhidharma, and the patriarch's historic impasse with Emperor Wu of Liang.

While the Shaolin temple was a particularly apt sight for an imperial *encomium* that appropriates clerical authority through religious commentary, the archaistic style of the image it accompanies further impacts the relationships between inscriber, subject and audience. The waves beneath Bodhidharma's feet are executed in repeated

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<sup>211</sup> The transcriptions of text from the stele and images used in this research come from a discussion of Shaolin Monastery in a reprint of a compendium of archaeological data from Chinese Buddhist sacred sites compiled between 1926 and 1930: Tokiwa and Sekino 1975, 77-8.

<sup>212</sup> For an analysis of material evidence at the Shaolin temple articulating the ideal lineage continuity through history, see: Ye 2014.

upward curves, arranged along diagonal lines, with slightly curved incisions adding texture to the water beneath each crest. This schematic depiction of water deliberately alludes to an archaistic mode of painting, resembling the waves in the British Museum version of the *Nymph of the Luo River* 洛神圖 (fig. 2.26). While there is ongoing discussion over its exact date, the British Museum painting is widely accepted as painted in a style that reflects tenth and eleventh century techniques.<sup>213</sup> As the *Nymph of the Luo River* also depicts figures moving across the rippling surface of a large body of water, it is an apt comparative reference point to demonstrate the deliberate archaism of in the Shaolin stele's deliberate rendition of the Yangzi. The stele's full description of the river contrasts markedly with the convention for using a blank space to imply water beneath the reed seen in the majority of contemporaneous ink paintings of the subject (figs 2.16, 2.18-2.23). The stele's modular replication of waves is also distinct from the discretely described foaming crests in the twelfth century *Arhats Crossing the River* by Zhou Jichang (fig 2.17), and from the full individualised depiction of the swells across the Yangzi's turbulent waters in an anonymous Yuan ink painting of Bodhidharma (fig. 2.25).

The Shaolin *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed*'s deliberate archaism was seen by Charles Lachman as indicative of an eleventh century date for the painting. However, given the inscribed date of the stele's manufacture, and the addition of the Renzong *encomium*, the archaistic style is more readily explained as part of the idealisation and appropriation of the past among elite circles of the period. The stele's archaistic visual references resonate with the sentiments such as 'return to antiquity' (*fugu* 復古), and 'antique sentiment' (*guyi* 古意) prevalent in the visual culture of the Yuan court. A particularly pertinent parallel to the Shaolin stele's execution of *fugu* and *guyi* themes is seen in the *Red-Robed Western Monk* 紅衣西域僧圖 by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) (fig. 2.27). Like the Shaolin stele, it represents a monk of foreign origins in an archaic visual style. Both works also have a significant time lag between the production of the original image, and the addition of the later calligraphy. Zhao's work was painted in 1304, but augmented with a colophon dated

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<sup>213</sup> The specific style for the depiction of water is discussed by Roderick Whitfield, who has most recently revised an earlier Jin dynasty date to an eleventh century attribution: Whitfield 2011, 469, 477.

to 1320, the year of Renzong's death.<sup>214</sup> Like Zhao's painting, the Shaolin stele augmented an earlier visual evocation of historic cultural capital with a later calligraphic commentary. Both images use these textual addenda to reposition a graphic relationship to the past in the changing landscape of the Yuan present. By drawing on the brushwork of historic image types such as the depiction of the *Nymph of the Luo River*, the Shaolin Bodhidharma positions the action of the subject as exemplary on the basis of its historic visual quality.

The Shaolin Bodhidharma is framed by a nimbus, encircling a hood-shrouded face with a prominent nose and thick beard. His hands are clasped beneath his robe, and prominent, confident lines mark the fall of his drapery. Working from a reproduction of a rubbing, the exact qualities of the original painting upon which this carving was based remain elusive. However, the technical qualities of this image reflect the descriptive representational methods of the plain drawing (*baimiao* 白描) technique. The clear outlines and full rendering of this carving of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed create a startlingly different vision of the patriarch than the more expressive attitudes of apparition painting (figs. 2.16, 2.18, 2.23) and the abbreviated brush technique favoured in certain contemporaneous depictions of this subject (figs. 2.20-21). The reference to the *baimiao* technique in this stele positions the emperor's inscription upon a representation of Bodhidharma's Crossing of the Yangzi that references historic modes of painting, by emulating their attempts to achieve a likeness to visual form. Though the rubbing of the Shaolin carving differs from the frequently minimalist style of ink paintings of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, the Renzong *encomium* drew on established modes of clerical rhetoric. The inscribed verse reads as follows:

***Encomium by the Renzong Emperor***<sup>215</sup>

Above *kun* [earth], beneath *qian* [heaven],

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<sup>214</sup> Zhao used of this painting's to conceptualise historic sentiments and appropriate them in negotiating the changing visual cultures of elite circles that followed the reopening of the China's official examination system by Yuan Renzong, discussed in: McCausland 2014, 143.

<sup>215</sup> The use of capitals and a bold typeface are intended to indicate the prominence given to the title by its two-lined border.

In between is a treasure hard to match its value,  
Coming for ten thousand *li* to illuminate the truth,  
Nine years facing a wall, not speaking a word,  
How does one praise this? How does one depict this?  
One instance raising it up, one moment awed.

仁宗皇帝贊

坤之上軋之下，中間一寶難酬價，  
十萬里來作證明，面壁九年不說話，  
如何讚如何畫，一回舉起一回怕。

The opening couplet offers a context for this event seen from the perspective of the Son of Heaven, venerating Bodhidharma within a cosmic dichotomy of the elemental forces of heaven and earth from which Renzong derived his mandate to rule. The next line contextualises the image's iconic event through established clerical rhetoric for inscription on images of Bodhidharma. The arrival after a journey of ten thousand *li* clearly alludes to the sage's long journey to China from India. This reference to "ten thousand *li*" was a trope used in inscriptions by Chan abbots to denote the ultimate purport of Chan teachings as transmitted to China by Bodhidharma. We find it in the final line to Chijue Daochong's inscription upon a no longer extant painting of Bodhidharma, which reads:

In the heart of the Yangzi river, chaotic billows boil,  
Able to sail on a single reed, as though walking upon the flat land,<sup>216</sup>  
This short-lived playful act,  
How can that be all there is to this elder,

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<sup>216</sup> The phrase in Chijue's second line: "as though walking on the flat land" paraphrases a quote from the *Linji Record* (*Linji lu* 臨濟錄). In this text the Patriarch Linji is asked a question on the conditions in which the four elements (Chinese: *sizhong* 四種) are formless. Linji's response includes a comment that correct cultivation will allow one to: "Walk on water as if on land, to walk on land as if on water 履水如地, 履地如水." For the original text see ZZLJHZCSYL, j.1: in T1985.47: 498, c22. A full translation of the passage and commentary can be found in Ruth Fuller-Sasaki's translation of this text: Yūhō Kirchner 2009, 201-2.

And the fundamental meaning of his coming ten thousand *li* from the West?<sup>217</sup>

楊子江心，波濤鼎沸。

一葦可航，如履平地。

盖亦暫時之遊戲，豈足以盡此老，

十萬里西來之本意？

By the time the Renzong *encomium* was inscribed upon the Shaolin Bodhidharma, the first patriarch's coming from the West was an established trope in the verbal practice of *gong'an* teachings. *Gong'an* collections were a culmination of Chan literature's extensive use of verbal strategies to juxtapose conventional and ultimate truths, where the mundane and transcendental meet and overlap with one another.<sup>218</sup> Wumen Huikai's *Gateless Barrier* collection includes an example of how the "coming from the west" trope was used in Chan *gong'an* practice, as a case study of an historic dialogue between master and student.<sup>219</sup>

In contrast with the use of an apparent paradox to underscore clerical authority in Wumen's *gong'an* practice, Renzong's line of verse articulates an explicit statement of purpose to Bodhidharma's coming from the West. He states simply that Bodhidharma came to verify the truth. The next line clarifies that this truth was verified through nine years of silent wall gazing, and by implication the eventual genesis of the Chinese Chan lineage in the ensuing meeting with Huike. Narrative is key to the exposition of this verse. The final couplet denies the efficacy of word or image in encapsulating the events they represent, oscillating between veneration and

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<sup>217</sup> CJDCCSYL j.1, in: X.1376.70: 57, a17.

<sup>218</sup> Bernard Faure has describes these strategies as "chiasmatic structures", where apparently mundane language or acts of a master are intended to reflect ultimate reality because of the masters assumed awakening forms which crossover and bleed into one another. However, he goes on to stress that as a verbal dialectic, they retain rather than supersede the juxtaposition of conventional and ultimate truth: Faure 1991, 54.

<sup>219</sup> The *gong'an* reads: "When Master Zhaochuan [Zhenji Congsheng 真際從諗 (778-897)] invited questions from his disciples, they asked: "What was the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the West?" Chuan replied: "The cypress tree at the front of the courtyard." Wumen said: How can we adopt the position from which Zhaozhou answered? Look intimately, before there is no Śākyamuni, after there is no Maitreya." 趙州因僧問：如何是祖師西來意？州云：庭前柏樹子。無門曰：若向趙州答處？見得親切，前無釋迦，後無彌勒。 WMG j.1, in: T.2005.48: 297, c5-8.

awe. The verse's admission of its own inadequacy, and the inadequacy of the associated image, echoes the earlier *encomium* by Liaohui, which asked how one could depict the patriarch's coming from the West. The emperor is positioned within an established tradition of rhetorical self-rebuttal. However, unlike the images that allude to an apparitional style in their denial of pictorial presence, the Shaolin stele jars with rather than reinforces the accompanying verse's self-awareness of its shortcomings as a representation of Bodhidharma's miraculous transition. The Renzong *encomium* draws on the rhetoric of clerical inscriptions, but is not willing to compromise the concrete claim to power. Instead, it reinforces the imperial prerogative to mediate clerical authority, positioned on an image that seeks to unambiguously evoke its historic subject, in a location chosen for its meaningful connection with the past.

### *Conclusions*

As the above discussion of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed shows, transition was a recurrent and prominent narrative theme in Chan figure painting from thirteenth and fourteenth century China. Painted representations of these iconic moments provided sacred sites for the exposition of familiar hagiographic events, augmented and developed through commentaries specific to authors and audiences. The conventions of visual rhetoric to which many of these paintings adhere give us an insight into the visual culture of the Chan cloisters of this period. Ink paintings show a tendency toward brevity of visual expression, and recurrently create an ambiguous distance between the viewer and subject, avoiding frontal iconic presentations that strive to represent a likeness to form. The taste for abstracted ink play indicates an appeal to a cultured audience of Chinese literati.<sup>220</sup> At times this overlap between Chan and literati audiences is evident in the iconography of figure paintings of Chan subjects, as with the orchid leaves hanging above the Śākyamini inscribed by Zhongfeng Mingben (fig. 2.4a).

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<sup>220</sup> Earlier scholars have made significant efforts to delineate and define the style or styles of Chan and Zen painting, but in doing so have tended to position the study of these paintings in relation to teleologies of stylistic development in China and Japan, rather than exploring how visual expression of figural subjects in action combined with inscribed and associated text to relate to a viewer. For such a discussion of style see: Lee 1972.

Expressive ink paintings contrast with the more mimetic and colourful output of court artists and temple ateliers. Polychrome Chan figure paintings speak in a different visual language from their monochrome counterparts, using their own repertoire of iconographic and stylistic tropes to signify both secular and monastic sources of power. The existence of significant diversity even among the few extant paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed shows us that Chan subjects expressed diverse meanings to varied audiences in multiple contexts.

The analysis of relationships between text and image is one of the most productive approaches through which to reconstruct these images' meanings to their Song and Yuan audiences. *Encomia* upon Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed drew on established hagiographic narratives to frame the action upon the pictorial surface, making oblique reference to events familiar to the viewer through specific texts and more general cultural memory. However, Chan clerics' *encomia* were neither mere quotations of earlier narrative prototypes, nor derivative iterations of an established series of events from a purported original.<sup>221</sup> By adapting the lengthier prose formats of hagiography into terse segments of verse, these calligraphic augmentations of paintings condensed the broader hagiographic narrative contexts of Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma's actions into focused expositions of the legitimacy of Chan clerics' religious authority.

As discussed in chapter one, the visual qualities of paintings identified as Chan and Zen art have been read by many modern scholars as stylistic expressions of a singular religious experience. This singular experience conflates Chinese Chan within Japanese Zen. Scholars such as DT Suzuki and Shin'ichi Hisamatsu went so far as to present this Zen aesthetic ideal as a-historic. This interpretation of Chan as existing outside of history should not be confused with the diachronic readings of Śākyamuni

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<sup>221</sup> In the horizontal format of the handscroll, where text was featured in an adjacent panel to the pictorial frame one does encounter unsigned prose inscriptions that consist primarily of quotations from established hagiographic texts, though not in the vertical formats in which images of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, and of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains from thirteenth and fourteenth century China are preserved. Examples of inscription which reproduce derivative segments of hagiographic prose will be discussed chapter six through in reference to a handscroll entitled *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 signed by Liang Kai, see pages 239-47.

and Bodhidharma's hagiography, proffered in abbots inscriptions and painters iconographic devices in the paintings discussed above. These historic diachronic readings are constructed for the specific time and place of their reception. While the self-conscious display of paintings' illusionistic qualities has a clear association with Chan teachings, the reductive brevity in apparition style paintings was shaped by the creative and conceptual possibilities of their own time. These inscribed paintings reveal Chan teachings as a product of their own period. The teachings they contain express profound religious sentiments, but were also inextricably embedded in the mechanisms of power that underpinned Chan cleric's legitimacy as privileged senior figures in elite monastic institutions.

The complex cultural, religious and political networks in which in the images discussed above were positioned make it clear that Chan figure paintings were not a homogenous group embodying a singular ideal. This heterogeneity is accounted for in their diverse relationship to their viewers. Thus, figure paintings of Chan subjects, and the *encomia* inscribed on them interpret the pantheon's actions, rather than just representing the pantheon's presence. The following two chapters of this thesis will broaden the preceding analysis, by examining how two further narrative themes relate to the agency of figural representations of Chan subjects over their viewers.

The spiritual authority of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan clerics was rooted in their claims to an idiosyncratic pedagogical model for the transmission of awakening, a “transmission from mind to mind, without reliance on written words” (*yixin zhuanxin, buli wenzi* 以心傳心，不立文字). The self-legitimising function of Chan rhetoric was most clearly expressed in Chan patriarchs’ claims to “a separate transmission outside the teachings” (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳).<sup>222</sup> In this idealised model of mind-to-mind transmission, disciples accessed an ultimate reality through the teachings of the patriarch. Senior clerics presented their own words and deeds as an immanent, living source of spiritual authority, contrasted with the derivative authority acquired through knowledge of canonical *sūtras* that recorded the words and deeds of the Buddha. Paintings visually embody the idealised pedagogical processes that underscored these clerics’ authority. Visual representations of interaction animated a pantheon of historic exemplars from Chan hagiography, lending them a voice through calligraphic inscription. Chan figure paintings depict a wide variety of exemplary interactions; masters are shown instructing monastic disciples (fig. 3.1-3.3); confounding their peers with eccentric behavior (fig. 3.4); and triumphing over their lay associates in bouts of wordplay (fig. 3.5). There are even examples of miraculous conduct by figures outside of the formal lineage (fig. 3.6-3.7), and lay people revealing religious truths to Chan clerics (fig. 3.8).

An anonymous Yuan painting inscribed by Yuji Zhihui 愚極智慧 (d. 1300) illustrates the use of inscribed paintings to display pedagogical interactions that exemplify the mind-to-mind ideal. The ink painting *Xuefeng Receiving his Student Xuansha* (*Xuefeng jie Xuansha Sheng tu* 雪峰接玄沙生圖) shows the monk Xuansha Shibe 玄沙師備 (835-908) and his teacher Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822-908) (fig. 3.1).

<sup>222</sup> T. Griffith Foulk’s analysis of the sources available to Song Chan clerics maps the development of the ideal of a mind-to-mind transmission, becoming a defining feature of the Chan lineage’s self representation in hagiography by the eleventh century. As membership of Chan’s lineage offered unique access to patronage and senior clerical appointments during this period, asserting the validity of Chan’s idiosyncratic method of transmission was central to controlling access to these appointments: Foulk 1999, 221.

The old cleric sits in a large backed chair, with a rattan backrest. He is surrounded by the trappings of authority. To his left a censor sits atop a table draped with an ornate textile, and a servant stands to his right with hands folded. Gnarled old trees and supple bamboos grow next to a weathered rock behind the seated figure, botanical and geological signifiers of his moral and cultural refinement.

Everything in the environment underscores Xuefeng's clerical authority. Yet this authority is not directed outward at the viewer, as in a patriarchal portrait (*dingxiang* 頂相), such as the famous portrait of Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249) in the Tōfukuji monastery 東福寺 in Kyoto (fig. 3.9).<sup>223</sup> In Shifan's portrait the dialogue with an external audience is underscored in the inscription, which addresses Shifan's Japanese disciple Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (1202-80) as the intended recipient of this painting.<sup>224</sup> Though seated in a similar posture to Shifan, and dressed in matching abbot's robes, Xuefeng faces his student Xuansha rather than the viewer of the painting. Xuansha holds his arms aloft with his palms joined in a gesture of supplication, though he appears oddly off balance with his hands positioned above his right shoulder rather than in front of his chest. Xuansha's feet are askance too, as though his weight is shifting as he stumbles. The monastic regulations of the period placed great importance on the positioning of a monk's hands in front of his chest when bowing. The dictates of *The Rules of Purity of the Chan Monastery* (*Chanyuan Qinggui* 禪苑清規) compiled by Zongze 宗蹟 (d. 1107) (preface dated 1103), go so far as to dictate how a monk's hands can best be kept in this decorous placement when holding a staff and removing his hat to bow to a passing stranger.<sup>225</sup> Xuansha's

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<sup>223</sup> An influential 1993 article by Robert Sharf and T. Griffith Foulk overturned the previously prevailing view that Chan portraits were used as gifts to signify the conferral of enlightenment to a disciple. Instead, drawing on a wide body of Chinese texts, Foulk and Sharf show that Chan patriarchal portraits were primarily used in funerary rituals that reinforced the legitimacy of the institutions in which they were displayed, and were given regular offerings as efficacious protective deities: Foulk and Sharf 1993, 179 & 184.

<sup>224</sup> Expanding on Foulk and Sharf's earlier arguments that focus on the use of Chan portraits in China, Yukio Lippit has shown how, in addition to their primarily mortuary function, Chan portraits were used in Zen contexts to mediate relationships between master and disciple. In the example of Wuzhun Shifan's portrait inscribed for his disciple Enni Ben'en, Lippit shows how Enni used Shifan's portrait as a model for his own image and its inscription, underscoring Enni's spiritual authority as a student of this major Chinese patriarch: Lippit 2007c, 75.

<sup>225</sup> Shi 2002, 116.

erratic gesture and stance are very deliberate subversions of these conventions. Xuefeng receives his student's indecorous deportment with an approving smile. The master's own appearance is also somewhat disheveled, his hair grown long, and shoes askew. The servant at his side, who at first glance appears to stand in a deferential posture, wears a broad grin as he witnesses these irreverent proceedings.

Yuji's *encomium* focuses on the bodily dimension of Xuefeng and Xuansha's interaction, rather than quoting speech or providing the hagiographic context for their meeting.<sup>226</sup> The verse describes each figure bowing to the other, communicating mutual respect between master and pupil, albeit in gestures that deliberately depart from convention. This stress on a bodily, non-verbal dimension of Chan teaching underscores the prevalent rhetorical assertion of Chan's independence from the written word. The painting presents Xuansha and Xuefeng's interaction as an historic paradigm of non-verbal pedagogical exchange, paradoxically underscored in Yuji Zhihui's written inscription.

In spite of Chan's anti-textual rhetoric, Chan monasteries and clerics produced an expansive literary corpus that recorded contemporary and historic Chan exemplars' teachings through speech and gesture. Inscriptions upon paintings were only a small part of this textual corpus, which included abbots' discourse records (*yulu* 語錄), compendia of public cases (*gong'an* 公案), and hagiographies such as the transmission of the lamp series.<sup>227</sup> Within the cloisters of Chan communities, Chan's own literature existed alongside *sūtras* as a source of spiritual authority.<sup>228</sup> This literary corpus related directly to the pedagogical processes of the monastic community, recording how contemporary masters taught through commentary on the actions of their historic predecessors in the Chan lineage. Paintings and prints provided a uniquely non-verbal vehicle for visual commentary on historic Chan patriarchs' interactions with their disciples and lay associates.

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<sup>226</sup> A full transcription of the inscription accompany the image in the list of figures (fig. 3.1), accompanied by a translation quoted from Michelle C Wang in: Shimizu 2007c.

<sup>227</sup> The bibliography of this thesis lists an extensive but not exhaustive sample of texts that supplied narrative prototypes for 13-14<sup>th</sup> century Chan figure painting.

<sup>228</sup> Foulk 1999, 220.

Following a discussion of historic classification and interpretation of images of Chan interactions, this chapter explores two examples of interaction in paintings of Chan figural subjects. These examples illustrate differing pedagogical prototypes enacted in Chan visual narratives of interaction. The first case study compares two depictions of Bodhidharma's meeting with the second patriarch, exploring the agency of visual expression in emphasising distinctive aspects of this paradigmatic pedagogical relationship (figs. 3.2-3.3). The second case study examines representations of two events from the life of the monk Yuanze 圓澤 (active 8<sup>th</sup> century) (figs. 3.5-3.6), a theme sometimes known as *Sansheng Yuanze* (*Yuanze San Sheng* 圓澤三生).<sup>229</sup> This section examines how a figure from beyond the formal lineages of patriarchs was incorporated into the Chan pantheon, using visual and verbal commentary to adapt this pre-existing narrative prototype to articulate the teachings of Chan clerics. A further form of interaction popularly depicted in Chan figure painting, showing Chan master's meeting with scholar officials, is discussed in chapter five in an examination of *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖, inscribed by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189–1263) (fig. 5.1). The continued discussion of narratives of interaction later in this thesis builds on the arguments in this chapter, examining both the interactions of the paintings subjects, and the interplay between the pictorial protagonists and clerical inscriber.<sup>230</sup>

### *Classifications for Chan Figure Paintings of Interaction*

Images showing interactions involving Chan clerics are often classified as part of a genre known as Chan encounter paintings (*chanhui tu* 禪會圖). In his analysis of the *Xuefeng Receiving his Student Xuansha*, Yoshiaki Shimizu defines the Chan encounter picture genre as images of patriarchs meeting Confucian officials.<sup>231</sup> Shimizu distinguishes these from representations of Chan figures in “patriarch

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<sup>229</sup> This title is occasionally translated as “the three lives of Yuanze”. However, as all narrative versions only account for one rebirth, it is also possible that the *sansheng* refers to *sansheng* rock. This is the site where he was reunited with his scholar associate Li Yuan 李源 (724-823/4), after his rebirth as an ox-herd.

<sup>230</sup> See pages 189-199

<sup>231</sup> Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman offer the same definition in a discussion of *The Discussion Between Mazu Daoyi and the Recluse Pang* 馬祖道一龐居士問答圖 also inscribed by Yuji Zhihui: Fontein and Hickman 1970, 44.

pictures” (*zushi tu* 祖師圖), which show patriarchs’ deeds, and in “pictures of Chan in action” (*Chanji tu* 禪機圖), which depict moments of patriarchal awakening.<sup>232</sup> In *Chanji tu* the key term *ji* literally translates as ‘trigger mechanism’, indicating the instantaneous and transformative nature of the experiences the images represent. In an earlier, more extensive, article from 1980, Shimizu explores a significant body of both visual and documentary evidence on the subject matter associated with the Chan encounter painting genre.<sup>233</sup> The Chan encounter picture, patriarch picture, and picture of Chan in action are recorded in Song and Yuan lists of clerical inscriptions upon figure paintings. However, the historic uses of these terms do not always correlate with the delineations by modern art historians of which subjects are found in which painting types. Xiyan Liaohui’s 西巖了慧 (1198-1262) list of *gātha* verses (*jisong* 偈頌) includes an entry entitled *Chan Encounter Painting of Huang Bo Striking a Novice* 禪會圖黃檗掌沙彌 [Master Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (750-850/1)].<sup>234</sup> Though the painting upon which Liaohui has inscribed his verse is explicitly termed a “Chan encounter painting”, the subject is a cleric’s interaction with his disciple, and not with an elite secular scholar. While the term patriarch picture rarely appears in Chan textual records, when it does it often diverges from the characterisation of such images as depictions of patriarchs in action. For example, an *encomium* inscribed by Wuzhun Shifan on a now lost patriarch picture focuses on the anonymity of the sitter, rather than on the patriarch’s exemplary words or deeds.<sup>235</sup>

While terms such as Chan encounter picture, patriarch picture, and picture of Chan in action are useful tools for art historical categorisation of Chan figure paintings, they were not the primary organising principle by which Chan clerics classified figure

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<sup>232</sup> Shimizu 2007c.

<sup>233</sup> Shimizu, 1980.

<sup>234</sup> The verse reads: “Chan encounter picture, *Huang Bo Strikes a Novice*: Precious yellow gold sits by the knee, the breadth of heaven and earth is held within the palm, winds and clouds delight in a fortuitous meeting, night waves billow across the four seas.” 禪會圖。黃檗掌沙彌：膝下黃金貴，掌中天地寬，風雲欣際會，四海夜濤寒。XYLHCSYL j.2, in: T.1319.70: 497, a8.

<sup>235</sup> Shifan’s verse reads: “This is a man of a pure world, who through the aggregate *karma* of rest and action was long without illumination. Toiling with these burdens one by one, he was able to be content with his lot. Where upon the picture's border is there name or title?” 祖師圖：等是清平世界人，多因閑事長無明。使佗箇箇能安分，圖上何緣有姓名。WZSFCSYL j.5, in: X.1382.70: 269, b6.

paintings in Song and Yuan China. Lists of *encomia* upon paintings preserved in Chan clerics' discourse records order figural subjects on the basis of seniority within the Chan pantheon. Discourse records use labels such as Chan encounter paintings, patriarch pictures, or pictures of Chan in action to describe rather than categorise painted subjects. Moreover, the historic categorisations of Chan figure paintings we do have tell us how paintings' iconography was positioned within a pantheon hierarchy, and not how visual narratives of interaction were interpreted. A colophon by Qiaoyin Wuyi 樵隱悟逸 (d. 1334-5) to a now lost Chan encounter picture preserves a rare example of the reception of Chan figure paintings' depictions of exemplary interaction:

From the Han to the Tang [dynasties], the Buddha Dharma still greatly illuminated the middle [kingdom] of India. Through this period of masterful sages and attendant worthies the exceptional rites of teaching moistened the eye. Their instructions permeated the river of Chan with the gist of the *dharmā*, and hosts [of sages and worthies are recorded] on bamboo and silk [strips]. Take the family of old Pang, who laughed and conversed all the time, toying with mortality. [Comparing today to their example] is sufficient to persuade one of the decay of customs. Oh! As the eras pass in the lonely and empty rivers and mountains, the cliffs dry up and the water recedes, clawed creatures lie low, and scaly [water creatures] hide away. I am not only mournful in looking upon present days, but doubly mournful in looking upon these pictures.<sup>236</sup>

#### 題禪會圖

佛法，自漢至唐，猶大明揭於中天，一時主聖俟賢，師禮優渥濡目。禪河染指法味，班班於竹帛矣。甚以龐老一門，坐立笑談，遊戲生死，足以激勵頹俗。吁！山川寂寥，年代消歇，崖枯水落，爪伏鱗潛。不獨愧見今時，亦復愧見此圖矣。

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<sup>236</sup> QYWYCSYL j.2, in X.1385.70: 307, c15.

Wuyi's colophon opens by lauding the period from the Han to Tang dynasties, as a time when Indian Buddhism still thrived and infused Chan practice in China. This is implicitly contrasted with the decline of the *dharma* in Wuyi's present, a decline he explicitly addresses at the end of the colophon. Wuyi's lament characterises his own time as the latter days of the law (*mofa* 末法), the final period of the Buddhist *dharma* before the Buddha's teachings would be lost until the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya (Chinese: *Mile* 彌勒). Wuyi contrasts his lamentable present with exemplars from the earlier period of the Han to Tang dynasties, singling out the Pang family. Pang Yun 龐蘊 (709-808) was a prominent layman in ninth century China, and a close associate of Chan patriarch Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788). Though not formally part of any lineage, the Pang family were incorporated into the Chan pantheon as enlightened lay people, their exemplary qualities often illustrated through their interaction with Chan clerics. Pang Yun's dialogues and encounters were recorded in his own discourse record, *The Discourse Record of Layman Pang* (*Pangjushi Yulu* 龐居士語錄), collated in the eight century by Yu Di 于頔 (d. 819). These encounters were frequently represented in painting (fig. 3.8).<sup>237</sup>

While Wuyi singles out the Pang family in his colophon, an earlier reference to "hosts [of sages and worthies recorded] on bamboo and silk strips" from the Han to the Tang clarifies that the visual subject matter of this scroll should be conceived of as part of a hagiographic pantheon. Indeed, this Chan encounter painting may well have contained multiple scenes depicting different subjects. However, the Japanese collections in which the majority of Chan figure paintings have been preserved frequently cut out single scenes from long horizontal handscrolls to remount them as vertical hanging scrolls (figs. 3.4, 3.7).<sup>238</sup> Few examples of serial Chan encounter paintings survive in Chinese collections, and the few extant examples have also been remounted to suit Ming and Qing tastes (figs. 3.6, 3.8).<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> On the dating of Pang Yun's discourse record see: Fuller Sasaki, Yoshitaka, and Fraser 1971, 28; Berling 1987, 72. For discussions of depictions of Pang Yun and his family in Chan figure painting, see: Harrist 2002; Shimizu 1980, 16; Fontein and Hickman 1970, 44.

<sup>238</sup> The differing Chinese and Japanese context of preservation and reception for Chan figural imagery are discussed in: Cahill 2010, 55. For an unpaginated English version of the same article available online, see: Cahill 2011.

<sup>239</sup> Though few Chan figure paintings survive in Chinese collections relative to other figural subjects, their remounting is not exceptional. The majority of extant transmitted rather than

Wuyi's final line expresses his visceral emotional reaction to the imagery in this painting. Looking at the painting's simulation of historic exemplars' actions, he is struck by the stark contrast between an ideal past and a lamentable present. Wuyi shows little concern with classifying the subject matter of the preceding painting. Instead, he approaches this Chan encounter painting as an exemplary model from antiquity. Wuyi views the interactive encounters in the scroll as visual paradigms for the enacting of religious authority, of particular relevance to his own time. Thus, instead of focusing on the nomenclature through which paintings showing Chan encounters can be best categorised, the following discussion takes its lead from the interpretive framework offered in Wuyi's colophon, exploring the functions of these scenes as exemplary visual narratives.

### *Bodhidharma and the Second Patriarch*

Though his hagiography developed through a number of incarnations from the sixth century, the Bodhidharma represented in thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan figure paintings was received as the founder of Chan's lineage on Chinese soil. Bernard Faure, Charles Lachman, and the late John McRae (1947-2011), among others, have offered various appraisals of the historic development of Bodhidharma's construction through text.<sup>240</sup> Though they all acknowledge the problematic historicity of the subject, given the accrual of various events in the life of the sage over time, these authors offer diverging methodological and critical approaches to the ideals he has historically embodied.<sup>241</sup> However, many of the earliest accounts of Bodhidharma's life were not known to the authors, inscribers, and audiences of the images discussed in this chapter. Here I focus on an ideal of Bodhidharma as the

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excavated paintings from the Song and Yuan have been remounted by later collectors. For a discussion of the preservation and mounting of pre-modern Chinese paintings, and their preservation in modern collections see: Schmitt 2013.

<sup>240</sup> Faure 1986; Lachman 1993, 242-5; McRae 2014.

<sup>241</sup> McRae credits Faure with the introduction of "a new form post-modern structuralist analysis" to the field of Chan studies, but notes that his extensive reliance on modern cultural criticism, and an attendant post-modern disillusionment with the notion of an historic narrative, come at the expense of careful appraisal of primary Chinese language materials: McRae 2014, 129. The implications of the dispute between these two authors for the study of Chan visual culture is discussed in chapter one, page 36.

founder of the Chan school, which had been established in canonical hagiography by at least the eleventh century in the 1004 CE *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuangdeng lu* 景德傳燈錄), hereafter *Jingde Record*. In the narrative familiar to the Song audiences of the artworks discussed below, Bodhidharma's acceptance of Huike Shengguang 慧可神光 (487-593) as his disciple was a seminal event that marked the beginning of Chan's transmission of awakening in China.<sup>242</sup> Printed and painted representations of the interactions between these two foundational figures embody a visual paradigm for the exertion of Chan's pedagogical authority.

One of the earliest extant representations of this encounter is in a twelfth century Japanese painting that reproduces a Chinese woodblock dated 1054 CE, currently in the collection of the Kōzanji monastery 高山寺 in Kyoto. This work falls slightly outside of the thirteenth and fourteenth century period upon which this thesis is primarily focused. However, as a rare survival of Northern Song visual culture, it is illustrative of the potential intellectual complexity of the painting of later periods for which we have a far from complete, or even representative record in surviving works. As such, the Kōzanji painting merits inclusion in the following analysis of representations of Bodhidharma's meeting with Shengguang.

The copy contains six scenes, showing the first six Chan patriarchs on Chinese soil conferring patriarchal authority upon their respective successors (fig. 3.2a).<sup>243</sup> The upper right of the print shows Bodhidharma and Shengguang (fig. 3.2b). The master is seated upon a rattan chair. His head is bald and his chin clean-shaven. He wears an abbot's patchwork robe and holds a staff, with his shoes removed and placed neatly before him. Bodhidharma appears in the guise of a Chinese Buddhist abbot, in the conventional setting and garb of a patriarchal portrait (fig. 3.9). This contrasts sharply with the later images of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangzi on a reed discussed in the

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<sup>242</sup> Shengguang was given title Huike, which translates to "the capacity for wisdom", when he was accepted as a disciple by Bodhidharma. Prior to this he had the monastic name Shengguang, literally "shining spirit". In the following discussion I refer to the second patriarch as Huike when discussing narrative events after Bodhidharma accepted him as his student, and as Shengguang when discussing events that preceded his acceptance.

<sup>243</sup> For a discussion of the origins of this image, and its transmission to Japan see: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2009, 23 & 275, fig. 10.

previous chapter, which articulate the patriarch's foreign appearance through a full beard and bulging eyes that can border on the demonic (fig. 2.24). Shenguang sits upon the floor, adjacent to Bodhidharma's seat. He is in the dress of a layman with an unshaven head, labelled "Second patriarch when a practitioner 二祖為行者時". Kneeling at his master's feet, Shenguang offers his severed arm as a sanguine demonstration of his sincerity in seeking the master's teachings. Blood spurts from of the stump, while the freshly amputated limb and the blade with which it was cut off sit at the base of the master's seat. In Bodhidharma's hagiographic record and in paintings approximately contemporaneous with this print, both of which are discussed below, Shenguang's bodily offering was made with no witnesses in the snows around the Shaoshi cliff (*shaoshi yan* 少室岩) at the Shaolin monastery 少林寺. However, in the Kōzanji painting Bodhidharma and Shenguang have an audience for their bloody encounter.

Three figures stand behind Bodhidharma. Two are identified in the inscription as his disciples, the monk Daoyu 道育 and the nun Zongchi 尼惣特 (both active ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>244</sup> The third is anonymous, his tousled hair and simple robe imply a servant. Though this fifth figure is uncaptioned, Charles Lachman, T Griffith Foulk, and Jan Fontein and Money L Hickman all identify him as a probable representation of a fourth disciple of Bodhidharma's, Daofu 道副 (464-524).<sup>245</sup> However, no explanations are given as to why this figure is uncaptioned, while all other participants in the scene are clearly identified in text. Daoyu's mouth is open in shock, his left hand pointing toward the gruesome spectacle, though his gaze stares out of the picture directly toward the viewer. Zongchi by contrast wears a serene expression, facing outward toward the viewer like Daoyu. Only the fourth figure, whose identity is not explicit, focuses his gaze on Shenguang's act of sanguine piety.

The confident, defined lines of the Kōzanji painting are exemplary of the plain-line drawing painting technique (*bai miao* 白描). This style was popularised by the Northern Song scholar painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106), who lived shortly

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<sup>244</sup> Foulk points out that the painting contains an orthographic error, including the name Daoxing 道星, rather than Daoyu: Foulk 1999, 247.

<sup>245</sup> Foulk 1999, 247; Lachman 1993, 250; Fontein and Hickman 1970, 2.

before the date of production for the Chinese work on which the Kōzanji painting was based. In addition to the fact of the copy's production, the Japanese work's use of a style that correlates with Li's canonical oeuvre indicates the overlapping and interacting visual cultures of China and Japan in this period. The transmission of Chan images between these cultures makes extant copies of Chan works by Japanese hands a fertile area of primary material to understand the visual culture of Song Chan. The descriptive clarity of the Japanese copy, which is the best source we have from which to assess the visual qualities of its Chinese prototype, conveys detailed facial expressions and gestures, establishing discrete identities and attitudes for each subject. The detailing of individual features and gestures foreshadows the high standards of painting used in narrative scenes from the Buddhist *sūtras*, such as the assembled pantheon depicted around the Buddha in a Yuan depiction of the conversion of demon mother Hārītī (Chinese: *Halidi* 訶利底) by Zhu Yu 朱玉 in the Zhejiang provincial museum, a painting theme known as *Raising the Alms Bowl* 揭鉢圖 (fig. 3.10).<sup>246</sup> However, rather than evoking the actions of vast divine and demonic pantheons, the image in the print upon which the Kōzanji painting was based focused on small, separate groups at seminal moments of patriarchal transmission. In the Bodhidharma-Shenguang encounter, the intimate scene captures an historically specific narrative, into which the viewer is incorporated as an additional spectator through the outward gazes of Daoyu and Zongchi.

Situated at the centre of the visual narrative, Shenguang's extreme expression of sincerity through self-mortification demonstrates the basis for Bodhidharma's transmission of the patriarchal mantle. In the Kōzanji reproduction of the Song print, the act prompts a verbal response from Bodhidharma, depicted through the master's open mouth and the raised two fore fingers of his right hand (fig. 3.2b). An adjacent caption clarifies the content of his words as: "The first patriarch Bodhidharma conferring the four awakenings of Chan 第一祖菩提達摩謚四覺禪川".<sup>247</sup> This is a reference to the distinct degrees of understanding Bodhidharma identified in each of

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<sup>246</sup> Julia Murray has explored the visual narrative in Chinese representations of *Hārītī*, and its distinctive place in the development of Chinese Buddhist visual culture in: Murray 1981, 256.

<sup>247</sup> The Kōzanji painting uses the *mo* character with a hand rather than stone radical in the transliteration of the last syllable of Bodhidharma's name: 摩 rather than 磨.

his four disciples when he solicited verbal demonstrations of their understanding of his teaching. In this incident the first patriarch singled out Huike as his legitimate dharma heir. However, hagiographic records place this event nine years before, when Huike, at this stage still known as Shengguang, severed his arm in the snows of Shaolin. The act of piety led Bodhidharma to accept him as a disciple, and grant him the name of Huike. Bodhidharma's conference of four different levels awakening, referred to in the inscription upon the print, is recorded in the *Jingde Record* as follows:

After nine years [Bodhidharma] desired to return west to India. He thereby commanded his disciples: "Having come to this time, you will be ranked through each of your statements of what you have attained". At that time, the disciple Daofu replied: "As far as I have observed, one does not grasp words, nor depart from words, but use them for the way". The master said: "You have obtained my skin". The nun Zongchi then said: "What I thus far understand is like Ananda's seeing the Buddha Akṣobhya domain, felt at the first glance but not the second". The master said: "You have obtained my flesh". Daoyu then said: "The four elements [*mahā-bhūta*]<sup>248</sup> are fundamentally empty, and the five aggregates [*skandhas*]<sup>249</sup> have no being, thus the place I perceive has not a single *dharma* to be obtained". The master said: "You have obtained my bones." Finally, Huike bowed, took his place, and stood there. The master said: "You have obtained my marrow". He then turned to Huike and told him: "Of old the Thus Come [*tathāgata*] transmitted the eye of the orthodox *dharma* to the great master Kāśyapa. This has passed down through many generations to me, and now I transmit it to you. You must thereby protect it, and confer your robe as the true *dharma*."<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> The four elements originating from a South Asian cosmology, identified as earth, water, fire and wind. The *si da* 四大 is a contraction of *si da jie* 四大界. See: Muller 1993.

<sup>249</sup> The five *skandhas* are: form, sensation, perception, volition, and consciousness. Whalen Lai outlines their meaning in relation to the use of water as metaphor for consciousness in Chan teachings on the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtrā in*: Lai 1979, 244.

<sup>250</sup> Translation adapted from: Foulk 1999, 246, and Suzuki 1927, 177. Suzuki's translation reads *anxi jian* 慶喜見 as "Ananda's seeing". Foulk translates the phrase as a "joyous glance". Here I follow Suzuki's simpler reading of *anxi*, the remainder of the text is Foulk's translation. For the original text, see: JDCDL j.3, T.2076.51: 219, b27-c8.

迄九年已欲西返天竺。乃命門人曰：「時將至矣，汝等蓋各言所得乎。」時門人道副對曰：「如我所見，不執文字，不離文字而為道用。」師曰：「汝得吾皮。」尼總持曰：「我今所解如慶喜見阿闍佛國，一見更不再見。」師曰：「汝得吾肉。」道育曰：「四大本空五陰非有，而我見處無一法可得。」師曰：「汝得吾骨。」最後慧可禮拜後依位而立。師曰：「汝得吾髓。」乃顧慧可而告之曰：「昔如來以正法眼付迦葉大士。展轉囑累而至於我，我今付汝。汝當護持，并授汝袈裟以為法信。」

In a terse pictorial space with only minimal textual commentary, the printed image and its later copy in painting, integrate allusions to two events that occur nine years apart in the pictorial subject's hagiography.<sup>251</sup> By giving the title of the verbal exchange as "Conferring the four awakenings of Chan", the scene draws on the viewer's cultural memory of a familiar narrative of Bodhidharma's life. This narrative is evoked for the reader of this thesis in the above excerpt from the *Jingde Record*. However, Bodhidharma's speech is evoked alongside a visual representation of his first meeting with Shengguang, in which the future second patriarch's severed arm demonstrates his piety. The image collapses time to stress an equivalence between these two events, rendering the printed image as a diachronic visual narrative moment. Two acts occurring at separate points in a presumed narrative sequence are rendered simultaneously, implying a direct causal relationship between them.

In his conferral of four different levels of awakening, Bodhidharma's metaphor equates increased interiority within his own body to increased depth of understanding of his teachings within his disciples. Bodhidharma's marrow, the core of his physical being, is equivalent to the deepest understanding of Chan principles. The print positions a textual reference to this bodily metaphor alongside an image of the second patriarch's severed arm. The exposed flesh and marrow of his vestigial stump appropriate the metaphor of bodily interiority from Bodhidharma's "Conferring the four awakenings of Chan". This reinforces the suitability of the second patriarch's

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<sup>251</sup> This conflation of narrative incidents is noted but not explored in: Foulk 1999, 247.

demonstration of piety through the sacrifice of his own flesh, in a graphically literal mirroring of Bodhidharma's metaphor.

While the combination of image and text conflate chronologically disparate interactions into a single visual moment, the print also incorporates the audience's moment of viewing into the scene. Daoyu and Zongchi's frontal gazes address the viewer in juxtaposed horror and equanimity. By presenting Shenguang's self-sacrifice as the ideal foundation for a master-disciple relationship, the Chinese print on which this painting was based used selected interactions to elevate Bodhidharma's authority. In the Chinese context of the painting's print prototype, this visual expression of authority was communicated in a media that was visually legible, with short, easily comprehensible text, and which could be readily disseminated to wide audiences.<sup>252</sup> While it shares its subject matter with later paintings of Bodhidharma and Shenguang, it has the potential to address a far wider audience.

Though based on a common narrative prototype, there is significant diversity in visual representations of the meeting between Bodhidharma and the second patriarch. A Southern Song ink painting attributed to Yan Ciping 閻次平 (active 1164-81), currently in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, depicts the encounter between Bodhidharma and his future disciple in the deep snows of Shaolin. In contrast with the captioned, purely figural subject matter of the Kōzanji painting, the figures in the Cleveland painting are isolated in a mountainous landscape context, with no accompanying textual commentary (fig. 3.3).<sup>253</sup> The mountainous setting clarifies the pictorial moment as Bodhidharma's first meeting with Shenguang, before the latter was accepted as his disciple. The value of Shenguang's tenacious endurance of austerity is dependent upon a pedagogical interaction, deriving its meaning from the response it elicits in Bodhidharma.

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<sup>252</sup> For a concise analysis of the place that the dissemination of Buddhist teachings in pre-modern China played in the long term development of printed imagery in China, see: von Spee 2010, 15-17. For a fuller discussion of the probable beginnings of printing technology in China in the Buddhist projects commissioned by China's only female emperor, Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705, r. 690-705), see: Barrett 2008.

<sup>253</sup> Yan Ciping is not recorded in any Chinese texts, but appears in Japanese painting catalogues from the 15-16<sup>th</sup> century. Yoshiaki Shimizu regards the *ci ping* seal upon this painting as a likely Edo period forgery: Shimizu 2007b.

In the painting attributed to Yan Ciping, the visual moment represents the beginning of the encounter, before Bodhidharma has accepted Shenguang as his disciple. Shenguang stands stoically immersed in deep snow, his hands clasped in a reverend greeting beneath his robe, both limbs still intact. Shenguang stares upward at the Bodhidharma, who sits above him on a rock drawn in sweeping rounded turns of the brush. The master holds an unflinching focus upon the bare rock wall of the overhanging Shaoshi cliff. The silhouetted distant mountain peaks to the left and right mirror Shenguang and Bodhidharma's respective profiles, integrating these two human forms into the precipitous, rocky landscape to stress their immobility and resolve. The tree upon the cliff directly above Bodhidharma underscores this equivalence between person and place, reflecting the patriarch's withdrawal from the world below into elevated reclusion. Reserved white (*liubai* 留白) areas upon the tops of the tree and overhanging foliage depict the deep snows of winter.<sup>254</sup> The ample folds of Bodhidharma's robe leave only his face and beard exposed, further stressing the cold of the mountainside. Shenguang is visible only from the waist up, immersed in a snowdrift that has accumulated around him while he stood motionless to show the sincerity of his appeal to become Bodhidharma's student. Shown as a monk, Shenguang's monastic identity in the painting corresponds with the *Jingde Record* narrative, in contrast to his secular garb in the Kōzanji painting discussed above. The *Jingde Record*, recounts the meeting between Bodhidharma and the future second patriarch as follows:

On the night of the ninth day of the twelfth month of that year, in a deluge of rain and snow, Guang stood resolute and unmoving. It was not until the bright drifts of snow had risen above his knee that the master was moved to ask: "You having been standing in the snow a while. What do you seek?" Guang was moved to tears, saying: "I wish for only the monk's [your] compassion, to open the door of nectar and cross the expanse of the various things." The master said: "The marvelous way of the unsurpassed various Buddhas is a vast cosmic purity of diligence, capable of implementing the arduous, and enduring

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<sup>254</sup> *Liubai* is a painting technique where a blank space is left upon a painting support otherwise permeated with light ink.

the unendurable. How can it take on a paucity of wisdom and virtue, a slight and slow heart? Desiring the true vehicle the disciple's labour is to strive through adversity." Guang heard the master's injunction, and furtively took a sharp knife and severed his own left arm, placing it before the master. The master recognised his capacity for the *dharma*, and so said: "The various Buddhas' first quest for the way was through the method of forgetting their form. You today place your severed arm before me, and I see that what you seek can indeed be realised." The master thereby gave him the new name of Huike [The Capacity of Wisdom].

Guang said: "Do you know how the dharma of the Buddhas can be found?" The master said: "The dharma of the Buddhas has not been obtained by the generations that followed." Guang said: "My mind is not yet settled. I entreat you, master, to bring it to peace." The master said: "Bring your mind to its own peace." Guang said: "My mind wanders widely, and cannot be found." The master said: "Be with yourself, your mind at peace, and you're done."<sup>255</sup>

其年十二月九日夜天大雨雪。光堅立不動。遲明積雪過膝。師憫而問曰：「汝久立雪中。當求何事？」光悲淚曰：「惟願和尚慈悲，開甘露門廣度群品。」師曰：「諸佛無上妙道。曠劫精勤。難行能行非忍而忍。豈以小德小智輕心慢心。欲冀真乘徒勞勤苦。」光聞師誨勵。潛取利刀自斷左臂，置于師前。師知是法器，乃曰：「諸佛最初求道為法忘形。汝今斷臂吾前。求亦可在。」師遂因與易名曰慧可。光曰：「諸佛法印可得聞乎。」師曰：「諸佛法印匪後人得。」光曰：「我心未寧，乞師與安。師曰：「將心來與汝安。」光曰：「覓心了不可得。」師曰：「與汝安心竟。」

The visual context of the painting emphasises and embellishes the moment prior to the verbal exchange found in the textual narrative. Bodhidharma and Shenguang's silence is made clear in the absence of the customary visual indicators of speech, an

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<sup>255</sup> JDCDL j.3, in T.2076.51: 219, b12-b23.

open mouth and raised finger. Like images of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, the pictorial moment is pregnant with potential for spiritual fruition in an austere environment that elevates the subject's moral character. Bodhidharma makes the parallel explicit in this encounter, comparing Shenguang's self-mortification to the past Buddhas' periods of asceticism. The term used, forgetting their form, *wangxing*, is similar to the term used for self-mortification as a means of abandoning the ego, *wangshen* 忘身.<sup>256</sup> However, this image frames the pre-verbal interaction of two figures stressing the nature of their meeting, rather than the Buddha's introspective focus in depictions of Śākyamuni's emergence. By contrast, the painting attributed to Yan Ciping venerates Bodhidharma and Shenguang's relationship: the iconic deed is interactive rather than isolated.

While the Cleveland painting is a purely visual narrative with no accompanying inscription, numerous *encomia* are recorded in discourse records that address images such as this one. An example from the discourse record of Wuzhun Shifan reads as follows:

*The Patriarch Bodhidharma*

Smashing apart the six schools, only transmitting a single mind,<sup>257</sup>  
 Travelling across Liang, and passing through Wei, you had a rare encounter  
 with a true match,  
 [After] nine years at Shaoshi, emptily facing the wall,

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<sup>256</sup> James A. Benn notes that the offering of the body, termed the abandoning or forgetting the body (*wangshen* 忘身), through both the burning and the amputation of body parts, was conceived in certain areas of medieval Buddhist practice as analogous with the abandonment of the self (*ātma-parityāga*): Benn 2007, 9.

<sup>257</sup> The six schools most likely references to six distinct understandings of emptiness, predating Bodhidharma's arrival in China. These schools are discussed at length by Walter Liebenthal in the first appendix to the second edition of his translation of the *Zhao Lun* 肇論, a treatise compiled from the writings of the monk Sengzhao 僧肇 (384-414). Liebenthal translates each of these six schools as follows: 'emptiness of mind' (*xinwu* 心無); 'emptiness is identical with matter' (*jise* 即色); 'original emptiness' (*benwu* 本無); 'the world is a dream' (*shihan* 識含); 'the world is māyā' (*huanhua* 幻化); and 'the world is conditioned' (*yuanhui* 緣會). Liebenthal 1968, 133-150.

Who comes to share the frosts, under the depths of the night moon?<sup>258</sup>

達磨祖師

大破六宗，單傳一心，  
遊梁歷魏，罕遇知音，  
少室九年，空面壁，  
誰向同霜，夜月沉沉？

In the above *encomium*, Wuzhun Shifan frames the encounter between the first and second patriarch as a fated meeting of two individuals sharing a unique affinity, exemplifying the ideal master disciple relationship. While we do not have an extant image to clarify that this verse corresponded to a painting similar to the work attributed to Yan Ciping, the central focus on Bodhidharma and Shenguang's relationship as master and disciple is clear. Shifan's description of the wintry Shaoshi cliff also corresponds with the content of the Cleveland painting. Having already clarified that Bodhidharma would go on to meet one who truly understood him, Shifan's *encomium* first stresses Bodhidharma's tenacity in meditation, and then the first and second patriarchs' shared endurance of the harsh environment of their meeting. Shifan's *encomium* makes clear that the second patriarch's mandate for spiritual authority is earned through his tenacity.

The two examples above illustrate different mechanisms through which visual narratives of Chan interactions adapted textual prototypes. The Kōzanji painting conflates events separated by a period of nine years, implying a causal relationship between Shenguang's initial act of sacrifice, and the eventual transmission of Bodhidharma's patriarchal authority. The viewer is immersed in the visual narrative through their shared observation of this phenomenon with the adjacent servant, or possible depiction of the disciple Daofu, and through a direct exchange of gazes between the viewer and the figures of Daoyu and Zongchi. The terse title to the scene "The conferring of the four awakenings of Chan" clarifies the content of

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<sup>258</sup> Inscription upon no longer extant painting of Bodhidharma by Wuzhun Shifan: WZSFCSYL j.5 in, X.1382.70: 270, a9.

Bodhidharma's speech, marking this as a seminal moment of Chan's first patriarchal transmission in China. The significance of Bodhidharma's transmission of authority to Shengguang is evidenced by the ensuing Chinese Chan lineage, visually manifest in the other six scenes on the painting, derived from the earlier Chinese print. By contrast, the narrative context for the painting attributed to Yan Ciping focuses upon a single interaction occurring over an extended period of time. It assumes the viewer's familiarity with Shengguang's preceding journey to Shaolin to seek out Bodhidharma as a teacher, and the subsequent success of his request to be taken on as a disciple. Instead of conflating Shengguang's earlier violent self-amputation with Bodhidharma's later speech on the conferral of his robe, this painting describes a period of ambiguous length. Shengguang is shown in an extended act of silent endurance, facing a Bodhidharma who is still immersed in his nine-year meditative reclusion. The accumulated snow around Shengguang visually compresses a prolonged period of significant stoicism into a single scene, capturing a period of extended stasis. Nonetheless, the interaction between the painting's subjects' has profound consequences for the genesis of Chan's transmission of lineage authority in China. In both cases, visual narrative is used to collapse protracted periods of time into a single scene. Where textual hagiographies are forced to explicate Chan patriarchs' transmission of authority through the serial exposition of sequential events, visual representations of Bodhidharma and Shengguang's interactions holistically manifest patriarchal authority.

### *The Rebirth of the Monk Yuanze*

Song and Yuan Paintings of the rebirth of the monk Yuanze (active ca. 8<sup>th</sup> century) incorporated a figure from beyond the formal lineage of patriarchs into the Chan pantheon. (figs. 3.6-3.7).<sup>259</sup> All surviving paintings show Yuanze with his steadfast companion, the scholar and secular devotee of Buddhism Li Yuan 李源 (724-823/4), in one of two interactions. In the first Yuanze is an elderly monk on a journey with Li through Shu 蜀 (modern Sichuan). Having taken a route to which Yuanze objected, the pair happen upon a woman pregnant with a child Yuanze declares to be his future

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<sup>259</sup> For a list of inscriptions by Chan clerics upon paintings of Yuanze, see: Nishigami 1981, 236-7.

self, causing him to lament his imminent death (fig 3.6). In the second type of scene, Yuanze is shown reborn as a young ox-herd, reunited with Li Yuan under the autumn full moon at the Tianzhu monastery 天竺寺 in Hangzhou thirteen years after his death (figs. 3.7). Yuanze had foretold the time and place of this meeting on his deathbed, and Li Yuan had travelled to meet him accordingly. In the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* Yuanze, or Yuanguan 圓觀 as he is known in this version of the narrative, is said not to die at all. Instead, he is ascribed with the supra-normal ability to predict and even choose his future births, as he is “one who can first send [himself] into the womb” 先寄胎者.<sup>260</sup> The prevalence of these two modes of visual representation is supported by textual records of no longer extant paintings of Yuanze by Li Tang 李唐 (1066-1150), Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1123-73) and Liu Songnian 劉松年 (active 1174-1224).<sup>261</sup> In both painting themes the interactions of their protagonists subvert the expectation of deference to social hierarchy. In the first image type the aged monk Yuanze is overwhelmed by the vitality of the labouring woman who will be his future mother, and in the second the scholar Li Yuan is respectfully deferential to the cleric reborn as a lowly herd boy.

Though they both illustrate encounters, neither image of Yuanze quite falls under the conventional rubric of a Chan encounter painting. In the scene of Yuanze on his travels, the monk and layman have been together for some time, and the encounter is between the two travelling companions and the woman pregnant with the future Yuanze. There is no rhetorical triumph of a wise cleric over an elite lay interlocutor. Instead the monk experiences a profound realisation of his own imminent mortality, and demonstrates a thaumaturgical capacity for premonition by appointing a time and place to be reunited with his companion in his next incarnation. Paintings depicting Li Yuan’s reunion with the reborn Yuanze are equally ill fitted to the Chan encounter picture genre. Though a Confucian scholar makes up one half of the encounter, his interlocutor is a pubescent drover and not a wizened old pedagogue. In both cases, the interactions between the various pictorial protagonists imbue the scene with unique

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<sup>260</sup> SGSZ j. 20, in T.2061.50: c7-840, a24.

<sup>261</sup> Textual records of these works are discussed in: Nishigami 1981, 236. A probable Ming or Qing dynasty copy of the Liu Songnian painting is in the collection of the British Museum: British Museum, *Three Lives, in the Style of Liu Songnian*, 1936,1009,0.15.

meaning, rather than performatively rendering an easily recognisable type of encounter with an expected dynamic.

The narrative of Yuanze's rebirth was attractive to thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan clerics because of its correlation with the hagiography of Chan's fifth Chinese patriarch, Hongren 弘忍 (601-674).<sup>262</sup> Like Yuanze, Hongren's hagiography also spans his death and rebirth. In Hongren's previous life as an elderly woodcutter, the fourth patriarch Dayi Daoxin 大醫道信 (580-651) rejected his appeal to be taken on as a student. Though Daoxin told the woodcutter he was too old to achieve liberation in this lifetime, Hongren was reunited with the fourth patriarch in his next incarnation when still a young boy, and proved himself a child prodigy in Chan practice.<sup>263</sup> The precocious fifth patriarch appears in the fourth scene of the Kōzanji painting of the first six patriarchs on Chinese soil, labelled: "The fifth patriarch, who achieved enlightenment and became a monk when seven years old 第五祖, 年七歲悟道出家時" (fig. 3.2). Minoru Nishigami 西上実 has documented the correlations between ninth and tenth century versions of the Yuanze narrative, under the name of Yuanguan, and changes to Hongren's hagiography that first appear in the eleventh century *Anecdotes from the Groves* [of Chan] (*Linjian Lu* 林間錄), compiled by Huifan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128).<sup>264</sup>

While paintings of Yuanze were popular subjects for commentary in *encomia* by Chan clerics, as Yuanze was not part of a Chan lineage he was not included in their hagiographic records. However, versions of Yuanze's biography are known to have circulated in at least four extant compendia, dating from 868 to ca. 1101 CE. Three of these were compiled by secular scholars, and one by a monk. The earliest extant versions of the Yuanze narrative were recorded under the name of Monk Yuanguan 圓觀和尚. The Yuanguan narrative is first recorded in Yuan Jiao's 袁郊 (active 9<sup>th</sup> century) collection of Buddhist miracle tales, *Ballads of the Sweet Pool* (*Ganze Yao*

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<sup>262</sup> For a discussion of these adaptations, see: Nishigami 1981, 235.

<sup>263</sup> Depictions of Hongren's life as a woodcutter, and his rebirth as the patriarch see: Shimizu 2007d; Shimizu 1980, 20-1.

<sup>264</sup> Nishigami 1981, 235. Huihong's inventiveness in the composition and compilation of the *Linjian Lu*, using it to combine both personal experience and excerpts from Chan history is discussed at length in: Keyworth 2001.

甘澤謠), dated 868, and was later incorporated into Li Fang's 李昉 (925–996) vast compendia, *Expansive Record of the Taiping* [Era] (*Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記), dated 978.<sup>265</sup> Approximately a decade later the monk Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) included this same narrative in his state sponsored hagiographic compendia *Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song* (*Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳), preface dated 988.<sup>266</sup> The earliest extant version of the narrative under the name of Yuanze is preserved in the collected writings of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), *The Complete Record of Dongpo* (*Dongpo Quanji* 東坡全集). Of the extant iterations of this narrative, Su Shi's *Biography of the Monk Yuanze* 僧圓澤傳 is closest in date to the paintings discussed in this thesis, derived from Su Jiao's 蘇嶠 1179 compilation of Su Shi's collected writings.<sup>267</sup> With the exception of the *Song Gaosengzhuan* version, these biographies are documented by Nishigami.<sup>268</sup> The *Dongpo Quanji* is also the only version to use the same name for the monastic protagonist as is recorded in Chan abbots' list of *encomia* on Buddhas and patriarchs.<sup>269</sup>

The Yuanguan versions of this narrative open by describing the monk's monastic life and his clerical and cultural competencies. The texts note that beside his studies of Sanskrit he also had a thorough understanding of the phonological rules of poetic composition.<sup>270</sup> Though Su Shi's account is nominally a biography of the monk Yuanze, the layman Li Yuan plays the central role. Where earlier narratives open with a focus on Yuanguan, Su Shi's *Biography of Yuanze* begins with a laudatory description of Li Yuan, praising Li's piety to both the Buddha and his father in his expression of mourning after his father's passing.<sup>271</sup> By embellishing the Buddhist

<sup>265</sup> GZY, j. 1, 13-15; TPGJ, j. 387, 5-7.

<sup>266</sup> SGSZ j. 20, in T.2061.50: 839, c7-840, b3.

<sup>267</sup> DPQJ j.39, 10-11.

<sup>268</sup> With the exception of the *Song Gaosengzhuan* version, these biographies are documented in: Nishigami 1981, 235-6.

<sup>269</sup> For a survey of verses composed by Chan clerics to accompany images of Yuanze, as both *encomia* and colophons, see: Nishigami 1981, 236-7. A full translation of Su Shi's *Biography of the Monk Yuanze* has been provided in appendix 3.1.

<sup>270</sup> TPGJ, j.387, 5; GZY j.1, 13; SGSZ j.20, in T.2061.50: 839, c8.

<sup>271</sup> In Su's account the, after his father's death "Stricken with grief [Li Yuan] made a personal vow to abstain from taking office, marriage, and the eating of meat, living in the monastery for over fifty years." 悲憤自誓，不仕不娶不食肉，居寺中五十餘年。 DPQJ j.39, 10-11. In the *Guanzeyao* and *Taiping Guangji* versions of the Yuanguan narrative, Li Yuan expresses his filial piety after his father's death through Confucian traditions of abstinence

piety of Li Yuan's conduct, Su Shi's version of this narrative emphasises Li's exemplary practice of lay Buddhism, rather than his role in the narrative as Yuanze's lay interlocutor.

While the opening of Su Shi's text places greater emphasis on Li Yuan rather than his monastic companion, the verses sung by the reborn monk that examine the cleric's relationship to the scholar are repeated verbatim in all four versions of the narrative. The first verse celebrates Li Yuan's arrival, the reborn Yuanze stating that he is: "Moved that a dear one has come to visit from afar 慚愧情人遠相訪". In the second verse the reborn Yuanze presents a poetic image of the cycle of death and rebirth explicitly related to Li's circumstances, as "a layman whose *karma* is not yet exhausted 然俗緣未盡".<sup>272</sup> Compared with textual versions of the narrative that either stress the importance of Li Yuan, or examine the relationship as a partnership of equals, paintings of Yuanze, and *encomia* by Chan clerics on these paintings stress the agency of Yuanze over his secular companion. These images and verses enhance Yuanze's gravity as a religious exemplar, embellishing the narrative through iconographic associations with symbols from Chan visual culture, and locating these events upon scrolls that show serialised images of Chan exemplars.

### *Yuanze's Meeting the Pregnant Woman*

The following discussion addresses two of the few surviving extant paintings of Yuanze from the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties: one work in ink and colours on silk showing Yuanze and Li Yuan's encounter with the pregnant woman (figs. 3.6), and one in ink on silk showing the reunion of Li Yuan and the reborn Yuanze (fig 3.7). A hanging scroll in ink on silk in the collection of the Honpōji 本法寺 in Kyoto, attributed to the Yuan artist Zhang Fangru 張芳汝, also shows the reunion scene. However, given the thorough treatment of this painting attribution and provenance in

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from grain and wearing coarse garments: "[Li Yuan] gave up grain and wore plain clothing, taking up residence in the Huilin monastery, donating all his family property to the monastery." 乃脫粟布衣，止於惠林寺，悉將家業為寺。 TPGJ, j.387, 5, GZY, j.1, 13. The *Song Biographies of Eminent Monk* does not comment on Li Yuan's expression of mourning: T.2061.50: 839, c08.

<sup>272</sup> Full translations and transcriptions of the verses as are included in in appendix 3.1, which provides a full the translation of Su Shi's *Biography of the Monk Yuanze*: DPQJ j.39, 11.

Nishigami's earlier scholarship, and the illegibility of detail in the available image of Zhang's painting, this chapter focuses on two works not mentioned in Nishigami's essay.<sup>273</sup>

The only extant rendition of Yuanze and Li Yuan's encounter with the pregnant woman is preserved on a scroll of eight narrative scenes of Chan figures. Entitled *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖, this painting is signed by Liang Kai 梁楷 (active late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century), and currently in the collection of the Shanghai Museum. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, I approach this painting as a probable late thirteenth or fourteenth century work in the style of Liang Kai, rather than an original from Liang's own hand.<sup>274</sup> Alongside verbatim reproduction of texts in accompanying inscriptions that post-date Liang's career, technical aspects of the painting do not match the standard of stable attributions, such as Liang's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖 (fig. 2.1a). To take a single example, in the first scene, which shows Bodhidharma and Shenguang, the red underlining of the hem on Bodhidharma's robe goes beyond the black ink outline of the lower hem of the figure's garments (fig. 3.11). Such a technical oversight implies either a slip of a copyist's hand, or a deficit in the painter's technical ability incompatible with the virtuoso depiction of drapery in Liang's *Śākyamuni*. A fuller discussion of the distinctive reception of this painting in contemporary Chinese, Japanese, and Western language scholarship, and the implications of these different patterns of reception is offered in chapter six.<sup>275</sup>

Executed in ink and colours on silk, *Eight Eminent Monks* chooses a markedly distinct style and materiality from the monochrome ink painting recurrently used in thirteenth-fourteenth century Chan visual narratives of interaction (figs. 3.1, 3.3-3.6). *Eight Eminent Monks* deploys a descriptive representational mode known as the meticulous brush (*gongbi* 工筆) associated with court painting, contrasting sharply with the abbreviated and cursive style of the ink painting in the depiction of Yuanze's reunion with Li Yuan discussed below (fig. 3.7). In the Yuanze scene of *Eight Eminent*

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<sup>273</sup> Nishigami 1981, 238-9.

<sup>274</sup> For arguments supporting the identification of this work as a product from the early portion of Liang Kai's career, see: Shan and Shan 2004, 96; Fraser 2010, 217.

<sup>275</sup> Pages 239-247.

*Monks*, the figures are carefully outlined in black ink, and lent volume and body by the diffuse washes of coloured pigment across their garments and skin (fig. 3.6b). Thin vertical lines describe the grasses growing at the waters edge, while dry, diagonal movements of the brush are combined with saturated dots of ink to add texture to the riverbank. Liang's signature appears in the lower left hand corner of the painting, hidden within the dark mass of the riverbank to the left of the jetty. The thin ripples spreading out from the pregnant woman's jar show the specificity of the visual moment, occurring at the exact point when her gaze meets Yuanze. The meticulous development of a full landscape context, and the detail of the figures' postures and facial expressions situates this interaction in defined spatial and chronological context. Within this specific time and place, the artist juxtaposes the attitudes and bodily forms of the figures to articulate Yuanze's diminution in the face of the woman pregnant with his future self.

Progressing from right to left, the scene opens with Yuanze's reaction to events, sitting huddled under the cover upon his boat in the lower right corner of the scroll. Only his head is visible as his body is obscured from view by the riverbank. The prominent cranium of his shaven head, his deep eye sockets, his sunken cheeks, and the loose folds of skin around his jaw lend the old monk a morbid, skeletal quality. Li Yuan sits beside him, playing only a supporting role in this iteration of events. His back to the viewer, Li's head follows Yuanze's stare, directing the viewer's gaze to the pregnant woman who occupies the left hand side of the composition. She dominates the opposite bank. The sweeping curve of her sturdy shoulders atop an imposing figure mark her as a picture of health and vigour. Her stout physique is emphasised by contrast with the figure behind her, who stoops under the weight of her load and is shorter by a head than the pregnant woman at the water's edge. The bulge of her womb is visible in the short curved line of her belly, above the straight folds of the lower portion of her shirt. This subtle reference to her expectant state is underscored by her full breasts. Two heavy jars stand on the ground next to her, while she draws a third up from the water. The pregnant woman's eyes are locked in a downward diagonal stare toward Yuanze's forlorn face. This exchange of gazes underscores the vitality of Yuanze's future mother, directly contrasting her robustness with the frailty of his current self. Yuanze appears to recede from view beyond the

edge of the image, a withered, marginal figure distressed by the realisation of his impending death.

The interaction between Yuanze and the pregnant woman inverts the conventional hierarchy of authority. The confident presence of this labouring pregnant woman relegates both the elderly cleric and his scholar associate to the margins of the pictorial encounter. Her posture and facial expressions are central to the visual narrative. By contrast, in textual prototypes for this narrative the pregnant woman has no agency. She is identified simply as a member of the Wang clan, and serves only as a vehicle for Yuanze's rebirth. In her encounter with Yuanze there are no descriptions of her imposing presence, she is simply "a woman in brocade trousers carrying jars to fetch water 婦人錦褱負罍而汲者".<sup>276</sup> In textual versions of the encounter she is simply a foil for Yuanze to demonstrate a capacity for prophecy in the exposition of his future birth to Li Yuan. By contrast, the painting is centred entirely upon her exchange of gazes with Yuanze, articulating the interaction between these two characters. Li Yuan appears only in the passive role of an observer of the interaction between the monk and woman around which the visual narrative is centred. This transfer of agency from one figure to another addresses the central theme of life, death and rebirth explored in the Yuanze narrative, in a dramatic rendition of grief experienced when confronted directly with the inescapability of one's mortality. The pregnant woman thus becomes a potent symbol of the vital future of rebirth.

As with the other seven scenes in *Eight Eminent Monks*, the painting of Yuanze and the pregnant woman is followed by a concise prose narrative in semi-cursive script, written within a faintly ruled grid on a separate panel of silk. This brief calligraphic rendition of Yuanze's hagiography contextualises the pictorial action in relation to the eventual reunion of Yuanze and Li Yuan, reading as follows:

Li Yuan was travelling to Mount [E] Mei with Master Yuanze. When their boat was passing through the Nanpu they saw a woman in embroidered brocade trousers carrying jars to fetch water. Ze wept, saying: "I am the unborn child in this woman, there is no avoiding it. Eighteen years from now,

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<sup>276</sup> DPQJ j.39, 10-11.

on the fifteenth day of the eighth month you will meet a boy at Mount Tianzhu [temple] in Hangzhou.” When he finished speaking he died.

On the allotted date [Li] Yuan went to Mount Tianzhu, and met with a herd-boy, who said: “Li Yuan is a true believer!” Yuan replied: “It’s the spitting image of Yuanze!” The herd boy then sang: “An old soul [sits] atop Three Lives Rocks etc etc...”, When the song came to an end, he rolled up his sleeves and left.

李源與圓澤法師游眉山，舟次南浦，見一女子錦襜花『？』負罌而汲。澤泣曰：『當託孕於此女，避之不可得。後十八年八月十五日當會君子杭州天竺山中。』言畢而卒。

源如期往天竺山見一牧牛兒，云：“李源真信人也”。源即應聲云：“圓澤正恙！”牧兒遂歌曰：『三生石上舊精魂，云云』。歌罷拂袖而去。

This concise rendition of events is clearly derivative of earlier versions of the narrative, though it does not directly quote any extant text I have encountered in the course of my research. The inscribed summary abbreviates and omits key events found in earlier versions, making no mention of the intimate association between Yuanze and Li Yuan prior to their journey, and quoting only the first line of the first of ox-herd Yuanze’s two verses. Such a terse rendition of the two encounters does not afford Li Yuan the central position he holds in the fuller textual iterations of the narrative, instead focusing upon the miraculous prediction of Yuanze’s rebirth and the fruition of this prophecy. There is also an inconsistency with earlier versions, dating Li Yuan and Yuanze’s reunion to eighteen years after the monk’s death rather than thirteen. This concise textual narrative provides only a perfunctory context for the subject matter of the preceding imagery, as the anonymous inscriber refrains from commentary in favour of a straightforward account of a series of events.

By contrast inscriptions upon paintings of this subject by senior Chan clerics used verse to comment upon the emotional and symbolic resonances of the pictorial

action.<sup>277</sup> A poem of this kind preserved in the collected colophons of Qiaoyin Wuyi's discourse record reads as follows:

Rowing past brocade in the fine spring weather, seen through the boat  
awning's window in the night rain,  
When there is a single smile under the rush eaves, how far off is Tianzhu!  
Affectionately taking leave at the three lives rock, the seed of grief [is sown]  
in this meeting,  
The painted image opens with the slap of waves on the oars in the mist,  
With the airs of horse and ox, enraged at the far off Qutang gorge!<sup>278</sup>

濯錦春晴，篷窓夜雨，  
茅簷一笑時，竺天在何許！  
三生愛別離，一種冤憎遇，  
拍波烟棹畫圖開，  
馬牛風遠瞿塘怒！

Though we cannot be absolutely certain of the content in the painting to which this poem was added, the penultimate line “The painted image opens with the slap of waves on the oars in the mist,” clarifies that a scene of a boat featured at the beginning of the scroll. Wuyi's verse uses reference to the narrative sequence to evoke the emotional cadence of the intimate friendship between Li Yuan and Yuanze. Their separation and reunion across different incarnations address an idiosyncratic model of a clerical and lay relationship within the Buddhist cycle of death and rebirth. This eloquent verse shows a far greater degree of conceptual engagement with the subject matter of the painting than the in the prose inscription upon *Eight Eminent Monks*. Wuyi's colophon provides commentary, while the anonymous inscriber of *Eight Eminent Monks* offers only context.

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<sup>277</sup> Nishigami's discussion of the inscriptions made by Chan paintings of the depictions of Yuanze focuses solely on the evidence they give for the possible renditions of this subject, showing either the encounter with the pregnant woman, or the reunion at Tianzhu. The following discussion augments this summary with a close reading of the relationship between inscribed verse and other extant textual and visual versions of the narrative: Nishigami 1981, 236-7.

<sup>278</sup> QYWYCSYL, j.2 in: X.1385.70: 308, a19.

The opening couplet references the visual nature of Yuanze's realisation of his impending mortality, seen through the window under the awning of the boat also depicted in *Eight Eminent Monks*. By using two contrasting scenes to describe a single encounter, Wuyi uses season and weather to stress the juxtaposition of the pregnant woman's vitality with Yuanze's imminent demise. The clear weather of spring signifies a new beginning, contrasted with the melancholy finality of the night rain. The simultaneous occurrence of clear daytime skies and nocturnal rain takes poetic license with the scene. Wuyi uses time and weather to signify the pregnant woman and Yuanze's contrasting subjective experience of the world, rather than describe a purportedly objective context for their meeting. The second line references both Yuanze's prophecies: that he would reveal himself to Li Yuan in the newborn infant's smile, and that thirteen years hence they would be reunited at the Tianzhu monastery. The subsequent line mourns the sadness of loss in the cycle of death and rebirth, and the bittersweet nature of these two protagonists' chance for a reunion. Unlike the elevated equanimity attributed to the Chan patriarchs and the historical Buddha, these two protagonists experience the emotions of loss and grief brought on by the profound attachment of their friendship.<sup>279</sup>

Wuyi's colophon relates Yuanze and Li Yuan's encounter with the pregnant woman to the popular literati trope of partings and farewells between scholars seen in painting and poetry. His poetic allusion to Li Yuan's emotional experience links this accessible narrative trope to the reborn Yuanze's verse on *karmic* causality, and to the demonstration of Buddhism's efficacy in the realisation of the monk's prophecy. In the final couplet Wuyi prompts a synesthetic experience of the visual narrative in the viewer by describing the sound of the scene that appears at the beginning of the painting. He closes with an image of finality appropriated from the last line of the reborn Yuanze's verse to Li Yuan, comparing a journey through the Qutan gorge to the cycle of death and rebirth. However, this is not a simple exposition of a narrative context for the adjacent image, as in the prose inscription that accompanies the *Eight*

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<sup>279</sup> Chan encounter paintings more frequently feature Chan master's demonstrating elevated equanimity in their meetings with an elite official, see for example the theme of 'Yaoshan Weiyuan Meeting Li Ao', discussed in chapter five through an example inscribed by Yanxi Guangwen, pages 185-95.

*Eminent Monks* Yuanze scene. Wuyi's verse is a commentary, which embellishes the reborn Yuanze's verse by equating the lay and clerical protagonists to a symbolic pairing of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽. This evocation of a cosmological context for the inversion of social norms is central to the depiction of Yuanze reunited with Li Yuan discussed below.

### *Li Yuan Reunited with the Reborn Yuanze*

Like *Eight Eminent Monks*' depiction of the aged Yuanze's meeting with his future mother, scenes showing the reborn Yuanze's reunion with Li Yuan also subvert the viewers' expectation of the relative authority of their pictorial protagonists. The depiction of the venerable scholar Li Yuan reverently greeting Yuanze's new incarnation as a lowly ox-herd is exemplified in the following discussion by an ink painting now in a private collection (fig. 3.7). This monochrome work is signed "Muxi 牧溪", with a date corresponding to 1269. The signature exactly replicates the text of another signature, written in a similar hand, found on a painting of a tiger in the collection of the Daitokuji monastery 大徳寺 in Kyoto (fig. 3.12). While the Daitokuji tiger has none of Muxi's seals, it is impressed with the *Tensan* 天山 collectors seal of the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94). If the *Tensan* seal is authentic, it gives the work a lengthy provenance, associating it with a powerful collector who had access to a large corpus of artworks that had been brought back to Japan by Buddhist monks who travelled to China. This group of monks included Enni Benin, who like Muxi was a disciple of Wuzhun Shifan. The Yuanze painting also has an impressive provenance, documented as part of the Edo period collection of the Tokugawa family, though not as far reaching as that indicated by the *Tensan* seal on the Daitokuji tiger.<sup>280</sup>

The Yuanze painting is impressed with two seals, one on the same space as the signature, and a second in the upper left. There is consensus that the seal either beneath or above the signature reads "Muxi". However, while Richard Barnhart states

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<sup>280</sup> Barnhart 2008 [unpaginated].

that the seal in the upper left is illegible, the painting's catalogue entry in the 1996 Gotoh Museum 五島美術館 catalogue, *Mokkei: Shōkei no Suibokuga* 牧谿：憧憬の水墨画, also reads this second seal as “Muxi 牧谿”.<sup>281</sup> Regardless of whether there are one or two impressions of a Muxi seal, it is odd that only one of Muxi's monikers would be repeated on a single work, in both the signature and the seal impressions. In the archetypal example of Muxi's oeuvre, his triptych of Guanyin, a crane, and gibbons in the collection of the Daitokuji, his signature uses the name Fachang 法常, while the seal impressions on these paintings use the name Muxi (figs. 1.2-1.4). Given Muxi's propensity to combine his monikers Muxi and Fachang seen on this more stable attribution, and the exact replication of the signature on a separate work, the signature and seals on the Yuanze painting are insufficient evidence for a certain attribution to Muxi.<sup>282</sup> Nonetheless, there is consensus among published assessment of the painting that it is an original southern Song work, representative of the artistic ideal that Muxi came to embody in Japanese collections.

Regardless of its associations with the cultural ideals Muxi came to embody in Japan, the painting has numerous stylistic affiliations with contemporaneous trends in Chan ink paintings from late thirteenth and early fourteenth century China.<sup>283</sup> The animated rapid strokes of the overhanging foliage resemble those in the anonymous *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* inscribed by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263-1323) (fig. 2.4a). Moreover, the deft contrast between the fine line of the figures and the diffuse textures of the buffalo and rocks resembles the balancing of figures and their environment seen in *Pei Xiu Meeting with Huangbo* 黃檗裴休問答圖, attributed to Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (active late 13<sup>th</sup> century) (fig. 3.5), and in the *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, formerly attributed to both Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (active late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century) and later to Muxi, inscribed by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263) (fig. 5.1).<sup>284</sup> The potential for embellishment in the Yuanze narrative,

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<sup>281</sup> Gotō Bijutsukan 1996, 23, Barnhart 2008.

<sup>282</sup> For further discussions of the seals and signature on the Muxi Guanyin triptych see: Gotō Bijutsukan 1996, 11.

<sup>283</sup> For discussions of the historic receptions of Muxi in Japanese and Chinese collections and connoisseurship, see: Hiromitsu 1996; Yūji 1996.

<sup>284</sup> The appropriation of authority from Yaoshan's interaction with Li Ao in Yanxi Guangwen's inscribed *encomium* on *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖 is

and these other images of interactions, prompted artists to incorporate details of landscape and setting that enhance the complexity of the actions upon the pictorial surface.

The painting of Yuanze's reunion with Li Yuan attributed to Muxi departs from textual iterations of the narrative in its distinctive emphasis on the balance of power in the encounter. The standing scholar makes a deferential bow of his head, his eyes staring down. Though Li's body is turned slightly away from the viewer, his left sleeve is raised to the height of his chest rather than resting at his waist. The raised hands are joined in a gesture of greeting that, though not accompanied by the requisite deep bow, matches the position of the hands in the greeting between elite men seen in Song court paintings of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) (fig. 3.13).<sup>285</sup> This gesture also reflects the deference expected of a Chan novice to their teacher. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter in relation to *Xuefeng Receiving his Student Xuansha*, Chan monastic regulations included strict injunctions that a monk should join their hands together adjacent to the chest when expressing a greeting. Li Yuan's respectful attitude to the ox-herd in the painting fits neither Buddhist nor Confucian conventions for the expression of respect, making it a serious subversion of both monastic and secular norms. By focusing on the significance of a single moment against the backdrop of an implied narrative context, the anonymous painter stresses the inversion of social hierarchy in this interaction.

As exemplified by the earlier discussion of the anonymous painting of Xuefeng and Xuansha, subversion of convention through gesture was a popular trope in Chan visual culture of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century (fig. 3.1). However, Li Yuan's posture is measured and dignified, while Xuansha's stance is erratic and unbalanced. Li's stance appropriates conventions for revered greeting for a meeting with a lowly herdboy. Its subversiveness lies in the inappropriate occasion for the gestures, rather than a disregard for the conventions of the gestures itself. Further to

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discussed in chapter five, pages 189-99. A similar dynamic is also seen in the exchange between Bai Juyi and Niaoke Daolin, seen in scene three of *Eight Eminent Monks*. The associated narrative text is translated in the notes to fig. 6.6d.

<sup>285</sup> For a discussion of this gesture as a paradigm of polite greeting in the *Classic of Filial Piety*, see: Barnhart 1993, 105-8. For a later version of this painting from the Southern Song court, see: Liu 2010.

his use of a respectful form of greeting seen in didactic Confucian imagery, the artist's rendition of Li Yuan has a clear prototype in paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains (figs. 2.1-8). With his joined hands, wind blown robe, and bearded face, Li appears both respectful, and introspective. The artist has cast Li Yuan's reunion with Yuanze as an awe inspiring, liminal encounter, occurring across the boundaries of life and death.

The religious symbolism of the interaction is further enriched in the depiction of Yuanze as a herd boy riding an ox.<sup>286</sup> This image alludes to representations of the ox-herder as a sanctified subject in Chan paintings of the ten-stage ox-herding Chan parable. Produced in Song and Yuan circles as a serial visual metaphor for the stages in the realisation of awakening, these paintings used the ox to represent the mind of the Chan practitioner.<sup>287</sup> The mind, like the ox, must be first located then tamed. Finally, both man and ox disappear, signifying a realisation of the unreality of the self. The image of Yuanze atop the ox corresponds to the sixth image in the series 'returning home on the back of the ox 騎牛歸家'. Though no examples of this image survive from thirteenth and fourteenth century China, the iconographic parallel can be seen in a comparison of the painting of Yuanze attributed to Muxi with a Japanese rendition of the theme, formerly attributed to Tenshō Shūbun 天章周文 (active ca. 1423–60) (fig. 3.14). This later Japanese work is believed to be based on a Chinese prototype by Kuo'an Shiyuan 廓庵師遠 (active ca. 1150).<sup>288</sup> In this sixth stage the man has mastered his cognitions, but has yet to realise the extinction of ego. Such an allegory corresponds succinctly with the verbal exchange between Li Yuan and Yuanze. Su Shi's account of the reunion reads as follows:

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<sup>286</sup> The relationship of this work to the broader genre of ox paintings in the Southern Song is addressed in: Jang 1992, 84.

<sup>287</sup> Nishigami notes several other examples of Chan narratives which featured oxen recorded in both textual records and in extant paintings: Hanshan's 寒山 (8<sup>th</sup> century) pointing out the traces of the ox to Zhaozhou 趙州 (778-897); Zheng Huangniu 政黃牛 (Wei Zheng's 惟正) (986-1049) travelling to meet with Hangzhou magistrate Jiang Tang 蔣堂 upon a yellow ox; and the parable of patriarch Linji's 臨濟 (767-866) meeting with an old woman driving an ox through a field. While these other examples are *gong'an* centred on the ideal of reclusion, the Yuanze narrative takes the identity of the oxen and its rider as its central theme: Nishigami 1981, 239.

<sup>288</sup> For a discussion of Tenshō's Shūbun's ox herding paintings, see: Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 171-3 & 234. A modern re-printing of an ostensibly 12<sup>th</sup> century version of the ten ox-herding pictures is discussed in: Jang 1992, 70-83.

Thirteen years later he [Li Yuan] travelled through Wu [modern Jiangsu] for the appointed meeting. Coming to the appointed place, he heard a young ox-herd by the bank of the Gehong river, tapping the oxen's horns and singing to him:

Upon the Three Lives Rock sits an old soul,  
Enjoying the full moon singing in the wind, there's no need for  
discussion,  
Moved that a dear one has come to visit from afar,  
Though this body is strange, its nature is eternal!

[Yuan] called out: "Are you well Mr Ze?" He replied: "Mr Li is a man of true belief! If a layman's *karma* is not exhausted, be careful not to become too close. Only through ceaseless, diligent cultivation can such a reunion occur".

There followed another verse:

Matters before and after this body are unclear,  
Desiring to speak of *karmic* causality, yet fearing heartbreak,  
Searching throughout the mountains and rivers of Wu and Yue,  
Returning back on that misty boat into the Qutan [gorge].

Thereafter he left, and it was not known what became of him.<sup>289</sup>

後十三年自洛適吳，赴其約，至所約，聞葛洪川畔有牧童扣牛角而歌之。曰：「三生石上舊精魂，賞月吟風不要論。慚愧情人遠相訪，此身雖異性長存。」呼問：「澤公健否？」答曰：「李公真信士！然俗緣未盡，慎勿相近。惟勤修不墮，乃復相見。」又歌曰：「身前身後事茫茫，欲話因緣恐斷腸。吳越山川尋已遍，卻回煙棹上瞿塘。」遂去，不知所之。

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<sup>289</sup> DPQJ, j.39, 11. Full translation in appendix 3.1.

The first verse celebrates Li Yuan's "coming to visit from afar", alluding to Yuanze's earlier deathbed prophecy that they would be reunited in his next life. The second verse presents a poetic interpretation of the cycle of death and rebirth, explicitly related to Li's circumstances as "a layman whose *karma* is not yet exhausted". The reborn Yuanze's verse comments on his old friend's diligent cultivation, but notes that he has yet to escape the accumulation of *karma* based on a sense of self. The reborn Yuanze's iconographic correlation with the sixth stage of the ox herding parable, and the content of the verse Yuanze sings in the associated textual narrative, communicate a common teaching on Yuanze's lay associate. Li Yuan's spiritual accomplishments as a secular adherent to Buddhism are expressed through his interaction with Yuanze. The exceptional quality of this interaction is that Yuanze does not communicate this teaching from the body of an old monk, but in the youthful guise of a wandering herd boy.

The visual presentation of Li Yuan's meeting with Yuanze upon a buffalo would have been readily accessible to secular viewers, resembling popular genre paintings of water buffalo and herd boys. These works created a pastoral aesthetic popular in court paintings of the Southern Song, offering visual escapism from the pressures of official service, and alluding to an idealised reclusion from government without actually promoting withdrawal.<sup>290</sup> Moreover, the Yuanze reborn painting articulates a geographic context with resonances among Southern Song and Yuan scholars. The rock dominating the left of the composition illustrates the Three Lives Rock mentioned in the reborn Yuanze's first poem. This site creates a geographic continuity between the historic encounter from the late Tang, and the subsequent generations of clergy and scholars who visited and inscribed the rock (fig. 3.15).<sup>291</sup>

The iconographic cross over between secular paintings of oxen and Chan images of the ox-herding parable made the Yuanze theme more aesthetically appealing to

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<sup>290</sup> Jang 1992, 66.

<sup>291</sup> For a selected list of prominent inscribers upon the Sansheng rock dating back to the Northern Song, noting the compendia in which their inscriptions are preserved, see: Nishigami 1981, 236. The rock is still venerated today, located near the Lower Tianzhu monastery 下天竺寺, now known as Fajing Monastery 法鏡寺.

secular audiences. However, the representation of human figures in secular pastoral scenes communicated a dramatically different message to the viewer than Chan paintings of the ten ox herding parables. The former are part of a pastoral aesthetic into which the viewer may temporarily withdraw, while the latter are a visual allegory of exemplary spiritual conduct. In a hanging scroll attributed to Yan Ciping, formerly in the collection of the Ashikaga Shogun and currently housed in the Sen-oku Hakukokan 泉屋博古館, two herd boys sit beneath the autumnal bows of deciduous trees, one picking the lice out his companions hair (fig. 3.16).<sup>292</sup> To the lower right, a mother cow and young calf lie just beneath the two human figures, the mother licking the hide of her young to clean it. The painting of Yuanze elevates the ignoble herdboy into an unlikely paradigm of spiritual authority. Contrastingly the aestheticised pastoralism of this Southern Song genre painting debases the humanity of its subjects through a visual equivalence to their bovine charges. The zoomorphic representation of the herdboys is not necessarily representative of the entire genre of Southern Song ox-herding paintings. However, the distinction between this debasement of the herd boys and Yuanze's elevation in the painting attributed to Muxi is indicative of the distinctive qualities figure paintings imbued in Yuanze as part of the Chan pantheon.

In the painted scene of the reborn Yuanze and Li Yuan, the full moon of autumn under which the reunion had been foretold to take place is represented by a circle of reserve white in the upper centre of the composition. Further to clarifying the time of the pictorial action, the image of the moon provides a cosmological context suitable to this inversion of conventional relationships of authority. As the moon is a symbol of negative *yin* energy, in contrast to the normally dominant positive *yang* of the sun, the pictorial evocation of an environment saturated with moonlight provides a cosmological mandate for this inversion of social norms. The full moon of autumn, under which Yuanze foretold his reunion with Li Yuan, is the largest of the year. Consequentially, Yuanze allotted the annual peak of *yin* energy as the time for his reunion with Li Yuan, allowing for the subversion of the normal predominance of *yang*.

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<sup>292</sup> The painting is accompanied by an authentication slip, attributed to the Japanese painter Sōami 相阿弥 (d. 1525), identifying the artist as Yan Ciping: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 160.

In Su Shi's account the only mention of the moon is in one of Yuanze's lines of verse: "Enjoying the full moon singing in the wind, there's no need for discussion". The scene of the reunion in the *Expansive Record of the Taiping [Era]*, *Ballads of the Sweet Pool*, and *Great Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* all explicitly locate the scene at night, mentioning the bright moonlight. These earlier accounts also describe the bamboo pole visible in the reborn Yuanguan's hand in the work attributed to Muxi. The common account from the *Expansive Record of the Taiping [Era]* and *Ballads of the Sweet Pool* reads as follows:

Twelve years later, in the autumnal eighth month he went directly to Yuhang, at the allotted time by the Tianzhu monastery. As the rain from the mountains was beginning to clear, and the moonlight filled the creek, [Yuanguan] was nowhere to be found. Suddenly [Li Yuan] heard an ox-herd singing and keeping time with a bamboo pole, coming along the bank of the Gehong river. Tapping the horns, with his hair in twin topknots, and dressed in a short tunic, the boy suddenly stopped in front of the monastery. It was [Yuan]guan!<sup>293</sup>

後十二年秋八月直指餘杭赴其所約時天竺寺。山雨初晴，月色滿川，無處尋訪。忽聞葛洪川畔有牧豎歌竹枝詞者乘牛，叩角雙髻，短衣俄至寺前乃觀也。

While *Expansive Record of the Taiping [Era]* and *Ballads of the Sweet Pool* mention moonlight in the elaborate scene for Li Yuan's reunion with his old companion, it is one detail among many in a rich description of the setting. In the painting attributed to Muxi the moon is given far greater prominence than in written descriptions of the scene. The artist has emphasised this feature by placing it at the centre of the image, directly above the ox-herd to place the ascendancy of *yin* energy at the centre of the pictorial narrative. Like the painter, Chan clerics' *encomia* on paintings of this subject also give great prominence to the lunar presence within the scene, and the

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<sup>293</sup> The only variation between the *Guanze Yao* and the *Taiping Guangji*'s accounts of this reunion are in the use of Yuanguan's full name in the *Taiping Guangji*. The *Guanze Yao* simply refers to him as Guan: TPGJ, j. 387, 7; GZY, j.1 15.

consequential associations of *yin* energy. An *encomium* accompanying a now lost painting of Yuanze reunited with Li Yuan preserved in the discourse record of Qiaoyin Wuyi, who also wrote the colophon for a painting of Yuanze discussed above. Wuyi's second verse reads as follows:

*Picture of Tapping Horns*

In autumn shadows [*yin*] by Tianzhu [monastery], [under] the moonlit *feilai* [peak],<sup>294</sup>

A singular, playful spirit, finds death and birth hard to abandon.

Upon the oxen's back in mid reply he taps the horns and sings,

The lingering sound travels far off, beneath the aged pines.<sup>295</sup>

扣角圖

天竺秋陰，飛來月夜，

一等弄精魂，死生難放捨，

牛背聲中扣角歌，

餘音遠寄長松下。

Wuyi's verse opens with an explicit allusion to the *yin* energy prevalent under the full moon of autumn. This frames his subsequent poetic evocation of the verse sung by the reborn Yuanze in the same *yin* permeated context seen in the painting attributed to Muxi, suited to the subversion of conventional hierarchies. Unlike Su's account of the meeting, the entire focus of Wuyi's verse is on the actions and qualities of the reborn Yuanze. Though Li Yuan almost certainly featured in the painting, his presence is only implied in the verse through the narrative context of the interaction. Mention of the moonlit scene is also found in a colophon for a painting of Yuanze, by the Chan abbot Xisou Xiaotan 希叟紹曇 (d. 1298).<sup>296</sup> The recurrent and explicit emphasis on the predominance of *yin* energy in Chan clerics' *encomia* on and paintings of Yuanze

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<sup>294</sup> Lower Tianzhu monastery is overlooked by the south side of Feilai peak 飛來峰, situated to the south of the Lingyin monastery 靈隱寺.

<sup>295</sup> QYWYCSYL, j.2, in X.1385.70: 307, a15.

<sup>296</sup> Nishigami 1981, 237.

and Li Yuan's interaction contrasts with the cursory use of moonlight to set the scene in prose accounts of the narrative. Moreover, the ox itself is associated with *yin*, paired with the horse as a complementary emblem of *yang*.<sup>297</sup> As discussed above, Qiaoyin Wuyi's colophon to another painting of Yuanze also drew on the *yin yang* pairing of the ox and horse to characterise the relationship between Yuanze and Li Yuan. Consequently, the centrality of the moon in this image, and in the verses that accompanied similar paintings, augments the image of the ox, providing a cosmological mandate for the inversion of social hierarchy in Chan versions of this narrative. Like its textual prototype, the painting of this scene is still centred upon the interaction of an educated layman with the reborn form of his clerical companion. However, this figure painting, and Chan clerical encomia on similar works, recast this interaction by emphasising the agency of the juvenile ox-herd Yuanze over his secular companion from a past life.<sup>298</sup>

Among the varied extant versions of the Yuanze narrative in painting, prose and verse, we see how disparate media provided alternative readings of the relationship between Li Yuan and Yuanze. In the Muxi painting the iconographic and stylistic properties of the image presented a version of events which amplified the resonance of the narrative to Chan teachings upon ox-herding, while reasserting the agency of the clerical protagonist vis-à-vis his scholarly companion. The Yuanze scene in *Eight Eminent Monks* similarly elevates a vernacular subject. In the case of the pregnant woman the resonance of this iconographic innovation created an original visual moment of drama. The reborn Yuanze's reunion is less original, but has a clearer connection with Chan teachings through its appropriation of the generic symbolism of the ox-herding parable. While these paintings place a distinctive emphasis on subversive dimension of their subjects' interactions, their visual narratives still require context. Like the Wuyi inscription, these paintings should be read with an assumed

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<sup>297</sup> The evolving symbolic resonance of the ox in painting during the Song dynasty is evident in the preface to the section on animal painting in the early twelfth century *Record of Paintings of the Xuanhe Era Xuanhe Huapu* 宣和畫譜. This text identifies the ox as a receptive bearer of burdens, corresponding to *kun* 坤, the hexagram that symbolises earth, discussed in: Jang 1992, 59.

<sup>298</sup> A similar instance of a full moon used to represent an imbalance of *yin* and *yang* energies in narrative imagery is discussed in relation to a Ming painting of Han dynasty femmes fatale Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 and Zhao Hede 趙合德 by professional painter You Qiu (act. 1553-83), in: McCausland 2014, 103.

knowledge of the longer textual iterations of the narrative, or the transmission of this story in cultural memory. In this respect we see how paintings of these subjects functioned as visual commentaries on hagiography, rather than simple illustrative reproductions of actions recorded in text.

### *Conclusions*

Chan figure paintings used interaction in visual narratives to communicate a wide variety of messages to a broad range of viewers. They promoted historic models of didactic pedagogical authority, as in the case of Bodhidharma's meeting with Shengguang (figs. 3.2, 3.3). They added an air of impenetrability to Chan teachings, showing idiosyncratic relationships between master and disciple, as in the painting of Xuansha and Xuefeng (fig. 3.1). The various images of Yuanze subverted social norms through innovative visual interpretations of textual narrative prototypes, augmented by clerical commentary (figs. 3.6, 3.7). By appropriating Yuanze into the Chan pantheon, these paintings used the protagonists of Li Yuan and the pregnant woman to address audiences from beyond the confines of the cloister. Chan images of interaction also frequently illustrated the authority of clerics over their lay interlocutors, a theme touched on briefly here, and explored more fully in chapter five.<sup>299</sup> While a single chapter does not offer sufficient scope to explore the full array of meanings enacted by figural interactions in Chan figure paintings, it has been my intention to illustrate that the narrative trope of interaction was recurrently used to embody and enact authority. This authority was both intrinsic and extrinsic to paintings' visual narratives: intrinsic in the relative power and gravity of pictorial protagonists, and extrinsic in the use of visual narrative to mediate viewers' relationships to Chan monastic institutions and clerics.

In the case of Bodhidharma's encounter with Shengguang, Bodhidharma's authority may appear self-evident in his status as the first patriarch, with an intrinsic superiority to his successor in the hierarchy of the Chan lineage. However, the visual narratives discussed here are less concerned with the presentation of that authority as a *fait accompli*, than with the use of narrative to express how that authority manifests itself

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<sup>299</sup> See pages 189-99.

in the behaviour of the pictorial protagonists. The painting is not intended to illustrate Bodhidharma's importance through his presence, or even his action, but through the actions he elicits in his student. The extremes of Shenguang's self-mortification, and the implicit connection between his sacrifice and Bodhidharma's eventual conferring of *dharma* transmission underscore the gravity of Bodhidharma's patriarchal authority. This gravitas is implicitly transmitted, alongside the teachings, from one generation of patriarchs to the next. Presented as an inheritance documented in painting, this authority is in fact a construct, actively created by the display and distribution of these images, and by the inscriptions of thirteenth and fourteenth century clerics upon them.

The discussion of paintings of Yuanze illustrates the popularity of figures from beyond the formal patriarchal lineage as subjects for visual representation and clerical commentary. Yuanze's inclusion within the corpus of painting subjects produced by Chan monk painters such as Muxi, which in turn were inscribed by clerics such as Qiaoyin Wuyi, reveals the elasticity and permeability of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan visual culture.<sup>300</sup> While this permeable pantheon makes the definition of Chan figure painting as a pictorial genre a necessarily imprecise art, it allows us to appreciate the pragmatism and inclusivity of the pantheon as a tool for religious exegesis. The distinctive Chan interpretation of the Yuanze theme is evident in the use of visual allusion to the Chan parable of the ox-herd, and the inscribed commentary by Chan clerics. The innovative visual narrative that focuses on Yuanze's relationship to the pregnant woman in *Eight Eminent Monks* is also part of Yuanze's incorporation into the Chan pantheon, included as part of a painted catalogue of Chan exemplars.

The diverse thematic content of these visual narratives is matched in the range of media and formats in which they were produced. The distinct media of the woodblock print, vertical hanging scroll, and the horizontal handscroll frame these encounters in a diverse range of physical and spatial relationships to their viewers. Their distinct formats construct varied relationships between text and image, often with great degrees of intellectual sophistication as in the Kōzanji painting's reproduction of the

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<sup>300</sup> The expansive cast of the Chan pantheon is discussed in: Lippit 2007a.

Northern Song print's use of a diachronic temporal narrative. As in the prose account following the *Eight Eminent Monks* painting and the unscribed surfaces of the paintings attributed to Yan Ciping and Muxi, the immediacy of visual language is at times explicitly prioritised within these objects over the iteration of events in accompanying text. However, where inscription is the creative product of a named clerical author, the texts offer commentary as well as narrative exegesis, seen in the records of Qiaoyin Wuyi's various inscriptions. Chan figure paintings of interactions documented a wide array of historic encounters. However, their documentary function does not appear to have been the primary impetus for their creation. These paintings of meetings between historic figures were active interpretations of evolving narratives, and not simple replications of exemplary encounters. Through the subtle details of their imagery and accompanying texts, these paintings and their inscriptions produced complex commentaries on the nature and circumstances of the interactions they represented.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### AWAKENINGS: NARRATIVES OF EFFICACY

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As Buddha images serve as pictorial or sculptural *simulacra* of an enlightened sage, all traditions of Buddhist art are to some extent concerned with the representation of awakening in visual form. Paintings, prints and sculptures depicting the Buddhist pantheon were widely venerated in thirteenth and fourteenth century China. These images simulated the presence of an efficacious pantheon of enlightened beings, offering a wide variety of both spiritual and material benefits for religious devotees. Among these varied images of awakening, Chan figure paintings frequently show patriarchs and monks from beyond the patriarchal lineage in the process of achieving enlightenment. These scenes depict the active processes Chan exemplars underwent in moments of spiritual transformation, rather than representing passive iconic subjects in a timeless awakened state. The preceding chapters of this thesis have demonstrated a similar focus on process over stasis in Chan figure paintings addressing other narrative themes. Images and texts were recurrently combined to highlight and comment on the dynamic qualities of narratives of transition and interaction, which respectively underscored the legitimacy and authority of the Chan tradition. As the following chapter will argue, Chan visual narratives of awakening illustrated the efficacy of Chan teachings. These visual renditions of monks at the moment of enlightenment were compelling demonstrations of the effectiveness of Chan practice as a route to sudden awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟).

Chan's ideal of instantaneous religious transformation has historically been associated with teachings attributed to the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713). These teachings were espoused in *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* 六祖壇經, the earliest known version of which dates to ca. 780.<sup>301</sup> Huineng's lineage descendants

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<sup>301</sup> The expansive full title of the earliest version of this text, found at Dunhuang and currently in the collection of the British Library, is: *The Sūtra of the Perfected Wisdom of the Supreme Vehicle of the Sudden Teaching of the Southern Tradition: The Platform Sūtra Taught by the Great Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch, at the Dafan Monastery in Shaozhou* 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經：六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺說法壇經. For an English translation and commentary on the *Platform Sūtra*, see: Yampolsky and Schlütter 2012. A 2012 publication edited by Morten Schlütter and Stephen F. Teiser offers a series of essays

were identified as the Southern School of Chan, distinguished from the Northern School, whose putative founder Shenxiu 神秀 (606-706) was a leading disciple of the fifth patriarch Huangmei Hongren 黃梅弘忍 (601-674). The *Platform Sūtra* demonstrates the legitimacy of Huineng's succession by debasing Shenxiu's teachings as a gradual approach to Chan practice. When Shenxiu composes a verse on the blank wall of the monastery on Mount Fengmu (Fengmushan 馮墓山), in Huangmei 黃梅, Hongren is initially impressed with his insights. However, when pressed Hongren clarifies that Shenxiu's teachings would only benefit those who followed them in achieving more favourable future rebirths, as his spiritual insights were not sufficiently penetrating to generate a transformative awareness of one's intrinsic Buddha nature.<sup>302</sup> Huineng then responds with a further verse that demonstrates a deeper understanding of reality, revealing that Shenxiu's teaching accepted a dualism of the mundane self and the awakened state.<sup>303</sup> Identifying Huineng as the author of the responding verse, Hongren invited Huineng to his chambers, where after hearing a single teaching on the *Diamond Sūtra* Huineng became awakened and was accepted as the Sixth Patriarch.<sup>304</sup>

The *Platform Sūtra* characterised Shenxiu's teachings as gradual, as they purportedly offered nothing more than incremental spiritual progress. By contrast, the *Platform Sūtra* presents Huineng's teachings as a transformative insight into the non-duality of existence. Huineng calls on the Chan practitioner to achieve awakening by realising that there is no fundamental distinction between their unawakened self, and their intrinsic Buddha nature. *The Platform Sūtra* thus establishes Huineng as the sixth patriarch, through the construction of an orthodox sudden praxis, distinguished from heterodox gradualism. Huineng's position as the sixth Chan patriarch and the teachings on sudden awakening in the *Platform Sūtra* were ratified as Chan orthodoxy

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that discuss of the various historical and doctrinal implications of this text, prefaced by a concise introduction to the text's history: Schlütter 2012, 13-18.

<sup>302</sup> Yampolsky and Schlütter 2012, 130-1, 三. Page references to Yampolsky's translation are listed in Roman numerals, while the corresponding Chinese text is listed by Chinese characters for the relevant page number, found at the end of the volume.

<sup>303</sup> In later versions of the text, circulating in Song and Yuan China, Huineng only composes a single verse. However, in the earliest Dunhuang manuscript Huineng composes two verses. The construction of sudden and gradual paradigms of praxis in the *Platform Sūtra*'s account of this poetry contest is discussed in: Gregory 2012, 88-90.

<sup>304</sup> Yampolsky and Schlütter 2012, 132-3, 四—五.

by an imperial edict in 796.<sup>305</sup> By the thirteenth century, from which the earliest extant paintings showing visual Chan narratives of awakenings date, all Chan clerics traced their lineages back to Huineng.

The historic basis for the equation of Northern and Southern Chan with respective gradual and sudden teachings has been the subject of extensive critique by modern scholars. Bernard Faure has shown how the Northern-Southern binary was formulated in posthumous hagiographies of Huineng and Shenxiu, through which later disciples sought to legitimise their claims to spiritual authority.<sup>306</sup> As Faure's argument shows, the correlation of the Northern and Southern division of Chan with diametrically opposed gradual and sudden approaches to praxis is not reflected in early literature. Various eighth century texts discussed by Faure show that adherents of the Northern school advocated teachings based on a sudden paradigm of enlightenment.<sup>307</sup> However, many of the sources accessible to modern scholars were not available to clerics of the late Song and Yuan dynasties. These text were suppressed or marginalised by earlier clerics in the formation of the Chan canon, and are only available to us today through excavation of sites such as the Dunhuang library cave, sealed in the early eleventh century and rediscovered in 1900.<sup>308</sup>

As Peter N. Gregory's analysis of the teachings in *the Platform Sūtra* shows, the ideal of sudden awakening was conceived of as an active experience rather than a state of being. It refers to the act of becoming suddenly awakened, rather than to an abstracted ideal of sudden enlightenment. The Chinese compound *dunwu* is more often verbal than nominal, describing the sudden nature of an experience of awakening, rather than a distinctive state attained by Chan exemplars.<sup>309</sup> This focus on awakening as a mode of experience was integral to the pedagogical practice of Chan patriarchs. Their teachings were intended to lead the practitioner to a direct experience of absolute

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<sup>305</sup> The dating of this imperial edict is recorded in the writings of Chan historian Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841): Broughton 2009, 74.

<sup>306</sup> "Although the opposition between Northern and Southern Schools arose within Shenxiu's and Huineng's disciples, it was read back in to the teachings of the founders and even into their personalities." Faure 1993, 115.

<sup>307</sup> Faure 1993, 117.

<sup>308</sup> The impact of the Dunhuang documents on the re-writing of Chan history in the twentieth century is discussed in: Foulk 1999, 222.

<sup>309</sup> Gregory 2012, 93.

reality, rather than to help the practitioner apprehend the true nature of reality through the mediation of metaphor and analogy. Within the ontological framework of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan doctrine, this absolute reality was the collapse of a dualistic conception of the practitioner's subjective existence as a separate phenomenon from the truth of a universal Buddha nature. The ideal of sudden awakening embodied in thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan figure paintings should thus be understood in the context of prior teachings given to the pictorial subject, which have culminated in a transformative moment of spiritual insight.

Chan teachings current in the thirteenth and fourteenth century describe this moment of insight as a temporal collapse. Bernard Faure characterises the chronological dimension of sudden awakening as: “a rupture with time, a denial of temporality: it is not simply faster to attain, but is properly atemporal”.<sup>310</sup> As such, painted representations of this experience were conceived as atemporal visual moments, imbuing the actions of Chan's historic exemplars with a timeless significance. While the events represented in a Chan figure painting of awakening were conceived of as occurring beyond the bounds of time, the material object of the painting, and the *encomium* that often enriched it, also served a prosaic function specific to the time and place of their creation.

Following a heyday in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, imperial sponsorship of Chan institutions declined from the twelfth century onward, while the importance of interest and support from lay elites increased.<sup>311</sup> In this environment, the demonstrable efficacy of Chan clerics' religious teachings was crucial in attracting both followers and patronage. By the late eleventh and twelfth century, polemics between members of the Caodong 曹洞 and Linji 臨濟 lineages were deeply invested in the pragmatic benefits that accompanied a demonstrably superior route to awakening. Focusing on the writings of the eleventh to twelfth century cleric Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163), Morten Schlütter has explored this polemic in detail. Linji practitioners advocated teaching through the examination of key phrases from a Chan public case (*gong'an* 公案), known as *kanhua* 看話. The Caodong

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<sup>310</sup> Faure 1993, 182.

<sup>311</sup> Schlütter 2008, 36.

tradition promoted an alternative approach, instructing their students to engage in extended periods of quiet meditation, a practice known as silent illumination (*mozhao* 默照).<sup>312</sup> In addition to examining the soteriological questions at the heart of this dispute, Schlütter shows how polemicists sought to garner patronage by demonstrating the efficacy of their lineage's teachings as a route to awakening.<sup>313</sup>

In the thirteenth and fourteenth century, lay and imperial patronage remained crucial for the maintenance of Chan institutions. As part of the self-representation of clerics and of Chan's historic lineages, images of awakenings were potent demonstrations of the desirable efficacy of Chan clerics' teachings. While we have no direct evidence of a link between paintings of Chan narratives of awakenings and the receipt of sponsorship and patronage, we have clear evidence that visual evocations of Chan's spiritual efficacy appealed to lay and imperial sponsors. As well as material support, tax exemptions, and state control of the appointment of abbots, patronage of public Chan monasteries took the form of active participation in the creation of images at court.<sup>314</sup> For example, a series of paintings by Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active ca. 1190–1225) inscribed by Empress Yang 楊皇后 of the Southern Song (1162–1233), depicted the founding patriarchs of the five schools of Chan. Among the three extant works, one depicts the sudden awakening of the founding patriarch of the Caodong lineage, Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869). In Empress Yang's *encomium* the imperial brush adopts the exegetical role of a senior Chan cleric, commenting upon the nature and significance of this visual moment of Chan awakening (fig. 4.1).

As they are defined by the momentary nature of the event they depict, scenes of Chan awakening, often referred to as *Chanji tu* 禪機圖, do not contain a lengthy exposition of preceding and subsequent events. However, in accordance with the conception of sudden awakening as the culmination of prior teachings intended to spark a

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<sup>312</sup> Schlütter 2008, 3.

<sup>313</sup> Schlütter 2008, 104–5.

<sup>314</sup> The appointment of abbots to public monasteries (literally 'ten directions' monasteries: *shifang* 十方), were made by members of the imperial bureaucracy, often the local prefect. This was distinguished from the appointment of abbots in private monasteries (*jiayi* 甲乙) which were almost invariably drawn from monks resident in these private monasteries. These private monastery lineages were defined by master-disciple relationships based on ordination, known as tonsure families: Halperin 2006, 9–10; Schlütter 2008, 36.

subsequent transformation, the narrative context of a painting's visual moment of awakening was central to its function as an instrument of exegesis. The figures achieving enlightenment almost invariably appear in isolation, their transformative spiritual experience frequently generated by a non-verbal shock to the body, eye, or ear. While the images do not themselves elaborate the sequence of events leading up to the awakening, accompanying texts and associated hagiographic narratives elaborate the prior teachings given to the pictorial protagonists. These inscribed and associated narratives contextualise the paintings' visual moments of awakening, stressing the cumulative stages of spiritual cultivation that the monk, or patriarch, had gone through prior to achieving realisation. Examination of the hagiographic backdrops against which these dramatic scenes of awakening were set reveals that the eventual fruition of sudden awakening was dependent upon the prior input of teachers from within the Chan lineage. Paintings and *encomia* depicting and commenting upon narratives of awakenings simulated more than the presence of Chan's enlightened lineage. They demonstrated the efficacy of the teachings the members of those lineages espoused. The visual and verbal mechanisms by which these circumstances of awakening were represented and commented upon will be discussed below through case studies of paintings depicting the awakening of three Chan exemplars: Xiangyan Zhixian 香巖智閑 (799-898/9) (fig. 4.2), Yushanzhu 郁山主 (act. 11<sup>th</sup> century), whose moniker identifies him simply as 'Master of the Beautiful Mountains' (fig. 4.3), and Dongshan Liangjie (fig. 4.1).

#### *Xiangyan Zhixian: Awakening Through Sound*

Hagiographic accounts of the life of the ninth century Chan monk Xiangyan Zhixian describe his sudden awakening occurring in the midst of menial labour, reflecting Chan's propensity to observe the transcendent in the mundane.<sup>315</sup> Zhixian becomes awakened on hearing the resonant sound of a pebble striking a stalk of bamboo, thrown up by his broom while sweeping the tomb of the National Preceptor (*guoshi* 國師) Chan master Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (675-775). When represented in painting, Zhixian's awakening appears to be an immediate transformation, prompted

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<sup>315</sup> SGSZ, j. 13, in T. 2061.50: 785, a25-b16; JDCDL j. 11, in T. 2076.51: 283, c27-284, c5; WDHY j.9, X1565.80: 190, c24-191, c2

by a non-verbal stimulus, and experienced in isolation (fig. 4.2). However, Zhixian's momentary transformation is framed within a narrative context that stresses the agency of his teacher, Guishan Lingyou 滄山靈祐 (771-853), in engendering Zhixian's transformative awakening.

At the beginnings of Zhixian's various hagiographies, Lingyou questions the merits of Zhixian's scholarly learning on Buddhist doctrine. First acknowledging his pupil's reputation for expansive erudition, Lingyou challenges Zhixian to demonstrate his understanding by articulating an experience prior to his possession of a discriminating awareness. In the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元) version of the exchange, Lingyou challenges Zhixian: "Try to utter a phrase [for me to] examine, from before your mother and father's birth 父母未生時, 試道一句看".

<sup>316</sup> This deliberately unanswerable question asks Zhixian to look beyond his own life, and by extension his own selfhood, for spiritual insight. In responding to Lingyou's question, Zhixian is expected to reflect on the illusory nature of his subjective sense of self, and give a suitable response that demonstrates his realisation of the non-duality of existence. In spite of all his textual learning, or perhaps because of it, Zhixian is stumped. He asks Lingyou to explain the answer to him, literally "to break open the phrase" (*shuopo* 說破). However, Lingyou refuses, insisting that insight must come from Zhixian's own experience: "If I explain this to you, you will be angry with me for it later. What I say is mine, and ultimately can't do anything for you 我若說似汝, 汝已後罵我去. 我說底是我底, 終不干汝事".<sup>317</sup>

Unable to find a fitting response to Lingyou's challenge, Zhixian burns his own writings in a fit of frustration that his scholarly learning has not lead to spiritual awakening. He abandons the soteriological study of the Buddhist scriptures at which he excelled, and retreats into a reclusive life tending to the tomb of the great master

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<sup>316</sup> WDHY j.9, X1565.80: 191 a3-4. In the *Jingde Era Record* Weishan asks: "Try to utter a phrase at the root of matters, from a time before you distinguished between things, before you had left the womb." 汝未出胞胎, 未辨東西時, 本分事試道一句來: T. JDCDL j. 11, in T. 2076.51: 284, a1-a2. The Song Biographies of Eminent Monks narrative simply states that: "One day he was unable to answer a question from Weishan" 滄山一日召對茫然: SGSZ j. 13, in: T.2061.51: 785, b1.

<sup>317</sup> WDHY j.9, in X.1565.80: 191, a7a-8

Nanyang Huizhong. It is only in his newfound routine of simple labour that Zhixian achieves enlightenment, jolted into a moment of sudden awakening by the resonant thwack of a stone on bamboo. The drama of this transformative moment was ideally suited to representation in painting.<sup>318</sup>

While scenes of Zhixian's awakening were popular in later Japanese Zen painting (fig. 4.4), in the course of my research I have only encountered a single depiction of Zhixian from a Chinese hand. This is found in the fourth scene of *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖, a work attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (active late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century), currently in the collection Shanghai Museum (fig. 4.2). Though signed by Liang Kai, as I argue elsewhere in this thesis, the stylistic and technical properties of this painting indicate it was not by Liang's own hand, but an imitation of his style with a probable late thirteenth or fourteenth century date.<sup>319</sup> Moreover, the prose inscription accompanying the Zhixian scene is a verbatim reproduction of the text of Zhixian's biography from the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*, dated to 1252.<sup>320</sup> Liang's biography in Xia Wenyan's 夏文彥 1365 *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*Tuhui Baojian* 圖繪寶鑑) states that he left the painting academy no later than 1204, during the Jiatai 嘉泰 reign period of Song emperor Ningzong 宋寧宗 (1201-4).<sup>321</sup>

Among extant versions of Zhixian's hagiography in compendia of Chan exemplars, the 1183 *Vital Collation of the Continuation of the Lamp* [*Liandeng Huiyao* 聯燈會

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<sup>318</sup> At the end of his polemical exchange with Hu Shih over the historicity of Chan, D.T. Suzuki provides a translation of excerpts from Zhixian's hagiography in the *Jingde Era Record*, intended to illustrate Zen's purportedly a-historic ideal of individualism. Suzuki's interpretation of Zhixian's hagiography supports the central argument of his essay that Chan is a-historical, expressing timeless, unchanging ideals. The following discussion takes a different approach, examining the historically specific function of Zhixian's hagiography and its visual representation in demonstrating the efficacy of Chan teachings to audiences in Song and Yuan China: Suzuki 1953, 44-5.

<sup>319</sup> Examples of the technical disparities between *Eight Eminent Monks* and *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* are discussed in depth in chapter six, page 235-6, (figs. 2.1, 3.11), within a broader examination of the importance of *Eight Eminent Monks* for understanding the agency of copyists in shaping Liang Kai's posthumous reception and idealisation.

<sup>320</sup> The dating of Puji's compilation of the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* to the Renzi 壬子 year of the Chunyou 淳祐 period, (1252), and its publication in the first year of the Baoyou 寶祐 period (1253), during the reign of Song Lizong 宋理宗, is discussed in: Feng 2004, 94.

<sup>321</sup> Liang's biographies are discussed in chapter six, pages 220-4.

要] is closest to Liang's dates of operation. However, the *Liandeng Huiyao* contains subtle but significant differences in detail from the text inscribed on *Eight Eminent Monks* shared with the *Collated Essentials* account. For example, in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* account Zhixian bathes and burns incense after his awakening, while there is no mention of incense in in the *Liandeng Huiyao*.<sup>322</sup> There is a theoretical possibility that the text on *Eight Eminent Monks* could derive from an intermediary, now lost, compendium, between the *Liandeng Huiyao* and the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*. However, the direct reproduction of a text identical to the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*' mid-thirteenth century hagiography of Zhixian strongly supports the view that *Eight Eminent Monks* post-dates Liang's career.

Nonetheless, the importance of this painting to thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan visual culture is not dependent on an attribution to Liang Kai. Accepting *Eight Eminent Monks* as a work by a later follower of Liang Kai, I approach the painting and the accompanying inscription as a rare visual and verbal commentary on a Chan narrative of sudden awakening, and quite possibly the earliest extant painted depiction of Xiangyan Zhixian.

*Eight Eminent Monks* potently evokes Zhixian's experience of sudden awakening through visual media's unique capacity to convey momentary experience. In the painted scene Zhixian has just pushed the broom out to the end of a sweep, his left arm extended and his right hand holding the end of the shaft. Two bamboo leaves fall to the ground beneath his right hand, revealing the whole scene to be a single point frozen in time. The bristles of the broom are raised up slightly, about to be drawn back for another sweep. This is the exact instant Zhixian hears the pebble strike. The thick, hollow stems of the bamboo thicket that fill the right-hand side of the painting reverberate with the sound of the stone's impact, while the waterfall to the left of the painting draws the viewer's attention to the painting's recurrent allusions to aurality.<sup>323</sup> Zhixian's head turns away from his task toward the sound of the stone, his

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<sup>322</sup> LDHY, j.8 in: X.1557.79: 76, c16-19.

<sup>323</sup> As discussed by Susan E Nelson, the painter's evocation of sound in the Zhixian scene of *Eight Eminent Monks* reflects the complex use of synesthetic tropes in thirteenth century

mouth slightly open in surprise. Though his head faces the thicket, his eyes are orientated upward, following the line of the path that extends beyond the upper right of the painting to indicate an awareness that extends out with the boundaries of the viewer's perception.

While *Eight Eminent Monks* suspends Zhixian in a transformative moment of spiritual realisation, the circumstances of this sudden awakening are conspicuously mundane. Immersed in a task attendant to his role as caretaker of Huizhong's tomb, Zhixian is dressed in a simple tunic, with his robe tied back. His sleeves are rolled up and his feet are bare as he goes about his work. The stubbly growth of his beard and the straggly hair on the side of his head signify his reclusion and withdrawal from collective monastic life. Living alone, Zhixian is only loosely adhering to the monastic expectations of deportment.

The *Eight Eminent Monks'* depiction of Zhixian has clear parallels with the iconography of the reclusive sage Shide 拾得 (8<sup>th</sup> century), janitor of the Guoqing monastery 國清寺 on mount Tiantai 天台山, and inseparable companion of the poet Hanshan 寒山 (8<sup>th</sup> century). Both Hanshan and Shide were recognised in Chan hagiography as scattered sages (*sansheng* 散聖), believed to be manifestations of the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī (*wenshu pusa* 文殊菩薩) and Samantabhadra (*puxian pusa* 普賢菩薩) hidden in humble guises.<sup>324</sup> Comparing the *Eight Eminent Monks* Zhixian scene with a painting of Shide attributed the Yuan artist Yan Hui 顏輝 (active late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> century), we see that Zhixian and Shide have similarly tousled hair, and that both are dressed in simple garments suitable to their work as caretakers (fig. 4.5).<sup>325</sup> They also share a broom as their key attribute, referencing their lowly employment. Shiqiao Kexuan's 石橋可宣 (d. 1271) *encomium* on a thirteenth century painting of Hanshan and Shide attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟 (ca. 1180- after 1256), emphatically repeats: "Sweep the broom, sweep! Sweep the broom over and over," in

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Chinese painting, expanding the viewer's experience of painting beyond the visual into the aural: Nelson 1998b, 37.

<sup>324</sup> The hagiographies of Hanshan and Shide, their association with Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, and scholarly debates over the putative dates for their lives are discussed in: Paul 2009, 44-48.

<sup>325</sup> This painting is discussed in: Little 2014, 93.

its lyrical evocation of Han Shan and Shide's life of reclusion (fig. 4.6).<sup>326</sup> The overlap in the depiction of Zhixian and Shide illustrates Chan figure paintings' recurrent depiction of awakened persons concealed in menial roles.

Only the long fingernails on Zhixian's right hand are incongruous with his life of manual labour. These would have cracked and split as he went about his work. Instead they subtly signify Zhixian's previous erudition as a scholar of Buddhist text, and his newfound sagely status after his sudden awakening. Elongated fingernails were a common iconographic marker for depictions of Chinese scholars in this period. They also featured in the depiction of historic sages, seen in the long arc of Laozi's thumbnail in a portrait by Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century) in the collection of the Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art (fig. 4.7). *Eight Eminent Monks*' representation of Zhixian's garb, posture, actions, attributes and surroundings encapsulates the exact moment of his transformative awakening, supported through layered pictorial references to the visual culture of Song and Yuan Chan. The painting's holistic conception of momentary experience offers a level of detail not possible in the adjacent text, which instead elaborates the visual moment's narrative context.

As noted above, the calligraphy accompanying the Zhixian scene on *Eight Eminent Monks* is a verbatim quotation of an excerpt from Zhixian's biography in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*. First identifying Zhixian as the painting's subject, the inscription reproduces three key incidents from Zhixian's hagiography: his sudden awakening on hearing the stone strike the bamboo, its subsequent ratification by his master Guishan Lingyou, and the first verse Zhixian composes to demonstrate his awakening. More than simply clarifying the content of the pictorial action, the inscribed verse emphasises the importance of these three events by virtue of their selection from Zhixian's lengthy hagiography. The inscription reads as follows:

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<sup>326</sup> The *encomium* is transcribed and translated in the notes to the list of figures for this chapter. Itakura Masa'aki 板倉聖哲 discusses the painting's transmission in Japan, and its probable shared authorship with another work depicting Fenggan 豐干 (8<sup>th</sup> century), traditionally attributed to Liang Kai in: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 165. For a translation of the encomium upon this painting see notes to fig. 2.15.

One day, Master Zhixian of Fragrant Cliff [Xiangyan] monastery in Dengzhou was clearing out a thicket. Unwittingly throwing up a pebble that made a sound upon striking the bamboo, he suddenly became awakened. He hurriedly went home to bathe and burn incense. He travelled to pay his obeisance to Guishan, who eulogised this, saying: “The great compassion, of the monk, has gone beyond mother and father. If I had explained this to you back then, how could this have happened now!”

There followed a *gāthā* by Zhixian, which goes:

Forgetting all that is known in a single blow,  
No longer grasping at false practices,  
And so on...

鄧州香巖智閑禪師，一日芟除草木。偶拋瓦礫，擊竹作聲，忽然省悟。遽歸沐浴焚香。遙禮瀉山贊云：「和上『尚』大慈恩逾父母，當時若為我說破，何有今日之事」。迺有頌曰：「一聲忘所知，更不假脩持，云云」。

The full verse, as reproduced in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* reads:

Forgetting all that is known in a single blow, no longer grasping at false practices.  
Casting off the old path in a fit of emotion, so as not to fall into the pattern of quietude.  
Not a trace left anywhere, splendour beyond sound and form.  
Of all methods for attaining the way, this instant surpasses all words.<sup>327</sup>

一擊忘所知，更不假修持。  
動容揚古路，不墮悄然機。

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<sup>327</sup> WDHY j.9, in: X.1565.80: 191a13-14. In the *Jingde Era Record* version of the verse the second line reads: “No longer following false methods of cultivation 更不假修治”, JDCDL j.11, in T.2076.51: 284a14.

處處無踪迹，聲色外威儀。  
諸方達道者，咸言上上機。

In the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* hagiography, following the composition of this verse, Zhixian is subjected to a series of rhetorical challenges that verify his awakening. While the painting focuses exclusively on Zhixian's moment of awakening, the inscription places greater emphasis on its subsequent verification by Zhixian's master Guishan Lingyou. The inscription's reproduction of Lingyou's eulogy on his reunion with Zhixian explicitly connects the private moment of sudden awakening with the earlier teaching. Omitting the lengthy dialogues and exchanges of verse that verified the authenticity of Zhixian's awakening, the inscription ends after it establishes the causality between Lingyou's earlier refusal to answer his own question, and Zhixian's eventual realisation in mundane labour.

The relationship between the painting and accompanying inscription in *Eight Eminent Monks* dichotomises Zhixian's awakening into non-verbal and verbal dimensions. Firstly, the viewer of the painted scene witnesses the transformative moment of Zhixian's solitary awakening without the mediation of language. Then, as they progress along the scroll, the inscription legitimises his awakened state by situating it within the paradigm of a master disciple relationship. The act and the fact of Zhixian's awakening are presented in discrete visual and verbal enclosures, expressing conflicting aspects of the role of time in his awakening.

Though Zhixian's moment of awakening as seen in the painting is an instantaneous experience, the inscribed narrative accounts for Zhixian's potential to achieve this awakening through a delayed response to the stimulus of Lingyou's teaching. The sound of the pebble striking the bamboo was the immediate stimulus, but without Lingyou's prior rhetorical challenge the liminal moment would have passed without incident. Thus, Zhixian's awakening, though sudden and isolated in the instant of its fruition, was predicated upon lengthy preparations and guidance under the supervision of an established figure within the Chan hierarchy. The narrative shows that such dramatic moments of transformation are only possible through the mediation of an authority from the Chan lineage. Though the inscription is a derivative expression

from an exterior source, the painting is a unique work with independent agency that creates an original version of the Zhixian narrative. However, text and image share a common purpose in demonstrating the efficacy of Chan practice to the scroll's viewer.

The relationship between text and image in *Eight Eminent Monks' Zhixian* scene can be better understood through comparison with contemporaneous literary compositions that reference Zhixian's awakening. While poets and painters had long used references to bamboo to signify the flexibility and tenacity required of a scholar official, Zhixian's awakening imbued it with an alternative symbolic potential for Chan commentators.<sup>328</sup> In a *gātha* verse entitled *Growing Bamboo*, Southern Song abbot Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263) uses the titular image of the plant to allude to the sonic stimulus for Zhixian's sudden awakening. The *gātha* reads:

*Growing Bamboo*

[When] Xiangyan tended the tomb at Nanyang,  
[He learned that] true knowledge is that which is known and forgotten before  
it is forgotten,  
A fierce tiger ought not to feast on rotten meat,  
Learning from the wind and rain's subtle discussion.<sup>329</sup>

種竹

香巖活葬在南陽，知是所知忘未忘，  
猛虎不應餐伏肉，聽教風雨細商量。

Guangwen's verse operates through allusion and appropriation, rather than the explicit narrative exegesis of sequential events in the inscription on *Eight Eminent Monks*. In Guangwen's *gātha* the moment of awakening is omitted in favour of a commentary on its significance, addressing an audience who are presumed to be

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<sup>328</sup> For a discussion of the parallels drawn by Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) between bamboo's tenacious resistance to autumn frost and his friends and fellow scholar officials endurance of hardship in the factionalism of court life, see: Bush 2012, 35.

<sup>329</sup> YXGWCSYL, j.2, in: X.1368.69: 2748, a2.

familiar with Zhixian's hagiography. First identifying Xiangyan Zhixian as the subject in the opening line, the second line references the verse Zhixian composed for his teacher Lingyou. Guangwen aims to illustrate his own erudition and insight by adding greater complexity to Zhixian's characterisation of awakening as "forgetting that which is known". Zhixian describes his realisation in terms of a singular action of forgetting, which Guangwen expands on by describing the moment this illusory knowledge falls away in a temporal paradox: "that which is known and forgotten before it is forgotten". Forgetting knowledge before it is forgotten references Lingyou's injunction for Zhixian to look beyond his subjective self, and to articulate something prior to a discriminating awareness. The third line clarifies what kind of knowledge is forgotten, using the fierce tiger as a metaphor for the Chan practitioner. Zhixian's abandonment of book learning, as an ineffective method of cultivation, is equated to a tiger's avoidance of rotten meat. The untamed beast eats fresh flesh not rotten carrion, and likewise the untrammelled practitioner should not settle for an inferior form of spiritual sustenance. The reference to the image of the tiger is particularly apt for Guangwen, whose inscription on a painting of the monk Fenggan 豐干 (8<sup>th</sup> century) and his tiger by Song painter Li Que 李確 (active 13<sup>th</sup> century) equates the master to his untamed familiar (fig. 5.6). Guangwen's final line alludes to the sonic stimulus of Zhixian's enlightenment in an injunction to listen to teachings in the wind and rain, abandoning book learning and finding awakening in a non-verbal sensory stimulus.

As the title clarifies, the poem is intended to describe an organic process of growth and cultivation, where by including allusions to the hagiography of Xiangyan Zhixian the image of bamboo becomes synonymous with the narrative of Zhixian's enlightenment. While Guangwen's poetic exploration of the Zhixian theme shows a more developed authorial agency than the text of *Eight Eminent Monks*, it lacks the visual immediacy of painting. Thus, while verse provided an ideal medium for elaborate commentary and allusion, the axial moment of enlightenment remains uniquely suited to the immediacy of pictorial expression.

*Yushanzhu: Awakening Through a Blow to the Body*

In extant hagiographic accounts of his life, the Northern Song cleric Yushanzhu (11<sup>th</sup> century) experiences sudden awakening when thrown from the back of a donkey, travelling alone through the mountains across a rickety bridge.<sup>330</sup> The only extant Song-Yuan period depiction of Yushanzhu that I have found in the course of my research is a cursive image in ink on paper. This painting is attributed to the thirteenth century Chan prelate Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249), who has inscribed the upper register with an *encomium* commenting on Yushanzhu's awakening. Formerly in the collection of the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94), the painting is preserved today in the Tokugawa Art Museum 徳川美術館 (fig. 4.3). This work is currently part of a triptych, in which all three paintings are attributed to and inscribed by Wuzhun Shifan. In their current arrangement the image of Yushanzhu and a painting of Zheng Huangniu 政黃牛 (fig. 4.8) flank a central scroll of *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* (fig. 2.18).<sup>331</sup> While the authenticity of Shifan's *encomium* is unproblematic, corroborated by both seals and textual records in Shifan's discourse records, the attribution of the paintings to the cleric is probable rather than definitive.<sup>332</sup>

This scroll depicts Yushanzhu as a solitary monk riding upon the back of a donkey, capturing the moment prior to his eventful tumble. As with Xiangyan Zhixian, Yushanzhu's awakening occurs in isolation, and in the midst of an everyday activity. Yushanzhu and Zhixian's respective hagiographies share a common approach to the representation of awakening, both using narrative tropes of a bodily stimulus and banal circumstances. Unlike the shared approaches in their textual prototypes, extant paintings of Yushanzhu and Zhixian use markedly distinct techniques, styles and

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<sup>330</sup> WDHY j.6, in: X.1565.80:137, c5-c11; XZDL, j. 13 in: T.2077.51: 548, c7-24.

<sup>331</sup> The painting of Bodhidharma is discussed at length in chapter two, pages 84-90. All three paintings are impressed with the *dōyū* 道有 personal seal of the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu, and are recorded in the Shogun's painting catalogue *Gyomotsu Gyo-E Mokuroku* 御物御画目録 (*Catalogue of the Shogunal Paintings from the Gyomotsu*). This gives the three paintings' current arrangement as a triptych a *terminus ante quem* of the late fifteenth century: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsu Kan 2014, 166.

<sup>332</sup> The *encomia* to the painting of Bodhidharma and Yushanzhu are respectively recorded in: WZSFCSYL j.5, in: X.1382.70: 270, a13-14 & 270, b18.

compositions to capture these monks' experiences of enlightenment. As discussed above, the *Eight Eminent Monks* depiction of Zhixian elaborates the setting of his awakening in sumptuous detail, rendered in ink and colours on silk. The accompanying unsigned prose inscription offers no original commentary. Instead, the anonymous calligrapher quotes directly from an earlier text, elaborating a narrative context for the visual moment. By contrast, the Shifan scroll's painted scene of Yushanzu is executed in ink on paper. The isolated monk and his humble steed are brushed in a minimal number of strokes, crossing the implied groundplane of the blank pictorial surface. The paucity of the composition leaves the subject's identity ambiguous, only recognisable as Yushanzhu through Shifan's *encomium*. In the Shifan scroll, painting and calligraphy present exegesis on the nature of Yushanzhu's awakening through allusion to the associated narrative, rather than providing a detailed exposition of sequential hagiographic events as in *Eight Eminent Monks*.

There are several *encomia* for paintings of Yushanzhu recorded in the discourse records of Southern Song and Yuan clerics, illustrating his popularity as a pictorial subject in Chan circles.<sup>333</sup> However, hagiographic accounts of Yushanzhu's life contemporaneous with the Shifan scroll do not affiliate him with any formal lineage. In the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* Yushanzhu's is recorded as an 'unspecified *dharma* heir' (*weixiang fasi* 未詳法嗣).<sup>334</sup> The narrative reads as follows:

*Yushanzhu of Chaling* [in modern Hunan province]

Never before having been an itinerant [monk], [Yushanzhu] went to Lushan as a preacher was to be found there. The teaching was upon matters within to the [Chan] school, instructing [the congregation] to examine the [incident of] a

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<sup>333</sup> In addition to the extant inscription by Wuzhun Shifan, *encomia* for paintings of Yushanzhu are recorded in the discourse records of Yanxi Guangwen, Qiaoyin Wuyi 樵隱悟逸 (d. 1334-5) and Yuejiang Zhengyin 月江正印 (active 14th century): YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 750, b2.; QYWYCSYL j.2: X.1385.70: 306, b20; YJZYCSYL j.3, in: X.1409.71: 143, b11.

<sup>334</sup> Though Wuzhun died three years prior to the compilation of the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*, as the compendium was collated rather than authored, it is likely that this narrative was in circulation in an alternative version during the later stage of Wuzhun's career, when he most likely inscribed this image.

monk asking Fadeng: "How can one progress beyond the utmost cultivation?" and Fadeng's response of: "Oops!" Three years later, Yushanzhu was riding upon a donkey and came to cross a bridge. As soon as [the beast] stepped upon the planks, Yushanzhu fell, suddenly experiencing a great awakening. There followed a *gāthā* verse, which goes:

I have a single divine pearl,  
For a long time it was blanked in dust, as I was locked in my labours,  
This morning the dust has gone, and its radiance emerges,  
Its glow illuminates the myriad flowers of the mountains and the  
rivers.

On account of this he ceased to travel. The master [Yushanzhu] thereafter gave the tonsure to the monk Baiyun [Shou] Duan (白雲守端, 1025-72/3).

Yun composed a eulogy, which goes:

Progressing beyond the end of a hundred foot pole,<sup>335</sup>  
One step on the bridge over the brook, drowned in the mountain river,  
After this never leaving Chachuan,  
Singing and whistling, possessing no falsehoods, tum-te-tum.<sup>336</sup>

茶陵郁山主

不曾行脚，因廬山有化士至。論及宗門中事，教令看僧問法燈：『百尺竿頭，如何進步？』燈云：『噫！』凡三年，一日乘驢度橋。一踏橋板而墮，忽然大悟。遂有頌云：

我有神珠一顆，久被塵勞關鎖，

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<sup>335</sup> The topic of this phrase alludes to case 46 in the *Wumenguan*, where Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260) is asked: "How can one advance beyond the end of a hundred foot pole?". Baiyun's verse on Yushanzhu's awakening connects Yushanzhu's transformative fall to this allegory for the precarious nature of spiritual progress. WMG, j.1 in: T.2005.48: 298, c12.

<sup>336</sup> WDHY j.6, in: X.1565.80:137, c5-c11.

今朝塵盡光生，照破山河萬朵。

因茲更不遊方。師乃白雲端和尚得度師。雲有贊曰：

百尺竿頭曾進步，溪橋一踏沒山河，  
從茲不出茶川上，吟嘯無非囉哩囉。

Yushanzhu's moment of awakening is incontrovertibly sudden. Thrown from his donkey, he experiences ineffable reality through unexpected contact with its more tangible counterpart. The verse he composes to articulate his enlightenment equates his experience to a splendid pearl, illuminating the surrounding mountains. Sight is the primary metaphor for his expanded awareness, helping the reader conceive of Yushanzhu's non-verbal experience through the analogy of expanded visual perception.

In the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* version of his hagiography, Yushanzhu's awakening is adrift from the Chan tradition. Not fixed to any lineage, this transformative event sits uncomfortably outside the paradigm of patriarchal pedagogy. Nonetheless, the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* includes elements of an appropriate master disciple relationship. Yushanzhu's enlightenment is implicitly connected to the anonymous master whose teachings he hears at the beginning of the narrative. The awakening is later ratified in the verse by Baiyun, explicitly referencing the anonymous master's earlier teaching to establish a causal relationship between this prior instruction and Yushanzhu's subsequent awakening. However, Baiyun receives the tonsure from Yushanzhu, putting him in the position of student rather than teacher. Baiyun's verse associates Yushanzhu with an historically recognised lineage of Chan patriarchs, but as a student his verifying verse lacks the conventional pedagogical authority seen in other Chan narratives of awakening. The overall narrative arc of Yushanzhu's hagiography in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* lacks symmetry, with an anonymous master giving the initial teaching and a student providing the verse that subsequently verifies Yushanzhu's awakening. Thus, this early version of Yushanzhu's narrative of awakening is only partially effective in demonstrating the efficacy of Chan teachings.

Later versions of Yushanzhu's hagiography rectify this uncomfortable asymmetry. The 1401 *Supplementary Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Xuchuangdeng Lu* 續傳燈錄), hereafter *Supplementary Record*, describes the same circumstances of his enlightening fall, but identifies Yushanzhu as one of Yangqi Fanghui's 楊岐方會 (992-1049) *dharma* heirs (*fasi* 法嗣).<sup>337</sup> This puts Yushanzhu in the same lineage as Baiyun, a senior disciple of the same generation.<sup>338</sup> Yangqi is also named as the source of the instruction that stimulated Yushanzhu's later enlightenment, instead of the anonymous master of the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*. The embellishments of this later hagiography neatly conform to Chan's ideal of lineage transmission. The connection between Yangqi's teaching and Yushanzhu's awakening is stressed in an expanded description of his fall. When tumbling from his donkey, Yushanzhu calls out "Oops!" (*e* 噫). This is the same non-verbal exclamation uttered by Fadeng, upon which Yangqi's earlier teaching had focused. The *Supplementary Record's* account of the moment of awakening reads as follows:

One day he [Yushanzhu] was out on an errand, riding a lame donkey across a bridge over a creek. The donkey caught its hoof in a hole in the bridge, and the master unconsciously called out "Oops!" as he fell from the donkey, whereupon he suddenly became awakened.<sup>339</sup>

偶一日赴外請，騎蹇驢過溪橋。驢踏橋穿陷足，師墜驢不覺口中曰噫，忽然契悟。

Yushanzhu's unconscious utterance is the same cry Fadeng gave in an answer to his student's question on how one can progress beyond the utmost cultivation. The

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<sup>337</sup> XZDL j. 13, in: T.2077.51: 548, c7-24

<sup>338</sup> In the opening passage of Baiyun's discourse record, recounting his time at Chengtian Chan monastery 承天禪院 in Jiangzhou 江洲, he offers incense to Yangqi as his former teacher from whom he received initiation into a formal lineage. Later in Baiyun's discourse record an extended version of his verse on Yushanzhu's awakening appears in the list of *gāthā* verses, under the title: "True Eulogy on ordination from the monk Chaling Donglin of Hengzhou" 衡州茶陵東林受業和尚真讚: BYSDCSGL j.1, in: X.1352.69: 304, a17; and j.3 in: X.1352.69: 318, b11.

<sup>339</sup> XZDL, j. 13 in: T.2077.51: 548, c12-14.

replication of Fadeng's verbatim in the *Supplementary Record* frames Yushanzhu's awakening as a delayed response to Yangqi's earlier teaching. Moreover, after his fateful tumble, Yushanzhu travels to visit Yangqi to ratify his awakening, only later meeting with Baiyun whose verse is presented in an extended version and described as an *encomium* for a portrait of Yushanzhu.

The *Supplementary Record's* version of Yushanzhu's hagiography embeds his awakening within the pedagogical practices of an identifiable Linji lineage. This underscores the implicit causality between the content of Yangqi's earlier teaching and the protagonist's eventual awakening. The *Supplementary Record's* alteration to the earlier version of the narrative stresses continuity, as the same master that offered the initial teaching verifies Yushanzhu's subsequent awakening. Yushanzhu's hagiography in the *Supplementary Record* mirrors the structure of Zhixian's hagiography discussed above. Both present paradigmatic examples of sudden awakening undergone in isolation. They predicate this awakening upon the transmission of teachings from master to disciple, and require a subsequent verification of that experience by the same pedagogical authority who offered the initial teaching. However, the painting of Yushanzhu inscribed by Wuzhun Shifan pre-dates the *Supplementary Record* version of events. The closest hagiographic narrative prototype for this painting is found in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*. In the absence of a clear pedagogical context for Yushanzhu's awakening, Shifan's *encomium* appropriates the position of Yushanzhu's master in ratifying the pictorial protagonist's experience of awakening. The painting visually simulates the presence of the soon-to-be enlightened figure, while Shifan's verse mediates the viewer's understanding of the meaning of the figure's actions in lyrical commentary. In the Shifan scroll, it is the combination of image and text in the scroll that enables Yushanzhu's narrative of awakening to function as a demonstration of Chan's pedagogical efficacy, rather than an assumed familiarity with a hagiographic prototype.

The painting attributed to Shifan offers no reference to the Yushanzhu narrative beyond the presentation of a solitary monk upon the back of a donkey. The brushwork is abbreviated, and the composition minimal. Stark, rapid strokes outline the collar of the monk's robe upon his hunched shoulders. A few thick outlines define the hem of

his sleeve, and the curve of his posterior. The strokes thin as the folds of his garment fall down the donkey's flank, ending in defined points. The confident strokes of Yushanzhu's robe contrast sharply with the rendering of his head. His face turns away from the viewer, with his hair and beard described in washes of an illusory faintness. His remarkably detailed ear is drawn in exquisitely fine lines. Though the artist's brushwork clearly describes the outline of the profile of Yushanzhu's nose jaw, and brow, the dilute ink in which they are drawn sits on the very border of visual legibility. The representation of Yushanzhu's body resembles the apparition style of painting (*wangliang hua* 魑魅畫), except for a single detail. The eyes, which would conventionally be marked as sharp saturated dots of dense, black ink, are instead lost within the barely perceptible details of Yushanzhu's face.<sup>340</sup> He is an introverted figure, holding the reins of his mount loosely in his left hand, and paying no attention to the road ahead. He has quite literally set himself up for a fall.

Though the monk is introverted and withdrawn, his humble mount is poised and alert. The sharp thin lines of the donkey's ears are attentively pricked, its nostrils flare in a dark curve, and the dense black dots of its eyes look down at the path ahead. Its hooves are poised, suspended in a hesitant moment on its careful path. Its haunches are clearly outlined in controlled curves of saturated ink, and its bristling mane is depicted with the marks left by the discrete hairs of a dry brush. The rapidly curving line of its tail swishes for both balance and to fend off any biting insects. This is not the lame animal of the *Supplementary Record*, whose hoof slips into a hole in the bridge. The donkey in the painting is a sprightly, careful creature, an animal immersed in its environment. In the version of events evoked by the painting, Yushanzhu's impending tumble is caused by the rider's carelessness and not the shortcomings of his steed.

An *encomium* by the early fourteenth century abbot Qiaoyin Wuyi for a painting of Yushanzhu indicates an alternative view of the animal. Wuyi describes both the

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<sup>340</sup> The qualities of this painting style, as exemplified by the painting of *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* from the triptych in which the Yushanzhu painting is now incorporated (fig. 2.18), are discussed at greater length in chapter two. This discussion is supported by reference to Yukio Lippit's analysis of the apparition style, and the relevance of this illusory mode of representation to Southern Song painters' approaches to perception. Lippit 2009, 61.

donkey's lameness and Yushanzhu's distraction as the combined causes of his fall.

Wuyi's *encomium* reads as follows:

Turning back to look at the clear sky,  
Muddled, and not paying attention to your tread.  
You took a tumble, and saw stars,  
In the mountains and rivers' radiant nocturnal glow,  
As horns grew from your lame donkey's head.<sup>341</sup>

回首看青天，渾不顧腳下。  
跌倒眼眩花，山河光照夜。  
蹇驢頭上角生也。

While Wuyi's lame donkey provides a clear cause for Yushanzhu's fall, the painting attributed to Shifan focuses on Yushanzhu's lack of attentiveness, creating a more compelling context for the elaboration of a religious teaching. Yushanzhu's distraction stands for the limitations of his understanding prior to awakening, drawn out through a contrast with the alert donkey. However, the painted scene sets up a cause for the fall that stimulates Yushanzhu's awakening, rather than capturing the transformative instant itself. This constitutes an original commentary on the actions of man and beast, but is not an independent visual narrative. Drawing on the implicit narrative context provided by the viewer's cultural memory, Shifan's *encomium* addresses the significance of Yushanzhu's impending enlightenment. Shifan's verse reads as follows:

Obtaining the pearl of a clam,  
Boasting of its incalculable value,  
You and I do not find him strange,  
He is the Master of the Mountain Villages.

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<sup>341</sup> The final line of this verse alludes to the image of "hair growing on a tortoise, and horns growing on a rabbit 兔角龜毛", used in numerous Buddhist text to describe something possible to state, but impossible to occur. Yushanzhu's experience is the inverse of this, a rare moment of truth that is unable to be accurately represented in language. Qiaoyin's verse comes from QYWYCSYL j.2: X.1385.70: 306, b20.

Eulogised by Wuzhun Shifan.<sup>342</sup>

收得蚌蛤珠，誇張無價數，  
我儂不怪它，它是村山主。  
無準師範贊。

Shifan's opening line identifies Yushanzhu as the subject of both painting and verse, referencing Yushanzhu's image of the removal of dust from a pearl as a signifier of his awakening.<sup>343</sup> However, Shifan's next line irreverently dismisses Yushanzhu's rhetorical claims of the pearl's infinite value as boastful hyperbole. Instead, Shifan focuses on the humble context for Yushanzhu's experience of awakening. In his third line he seems to address the donkey, saying that neither you find him strange. The final line identifies the subject as the reclusive "Master of the Mountain Villages". In using this name, Shifan adapts Yushanzhu's moniker, which literally means "Master of the Beautiful Mountain", to Cunshanzhu 村山主, which translates to "Master of the Mountain Villages". Recasting Yushanzhu as a rural recluse, Shifan adapts the monk's character to accord with the humble introversion of the painted image. First dismissing Yushanzhu's metaphor of the pearl, Shifan's *encomium* offers an alternative interpretation of Yushanzhu's awakening that stresses the unassuming and remote circumstances of his experience of enlightenment.

While Shifan's *encomium* eschews narrative exegesis for an original reading of Yushanzhu's awakening, recasting him as a mountain hermit, an *encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen for a painting of Yushanzhu provides a clearer exposition of the subject's

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<sup>342</sup> A version of this *encomium* appears in Wuzhun Shifan's discourse record, with a minor discrepancy in the final character of the third line and its repetition in the first character of the final line. In the discourse record it is written *ta* '佗', while in the inscription preserved on the painting there is no *ren* radical, reading *ta* '它'. In both cases the character serves as a pronoun. Here I have reproduced the text as it appears on the painting, following the transcription given by Itakura Maasaki. For Itakura's transcription, see: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 162. For the verse as reproduced in Shifan's collected *Encomia on Buddha's and Patriarchs* in his discourse record, see: WZSFCSYL, j. : X.70.1382: 270, b18.

<sup>343</sup> Whalen Lai notes the use of the image of the pearl as a Chan metaphor for enlightenment in hagiographic records of the second patriarch, Huike Shengguang 慧可神光 (487-593): Lai 1979, 245.

hagiography. Written in an identical format to the *encomium* by Shifan discussed above, in four lines of five characters, Guangewen's verse reads as follows:

*Yushanzhu*

Wild waters beyond the small bridge,  
The assembled cliffs frozen and cold.  
After that one run in with a donkey,  
There is never any going back.<sup>344</sup>

郁山主

野水小橋外。諸峯凜寒色。  
被驢子一交，至今翻不得。

Yanxi's verse explicitly articulates a setting for Yushanzhu's awakening. It describes the river, the harsh mountainous environs, the moment of falling from the donkey, and concludes with a line that underscores the permanence of the transformation this fall engendered. The exposition of a full context contrasts markedly with Shifan's inscription. In the Shifan scroll, familiarity with the narrative is required to interpret both the pictorial moment and the *encomium's* commentary. The extant *encomium* uses allusion to narrative to comment upon the nature of experience embodied in the accompanying image, rather than elaborating a series of actions associated with the painted subject.

An anonymous painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inscribed by Wuzhun Shifan, shows a similar subject to the Tokugawa Art Museum's Yushanzhu. A single monk is depicted riding upon the back of a donkey, seen in profile, and drawn in brush and ink (fig 4.5). Compared with the Tokugawa Art Museum Yushanzhu, the monk and beast in the Metropolitan painting are much larger, occupying nearly the entirety of the scroll. The ink is also more saturated in the Metropolitan work, using a

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<sup>344</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 750, b1-2.

concrete rather than illusory pictorial register to describe both rider and donkey. The figure is clearly articulated in profile, with an expansive forehead, prominent nose, and thin cheeks and jaw. As Wen C. Fong has noted, the rider in the Metropolitan painting is remarkably similar to the only extant portrait of Wuzhun Shifan, now in the collection of the Daitokuji monastery 大徳寺 in Kyoto (fig. 3.9).<sup>345</sup> The top left of the image features a short couplet by Shifan, reading:

As rain darkens the mountain, one mistakes a donkey for a horse.

Written by Monk Shifan of Jingshan.<sup>346</sup>

雨來山暗，認驢為馬。徑山僧師範書。

The inscription plays upon a theme of mistaken identity, equating the viewer's examination of the inky depths of the image to the shadowy mountainous environment evoked in the accompanying couplet. While neither of Yushanzhu's hagiographic narratives describe the time of day, or the quality of light at the moment of his awakening, an early fourteenth century *encomium* by Yuejiang Zhengyin 月江正印 (active 14<sup>th</sup> century) situates the moment in a damp half-light: "An instant in the spring rain and the spring shadows 幾回春雨又春陰."<sup>347</sup> Moreover, the Metropolitan painting clearly depicts a humble monk travelling alone through the mountains, for which the most obvious iconographic prototype from the Chan pantheon is Yushanzhu. The clarity of the painting's reproduction of Shifan's likeness is offset by the verse's conspicuous evocation of mistaken identity. The deliberate opacity of the subject engendered by the combination of verse and image leaves the rider's identity open to interpretation. While the image is not directly associated with Yushanzhu, there is sufficient precedent in Shifan's painted and poetic oeuvre to point to

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<sup>345</sup> Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 349.

<sup>346</sup> Translation adapted from: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 351.

<sup>347</sup> The full verse reads: "Yushanzhu: In the many years and months of coming and going from Chaling, how many times [through] the spring rain and the spring shadows. Were it not for that tumble from the back of a donkey, the brightest pearl would have been lost, nowhere to be found." 郁山主：來往茶陵歲月深，幾回春雨又春陰。不因驢上翻筋斗，打失啊明珠沒處尋。 YJZYCSYL, j.3: X.1409.71: 143, b11-13.

Yushanzhu's narrative of awakening as a thematic substrate for the abbot's stylised self-representation.

*Dongshan Liangjie: Awakening Through the Sight of His Reflection*

Dongshan Liangjie was the nominal founder of the Caodong 曹洞 school of Chan Buddhism, whose hagiography records his sudden awakening occurring alone, sparked by the sight of his reflection while fording a river.<sup>348</sup> A hanging scroll painted by Ma Yuan preserves an elaborate pictorial rendition of Dongshan's experience of awakening, augmented by an *encomium* by Empress Yang of the Southern Song (fig 4.1). As Huishu Lee's exemplary study of Empress Yang has shown, the empress made extensive use of paintings commissioned from favoured court artists as sites for calligraphic inscription. Empress Yang's calligraphy was an integral part of her cultural education, and a centrally important tool for her social advancement in court society.<sup>349</sup> Through firmly identifying works produced under the empress' earlier moniker of 'Little Sister Yang' 楊妹子, Lee offers an insightful reappraisal of the intertwined political and artistic career of this exceptional woman. Ma's depiction of Dongshan stands out among the empress' impressive oeuvre, as it is one of the earliest surviving examples of an imperial figure adopting a voice of exegetical authority in their inscription upon a Chan figure painting.

Believed to have originally been part of a set of five paintings representing the founding patriarchs of each of Chan's five schools, three extant works depict Dongshan Liangjie, Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864 – 949), and Fayuan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885-958) (figs. 4.10-4.11). All works in the set were painted by Ma Yuan, the recipient of an unparalleled degree of patronage from Empress Yang among court painters of the day.<sup>350</sup> The upper register of each painting is filled with the recognisable, boldly brushed regular-script calligraphy used by Empress Yang. The empress' hand is similar to the calligraphy of Song emperor Lizong 宋理宗 (1205–

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<sup>348</sup> For an example of a textual iteration of this narrative, see Dongshan Liangjie's hagiography in, JDCDL j.15, in: T.2076.51: 321, b20-323, c19.

<sup>349</sup> Lee 2010, 169

<sup>350</sup> For a discussion of these three works within the broader oeuvre of Ma Yuan see: Edwards 2011, 107-22.

64, r. 1224–64) (fig. 4.12) to whom seventeenth Japanese connoisseurs attributed the calligraphy on this scroll.<sup>351</sup> These imposing calligraphic evocations of an imperial presence are followed by impressions of the Kunning Palace seal of Empress Yang (*kunning zhi gong* 坤寧之宮), the name of her residence at the rear of the palace compound in Lin'an 臨安, modern day Hangzhou 杭州.

Produced in the high value format of hanging scrolls in ink and colours on silk, these paintings were likely given as donations to local temples in a public demonstration of Empress Yang's support for the Chan clerical establishment.<sup>352</sup> Alternatively, they may have been hung in Empress Yang's residence, the Kunning Palace, the name of which is impressed on all three extant paintings. Whether donated to a monastery outside of the palace complex, or hung within the confines of an imperial space, the paintings indicate both an interest in and support for the Southern Song Chan clerical establishment. Such patronage and support was a reciprocal affair. After her death in 1233, none other than Wuzhun Shifan authored Empress Yang's liturgy, wherein he praises her as: "Reverently believing in the teachings of the Buddha, profoundly awakened to its principles 崇信佛乘,深悟教理."<sup>353</sup> The second phrase of this excerpt is particularly important, as it credits Empress Yang with religious authority as well as piety, using the term *wu* 悟 to characterise her as awakened.

Huishu Li's analysis of the paintings of Chan prelates credits Empress Yang with a politically savvy use of visual culture to disseminate her public image. Arguing that these works combined the empress' pragmatic self-representation as a powerful patron with an expression of her sincere piety, Li makes an anachronistic distinction between the empress' public projection of power and her personal attitude of devotion. The following analysis proposes an alternative reading of these paintings.

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<sup>351</sup> Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 145.

<sup>352</sup> Lee characterises inscriptions on public works such as the painting of Dongshan as: "... a means to display cultural leadership and patronage, ...the accompanying imperial voice would be public and generic. On the other hand one cannot dismiss the possibility that genuine belief and personal devotion inspired the patronage of such images." Lee 2010, 181.

<sup>353</sup> My translation is adapted from Li's, rendering *wu* 悟 as awakened rather than comprehending, given the specifically Buddhist context of the liturgy as a posthumous commentary on Empress Yang's spiritual achievements by a senior cleric. Earlier translation and discussion in: Edwards 2011, 110; Lee 2010, 181. Original Chinese in: WZHSZDYL, j.1: X.1383.70: 277, b12 X.1365.70.

Approaching Empress Yang's inscription as a commentary on Liangjie's sudden awakening, we see how the empress' calligraphy integrates the court aesthetic characteristic of her collaborations with Ma Yuan with exegesis in the inscribed *encomium*. This combines the projection of material power with the appropriation of an interpretive authority conventionally enacted by Chan clerics. As Shifan's liturgy shows, Empress Yang's religious authority was at least posthumously acknowledged by one of the pre-eminent prelates of the day.

Ma Yuan's painting depicts the precise instant that the ninth century master Dongshan Liangjie was awakened, prompted by the sight of his own reflection while fording a stream. The figure and his surroundings occupy only the lower quarter of the scroll, setting the moment of transformation within a defined landscape context enlivened by the subtle use of colour. Dongshan's iconographic centrality of the painting is reinforced by the downward sloping silhouette of a mountain ridge in the mid register of the scroll, which ends directly above the fording patriarch. Ma Yuan has suspended him mid step, the rippling water spreads out around his right leg, while his left leg has just been lowered into the stream and has yet to disturb the water's surface. His progress is implied by the rock behind him and the tuft of reeds ahead. With his weight still on his back foot, the diagonal angle of his staff searches out a footing for his next step. As an image of a patriarch crossing a body of water, the painting prompts immediate comparison with depictions of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed. However, Ma Yuan's painting and Dongshan's hagiography instrumentalises the river itself as a stimulus for awakening, rather than focusing on the protagonists act of transition across it. Contrasted with the already awakened Bodhidharma's thaumaturgical suspension atop the waves Yangzi, Ma Yuan shows Dongshan's legs submerged within the stream.<sup>354</sup> Standing in the water, Dongshan's head is angled down to examine the water, frozen in a transformative revelation prompted by the sight of his own reflection.

In the 1004 *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄), hereafter *Jingde Record*, Dongshan's awakening is the culmination of a teaching offered by the teacher from whom he was to receive *dharma*

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<sup>354</sup> For a discussion of Bodhidharma's transition see chapter two, pages 77-80.

transmission, Yunyan Tanchang 雲巖曇晟 (782-841). After lengthy journeys between different masters, Dongshan had come to Tancheng to seek a teaching on the *dharma* of insentience (*wuqing* 無情). Yet Tancheng rebuked him, stating that if there is a person come to seek this teaching, then they will not receive it. The account reads as follows:

Thereupon [Dongshan] arrived, and asked Guishan: “What sort of person is able to hear the dharma expounded by non-sentient beings?” Yunyan replied: “The nonsentient are able to hear nonsentient beings expound the dharma”. The master [Dongshan] asked: “Monk, can you hear it?” Yunyan replied: “If I could hear it, then you would not be able to hear the dharma that I expound.” “If this is so, why can I, Liangjie, not hear you, monk, expound the dharma?” Yunyan said: “You cannot [even] hear the dharma that I expound, how much less so the dharma expounded by the nonsentient!” Master [Dongshan] then produced a *gatha* and offered it to Yunyan, it goes:

How amazing, how amazing!

Hard to comprehend that nonsentient beings expound the dharma.

It simply cannot be heard with the ear.

But when sound is heard with the eye, then it is understood.<sup>355</sup>

既到雲巖問：『無情說法，什麼人得聞？』雲巖曰：『無情說法，無情得聞。』師曰：『和尚聞否？』雲巖曰：『我若聞，汝即不聞吾說法也。』曰：『若恁麼即良价不聞和尚說法也。』雲巖曰：『我說法汝尚不聞，何況無情說法也！』師乃述偈呈雲巖曰：

也大奇，也大奇！

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<sup>355</sup> This text comes from JDCDL, j.15, T.2076.51: 321, c3-11. My translation draws extensively on William F Powell’s translation of *The Discourse Record of Dongshan Liangjie of Ruizhou* (*Ruizhou Dongshan Chanshi Yulu* 瑞州洞山良价禪師語錄). Powell’s source text was originally part of a collection of discourse records, known as the *Discourse Records of the Five Houses* (五家語錄), compiled in 1632. For Powell’s translation of the equivalent passage see: Powell 1986, 25-6. For Powell’s source text see: RZDSCSYL in: T.1986.47.

無情說法不思議，  
若將耳聽終難會，  
眼處聞時方得知。

Dongshan then takes his leave, but before he departs ask his master what he should say if long in the future his is asked if it is possible to see the master's true likeness. Yunyan pauses a while, before responding that Dongshan should confirm that it is possible. During his subsequent wanderings after departing from Tancheng's company, Dongshan becomes awakened on the sight of his own reflection. Tancheng subsequently ratifies this delayed, private realisation of the import of his earlier teaching, in a pedagogical context familiar from our earlier analyses of Zhixian and Yushanzhu. In the *Jingde Record*, the moment of Dongshan's awakening is encapsulated in a single line: "Later, on seeing his reflection when crossing a stream, he underwent a great awakening because of the prior instruction 後因過水觀影大悟前旨."<sup>356</sup>

Ma Yuan focuses on the exact moment of Liangjie was confronted with his own reflection, elaborating a much fuller setting for the pictorial moment than in the *Jingde Record's* textual narrative prototype. This has certain similarities with the Zhixian scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*, which also provides a rich visual context for an instant of non-verbal awakening. However, Ma's composition is sparser, leaving large areas of the painting surface blank. The painting is also experienced simultaneously with the inscription in the upper register. The simultaneous presentation of text and image is in the same mode as Wuzhun Shifan's inscription on the painting of Yushanzhu, rather than presenting image before text as in the Zhixian narrative on the *Eight Eminent Monks* handscroll. However, unlike the Yushanzhu painting, Ma's meticulous depiction of both figure and landscape concurs with the details of setting provided in Empress Yang's inscribed verse. Empress Yang's *encomium*, brushed in an imposing imperial hand, reads as follows:

Carrying a staff to push aside grass, gazing into the wind,

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<sup>356</sup> JDCDL, j.15, T.2076.51: 321, c19.

He could not but climb mountains, and ford streams,  
Unaware that all places he comes to are ditches,  
With one glance, head lowered, he delights himself.<sup>357</sup>

携籐撥草瞻風，未免登山涉水，  
不知觸處皆渠，一見低頭自喜。

Empress Yang's *encomium* contextualises the visible actions of Dongshan Liangjie within his life as an ambulant ascetic. The description of his itinerant life frames the instant of spiritual awakening with explicit reference to the geographic features of Ma Yuan's painting: the mountain, the wind blown grass, and the stream itself. The line also borrows from an exchange with Weishan Lingyou prior to Dongshan's awakening. Weishan encourages Dongshan to seek teachings from Yunyan Tancheng, saying: "if you are able to push aside the grass and gaze into the wind, these are the things that are valuable in a disciple 若能撥草瞻風，必為子之所重."<sup>358</sup> Empress Yang's verse draws the viewer's attention to the correlation between Weishan's portentous description of the type of student who would learn from Tancheng, and Ma Yuan's depiction of Dongshan's physical circumstances of awakening during his itinerant wanderings.

Through this integrated pictorial and poetic focus on a uniquely Chan moment of sudden enlightenment, Empress Yang enacts a pedagogical role in mediating the viewer's reception of Dongshan's experience of awakening. The crux of her religious commentary comes in the final two lines. As an explanation of the visual narrative, Empress Yang's *encomium* venerates the paradigmatic narrative of this historic exemplar's awakening. As a more generalised exegesis, her commentary highlights the ubiquity of possible experiences of transformative awakening, and the ideal that

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<sup>357</sup> Translation adapted from: Edwards 2011, 109. In particular I differ from Edward's rendering of the third line, which contains a double entendre based on the word *qu* 渠, which can be both a pronoun and mean a ditch or man made watercourse. Edwards renders the third line as: "Unaware that everywhere he is...". I have chosen to keep the original meaning to make the double entendre of the original Chinese more apparent. Dongshan is being equated to the the mundane manmade watercourses of the everyday, equating Dongshan's world to the everyday world of Chan.

<sup>358</sup> JDCDL, j.15, T.2076.51: 321, c3-4.

they are self-generating, non-verbal, and instantaneous. The stream is an image of the ubiquitous presence of possible enlightenment. All one needs to do is look down.

Dongshan's own verse, composed after his transformative confrontation with his own reflection, provided Empress Yang with a canonical precedent for the image of the stream as a signifier for an omnipresent potential to achieve sudden awakening.

Dongshan's *gāthā* verse, reproduced in the *Jingde Record*, includes the following couplet:

The ditch is now the true me, but I now am not the ditch.<sup>359</sup>

渠今正是我，我今不是渠。

The surface of the stream is an ideal metaphor for Dongshan's consideration of the subjectivity of his personhood, encapsulated in the couplet quoted above. In the first part of the couplet, Dongshan treats his reflected likeness on the water's surface as an accurate reflection of the illusory nature of his subjective self, stating that the stream is analogous to him. However, the insubstantial nature of his selfhood is underscored in the second half of the couplet. Though Dongshan's reflection is seen as a truer form of himself than his physical body, the transience of his selfhood means that he is not analogous to the stream. The equivalence between Dongshan and the stream cannot be mutual because one half of the equation, Dongshan, is an illusion. This verse demonstrates Dongshan's comprehension of Tancheng's earlier teachings, that understanding insentience depends upon a realisation of the illusory nature of the self. Empress Yang appropriates this image in her *encomium*, redeploing the canonical metaphor of Dongshan's verse to clarify the significance of Ma Yuan's visual narrative. Like Tangcheng, and later Dongshan, Empress Yang and Ma Yuan's combination of text and image suggest that the experience of enlightenment is immediate and available everywhere, one just needs to notice it.

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<sup>359</sup> JDCDL, j.15, T.2076.51: 321, c23. As discussed above the character *qu* can be read as both a ditch, and as a pronoun. Powell translates the same lines as: "He is now no other than myself, But I am not now him." Powell 1986, 28.

Empresses Yang's appropriation of clerical authority is performed on an expansive scale. Three extant commissions are believed to have originally been a set encompassing the founding patriarchs of all five Chan schools, indicating that the empress used these paintings to systematically present a holistic authority over all lineages of Chan Buddhism. The verses appropriate the rhetorical structures of Chan clerical *encomia* in a combination of quotation and commentary. However, the imperial identity of this religious exegete is immediately legible in the visual associations of the bold, regular script of the empress' hand, and the prominent palace seal. Thus, these works are not solely a material manifestation of imperial power through public patronage of religious subject matter. The commentaries Empress Yang offers on the specific details of Dongshan's hagiography contribute to her self-fashioning as an authority on Chan, and not simply a patron of Chan institutions. Collectively, these works and Empress Yang's agency over their subjects provide a platform for a public performance that goes far beyond a generic affirmation of her faith. They enact clerical commentary as an expression of catholic authority.

### *Conclusions*

The immediacy of pictorial expression was ideally suited to capturing the experience of enlightenment claimed to be unique to Chan pedagogical practice. Painting conveyed both the suddenness of awakening, and the non-verbal stimuli that prompted pictorial protagonists' transformations. Sumptuous images provided elaborate contexts for these instants of transformation, such as Ma Yuan's *Dongshan Liangjie Fording a Stream* (fig. 4.1), and the *Eight Eminent Monks* scroll depiction of Xiangyan Zhixian (fig. 4.2). The painters of these works created extensively detailed visual moments, significantly enriching texts' terse narrative prototypes. In the depiction of Yushanzhu attributed to Wuzhun Shifan, in which the monk is inattentive and the donkey alert, we see how ink paintings were able to deploy subtle visual nuances to elucidate and clarify attitudes absent from contemporaneous hagiographies. Compared to painting's holistic and detailed contexts for axial moments of awakening in Chan exemplars' hagiographies, prose accounts of these exact moments appear reductive and perfunctory.

Visual narratives of Chan awakenings significantly overlap with the other two narrative themes discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis. As with images of transition, Chan paintings of awakenings capture isolated subjects in moments of profound, private experience. Like images of interaction, visual narratives of awakenings reinforce the paradigmatic importance of master-disciple relationships. The spiritual transformations depicted in the paintings of awakening are invariably predicated upon a prior teaching. Though the teacher is not present at the moment of awakening, they are frequently called upon to provide a subsequent verification of the transformative experience. While paintings focus on either the exact moment of awakening, or the circumstances close to it, these pedagogical contexts are frequently alluded to in the paintings' accompanying *encomia* and prose inscriptions. In approaching inscribed figure paintings of Chan subjects, text and image should be conceived of as a holistic object. This is especially pertinent when text and image are incorporated into a single surface, as with the paintings of Dongshan and Yushanzhu. In narratives of Chan awakening, image and text balance the non-verbal drama of a moment of enlightenment with a verbal commentary that approximates the nature of that experience through analogy.

The paintings discussed in this chapter, as with works analysed in chapters two and three, were painted and inscribed by diverse range of artists and calligraphers. Senior clerical commentators are the most visible voice within this community, literally imposing their identity onto the painted surface with the impression of their seals and their personalised calligraphic styles. Though the attribution of the works abbots inscribed to a known artist is often problematic, as with the Yushanzhu painting, extant works and the expansive lists of subjects for inscriptions in clerics' discourse records are testament to a vibrant monastic visual culture. However, the presence of imperial inscribers, court artists, and later followers of court artists also shows the significant appeal of Chan themes beyond the confines of the cloister.

Among the three themes of Chan visual narrative discussed in this thesis, only images of awakening represents a mode of action specific to the Chan tradition. Chan visual narratives of transitions and interactions overlap with pictorial narrative themes found across Song and Yuan visual culture. Chan figure paintings of transitions adapt the visual rhetoric used in Buddhist *arhat* iconography, and in secular narratives, to

illustrate the legitimacy of the Chan lineage, focusing on seminal moments in the lives of Chan's putative founders, Bodhidharma and Śākyamuni. Chan visual narratives of interactions deployed figure painting's familiar didactic function to present exemplary models of pedagogical authority, and to construct appealing and engaging narratives that addressed audiences beyond the cloister. Complementing these visual illustrations of legitimacy and authority, paintings of Chan awakenings serve a unique function in demonstrating of the efficacy of Chan teachings. They played a unique role in the visual representation of the Chan tradition, constructing a distinctive identity among the various schools of Chinese Buddhism by showcasing an idiosyncratic mode of awakening.

During the Song and Yuan, figure paintings visually animated the exemplary and eccentric actions of the Chan pantheon. These images were often augmented by an abbot's calligraphy, which interceded between the viewer and figural subject through exegesis on associated hagiographic narratives. The previous three chapters have demonstrated the agency of narrative themes in shaping Song and Yuan viewers' reception of paintings of Chan figural subjects. While our earlier focus was on the agency of images, the following chapter is primarily concerned with the functions of calligraphic inscriptions that accompanied Chan figure paintings. This calligraphy most often takes the form of clerical *encomia* (*zan* 讚/贊), short verses that both praise the subject of the painting and mediate the viewer's relationship to it through original commentary.

This chapter examines Chan clerical inscriptions upon figure paintings through a case study of a single inscriber, the thirteenth century Chan prelate and the nineteenth patriarch of the Dajian 大鑑 Linji 臨濟 lineage, Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263).<sup>360</sup> Guangwen's calligraphic oeuvre is one of the best extant sources for the analysis of the agency of Chan clerical *encomia* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As he was a member of a prominent Chan lineage, who held successive prestigious appointments, literary sources on Guangwen's life and writing offer us an insight into the ideals such senior clerics were expected to embody. His successive abbacies of eight prominent monasteries, the last five of which were imperially sponsored public monasteries, are documented in his discourse record.<sup>361</sup> Moreover, a

<sup>360</sup> Yanxi Guangwen's position within the Chan lineage is documented in several Chan hagiographic compendia; Jingshan Wenxiu's 徑山文秀 (1345-1418), *Expanded Record of the Continued Transmission of the Lamp* (*Zengji Xuchuandeng lu* 增集續傳燈錄), (1416); Chaoyong's 超永 (17<sup>th</sup> century), *Complete Text of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Quanshu* 五燈全書). He is also recorded Tairu Minghe's 汰如明河 (1588-1640/1), *Supplementary Additions to the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Buxu Gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳) of 1641. For original Chinese texts see: BXGSZ j.11 in: X.1524.77: 447, c5-21; ZJXCDL j.2 in: X.1574.83: 281,c2-282, a12; WDQS j.53, in: X.1571.82: 183, a11-b22.

<sup>361</sup> Yanxi Guanwen's appointments are recorded in the epitaph included in his discourse record: YXGWCSYL, j.2 in X.1368.69: 753, b07-754, a17. For a full list see appendix 5.1. These biographical details have been published in Itakura 2004, 19. They are also included

sufficient number of his *encomia* survive to facilitate analysis of his distinct approaches to calligraphic inscriptions on different subjects from the Chan pantheon, from exemplary patriarchs, to antinomian eccentrics (figs. 5.1-5.8). The prefaces to his discourse record, and the immediate posthumous reflections on his life and career in his epitaph reflect Song secular and monastic elites' idealised image of Guangwen as a paradigm of clerical authority.<sup>362</sup> The following discussion analyses how his calligraphic *encomia* contributed to and augmented that image.

Yanxi Guangwen's extant *encomia* appear exclusively on figural subjects. As Guangwen's inscriptions upon paintings universally state which monastery he was resident in at the time of inscription, for which his discourse record provided corresponding dates, these paintings constitute a body of pictorial evidence identifiable to highly specific coordinates of time and place. This study's focus on the agency of *encomia* in constructing the identity of the inscriber builds on the analyses of earlier scholars, who have used this body of inscribed paintings to document the painting styles prevalent in elite monastic circles during the latter period of the Southern Song dynasty.<sup>363</sup> With one possible exception, all Guangwen's surviving *encomia* date from his most prestigious monastic appointments at the capital of Lin'an 臨安 (modern day Hangzhou 杭州), held at the end of his career from 1251-63.<sup>364</sup> In addition to dating from the later portion of Guangwen's career, extant *encomia* reflect the taste of Japanese collections in which they have been thankfully

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alongside lists of monastic appointments of various other Southern Song and Yuan abbots in an unpublished paper by Stephen Allee, shared with the author in personal correspondence. On the distinctions between hereditary (*jiayi* 甲乙) and public (*shifang* 十方) monasteries in the Song dynasty, see: Halperin 2006, 9, Schlütter 2008, 36.

<sup>362</sup> Preface dated 1259, by You Yu 尤焞 (1190-1272) of Jinlin 晉陵 (full translation in appendix 5.2): YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X69n1368: 725, b5-725, b12. Preface dated 1258 b, Tang Boji 湯伯紀 (1204-75) [Tang Han 湯漢]: YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X69n1368: 725, b15-725, b24 (full translation below, pages 186-7). Epitaph compiled in 1263 by Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271): YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, b6-754, a17 (Excerpt translated in appendix 5.3).

<sup>363</sup> Itakura Masa'aki has published an excellent discussion of the extant corpus of figure paintings inscribed by Yanxi Guangwen as a core of datable works around which the diverse styles and techniques of Southern Song ink painting can be described: Itakura 2004. For a discussion of apparition style, with particular reference to works from Yanxi Guangwen's extant inscription oeuvre, see: Lippit 2009, 61, 67-73 & 79-82.

<sup>364</sup> On the grounds of an ambiguous monastery name and a less developed calligraphic style, one *encomium* may originate from his third appointment, held prior to 1245 as abbot of the Wanshou monastery 萬壽寺 in Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府, outside of the capital (fig 5.2).

preserved. As such, Guangwen's extant calligraphic embellishments of painting are indicative of his public image at the apex of his career, rather than providing a representative sample through which we could examine the development of both his calligraphy and verse. However, our knowledge of Guangwen's *encomia* is not limited to extant works. The list of 'Encomia on Buddhas and Patriarchs' (*fozu zan* 佛祖讚) preserved in Guangwen's discourse record reveals the broad corpus of imagery upon which he produced calligraphic expressions of clerical authority.<sup>365</sup> Guangwen wrote *encomia* for a panoply of subjects from within the Buddhist pantheon: including the historic Buddha Śākyamuni, various Bodhisattvas, Chan patriarchs, and Scattered Sages (*sansheng* 散聖). He also wrote verses to accompany images of secular cultural luminaries, such as the Jin dynasty poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427), revealing the expansive scope and fluid boundaries of the Chan pantheon during the Southern Song.

The following chapter explores the functions for Yanxi Guangwen's *encomia* in three sections. Beginning with an examination of his monastic career as a context for the creation of these inscriptions, I draw on the prefaces to his discourse record and on his epitaph to illustrate how his idealised persona was constructed and disseminated. Guangwen's presentation as a verbally dexterous religious exemplar cemented his authority among the Chan clergy, and ensured the support of elite lay and imperial patrons upon whose patronage that authority depended. The subsequent two sections of this chapter explore how Guangwen's *encomia* on extant figure paintings augmented and reflected his idealised representation in literary sources. First, I examine Guangwen's appropriation of authority from Chan's historic exemplars, in an *encomium* on a depiction of the ninth century Chan master Yaoshan Weiyuan 藥山惟儼 (d. 832) (fig. 5.1). My analysis focuses on the combination of Guangwen's direct quotation of Yaoshan's speech, and the integration of his calligraphy into the painting's visual rhetoric. Four paintings of the eccentric monk Budai 布袋 (fig. 5.2-5) and one of Fenggan 豐干 (fig. 5.6) form the second group of visual material discussed in this chapter. Guangwen's verses identify these Scattered Sages as avatars of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, an interpretation that would have been familiar to the

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<sup>365</sup> YXGWCSYL, j2 in: X.1368.69: 749, b22-750.

paintings' viewers through hagiography. However, in his performative revelation of these subjects' true identities as elevated divinities, Guangwen uses the paintings' surfaces as material platforms to showcase his exegetical abilities.<sup>366</sup> Through the analysis of extant works and documentary records of Yanxi Guangwen's inscription oeuvre, the following discussion aims to reveal how Chan clerical authority was constituted and communicated to both intra and extra monastic audiences in the Southern Song.

*Yanxi Guangwen's Epitaph and the Prefaces to his Discourse Record*

Yanxi Guangwen's imperial and civil patronage from elite officials feature prominently both in his epitaph, and in accounts of his teachings from his discourse record. The record of his time as abbot at the Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺 in the capital Lin'an includes a sermon on the hanging of an imperial calligraphic rendition of the *Huayan Fajie* 華嚴法界.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, the prefaces to his discourse record were written by two senior officials in the Southern Song imperial bureaucracy, You Yu 尤燾 (1190-1272) and Tang Han 湯漢 (1204-75), who respectively passed the presented scholar (*jinsi* 進士) examination in 1204 and 1244.<sup>368</sup> Though these prominent examples of imperial and bureaucratic support were central to Guangwen's idealised self-representation in his own lifetime, later hagiographic compendia omit the details of secular sponsorship from his biography, focusing exclusively on his affiliations and relationships to Chan teachers and lineages.<sup>369</sup> By approaching the Guangwen of his discourse record as a rhetorical construction of the cultural ideal of a Chan master, both by and for elite clerical and

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<sup>366</sup> The depiction of the Budai, Fenggan, and Fenggan's two disciples Hanshan and Shide in Song and Yuan visual culture are the subject of an extensive discussion in: Paul 2009.

<sup>367</sup> This most likely refers to the *Mysterious Mirror of the Huayan Dharma Realm* (*Huayan Fajie Xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡), recorded in YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X1368.69: 736, b13.

<sup>368</sup> You Yu's biography is discussed in: Kong 2012, 10. Tang Han's biography, is discussed in: Nguyen Thi 2004, 14. For a full translation and original Chinese text of You Yu's preface, see appendix 5.2. The full text of Tang Han's preface is translated below, pages 186-7.

<sup>369</sup> BXGSZ j.11 in: X.1524.77: 447, c5-21; ZJXCDL j.2 in: X.1574.83: 281,c2-282, a12; WDQS j.53, in: X.1571.82: 183, a11-b22.

lay contemporaries, we are able to discern part of the network of obligations and expectations in which his calligraphic *encomia* were deployed.<sup>370</sup>

The earliest account of Yanxi Guangwen's life and career is preserved in his epitaph, compiled by Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271), found at the end of his discourse record.<sup>371</sup> Lin first notes the circumstances of Guangwen's death, highlighting the imperial support for his memorial shrine, which was bestowed with an imperially written name plaque and endowed with land to support its upkeep. This was a definitive sign of state support for Guangwen's shrine, whilst also serving a practical spiritual function of honouring this charismatic cleric to accrue merit.<sup>372</sup> After describing the circumstances of Guangwen's memorial, the epitaph presents a laudatory summary of Guangwen's early career. Lin recounts Guangwen's arrival in the capital, his striking bearing, verbal erudition, and his close association with Tang Han, referred to here by a sobriquet derived from his place of origin, Dongjian 東澗 (in modern Zhejiang province). In the biographical account that follows, Guangwen is identified as having been born in a family of Confucian scholars from the Lin clan of Houguan 候官, in modern Fujian. Two events from his childhood illustrate his suitability for a monastic life. First, the epitaph recounts his mother's auspicious dream of a monk visiting her room while pregnant, stating that the newborn Guangwen resembled the monk and was identified as his reincarnation. Furthermore, we hear how before he could speak, the infant Guangwen knew to clasp his hands before an image of the Buddha. These pre and post-natal portents of Guangwen's future piety are augmented by praise for his youthful talent for memorising and reciting texts. Even in the account of the early stages of his life, Guangwen is presented as both devout and highly capable.

According to the epitaph compiled by Lin, at fifteen Guangwen followed his junior paternal uncle, the otherwise unknown monk Zhilong 智隆 (dates unknown), into the

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<sup>370</sup> For related discussions of the historical consciousness of early Chan authors, see: Wright 1992, Maraldo 1985.

<sup>371</sup> The opening passages from Yanxi Guangwen's epitaph, discussed below, are translated in appendix 5.3.

<sup>372</sup> The use of imperial inscribed name plaques in the Song dynasty to combine patronage and support, with the accrual of karmic benefit and exertion of centralised control over Buddhist institutions is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 34-6.

Wanlin Guangxiao monastery 宛陵光孝寺. He received the Buddhist precepts at eighteen years old, and was given the tonsure by Yintieniu 印鐵牛 (dates unknown). Guangwen subsequently studied under a series of masters in the schools of Shaoshimu 少室睦 (dates unknown) and Yuanzheng Guangyuan Wuji 圓證光嚴無際 (dates unknown).<sup>373</sup> In contrast with the merely cursory mention of Guangwen's early monastic teachers, Lin's account elaborates the events surrounding Guangwen's *dharma* transmission from Zheweng Ruyan 浙翁如琰 (1151-1225) in detail.<sup>374</sup>

Guangwen's sudden awakening occurred late at night, prompted by the impact of his fall when he tripped on his way back to the monks' residence. The subsequent morning Zheweng Ruyan tested and ratified his enlightenment, initiating him into a formal Chan lineage. The isolated location and bodily stimulus of Guangwen's sudden awakening, and its subsequent ratification in a pedagogical setting, are characteristic of Chan narratives of awakening as discussed in chapter four. These events were central to Guangwen's later career, as Guangwen's initiation into a recognised Linji lineage made him eligible for appointment to public monasteries. Following the account of Guangwen's awakening, the epitaph biography gives a sequential iteration of the various abbacies he held, noting the patronage of a range of civil officials. After listing the series of monasteries of which he was abbot, the epitaph goes on to document the circumstances of Guangwen's death, and closes with two laudatory verses.

While Guangwen's biography discussed above derives from a posthumous source, variations of this narrative were almost certainly in circulation during the abbot's lifetime. The versions of a discourse record which we inherit today are cumulative records from throughout an abbot's career, clearly indicated in Guangwen's case by the preservation of multiple prefaces and in the different compilers for the records from each of his monastic appointments.<sup>375</sup> As a compendium accumulated through

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<sup>373</sup> Itakura Masa'aki names Yanxi Guangwen's tonsure master as Tieniu Xinyin 鐵牛心印, a *dharma* heir of a monk named Zhuoan Dexin 拙庵德心, whose dates are given as 1121-1203, though no specific textual source is cited. Itakura 2004, 19.

<sup>374</sup> For a translation of the circumstances of Guangwen's awakening as narrated in his epitaph, see appendix 5.2.

<sup>375</sup> See: YXGWCSYL j.1-2: X.1368.69.

the records of the various institutions of which he was abbot, the version of Guangwen's discourse record transmitted in the Buddhist canon is the end product of an extended process, involving embellishment and augmentation by numerous compilers such as Lin Xiyi, and Guangwen's various disciples who compiled the discourse records of his successive abacies. As such, the text of this epitaph should be considered the culmination of Guangwen's life long project of self-fashioning in literary production, filtered through the editorial agency of subsequent compilers and editors. It is not a narrative constructed in a purely posthumous context.<sup>376</sup> As such, the discourse record and the epitaph biography contribute significantly to our understanding of the construction of Guangwen's identity as an authoritative Southern Song Chan cleric. Understanding this idealised self-representation informs our reading of Guangwen's enactment of his clerical authority over historic exemplars through inscription upon the Chan pantheon's visual manifestation in painting.

The two prefaces to Guangwen's discourse record reveal the collaborative nature of his project of self-fashioning. Tang Han's 1258 preface articulates an unambiguous intimacy between the scholar and abbot. It reads as follows:

Gentlemen who have obtained the way are not too sparing when they refrain from speech, nor is their speech superfluous when uttered. Therefore, it is said: "There is nothing which I hide from you", how could my [words] be fondness for disputation?<sup>377</sup> Seeing a closed mouth as hiding something, and an open mouth as disputation, is like seeing a blind man's fate as the fault of the sun and moon. When I look upon Yanxi in his everyday life he is anchored like a leisurely cloud, reticent like a withered tree. When he folds his robe atop the seat, his speech leaves all with mouths mortified [by their inadequacy]. Stretching out the paper and rousing the brush, his writing makes all with hands withdraw [on account of their relative shortcomings]. Isn't it the case

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<sup>376</sup> Schlütter argues that Song Chan clerics seeking appointment in the public monastery system would have conceived of their sermons as addressing a mass audience beyond their immediate monastic community, conscious of a readership of elite lay patrons for the ongoing augmentation of their discourse records: Schlütter 2008, 74.

<sup>377</sup> The phrase "I have nothing to hide from you 吾無隱乎爾" is quoted from the *Analects*, book 7 chapter 24, in which the master asserts that he keeps nothing from his students: LY 7.24, in: Lau and Yang, 2009, 91.

that when great eloquence seems like blurting out, it is because there is something so deeply hidden it appears empty?<sup>378</sup> In these latter days of the law, those with great titles and venerable stations cannot help valuing fame and reputation, and seeking out the bestowal of favour. [As these people] cannot leave this mire of evil, how can there be numinous efficacy in their speaking the law? Yanxi alone forgoes fame and gain, their taste seeming insipid. Thus, successive lofty mysteries flow forth from his brain. Over the [past] twenty years, his speech matches his great deeds. Some may ask me: how do you comprehend this? I say: “I comprehend speech.”<sup>379</sup>

*Wuwu* year of the Baoyou period [of the reign of Song Li Zong] [1258], the sun having arrived in the South. Written by Tang Boji [Tang Han] [1204-75].<sup>380</sup>

得道之士：不言非少，有言非多。故曰：『吾無隱乎爾』，予豈好辯哉？』以閉口為隱，以開口為辯，是盲者過，非日月咎。予觀偃溪平居，泊然如閑雲，悄然如枯木，及其振衣踞座，隱隱鉤鉤，則有口者喪。伸紙奮筆，灑灑落落，則有手者縮。豈所謂大辯若訥，深藏若虛者耶？近代法末，號大尊宿者，未免重名聞著施利。履踐未離濁惡，說法豈有靈驗？偃溪獨忘懷聲利，味如嚼蠟。故其胸中流出，一一高妙。二十年後，話當大行。或問予，何以知之，曰：「我知言」。

寶祐戊午。日南至，湯伯紀書。

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<sup>378</sup> The first half of this phrase: “Great eloquence seems like blurting out 大辯若訥” derives from the *Daodejing* chapter 45, line 5. The second half of the phrase comes from Confucius’ appraisal of Laozi in chapter 63 of the *Shiji* 史記, where he describes Lao Zi as possessing: “something so deeply hidden it appears empty 深藏若虛”. DDJ 45, in: Wagner 2003, 272. SJ 63, in: Zhang 2000, 1323.

<sup>379</sup> This final phrase comes from book three chapter two of the *Mengzi* 孟子. When Mengzi’s interlocutor Gongsun Chou 公孫丑 asks the master where his strengths lie, he replies “I comprehend speech, and am good at cultivating my vast vital energy 我知言，我善養吾浩然之氣.” Mengzi goes on to clarify that this comprehension of speech is evident in his ability to identify bias, exaggeration, deviation, and evasion. The first part of Mengzi’s reply is directly quoted in the concluding line of Tang Han’s preface to Guangwen’s discourse record. By extension Tang Han’s concluding line implies that Guangwen’s verses do not fall into any of the undesirable categories identified in the *Mengzi*. For the original text and accompanying English translation, adapted in the quotation here, see: Zhang et al. 1999, 62-3.

<sup>380</sup> YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X.1368.69: 725, b15-24.

In its unabashed exhalation of Guangwen's qualities and abilities, Tang's preface narrates the ideals that a Chan abbot was expected to embody in elite Southern Song society. Tang treats Yanxi as both a spiritual exemplar and a cultural luminary, extolling his moral qualities alongside his verbal and calligraphic talents. The preface begins by describing the nature of an enlightened figure, someone who has attained the way. Such a person can be recognised through the quality rather than the quantity of their speech. Lengthy diatribes are not to be confused with talented discourse, and nor is silence to be mistaken for ignorance. Tang's analogy of a blind man blaming the sun and moon's lack of illumination for his sightlessness stresses the listener's responsibility in recognising the words of the enlightened. Failure to apprehend the subtleties of an exemplar's speech results from the audience's inability to perceive the exemplar's hidden depths.

Tang goes on to describe how Guangwen embodies this archetype. First, Tang describes Guangwen's lofty demeanour when at ease, comparing his deportment to a cloud's inaccessibility and the venerable resilience of an old tree. The preface then praises the dramatic power with which Guangwen publicly expressed his teachings, referencing both oral and calligraphic expression. Tang presents Guangwen's oratory and writing as separate talents, both of which were performed before an audience. The grammatical parallel of their presentation implies an equivalence, or at least comparable value, in these areas of cultural performance. The degree of awe Guangwen's brushwork is said to elicit in those who watch him write may appear hyperbolic to the contemporary reader. However, this lavish praise contains an important implication for the reception of Guangwen's *encomia*, describing elite Song audiences comparing Guangwen's brushwork to their own. Thus, Tang's preface clarifies that the calligraphic dimensions of Guangwen's *encomia* participated in a mode of cultural expression that was central to his public reputation. As with his oratory, the merits of Guangwen's calligraphy were not limited to the exegetical function of its content.

At the end of the preface Tang expands on his praise for Guangwen's abilities by extolling his moral virtues. Though no one is named for explicit comparison, Tang

states that Guangwen was uniquely unconcerned with his status and reputation: “he alone forgoes fame and gain”. However, at the time this preface was composed in 1258 the patriarch was abbot of the Xingsheng Wanshou Chan monastery, on Mount Jing (Jingshan 徑山), one of the Southern Song’s most elevated monastic appointments. Moreover, Tang’s preface was itself an instrument of promotion for Guangwen, facilitated by an elite associate from the imperial bureaucracy. Unless we uncritically accept Tang’s repeated maxim that the onus is on the perceiver to recognise a true religious authority, the laudatory praise for Guangwen’s humility ill fits the context of its production. As such, the preface should be read as a construction of an ideal to which Guangwen wished to be perceived to conform. Tang Han and You Yu’s prefaces, and the discourse record that follows them, were key tools for the projection of that identity. As the following discussion will illustrate, Guangwen’s *encomia* on Chan figure paintings augmented the image projected by literary records and appraisals of his words and deeds. The associations his calligraphic commentaries created between inscriber and subject allowed Guangwen to appropriate qualities of insight, eloquence, and disinterest in worldly favour from the historic Chan pantheon.

#### *Yaoshan Weiyang Meeting with Li Ao*

Of the eight extant paintings with *encomia* by Yanxi Guangwen I have been able to consult for this study, only one was produced in a horizontal format: *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖 (fig. 5.1). This painting is currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and has been historically attributed to both Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century), and to Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (active 13<sup>th</sup> century). These historic attributions reflect the technical execution of the painting. The predominantly dilute ink and faint tonality of the scene, with only selected details depicted in saturated dark marks, resembles elements of the apparition style (*wangliang hua* 魑魎畫) first credited to Zhirong 智融 (1114-1193) but for which Zhiweng was also famed.<sup>381</sup> The association with Muxi likely derives from the

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<sup>381</sup> The visual allusions to the apparition painting style have been noted by several earlier scholars, treating this piece as representative of a Southern Song aesthetic popular among monastic circles, for example: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 353.

painting's compositional complexity and technically accomplished brushwork, which embody the qualities for which he was admired in Japan.<sup>382</sup>

Moving across the composition from right to left, as it would have been viewed in its original format, the scene opens with Yaoshan Weiyān 藥山惟嚴 (746-829). Yaoshan was the third patriarch in the Dajian lineage, Guangwen's predecessor by sixteen generations. He is seated upon a rock, at the edge of a copse of gnarled old trees, the arcs of their faint, fluid trunks foreshadowing the curve of his spine. A box of *sūtras* sits on the adjacent boulder next to a *kundika* (*jingpin* 淨瓶), a Buddhist sacred water vessel. This vessel is alluded to in both Yaoshan's hagiography, and in Guangwen's *encomium*, which are discussed in more detail below.

Yaoshan's raised forefinger and open mouth signify speech. His words are directed at the man approaching from the left of the scroll. Dressed in the robe and hat of scholar, this is Li Ao 李翱 (774-836), provincial governor of Liang Zhou 良州 (in modern Hunan province). Li has come to seek a teaching from the master, and bows slightly as he approaches the seated Yaoshan, hands clasped together within the sleeves of his robe.<sup>383</sup> The painting captures a seminal moment in the narrative, marking a change of heart in Li Ao. Li was initially unimpressed with the Chan patriarch, but in the painted scene he has just been persuaded of Yaoshan's merits by a pithy utterance. Guangwen's *encomium* fills the otherwise empty space above Li Ao, supplanting Yaoshan's voice by addressing the figure below, whilst also clarifying the subject matter of the scene for the viewer.

*Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* presents a classic paradigm for the interaction between an elevated Chan cleric and senior scholar official, wherein the cleric displays his superior eloquence to the lay protagonist and earns his respect.<sup>384</sup> The

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<sup>382</sup> For a discussion of Muxi's reception in Japan, see: Yūji 1996.

<sup>383</sup> This posture of deference is familiar from the example of scholars greeting their equals, seen in the scene of 'Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers' (*San Cai* 三才) from Li Gonglin's *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經圖, discussed in chapter three, page 131 (fig. 3.13). This comparison is also noted in: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 353

<sup>384</sup> Scenes depicting the interaction of Chan clerics and lay scholars are traditionally referred to as 'Chan Encounter Paintings' (*Chanhui tu* 禪會圖). Issues surround the definition of this genre, are discussed in chapter three, pages 105-9. Yoshiaki Shimizu discusses a painting of

painting captures the axial moment of this interaction, focusing on Yaoshan's verbal exegesis. The master's words would have been familiar to the Southern Song viewer through multiple hagiographic versions of this famous encounter. In the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, (*Jingde Chuandeng Lu* 景德傳燈錄), hereafter *Jingde Record*, the crux of this hagiographic narrative lies in Li Ao's change of attitude toward Yaoshan. The official shifts from initial impatience at being rebuffed by the master to a realisation of Yaoshan's spiritual accomplishment. Li Ao expresses his change of heart in a verse composed after he receives Yaoshan's teaching. This teaching is expressed in three stages, the first part is a statement, the second is a gesture, and the teaching then concludes with a statement to clarify the meaning of the gesture. The need for clarification serves two functions: it underscores Yaoshan's didactic authority over Li Ao in this meeting, and it explains the significance of Yaoshan's enigmatic gesture to the reader or viewer of the narrative. The combination of an expression of authority with a religious teaching is also reflected in Guangwen's *encomia*, which appropriates Yaoshan's authority by implanting itself within the visual narrative. The *Jingde Record* account of the meeting reads as follows:

Provincial Governor of Liang Zhou, Li Ao, was repeatedly rebuffed when requesting teachings from the master. Thus, Ao entered the mountains to visit him. The master was engrossed in a sutra scroll and did not look up. An attendant announced: "The provincial governor is here." Li Ao was of impatient character, and so he said: "Seeing your face is not as good as hearing your name". The master called to the provincial governor, and Ao responded. The master said: "Why value the ear and look down on the eye?" Li Ao put his hands together to apologise to him, asking: "What is the true way?" The master pointed up with one finger and down with another, saying:

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an interaction of this type by the monk painter Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (active 14th century), which is iconographically very similar to the Metropolitan painting of Yaoshan and Li Ao. However, Yin's painting features an *encomium* by Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (1296-1370), which identifies the scene as a meeting between Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常 (757-821) and Li Bo 李渤 (773-831): (Shimizu 1980, 8-9). Another example of such a narrative is found in the scene of Master Birds Nest [Niaoke] and Bai Juyi, in *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖, traditionally attributed to Liang Kai (fig. 6.6d).

“You get it?” “No”, Ao said. The master said: “The clouds are in the sky, the water is in the vase.” Ao was ecstatic, bowed, and composed a verse, saying:

The form of the cultivated body is like the form of a crane,  
Under one thousand pines are two sutra boxes,  
I came to ask of the way, and no superfluous words were spoken,  
The clouds are in the blue sky, and the water is in the vase.<sup>385</sup>

朗州刺史李翱嚮師玄化屢請不起。乃躬入山謁之。師執經卷不顧。侍者白曰：「太守在此。」翱性褊急乃言曰：「見面不如聞名。」師呼太守。翱應諾。師曰：「何得貴耳賤目。」翱拱手謝之。問曰：「如何是道？」師以手指上下曰：「會麼？」翱曰：「不會。」師曰：「雲在天，水在餅。」翱乃欣愜作禮而述一偈曰：

練得身形似鶴形，千株松下兩函經，  
我來問道無餘說，雲在青天水在餅。

First, Yaoshan responds to Li Ao’s underwhelmed reaction to their meeting in stating: “Why value the ear and look down on the eye?” This stresses the importance of personal experience over reputation. Li Ao is impressed by Yaoshan’s frank injunction to draw one’s own conclusions rather than relying on heresay, and requests a teaching from the master. Yaoshan responds by pointing up with one finger and down with another, replicating the gesture of the infant Buddha when he announced his arrival to the world. In the *Jingde Record* biography of Śākyamuni, immediately after birth the Buddha takes seven steps in each of the four directions, then pointing one hand at heaven, and the other at the earth he declares in a booming voice: “Above and below, and in all four directions, there are none that will not revere me 上下及四維，無能尊我者”.<sup>386</sup> This reference proved too enigmatic for Li Ao. Yaoshan’s third comment explains the meaning of his non-verbal teaching through a metaphor, stimulating the revelation Li Ao had been seeking by saying: “The clouds are in the

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<sup>385</sup> JDCDL j.14, in: T.2076.51: 312, b9-17. Translation adapted from: Shimizu 2007f; Shimizu 1980, 13.

<sup>386</sup> JDCDL j.1, in: T.2076.51: 205, b10.

sky, the water is in the vase”. This embeds Yaoshan’s earlier gestural appropriation of the position of the Buddha in both an immediate and cosmic setting. The immediate surroundings are alluded to in the reference to the adjacent bottle, and the cosmic centrality of the Buddha’s *dharma* is alluded to by the image of the clouds in the sky. Li Ao’s comprehension of this teaching is then expressed in verse, which explicitly praises Yaoshan’s economical use of language.

In the Metropolitan scroll, this verbal exegesis is embodied in a four-line *encomium* inscribed by Guangwen. Oscillating between ready legibility and abbreviated cursive forms, the range of calligraphic styles dramatises the individuality of the inscriber. The asymmetric density of strokes within individual characters, and the distinctive uses of dense and light ink across the inscription demonstrate Guangwen’s idiosyncratic calligraphic style. While Guangwen’s name in the inscription has been defaced over time, he is immediately identifiable as the author of the inscription through the subsequent seals. The inscription reads as follows:

Complete abandonment slices past the face,  
Looking down on the eye yet valuing the ear,  
Present between the water and the clouds  
Do not speak [further], as there is nothing more!  
Resident of Cold Spring [Guangwen]<sup>387</sup>

全犧劈面來，賤目而貴耳，  
便是雲水間，莫道無餘事。  
住冷泉 □□。

Guangwen’s first line stresses the potential for revelation through Yaoshan’s teaching, and by implication the *encomium*’s commentary upon it. His description of Li Ao’s realisation as abandonment literally translates as a complete offering (*quanxi* 全犧). Guangwen presents Li as giving himself up entirely to Yaoshan’s teachings, and rejecting earlier doubts over their eloquence and insight. He is not describing Li’s

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<sup>387</sup> Translation slightly adapted from: Shimizu 2007f.

revelation as a moment of sudden awakening, in the sense of a transformative enlightenment, but as an acceptance of the veracity of the master's spiritual seniority. By quoting both of Yaoshan's key phrases from the hagiographic dialogue in the second and third lines of the *encomium* Guangwen positions their message at the crux of the visual narrative. Both Li Ao, and the viewer of the scroll are reminded that understanding is acquired through direct interaction, and that the great insights of Buddhism are suspended between the cosmic space of heaven and the immediate surroundings of our present environment. The last line "Do not speak [further], as there is nothing more!" stresses the finality of Yaoshan's teaching, adapting a quote from Li Ao's poem "I came to ask of the way, and no superfluous words were spoken!" This closing line praises Yaoshan's ability to express great truths in few words, articulating an ideal quality that Guangwen himself was credited with in the preface to his discourse record. Tang Han opened his preface to Guangwen's discourse record by commenting that when enlightened people say nothing, they do not say too little. Guangwen's *encomium* repackages the original narrative of Yaoshan's interaction with Li Ao, directly addressing the viewer of the scroll with an imperative not to elaborate upon the language of the teaching. Locating his own commentary within the viewer's experience of the scene, Guangwen's *encomium* simultaneously cements his authority through association with Yaoshan, and provides exegesis on Yaoshan's exemplary actions.

While this inscription makes a forceful rhetorical connection between Guangwen and Yaoshan, the use of quotation in inscriptions by senior Chan abbots upon images of this subject was by no means unique to Guangwen. In an inscription by Yuejiang Zhengyin 月江正印 (active 14<sup>th</sup> century), on a no longer extant painting of this same subject, entitled *Attendant Gentleman Li visits Yaoshan* 李侍郎參藥山, we see a similar appropriation of authority through borrowed language:

Clouds up in the sky, water within the vase,  
 Seeing your face and hearing your name, looking down on the eye and valuing  
 the ear,  
 One section of the scene is incompletely painted,

The treetops rustling [like] the rising of cold waves.<sup>388</sup>

天上雲，瓶中水。  
見面聞名，賤目貴耳，  
一段風光畫不成，  
樹頭瑟瑟寒濤起。

The opening couplets of both Guangwen and Zhengyin's *encomia* refer to the same key phrases from Yaoshan's dialogue, referencing the cloud and vase, and the value Li Ao initially placed on reputation over personal experience. The repetition of these poetic tropes in the *encomia* of Song and Yuan Chan abbots reiterates their centrality to the interpretation of pictorial action in depictions of the encounter between Yaoshan and Li Ao. Both Guangwen and Zhengyin's *encomia* illustrate their familiarity with the subject, clarifying the events in the visual narrative for the viewer and stressing which elements of the interaction were of greatest importance. However, in their third and fourth lines the *encomia* conclude with different commentaries on the paintings they augment. Guangwen's teaching focuses on the nature of language in the encounter, appropriating Li Ao's verse to praise Yaoshan's brevity. Zhengyin, by contrast, focuses on the viewer's visual experience of the painting upon which his verse was inscribed. As the painting is now lost, however, the exact nature of the commentary is unclear.

As noted earlier in this thesis, certain tropes from a Chan exemplar's hagiography would be repeatedly alluded to in clerical *encomia* on painted representations of that same exemplar. *Encomia* on paintings of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains repeatedly mention the Daystar, which the Buddha saw on the morning of his enlightenment (figs. 2.5-2.7). Inscriptions on images of Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed repeatedly refer to the image of the five petal flower, through which the patriarch alluded to the eventual development of Chan into five schools. The image of the vase and the clouds, and the comment on 'looking down on the eye and valuing the ear' were standard tropes in *encomia* on paintings of Yaoshan and Li

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<sup>388</sup> YJZY j.3, in: X.1409.71: 143, a22-24.

Ao. These patterns of quotation in Chan inscriptions combine performative repetitions of the words of past masters with the expressive force of calligraphy and painting, framing and amplifying axial moments in hagiographic narratives. Such conventions in inscriptions mirror the didactic conventions of the Linji Chan school's use of *gong'an* 公案 (public cases) in a teaching, through a method known as “examining a phrase”, (*kanhua* 看話).<sup>389</sup> In *kanhua* Chan a familiar phrase or action from an historic dialogue by a Chan exemplar is presented to the student in quotation, followed by commentary by the master. The contemplation of this phrase, mediated through the master's verbal intercession, is intended to spark the student's insight. While we cannot be certain that these inscribed paintings were used in didactic contexts, their rhetorical parallel with the verbal dimensions of *kanhua* Chan indicates a probable similar rhetorical function. However, unlike *kanhua* Chan, clerical *encomia* on Chan figure paintings were enhanced by combination with visual representation.

Further to the commentarial and exegetical function of Guangwen's *encomium*, the physical properties of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* would have impacted how Southern Song viewers approached both image and text. The scroll's original horizontal format created an imperative for intimate viewing. When handscrolls were unrolled, the audience would have been physically close to the painted or written surface. Extant thirteenth and fourteenth century paintings showing figures examining handscrolls provide an idealised representation of this intimate mode of looking. In an anonymous painting of eighteen *arhats* viewing a handscroll, inscribed by the Yuan cleric Tanfang Shouzhong 曇芳守忠 (1274-1348) (fig. 5.9a), the assembled worthies are pressed right up against the surface of the object.<sup>390</sup> The *arhats* stare intently at the scroll at close quarters. They exchange smiles of joy at what they see, while their emphatically gesturing hands skim the scroll's surface (fig. 5.9b). As an idealised representation of experience, this conception of viewing practices does not necessarily reflect the actual ways in which handscrolls were used. However, *Eighteen Arhats Viewing a Handscroll* indicates that it would be acceptable, or even expected, that a

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<sup>389</sup> For a discussion of this method in the Linji school's teaching from the 12<sup>th</sup> century see: Schlütter 2008, 104-21.

<sup>390</sup> For a discussion of this painting, see: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 84, pl. 16.

viewer would be in close proximity to a scroll's surface. Such scenes show that there was a clear interest in intimate examination of that surface, helping us to understand how *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* is most likely to have been viewed in its original horizontal format.

While *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* was produced in a format conducive to this intimate mode of looking, it has since been remounted in Japan as a vertical hanging scroll. This vertical format adapts the image for hanging in the *tokonoma* alcove 床の間 during a tea ceremony. Hung in the discrete space of the alcove a few feet away from where the guests of the tea master would sit, this mode of display creates a distance between viewer and object.<sup>391</sup> While the remounting of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* necessarily involved a degree of material violence, the alteration of the object reflects the esteem placed upon the object in Japanese transmission. Moreover, its adaptation to suit Japanese taste accounts for its preservation.<sup>392</sup> The material alteration of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, and of other works of this type, was thus simultaneously creative and destructive. The cutting and reframing of the scroll both facilitated and reflected new relationships between viewer and object, telling us much about its history of collection and transmission in the archipelago, whilst also erasing elements of its history prior to arriving in Japan.

The profound impact of the material alteration of *Meeting between Yaoshan and Li Ao* exerts a on a viewer's reception of the painting and calligraphy becomes immediately apparent when one examines the painting in person. The intricate details of the pictorial moment are completely illegible from a few feet away. Instead you are confronted with an expansive blue and cream silk mounting, suspending the subtle monochrome composition of the painted scene within a block of colour. Seen from even a short distance away, key details of the figures' interaction are no longer visible, such as Yaoshan's open mouth, his teeth, and Li Ao's subtle expression. The

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<sup>391</sup> For a discussion of this history of this method of display and practice of social viewings at elite Japanese gatherings, see: Guth 1993, 41-2.

<sup>392</sup> A 2014 exhibition at the Nezu Museum in Tokyo focused on the various material alterations of objects from antiquity by Japanese collectors, including such elite groups as the Ashikaga shoguns and their alteration of Chinese paintings into formats very similar to *Meting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*: Nezu Bijutsukan 2014, 7.

painting's substantial alteration into its present vertical mounting quadruples the height of the scroll, from its 31.8 cm paper surface to the 124.8 cm of the complete object. A close viewing is essential both to read the inscription, and to appreciate how the scroll was conceived of by its Song artist and inscriber.

The composition is divided down the centre, separating the pictorial space occupied by each figure. While Yaoshan is grounded in the composition through his surrounding rocks and trees, the space around Li Ao is nigh on empty, achieving balance with the right hand side only through the calligraphy. This indicates that the image was prepared with the express intention of receiving an inscription on this site. The integration of calligraphic and pictorial expression is emphasised in the correspondence between the darker strokes on some of the characters, and the dark ink dots on the surface of the rocks and trees around Yaoshan. This density of ink is most apparent in the *quan* 全 in the first line, *lai* 來 in the second, and asymmetrically presented within a single graph in the *ren* 人 radical in *bian* 便 in the fourth line. It is seen most forcefully of all in the final character of the verse *shi* 事, which acts like a graphic punctuation mark to distinguish the expressive passage of verse from the signature.

The interaction between the historic Chan exemplar and scholar official in *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* would have been a familiar setting for Guangwen. He was a well-connected cleric with close associates among the secular elite of the capital. When he wrote the *encomium* for *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, Guangwen was abbot of the Lingyin monastery 靈隱寺, around half a day's walk from the imperial palace on the shores of West Lake. This setting would have given him ample opportunity to meet with the local elite. In his epitaph Lin Xiyi describes the intimate friendships between Guangwen and scholar officials in the following terms: "Eminent officials and famed scholars competed to follow him, always staying late and forgetting to return home 貴卿名士, 爭先游從, 晚每至忘歸."<sup>393</sup> Lin's epitaph is essentially hagiography, so such lavish praise does not necessarily reflect all of Guangwen's interactions with men of learning. However, the deference of the

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<sup>393</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69, 753 c5.

scholar to the Chan cleric seen in Li Ao's interaction with Yaoshan in the Metropolitan painting resonates with Lin's idealised posthumous image of Guangwen. Indeed, the interaction between Yaoshan and Li Ao provides a canonical precedent for Guangwen's presumed authority over scholar associates. The Metropolitan painting provides a clear example of how Guangwen could rhetorically appropriate such authority to augment his image while alive. Moreover, the Li Ao beneath Guangwen's *encomium* appears conspicuously more deferential than the Li Ao in another painting of this scene by the Southern Song court artist Ma Gongxian (active 13<sup>th</sup> century), (fig. 5.10). In the painting from the Metropolitan Museum, Li Ao is moving toward Yaoshan, his back entering into a bow, and his hands clasped in a respectful greeting. Ma Gongxian 馬公顯 depicts Li Ao standing resolute and dignified, his back ramrod straight, and turned slightly away from the viewer. Moreover, there is no calligraphic commentary upon Ma's painting, while the *encomium* upon the Metropolitan painting expresses Guangwen's contemporary authority to the Southern Song viewer. By both integrating his calligraphy into the composition, and by mediating the viewer's experience of the visual narrative, Guangwen has literally written himself into Chan antiquity.

### *Budai and Fenggan*

The final section of this analysis of Yanxi Guangwen's *encomia* explores how they mediated the relationship between Song viewers and images of eccentric figures from the margins of the Chan pantheon. The following discussion examines Guangwen's *encomia* on four paintings of Budai (figs. 5.2-5.5) and one of Fenggan (Fig 5.6). Both subjects are Chan Scattered Sages, *sansheng* 散聖 in Chinese.<sup>394</sup> These are figures from outside the formal lineages who are often identified as avatars of Buddhas and

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<sup>394</sup> The prefix *san* 散 is particularly difficult to translate. Its basic meaning is of being unattached or dispersed. This is reflected in the structure of Chan hagiographies, where *sansheng* are listed as a separate category outside of formal lineage structures. The title *sansheng* is similar to that of Scattered Transcendent (*sanxian* 散仙), or True Man Without Station (*wuwei zhenren* 無位真人). The term *san* was also used as a prefix for irregular official titles, at times indicating either a supernumerary or honorary position. For a discussion of the diverse meanings of this term as applied to official titles, see: Hucker 1985, 395 no. 4831.

Bodhisattvas.<sup>395</sup> Guangwen's *encomia* recurrently evoke and then resolve the purported ambiguity of Budai's identity. The repetition of certain phrases in these verses appears to contradict the originality and immediacy for which Guangwen was praised in the prefaces to his discourse record. However, these calligraphic acts of identification were performative. Though audiences of these paintings would have been familiar with the divine identities of Budai through his hagiography, the process of revealing these identities in *encomia* was still valued. This value is evidenced by a phrase at the end of an *encomium* on a painting of Budai by Zhiweng Ruoqing, which states that the image was produced in response to a request from a lay practitioner, identified solely as a 'Man of Chan' (*Chanren* 禪人) (fig. 5.3). The list of Guangwen's inscriptions upon his own portraits includes several similar dedications, providing further evidence of a diverse clerical and lay audience for Guangwen's inscriptions upon paintings (appendix 5.4). *Encomia* enabled both proximity and interaction between Guangwen's calligraphic presence and Budai and Fenggan's simulation in painting, connecting eccentric clerics from outside the Chan lineage with the clerical and cultural authority of a sitting abbot.

Budai was a heavily mythologised figure, his hagiography in the *Jingde Record* dates his death to 916, listing his biography in the separate category of Scattered Sages discussed above.<sup>396</sup> Like the other Scattered Sages, Budai existed on the periphery of both the physical and ideological space of monastic life, leading an itinerant, antinomian existence beyond the cloister walls. However, an existence in the margins did not relegate Budai to marginal importance. He was a liminal figure, whose life on the periphery of society carried an implied access to transcendent truths that escaped those bound by convention. The extent of his elevated status is made clear at the end of his hagiography in the *Jingde Record*. In his *gātha*, or death verse, Budai reveals himself as an avatar of the future Buddha, Maitreya (*Mile* 彌勒):

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<sup>395</sup> A painting of Master Clam 蜆子和尚 by Muxi in a private collection in Japan preserves another example of an encomium by Guangwen on a painting of one the Chan's Scattered Sages (fig. 5.7). However, as Guangwen's *encomium* on this painting focuses on the monk's eccentric actions, and is not part of his performative identification of Scattered Sages as avatars of Buddhist divinities, it is beyond the immediate scope of this study.

<sup>396</sup> For Budai's hagiographic record, see: JDCDL j.27, in: T.2076.51: 434, a19-b26. Paramita Paul discusses the iconographic conventions for Budai's depiction in: Paul 2009, 71-2.

In the third month of the *bingzi* second year of the Zhenming reign period of the [Latter] Liang [emperor Modi 末帝] [916], the master was about to realise extinction [enter Nirvana]. He seated himself upon a flat rock at the end of the eastern porch of Yuelin monastery, and spoke the following verse:

Maitreya, true Maitreya,  
Body separated into 100 billion pieces  
Time and again appearing to the people of the day,  
The people of day then fail to recognise you.

Once the *gātha* was complete he calmly passed away. Thereafter, people saw the master wandering with a cloth sack in other prefectures. Thereupon the four classes [of Buddhist devotee] strove to depict his image. Today his complete body is preserved in the eastern hall of the Yuelin temple.<sup>397</sup>

梁貞明二年丙子三月師將示滅。於嶽林寺東廊下端坐磐石。而說偈曰：

彌勒真彌勒，分身千百億。  
時時示時人，時人自不識。

偈畢安然而化。其後他州有人見師亦負布袋而行。於是四眾競圖其像。今嶽林寺大殿東堂全身見存。

When he unmask himself as a member of the highest strata of the Buddhist pantheon, Budai couples his revelation with playful chastening of the people of his day for their failure to recognise his true face. In the last lines of the hagiography he displays a final act of transcendence, defeating death itself by reappearing in the mundane world in the tantalisingly vague ‘other prefectures’.<sup>398</sup> In addition to his subversive appeal as a charismatic eccentric who attracted lay devotions, Budai is exceptional among the historic exemplars listed in the *Jingde Record*, as he is potentially still present among

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<sup>397</sup> JDCDL j.27, in: T.2076.51: 434, b22-26.

<sup>398</sup> Budai’s incorporation into both monastic institutional and popular religious practice is discussed in: Shahar 1998, 39-40 & 218.

the later generations of readers. Coupled with the popularity of his iconographic representation mentioned at the end of his hagiography, Budai's status as an incarnation of an elevated Bodhisattva hidden in a humble guise makes him potentially ubiquitously present. Budai's potent liminality clearly contributed to the popularity of his representation in Chan art.

Budai's liminal qualities in his hagiographic representation are embellished in the technical and compositional approaches of the artists who depicted him in painting. Three of the four paintings of Budai with *encomia* by Guangwen use extremely dilute ink and minimal brushstrokes to conspicuously display the illusionistic process of the act of depiction (figs. 5.2-5.4). The fourth image of Budai inscribed by Guangwen is part of a diptych by Li Que 李確 (active 13<sup>th</sup> century), paired with a painting of the Scattered Sage Fenggan and his tiger (figs. 5.5-5.6). Both Budai and Fenggan are rendered in the cursive abbreviated brush style of Li Que's teacher Liang Kai, using much darker tones than the other three works depicting Budai with Guangwen's *encomia*.<sup>399</sup> Yet Li's representation of Budai also creates a deliberate boundary between the viewer and subject. Li's Budai turns away from the viewer. Facing upward and holding his belly, Budai laughs at something imperceptible to the scroll's audience. These paintings' technical and iconographic qualities offer contrasting responses to Budai than seen in Guangwen's calligraphic performances of recognition. While the painted images play upon Budai's concealed identity through illusory imagery, the accompanying *encomia* reveal the subject in dense, dark ink.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I believe there is a significant probability that a painting of Budai formerly attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century), currently in the collection of the Fukuoka City Art Museum, features the earliest of Guangwen's extant *encomia* (fig. 5.2).<sup>400</sup> This supposition is based on variations in both Guangwen's use of place names, and his calligraphic style. Guangwen's

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<sup>399</sup> Liang Kai stylistic repertoire and legacy are discussed at length in chapter six.

<sup>400</sup> For a discussion of this image focused on its relationship to the apparition style of painting, see Lippit 2009, 81-3. The pedigree of its transmission through the Shogunal collection of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94), and its subsequent display and appreciation in the tea ceremony circles of Ichizo Kobayashai 小林一三と (1873-1957) and Yauzaemon Matsunaga 松永安左 (1875-1971) are noted in: Itsuō Bijutsukan and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2013, 44, pl. 35.

signature on the Fukuoka scroll designates the monastery of which he was abbot as Wanshou 萬壽, signing his name: “Eulogised by Guangwen of Wanshou”. Wanshou was a title for numerous monasteries across the Song Empire, literally meaning ‘a thousand years’, often used as an expression of a wish for imperial longevity. The name was given to monasteries entrusted with accumulating karmic benefit to prolong the life of the emperor.<sup>401</sup> Two monasteries at which Guangwen served as abbot included Wanshou in their name: his third appointment at the Wanshou Chan monastery 萬壽禪寺 in Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 (part of modern day Fujian province), before 1245, and his final appointment at the Xiansheng Wanshou monastery on Mount Jing near the Southern Song capital of Lin'an from 1256-1263.<sup>402</sup> In the other examples of works inscribed when at the Xiansheng Wanshou monastery, Guangwen names his location as Mount Jing, rather than Wanshou (figs. 5.4, 5.6). He also occasionally uses the ‘Double Path’ (*shuang jing* 雙徑) seal of the monastery. The Fukuoka Budai incorporates neither this form of signature, nor this seal.

The *encomium* for the Fukuoka Budai is written in a regulated hand, each stroke readily legible and with a uniform balance in the speed and weight of the characters of each line. Compared to Guangwen’s later calligraphy while abbot of the Lingyin Monastery on Beishan (figs. 5.1, 5.7-5.8) and Wanshou Monastery on Jingshan (figs. 5.3, 5.5-5.6), the brushwork is stiff and formulaic. Moreover, the tonality of the ink used in the contested *encomium* is relatively constant. There are only minor changes in the saturation of individual characters and strokes, compared to the significant contrasts in globular dark forms and light delicate movements in the *encomium* on *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* discussed above.

While we have no means of definitively asserting that the Fukuoka Budai is from the earlier portion of Guangwen's career, there is at least a strong case for a cautious avoidance of earlier presumptions that it dates to Guangwen’s final abbacy.<sup>403</sup> Nonetheless, the painted content remains consistent with the overall stylistic range of

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<sup>401</sup> The establishment of such a system under Song Huizong is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 71-2.

<sup>402</sup> For a full list of Guangwen’s abbacies, based on his epitaph biography, see appendix 5.1.

<sup>403</sup> This inscription is dated to his time on Jingshan in: Itakura 2004, 20; Lippit 2009, 83.

images of Budai inscribed by Guangwen. The artist has rendered Budai's body as a contained, circular space, gazing into the wind as his robe blows forward. The juxtaposition of the front and back edges of the simple garment wrapped around Budai's shoulders eloquently simulates the recession of space around his body, lending illusionistic depth to the groundless image. The ephemeral quality of Budai's body and garb is strikingly juxtaposed with the implicit weight of the staff across his shoulder, where the saturation of the black ink reads as a pictorial simulation of physical gravity. Breaking with the static conventions of front facing Buddhist polychrome cult imagery (fig. 2.13), this portly eccentric stares out beyond the boundary of the picture. Guangwen's inscription reads as follows:

In the bustling market, unhindered in liberated mischief,  
One may not speak of dreams in front of a fool,<sup>404</sup>  
You twist your brain and turn your head, but who gets it?  
The pole atop your shoulder is as heavy as a mountain.  
Eulogised by Guangwen of Wanshou.<sup>405</sup>

鬧市裏不妨放頑，癡人前不可說夢，  
轉腦回頭誰得知，肩頭棒子如山重。  
萬壽廣聞贊。

In the third line of this verse Guangwen makes an oblique allusion to the anonymity of Budai, in spite of his conspicuous public persona within the crowded, urban world evoked in the opening couplet. The answer to Guangwen's rhetorical question "who gets it?" is clear. The inscriber does, and thereby so does the viewer.

The four character phrase "twist your brain and turn your head" is also found on two other *encomia* inscribed by Guangwen on images of Budai (figs. 5.3 and 5.5). It derives from a teaching offered by the monk Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (707-791)

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<sup>404</sup> This phrase is adapted from the concluding verse in case four of the *Wumenguan*, 'The Barbarian has no Beard' 胡子無鬚. WMG, j.1 in: T.2005.48: 293, b28.

<sup>405</sup> Adapted from: Lippit 2009, 81.

which led to the awakening of Wuxie Lingmo 五洩靈默 (747-818). Having come to seek a teaching from Shitou, Lingmo was on the verge of departing when Shitou called out to him. Lingmo turned his head to listen and Shitou offered him the following phrase: “From birth to old age, there is only this, what do you turn your head and twist your brains for? 從生至老，只是這箇，回頭轉腦作甚麼”.<sup>406</sup> Shitou’s words equate turning the head and twisting the brain to purposeless mental action. In Guangwen’s verse Shitou’s image is redeployed to connect the impenetrable machinations of Budai’s mind with this awakening generating teaching. Guangwen’s implicit understanding of Budai’s mind is thereby directly linked with the abbot’s status as an awakened Chan master. This is expressed as much through the function of his calligraphy as intercession between viewer and subject as by the content of his verse.

Another painting, inscribed during Guangwen’s final abbacy on Mount Jing bears the seal of Zhiweng Ruoqing (fig 5.3). This eminent monk painter of the early thirteenth century is celebrated for his execution of works in the apparition style, as a follower of Zhirong. Though few of Zhiweng’s works survive, and textual records remain scant, works such as this illustrate the enigmatic aesthetic for which he was known. Like the painter of the Fukuoka Budai attributed to Hu Zhifu, Zhiweng emphasises the illusionistic process of representation. He creates a deliberate distance between his image of Budai and the viewer, which is bridged by Guangwen’s mediating *encomium*. As noted above, the Budai by Li Que eschews this ghostly aesthetic in favour of the kinetic rapid movements of the abbreviated brush technique associated with Li’s teacher, Liang Kai. However, the side on stance of Li’s Budai creates a different obstacle to direct interaction between viewer and pictorial subject (fig 5.5). In the *encomia* on both Zhiweng and Li Que’s paintings, Guangwen’s verses centre on a rhetorical allusion to Budai’s supposedly concealed identity, with a striking lack of variation in language. The inscription to the Zhiweng painting reads as follows:

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<sup>406</sup> This incident is recorded in various Chan hagiographic compendia with which Guangwen would have been familiar, such as the 1183 *Liandeng Huiyao*, and the 1252 *Wudeng Huiyuan*. In the earlier 1004 *Jingde Chuandeng lu* version Shitou uses a slightly different phrase to awaken Lingmo, which does not mention turning the head and twisting the brain. JDCDL j.7: T.51.2076: 254, b11-b12; LDHY j.4: X.1557.79: 45b11-b12. WDHY, j.3 in: X.1565.80: 77, a8.

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,  
Twisting your brain and turning your head, how many taints?<sup>407</sup>  
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,  
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Requested by a man with superior understanding of Chan  
Yanxi Guangwen of Jingshan.

蕩蕩行波波走，  
轉腦回頭，多少漏逗？  
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，  
草清清處還知否？

禪了上人請贊。住徑山偃溪廣聞。

Guangwen's inscription to the Li Que Budai is remarkably close to the verse accompanying the Zhiweng painting, reading:

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,  
Coming and going all over, how many taints?  
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,  
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Yanxi Guangwen, Resident of Jingshan

蕩蕩行波波走，  
到處去來，多少漏逗，  
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，  
草青青處還知否？  
住徑山偃谿黃聞。

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<sup>407</sup> The taints mentioned here (*lou* 漏) refers to the concept *you lou* 有漏 (*sāsrava*), conducting actions conditioned by intentions, and thereby accruing *karma*.

Aside from four characters in their second lines, Guangwen's *encomia* on Zhiweng and Li Que's paintings are identical. This conspicuous overlap in verbal content shows only slight variation on the same theme seen in the Fukuoka scroll attributed to Hu Zhifu. Moreover, the verse on the Zhiweng scroll incorporates another repetition, where Guangwen duplicates the phrase from the Fukuoka scroll commenting on the turning and twisting of Budai's head: "Twisting your brain and turning your head, how many taints? 轉腦回頭，多少漏逗". These 'taints' refer to karmic taints or outpourings (*lou* 漏). These parallel Shitou's teaching to Lingmo, in which Shitou equates turning the head and twisting the brain with purposeless mental action. Guangwen's incorporation of this allusion into the image of Budai once again borrows the authority of Shitou's teaching to address the viewer of the painting.

The allusion to this image of Budai's turning head was by no means limited to Guangwen's *encomia*, with the exact same four character expression "twisting your brain and turning your head" also seen in the recorded verses of his clerical contemporaries such as Xiyao Liaohui 西巖了慧 (1198-1262).<sup>408</sup> Zhiweng's image of Budai (fig. 5.3) incorporates the same gesture seen in the painting attributed to Hu Zhifu (fig. 5.2), gazing over his shoulder beyond the boundaries of the composition. Rather than fully embodying the presence of Maitreya's avatar, these images are sightings of a wild, enigmatic eccentric. He is a wandering figure, who does not reside in any monastic centre, and who is not formally affiliated with any lineage. This eccentric's insights are only accessible through the mediating function of Guangwen's *encomia*, produced by a senior figure in the very institutions from which Budai was estranged.

The repetitive rhetoric of Guangwen's *encomia* sits uncomfortably alongside the idealised image of the abbot as an extraordinary exegete and paradigm of spontaneous revelation, found in the prefaces to his discourse record. An explicit conflict emerges when we compare the contemporary sources of You Yu's 1259 preface to Guangwen's discourse record with his most repetitive inscriptions (fig. 5.3, 5.5),

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<sup>408</sup> XYLHCSYL j.2, in: X.1391.70: 499, b20.

produced between 1256 and 1263. You Yu's preface opens with the following celebration of Guangwen's originality:

Chan Master Yanxi sat in eight centres of awakening. Students flocked to him, like water rushing into a great gully. The phrases he uttered spread to all places: firstly because there was not one phrase that was unoriginal, secondly because no phrase was repeated, thirdly because they completely blocked observational knowledge as a route to logical thinking, and fourthly because they cut off the entanglements of convention. Only through these four [qualities] can we completely sweep away today's afflictions upon the gateways to the *dharma*. This is what makes him so outstanding in this time.<sup>409</sup>

偃溪禪師，八坐道場。學者奔赴，如水赴壑。所句語，流傳諸方。一則並無一句踏襲，二則亦無一句重疊，三則塞盡知見理路，四則截斷葛藤窠臼。只此四著，盡掃近日法門弊病。宜其傑出一時也。

The recurrent repetition clearly calls You Yu's claims of Guangwen's originality into question. Guangwen repeats himself, quotes from the canon, and works within the same conventional forms of verse.

While Guangwen certainly replicated the verbal content of his *encomia* on these three different images of Budai, a fourth example from the collection of the Tokugawa Art Museum offers a more focused take on Budai's identity as an avatar of Maitreya (fig. 5.4). In a painting inscribed between 1251 and 1254, while abbot of Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺 on Southern Mountain (*Nanshan* 南山), Guangwen uses a longer verse form of five lines of 8, 9, 7, 7 and 7 characters. The cadence of the calligraphy is relatively consistent, accelerating into slightly more cursive text in the final line. Compared with the even saturation of the Fukuoka painting, this text creates a greater contrast between the tonalities of distinct characters. This verse reads as follows:

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<sup>409</sup> YXGWCSYL j.1, in: X.1368.69: 725, b5-8. For a full translation see appendix 5.3.

Upon the long sandbar of the river you are the great worthy,  
Was the Great Master before Mount Yunhuang also you?<sup>410</sup>  
You swap your face, change your head at will,  
Only [Your] next coming as Maitreya is not confirmed,  
You pull the wool over all people's eyes, men and women [alike].

Inscribed by Guangwen of Nanshan

長汀江上汝即大士，  
雲黃山前大士即汝許？  
汝換面改頭決定，  
嘗來補處只不許？  
汝教壞人家男女。  
南山黃聞題。

The rhetorical structure and the cadence of the verse inscribed upon the Tokugawa scroll distinguish it from Guangwen's repetitive forms in the three other paintings examined above. However, the Tokugawa painting's *encomium* shares their focus on the concealment of Budai's true identity. The first line addresses Budai through a variant of his sobriquet, Master of the Sandbar 長汀子', here Great Worthy of the Sandbar 長汀大士. This references Budai's itinerant lifestyle to identify the painted subject as the mendicant-cum-vagrant of his hagiographic narrative.<sup>411</sup> These monikers recognise Budai as a source of spiritual potency, but with none of the stabilising context of monastic authority.<sup>412</sup> Instead, he sleeps on the sandbar, at the literal periphery of the communities he passes through and in a space that is inherently unstable and changeable. In the accompanying painting it is not Budai who

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<sup>410</sup> The Great Master before Mount Yunhuang refers to the monk Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士 (497-569), who was also believed to be an avatar of Maitreya. For a discussion of this figure see: Hsiao 1995.

<sup>411</sup> The same title is used in the *Jingde Record*: "For a time Budai was known as Master Sandbar 時號長汀子布袋師也": T.2076.51: 434, a24.

<sup>412</sup> In his discussion of Budai's hagiography, Meir Shahar stresses that Budai was never formally ordained, evident in his burial rather than cremation, and so was always in some way peripheral to the monastic institution: Shahar 1998, 40.

is slumbering, but a small boy whose weary head rests on top of Budai's sack. Budai is gleefully pulling the bag out from under the boy, about to prompt a very literal awakening. This image of Budai as resident on the periphery of the monastery has parallels with the narrative of Master Clam, who combed the riverbanks outside the White Horse Shrine 白馬廟 in Jingzhao [county] 京兆.<sup>413</sup> Guangwen's *encomium* for a painting of Master Clam in a private Japanese collection celebrates Master Clam's antinomian behaviour for a similar liminality and freedom praised in verses on Budai.<sup>414</sup> Guangwen's opening two lines describe Master Clam catching shrimp from the water bank, and disregarding the expectations that a monk would abstain from such fare: "Casually grasping what comes, dragging the mud and wading the water, illicit booty emerges before him, facing a tough taboo 信手拈來,拖泥涉水,贓物現前,當面難諱."<sup>415</sup>

The second line of Guangwen's inscription on the Tokugawa painting of Budai references, another avatar of the Maitreya, the sixth century layman Fu Xi 傅翕, who was also known as Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士 (497-569).<sup>416</sup> The second line of Guangwen's verse connects Budai to this sixth century figure through the name of Fu Xi's mountain residence, Mount Yunhuang: "Was the Great Master before Mount Yunhuang also you? 雲黃山前大士即汝許".<sup>417</sup> Both Fu Xi's *Jingde Record* hagiography and his *Discourse Record* recount the same origin story of the name of Mount Yunhuang. In both texts a miraculous proclamation was made atop this mountain that reconfirmed Fu Xi's status as an avatar of Maitreya.<sup>418</sup> Fu Xi presents

<sup>413</sup> JDCDL j. 17, in: T.2076.51: 338, b1.

<sup>414</sup> The rhetorical conventions for *encomia* upon this theme produced by Song and Yuan abbots, including Yanxi Guangwen, are discussed in an unpublished paper by Stephen Allee of the Freer Gallery of Art. This paper was kindly shared with the author in the process of research. Allee's approach significantly informed the above discussion of Guangwen's *encomia* in this chapter.

<sup>415</sup> Translation from: Allee, unpublished paper.

<sup>416</sup> The history of the various versions of Fu Xi's biographies, the development of their content, and their connection with sixth century Buddhist practice are the subject of extensive discussion by Hsiao Bea-hui in her 1995 thesis *Two Images of Maitreya*. For her thorough survey of the various biographical sources on Fu Xi, see: Hsiao 1995, 50-61. Shanhui was incorporated into the Chan pantheon as an anomalous category of exemplary clerics outside the lineage, listed in the *Jingde Record* as "Those who crossed the gate of Chan, who although not having exited *samsara* were famed in their day 禪門達者雖不出世有名於時."

<sup>417</sup> Fu Xi's residence on Mount Yunhuang is discussed in Hsiao 1995, 96.

<sup>418</sup> JDCDL j.27, in: T2076.51: 430, c18-9. SHDSYL, j.4 in X.1336.69, 130 a15-a16.

this revelation as the result of his having achieved *śūraṃgama-samādhi* (*shoulengyan ding* 首楞嚴定). This state of consciousness is understood to be the tenth mental abode of the Bodhisattva. Fu Xi's attainment of *śūraṃgama-samādhi* thus demonstrated the veracity of his claims to being an incarnation of Maitreya.<sup>419</sup> According to both the *Jingde Record* and the *Discourse Record of Shanhui Dashi* one of the consequences of his attaining this state occurred when Fu Xi was atop the peak of Yunhuang Shan in 562. On this occasion he saw a vision of seven Buddhas, led by Śākyamuni with Vimalakīrti bringing up the rear. Among these seven Buddha's Śākyamuni proclaimed to Fu Xi that he would succeed him in Buddhahood. There followed a swirl of yellow clouds that enveloped the peak, accounting for the subsequent name of the mountain.

The phrase used by Śākyamuni to declare Fu Xi's succession as the future Maitreya was “*buchu* 補處”, literally “to occupy his place”. This is the same phrase used by Guangwen to refer to Budai's future birth as a Buddha. Guangwen deliberately pairs Budai's title as the ‘Great Master of the Sandbar’ with Fu Xi as the Great Master before the named site of Mount Yunhuang. This underscores their shared status as avatars of Maitreya. Guangwen's inscription thereby augments the revealed divine status of the painting's antinomian subject, linking the liminal Master of the Sandbar with his previous incarnation as Shanhui Dashi.

Guangwen's third and fourth lines allude to Budai's deliberate change of appearance, and his posthumous revelation of his true identity as Maitreya. This lyrical evocation of Budai's mutability situates the mendicant between the cosmic position of the deity, and the dangerous position of the unmoored eccentric. The final line describes Budai's mischievous temperament, commenting on Budai's propensity to deceive his ordinary contemporaries. This characterisation of Budai fits his representation in the Tokugawa painting, which shows a grinning Budai about to wake the young boy asleep upon his bag and not the introverted figure gazing into the imperceptible distance in the other painting discussed above.

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<sup>419</sup> Fu Xi's proclamations of having achieved *śūraṃgama-samādhi* are discussed in Hsiao 1995, 91-2.

Like his earlier inscriptions, Guangwen's *encomium* on the Tokugawa scroll combines the identification of Budai as a manifestation of the future Buddha with a rhetorical question as to Budai's identity and the circumstances of his appearance. As a devotional focus of the Chan community, whose hagiography stresses his capacity to appear anywhere at any time, Budai represents a source of potency not accessible through the established structures of monastic power. Indeed, the process of selection for a senior monastic position required state approval, and demonstrable membership of a recognised lineage.<sup>420</sup> Guangwen was an edifice of identifiable, demonstrable, and conservative authority. Budai sits at the opposite end of the spiritual spectrum. He is a trickster, a mendicant, and a shape-shifting avatar with mischievous intentions. Through the calligraphic exertion of authority over iconic representations of this trickster, Guangwen is able to incorporate him within the structure of the monastic hierarchy. He becomes part of the pantheon by association, participating in monastic life through the abbot's calligraphic simulation of a dialogue with Budai's icon. Nowhere is this clearer than in Guangwen's *encomium* on the Tokugawa scroll, which uncharacteristically repeatedly addresses the painted subject through the second person pronoun, *ru* 汝.

Li Que's painting of Budai is distinctive among images of the portly mendicant inscribed with Guangwen's *encomia* as it is part of a diptych, currently preserved together in the Myōshinji 妙心寺 monastery in Kyoto. A contemporaneous inscription by Guangwen on another of Li's paintings pairs this Budai with Fenggan, the Scattered Sage from Mount Tiantai whose name literally means Big Stick (fig 5.6). Fenggan stands facing forward, his hair grown long and wild in flagrant disregard for the monastic regulations. Unlike Budai, he is not alone. Budai stands in profile, his head upward as he grasps his belly in a fit of euphoric laughter. Fenggan displays no such levity. His tiger familiar slinks around his legs, head down and fur bristling, while man and beast glare outward, in an unflinching exchange of gazes with the viewer. Fenggan's posture matches that of his animal companion, heads set low, teeth bared, legs spread wide in a combative stance. Even the curvature of Fenggan's staff mirrors the tiger's erect tail. Rather than taming the wild beast as a

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<sup>420</sup> The function of public Chan monasteries in ensuring state selection of conservative clerics is discussed in: Schlütter 2008, 76.

symbol of control over the erratic mind, Fenggan has become an animal. The zoomorphic transformation of the master ties into the inscribed verse, where Guagnwen uses allusion to the image of the tiger as an analogy for the recognition of Fenggan's disciple Hanshan 寒山 (8<sup>th</sup> century) by provincial governor Lü Qiu 闍丘 in another hagiographic narrative.<sup>421</sup>

Guangwen's *encomia* on these paintings of Budai, and the single depiction of Fenggan, actively incorporate spiritually powerful, yet unpredictable and even dangerous figures into the Chan pantheon. The occasional nature of Guangwen's calligraphy, described in Tang Han's preface to Guangwen's discourse record, reveals the performative nature of the taming of these wild divinities. While the inscriptions on images of Budai repeat the same phrases, as separate commentaries on a common subject Guangwen's *encomia* would not have been intended for viewing together. They are distinguished by their contexts of viewing and reception, used to create relationships with associated paintings and with intended audiences. Guangwen's inscription upon Li Que's paintings was a commentary upon the diptych of Fenggan and Budai, contributing to the visual juxtaposition of Budai's removed levity and Fenggan's immediate ferocity. The *encomium* on Zhiweng's Budai was expressly produced at the request of a lay patron or disciple. While a holistic examination of Guangwen's oeuvre of calligraphic *encomia* shows repetition and duplication, these repetitions are adapted to the specific circumstances of viewing engendered by each image. Further to the contexts created by relationships between viewers and paintings, and between separate paintings in sets, subtle details in Guangwen's *encomia* also reference the visual idiosyncrasies of the paintings' subjects. For example, the pole upon the shoulder of the Budai attributed to Hu Zhifu from the Fukuoka City Art Museum, and the turning of Budai's head in both the Fukuoka scroll and in Zhiweng's painting are visible details commented on directly in Guangwen's *encomia*. This shows a clear consideration of the image when composing the accompanying text.

The success of Guangwen's career indicates that the calligraphic verses he produced were sufficient to meet the expectations of Song society, as demonstrations of both

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<sup>421</sup> For a full translation of the inscription see notes to fig. 5.6.

his clerical authority and cultural refinement. Unlike his *encomium* on *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao*, Guangwen's performative demonstration of authority on paintings of eccentrics are not structured around allusions to visual narrative. However, they are significant to this study for what they reveal about the relationships between image and text in inscribed Chan figure paintings. Manipulation of the text-image relationships was a key mechanism for Guangwen's cultural performance upon images of Scattered Sages, contrasting the illusory presence of the painted eccentric with the tangible voice of the abbot's calligraphy.

### *Conclusions*

The preceding chapter analysed Guangwen's practice of inscribing *encomia* on Chan figure paintings through two case studies of different relationships between subject, inscriber and viewer, contextualised against the idealised image of the abbot expressed in contemporary literary sources. The first case study examined Guangwen's use of inscription in appropriating the authority and identity of historic exemplars from the Chan lineage through direct quotation. In *Meeting Between Yaoshan Weiyuan and Li Ao*, Guangwen's direct reference to the speech of the past exemplar was augmented by the visual integration of his calligraphy into the painted narrative scene. This capitalised on the intimate visual experience expected of the handscroll format by the Southern Song viewer. The integration and overlap between Guangwen's thirteenth century commentary and Yaoshan's ninth century teaching implied an equivalence between inscriber and subject. This potentially prompted historic viewers to draw parallels between the hagiographic scene in which Yaoshan demonstrates his pedagogical authority over Li Ao, and Guangwen's own relationships to elite scholar officials in the Southern Song capital. The analysis of *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* augments the discussion of Chan visual narratives of interaction in chapter three. It illustrates how the integration of text and image both created a specific reading of a hagiographic Chan narrative, and how the Song patriarch who commented upon the narrative's representations in painting related to the painting's protagonists.

The second case study focused on Guangwen's *encomia* on depictions of two of Chan's Scattered Sages, Budai and Fenggan. The analysis focused on the functions of

text image relationships in creating a space for clerical commentary, rather than looking at the use of visual narrative. Guangwen's re-use of set phrases in *encomia* on these paintings appeared to contradict his idealised representation as an erudite exegete. However, when each work is situated within the context of its production and reception, we see how Guangwen's *encomia* functioned as cultural performance. The contrast between the tangible presence of Guangwen's calligraphic voice and the ephemeral depiction of illusive, liminal eccentrics allowed the abbot's calligraphy to shape the viewer's reception of the pictorial subject.

In conclusion, extant *encomia* upon figure paintings of Chan subjects provide a valuable insight into the mode of self-fashioning achieved by the Southern Song cleric Yanxi Guangwen. Further analysis of the approaches of other Chan abbots to the production of clerical *encomia* would be of great interest, but was unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, this chapter has shown how Guangwen's calligraphy integrated the idealised representation of his position as a Chan abbot with the paintings' historic subjects, through combinations of commentary on, appropriation of and mediation of the pantheon's relationship to the viewer. This process was not simply a reflection of the established hagiographic narratives familiar to the Southern Song Chan viewer, but created a discrete cultural space in which the agency of the inscriber animated the exemplars of the past. Possessed of an independent agency engendered by the integration of text and image, Guangwen's *encomia* lend a performative voice to Chan's historic pantheon, speaking for icons.

The final chapter of this thesis is a case study of the late twelfth to early thirteenth century court artist turned eccentric painter Liang Kai 梁楷. Following the preceding chapters' examinations of the agency of narrative themes and clerical inscription in the reception of Chan figure paintings, the ensuing analysis explores the agency of the ideal of the artist. Liang has come to embody two distinctive ideals. One is of Liang as an expressive and eccentric creator of Chan images, depicting wild and heterodox subjects in brush modes that challenged accepted conventions of painting practice. Extant works of this type are, for the most part, preserved in Japanese collections (figs. 6.1-6.2).<sup>422</sup> The second Liang Kai is a master of careful and meticulous depiction, who was admired by his court painter contemporaries for his 'exquisite brush' (Chinese: *jingmei zhi bi* 精美之筆).<sup>423</sup> The majority of Liang Kai's attributions that embody this ideal have been preserved through Chinese collections (fig. 6.3).<sup>424</sup>

This chapter problematises Liang Kai's dichotomous reception as either an eccentric drunken genius, or a superlative court draughtsman, through the critical examination of his historic reception in both China and Japan. The ensuing discussion will illustrate the construction and augmentation of Liang's distinctive images in his Chinese and Japanese transmissions, based on analyses of extant works attributed to Liang Kai, and of historic texts on Liang's artistic practice and oeuvre. This approach aims to reveal the complex overlap and interplay of Liang's supposedly distinctive cursive and meticulous modes of brushwork. In doing so, it proposes an alternative to the neat binary division of Liang's oeuvre into pre-and-post service at court,

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<sup>422</sup> James Cahill illustrates the importance of Japanese collections in preserving modes of Song and Yuan brushwork used to depict Chan subjects, including Liang Kai's abbreviated brush (Chinese: *jianbi* 減筆) in a discussion written for a Shanghai Museum special exhibition of Chinese paintings from Japanese collections: Cahill 2010. For a translation of this paper, see: Cahill 2011 [Unpaginated].

<sup>423</sup> THBJ, j.4,18,.

<sup>424</sup> For a discussion of Liang's oeuvre that focuses on works in Chinese collections, and their distinctive synergy of Liang's abbreviated brush with the plain line drawing (Chinese: *baimiao* 白描) employed his teacher, Jia Shigu 賈師古 (active 13<sup>th</sup> century) see: Shan and Shan 2004.

acknowledging instead Liang's role as an intermediary between monastic and imperial visual cultures of the Southern Song.

The few extant paintings widely accepted as by Liang's own hand are supported by a limited body of historical documentation on his life and career. The earliest textual account of Liang's life is a short entry in the Zhuang Su's 莊肅 (active late 13-early 14<sup>th</sup> c.) 1298 text *Supplement to the Continuation of Painting* (*Huaji Buyi* 畫繼補遺), a two fascicle addendum to Deng Chun's 鄧椿 (act. ca. 1127-67) earlier *Continuation of Painting* (*Huaji* 畫繼).<sup>425</sup> Zhuang provides only a cursory account of Liang's artistic output, listing Liang among the Southern Song court painters in the second fascicle of his addendum, rather than alongside the scholar, monk and Daoist painters in his first fascicle. Writing at a time when Liang's career had only just passed beyond living memory, Zhuang identifies him as an exemplary student of Jia Shigu, who exceeded the abilities of his teacher, and whose works were well received by his contemporaries.

Xia Wenyan's 夏文彥 (1312-70) *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*Tu Hui Bao Jian* 圖繪寶鑑) of 1365 provides a fuller appraisal of Liang's career and creative processes.<sup>426</sup> It is in Xia's prose that we have the first textual record of a dichotomous view of Liang's oeuvre, where Xia debases the cursive technique of Liang's works circulating in the late Yuan, and lauds the rare available examples of his 'exquisite brush'. With no contemporary record of Liang's life beyond the three sentences of Zhuang's *Addendum to the Record of Painting*, and only a fraction of his original oeuvre surviving, modern art historians encounter Liang Kai as an idealised artistic persona, frequently mediated through Xia's prose. Consequently, this chapter critically examines Liang Kai's instability as an historic entity. Rather than seeking to excavate an authentic identity from commentary, copying, and forgery of his oeuvre, the following discussion examines Liang's distinctive personas as the aggregate product of centuries of transmission.<sup>427</sup> Various modes of copying employed by later Chinese

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<sup>425</sup> HJ; HJBY, j.2, 15.

<sup>426</sup> THBJ, j.4, 18.

<sup>427</sup> The distinction between copying and forgery was clearly articulated in early theories of Chinese painting set out as early as the sixth century, in Xie He's 謝赫 (act. ca. 479-502) *Six*

and Japanese painters will be examined as active agents in this process of transmission of Liang's idealised image, rather than dismissed as mendacious distractions from an authentic record. These copies provide important evidence on the value placed on Liang Kai's oeuvre through the fact of their production, and should be treated as active agents in the construction of Liang's persona as an art historical edifice within Japanese and Chinese canonical hierarchies of masters and masterpieces.<sup>428</sup>

The agency of this idealised edifice of the artist's persona over modern scholarship was evident in an exhibition of Chinese painting and calligraphy from American collections, held at the Shanghai Museum in 2012-13. Liang Kai's *Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank* 澤畔行吟圖, from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, shown as part of this exhibition, depicts a minute figure within a landscape. The figure is walking along a riverbank, facing vast mountains obscured by mist. This was displayed as part of the 'Buddhist and Daoist painting' 道釋畫 section of the exhibition (fig 6.4).<sup>429</sup> Originally in a fan format and now mounted as an album leaf, the painting is an exquisite performance of form and movement. The fluid, confident strokes of heavily saturated ink that describe the far shore are juxtaposed with the abrasive texture of the mountaintop. This upper register is divided from the rest of the composition by a bank of mist evoked through the reserve white technique (*liu bai* 留白), where the unmarked area of the fan's silk surface implies an obscuring bank of vapour. The dynamic asymmetry of the composition is evident across vertical, horizontal, and diagonal axes, anchored by pictorial action in the corners of the image.

In the Shanghai Museum display, this technical triumph of ink landscape painting in miniature was presented to the exhibition's international audience alongside paintings

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*Laws*, which require artists to learn by copying established master works, as discussed in: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 20.

<sup>428</sup> For a theoretical discussion on the role of forgery in shaping China's historic visual cultures, see: Hay 2008.

<sup>429</sup> The exhibition '*Hanmo Huicui: Meiguo Cang Zhongguo Wudai, Song, Yuan Shuhua Zhenpin* 翰墨薈萃：美國藏中國五代，宋，元 書畫珍品 [Masterpieces of Early Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in American Collections]' was shown at the Shanghai Museum from 2 November 2012 to 3 January 2013.

of figural subjects from the Buddhist and Daoist pantheons. These ranged from *arhats* bestowing blessings upon the poor (fig. 6.5), to meetings between Chan clerics and Confucian luminaries (fig. 5.1). The perceived persona of Liang Kai as a Chan eccentric shaped the presentation of *Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank*, prioritising a perceived Chan identity in this painting's authorship over its visual content. The inflexible constraints of gallery display forced the curator to select a singular categorisation for this work, which should not be read as reflecting a rigid taxonomic categorisation of *Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank*. Through associated publications, the exhibition addressed this work's relationship to the miniature landscape tradition of the Southern Song.<sup>430</sup> However, without the signature and attribution to Liang Kai, *Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank* would almost certainly have been presented in an alternate context of display. Most likely, an unsigned version of this painting would be positioned within the rich tradition of fan painting of landscapes found in the Southern Song capital of Lin'an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou 杭州). The positioning of *Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank* within the 'Buddhist and Daoist Paintings' section of the exhibition illustrates the importance of Liang's received identity as a Chan artist to contemporary interpretations of his extant oeuvre.

The relationship between the ideals Liang Kai has come to embody as an artist and the subject matter with which he is associated will be explored in four sections in the following chapter. The first section offers an in-depth analysis of Xia Wenyan's biography of Liang Kai, and its formative influence on Liang's subsequent reception. This analysis explores Xia's construction of a binary division in Liang's oeuvre between meticulous and abbreviated styles.<sup>431</sup> The following sections of this chapter problematise the mapping of Xia's juxtaposition of Liang's stylistic range onto his extant oeuvre by historic commentators and later copyists. This analysis combines examination of selected extant paintings with critical readings of supporting documentation on Liang's historic reception. The final section of this chapter explores interpretations of Liang's oeuvre and stylistic range in Chinese transmission. This is developed through an examination of *Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 a probable late-

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<sup>430</sup> In the volume of essays accompanying the exhibition, the use of the typical features such as the corner composition, and the juxtaposition of the minute figure of the traveller with the majestic landscape are discussed by James Cahill in: Cahill 2012, 59.

<sup>431</sup> THBJ, j.4,18.

thirteenth-fourteenth century emulation of Liang's depiction of Chan subjects (fig. 6.6). By situating these images alongside visual and textual records from both Chinese and Japanese sources, this chapter intends to illustrate how Liang Kai came to embody a diversity of meanings for discrete audiences at different times.

*Xia Wenyan's Biography of Liang Kai in the 'Precious Mirror of Painting'*

Liang Kai, a descendent of Xiangyi of Dongping, was a skilled painter of figures, landscapes, Buddhist and Daoist subjects, and spirits and demons. His master was Jia Shigu, his drawing was fluid and graceful, [surpassing his teacher] as blue surpasses indigo.<sup>432</sup> In the Jiatai period [of the reign of Song Ningzong 宋寧宗] [1201-1204] he served as Painter in Attendance at the Painting Academy, and was awarded the golden belt. Liang did not accept it and hung it in the academy. He drank to amuse himself, and had the *sobriquet* Mad Liang. Of those in the academy who saw his exquisite brushwork there were none who did not esteem it above their own. However, those that have been passed down to our time are all coarse, in what is known as the abbreviated brush style.<sup>433</sup>

梁楷，東平相義之后，善畫人物、山水、道釋、鬼神。師賈師古，描寫飄逸，青過於藍。嘉泰年畫院待詔，賜金帶，楷不受，掛於院內。嗜酒自樂號曰：『梁風子』，院人見其精妙之筆無不敬伏。但傳於世者，皆草草，謂之減筆。

Dated by its preface to 1365, this text offers an appraisal of China's pictorial past through the lens of the late Yuan connoisseur and scholar Xia Wenyan. Written around a century after Liang Kai's death, Xia's account is a consciously historical record of Liang's life and deeds. The biography situates Liang within a conception of the past shaped by a late Yuan critic, rather than in a contemporary appraisal from his own day. As discussed above, Zhuang Su authored a terse three-line biography for

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<sup>432</sup> I am indebted to Howard Rogers' translation of this biography for the recognition of the oblique chromatic metaphor through which Liang is said to have surpassed his teacher: Rogers 1983, 27.

<sup>433</sup> THBJ, j.4,18.

Liang Kai in the *Addendum to the Record of Painting*. However at only 24 characters in length, Zhuang's account does little more than identify Liang's teacher, and documents his place in painting history as one of a number of talented Southern Song court painters.<sup>434</sup> By contrast, Xia's biography provides both a narrative for Liang's career, and offers commentary upon the distinctive qualities of his oeuvre.

Xia's biography is centred upon the pivotal moment when Liang leaves the academy. Liang is seen to reject the superlative honour of the golden belt in favour of what Xia presents as a life of drunken eccentricity. This refusal of imperial prestige and withdrawal from society conforms to an established cultural position familiar to Xia's elite Yuan readership: that of the eccentric recluse. In both Liang and Xia's time historic cultural luminaries such as Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427) were venerated for rejection of imperial patronage in favour of a life in withdrawal from society.

These acts of withdrawal from office were most frequently associated with a moral imperative not to serve in a corrupt regime, and thereby were still defined as an acceptable relationship to society predicated on the merits of inaction over action. Liang's circumstances do not seem to fit these conditions, as there is no mention of a moral imperative behind his exit from service. However, the ideal of the persona of the eccentric, which Liang appears to have cultivated, was not without precedent, exemplified in the strange and inscrutable behaviours of such classical figures as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢.<sup>435</sup>

Characterised by conspicuous drunkenness, and a choice of a *sobriquet* that played on the idea of madness, Xia's account of Liang's rejection of imperial honours resonated with the choices of past masters of eccentric modes of brushwork.<sup>436</sup> The Liang Kai of the *Precious Mirror of Painting* occupies a position between two worlds, that of the

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<sup>434</sup> Zhuang's biography reads as follows: "Liang Kai: As the top follower of Jia Shigu, he was appointed to the [imperial] painting academy. His drawing was fluid and graceful, [surpassing his teacher] as blue surpasses indigo. People of his day all extolled his merits. 「梁楷」：乃賈師古上足，亦隸畫院。描寫飄逸，青過於藍。時人多稱賞之。HJBY, j.2, 15.

<sup>435</sup> For a discussion of this moral dimension of reclusion and its visual representation in the life of Tao Yuanming, including a work attributed to Liang Kai, see: Nelson 1998a.

<sup>436</sup> Drunkenness and eccentricity as biographical tropes of exceptional artists in accounts from earlier periods of Chinese painting history are discussed in: Soper 1975, 14.

eccentric recluse, and the elite circles of Southern Song academy. While Xia made a conspicuous point of Liang's withdrawal, Zhang did not mention Liang's refusal of court honours. In fact, Liang's inclusion in the *Supplement to the Continuation of Painting* was on the basis of his status as an eminent court artist. Though the *Precious Mirror of Painting* juxtaposes Liang's time at court with a later period of eccentricity, Xia does note Liang's positive reception by his court contemporaries. Offering significantly more detail than Zhuang's earlier account, Xia's cites the exquisite nature of Liang's brushwork as the quality praised by members of the academy. The term translated here as 'exquisite' (Chinese: *jingmiao* 精妙) implies an attentive hand carefully executing a complete image with a deft degree of technical skill. Xia juxtaposes this with the cursive (Chinese *cao cao*: 草草) abbreviated brush, where the description of the cursive quality is expressed through a standardised visual allusion to the flexing, unstable leaves and stalks of plants. Xia berates Liang's abbreviated style as inferior to the exquisite brushwork praised by the academy, and laments the paucity of the latter and prevalence of the former among Liang's works circulating in fourteenth century China. However, it was precisely this abbreviated brush technique for which Liang was to become posthumously venerated in Japan, inspiring a whole tradition of copyists to learn from his examples (fig. 6.7).

Liang's recurrent use of an abbreviated style of painting to depict Chan subjects is evident in his extant oeuvre. The connections of Chan figural subjects by Liang with monastic communities is demonstrated by their augmentation with inscriptions by senior clerics, such as a painting of Budai signed by Liang Kai and inscribed by Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1197-1253), preserved in the collection of the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, (fig. 6.8).<sup>437</sup> Further accounts of Liang's association with Chan clerics are preserved in textual records of similarly inscribed paintings.<sup>438</sup> While these extant works with demonstrable monastic associations document a connection

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<sup>437</sup> The transmission of this work in the Ashikaga 足利 and Tokugawa 徳川 collections is discussed: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 164.

<sup>438</sup> For inscriptions upon paintings by Liang Kai by senior Chan clerics preserved in textual records, see the quotation of Zhongfeng Mingben's 中峰明本 colophon to a *Chan Master Miaofeng's Nocturnal Encounter with Four Demons* 妙峰禪師四鬼夜移圖, reproduced from *Zhongfeng Guanglu* 中峰廣錄 fascicle 10, in: Shimada 1993, 499. See also Hemlut Brinker's discussion of Liang's relationship with Beijian Jujian 北磻居簡 (1164-1246): Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 126.

between Liang and the elite prelates in and around the Southern Song capital of Lin'an, Liang's historical position should not be conflated with that of a cleric. As the evidence of his extant oeuvre and the biographies by Xia and Zhuang indicate, Liang had adopted a self-fashioned identity as an eccentric painter, whose former court credentials likely facilitated his demonstrable connections to Chan monastic communities. Liang's relationship with the monastic inscribers of his paintings shows a connection between court and cloister mediated by a professional artist. In spite of certain technical similarities, and a common corpus of subject matter, the court connections of Liang's training distinguish his production of Chan subjects from those by contemporary monk painters. Both his range of subjects, and the attention to detail in his rendition of bodily action sets Liang apart from the practice of monk painters, such as his near contemporary Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century) and the later Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (active 14<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>439</sup>

In summary, Xia's account of Liang's career establishes two sets of juxtapositions. First, he contrasts Liang's career as a court artist with his subsequent self-fashioned identity as an eccentric. Secondly, Xia elevates Liang's more descriptive style of painting, while debasing the rapidly drawn works ascribed to the abbreviated brush style. In interpreting Xia's account of Liang's life alongside his extant oeuvre, Liang's association with Chan is seen to be one of circumstances and subject matter, rather than any formal affiliation. Notably, Xia makes no mention of a Chan influence on Liang's abbreviated brush painting, nor even of Chan monasteries as the context for his eccentric drunken lifestyle as is often presumed. While inscriptions on pictorial records of Liang's cursive painting style reveals clear associations with Chan clerics, Xia's account of Liang self-fashioning as a madman evokes another set of cultural norms from beyond the cloister. These situate Liang in relation to secular cultural ideals of reclusion, and to earlier artists and calligraphers whose expressive visuality was linked to intoxication. As such, Liang Kai can be seen to have been an artist connected with the Chan community, but whose alternate cultural and professional

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<sup>439</sup> In the grand narrative of Japanese ink painting presented in the monumental series *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei* 水墨美術大系 [Expansive Survey of Ink Art], compiled 1973-77 Liang Kai's oeuvre is paired with that of the monk painter Yintuoluo, preceded in the series by a volume dedicated to Muxi and Yu Jian 玉澗: Toda 1975a; Toda 1975b. For a more up to date and detailed study of Muxi's extant oeuvre see: Gotō Bijutsukan 1996.

allegiances illustrate the permeability of the borders of monastic life in the Southern Song, particularly in the production of Chan visual culture.

### *The Exquisite Brush*

The following discussion explores the extant pictorial record of Liang Kai's 'exquisite brush' technique through a close reading of *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* 東籬高士圖 (fig. 6.3), which bears Liang's signature. This work depicts the Jin dynasty scholar Tao Yuanming in meticulous brushwork with extensive colouring on silk. It has been preserved through the Qing imperial collection, included in the Qianlong Emperor's 乾隆 (1711-99, r. 1735-96) 1745 catalogue of painting and calligraphy, *Record of Treasures of the Stone Moat* (*Shiqu Baoji* 石渠寶笈), and is currently housed in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.<sup>440</sup> The painting shows the lone figure of Tao Yuanming walking along a path, beneath the evergreen branches of a lofty pine and the autumnal boughs of a deciduous tree. The pictorial protagonist holds a chrysanthemum in his right hand, and a staff in his left. A rustic straw cape is wrapped around his shoulders to ward off cold and rain, while he still wears the gauze headgear of summer to keep away the lingering irritation of flies and biting insects. The path behind him winds away from view round an overhanging rock. Ahead, a stout stone bridge crosses a brook swelled by the autumn rains. Cords from the neck and waist of his loose fitting robe stream out behind him as he makes his way forward. This is 'Tao Yuanming Returning Home' 陶淵明歸去來, a popular painting theme showing the eminent poet leaving office after a brief period of service to the Jin 晉 dynasty, heading back to his rural homestead in a gesture of moral defiance toward the corruption of his day.

The only original inscription found on *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* is the rapidly dashed signature 'Liang Kai', in the painting's lower right hand corner. The plethora of seal impressions upon the painting surface are of a later date. They predominantly document the ownership and occasions of viewing by the Qianlong Emperor, and also record the work's possession by earlier collectors. It is this provenance of transmission that receives greatest attention in the painting's entry in

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<sup>440</sup> SQBJ j.38, 5.

the *Record of Treasures of the Stone Moat*.<sup>441</sup> In spite of the signature, this work is a possible rather than definitive product of Liang Kai's own hand, and may be a copy or emulation by a later follower of his style. Nonetheless, the asymmetric composition of the painting, and the technical features of its execution, such as the axe cut strokes (Chinese: *fubicun* 斧劈皴) and subtle use of colour, indicate a Southern Song court context for its production.<sup>442</sup> However, the Qianlong emperor, and presumably the earlier collectors whose seals appear upon the painting surface, accepted the work as an authentic example of Liang's oeuvre. Thus, *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* can be treated as indicative of an historic ideal of Liang's 'exquisite brush' in Chinese transmission.

Tao Yuanming's return home was a popular subject for the artists of the Song dynasty, rich with potential for allusions to the canonical narrative of this idealised moral exemplar. The *locus classicus* for the depictions of Tao Yuanming Returning Home is in the oeuvre of Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106), one of the preeminent scholar painters of the Northern Song. Li is believed to have depicted Tao's act of moral fortitude as a visual expression of sympathy and solidarity with his conservative associates, who were recurrently threatened with removal from office by the reformer Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086). Li's work is preserved in an early Yuan copy, currently in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.<sup>443</sup> By Liang's time, the image of Tao Yuanming was an established pictorial trope through which artists evoked the ideal of reclusion based on moral rectitude. As a popular subject for visual expression, the creation or possession of such an image did not require the artist or recipient to have actually refused to serve the state. Instead, making, possessing and viewing images of Tao Yuanming were means to performatively participate in the idealisation of reclusion by the scholar official class. One could contribute to an elite construction of cultural identity in word and image without compromising one's position, or even without having been asked to serve as an official in the first place. As noted in the previous chapter, this subject was also inscribed by members of the Chan clergy such as Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Guangwen's

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<sup>441</sup> SQBJ j.38, 5.

<sup>442</sup> The attribution is discussed in: Lai and Chen 2008, 166.

<sup>443</sup> The extant copy of Li's painting, as well as Liang's work, are discussed in: Nelson 1998a, 72-4.

*encomium* celebrates the simplicity of Tao's life out of government, indicating the appeal of this ideal of reclusion in simple labours to the self-fashioning of clerical identity.<sup>444</sup> In the absence of a commentarial inscription upon the painting, *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* speaks in a purely visual language.

The technical execution of this piece fits closely with Xia's ideal of Liang Kai's 'exquisite brush'. The needles of the pine are carefully outlined in thin lines of ink over thicker outlines of green pigment. The overlap of each clump of pine needles imbues the branches with a sense of volume. The colour of these evergreens are deftly contrasted with the rich orange of the deciduous leaves below, highlighting the seasonal properties of the scene. Rapid movements of the brush shape the pointed tips of the pine's branches. The thicker main stems of the tree's limbs receive more extensive treatment, their bark coloured with brownish pigment and textured through outlines in black ink. The main trunk of the pine is expertly modelled in three dimensions, its curvature clarified through the darker ink tones of the bark around its edges. The trunk's twisting upward growth is highlighted by the juxtaposed angles of protruding gnarled knots. Rounded movements of the brush add texture to the bark, contrasted with the sharp, axe cut strokes of the overhanging rock and the boulders in the foreground. The stone formations are drawn in stark outlines, filled in with angular axe cut strokes, modelling typical of the Southern Song academy, discussed above.

The figure of Tao Yuanming is delicately drawn in fine lines, alluding to the gossamer thread strokes of the canonical master of Chinese figure painting Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344-406). The smooth curved quality of line, and the sharp twists in segments of garments billowing in the wind indicate that *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* made deliberate allusions to a similar form of antiquarian visual rhetoric. Though the silk surface to the lower left of the figure of Tao Yuanming is slightly damaged and appears to have been repainted, this portion of Tao's drapery is marginal to his overall depiction. Overall, the painting's current condition retains a

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<sup>444</sup> Guangwen's verse reads as follows: 'Tao Yuanming': Hoeing beanshoots in the morning dew, paying no heed to night and day. Where does this man of leisure come from, who has settled at the foot of the Southern Mountain? 陶淵明：和露鋤豆苗，不覺日又夜。飄然從何來，定在南山下？" YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, a13.

clear illustration of the original brushwork and composition. Tao's face is carefully drawn, with light pigment for his skin tone. The translucent gauze of his summer hat is conveyed through a light ink wash, which creates an opaque layer atop previously painted details. *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* expresses an archetype of pictorial refinement, embodying the visual qualities of the 'exquisite brush' with which Xia Wenyan was so enamoured.

Xia's archetype of Liang's meticulous mode of brushwork is echoed in a later commentary from the seventeenth century. Ming connoisseur Wu Qizhen's 吳其貞 (1607-after 1673 CE) *Record of Calligraphies and Paintings* (*Shuhua ji* 書畫記) lists a work by Liang Kai, entitled [*Tao*] *Yuanming*. While we cannot be certain this is the same piece now preserved in Taipei, Wu's describes a painting that closely resembles *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence*. Moreover, Wu's comments were included under the collected literature on Liang Kai in the *Record of Paintings from the Southern Song Academy* (*Nansong Yuan Hua Lu* 南宋院畫錄), compiled for the Qing court from 1720-33 by E Li 厲鶚 (1692-1752).<sup>445</sup> In addition to echoing of Xia's praise for Liang's refined and careful brushwork, Wu seems to hold a similarly derisive view of the artist's cursive oeuvre. Alongside Liang's [*Tao*] *Yuanming*, *Record of Calligraphies and Paintings* also lists a work by Liang Kai depicting an *Eminent Monk* 高僧圖, or possibly *Eminent Monks*. Wu dismisses this painting as a coarse emulation of the style of Tang master figure painter Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 680-759). Wu's descriptions of these two paintings read as follows:

Liang Kai: *Yuanming*

Single small painting on silk, depicting [*Tao*] Yuanming holding a chrysanthemum, walking beneath a pine tree. It displays a crafted delicacy in its method of painting, its far-reaching vitality making it one of Kai's best works. Seen in the home of my grandnephew when crossing the great river in Jiahe on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the *xinmao* year [1651].<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> NSYHL j5, 22.

<sup>446</sup> NSYHL j5, 22.

梁楷淵明圖

小絹畫一幅，寫淵明把菊行松樹下。畫法工緻，精神迥出為楷之上作也。辛卯十一月望日過嘉禾之長水，觀於姪孫于庭家。

Liang Kai: *Eminent Monk*

Single painting on paper. The method of painting is simple and sketchy, in a veiled imitation of Wu Daozi. Family possession of Cheng Zhengyan.<sup>447</sup>

梁楷：高僧圖

紙畫一副。畫法簡畧蓋仿吳道子者。程正言家物。

While Wu's descriptions are terse, and cannot be definitively correlated with any extant works, the enduring conception from Xia to Wu of Liang Kai as a superlative draughtsman, who unfortunately digressed in vulgar expressive modes, is expressly clear. This dichotomous reading of the artist has had an enduring impact on the reception of his artistic legacy in modern scholarship. For example, the absence of this work from the stylistic case study of Liang's abbreviated brush oeuvre by Shan Guoqiang 單國強 and Shan Guolin 單國霖 is indicative of its role in constructing a court identity juxtaposed with the artistic persona of Liang Kai as 'Mad Master Liang'.<sup>448</sup>

When considering *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence's* choice of media within the extant corpus of Liang Kai attributions, there are immediate parallels with Liang's iconic *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* (fig. 2.1). Identifiable to Liang's tenure in the painting academy through its signature 'Painted before the emperor, Liang Kai' 御前圖畫:梁楷, *Śākyamuni* provides a bench mark for the evaluation of Liang's academic oeuvre. The two works also have parallels in subject matter, as both images show an historic exemplar moving into or out of reclusion, appealing to both secular and monastic prototypes of exemplary conduct.<sup>449</sup> As noted above, Yanxi Guangwen incorporated the Tao Yuanming theme into his project of self-fashioning

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<sup>447</sup> NSYHL j5, 22.

<sup>448</sup> Shan and Shan 2004.

<sup>449</sup> This thematic parallel is noted in: Rogers 1983, 18.

through calligraphic commentary on painting. While Guangwen's verse shows clerical interest in a subject linked to moral dimensions of government service, the imperial context of Liang's *Śākyamuni* demonstrates clear court interest in Chan themes. The actions of these two paintings' pictorial protagonists both evoke ideals of reclusion. However, the heterogeneous technical qualities of their execution reveal distinctive models of brushwork within Liang's court oeuvre, or at least the idealised image of this oeuvre received in Chinese transmission. This challenges the presumption that Liang's court painting necessarily conforms to Xia's 'exquisite brush' mode.

As noted in chapter two, Liang's *Śākyamuni* makes sparing use of colour, its only polychrome embellishments found upon the figure of the Buddha, where pigment has been applied exclusively to the verso.<sup>450</sup> The remainder of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* is essentially an ink painting, juxtaposing the sacred body of the sage with his environment. By contrast, *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* makes liberal use of colour in depicting all its subject matter, augmented with dots of turquoise-green pigment across the picture plane that lend the scroll a shimmering effect. These dots are conspicuously positioned upon the surface of the image, appearing across areas of rock, tree and path, and at times spilling out beyond the boundaries of these formal enclosures within the composition. For example, on the overhanging rock above the walking figure we see a smattering of these turquoise dots suspended in mid air, no longer explicable as moss or foliage growing upon a stone surface. The splendid suffusion of embellishment upon *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* indicates a completely distinct conception of the painting's materiality than seen in *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, where potent but focused elements of colour coalesce solely upon the central figure.

The explicit presentation of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* to the gaze of the Southern Song Emperor is evident in Liang's signature. By contrast, the Tao Yuanming painting is in a style associated with the visual culture of the court, but lacks the specific description of circumstances of production found on *Śākyamuni*.

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<sup>450</sup> For a discussion of Liang Kai's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* that contextualises this work within the visual narrative allusions of Song and Yuan Chan paintings of this theme, see pages 56-63.

Instead, the scroll documents historic viewings by subsequent emperors and elites of later periods, seen in the multiple seal impressions across the painting's surface.

*Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* illustrates how the ideal of Liang's meticulous brushwork was formed in transmission, as much as in a Southern Song imperial context of creation and reception. This ideal has held an enduring value in Chinese transmission as an embodiment of Liang's academic aesthetic. While there are clear connections between *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* and Liang's court oeuvre, its exquisite brush style is only one part of the academic styles affiliated with Liang, rather than the whole picture. The following passage explores the interplay of this 'exquisite' aesthetic with Liang's cursive imagery, problematising Xia Wenyan's dichotomous juxtaposition of these two styles, and their perpetuation in later Chinese connoisseurship.

### *The Abbreviated Brush*

Xia Wenyan's contradistinction of Liang Kai's oeuvre, as paintings in either meticulously descriptive brushwork or the cursive 'abbreviated brush' mode, has been presented by modern scholars as a correlative to Liang's biographical narrative. In this popularly espoused account, a change in Liang's environment is equated with a change in his artistic style. Liang's time at the imperial painting academy is associated with works striving for mimetic description. His period of eccentricity, assumed to be spent in the monasteries around the Southern Song capital of Lin'an, is paired with his kinetic monochrome paintings.<sup>451</sup> As the above comparison of *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* and *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* has sought to illustrate, meticulously drawn and lavishly coloured images are only partially representative of Liang's oeuvre of academic attributions. The image of Liang Kai as a meticulous court painter has been augmented by the commentaries generated around the Chinese transmission of his attributions. What then of Liang's abbreviated brush, and its associations with Chan circles?

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<sup>451</sup> This biographical narrative for Liang Kai that correlates a meticulous painting style with his academic training, and equates his expressive abbreviated brush style with a later loose affiliation to Chan temples can be seen in: Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 126.

The strongest evidence of Liang's direct associations with the monastic communities of the Southern Song capital is in his few extant paintings featuring *encomia* by Chan clerics. The only example of a painting by Liang Kai with a clerical *encomium* encountered in the course of this research project is a hanging scroll depicting the monk Budai 布袋, inscribed by Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1197-1253). Formerly in the collection of the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94), Liang's *Budai* is currently housed in the Kōsetsu Museum of Art (fig. 6.8). Further examples may exist in private or monastic collections in Japan. Puji's final two abbacies were at the Southern Song capital of Lin'an, at Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺, on Southern Curtain Mountain 南屏山, and at the Jingde Lingyin Chan monastery 景德靈隱禪寺, North Mountain 北山.<sup>452</sup> Though Puji's *encomium* on Liang's *Budai* does not identify a site at which either the painting or calligraphy were produced, it is most probable that Puji encountered Liang either directly, or received the painting through an intermediary in early thirteenth century Lin'an.

While there is a paucity of extant works by Liang Kai with *encomia* by Chan clerics, Liang's surviving oeuvre includes several uninscribed paintings depicting figures from the Chan pantheon. If positioned within Xia's dichotomy of Liang's brush modes, the majority of Liang's extant depictions of Chan subjects fall into the abbreviated camp, produced with rapid strokes in ink on paper. *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* is a notable exception, incorporating striking use of colour into an elaborate composition on silk. The following discussion explores two prominent examples of this correlation of Liang's abbreviated brush style with Chan figural subjects: *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* 六祖截竹圖 (fig. 6.1), and *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* 六祖破經圖 (fig. 6.2).

Textual records of *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* 六祖截竹圖 (fig. 6.1), and *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* in Japanese collections can be traced back to the Muromachi period 室町時代 (1392-1573). The painting's possession by the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu is indicated by the impression of his personal *dōyū* 道

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<sup>452</sup> DCPJCSYL, in X.1369.69.

有 seal on both works.<sup>453</sup> This early documentation, alongside viable signatures and an expressive technique correlating to Xia's description of Liang's abbreviated brush mode, supports the authenticity of this diptych as an original pair of paintings by Liang Kai. Thus, the diptych is an ideal focus for the discussion of the relationship between Liang's technical approach and the religious purport of the paintings' subject matter. Both *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*, and *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sutras*, lend potent visual expressions to Chan ideals. Their iconographic content correlates to the rhetorical construction of Chan as an anti-textual tradition, explored in chapter four in relation to Chan's distinctive ideal of sudden awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟). Without making specific reference to events recorded in a textual prototype, the actions represented in these paintings correlate with the celebration of anti-textuality and prevalence of manual labour in the Sixth Patriarch Huineng's 慧能 (638–713) hagiography. In *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu Tanjing* 六祖壇經), when the illiterate Huineng was named as the fifth patriarch Hongren's 弘忍 (601–674) successor he was working in the threshing room of the monastery on Fengmu Shan 馮墓山.<sup>454</sup>

*The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* is a violent visual expression of these rhetorical anti-textual sentiments in Chan Buddhism. Liang's painting uses sharp, angular strokes in rapid linear movements to construct Huineng's garments that trail out behind him. These linear forms contrast with the more abrasive textures of Huineng's hair and beard, which in turn match the needles of an overhanging pine branch, rapidly dashed across the painting surface. Such parallels indicate why Xia's use of the established convention of likening a cursive style of painting to plant matter was such an effective mode of description. However, further to these generic allusions to cursive modes of brushwork, Liang has imbued the painting with a dramatic tension in capturing ongoing action. Huineng's raised finger and open mouth indicate speech that explicitly supplants the role of the torn and discarded *sūtras* in his hands and at his feet. The intensity of the gesture is amplified by Liang's attention to

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<sup>453</sup> For a short discussion of the paintings' provenance in English, see: Little 2014, 2. For lengthier analysis in Japanese, see: Higuchi 2014.

<sup>454</sup> Yampolsky and Schlütter 2012, 128, 二.

descriptive detail, showing the creases in the folds of the page as Huineng's left hand grasps the torn text in a moment of gleeful biblioclastic reverie.

*The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* is an amplified expression of the Chan lineage's rhetorical claims to a distinctive mode of patriarchal transmission, distinguished by its claims to supersede the authority of the written word. As discussed in chapter four, the ideal of an extra-textual route to awakening was of performative value for the senior Chan clerics of the period, illustrating the efficacy of their pedagogical practice. Two phrases frequently used to express this sentiment are: 'a transmission outside the teachings' (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), and 'not setting up words' (*buli wenzi* 不立文字).<sup>455</sup> Liang's use of visual commentary to critique the function of text as a route to awakening, juxtaposed with an act of manual labour, has a clear parallel in the popular paired Chan painting theme of 'Reading a *Sūtra* by Moonlight' (fig. 6.9) and 'Mending Clothes in the Morning Sun' (fig. 6.10) 對月朝陽. In the standard composition of the first of these two image types, a monk is depicted straining his eyes to read the text of a *sūtra* under the dim light of the moon. The painted scene is frequently accompanied an abbot's clerical *encomium* in the upper register, commenting on the frustrations that accompany this process. Paintings of 'Reading a *Sūtra* by Moonlight' demonstrate an acute awareness of painting's potential for reflexive commentary on Chan's rhetorical rebuttal of the authority of text. They combine the clerical commentary upon the painting with images of a monk confounded by an impenetrable meta-text, implicitly paralleling the experiences of the pictorial subject and the scroll's viewer.

While images of 'Reading a *Sūtra* by Moonlight', offer parallel examples of visual commentary on text's limited capacity to convey awakening, Liang's *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* takes a more dramatic approach to this theme. The image of a canonical figure in the Chan lineage gleefully destroying a sacred text deploys a powerful biblioclastic visual rhetoric, with unabashed shock value. Earlier incorporations of *sūtras* into Buddhist iconography had stressed not only their sanctity

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<sup>455</sup> The early interconnected use of these phrases as part of Chan's hagiographic self representation in the 10<sup>th</sup> century *Patriarch Hall Record* (*Zutang ji* 祖堂記) are discussed in: Foulk 1999, 238-40.

as the canonical texts, but also their numinous properties as the physical embodiment of the words of the Buddha. In a painting by twelfth century artist Zhou Jichang 周季常 (act. second half of 12<sup>th</sup> century), a group of *arhats* demonstrate the efficacy of the bibliographic manifestation of the Buddha's teachings over the sacred texts of Daoist priests in a trial by fire (fig. 6.11).<sup>456</sup> While the Daoist scrolls are consumed by the flames, the Buddhist *sūtras* remain unharmed, emanating rays of golden light to underscore the miraculous nature of the event. The Buddhist texts occupy an axial position in Zhou's composition, comparable to the central deity in frontal presentations of Buddhist icons (fig. 2.13). In Zhou's image, the physical object of the canonical record of Śākyamuni's teachings is equated with the presence of the Buddha. By contrast, in Liang Kai's painting, the implicit efficacy of the patriarch's bodily action supplants the *sūtras*' function as a route to enlightenment. As the agent of their destruction, and the focus of the iconic moment of the painting, Liang's Huineng expresses an alternate mode of elevated understanding through antinomian behaviour.

While Huineng's destruction of sacred text does not have an exact corollary in the Sixth Patriarch's hagiography, Liang's iconic presentation of this act of biblioclasm has precedent in Chan hagiographic references to iconoclasm. It echoes a famous incident from the biography of Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (739-824), represented in the later work of the Yuan monk painter Yintuoluo (fig. 3.4).<sup>457</sup> The painting shows Tianran burning an image of the Buddha to keep warm while a guest at the Huilin monastery 慧林寺. In Yintuoluo's work another monk challenges Tianran over his actions, to which Tianran responds that he is burning the Buddha to obtain the relics left after cremation. When the monk objects that it is impossible to obtain relics from

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<sup>456</sup> This set of paintings was produced between 1178 and 1188 for a Tiantai Buddhist monastery near Fujian. The circumstances of their production are discussed in: Fong and Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992, 343-5. While ten of this set of 100 scrolls are now in North American Museum collections, eight in Boston and two in the Freer Gallery of Art, the majority remain in the Daitokuji monastery in Kyoto. The Five Hundred Arhats' modern history of separation between Japan and the USA is the subject of the final chapter of Gregory Levine's monograph on the Daitokuji: Levine 2005, 287-314.

<sup>457</sup> This painting is explored as part of an in depth analysis of the definition and delineation of the historic genre of 'Chan Encounter Paintings' (*Chanhui tu* 禪會圖) in: Shimizu 1980, 8.

an image, Tianran offers a pointed rejoinder, asking what then is the problem with burning this Buddha image!<sup>458</sup>

Like the pairing of ‘Reading a *Sūtra* by Moonlight’ (fig. 6.9) with the manual labour of ‘Mending Clothes in the Morning Sun’, Liang’s diptych pairs a pictorial commentary on the merits of not relying on the written word with an image of a mundane task. *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* shows Huineng suspended in a visual moment pregnant with potential. His right knee is turned out from his body to counter balance the coming blow from the machete held in his right hand. The patriarch’s eye focuses on a point just above the join between the second and third segment of the bamboo, where the stem has least flexibility. The bamboo is resting at a slight diagonal, to allow for an oblique cut with the machete that will not get lodged in the vertical fibres of the plant. Liang’s splayed brush describes the patriarch’s bristling hair and beard, and sharp angular strokes shape the folds in Huineng’s garments. The trunk of the adjacent tree is depicted in rapid, dry strokes. As in *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing Up Sutras*, the cursive depiction of organic matter shows the suitability of Xia Wenyan’s use of an established botanical metaphor to describe Liang’s abbreviated brushwork. Though cursive, the pictorial moment is not a loosely described, amateur treatment of the visual moment. Liang’s abbreviation cuts away extraneous trappings to leave only the key components of a complex action. Liang has very deliberately instrumentalised the body of the patriarch, drawing conspicuous attention to Huineng’s impending bodily movement. Paired with the tearing up of *sūtras*, in which the patriarch is similarly animated through a tense description of his emphatic gesture and open mouth, Liang’s diptych makes a clear point of the iconic quality of exemplars’ deeds.

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<sup>458</sup> The *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*’ account of the encounter reads: “Later on reaching the Huiling monastery it was freezing cold, so [Tian]ran burnt the wooden image of the Buddha. Objecting [to his treatment] of the image, people chastised him. [Tianran] responded that he was conducting a cremation to obtain the relics. [The people at the monastery] responded: “How can there be [relics] in wood? [Tian]ran then replied: “If that’s the way of things, why scold me?” 後於慧林寺遇大寒，然乃焚木佛。像以禦之，人或譏之。曰：吾茶毘舍利。曰：木頭何有。然曰：若爾者，何責我乎？SGSZ, j.11, in: T.2061.5:, 773, b25-27.

While the meaning of the biblioclasm in *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* is relatively explicit, the significance of *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* is somewhat opaque. An often commented upon interpretation of the action is that it represents the moment of Huineng's awakening, prompted by the auditory stimulus of the machete striking the resonant hollow bamboo.<sup>459</sup> This synaesthetic evocation of a moment of awakening through visual allusion to the resonant capacity of bamboo mirrors the awakening narrative of the Tang monk Xiangyan Zhixian 香巖智閑 (799-898/9). Zhixian is depicted in the fourth scene of *Eight Eminent Monks*, a painting signed by Liang Kai in the Shanghai Museum discussed below and in chapter four (fig. 6.6e).<sup>460</sup> While there is precedent for this type of action within the corpus of the Chan canon, Huineng's hagiography offers no account of an awakening when chopping bamboo. Instead *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* recounts his enlightenment occurring after hearing an oral teaching on the *Diamond Sūtra* by the fifth patriarch Hongren.<sup>461</sup> Nonetheless, a seventeenth century Japanese response to Liang Kai's painting recounts Huineng's awakening as a response to the sonic stimulus of cutting bamboo. This an interpretation is expressed in an *encomium* by Zen cleric Takuan Sōhō 沢庵 宗彭 (1573-1645) upon a copy of Liang's composition, signed by Japanese artist Kano Tan'yū 狩野 探幽 (1602-1674) (fig. 6.7).<sup>462</sup> Sōhō's verse opens with the following couplet:

One strike of a knife vanquishes all thoughts,  
Green jade of bamboo scattered over the earth, mountains, and rivers.<sup>463</sup>

一刀兩斷沒商量，大地山河撒碧琅。

Sōhō's verse explicitly cites the act of cutting the bamboo as a stimulus for awakening, in a compelling extension of Liang's visual drama into a specific religious

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<sup>459</sup> Fontein and Hickman 1970, 17.

<sup>460</sup> For a discussion of the Zhixian scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*, and the role of visual narrative and related hagiographies in shaping Chan ideals of sudden awakening embodied in historic exemplars, see chapter four, pages 149-158.

<sup>461</sup> Yampolsky and Schlütter 2012, 132-3, 四—五.

<sup>462</sup> For a brief outline of this painting's content, situating it within the backgrounds of the artist and inscribers careers, see: Metropolitan Museum of Art 2008.

<sup>463</sup> Translation from: Metropolitan Museum of Art 2006.

teaching on Huineng's enlightenment. Tan'yū's painting is far more liquid than its prototype, the strokes are a wet amalgamation of fluid forms coalescing into a blurred representation of the patriarch's body. A similarly liquid quality can be seen in Chinese works from Japanese collections, traditionally attributed to Liang Kai, exemplified by *Budai Watching Fighting Cockerels* 布袋雞骨圖 in the collection of the Fukuoka Art Museum (fig. 6.12). The technical qualities of *Budai Watching Fighting Cockerels* make its association with Liang Kai quite problematic. The painting shows an almost uniform dark saturation in the tonality of ink for the figure of Budai, contrasted with the opacity of the fighting cockerels. This dualistic juxtaposition of ink tones makes a more pointed contrast of tonality than seen in more stable attributions to Liang Kai, likely reflecting an interpretation of Liang's abbreviated brush by a Yuan follower of his style.<sup>464</sup>

There is a basis for interpreting liquid ink-play as a significant form of abbreviation within the image of Liang constructed through Chinese transmission, seen in the fluid forms of the *Splashed Ink Immortal* 潑墨仙人圖 in the collection of the National Palace Museum (fig. 6.13). In his lecture series 'A Pure and Remote View', the late James Cahill acknowledges the *Splashed Ink Immortal's* spontaneous use of ink, but also notes its lack of defined structure. In the context of this informal lecture he describes the *painting* as "not remotely up to the level of the ones in Japan which are really done by Liang Kai". While Taiwanese scholar Yan Yamei 嚴雅美 has written a spirited defence of the painting's proximity to Liang Kai through comparisons to his other attributions, asserting that "this work is not a copy, but must be the product of one of Liang's immediate followers", Cahill's appraisal illustrates the ongoing contestation of its authenticity.<sup>465</sup>

While there is precedent in some of the extant attributions to Liang Kai for Tan'yū's cultivated aesthetic of reduced mark making, the Kano painter's brush edits out the crisp details of bodily action that characterise his explicit prototype. In Liang's *Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* the plant's stalk is positioned at an astutely observed

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<sup>464</sup> The identification of this work as the product of a Yuan follower of Liang, and its significance as a prototype for Miyamoto Musashi's 宮本 武蔵 (1584-1645) depiction of the same subject is discussed in: Itsuō Bijutsukan and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2013, 46.

<sup>465</sup> Cahill 2010-2014; Yan 2000, 75.

angle, showing both familiarity and concern with the spatial and physical dynamics of the act his brush was describing. Tan'yū's bamboo stands straight upright. Instead of focusing on the dynamics of movement in the scene it leads the viewer's eye toward Sōhō's lyrical commentary on the pictorial action. Both Tan'yū's painting and Sōhō's verse offer compelling commentaries of significant value for understanding later Japanese reception of Liang's oeuvre. However, for the art historian of Song China, Sōhō's and Tan'yū's text and image are extrapolations that depart from the evidence available from Liang's earlier work.

While we cannot be certain that the pictorial action of *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* was intended to represent a moment of profound spiritual transformation, we can safely assert that the diptych is an articulate visual expression of Chan's self representation as an extra-textual lineage. By pairing the mundane labours of Huineng chopping bamboo with the dramatic gesture of the destruction of canonical texts, Liang created a visual equivalence between these two types of action. This elevates the mundane chopping of bamboo into a visual discourse over the purpose of a spiritual life, and the mechanisms through which one develops as a religious practitioner. In short, whether or not the specific moment the painted Huineng cuts the bamboo is read as an auditory stimulus for awakening, this menial task of manual labour is presented as an integral part of the conduct of an elevated spiritual exemplar.

In both *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sutras* and *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* the cursive quality of the paintings' brushwork belies the complexity of their pictorial modelling. This combination of technical detail and accomplishment with cultivated brevity reveals a more complex image of Liang Kai's output than is implied in Xia Wenyan's dichotomous distinction of Liang's abbreviated and exquisite brush modes. The diptych's integration of complex movement into condensed form captures significant modes of action, in one case a potent symbolic gesture, and in the other a mundane domestic task, pregnant with potential. In pairing these acts together, Liang creates a visual equivalence between the mundane and the profound. Though there are no hagiographic precedents for these specific incidents, the visual rhetoric of their construction corresponds closely to the recurrent emphasis on dramatic gesture and posture in figure paintings of Chan figural subjects from the period. As discussed in earlier chapters, these conventions for the depiction of a pantheon in motion create a

visual culture that stresses charismatic action over iconic stasis. The available evidence on Liang's painting does not permit us to apply Sōhō's reading of Huineng's labours as an experience of awakening for the Southern Song context of Liang's original. Lacking any interpretive intercession from clerical *encomia*, *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sutras* and *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* can be read within a visual tradition of allusions to exemplary models of behaviour, prevalent in thirteenth and fourteenth century China. While Tan'yū's copy shows how later artists interpreted Liang's abbreviation through a reduction of descriptive detail, Liang Kai's diptych was dependent upon its carefully observed representation of action for the construction of meaning. *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sutras* and *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* use a distinctively abbreviated but descriptive visual language to identify exemplary Chan actions and insights with unassuming circumstances. They correspond to the themes of a wide corpus of Chan narratives, familiar to the paintings' medieval Chinese viewers, without necessarily needing an explicit hagiographic prototype for the visual moment.

### *The Copyists Brush*

The shared cursive style, monochrome media and hanging scroll format of Liang Kai's *Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*, and *Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* is consistent with the broader corpus of his extant depiction of Chan subjects preserved in Japan. However, there is a smaller body of extant material preserved through Chinese transmission, which illustrates an alternative conception of Liang Kai's Chan oeuvre. Foremost among the corpus of Chan works associated with Liang in Chinese collections is the long handscroll *Eight Eminent Monks*, held in the Shanghai Museum.<sup>466</sup> This painting is executed in ink and colours upon silk. Its eight separate scenes each show an exemplary monk, the majority of whom can be identified with the Chan tradition, if not to a specific lineage. The second, third and fifth scenes are signed 'Liang Kai', the signatures embedded within the composition upon the surfaces of rocks and trees. The painted scenes are followed by unsigned calligraphic prose inscriptions, which provide textual narratives to accompany the preceding

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<sup>466</sup> An album leaf of Budai in the collection of the Shanghai Museum is a notable further examples of a Chan affiliated subjects attributed to Liang Kai preserved in Chinese collections, (fig. 6.14).

pictorial action. Some of these texts are quoted directly from hagiographic compendia, while others are either original compositions, or reproduce excerpts from now lost versions of the exemplars' hagiographies. The inscriptions accompanying these paintings have been transcribed and translated in the list of illustrations for this chapter. Where a hagiographic prototype for the text has been identified it has been cited.

The range of subjects in *Eight Eminent Monks* is an exceptional resource for the study of Song and Yuan Chan visual culture. Some scenes contain what appear to be the only extant examples of Song-Yuan period depictions of their subjects. For example, the scene of Xiangyan Zhixian is the only Chinese rendition of that subject encountered in this project's research on visual narratives of sudden awakening.<sup>467</sup> Likewise, the scene showing the monk Yuanze and scholar Li Yuan's encounter with a pregnant woman is also a rare example of its subject. While there are other extant works showing Yuanze reborn as a young ox-herd, the depiction of Yuanze as an old monk is not so widely reproduced.<sup>468</sup> The further six scenes in *Eight Eminent Monks* show patriarchs familiar from other Chan figure paintings, or preserve rare, possibly unique, representations of subjects marginal to the Chan pantheon.

In many Chinese language publications on Liang Kai, *Eight Eminent Monks* is treated as exemplary of his early oeuvre. The value placed on this work is attested both in scholarly discussions of the painting, and in the formats of their publication. Volumes on Liang Kai published in Mainland China frequently feature a scene from *Eight Eminent Monks* as a cover image (fig. 6.15-6.16).<sup>469</sup> Published opinion upon this work presents a consensus that it is an early example of Liang Kai's oeuvre, developing an approach to Chan subject matter that sits between his courtly aesthetic and abbreviated brush mode.<sup>470</sup> The following discussion offers an alternative reading of this painting, suggesting that it is most likely a late thirteenth or fourteenth century

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<sup>467</sup> Discussed in chapter four, see pages,149-158.

<sup>468</sup> Discussed in chapter three, see pages 124-131.

<sup>469</sup> Shan and Shan 2004, 6-7, 96-7, Xie 1986.

<sup>470</sup> For a concise initial study of *Eight Eminent Monks* and its subject matter in Chinese, which asserts the authenticity of the piece, see Fraser 2010, 212. A more in-depth study by Fraser was forthcoming in *Arts Asiatiques* at the time of this thesis' submission for examination, but was not available for consultation in preparing this research.

work that seeks to emulate Liang's style. This proposal will be explored in three stages. First, a comparative analysis of the technical execution of drapery in *Eight Eminent Monks* and Liang's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* aims to show that the Shanghai scroll is the work of a copyist or later emulator. Second, this discussion illustrates two of *Eight Eminent Monks*' hagiographic excerpts which correlate with prototypes that post-date Liang's career. The third section of this analysis explores similarities in form and function between *Eight Eminent Monks* and Yuan didactic narrative handscrolls, exemplified by the anonymous *Four Acts of Filial Piety* 四孝圖, in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 6.17). This combination of visual, lexographic, and contextual analysis of *Eight Eminent Monks* aims to problematise readings of the work as a painting from Liang Kai's early oeuvre. As an alternative to this interpretation, the following discussion highlights *Eight Eminent Monks*' exceptional value in illustrating a posthumous ideal of Liang's artistic practice, perpetuated and developed in China over the century after his death.

*Eight Eminent Monks* opens with the first patriarch Bodhidharma, gazing at the wall of the Shaoshi 少室岩 cliff at the Shaolin 少林寺 monastery (fig. 6.6b). As the scene unfolds we see the future second patriarch Huike 慧可 (487-593), at this stage still known as the monk Shengguang 神光. The scene is followed by an excerpt from the hagiographic narrative of this encounter between Bodhidharma and his disciple. The text corresponds with the reported speech of a dialogue between the two protagonists from Bodhidharma's biography in the *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (*Jingde Chuangdeng lu* 景德傳燈錄).<sup>471</sup> As discussed in chapter three, this encounter between Bodhidharma and Shengguang was of crucial importance to Song and Yuan Chan's hagiographic narrative of lineage transmission, making it a highly suitable image with which to open this serial representation of selected exemplars from the Chan pantheon.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> JDCDL, j3 T.2076.51: 219, b20-23.

<sup>472</sup> For further examples of this subject, and a discussion of the textual versions of these events see pages 109-120.

The technical execution of *Eight Eminent Monks*' first scene provides an informative insight into the probable attribution of the work. The lower hem of Bodhidharma's red robe is spread out across the rock upon which he sits in meditation. The edges of the garment curve and pool with the fluid movements of the brush. However, when examined against the expert control of line seen in Liang's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, the draughtsmanship of the *Eight Eminent Monks* Bodhidharma's robe shows certain shortcomings. In Liang's *Śākyamuni*, the modelling of the body under the garment and the sense of its position in space are expertly drawn. A cold wind wraps the cloth around the Buddha's right thigh, the pooling of the fabric illustrated by the line's increased thickness at the apex of each curve between Śākyamuni's legs. By contrast the lower hem of Bodhidharma's robe appears suspended above the surface of the rock on which it rests. There is no visible integration of the edge of the garment into its surrounding space. Moreover, the red outlines of the folds in Bodhidharma's garment extend beyond the border of the hem at several points (fig. 3.11). While only a minor slip of the hand, it is not consistent with the level of control seen in the preparatory fine line drawing by academic painters of Liang's standard. Absent from *Eight Eminent Monks*, this technical mastery of line, and an acute awareness of its potential to convey a body in space, is seen in both *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* and the two paintings of the Sixth Patriarch discussed above.

The discrepancy between the technical accomplishment of *Eight Eminent Monks*, and Liang's recognised original works such as *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, is often explained by listing the former among Liang's early oeuvre. However, there is no contextual evidence to support such an argument in a dated colophon or an identifiable seal upon *Eight Eminent Monks*. Moreover, as discussed in chapter four, the text accompanying scene four's depiction of Xiangyan Zhixian's is a verbatim reproduction of an excerpt from the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元) of 1252.<sup>473</sup> This direct correspondence indicates that *Eight Eminent Monks* post-dates Liang's early career by over half a century.

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<sup>473</sup> For Xiangyan Zhixian's biography, see: WDHY j.9, X1565.80: 190, c24-191.

The seventh scene's depiction of the narrative of the awakening of Louzi Heshang 樓子和尚 (Master Tavern Monk) also has a hagiographic prototype in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*, rather than in earlier texts such as the *Jingde Record* (fig. 6.6h). However, the prose inscription accompanying the Louzi scene expands upon the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* prototype, adding specific details of the monk's geographic origins and family and given names that were declared unknown in the 1252 record.<sup>474</sup> The text accompanying the *Eight Eminent Monks* Louzi is therefore possibly an original composition, which has incorporated further details as the Louzi narrative was augmented over time. Alternatively, it may replicate the text of another iteration of the Louzi narrative from an expanded compendium, even later than the 1252 *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*.

The painted scene depicts the monk prostrating before a tavern. The edge of the drinking den's ground floor wall is just visible at the top right of the composition, next to its banner that blows in the wind toward Louzi by the base of two trees. The monk is venerating the tavern, as he has just overheard a line from a ballad sung by one of the patrons, which has stimulated a profound religious insight. Two passers by turn to stare at Louzi in confusion. The accompanying prose offers the following narrative:

The given name of the monk Tavern Master was Shan. He was a native of Jinpingjiang, and a member of the Yang clan. Early in his life he idled about in markets and towns. One day, hearing the *dharma* in the Chengtian temple led him to a realisation. He immediately entered the monastery and accepted full ordination. [Once] stumbling upon a tavern he heard someone singing: "As you are so heartless, I give up." Prostrating himself before the tavern he said: "If it were not for this tavern, then I would not have understood this matter!"

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<sup>474</sup> WDHY J.6, in: X.1565.80: 138, c8-10. For a full translation see appendix 6.1.

樓子和尚名善，津平江人，姓楊氏。初浮浪於肆市，一日至承天寺聆法，有省，即出家受具。偶至酒樓聞歌，曰：「你既無心我便休！」樓前拜云：「非此樓則不知有此事。」

In Louzi's *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* hagiography, this event is explicitly identified as a stimulus for sudden awakening. Having achieved this transformation through the sonic stimulus of a song from a tavern, he is thus known as Tavern Master (Louzi). Listed in the *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* as an 'unspecified dharma heir' (*weixiang fasi* 未詳法嗣), alongside the monk *Yushanzhu* 郁山主 (act. 11<sup>th</sup> century), Louzi's awakening is not linked to any pedagogical relationship.<sup>475</sup> Nonetheless, it conforms to the Chan ideal of awakenings occurring through extra-textual stimuli, in unexpected places. In this case, it is the double entendre of the ballad that prompts the awakening. The line "As you are so heartless, I give up," could also translate as, "as you lack defiled thought, I can take my ease." The *Eight Eminent Monks* scene directs Louzi's gaze toward the tavern, the source of his awakening. However, the structure is not made visible to the painting's viewer. The accompanying and associated texts tell the scroll's audience that the activity in the tavern has stimulated Louzi's awakening. Yet, like the adjacent figures in the composition, the viewer's attention is drawn to Louzi's eccentric actions at the centre of the scene. As he bows toward the tavern that sits just above the picture plane, this eccentric monk's awareness both literally and figuratively transcends the borders of the audience's perception.

The dating of the textual prototype for the Zhixian scene to the 1252 *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps*, and the elaboration of a narrative prototype from the same text in the Louzi scene, undermine the identification of *Eight Eminent Monks* with an early thirteenth century date. The following discussion explores an alternative dating for the work to the Yuan period, based on a comparative analysis with the anonymous Yuan dynasty narrative handscroll painting *Four Acts of Filial Piety*. Both works are in ink and colours on silk, showing serial narrative scenes followed by unsigned section of prose. They are drawn in a similar deft and meticulous hand, but

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<sup>475</sup> For a discussion of visual and textual versions of Yushanzhu's narrative of sudden awakening, see chapter four, pages 159-70.

do not match Liang Kai's virtuoso brushwork seen in either *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* or *The Sixth Patriarch* diptych. Further to their technique and format, *Eight Eminent Monks* and *Four Acts of Filial Piety* share a common theme in their subject matter. Both paintings serialise exemplary narratives on idealised conduct of historic exemplars.<sup>476</sup> Their similarities in style, format, and subject matter indicate these two works date from approximately the same period of the late thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The common narrative functions of the two scrolls can be seen in a comparison of two scenes: the *Louzi* scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*, and *Wang Xiang and the Fish in the Ice* 王祥冰魚 from *Four Acts of Filial Piety* (figs. 6.17b-c). Both paintings describe stories from earlier dynasties, canonised in textual narratives. The texts which follow the visual narratives both appear to be original compositions adapted from hagiographic prototypes, though it is also possible that exact correlations with external texts recording these versions of the narratives will emerge through later research. The textual narrative alongside *Wang Xiang and the Fish in the Ice* frames the protagonist as a paradigm of filial conduct, recounting Wang's self-sacrifice in providing for his mother. The inscription presents the story in prose as follows. Wang's ill mother expresses a desire for carp to cure her sickness. In the depth of winter, Wang makes his way to the local lake, where he is unable to break the ice. Imploring heaven and weeping, he lies on the ice in a vain attempt to melt it with the heat of his body. In response to his filial conduct, the ice breaks, and two carp leap out of their own accord, which cure his mother's ailment once eaten. The narrative is then summarised in verse.<sup>477</sup>

The core message of the Wangxiang scene is that such filial self-sacrifice elicits a spontaneous response from the natural world. This reciprocal responsiveness of heaven to the acts of man (*tianren ganying* 天人感應) was part of a cosmic world-

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<sup>476</sup> Clarissa von Spee discusses the didactic elevation of filial self sacrifice as an exemplary model in a scene from *Four Acts of Filial Piety*, showing figures reading a stele commemorating Cao E 曹娥 (d. 108). While the figures read how Cao E threw herself into a river to retrieve the body of her drowned father Caoyu 曹盱, the ghost of Cao E looks on: von Spee, 221-3.

<sup>477</sup> For a full transcription and translation of the inscription, see notes accompanying fig 6.17c.

view, in which the moral dimension of human actions were believed to elicit spontaneous responses from the natural world. In this case, Heaven's response to Wang's actions was the gift of the carp, compelled to leap from the water by his tears. Like the Louzi narrative in *Eight Eminent Monks*, the Wangxiang scene provides a framework to venerate an abstract ideal. In the Wangxiang scene that ideal is the demonstrable benefits of filial conduct. The Louzi scene is more enigmatic, extolling the efficacy of Chan awakening in one of its more idiosyncratic manifestations.

Though the subject matter of their respective narratives differ, both paintings use a common structure of visual language to highlight the significance of a single moment in illustrating their central ideal. The *Eight Eminent Monks* scene depicts Louzi in the moment immediately after his transformative awakening. He kneels before the tavern, hands clasped, and eyes looking upward toward the source of his transformation. The pictorial narrative in the Wang Xiang scenes is centred on the moment of Heaven's response to Wang's filial piety. The protagonist lies semi-naked upon the frozen lake, turning towards the carp as they emerge from the cracked ice. The artists have also included onlookers for both events, adding to the theatricality of each scene through the presence of an audience. In the Wangxiang scene, the bystanders' reverent gestures dictate how the viewer should respond to the image in the painting. The inclusion of Daoists, Confucian officials, and passing tradesmen stresses that this expectation of reverence was universally applicable to all creeds and classes. The icy wind shown through the movement of the branches emphasises the extremity of Wang Xiang's self-sacrifice and therefore the depth of his filial piety, deploying an image absent from the textual narrative. Moreover, the wind's movement away from Wang and toward the gathered onlookers also focuses the composition on Wang's action, as the wind appears to emanate from his prostrate figure. In the Louzi scene the audience is more perplexed than awed. Two well-dressed gentlemen turn to look at this odd cleric, bowing before a house of sin. The pointing figure has his back to the viewer, while his companion arches his eyebrows and purses his lips in a moment of utter confusion at this inexplicable behaviour. Their incomprehension serves as a reminder to the viewer that the Chan lineage and pantheon may appear eccentric, but that eccentricity often conceals profound insights.

*Louzi Heshang* and *Wangxiang and the Fish in the Ice* both illustrate paradigms of ideal action through a symbolically charged scene, contextualised by an adjacent text. The ideologies that underpin these two works are dramatically different. One advocates the potential for spiritual awakening in unexpected circumstances, and the other venerates conspicuous feats of filial self-sacrifice. However, the paintings' common media, techniques, formats and approaches to visual narrative locate them in a common system of making and viewing paintings. This parallel of both form and function illustrates the role Chan figure painting played in the development of thirteenth to fourteenth century Chinese narrative painting. The inclusion of Liang Kai's signatures on three of the scenes in the scroll illustrates the cultural capital attached to his name in this period. Thus, *Eight Eminent Monks* illustrates a sustained interest in Liang's Chan oeuvre in the century after his death, preserving possibly unique Song-Yuan period representations of Chan narrative subjects such as Zhixian and Louzi.

### *Conclusions*

The preceding discussion has problematised the binary division of Liang Kai's painting modes into meticulous court works, and expressive Chan painting processes, illustrating how a binary conception of Liang's oeuvre was formed through historic transmission and commentary. The origins of this dichotomy were identified in Xia Wenyan's biography of Liang Kai, written around a century after his death, where Xia lauds Liang's 'exquisite brush', and derides his cursive 'abbreviated brush'. Chinese reception of Liang's meticulous style was examined through *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence*, a depiction of Tao Yuanming in a landscape, signed 'Liang Kai' once in the collection of the Qing Qianlong emperor. Close analysis of this painting illustrated the visual qualities of the exquisite aesthetic elevated by Xia, in a work probably by a close follower of Liang Kai affiliated to the Southern Song painting academy. Through a comparative analysis of *Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* and Liang's *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, the above discussion illustrated the diversity of styles and formats that came to embody Liang's court oeuvre in Chinese and Japanese transmission. This was augmented by examination of textual commentaries by Ming-Qing transition period connoisseur Wu Qizhen, which

showed the continued relevance of Xia's critical dichotomy of Liang's oeuvre in later periods.

The ideal of Liang's abbreviated brush mode was then explored through a case study of two of Liang's works on a common subject *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* and *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing Up Sutras*. The analysis of these two paintings illustrated Liang's agency in creating visual expressions of Chan ideals not directly connected to textual precedents, but which drew on parallel themes of non-reliance on text and iconoclastic behaviour in Chan hagiography and iconography. Japanese reception and commentary on Liang's representation of Chan exemplars in action was contextualised through an analysis of Kano Tan'yū's loose copy of *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*, and its accompanying *encomium* by Zen prelate Takuan Sōhō. Such copies illustrate the continuity of value placed on Liang's oeuvre in Japan, as well as the process whereby later understanding of Liang's abbreviated brush mode became synonymous with liquid, free forms. Comparison with Liang's later emulations and contested attributions in Chinese collections showed a similar tendency to supplant the kinetically charged descriptive detail of the abbreviated brush with looser, more liquid modes of abbreviation.

Sōhō's commentary explicates a specific visual narrative for Tan'yū's copy of *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*, contradicting the account of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* to identify this act of mundane labour as the moment of Huineng's sudden awakening. While such interpretations enrich understanding of Liang's Japanese reception, there is insufficient evidence from the Song period to extend this interpretation to the historic context in which Liang produced *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*. As discussed in chapter one, it is important to separate later Japanese commentaries on Chan figure paintings from these works' earlier Chinese contexts of production and reception. The distinctions between these Chan and Zen visual cultures can be easily overlooked if Japanese Zen art is read as a direct continuation of its Chinese predecessor Chan. Instead of reading Liang's image through the commentary of a Japanese cleric written four centuries after the painting was made, the above discussion contextualised the visual rhetoric of Liang's diptych within the broader corpus of Chan figure painting from thirteenth and fourteenth century China. By situating Liang's Chan oeuvre within the context of Song and Yuan

visual culture, which this thesis has demonstrated made extensive use of pictorial action in constructing and communicating meaning, the above discussion sought to reconstruct the framework through which Liang Kai's Chan images were initially viewed. *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* and *The Sixth Patriarch Tearing Up Sutras* illustrate Liang's active participation within a thirteenth century discourse of Chan visual narrative. Liang's choice to juxtapose two dramatic pictorial moments articulate a Chan perspective on the primacy of action as a soteriological instrument, contrasted with the secondary position of text.

The final section of this chapter proposed a reappraisal of the dating and attribution of a prominent painting of Chan subjects bearing Liang Kai's signature: *Eight Eminent Monks*. The painting's technical execution and the dating of texts incorporated into the scroll bring its attribution to Liang Kai into serious question. Overt similarities with the content, format and function of fourteenth century Yuan didactic narrative handscrolls suggest a probable late thirteenth to fourteenth century date. The signatures are therefore more likely to connect the work to a follower of Liang, rather than to the master himself. As an illustration of Liang's conception in the century after his death, *Eight Eminent Monks* remains highly relevant to discussions of Liang Kai's historic reception in China. Moreover, the scroll preserves several rare examples of subjects known to have been popular in Chan visual culture from textual records of abbots' *encomia* on paintings, but of which few examples survive today.

By situating the extant corpus of Liang's attributions within the visual and verbal commentaries produced in both Chinese and Japanese sources, this chapter has sought to illustrate how Liang Kai came to embody a diversity of meanings for discrete audiences at different times. Works which copy, emulate, and possibly even mendaciously forge elements of Liang's oeuvre have been invaluable to this analysis. These works by later followers both highlight the distinctive qualities of his presumed original works, and inform understanding the changing interpretations of Liang Kai's legacy in different times and places. The diversity of these later works, and their relationship to the textual record of Liang's historic reception, illustrate the historical contingency of both any contemporary understanding of Liang's person, and the dual ideals of abbreviated Chan figure painting and meticulous courtly styles into which his oeuvre has been split. Rather than attempting to mask a 'true image' of Liang Kai,

the various images constructed through historic transmission can be fruitfully read as successive incarnations of the master.

## CONCLUSIONS

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The preceding thesis has argued that reference to narrative was central to both the content and function of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chan figure paintings. Centring its analysis on the object of the painting, one of the key contentions of this study is that the interaction of painted imagery, inscribed text, and external hagiographies familiar from texts and cultural memory created dynamic and original versions of narratives drawn from hagiographic prototypes. These original versions of earlier narratives were often collaborative, supporting painting's pictorial action with commentaries expressed in calligraphic inscription. Inscriptions upon Chan figure paintings were most frequently in the form of *encomia* (*zan* 讚), short passages of verse written by senior clerics whose pedagogical authority as living Buddhas was instrumental in shaping these original versions of exemplary narrative. The new versions of hagiographic narrative prototypes crafted in text and image were embodied in the object of the Chan figure painting, but were not limited to the physical enclosure of the painted scene. The interaction of image and text in inscribed Chan figure paintings exerted a demonstrable agency over their viewers in Song and Yuan China, both communicating and constructing the exemplary qualities of the Chan pantheon and lineage. This thesis has explored these interactions of image and text through a series of systematic questions on the meaning and function of Chan figure paintings in their thirteenth to fourteenth century contexts of production and reception. The ensuing arguments have demonstrated that these depictions of exemplars in action are both more plural, and more various than we may at first suppose.<sup>478</sup>

The first chapter asked how we define and delineate Chan figure painting as a category in visual culture, through a critical appraisal of formative modern discourse

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<sup>478</sup> The pertinence of acknowledging the plurality of East Asian Buddhist monastic traditions, as historically contingent entities that both shaped and reflected the times and places in which they existed, has been effectively argued for in a 2010 collection of essays edited by James A. Benn, Lori Meeks and James Robson. Robson's introduction to the volume astutely asserts that: "... any answer to the most basic question "what is a Buddhist monastery" will necessarily be as complex and multifarious as the diverse religious and historical contexts in which they have existed": Benn, Meeks, and Robson 2010, 1.

on Chan and Zen art.<sup>479</sup> Through the analysis of modern scholarship on this subject, the opening chapter offered an alternative reading to the enduring popular conception of Zen art (and by extension Chan) as a visual index of an a-historic experience, with which the Japanese people have a unique affinity.<sup>480</sup> Instead, this thesis illustrated the contingency of these arguments on the circumstances of reception and display of Chan figure paintings. Drawing on the scholarship of Bernard Faure, chapter one argued that the meaningful analysis of Chan figure paintings' Chinese contexts of production and reception is dependent upon an acknowledgement of their independence from their Japanese successor in Zen art.<sup>481</sup> By treating Chan figure paintings as a predecessor to Zen paintings, rather their progenitor, this study has problematised the anachronistic conflation of Chan and Zen into a singular continuum. Stressing that Chan figure paintings were made and viewed by different people, in different times, and different places from later Zen paintings, this first chapter concludes by advocating a use of the term 'Chan figure painting' as a designation of an historically contingent function dependent upon a viewer for completion.

The subsequent three chapters developed the proposed definition of Chan figure painting as a functional description, through a thematic analysis of narrative properties in extant paintings of Chan subjects. This thesis explored the different combinations of text and image that were used to communicate and construct meaning in paintings of Chan subjects through three prominent themes: transitions, interactions and awakenings. These three themes respectively underscored the legitimacy, authority, and efficacy of Chan's lineages and modes of pedagogical practice. With each of these three themes explored in sequential chapters, the linked discussions of varied content of Chan figure paintings consistently illustrated the co-dependency of visual and verbal modes of expression in the construction and dissemination of meaning. While painting provided a powerful site for the simulated

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<sup>479</sup> This discussion focused on the formative influence of early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Japanese scholars: (Hisamatsu 1971, Okakura 1905, Suzuki 1959).

<sup>480</sup> My discussion of this material benefitted greatly from Gregory Levine's earlier critique of approaches to Zen art in English language literature, though I sought to develop on his arguments by exploring the specific implications of these essentialisations for the study of images of Chinese manufacture: Levine 2007.

<sup>481</sup> Faure 1993, 3.

momentary action of a past exemplar, it was through varied combinations of inscribed text, and associated hagiographic records that pictorial action was contextualised between preceding and impending events.

The recurrent reference to actions of historic exemplars and the practice of Chan teachings was evident across these themes. The second chapter's discussion of transitions focused upon the historic pedigree of the Chan tradition. This was exemplified by the isolated actions of foundational figures, seen in images of Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains, and Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed. These images show seminal moments from the genesis of the Chan lineage, underscoring its legitimacy through association with the actions of these historic exemplars. The third chapter showed how interactions were essential for the continuation of that lineage, exemplifying the process through which teachings could be imparted, and the continuity of lineage asserted. These pictorial narratives focused upon the relationships between clerics and their disciples, and between clerics and their lay associates to underscore the authority of Chan patriarchs in paradigmatic pedagogical practice. Visual narratives showing interactions between clerics and lay figures from beyond the confines of the lineage were also discussed, as illustrations of the elasticity of the Chan pantheon. In the final analysis of a narrative theme, Chan paintings centred on private moments of sudden awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟) were shown to provide an idiosyncratic mode of expression for the attainment of enlightenment, a central focus of all Buddhist practice. Contextualised in inscribed or associated narratives within the pedagogical relationship of master and disciple, these visual narratives demonstrated the efficacy of Chan teachings. These three narrative themes did not only construct meaning for historic exemplars, but through the interactive and performative process of inscription, they established relationships between a predominantly clerical constituency of inscribers and the viewers of these exemplars in action.

The agency of inscription was examined in the fifth chapter of the thesis, through a case study of the thirteenth century abbot Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Asking how calligraphy served to express and construct this senior cleric's identity, this chapter contextualised the analysis of selected extant inscribed paintings

alongside a combination of Guangwen's epitaph and the prefaces to his discourse record collection. Literary sources on Guangwen's life and career were analysed as a construction of the idealised image of the Chan abbot, expected by lay and clerical elites. The first section of this chapter illustrated the unambiguously hagiographic appraisal of Guangwen's abilities in literary sources contemporary with his career, which stressed his capacities for cultural performances of oratory and calligraphy, as well as his exemplary moral qualities and religious insights. The subsequent analysis contextualised this cultural ideal of a Chan abbot, which Guangwen was professed to embody, alongside the content of his extant *encomia* on two painting subjects: The first subject was painting of a *Meeting Between Yaoshan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖, and the second subject were depictions of the semi-mythical Chan Scattered Sages (*sansheng* 散聖) Budai 布袋 (d. 916) and Fenggan 豐干 (act. ca. 7-8<sup>th</sup> century), figures not part of the formal Chan lineage, but whose eccentric lives gave them liminal access to transcendent reality. The analysis of these two themes revealed Guangwen's recurrent appropriation of Chan figural subjects' iconic authority, alongside the display of insightful commentaries on the qualities of the paintings' subjects. This combination of appropriation and exegesis served a performative function within Guangwen's networks of social and cultural obligations, illustrated through the contextual analysis of inscribed paintings of Chan subjects within the life and career of this senior cleric. This penultimate chapter shifted the analytical focus of the thesis from the agency of narrative allusion and text-image relationships, to their instrumentalisation in the construction of the Chan lineage as a living entity.

The final chapter offered a counterpoint to the agency of the inscriber, through a case study of the extant oeuvre of Liang Kai 梁楷 (active later 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century). In examining the distinct processes of transmission in Chinese and Japanese collections, this chapter augmented chapter one's critique of Chan and Zen art's conflation into a homogenous teleological narrative. This was achieved through a comparative analysis of the distinctive patterns of reception for both works from Liang Kai's oeuvre preserved in Chinese and Japanese collections, and works attributed to Liang but believed to be later forgeries or copies. The dichotomy of Liang's oeuvre into a meticulous courtly style and an abbreviated Chan style was problematised through a critical reading of an early biographical text in Xia Wenyan's 夏文彥 (act. Late 14<sup>th</sup>

century) 1365 *Precious Mirror of Painting* (*Tu Hui Bao Jian* 圖繪寶鑑). This problematisation was then explored through case studies of selected works previously regarded as representative of this dichotomy of styles. The findings of these analyses indicated that, while there is a definitive diversity in the extant works attributed to Liang Kai, the construction of a primarily Chan identity around Liang's abbreviated brush oeuvre has been significantly augmented in later transmission in Japan. However, the image of Liang Kai constructed in Japanese copies of his works was juxtaposed with an examination of the reception of his oeuvre within the visual culture of Southern Song and Yuan dynasty China. Building on the discussions of chapters two through five, we see that Liang's treatment of Chan subjects drew on potent visual allusions to Chan ideology consistent with these works' recurrent use of pictorial action as a primary carrier of meaning. Thus, the oeuvre of Chan subjects produced by this former court artist turned drunken eccentric represent the overlap and interaction between elite members of Southern Song society from the court and cloister.

The findings of this thesis prompt questions on both the later history of Chan visual culture, and on further details of the reception of Chan imagery in thirteenth and fourteenth century China. The most pressing subjects for further exploration are extant Chan works from later periods in China. Significant steps were taken in this area by James Cahill in 1997, and more recently by Marsha Weidner in 2009.<sup>482</sup> However there remains expansive scope for further research on the various manifestations of Chan subject matter in the visual and material cultures of Ming and Qing China. Whether in the continued production of lineage paintings in by prominent Ming artists such as Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462) (figs. 7.1), or in the numerous ceramic representations of Bodhidharma from the Dehua kilns, there is a wealth of materials that have yet to be contextualised in relation to Chan's place in the visual cultures of their periods (fig. 7.2-3). Part of the dismissal of these materials' Chan qualities may be due to an assumption that they reflect a form of popular religion in the late imperial period, lacking the conceptual complexity of the Song and Yuan works discussed in this thesis. However, as Bernard Faure's analysis of changing representations of Bodhidharma in early modern Japan has shown, the

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<sup>482</sup> Cahill 1997; Weidner 2009.

overlap and interplay of elite and popular registers played an important part of the historic development of the visual cultures of East Asian religions.<sup>483</sup> The specific relationship of early modern Chinese materials that reference Chan iconography, popular or otherwise, to Chan's continued Chinese lineages is a promising avenue for future research. Nonetheless, it has thus far been overlooked relative to the greater attention given to Chan objects from earlier periods, which are predominantly preserved in Japanese collections that can clearly illustrate the objects' relationships to historic Chan and Zen lineages. I certainly do not exempt this thesis from those studies that focus almost exclusively on this earlier material. However, the methodological approach outlined in the first chapter of this thesis helps draw attention to the problem. This asymmetry of enquiry seem to be a tacit endorsement of Shini'ich Hisamatsu's 久松真一 (1889-1980) problematic Japan centred teleology of post-Yuan Chan and Zen art. In *Zen and the Fine Arts*, Hisamatsu derisively proclaims that: "during the Ming and after; China had little to offer."<sup>484</sup> The discomfort of accepting Hisamatsu's reductive rejection that any Chan subject matter of interest was produced in China from 1368-1911 will hopefully be a sufficient stimulus for further research in this area.

The Chan pantheon is vast, and the visual narrative subjects addressed in this thesis cannot claim to be exhaustive, though they strives to be illustrative of the types of relationships created between text and image. Nonetheless, it was beyond the scope this thesis to address the visual representation of many members of the expansive Chan pantheon represented Song and Yuan paintings. Examinations of Chan iterations of iconic subjects shared across the Mahāyāna pantheon, such as Fishbasket Guanyin 魚藍觀音 (fig. 7.4) and Mañjuśrī in a Robe of Braided Grass 繩衣文殊 would be stimulating area of further enquiry.<sup>485</sup> Moreover, the incorporation of secular exemplars from Chinese history into the Chan visual culture, touched on in the discussion of Yanxi Guangwen's recorded *encomium* on an image of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427), has yet to receive significant attention. Similarly, Chan

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<sup>483</sup> Faure 2011.

<sup>484</sup> Hisamatsu 1971, 25.

<sup>485</sup> While initial examinations of these subjects have laid an important foundation for further research, there is ample scope for further exploration of these objects place within Chinese visual culture: Hwi-Joon 1970, 47; Lippit 2007b; Shimizu 2007e.

clerical inscriptions upon landscape paintings, and images produced by monk painters provide a clear point of overlap between the painting of Song scholar officials and their clerical associates (fig. 7.5).<sup>486</sup> The distinctive approaches Chan clerics took to this area of visual culture would be fruitful area of further enquiry.<sup>487</sup> A similar comparison could be made with images of bird and flower scenes (fig. 7.6). Though only a small number of works of this kind survive, there are a not insignificant number of recorded inscriptions by Chan clerics on paintings of these subjects preserved in abbots' discourse records. This thesis has stressed that allusions to Chan hagiographic narrative, and the consequential associations with Chan pedagogy should be read as a function of figure painting, rather than a taxonomical tool for the differentiation of genres. This methodological approach provides a start point from which one might more systematically explore the plasticity and permeability of the boundaries between monastic and lay visual cultures. A serious examination into the fluidity of Chan monastic visual culture and its secular counterpart would likely challenge many of the preconceptions about the distinctiveness of Chan's cultural expression. This would do a great deal to further distinguish the Chinese context of Chan's visual culture from its historic conflation with Japanese Zen art.

While Chan visual culture was the unambiguous focus of this thesis, it is hoped that the approach taken in this research has a bearing on art historical analysis of material beyond the historic borders of China. The methodological approach of this thesis deliberately challenges the presumed primacy of text in the analysis of the historic

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<sup>486</sup> Brinker and Kanazawa offer fruitful readings of 'bird and flower' and landscape themes within the context of Zen painting, illustrating the ways in which Chan monks iterations of these themes preserved in Japan were developed by Zen painters. Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, 178-92. Yukio Lippit has also explored the function of inscription upon landscape paintings by the Zen monk painter Sesshū Toyo in the collective fashioning of Zen identity in Muromachi Japan: Lippit 2007d.

<sup>487</sup> For example, a colophon to a landscape painting entitled *Ten Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains*, preserved in Yanxi Guangwen's discourse record, challenges both the underlying mimetic principle of painting, and the reliability of the viewer's visual perception of the image. Guangwen's text reads as follows: "Colophon on *Ten Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains*: All this vast land seen by a Śramaṇa's eye. In the lonely far off distance, the mountains are not true mountains. In the calm deep depths, the water is not true water. The *dharma* is before the blind [literally those with no eyes], cognitions are before those who see [literally those with eyes]. A thought just arose, like a beacon beside the road. How can one reach the 1000 upon 10,000 *li* of white cloud? 題江山萬里圖：盡大地是沙門一隻眼。孤迥迥，山不是山。澄湛湛，水不是水。無目前法，有目前意。纔起一念及，路旁埃子。何止白雲千里萬里？" YXGWCSYL j.2, in X1368.69: 752, c16.

meanings and functions of objects with visual narrative qualities. In the material examined in this thesis, visual expression was crucial for the construction of narratives, used as soteriological commentary upon Chan's historic pantheon. However, in the examination of narrative, I have shown the importance of understanding references to material outside the surface of the painting, whether in the form of canonical text or more generalised cultural memory. This thesis recognises the value of approaching narrativity as a theoretical tool rather than a definitive category. Acknowledging the instrumental as well as typological dimensions of narrative allowed me to expand my analysis beyond the surface of the painting. Each chapter of the thesis explored a separate dimension of the historic agency of visual and verbal allusions to hagiographic narratives. These allusions were situated within networks of interaction between historic subjects, clerical inscribers, and intended audiences. Limiting our understanding of narrative to the visual phenomena that occur within the borders of a painted surface, and the lexical expressions in separate enclosures of external texts, masks the agency of narrative as a mode of mediation between subject, object and viewer. The animate pantheon of Chan eccentrics and exemplars is not so easily contained.

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WDQS Chaoyong 超永 (17<sup>th</sup> century). *Wudeng Quanshu* 五燈全書 [Complete Text of the Five Lamps]. Preface 1693. X.1571.82.

XZYL Niexian 聶先 (active 17<sup>th</sup> century), *Xuzhiyue lu* 續指月錄 [Further Records of Pointing to the Moon]. Preface 1680. X.1579.84.

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BYSDCSGL Baiyun ShouDuan 白雲守端 (1025-72/3), *Baiyun Shouduan Chanshi Guanglu* 白雲守端禪師廣錄 [Expansive Record of Chan Master Baiyun Shouduan], in X.1352.69.

SHDSYL Lou Ying 樓穎 ed. (fl. 742-755), extant version edited by Lou Zhao 樓炤 (1073-1145) in 1143. *Shanhui Dashi Yulu* 善慧大士語錄 [Discourse Record of the Great Master Shanhui]. X.1335.69.

XZLMFYHSYL Foyan Qingyuan 佛眼清遠 (1067-1120), *Xuzhou Longmen Foyan Heshang yulu* 舒州龍門佛眼和尚語錄 [Discourse Records of the Monk Foyan of Longmen in Xuzhou]. Preserved in *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 [Discourse Records of Ancient Venerables]. Preface to reprint 1267. X.1315.68.

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- WZHSZDYL      Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249), *Wuzhun Heshang Zhoudui Yulu* 無準和尚奏對語錄 [*The Discourse Record of the Monk Wuzhun's Imperial Submissions*]. X.1383.70. Also listed as j.6 of WZSFCSYL.
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- 2.1 Translated excerpt from Bodhidharma's hagiography in the *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*.
- 3.1 Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). *Biography of the Monk Yuanze* 僧圓澤傳.
- 5.1 Monasteries of which Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263) was abbot, with corresponding dates.
- 5.2 Excerpt from Epitaph of Yanxi Guangwen
- 5.3 *Preface to the Discourse Record of Chan Master Yanxi Guangwen*, by Youyu 尤燊 (1190-1272) of Jinlin 晉陵. 1259. X.1368.69: 725, b5-12.
- 5.4 List of requested dedications for painting inscriptions by Yanxi Guangwen
- 6.1 Biography of Master Tavern Monk (Louzi Heshang 樓子和尚) *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng Huiyuan* 五燈會元) 1252 CE.

## APPENDIX 2.1

Translated excerpt from Bodhidharma's hagiography in the *Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*. JDCDL j3, in: T.2076.51: 219, a17-b5

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On the first day of the tenth month he arrived at Jinlin. The Emperor asked: "Since taking the throne, I have constructed more monasteries, [sponsored] the writing of more *sūtras*, and supported more monks than ever before recorded. What is the merit for this?" The master said: "There is no merit in any of this." The emperor said: "How can there be no merit?" The master said: "These have but the ephemeral consequences of the small accomplishments of men and gods, just as a shadow follows a form in spite of its being incorporeal." The emperor said: "What, then, is true merit?" [Bodhidharma] answered: "The splendid completion of pure wisdom is embodied in emptiness, as with real merit it is not sought on the basis of circumstance." The emperor then further asked: "What is the first principle of the truth of the sage?" The master said: "There are no sages." The emperor asked: "Then who is before me?" The master responded: "I don't know [him]." The emperor was not led to realisation, and the master knew that this interaction had not got through to him.

On the nineteenth day of the same month, [Bodhidharma] secretly returned north of the river. After arriving in Luoyang on the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of the tenth year of the Taihe period of the Xiaoming of the Wei dynasty (526 CE). He stopped and took up residence at the Shaolin temple on Mount Songshan, facing a wall in silence until the end of the day. No one knew what this was, calling it *bramanic wall gazing*.

十月一日至金陵。帝問曰：朕即位已來，造寺、寫經、度僧不可勝紀。有何功德？師曰：並無功德。帝曰：何以無功德。師曰：此但人天小果有漏之因，如影隨形雖有非實。帝曰：如何是真功德。答曰：淨智妙圓體自空寂，如是功德不以世求。帝又問：如何是聖諦第一義。師曰。廓然無聖。帝曰：對朕者誰。師曰：不識。帝不領悟，師知機不契。

是月十九日潛迴江北。十一月二十三日屆于洛陽當後魏孝明太和十年也。寓止于嵩山少林寺，面壁而坐終日默然。人莫之測。謂之壁觀婆羅門。

#### APPENDIX 3.1

Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). *Biography of the Monk Yuanze* 僧圓澤傳. In *Dongpo QuANJI* 東坡全集 (*Complete Record of [Su] Dongpo*). Compiled by Su Jiao 蘇嶠, 1179

DPQJ j.39, pages 10-11, accessed via SKQS.

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#### *Biography of the Monk Yuanze*

The Huilin monastery of Luoshi [Luoyang] had of old been the residence of the official Li Cheng. When [An] Lushan conquered the Eastern Capital, Di protected his residence to the death. Li's son Yuan was famed in his youth for his wide travels, extravagance and excellence in song. At his father's death, filled with grief and indignation, he made a personal vow to abstain from taking office, marriage, and the eating of meat, living in the monastery for over fifty years.

In the monastery there was a monk named Yuanze, who was a generous and intimate associate of Yuan, travelling together with him. Sitting together thick as thieves, they would talk until the day's end. No one could separate them. One day, they arranged to travel to Mount Emei by Qingcheng, in Shu [modern Sichuan]. Yuan wished to travel up the gorges via Jingzhou, while Ze preferred to take the road up the valleys by Changan. Yuan would not accept this, saying: "I have already cut myself off from worldly matters, how can I go back on the road to the capital!" Yuan was silent for a long time before saying: "Where one travels and stops does not make a man".

Subsequently, upon the road to Jingzhou they took a boat through Nanpu, where they saw a woman in brocade trousers carrying jars to fetch water. Ze gazed on and wept, saying: "I did not wish for this, but it is so." Startled, Yuan asked [what he meant by] this. Ze said: "That woman is of the Wang clan, and I will be her child. Though pregnant for three years, as I have not come, she has not given birth [literally not begun to lactate]. Meeting now, there is no way to avoid this. You must read a

talisman to assist with a quick birth. In three days when the boy is being washed, I ask that you come visit me and take a smile as proof. Thirteen years hence, at the mid autumn moon, I will meet you again outside the Tianzhu temple at Hangzhou.” Yuan was filled with sadness and to be of use bathed and changed his clothes. At dusk Ze had died and the woman gave birth. After three days he went to visit, and the boy smiled on seeing Yuan. He spoke of this to the Wang clan, who gave family money to inter Ze at the foot of the mountain. Thereafter Yuan did not finish his journey, returning into the monastery to ask to be taken on as a disciple and live out his life.

Thirteen years later he [Li Yuan] travelled through Wu [modern Jiangsu] for the appointed meeting. Coming to the appointed place, he heard a young ox-herd by the bank of the Gehong river, tapping the oxen’s horns and singing to him:

Upon the Three Lives Rock sits an old soul,  
Enjoying the full moon singing in the wind, there’s no need for discourse,  
Moved that a dear one has come to visit from afar,  
Though this body is strange, its nature is eternal!

[Yuan] called out: “Are you well Mr Ze?”. He replied: “Mr Li is a man of true belief! If a layman’s *karma* is not exhausted, be careful not to become too close. Only through ceaseless, diligent cultivation can such a reunion occur.” There followed another verse:

Matters before and after this body are unclear,  
Desiring to speak of karmic causality, yet fearing heartbreak,  
Searching throughout the mountains and rivers of Wu and Yue,  
Returning back on that misty boat into the Qutan [gorge].

Thereafter he left, and it was not known what became of him.

Two years later Li Deyu submitted a memorial to the emperor on [Li] Yuan’s loyalty as a vassal and son, sincere in his filial piety, requesting his appointment as Grand Master of Remonstrance. Not long after, he died in the monastery aged eighty.

## 僧圓澤傳

洛師惠林寺，故光祿卿李愷居第。祿山陷東都，愷以居守死之。子源，少時以貴遊子豪侈善歌，聞於時。及愷死，悲憤自誓，不仕不娶不食肉，居寺中五十餘年。

寺有僧圓澤，富而知音，源與之遊，甚密，促膝交語竟日，人莫能測。一日，相約遊蜀青城峨眉山。源欲自荊州溯峽，澤欲取長安斜谷路。源不可，曰：「吾已絕世事，豈可復道京師哉！」澤默然久之，曰：「行止固不由人。」

遂自荊州路，舟次南浦，見婦人錦襜負罌而汲者。澤望而泣曰：「吾不欲由此者，為是也。」源驚問之。澤曰：「婦人姓王氏，吾當為之子。孕三歲矣，吾不來，故不得乳。今既見，無可逃者。公當以符咒助我速生。三日浴兒時，願公臨我，以笑為信。後十三年中秋月夜，杭州天竺寺外，當與公相見。」源悲悔而為具沐浴易服，至暮，澤亡而婦乳。三日，往視之，兒見源果笑。具以語王氏，出家財葬澤山下。源遂不果行，反寺中，問其徒，則既有治命矣。

後十三年自洛適吳，赴其約，至所約，聞葛洪川畔有牧童扣牛角而歌之。曰：「三生石上舊精魂，賞月吟風不要論。慚愧情人遠相訪，此身雖異性長存。」呼問：「澤公健否？」答曰：「李公真信士。然俗緣未盡，慎勿相近。惟勤修不墮，乃復相見。」又歌曰：「身前身後事茫茫，欲話因緣恐斷腸。吳越山川尋已遍，卻回煙棹上瞿塘。」遂去，不知所之。二年李德裕奏源忠臣子，篤孝拜，諫議大夫不就竟死寺中，年八十。

### [Post Script]

This [account] was compiled from the stories from Tianzhu [monastery] in Yuanjiao's *Guanzeyao*, edited for this volume with additional reference to monastic records.

此出袁郊所作甘澤謠以其天竺故事，故書以遺寺僧舊文，煩冗頗為刪改。

## APPENDIX 5.1

Monasteries of which Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263) was abbot, with corresponding dates.

The following place names correspond with the sequential appointments listed in the *Yanxi Guangwen Chanshi Yulu* 偃溪廣聞禪師語錄 [Discourse Records of Chan Master Yanxi Guangwen]. Prefaces 1258 and 1259. X.1368.69.

The date for each appointment is taken from Guangwen's epitaph recorded at the end of his discourse record. References to the relevant passage are given after the date range of each appointment.

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Jingci Chan monastery 淨慈禪寺 on Mount Xianying 顯應山 Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 in modern day Zhejiang.

1228 until an indeterminate date.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c2-3.

The Zhidu Chan monastery 智度禪寺 on Mount Xiang 香山 from an indeterminate period, Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 [modern Zhejiang].

After 1228 and before 1245.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c4.

The Wanshou Chan monastery 萬壽禪寺, Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府

After 1228 until 1245.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c5.

The Zishang Chan monastery 資聖禪寺 upon the Yingmeng Mingshan 應夢名山, also known as Mount Xuedo 雪竇山, Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 in modern day Zhejiang.

1245-48.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c6-7.

The Guangli Chan monastery 廣利禪寺 on Mount Ayunwang 阿育王山, Qingyuan prefecture 慶元府 in modern day Zhejiang.

1248-51.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c8.

Jingci Baoen Guangxiao monastery 淨慈報恩光孝寺, Southern Curtain Mountain 南(屏)山 (Nanpushan), Linan Prefecture, 臨安府 (Southern Song capital), modern day Hangzhou.

1251-54.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c8.

Jingde Lingyin Chan monastery 景德靈隱禪寺, North Mountain 北山 (Beishan), Linan Prefecture, 臨安府 (Southern Song capital), modern day Hangzhou.

1254-56.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c8.

Xingsheng Wanshou Chan monastery 興聖萬壽禪寺, Mount Jing 徑山 (Jingshan), Linan Prefecture, 臨安府 (Southern Song capital), modern day Hangzhou.

1256-63.

YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 753, c8.

## APPENDIX 5.2

Excerpt from Epitaph of Yanxi Guangwen. Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271)

Epitaph dated 1264. YXGWCSYL j.2 in: X.1368.69: 753, b6-c2.

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Presented to the Grand Minister of the Baowenge [Pavillion of Treasuring Literature], compiled by Lin Xiyi in Chongyou Guan, Mount Wuyi, Jianning prefecture [modern day Fujian].

On the fourteenth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of the Jingding period [of Emperor Song Li Zong] [1263] Fozhi Chan Master Guangwen of Mount Jing passed away. Having heard of this [from Guangwen] through a memorial announcing his passing, the emperor expressed his condolences, providing money to assist with the funeral. [Guangwen's] pagoda is beneath Mount Daming, with Daming taken as the name for its shrine. Its name plaque was written by the imperial hand and fields were given to feed the shrine's caretakers.

Such beneficence! Where it not for the sagely abilities of the master, what importance would your grave have? The master was from the same hometown as me. Yanxi first gained fame in a preface from Imperial Chancellor Zheng. We first met in the capital when he came to court in the *renxiao* year [during the reign of Song Ningzong] [1202]. He had sparse eyebrows and sparkling eyes, full lips and jaw, his bearing and appearance were pure and correct, and his speech had substance, all adding to respect for him. Attendant Gentleman Tang of Dongjian was especially close with the master. Every time they met he would speak of [Guangwen's] virtues. Hearing of his illness, we write our farewell. Together Dongjian and I offer this prose as a libation to him. Dongjian's writing is the exceptional [part].

After five years I returned to the south, and his disciple Puhui came to Xishang, to request an epitaph. This is the epitaph: The master was a member of the Lin clan from Houguan. His forefathers had been Confucians. His mother, who was from the Chen clan, had a dream that a monk with a tin staff came into her room. She was pregnant and [when she] gave birth to the master he looked just like the monk. Before

he could speak he placed his hands together when he saw an image of the Buddha. As a young boy he was a fluent recitor of text.

At fifteen because of his parents' good *karma* he was able to follow his junior paternal uncle in the Wanlin Guangxiao monastery. At eighteen he underwent full ordination. When he first met with Yin, who was famed for being a sound judge, Yin was astonished and said: "You will be a pillar of the dharma!" Thereafter he met with various elders of the school of Shashimu [Shaoshi Guangmu 少室光睦] and Wuji schools. He followed them for some time. Eventually he received *dharma* transmission from Zheyang [Zheyang Ruyan 浙翁如琰 (1151-1225)]. He met Weng in Tiantong [monastery]. They were drawn to one another like iron filings to a lodestone. Knowing that he was not himself at peace, he left and later [they] met [again] at Shuangjing [monastery]. Weng knew the plum was about to ripen, and welcomed him saying: "You have come!"

One night sitting under the eaves he heard the third watch. When he was about to go back to the Cloud Hall, he caught his foot and fell, suddenly became conscious as though from a dream. Next morning he came to Weng's room. Weng presented a *gong'an* on Zhaozhou's washing the bowl.<sup>488</sup> The master opened his mouth and Weng closed it. The doubts and passions of ordinary life melted away under the bamboo clapper.<sup>489</sup> This opportune point could not be opposed. The monastic community then said: "There are now two old men from Zhe".

中太夫直寶文閣提舉，建寧府，武夷山，冲佑觀，林希逸撰。

景定四年，六月十四日，徑山佛智禪師廣聞示寂。遺奏聞皇帝悼惜，賜錢助葬。塔在大明山下，以大明名菴。御書其扁，且給田以食守者。嗚呼盛矣。非師能賢，穆陵豈輕[田/卅]哉。師於余為鄉人，初得其名於鄭丞相所為偃溪序。壬戌還朝，始見于京，疎眉秀目，哆口豐頤，道貌粹然，出語有味，益敬之。

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<sup>488</sup> This *gong'an* comes from Wumen Huikai's 無門慧開 (1183–1260) *Wumen Guan* 無門關 (*The Gateless Barrier*), j.1, in: T.2005.48:293, c26-294, a5.

<sup>489</sup> This bamboo clapper was used to strike students in Chan meditation to keep them attentive.

東礪侍郎湯公，於師尤稔，每相與言其賢。方聞其病，即以書別，余與東礪俱為文以奠之。東礪筆甚奇。

南歸五載。其徒普暉。來溪上乞銘。狀曰。師候官林氏子。世業儒。母陳氏。夢僧伽振錫入其室。娠而生師。貌與像肖。人曰：『僧伽再來也。』劍負未言，見佛即合爪。稍長，誦書如流。年十五，父母以宿緣，俾從小父智隆於宛陵光孝。十八受戒具。初謁印鍊牛，印名具眼，深奇之曰：『法棟也。』遍參諸老，與少室睦無際派，追隨甚久。卒嗣琰浙。翁見于天童，針芥相投。自知未穩，去再見雙徑。翁知梅將熟矣，迎曰：『汝來也！』一夕坐簷間，聞三更轉。將入雲堂，曳履而蹶。如夢忽醒。翌朝造室。翁舉趙州洗鉢話，師將啟吻，翁扯止之。平生疑情，籠下冰釋。機鋒自是不可當。藜林曰：『有兩浙翁矣。』

### APPENDIX 5.3

*Preface to the Discourse Record of Chan Master Yanxi Guangwen*, by Youyu 尤焞 (1190-1272) of Jinlin 晉陵. 1259. X.1368.69: 725, b5-12.

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Chan Master Yanxi sat in eight centres of awakening. Students flocked to him, like water rushing into a great gully. The phrases he uttered spread to all places: firstly because there was not one phrase that was unoriginal, secondly because no phrase was repeated, thirdly because they completely blocked observational knowledge as a route to logical thinking, and fourthly because they cut off the entanglements of convention. Only through these four [qualities] can we completely sweep away today's afflictions upon the gateways to the *dharma*. This is what makes him so outstanding in this time. As I knew Yanxi of old, of old he spoke without speaking. Those of learning who read this should hear without hearing. This so called simply selling a dead cats head, which when you eat it causes the whole body to perspire in cold sweat, must be made use of not to shame [our] fore bearers. I am not sufficient for this, only grasping the edges, and taking joy in knowing [Guangwen].

The last day of summer of the first year of the Kaiqing reign period [of Emperor Song Lizong], [1259]. Youyu 尤焞 (1190-1272) of Jinlin.

偃溪禪師，八坐道場。學者奔赴，如水赴壑。所句語，流傳諸方。一則並無一句踏襲，二則亦無一句重疊，三則塞盡知見理路，四則截斷葛藤窠臼。只此四著，盡掃近日法門弊病。宜其傑出一時也。吾因知偃溪平昔，昔無說之說。學者讀之，當以無聞之聞。所謂單單只賣死貓頭，喫者通身冷汗流，作用不愧前輩矣。余不足以與此，聊提帙端，以識欣快。

開慶改元結夏日。晉陵尤焞。

#### APPENDIX 5.4

#### List of requested dedications for painting inscriptions by Yanxi Guangwen

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##### Inscription requests on extant paintings:

Budai 布袋圖, by Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (active late 12<sup>th</sup> century) (fig. 5.5)

‘Requested by a man with superior understanding of Chan’

禪了上人請

Dedications of Encomia for Buddha’s and Patriarchs (*Fozu zan* 佛祖贊) in the *Discourse Records of Chan Master Yanxi Guangwen* (*Yanxi Guangwen Chanshi Yulu* 偃溪廣聞禪師語錄) prefaces 1258 and 1259.

[Image of] Guanyin: Nie Fubo, requested inscription for image venerated by his mother while alive.<sup>490</sup>

觀音(聶府博。以母在日所奉像。請贊)

Guyun Fashi, requested by Master Orator Shu Kai<sup>491</sup>

古雲法師(叔凱講師請)

Elder Mu, requested inscription for the establishing of a shrine to his teacher.<sup>492</sup>

牧長老，以其師立菴像，請贊

Requested inscription for a portrait of layman Xu from Langzhou<sup>493</sup>

閩州許居士畫像，請贊

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<sup>490</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 749, c9.

<sup>491</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, a1.

<sup>492</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, a7.

<sup>493</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, a22.

Requests for inscriptions by Yanxi Guangwen upon his own portrait ‘自讚’ in the *Discourse Records of Chan Master Yanqi Guangwen (Yanxi Guangwen Chanshi Yulu 偃溪廣聞禪師語錄)*, preface 1258-9.

Requested by elder practitioner of austerities.<sup>494</sup>

行素長老請

Requested by Duanchangfu Monastery.<sup>495</sup>

端常副寺請

Requested for the birthday of Elder Mu.<sup>496</sup>

資壽牧長老請

Requested by a Man of Chan. [Two written records of the same dedication]<sup>497</sup>

禪人請

Requested by Rector Yin.<sup>498</sup>

印維那請

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<sup>494</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, b4.

<sup>495</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, b8.

<sup>496</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, b11.

<sup>497</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, b15.

<sup>498</sup> YXGWCSYL j.2, in: X.1368.69: 751, b22.

## APPENDIX 6.1

Biography of Master Tavern Monk. Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1179-1253). *Collated Essentials of the Five Lamps (Wudeng Huiyuan 五燈會元)* 1252 CE.

WDHY J.6, in: X.1565.80: 138, c8-10

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### Master Tavern Monk

It is not known where he came from, or what his given or family names were. Once, when travelling between towns and markets, he heard a line of song from the upper floor of a tavern he had stopped beneath to fix his socks. The song went: If you are so heartless, I may as well give up. Thereupon, he was suddenly awakened, and was thus known as Tavern Master.

樓子和尚。

不知何許人也。遺其名氏。一日偶經遊街市間，於酒樓下整襪帶次。聞樓上人唱曲云。你既無心我也休。忽然大悟。因號樓子焉。

**NARRATIVE AGENCY IN  
THIRTEENTH-FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY CHAN FIGURE  
PAINTING:  
A STUDY OF HAGIOGRAPHY-  
ICONOGRAPHY TEXT-IMAGE  
RELATIONSHIPS**

**VOLUME TWO**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2016

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CHAPTER ONE:

PROBLEMATISING THE CONFLATION OF CHAN AND ZEN VISUAL CULTURE

Fig. 1.1

*Fisherman on a Winter River* 寒江獨釣圖. Attributed to Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. 1189-1225). Horizontal leaf remounted as a hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 26.8 x 50.3 cm. Tokyo National Museum, TA-140. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 1.2

*Guanyin* 觀音圖. Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1368). Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 171.9 x 98.4 cm. Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto. National Treasure.

Fig. 1.3

*Crane* 鶴圖. Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1368). Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 173.3 x 99.3 cm. Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto. National Treasure.

Fig. 1.4

*Gibbons* 猿圖. Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1368). Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 173.3 x 99.3 cm. Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto. National Treasure.

CHAPTER TWO

IMAGES OF TRANSITION: NARRATIVES OF LEGITIMACY

Fig. 2.1a

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (act. late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Ca. 1201-4, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours silk, 119 x 52 cm. Tokyo National Museum, TA 617. National Treasure.

Fig. 2.1b

Detail of fig. 2.1a. Signature from lower left of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*.

Fig. 2.2

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous. 14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan (1271-1368). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 145.6 x 57.2 cm. MOA Museum of Art, Atami.

Fig. 2.3

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟 (act. early-mid 13<sup>th</sup> century). Early-mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk. Believed to be in private collection in China, ca. 1973.

Fig. 2.4 a

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous. 14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本(1264-1325). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 215 x 82.6 cm. Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 2.4 b

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous Kanō school copy of fig. 2.4a, with a copy of the *encomium* by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本(1264-1325). Hanging scroll, ink on paper (measurements unspecified in available records). Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 2.5

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous. Before 1244, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Chijue Daochong 癡絕道冲(1169-1250). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.6 x 32.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1970.2.

Fig. 2.6

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Traditionally attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Ca.1252-1279, Southern Song (1127-1279) *Encomium* by Xiyan Liaohui 西巖了惠 (1198-1262). Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink on paper, 92 x 31.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, F1965.9.

Fig. 2.7

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous. Before 1246, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper (measurements unspecified in available records). *Encomium* by Chijue Daochong 癡絕道冲(1169-1250). Private collection, Japan.

Fig. 2.8

*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖. Anonymous. Kanō school copy of late 12<sup>th</sup> century Chinese original, with copy of *encomium* by Songyuan Chongyou 松源崇岳 (1139-1209). Section of a handscroll, (measurements unspecified in available records). Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 2.9

*Arhat with Attendant, Deer and Gibbons* 羅漢圖. Liu Songnian 劉松年 (act. 1177-1224). Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 117 x 55.8 cm. National Palace Museum Taipei, 故畫 00099.

Fig. 2.10

*Arhat with Attendant* 羅漢圖. Liu Songnian 劉松年 (act. 1177-1224) Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 117.4 x 56.1 cm. National Palace Museum Taipei, 故畫 00101.

Fig. 2.11

One of six seated statues of the historical Buddha (*Tathāgata*). Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze, 16-20 cm. Excavated at the Ruiguang pagoda 瑞光塔, Suzhou Suzhou Museum.

Fig. 2.12

*Winter Landscape* 景山水圖. Anonymous. 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279) Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 119.6 x 53.6 cm. Konchi-in 金地院, Kyoto National Treasure.

Fig. 2.13

*Śākyamuni with Attendant Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda* 釋迦摩訶迦葉阿難圖. Anonymous. 14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan (1271-1368). Hanging scroll, ink, colours and gold on silk, 106.9 x 46.40 cm. Cleveland Museum of Fine Art, 2009.342.2.

Fig. 2.14

*Ink Orchid* 墨蘭圖. Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1239-1316). 1306, Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368). Handscroll, ink on paper, 25.7 x 42.4 cm. Osaka City Museum Fine Arts (42,I-132).

Fig. 2.15

*Fenggan* 豐干圖. Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1216, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Shiqiao Kexuan 石橋可宣 (d. ca. 1217). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 90.5 x 32 cm. Private Collection, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 2.16

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (act. ca. 1300). Before 1317, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (1247-1317). Hanging scroll, ink on paper 85.6 x 34.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982.1.2.

Fig. 2.17

*Arhats Crossing the River* 渡水羅漢圖. Zhou Jichang, 周季常 (act. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). 1178-88, Southern Song dynasty (1126-1279). Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink and color on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 06.291.

Fig. 2.18

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). 1st half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan. Hanging scroll, ink on paper 89.1 x 32 cm Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. Important Artwork.

Fig. 2.19

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Attributed to Menwuguan 門無關 (act. 13<sup>th</sup> century). 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). Hanging scroll, ink on paper 84 x 32.1 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 2.20

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Attributed to Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century). Yuan (1271-1368). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 79.4 x 31.1 cm. Fukuoka City Art Museum.

Fig. 2.21

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Attributed to Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century). *Encomium* by Yunwai Yunxiu 雲外雲岫 (d. 1325). Before 1325, Yuan (1271-1368). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 66.6 x 30 cm.

Fig. 2.22

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Traditionally attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1253, Southern Song, (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Donggu Miaoguang 東谷妙光 (?-1253). Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink on silk, 46.7 x 26.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, F1907.141

Fig. 2.23

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Anonymous Before 1363, Yuan (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Liaoran Qingyu 了庵清欲 (1288-1363). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 175.3 x 43.2 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964.44.

Fig. 2.24

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Tanhuai Leting 覃懷樂亭 (dates unknown). *Encomium* signed Emperor Renzong (ca. 1320). 1308, Yuan (1271-1368). Rubbing from a stele at the Shaolin Temple, ink on paper, measurements not available.

Fig. 2.25

*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖. Anonymous Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Anonymous *encomium* by 'Resident of Taishan' Hanging scroll, ink on paper 89.1 x 32 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Arts.

Fig. 2.26

*Nymph of the Luo River* 洛神圖 (detail). Anonymous. Handscroll. Ink and colours on silk, 53.7 x 832.8 cm. Jin dynasty (1115-1234). British Museum, 1930,1015,0.2

Fig. 2.27

*Red-Robed Western Monk* (detail) 紅衣西域僧圖. Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322). Dated 1304, colophon 1320, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Handscroll, ink and colours on paper, 26 x 52 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum.

CHAPTER THREE  
INTERACTIONS: NARRATIVES OF AUTHORITY

Fig. 3.1

*Xuefeng Receives his Student Xuansha* 雪峰接玄沙生圖. Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Yuji Zhihui 愚極智慧 (act. 1298). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 102 x 46 cm  
Kyoto National Museum, AK672. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 3.2a

*Six Patriarchs in the Transmission from Bodhidharma* 達摩宗六祖像. Anonymous Japanese 12<sup>th</sup> century copy from a Northern Song Chinese woodblock dated 1054. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 102 x 58 cm. Kōzanji, Kyoto 高山寺. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 3.2b

Detail of fig 3.2a, *The First Patriarch Bodhidharma Conferring the Four Awakenings of Chan* 第一祖菩提達摩謚四覺禪川.

Fig. 3.3

*Bodhidharma and Shenguang* 達摩與神光圖. Formerly attributed to Yan Ciping 閻次平 (act. 1164-81). Late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 116.2 x 46.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, 1972.41.

Fig. 3.4

*Danxia Burning the Buddha* 丹霞燒佛圖. Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century). *Encomium* by Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (1296-1370). Horizontal format remounted as a hanging scroll, ink on paper, 35.1 x 36.9 cm. Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo. National Treasure.

Fig. 3.5

*Pei Xiu Meeting with Huangbo* 黃檗裴休問答圖. Attributed to Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (act. late 13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 84.5 x 38.8 cm. Kyoto National Museum, AK 690

Fig. 3.6a

*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖. Scene Five: *Li Yuan and Master Yuanze* 李源與圓澤法師圖. Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 26.6 x 67.1 cm. Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 3.6b

Detail of Figure 3.6a

Fig. 3.7

*Li Yao and Yuanze* 李源與圓澤圖. Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century) 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Previously a horizontal format now mounted as a hanging scroll, ink on silk, 44.1 x 83.5 cm. Private collection (sold at Sotheby's Hong Kong auction 2008).

Fig. 3.8

*Danxia Tianran visits Layman Pang* 丹霞天然問龐居士圖. Attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (d. 1106). 13<sup>th</sup> or possibly early 14<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll, ink and light colours on silk, 35.2 x 52.1 cm. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 3.9

*Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan* 無準師範頂相. Anonymous. Dated 1238, Southern Song (1127-1279). Ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll, 123.8 x 55.2. Tofuku ji 東福寺, Kyoto. National Treasure.

Fig. 3.10

*Raising the Alms Bowl* 揭鉢圖 (detail showing the Buddha and his assembly). Zhu Yu 朱玉 (act. 14<sup>th</sup> century). Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Handscroll, ink on paper, 27.7 x 111.4 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

Fig. 3.11

*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖. Detail of scene one: *The Monk Sheng Guang and Bodhidharma* 僧神光達磨圖. Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 26.6 x 64.1 cm. Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 3.12

*The Tiger Roars and the Wind Rises* 虎嘯而風烈圖. Attributed to Muxi Fachang 慕熙 Fachang. Dated 1269, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and faint colours on silk 147.8 x 94 cm. Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto.

Fig. 3.13

*Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經圖. Detail: 'Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers' *San Cai* 三才. Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106). Ca. 1085, Northern Song (960-1127). Handscroll, ink on silk, 21.9 x 475.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1996.479a-c.

Fig. 3.14

*Ten Oxherding Pictures* 十牛圖. Detail - 'Returning home on the back of the ox' 騎牛歸家. Traditionally attributed to Tenshō Shūbun 天章周文 (act. ca. 1423-60). Late fifteenth century, Muromachi (1392-1573). One of ten round paintings mounted as a handscroll, ink and colours on paper, 32 x 181.5 cm. Each round painting 14 cm diameter. Shōkokuji 相国寺, Kyoto.

Fig. 3.15

Three Lives Rock 三生石. Located next to the north west corner of Lower Tianzhu monastery 下天竺寺, now known as Fajing Monastery 法鏡寺, in the Lingyin Monastery scenic area. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 3.16

*Oxen in an Autumn Field* 秋野牧牛圖. Attributed to Yan Ciping 閻次平 (act. 1154-81). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 97.5 x 50.6 cm. Sen-oku Hakuko kan, Kyoto.

CHAPTER FOUR  
AWAKENINGS: NARRATIVES OF EFFICACY

Fig. 4.1

*Dongshan Liangjie Fording a Stream* 洞山良价渡渠圖. Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190-1225). Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Empress Yang 楊皇后 (1126-1233). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 81 x 33.1 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 4.2a

*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 [detail]. Scene four: *Chan Master Xiangyan Zhixian of Dengzhou* 鄧州香巖智閑禪師. Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, dimensions of detail 26.6 x 67.1 cm. Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 4.2b

Detail of figure 4.2a

Fig. 4.3

*Master of the Beautiful Mountain (Yushanzhu)* 郁山主圖. Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). Before 1249, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan. Hanging scroll, ink on paper 84.1 x 30 cm. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. Important Work of Art.

Fig. 4.4

*Awakening to the Way on Striking Bamboo* 擊竹悟道圖. Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559). 16<sup>th</sup> century, Muromachi Period (1336-1573). *Encomium* by Denan Sōki 伝庵宗器 (16<sup>th</sup> century) (d. 1533). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 89.2 x 44.4 cm. Kosetsu Museum of Art, Kobe.

Fig. 4.5

*Hanshan and Shide* 寒山拾得圖 (diptych). Attributed to Yan Hui 顏輝 (act. late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> century). Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Pair of hanging scrolls, ink and colours on silk, 127.8 x 41.7 cm each. Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 4.6

*Hanshan and Shide* 寒山拾得圖. Attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟 (ca. 1180- after 1256) 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper 91.3 x 33.6 cm. *Encomium* by Shiqiao Kexuan 石橋可宣 (d. ca. 1217). Private collection.

Fig. 4.7

*Laozi* 老子圖. Muxi Fachang 牧溪法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 88.9 x 33.5 cm. Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art. National Treasure

Fig. 4.8

*Yellow Ox Zheng (Zhenghuangniu) 正黃牛圖* [Wei Zheng 惟正 (986-1049)].  
Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). Before 1249, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.1 x 30 cm. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya.

Fig. 4.9

*Chan Master Riding a Donkey 騎驢圖*. Anonymous. Before 1249, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 64.1 x 33 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.24.

Fig. 4.10

*Yunmen Wenyan and Xuefeng Yicun 雲門文偃雪峰義存圖*. Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190–1225). Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Empress Yang 楊皇后 (1126-1233). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 79.2 x 32.9 cm. Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 4.11

*Fayan Wenyi and his Teacher Luohan Guichen 法眼文益羅漢桂琛圖*. Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190–1225) Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 79.2 x 32.9 cm. Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 4.12

*Couplet from a Poem by Han Hong (The Sounds of the Tide, the Greens of the Mountains) 韓翃《潮聲山翠》聯句*. Emperor Song Lizong 宋理宗 (1205-64, r. 1224-64). 1261, Southern Song 1127-1279. Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink on silk, 20.8 x 22.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.23a

## CHAPTER FIVE

### YANXI GUANGWEN'S ENCOMIA: SPEAKING FOR ICONS

Fig. 5.1

*Meeting between Yaoshan Weiyan and Li Ao 藥山李翱問道圖*. Anonymous, formerly attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 and Zhiweng Ruoqing. 直翁若敬 (both 13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Horizontal leaf mounted as hanging scroll, ink on paper, 31.8 x 84.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1982.2.1.

Fig. 5.2

*Budai 布袋圖*. Attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1245, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 70.7 x 29.3 cm. Fukuoka City Art Museum.

Fig. 5.3

*Budai 布袋圖*. Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 91.8 x 28.8 cm. Private Collection, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 5.4

*Budai and Young Boy* 布袋與兒童圖. Attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century) Before 1254, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 83.9 x 32.1 cm. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 5.5

*Budai* 布袋圖. Li Que 李確 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279) Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 104.8 x 32.1 cm. *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Myoshinji 妙心寺, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property

Fig. 5.6

*Fenggan and Tiger* 豐干與老虎圖. Li Que 李確 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 104.8 x 32.1 cm. *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Myoshinji, 妙心寺 Kyoto Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 5.7

*Master Clam* 蜆子和尚. Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1256, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189–1263). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.1 x 37.4. Private collection, Japan

Fig. 5.8

*Sixth Patriarch Carrying a Load* 六祖挾擔圖. Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Before 1256, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 93.5 x 31 cm. Daitokyu Memorial Library, Gotoh Museum, Tokyo. National Treasure.

Fig. 5.9a

*Eighteen Arhats Viewing a Handscroll* 十八羅漢讀卷圖. Anonymous. Before 1348, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Tanfang Shouzhong 曇芳守忠 (1274-1348). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 64 x 30 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 5.9b

Detail of fig. 5.9a

Fig. 5.10

*Meeting between Yaoshan Weiyan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖. Ma Gongxian 馬公顯 (act. 13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 115.9 x 48.5 cm. Nanzenji 南禪寺, Kyoto. Important cultural property.

CHAPTER SIX

LIANG KAI: INCARNATIONS OF A MASTER

Fig. 6.1. *The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* 六祖截竹圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 72.7 x 31.5 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 6.2

*The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sūtras* 六祖破經圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup> early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging Scroll, ink on paper, 72.8 x 31.6 cm. Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo.

Fig. 6.3

*Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* 東籬高士圖. Probable work of follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 71.5 × 36.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 6.4

*Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank* 澤畔行吟圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Southern Song (1127-1279). Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink on silk 22.9 x 24.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.14.

Fig. 6.5

*Luohan Bestowing Alms on Suffering Human Beings Part of 500 Arhats Series* 五百羅漢：施財貧者圖. Zhou Jichang 周季常 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). Dated 1184, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.4.

Fig. 6.6a

*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖. Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll, ink and colours on silk. Height 26.6 cm, length of each scene 57.9-66.2 cm. Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 6.6b

Scene One. *The Monk Shenguang and Bodhidharma* 僧神光達磨圖. 26.6 x 64.1 cm.

Fig. 6.6

Scene Two. *Fifth Patriarch Great Master Hongren* 五祖弘忍大師圖. 26.6 x 66.4 cm.

Fig. 6.6d

Scene Three. *Chan Master Niaoke Daolin in conversation with Bai Juyi* 鳥窠道林禪師白居易問答圖. 26.6 x 64.7 cm.

Fig. 6.6e

Scene Four. *Chan Master Xiangyan Zhixian of Dengzhou* 鄧州香巖智閑禪師圖. 26.6 x 64.7 cm.

Fig. 6.6f

Scene Five. *Li Yuan and Master Yuanze* 李源與圓澤法師圖. 26.6 x 67.1 cm.

Fig. 6.6g

Scene Six. Chan Master Xian of Huanxi 灌溪閑禪師. 26.6 x 61.9 cm.

Fig. 6.6h

Scene Seven. *Louzi Heshang* 樓子和尚圖. 26.6 x 57.9 cm.

Fig. 6.6i

Scene Eight. Chan master Xuansha [Shi]bei of Fuzhou 福州玄沙「師」備禪師. 26.6 x 66.2 cm.

Fig. 6.7

*The Sixth Patriarch of Zen at the Moment of Enlightenment* 六祖禪機圖. Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674). 1635–45, Edo period (1615–1868). Inscribed by Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573–1645). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 101.6 x 24.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006.174.

Fig. 6.8

*Budai* 布袋圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Southern Song (1127–1279). *Encomium* by Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1197–1253). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 80 x 31.3 cm. Collection of the Kosetsu Museum of Art, Kobe. Important Cultural Property.

Fig. 6.9

*Reading a Sutra by Moonlight* 對月圖. Attributed to Ke Shan 柯山 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127–1279). *Encomium* by Duanqiao Miaolun 斷橋妙倫 (1201–61). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 31.4 x 23.4 cm. Gotoh Museum, Tokyo.

Fig. 6.10

*Monk Mending Clothes in the Morning Sun* 朝陽圖. Anonymous, traditionally attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). Late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.5 x 30.5 cm. Kyoto National Museum, AK 817.

Fig. 6.11

*Arhats Demonstrating the Power of the Buddhist Sūtras to Daoists*. Part of 500 Arhats Series 五百羅漢圖軸：經典奇瑞圖. Zhou Jichang 周季常 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). About 1178. Southern Song (1127–1279). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.290.

Fig. 6.12

*Budai Watching Fighting Cockerels* 布袋雞骨圖. Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 78.1 x 31.4 cm. Matsunaga Memorial Hall, Kanagawa.

Fig. 6.13

*Splashed Ink Immortal* 潑墨仙人圖. Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century) Southern Song (1127-1279). Album leaf, ink on paper 48.7 x 27.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei 故畫 1292-2.

Fig. 6.14

*Budai* 布袋圖. Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century). Southern Song (1127-1279). Facing album leaf, ink and colours on silk, 31 x 24.7 cm. Shanghai Museum. Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷.

Fig 6.15

Cover of Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳 ed. *Liang Kai Quanji* 梁楷全集 [*Complete Works of Liang Kai*], (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe). Shows detail of *Niaoke Daolin* scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*.

Fig. 6.16

Cover of Shan Guoqiang 單國強, and Shan Guolin Shan 單國霖 eds. *Li Gonglin Baimiao Zhuanpai, Liang Kai Jianbi Huapai* 李公麟白描傳派. 梁楷減筆劃派 [*The Plain Line Drawing School of Li Gonglin and the Abbreviated Brush School of Liang Kai*] Jinan: Shandong Meishu Chubanshe, 2004. Shows detail of *Yuanze and Li Yuan* scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*.

Fig. 6.17a

*Four Acts of Filial Piety* 四孝圖. Anonymous. Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 38.9 x 502.7 cm. © National Palace Museum, Taipei 故畫 1544.

Fig. 6.17b

*Wang Xiang Fishing in Ice* 王祥冰魚圖. Detail of fig. 6.17a.

Fig. 6.17c. Inscription following *Wang Xiang Fishing in Ice* 王祥冰魚圖. Detail of fig. 6.17a.

## CONCLUSIONS

Fig 7.1

*The First Six Chan Patriarchs* 達磨六祖圖 [detail]. Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462). 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ming (1368-1644). Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 33.8 x 220 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum.

Fig. 7.2

*Bodhidharma Holding a Single Shoe* 隻履達磨相. 18<sup>th</sup> century, Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Figure: Dehua ware, 德化窯. Height: 11.8 cm. Ivory stand. Inscribed on base. Collection of the Percival David Foundation, PDF.428.

Fig. 7.3

*Bodhidharma Holding a Single Shoe Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 隻履渡蘆達磨相 (Conflation of two narrative events from the life of the first patriarch). 19<sup>th</sup> century, Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Figure: Dehua ware 德化窯. Height: 16.3 cm. Inscribed on back: "Recorded by Yan" 炎記. Collection of the Percival David Foundation, PDF.489.

Fig. 7.4

*Fishbasket Guanyin* 魚籃觀音圖. Anonymous. Before 1318, Yuan (1271-1368). *Encomium* by Mu'an 牧庵 (act. early 14<sup>th</sup> century). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 84.5 x 36.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 05.199.

Fig. 7.5

*Autumn Moon Over Lake Dongting* 洞庭秋月圖. Yujian 玉潤 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). *Encomium* by Yujian. Horizontal leaf remounted as a hanging scroll, ink on paper, 33 x 83.1 cm. Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo.

Fig. 7.6

*Mynah Bird*. Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century). 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279). Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 53.6 x 30.5 cm. Gotoh Museum.

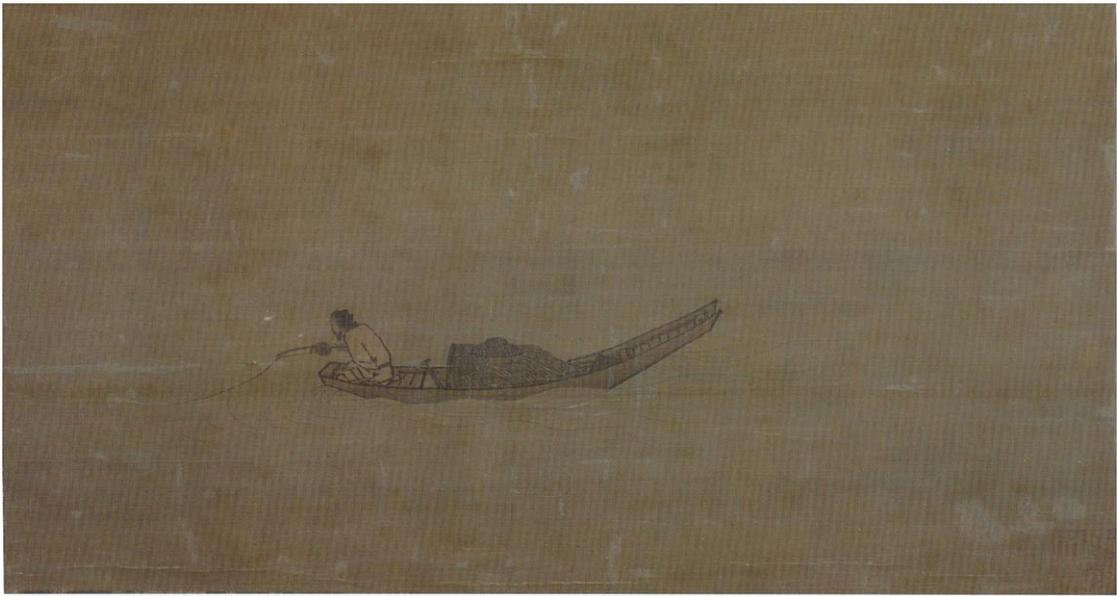
ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEMATISING THE CONFLATION OF CHAN AND ZEN VISUAL CULTURE

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Fig. 1.1



*Fisherman on a Winter River* 寒江獨釣圖

Attributed to Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190-1225)

Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Horizontal leaf remounted as a hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 26.8 x 50.3 cm

Tokyo National Museum, TA-140

Important Cultural Property

Image: Edwards 2011, pl. 5.

Fig. 1.2



*Guanyin* 觀音圖

Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 171.9 x 98.4 cm

Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto

National Treasure

Image: Gotō Bijutsukan, 1996, 11, fig.1.1.

Signature, lower left:

Made with reverence by Fachang, monk of Shu.

蜀僧法常謹製。

Two seals:

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (relief)

*Dō yū* 道有 (relief)

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408).

Fig. 1.3



*Crane* 鶴圖

Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 173.3 x 99.3 cm

Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto

National Treasure

Image: Gotō Bijutsukan 1996, 11. fig.1.3.

Two seals:

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (intaglio)

*Ten san* 天山 (relief)

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 1.4



*Gibbons* 猿圖

Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 173.3 x 99.3 cm

Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto

National Treasure

Image: Gotō Bijutsukan 1996, 11, fig.1.2.

Two seals:

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (intaglio)

*Ten san* 天山 (relief).

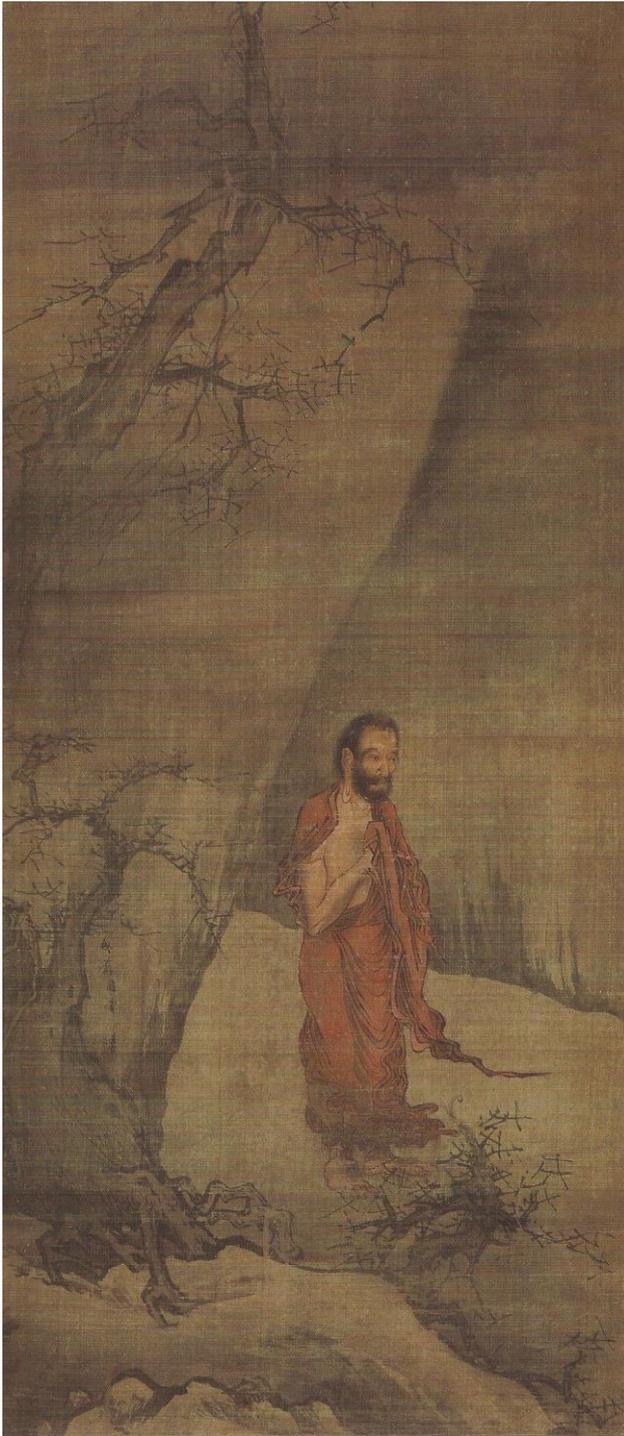
Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER TWO  
TRANSITIONS: NARRATIVES OF LEGITIMACY

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Fig. 2.1a



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Liang Kai 梁楷 (act. late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Ca. 1201-4, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours silk, 119 x 52 cm

Tokyo National Museum, TA 617

National Treasure

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 36, pl. 23.

Fig. 2.1b

Detail of fig. 2.1a

Signature from lower left of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*:

Painter in Attendance Liang Kai 御前圖畫樑楷.

Photograph taken by Helmut Brinker

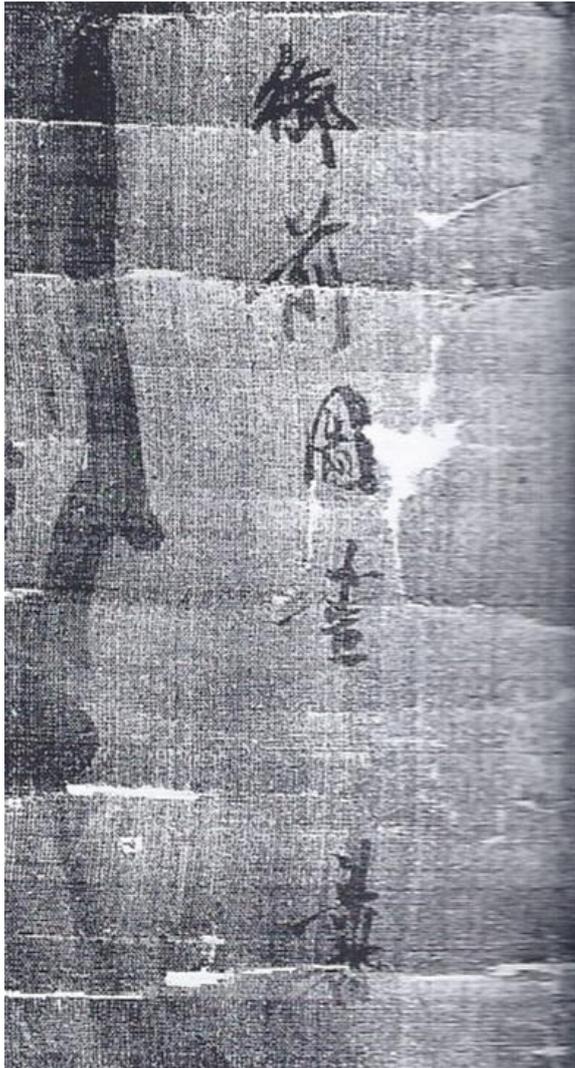


Image: Brinker & Kanazawa, 1996, 200.

Fig. 2.2



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖  
Anonymous  
14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan (1271–1368),  
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 145.6 x 57.2 cm  
MOA Museum of Art, Atami

Image: MOA MUSEUM of Art ©

Fig. 2.3



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖  
Attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟 (act. early-mid 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Early-mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk  
Believed to be in private collection in China, ca. 1973

Image: Brinker 1973, fig. 8.

Fig. 2.4 a



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Anonymous

14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

*Encomium* by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1264-1325)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 215 x 82.6 cm

Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art Tokyo

Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art 2010, 95, fig. 126.

*Encomium:*

Emerging from the mountains and entering the mountains, is originally you,  
What is called you, ah, it is no more!  
Old master Śākyamuni is coming,  
Ha, ha, ha!  
Eyes flashing over a million-mile ocean.

Huanzhu Mingben bows [with folded] hands.<sup>499</sup>

出山入山元是你，  
喚作你，兮，還不是！  
釋迦老子來也，  
呵呵呵！  
瞬目海千萬里。  
幻住明本拜手。

---

<sup>499</sup> Translation adapted from: (Brinker 1973, 23)

Fig. 2.4 b



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Anonymous Kanō school copy of fig. 2.4a

Copy of *encomium* by Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1264-1325)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper (measurements unspecified in available records)

Tokyo National Museum

Image: Brinker 1973, 29, fig. 16.

Fig. 2.5



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖  
Unattributed,  
Before 1244, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Chijue Daochong 癡絕道冲 (1169-1250)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.6 x 32.5 cm  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1970.2

Image: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund 1970.2.

*Encomium:*

Entering the mountains, extreme withering and emaciation,  
Cold and frost atop the snows,  
A cold eye finds a single star,  
Why emerge again among the people?

Second day of the eighth month of the *jiachen* [year] of the Chunyou period [of the reign of Song Lizong] [1244].

Eulogised by Daochong of Rear Taibai Mountain.<sup>500</sup>

入山太枯瘦，雪上帶霜寒，  
冷眼得一星，何再出人間。  
淳祐甲辰八月二日。太白后山道冲贊。

One seal:

*Chi jue* 癡絕 (square intaglio)

Positioned beneath characters “*dao chong*”.

---

<sup>500</sup> Translation adapted to remove the insistence on the first person pronoun from: Ho et al. 1980, 83-4; Shimizu 2007.

Fig. 2.6



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Traditionally attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Ca.1252-1279, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Xiyān Liaohuī 西巖了惠 (1198-1262)

Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink on paper, 92 x 31.7 cm

Freer Gallery of Art, F1965.9

Image: ©Freer Gallery of Art.

*Encomium:*

At midnight he saw the morning star,  
And in the mountains, made a cold remark.  
Before he had emerged from the mountains,  
That remark was travelling the world:  
When I behold all living creatures,  
Who have been Buddhas a long time,  
There is only you, poor old fellow,  
Who still lacks all enlightenment.

Xiyan Liaohui of [Mount] Taibai.<sup>501</sup>

夜半見明星，山中添冷話，  
腳未出山來，此話行天下。  
我觀一切眾生，成佛多時，  
只有你這老子，猶欠悟在。  
太白西巖了惠。

Two seals:

*Xi yan* 西巖 (square relief)

*Liao hui* 了惠 (square relief)

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<sup>501</sup> Translation from: Freer Gallery of Art 2007a, 1-2.

Fig. 2.7



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Anonymous

Before 1246, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper (measurements unspecified in available records)

*Encomium* by Chijue Daochong 癡絕道冲 (1169-1250)

Private collection, Japan

Image: Brinker 1973, fig. 11.

*Encomium:*

With six years among snowy peaks, the original body was complete,  
Cutting off phenomenon seeing the morning star,  
That which is turned by an object, does not equal the turning of that object,  
Outlined in the mass of machinations, there cuts a single line of blessing.

Eulogised by Daochong of Lingyin in the spring of the *bingwu* [year] [during the Chunyou era [of the reign of Song Lizong] [1246]].<sup>502</sup>

雪嶺六年，本體成，  
現絕見明星，  
為物所轉，非物轉。  
略為群機，通一線祐。  
丙午春靈隱道冲贊。

---

<sup>502</sup> Translation adapted from Brinker 1973, 24.

Fig. 2.8



*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* 釋迦出山圖

Anonymous

Kanō school copy of late 12<sup>th</sup> century Chinese original, with copy of *encomium* by Songyuan Chongyou 松源崇岳 (1139-1209)

Section of a handscroll, (measurements unspecified in available records)

Tokyo National Museum

Image: Brinker 1973, fig 3.

*Encomium:*

Passing over the city wall at midnight,  
With the beauty of a dragon and the air of a phoenix,  
Abandoning foolishness and idiocy, this venerable did not know,  
Unable to bear the hunger and cold, one day emerging from the mountains,  
If forced to speak of them, those six years are the time of completing the way.<sup>503</sup>

Reverently eulogised by *bhikku* Chongyou of Lingyin<sup>504</sup>

夜半踰城，龍章鳳姿，  
放憨放癡，尊貴不知，  
不耐飢寒，出山日，  
強謂六年成道時。

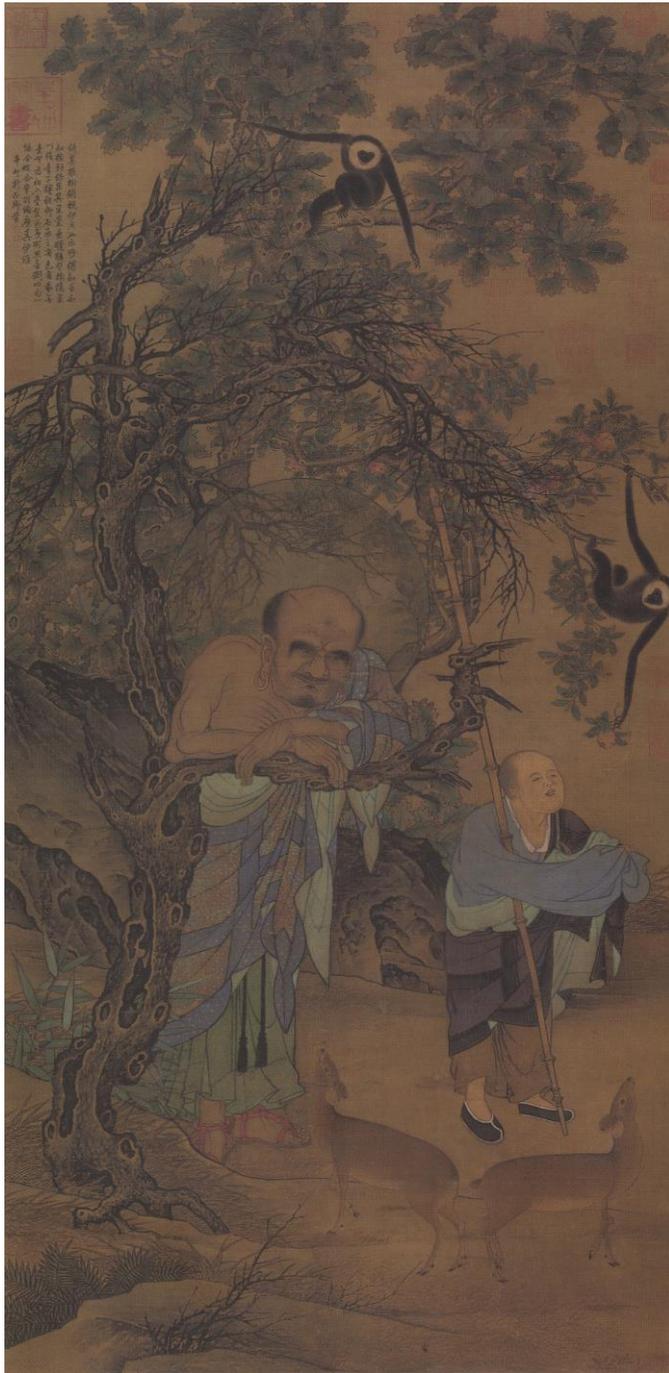
靈隱比丘崇岳拜贊

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<sup>503</sup> Chongyou's reluctance to specify the timing of the Buddha's enlightenment may relate to debates over sudden and gradual paradigms of awakening. This rhetorical device used to describing an unutterable experience, which one will only speak of if pressed, is also used in verse 25 of the *Daodejing*. DDJ 25, in Wagner 2003, 199.

<sup>504</sup> Translation adapted from: Brinker 1973, 25.

Fig. 2.9



*Arhat with Attendant, Deer and Gibbons* 羅漢圖

Liu Songnian 劉松年 (act. 1177-1224)

Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 117 x 55.8 cm

National Palace Museum Taipei, 故畫 00099

Image: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan and He 2010, 246, pl. II-39.

Fig. 2.10



*Arhat with Attendant* 羅漢圖

Liu Songnian 劉松年 (act. 1177-1224)

Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 117.4 x 56.1 cm

National Palace Museum Taipei, 故畫 00101

Image: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan and He 2010, 249, pl. II-41.

Fig. 2.11



One of six seated statues of the historical Buddha (*Tathāgata*)  
Song dynasty (960-1279)  
Bronze, 16-20 cm  
Excavated at the Ruiguang pagoda 瑞光塔, Suzhou  
Suzhou Museum

Image: Suzhou Bowuguan 2006, 171.

Fig. 2.12



*Winter Landscape* 景山水圖

Anonymous,

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 119.6 x 53.6 cm

Konchi-in 金地院, Kyoto

National Treasure

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl.3, 13.

Three seals:

*Zhong ming zhen wan* 仲明珍玩 (relief, *jue* shape)

*Lu shi jia zang* 盧氏家藏 (intaglio, square)

Both Chinese collectors' seals.

*Ten san* 天山 (relief)

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408).

Fig. 2.13



*Śākyamuni with Attendant Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda* 釋迦摩訶迦葉阿難圖

Anonymous

14<sup>th</sup> century, Yuan (1271-1368)

Hanging scroll, ink, colours and gold on silk, 106.9 x 46.40 cm

Cleveland Museum of Fine Art, 2009.342.2

Inscription, lower left:

Fuzhou prefecture of the Great Song..., 大宋福州府[?].

Image: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 2009.342.2.

Fig. 2.14



*Ink Orchid* 墨蘭圖

Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1239-1316)

1306, Yuan dynasty, (1271-1368)

Handscroll, ink on paper, 25.7 x 42.4 cm

Osaka City Museum Fine Arts (42,I-132)

Image: Zhang 2013, 221.

Inscription:

I have been asking Emperor [Fu] Xi with my head bowed,<sup>505</sup>  
Who were you – and why did you come to this land?  
I opened my nostrils before making the painting,  
And there, floating everywhere in the sky, is the antique fragrance.  
Suonan Weng [Zheng Sixiao].

向來俯首問羲皇，如是何人到此鄉。  
未有畫前開鼻孔，滿天浮動古聲香。

On the fifteenth day of the first lunar month in the *binwu* year [1306], [I] made this scroll.<sup>506</sup>

丙午正月十五日作此壹卷

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<sup>505</sup> Emperor Fu Xi 伏羲 was a legendary emperor purported to have created the *Yijing* 易經 symbols.

<sup>506</sup> Translation adapted from Wai-kam Ho in: Zhang 2013, 326.

Fig. 2.15



*Fenggan* 豐干圖

Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century).

Before 1216, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Shiqiao Kexuan 石橋可宣 (d. ca. 1217)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 90.5 x 32 cm

Private Collection, Tokyo

Important Cultural Property

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, 28, 42.

*Encomium:*

Old blether Fenggan, totally unashamed,  
“Hanshan is not of the same line as you”,  
At that moment you killed governor Lü Qiu on his behalf,  
The autumn moon in the clear pool, night after night of sorrow.

Kexuan of Jingshan bows and eulogises.

饒舌豐干不自羞，  
寒山不是爾同流，  
當時「刁+青」殺閻丘守，  
秋月澄潭夜夜愁。  
徑山可宣拜書。

Seals:

*Jing shan shi qiao* 徑山石橋

Seal of Ashikaga Yoshinoi 足利義教 (1394-1441): 雜華室印

Fig. 2.16



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (act. ca. 1300)

Before 1317, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368),

*Encomium* by Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (1247-1317)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper 85.6 x 34.1 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982.1.2

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982.

*Encomium:*

Crossing seas and overcoming deserts he came,  
In response to the emperor saying “I don’t know”.  
The matter unsuccessful he promptly withdrew,  
Pressing on, his feet treading the water.

*Bhikku* Yining of Yishan bows [with folded] hands.

逾海越漠來，對御道不識。  
事負即抽身，腳下浮逼逼。  
一山比丘一寧拜手。

Signature: Painted by Jitang, Li Yaofu. 寄堂李堯夫筆。

Seals:

Artist’s seal, lower left:

*Ji tang* 寄堂 (relief)

Inscribing abbot’s seals, upper left:

*Yi ning* 一寧 (relief)

*Yishan* 一山 (relief)

Fig. 2.17



*Arhats Crossing the River* 渡水羅漢圖

Zhou Jichang, 周季常 (act. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century)

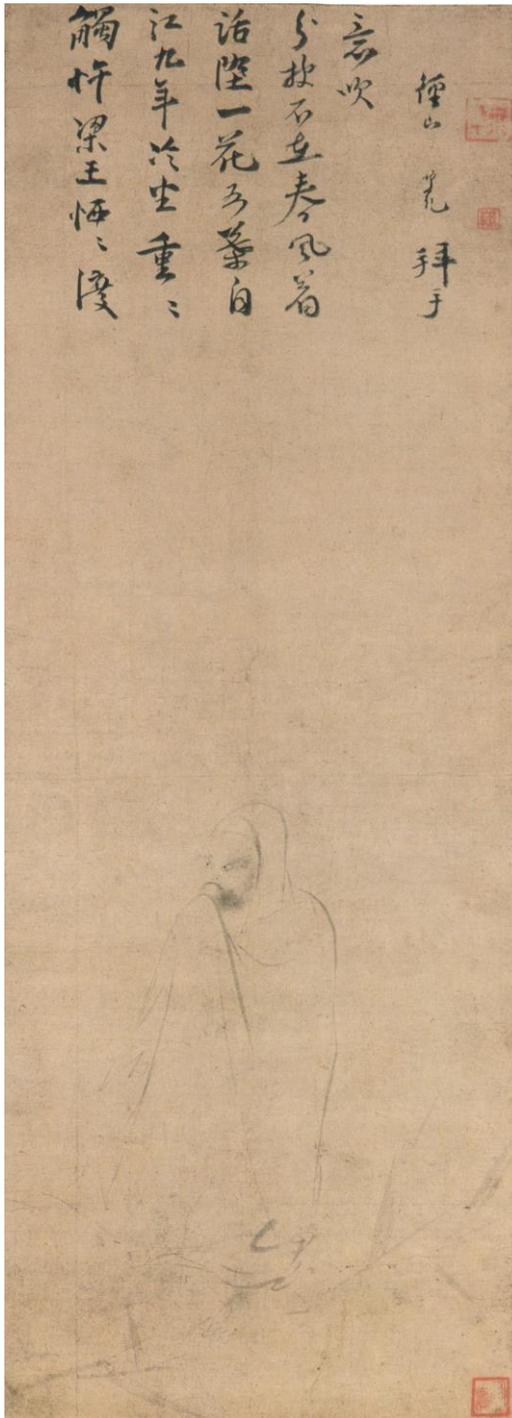
1178-88, Southern Song dynasty (1126-1279)

Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink and color on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 06.291

Image: Levine and Lippit 2007, fig. 5.2, 41.

Fig. 2.18



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖  
Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249)  
First half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper 89.1 x 32 cm  
Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya  
Important Artwork

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl 32, 46.

*Encomium:*

Oh so vexed by the encounter with the ignorant King of Liang,  
Crossing the river to sit in the cold for nine successive years,  
Speaking of one flower, of which five petals open themselves,  
Absent, the spring wind manifests your intent in its breeze.  
Shifan of Jingshan bows [with folded] hands.

觸忤梁王恹恹，渡江九年冷坐重重，  
話墮一花五葉自分披，不在春風著意吹。  
徑山師範拜手。

Seals:

Inscribing abbot's seals, upper right:

*Wu zhun* 無準 (square relief)

*Shi fan* 師範 (square relief)

Lower left:

*Dō yū* 道有 (square relief)

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94)

Fig. 2.19



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Attributed to Menwuguan 門無關 (act. 13<sup>th</sup> century)

First half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Inscribed by Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper 84 x 32.1 cm

Private collection

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl.33, 48.

*Encomium:*

Oh so vexed by the encounter with the ignorant King of Liang,  
Crossing the river and for nine successive years seated in the cold,  
Speaking of one flower, of which five petals open themselves,  
Absent, the spring wind manifests your intent in its breeze.  
Shifan of Jingshan folds his hands.

觸忤梁王恹恹，渡江九年冷坐重重，  
話墮一花五葉自分披，不在春風著意吹。  
徑山師範拜手。

Seals:

Upper right:

*Te zhao yuan zhao* 特賜圓照 (square relief)

Middle right:

*Shi fan* 師範 (square intaglio)

Lower right:

*Dō yū* 道有 (square relief)

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 2.20



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Attributed to Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century)

Yuan (1271-1368)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 79.4 x 31.1 cm

Fukuoka City Art Museum

Image: Itsuō Bijutsukan and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, 2013, 45, pl 36.

Signature of Yintuoluo 因陀羅筆. One seal, square relief.

Fig. 2.21



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Attributed to Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century)

Before 1325, Yuan (1271-1368)

*Encomium* by Yunwai Yunxiu 雲外雲岫 (d. 1325)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 66.6 x 30 cm

Image: Toda 1975b, 134.

*Encomium:*

Stepping on a reed and crossing the river  
Eyes filled with mist and spray,  
Nine years facing a wall,  
Measured calculations are like the counting of five petals,  
[Which in] the chaos of spring open from a single flower.

Eulogised by Yunwai of Tiantong [Monastery]

踏蘆渡江，滿目煙波，  
九年面壁，計較猶多五葉，  
春亂開一花。天童雲岫贊。

Two seals, square relief.

Fig. 2.22



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖  
Traditionally attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Before 1253, Southern Song, (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Donggu Miaoguang 東谷妙光 (?-1253)  
Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink on silk, 46.7 x 26.0 cm  
Freer Gallery of Art, F1907.141  
Image: © Freer Gallery of Art .

*Encomium:*

He plucked a single reed stalk,  
To sail the thousand-fathom deep,  
Foot on prow and foot on stern,  
This land, to the Western Heaven:  
Far and wide o'er river and lake, all a tale on the waves.

*Encomium* respectfully [written] by Donggu Miaoguang of Wanshou [Temple, Suzhou].

折一莖葦，航千仞淵，  
腳頭腳尾，此土西天，  
浩浩江湖盡浪傳。  
萬壽東谷妙光敬贊。

Two seals:

*Miao* [*guang*] 妙[光] (circle relief, right half)

*Dong* [*gu*] 東[谷] (square intaglio, right half)<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Details of inscriptions and seals from: Freer Gallery of Art 2007.

Fig. 2.23



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Anonymous

Before 1363, Yuan (1271-1368)

*Encomium* by Liaoran Qingyu 了庵清欲 (1288-1363)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 175.3 x 43.2 cm

Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964.44

Image: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund 1964.44.

*Encomium:*

The reeds bloom, the wind rises, and the crests of waves are high,  
The Shaoshi cliff lies ahead, a far road to travel,  
Beyond the world of *kalpas* [an eon in the Buddhist cycle of cosmic time], a single flower  
blossoms into five petals,  
Heels now readied to endure the rattan cane.<sup>508</sup>

The *bhikku* Qingyu bows and eulogises

蘆花風起浪頭高，少室岩前去路遙。  
劫外一花開五葉，腳跟正好喫藤條。  
比丘清欲拜贊。

Two seals:

*Tian tai sha men qingyu liao an zhang* 天台沙門清欲了庵章 (square intaglio),

*Shao lin xin yin* 少林心印 (square relief)

---

<sup>508</sup> Translation adapted from: Ho et al. 1980, 124-5.

Fig. 2.24



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Tanhuai Leting 覃懷樂亭 (Dates unknown)

*Encomium* signed Emperor Renzong (ca. 1320)

1308, Yuan (1271-1368)

Rubbing from a stele at the Shaolin Temple, ink on paper, measurements not available.

Image: Bush and Mair 1977, Fig. 11, 42.

Inscriptions:

Upper register:

***Economia by the Renzong Emperor***

[Bold typeface indicative of the two lined border that frames the inscription title]

Above *kun* [earth], beneath *qian* [heaven],  
In between is a treasure hard to match its value,  
Coming for ten thousand *li* to illuminate the truth,  
Nine years facing a wall, not speaking a word,  
How does one praise this? How does one depict this?  
One instance raising it up, one moment awed.

仁宗皇帝贊

坤之上軋之下，中間一寶難酬價，  
十萬里來作證明，面壁九年不說話，  
如何讚如何畫，一囧舉起一囧怕。

Left border:

Two days before the end of the second month of the eleventh year of the Dade period of the Great Yuan, monastic accountant Zhili established this stone 大元大德十一年二月末旬二日，提點智利立石。

Lower right:

Painted in the Pavilion of Joy, Tanhuai.

覃懷樂亭畫。

Fig. 2.25



*Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 蘆葉達摩圖

Anonymous

Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Anonymous *encomium* by 'Resident of Taishan'

Hanging scroll, ink on paper 89.1 x 32 cm

Idemitsu Museum of Arts

Image: Idemitsu Bijutsukan 2013, 109, pl. 92.

Partial translation of *encomium*:

This windbag old barbarian, his face coarse and ugly,  
With no control over emotion, boldly opening his big mouth,  
[?] meeting [?], turning to Kun [?] a fresh task,<sup>509</sup>  
Treasured meeting [?] walking [?] lotus,<sup>510</sup>  
What thaumaturgy do you possess?  
[What] need of exterior ways of demons?  
Empty upon the great earth,  
All people bow their heads [before you].

*Economia* by [?] [?] of Taishan.

這咄老胡面龐兒醜，  
不逆人情敢開大口，  
[?] 會[?] 轉昆[?] 鮮使，  
珠會[?] 走[?] 藥  
有甚麼神通，  
[?] 須外道天魔，  
虛空與大地，  
人咸皆稽首。

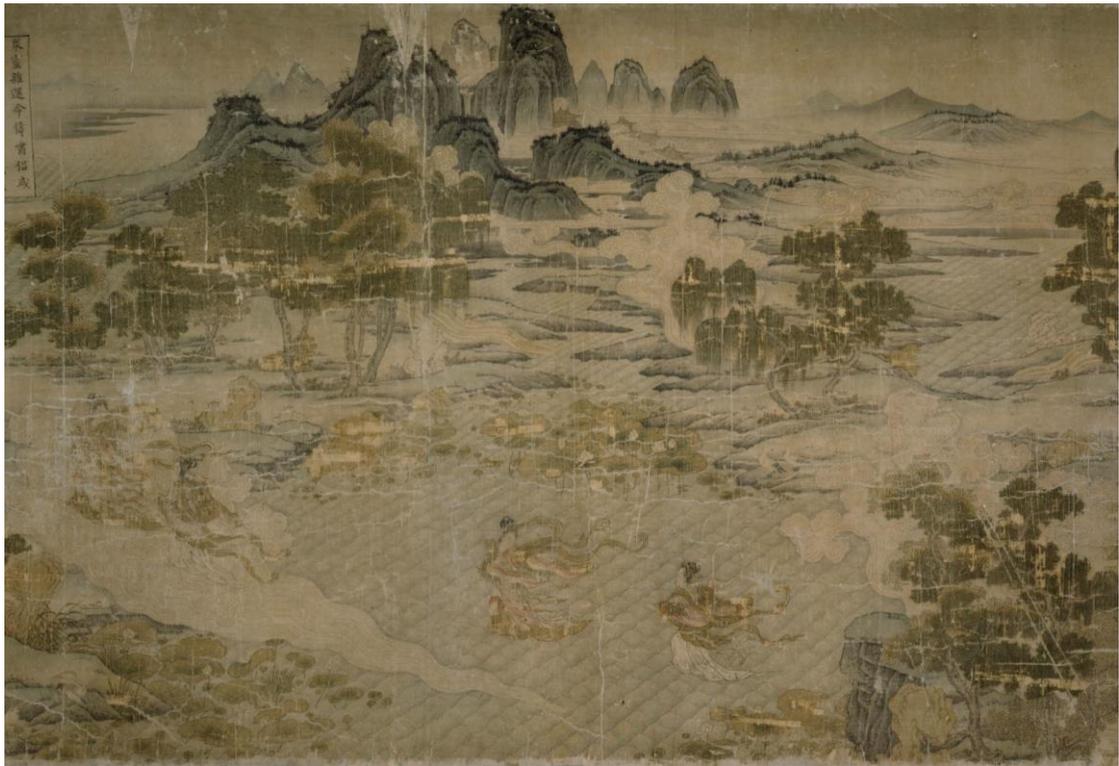
泰山住山[?][?] 讚

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<sup>509</sup> This line contains many illegible characters, but given the legible reference to a meeting, and a turning or change of direction likely alludes to Bodhidharma's departure from the court of Liang Wudi.

<sup>510</sup> As with the previous line, the omitted characters make it difficult to discern what the original text would read as. However, the reference to walking and to a lotus may refer to the transition across the Yangzi on a leafy stem.

Fig. 2.26



*Nymph of the Luo River* 洛神圖 (detail)

Anonymous

Handscroll. Ink and colours on silk, 53.7 x 832.8 cm

10-11<sup>th</sup> century or Jin dynasty (1115-1234)

British Museum, 1930,1015,0.2

Image: ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 2.27



*Red-Robed Western Monk* (detail) 紅衣西域僧圖

Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322)

Dated 1304, colophon 1320, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Handscroll, ink and colours on paper, 26 x 52 cm

Liaoning Provincial Museum

Image: McCausland 2011, fig. 2.30, 172-3.

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER THREE

INTERACTIONS: NARRATIVES OF AUTHORITY

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Fig. 3.1



*Xuefeng Receives his Student Xuansha* 雪峰接玄沙生圖

Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13th century, Yuan (1271-1368)

*Encomium* by Yuji Zhihui 愚極智慧 (act. 1298)

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 102 x 46 cm

Kyoto National Museum, AK672

Important Cultural Property

Image: Levine and Lippit 2007, 131.

*Encomium:*

Xuan Sha's teachings have no special rationale,  
You pay obeisance to me, prostrating yourself and getting up,  
As I pay obeisance to you.<sup>511</sup>

[Signed] Jingci Foxin Zhihu.

玄沙宗旨，別無道理，  
你為禮拜，自倒自起，  
因我得禮你。  
淨慈佛心，智慧。

---

<sup>511</sup> Translation by Michelle C. Wang, from: Levine and Lippit 2007, 131.

Fig. 3.2a



*Six Patriarchs in the Transmission from Bodhidharma* 達摩宗六祖像

Anonymous

Japanese 12<sup>th</sup> century copy from a Northern Song Chinese woodblock dated 1054

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 102 x 58 cm

Kōzanji, Kyoto 高山寺

Important Cultural Property

Image: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2009, pl. 10, 23.

Inscriptions:

Scene one. Top right. Inscriptions from left to right:

Disciples Daoxing [Daoyu] and the Nun Zongchi 弟子道星 [育] 尼惣特.

[Scene] one.

一。

The first patriarch Bodhidharma conferring the four awakenings of Chan.

第一祖菩提達摩謚四覺禪川。

The second patriarch when a practitioner.

二祖為行者時。

Scene two. Top left. Inscriptions from left to right:

Second patriarch Huike conferring the great patriarchy of Chan.

第二祖慧可謚禪大祖禪川。

The third patriarch when a practitioner.

第三祖為行者時

Scene two. Centre right. Inscriptions from left to right:

The third patriarch Sengcan conferring the verified wisdom of Chan.

第三祖僧璨謚鑒智禪川。

[Scene] three.

三。

The fourth patriarch's meeting with the school at fourteen years of age.

第四祖年十四遇川時。

Scene four. Centre left. Inscriptions from left to right:

The fourth patriarch Daoxin conferring the great perceptions of Chan.

第四祖道信謚大叡禪川。

[Scene] four.

四。

The fifth patriarch, who achieved enlightenment and became a monk when seven years old.

第五祖年七歲悟道出家時。

Scene five. Lower right. Inscriptions from left to right:

The fourth patriarch's disciple Falang.

四祖弟子法朗。

[Scene] five.

五。

Fifth patriarch Hongren conferring the great fullness of Chan.  
第五祖弘忍謚大滿禪川。

The sixth patriarch when a practitioner.  
六祖為行者時。

Scene six. Top left. Inscriptions from left to right:

The fourth patriarch's disciple Nanyue Huairang  
六祖弟子南嶽懷讓禪川

Jiangxi Dao [Mazu Daoyi of Jiangxi]  
江西道

The sixth patriarch Huineng conferring the great truth of Chan.  
第六祖慧能謚大鑿禪川

Dating inscription, lower left:

On the first day of the eleventh month of the first year of the Zhihe period [1054], the first print entered the palace for inspection. Palace servant of the Yellow Gate, servant Chen Lu, reverently submits this to the interior administrators in the second month.

至和元年十一月初一日開板入內侍省。內侍黃門臣陳陸奉聖二月管內。

Seals:

Kōzanji 高山寺 (square, relief)

Fig. 3.2b  
Detail of fig 3.2a,

*The First Patriarch Bodhidharma Conferring the Four Awakenings of Chan*  
第一祖菩提達摩謚四覺禪川



Fig. 3.3



*Bodhidharma and Shenguang* 達摩與神光圖  
Formerly attributed to Yan Ciping 閻次平 (act. 1164-81)  
Late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 116.2 x 46.3 cm  
Cleveland Museum of Art, 1972.41

Seal: *Ci ping* 次平 (relief).

Image: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund 1972.41

Fig. 3.4



*Danxia Burning the Buddha* 丹霞燒佛圖

Yintuoluo 因陀羅 (14<sup>th</sup> century),

Encomium by Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (1296-1370)

Horizontal format remounted as a hanging scroll, ink on paper, 35.1 x 36.9 cm

Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo

National Treasure

Image: Fontein and Hickman 1970, xxxiii, fig. 13.

*Encomium:*

In an ancient temple under frozen skies he passed a night,

Unremitting wind and drift upon drift of snow,

If indeed there are no relics, what makes it so special?

So he took the wooden Buddha from the hall and burnt it.

古寺天寒度一宵，不禁風冷雪飄飄，既無舍利何奇特？且取堂中木佛燒。

Two seals. Lower left beneath encomium: *chu shi* 楚石 (square, intaglio).

Second seal not legible in available reproduction.

Fig. 3.5



*Pei Xiu Meeting with Huangbo* 黃檗裴休問答圖  
Attributed to Li Yaofu 李堯夫 (act. late 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 84.5 x 38.8 cm  
Kyoto National Museum, AK 690

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 55.

Fig. 3.6a



*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 [detail]

Scene Five: *Li Yuan and Master Yuanze* 李源與圓澤法師圖

Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 26.6 x 67.1 cm [dimension of detail]

Shanghai Museum

Image: Shanghai Bowuguan 2012, pl. 48, 178.

Inscription:

Li Yuan was travelling to Mount [E] Mei with Master Yuanze. When their boat was passing through the Nanpu they saw a woman in embroidered brocade trousers carrying jars to fetch water. Ze wept, saying: “I am the unborn child in this woman, there is no avoiding it. Eighteen years from now, on the fifteenth of August you will meet a boy at Mount Tianzhu [temple] in Hangzhou.” When he finished speaking he died.

On the allotted date [Li] Yuan went to Mount Tianzhu, and met with a herd-boy, who said: “Li Yuan is a true believer!” Yuan replied: “It’s the spitting image of Yuanze!” The herd boy then sang: “An old soul [sits] atop Three Lives Rocks etc etc...”, When the song came to an end, he rolled up his sleeves and left.

李源與圓澤法師游眉山，舟次南浦，見一女子錦襠花褲負罌而汲。澤泣曰：『當託孕於此女，避之不可得。後十八年八月十五日當會君于杭州天竺山中。』言畢而卒。

源如期往天竺山見一牧牛兒，云：“李源真信人也”。源即應聲云：“圓澤正恙！”牧兒遂歌曰：『三生石上舊精魂，云云』。歌罷拂袖而去。

No source text has been located for this narrative in the course of researching this thesis.

Possible prototypes from which this account appears to have been adapted are found in: GZY, j. 1, 13-15; TPGJ, j. 387, 5-7; SGSZ j. 20, in T.2061.50: 839, c7-840, b3; DPQJ j.39, 10-11.

Fig. 3.6b

Detail of Figure 3.6a



Fig. 3.7



*Li Yao and Yuanze* 李源與圓澤圖

Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Previously a horizontal format now mounted as a hanging scroll, ink on silk, 44.1 x 83.5 cm

Private collection (sold at Sotheby's Hong Kong auction 2008)

Image: Gotō Bijutsukan 1996, pl. 7, 23

Signature, upper right:

*Jiyi* year of the Xianchun period [of the reign of Song Duzong] [1269], Muxi.

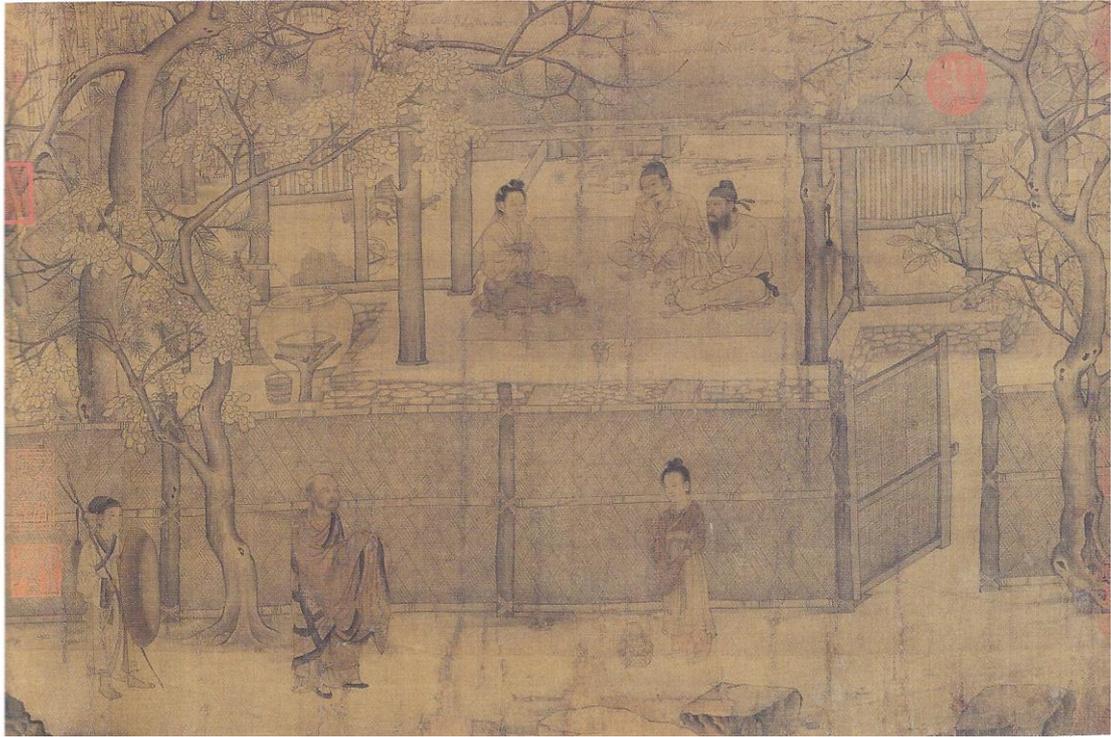
咸淳己巳牧谿。

Two seals:

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (relief)

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (intaglio)

Fig. 3.8



*Danxia Tianran visits Layman Pang* 丹霞天然問龐居士圖

Attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (d. 1106)

13<sup>th</sup> or possibly early 14<sup>th</sup> century

Handscroll, ink and light clours on silk, 35.2 x 52.1 cm

Private collection, New York

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 41

Inscriptions:

Two colophons at the end of the painting, by Seng Puqia 僧溥洽 (1348-1426) and Yao Shou 姚綬 (1423-95).<sup>512</sup>

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<sup>512</sup> Neither colophon was visible in images accessed during the course of this research, nor transcribed in accompanying documentation. Details of the colophons' authorship is given in Itakura Masa'aki's caption for this painting, in: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 155.

Fig. 3.9



Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範頂相

Anonymous

Dated 1238, Southern Song (1127-1279)

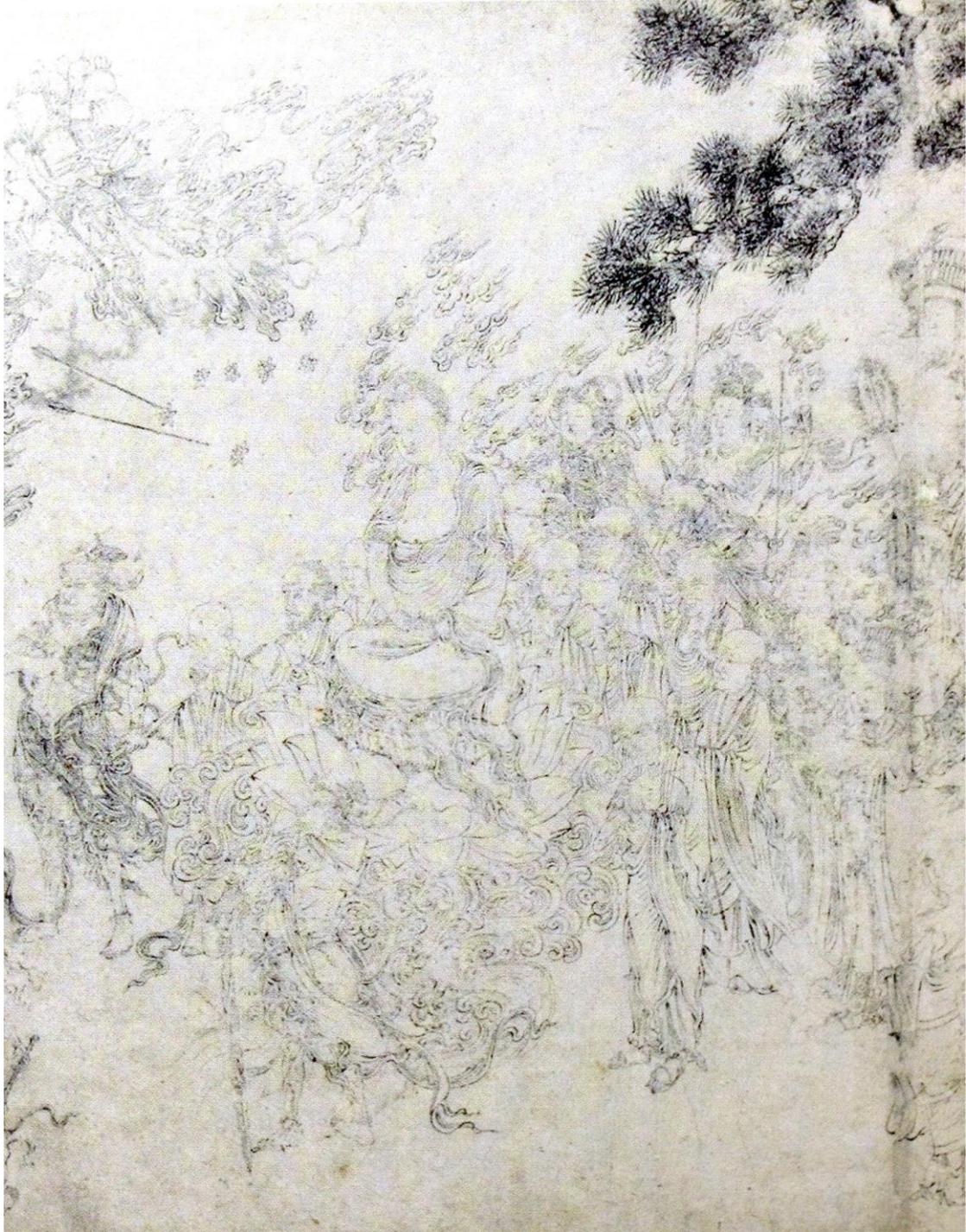
Ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll, 123.8 x 55.2

Tofuku ji 東福寺, Kyoto

National Treasure

Image: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2014, pl. 81, 141.

Fig. 3.10



*Raising the Alms Bowl* 揭鉢圖 (detail showing the Buddha and his assembly)

Zhu Yu 朱玉 (act. 14<sup>th</sup> century)

Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Handscroll, ink on paper, 27.7 x 111.4 cm

Zhejiang Provincial Museum

Image: Zhejiangsheng Bowuguan 2014, pl. 3.7, 146.

Fig. 3.11



*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 [detail]

Section of scene one: *The Monk Sheng Guang and Bodhidharma* 僧神光達磨圖

Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 26.6 x 64.1 cm [dimensions of scene]

Shanghai Museum

Image: Shanghai Bowuguan 2012, pl. 48, 178.

Fig. 3.12



*The Tiger Roars and the Wind Rises* 虎嘯而風烈圖  
Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Dated 1269, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink and feint colours on silk 147.8 x 94 cm  
Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyoto

Image: Daitokuji 2013, pl. 4, 10.

*Inscriptions:*

Signature:

*Jiyi* year of the Xianchun period [of the reign of Song Duzong] [1269], Muxi.  
咸淳己巳牧溪。

The Tiger Roars the Wind Rises.  
虎嘯而風烈。

Seals:

*Ten san* 天山 (relief, lower right).

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 3.13



*Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經圖

Detail: 'Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers' *San Cai* 三才

Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106)

Ca. 1085, Northern Song (960-1127)

Handscroll, ink on silk, 21.9 x 475.6 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art 1996.479a-c

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, From the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection, Gift of Oscar L. Tang Family, 1996 .

Fig. 3.14



*Ten Oxherding Pictures* 十牛図

Detail: 'Returning home on the back of the ox' 騎牛帰家

Traditionally attributed to Tenshō Shūbun 天章周文 (act. ca. 1423–60)

Late fifteenth century, Muromachi (1392–1573)

One of ten round paintings mounted as a handscroll, ink and colours on paper, 32 x 181.5 cm

Each round painting 14 cm diameter

Shōkokuji 相国寺, Kyoto

Image: © Creative Commons

Fig. 3.15



Three Lives Rock 三生石

Located next to the north west corner of Lower Tianzhu monastery 下天竺寺, now know as Fajing Monastery 法鏡寺, in the Lingyin Monastery scenic area.  
Photograph by the author.

Fig. 3.16



*Oxen in an Autumn Field* 秋野牧牛圖  
Attributed to Yan Ciping 閻次平 (act. 1154-81)  
13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 97.5 x 50.6 cm  
Sen-oku Hakuko kan, Kyoto

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl. 9, 19.

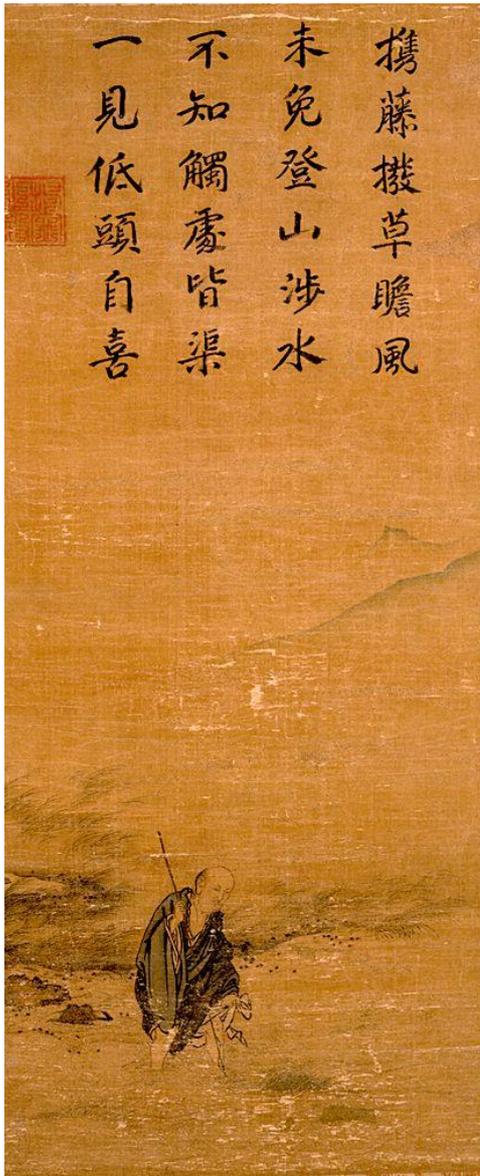
ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER FOUR

AWAKENINGS: NARRATIVES OF EFFICACY

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Fig. 4.1



*Dongshan Liangjie Fording a Stream* 洞山良价渡渠圖  
Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190-1225)  
Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Empress Yang 楊皇后 (1126-1233)  
Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 81 x 33.1 cm  
Tokyo National Museum  
Important Cultural Property

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 14.

*Encomium:*

Carrying a staff to push aside grass, gazing into the wind,  
He could not but climb mountains, and ford streams,  
Unaware that all places he comes to are ditches,  
With one glance, head lowered, he delights himself.<sup>513</sup>

携籐撥草瞻風，未免登山涉水，  
不知觸處皆渠，一見低頭自喜。

One seal:

*Kun ning zhi gong* 坤寧之宮 (relief). Empress Yang's Kunning Palace seal.

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<sup>513</sup> Translation adapted from: Edwards 2011, 109. In particular I differ from Edward's rendering of the third line, which contains a double entendre based on the word *qu* 渠, which can be both a pronoun and mean a ditch or man made watercourse. Edwards renders the third line as: "Unaware that everywhere he is..." I have chosen to keep the original meaning to make the double entendre of the original Chinese more apparent. Dongshan is being equated to the the mundane manmade watercourses of the everyday, equating Dongshan's world to the everyday world of Chan.

Fig. 4.2a



*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖 [detail]

Scene four: *Chan Master Xiangyan Zhixian of Dengzhou* 鄧州香巖智閑禪師

Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, dimensions of detail 26.6 x 67.1 cm

Shanghai Museum

Image: Shanghai Bowuguan 2012, pl. 48, 178.

Inscription:

One day, Master Zhixian of Fragrant Cliff [Xianyan] monastery in Dengzhou was clearing out a thicket. Unwittingly throwing up a pebble that made a sound upon striking the bamboo, he suddenly became awakened. He hurriedly went home to bathe and burn incense. He travelled to pay his obeisance to Guishan, who eulogised this, saying: “The great compassion of the monk has gone beyond mother and father. If I had explained this to you back then, how could this have happened now!”

There followed a *gāthā* by Zhixian, which goes:

Forgetting all that is known in a single blow,  
No longer grasping at false practices,  
And so on...

鄧州香巖智閑禪師，一日芟除草木。偶拋瓦礫，擊竹作聲，忽然省悟。遽歸沐浴焚香。遙禮瀋山贊云：「和上『尚』大慈恩逾父母，當時若為我說破，何有今日之事」。迺有頌曰：「一聲忘所知，更不假脩持，云云」。

Text source: WDHY j.9, in: X.1565.80: 191, a10-13.

Fig. 4.2b



Detail of figure 4.2a

Fig. 4.3



*Master of the Beautiful Mountain* (Yushanzhu) 郁山主圖

Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249)

Before 1249, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan

Hanging scroll, ink on paper 84.1 x 30 cm

Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya

Important Work of Art

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 53.

*Encomium:*

Obtaining the pearl of a clam,  
Boasting of its incalculable value,  
You and I do not find him strange,  
He is the Master of the Mountain Villages.  
Eulogised by Wuzhun Shifan.<sup>514</sup>

收得蚌蛤珠，誇張無價數，  
我儂不怪它，它是村山主。  
無準師範贊。

Four seals:

From top left:

*Fo jian chan shi* 佛鑑禪師 (relief)

*Wu zhun* 無準 (relief)

*Shi fan* 師範 (relief)

Lower right:

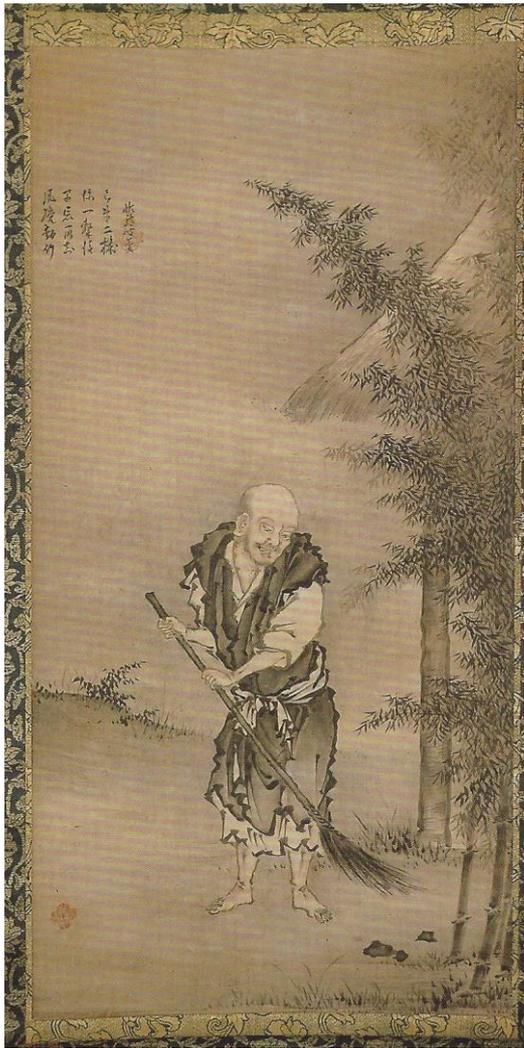
*Dō yō* 道有 (relief)

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

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<sup>514</sup> A version of this *encomium* appears in Wuzhun Shifan's discourse record, with a minor discrepancy in the final character of the third line and its repetition in the first character of the final line. In the discourse record it is written *ta* '佗', while in the inscription preserved on the painting there is no *ren* radical, reading *ta* '它'. In both cases the character serves as a pronoun. Here I have reproduced the text as it appears on the painting, following the transcription given by Itakura Maasaki. For Itakura's transcription, see: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 162. For the verse as reproduced in Shifan's collected *Encomia on Buddha's and Patriarchs* in his discourse record, see: WZSFCSYL, j. : X.70.1382: 270, b18.

Fig. 4.4



*Awakening to the Way on Striking Bamboo* 擊竹悟道図

Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559)

16<sup>th</sup> century, Muromachi Period (1336–1573)

*Encomium* by Denan Sōki 伝庵宗器 (16<sup>th</sup> century) (d. 1533)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 89.2 x 44.4 cm

Kosetsu Museum of Art, Kobe

Image: Kōsetsu Bijutsukan 2013, pl. 11, 18.

Fig. 4.5



*Hanshan and Shide* 寒山拾得圖 (diptych)

Attributed to Yan Hui 顏輝 (act. late 13<sup>th</sup>-early 14<sup>th</sup> century)

Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Pair of hanging scrolls, ink and colours on silk, 127.8 x 41.7 cm each

Tokyo National Museum

Important Cultural Property

Image: Little 2014, pl. 16, 92.

Fig. 4.6



*Hanshan and Shide* 寒山拾得圖

Attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟 (ca. 1180- after 1256)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper 91.3 x 33.6 cm

*Encomium* by Shiqiao Kexuan 石橋可宣 (d. ca. 1217)

Private collection

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 48.

*Encomium:*

A thousand groves rustle in the cold of the evening wind,  
Together with you, we conspire over the minutiae of all things,  
Sweep the broom, sweep! Sweep the broom over and over,  
The moss and the yellow leaves are suffused with the setting sun.

Kexuan of Jingshan eulogises with folded hands.

千林蕭瑟晚風涼，  
一事同君細較量，  
轉掃轉多多轉掃，  
青苔黃葉滿斜陽。

徑山可宣拜贊。

One seal:

*Jing shan shi qiao* 徑山石橋 (relief)

Fig. 4.7



*Laozi* 老子圖

Muxi Fachang 牧溪法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)  
13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 88.9 x 33.5 cm  
Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art  
National Treasure

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 57.

Two seals: Upper left: *mu xi* 牧谿 (relief).

Lower left: *ten san* 天山 (relief, lower right), collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 4.8



*Yellow Ox Zheng (Zhenghuangniu) 正黃牛圖 [Wei Zheng 惟正 (986-1049)]*

Attributed to Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249)

Before 1249 , Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium by Wuzhun Shifan*

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.1 x 30 cm

Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya

Important Work of Art

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 53.

*Encomium:*

The soft wind amidst a thousand cliffs,  
The slow, slow steps of the yellow ox,  
Raising your eyes who are your intimate companions?  
The white egrets and cormorants at the brook's bank.  
Eulogised by Wuzhun Shifan.

千巖風悄悄，黃犢步遲遲，  
舉目誰知己？溪邊白鷺鷥。  
無準師範提。

Three seals:

*Fo jian chan shi* 佛鑑禪師 (relief)

*Wu zhun* 無準 (relief)

*Dō yō* 道有 (relief).

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 4.9



*Chan Master Riding a Donkey* 騎驢圖  
Anonymous  
Before 1249 , Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178-1249)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 64.1 x 33 cm  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.24

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988.

*Encomium:*

As rain darkens the mountain, one mistakes a donkey for a horse.

Written by Monk Shifan of Jingshan.<sup>515</sup>

雨來山暗，認驢為馬。徑山僧師範書。

Four seals:

*Gu Luofu* 顧洛阜 (John M. Crawford Jr., 1913–1988)

*Hanguang Ge* 漢光閣

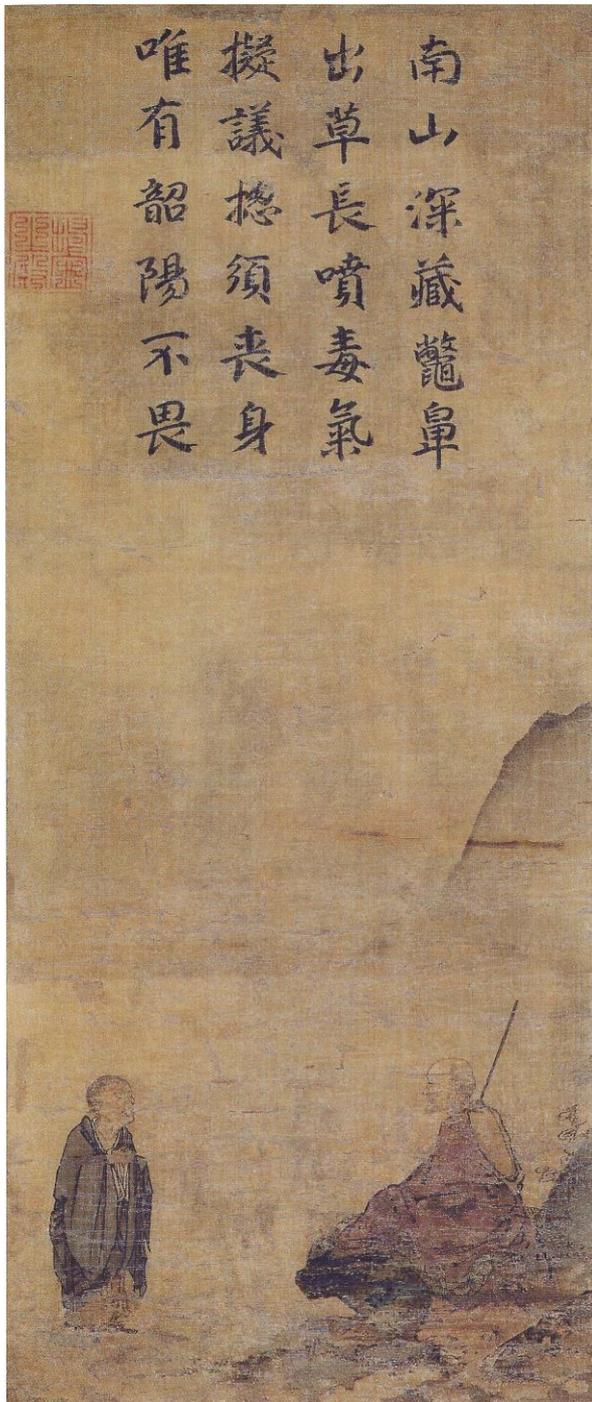
*Hanguang Ge zhu Gu Luofu jiancang Zhongguo gudai shuhua zhi zhang* 漢光閣主顧  
洛阜鑒藏中國古代書畫之章

Fourth seal by *encomium* illegible.

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<sup>515</sup> Translation adapted from: Fong 1992, 351.

Fig. 4.10



*Yunmen Wenyan and Xuefeng Yicun* 雲門文偃雪峰義存圖

Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190–1225)

Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Empress Yang 楊皇后 (1126-1233)

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 79.2 x 32.9 cm

Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Kyoto

Important Cultural Property

Image: Mitsui Memorial Museum 2014, p 14, 26

*Encomium:*

A 'turtle nose', hidden deep in the Southern Mountains,  
Spurts poisoned vapour from the long grass,  
Most believe it must be fatal,  
Only Shaoyang [Yunmen] is unafraid.<sup>516</sup>

南山深藏鼈鼻，出草長噴毒氣。  
擬議恣須喪身，唯有韶陽不畏。

One seal: *kun ning zhi gong* 坤寧之宮 (relief). Empress Yang's Kunning palace seal.

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<sup>516</sup> Translation adapted from Edwards 2011, 109.

Fig. 4.11



*Fayan Wenyi and his Teacher Luohan Guichen* 法眼文益羅漢桂琛圖

Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190–1225)

Late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 79.2 x 32.9 cm

Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Kyoto

Important Cultural Property

Image: Mitsui Memorial Museum 2014, p 14, 27

*Encomium:*

The great earth, mountains and rivers, and natural phenomena,  
Are they ultimately separate or unified?  
Understanding that of all the myriad *dharmas* there is only the mind,  
Ceases belief in empty flowers and the moon [reflected] in the water.

大地山河自然，畢竟是同是別。

若了萬法唯心，休認空花水月。

One seal: *kun ning zhi gong* 坤寧之宮 (relief). Empress Yang's Kunning palace seal.

Fig. 4.12



*Couplet from a Poem by Han Hong (The Sounds of the Tide, the Greens of the Mountains)*

韓翃《潮聲山翠》聯句

Emperor Song Lizong 宋理宗 (1205-64, r. 1224-64)

1261, Southern Song 1127-1279

Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink on silk, 20.8 x 22.1 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.23a

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988.

*Couplet:*

The sounds of the tide rise at noon;

The greens of the mountains are deepest in the south.<sup>517</sup>

潮聲當晝起，山翠近南深。

Seven seals, including:

Upper left

*Xin you* 辛酉 (relief, gourd shaped seal). Cyclical date corresponding to 1261]

Second from top on left:

*Yu shu zhi bao* 御書之寶 (relief square seal)

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<sup>517</sup> Translation from Fong 1992, 238.

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER FIVE

YANXI GUANGWEN'S *ENCOMIA*: SPEAKING FOR ICONS

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Fig. 5.1



*Meeting between Yaoshan Weiyan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖

Anonymous, formerly attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 and Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (both 13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)

Horizontal leaf mounted as hanging scroll, ink on paper, 31.8 x 84.5 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1982.2.1

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982.

*Encomium:*

Complete abandonment slices past the face,  
Looking down on the eye yet valuing the ear,  
Present between the water and the clouds  
Do not speak [further], as there is nothing more!

Resident of Cold Spring [Guangwen]<sup>518</sup>

全犧劈面來，賤目而貴耳，  
便是雲水間，莫道無餘事。

住冷泉

Seals:

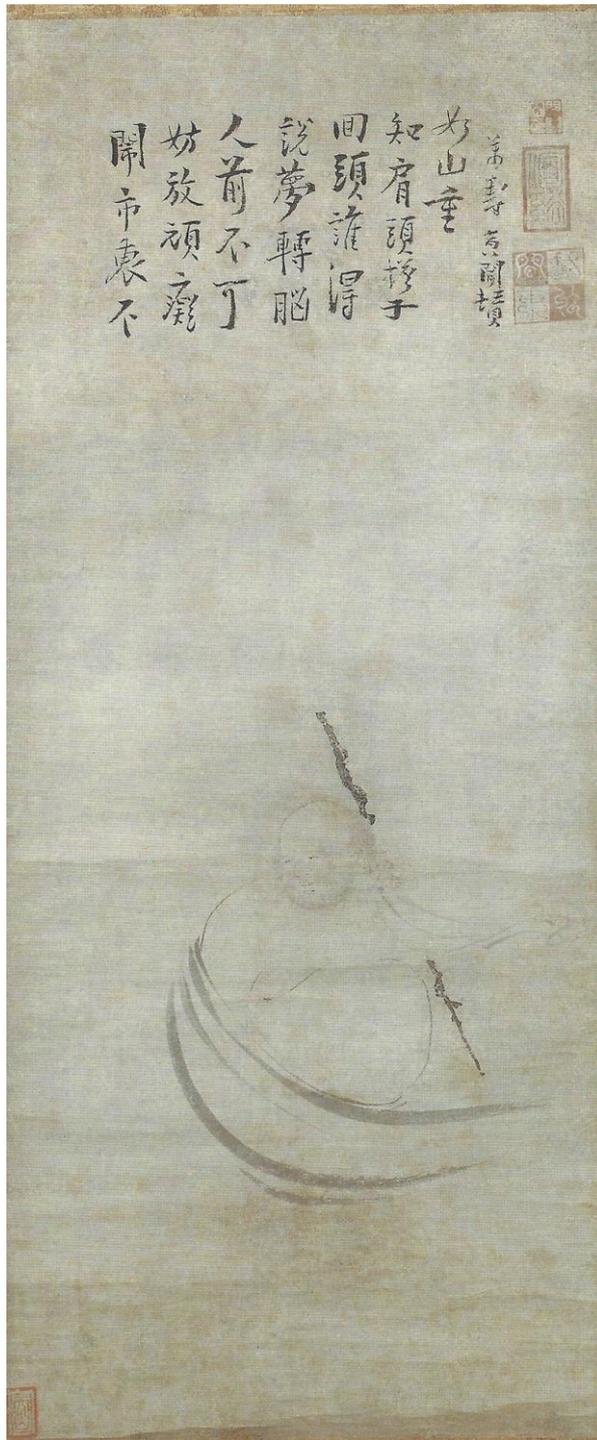
*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

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<sup>518</sup> Translation slightly adapted from (Shimizu 2007)

Fig.5.2



*Budai* 布袋圖

Attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Before 1245, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 70.7 x 29.3 cm

Fukuoka City Art Museum

Image: Itsuō Bijutsukan and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, 2013, pl. 35, 44.

*Encomium:*

In the bustling market, unhindered in liberated mischief,  
One may not speak of dreams in front of a fool,<sup>519</sup>  
You twist your brain and turn your head, but who gets it?  
The pole atop your shoulder is as heavy as a mountain.  
Eulogised by Guangwen of Wanshou.<sup>520</sup>

鬧市裏不妨放頑，癡人前不可說夢，  
轉腦回頭誰得知，肩頭棒子如山重。  
萬壽廣聞贊。

Four seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Qi yu jian dong*, 起於間東 (mixed intaglio and relief)

*Ten san* 天山 (relief)

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

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<sup>519</sup> This phrase is adapted from the concluding verse in case four of the *Wumenguan*, ‘The Barbarian has no Beard’ 胡子無鬚. WMG, j.1 in: T.2005.48: 293, b28.

<sup>520</sup> Adapted from: Lippit 2009, 81.

Fig. 5.3



*Budai* 布袋圖

Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 91.8 x 28.8 cm

Private Collection, Tokyo

Important Cultural Property

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 51

*Encomium:*

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,  
Twisting your brain and turning your head, how many taints?<sup>521</sup>  
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,  
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Requested by a man with superior understanding of Chan  
Yanxi Guangwen of Jingshan.

蕩蕩行波波走，  
轉腦回頭，多少漏逗？  
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，  
草清清處還知否？

禪了上人請贊。住徑山偃溪廣聞。

Four seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Shuang jing* 雙徑 (Relief vase shaped seal)

*Ruo jing* 若敬 (intaglio)

*Zhi weng* 直翁 (relief)

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<sup>521</sup> The taints mentioned here (*lou* 漏) refers to the concept *you lou* 有漏 (*sāsrava*), conducting actions conditioned by intentions, and thereby accruing *karma*.

Fig. 5.4



*Budai and Young boy* 布袋與兒童圖  
Attributed to Hu Zhifu 胡直夫 (13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Before 1254, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 83.9 x 32.1 cm  
Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya  
Important Cultural Property

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 49.

*Encomium:*

Upon the long sandbar of the river you are the great worthy,  
Was the Great Master before Mount Yunhuang also you?<sup>522</sup>  
You swap your face, change your head at will,  
Only [Your] next coming as Maitreya is not confirmed,  
You pull the wool over all people's eyes, men and women [alike].

Inscribed by Guangwen of Nanshan

長汀江上汝即大士，  
雲黃山前大士即汝許？  
汝換面改頭決定，  
嘗來補處只不許？  
汝教壞人家男女。  
南山黃聞題。

Four seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Qi yu jian dong* 起於澗東 (relief, ding shaped)

Fourth seal illegible.

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<sup>522</sup> The Great Master before Mount Yunhuang refers to the monk Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士 (497-569), who was also believed to be an avatar of Maitreya. For a discussion of this figure see: Hsiao 1995.

Fig. 5.5



*Budai* 布袋圖

Li Que 李確 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 104.8 x 32.1 cm

*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)

Myoshinji 妙心寺, Kyoto

Important Cultural Property

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 52.

*Encomium:*

Floating, floating travels, wave and wave of walking,  
Coming and going all over, how many taints?  
Before the jade pavilion, after Sudana has gone,  
In this place of green, green grass, will you still be known?

Yanxi Guangwen, Resident of Jingshan

蕩蕩行波波走，  
到處去來，多少漏逗，  
瑤樓閣前，善財去後，  
草青青處還知否？

住徑山偃谿黃聞。

Signature: Li Que 李確

Three seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Wu ji shan ren* 五髻山人 (relief)

Fig. 5.6



*Fenggan and Tiger* 豐杆與老虎圖

Li Que 李確 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Before 1263, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 104.8 x 32.1 cm

*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)

Myoshinji, 妙心寺 Kyoto

Important Cultural Property

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 52.

*Encomium:*

Only explaining how to grasp the tiger's head,  
Not explaining how to grab the tiger's tail,  
Befuddling old Lü Qiu,  
The guilty party was you!

Yanxi Guangwen of Jing Shan

只解據虎頭，  
不解取虎尾，  
或亂老閻丘，  
罪頭元是爾。

徑山優裕黃聞。

Three seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Shuang jing* 雙徑 (relief vase shaped seal)

*Wu ji shan ren* 五髻山人 (relief)

Fig. 5.7



*Master Clam* 蜆子和尚  
Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Before 1256, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.1 x 37.4  
Private collection, Japan

Image: Levine and Lippit 2007, pl. 18, 72.

*Encomium:*

Casually grasping what comes, dragging the mud and wading the water,  
Illicit booty emerges before him, facing a tough taboo,  
If the wine of tray is missing from before the gods,  
Ultimately he has not cast off the handiwork of demons.

Inscribed by Guangwen, resident of the Cold Spring.<sup>523</sup>

信手拈來，拖泥涉水，  
贓物現前，當面難諱，  
若無神前酒臺盤，  
終不脫鬼家活計。

住冷泉廣聞題。

Four seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Qi yu jian dong* 起於澗東 (relief, ding shaped)

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (relief)

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<sup>523</sup> Translation from unpublished paper by Stephen Allee, shared with the author in personal correspondence: Allee, unpublished paper.

Fig. 5.8



*Sixth Patriarch Carrying a Load* 六祖挾擔圖  
Zhiweng Ruoqing 直翁若敬 (13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Before 1256, Southern Song (1127-1279)  
*Encomium* by Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189-1263)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 93.5 x 31 cm  
Daitokyu Memorial Library, Gotoh Museum, Tokyo  
National Treasure

Image: Nezu Bijutsukan 2004, 50.

*Encomium:*

The pole covers your shoulder with its burden,  
Before your eyes the route of your return lacks nothing,  
Your mind knows that in truth there is nowhere for it to reside,  
Knowing at whose house the firewood will fall.

Eulogised by Guangwen, resident of Cold Spring.

擔子全肩荷負，  
目前歸路無差，  
心知應無所住，  
知柴落在誰家。

住冷泉廣聞贊。

Five seals:

*Guang wen yin zhang* 廣聞印章 (intaglio)

*Yan xi* 偃溪 (relief)

*Qi yu jian dong* 起於澗東 (relief, ding shaped)

*Zhi weng* 直翁 (relief)

Square relief seal of Edo period Japanese collection: 枳氏道雄

Fig. 5.9a



*Eighteen Arhats Viewing a Handscroll* 十八羅漢讀卷圖

Anonymous

Before 1348, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Encomium by Tanfang Shouzhong 曇芳守忠 (1274-1348)

Hanging scroll, ink in paper, 64 x 30 cm

Tokyo National Museum

Image: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, pl. 16.

Fig. 5.9b



Detail of fig. 5.9a

Fig. 5.10



*Meeting between Yaoshan Weiyan and Li Ao* 藥山李翱問道圖

Ma Gongxian 馬公顯 (act. 13th century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 115.9 x 48.5 cm

Nanzenji 南禪寺, Kyoto

Important cultural property

Image: Brinker and Kanazawa 1996, pl. 15, 229.

Signature: Ma Gongxian 馬公顯

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER SIX

LIANG KAI: INCARNATIONS OF A MASTER

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Fig. 6.1



*The Sixth Patriarch Chopping Bamboo* 六祖截竹圖

Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 72.7 x 31.5 cm

Tokyo National Museum

Important Cultural Property

Image: Little 2014, fig. 7, 22.

Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷

One seal, lower left: *Dō yū* 道有 (relief)

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 6.2



*The Sixth Patriarch Tearing up Sutras* 六祖破經圖

Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup> early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging Scroll, ink on paper, 72.8 x 31.6 cm.

Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo

Image: Little 2014, fig. 8, 22

Signature, Liang Kai 梁楷

One seal, lower right: *Dō yū* 道有 (relief)

Collector's seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).

Fig. 6.3



*Eminent Worthy of the Eastern Fence* 東籬高士圖

Probable work of follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 71.5 × 36.7 cm

National Palace Museum, Taipei

Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷

Image: Guoli Gugong Bowuyan and Lai 2008, pl. I.7, 35.

Fig. 6.4



*Poet Strolling by a Marshy Bank* 澤畔行吟圖  
Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279)  
Fan mounted as an album leaf, ink on silk, 22.9 x 24.3 cm  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.363.14

Signature, lower left: 'Liang Kai 梁楷'

Two Seals:

Gu Luofu 顧洛阜, intaglio Gu Luofu seal of John M. Crawford, Jr. (1913-1988)

Hanguang Ge 漢光閣

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988.

Fig. 6.5



*Luohan Bestowing Alms on Suffering Human Beings* Part of 500 Arhats Series

五百羅漢：施財貧者圖

Zhou Jichang 周季常 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century)

Dated 1184

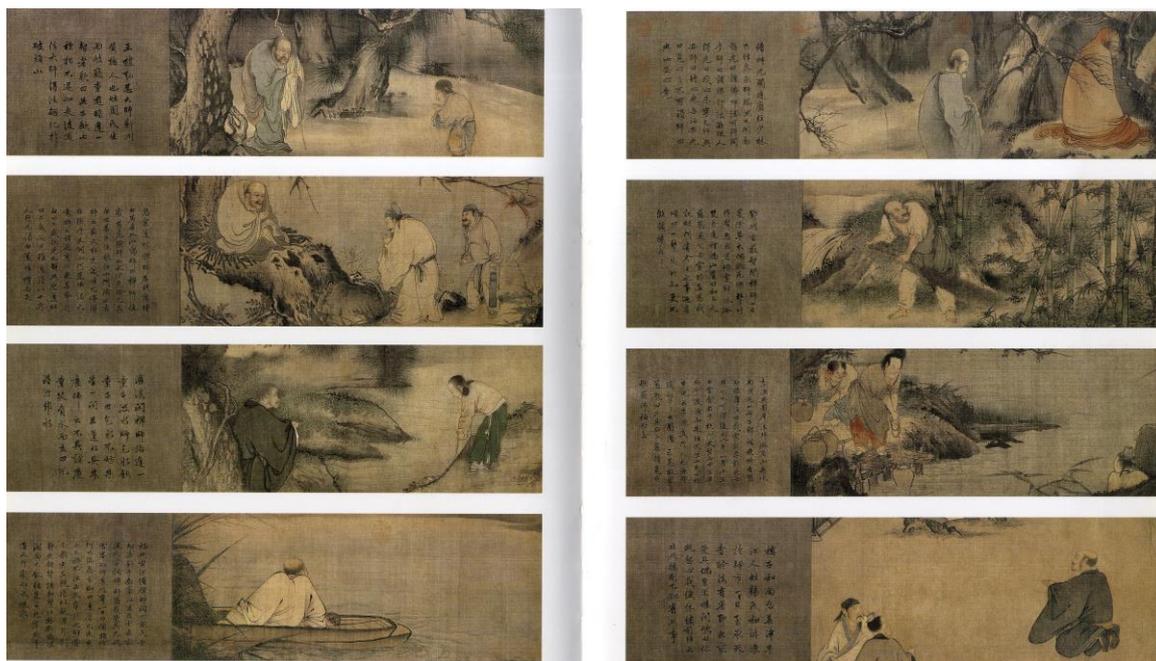
Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.4

Image: Shanghai Bowuguan 2012, pl. 33, 74

Fig. 6.6a



*Eight Eminent Monks* 八高僧圖

Follower of Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk

Height 26.6 cm, length of each scene 57.9-66.2 cm

Shanghai Museum

Image: Shan and Shan 2004, pl. 32, 94-5.

Sequence of scenes altered in photographic reproduction in Shan and Shan 2004. Correct sequence represented in figs. 6.6b-6.6j.

Fig. 6.6b



### Scene One

*The Monk Sheng Guang and Bodhidharma* 僧神光達磨圖

26.6 x 64.1 cm

#### Inscription:

The monk Sheng Guang heard that Bodhidharma was resident at Shaolin [monastery], and went there to meet him. [Yet] the master sat upright and paid no heed to these calls for his teaching. Guang said: Do you know how the dharma of the Buddhas can be found? The master said: “The dharma of the Buddhas has not been attained by the generations that followed.” Guang said: “My mind is not yet settled. I entreat you, master, to bring it to peace.” The master said: “Bring your mind to its own peace.” Guang said: “My mind wanders widely, and cannot be found.” The master said: “Be with yourself, your mind at peace, and you’re done.”

僧神光聞達磨住少林，乃往參承，師端坐不問勵誨。光曰：『諸佛印法可得聞乎。』師曰：『諸佛印法匪後人得。』光曰：『我心未寧，乞師與安。』師曰：『將心來與汝安。』光曰：『寬心了不可得。』師曰：『與汝安心竟。』

Text source: JDCDL, j3 T.2076.51: 219, b20-23.

There are slight alterations to the *Jingde Era* text in the *Eight Eminent Monks* inscriptions. In Guang’s first statement and Bodhidharma’s response the character *yin* 印 appears before *fa* 法. In the *Jingde Record* they appear as the binome *fayin* 法印.

Fig. 6.6c



Scene Two

*Fifth Patriarch Great Master Hongren* 五祖弘忍大師圖

26.6 x 66.4 cm

The Fifth Patriarch, the great master Hongren was a native of Huangmei in Qizhou. His original surname was Zhou. His great wisdom was evident from birth. When travelling as a child, he met a wise man, who exclaimed: “This child lacks the seven seeds sorts of signs, and is not up to becoming a Buddha.” Later Hongren met the great Master [Dao] Xin, and obtained dharma transmission from him, passing away upon Broken Head Mountain [Potou shan].

五祖弘忍大師蘄州黃梅人也。姓周氏。生而岐嶷。童遊時逢一智者。歎曰：此子缺「闕」七種相、不逮如來。後遇信大師得法嗣化於破頭山。

Text source: JDCDL j.3, in T.2076.51: 222c7-9.

Fig. 6.6d



### Scene Three

*Chan Master Niaoke Daolin in conversation with Bai Juyi* 鳥窠道林禪師白居易問答圖

26.6 x 64.7 cm

### Inscription:

When Chan Master Niaoke Daolin was resident in Qiantang, Bai Juyi came to into the mountains to question the master, saying: “Chan Master, your position is quite precarious!” The master replied: “The Provincial Governor is in far more danger.” Bai replied: “[Your] disciple is posted in Jiangshan township, how is that dangerous?” The master replied: “You know that kindling is always catching fire. How can that be safe?”<sup>524</sup> [Bai Juyi] asked another question: “What is the great insight of Buddhism?” The master replied: “Don’t do anything bad, and do everything that’s good.” Baijuyi replied: “A three-year-old child understands that kind of talk.” The master said: “A three year old child may be able to say it, but an eighty year old can’t put it into practice.” Bai Juyi bowed, and left.

鳥窠道林禪師居錢唐時，白居易入山謂師曰：「禪師住處甚危險」。師云：「太守危險尤甚」。白曰：「弟子位鎮江山何，何險之有？」師云：「薪火相交識性不停。得非險乎？」又問：「如何是佛法大意？」師云：「諸惡莫作，眾善奉行。」白曰。「三歲孩兒也解與麼道。」師曰：「三歲孩兒雖道得，八十老人行不得。」白遂作禮而退。

Text source: JDCDL j.4, in: T.2076.51: 230b22-27

The opening sentences which introduces the encounter and Bai Juyi’s speech is not the exact wording of the Jingde Record original. Also, the character *yu* 與 in the *Eight Eminent Monks* text replaces the character *nin* 恁 used in the *Jingde Record*.

<sup>524</sup> The character *xin* 薪 is a synonym for both firewood, and a government official’s salary. Niaoke points to the instabilities of court politics and official appointments.

Fig. 6.6e



Scene Four

*Chan Master Xiangyan Zhixian of Dengzhou* 鄧州香巖智閑禪師圖

26.6 x 64.7 cm

Inscription:

One day, Master Zhixian of Fragrant Cliff [Xianyang] monastery in Dengzhou was clearing out a thicket. Unwittingly throwing up a pebble that made a sound upon striking the bamboo, he suddenly became awakened. He hurriedly went home to bathe and burn incense. He travelled to pay his obeisance to Guishan, who eulogised this, saying: “The great compassion of the monk has gone beyond mother and father. If I had explained this to you back then, how could this have happened now!”

There followed a *gāthā* by Zhixian, which goes:

Forgetting all that is known in a single blow,  
No longer grasping at false practices,  
And so on...

鄧州香巖智閑禪師，一日芟除草木。偶拋瓦礫，擊竹作聲，忽然省悟。遽歸沐浴焚香。遙禮瀉山贊云：「和上『尚』大慈恩逾父母，當時若為我說破，何有今日之事」。迺有頌曰：「一聲忘所知，更不假脩持，云云」。

Text source: WDHY j.9, in: X.1565.80: 191, a10-13

Fig. 6.6f



Scene Five

*Li Yuan and Master Yuanze* 李源與圓澤法師圖

26.6 x 67.1 cm

Inscription:

Li Yuan was travelling to Mount [E] Mei with Master Yuanze. When their boat was passing through Nanpu they saw a woman in embroidered brocade trousers carrying jars to fetch water. Ze wept, saying: “I am the unborn child in this woman, there is no avoiding it. Eighteen years from now, on the fifteenth of August you will meet a boy at Mount Tianzhu [temple] in Hangzhou.” When he finished speaking he died.

On the allotted date [Li] Yuan went to Mount Tianzhu, and met with a herd-boy, who said: “Li Yuan is a true believer!” Yuan replied: “It’s the spitting image of Yuanze!” The herd boy then sang: “An old soul [sits] atop Three Lives Rocks etc etc...”, When the song came to an end, he rolled up his sleeves and left.

李源與圓澤法師游眉山，舟次南浦，見一女子錦襠花褲負罌而汲。澤泣曰：『當託孕於此女，避之不可得。後十八年八月十五日當會君于杭州天竺山中。』言畢而卒。

源如期往天竺山見一牧牛兒，云：“李源真信人也”。源即應聲云：“圓澤正恙！”牧兒遂歌曰：『三生石上舊精魂，云云』。歌罷拂袖而去。

No source text has been located for this narrative in the course of researching this thesis. Possible prototypes from which this account appears to have been adapted are found in: GZY, j. 1, 13-15; TPGJ, j. 387, 5-7; SGSZ j. 20, in T.2061.50: 839, c7-840, b3; DPQJ j.39, 10-11.

Fig. 6.6g



Scene Six

Chan Master Xian of Huanxi 灌溪閑禪師

26.6 x 61.9 cm

Inscription:

Once while travelling Master [Zhi] Xian of Huanxi met a child drawing water. The master asked the child for some water to drink, the child replied: “Nothing wrong with asking for some water, but there is a problem. This water is filthy.” The master replied: “There is no substance to filth”. The child laughed, picked up his water and left, saying: “If you won’t take pollution, you’ll have no water.”

灌溪閑禪師路逢一童子汲水。師乞水飲。童子曰：「乞水不妨，某有一問」且道水具幾塵。師云：「不具諸塵。」童笑負水而去，曰：「不得汙陸水。」

No source text has been located for this narrative in the course of researching this thesis.

Fig. 6.6h



Scene Seven

Louzi Heshang 樓子和尚圖

26.6 x 57.9 cm

Inscription:

The given name of the monk Tavern Master was Shan. He was a native of Jinpingjiang, and a member of the Yang clan. Early in his life he idled about in markets and towns. One day, hearing the *dharma* in the Chengtian temple led him to a realisation. He immediately entered the monastery and accepted full ordination. [Once] stumbling upon a tavern he heard someone singing: “As you are so heartless, I give up.” Prostrating himself before the tavern he said: “If it were not for this tavern, then I would not have understood this matter!”

樓子和尚名善，津平江人，姓楊氏。初浮浪於肆市，一日至承天寺聆法，有省，即出家受具。偶至酒樓聞歌，曰：「你既無心我便休！」樓前拜云：「非此樓則不知有此事。」

No source text has been located for this narrative in the course of researching this thesis. The inscription expands on a version of this narrative in a short account found in: WDHY J.6, in: X.1565.80: 138, c8-10. For a full translation of this account see appendix 6.1.

Fig. 6.6i



Scene Eight

Chan master Xuansha [Shi]bei of Fuzhou 福州玄沙「師」備禪師

26.6 x 66.2 cm

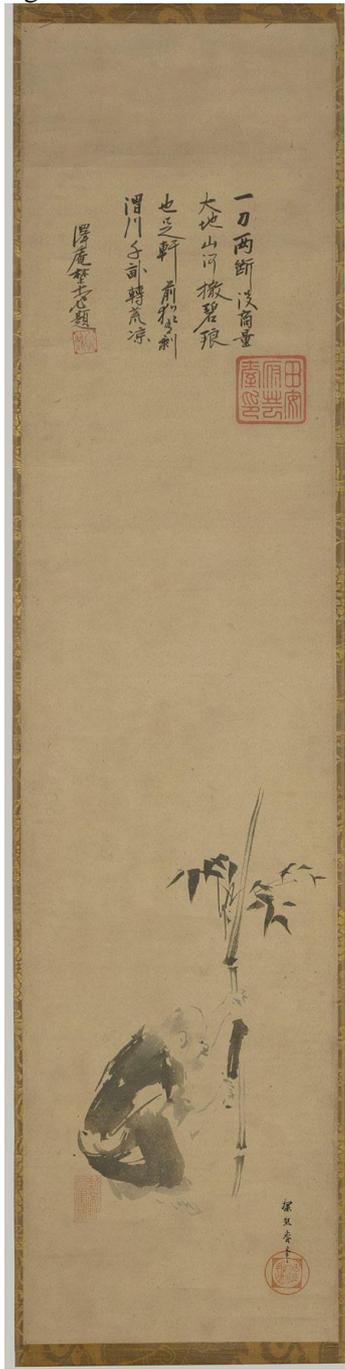
Inscription:

Master Xuansha Bei of Fuzhou was a son the Xie clan in Min [Modern day Fujian]. When he was a child he fished in the southern Taijian. At 30 he became a monk, receiving the tonsure and full ordination from Chan Master Furongxun [Furong Lingxun 芙蓉靈訓 d. 851]. He regarded Xuefeng as his elder brother, and served him as his teacher. One day Feng said: “Monk, why don’t you go on an extensive pilgrimage?” The master replied: “If Bodhidharma had not come to the East, the second patriarch would not have made it to the Western Heaven.” Feng agreed with this. [Once] the master’s [statement] with which he tested the congregation included: “To obtain something directly is like a pool’s reflection of the autumn moon, the sound of a bell on a clear night which does not fade when it has been struck, [like] waves running into one another but not dispersing. This is truly the utmost matter upon these shores of life and death. The site of a person of the Way’s practice, is like a fire melting ice.”

福州玄沙備禪師，閩之謝氏子。幼垂釣於南台江甫，三十出家，從夫容訓禪師落髮。受具，兄視雪峰而師事之。峰一日曰：『備頭陀，何不編參去？』師曰：『達摩不來東土二祖不往西天。』峰然之。師嘗示眾：宥直饒得似秋潭月影，靜夜鐘聲，隨扣擊以無虧，觸波瀾而不散，尤是生死岸頭事，道人行處猶火燒冰。

No source text has been located for this narrative in the course of researching this thesis.

Fig. 6.7



*The Sixth Patriarch of Zen at the Moment of Enlightenment* 六祖禅機図

Kano Tan'yū 狩野 探幽 (1602–1674)

1635–45, Edo period (1615–1868),

Inscribed by Takuan Sōhō 沢庵 宗彭 (1573–1645)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 101.6 x 24.1 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art 2006.174

Image: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Foundation Fund, 2006.

*Encomium:*

One strike of a knife vanquishes all thoughts,  
Green jade of bamboo scattered over the earth, mountains, and rivers,  
Yet, there is enough left in front of Yasokuken  
To turn thousands of acres of land along the Wei river into desolation.

The colophon closes with Takuan's signature, reading "Takuan Sōrō dai".<sup>525</sup>

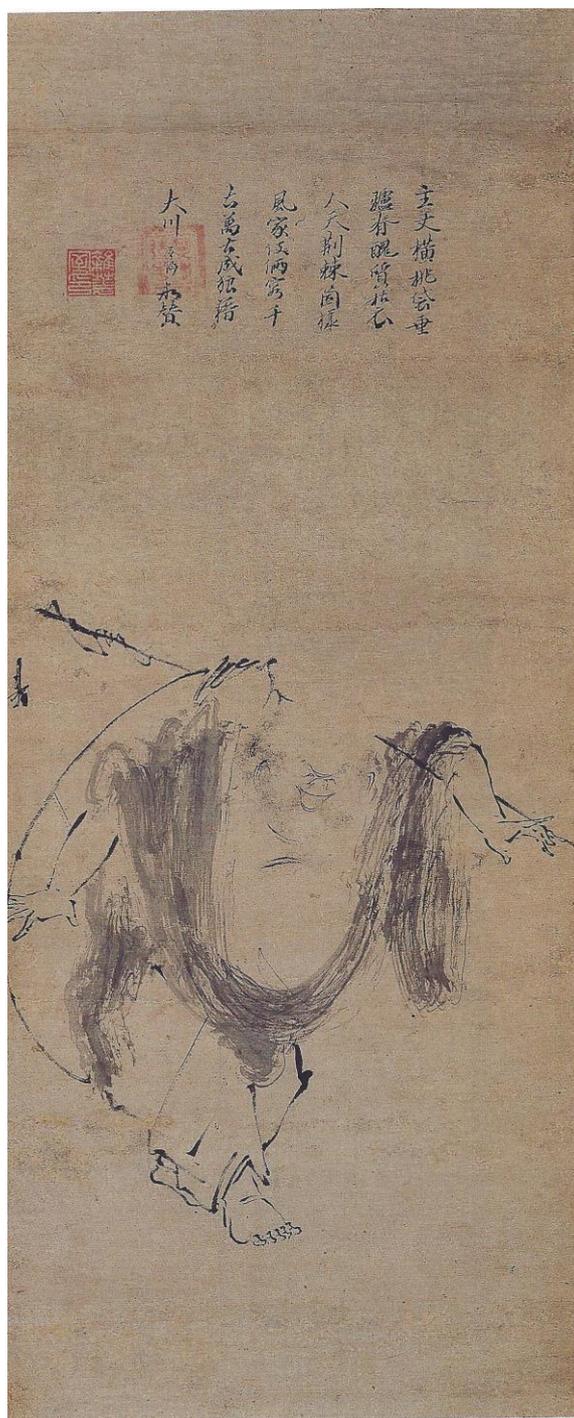
一刀兩斷沒商量，  
大地山河撒碧琅，  
也足軸前？？？，  
渭川子畝轉荒涼，  
澤庵禁志題。

Signature of Kano Tan'yū.

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<sup>525</sup> Translation from Metropolitan Museum of Art 2008.

Fig. 6.8



*Budai* 布袋圖

Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1197-1253)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 80 x 31.3 cm

Collection of the Kosetsu Museum of Art, Kobe  
Important Cultural Property

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl. 22, 38.

*Encomium:*

A bag hangs from a pole, resting on this donkey's back,  
An ugly visage and tattered clothes, startling gods and men,  
This idiosyncratic character plays tricks upon the poor,  
Now, and forever, in shambolic disarray.

Reverently eulogised by Dachuan Puji.

主丈橫挑袋垂驢背，  
醜質枯衣，人天荊棘，  
箇樣風家伎倆窮，  
千古萬古成狼藉。

大川普濟敬贊

Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷

Fig. 6.9



*Reading a Sutra by Moonlight* 對月圖

Attributed to Ke Shan 柯山

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Duanqiao Miaolun 斷橋妙倫 (1201-61)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 31.4 x 23.4 cm

Gotoh Museum, Tokyo

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan 2014, pl. 50, 69.

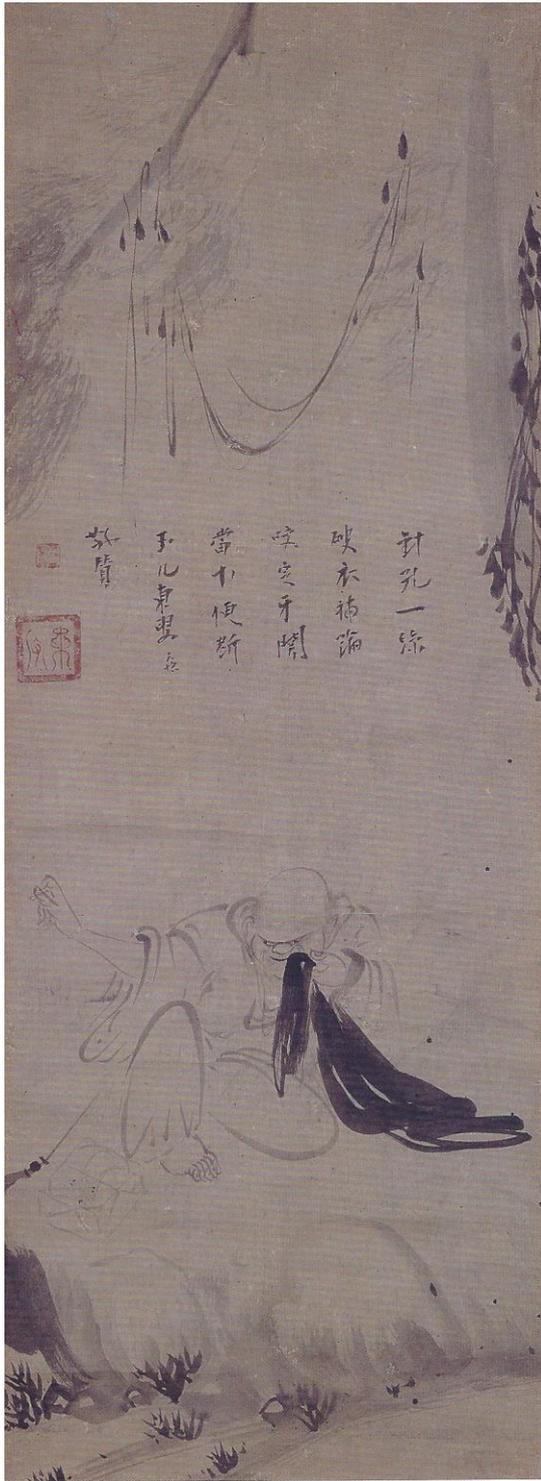
*Encomium:*

Opening a *sūtra* to face the moon,  
Characters resting in straining eyes,  
One phrase not yet understood,  
Fatally enrages this old monk!

Miaolun of Jingci [Monastery]

開經對月，字細眼坐，  
一句未了，惱殺老僧。  
淨慈妙倫。

Fig. 6.10



*Monk Mending Clothes in the Morning Sun* 朝陽圖

Anonymous, traditionally attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

Late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 84.5 x 30.5 cm

Kyoto National Museum, AK 817

Image: Zhang 2013, pl. 43, 213.

*Encomium:*

One thread passing through the eye of a needle,  
Patches the holes in a tattered garment,  
Biting down firmly with one's jaws,  
Immediately it is broken.<sup>526</sup>

Dongsou Yuankai at Yuji respectfully eulogises.

針孔一絲，破衣補漏。  
咬定牙關，當下便斷。

玉几東叟元愷敬贊。

Two seals:

Upper seal illegible in available reproduction. (relief)

Lower seal: *dong sou* 東叟 (relief)

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<sup>526</sup> Translation from Michelle Wang in: Levine and Lippit 2007, 126.

Fig. 6.11



*Arhats Demonstrating the Power of the Buddhist Sūtras to Daoists* Part of 500 Arhats Series

五百羅漢圖軸：經典奇瑞圖

Zhou Jichang 周季常 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century)

About 1178

Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.290

Image: Nara Kokurtisu Hakubutsukan 2009, 234.

Fig. 6.12



*Budai Watching Fighting Cockerels* 布袋雞骨圖  
Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 78.1 x 31.4 cm  
Matsunaga-Kinenkan, Kanagawa

Image: Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan and Itsuō Bijutsukan 2013, pl. 37, 46.

Fig. 6.13



*Splashed Ink Immortal* 潑墨仙人圖  
Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century)  
Southern Song (1127-1279)  
Album leaf, ink on paper 48.7 x 27.7 cm  
National Palace Museum, Taipei 故畫 1292-2

Image: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan and He 2010, pl. IV-4, 316.

Inscriptions:

Title slip: Splashed Ink Immortal, Liang Kai of the Song. 宋梁楷潑墨仙人。

*Encomium* by the Qianlong Emperor 乾隆 (1711-1799, r. 1735-96)

Walking upon the earth with no true given or family name,  
Greatness like the lofty Yang, one drink then walk on,  
Oughtn't this be [one from] the immortal banquet of the jade terrace?  
The saturated sleeves of the robe seem coarse and rough.

地行不是名和姓，  
大似高陽一酒走，  
應是瑤臺仙宴罷？  
淋漓襟袖尚糝糊。

Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷

Fig. 6.14



*Budai* 布袋圖

Attributed to Liang Kai 梁楷 (late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century)

Southern Song (1127-1279)

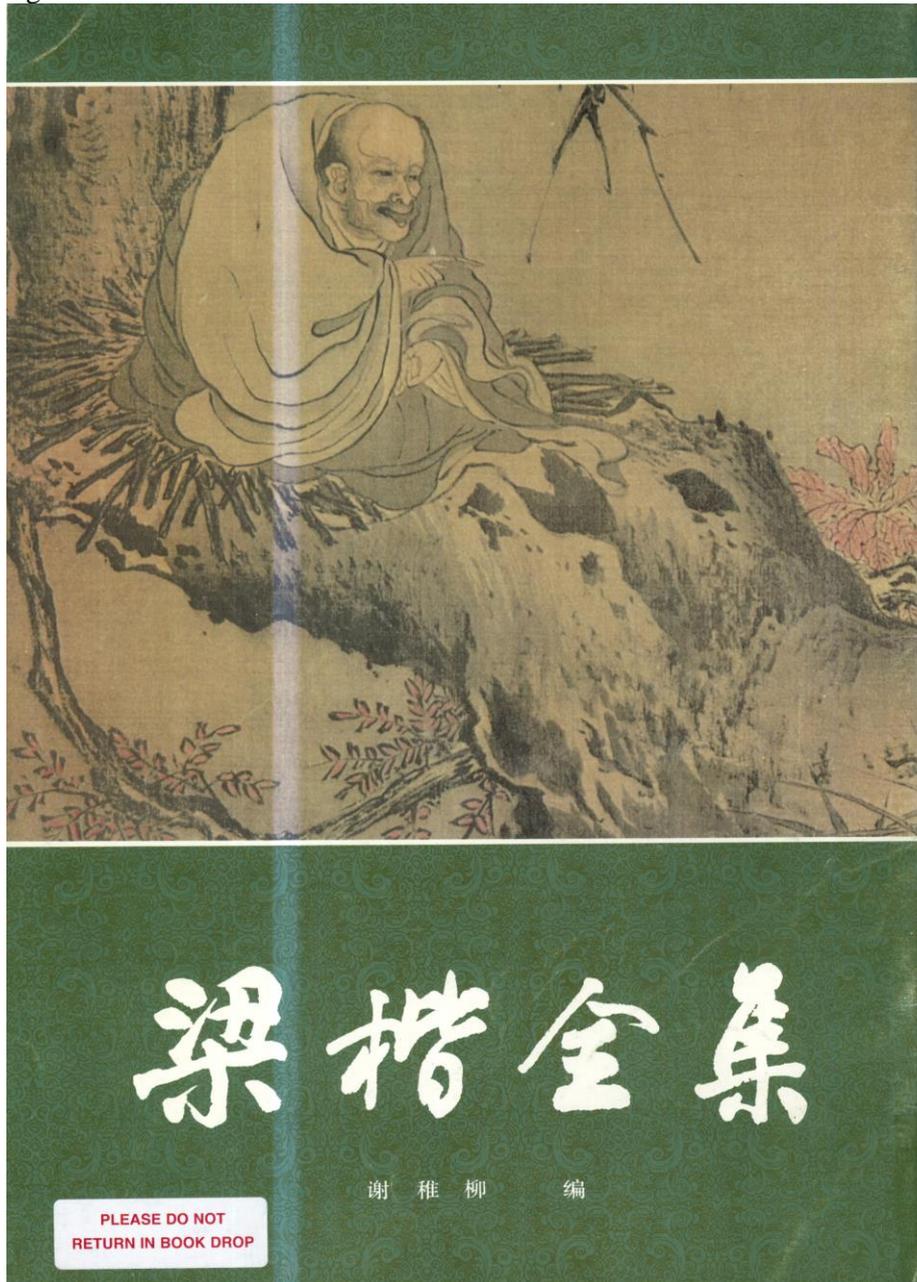
Facing album leaf, ink and colours on silk, 31 x 24.7 cm

Shanghai Museum

Signature: Liang Kai 梁楷

Image: Shan and Shan, 2004, pl. 33, 100.

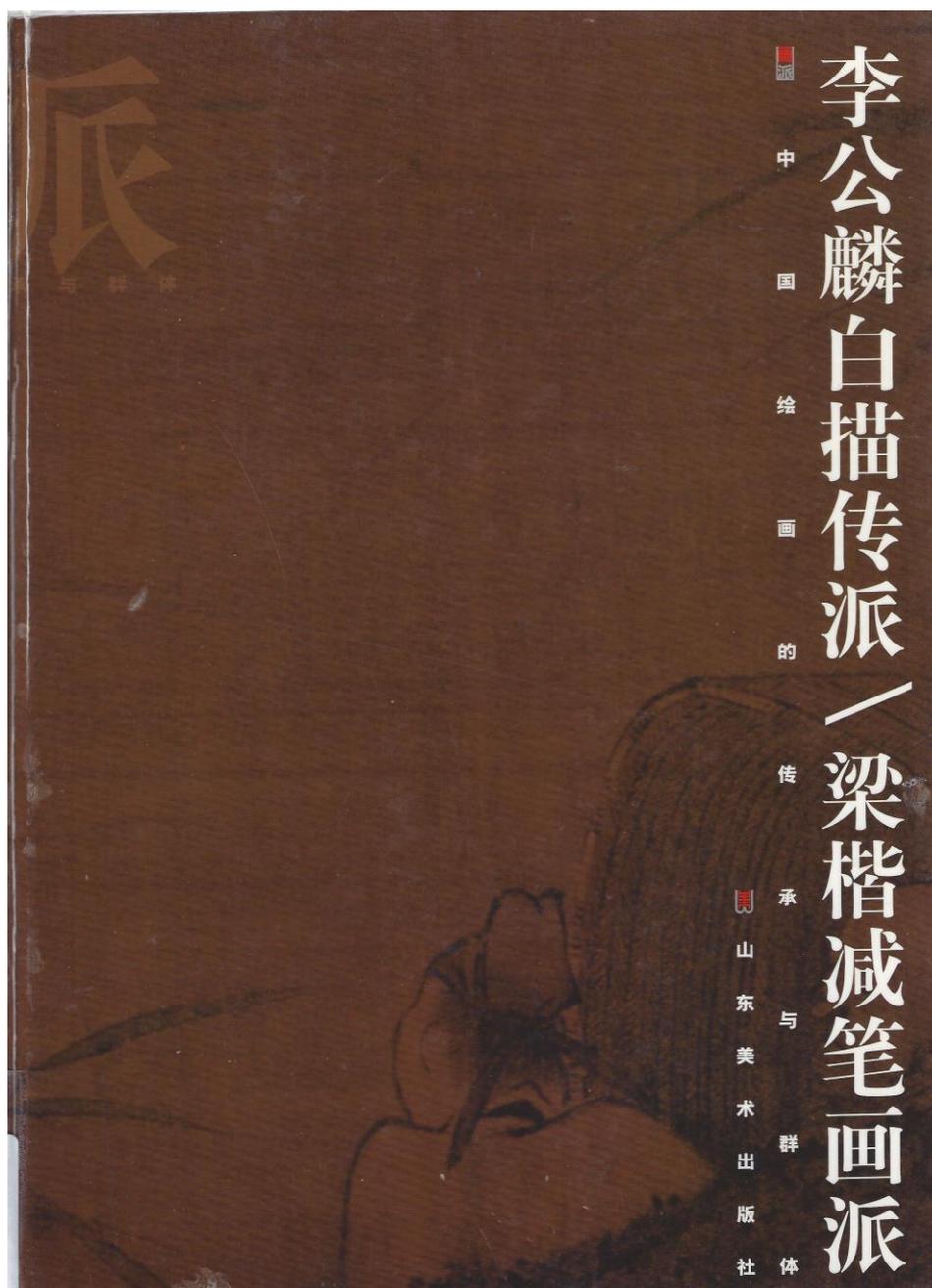
Fig 6.15



Cover of Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳 ed. *Liang Kai Quanjì* 梁楷全集 [*Complete Works of Liang Kai*], (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe). Shows detail of *Niaoke Daolin* scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*

Image: Xie, 1986.

Fig. 6.16



Cover of Shan Guoqiang 單國強, and Shan Guolin Shan 單國霖 eds. *Li Gonglin Baimiao Zhuanpai, Liang Kai Jianbi Huapai* 李公麟白描傳派. 梁楷減筆劃派 [The Baimiao School of Li Gonglin and the Abbreviated Brush School of Liang Kai] Jinanshi Shandong Meishu Chubanshe, 2004.

Shows detail of *Yuanze and Li Yuan* scene from *Eight Eminent Monks*

Image: Shan and Shan, 2004.

Fig. 6.17a



*Four Acts of Filial Piety* 四孝圖

Anonymous,

Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 38.9 x 502.7 cm,

© National Palace Museum, Taipei, 故畫 1544

Fig. 6.17b



*Wang Xiang Fishing in Ice* 王祥冰魚圖  
Detail of fig. 6.17a

Fig. 6.17c

王祥冰魚  
王祥冰魚者王祥臨川人也幼亡其父長奉於母母因染  
患藥餌無瘥冬月母忽思鯉魚食之祥遂徧詣湖之旁每  
有冰結不可得祥乃感天而泣遂解衣剖冰求之冰忽自  
解有雙魚透冰躍出祥喜獲之持歸作羹供母母食之其  
病即愈

頌曰  
王祥行孝極心堅  
雙鯉出水供母食

母患思魚卧結衆  
當時疾愈至今傳

Inscription following *Wang Xiang Fishing in Ice* 王祥冰魚圖  
Detail of fig. 6.17a.

## Wang Xiang and the Fish in the Ice

The following is Wang Xiang and the Fish in the Ice: Wang Xiang, from Linchuan, lost his father when he was young, and paid his greatest respect to his mother. His mother was ill and the medicine she took had not healed her, consequently in the winter months his mother suddenly developed a desire to eat carp. Xiang accordingly searched all around the lake, but everywhere was frozen over such that [the carp] could not be reached. Xiang then beseeched heaven and wept, removing his clothing to break the ice [with his body heat] and seek them. The ice suddenly split of its own accord, and two carp leapt out of the ice. Xiang happily gathered them up, and carried them home, preparing them to offer to his mother. His mother ate them, and her illness was consequently cured.

There is an ode, which goes:

Wang Xiang was filial in action and had the exceptional heart of a sage,  
His ill mother desired fish, even though the spring was frozen,  
Two carp emerged from the water and were offered to mother to eat,  
The curing of this illness at that time has been passed down to us today.

### 王祥冰魚

王祥冰魚者：王祥臨川人也。幼亡其父，長奉於母。母因染患藥餌無痊，冬月母忽思鯉魚食之。祥遂徧詣湖之處每有冰結不可得。祥乃啟天而泣。遂解衣剖冰求之。冰忽自解有雙魚透冰雖出。祥喜獲之，持之歸。作美供母。母食之其病即愈「癒」。

頌曰：

王祥行孝極心聖，母患思魚即結泉，  
雙鯉出冰供母食，當時愈疾「癒」至今傳。

ILLUSTRATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

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Fig 7.1



*The First Six Chan Patriarchs* 達磨六祖圖 [detail]

Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462)

15<sup>th</sup> century, Ming (1368-1644)

Handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 33.8 x 220 cm

Liaoning Provincial Museum

Image: Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Jianding zu, 1997, pl. 91, 88

Fig. 7.2



*Bodhidharma Holding a Single Shoe* 隻履達磨相

18<sup>th</sup> century, Qing dynasty (1644-1911)

Figure: Dehua ware, 德化窯

Height: 11.8 cm

Ivory stand

Inscribed on base

Collection of the Percival David Foundation, PDF.428

(On permanent loan to the British Museum)

Image: © Percival David Foundation

Fig. 7.3



*Bodhidharma Holding a Single Shoe Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed* 隻履渡蘆達磨相  
(Conflation of two narrative events from the life of the first patriarch)

19<sup>th</sup> century, Qing dynasty (1644-1911)

Figure: Dehua ware 德化窯

Height: 16.3 cm

Inscribed on back: "Recorded by Yan" 炎記

Collection of the Percival David Foundation, PDF.489

(On permanent loan to the British Museum)

Image: © Percival David Foundation

Fig. 7.4



*Fishbasket Guanyin* 魚籃觀音圖

Anonymous

Before 1318, Yuan (1271-1368)

*Encomium* by Mu'an 牧庵 (act. early 14<sup>th</sup> century)

Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 84.5 x 36.4 cm

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 05.199

Image: Levine and Lippit 2007, pl. 45, 195.

Fig. 7.5



Autumn Moon Over Lake Dongting 洞庭秋月圖

Yujian 玉澗 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

*Encomium* by Yujian

Horizontal leaf remounted as a hanging scroll, ink on paper, 33 x 83.1 cm

Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo

Image: Little 2013, fig. 16, 31.

*Encomium:*

On all four sides of the lake, moonlight floods the hills,  
[Like a woman] with spiralling topknot, examining herself in the mirror,  
Listening to the long flutes above the towers of Qiuyang,  
Taking total delight in this arduous road through the craggy peaks.

四面平湖月滿山，  
一阿螺髻鏡中看，  
岳陽樓上聽長笛，  
訖盡崎嶇行路難。

Two seals:

*San jiao di zi* 三教弟子 (relief)

*Bei shan wen fang zhi yin* 北山文房之印 (relief). Collectors seal of Yuan scholar Guo Tianxi 郭天錫 (d. 1302).

Fig. 7.6



*Mynah Bird* 叭叭鳥圖

Attributed to Muxi Fachang 牧谿法常 (13<sup>th</sup> century)

13<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Song (1127-1279)

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 53.6 x 30.5 cm

Gotoh Museum

Image: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsu Kan 2014, 60

Two seals:

*Mu xi* 牧谿 (intaglio)

*Ten san* 天山 (relief).

Collectors seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408, r. 1368-94).